The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine De Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*

THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHRISTINE DE PIZAN'S *THE BOOK OF THE CITY OF LADIES* AND *THE TREASURE OF THE CITY OF LADIES*

Analyzing the Relation of the Pictures to the Text

Laura Rinaldi Dufresne

With a Foreword by
Josephine A. Koster

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston•Queenston•Lampeter

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dufresne, Laura Rinaldi
The fifteenth-century illustrations of Christine de Pizan's 'The book of the city of ladies; and 'The treasure of the city of ladies': analyzing the relation of the pictures to the text / Laura Rinaldi Dufresne ; with a foreword by Josephine A. Koster.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-7734-2627-6 (hardcover)
ISBN-10: 0-7734-2627-2 (hardcover)
1. Christine, de Pisan, ca. 1346-ca. 1431. Livre de la citi des dames--Illustrations. 2. Christine, de Pisan, ca. 1364-ca. 1431. Livre des trois vertus--Illustrations. 3. French literature--To 1500--Criticism, Textual. 4. Women and literature--France--History--To 1500. 5. Illustration of books--France. I. Title.
PQ1575.L563D84 2012
843'.2--dc23
2012010082

hors série.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 450
Lewiston, New York
USA 14092-0450

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 67
Queenston, Ontario
CANADA L0S 1L0

The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales
UNITED KINGDOM SA48 8LT

Printed in the United States of America

To Laurence, Anthony and Valerie

Table of Contents

List of Color Plates

Front cover: Christine and the Three Virtues Dismiss Classes at the College of Ladies; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 201, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

Back cover: author photo by Dr. Alice Burmeister

Color Plates

1. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; Reason and Christine build the City of Ladies; The Burgundian *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9393, f. 3, 1405, *The City of Ladies* Master. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
2. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 3, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
3. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 3v, 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.
4. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; The Munich *City of Ladies*, Cod. Gall. 8, f.4, 1450-60. Permission of the National Library, Munich.
5. Reason measures the City, Christine Digs the Foundation for the City; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 10v, 1450-60, attributed to the

School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

6. Amazons Menalippe and Hippolyta Battle Hercules and Theseus; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 24v, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
7. The Escape of Camilla and her Father the King; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 64v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.
8. Arachne Weaving a Tapestry; damaged; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 90, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.
9. The Three Virtues Return to Christine; The College of Ladies, Classes for the Princess; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f. 2, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
10. Christine Presents her Book to Margaret of Burgundy; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 114, 1470-80. Permission of National Library of France, Paris.
11. Dame Prudence Lectures to Princesses at the College of Ladies; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 14,1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.
12. The College of Ladies; The Three Virtues Lecture Women of the Court and Noble Women; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f.

46, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

List of Black and White Figures

7. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; The Vienna *City of Ladies*; Vienna, ŐNB Cod. 2605, f. 3, c. 1470, After the "Teneyken" Workshop. Permission of the Austrian National Library.

8. Cornificia at Her Desk; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f.127, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

9. Cornificia in her Study; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL ADD. 20698, f. 70, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer book. Permission of the British Library, London.

10. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 2v, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

11. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, Geneva Library, MS fr. 3v, 1470-80. Permission of the Geneva Library (formerly Public and University Library), Geneva.

12. Reason, Rectitude and Justice Lead Christine to the "Field of Letters;" The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 10, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

13. Christine, Rectitude and Reason Discuss Women's Faithfulness in Love; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, The Geneva Library, MS fr. 62, 1470-80. Permission of the Geneva Library (formerly Public and University Library), Geneva.

14. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, 1st woodcut, repeated

throughout, Pepwell printed edition, 1521. Permission of the British Library, London.

15. Justice Welcomes the Holy Women to the City; The Munich *City of Ladies*, Cod. Gall. 8, f.90v, 1450-60. Permission of the National Library, Munich.

16. Reason Directs Christine as she Digs the Foundation for the City; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 17, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. Permission of the British Library, London.

17. The Three Virtues Supervise Christine and Male Laborers Building the City; The Vienna *City of Ladies*, Vienna, ŐNB Cod. 2605. f. 67, 1470. Permission of the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

18. Christine Conversing with Rectitude; The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 59, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

19. Christine and Reason Discuss Women Scholars; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, f.34v, the Geneva Library, MS fr. 180, f.16, 1470-80. Permission of the Geneva Library, (formerlyPublic and University Library), Geneva.

20. Christine and the Three Virtues Converse; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 7v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

21. Christine and Rectitude Converse; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 12v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

22. Reason leans on Shovel while Conversing with Christine; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add.

20698, f. 22, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. Permission of the British Library, London.

23. The College of Ladies a Castle Courtyard; The Chantilly *City of Ladies*, Chantilly, Musèe Condé, MS 856, f. 4, 1440. Permission of the Musée Condé Museum, Chantilly, France.

24. Christine and a Virtue Conversing; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, woodcut, Pepwell printed edition 1521. Permission of the British Library, London.

25. Amazon Warrior; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, the Geneva Library, MS fr. 16, f.22v, 1470-80. Permission of the Geneva Library (formerly Public and University Library), Geneva.

26. The Crowning of an Amazon Queen; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 43v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

27. Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, Leads her troops to Troy; *The Harley Opus*, BL Harley 4431, f.103v, 1410-15, *The Epistre Master*. Permission of the British Library, London.

28. Minerva Provides Arms; *The Harley Opus*, BL Harley 4431, f.102v, 1410-15, *The Epistre Master*. Permission of the British Library, London.

29. Minerva, with Attendant, directs Blacksmith; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 87v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

30. Semiramis, Soldiers, Armor and son Ninus; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f.

8, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

31. Assyrian queen Semiramis Hears of Rebellion while Attendant braids Hair; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 41, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

32. Queen Fredegund with infant son Clotair Face Rebellious Barons; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 35v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

33. Queen Fredegund with infant son Clotair Leading Troops; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 63, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer book. Permission of the British Library, London.

34. Queen Camilla the Hunter; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 56, c.1401, The Coronation Master Permission of the National Library, Paris.

35. Ceres planting Seeds; Isis grafting Trees; *Letter from Othea*, Paris, BN MS fr. 606, f. 13v, c.1401, *The Epistre* Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

36. Ceres Plows a Field; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 84, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

37. Isis directs grafting of Trees; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 85, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

38. Arachne's Suicide at the Loom; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 28, c.1401,

The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

39. Sappho and her Companions; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 78, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

40. Sappho Reads to a Male Audience: Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 28, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

41. Ghismonda's Suicide; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 231v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

42. Lisabetta and her Basil Plant; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 240, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

43. Claudia Quinta Proves her Virtue; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 247, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

44. Justice Welcomes the Virgin Mary and Christ Child to the City; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 95, 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

45. Christine and the Three Virtues Welcome the Holy Women to the City; The Vienna *City of Ladies*; Vienna, ŐNB Cod. 2605, f. 145, c. 1470, After the "Teneyken" Workshop. Austrian National Library, Vienna.

46. Christine and the Virtues Welcome Holy Women to the City; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 112, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

47. Christine and the Three Virtues Converse in a Courtyard; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 136, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

48. The Three Virtues Return to Christine; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 1, 1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

49. Upper Register: Christine Sits in Bed conversing with the Three Virtues. Lower register: Antoine Vérard offers his printed edition of The Treasure of the City of Ladies, The Vérard *Treasure*, Vienna, ONB, Inc.3.D.19, fol. 1v, 1497. Austrian National Library, Vienna.

50. The College of Ladies; The Three Virtues Lecture Bourgeois Women; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f. 66, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

51. The Three Virtues; *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* The Hague, KB MS 131 C26, f.1v, 1420-30, Utrecht or Guelders workshop. Permission of the National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

52. The College of Ladies; Lecturing Princesses, Court Ladies and Common women; *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* The Hague, KB MS 131 C26, f.22v, 1420-30, Utrecht or Guelders workshop. Permission of the National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

53. The College of Ladies, Lecturing Women of the Court and Noble women; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 49v,1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

54. The College of Ladies, Lecturing Bourgeois and Common Women; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 72, 1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

55. Christine and the Three Virtues Dismiss Classes at the College of Ladies; *The* Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 201, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

Abstract

Christine de Pizan was one of the few authors of late medieval France involved in all aspects of her manuscripts' production. Of her more than forty works of poetry and prose *The Book of the City of Ladies (La livre de la cité des dames, 1404-5)* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies (also known as The Book of the Three Virtues (Le Livre des trois vertus*, 1405)) have received enormous scholarly attention as their subject is nothing less than the history and education of women. This book fills a gap in the scholarship by shifting the attention from their literary content to the imagery chosen to illustrate these two pioneering books on women and their worth. This new focus includes artists of Christine's own choosing to those illustrating *The City* and *The Treasure* after her death throughout the peak of the two works' popularity, the fifteenth century.

The social context and iconographic content of the miniatures accompanying these texts provides a broad, often diverse, view of the role and image of the fifteenth century woman. In *The City* the illustrations generally focus on intellectual discussion rather than heroic action of the women in the text. In *The Treasure* the practical advice on educating women in the text is supported by scenes of stately lecturers and their well dressed students, usually the nobility, crowded into classroom settings. Over the course of the century an examination of the miniatures disclose shifts in focus, setting and costume, revealing an important, yet still inconstant,

alliance between text and image. Notable changes in the imagery include the rising status of Christine de Pizan and the worth of women in society, all told through visual cues of gesture, fashion, hierarchy and sign. In sum the miniatures for *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* provide the reader with compelling imagery rarely seen in medieval art – the employment of women of Antiquity and the Late Middle Ages and their stories to inspire and educate all women, then and now.

Foreword

> "Christine....was not only a creator of extraordinarily interesting and original books; she was a scribe and is carefully represented as such in many of her manuscripts. Unfortunately, we do not have any inventories that would show us what items her study contained. However, the illustrations in her manuscripts, even if they were not executed until some years after she wrote her texts, are very helpful."[i]

While Christine de Pizan's works and place in medieval and French literature have been secure for some time, only in the last few decades have scholars turned to the question of the production of her manuscripts, and begun to identify the role Pizan played in the transmission of her own works. Though it was Charity Cannon Willard who first suggested that Pizan may have copied some of her own works, only recently have Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno[ii] and J. C. Laidlaw[iii] convincingly shown that Christine was one of the three primary scribes of the earliest copy of her, while Sandra Hindman has convincingly shown that Christine planned the pictorial cycles for her texts[iv] and a major research effort is underway between the British Library and the University of Edinburgh to understand the

construction of Harley MS 4431, the largest surviving collected manuscript of her works.[v] These studies all place emphasis on the way(s) in which Pizan constructed both her narratives and the presentation of her works to suit the differing needs of her patrons and wider audience.

In this milieu, Laura Rinaldi Dufresne's *The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan's "The Book of the City of Ladies" and "The Treasure of the City of Ladies"* makes an important contribution to our understanding of this "mother to think back through," as Sheila Delany named her[vi]. Dufresne focuses on Pizan's two best-known works, *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, and closely and thoughtfully analyzes the program of illustration Pizan commissioned for these texts to highlight the ideas she thought were most important. Modern readers and viewers of these manuscripts may notice, in passing, that Pizan is often pictured in a blue dress with a white headdress, but Dufresne's eye for detail notes how significant that repeated dress and her hennin headdress, which were clear indicators of class and status in her time, would have been to the early owners and readers of the manuscript. As the fifteenth century proceeded and control of the illustrations passed from Pizan to a new generation of illuminators and patrons, the shifting representation of Pizan as author showed how later readers were attempting to re-write Pizan's message through art.

Most criticism of Pizan composed in the last three decades has been from the literary and political perspective. Taking a different viewpoint, that of art history, Dufresne shows how Pizan's choices of which scenes and characters to represent

in *The City* emphasize the life of the mind, rather than the adventures detailed in her various exempla. By focusing on the allegorical guides and their intellectual discussions rather than the more conventional illustrations of heroic females, Pizan chose to focus on the presentation of virtue and dialogue as models for her mostly-female patrons and readers to emulate. By contrast, the program of illustration she creates for *The Treasure* focuses on the need for education and enculturation for women; her classroom scenes, with their elaborately-costumed casts of noble instructors and aristocratic students; this clearly casts her text in the mode of a didactic guide for women's conduct rather than the psychomachia of *The City*. Again, Dufresne's artist's eye picks out the carefully-chosen details of gowns, surcoats, and headdresses, explaining cogently their value as social and class markers and their relevance to the patrons and readers who truly were the students of Pizan's "College of Ladies."

Because only a few of the lavishly-illustrated manuscripts of Pizan's manuscripts are usually reproduced, readers of Dufresne's book may be surprised to find out just how large the number of illustrated manuscripts survive, and how many of these were directly or indirectly produced under her supervision. Here again, Dufresne's wide knowledge of art history allows her to contribute to a deeper understanding of Pizan's agenda. A virtue of *The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan's "The Book of the City of Ladies" and "The Treasure of the City of Ladies"* is the wide range of examples on which Dufresne draws to build her argument, including both well-known manuscripts such as Harley 4431 in the British Library and lesser-known codexes such as Boston

Public Library MS fr 101 and examples in the Low Countries. Dufresne's thorough discussion of the details of the illustrations in these manuscripts go far beyond most published work on Pizan's work in providing evidence of the evolving response of scribes and illuminators to Pizan's wishes and message. Dufresne turns our attention as well to the kinds of materials used to produce the manuscripts, including the transition from vellum to paper. Christine Reno had previously noted that many of Pizan's manuscripts are copied on parchment "of very poor quality, but expertly patched;[vii] Dufresne makes us see why those changes are significant in terms of culture and interpretation.

Medieval readers and patrons took great pleasure in absorbing the combination of words and images in Pizan's texts; Susan Groag Bell cites the account books of John the Fearless as evidence of the pleasure Pizan's manuscripts gave:

> To Demoiselle Christine de Pisan, widow of the late Master Estienne du Castel, a gift of 100 crowns, made to her by my lord the duke, for and in acknowledgement of two books which she has presented to my lord the duke, one of which was commissioned from her by the late duke of Burgundy, father of the present duke [Charles the Bold]. ... shortly before he died. Since then she has finished this book and my lord the duke has it instead of his father. The other book my lord the duke wanted to have himself, and... he takes much pleasure in these two books and in other of her epistles and writings.[viii]

The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan's "The Book of the City of Ladies" and "The Treasure of the City of Ladies" helps us appreciate that pleasure by directing our attention to this marriage of word and image, and especially to Pizan's attempts to shape our perception of their relationship.

As Dufresne argues, over the course of the fifteenth century the evolution of the illuminations of these two important medieval texts reveals how the artists and designers shifted the focus, setting, and costume in their contents, revealing an important yet still unsettled, association between text and image. Notable changes in the iconography include the rising status of Christine de Pizan as author and the worth of women in society, all told through visual cues of gesture, fashion, hierarchy and sign. *The Fifteenth-Century Illustrations of Christine de Pizan's "The Book of the City of Ladies" and "The Treasure of the City of Ladies"* demonstrates, paradoxically, that in texts that stress the importance of reading and study for women, it's equally important to look at, and reflect on, the pictures. In doing so, we emulate the practices of medieval readers and follow, at six centuries' remove, the program designed by Pizan herself for reading women's texts. I think she would be pleased by this.

--Josephine A. Koster, Ph.D.
Professor of English and Coordinator of Medieval Studies
Winthrop University

kosterj@winthrop.edu

[i] Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan in her study," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* [online], Études christiniennes, placed online 10 June 2008, downloaded 12 January 2012. URL : http://crm.revues.org/3212 para 17.
[ii] "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 221-238.
[iii] "Christine de Pizan - A Publisher's Progress," *Modern Language Review*, 82 (1987), 35-75.
[iv] *Christine de Pizan's* Epistre Othea [Toronto: Pontifical Institute Press, 1986]; "The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment, "*British Library Journal* 9 (1983), 93-123.
[v] http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/index.html.
[vi] "'Mothers to Think Back Through': Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan," *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin Schichtman, Cornell UP, 1986, 177-97. Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan
[vii] Bell, op cit., note 26.
[viii] Bell, op cit., para. 18.

Preface

> Thus, fair daughter, the prerogative among women has been bestowed on you to establish and build the City of Ladies. For the Foundation and completion of this City you will draw fresh waters from us as from clear fountains, and we will bring you sufficient building stone, stronger and more durable than any marble with cement could be. Thus your City will be extremely beautiful, without equal, and of perpetual duration in the world.[i]

The "fair daughter" addressed above by Lady Reason is Christine de Pizan (1364-c. 1430), medieval poet, scholar, humanist, and author of many works of poetry and prose. No topic was beyond her scope; she tackled politics and ethics, scolded queens, and debated the intelligence and moral character of women with the most learned men of the French court. The "stone...stronger and more durable than marble" that Lady Reason refers to is a symbol for women of the past whose deeds went uncelebrated until captured and held by the "mortar" of the ink of Christine de Pizan's pen. We shall enter Christine's feminine utopia through both text and image, finding the author in nearly every paragraph and scene, building, questioning, digging, debating, as well as welcoming women to become its citizens. This necessitates an exhaustive

exploration of the miniatures produced in the fifteenth century for her two books *The Book of the City of Ladies (La livre de la cité des dames)* and *The Book of the Three Virtues (Le Livre des trois vertus)*, more commonly known as *The Treasure of the City of Ladies.* Christine often had her books illustrated, a wise business decision, for there was a great market for extensively illustrated secular manuscripts among the princes of France at this time.[ii] Millard Meiss, renowned specialist of manuscripts produced at the time of Christine de Pizan, discusses at length the style of the illuminators Christine chose to embellish her works, first showing a preference for grisaille (Fig. 5), then later, after 1403 when her finances improved, hiring masters who worked in color and in a more "Italianate" compositional and figure style [iii] (CP 1 Figs. 1, 2, 3 & 4). One of those artists is known to us today only as *The City of Ladies* Master, the illustrator of the miniatures for both *The City* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Christine de Pizan worked closely with her artists, detailing what she wished to depict in each scene. Sandra Hindman establishes this in her work on the British Library's Harley 4431 manuscript, demonstrating the originality of the miniatures, their relationship to the text, and their lack of visual predecessors for the composition of each scene. She also notes that the entire London manuscript was penned by Christine herself, another indication of her close involvement with the manuscript's production.[iv]

Christine commissioned only three miniatures for *The City of Ladies*, one for each of the three parts of the book. These three original miniatures are then reproduced in four nearly identical copies by *The City of Ladies* Master and workshop for deluxe manuscripts she had prepared for her

courtly patrons. [v] (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2). There are, however, no known sanctioned copies of the single miniature executed by the *City of Ladies* Master for *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (Fig. 3), just one ornate pirated paper version (Fig. 6). The continuous popularity of *The City of Ladies* throughout the fifteenth century resulted in the production of other such luxury editions, and the artists for these later manuscripts composed their miniatures bereft of Christine's original vision, and in its place reflect the tastes and fashions of later generations. The same holds true for the even more popular companion text, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* of 1405, which takes as its subject the "College of Ladies." (Fig. 3)

The analysis of the exceptional visual material, located in over twenty manuscripts and fifty five miniatures, gathered between the covers of this book is primarily contextual, stylistic, historic, and iconographic. As Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith write, "Historians know that images as much as sentences and paragraphs are texts to be read.[vi]" To that end, the images of Christine and her ladies are here studied with regard to their relationships to the text, to one another, to the times, to other manuscripts as well as to the models Christine commissioned from the *City of Ladies* Master. Visual evidence is used alongside the texts as well as insight offered from political, economic, and literary disciplines. This suggested that an analysis of the details of dress as well as gesture and pose as symbol or sign might be useful. Whenever known, the question of whether the image is made by or for men or women will be addressed. Pictures, however, do not always tell the truth, and artists of these manuscripts have no qualms about meddling with their authorial source; depictions of the lower classes are

usually deceptive and intent on ridicule, or in our case, are over-glamorized. When faced with portraying a woman such as Christine de Pizan as an intellectual and scholarly "authority," many artists are at a loss and settle for standard models of beautiful, coquettish, aristocratic ladies available in their workshop model books. We shall see that later fifteenth century interpretations manipulate the imagery with little or no knowledge of Christine's text or visual prototypes, enhancing or debasing Christine's message in order to make the imagery more entertaining to contemporary patrons.

---

[i] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1987), 11.

[ii] Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries, 2* vols. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 7.

[iii] Meiss, *French Painting,* 9.

[iv] Hindman concludes the same is true for Christine's *Epistre Othea,* where she argues for Christine's involvement in dictating the content of the miniatures for three illustrated versions of *The Letter to Othea.*[iv] Sandra Hindman, "With Ink and Mortar: Christine De Pizan's *Cité des Dames,*" *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 464, 469, 473.

[v] Meiss, *French Painting,* 7-9.

[vi] Taylor, Jane H.M. and Lesley Smith, editors, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1996, 16.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go out to many; first to those on the front line, my thoughtful and diligent proof readers Ruchi Dadheech, Christina Williams and Dr. Karen Stock. Will Holden and Beth Melton provided very valuable advice and assistance on layout and formatting of the text. Elsa Safir's expert help enabled me to print oddly sized miniatures. I am grateful as well to Dr. Alice Burmeister for the wonderful author portrait. I'd also like to thank Dr. John Rupnow, Director of the Edwin Mellen Press and Mrs. Patricia Schultz, Production Editor, for their patience and assistance on the preparation of the manuscript for publication. This book would not have been possible without the support of Winthrop University Research Council for funding the photography of the miniatures and to Andrew Svedlow, former dean of the College of Visual Arts for awarding me a sabbatical to finish my research. I am also indebted to my sister Valerie Dufresne for her financial assistance at the beginning of my research years ago. The manuscripts included in this study reside in the most prestigious collections in Europe and the United States and I am grateful for the aid of their guardians, librarians of the past and present; Jane Beumer, National Library of the Netherlands, Laura V. Monte, Keeper of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library, Marjorie Wynne, Beinecke Library, Yale University, Georges Dogaer, Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels, Amémlie Lefebure, Condé Museum in Chantilly, France,

Philippe Monnier and Paule Dubuis, The Geneva Library (formerly University and Public Library of Geneva, Switzerland). Dr. Herman Hauke, National Library, Munich, J-C Garreta, National Library, Paris, and Dr. Eba Irblich, Austrian National Library, Vienna.

This book might not have reached fruition without the encouragement of many friends and colleagues; Paula Smith, Dr. Laura Gardner and three successive chairs of the Department of Fine Arts: artists Alf Ward, Jerry Walden and Tom Stanley. And finally, for all the distracted days, missing meals and forgotten walks, I thank Laurence and Anthony Josserand and our four footed family members Daisy, Mia, Taco and Molly.

Chapter 1

Christine de Pizan and Her Artists

Christine as Author

The works of Christine de Pizan (also known as Christine de Pisan) provide us with an unparalleled view of the medieval world from a woman's perspective, both through her writings and her choice of artists. She was one of the few authors of her day involved in all aspects of transforming her words into beautifully illuminated manuscripts.[1] She supervised the copying and illumination of her texts, and, for some, may even have been the scribe.[2] Her royal patrons were attracted to books that "both delighted the eye and stimulated the mind" [3] so it is understandable why Christine cultivated these sensibilities as well. She produced deluxe manuscripts enriched with miniatures for John, Duke of Berry, Queen Isabel of France, and the Dukes of Burgundy among other illustrious patrons. If our history is, as Beatrice Gottlieb has stated, "the history of books," then Christine's books, with their rarely documented female perspective, hold a unique place in that history.[4] In this chapter we will take a closer look at the pictorial representation of that female perspective in eight miniatures painted between 1405 – 1415 to accompany *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* [5] The first four miniatures represent the prototypes developed for these illustrations under Christine's supervision by one of her favorite artists, known as *The City of Ladies* Master, named for his work on this text. How are Christine, the Virtues, and the citizens of

the City depicted in these eight miniatures? With great care and attention to the details of setting, dress, attributes and gesture.

The City of Ladies as Allegory

The City of Ladies belongs to a specific literary genre, that of the universal history, and in this case it is uniquely devoted to the deeds and contributions of women to history. In form, *The City of Ladies* follows the tradition of the medieval dream-poem, a convention used most eminently by Dante Alighieri in the *Divine Comedy* in the fourteenth century. The title of Christine's book is carefully chosen. *The City of Ladies* makes a clear reference to St. Augustine's seminal work *The City of God,* written in the fifth century. By juxtaposing these two cities, Christine places her political vision into the Christian tradition of political philosophy. Christine, however, transforms the peaceful notion of Augustine's *civitas* into a militant image of a fortress, designed to protect and ward off attackers. The lines of the battle have been drawn, and Christine is poised for the first attack.

The purpose of her city is one of defense, as described by Reason, the first virtue to speak in the book: "...so that from now on all valiant women may have a refuge and defense against the various assailants, those ladies who have been abandoned for so long, exposed like a field without a surrounding hedge, without finding a champion to afford them adequate defense."[6] Additional enlightenment on the meaning of the title *La cité des dames* is found in the choice of the word *dames* rather than *femme* in the original French. The English translation is *The City of Ladies,* not *The City of Women,* proclaiming a kingdom honoring not all women but women whose deeds bring honor to their sex. Christine uses the term

dames or ladies not to imply exclusivity of virtue to a certain class, but instead to suggest that the term itself must infer virtue and be used for those women who have proven their worth through achievement. Christine Reno writes that Christine de Pizan invests the term *dames* or ladies with "the nobility of the soul rather than the nobility of the blood."[7] Neither an aptitude for science nor faithfulness in love are qualities limited to one gender alone, the Virtues assure Christine. The Virtues demonstrate these qualities by posing a series of challenging questions to Christine, requiring her to provide answers based not on the authoritative *vox patris* of antiquity, but on her own knowledge and experiences in order to discover the true worth of her sex. This dialogue demonstrates the path Christine used to whittle away at the misogynist authorities and their damaging opinions of the capabilities of women. Christine's intellectual journey becomes a model, persuading her female readers to realize their feminine potential, thus earning a place of refuge and honor in her city. Notably, these achievements go far beyond those expected of a dutiful medieval housewife.

As is common among many late medieval authors, Christine is often the main character of many of her most famous works. Having the author as the protagonist in a work of poetry or prose was standard practice in late medieval literatures as Dante is led from Hell through Purgatory and finally to Heaven by Virgil and Beatrice. Dante is guided by a single individual at a time while Christine, in *The Book of the City of Ladies*, falls under the tutelage of a trio, the Virtues Reason, Rectitude, and Justice. While both Dante and Christine begin by dividing their works into three parts, Dante journeys through three realms, while Christine begins a construction project. The journey and the cities are both allegorical, Dante's spiritual and historical, and Christine's historical and utopic.

The city of *The Book of the City of Ladies* is a castle built both to defend women from misogynist attacks and recount their contributions to history. *The Book of the City of Ladies,* written in 1404-5, is the first such defense and history written by a woman in the western world.

Making the Manuscripts

In the production of illuminated manuscripts, especially in secular workshops at this time, tasks (as well as the manuscripts) were divided among several individuals. Gatherings of parchment or vellum were first ruled to mark the number and size of the lines for the text and the spaces for decoration. Next, the text was written, carefully scripted around the blank spaces left for the miniatures and other decorations. Only after the text was finished were the miniatures, borders, and initials painted, often at a completely different workshop. This division of labor could even extend to the miniatures themselves, with one artist doing the background and another figures and so forth. The most well known example of this would be the Limbourg brothers -- Paul, Herman, and Jean -- who worked for one of Christine de Pizan's patrons, John, the Duke of Berry. Paul was the Master of the brothers, responsible for the overall design and the figures, and Herman and Jean divided the work of the background and borders between them; as such, this division of labor was seamless, presenting a unified style. Finally, after all the hard work, pen or brush, was finished, the gatherings would be sewn together and bound.

The artist Christine chose to illustrate her utopia is known today as *The City of Ladies* Master. This artist designs three miniatures, one for each Part of the text, for five deluxe copies destined for the libraries of the French royal family in

France and Burgundy. *The City of Ladies* Master's workshop, along with that of the *Epistre* Master, are both candidates for the place of employment for Anastasia, a woman painter praised by Christine in *The City* as "so skilled and learned in painting manuscript borders and miniature backgrounds that one cannot find an artisan in all the city of Paris--where the best in the world are found- who can surpass her, nor who can paint flowers and details as delicately as she does."[8] Christine's knowledge of Anastasia's skill comes first hand, for she tells us that she has created "several things for me which stand out among the ornamental borders of the great masters."[9] Unfortunately, scholars have not been able to identify her distinct hand in any of the miniatures produced under Christine's direction. Uniformity and a seamless blending from face to figure to building to landscape was the goal of all the artists working under any of the great master illuminators populating Paris and environs at this time.

The building of the city is succinctly illustrated on the right side of the first miniature of each illustrated text between the Prologue and Part One (CP 1). Here, the foundation is laid by the author and Reason, representing their skillful maneuverings through misogynist writings, refuting each accusation against the Feminine with numerous examples to the contrary. In scope, Christine's city is not only a utopia for women, but also provides a safe harbor where they are educated to become worthy citizens. Indeed, after building the city and populating it with virtuous women of the past and present, Christine finds that the Virtues are not fully satisfied, asking Christine to now prepare an educational curriculum or handbook for the feminine population housed within its walls (Fig. 3). Christine is not allowed to rest from her labors but must begin immediately as commanded by the Virtues to "trap

and ensnare" ladies throughout the land and bring them back to the city to be schooled. So begins the sequel, or companion to *The City of Ladies, The Treasure*, also known as the *Book of the Three Virtues*.

> Take your pen and write. Blessed will they be who live in our city to swell the number of citizens of virtue. May all the feminine college and their devout community be apprised of the sermons and lessons of wisdom.[10]

Only one illustrated manuscript for this text by *The City of Ladies* Master is known today, a single miniature found in the *Treasure,* located in Boston Public Library (PL MS fr. 101) (CP 1). A production of *The City of Ladies* Master and workshop, the scene, divided in two, illustrates the humor of our worn-out scholar, trying to rest, while the Virtues insist on giving her a new assignment. These two manuscripts, *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, though companion texts written in 1404-5, follow two separate literary traditions. *The City* is a utopic dream poem where the author is also the protagonist, but unlike the traditional dream poem, she does not travel through fantastic landscapes to meet monsters and demons. Instead, Christine is limited to her study and travels only metaphorically via dialogue. This form of medieval utopia is what Jacob Lewis refers to as "social dreaming." Medieval utopias usually critique some ideological truth such as church doctrine, or in Christine's case, the order of society. "Part of that dream includes some solution to the problem, a solution that may take any form from basic wish-fulfillment to planned and dialectically open-ended society."[11] Interestingly "the solution may or may not have been effective in the dreamer's own time, but it can inspire hope and social

critique in our own age." [12] Christine's utopic vision of *The City of Ladies*, in words and image, is both celebratory and defensive. Christine's city is certainly far more protective than the castles of love written and illustrated throughout the late middle ages, those chivalric constructions of ivory or vellum, so easily toppled by armored knights with tournament lances.

The Treasure of the City of Ladies is far more pragmatic and practical than is its older sibling *The City*, in both form and intent. *The Treasure* follows an entirely different format, that of a behavioral guidebook, an education manual usually reserved for a prince. *The Treasure* is unusual, for not only is Christine's book the first by a woman on the education of women, but it also addresses all classes of women, not just the nobility. Some might argue that this is just an example of medieval "inclusiveness," but the book abounds with specificity. For example, Christine is quite sincere in her recommendations to working women when she writes that God will forgive them if their duties require them to break a fast or miss Mass.[13] In *The Treasure*, the trio of Virtues now becomes a quartet, for Dame Prudence is the main lecturer of Christine's college. Translator Sarah Lawson warns that those seeking feminist polemics will not find them here. *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* is strictly a guide to living with one's eyes wide open to the realities of life for women in the late Middle Ages. Part etiquette book, part survival guide, it is full of practical advice and tactics to prepare oneself for the responsibilities corresponding to each woman's place in the social order.

Of the two forms, the medieval dream poem and the educational handbook, it is the former that is most often illustrated in the late middle ages. From Eden to Paradise or the Golden Age to the Land of Cickaigne, patrons have been

inspired to hire artists to illustrate these marvelous texts for courtly edification and entertainment. Indeed poetry, political treatises, and "secular travel narratives that hover between fact and fiction," such as Sir John Mandeville's *Travels,* are similarly adorned with pictures. [14] Christopher de Hamel writes that over six hundred fourteenth century manuscripts of Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy* survive, and that even more are to be found in the fifteenth century, attracting such noteworthy artists as Botticelli himself.[15] Vernacular manuscripts such as Christine's, written in French, are often copiously illustrated. By the late fourteenth century, many beautifully illustrated vernacular works were associated with women patrons including Queen Jeanne d'Evreaux and Bonne of Luxembourg. The earliest prayer books written in the vernacular were owned by nuns. Noblewomen were educated primarily in the vernacular with enough Latin as deemed necessary by their fathers or husbands.[16] This certainly sets the stage for Christine de Pizan to produce deluxe illustrated copies of many of her works destined for noble female patrons. Illustrated books on medieval etiquette and education, as serious fare, were rarely illustrated at all. Yet of the twenty-one extant manuscripts of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, eight are illustrated. Several of these are bound with *The City of Ladies*, illustrated by the same workshop. Of the twenty-seven surviving manuscripts of *The City of Ladies* produced in the fifteenth century, fifteen contain miniatures. The continuing appetite for illustrated versions of *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure* throughout the fifteenth century, especially those destined for aristocratic women, grants us the rare opportunity to examine the changing messages the miniatures suggest as we move further and further from their author's control.

Christine's Life

Christine de Pizan (1363-c.1430) began her life as a writer sometime around 1390 as a widow struggling to support her family. Most prestigious writers of her time wrote in Latin, the language of the Catholic Church and scholars for subjects both sacred and secular. Christine, though Italian by birth, was French by virtue of acculturation. She was the daughter of Thomas de Pizan (Tommaso di Benvenuto da Pizzano), an Italian from the town of Pizzano, educated at the famed medical University in Bologna. Her mother's name is not recorded. Christine, their first child, was born in 1363 in Italy. In the year of her birth, Thomas was offered two royal positions - to become either the court physician to the King of Hungary or to the King of France. Thomas chose France, and left his wife and daughter behind as he journeyed alone to serve Charles V (1338-1380), known as Charles the Wise, as both physician and astrologer.[17] Christine and her mother were sent for in 1368 and eventually made their home in the Marais quarter of Paris, a dependency of the king's residence, The Hotel Saint-Pol. Thomas de Pizan was well liked in Charles V's entourage, and Christine would later profit from his good reputation at court.[18] She recounts first being presented to the king, one of her earliest memories, with delight. She was the age of four or five and dressed in the provincial costume of her native Lombardy. Her two brothers, Aghinolfo and Paolo, were later born in France. Christine, though proud of her Italian heritage, lived the rest of her life in France as an enthusiastic, if sometimes critical patriot, writing, "No nation of the world has such benign and humane princes as France. I say it without flattery because it is the truth."[19] Her father insisted Christine receive a thorough education in the classics. Some biographers believe she had an understanding of both Greek and Latin.[20] Her mother's protests

to Thomas that such an extensive education would render Christine unmarriageable were unfounded, for Christine was married at the age of fifteen to Etienne du Castel, one of King Charles' secretaries. By her own account the marriage was a happy one, as later Christine writes in *The Book of the Road of Long Study*, "Our love and our hearts were far more than that of brother and sister. We were joined in a unity of joy and pain."[21] Christine became the mother of three children, only two of whom, Jean and Marie, reached adulthood. Her concern for her children's education is documented in several books on education, discussed later in this chapter.

Christine's troubles began with the death of all her male protectors: King Charles V in 1380 followed by her father in 1389 and soon after that same year her husband Etienne de Castel. With the death of Charles V in 1380, Thomas de Pizan lost his court post and income, which continued to diminish until his until his death in 1389. Etienne du Castel died of an epidemic while accompanying the new young King Charles VI on a journey to Beauvais in 1390. At twenty-five Christine was a widow with three children, an aging mother and two young brothers to support. She writes "I am a widow, alone and clad in black." [22] She was harassed by her husband's creditors and was unable to pay off his numerous debts or support her family as the remains of her husband's salary and property were not legally accessible to her. Later, in *The Treasure*, she implores wives to be familiar with details of their family's business and finances so as to avoid years of legal struggles in court. In fact, Christine was unable to collect on Etienne's estate until 1411, twenty-two years after his death, after four lawsuits, and well after her children were long settled in their respective careers.[23] Initially, as a young widow, Christine suffered from depression and illness. However, she was too financially strapped to

languish in mourning for long. She overcame her despair and settled on the male profession of scribe as a means to support her family. Christine's venture into the masculine realm was not a comfortable one for her. Fortune, she tells us, changed her into a man so she could provide for her family in this masculine profession. This change was one of necessity, not choice. "As you may have heard, now I am a man and have been one for thirteen years. But it pleased me much more to be a woman, as I was accustomed to when I communicated with Hymen."[24] Around 1394 her mournful love poems on the sorrows of widowhood are praised and supported by friends in the French court.

> Alone and in great suffering
> in this deserted world full of sadness
> my sweet lover left me.
>
> He possessed my heart, in greatest joy, without grief.
> Now he is dead.
> I am weighted down by grievous mourning
> Such sadness has gripped my heart
> That I will always
> Weep
> For his death[25]

Christine later moves from her early despondency to more conventional love ballads and other lyric forms, which met with great success in Parisian circles. She quickly turned her father's good reputation and gift to her of an extensive education into a bread-winning tool to support the family. Without such abilities, Christine would have been forced to consider another marriage,

which is not an option she desired or pursued. This is reflected in the following poem by Christine, translated by A.S. Kline:

Severe or slight, my heart has felt no wound
From Love's sharp arrows that they say make war
On many of us folk, I've not been bound
God be thanked, by prison or snares, what's more,
    Of the god of Love.
Nothing I ask, nothing I seek to move,
Without him I live in joy and sunlight:
I love no lover: I want no love's delight.

I'm not afraid either of being enslaved
By a glance or a gift or a long pursuit,
Nor of drowning deep in flattery's wave,
For my heart there's no man would suit:
    Let none call above
For succour from me, I'd reject his love
Immediately, and tell him outright:
I love no lover: I want no love's delight.

I laugh indeed at a woman who's bound:
In such danger, she'd surely be better
To seize any sword or dagger around
And kill herself, having lost her honour.
    And therefore I choose
To pass my days in this state and muse:
Saying to all who would love me quite:
I love no lover, I want no love's delight.

Lord of Love, what use at your court am I?
I love no lover; I want no love's delight.[26]

To be a scribe, even at a royal court, was to be a laborer, and as a woman scribe, Christine was also a novelty.[27] In the beginning she used her novelty to enhance her already considerable education while copying letters, documents and manuscripts for a living. By so doing Christine gained access to a multitude of scholarly and literary works. She began to write both prose and poetry that she sent to various members of the court. As was the custom, they began to send her money in return. She would make copies of poems and send them to multiple people. Soon, they began to commission works from her. Within a few years, she began writing histories and treatises on topics as diverse as modern warfare, the dangers of romantic love, and the proper education of the young prince, all supported by her courtly patrons.[28] Christine received increasing support and favor once she became an established writer, and her books were in demand throughout Europe for several centuries. She received offers to join the court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, as well as the court of Henry IV of England. Christine was commissioned to write pieces for John of Berry and his daughters Bonne and Marie, Philip the Bold and his son John the Fearless, the dukes of Burgundy, the Queen of France, Isabel of Bavaria, Louis of Orleans, Charles d' Albert, and Jean de Werchin, the Seneschal of Hainault.[29] With such success came fame and fortune.

In the meantime, Christine set about planning for her children's future. In 1397 John Montacute, 3rd Earl of Salisbury (1350 –1400) came from England to France to arrange the marriage of Richard II with the French princess Isabel, and he and Christine became acquainted. As both were poets, they began to exchange and read one another's works. He offered to take Christine's thirteen-year-old son Jean de

Castel back to England with him to be raised and educated with his own son of the same age. This only lasted for a short time, however, as the Earl was executed for his part in a failed plot to kill King Henry IV and restore Richard II to the English throne. Christine found her son a new position with one of her patrons, Phillip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, where Jean remained through the reign of Phililip's son and grandson, John the Fearless and Phillip the Good (1396-1467). On New Year's Day in 1404, Christine presented a work entitled *The Book on the Changes of Fortune* to Phillip the Bold. This is a long poem on history, the church and the struggle for peace. Phillip was so impressed that he commissioned her to write a biography of his deceased brother Charles the Wise, King of France.[30]

In 1398, Christine settled her daughter Marie in a Dominican convent at Poissy, six miles outside of Paris. Here Marie became the companion to Marie of Valois, daughter of King Charles VI and Queen Isabel. Marie of Valois later become the Prioress of Poissy. The convent was beautifully situated, with gardens, noble ladies, and sweetly scented linen. In a poem Christine wrote called *The Tale of Poissy*, she describes a horseback ride with friends through the countryside to visit the convent in the month of April in the year 1400. With both of her surviving children happily situated, Christine turned her ample energy toward her writing.

First of all, Christine began to read or "consume" ancient histories of the Hebrews, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, French and Bretons as well as science, poetry, and philosophy.[31] Although her library had been depleted by creditors, Christine had access to the royal library of the king as well as that of her friend Jean Gerson, who was the chancellor of the University of

Paris. She read Homer, Galen, Virgil, Ovid, Boethius, Cicero and her beloved Italians Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

> ...I was led toward the road where my own nature and humor inclined--that is to knowledge and the love of study...And so, like a child when it is first introduced to the ABC's, I devoted myself to the ancient histories, from the beginning of the world, the history of the Hebrews, of the Assyrians, and the principal rulers proceeding one to the next, to the Romans, the Franks, the Bretons, and then to various other historians; and after this to the analytical sciences, but only those I could understand in the time I had available. Then I settled into the books of poets. [32]

How much Latin Christine knew is unknown, but know some she did. Earl Jeffrey Richards, renowned Christine scholar and translator, believes Christine "chose Latin prose as her model, and the complicated periodic syntax she preferred was a hallmark of stylistic refinement."[33] Christine also read Italian fluently as well as French. She bemoaned her lack of proficiency in Greek, but was able to read many of the famous works which had been translated into French. The results of such serious reading led to her production of poetry and prose on sober topics. In addition to the biography of King Charles V, she was commissioned to write a "Mirror" (educational handbook) for the dauphine and a treatise on medieval warfare, as well as a treatise on the virtues.

From the years of 1390- 1418 Christine wrote over forty works of poetry and prose. In addition to her early love of poetry, her writings display a dedication to the theme of peace,

good government, and the defense of women. It was in the latter, the defense of women, where scholars judge she made her most unique and influential contribution to the literature of her age. Where else, from antiquity through the late Middle Ages, can we find in the medieval period such prolific and respected writings from a woman on the lot of her sex in society? Christine is unrelenting in a series of written assaults, first on the institution of chivalry in the *Letter to the God of Love*, next on misogyny in her letters on *The Romance of the Rose*, followed by the historical contribution of women to history in *The City of Ladies*, and finally the education and responsibility of contemporary women in *The Treasure.*

At the height of her career, however, France was plunged into a disastrous civil war. Many of her patrons were assassinated or removed from power. Christine had friends and patrons on both sides of the dispute. For her own safety, around 1418 she elected to retire to the Convent at Poissy where her daughter lived until her death c. 1430. During these years, she only wrote the occasional short prayer until the arrival of Joan of Arc on the scene of French politics. To Christine, Joan was an incarnation of the many heroines of the past combined in one form, both Amazon and soon-to-be saint and martyr through her courage, purity, and patriotism. In 1429 Christine emerged from retirement to write the first literary tribute to Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, who made it possible for Charles VII to regain the Crown of France that same year. This long, sixty-one verse poem suggests Christine may have been forced to leave the Parisian court, exiled to life in a convent by her enemies:

> I, Christine, who have wept for eleven years in a closed abbey, where I have lived ever since Charles (what a strange thing!), the king's son,

fled, if I dare say it, in haste from Paris, enclosed here because of this treachery, I begin now for the first time to laugh.[34]

Christine's praises for Joan in the poem began later, after she expressed her joy at the return of the true king, Charles VII, and the ousting of his rivals, the Burgundians, supported by the English:

Oh, what an honor to the female sex!
That God loves it is clear with all these wretched people and traitors
who laid waste the whole kingdom
cast out and the realm elevated and restored by a woman –
something a hundred thousand men could not have done!
Before, one would not have believed it possible.

A young girl of sixteen years (is this not something beyond nature?),
to whom arms seem weightless, she seems to have been brought up for this,
she is so strong and hardy.
And the enemies flee before her, not one can last in front of her.
She does this, with many eyes looking on.

And rids France of her enemies, recapturing castles and towns.
Never was there such great strength, not in a hundred or a thousand men.

> And she is the supreme leader of our brave and skilled people.
> Neither Hector nor Achilles had such great strength!
> But all this God does who guides her. [35]

Although the exact date of Christine's death is unknown, it occurred most likely in 1430 before Joan's execution in 1431. Joan was burned at the stake by those for whom she fought, interpreting her heroism as witchcraft. If alive, it is unlikely that Christine would have allowed such treachery to pass without remark.[36]

Christine's Works

Christine wrote on so many diverse topics that Earl Jeffrey Richards referred to her as "polyscribator."[37] She made Latin prose the model for her biographies, autobiographies, appeals for peace, and mirrors for the princess as well as the prince, military treatises, and pleas for the recognition of women's contribution to culture.[38] The steady support Christine received from a wide assortment of patrons indicates she was taken seriously as a writer. Her books were in demand in courts throughout Europe from France to Burgundy, Flanders, Northern Italy, England, and Portugal. Christine is the first to acknowledge that a portion of her popularity was due to her novelty as a woman writer.[39] Copies of her works for such patrons were often copiously illustrated, and of those, the following are important to this study through both their subjects and images. Several significant writings lead up to the production of *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure* or share

similar subject manner and need to be explored before we delve into our texts.

Letter from Othéa (Epistre Othéa), 1400, is one of Christine's most popular works and survives in forty-eight manuscripts from the period. The cycle of illustrations is found in its three original manuscripts containing over one hundred miniatures and is the subject of extensive political and aesthetic analysis by Sandra Hindman.[40] The book is a guide to those individuals in charge of the education of the young dauphin, then Louis of Guyenne. The *Letter from Othéa* is written in the form of a letter of advice to Hector of Troy, who represents the dauphin. The Trojan theme is particularly dear to the French royal family, as they claim descent from Prince Aeneas of ancient Troy. [41] The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy and Queen Isabel owned illustrated copies. Consisting of both poetry and prose, the subject matter overlaps with *The City of Ladies,* as both include goddesses and amazons from antiquity. This makes a study of both texts and their early illustrations important for understanding the relationship between text and image in Christine's manuscript production.

The Book of Changes of Fortune (Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune), 1404, is a poetic essay grappling with the theme of fate and history and is considered by many to be one of Christine's most important poetic works. Christine here, too, plays the dual role of author and protagonist. Each of the seven sections of this work describes the caprices of fortune both in Christine's own life and throughout history. The characters in this work chronicle such diverse topics as the recent death of Henry II in England, the great Schism, The Fall of Jerusalem, the Amazons, and more. Not surprisingly, Christine gives great attention to the role women played in these historic events. She

also mentions many of her patrons, including King Charles V, the Dukes of Berry, and Burgundy. One miniature in particular from *Changes of Fortune* is often reproduced, that of Christine viewing the frescoes in the Room of History. The miniature is by one of her favorite artists, named for his most famous series of miniatures for Christine, *The City of Ladies* Master, illustrated from 1405-10.[42]

The Book of the City of Ladies (La cité des dames), 1404-5 is the primary subject of our study, and takes the form of a three part allegorical dream poem starring Christine, again, as author and protagonist. *The City* is a feminine utopia, ruled by the Virgin Mary and populated by virtuous women, both Christian and Pagan from antiquity to the present. The deeds of women bringing honor to their sex are recounted: ladies of military and intellectual merit in Part One; moral and loving women in Part Two; and martyred and saintly women in Part Three. The conversation between Christine and the Virtues takes on the form of a Socratic dialogue; Christine voices her doubts, and is asked by each Virtue in turn, to negate those doubts using the natural tools of her own intelligence combined with her classical education. The result is that the deeds of women who contributed to the history of European civilization through traditional and non-traditional means, including the "masculine" arenas of combat, governance and scholarship, are enumerated. The history of women, Christine insists, must be remembered and told to gain power and respect for past, present, and future generations of women.

The City of Ladies Master depicts the action of the prologue when illustrating the first miniature, by portraying Christine at her desk, reading a text by Matheolus, which depresses her (CP 1):

> Like a gushing fountain a series of authorities, whom I recalled one after another, came to mind, along with their opinions on this topic. And I finally decided that God had formed a vile creature when He made woman, and I wondered how such a worthy artisan could have deigned to make such an abominable work which, from what they say, is the vessel as well as the refuge and abode of every evil and vice. [43]

At this point in the narrative of The *City of Ladies*, the three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice, arrive on a beam of light appearing mysteriously in her study. They command Christine to rely on her own knowledge and experience before accepting the opinions of so called authorities. Although a secular text, Christine's religious beliefs add strength to her convictions regarding the worth of women. "When Christine defended women from misogynist attacks," writes medieval historian Beatrice Gottlieb, "she usually went back to the same authorities used by the misogynists, and it was in Christian texts that she found her greatest consolation."[44] Benjamin Semple, French scholar and translator, agrees, stating that Christine's critique of her reliance upon such philosophers initially leads her to the "untrue conclusion" that women are defective creatures. Semple suggests that the arrival of the three divinely sanctioned Virtues cures Christine of a nearly heretical trust in philosophy at the expense of her own Christian faith.[45] Perhaps this is why the visual focus in the miniatures accompanying *The City of Ladies* is on Christine and the Virtues as well as the city they are building, rather than the dramatic stories of the women discussed. The miniatures instead model Christine and her process of critical thinking, reflection, and discussion as a behavior to be emulated by all women, and this will become her

shield, her defense, and her fortified city upon which to build her life.

The City also owes a debt to Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and both authors are mentioned within the text. Christine was quite critical of Ovid's misogynist writings in his poetry, and she fought hard to offer an alternate view of love especially in her early career.[46] Christine answers Ovid's uncomplimentary charge that women are flighty, fickle, changeable and unreliable by writing:

> And if anyone tells me that books are full of women like these, this very reply is what causes me to complain. My answer is that women did not write these books...But if women had written these books, I know full well the matter would have been handled differently.[47]

Christine does handle the character of women differently by providing examples of women who are not gullible and not easily taken in by foolish love in the City of Ladies. Ovid may provide her rebellious fire, however, but Christine's greatest debt is to the Boccaccio, for Christine's was not the first history of famous women; it was greatly inspired, and in many ways is a response to Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* (*De mulieribus claris*) written in 1361-1362. Boccaccio was well aware of his work's originality, claiming rightly that his history of one hundred and six women, from Eve, the first mother, to Joanna, the Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, is the first of its kind in Western literature devoted solely and exclusively to women. In contrast with medieval saints' lives, translator Virginia Brown writes that Boccaccio "offers his readers a sort of secular hagiography, based not on an absolute conception of *virtus*, but on a relative – and more human – concept of *claritas*, 'fame,'

which concerns Jewish and Christian as well as pagan women, virgins and whores, noble and poor women whose 'memory is still green"[48] Boccaccio states that his criteria for inclusion revolved around those women who earned fame through their great deeds, no matter how infamous. His hope is that the reading of *Concerning Famous Women* would encourage virtue and curb vice. Christine's history of women, as will be seen, seeks to redeem the virtue of the women Boccaccio deems impressive but notorious.

Although Christine was only a child when Boccaccio wrote *Concerning Famous Women,* she was thirty-seven when it was translated into French in 1402. By 1404 there were deluxe editions with beautiful illustrations in the libraries of many of Christine's patrons. Millard Meiss notes that her life as a writer was in many ways facilitated and instigated by Boccaccio's treatise as it included and glorified ancient women writers such as Sappho, Cornificia, and the Sibyls although not in a manner meeting totally with Christine's approval.[49] Most significantly, although Boccaccio's *Concerning* is the only major work treating that history written before *The City of Ladies,*[50] Christine uses his book only as a departure for her own unique views. The differences between their two works abound. First, unlike Boccaccio, Christine's history takes the form of a medieval dream poem in which Christine and three Virtues engage in an allegorical debate.[51] Secondly, Boccaccio's text does not cover Christian heroines – the saints. Christine devotes the last third of her history to the lives of women saints and their great acts of courage and faith.[52] Finally, although three quarters of the biographies in *The City* are found in Boccaccio, Christine is intentionally unfaithful to her source. Christine and Boccaccio each approach the subject of women in history from widely

different perspectives, for, as Susan Groag Bell, historian and scholar of gender studies, notes, while "Boccaccio aimed to amuse, Christine was entirely serious."[53] Christine diminishes the lurid accounts Boccaccio so delighted in, seeking more positive explanations of certain scandalous events associated with such women as Cleopatra, Semiramis, and Medea in order to enhance the more positive aspects of the life of the heroine under discussion.

Perhaps for this reason, Christine chooses not to have *The City of Ladies* Master illustrate the lives of the women recounted in *The City of Ladies*. Instead, the workshop is directed to focus on her as a new authority, modeling the process women should engage in to dismiss the rampant misogynism of the past and present. The miniatures of *The City of Ladies*, therefore, focus on Christine, as she engages in edifying debate with three illustrious Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice. It is important to note that Christine had already produced copiously illustrated deluxe manuscripts with miniatures of many of the same ancient deities and heroines, particularly in the *Letter from Othéa*, for many of the same patrons for whom illustrated copies of *The City of Ladies*, including John the Duke of Berry and Phillip the Bold of Burgundy, were made. A new visual motif was required, and that motif in part became the city itself.

The City's purpose, as described earlier by the Virtue Reason, is primarily one of defense. Scholars have argued that her creation of a fortified city is also intended to belie the shoddy defenses found in popular "castle of love" imagery found on ivories, tapestries, and miniatures. In these images women flirt with jousting knights and even encourage them as they attempt to "besiege" the defenses of the castle protecting

them. A lady's honor, as well as that of her family, in the medieval period and in part throughout most of western history, was tied to her reputation as a chaste maiden or virtuous wife. Such virtues were made light of in the popular thirteenth century poem *Romance of the Rose*. Originally written by Guillaume de Lorris in 1230, Jean de Meun added 18,000 lines to the original 4,000 in 1275. The thirteenth-century *Romance of the Rose* became the most famous dream poem of the Middle Ages. In this poem a young man falls in love with Rosebud who is kept in a castle by Jealousy and guarded by an older woman. Rosebud represents a young maiden and her chastity, and thus is she depicted in art. Guillaume's tale of the young man's pursuit of Rosebud falls well within the societal parameters of "courtly love," while Jean de Meun's massive post script changes the nature of the original poem to one of licentiousness, disrespect, and even misogyny. The castle in Jean de Meun's *Romance* is a fragile one, offering no resistance or protection for the "rose," or woman, from the hero's "lover's staff" in this thinly veiled sexual allegory. Christine found *The Romance of the Rose* objectionable, and attacked the poem in her letters, spurring the famous *Debate (or Quarrel) of the Rose*.[54] *The Debate of the Rose* includes the writings of five Parisian intellectuals, as found in sixteen letters, portions of sermons, and two treatises, all discussing their views of women in society. Christine argues that the *Roman de la Rose* is misogynistic and reflects the widely held view of her society that women are morally inferior to men. Christine's supporter in the debate is Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, and her foes consist of three royal secretaries, Jean de Montreuil and Pierre and Gontier Col. It is through this debate that Christine begins to develop her strategy and arguments, reaching their fruition in *The City of Ladies*, all sparked by her

reasoned response to the characterization of women in Europe's most popular poem on romantic love.

This is most likely why she spends so much time developing the metaphor of the heavy stone and brick walls of *The City of Ladies*. As the Virtues explain, each brick represents the life of a virtuous woman. *The City* must be built with strong, high walls and battlements to protect, sustain, and honor the "feminine" from harmful sieges. So, the images provided for the manuscript by *The City of Ladies* Master emphasize the metaphor, the outcome of the stories told in the text, as a city built brick by brick throughout each section of the text. Christine's architectural metaphor of the city also serves to provide a solid foundation for the readers, to help organize their perceptions by rebuilding, from the ground up, traditionally misogynist versions of history's greatest women.[55]

The Treasure of the City of Ladies (*Le livre de trois vertus*), 1405, is known by two other titles in English. *The Book of the Three Virtues* is a direct translation of the original title but does not reflect the true nature of the text. Sarah Lawson first translated this text into English in 1985 as *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Roberta L. Krueger states "*Le livre de trois vertus,* was alternately entitled the *Tresor de la cité des dames* (*The Treasure of the City of Ladies*) by translator Sarah Lawson in 1985" in part to "exploit (s) the term's many meanings in medieval culture."[56] This included the idea of a "treasury" or collection of precious objects, the receptacle in which they were placed, or metaphorically a highly valued object or collection of valued knowledge or qualities such as chastity or honor. Christine set out to redefine women's virtue beyond mere chastity or fidelity, as is so often the case in most courtesy manuals for women.

When this text was translated into English a second time in 2001 by premier Christine scholar, Charity Cannon Willard, she added a third title into the mix, calling it *The Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: A Treasury of the City of Ladies of Christine de Pizan.* Willard's choice of *The Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor* as a title for her translation places this work firmly in the literary tradition of the mirror of the prince. While in *The Romance of the Rose*, the idle lady uses the mirror simply as a representation of vanity, mirrors in medieval times were also associated with moral education. "If the mirror could be used to reveal imperfections of hair and dress," writes Helen Costantino Fioratti, French antiquities expert, "it also was considered to serve more effectively to bare moral imperfection and narcissistic excess."[57] The mirror, as derived from the Latin *speculum*, is most often an instrument of edification and investigation, often guarding or warning the user (or reader) against deception and illusion. Jean de Candés, author of *Dit du Miroir,* includes a double mirror in his text used by a character who wishes to look at himself both inside and out, saying "Gentle mirror in two ways you can fully expose everything."[58] Whether the word mirror or treasure is used in the title of this book, there is no doubt Christine's greatest concern, beyond the practical, is to encourage women to value their honor. A women's "honor," her good name or good reputation, is her true "treasure" and can now be more broadly defined to include her actions as differentiated by class. These actions might include charity for the princess and good business sense for the burgher's wife, for example. Such good practices can be learned, and such is the goal of her college in the *Treasure.* [59] In summary, the various translations of the title of *Le livre des trois vertus,* as a Treasure or a Mirror,

reflect the desire of its translators, Lawson and Willard to more fully reveal the importance of this book's educational content.

In *The City of Ladies*, Christine writes to build esteem in her female reader regarding her sex, while in *The Treasure* Christine writes to advise and educate. "Christine," writes L. M. Richardson, "after having made herself known as the champion of her sex, then desired to become its counselor".[60] *The Treasure* is commonly viewed as a sequel to *The City of Ladies*, yet the two books are different in both form and intent. Christine moves from her role as historian in *The City* to that of educator in *The Treasure*.[61] The setting for *The Treasure* is more than just the fortified city built by Christine and the Virtues to shield women from abuse and honor their accomplishments. It now has the added purpose of teaching and encouraging them. Within the walls of the city, women will learn practical skills regarding how to function successfully within the harsh realities of the real world, each within her own social class. Its purpose is down-to-earth, practical and didactic.

Like *The City of Ladies, The Treasure* is an allegorical dream-poem comprised of a dialogue between Christine and three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice. There is a new addition to their faculty, however, the figure of Dame Prudence, whose name underscores the no-nonsense, sensible core intent of her book. In the Prologue of *The Treasure*, Christine is admonished by the Virtues to waste no time resting from her labors after writing *The City of Ladies* and to immediately begin the sequel, a guidebook for women on how to live and work prudently. The text is then divided into three parts, each addressing the tasks particular to a different class of women: queens and princesses in Part One, aristocratic ladies of the

court, manor and city in Part Two, middle class, and lower class women in Part Three. In *The Treasure*, Christine paints a very engaging picture of the problems encountered daily in the lives of French women of the early fifteenth century. Through lecture and discussion, the Virtues and Christine describe the proper conduct and responsibilities for women of every class. While *The City* builds a feminine utopia of words, created through a spirited debate on the history of women between Christine and the Virtues, *The Treasure* has an even more ambitious aim — to educate them. This is done through the ostensible edification of one female, Margaret of Burgundy (1393 – 1441). Margaret, the eldest of the six daughters of John the Fearless (1371-1419), was first engaged at the age of two to the Dauphin Charles (1392-1401). Upon his early death in 1401, she was engaged to his younger brother, the new dauphin, Louis of Guyenne (1397-1415), whom she eventually married in 1412. Louis was king for only three years, as he died in 1415.

The Treasure is believed to have been commissioned by Margaret's powerful grandfather, Philip the Bold (1342-1404), upon her second engagement to Louis of Guyenne. Such a *Mirror of Honor,* as Willard titled her translation of *The Treasure,* would provide the much needed guidance of moral example for a child-bride living in the disreputable Parisian court of mad King Charles VI (1380-1422) and his scandalous queen, Isabel of Bavaria (1370-1435). In 1392 King Charles VI suffered the first of a recorded forty-two "fits of madness," now thought to be bi-polar disorder, porphyria, or even schizophrenia, rendering him increasingly unfit to rule. Louis of Orleans (1372-1407), his younger brother and one of Christine de Pizan's early patrons, disputed his brother's ability to rule and struggled for control over the regency with his cousin John

the Fearless, another of Christine de Pizan's supporters. John, Margaret's father, became duke of Burgundy in 1404, the year Christine began *The Treasure*. In addition to these political quarrels, Louis of Orleans is believed to have become the lover of Queen Isabel, Charles VI's wife. Willard believes that the portrait of the "vain and lazy queen" in *The Treasure* contains veiled criticism of Queen Isabel herself.[62] Christine wrote a public letter to the queen in October 1404 advising her to act as a peacemaker between Louis and John after a series of kidnappings of the dauphin and his youthful bride Margaret.[63]As one can see, this was hardly the proper moral atmosphere to bring up the sort of future queen both Christine and the dukes of Burgundy hoped Margaret to become. Shockingly enough, it is Margaret's father who would bring the greatest scandal to the Valois court when, in 1407, two years after Christine finished *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Louis of Orleans was brutally murdered in the streets of Paris by assassins under the command John the Fearless himself.[64] The power struggle changed to John and Queen Isabel alone over who would be regent for the French dauphin. The murder of Louis, Duke of Orleans, sparked numerous legal battles, a violent feud and bloody civil war between Burgundy and the French Royal family, dividing France for the next seventy years. This political atmosphere of strife eventually drove Christine de Pizan, torn between close ties to both the Burgundians and the French royal family, to retire to the convent at Poissy with her daughter Marie, until Joan of Arc (1412-1431) entered the fray in the 1429.

The Treasure of the City of Ladies was meant to offer guidance not only to the young princess, but also to those responsible for her upbringing, her family, chaperons, and tutors.[65] Christine had already addressed this topic with regard

to young gentlemen in the *Letter to Othéa*, dedicated in 1400 to the education of Margaret's future husband, the dauphin Louis of Guyenne. This book may also reflect her hopes for her own son, Jean de Castel, whose future was to serve in the court of the Burgundian dukes. After writing *The Treasure,* Christine returned to the education of the Prince with *The Book of the Body Politic (Le Livre du corps de policie)* (1404-7), instructing the ideal prince, through examples from antiquity, on his proper role as "head" of his people and the necessary diplomatic and military duties and strategies he must employ. Like *The Treasure*, *The Body Politic* also discusses the role of the nobility and the common people as well.

Throughout *The Treasure*, Christine encourages all women to read worthy books for their intellectual, social and spiritual development:

> This lady will gladly read instructive books about good manners and behavior and sometimes devotion, but those about indecency and lubricity she will utterly hate and not wish to have at her court. She will not permit them to be brought into the presence of any girl, female relative or woman in her court, for there is no doubt at all that the examples of good or evil influence the minds of those men or women who see or hear them.[66]

Although written as companion texts, *The City* and *The Treasure* are rarely bound together in handwritten or later printed editions. Two exceptions to this rule are found in *the Royal City* and *Treasure*[67] located in the Royal Library of Albert 1st in Brussels and the Paris *City* and *Treasure*[68] from

the National Library of France in Paris. In both cases, *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* are bound together in the one volume. For two books containing the same protagonists where the opening scene from one picks up where the earlier book ends, the question, "why was this not a more common occurrence?" should be asked. Perhaps this is due to the very different function of each combined with the expense.

Due to its theme of instruction rather than utopic vision, *The Treasure* enjoyed a far wider distribution across Europe than its sister text *The City.* [69] For over a century, *The Treasure* was copied, translated, eventually printed, and read by noblewomen across Europe. Such practical advice and counseling from one of their own proved to be more useful to mothers and ladies interested in guiding the education and morals of daughters and girls growing up in their care. Indeed, the lives of Margaret of Burgundy as well as the other daughters of John the Fearless according to Willard "reflect the model set forth by Christine to an intriguing extent. They were partners in their husbands' ambitions and duties, governed their estates as well as defended them in times of war." [70] Anne of France, daughter of King Louis XI, was responsible for the education of several high-born girls including Margaret of Austria, Louise of Savoy and her own daughter Suzanne de Bourbon in the 1480s. Anne's little school was located at her chateau at Amboise in the Loire valley. She also owned a copy of *The Treasure* and adapted it in part for her own manual *Teachings . . . to my daughter Susanne de Bourbon.*[71] A few decades later the queen of France, Anne of Brittany, would commission the publication of printed versions of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies.* Anne of Brittany also gathered around her a court of distinguished young noblewomen for the purpose of

instruction and education. The Portuguese translation of *The Treasure* was made as early as 1447-1455 at the request of Queen Isabel, the wife of Portugal's King Alfonso V (1438-81). It was published in Portuguese in 1518 for Queen Lenore, widow of King don João II (1481-95). [72] Perhaps most surprising, writes Roberta L. Krueger, specialist in medieval French literature and French women writers, "*The Treasure* was popular in bourgeois circles too, particularly because of the way her text portrays familiarity with some of the harsh realities of women's economic lives. Christine goes much further than her predecessors or contemporaries in discussing women's roles as managers of household finances...that female honor depend not only on chastity and reputation, but on proper economic activity." [73] Just such practicalities included, among many other things, were lectures to women of all social ranks exhorting them to avoid rash expenditures on lavish adornments of the home and body. [74] Clothing one's self properly according to one's position in society was the subject of numerous sermons and admonishments aimed at women and a subject upon which Christine has much to say. The artists she hired followed her rules to the letter in the miniatures produced under her watchful eye, but those painted in later copies of the text take numerous liberties, which no doubt would have shocked Christine to her very prudent core.

Dress and Meaning

Costume historian Margaret Scott warns, "Recently it has become fashionable to look at dress through the often separate lenses of theories on gender, the body and material culture...with little interest in what dress actually looked like." She argues that clothing is "an inescapably material object that

has to be looked at in conjunction with documentary sources." Its structure must be understood as well as what it meant to those viewing the miniatures at the time they were created.[75] With this as our credo, the miniatures produced to accompany Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* are here examined with regard to the construction of both clothing and identity as seen through the pose and gestures of the figures as well as what they wear and hold. Most importantly, every attempt is made to share what all this meant to contemporary viewers who saw the clothing depicted.

Amazons, goddesses, warrior queens, scholars, allegorical figures, virtuous women, and first and foremost Christine herself will comprise our cast of characters. Compositional and other formal elements of the paintings are scrutinized for placement and hierarchy of all this within the picture plane, which, combined, definitely tell us a great deal about the status and identity of the individual being portrayed. Their pose, gesture, and certainly the garments worn by each lady in the miniatures of *The City* and *The Treasure* help to construct not only the nature of her character but whether she is intended to be seen historic, allegorical, or contemporary.

Throughout the course of history, but certainly in the art of the fifteenth century, dress serves as a code, for each segment of the population could be identified by the color and cut of the clothing they wore. Historian George Duby describes the process in this way: "As long as each individual remained in the place and rank ascribed to him by Providence, the harmony of the body social was not threatened; God, the theory went, had established an intangible order of which costume was merely the expression."[76] For example, sumptuary laws are established

to enforce the social code represented by clothing, usually targeting the middle class and women in general. Ostentation in female clothing was both admired and feared, and sumptuary laws often reflect the "deep-rooted misogyny" of the time and fear of women and the desire they arose in men. Duby believes that the economic factor of clothing distinction tells of "the distance that separated the planet of the rich, about which we know a little bit, from that of the poor, about which we know even less. The significance of everyday life was different in these two worlds; in one, clothing was a work of art, in the other an item of utility." [77] The miniatures created for Christine's manuscripts, of course, reflect the world of art and the rich who patronized it, so the clothing represented must not necessarily be taken to represent the truth of what people actually always wore, but are sometimes an idealization of that truth to make the image pleasing to the noble viewer. This can be seen in the many miniatures painted by the Limbourg brothers for the Duke of Berry. Peasants' clothes were brightly hued, though artfully tattered, and some wore the pointed toed poulaine, a costly shoe favored by the Burgundian court, but certainly out of the price range of a field worker.[78]

Dress is more than just a social code, however, for it can convey individual personalities which extend to differences in behavior, morality and age, as well as sex. For many today, clothing can express personal feelings, desires, interests and associations. This expression can be seen in mid to late fifteenth century illustrated copies of *The City* depicting ancient queens, poets, warriors, and faithful lovers. Such cues as the vigor of a pose can tell much about the honor and intent the artist extends to the character, as is discussed in later in the miniatures of Claudia Quinta and Princess Camilla. (Fig. 43, CP 7) Although both are young women of great fame, one is

portrayed (in spite of her bulbous turban) putting forth great effort, while the other, Camilla, sits so passively in her little bark boat that it is hard to believe she will be a future warrior. Details of dress were often used as codes to indicate the wearer's taste, intentions and intellectual affiliations. This is apparent in the portrayal of ladies engaged in intellectual debate, found in a variety of miniatures illustrating *The City* and *The Treasure.* (Figs. 18-24, 47 & 49). Some appear aristocratic, others look like nuns or widows, and some even look like wealthy merchants' wives. It even became customary for princes and lords to distribute uniform items of clothing every year as payment for services to highly regarded clerks and vassals, and by so doing they ensured a standard set of color and insignia for their court.[79]

Dress was an immediate visual indication of social position during the late medieval period, so much so that the aristocrats' sumptuous display of fur, fabric, gems, and daring décolleté were mimicked by wealthy members of the middle class in defiance of various sumptuary laws.[80] Fur, of course, was a mark of great distinction, and colors of clothing held importance as well, for the merchant generally wore black, and the prostitute yellow. Headgear could also signal marital status; maidens wore their hair long and unbound, while married women and widows wore wimples and covered their hair.[81] Christine, an advocate of dressing within one's station, addresses the problem sternly in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies:* "Let us suppose, for example, that a woman is of excellent character...but no one will believe it, as she is seen wearing clothing above her station."[82] Costume and demeanor are crucial to understanding the visual mode of discourse during this period - what scholars of costume history have called "a

metaphorical mode of emblematic significance" for social distinction and regulation.[83]

Theories on the interpretation of dress in art, as well as drama - for the two are inextricably bound together – flourish, ranging from the practical to the cerebrally semiotic. The most useful principle in analyzing the meaning of costume and attribute in any given work of art is its context. In spite of various sumptuary laws (treatises on costume and specific incidents described above), there was not a strictly unified tradition in which costumes, colors, and attributes always have identical meaning.[84] The same item of dress may have indicated a positive view of the wearer in one context and a negative view in the next. Gerhard Jaritz, self-described "medieval historian of everyday life," uses the example of the late fifteenth century horned headdress, which is worn by the allegorical vice of Vanity in one painting and by a noble woman burying the bodies of early Christian martyrs in another, to exemplify this conundrum. In the first example, the headdress exemplifies luxury, and in the second it identifies the noble, aristocratic status of the woman burying the martyrs.[85] It was important to the Late Medieval viewer of the work to know if the said good-hearted woman was noble, middle class or poor. Somehow this made a difference, and in this context the implication, no doubt, is that her virtuous act arises by virtue of her aristocratic blood.

Research on dress must always be done with awareness of the context of representation, or the interpretation will be erroneous or ambiguous at best. Remarks made with regard to medieval theatre by Clifford Davis are also quite applicable to the art of that period as both were "highly derivative, taking its substance from previous visual representations of art as well as

from biblical, exegetical and liturgical sources."[86] Alan Hindley, also specializing in the history of theatre, writes that costumes can be used to demonstrate Christian truths, exhibit religious observances both visually and symbolically, transmit the essential message of the play (or painting), present the dress functions as a non-verbal code, as well as illustrate a focus for nuances of meaning.[87]

Art historian Ann van Buren identifies five principles for understanding the function of clothing in medieval art: antique dress for biblical figures, current dress for ordinary people, fashionable dress for the wicked, exotic items for non-Christians and outsiders, and recently outmoded dress for historical persons. "The wide variety of garments in these manuscripts and the rules that explain their use should inspire caution in taking medieval pictures as images of what people actually wore."[88] This analysis proves very useful for the conventions used to identify historical figures in particular, and we find it used with great abundance on images of amazons and other figures from antiquity in *The Book of the City of Ladies*, but it leaves out fashion and expensive materials used to indicate nobility of blood, or sometimes, of character. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass offer us another useful methodology in their book *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, in which they explain that dress in art can be reduced to two simple functions: identity and memory.[89] Identity in our study of *The City of Ladies* is seen particularly in Christine's desire to have herself portrayed in the same costume in all portraits produced under her supervision (CP 1, Figs 1, 2, 3, 4, & 6). So, too, this insistence on conformity allows her not only to be identified, but to be remembered as she appears in accompanying miniatures. Insistence on consistency in the attire of certain individuals is found whenever an artist wants to

link one miniature to another, enhancing the function of costume to both identify the individual and to serve as a mnemonic device.[90] Both aspects, identity and memory, will play a part in our analysis of dress in the miniatures included in this study, as we attempt to rediscover how they were understood in the imaginations of artists, patrons and viewers.

Christine's Readers

The significance of women book owners and medieval marriage customs on the transference of various regional artistic styles and costumes throughout Europe is another important element of analysis that cannot be overemphasized. Young girls were often forced to move to distant lands to live with their future husbands. They traveled with an entourage of guardians, fine goods, and many dowry books from their mothers.[91] Carried about the continent by sisters, wives, daughters and nieces, the manuscripts are copied, translated, and illuminated by local artists working in all manner of regional styles, far removed from their original source. Conforming to certain rules or codes of costume triggers the portrayal of Christine, the Virtues, and all the individual heroines of *The City of Ladies* to take on new meaning as the composition of the miniatures and costumes of our characters alter to please viewers and patrons of later generations, sometimes strengthening and other times undermining the meritorious message of the text.

In addition to the above dispersal of Christine's manuscripts through royal marriages, the changing world of medieval patronage also played a part in the diffusion of Christine's texts. Previously, court artists and writers in the medieval world were regarded as entertainers, whether there to amuse or educate. In exchange, writes Deborah McGrady, they

often received from the patron "food, lodging, clothing, money and sometimes a stable position at court."[92] This began to change by the fifteenth century due to the growth of the book trade, cheaper materials, and the demand for manuscripts at more and more courts across Europe. More than just kings and cardinals were building libraries anymore, for by the fifteenth century, dukes and other aristocrats did so as well. Bibliophiles now sought diversity in their collections, and pursued books by many authors, past and present, causing many writers, such as Christine, to lack the "consistent and substantial support from a single patron"[93] once available to writers, artists, composers, singers, acrobats and so forth. Christine used this change to her advantage and "redistributed works to other royal figures for supplemental counter-gifts" [94]to earn her livelihood. Christine's commercial connections to both the royal court and the antiroyalist groups of Burgundy, Orleans, and Berry also flourished. McGrady adds that while Christine was constructing the *Harley Opus* for Queen Isabel, she was in fact being supported by the Burgundian court. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy was one of her most avid supporters and possessed seven volumes of her works by 1410. Other royal figures received new or rededicated copies of works including the Duke of Milan, King Richard II, and Henry IV of England. Deborah McGrady believes that Christine's texts should not just be seen as gifts to a singular patron, but rather as products or artifacts associated with the author, desired by many and distributed by the author.[95]

For whom in particular did Christine write *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure*? Who owned copies of these two companion texts? The answers are revealing as they point to the continued popularity of the texts for over a century. Christine makes reference to Queen Isabel specifically, as well as other

contemporary noblewomen in the text of *The City of Ladies*. At the end of Part Two, when Christine and Rectitude discuss who shall be invited to dwell within their new city, the first invitation is given to Queen Isabel "in whom there is not a trace of cruelty, extortion, or any other evil vice."[96] This comment was written just before the summer of 1405 before the Queen's name was not yet linked in scandal with her husband's younger brother, Louis of Orleans. After praising Isabel, Rectitude and Christine saluted other ladies of France by name, many of them patrons of Christine: the Duchess of Berry, the Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Burgundy and the Countess of Cleremont, the Duchess of Holland and Countess of Hainault, the daughters of the Duke of Burgundy; the Duchess of Bourbon, the Countess of Saint-Pol, and Anne of La Marche.[97]

The City of Ladies was translated into Flemish in 1475 at the request of Jan de Baenst, a member of the Duke of Burgundy's entourage, and Henry Pepwell printed the English translation by Brian Ansley, an official at the court of Henry VIII of England, in 1521.[98] While interest in *The City* remains fairly constant throughout the fifteenth century, the popularity of *The Treasure* increases with time to survive in twenty-one extant manuscripts, and three early printed editions, enjoying a far wider distribution across Europe than its sister text.[99] Nine paper manuscripts of *The Treasure* dated after 1420 survive, indicating the growing interest of a non-aristocratic reading public shortly to become the mainstay of the printers' trade.[100] An uneasy political situation involving Queen Isabel provided a special set of circumstances encouraging Christine to write *The Treasure.* At the time Christine was writing *The Treasure*, Queen Isabel and Louis of Orleans removed the young dauphin Louis of Guyenne and his fiancée, child bride Margaret of Burgundy, from the court in a fruitless attempt to usurp the

power of Margaret's father, the Duke of Burgundy. Political crisis, a show of arms, and the assassination of Louis of Orleans were the tragic results.[101] It is to this child, Margaret, destined to live in this unscrupulous household, that Christine dedicated *The Treasure* in 1405. Christine's realistic portrayal of the dangers of court life in *The Treasure* and her advice, via the Virtues and Dame Prudence regarding the education of the princess by wise chaperons, take on new meaning when viewed in this historical context.

The actual presentation copy of *Trois vertus* prepared for Margaret of Burgundy has never been identified. A likely candidate is the Boston *Treasure*, as it contains the only miniature by *The City of Ladies* Master for this text (Fig. 1). Antoine Vérard produced the first printed edition of *The Treasure* with a single miniature for Anne of Brittany, the Queen of France in 1497, and a Portuguese edition was printed in Lisbon in 1518.[102] The increasing popularity of *The Treasures* throughout the fifteenth century can be linked to the initial interest of the daughters of the Duke of Burgundy, all of whom made powerful political marriages, enabling them to disseminate the work throughout Europe. Margaret's sister Anne brought a copy of *The Treasure* with her to England when she married the Duke of Bedford in 1423.[103] The Duchess of Cleves, Mary of Burgundy, another of Margaret's sisters, is believed to have brought an un-illustrated copy of *The Treasure* with her to the lowlands.[104] Another sister, Agnes became the Duchess of Bourbon in 1425, explaining the presence of one of the two copies of *The Treasure* found in the Bourbon library.

The abundance of copies of this text found throughout Europe is also due to the interest of literate women in this work, the very ladies to whom *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* is

dedicated. The interest of women book owners combined with medieval marriage customs assists our understanding of how widespread it books for women became. Noble women moved to the homes of their spouses as young girls, traveling with an entourage of guardians, tutors and artisans, making them virtual ambassadors of culture in their new lands. The dowry books brought by brides were commonly written in the vernacular of their birth as well as that of their adopted lands so that they might learn the language of their husbands and later teach this grammar to their children.[105] There was also a new, luxurious style emerging in the Flemish lands ruled by the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold in particular circa 1470. The changes transformed the miniature and the border of manuscripts. A great many artists working in oils also worked in manuscripts, such as Rogier van der Weyden and Simon Marmion, bringing new interest in light, detail, and psychological elements to their miniatures. Thomas Kren writes that "Ducal family members and high ranking courtiers were among the first to commission manuscripts in the new style." [106] The next generation of Christine manuscripts reflects these changes, revitalizing the miniatures and enhancing the borders to produce works of art in keeping with changes in the medium, more closely associating oil painters and their workshops in the region. Many new and varied interpretations of *The City* and *Treasure* were created as a result of this cultural impulse. Unfortunately this continued for no more than thirty or forty years. By the end of the sixteenth-century, the interest in Christine's *The City* and The Treasure of the *City of Ladies* waned, and in some editions of her works, her name is removed as the author .[107]

The City of Ladies Master

The two most often reproduced portraits of Christine de Pizan represent her as an author (only one is reproduced here, Fig. 4). Both of these images can be found in a magnificent opus of her collected works, Harley 4423, in the British Library, consisting of a compendium of new and earlier manuscripts bound in red velvet and presented to Isabel, Queen of France, in 1410. The presentation of this book is the subject of the first miniature, depicting Christine publicly offering the manuscript to the queen, surrounded by her ladies, in the formal setting of the Queen's apartments (Fig. 4). This miniature was produced by *The City of Ladies* Master. The second miniature is a more private image of Christine, the writer, at work in a small, comfortable study furnished with a simple cloth covered table occupied by a ruled codex, a pen, a knife an open pen box, and a companionable small white dog seated alertly at her feet (not reproduced here). This portrait was produced by another of her favorite artists, *The Epistre* Master, and is also found in the *Harley Opus* (BL Harley 4431). Both artists and their workshops are unknown by name, instead to be known by the most famous works they illustrated for Christine. She hired them and directed the production of miniatures for the initial manuscripts and all copies made during her lifetime. In both miniatures, Christine is dressed as a respectable court clerk in a costume she so approved of—a modest *cotehardie*, simple vertical headdress and wimple—this becoming her standard apparel in most of the portraits produced of her in her maturity.

There are six illuminated manuscripts of *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* illustrated by *The City of Ladies* Master and workshop. This artist was first identified by Millard Meiss, the scholar who first named this

artist for the remarkable cycle of illustrations painted for *The City of Ladies*.[108] Willard identified an additional miniature located in a copy of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* found in the Boston Public Library as a product of the same workshop.[109] Sandra Hindman added more to the growing analysis of *The City of Ladies* Master and other workshops working for Christine de Pizan in the decades following Meiss' original identification. Hindman explores this workshop's style and political iconography at length in her rigorous analysis of the presentation scene found at the beginning of British Library's *Harley Opus* (4431).[110] (Fig. 4) Regarding subsequent miniatures cycles illustrating *The City* and *The Treasure* after Christine's death in 1429, scarce research is available. Beyond a short reference or list, scholars have failed to recognize the value of the ninety-one miniatures produced in the fifteenth century to embellish these manuscripts.[111] The three miniatures composed by *The City of Ladies* Master for *The City* and the single miniature designed for *The Treasure* became prototypes for many of the later illustrations, imitated with varying degrees of faithfulness to the original approved of by Christine.

The City of Ladies Master exemplifies his knowledge of Italian art through the monumentality of his well-proportioned forms, the use of green under-painting to achieve flesh tones, and the order and clarity of his architectural environments.[112] This Italianate style may have been inspired by frescoes in the Collegiata of San Gimignano through a circuitous route. Specifically, *The City of Ladies* Master's workshop used scenes from these frescoes found in a Bible now housed at the Bibliothéque Nationale de France in Paris.[113] In addition, Christine and the artists who worked under her supervision had access to copies of Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women,* which illustrates many of the same stories discussed in *The*

City.[114] Bright, primary colors, and active poses characterize the compositions of *The City of Ladies* Master.[115]

Typically illuminators began to work on a manuscript only after it passed from the hands of the scribe who left spaces for the miniatures to be inserted. Miniaturists generally worked from written instructions of the workshop master, patron, theological advisor, or from other manuscript models. In all the copies of *The City* and *The Treasure* produced by *The City of Ladies* Master and workshop, such instructions were provided by rubrics describing the opening of each chapter and subsequently the scene to be painted. The figures, with their modest and unfussy depictions of contemporary dress, demonstrate Christine's ideas on the importance of proper dress, as detailed in *The Treasure*.[116] In that text, Christine echoes medieval sumptuary laws prohibiting non-aristocrats from the wearing of certain fabrics, furs, and cuts of clothing. While she deplores extravagant and immodest dress as exemplifying pride and leading to debt, she also denounces dressing above one's station. For example, duchesses should not wear the gowns of queens, nor ordinary ladies that of the duchess.[117] As we shall see, all portraits of Christine by *The City of Ladies* Master as well as the *Epistre* Master abide by the sumptuary laws of her day, systematically rendering her as a modest widow of a court clerk.[118] A few earlier miniatures, when Christine was younger and had less control over her final product, are a bit more daring as represented in this portrait of Christine in *grisaille* from 1400 (Fig. 5). Prior to this time, Christine was early in the process of establishing her literary reputation, having little say in how she was depicted in these first donor portraits.

Five illustrated manuscripts of *The Book of the City of Ladies* produced before 1415 survive. *The City of Ladies*

Master, under Christine's supervision, painted the first set of miniatures, which were then used as models by his workshop to illuminate subsequent copies.[119] Four of these codices were painted between 1405 and 1410. Which of these four was first? There are two candidates. One was presented in 1405 to John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, located in the Brussels Royal Library of Albert 1st, (CP 1, Figs. 1, 2), and the other, from the same year, was presented to the Duke's nephew, John of Berry, now located in the National Library of Paris, BN Ms fr. 607 (not reproduced here). Soon after, two more copies were produced by *The City of Ladies* Master's workshop, and these also reside in the National Library, Paris BN mss fr. 1178 and fr. 1179 (not reproduced here). A fifth copy, compiled in 1410, was included in the deluxe collected works presented to Queen Isabel of France, *Harley Opus* in the British Library (not reproduced here).[120] The differences between these miniatures are few, consisting primarily of the occasional change in the color of the gown or a replacement of the diapered background with a more naturalistic landscape with sky. In the present study, the Burgundian City of Ladies[121], commissioned by Philip the Bold and presented to his son John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, is used as an example of the original prototype designed by Christine (CP 1, Fig. 1 & 2).

These five early manuscripts contain three miniatures following a very strict protocol, adhered to with little variation by artists working for *The City of Ladies* Master. The first illustration portrays the action described both in the Prologue and Part One of *The City*, telescoping two scenes into one miniature (CP 1). On the left we see the three Virtues appearing to Christine, and on the right we watch Reason and Christine build the city of ladies. The second miniature is located at the beginning of Part Two, illustrating Rectitude's welcome to

Christine and her ladies of honor, past and present, into the unfinished city gate (Fig. 2). The final miniature opens Part Three and depicts Justice and Christine welcoming the Virgin and saints to be the Queen of the now completed city. (Fig. 3).

The miniatures accompanying the *Burgundian City of Ladies* (BR 9393) housed in The Royal Library of Albert 1st, exemplify the standard components of *The City of Ladies* Master's style. The activity described in the text is conveyed simply and directly in the first miniature (CP 1). On the left side of this miniature, inside a cut-away view of her study, Christine gazes at three Virtues who materialize miraculously on the opposite side of her desk. Christine describes herself as leaning on the pommel of her chair's armrest when the Virtues first appear and "fearing that some phantom had come to tempt me and filled with great fright, I made the sign of the cross on my forehead." [122] During the introductory speeches of the Virtues, Christine's fear is replaced by admiration and she writes that "I stood up out of respect."[123] The artist cleverly combines both moments by showing Christine leaning against the chair and standing at the same time. Christine is portrayed in an identical manner in all portraits of her painted during her lifetime.[124] She wears a royal blue *cotehardie* (a close fitting gown) with square-ended hanging sleeves over a dark long-sleeved dress and a white horned headdress. These garments reflect the conservative attire appropriate to her station now as a respected widow of means and make her instantly recognizable to the viewer. One of the elements that define this as conservative attire is the hanging sleeves of her *cotehardie.* Hanging sleeves were fashionable in her youth, but were no longer so by 1410.[125] Christine's wimple and modesty piece appear nearly transparent, making this the only miniature of the

five produced by the workshop of *The City of Ladies* Master, providing Christine with the hint of a modest décolleté.

The Virtues are nearly identical. Reason is the only one shown in profile, a convention maintained in all depictions of her in this scene by *The City of Ladies* Master's workshop. Christine writes that all three of the Virtues appeared before her wearing crowns and holding what then appeared to be sceptors in their right hands. Reason is the first narrator to speak, and her words calm Christine's initial fears:

> ...I felt admiration in my heart and, if I could have dared, I would have immediately asked their names and identities and what was the meaning of the different scepters which each one carried in her right hand, which were of fabulous richness, and why they had come here. But since I considered myself unworthy to address these questions to such high ladies as they appeared to me, I did not dare to, but continued to keep my gaze fixed on them, half-afraid and half-reassured by the words which I had heard, which had made me reject my first impression. [126]

Instead of scepters, each Virtue carries the attribute Christine later describes in the text. Reason, narrator of Part One, holds a mirror, Rectitude, narrator of Part Two holds a shining ruler and Justice, Christine's guide in Part Three, displays her typical attribute, a cylindrical vessel. The mirror, ruler and vessel are not decorated with gems or the *fleur-de-lis* the text describes, exemplifying *The City of Ladies* Master's preference for simplicity and clarity over decorative finery.

The scene on the right of the first miniature shows the activity described in Part One of *The City* when Christine and

Reason go "to the Field of Letters. There, the city of ladies is founded on a flat and fertile plain." [127] Encircled by a half-built wall of masonry enlivened by turrets and crenellations, Christine and Reason build their city of words. First, they clear away the refuse of the past, negative opinions of women written by writers and authorities from antiquity to the present, indicated in the miniature by pale stones littering the field. *The City of Ladies* Master shows Reason handing large bricks to Christine, who places them on the fortification wall of the city, cementing each with her trowel and mortar. Each brick represents a life of a meritorious woman recounted in the text, held together by the mortar of Christine's ink. Christine, again in her blue *cotehardie*, holds her gown securely with her left hand as she spreads the mortar with her right. Reason is clothed in *robes royale,*[128] consisting of a white fur *plastron* (long bodice) worn over a bright red *cotehardie* with tight long sleeves. This ceremonial costume helps to highlight and honor whichever Virtue is narrating that portion of the text. The background is a simple diapered pattern of blue, red, black and gold.

The second miniature is found above the far right column at the beginning of Part Two (Fig. 1). Part Two of *The City of Ladies* is devoted to women who are loyal in love. Rectitude, the new narrator, encourages Christine by saying "...we will soon finish building the lofty royal palaces and the noble mansions for the excellent ladies of great glory and fame who will be lodged in the City and who will remain here perpetually, forever more."[129] Rectitude, situated directly beneath the pink arched city gate, now wears the *robe royale* previously seen on Reason. Thus, the most illustrious costume is changed by the artist to denote as well as honor the current speaker. With Rectitude are four women, one of them situated

to the far left is immediately recognizable as Christine in her distinctive blue *cotehardie* and white horned headdress. Rectitude faces forward, and holds the hand of one of the ladies while giving the gesture of speech, a pointed index finger, with her right. Thus we can be assured that this is not a quiet scene, and Rectitude wastes no time, for she is even yet continuing her discourse with Christine and the worthy ladies. All stand at the gates of a city still under construction, for a male laborer hoists a beam of timber by rope and pulley on to the roof. The labor of Christine and Reason seen in the first miniature is symbolic, for they are never shown hoisting stones or bricks again. Rectitude, at the far right, greets a group of ladies wearing costly and brightly colored clothing, again, indicating their high stature. Note that the dramatic stories of the women in the text are not illustrated; instead, their role as citizens is emphasized, echoing Christine's invitation to these ladies to enter the City. This emphasis on citizenship in the miniatures rather than the individual histories discussed in the text is significant. It echoes sentiments the philosopher Ernst Bloch later wrote of Cicero, saying he "produces a utopian hope along with a philosophy of the ideal commonwealth and the cultivation of the individual soul." [130] This certainly describes Christine's hope for the *City of Ladies* below:

> Most excellent, revered, and honored princesses of France and all lands, and all ladies and maidens and indeed, all women who have loved and do love and will love virtue and morality, as well as those who have died or who are now living or who are yet to come, rejoice and exult in our new City which, thanks to God, is already formed and almost finished and populated. [131]

The third and final miniature is located above the left column at the opening of Part Three of *The Book of the City of Ladies* (Fig. 2). Part Three is dedicated to holy women, influenced and ruled by the Virgin Mary. The miniature is crowded with figures divided into two clusters; the first group emerging from the gates of *The City* is lead by Justice, now dressed in the *robes royales*, and an ermine *plastron*, according her the highest stature of her sister Virtues. Behind Justice, on bended knee, are the worthy citizens met in Part One and Part Two of *The City*. They fill the arched pink gateway of the fully completed city, for its gaily-patterned roofs are finally set in place, and no workmen are to be seen. Christine, as always identified by dress and other ladies from the second miniature are seen again, crowded behind Justice, on the left. The Virgin Mary and her entourage of holy women stand to the left. Mary, crowned, wears her traditional blue mantle and gown and holds a book and scepter. Behind her is Mary Magdalene in a white veil and wimple, carrying her customary attribute, the jar of ointment. A palm-bearing virgin martyr with a fillet of gold over her golden rolled hair stands next to the Magdalene, and could be St. Catherine of Alexandria, known for her intellect, faith and debating skills, but none of the other saints can be identified; instead, they form a grape cluster of shining gold crowns and halos. This miniature accurately depicts the action described early in part three when Justice asks all ladies, now residents of the city, to come forward and honor their queen. [132] By proclaiming the Virgin Mary as Queen of the city of ladies, Christine enlists the highest authority available to support her in the defense and honoring of women. This idea is echoed in the composition of the second and third miniatures where members of the previous group greet new citizens. All women of virtue find a home in Christine's community, each in her proper place,

honoring those above her in rank and merit. This idea is steadfastly adhered to by *The City of Ladies* Master in the courtly hierarchical groupings of these last two greeting scenes.

The Treasure of the City of Ladies, completed in 1405, though dedicated to Margaret of Burgundy, advises women in all stations of life, with particular emphasis upon the responsibilities of each class. Two manuscripts of *The Treasure* produced before 1420 survive; one in Boston Public Library and one in the Nation Library of France. The earlier of the two is the Boston *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, dated to 1405-10, and is by *The City of Ladies Master*, making this the only *Treasure* miniature known to have been supervised by Christine. (Fig. 3) Both of these miniatures will be compared at length in chapter Four of the present study.

In the Prologue of this text, Christine writes that she "wanted only to rest and be idle for a while, as she was completely exhausted by the exertion of writing *The City of Ladies*. The three Virtues have no intention of allowing her to rest, saying 'What, studious daughter, have you already put away the tool of your intelligence and consigned it to silence?...It is not like you to be among those who give up in mid-course. The knight who leaves the battlefield before the moment of victory is deeply shamed, for the laurel wreath belongs to those who persevere.'"[133] We see Christine, as always in blue *cotehardie* and white headdress, of all things, trying to lie down on a canopied bed, which must be difficult considering the number of pins needed to keep her horned headdress in place. Although she wears the simplest early form of the headdress, which at this time is held aloft by her hair rolled into two buns over each ear along with the pins and a bit of fabric and wire, compared to later, towering and metal and

fabric constructions in the later century, this must be more comfortable indeed.

Similar to the desk dividing the first miniature of *The Book of the City of Ladies* (CP 1), this bed cuts the Virtues off at half-length. The Virtue awakening Christine gives her such a mighty tug that she pulls our authoress into an upright position, commanding her to:

> Take up your pen and write. Blessed will they be who live in our city to swell the numbers of citizens of virtue. May all the feminine college and their devout community be apprised of the sermons and lessons of wisdom . . . down the social scale we will chant our doctrine to other ladies and maidens and all classes of women, so the syllabus of our school may be valuable to all.[134]

Ironically, in both opening miniatures for *The City* and *The Treasure*, Christine is characterized by the three Virtues as trying to escape what they deem to be her duty through melancholy or fatigue, seen here, and indicated through a desire for well earned sleep. Instead of either, she is granted a vision in *The City*, and like Dante, is launched into an intellectual journey far more rigorous than the indulgent thoughts plunging her into such an abyss in the first place.[135] In *The Treasure*, her altered state is due to intellectual exhaustion leading to sleep, a state likened in ancient and medieval thought to indicate openness to the divine, either spiritual, or in Christine's case, secular.

The right side of the miniature for *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* by *The City of Ladies* Master portrays a classroom or college of ladies, consisting of eleven women and

their lecturer, Dame Prudence. Prudence replaces the Virtues as the most important model in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies.* In the Boston *Treasure* there are four crowned ladies, two on either side of Dame Prudence. Are three of these figures the Virtues and one the princess addressed in the beginning of *The Treasure*? If so, no attributes reveal the identity of each Virtue. (Fig. 3). Members of various social groups make up our class of students, all indicated by dress. Those in gathered hoods with *liripipes* (long fabric tails) seated along the bench are probably the wives of non-nobles such as doctors, lawyers, and administrators.[136] Those wearing *bourrelets* (circular rolls of fabric worn like a garland or a fillet) and horned headdresses are members of the nobility while the ladies wearing crowns can only be royalty or the Virtues themselves. This visual representation does not illustrate the lowest members of society addressed by Christine, but then again Christine allots the smallest space on these individuals in the text. This may be true as she often uses a variation of the phrase, "and all that has been said above applies here too."[137] As in the miniatures accompanying *The City*, Christine's message here, too, is directly conveyed through both word and image; that all women have a place in this feminine community, a seat on the classroom bench, where they can learn how to meet the obligations of their particular class by listening to the lectures of Christine's most practical virtue, Prudence.

Christine's conservative and class-appropriate dress coupled with her actions—building, questioning, thinking, honoring and even sacrificing her sleep—serves to underscore this message in her texts. Christine clearly wished to emphasize the divine inspiration of her ideas through the prominence of Reason, Rectitude, Justice and Prudence. *The City of Ladies* Master demonstrates this through the consistent use of the

ceremonial *robes royales* as the costume for each Virtue acting as narrator in *The City,* and through the visual weight given compositionally to Dame Prudence in *The Treasure.*

In miniatures produced after *The City of Ladies* Master, as seen in the following chapters, it is Christine's new audience that the artists and patrons wish to inspire. This, however, is no longer conveyed solely through the portrait of Christine. New directions taken by these artists include changes made to accommodate regional aesthetics and elements of dress, gestures, postures, and attributes found in the art of the church and court as well on the people in attendance there.

Chapter 2

Christine and the Virtues in *The Book of the City of Ladies*

Christine on Christine

As protagonist of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, Christine cleverly poses as an innocent, somewhat defeated inquirer as she asks the three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice a multitude of questions. Why do men hold women in such low esteem? Why do the great authors of antiquity write disparagingly of women? Have women ever been successful rulers, writers, inventors, scientists, and scholars? Are women loyal, steadfast, and true? Christine's true beliefs are to be found in each Virtue's well-articulated response to her questions, replete with historical examples; Proba and Sappho prove women can be philosophers and poets, and Ceres and Arachne believe that women are capable of great inventions, and so on.[138] The Virtues teach Christine, and by extension the reader, to be more critical of such misogynist beliefs, to value her own experiences and to reject the idea that the ancient "authorities" could never be wrong. The lack of confidence expressed by the character Christine plays in *The Book of the City of Ladies* is most likely a literary ploy for the real Christine de Pizan knew exactly what she was doing; she was well respected at the French court during this period. Or perhaps, as historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich believes, Christine's insecurity reflects an earlier time when as a young widow, she doubted her own abilities, an idea she expressed in *The Book of the Changes of Fortune*.[139] If so, that "lack of confidence" in her own ideas

certainly had passed by the time she wrote *The Book of the City of Ladies*, for here she clearly understood and accepted "that in becoming a scholar and a writer, she had intruded into the world of men."[140] Such a deliberate intrusion indicates confidence indeed. Christine previously began the "so-called Quarrel of the *Romance of the Rose*," writes Earl Jeffrey Richards, "attacking this central work of medieval French literature for being immoral in general and for slandering women in particular."[141] This discussion, initiated by Christine through a series of letters with powerful Paris humanists, could not have been instigated by a timid personality. Ulrich suggests Christine's confidence stemmed in part from her "peculiar position of identifying with her father rather than her mother in her life's vocation."[142] Although Christine tells us she had to become a "man" to do a man's work, she does not desert women and their traditional duties in her literary concerns. This is evident in the practical, realistic advice to women provided in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* and is strengthened when Christine introduces the reader to her dinner-cooking mother in the Prologue to *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Literary scholar Maureen Quilligan writes that this inclusion marks "the presence, here on the page, of a very real sexual difference from the texts of all the male allegorists I had ever read." [143] That difference was simply the intrusion of an unorthodox, historical mother in the all-important opening of Christine's allegorical utopia. "I had not been reading for very long" writes Christine, "when my good mother called me to refresh myself with some supper..."[144] Quilligan notes such domestic detail is unheard of in the introductions of any previous male allegorist. Unfortunately for us, *The City of Ladies* Master did not include Christine's mother in the opening miniature (CP 1). There are,

however, plenty of other visual surprises to be found in the later fifteenth century miniatures accompanying this text.

Much has been written about Christine de Pizan's construction of her own identity as both author and protagonist in many of her works.[145] To these two roles can be added a third—her supervisory role with the artist's workshops illustrating her texts. Sandra Hindman refers to Christine as "France's first woman publisher as well as its first woman of letters."[146] Christine was well aware of the power of the visual image, and, as mentioned in Chapter One, went to great lengths to have herself depicted in a uniform manner—as a respectable court widow, in a modest *cotehardie*, a simple white vertical headdress and wimple. Through these numerous portraits, she constructs a visual "icon" of herself loaded with her multiple roles—widow, scribe, and author.[147] This is quite significant for it is rare to find any sort of image of women writing in the Middle Ages prior to 1400. Surely Christine was conscious of this and was acutely aware of the profundity of such a depiction. Perhaps this is why she includes so many presentation miniatures, which all include her portrait, in her deluxe manuscripts for the French and Burgundian courts. Christine is careful not to overstep her bounds in such portrayals as demonstrated through her choice of traditional pose and conservative clothing. Writing for a living in early fifteenth- century France was regarded as a form of labor, albeit not in the same category as washerwoman or cook. In Christine's case, her first employment as a scribe was radical enough for any woman because scribing was still a man's profession. "Far from being of high standing," states art historian Sandra Hindman, "writers—those who physically wrote – were servants to those who wanted books. Christine, in her widowhood, was reduced to earning her living as a scribe or

copyist, writing other people's words. Once she became a writer in her own right, she still occasionally scribed her own texts and most certainly proofed them as scholarly evidence suggests."[148]

Christine's Conservative Dress

The "uniform" Christine wears in the majority of these portraits has become a "sign" due to its consistent use, especially evident when compared with an earlier portrait of Christine offering the *Letter to Othéa* to the Duke of Orleans c.1400 (Fig. 5). In this miniature, Christine is dressed in a form-fitting *cotehardie* with the sloped shoulders and low scooped neckline more appropriate for a young noble woman, not a widowed scholar. The illustration is in *grisaille*, a technique using tones of gray to imitate the effect of ivory, a style favored throughout the fourteenth century and in the early illustrations accompanying Christine's work.[149] Portraits of Christine painted just a few years later circa 1405-15, produced under her supervision, show her wearing more conservative, fuller-cut *cotehardies,* usually of blue, although occasionally of black or brown.[150] Representations of Christine by *The City of Ladies* Master and the *Epistre* Master, both found in Christine's *Collected Works* for Queen Isabel of France in the British Library's *Harley Opus*, as well as in miniatures for the *Burgundian City* produced for John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy (BR 9393) show Christine's uniform has been standardized (CP 1, Figs. 1, 2, 4). The likenesses executed circa 1410 also demonstrate Christine's sensitivity to her age, nearly fifty, for the cut of the gown begins to grow looser (Fig. 4). These renderings also display the color most often used for Christine's gowns in the portraits she supervised, a bright, deep

blue. They show, too, Christine wearing an early form of the horned or vertical headdress, an early form of the *henin*, once a derogatory term used to describe the tall, cone shaped headdresses worn by European women throughout the last half of the fifteenth century. It is a term abandoned by many historians of dress, replaced with the more general term of "vertical headdress."[151] Numerous terms in the history of art were originally disparaging in origin, intended to belittle their intended subject, yet often become part of the standard stylistic language used by historians to refer to a period and its characteristic style. For example, "Romanesque" was used to describe the large barrel vaulted structures of the eleventh and early twelfth century as inferior copies of the architecture of ancient Rome. "Gothic" was used by those writing disparagingly about art before the Italian Renaissance as the work of "barbarians" or "Goths." In the case of the *henin*, I prefer to alternate between both the descriptive and historic expressions to paint more complete picture of late medieval times for the reader. "Vertical headdress" is physically accurate, while *henin*, as it was used in the period, is more historically and even emotionally accurate, as it carries with it the negativity associated with new and swiftly changing items of dress, at least as expressed by the clergy and older generations. For example, Enguerrand de Monstrelet reports that a Carmelite friar in the 1440's encouraged children to chase after women wearing such startling headgear and to taunt them by crying "A *henin*! A *henin*!" (The horned one! The devil!). So too when artists wished to show an incarnation of evil and sin, they might do so by showing a fashionably dressed young woman wearing the claws or talons characterizing a devil instead of shoes.[152]

The early *henin*, or vertical headdress worn by Christine, is generally made of rich fabric stiffened and held aloft with long pins or wire. Underneath lie the cauls, one on each side above the ear, which at this time are made of cloth filled with padding or hair. The whole arrangement is placed on the head at an angle of about forty degrees. At this early stage the point is divided, and there is little doubt that the resulting silhouette resembles horns. Christine's headdress is a very early form of the *henin*, and does not tilt back much at all. The *henin* eventually fuses from two horns to one, becoming cone shaped in France, and rising to great heights, earning the title of cornet or steeple headdress. In the late fifteenth century, it could also be covered by veils held up by wires and can be titled a banner or even butterfly headdress. The *henin* characteristically is blunt or squared at the ends when worn in Flanders and the Netherlands. We shall find Christine depicted in all manner of vertical headdresses in portraits produced of her in miniatures created after 1430. The most extravagant of these, the butterfly headdress, is given to Christine to wear in the elegant first miniature of the *Beinecke Treasure* from the last quarter of the century (Fig. 48). The hair is rarely visible when worn, for it was fashionable to pluck the hairline back to form a wide, high forehead. Often a dark loop called a "frontlet" can be seen at the forehead, used to keep these often-unwieldy *henins* in place. Its veil runs straight up from eye level to two peaks on wires above the cap. The "butterfly" headdress is actually a type of cap instead of a caul or bourrelet.[153] "During the whole fifteenth century" writes costume historian Hilda Amphlet, "women's headdresses were constructed with almost incredible intricacy and ingenuity."[154] There were regional variations and favorites, styles to be found only in one decade, while others were worn nearly throughout the century. In the early fifteenth

century width was the desired aim, while near the end, height was the goal of such aristocratic headdresses. Materials used included fabric, leather, metal, pins, wire, and precious gems.[155] This, however, is all to come about later in the century.

What is important to note is that when as Christine establishes a uniform for herself in portraits; her image begins to function as both "sign" as well as "model." As "sign" it establishes her identity, indicating her social class as well as serving as a mnemonic device.[156] As "model" it provides a template for later artists with access to these images to either copy or transform in order to make Christine, the author and now esteemed authority, both acceptable and accessible to later patrons and readers of the manuscript. In the anonymous grisaille miniature *Christine de Pizan presenting her book to Louis of Orleans* and others preceding 1405, Christine did not have the clout or the resources to control her image (Fig. 5). Instead, the artist has made her likeness conform to the "type" or model utilized to convey an admirable woman – young and attractive. What traditional visual models did the artists draw from in their model books? Illustrations of women of beauty and nobility were the most likely options found there, and Christine was neither of these. She was an exception, a novelty, an oddity, so the artist of later portraits of Christine simply opted, as we shall see, to use the traditional model of allure or beauty. The portrayal of Christine by *The Epistre* Master and *The City of Ladies* Master from 1405-10 was certainly more to her liking, for she authorizes its use with increasing frequency, in all her portraits created of Christine from 1405 to her death circa 1430.

The authorial portraits Christine approved of unquestionably conform to her dictates on dress discussed at

length in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Lectures detailing the dangers of extravagance in dress and in dressing above one's station abound in *The Treasure,* because if a woman dressed in clothing regulated to a class above her own, she would not have been well regarded:

> Many bad judgments will be made against her, however good she may really be. It therefore behooves any woman who wants to preserve her good reputation to be modest and conservative in her clothing. Her garments should not be too tight nor the neckline too low, nor should she take up other unchaste fashions, nor new-fangled things, especially indecent ones. [157]

As garments became tighter and more figure revealing a woman who dresses too fashionably, Christine claims, risks attracting the attention of dangerous men who "may think she is doing it in order to be desired and lusted after."[158] Dress acts as a powerful indicator of status during this period, and although sumptuary laws regulated the restriction of certain cuts and fabrics to the aristocracy alone, this by no means deterred the lesser aristocracy or the ambitious middle class. The fact that these laws were broken at every possible opportunity testifies to their power.

Images of writing women had significant impact on artists and patrons commissioning copies of *The City* and *The Treasure* throughout the fifteenth century. Illustrations of women scholars, poets, prophetesses and heroines of antiquity abound in luxurious copies of Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women*, first illustrated in France by the Coronation Master in 1402 with continued popularity in paint and print throughout the following centuries.[159] This is also true for those heroines

illustrated in the miniatures of the copies of *The Letter to Othéa* made for John, the Duke of Berry, Phillip of Burgundy, and Louis of Orleans. How do these new models of ancient heroines and scholars affect the portraits of women in art? The ramifications are immediately apparent in the miniatures created for *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* after 1430. Although both will be explored in turn in the following pages, in this chapter the focus will be on the illustrations of Christine and the three Virtues: Reason, Rectitude and Justice.

Christine in her Study

Let us begin at the beginning, and examine the study itself. What clues does Christine's environment, as depicted according to her wishes by her illuminators, contribute to our understanding of the text? Or, of the creative process of a medieval scholar in general? Susan Groag Bell analyzes representations of Christine's study found in the miniatures produced during her lifetime because she believed "the arrangement of the room in which she worked had an influence on her creativity."[160] In the miniatures illustrating the Prologue and Part One of The Burgundian *City of Ladies*, Christine stands before a rectangular two- level desk, with the curve of a chair behind her (CP 1).[161] Bell agrees with Christopher de Hamel's explantation that Christine's standing position may actually be easier when working with quills and penknives, which require both hands.[162] In this case, however, Christine writes that she was reading and then brooding upon the content of what she had just read until the arrival of the three Virtues surprised her into a standing position. Maureen Quilligan suggests the term Earl Jeffrey Richards translates as "elbow"

might also be translated as "cheek," which may explain why so many later artists painting this scene show Christine with her hand up against her cheek just before the arrival of the Virtues.[163]

The desk in her study is covered with a cloth and has only a few books upon it. The room is high ceilinged and has at least two gothic windows. In the beginning of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* we find Christine lying in her bed, trying to rest, however unsuccessfully, until the Virtues put her back to work. The presence of the bed in or near her study not only indicates that this is a dream poem, but also suggests to Bell that having a bed in close proximity to the study may have been common for medieval scholars. Beds were often placed in sitting rooms where formal events took place; perhaps the most famous example of this is seen in Jan Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding*. More to our point, *The City of Ladies* Master depicts such a room in the miniature depicting Christine presenting her opus to Queen Isabel of Bavaria, Queen of France (Fig. 4). Additionally Italian studies were often places where treasured collections were kept—books and other works of art in particular. There is both visual and textual evidence that medieval scholars had their studies and their beds in the same or connecting rooms. This was done for reasons of security for their collections as well as the privacy needed to read, write, and think.[164]

Christine may not have had any treasures to guard beyond her books, but there is strong visual evidence that her bed and study may have been in close proximity according to the opening miniatures of *The City* and *The Treasure* by *the City of Ladies*. Christine states in the beginning of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* that a new assignment from the

three Virtues was delivered immediately following her completion of *The City.* [165] This is most energetically illustrated in the Boston *Treasure* as it shows Christine being pulled briskly from her bed by one of the Virtues[166] (Fig. 3). Bell argues that the bed is a "meaningful element of furniture in Christine's study," and that just such an interior arrangement, with bed and desk in close proximity to one another, allowed Christine to 'relax and meditate in great comfort.'" Christine "read in her study, she wrote in it, and she slept and dreamed in it...by imaging for us the details of Christine's cell medieval illuminators have given us a unique understanding of the intimate space she inhabited. Bed, desk, quill and inkpot, and everyday objects transcend the mundane to become timeless symbols of her creativity" [167] Perhaps this is why throughout the fifteenth century artists continued to show Christine's study in great detail and occasionally, showing the desk and bed in the same or adjoining room in miniatures illustrating Christine's works. The artist of the Vienna *City of Ladies* miniatures, a work from the late fifteenth century, gives us a peek into Christine's bedroom and her canopied bed at the back of her study, spied through an open door (Fig. 7). There is an interesting juxtaposition of Christine, head in hand, next to her desk shelf laden with books, above which can be seen a slice of the inviting blue bed and red canopy. The suggestion of a dream poem, a *vacatio,*[168] is certainly intentional here.

Now that the significance of Christine's environment, in both text and miniatures, has been established, we can continue with portrayals of Christine. Let us turn to a miniature by the Coronation Master of the poet and scholar Cornificia from Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* of 1402 (Fig 8). Cornificia is a writer of ancient Rome and not a character of religious significance in the Christian tradition, so she is given a

fashionable dress to wear, the *houppelande* with the high neck collar and ruff associated with great wealth and high birth. Cornificia also reads aloud, as indicated by her gesture of "monstration," what Bridget Buettner calls a "special substitute for speech" –with hand and fingers straight, palm out, and detached thumb.[169] Even so, elements of writing still clutter her desk. Both Boccaccio and Christine discuss Cornificia sympathetically in their respective histories, agreeing that it is a crime for women to despise themselves and their own minds, given to them by God.[170] Cornificia, like Christine, was given an unusually extensive education for a woman of her time. In a Dutch *City of Ladies* (BL Add 20698) created later in the fifteenth century, Cornificia is placed in the center of a colorful, detailed interior with a sumptuous red and gold brocade canopy behind and a large codex open before her on a heavy wooden desk (Fig. 9). She is robust in size and simply clad in a somber gray tunic and white scarf, suggesting she is a character of antiquity.[171] Her expression is contemplative, perhaps even gloomy. Is she deep in thought or even, with head in hand, a picture of melancholy? This sober portrayal recalls Christine's writings on the life of the scholar in general, as one of solitude and isolation, not suited to all, be they male or female.[172]

Christine, like Cornificia, is often illustrated alone in her study in various copies of *The Book of the City of Ladies* produced after her death 1430 (CP 2, Fig.10 & 11). *The City of Ladies* Master does not provide a model for such a scene, for in his prototype miniatures she is always surrounded by the Virtues, the ladies of merit, or holy women (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2). The artists of the three portraits of Christine alone examined here convey through this new, iconic image of the author alone, the new status of Christine as an authority and the continued popularity of her writings. In each case these miniatures are

found at the beginning of an expanded miniature cycle containing from four to over forty miniatures per manuscript. Perhaps this next generation of illuminators developed a solo author portrait of Christine in deference to her new reputation as an authority, or possibly it was due to the sheer novelty of the female author portrait itself.[173] These new solo portraits of Christine may also simply be a desire on the part of the patron for more pictures in their copy of this popular text, choosing to illustrate the very first lines of *The Book of the City of Ladies'* Prologue before the arrival of the Virtues:

> One day, as I was sitting alone in my study surrounded by books on all kinds of subjects, devoting myself to literary studies, my usual habit, my mind dwelt at length on the weighty opinions of various authors whom I had studies for a long time.[174]

The first of these solo portraits is located in the French *City of Ladies* (Paris BN MS fr. 609) dated from 1460-70. Here Christine is placed quite iconically in the center of her study (Fig. 10). She is attired in a blue tight fitting v-necked gown fashionable after 1440, and she sports a dizzyingly tall steeple headdress, named for its likeness to that form and height in church architecture. Christine is positioned frontally next to her complicated six-sided desk. She stares forward at the viewer with uncharacteristic boldness. With a closed book in her left hand, she gestures to another book to her left, or perhaps she makes the gesture of speech, as her thumb is folded forward over the palm. A red and gold cloth of honor forming a royal canopy around her intensifies the hieratic effect. This is the most formal portrait of Christine from this series of examples, for she looks as distant and other worldly as a Byzantine icon,

albeit a fashionably dressed French one. Such compositional devices serve to further enhance her status through the utilization of a pose generally reserved for kings, queens, saints and classical deities in the art of previous centuries. The artist of this manuscript is identified by Georges Dogaer as from the school of Flemish artist Loyset Liedet, who is known as a skillful colorist and a straightforward storyteller.[175] Liedet worked primarily for the Burgundian court, producing over four hundred miniatures for Charles the Bold.

In contrast to the formality of the French *City of Ladies* portrait, Christine in the Geneva *City* (BPU MS fr. 180) is a frail, thin and unstable figure leaning backward to reveal her fashionable black pointed poulaines floating unconvincingly above the foot support attached to her desk (Fig.11). This manuscript was owned by Hélène de Laval, a bibliophile—one-time secretary to Anne of France and admirer of Christine's work discussed in Chapter Four.[176] Christine's face is seen in three quarter view peering upward toward the long, rectangular windows under the arch of the miniature, a position hardly conducive to pondering the misogynist opinions of the ancients. Her desk is circular, strewn with books open and closed with a tiny scroll containing some unreadable verse perched on the lip of her desk. She is surrounded by a blue and gold cloth of honor and leans backward to such a degree that she may tip fall to the floor at any moment. Clearly this portrait is not meant to confirm the soundness of her authority, instead suggesting our author has been given a fashion "make over," consisting of her steeple headdress and fitted fur trimmed gown. Ironically, Christine is dressed almost identically in the French and Geneva *City of Ladies* portrait miniature – it is her pose and demeanor that conveys either stability or inconstancy.

The Royal *City of Ladies* (Brussels BR 9235-7), produced by the school of Jacquemart Pilavaine, contains the third portrait of Christine alone in her study[177] (CP 2) This manuscript was made for Walpurge, the Countess of Moeurs and wife of the Burgundian councilor, Philip of Croy.[178] Their son, William of Croy, would sell this manuscript to Margaret of Austria in 1511.[179] Christine is here accorded her most luxuriously furnished study to date, complete with arched ceilings, tile floors, pillow strewn benches, and a variety of tables and cabinets. She also has a red and gold cloth of honor stretched behind her large wooden chair, upholstered in blue brocade. Silver vessels adorn one book cabinet, and, as in previous examples, books are everywhere. Although she sits in the center of the miniature, her body is twisted, with her torso and head turned to the left to read, while her legs twist to the right creating a serpentine, dynamic pose. Christine is dressed far less "nobly" in this miniature. Her rose-colored gown is loose and unbelted, again in a manner often used to suggest antiquity. Throughout the rest of this manuscript she will be clothed in similar garments, only colored in her more traditional blue, so the reason for the color change here is quite a mystery. Her head is covered in a simple kerchief, and a loose wimple covers her throat, identifying her as a widow. Her expression is animated in sharp contrast to the previous two portraits of Christine solo. This portrait seems narrative in nature, full of implied or future action, all conveyed with a naturalistic sense of space, pose, and proportion.

All three portraits of Christine alone in her study are new, distinct, and inventive variations of the Prologue Scene of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, and each in their own way explores a different aspect of the events as they unfold in

leading up to Christine's imminent intellectual journey. First, the melancholy:

> I looked up from my book, having decided to leave such subtle question in piece and relax by reading some light poetry. With this in mind, I searched for some small book. By chance a strange volume came into my hands, not one of my own, but one which had been given to me along with some others. When I held it open I saw from its title page that it was by Matheolus, I smiled, for though I had never seen it before, I had often heard that like other books it discussed respect for women.[180]

We read on to discover Christine is very disturbed by Matheolus's "lies" and tries to stop reading, but her thoughts are now aroused and polluted with his negative views:

> But just the sight of this book, even though it was of no authority, made me wonder how it happened that so many different men – and learned men among them – have been and are so inclined to express both in speaking and in their treatises and writings so many wicked insults about women and their behavior...They all concur in one conclusion: that that the behavior of women is inclined to and full of every vice.[181]

At this important moment, Christine models the proper behavior for her readers when confronted with similar ideas by examining her own experiences, enumerating the women she knows who are moral and intelligent individuals, but she remains unconvinced.

> Yet I still argued vehemently against women, saying that it would be impossible that so many famous men – such solemn scholars, possessed of such deep and great understanding, so clear-sighted in all things, as it seemed – could have spoken falsely on so many occasions that I could hardly find a book on morals where, even before I had read it in its entirety, I did not find several chapters, or certain sections attacking women, no matter who the author was.[182]

This back and forth, topsy-turvy state of mind expressed above is reflected in the Geneva portrait of Christine (Fig.11). Her tipped, unbalanced pose mimics the vice of inconstancy seen in many medieval depictions of the virtues and the vices, most notably in Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua from 1305. Christine's uncertainty at this moment is perhaps suggested in this miniature, her melancholy, however, is better seen in the portraits of Christine with the Virtues, where her head in hand pose suggests both emotion, thoughtfulness and sleep (CP 1, 3, 4 and Figs. 6 & 7):

> I relied more on the judgments of others than on what I myself felt and knew. I was so transfixed in this line of thinking for such a long time that it seemed as if I were in a stupor. Like a gushing fountain, a series of authorities, whom I recalled one after another, came to mind, along with their opinions on the topic. And I finally decided that God formed a vile creature when he made woman, and I wondered how such a worthy artisan could have deigned to make such an abominable work

> which, from what they say, is the vessel and the refuge of every evil and vice.[183]

By Chapter Two, we find our heroine temporarily weak and powerless, bowing her head in shame, leaning on the arm of her chair, her eyes filled with tears. These powerful words and their effects on the author are being described at different moments by the three artists of the miniatures just examined. The artist of the Geneva *City* (BPU MS fr. 180) suggests her vulnerability and indecisiveness, tipping her back to lose her foothold on the foundation of her own knowledge (Fig. 11). The Royal *City of Ladies* (BR 9235-7) portrait portrays Christine as the painstaking scholar again, diligently continuing her inquiry as she examines a book at hand. It is only in the miniature of the French *City (*Paris BN MS fr. 609) that we are given a powerful author portrait of Christine, showing her as an authority herself, and not just a character in the narrative.

The Arrival of the Virtues

Christine's Virtues in *The Book of the City of Ladies*, Reason, Rectitude (right action) and Justice, represent the continuation of a rich literary and visual tradition of allegorical imagery in the theatre, pageantry, poetry and art flourishing throughout the middle ages, reaching a zenith in the fifteenth century. The Roman writer Tertullian, active in the 2nd-3rd century CE, is one of the first to personify the Virtues as warrior-maidens. This idea was escalated into a full scale war by Prudentius in *The Psychomachia*, written in the late 4th - early 5th century CE. *The Psychomachia* details the battle between good and evil in the soul as a war between these soldier maidens, the virtues and vices. Church fathers often protested against the use of classical imagery and mythology in

any sort of Christian writing, claiming that in so doing the pagan pantheon was glorified through imitation.[184] St. Augustine writes, "We are told that through myths the small number of initiates were taught to be virtuous; show me the places-or at least remind me of them-where people received such lessons!"[185] Yet increasingly, Christian leaders sanctioned the allegorical method, notes historian Jean Seznec, by making use of it at every turn. Eventually the utilization of moralized mythological subjects entered into the curriculum of their religious schools.[186] The Virtues naturally represent good moral values, and Christine uses them throughout her writings as teachers and models for her readers to emulate. Given her penchant for transforming tropes for her own devices, the tradition of giving allegorical figures the female form held great possibilities for Christine. Reason, Rectitude (right action) and Justice are not mere ornaments in the text or imagery, but are commanding mentors for Christine's characters and readers by virtue of her pen. She used them before *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1404-5) in her poetry and prose. Art historian Mary Weitzel Gibbons add, while commenting upon Christine's *The Book of the Road of Long Study* (1402): "In the role of naïve student, Christine the narrator sets out, filled with great excitement but also trepidation, on her long intellectual journey with the Sibyl as her guide." [187] Gibbons explains that Christine was at an intellectual crossroads when she wrote *The Book of the Road of Long Study*, a crossroad which transformed into a safe, well-defended forum for debate in *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1404-5) and an institution for instruction in The *Treasure of the City of Ladies* (1405). It is an ancient Sibyl who acts as Christine's educator in *The Road of Long Study*, preparing Christine to "appropriate the authorial authority traditionally possessed by men."[188] Here, too, in *The Road of*

Long Study, Christine meets "Queen" Reason from whom she is given the task of educating the French nobility regarding its responsibilities as a nation.[189] Reason continues to be useful to Christine when she subsequently uses her as the first of her trio of virtues in *The Book of the City of Ladies*. The idea of a college of ladies mentioned in *The Road of Long Study* becomes the fundamental purpose of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Eric Hick believes that in *The City* Christine " portrays allegorical figures as foreign to any established visual code: meaning flows from text to image, rather than the reverse."[190] Christine's use of the traditional virtues is creative and often hybrid as she changes their long established attributes to suit her purposes and authorizes images of them in her works that are both feminine in portrayal but masculine in activity. This is exemplified best in her profound use of a building metaphor in the Prologue of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, with its strong, defensive walls protecting women now safe to discuss their ideas, their history, and their contributions to civilization as they knew it in fifteenth century Western Europe.

To examine Christine's intention in envisaging the three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice in these two sister texts, we must return briefly to the miniatures by *The City of Ladies* Master discussed in Chapter One. Five illustrated manuscripts of *The Book of the City of Ladies* produced before 1415 survive.[191] Which of these was the first or the model for the rest? There are two candidates. The Burgundian *City of Ladies* was presented in 1405 to John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy [192] (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2), and its miniatures are used in this study to represent the best examples of the *City of Ladies* Master's work for this text under Christine's supervision. Equally impressive, from the same year, was Bibliothéque National's Ms fr. 607 presented to the Duke's nephew, John of Berry.

Two copies closely followed these in the next few years, Paris BN MS fr. 1178 and fr. 1179. A fifth copy was created before 1410 when it was included in a deluxe *Opus* of collected works of Christine de Pizan presented to Queen Isabel of France in that year. [193] The first illustration portrays the action described in the Prologue and Part One of *The City*, telescoping two scenes into one miniature (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2). On the left, Reason, Rectitude, and Justice appear to Christine in her study, and on the right Reason and Christine, like medieval masons, lay the foundation for the city of ladies with brick, stone, and mortar. These five sets of miniatures vary little from one another, save one version's abandonment of the diapered background in favor of a blue sky.[194]

The activity described in the text is conveyed simply and directly in the first miniature (CP 1). On the left in a cut-away building, Christine gazes at three stately ladies materializing miraculously before her on the opposite side of her desk. Christine describes herself as leaning on the pommel of her chair's armrest when the Virtues first appear but soon, during their introductory speeches, she states "I stood up out of respect." [195]

The City of Ladies Master gives all the Virtues identical faces, blonde buns and crowns of gold leaf. Reason is the only one shown in profile, all the others painted frontally. This is in accordance with the text, as Christine writes that the three Virtues appeared before her wearing crowns and "The three ladies resembled each other so much that they could be told apart only with difficulty, except for the last one, for although she was of no less authority than the others, she had so fierce a visage." [196] The artist follows the description accurately except for the face of Justice. She appears as placid as her sisters,

distinguished only by her fur-lined red *houppelande* (a costly full-cut garment) with a high white collar and black belt studded with gold. The *houppelande* signifies the highest status in clothing at this time, topped only by the *robes royales* (garments worn only by the king or queen on ceremonial occasions). The color red, too, was the most expensive hue to produce, aside from the use of real gold leaf, and also conveys the importance of Justice according to the medieval code of color. Red might also in this case replace the passion or fierce countenance described of her by Christine but missing in the face painted for her here. The belt, too, can be much more than a mere fashion accessory in the language of medieval signs, for it signifies bravery and courage, and is exemplified in the story of Claudia in *The Book of the City of Ladies*.[197]

Each Virtue carries the attribute Christine describes in the text. Reason holds a mirror, claiming no one can look into her mirror without achieving self-knowledge.[198] Rectitude recites that she holds a shining ruler instead of a scepter in order to better separate right from wrong.[199] Justice displays her attribute, a cylindrical vessel made entirely of fine gold, to use as a measure, allotting to each a just portion.[200] Justice's attribute exemplifies Christine's new twist on the traditional virtues as the vessel is typically associated with women, food, and feeding rather than the more masculine sword often associated with this virtue.[201] All this is conveyed in a clear, straightforward manner, in accordance with *The City of Ladies* Master's continued preference for simplicity over decorative finery which might obscure the meaning.

In the prototype miniatures for the Prologue and Part One of *The City*, the scene on the right shows the activity described in the text when Christine and Reason go "to the Field

of Letters." There the city of ladies is founded "on a flat and fertile plain."[202] Encircled by a half-built wall enlivened by turrets and crenellations, Christine and Reason build the city. *The City of Ladies* Master paints Reason handing large pink bricks to Christine who places them on the fortification wall of the city, cementing each with her trowel and mortar. Reason is clothed in *robes royale*,[203] consisting of a white fur *plastron* (long bodice) worn over a bright red *cotehardie* with tight long sleeves. This use of ceremonial costume becomes a "sign" in this Master's vocabulary to indicate the narrator, be it Reason, Rectitude, or Justice, of each section of the text.

Artists working on later fifteenth century texts took every opportunity to embellish these scenes, abandoning the uncomplicated and now old fashioned style of *The City of Ladies* Master. The artist of the French *City of Ladies* (Paris BN MS fr. 609) adds a miniature specifically devoted to the never before illustrated "Field of Letters" (Fig. 12). Found within the first pages of Part One, it is the second and smallest of the four miniatures illustrating this manuscript, occupying the top portion of the left hand column of the folio. Christine appears this time in a rose colored gown at the front and center of this striding quartet parading, arms linked, across a hilly tree= filled landscape. Two of the Virtues visibly clasp and pull Christine forward. Their crisp, paper-doll figures prance with stiff, self-conscious charm. Christine, like Reason and Rectitude, wears a fashionably tight and decidedly aristocratic high belted v-necked gown trimmed in fur. The Virtues surround her protectively, and only one, Justice, wearing the *robes royale*, carries an attribute, a sword, not the vessel Christine allots her in the text. Like Christine, she wears a tall, veiled steeple headdress. Reason and Rectitude wear no headdresses; instead their hair flows long and unbound, an

iconic symbol of chaste virtue in medieval iconography. There are no stones of misogynist thought littered across the ground as seen in *the City of Ladies* Master's work some fifty years before (CP 1). Instead, the artist concentrates on animation of these four fashionable ladies, suggesting movement through bended knees and gracefully lifted gowns. The text below the miniature specifically identifies the scene depicted, and it is the only one in the present study to highlight this moment in the text.

Two other manuscripts, the Geneva (BPU Ms fr. 180) and the Royal *City of Ladies*[204] (BR 9235-7) contain miniatures of Christine with two or three of the Virtues together outside her study, yet, due to their location in the text, they do not portray the "field of letters." In the Geneva miniature, the scene takes place as indicated by the rubrics to the left and the text below, above Chapter Thirteen of Part Two of *The Book of the City of Ladies* (Figure 12). In this portion of the text, examples of the good conduct and faithfulness of married women in love are discussed by Christine and Rectitude. Reason and Rectitude are shown together in this miniature, Christine referring to them both in a nearby passage and indicating an unusually close scrutiny and faithfulness to the text by this unknown artist. The Virtues are indicated by their crowns and Christine by her worldly attire of a noble woman, the steeple headdress. The trio tilt their heads in attention to one another, which, supported by their hand gestures, indicate they are engaged in an animated discussion as they stroll the grounds. The miniatures for the Dutch *City of Ladies* (BL Add. 20698) expands upon this theme by adding numerous images of Christine discussing with one or two virtues sprinkled generously throughout the text (Figs. 20, 21). This significant phenomenon is explored later in this chapter under the heading "Christine and the Virtues Debate."

One of the most lavish illustrations of the arrival of the Virtues is found in the miniatures of Paris *City of Ladies* (BN 1177) painted in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (CP 3). The artist exemplifies a style similar to several workshops active in Flanders and Northern France, particularly the Master of the Margaret of York. Both create delicate, diminutive ladies of fashion and refinement, yet all fully modeled and substantial enough to cast shadows.[205] Although the scene is set within the ample confines of Christine's well-furnished studio, the missing fourth wall to the left of the room suggests a pathway to the field of letters. The interior is flooded with both natural and mystical light. The natural light comes through the open arch, and the divine light, like that most commonly seen in the archangel Gabriel's Annunciation to the Virgin Mary. It descends through the arched window in the center of the miniature through which three golden rays cut through the glass and across the stone wall, stopping just short of Christine's head. Christine gently rests her cheek upon her right palm, and her eyes are closed. Christine wears her tight, fur-lined blue gown and veiled flat-topped Dutch *henin*, an ensemble which would not have met with her approval as it portrays her as an aristocrat, not the widow of a court clerk. She sits at a wooden desk with a slanted top under a canopy of red brocade, which is curiously fitted with curtains like those found above a bed, all bundled into a single egg-shaped pouch near the window. The entire setting is in naturalistic perspective, and the room appears ordered and serene.

The Virtues appear as if they have walked through the arched opening of the missing wall. They wear costumes as exotic as those of Eastern Queens with an assortment of contemporary dress and theatrical accessories to complete their fantastic ensembles. They parade and pose in three different

positions for our viewing pleasure like medieval supermodels on a fashion show run-way. Each Virtue is self absorbed, paying little attention to Christine or to one another. Reason stands closest to Christine and, like Narcissus, gazes at her reflection in the mirror. Out of this particular context, she could easily represent an allegory of vanity. Reason's headdress combines a turban with a steeple with a gold crown sandwiched between them. The rounded necks of their gowns and wide necklaces are developments found in women's fashion from 1470-90. The addition of bright, full sleeves of gold for Reason and the lovely, long train for Justice are all trappings consistently utilized by artists to indicate saints of old or allegorical personages.[206] Rectitude, in the center, is the only one of the Virtues wearing strictly contemporary dress save for the extended length of her trailing train. All four figures have small, oval, nearly hairless heads and tiny features. Similar to the French *City of Ladies* (BN MS fr. 609) (Fig. 12), there is no depiction of building as provided in the prototype by *The City of Ladies* Master (CP 1). Instead, the artist illustrates other details found in the text of Chapter Two:

> So occupied with these painful thoughts, my head bowed in shame, my eyes filled with tears, leaning on the pommel of my chair's armrest, I suddenly saw a ray of light fall on my lap, as though it were the sun. I shuddered then, as if wakened with sleep, for I was sitting in a shadow where the sun could not have shown at that hour. And as I lifted my head to see where this light was coming from, I saw three crowned ladies standing before me, and the splendor of their bright faces shone on me and throughout the entire room. Now

> no one would ask whether I was surprised for my doors were shut and still they entered. [207]

The artist of the Paris *City of Ladies* includes several features from the text: the rays of mystical light and the crowns of the three Virtues holding their correct attributes. The light, however, also bathes the space in a tangible, natural radiance illuminating the room through arches and windows which Christine, however, describes as closed. Furthermore, Christine's head in hand does not call to mind shame, but rather sleep, the artistic convention for communication with the supernatural, as though in a trance or a dream.[208]

The Vienna *City of Ladies* (ÖNB Cod. 2605) shares a very similar composition to that of the Paris miniature discussed above, although squeezed into a tightly constricted space (Fig.7). The rigid, elongated and inflexible figures in the Vienna manuscript lead Otto Pact to attribute this work to the Teneyken workshop in Normandy.[209] Christine sits head in hand, eyes closed in a throne like canopied chair before a cloth of blue and gold. There is an open door to the right of her study through which march the Virtues. Behind Christine's desk is an open door through which can barely be seen a sliver of Christine's bed, covered in blue and under a red canopy. Here, too the doors are open, and the room is evenly lit with no shadows. The Virtues wear the mixed clothing usually accorded saints and figures from antiquity with the exception of a few contemporary details such as the cut of gowns and puffed sleeves, headdress, wimple, and two turbans. After this, the resemblance quickly ends. The Vienna interior is cramped, the figures tall and slender, almost brittle. They carry their correct attributes, although Justice has been double-armed, holding a sword in addition to her vessel looking here like a shallow

bowl. Christine is a wasp-waisted noble lady in a tall steeple and tightly belted gown lined with fur. In the Vienna and Paris miniatures, however different their artistic styles, both indicate Christine's status in society has risen, according to her dress, from that of a widow of a court clerk to a princess of the realm.

We turn, finally, to the Pepwell *City of Ladies* and its woodcut of the Prologue scene to examine the changes made to the three Virtues in this new medium (Fig. 14). The *Pepwell City of Ladies* contains only two prints although the first, that of Christine in her study illustrating the Prologue and Chapter One, is reproduced throughout the printed edition four times. Christine's desk, with its slanted and tilted sides, fills the room. Books are stacked everywhere—behind her and to her side. Christine holds one open text before her and turns awkwardly to look over her shoulders as the three Virtues approach from the left. She wears a veil and a widow's *barbe*, a pleated wimple under the chin, the accepted headgear for widows and women in some religious orders in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth century in England.[210] Christine does not have her cheek to her hand but seems interrupted while thumbing through a book. The thick, rugged lines associated with the woodcut medium work against any idea of elegance, yet do show a realistic study and a woman scholar hard at work.

The three Virtues line up in a row like stiff wooden pins upon a decorative diamond-patterned floor. They carry their proper attributes as designated by Christine in the text—first Reason and her mirror, next Rectitude and her long stick-like ruler, and finally Justice with a vessel – here a rustic-looking elongated ale tankard. The Virtues' gowns are wide sleeved and have long trains draped over their arms or held up in the customary fashion. The most distinctive feature is the new

English hooded headdress worn by all three. It consists of a semi-circular draped form attached to a caul worn on the crown of the head. A front band decorated with jewels or embroidery frames each side of the face like a stiff, square wing flung back along the shoulders. The English hood is associated with both the nobility as well as the wealthy merchant class and was not restricted to the aristocracy. So the Virtues here are neither renderings of ancient goddesses or queens in ceremonial nor archaized figures as seen in the Burgundian or Paris manuscripts. Instead, they are powerful, no nonsense women in both form and dress, ready to lead Christine on her quest for understanding.

This is the first known printed image of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, and it does show some knowledge of the prototype composition. The Woodevilles were in possession of the *Harley Opus*, containing most of Christine's works including, among many other things, an illustrated copy of *The Book of the City of Ladies* and the miniature of Christine's presentation to Queen Isabel.[211] (Fig. 4) In spite of this, the print is far from a faithful reproduction of the *City of Ladies* Master's prototype. As it is found four times throughout the text, the artist is making no attempt to make any other connection other than Christine talking to the Virtues. Henry Pepwell printed his translation in 1521 with no mention of Christine de Pizan as the author on the title page. This publication was facilitated by Richard Grey, the Earl of Kent, to whom the Pepwell edition was dedicated. Richard Grey's enthusiasm for *The City* was in part derived from his uncle, Anthony Woodeville, a literary scholar who had already translated several of Christine's other works into English. Woodeville owned the *Opus* of Christine's works, replete with miniatures by the *City of Ladies* Master, presented to Queen Isabel of France in 1410 (Fig. 4). The

interest in *The Book of the City of Ladies* at the Tudor court is established by Susan Groag Bell in her search for the lost tapestries of this same subject, owned by Henry VIII and given to his daughter, the future queen Elizabeth. [212]

Who Builds the City?

One of the most novel scenes created by Christine and the *City of Ladies* Master is found on the right side of the prototype miniatures for her the Prologue and Part One (CP 1). There we find a quite literal rendering of Christine building an actual city wall. Metaphorically, however, each brick represents the life of a woman discussed in the text. The wall is designed to protect women while they are free to pursue their various worthy endeavors free from the detraction and intimidation of men. This half of the miniature illustrates Part One of *The Book of the City of Ladies* and shows Christine encircled by a barricade of pink masonry, lifting her gown with one hand while spreading the mortar with the other. Lady Reason assists with the construction effort. Our earthly scholar, Christine, and quasi-divine Virtue, Lady Reason, join their considerable forces to erect the city of ladies. Lady Reason leans into her task with unusual vigor for an allegorical figure. She will not always be as helpful to Christine in future miniatures of this event as we shall see in the Munich *City of Ladies*, painted in the mid-fifteenth century (CP 4).

The artist of the Munich *City of Ladies* (cod. Gall 8), identified by manuscript historian L. M. J. Delaissé as Willem Vrelant of Bruges, contradicts the text in its opening miniature[213] (CP 4). Looking closely, the viewer will see no Virtue depicted on the right side of the miniature. Here, Christine is without any divine aid, and like a medieval master

mason, is assisted by two male laborers. By surrounding Christine with the mundane workmen of the everyday world, the artist, however charmingly done, dilutes Christine's message that women should rely on themselves to build mental strength and confidence. *The City of Ladies* Master also includes workmen in the second and third miniature of the prototype, but never in the first (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2). The inclusion of male workers in the last two miniatures of the prototype can be viewed as accurate with regard to construction practices – who can build a city alone? Buildings are built by guilds with master masons, later called architects. In the miniatures produced by *The City of Ladies* Master, the architects are the Virtues, and at the beginning of Part Two and Three in the text they are too busy greeting the worthy secular and holy ladies who will inhabit the city to be bothered with the final building details. The first scene, however, in the majority of later manuscripts, generally illustrates Reason nearby Christine as she lays the foundation for the city, as the opening rubrics of Part One, Chapter Four states:

> Here the Lady explains to Christine the City which she has been commissioned to
>
> build and how she was charged to help Christine build the wall and enclosure, and then gives her name (Reason).[214]

Reason immediately reneges on this offer in the following lines, promising only to provide Christine her with the needed materials.

> Thus, fair daughter, the prerogative among women has been bestowed on you to establish and build the City of Ladies. For the foundation and completion of this city you will draw fresh waters

> from us as from clear fountains, and we will bring you sufficient building stone, stronger and more durable than any marble with cement could be.[215]

This passage also helps to explain some of the later manuscripts from workshops we will examine where Reason directs Christine as she builds (Figs. 16, 17). Similar statements to that quoted above are made by Rectitude and Justice at the beginning of Chapters Five and Six where they each inform Christine that they will assist her with the building of the city.[216] The first miniature of the Munich *City of Ladies*, demonstrate that quite often artists have no interest in illustrating such lofty Virtues as Reason, Rectitude, and Justice getting their hands dirty (CP 4). In Chapter Five, Rectitude offers her ruler of measurement needed to construct and lay out the buildings, houses, and circuit of the city walls stating, "I have come as your assistant, and this will be my duty."[217] Lady Justice adds in Chapter Six that her job is to perfect and complete the high roofs of the towers and mansions of the city.[218] The third miniature of the Munich *City of Ladies* like the second, shows four workmen building roofs, leaving Justice to attend to her courtly introductions and introduce Christine to the Virgin Mary and Christ Child (Fig. 15). In one sense, this miniature holds true to the *City of Ladies* Master's prototype of welcome, but now it is on behalf of the saintly ladies who already clearly reside in the city (Fig. 2).

The miniatures of the Munich *City of Ladies* offer an interesting case of an artist's mixed faithfulness to text and prototype, perhaps because the idea of such Virtues involved in manual labor was too much for the artists to bear. Christine, not a heavenly character, can be so represented, but not the Virtues. The artist has placed Christine's study within the confines of the

allegorical city, which has technically not yet been built at this moment in the narrative. She is at the center of the third miniature, usually occupied by the Virgin Mary in most other depictions of this event, conveying again that Christine's visual status, according to dress and hierarchy, at mid-century had risen to that of a noblewoman, so she must be given her visual due.

Five miniatures from five different manuscripts portray Christine's "manual labor" being supervised by one or more of the Virtues. Three of these illustrate Reason directing Christine as she digs. This is a variation on the prototype rather than a new scene, as in these cases the prototype opening scene has been split into two (CP 1). The earliest of these, dated to mid-century, is the third miniature of the Royal *City of Ladies* (Brussels BR 9235-7) (CP 5) This scene illustrates in exquisite and meticulous detail the marking, measuring and digging of the fortification wall of the City, set within a far-reaching, emerald green, hilly landscape. In the right foreground Christine digs the foundation ditches according to measurements of the pegs and ropes already marking the outlines of the buildings. She places her shovel into the earth guided by Reason, who holds the measuring length for her. There is not a brick or a stone in sight. In the background, a fully constructed city looms atop a cliff overlooking a bay. No doubt this is the city of ladies when finished. For as Reason describes, although there have been many mighty cities in the history of the world, this one will not perish:

> But the edifice erected by you in this city which you must construct will be far stronger, and for its founding I (Reason) was commissioned, in the course of our common deliberation, to supply you

> with durable and pure mortar to lay the sturdy foundations and to lay the lofty walls all around, high and thick, with mighty towers and strong bastions, surrounded by moats and firm blockhouses, just as is fitting for a city with a strong and lasting defense. Following our plan, you will set the foundations deep to last all the longer, and then you will raise the walls so high they will not fear anyone.[219]

This miniature for this scene provides us with the most accurate illustration of fifteenth century construction techniques of all the miniatures, depicting the building of the city of ladies. Christine is shown with a shovel although the text reads:

> She (Reason) went ahead and I followed behind, and after we had arrived at the field I began to excavate and dig, following her marks with the pick of cross-examination.[220]

A miniature of Christine digging under Reason's supervision is illustrated in the Dutch *City of Ladies* (London BL 20698) (Fig. 16) Christine's social status is transformed completely by her regional dress and sturdy body. This artist, once of several working on this manuscript, is identified as the Master of the *Dresden Prayer Book* by Frederick Winkler.[221] The Dresden Master executed works destined for Burgundian courtiers including Jean Gros, secretary of Charles the Bold, in his first decade of activity from 1460-70. He later collaborated with such well-known manuscript illuminators as the Master of Mary of Burgundy and Simon Marmion. The Dresden Master is considered one of the most original Dutch artists of the second half of the fifteenth century, known for his loose brush work and sense of space.[222] Instead of reed-thin French ladies in

tight garments, the Dresden Master gives the figures of Christine and Reason substance and size. We view Christine from the side and back as she sinks her shovel into the ground with believable effort, one foot forward, in order to dig more deeply at the spot indicated by Reason's pointing finger. They work just outside the confines of a city within a carefully fenced field, in contrast to anything seen to date. A tree, sturdy buildings, and a woven branch fence surround the two figures. It is as if Christine has left her study and walked outside into a field waiting to be prepared for cultivation, building her metaphorical city of ladies right in her own yard. The Dresden Master faithfully renders this portion of the text in spite of deviating from the prototype in a variety of creative ways, which was this workshops specialty – infusing standard compositions with new insight and vigor. The Dresden Master creates a believable sense of space and locality with his inclusion of regional architecture and the woven curving fence. Christine and Reason both wear gowns with high belts and shawl collars of black embroidered in gold. The artist uses this exact outfit for a demure lady seated at a table in a miniature entitled "Temperance and Intemperance" from the *Valerius Maximus* produced for Jan Crabbe, abbot of Duinen produced about the same time as the Dutch *City of Ladies*.[223]

The last miniature representing an inventive interpretation of the builders is found in the Vienna *City of Ladies* (ÖNB Cod. 2065) (Fig. 17). The scene portrays a lively, heavily populated scene showing twenty figures busily building the City – all men! There are several well dressed gentlemen with brimmed hats with a large crown – could one of them be the architect or master mason? Christine, front and center in a rose colored gown, looks as if she is only assisting by offering a trough of mortar (which looks curiously like a book) as she

rushes toward the Virtues. In keeping with the style of the Teneyken workshop of Normandy, her form is spindly and sharp with jutting neck, thin arms and bowed knees. Stones and wood litter the ground. The three Virtues occupy the right foreground, holding their proper attributes although Justice again, as seen in other miniatures from this manuscript, has also been allotted the sword in addition to the vessel (Figs. 7, 17). One of the laborers shares the foreground with Christine and the Virtues as he busily pounds a peg into the lower portion of a wall. Fifteen other workers scamper about the towers and blue tile roofs of the pink city as they haul timber, stone and brick to their proper place. This miniature is located at the beginning of Part Two of the text, and like the *City of Ladies* Master, includes the image of laborers in the miniatures for this portion of the text (Fig. 1). In the Vienna *City of Ladies* miniature, however, the scene is overrun with them. The artist has mistakenly placed Reason holding a mirror in front of Christine, when in fact it is Rectitude with her ruler who is the actual narrator of Part Two:

> Now take your tools and come with us, mix the mortar in your ink bottle so that you can fortify the City with your tempered pen, for I will supply you with plenty of mortar, and, thanks to divine virtue, we will soon finish building the lofty royal palaces and noble mansions for the excellent ladies of great glory and fame who will be lodged in this City, and who will remain here perpetually, forever more.[224]

The Vienna *City of Ladies* miniature, however delightful, does not adhere strictly to the text or spirit of Christine's original intent. If the artist cannot imagine women building something

which middle and lower class women engaged in regularly at that time, he or she surely would discredit the idea of women having an intellectual debate about the achievement of their sex in history. The delicate coloring of the Vienna *City of Ladies* miniature softens the sharp angles, harsh outlines, and bony figures, which occupy this active scene.

One innovative artist showing no familiarity with the *City of Ladies* Master's prototype composition can be found in the French *City of* Ladies (Paris, BN MS fr. 609). The artist does away with the conventional scene of Christine meeting the Virtues altogether, thereby eliminating any builders. The first miniature shows the most iconic portrait of Christine in her study to date (Fig. 10). The second miniature portrays a perfectly unique scene of Christine and the three Virtues heading to the "Field of Letters," mentioned earlier in this chapter (Fig. 12). In the text, Christine, having just heard the three Virtues' lengthy introductions, proceeds to give an extensive, thankful speech, full of humility and self degradation regarding her lack of skills to take up the challenge they offer, yet still vehemently expressing her willingness to serve and obey.[225] Instead of illustrating Reason and Christine building the foundation and wall of the city together, we see the scene before that in the text, where all four take action, trotting out purposefully to the property where the lessons, signified by the bricks, will soon take place. All the Virtues are in the foreground, arms linked, confidently leading Christine, now bareheaded but still in blue, out to where all the intellectual "action" will take place.

Christine and the Virtues Debate

In only four of the fifteen illustrated manuscripts of *The Book of the City of Ladies* from the fifteenth century do we find the image of Christine in the company of one of the three Virtues as the subject of a miniature. The French *City of Ladies* (Paris BN MS fr. 609) contains two such images, the Geneva *City of Ladies* (BPU MS fr. 180) has three, the Pepwell *City of Ladies*, a woodcut edition of 1521, has one while the Dutch *City of Ladies* (London BL Add. 20698) provides us with an astounding eleven miniatures, produced by three different workshops, illustrating Christine and the virtues engaged in spirited discourse. Let us examine only a sample of these spirited scenes.

The earliest miniatures depicting the unusual subject of two women debating once again is found in the innovative French *City of Ladies* (Paris BN MS fr. 609) (Fig. 18). There are two miniatures devoted to this unique imagery, the final four miniatures illustrating the text. The first of the four, discussed earlier in this chapter, portrays an iconic Christine alone in her study (Fig. 10). The artist had already taken the radical step of eliminating the image of Christine and Reason building the City, instead choosing to illustrate their vigorous march to the "Field of Letters" (Fig. 12). The final miniature of the French *City of Ladies* to be discussed here presents Christine conversing with one of the Virtues, hard to identify by dress, although she should be Rectitude due to the location in Part Two (Fig. 18). We see the two in the act of conversing, a scene depicted with increasing frequency in many miniatures illustrating *The City* from the mid fifteenth century onward. The hands of each either point or appear with open palms with the thumb clearly held away from the rest of the palm, all

indicators of speech. It is clear that the artist of the French *City of Ladies,* without access to the prototype, elects to emphasize the verbal, intellectual aspects of the text, rather than its metaphorical action of building. Whether this was out of a desire to be in harmony with the passage, or because it is a simpler, more expedient manner of illustration, it is difficult to know. The message of the miniatures, for whatever reason, is in accordance with Christine's core message: for women to use reasoned deliberation and trust their intellectual abilities. A secondary, but no doubt probable goal for the illustrated cycle of the French *City* might also be to establish Christine, the author-protagonist, as an authority figure, the vehicle through which such reasoned counsel comes. This learned foursome serves as a visual model for what *The Book of the City of Ladies* is all about—intellectual instruction, questioning, and lively debate and discussion among women regarding their own history.

The next manuscript to pick up this interesting trend of representation is the Geneva *City of Ladies* (BPU MS fr. 180). (Figs. 11, 13, 19). This manuscript was once owned by Guilette de Derval, wife of Jean de Malestroit, the chancellor of Brittany.[226] Of the eight miniatures found in this manuscript, an astounding four are devoted to the subject of Christine debating with one or more of the Virtues. The first of the four is located next to the following rubric introducing the theme of Chapter Twenty Seven of Part One of The City: "Christine asks Reason whether God has ever wished to ennoble the mind of woman with the loftiness of the Sciences; and Reason's answer" [227] (Fig. 19). At this point our two protagonists begin their discussion of women of antiquity noted for their scientific learning and inventions. The discussion takes place inside a small room, and the ladies stand before a beautiful gold brocade

cloth of honor. Christine, at the left, gestures with both arms jutting out in front of her from the elbow with her hands equidistant and apart, as if she were demonstrating the length of some object. The fingers of her palms form a point, with the thumb clearly separated from the rest of the hand. Reason, wearing a crown, responds with less formal but similarly active hand gestures. Variations of this scene occur above other sections of the text where Christine asks questions of one of the Virtues, and is in turn, true to the Socratic Method used throughout *The Book of the City of Ladies*, asked to answer her own question through the use of reason, deduction, and her own knowledge and experience. The only scene of the four with a different composition and setting is folio 34v, where, situated in a charming outdoor setting with a golden city in the background, Christine and two of the virtues converse (Fig. 13). This miniature is located at the beginning of Chapter Thirteen of Part Two, the section where the topic of faithfulness in love and the noble conduct of married women is discussed in order to combat the male belief that "married life is so hard to endure because of women and the wrong they cause." [228] Specifically, the unusual depiction of Rectitude, the narrator of the present chapter and Reason, the narrator of Part One, is explained in the opening sentence of the chapter:

> Then, as we were searching for these women by order of Lady Rectitude, I spoke these words as we went along, "My lady, truly you and Reason have solved and settled all the problems and questions which I could not answer, and I consider myself very well informed about what I asked." [229]

The artist has paid close attention to this portion of the text by illustrating both Virtues with Christine as they refute this negative view of women. The concentration on discussion in most of the Geneva miniatures displays an understanding on the part of the artist of the structure of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, which, for all of its allegorical implications, is at the core a series of conversations held between Christine de Pizan and three Virtues discussing various misogynistic beliefs, which must have plagued Christine de Pizan's life and career continuously.

The Dutch City of Ladies:

Der Lof der Vrowen BL Add 20698

The most ambitiously illustrated manuscript ever made to accompany Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* is a Dutch translation found in the British Library entitled, *Der Lof der Vrowen*, (BL Add 20698) made for Jan de Baenst, an official at the court of Bruges under Philip the Good (1396-1467).[230] There are three hundred and thirty folios in this unfinished volume, including spaces for one hundred and thirty miniatures, one for nearly all the chapters of the text. Twelve of these partially to fully finished miniatures depict the image of Christine conversing with one or more of the Virtues, as dictated in the rubrics accompanying each of the chapters they illustrate. Additionally, these twelve miniatures are painted by three distinct workshops producing the miniatures for this splendid volume. Five are by the artist whose works are most frequently represented throughout the manuscript. This artist favors spindly, small, animated figures encased in tight, stiff garments and bulbous turban headdresses. The miniatures produced by this master often illustrate Christine and one of the

Virtues conversing inside before a cloth of honor with one or both seated. In the example included here, one figure is seated in a canopied throne in an impressive room with a two or three arched columned window (Fig. 20). Often it is difficult to tell which one is Christine. Is it safe to assume she is the enthroned authority with the pointing index finger? So it would seem in the miniature showing three figures before an enthroned fourth, for surely the trio represents the Virtues. There are no crowns or attributes or beams of light to assist us in this deduction. All four, Christine and the Virtues, whether alone or in triplicate, are portrayed as regal ladies of the court with their splendid array of noble headdresses.

Two miniatures of the Virtues and Christine engaged in discussion from the Dutch *City of Ladies*, one of which is reproduced here, are rendered in delightfully detailed pen sketches by a markedly different artist than the creator of the diminutive, brittle figures discussed above (Figs. 20, 21). The second artist draws tall, slender-but-substantial figures of elegant ladies who lean back under the weight of their heavy gowns and large headdresses. They are heavily outlined and set within well-articulated interiors with wide open arches instead of doors. One figure is seated beneath a canopy, arms folded, while the other stands and gestures toward her with her left hand (Fig. 21). The standing woman has a simpler scarf headdress while the woman under the canopy wears the steeple headdress, indicating a higher class. If we assume, due to her more noble headgear, that she is Lady Rectitude, the virtue narrating this part of the text, then again, as in the Geneva miniature discussed earlier, it is Christine doing the talking (Fig. 21). As we can see by comparing the two miniatures portraying discussion by these two different masters, in one Christine is the seated figure, and in the other it is the Virtue

who is seated. This detail suggests the compositional freedom given to the various workshops contributing miniatures to this deluxe codex. Providing a variety of poses is the compositional intent here, rather than observing strict rules of etiquette in honoring the most illustrious member of the scene. But who might that be? The new "authority" of the author Christine de Pizan or the quasi divine Virtues? It seems they must share the honor in the hands of three workshops providing the miniatures for this manuscript.

Five miniatures from the Dutch *City of Ladies* are by the hand of the Master of the *Dresden Prayer Book*, active in Flanders and Northern France from 1460-1500. This Master paints provides vigorous figures clothed and built like healthy burghers wives for this manuscript (Figs. 9, 16, 22). In these miniatures, unlike the other two workshops of the *Dutch City*, Christine is consistently identifiable by her grey gown, white shawl and "flower pot" (flat topped*) henin.* In several scenes Christine and Lady Reason or Justice gesture in such a way that the viewer easily reads the action as a conversation (Fig. 21). The second miniature by the Dresden Master is particularly interesting as it follows the digging scene already discussed by this same artist (Figs. 22, 16). Here Lady Reason holds the shovel and tilts her head, indicating she is listening to Christine, whom we view from the side as she makes her point emphatically, enumerating her ideas by pointing to her left palm with her right index finger. The Dutch *City of Ladies* provides us with a plethora of images and settings of women engaged in scholarly discussion. These conversations take place in various settings; castle courtyards, small rooms, vast landscapes, or near the city wall as they gesture or listen intently while the other speaks. This kind of scene offers an opportunity for the three artistic workshops of the Dutch *City of Ladies* not only to

present genteel ladies in lovely attire, but more importantly, to model the action of women engaged in reasoned discussion for the reader.

Two Special Cases:

The *Pepwell & Chantilly City of Ladies*

One of the final two images of women engaged in debate and discussion illustrating *The Book of the City of Ladies* is neither a miniature nor the product of the fifteenth century; however it and its sister print provide us with the final of the visual tradition begun by the *City of Ladies* Master a century earlier. In 1521 Brian Ansley, in the service of Henry VIII, translated *The Book of the City of Ladies* into English.[231] The Pepwell edition contains only two prints although the first, illustrating the Prologue and Chapter One, is reproduced throughout the printed edition four times. (Fig.14) The second, smaller print, appearing only once, illustrates Justice, as it is located above one short column of text at the end of Part Three (Fig. 24). Two women, in Tudor court dress and English style gable hoods, of equal status according to their gowns, face one another and raise their hands to indicate dialogue. This interpretation is supported by the (unfortunately) empty banderoles above their heads. We see here the formulaic device used by Christine in the text, but not given form by the *City of Ladies* Master. The Pepwell print, however, honors the spirit of the text by highlighting Christine and one of the Virtues in Socratic dialogue, daring to question the authority of the church and antiquity. What is new a century later is the clear unequivocal portrayal of the equal status of the two conversants, now appearing as educated ladies capable of reasoned thought and intellectual debate.

The most curious and charming representation of conversing women is found in the single illumination of the Chantilly *City of Ladies*. (Fig. 23) This miniature presents us with an attractive genre scene of courtly ladies tête-â-tête, their loose groupings still enforcing the class hierarchy so much a part of the medieval mindset. The artist illustrates a gathering of very stylish aristocratic ladies in a castle courtyard. These ladies gesticulate affectionately to one another as they settle upon the courtyard green to converse. All wear *houppelandes* of pale yellow, blue or pink, trimmed in costly fur, usually ermine. All but two wear high cone shaped *henins* with extremely long veils. They all have high, plucked foreheads with the loops of the black frontlets clearly visible for adjusting their cumbersome headdresses. One seated lady has removed her belt for greater comfort. Aside from the serving women in the archway to the right, the ladies meeting in the courtyard are all noble, richly dressed and intent upon amusing themselves with lively banter and other amusements. One of the seated ladies sews a *bourrelet* on her lap. This miniature demonstrates no familiarity with the prototype miniatures of the *City of Ladies* Master, but nonetheless gives us an animated, realistic scene of women engaged in conversation within the protocol of class restraints. The artist does not follow any of the standard signals and poses illustrating debate among scholars, as utilized by the other artists of the Geneva, Dutch, and Pepwell *Cities* discussed earlier in this chapter. (Figs. 19, 20, 21, & 24) Everything has become more natural, more relaxed, and yes, more fanciful too. They could be discussing Cicero, or their children, the state of the economy, or fashionable textiles arriving from Italy. This quaint depiction of well-born, noble women shown in harmonious communion with one another, lodged within the safety of their allegorical city of refuge is not

in discord with the spirit of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. In fact it foreshadows the classroom convened in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, the subject of chapter four.

Chapter 3

Women of Worth

> My lady, how does it happen that Ovid, who is thought to be one of the best poets-although many believe, and I would agree with them, thanks to your correcting me, that Vergil is more praiseworthy - that Ovid attacks women so much and so frequently, as in the book he calls *Ars amotoria*, as well as in the *Remedia amoris* and other of his volumes?
>
> Christine to Reason *The Book of the City of Ladies* [232]

The question of classical authorities and their dim view of womankind is a central and troubling one to Christine, schooled as she was to respect the philosophers, poets and historians of ancient Greece and Rome. Christine critiques these authorities through the voices of the Virtues. This is witnessed in Reason's comments on Ovid, who "dissipated his body in every vanity and pleasure of the flesh... leading to exile, castration and disfigurement....When he saw that he could no longer lead the life in which he was used to taking his pleasure, he began to attack women with his subtle reasoning, and through his effort tried to make women unattractive to others."[233] After this rebuke, Reason enables Christine to do the same as they wade through the mire of misogynist writings of other classical authors. Reason teaches Christine to critique their disparaging views through the use of Socratic dialogue and logic. Above all, Christine is asked to examine her own experiences.[234] Once negative assumptions are cleared away,

the stones cluttering the "field of letters," the real business of *The Book of the City of Ladies* can begin: to celebrate heroic exemplars of women in history. Their accomplishments are as amazing as they are varied, in leadership, battle, philosophy, poetry, science, loyalty, love and faith. Discussion of their achievements is the subject of several debates between Christine and the three Virtues. In Part One, the women rulers and generals, distinguishing themselves on and off the battlefield, are discussed. The deliberations also examine women scholars, philosophers, poets, mathematicians and inventors. In Part Two, women excelling in the traditional domestic virtues are heralded as faithful mates, mothers and daughters. Finally, in Part Three, the deeds of saintly Christian women are recounted and praised. This culminates in the welcome of the Virgin Mary as the queen of *The City*, acting as mayor and exemplar for its new citizens. Collectively all the women whose stories are told in *The Book of the City of Ladies* serve to guide and inspire the reader.

Part I: Taking On Tradition

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century in Paris there were two popular manuscripts recounting the lives of female warriors: Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* and Christine's *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Numerous writers from Antiquity through the Middle Ages told and retold the tales of women soldiers; nevertheless, Christine is the first woman's voice to narrate their lives and interpret their actions:

> ...in many women God has made manifest enormous courage, strength and boldness to undertake and execute all kinds of hard tasks, just like those great men have accomplished...[235]

Boccaccio pays tribute to women in his book, yet he continually highlights the provocative aspects of their lives. Christine's intent is more serious—to demonstrate to her readers through female exemplars the contribution women have made in traditional male arenas. As previously noted, Christine controlled the production of her deluxe manuscripts. The miniatures of *The Book of the City of Ladies* focus on the dialogue between Christine and the Virtues rather than the heroic action described in the text. She advocates through both text and image the scholarly debate necessary to making and keeping this newfound history of women alive.

Warriors and Queens

Amazons

Although the miniatures commissioned for the first copies of *The City* do not depict the stories narrated in the text, we do know how Christine wanted warrior women to be portrayed, for Amazons are illustrated by *The Epistre* Master in the miniatures from the *Letter from Othea* of 1400 (Fig. 27). Here Penthesilea, in armor emblazoned with heads of Amazon queens, marches to Troy astride a charger in the company of her troops. Painters illustrating *The City* after Christine's death often choose not to follow the pictorial models set by *The Epistre* or *The City of Ladies* Masters. This may be because such images were unknown to them. Miniatures made for Boccaccio's enormously popular *Concerning Famous Women* provide possible models.[236] The later illustrations often embellish or distort the radical nature of Christine's text.

Few sights express power more explicitly than that of a hero engaged in physical combat. Will the same be true if that

hero is female? As we shall see, there is increased interest in portraying the stories of Amazons and other warrior women in the later miniatures for *The Book of the City of Ladies*. They are presented in singles or pairs, sometimes engaged in ruthless warfare, but are more often painted as ladies costumed for a medieval fashion runway. The powerful heroines and their stories in *The City* challenge artists who are used to portraying more traditional concepts of femininity. That conflict is mirrored in the varied choices artists (and their patrons) select to illustrate the text. Some artists ignore the exciting tales altogether, while others rise to the challenge and paint Amazons in the armor they would give Achilles or Hector, albeit with rose colored trappings for their horse and helmet (CP 6). Christine devotes the greater portion of Part One of *The City* to the civilization of the Amazons and its soldier queens. Their ability to build, govern, and protect themselves without masculine aid made their legend a natural model for Christine's utopia:

> And thus, you can hear, this kingdom of women, founded and powerfully upheld, lasted more than eight hundred years, and you yourself can hear from the various epochs given in charts in different history books how much time elapsed from their founding until after the conquest of Alexander the Great, who conquered the world, during which the kingdom and dominion of the Amazons apparently still existed.[237]

Christine ignores Boccaccio's bloodthirsty account of the Amazons' rise to power through the slaying of all men in the tribe after a devastating battle.[238] She makes their beginnings more palatable to her readers by claiming the Amazons simply

banished all males after that battle, choosing instead to govern themselves.[239] In relating the stories of the nine Amazon queens, Christine asserts that their abilities as rulers and warriors stems from their chaste lives.[240] Chastity is valued by Christine for practical rather than sentimental reasons, as its practice frees women from the dominion of men, the enslavement of romantic love, and the biological consequences of sex—children. She links chastity with strength, for it allows women to transcend their traditional domestic duties to think, write, inspire, and instruct—in fact, her own career of intellectual activity began only after she was widowed. As Diane Bornstein explains, "For Christine, the main point is not whether a woman has kept her maidenhead, but whether she practices chastity."[241] She did not attribute mystical powers to the state of virginity or a chaste life other than to acknowledge the freedom accompanying its state.[242]

Chapter 16 of *The Book of the City of Ladies* relates the founding of Amazonia and tells of its first queens. One of these, perhaps Synoppe as she is mentioned specifically in *The City* as "being crowned," is shown thus so in the first of four miniatures devoted to the stories of the amazons in the Dutch *City of Ladies*[243] (London BL Add. 20698, Fig.26). Two figures with cropped hair, masculine robes, chains of office, and plumed caps place a crown upon the unbound hair an enthroned woman. Are these simply Amazons dressed as men? Possibly. If so, this brave stroke is countered by the two meek women with downcast eyes in steeple *henins* acting as witnesses to the event. Hardly resembling warriors, these docile and decorative ladies can hardly be imagined wearing armor. Is the artist using male attire to strengthen the authority of those conveying power, or sabotaging the text by implying an Amazon queen receives her right to rule from men? If so, then they are not the first.

Bridgette Buettner writes the idea of "valorous women knights must have seemed very startling or outrageous."[244] The Amazon queen being crowned in the Dutch *City of Ladies* is decidedly dressed as a woman. According to the text, all the figures in this scene are women. This strategy of using both masculine and feminine clothing allows the artists to stay true to Christine words, and yet fulfill the viewers' desire to see women beautifully, lessening visual turmoil for a conservative patron.

The woman being crowned appears to have no left breast. Christine writes the Amazons were known as "the breastless ones" for royal Amazons burned off their left breast to enable them to hold a shield.[245] The artist of the Dutch *City* takes great care to follow the text by subtly indicating its absence by emphasizing the plump presence of the right.

A French manuscript commissioned by a woman, Guilette de Derval, delivers a more appropriately attired Amazon warrior[246] (Geneva, BPU MS fr. 180, Fig. 25). She stands in full fifteenth century French armor. The Geneva Amazon most likely illustrates one of the first of the Amazon queens walking before a city wall. She wears an accurate likeness of fifteenth-century fighting armor, although her long, pointed *poulaines* could prove cumbersome in battle.[247] She holds the rose shield of Amazonia in one hand and a lancet with a rose standard in the other. It was a convention of Medieval and Renaissance art to associate the color rose with Amazons. Armor made specifically for a woman was rare indeed. A famous exception to this is of course Joan of Arc, for King Charles VIII commissioned a suit of armor for her in 1429. It was made, according to the descriptions of the time, of white iron and exactly like the armor worn by French knights.[248]

Use of realistic armor for the Geneva Amazon could be related to Joan as a Christian "Amazon," possibly admired by Guilette de Derval, the patroness of this manuscript.

Christine uses nearly identical phrases to describe the chaste lives of Queen Synoppe and her more famous descendant, Penthesilea, saying they remained virgins throughout their lives. She writes that Queen Penthesilea "had such a great and lofty heart that not for a day did she deign to couple with a man, but remained a virgin her entire life."[249] Christine invents or enhances vows of Chastity for Nicaula, Cassandra, Minerva, Camilla and other non-Amazon warrior heroines in order to grant them the same secular sanctity inferred by such a life choice. Christine turns to *Ancient History* for her recitation of Penthesilea's tale, finding Boccaccio's description of her admiration for Hector far too silly for this mighty heroine.[250] She prefers the explanation that Penthesilea's dedication to Hector of Troy was one of the honors between equals and fellow soldiers-at-arms, not Boccaccio's description resembling a school-girl crush.

Christine distinguished Queen Penthesilea from her troops in the miniatures she commissioned from the *Epistre* Master in the *Letter to Othea.* Penthesilea leads her troops in a *surcoat* of brilliant blue, and her shield and horse trappings are emblazoned with the official Amazon heraldry of the busts of three Amazon queens (Fig. 27). The differences between the battle attire of the *Epistre* Master's Amazons (Fig. 27) and the artist of the Geneva *City of Ladies* miniature (Fig. 25) signals a significant change in the development of armor that occurred in the fifteenth century. From the twelfth century on, the *surcoat*, long or short, was worn by a noble warrior over a suit of mail; plate armor was invented in the fifteenth century. As a result

the *surcoat* quickly fell out of use. The *Epistre* Master's Penthesilea was created a half century before the Geneva Amazon and follows a precedent for this scene used by the artist illustrating Boccaccio's early French *Concerning Famous Women.*[251]

Queen Penthesilea was included in the company of the *Nine Female Worthies,* patterned after their earlier male counterparts, *The Nine Male Worthies*, invented by Jacques de Longuyon in 1312 in what the historian Johan Huizinga characterizes as the medieval urge for symmetry. *The Nine Worthies* for each sex included three biblical, three ancient and three medieval heroes.[252] The *Nine Female Worthies* first consisted entirely of the warrior queens Delphile, Synoppe (Antiope), Hippolita, Semiramis, Lampedo, Tomyris (Thamyris) Menalippe, Teuta and Penthesilea. Penthesilea was awarded her own heraldic devise as a result, the heads of a trio of Amazon queens on a blue field strewn with six golden bells, seen in the Epistre Master's depiction (Fig. 27).

Walburge de Meurs, wife of Philip le Croy, commissioned an illustrated copy of *The Book of the City of Ladies* containing one of the most exciting miniatures of amazons ever created for this book (CP 6). Produced in the third quarter of the century this manuscript, now in Brussels Royal Library of Albert 1st, has been attributed by some art historians to the workshop of Jacquemart Pilavaine, who worked for Philip the Good of Burgundy but received many of his commissions from the le Croy family (Brussels, BR 9235-7).[253] This special relationship may account for the particularly sensitive renderings of women in this magnificent manuscript.[254] The manuscript was later owned by Louise de Albert, one of the earliest known women bibliophiles, and was

eventually inherited by another noteworthy woman book-owner, Margaret of Austria.[255] This miniature illustrates the battling Amazon warrior-maidens, Menalippe and Hippolita, and their encounter with the two greatest Greek Heroes, Hercules and Theseus. This event occurred under Queen Orithyia, mother of future queen Penthesilea, when she had learned the Greeks have attacked her citizens. While rallying her troops

> two valiant maidens of supreme strength and valor, bold and brave over all others – the one called Menalippe and the other Hippolyta – both close relatives of the Queen – could not wait for the troops of their lady. As soon as they were able to arm themselves, with lancets in hand, shields of strong elephant hide hanging from their necks, mounted on swift chargers, they left for the port at the fastest possible gallop, and with great ardor, as though seized with wrath and displeasure, they charged with lowered lances against the most prominent warriors of the Greeks, that is, Menalippe toward Hercules and Hippolyta toward Theseus. It is clear how angered they were, for regardless of the great strength, boldness and courage of these men, so forcefully did these maidens attack them that each maiden struck down her knight, horse and all, in one heap.[256]

The miniature chronicles three parts of the story all within one scene. The attack by the Amazons and the successful unhorsing of the two male heroes appears in the foreground. The composition takes the form of a continuous narrative, using both the road and the hilly landscape to lead us to all three parts

of the story. The foreground gives us the initial challenge and victory of the Amazons: the lances of the two Amazons charging from the right are unseating two knights mounted on white steeds. The Amazons, although fully protected in a suit of plate armor, can be identified by sheer skirts, gold plumes, and devices on their helmets, long blond hair, and the short rose-colored *surcoats* worn over their armor. The encounter has all the characteristics of that most chivalrous of activities, the medieval joust. Brigette Buettner describes jousts as the "most valued display of knightly prowess," and throughout medieval illustrations, they were used generally to depict battles of worthy foes."[257] In this case, the role reversal is complete, for in the medieval joust of course women were mere spectators.

The artist continues the story as our eye follows the curving path to the middle ground where, to the right of a rocky projection, and now smaller in scale, the unseated gallants battle on foot. As Christine describes it, after unseating their opponents "The maidens themselves fell down on the other side, but as quickly as possible got up, and with swords drawn, rushed the two knights. What an honor these maidens must have enjoyed for they had unhorsed the two most valiant knights in the world!"[258] Slightly smaller in scale, but still positioned to the right side of the miniature, our four heroes engage in sword play. Even smaller in scale is the representation of our heroines' eventual capture and defeat, depicted in the upper left corner of the scene, where we see the blond heads of Menalippe and Hippolita without their helmets, now captured, riding between Hercules and Theseus, and heading toward a large boat. The text and image are perfectly in harmony as Christine, too, emphasizes the entire episode as a victory, stating Hercules and Theseus were "greatly honored by this capture."[259] The artist's rendition displays the desire to

portray the Amazons as powerful and valiant warriors, in keeping with the constant theme of *The City* –to honor women. As in the text, their capture by the Hercules and Theseus in the miniature is barely visible, stuck in the upper left background, easily escaping the viewer's notice.

Numerous authors wrote of the race of the Amazons, yet Christine is the first woman's voice to speak of their lives and others like them. Christine's intent was to demonstrate the contribution of women to all areas of civilization, including warfare. The miniatures for the first illustrated copies by *The City of Ladies* Master do not depict the lives of the women in the text. Instead Christine instructs her artists to emphasize the interaction between herself, as author-protagonist and female authority, with the three Virtues, as discussed in Chapter Two of this study. Christine was not immune to the visual value of these stories, however. The lives of many were already illustrated in her earlier writings, most notably *Epistre de Othea*, and her preferences can be inferred by examining those miniatures.

Minerva

Minerva, Athena to the Greeks, is one of the most important figures of the warrior woman in western history. Yet Christine and Reason begin and end their discussion of this goddess by praising her creative side – her many purported inventions including Greek script, numbers, weaving, olive oil production, wind instruments, and metallurgy.[260] It is her association with metallurgy and the making of weapons and armor that is emphasized in the next few miniatures.

Like many of her contemporaries, Christine believed the gods and goddesses of antiquity had their origins among the living. She uses the voice of Reason to explain:

> Minerva, just as you have written elsewhere, was a maiden of Greece and surnamed Pallas. This maiden was of such excellence of mind that the foolish people of that time, because they did not know who her parents were and saw her doing things which had never been done before, said she was a goddess descended from Heaven; for the less they knew about her ancestry, the more marvelous her great knowledge seemed to them, when compared to that of women of her time.[261]

Traditionally Minerva, or Pallas Athena, like the Greek God Apollo, can by her presence alone in represent the concept of civilization. She is a patroness of all institutions of learning as well as the arts, in addition to many other duties and activities.[262] Similarly, as a war goddess, she is linked to the virtue, Justice, and the "just" war or cause. Also appealing to Christine is Minerva's chastity. As in the chaste amazons discussed earlier, Christine knew that good mothering at home and great accomplishments in the world were difficult to achieve by any woman, however gifted. Christine herself was just such a woman. Above all things, though, Minerva to the Greeks and Romans, as well as to fifteenth-century Christine and her fellows, represents wisdom. Therefore, Christine discusses Minerva twice in Part One of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Minerva's diverse gifts cause her to be depicted in a variety of ways in late medieval French manuscript illumination, each time with its own distinct meaning.

In Christine's illustrated *Letter to Othea*, all three versions produced before 1408, contain a creative variation on the "children of the plants" iconography. This subject reflects the late medieval astrological belief that the seven planets had an influence over the personality, abilities and appearance of anyone born under their power. Similar to popular astrology today, each of the planets is associated with many specific activities. These images are found in secular manuscript illumination, prints, and palace frescoes throughout the fifteenth across Europe. They portray the occupations of the planets' "children" born under their influence as they cavort under the personification of that planet either enthroned or placed above them in the sky. Similar to illustrations of the labors of each month found in the calendar pages of books of hours, these representations offer the viewer of today an informative and engaging view of daily life in the late Middle Ages.[263] The problem is that Minerva is not associated with any planet in astrology. She is, however, illustrated as if she were in a miniature from the *Letter to Othea* by the *Epistre* Master, hovering in the sky above on undulating clouds, handing down armor to the gallant assortment of soldiers below (London, BL Harley 4431, Fig.28). Minerva has the long, unbound hair of a maiden. She wears a *surcoat* over her armor, and the only one of her inventions singled out for distinction by the *Epistre* Master is armament. As Sandra Hindman has noted, failing to find models for deities not represented by planets, Christine ingeniously devised her own composition to add to the visual and poetic tradition of the seven planets and their children.[264] In the *Letter to Othea*, there are purple rubrics identified as being written in Christine's own hand at this point in the text describing her desire for a unique composition, totally new, although inspired by an amalgamation of sources.[265] In contrast,

the illustration of the first French translation of Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous women*, 1401, shows Minerva in the traditional, formulaic presentation of the children of the planets composition – more iconic than active, enthroned and fashionably dressed in a lavender *houppelande* with long open sleeves and a golden belt.[266] The *Epistre* Master, no doubt directed by Christine according to the purple rubrics in her own hand, takes this idea one step further in the creative variation of the children of the planets iconography in the artist's portrayal of Minerva (Fig. 28). Yet why is weaponry the only one of her many inventions singled out for distinction in this miniature? In the case of the *Letter to Othea*, the goal of the manuscript is to instruct the young prince, in the guise of Hector, who, as a future ruler, naturally would need to know all about arms and armor in his future role.[267] In the text of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, it is the full range of Minerva's gifts extolled by Christine, from math to the arts, although armament does receive special mention:

> For nobles and knight she devised a means of making armor to cover their bodies for greater protection in war and developed better-looking, stronger, and more practical armor than they had before, which had only consisted of leather from animals.[268]

This passage may have inspired the miniature of Minerva in the profusely illustrated Dutch *City of Ladies* from late in the fifteenth century. Two illustrations were planned for Minerva, one before and one after Ceres and Isis in the miniature cycle. Unfortunately, the first miniature was never finished, leaving only a blank space next to the heading for Chapter Thirty-four. It is here that Reason describes a statue of Minerva erected by

the Greeks in Athens showing her clothed in shining bronze armor, holding a long lance and a wide shield emblazoned with the head of the Gorgon Medusa as well as an owl:

> After her death they erected a temple in Athens dedicated to her, and there they placed a statue of her, portraying a maiden as a representation of wisdom and chivalry. This statue had terrible and cruel eye because chivalry has been instructed to carry out rigorous justice...She wore a helmet on her head which signified that a knight must have strength, endurance and constant courage in the deeds or arms, and further signified that the counsels of the wise are concealed, secret and hidden. She was dressed in a coat of mail which stood for the power of the estate of chivalry and also taught that the wise man is always armed against the whims of Fortune, whether good or bad. She held some kind of spear or very long lance, which meant that the knight must be the rod of justice and also signified that the wise man casts his spears from great distances. A buckler or shield of crystal hung at her neck, which meant that the knight must always be alert and oversee everywhere the defense of his country and people and further signified that things are open and evident to the wise man.[269]

This may very well have been the subject of the unfinished miniature.

In the miniature illustrating Chapter Thirty Eight of the Dutch *City of Ladies,* we find quite a singular depiction of Minerva. The goddess and her companion, acting like any good

mistress of a busy household, enters a blacksmith's shop shouting orders at the smithy (note pointed index finger) as he works on an unidentifiable piece of metal (Fig. 29). Or is Minerva the more solemn figure standing at the right foreground with the enormous turban? She certainly takes up the most space. The three figures are placed within a rather luxurious setting for a blacksmith's shop, complete with nicely patterned floor tiles and two leaded glass windows. Our ladies are fashionably dressed and coifed with bulbous turbans and *henins* popular in the second half of the fifteenth century. Unlike Ceres and Isis, miniatures produced by the same workshop discussed later in this chapter, Minerva is not doing much. Minerva, if indeed she is the lady closest to the smithy, is shown directing but not engaging in the activity of making arms herself. Her only claim of authority comes from her pointing gesture, and, of course, her fine attire. Nonetheless, this might be a more realistic portrayal of the lady of the manor overseeing the preparations for defense and warfare, a common duty of wives whose husbands were off fighting elsewhere, as Christine notes in 1405 in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*:

> We have also said that she (the baroness) ought to have the heart of a man, that is, she ought to know how to use weapons and be familiar with everything that pertains to them, so that she may be ready to command her men if the need arises. She should also know how to launch an attack or to defend against one, if the situation calls for it.[270]

In that regard, the artist of this miniature for the Dutch *City of Ladies* has captured Christine's sentiments well, for noble women often were required to defend the estate against all

aggressors in lieu of their absent husbands. *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, as discussed earlier, was originally dedicated to Margaret of Burgundy, who later in life engages in just such a defense as the duchess of Brittany. Although in 1405 she was engaged to the French dauphin Louis of Guyenne, Margaret never became queen due to his death as a young man. As a widow, she is then married to Arthur of Richemont, who later becomes the Duke of Brittany; during his frequent absences at war, Margaret successfully defends their estate. [271]

Queen Semiramis

The story of Semiramis, ninth century Assyrian Queen, is one of the first histories related in *The City of Ladies*, an apt choice, for not only was Semiramis a warrior queen, but she was a builder as well. Christine remarks upon her restoration and embellishment of the walls of her native city of Babylon.[272] For the tale of Semiramis, Christine follows Boccaccio's account very closely.[273] Widowed while still young, Semiramis battled to establish an empire while her son, whom Christine does not even refer to by name in her text, was an infant. Boccaccio writes that Semiramis dressed as a man, largely, he contends, to masquerade as her son, whom he refers to as Ninyas.[274] Ninyas's father died when he was very young and Semiramis, Boccaccio writes "was possessed of so courageous a spirit that she, a woman, dared undertake with skill and intelligence the rule of those nations which her fierce husband had subjugated and controlled with force of arms."[275] Not trusting her husband's armies to follow a female leader, a young and attractive one at that, she "deceived her late husband's army by means of a colossal trick plotted with feminine cunning"[276] and disguised herself as her own youthful and beardless son.

Boccaccio praises her deeds and abilities, saying "It was almost as if she wanted to show that spirit, not sex, was needed to govern."[277] Her masquerade as a male, though, will have dire consequences on her son according to Boccaccio, claiming it was "as though he had changed sex with his mother, (for) Ninyas languished idly in bed while she exerted herself in battle with his enemies."[278]

In most fifteenth-century miniatures portraying Semiramis, she is shown in as an attractive noblewoman. This is best seen in a miniature accompanying Boccaccio's *Famous Women* from 1401, where both Semiramis and her son are depicted in the male and female versions of the *houppelande*, the most patrician and costly attire of the day[279] (Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 8 c. 1402, Fig. 30). Semiramis is crowned and holds both sword and scepter to establish her dual roles as both head of state and the army in one image. Her association with military accomplishments is reinforced by the pile of armor at her feet, presumably of defeated foes. Her son, Ninyas, stands to her right, dressed as a handsome courtier, making a gesture of admiration as he curtseys before her. The glance exchanged between mother and son, however, is charged with an unwholesome flirtatiousness, overpowering any message of military might in this scene. Their incestuous union is a point of interest to Boccaccio, to be cautiously defended by Christine.

Christine tells of this queen's many accomplishments before addressing the alleged incest, including this tale involving the state of her hair:

> Once, when Semiramis was in her chamber surrounded by her maidens who were braiding her hair, news came that one of her kingdoms had revolted against her. She stood up immediately

> and swore by her power that the other lock of her hair, which remained to be braided, would not be braided until she had avenged this injustice and brought this land back under her dominion.[280]

In the language of attire, in addition to being an indicator of maidenhood, unbound hair can be a sign of "physical or moral distress."[281] The artist of the Dutch *City of Ladies* portrays Semiramis at this moment, acting decisively and overcoming any perceived feminine vanity, for as Maureen Quilligan observes, "the braiding of her hair genders her martial prowess"[282] (Fig. 31). We have a view of her back in this drawing, and can see that Semiramis stands with half her hair braided and the other half unbound. Her attendant stands meekly to the right as her duties are interrupted. Semiramis greets the messenger regally as he enters from the left into this spacious, remarkably unfurnished room. The artist here focuses on a scene where the queen's duties as a ruler far outweigh any desire to complete her hair arrangement. It is clear that very different aims as well as moments in the text are used to highlight the two miniatures of Semiramis discussed thus far.[283]

Boccaccio contends her reputation, in spite of many brave deeds, is diminished by lust, including incest:

> But with one unspeakable act of seduction she stained them all. Like others of her sex, this unhappy female was constantly burning with carnal desire and it is believed she gave herself to many men. Among her lovers – and this is something more beastly than human – was her own son Ninyas, a very handsome young man.[284]

This is the aspect of Semiramis' life chosen worthy of representation by the artist of the first French miniature of

Boccaccio's *Famous Women* of 1401 (Fig. 30). Christine, however, diminishes rather than expands upon the allegation of incest in her narrative on Semiramis, writing simply at the end of the chapter that she "took as a husband a Son she had with Ninus her Lord."[285] Christine makes clear that Semiramis lived in an era when individuals lived by natural, not moral law, suggesting that the times, not Semiramis, are to blame.[286] Boccaccio acknowledges that lust is certainly all too common among male warriors as well. He also admits that there are many variations on this centuries-old incestuous story of Semiramis and her son, and, although he recounts them all, he finishes his account with another fantastic assertion - that her desire to keep her son and lover faithful to her alone caused her to invent the chastity belt, to be locked on the ladies of the court while Ninus was in residence.[287]

Both miniatures are faithful to their author's perspective. The early illustration of Boccaccio's Semiramis shows a seductive mother and an effeminate son, both woefully without any armor, although it is abundantly piled at their feet (Fig. 30). She wears the crown, and his gesture, palms forward and out, when combined with his kneeling pose and bright open face, implies full submission to her bidding.[288] Boccaccio adds that Semiramis is responsible for the general lasciviousness of her court for "they say that she decreed the notorious law allowing her subjects to do as they please in matters of sexual conduct."[289] Neither of our historic warrior queens, Semiramis of ancient Assyria or Fredegund of early medieval France, are portrayed fighting the battles that won them fame as fearless warriors. Instead, moments of decision or persuasion are chosen in place of the forceful action each author's text tells us won both power and honor for each queen.

Queen Fredegund

Part One of *The City of Ladies* tells the stories of women from ancient history who led armies and ruled great states, modeled in format to some extent after Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women.* Christine adds to Boccaccio's accounts by including historic French rulers such as Fredegund, an early Queen from the 6th century, Queen Blanche, regent and mother of St. Louis from the twelfth and Queen Jeanne from the fourteenth century. She even includes a few of her patrons—the Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Anjou, and the Countess La Marche.[290] Royal mothers and their sons are certainly a subtheme in this early section of Part One. When Christine asks Reason about women's ability to govern, Reason launches in to the tale a French woman who did just that, Queen Fredegund, who ruled in her son Clotair's minority. Reason uses this opportunity to speak of numerous French queens who have also demonstrated both bravery and political astuteness. Ironically, this section includes warrior queens and mothers having quite unconventional relationships with their sons, namely, the Amazons and Semiramis as discussed above.[291] Sandra Hindman explains that Christine's emphasis on queens and their sons may have much to do with current difficulties at the French court at the time of Christine's writing. There was a mad king on the throne, and a young dauphin whose mother's reputation was heading downhill fast.[292] This situation brought unrest to the kingdom as well as to Christine herself, culminating in the infidelity of Queen Isabel and murder of her alleged lover, the king's own brother Louis, the Duke of Orleans in 1407.[293] The crisis was particularly distressing to Christine for nearly everyone involved was a patron of hers, so the appearance of taking sides on the matter was dangerous. It is no surprise that by 1418 Christine took refuge within the walls of a convent,

perhaps unwillingly, due to her political associations. Sandra Hindman suggests that in *Letter to Othea*, Christine "responded to the political upheavals of her day not only in her writings, but in the different sets of miniatures designed for the individual manuscripts of the Epistre."[294] By the time the Duke of Orleans's was assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy in 1407, Christine had already written several works with dire warnings on the education of sons and daughters (as future kings and queens) and the importance of the mother's role in that regard. Hidden in these works are several thinly veiled entreaties to Queen Isabel on her responsibilities to guide her young son, the dauphine Louis of Guyenne.[295]

It is worth noting that Christine does not require that her heroines be particularly kind individuals. Queen Fredegund plotted the death of her husband king Chilperic and deceived her allies, betraying them when necessary to win battles.[296] Queen Fredegund's story is depicted by two miniatures in the ambitiously illustrated Dutch *City* from the last quarter of the fifteenth century (London BL Add. 20698), (Figs. 32 & 33). This work was commissioned by Jan de Baenst who served the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold. The miniatures for this manuscript were executed by three workshops, patronized by the Burgundian Dukes Philip the Good and his son Charles. Two of those workshops each produced a miniature of Fredegund. In the first of these, Fredegund holds her infant son prince Clotair, while she stands with column-like reserve facing a group of armored. (Fig. 32). The ruled lines indicate this is an under-drawing, intended to be painted. Nonetheless, it is quite a forceful, detailed narrative of the confrontation between Fredegund and a group of rebellious noblemen:

> There was a great division among the barons regarding the government, and already a great civil war had broken out in the kingdom. Having assembled the barons in council, she addressed them all, while holding her child in her arms: "My lords, here is your king. Do not forget the loyalty which has always been present among the French, and do not scorn him because he is a child, for with God's help he will grow up, and when he comes of age he will recognize his good friends and reward them according to their deserts, unless you desire to disinherit him wrongfully and sinfully. As for me, I assure you that I will reward those who act well and loyalty with such generosity that no other reward could be better."[297]

Fredegund and Clotair form a strong vertical pillar in the composition raised high on a platform, adding to their visual strength before a disorderly group of armed barons (Fig. 32). Appropriately, she is dressed in *robes royale*, the ceremonial garments worn only during moments of great importance by the fifteenth century when this was painted. Her reticulated headdress is high and horned with mesh undoubtedly of gold or silver, fashionable between 1470 and 1475. However costly, it is not a crown, nor does she wear the crown in the next miniature of her tale found in this manuscript. Perhaps, as Bridgette Buettner comments in her discussion of crowns and headgear accompanying Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women,* "heraldic realism would defeat both the transhistorical and exemplary aim of the manuscript. And because this manuscript poses a social theory, it need not encumber its images with the fine distinctions of rank, fortune, and merit,

which were crucial to maintain distinctions in social reality."[298] And yet, for those very reasons, the replacement of Fredegund's crown with aristocratic headgear, however distinguished, can be read as visually devaluing Christine's text where she explicitly states, "In France there was once a queen, Fredegund, who was the wife of King Chilperic." [299]

After writing of Fredegund's bravery before the barons, Christine immediately launches into a short discussion of good Queen Blanche, who also served as regent for her young son, Louis, until he was of age to be king. "Even when he was grown," Christine writes, "she was still the head of his council because of her experience of wise government..." [300] Christine may be offering these idealistic models for the reigning Queen Isabel to follow with regard to the young dauphin.

Fredegund is portrayed twice in this deluxe manuscript, before and after the discussion of ancient Amazons queens. In the second miniature by another workshop, she sits side-saddle in a beautiful landscape as she regales her foot soldiers before battle (Fig. 33). Again, she holds the infant prince Clotair, her sole right to power, in her arms. The artist of this workshop paints a far more docile Fredegund than imagined from Christine's words or the previous miniature. The artist may even have adapted workshop model books design for the Holy Family's *Flight into Egypt* for this composition. The Queen appears too meek to be leading men into battle. She no longer wears the *robes royale* as she did in the first miniature. Instead her fashionable garments declare her to be an elegant woman of the highest class, but not necessarily a queen. Not only does she ride side saddle, hardly amenable for battling or leading troops, but neither does she wear any sort of armor to create the

likeness of a powerful, inspirational ruler. Christine's text recites Fredegund's stirring harangue to her troops:

> I will abandon all feminine fear and arm my heart with a man's boldness in order to increase your courage and that of the soldiers in the army... I will walk ahead of everyone holding him in my arms, and you will follow me.[301]

Christine often uses the motif of becoming a man when a woman must act within the masculine arena, as Christine herself did to earn her living as a writer.[302] Does this artist deny Fredegund armor to underscore her bravery, or to increase her feminine allure? She is not presented as the fierce leader and military strategist described in the text. Fredegund appears as serene as the Madonna holding the Christ child without the dutiful Joseph to guide her mount. This is an incongruous choice considering Fredegund was known for her cruelty—plotting assassinations to improve her position—facts Christine never mentions in her text. We can imagine the desperate artist flipping through the workshop pattern book for any image of a woman riding with a child in her arms to use as a model for the fierce Fredegund. Books of Hours honoring Mary were the most numerous and popular codex for any manuscript workshop of the period, offering an easy, conservative, and ornamental solution to this problem.

The inclusion of elements of feminine fashion subverts the compositional strength of the Queen's form as upright and immobile. They also compliment visual and textual tropes on women in life and art during the late medieval period, suggesting the real power of women lies in their sexual attractiveness and reproductive ability.[303] Dress keeps "everyone, visually where they belong," writes Margaret Scott,

as it is the most efficient way to convey status and hierarchy.[304] The folklore of the "world turned upside down" was also often conveyed by an image of a battling woman overcoming a man, the wife virago, Phyllis and Aristotle and so forth. The costuming and demeanor used by both artists in the case of Queen Fredegund serve to offset this visual tope – these are no mere unruly housewives, but powerful and seductive well-dressed women. In the Dutch *City of Ladies*, the second artist establishes Fredegund's power through her extravagant dress and grave demeanor, not as the man defying virago the text implies. Paradoxically, neither queen Semiramis nor Fredegund are portrayed in armor or in battle in the miniatures accompanying this particular manuscript. Instead, visual emphasis is placed on their feminine roles - as mothers, or alluring women with unbound hair—rather than as warrior queens in action. We see them made vulnerable by small children or interrupted while dressing. Not only was the tradition against illustrating women in armor too deep-seated for most artists of this day, but more importantly, they had few visual models to turn to for such an unusual subject. Workshops created miniatures for manuscripts in factory-like fashion, for these artists were but one part in the cog of a multi-person production. They were unable or perhaps unwilling to give special consideration to such mutinous themes as women fighting alongside men. Instead, it was easier to use traditional examples at hand, images promoting the accepted gender role models of passivity and ornamental allure—however incongruous—to portray the decidedly atypical subject of women warrior queens. This is especially incongruous, considering that during the Middle Ages many women, high and low, were forced to defend their lands while husbands and sons were away on war or business. "Yet in any society at war

considerable power has to be delegated to women while their men folk are on active service," writes Bernard Hamilton, "the survival rate among girl-children born to Frankish settlers was higher than that among boys, women often providing continuity by inheriting their father's fiefs and transmitting them to husbands many of whom came from the west."[305] Christine concurs with Hamilton's modern study and writes in her next work, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* that "women should be familiar with weapons, and know how to launch an attack, or defend against one, and ought to exhibit the heart of a man" in such matters.[306] Expediency and tradition are favored by these two artists of the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies.* The exceptions, as seen in the Geneva and Royal *Book of the City of Ladies*, to this rule are found in the portrayal of the Amazons, discussed above (Fig. 25 & CP 6).

Queen Camilla

For our final miniature illustrating the viragos from *The Book of the City of Ladies,* we turn to the heroine Camilla of the Volsci, who lived in Italy in an area, then known as Latium during the twelfth century BCE (CP 7, Fig. 34). Camilla is named for her mother who died giving birth to her, and she is the sole heir of her father's kingdom. In the Dutch *City* we discover one of the most delightful and inventive miniatures illustrating of the escape of princess Camilla and her father King Metabus after a traitorous attack:

> He would carry away nothing except Camilla, whom he loved deeply. When he came to a large river which he would have to cross by swimming, he was at a loss because he could not figure out how to get his little daughter across. But after

> thinking about it a great deal, he tore off great patches of bark from the trees and fashioned a vessel which looked like a little boat. He placed the child inside and tied the little boat to his arm with strong vines of ivy. [307]

This amusing illustration shows the king, clad only in his crown, steering his young daughter to safety in what appears to be a hollowed out log (CP 7). Christine is quite clear in her story that the King pulled the boat behind him as he swam across the river, which is certainly not the case in this depiction. Neither Christine nor Boccaccio claim Metabus swam naked. However, the artist has chosen to portray this rarely depicted aspect of the story perhaps to do just that. Boccaccio's version has Camilla wrapped in bark, tied to the kings spear and launched across the river.[308] Christine no doubt changed this tactic to a less dangerous one, perhaps due to her motherly experience. In any event, the artist of the Dutch *City* paints a very prim and proper Camilla seated in the center of a hollowed log, imprisoned by a too-tight gown, pinned in place like an insect in a collector's box, by her black headdress. (CP 7). There is no hint of the future warrior in this young girl dressed in genteel, restrictive finery. Her father, naked and defeated, at least is shown actively aiding their escape, however humorously.

Camilla grows up in exile adapting to life in the woods, Christine and Boccaccio both tell us, wearing animal skins, hunting wild bear, and learning the art of warfare. At maturity, she raises an army and conquers her father's lost kingdom.[309] She plays a small part in Virgil's *Aeneas*, as his enemy, to be killed by one of his warriors. Camilla was devoted to Diana, the goddess of the hunt, who avenges her in the end. The Dutch

miniature of Camilla, though charming, undermines Christine's text with its frail, decorative portrayal of the young warrior, forcing her through constrictive fashion to conform to the image of the good daughter. As luck would have it, a more valiant image of Camilla is found in a miniature illustrating the French translation of Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* (Fig. 34). Both Christine and Boccaccio emphasize Camilla's wilderness skills, and here she is shown her with a slingshot and a spear hunting deer. Camilla is completely clothed in fur, well-tailored, resembling the *houppelandes* popular when this manuscript was first created in 1401. Boccaccio informs us that Camilla, future queen of the Volscians, as a devotee of the goddess Diana, was renowned for her chastity, her hunting ability, and disdained women's work.[310] Brigette Buettner asserts this miniature does not reinforce Boccaccio's text as much as it insists on hunting as a princely occupation, for since 1397 hunting, under the reign of Charles VI, was strictly limited to the nobility, the clergy and the wealthy *bourgeoisie.*[311] Unlike the Camilla in the Dutch *City*, Boccaccio's Camilla also wears her crown. Once again, the artists of the Dutch *City of Ladies* deny a queen her royal regalia. Although in both cases of Fredegund and Camilla their nobility is emphasized, the illustration of Boccaccio's Camilla is more in keeping with Christine's text than the one designed to accompany her own. We are moving further and further away from Christine's thorough purpose in this miniature created over half a century after her text was written, and the artist's main intent is now to entertain rather than educate.

However warrior women are visualized in the fifteenth-century manuscripts here examined, we find they are rarely depicted "warring" at all. Even Christine has her artists emphasize the intellectual process of discussing history rather

than the action required of those women making that history in *The Book of the City of Ladies*. The view of male authors on women's general passivity is the most likely reason Camilla is painted so passively by artist of the Dutch *City of Ladies*, giving the viewer no indication of the vengeful virago she became as an adult (Fig. 34). The underlying motivation is clear: to present the preferred picture of women as passive and pretty, with this visual equivalent of the status quo (CP 7). The images of Christine's warring women are made to conform to the conservative, acceptable gender roles established by society, in spite of the radical nature of Christine's text. The objective is now to describe their fascinating beauty, not to glorify their deeds. The only exception to this rule appears when the patrons of the texts are women who may have requested powerful depictions of their heroines, in light of the recent heroic exemplar in Joan of Arc (1412-31). More commonly, however, Christine's radical creed disappears in a dazzling display of coquetry, falling closer to Boccaccio's aim of entertainment than Christine's desire to encourage and ennoble through both text and image.

Inventors

We turn now from a discussion of warrior women in Part One of *The Book of the City of Ladies* to women who contributed to civilization in constructive ways, primarily through their inventions. Many of these inventions are ascribed to various deities, as mentioned in the case of Minerva. Now we turn to Ceres and Isis, Roman and Egyptian deities respectively, whose lives are given a distinctive spin by Christine de Pizan in *The City*. To understand these miniatures, both found in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*, we return to

the representation of classical gods and goddesses in the Middle Ages, touched upon earlier in this chapter with the "children of the planets" cycles. This original iconography is Arabic, and was transmitted to Europe in the thirteenth century via astrological manuscripts.[312] The European versions of these cycles show the deity in the heavens and below them their "children" and the human activities they govern. Christine, as an astrologer's daughter, was familiar with a variety of astrological treatises and in directing the illustrations for deities utilized sources from the Arabic tradition as well as the popular pictures from the illustrated *Ovid*.[313] She had these compositions adapted to provide a direct visual message that underscores a single aspect of the individual's powers, as we shall see in the case of Ceres and Isis.

Reason begins this section of Part One with a discussion of Minerva, Ceres, and Isis, a trio of wisdom figures whose inventions of metallurgy, agriculture and grafting, among many other things, improved the lives of humankind. As in the earlier *Letter to Othea*, the miniatures commissioned by Christine enhance any and all associations with wisdom.[314] The Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies* was illustrated half a century after the miniatures by the *Epistre* and *The City of Ladies* Masters, and these later artists relied upon a myriad of visual motifs to create their descriptive illustrations of these goddesses.

Arachne, unlike Minerva, Ceres and Isis, was never revered as a goddess, but rather as a human who dared to challenge a god and suffered the consequences. The story of the ancient weaver survives through her entanglement with the ancient classical deities, (Minerva in particular) and her story is used as a trope on the consequences not only of pride, but of challenging your superiors, be they gods or the local nobility.

Christine's account of Arachne's life and deeds, as we shall see later in this secton, stress her gifts to humanity, rather than the tragic outcome of her contest with Minerva.

Ceres

Ceres is discussed not as a goddess but as an ancient Queen of Sicily in Chapter Thirty-five of *The City*, for Christine, agreeing with Boccaccio on this point, writes:

> Poets dreamed up the fable that Ceres' daughter was carried off by Pluto, the God of Hell. And because of the authority of her knowledge, and the great good she brought to the world, the people of that time worshipped her and called her the Goddess of Grain.[315]

Reason explains that Ceres, like Minerva, was not really a goddess but an ancient Queen of Sicily with a spectacular green thumb. We must again turn to *The Letter to Othéa* to discover Christine's views on just how a goddess should be portrayed. The *Epistre* Master transforms the traditional image of a goddess enthroned above encouraging her children and their activities below into something more specific. In the rendering of Ceres and Isis, the artist follows the format presented earlier in the case of Minerva, placing the goddess in the sky, as if she were a planet, handing down armaments to soldiers below (Fig. 28). So, too, The *Epistre* Master follows suit and shows Ceres scattering seeds from the clouds above an empty plowed field (Fig. 35). There are no human beings in sight. This dynamic miniature also adds another possible layer of meaning. Ceres is separated from the earth by undulating clouds patterned into a crescent shape. The crescent shape is echoed directly above the

clouds by the cloth holding the seeds. This and the miraculously sprouting wheat below have led several scholars to associate Ceres with the Virgin Mary and the Eucharist.[316]

Ceres, Christine tells us in *The Book of the City of Ladies,* domesticated animals, invented the plow, and taught her people the art of cultivation. The artist of the Dutch *City* represents Ceres quite differently than the *Epistre* Master. This Queen of Sicily plows the field in full courtly regalia. (Fig. 36) Unfortunately the miniature has been damaged, blurring the image of the oxens' heads. Ceres raises a stick to use to whip the oxen with one brittle, tightly-sleeved arm. Her unwieldy turban, constrictive gown, and insect-like form are no hindrances to this fashionable super-woman as she marches forward to prove the worth of her greatest contribution to history and agriculture. The artist suggests her power through vigorous action, in spite of all her restrictive finery. In this way, the artist of the Dutch *City* remains true to Christine's text, and, unwittingly, to the most important element found in the *Epistre* miniature, that of the Goddess actively creating agriculture rather than simply inspiring it. This portrayal of Ceres also meets the standard of the day by making visually clear an important individual by clothing them in the costume of the nobility. Although Christine refers to her as a queen, in keeping with the practice of the artistic workshops producing the Dutch *City of Ladies*, she is given no crown in this portrayal.

Isis

Christine tells the story of Isis directly after that of Ceres, following a pattern she established earlier in the *Letter to Othéa,* as all, including Minerva, are associated with wisdom and its practical applications. In miniatures illustrating

Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women,* Isis is generally depicted in a boat, arriving in Egypt in order to teach the Egyptians about cultivation and horticulture.[317] At first glance, the viewer may have no idea that the figures were Egyptian, dressed as they are in European fashions, greeting a European lady arriving in a European boat. The *Epistre* Master transforms this prototype to align it with his new and improved image of Ceres (Fig. 35). In fact, they are painted together on the same folio, in adjoining miniatures. Here Isis leans out from a portal made of undulating clouds, to reach down and touch the earth through the act of grafting a tree. The pairing of Ceres and Isis in this way is without precedent visually, and allows Christine to stress through her artist that the kinship between the two is that both are "goddesses of the land."[318] The emphasis on grafting, additionally, provides Christian iconographical foreshadowing, for, as W. Wells has written, the regenerative function of grafting is sometimes used metaphorically to symbolize the dry tree of Jesse which is greened by the Virgin, producing Christ.[319] In the much later Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*, Isis is seen instructing the Egyptians (who look remarkably like Dutch or Flemish laborers) in the art of gardening and grafting (Fig. 37). Unlike Ceres, Isis prefers to let others work as she calls out instructions, indicated by her gesture of speech—the pointed index finger. Both of her workers distort their poses and expressions to indicate they are listening intently to her instructions. Isis is clothed in the too-tight and too-long fashions of the day. Her black headdress with bands of cloth around the face and pointed henin in back is representative of up-to-date fashion in Flanders and France. This miniature, too, has unfortunately been damaged by moisture, blotting out the head of the center laborer.

In Chapter Thirty-Six of *The City*, Christine tells us that Jupiter transformed Isis into a cow to escape the detection of his angry wife Hera, sounding remarkably like the story of Jupiter and his lover Io. Christine writes that Jupiter loved Isis and "for some reason she went from Greece to Egypt"[320] where Isis taught the Egyptians many useful things such as an abridged writing script and grafting and horticulture. Christine also credits Isis with establishing law in Egypt, causing her to be so revered that, like Ceres, she began to be worshipped as a goddess after her death. Christine honors Isis and Ceres as examples of good queens who improved the lives of their subjects through their inventions. In keeping with the sentiments of the author, the artist of the Dutch *City has* envisaged both Ceres and Isis as high ranking noblewomen instead of goddesses or queens. They sport turbans and henins, but no crowns. In the *Epistre* Master's portrayal of Ceres and Isis, clouds indicate their lofty status, as Christine writes "where the images are in the clouds it is to be understood that they are the figures of gods or goddesses...because deity is something spiritual and elevated from the earth."[321] Why are deities treated differently in text and image in the works supervised by Christine herself? No doubt the answer lies in the intent of the books themselves. *The Epistre de Othea* is a political commentary clothed in the chivalric symbols of the day. *The Book of the City of Ladies* is far more subversive. She intends to change her culture's perspective on the worth of women, past present and future. Surprisingly, in spite of their lack of crowns, we occasionally do find harmony between Christine's intentions and the artist's creative interpretation even generations later. The Dutch *City* was commissioned at a time and place when the wisest women in the land were not queens but duchesses, such as Margaret of Burgundy for whom *The*

Treasure of the City of Ladies was written; this Margaret also became associated with Burgundy through marriage. She was born an English princess and then married to Burgundian duke Charles the Bold. Admired for her wisdom, benevolence and leadership, Margaret was, by historical accounts, a savvy and inventive ruler, preserving the Duchy of Burgundy after her husband's demise, protecting her stepdaughter Mary of Burgundy, allying her land with the powerful Hapsburgs of Germany, and guiding her grandson Philip to bring peace and prosperity to the duchy.[322] So perhaps there was no need for crowns to indicate the virtues of female power in the duchy of Burgundy in the fifteenth century. A flamboyant turban or *henin*, like those worn by the Duchess, would certainly do. Christine honors Isis and Ceres as examples of good leaders who improved living conditions through their ingenuity and sense of duty, and she most certainly would have been pleased for them to take on the garb of this late fifteenth century paragon of virtue, another inspirational Margaret.

Arachne

Arachne, a mortal woman, was a weaver and is sometimes associated with its invention. The trouble is, so was the goddess Minerva, also the goddess of civilization and more to the point, war (not the best individual to challenge). No one knows when or if Arachne lived, but we know her story – for she takes on Minerva in a weaving contest with drastic results. Christine tells us Arachne is a "maiden from the land of Asia... the first to invent the process for dying woolens in various colors and of weaving art works into cloth, like a painter."[323] Reason is referring here to the making of tapestries, the most

costly and highly valued art form in the courts of Christine's royal patrons in France and Burgundy in the fifteenth century.

The miniature in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies* does not depict the disasters normally associated with Arachne's story (CP 8). Instead, we see her at work, making a fifteenth century *mille fiores* tapestry on a vertical loom. Arachne is seated in a small grey room before an enormous loom weaving a floral tapestry. There are two large baskets of colored yarn next to her loom. The miniature is in the same style as that of the artist depicting Ceres, Isis and Minerva, discussed above. Arachne wears a tight silvery grey gown and an aristocratic Flemish blunt henin with a white band of cloth about her face. Unfortunately, this area of the miniature has been marred by dampness, blurring the details of her features. The miniature, truly reflecting the sentiments of Christine's text, portrays several of Arachne's accomplishments in one scene: brilliantly dyed wools and her skill as a weaver of tapestries. Reason explains that after discovering how to dye threads, Arachne begins to weave them together to create pictures as if she were painting with threads. She only briefly mentions that according to legend, Arachne competed with the supposed goddess Minerva in a contest of this art. Arachne was summarily defeated by Minerva who abruptly turned her into a spider.[324] After this all too quick dismissal, Reason launches into a list of Arachne's other accomplishments:

> This woman discovered an even more necessary science, for she was the first to invent a way of cultivating flax and hemp...as well as steeping and hackling the flax, spinning it with a distaff, and weaving linen. It seems to me that this technique was necessary for the world, although

> many men have reproached women for practicing it. This Arachne also invented the art of making nets, snares, and traps for catching birds and fishes, and she invented the art of fishing and trapping strong and cruel wild beasts with snares and nets... [325]

Supposedly it was Arachne's erotic "Loves of the Gods" scene on her tapestry which so enraged Minerva. The artist of the Dutch *City* replaces that ill-fated scene with the *mille fiores* subject of beautifully accurate botanical motifs so prized in tapestry in the late fifteenth century.[326] As this particular manuscript is a Dutch production, highlighting the celebrated style of tapestry produced in this region at this time is certainly intentional. Although tapestries were produced by workshops headed by men in family businesses, many wives and daughters worked at the looms as well. Arachne in the Dutch *City* is seated before a vertical loom, the kind "chiefly used in private settings for smaller pieces"[327]and looking very much like a painting.[328]

Boccaccio dismisses the invention of weaving as unimportant, stating "the world was better off when people only lived from haws and acorns, and wore nothing more than animal skins. "[329] Christine argues that Jesus wore clothes and ate bread, not haws and acorns and the like – and the discoveries of Ceres and Isis and Arachne are the basis of our civilized life, and that the "more goods, favors and boons the human creature receives from God the better we are able to serve God." [330] Christine's continues by writing that weaving "was quite necessary for the world, though so many men have reproached women for practicing it."[331] Valuing the work that women traditionally do, in addition to their ability to handle more

"masculine" labors, is underscored by Christine throughout her writing. "She does not merely claim that women originated many technologies conventionally credited to men, she also praises the arts women are traditionally thought to have added to the world, specifically disagreeing with the poet Boccaccio and others authors," writes Maureen Quilligan.[332] Supporting the positive interpretation of Arachne chosen by Christine, the artist of the Dutch *City of Ladies* portrayal enhances Arachne's creativity, rather than her suicide recounted by Boccaccio (Fig. 38). Boccaccio and the many artists illustrating his *Concerning Famous Women* show Arachne's dramatic suicide by hanging rather than the weavings that made her famous. In this miniature the dead weaver's hands are tangled poignantly in the threads of her work, as if she is still weaving. Boccaccio claims the belief that Arachne was turned into a spider by the angry goddess is mere folklore. He contends her suicide was due to her inability to endure defeat. He chastises her and others like her for seeking fame through their art, however worthy.[333] Bridgett Buettner adds that suicide by hanging is not considered as "noble" a form as that by the sword at this time; nevertheless a comparison of these two miniatures captures the different influences the authors had on the artists visualizing their texts.[334] However damaged, the quiet competency of the weaving woman, a scene no doubt familiar to women of all classes, leaves the viewer with Arachne's laudatory accomplishments in mind, rather than the more florid image conjured by Boccaccio's words and the miniatures chosen to represent her tale (CP 8, Fig. 38).

Scholars and Poets

Not all women making contributions to western civilization were revered as gods in antiquity, or referred to as such in Middle Ages. Christine and Boccaccio both discuss historic figures from Greece and Rome, writers especially, of whom accounts survive. Christine and Reason discuss women accomplished in science, naming Cornificia and Proba of Rome, Manto, Sappho, Medea and Circe of ancient Greece. Of these only two are illustrated in the ambitious cycle of miniatures found in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*; namely Sappho and Cornificia. Of these only Sappho is well-known today. Sappho is celebrated for her poetry as well as accounts by others describing how her poems were received in antiquity. The brilliant Roman poet and scholar, Cornificia, on the other hand, is not as well known today. Although both Boccaccio and Christine praise her, Boccaccio says she achieved her skill by "rejecting the distaff" to labor in more intellectual pursuits. He continues his praise of her at the expense of women in general, whom he characterizes as too lazy and insecure, content only to raise children. "If women were willing to apply themselves to study" writes Boccaccio "they share with men the ability to do everything that makes men famous."[335] Although Christine and Boccaccio agree on the inherent ability of women to achieve greatness, Christine is not willing to relegate their more traditional accomplishments to second place, as we shall see later in this chapter.

Cornificia

The writer and scholar Cornificia (c.85 - 40 BCE.) lived during the Roman Empire. She was educated alongside her brother but soon surpassed him in learning, becoming a scholar

and poet of great renown, according to Christine's account in Chapter Twenty-Eight of Part One of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Cornificia's poetry is not only praised by St. Jerome, (347-420 CE), the translator of the Vulgate, but Pope Gregory the Great (540-604CE) discusses Cornificia in several of his famous letters. Of her early life, Christine writes:

> This little girl so devoted herself to study and with such marvelous intelligence that she began to savor the sweet taste of knowledge acquired through study. Nor was it easy to take her away from this joy to which she more and more applied herself, neglecting all other feminine activities. She occupied herself with this for such a long period of time she became a consummate poet, and she was not only extremely brilliant and expert in the learnedness and craft of poetry but also seemed to have been nourished with the very milk and teaching of perfect philosophy...Knowledge was not enough for her unless she could put her mind to work and her pen to paper in compilation of several very famous works.[336]

Christine quotes Boccaccio often in this chapter, declaring they both agree it is a crime for women "to despise themselves and their own minds...for God has given them such beautiful minds to apply themselves, if they want to, in any of the fields where glorious and excellent men are active."[337] Cornificia, however, as portrayed in the miniature by the *Dresden* Master in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*, does not look particularly content (Fig. 9). She appears to be a rather melancholy scholar, looking a bit depressed in her well-appointed study. She is

seated against a brilliant scarlet canopy, wearing a soft grey gown and veil. The room is rendered in accurate, though rapidly receding, perspective. Cornificia sits before her dark, heavy wooden desk, with a large manuscript open before her. Instead of reading, she leans her head upon her hand, and her half-lowered eyes indicate she is lost in thought, calling to mind the rendering of Christine in portraits for other fifteenth century versions of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. This pose, called the *vacatio* by Millard Meiss, is used throughout antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance to indicate a state where the individual is predisposed to contact with the divine. [338] This state usually refers to sleep, or daydreaming, indicating a lack of awareness of the physical world. From images of Endymion on Roman sarcophagi to Jonah on early Christian sarcophagi, the head in hand with eyes closed indicates that the individual is in the power of something greater –a vision, a divine muse, and inspired dream– all apt descriptions of the creative brain at work. Cornificia's somber grey attire is akin to that of a widow or nun, undecorated save by the nervous white highlighting of the garment, and the center crease of her headdress. Behind her stretches the warm red brocade canopy and brightly colored books stacked on the shelf beside her. Even the tile is bright yellow, and a road wanders invitingly in the green landscape outside the open archway unnoticed by our meditative scholar. As noted in Chapter Two, the life of a woman scholar was one of isolation. Maureen Quilligan compares this portrait of Cornificia in the Dutch *City* with other portraits of Christine in *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames*, making several noteworthy observations on this miniature: "The problematic relationship between the experience of the physical body and the bookish tradition may be seen in a Dutch translation of the *Cité des Dames*...The knife

on the desk beneath the woman's left hand, a knife used for correcting scribal errors, points to the books on the shelf ... Such a detail may suggest that the illuminator understood quite well Christine's argument about the need to correct the written tradition."[339] Quilligan suggests that the *Dresden* Master, known for his psychologically apt, sympathetic renderings of his subjects, may be using Cornificia to represent Christine, for in this copiously illustrated manuscript, another artist was given the assignment to paint Christine's portrait in Part One.[340] The *Dresden* Master's portrayal of Cornificia is full of feeling and suggests, however sympathetically, the melancholic personality associated with genius in the Middle Ages. In medieval medicine it was believed that one way the stars control our personalities is the effect they have on our various organs. The melancholic personality was associated with an abundance of black bile secreted by the liver, an organ ruled by the planet Saturn. Humanists connect this personality with the contemplative individual, and in art the personification of the Melancholic humor often sits dejected in a room full of tools and books, reflecting either a loss of inspiration or the stifling burden of too much knowledge.[341] This describes the Dresden Master's portrayal of Cornificia, a representative of the melancholia that threatens all scholars, male and female alike.

Sappho

Sappho (c. 625-570 BCE) was Greek and lived far earlier than Cornificia, and yet, although little of her poetry survives, she is still regarded as one of the most famous female poets in history. Today this might be due to public interest in her sexuality, as the island of Lesbos where she lived gives its name to the sexual love between women, Lesbianism. Yet this

is not even mentioned by the usually lascivious Boccaccio, who attributes her mournful poetry to unrequited love for a man, not a woman. Boccaccio blames, instead, her muses, who having the power to give her talent were "unwilling to soften the young man's heart when Sappho sang."[342] Christine's account is nearly identical to Boccaccio's, for Reason quotes and paraphrases Boccaccio's praises of Sappho in Chapter Thirty of *The Book of the City of Ladies* as follows:

> Sappho, possessed of sharp wit and burning desire for constant study in the midst of bestial and ignorant men, frequented the heights of Mount Parnassus, that is, of perfect study...she went on her way until she came to the deep grotto of Apollo, God of learning, and found the brook and conduit of the fountain of Castalia and took up the plectrum and quill of the harp and played sweet melodies, with the nymphs all the while leading the dance, that is, following the rules of harmony and musical accord.[343]

In the miniature of Sappho and her companions found in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies* this very event represented (Fig. 39). Although Sappho's companions appear to be chatting rather than moving about in celestial harmony, they do hold hands as if dancing, thereby making this illustration charmingly faithful to the text. Sappho and the nymphs enjoy an idyllic stroll along the river in one of the better productions of the workshop producing most of the miniatures for the Dutch *City*. The landscape of soft, golden hills and blue green river is of similar quality to the miniature of Camilla discussed earlier in this chapter (CP 7). The women are dressed in similarly, with grey and blue scoop-necked gowns fitted so as to accent their

spindly forms. The variety of exotic henins and turbans made of all manner of sumptuous fabrics are the kind favored by the Dutch aristocracy, and are used in miniatures to indicate contemporary, historic or mythic personages of high birth. Sappho stands apart from the nymphs strumming a tune on her harp as she gazes into the depths of the stream. In contrast the Coronation Master's miniature provided for Boccaccio's illustrated *Concerning Famous Women*, shows Sappho lecturing to a mature male audience (Fig. 40). Sappho is seated underneath an imposing architectural structure. She is accorded the status of a scholar, evidenced by her lectern, desk and books. Our Dutch Sappho, on the other hand, seems to have lost her professional status in this depiction (Fig. 39). Bridgett Buettner writes that Sappho is accorded the status of a *clergeresse,* a teaching cleric, by portraying her lecturing to an audience of men (Fig. 40). This portrayal of Sappho by the Coronation Master is not only suggested by Boccaccio's praise, but at the time of this manuscripts production in 1401 Buettner explains, "women could be schoolteachers in medieval Paris; they were categorically excluded from the ecclesiastic institution that was the University."[344] In contrast, the Dutch Sappho actively composes while ascending the legendary heights of Mt. Parnassus through her art, indicating the courtly and aristocratic arena where such arts were commissioned and appreciated in the fifteenth century. Both miniatures honor Sappho in different ways, although the Dutch miniature certainly shows knowledge of Christine's text and refers to it with this unique composition.

Part II: Virtuous Women

Christine ends her discussion of women who have excelled in traditionally masculine areas with an interlude of praise for the good housewife. Ostensibly this acts as a transition to her discussion of women who excel in the traditional womanly arts. The section of Part Two is devoted to wise women of antiquity, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian.

Two of the ten sibyls may be represented in one or two figures in the miniature illustrating Part Two found in the Munich *Book of the City of Ladies* (Cod. Gall. 8), (not reproduced here) Six figures stand outside the city wall (excluding those crowding under the archway behind Christine in the orange gown). Rectitude is one, identifiable by her costume, crown, and ruler. Who are the other four ladies? Two are crowned, and they are not the other Virtues, for they do not carry the mirror, ruler, and vessel designated by Christine de Pizan in the text.[345] The first crowned lady holds a closed green book and the second leans on a sword. Two more ladies with white wimples and veils stand with them. One in the center wearing a loose white turban has her hands clasped in prayer, while the other in a full, white veil, stands to the far right reading a large book. The sibyls are the first women mentioned in Part Two of *The City*, particularly the Erythraean and Cumean sibyls (whom Christine calls the Almathean sibyl).[346] These wise women are followed immediately by Biblical women of prophecy, such as Deborah and Sheba in the Old Testament and Elizabeth and Ann of the New.[347] Other legendary prophetic princesses and queens of history are then mentioned, including Nicostrata of Rome, Cassandra of Troy, Basine the fourth queen of France, and Theodora of Byzantium (whom Christine calls Antonia).[348] While it is impossible to identify each of the four in this miniature, they certainly represent the individuals whose stories are told in the text, due

to the special attention merited them in the miniature. Crowns and turbans, books and swords could easily represent sibyls or old testament prophetesses or saintly queens beheaded for their faith. These four women are not clustered together with the smaller-in-scale citizens behind Christine. The artist hopes to dazzle the fifteenth century viewer for whom these figures were designed with fashionable clothing and chic headgear to aid the reader in identifying with these stylish citizens. There is no need for symbols of any kind here other than the details of fashion.

The ordinary virtues exhibited by women of various classes are discussed throughout the majority of Part Two of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. These are the women who populate the miniatures of The *City* Christine commissioned for her courtly patrons. In this prototype, the virtuous women are shown twice, as a group outside the city walls ushered by Christine and greeted by Rectitude in her *robes royal*. (Fig. 1) The second miniature is located at the beginning of Part Three, and here the virtuous women are within the city, spilling out behind Justice to welcome the Virgin Mary and holy women (Fig. 2). Two women are easily identified in each miniature, Christine in her white horned headdress and blue *cotehardie* and the young lady in the green *cotehardie* with long hanging sleeves and the black *bourrelet*. It is tempting to identify her as Margaret of Burgundy, the inspiration for the companion book the *Treasure of the City of Ladies* written in 1405. Margaret would have been somewhere in her teens at the time of this miniature's execution, engaged to the dauphin Louis whom she marries in 1412. [349] If this is Margaret, her costume is also a bit old fashioned, for a lady of her stature would certainly have been depicted in the more costly *houppelande*, as worn by all the ladies in the presentation miniature to Queen Isabel in the

Harley Opus (London, BL Harley 4431*)*. (Fig. 4) Another intriguing observation is that in all five copies of *The City of Ladies* illuminated by *the City of Ladies Master* and his workshop, there is a lady in the same costume, a *cotehardie* with long hanging sleeves and a black *bourrelet.* In all but one that *cotehardie* is green.[350] After Christine and the Virtues, she is the only figure portrayed with such consistency, so she may very well represent an important, perhaps unmarried woman at the court. Brigette Buettner writes that a young woman with her hair gathered under a *bourrelet* indicates that she is unmarried.[351] Perhaps we will never know her identity, but that does not mean she was unknown to the courtly patrons of this manuscripts, all having sisters and daughters who may have been worthy of such a tribute by Christine.

At this portion of the text at the opening of Part II, Christine asks Reason if women possess "natural prudence," or what we might call common sense. After telling Christine that natural prudence can be found, in greater and lesser amounts like any other natal quality, in both men and women, Reason dictates that such prudence along with acquired knowledge are the most desirable of pairings. Reason warns that even the best of wives are often misunderstood by their husbands, who unfortunately regard their wise advice as simple nagging. Reason turns to the Book of Proverbs to describe the prudent woman:

> Who can find a virtuous, a prudent woman? Her husband will never lack anything. She is renowned throughout the whole land, and her husband is proud of her because she always gives him every good and rich thing...She is like the merchant's ship which brings all kinds of goods

> and which supplies bread...She makes herself clothes from silk and purple, with honor and fame, and her husband is honored when he sits among the leaders of the world's elders. She makes fabrics and fine linens, which she sells, and her own clothes are strength and honor, and for this reason, her joy shall be perpetual...She despises false glory and vain beauty. [352]

There are many unfinished miniatures in the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies,* but one in particular on folio 99v may be a representation of this proverb, for it shows several women kneeling before bundles of "fabrics and fine linens" which they sort and sew. This is fitting as the final portion of Part One Christine extols the often thankless role of the exemplary wife. Although arguing for recognition for women and their achievements in the so-called masculine arena, she refuses to ignore the traditional, un-praised contributions of day to day life made by the average woman. Her exemplars for *The Book of the City of Ladies,* however, are generally more famous or noble than the average good burger's wife. In the medieval hierarchical world view, one looks up the social ladder for models, rarely down. Christine does, however, include Lisabetta, a woman from the bourgeois class, as an example of extreme fidelity.

Christine and Rectitude, the narrator of this portion of the text, discuss the erroneous belief some hold that women are less faithful in love than are men. Dido, Hero, and Leander, the women discussed in Proverbs are all celebrated in the text, and a miniature was planned for each in Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*, although never finished. These tales focus on women who display, if somewhat severe, faithfulness in love. In the

case of Lisabetta and the regal Ghismonda, their devotion to their lovers becomes so extreme that today we would regard them as pathological.

Ghismonda and Lisabetta

The story of Ghismonda and Lisabetta are both retold by Christine, not from Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women*, but from his earlier work, the *Decameron,* originally written in 1348-53 and translated into French by Laurent de Premierfait by 1418. The *Decameron* consists of one hundred tales told by seven ladies and three gentlemen during their exile in a country villa, where they have fled to escape the bubonic plague raging in Florence. Each guest is required to tell one tale per night over the course of ten nights with a different theme assigned for each evening. Boccaccio's *Decameron* was enormously popular and influential in European literature for several centuries and was translated into several languages, most importantly for the present study, French. One significant repercussion of this book's influence were collections invented in imitation of the *Decameron*, such as the profusely illustrated *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, one hundred tales told by various members of the Burgundian court. This beautifully illustrated manuscript was presented to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in the late 1460's in the very court where the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies* was commissioned only a few years later.[353] Thus, the artists had varied sources of inspiration for illustration.

The tales of Ghismonda and Lisabetta are told the night the theme is those whose loves are violently opposed by their families. In an attempt to thwart the lovers, the families have

the young women's beloveds put to death. Christine utilizes these grisly stories as evidence that women are as faithful in love as men, if not more so. The Dutch *City* is the only manuscript of this text to illustrate the accounts of Ghismonda and Lisabetta and their morose devotion to their murdered lovers.

The miniature of Ghismonda from the Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies* illustrates the terrible outcome of Ghismonda's faithfulness in love. In the story she returns to home to live with her father, Tancredi, after becoming a widow. She pledges at that time to care for her father and never remarry (Fig. 41). In short time, however, she takes a servant as her lover. Christine holds the father responsible for Ghismonda's waywardness for not allowing his daughter to marry again, which is according to her, right and natural. Instead, he binds her to him with a promise of eternal servitude in the guise of parental devotion.[354] Christine, surprisingly, does not side with the notion of duty to a parent, showing sympathy for Ghismonda who was "the complete joy of her father's old age, was well aware of her own beauty, youth and fine upbringing, and thought it was not particularly pleasant to spend her youth without a husband."[355] This practical, compassionate view held by Christine regarding the needs of a young widow for physical companionship foreshadows the pragmatism found within the pages of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* discussed in Chapter Four.

When Ghismonda's father discovers her affair, he has her lover killed and sends his heart to her in a golden goblet. Ghismonda pours poison into the goblet and drinks from it. The miniature illustrates her final moments when she calls her father to her bedside so he may watch her die, the result of his evil handiwork (Fig. 41). The artist crowds four figures into this

small miniature, one of whom is Ghismonda, in bed. She leans upon one elbow, sporting a large turban on her head. She holds the goblet with her lover's heart. Her father looks remorseful, clasping his hands and glancing dolefully toward the lady to his right. The artist may have combined two scenes into one, for Ghismonda's ladies inform Tancredi that Ghismonda is dying. Christine tells us the father, too, will die of grief over his daughter's death, an element of Christine's narrative not found in Boccaccio's version of the tale.[356] Ghismonda's suicide is shown with great drama and emotion by these stiff, tiny figures that gesture, roll their eyes, and clasp hands together with melodramatic vigor.

Ghismonda's saga is followed by another from the *Decameron*, the sad romance of Lisabetta found in Chapter Sixty-Two of Part Two of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. She, too, demonstrates an extraordinary case of faithfulness in love (Fig. 42). Lisabetta was in love with her childhood sweetheart, but her two brothers plan a more advantageous alliance. They murder her lover and bury him in the garden. Lisabetta digs up his body, removes his head, hides it in a flower pot and plants it with basil. She refuses to marry and cherishes this plant until the end of her life, to the puzzlement of her brothers. The artist from the Dutch *City* portrays Lisabetta, her *henin* listing to one side, at the window of a crenellated castle wall. Lisabetta is ministering to a large pot of basil on the window sill. Though hardly the most dramatic moment in the plot, this scene is certainly the easiest to portray. Although not from a noble family, she is certainly garbed as such, perhaps to make her more acceptable to her courtly reader.

Maureen Quilligan notes that Christine's versions of Boccaccio's two tales are condensed in such a way as to

emphasize "the female's agency in the plot."[357] Both these tragic tales are not offered by Christine as models to follow. Rectitude, narrator of Part Two of *The Book of the City of Ladies*, makes this quite clear:

> But these are pitiful examples, as well as many others which I could tell you, should in no way move women's hearts to set themselves adrift in the dangerous and damnable sea of foolish love, for its end is always detrimental and harmful to their bodies, their property their honor, and – most important of all - to their souls. Women should conduct themselves wisely and with good sense and should know how to avoid this kind of love and not to listen to those who incessantly try to deceive them in such cases.[358]

Christine, practical until the end, does not shy from telling these morbid stories of faithfulness in love to refute current ideas about the immorality of women, but she certainly does not advise such action for her readers. In *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, companion to *The City*, discussed in Chapter Four, will focus on more practical advice for women in such situations.

Dress and Virtue:

The Case of Claudia Quinta

Sensible, class-appropriate clothing is an issue of importance to Christine, and her warnings against overindulgence in this area abound throughout *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, and can also be found in *The Book of the City* as well. Claudia Quinta, a noble Roman woman, we find, is

so fond of pretty clothes that her reputation suffers. Rectitude tells Christine "Yet great blame has been placed upon those women who enjoy being pretty in both their clothes and ornaments, and it is said that they do this in order to attract men to their love."[359] She warns that although vanity is a vice, fine clothing is not a reliable indication of sin:

> I can assure you that not all these women have acted this way out of foolish love, but that many people, men and women, take delight in coquettishness or in beautiful and rich clothes and cleanliness and in stately and dignified things. If such a desire occurs to them naturally, it would be very difficult for them to avoid it, no matter how great their virtues. Is it not written that the apostle Bartholomew, who was a gentleman, wore clothes of silk with fringe and precious stones in his entire life in spite of our Lord's preaching poverty?[360]

With the phrase "if such a desire occurs to them naturally" followed later in the passage by "Bartholomew, who was a gentleman," we can assume Christine means that the nobility, born to wealth, naturally dress richly and this does not necessarily indicate vanity. Clothing to Christine is first a symbol of class. It can also represent vanity, although this case Claudia exemplifies the former and is accused of the latter. Rectitude concludes that no one should be judged a saint or a sinner by their clothes alone, using the case of Claudia Quinta to prove her point. She cites both Boccaccio and the Roman poet Valerius (84-54 BCE) on Claudia Quinta in this case. The story goes as follows. A ship bearing the revered statue of Magna Mater, the mother of the Gods, arrived in port but for some mysterious reason could not approach the shore. Claudia

prayed to the goddess and was inspired to pull the boat ashore singlehandedly with the aid of her belt (Fig. 43). The miniature from the Dutch *City* shows an empty boat, with no image of the statue, or anyone else for that matter, on board.[361] We do see our tiny, round-shouldered, thin-armed heroine, Claudia, encumbered by a monstrously large turban of gold and silver cloth, vigorously leaning forward to pull in the ship with a long belt studded with ornaments. Her companions, who may be the very maidens who accuse her of unchastity, do not seem suitably amazed by her feat, standing daintily with heads inclined under the weight of their *henins*. Claudia, however, has not used her own belt, as the text describes, but borrowed one from her companion, who stands with her back to us in an unbelted gown, while Claudia's belt remains securely cinched in place.

Christine de Pizan writes more forcefully of the dangers of extravagant dress in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, as we shall explore in the next chapter. Rectitude and Christine let Claudia off lightly this time, but in the college of ladies, established in *The Treasure*, women will be warned against the many dangers to their reputations being traced to expensive clothing. Perhaps Claudia Quinta is not chastised here as she is not dressing above her station, one of the most dangerous errors women can make, according to Christine.[362]

PART III: The Queen, Her Court and Subjects

Part Three of *The City of Ladies* is devoted to the lives of Christian holy women and saints. As such, Boccaccio's texts do not offer any stories for Christine to follow, as this topic is not covered in *Famous Women* or the *Decameron*. In this section, the smallest third of *The City*, Christine speaks entirely

through Justice, the virtue who narrates Part Three and recites the lives of these Holy women. In the original miniatures by the *City of Ladies* Master, the deeds of heroic women are not illustrated, although the women are included as the unidentified citizens of the City (Fig 1). The images of the holy women Justice and Christine discuss in Part Three are first found illustrated in the final miniature by the *City of Ladies* Master (Fig. 2). In all versions of these early miniatures, Mary is recognizable in her time-honored blue gown, mantle and gold crown as the Queen of Heaven. It is in that capacity, as Queen now of *The City of Ladies*, that Mary is welcomed in this miniature placed at the opening of Part Three. She holds a book and golden scepter instead of the Christ Child, symbolizing her power to rule. The book is a traditional symbol of wisdom, and an appropriate attribute of Mary in her role as Sophia or Wisdom.[363] In this case, the book might also represent Christ as the Logos or the Word. Needless to say, Christine's choice of the book rather than the Christ child in the third miniature for *The City of Ladies* underscores her message encouraging women not only to seek and model themselves after educated women, and Mary is represented as such throughout this period, linking her to other the other goddesses of women discussed earlier. Behind Mary cluster various women saints, few of whom are identifiable by their attributes. Rectitude in her red gown and ermine *plastron* kneels before Mary and the Holy women, and the citizens of *the City of Ladies* follow suit under the arched entrance.

A charming version of this scene is found in a third quarter fifteenth- century French miniature in the Paris *Book of the City of Ladies*. (Paris, BN ms fr.1177, Fig. 44) All citizens are eliminated from the miniature, leaving only Justice and Mary within a small courtyard of colorful floor tiles within the

backdrop of a beautifully completed city. Although crowned, Mary is without the book and scepter given to her by Christine in the prototype miniature. Instead, she holds the Christ child, who smiles and reaches out toward Justice, who has grasped Mary's hand to lead her into the city. In fact, all later versions of this scene for *The Book of the City of Ladies* produced in the fifteenth century represent Mary holding the Christ child, without the book or scepter found in Christine's prototype (Figs.45, 46). Why the change? Maureen Quilligan believes "it also makes the queen of the city a mother, and the section in which she is introduced is thus by implication devoted to the idea of motherhood."[364] Many of the narratives in Part Three address the particular tribulations of motherhood, and Christine devotes a short section to women, though not saints, who saw their children martyred.[365] The substitution of the child for the book in Mary's arms alters the visual message— from intellectual to domestic—to create a far more palatable, traditional image of Mary for late fifteenth-century readers.

As per her iconographic tradition, Mary typically has the long, unbound hair of a virgin. Mary's role as both a virgin and a mother may be due to the origins of the Marian cult itself.[366] Various goddesses, including Minerva and heroic mothers Ceres and daughter Persephone or Isis and son Horace, influenced the development of Marian imagery both theologically and visually.[367] Christa Gröossinger writes that in late medieval iconography, "no woman was higher in virtue than the Virgin Mary, who was both the ideal woman and mother, and no holy figure was so well represented in all the arts; as the mother of Christ, she was also the best intercessor, intervening on behalf of human souls at the last judgment."[368] Therefore, no woman was better suited to be the ruler and queen of Christine's secular utopia, the city of ladies.

Although the earliest portrayals of Mary commissioned by Christine for *The City* show her being courteously welcomed at the city gates, this will not always be the case in miniatures from the late fifteenth century. One such example is situated at the beginning of Part Three in the Vienna *Book of the City of Ladies* (ONB Cod. 2605, Fig. 45). Here the artist, identified by Otto Pacht as the *Teneyken* Maser, places Mary at the apex of the composition itself under an arch at the highest point in the city.[369] The *Teneyken* Master has devised a composition to mirror the sentiment of the text, creating a scene of the ceremonial investiture of the Virgin Mary as the city's Queen. Justice elaborates:

> Now come to us, Heavenly Queen, Temple of God, Cell and Cloister of the Holy Spirit, Vessel of the Trinity, Joy of the Angels, Star and Guide to those who have gone astray, Hope of the True Creation. My Lady, what man is so brazen to dare think or say that the feminine sex is vile in beholding your dignity? (The Virgin replies in the following paragraph) O Justice, greatly beloved by my Son, I will live and abide most happily among my sisters and friends, for Reason, Rectitude and you, as well as Nature, urge me to do so. They serve, praise and honor me unceasingly, for I am and will always be the head of the female sex.[370]

The reader learns all further construction to complete the city is made possible through the lives of the holy women here recounted. In the Vienna *Book of the City of Ladies* twenty-seven spindly saints in red and blue, all sporting haloes, assemble outside the walls or near the central arch at the top of

the city. On a platform under this arch in a green canopy tent lined with scarlet and gold, Mary presents the Christ child to the citizens of the city of ladies. The Virtues and Christine are located in the foreground at the bottom of the miniature. Rectitude, holding her long wooden rule, is dressed like a widow in her white wimple and brown robes, while Christine, next to her, poses like a princess in a high steeple *henin* and tight red gown.

This positioning of the Virgin Mary and the Christ child, surrounded by saints as they are "revealed" when the flaps of the tent are pulled back, certainly suggests the *tableaux vivants*, which were such an important part of pageantry in Northern Europe at this time. Whether to celebrate a holy day, the marriage or entry of a ruler to the city, living paintings of history or religion were staged on platforms throughout the route of the distinguished personages.[371] Such multimedia festivities utilized all the arts, offering inspiration for artists witnessing such events or even involved in their design. The compositions they inspired are found in paintings, large and small, including miniatures produced for courtly patrons.

A few illustrated versions of *The Book of the City of Ladies* leave out Mary altogether in miniatures in this section of the manuscript. The reason for the omission of Mary or any of the holy women of Part Three varies; the Geneva and Paris *City* have miniatures portraying the "field of letters" and the discussion of Christine and the Virtues instead (Fig. 12, 13). It is unusual to find miniatures in *The City* illustrating the heroines of the text at all. An exception to this rule is the copiously illustrated Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*. This work has spaces planned for miniatures to illustrate the lives of every woman of the text, but unfortunately many were never finished.

There are no images here of any of the holy women of Part Three.

Although *The Book of the City of Ladies* is a secular text, inspired primarily by Boccaccio, Christine expands beyond Boccaccio's history for her sources. Her inclusion of the Christian holy women Boccaccio ignores helps to legitimize her utopia in the eyes of her contemporaries. This purpose is echoed by Justice when she tells Christine that now it is time to bring to the city "its most excellent Queen, blessed among women, and her noble company, so that she may rule and govern the City inhabited by the multitude of noble ladies from her court and household, for I see palaces and tall mansions ready and furnished, the streets paved to receive her most excellent and honorable company and assembly."[372]

The first lives discussed in Part Three are those of Mary Magdalene and the other ladies who accompanied the Virgin Mary at the crucifixion of her son, when he was "deserted by all His Apostles," asserts Justice.[373] The next is St. Catherine of Alexandria, a saint as well as a queen, noted for her wisdom and spiritual strength. These two, the Magdalene and Catherine, are the only two saints who can be identified by their attributes portrayed by *The City of Ladies* Master in all prototype miniatures accompanying *The City* (Fig. 2). Here, crowded behind Mary, we can spot Magdalene with her ointment jar and possibly Catherine of Alexandria with her simple fillet crown and martyr's palm parading toward the arched gateway of the city and the bowing forms of Justice and the worthy ladies already inhabiting the city.[374]

Two later fifteenth-century manuscripts provide much larger scenes filled with women saints for the opening of Part Two. The first is in the aforementioned Vienna *City of Ladies*

by the *Teneyken* Master (Fig. 45). Next to the Madonna and Child on either side are three saints. The one on the far write holds the ointment jar, the traditional symbol of Mary Magdalene. Next to her stands a woman holding a sword in her left hand and a martyr's crown in her right. Could she be Catherine of Alexandria, mentioned next in Christine's text? Iconographically, she is missing the book symbolizing her wisdom, the wheel of her torture, and the crown symbolizing her royal status. However, there are no crowns to be seen on any of the saints in the Vienna *Book of the City of Ladies*. If this is Catherine of Alexandria, then we have represented two of the first saints discussed in the text of Part Three. An unidentified older female saint in white kerchief and wimple and an angel stands to the left of the Virgin. A large number of saints and holy citizens of the city stand in the foreground with Christine and the Virtues. Veronica, holding the cloth bearing the face of Christ, is included within this group, although she is not mentioned at all in the text. Another prominent saint holds pincers, or tongs, identifying her as Agatha, who is mentioned in the text and is most often associated with this attribute.[375] A woman in the background with a halo holds a sword. The three Virtues hold their attributes proudly, as would-be saints—Justice with both the bowl and the sword. There is no doubt that Justice, the narrator of Part Three, is given the most prominent placement in the foreground of the composition. There are nine unidentified haloed women also in front of the city and at least four with golden rays in the upper regions of the architecture at the far right. Curiously, at the furthermost point of the miniature's top right, positioned humbly behind a tower, is pair of faces that may indicate a man and a woman, paying homage to Mary and her retinue under the arch. The original patron of

this manuscript remains unknown, although Otto Pact believes it was executed in Normandy around 1470. [376]

The second miniature portraying an unusually large number of female saints is the magnificent Royal *City of Ladies*, a manuscript containing nine miniatures and the text of both *The City* and *the Treasure* (BR 9235-7), (Fig 46). This miniature contains sixteen figures executed in a hasty manner, lacking the gold highlights of the previous five miniatures in this manuscript. Even the border lacks animals and birds within its ivy scroll. The ladies line up at the meeting of three roads before the walls of the City. Their scale with regard to the trees lining the roads indicates they are superior beings indeed. Leading the group at the right is Christine, followed by five Dutch noblewomen with rather large heads and the characteristic flat-topped henins and veils worn by Dutch and Flemish aristocracy. They represent the worthy civilians who now populate their city, emerging from the gate to greet their queen. This compositional element is in keeping with the prototype established by *The Book of City of Ladies* Master for the opening miniature of Part Three (Fig. 2). Placed prominently to the immediate left of Christine is Catherine of Alexandria in a white over-gown fitted with old-fashioned slit sleeves. She holds the martyr's palm and wears a crown indicating her status as a princess. Also positioned to her left is St. Barbara, holding a palm and a three-storied tower. This is unusual, for Mary Magdalene is more prominent in the text, but the object is too elaborate to be an ointment jar. St. Barbara's story is included in this section of *The City*. Justice, as per usual, holds a very prominent position in the composition, and is the tallest of all the figures. Her vessel looks more like a large clay jug instead of the bowl described in the text. Slightly behind Justice to the left stands the Virgin Mary holding a very

active, if spindly, Christ child. Mary is slightly larger than the other women and wears her long, brown hair unbound, topped by a crown. Her rosy cheeks and sweet expression indicate she will be a benign, kindly Queen. Behind the Virgin cluster other ladies wearing the tunics and mantles reserved for saints in the art of this period. There are no haloes. All have long, unbound hair, indicating they are virgin martyrs, which is remarkable, as Christine does not limit her discussion of holy women to virgins. A martyr's palm and the pincers again are among the only identifiable attributes held by this saintly assembly. Christine kneels to greet these women, and behind her are the worthy women representing the community of *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Christine's headdress indicates a wire support, and her gown has a white collar like a *houppelande*, which are no longer fashionable at this time, differing slightly from other depictions of her in this manuscript (CP 5, Figs. 46, 47, 55).

The holy women represent exemplars to Christine's feminine audience, for their lives most closely resemble the Virgin, the ultimate role model for aristocratic women. Especially revered are the virgin martyrs, who died for their faith.[377] Like Mary, these saints acted as intercessors and were appealed to often with regard for a special need, an ailment, or an experience associated with their lives. Though virginity is generally regarded as a sign of moral purity, Christine contends it is less valuable for women than chaste living. Chastity is prized by Christine as a source of freedom for women in general and strength in particular for saintly women as well as heroic Amazons.[378] Although social norms required women to be obedient to their fathers and husbands, it is important to note that in matters of faith, many of these female saints resisted parental plans for marriage in order to lead a chaste, religious life of their choosing; Saints Barbara and Dorothy are prime

examples of this.[379] The Magdalene was not a virgin or a martyr in the eyes of Christine's contemporaries. While many now believe she is a conflation of numerous Marys and other unnamed women associated with the life of Christ, in the Middle Ages, she was commonly regarded as a reformed prostitute, an interpretation instigated by the church at the time of Pope Gregory the Great.[380] Mary Magdalene's popularity is due to her very humanness as a penitent sinner who was one of the closest confidants of Christ. Many legends exist regarding her life after the resurrection, some professing she traveled with Martha and Lazarus to France, living for thirty years in Aix-en-Provance.[381] In the fifteenth century, there was an increase in the number of female saints added to the Catholic pantheon, which might contribute to their inclusion and expansion in these miniatures.[382]

Although the earliest miniatures for Part Three of *The Book of the City of Ladies* show the Virgin Mary greeted at the gate of the city, the elaborate miniature from the Vienna *City of Ladies* displays literally the heights to which the Marian cult had risen (Figs. 2, 45). Mary is placed at the apex of the composition, surrounded below by her court of twenty seven holy and virtuous women. The miniature clearly represents the investiture of the Virgin Mary as the Queen of the city of ladies. This is a visual representation of Christine's final comments near the end of *The City*:

> My most honored ladies, may God be praised, for now our City is entirely finished and complete, where all of you who love glory, virtue, and praise may be lodged in great honor, ladies from the past as well as from the present and future, for it has been built and established for every honorable

> lady...rejoice greatly in God and honest mores upon seeing this new City completed, which can be not only a refuge for you all, that is, for virtuous women, but also the defense and guard against your enemies and assailants if you guard it well...follow the example of your Queen, the sovereign Virgin, who, after the extraordinary honor of being chosen the Mother of the Son of God was announced to her, humbled herself all the more by calling herself the handmaiden of God...may this City be an occasion for you to conduct yourselves honestly and with integrity and to be all the more virtuous and humble.[383]

Citizens

One of the most original attempts to illustrate *The City of Ladies* is found in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France, and is dated to from 1450-70 (MS 856, Fig. 23) The Chantilly *City's* single miniature is one of the most puzzling of the eighty-five miniatures illustrating *The Book of the City of Ladies* produced in the fifteenth century. It accompanies an incomplete copy of the text and was later bound with an illustrated version Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* in a volume bearing the arms of the Bourbon-Condé. [384] These two texts are natural companions, as *The City* was written in part as a response to Boccaccio's text translated into French in 1401.[385] The artist is unknown, but shows the influence of the workshop of Gillebert of Mets, a miniaturist discussed by Georges Doager as working in Northern France or Flanders.[386] The Chantilly *City* full-page miniature demonstrates no familiarity with the miniatures of *The City of Ladies* Master. Instead, the miniature evokes a

romantic castle courtyard filled with beautifully dressed ladies of various ranks. The text from the reverse of the folio page bleeds through the parchment. A wide inhabited border filled with roses, columbines, cornflowers, strawberries, clover, and birds in flight or attacking snails surrounds this full-page scene. The entire folio is fresh, lightly colored, and merry in mood.

The miniature, painted with the palest tint of pastel hues, offers us a skewed, bird's eye view into the courtyard. The yard becomes center stage, enclosed by a pale crenellated wall with towers, lined with busy hedges. Sixteen ladies are assembled in four groups placed purposefully around the courtyard according to their class. Dress helps to identify their status. All wear the black *poulaines* (shoes with long points) favored by the fashion conscious and two different types of *henins*, the steeple *henin* preferred by the French and the truncated flat-topped *henin* worn by the Flemish and Dutch. Several variations of *bourrelet* (circular fabric roll) and turbans are also worn. Curiously, the artist has added dark comma shaped marks on the faces of all the figures, perhaps to enhance their expression.[387] High-ranking serving women stand at attention in their plain gowns inside an arch. While the trio of figures under the arch at the apex of the yard may represent the three Virtues, simply due to their high placement, no figure can be convincingly identified as Christine.

This miniature presents us with a charming genre scene of courtly ladies in conversation, their compositional groupings enforcing categories of social status approved of by Christine in the organization of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. According to the Statues of Savoy, written in 1430, there were thirty-nine categories of people in society from the serf to the king, and more than half of these belonged to the nobility. For

each class, sumptuary laws regulated the cut and ornamentation of gown, cost, and hue of fabric, length of train and so forth that each was allowed to wear.[388]

Chapter 4

The College of Ladies

The City becomes a School

In this chapter we turn our attention to the book Christine wrote immediately after completing *The Book of the City of Ladies* in 1405, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. *The Treasure* is entirely different in nature than *The City* in both its structure and intention. *The Book of the City of Ladies* falls within the category of estate literature, while *The Treasure* is commonly referred to as a book of manners, or in this case specifically, an educational treatise for every class of women. Now that *The City* is built, staffed and populated both by ancient exemplars and virtuous women, past and present, the practical function of *The City* is now revealed: to both protect and educate women. Christine foreshadows the practical concerns facing women of her day throughout *The Book of the City of Ladies*, all more fully addressed in *The Treasure*:

> In brief, all women – whether noble, bourgeoisie, or lower-class – be well-informed in all things and cautious in defending your honor and chastity against your enemies! My ladies, see how these men accuse you of so many vices in everything. Make liars of them all by showing forth your virtue, and prove their attacks false by acting well, so that you can say with the Psalmist, "the vices of the evil will fall upon their heads." Repel the deceptive flatterers who, using different charms, seek with various tricks to steal that which you must consummately guard, that is, your honor and

> the beauty of your praise. Oh my ladies, flee, flee the foolish love they urge upon you! Flee it for God's sake, flee!...Remember, dear ladies, how these men call you frail, unserious, and easily influenced but yet they try hard, using all kinds of strange and deceptive tricks, to catch you, just as one lays traps for wild animals. Flee, flee, my ladies, and avoid their company – under these smiles are hidden deadly and painful poisons.[389]

Christine's passion here is not a mere literary device. Having brightened up the tarnished reputation of the female sex in history, she now intends to offer education on practical life skills for women. This education will help them be worthy citizens of the city of ladies, where her college classrooms are located, as outlined in both word and image in *The Treasure*.

Educating Wives and Daughters

> Be it known that as charitable love prompts us to desire the well-being and spiritual development, the honor and prosperity of all women, and to wish the downfall and destruction of everything that could prevent them, we feel moved to address some words of instruction to you. Come, therefore, everyone, to the school of wisdom.[390]

Christine de Pizan wrote *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (also known as *The Book of the Three Virtue,* and *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor*) in 1405 to offer practical counsel to women of every class in medieval society but particularly to the princess, or future queen. Hers is not the first

such book to advise women on their proper behavior and duties. Manuals written by men to mold their wives and daughters were numerous in Europe from the time of ancient Rome through the Middle Ages, including works by such well known individuals as Tertullian in the second century, St. Jerome in the fourth and Louis IX himself, both saint and king, to his daughter Isabelle in the thirteenth.[391] Three works written in the fourteenth century were particularly significant when Christine was writing *The Treasure* in 1405: Francesco Barbarino's *Of the Government and Conduct of Women (Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne)* of 1307-15, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower (Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry)* of 1371-2 and *House hold Manager of Paris (Le Menagier de Paris)* of 1392-4.[392]

The earliest of these is Italian, as is Christine, and is most like her work in scope. Francesco Barbarino, author and doctor of law in Florence, wrote *Of the Government and Conduct of Women* as a comprehensive treatise on the roles of every class of women in medieval society; however, their duties to the men in their lives are his central focus.[393] Barbarino concentrates on women's roles within the family, seeing the wife as at most a manager, as many women had large medieval households to run, although always subject to the approval of their husbands. While detailing these responsibilities, Barbarino gives us a revealing list of the occupations held by women outside of the family at this time, as he addresses hairdressers, bakers, sellers of produce and poultry, peddlers, innkeepers, weavers, millers, servants, and beggars in this text. As Diane Bornstein explains in *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women*, "Rather than taking interest in their actual work, however, he assumes the point of view of a customer who does not want to be cheated."[394] Barbarino's advice is thorough but unsympathetic to a woman's

opinions or needs beyond her role as daughter, wife, manager, and mother.

The Book of the Knight of the Tower was written by a knight of Poitou for his three daughters. This manuscript was so popular it was copied many times and eventually translated into German and English. [395] The anonymous knight's writings give us the landed gentry's point of view on the subject of a woman's moral character as well as her responsibilities. Again, the advice centers primarily on her role within her marriage and the duties of a wife to her husband. In order for her marriage to be successful, a wife must be docile, obedient, and moral – particularly if it is necessary for her to make up for the faults of her husband:

> And therefore it is good and necessary to an euvil man to haue a good wyf and of holy lyf. And the more the good wyf knoweth her husbond more felon and cruel, and grete synnar, the more she ought to make gretter abstnynences and good dedes for the loue of god. And yf the one suffre not the other, that is to be vnderstonde, yf the good dyd suffre & supported not the euylle, all shold go to perdicion.[396]

Although Christine also suggests women can be exemplars of virtue in their marriages, she is much more sympathetic to the plight of a woman married to a difficult or even evil husband.[397] In *The Treasure* she advises:

> Suppose that the husband, of whatever class he may be, has extremely perverse and rude behavior. Suppose he is unloving towards his wife or strays into a love affair with some other woman. If the wife cannot remedy the situation, she must put up with all this and dissimulate wisely, pretending that

> she does not notice it and that she truly does not know anything about it. As a prudent woman she will think, "If you speak to him harshly you will gain nothing, and if he leads you a bad life you will be kicking against the spur; he will perhaps leave you, and people will mock you all the more and believe shame and dishonor, and it may be still worse for you. You must live and die with him whatever he is like."[398]

This is harsh and certainly foreign advice for the twenty-first century reader, yet Christine does offer consolation to a wife living in such a bleak marriage. She offers suggestions for winning his respect and recommends a wise lady to look to her friends and confessor for comfort, and as always "take refuge in God."[399] Christine does concur with the Knight's advice that women should not spend too much money on clothes or care about new fashions, for both agree it leads to fiscal irresponsibility and thus a bad reputation.[400] The importance of a woman's good reputation is the foundation of Christine's advice to women, for with its loss so goes whatever freedom she may have acquired in life.

Le Livre du Menagier (Household Manager) de Paris, 1392-94, is a manual addressed by an older husband to his new young wife, and due to their age difference, the marriage has a decidedly paternal tone.[401] Although the author's name is lost, he is known to have been a wealthy bourgeois official in service to King Charles V. He had just married a fifteen-year-old orphan from a higher social rank than he, and he tells us he writes this handbook at her request for advice on her wifely duties. He answers with an unfinished treatise addressing her religious life, care of her husband (including good meals and entertainment) as

well as suggestions regarding proper dress for her social class.[402] This older husband's tone is more kindly than most such authors, and he often includes encouraging passages. This is seen in the following explanation regarding meeting the physical comforts needed by a husband who is often away from home on business: "Certes, fair sister, such services make a man love and desire to return to his home and see his goodwife and to be distant with others."[403] Christine, too, will continuously offer advice on the importance of pleasing husbands for every woman, no matter her class. A husband's satisfaction has ramifications that affect the peace of a humble home as well as the nation, if he be king.

The Influence of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*

Not surprisingly, courtesy books did not generally address women as individuals capable of great responsibility and rational decision making. They seldom take up the moral and emotional problems of the mature adult woman. Although Christine's *Treasure of the City of Ladies* is the first such treatise known to us written by a woman, the *vox patris*, or paternal voice of the earlier male authors can still be heard within the tenants of her advice, and can be seen in many of the illustrations accompanying richly ornamented manuscripts produced throughout the fifteenth century. *The Treasure* quickly superseded earlier versions of courtesy books for women and became a model for guidebooks written on the subject of women's education for centuries. In this text, Christine addresses the lives of every class of medieval woman, from the princess to the prostitute, by creating a well-organized curriculum for her "College of Ladies." While this curriculum does not endorse Cicero and the classics, it does recommend the study of finance, military defense, and estate management along

with fewer than the usual religious admonitions.[404] Charity Cannon Willard concurs: "No such comprehensive description of women in these sections of society had been attempted previously."[405] In fact, *The Treasure* is more than a sequel to her utopian vision found in *The City of Ladies*. Its purpose is practical and didactic. Christine moves from her role as historian to counselor and teacher.[406] In *The Treasure* Christine educates the citizens of *The City of Ladies*. By the end of the fifteenth century, *The Treasure* was the more popular text of the two, having been printed in French three times, first by Antonius Vérard in 1497, second by Michel Le Noir in 1503, and third by D. Janot in 1536. All are Paris publications, and all testaments to the continuing relevance of this text. Vérard's edition was dedicated to the Queen of France, Anne of Brittany, the wife of two French kings, who received an excellent education as a young woman.[407] There are twenty-one extant manuscripts of *The Treasure* from the fifteenth century, eight with miniatures, one of paper rather than vellum, evidence of its popularity among the rising middle class as well as the aristocracy. The first and only one with an accompanying miniature supervised by Christine is located in the Boston Public Library.

The broad audience addressed in *The Treasure* is literally portrayed by *The City of Ladies* Master through the depiction of a classroom on the right side of the single miniature created for this text, seen in the Boston *Treasure* (Fig. 3). Future fifteenth-century illuminators will expand this single prototype miniature into three or four miniatures in an effort to represent the lecture halls and classrooms of the "College of Ladies" and its eager students. These later miniatures show the lecturers (the three Virtues), often with the addition of a new personification, Dame Produce. In the text she delivers sermons

of practical wisdom and morality needed to be worthy citizens of the illustrious *The City of Ladies*. In *The Treasure*, Christine encourages educational reading for women and girls of the upper classes, within certain moral guidelines:

> This lady will gladly read instructive books about good manners and behavior and sometimes devotion, but those about indecency and lubricity she will utterly hate and not wish to have at her court. She will not permit them to be brought into the presence of any girl, female relative or woman in her court, for there is no doubt at all that the examples of good or evil influence the minds of those men or women who see or hear them.[408]

A Mirror for the Princess

The Treasure was originally dedicated to Margaret of Burgundy, the oldest of the six daughters of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy. In 1405 she was being prepared for her role as future queen of France, a status she never achieved because her fiancé, Louis of Guyenne, died before she could be crowned (for more on Margaret, see chapter one). Christine is believed to have written this book of instruction at the urging of Margaret's family. The dedication to Margaret places *The Treasure* into an additional literary tradition, that of writings on the formation of the perfect prince—or in this case, princess. Two years after the completion of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Christine wrote a book of instruction for the dauphin, Margaret's future husband, entitled *The Book of the Body Politic* in 1407. Intended as a "mirror" for the prince, its goal was to both educate and perhaps even entertain the young prince.[409] Both The *Treasure of the City of Ladies* and *The Body Politic* show

the influence of John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus.* Salisbury's book adopts the metaphor, popular since the twelfth century, of the state as a human body, with the ruler as the head, his administrators and warriors as the hands, and peasants as the feet. This type of allegorical image of the body echoes the love of hierarchy seen as the ideal throughout art and literature of the late middle ages. Christine uses Salisbury's *Polycraticus* primarily as an organizing principle, as both *The Body Politic* and *The Treasure* first address the ruler, then the aristocracy, then commoners.[410] *The Body Politic* contains a warning that if the prince does not care for his people, they will revolt. In 1405, the same year Christine wrote *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* she also addressed a letter to Queen Isabel of France dated October 5, 1405. In the letter Christine implores Isabel to do everything within her power to resolve the discord between the royal families in order to avoid impending civil war. When viewed in this context, *The Treasure* was written at a very dangerous time in early fifteenth-century French politics, and Christine's advice to Margaret, the future queen, contains a veiled warning to the sitting queen, Isabel. As Sarah Lawson explains, "Although the licentious and disorganized court of Queen Isabel inspired Christine to write some of her works about good government and well-run courts, she seems to have followed her own advice and kept on the good side of the queen."[411] This is apparent as the queen asked Christine for an illustrated collection of her complete works;[412] although all of the love poems are included, the biography of Charles V and the just completed *Treasure* were left out of this *Opus*. Lawson speculates that the queen was more interested in love poems "than in moral instruction and a hypothetical court that greatly resembled her own." [413]

Many of the surviving manuscripts of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* have some connection with Margaret of Burgundy and her sisters, all of whom made powerful marriages, disseminating *The Treasure* throughout Europe.[414] The significance of women book owners on the cross-fertilization of artistic styles cannot be overemphasized. Noblewomen often moved as young girls to distant lands to become familiar with the court and culture of their future husbands. They sometimes traveled with an entourage of guardians, fine goods, and dowry books inherited from their mothers.[415] Christine is an example of just such an international exchange. She followed her father from Italy to France as a child where Tomasso de Pizan worked as doctor and astrologer to King Charles V. Christine became the wife of a court clerk, had children and was widowed by the age of twenty-five. She worked hard to achieve the patronage of the French court, with whom she was well situated by the time she wrote *The City* and *The Treasure* in her early forties.

The image of women in art during this period traditionally serves to remind them of their subservient role.[416] This was not the case in miniatures for the manuscripts Christine produced.[417] Just as Christine's text in *The Treasure* outlines the prescribed behavior for women, so too do the miniatures she supervised, providing us with a visual image of women embodying such behaviors. Dress was an immediate visual indication of the social position of those portrayed during the late medieval period, and Christine, a firm advocate of dressing within one's station, addresses the problems associated with the love of costly and fashionable clothing throughout *The Treasure:*

> Now we come to the fourth point, which is how you will keep from rebuke and getting a bad name, to which point the matter of your clothing may be relevant. In this connection, let us suppose, for example, that a woman is of excellent character and without any bad deed or thought in her head: but no one will believe it, as she is seen wearing clothing above her station. Many bad judgments will be made against her, however good she may really be. It therefore behooves any woman who wants to preserve her good reputation to be modest and conservative in her clothing. Her garments should not be too tight or the neckline too low, nor should she take up any other unchaste fashions, nor new-fangled things, especially indecent ones. [418]

As a fortyish widow writing the above admonition, one could take Christine's advice as that of an older woman prudishly trying to curtail the young, yet that does not convey the full impact of Christine's advice. Her advice comes from experience, and it is given to guide the women through the perils of a particularly rambunctious court, where, then as now, clothing, however innocently donned, can signal unsought temptations and their perilous ramifications.

No Rest for Christine

> After I built the City of Ladies with the help and by the commandment of the three ladies of Virtue, Reason, Rectitude and Justice, in the manner explained in the text of that book, and after I, more than anyone else, had worked so hard to

> finish the project and felt so exhausted by the long and continued exertion, I wanted only to rest and be idle for a while.[419]

The visual tradition of *The Treasure* begins with *The City of Ladies* Master, who designed a single miniature circa 1410 containing two scenes that eventually served as inspiration for several illustrated manuscripts created throughout the fifteenth century for this text (Fig. 3). The characters of these two scenes are as follows: Christine and the three Virtues on the left and the students of the "College of Ladies," several of the Virtues and a new character, Dame Prudence, on the right. There are variations on this standard, but nearly all begin with Christine trying to rest after completing *The City of Ladies* and being forbidden to do so by her demanding taskmasters, the three Virtues. Four manuscripts of *The Treasure* produced before 1430 survive; the one by *The City of Ladies* Master, the Boston *Treasure*, is located in the Boston Public Library. The second, the Paper *Treasure*, is scripted on paper instead of the more common vellum, and is housed in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris. The third is the Brussels *Treasure*, which expands the prototype of a single miniature to three, located in the Bibliothéque Royale of Albert 1st in Brussels. The fourth, the Hague *Treasure,* contains four miniatures, and is part of the National Library of the Netherlands in the Hague. These miniatures offer us a unique opportunity to examine the ways in which gendered identities are constructed in a specific context: the "College of Ladies."

The Boston *Treasure* is the earliest extant illustration of Christine's vision of a "College of Ladies." As in *The City*, the single miniature for the Boston *Treasure* contains two separate

scenes, and was painted under Christine's supervision by *The City of Ladies* Master.[420] Perhaps Christine had her text illustrated with only a single miniature in order to underscore the egalitarian scope of her college (Fig. 3). Dress and demeanor are crucial to understanding the visual mode of discourse during this period, as they act as metaphors of emblematic significance with regard to social status. An analysis of composition provides a key to understanding the degree of adherence to Christine's vision of education for all women.

The activity of the Prologue is the subject seen at the left of the Boston *Treasure* (Fig. 3). Christine reclines on a bed trying to rest after finishing *The City of Ladies*. The impatient Virtues crowd by her bedside—one pulls Christine from her bed, enjoining her to get to work before she falls prey to laziness. In the Prologue Christine writes that she wanted only to rest for a while, as she felt exhausted after writing *The City of Ladies*. [421] The Virtues have no intention of allowing her to rest, as all three say to her in unison, "have you already put away the tool of your intelligence and consigned it to silence?"[422] The Virtues are identical in form and color to those found in the miniatures produced by the *City of Ladies* workshop for all illustrated copies of *The City of Ladies*. Note, however, that the Virtues in the Boston *Treasure*'s single miniature hold no attributes to reveal their individual identity.

Christine, easily identified by her uniform of blue and white, rests on a canopied bed. Like the desk dividing the first miniature of *The City of Ladies* into two scenes, here the bed divides the scene as well as cut the Virtues off at half-length (CP 1, Fig. 3). The Virtue awakening Christine gives her such a

mighty tug that she pulls her into an upright position, commanding:

> Take your pen and write. Blessed will they be who live in our city to swell the numbers of citizens of virtue. May all the feminine college and their devout community be apprised of the sermons and lessons of wisdom. First of all to the queens, princesses and great ladies, and then on down the social scale we will chant our doctrine to other ladies and maidens and all classes of women so the syllabus of our school may be valuable to all. Amen.[423]

The single miniature from the Paper *Treasure of the City of Ladies* is very similar to the miniature of the Boston *Treasure* (Fig. 6, 3). Paper manuscripts, particularly this one with rich colors and liberal use of gold, are very unusual at this time in manuscript production. Vellum is customary and had been for centuries, and animal skins served their owners well by withstanding centuries of use.[424] Although the history of the Paper *Treasure* is unknown, the artist is certainly familiar with *The City of Ladies* Master's prototype. The artist renders a nearly exact duplicate of the scene, although the articulation of space is awkward and the figures elongated, perhaps due to the change from a horizontal to vertical format for the layout. Most importantly, the miniature of the Paper *Treasure* has a far more sumptuously dressed cast of characters enclosed within the scene in spite of its less costly use of paper. The Virtue pulling Christine from the bed, still unidentified by attribute, has now moved to the front of the scene and wears a scarlet *cotehardie* with long trailing sleeves of ermine. The use of ermine and the color scarlet, a particularly bright and expensive hue of red, was

highly regulated by sumptuary laws and forbidden in the clothing of the bourgeoisie. Perhaps their appearance here indicates the artist or patron wished particularly to signify the importance of this Virtue through elements of dress restricted to the highest nobility – or this now centrally-located Virtue may be playing the part of the newest addition to the story, Dame Prudence. Suffice it to say that these additions go beyond the simplified version of aristocratic dress used by *The City of Ladies* Master, displaying embellishments and highlights not found in the earlier work.

Several other beautifully illuminated manuscripts of *The Treasure* can be dated to within a decade of Christine's death in 1429-30. One manuscript, the Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, expands the prototype's single miniature to three.[425] The second contains four miniatures and is located in the National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague.[426] Interestingly, the four miniatures of the Hague *Treasure* are all unique, and do not portray the Prologue of *the Treasure*, so they will be discussed later in this chapter when we examine the depiction of the Virtues and citizens of the College of Ladies. In both cases, the artists diverge from the visual conventions set by *The City of Ladies* Master to different extents. The artist of the Hague *Treasure* shows no familiarity with the prototype image by *The City of Ladies* Master. L.M.J. Delaissé believes that the artist of the Brussels *Treasure* is from the workshop of Guillbert de Metz, a Burgundian painter working in Flanders circa 1430 during the reign of Philip the Good.[427] This artist also expanded the prototype miniature from one to three in order to illustrate more fully the students addressed in each of the text's three parts. The feathery brushstrokes used to delineate the figures in each miniature also demonstrate a more elegant aesthetic at play.

The first miniature of the Brussels *Treasure* does illustrate the Prologue and Part One, and, although depicting two scenes within a single miniature, differs from the Boston *Treasure* prototype significantly (CP 9). Ten figures are located within two scenes, a bedroom on the left and a meadow on the right. In the bedroom, Christine now leans upon the bed instead of lying upon it, perhaps in anticipation of the new tasks the Virtues are about to assign. The bed is large and covered in red velvet embroidered in gold, constructed, as is the room, with a steeply rising perspective. Christine sits on a cushioned stool, a common piece of fifteenth-century furniture found along the Mediterranean.[428] She leans, head in hand and elbow on bed, in evidence of her exhaustion while also suggesting a meditative dream state. She wears a black *houppelande* with loose, straight sleeves lined in grey fur. This is garment is most uncharacteristic of Christine's original simple garb (CP 1, Fig. 5). Here, Christine's *houppelande* is belted with a gold chain, and tucks are visible beneath the white collar, indicating the large amounts of fabric used to create this kind of garment, worn by only the wealthiest of individuals. The *houppelande* was fashionable for women in this form until sometime between 1420 and 1430. The high collar of her houppelande and high points of her *henin* indicate a date close to 1430.[429] The Burgundian court, where the artist is from, is the center of fashion throughout the fifteenth century, which also supports the early date of this manuscript. Black is a fashionable color at this time and place thanks to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who only wore black, ostensibly in mourning for his assassinated father.[430] The Duke was a harbinger of style, and his black clothes were made from the finest materials, lined and trimmed with expensive fur, just as is Christine's *houppelande* in this miniature.

The first miniature of the Brussels *Treasure* illustrates the action of the Prologue and the first group of women addressed in Part One of *The Treasure*. The composition of the Prologue scene on the left suggests a very close reading of the text but without the monumentality and vigor visible in the Boston *Treasure's* miniature. At least in the Brussels *Treasure*, the Virtues, with their slender white gowned figures, look somewhat penitent about their demands. None pull at Christine's arm but instead meekly plead with her from opposite side of the bed. On the right side the artist fully breaks from the prototype by illustrating only the highest nobility, the very group Christine addresses in the first chapters of Part One of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. These figures are discussed later in the chapter in the section devoted to the students of the College of Ladies.

The first miniature of the four created for the Beinecke *Treasure*, circa 1475, located in the Beinecke Library at Yale University, presents another variation of the visual models discussed so far.[431] This deluxe *Treasure* has wide borders reminiscent of those found in the Hours of Margaret of Burgundy. It may be a manuscript long presumed lost, belonging at one time to an admirer of Christine's works, Anne of France (1461-1522).[432] Anne of France, inspired by Christine, wrote a book entitled *Anne de France's Teachings to her Daughter*, and she was a well-known advocate for women's education among the nobility.[433] The high quality of the Yale manuscript resulted in many speculative attributions concerning its provenance until John Plummer's definitive attribution of the miniatures to the Master of the Amiens 200.[434] A rich range of colors, from cerulean blue to a burnished gold, and a delicate sense of space, mark the work of this master.[435] The Master of the Amiens 200 worked in the north of France for Jean de

Créquy, a bibliophile known at the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy[436] (1396-1467).

The format for illustrating the miniature for the Prologue and Part One of the Beinecke *Treasure* is significantly different from the Boston prototype (Fig. 3). The first miniature interprets the action of the Prologue alone, so the only figures in this scene are the three Virtues and Christine in a beautifully articulated interior space (Fig. 48). The Master of the Amiens 200 renders the furniture, hangings and decorative elements of this bedroom with the meticulous concern for detail. Christine is asleep before the fire, on a long, pillow-strewn bench stretching diagonally across the left side of the miniature. She leans her head upon her hand and turns away from the Virtues who twist and sway before her with the quiet elegance of late Gothic sculpture. This miniature is located above the short text of the Prologue where the artist interprets the narrative of this portion of the text gently and quietly. Instead of Christine being physically jarred from her rest by the demanding tug of one of the Virtues, here the Virtue closest to her, Reason, simply gestures Christine toward the sleeping author. In this scene, the artist adheres to the pictorial tradition of the *vacatio*, where the protagonist of any vision is always shown asleep, rather than to the text of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* itself, which contends that Christine was only resting. A humorous feature of the Beinecke *Treasure's* first miniature is that while the event takes place in a bedroom, in this case Christine has not yet made it to the bed. Instead, she sits on a long wooden bench covered in a brilliant blue cloth. The giant blue bed stands alluringly empty in the center of the composition. In addition to the costly textiles used in their dress, wall hangings of cloths of gold hang everywhere, in front of the fireplace and behind the bed, serving to establish Christine's room as fit for a queen.

This idea is supported by Marina Belozerskaya in *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe.* She contends that fifteenth-century visual sources make clear the importance of luxury fabrics used "in social, political and religious displays, as well as in the exquisite beauty of the most lavish fabrics. Clothes defined a man (and a woman): the intrinsic value of clothing was high, and the ability to invest in most refined materials was limited to those of the highest rank."[437] Susan Groag Bell writes "studies and bedrooms were often nearby or even one and the same during the Middle Ages, but the Beinecke prologue miniature is set in a very sumptuous, rather than scholarly, setting."[438]

In direct contradiction to the text, Christine is portrayed as an attractive, fashionable young gentlewoman in this miniature. This is determined by the tightly fitted, rather immodest, cut and style of her gown. During the 1460s and 70s aristocratic ladies wore revealing, tight-fitting gowns in contrast to the looser robes with baggy sleeves worn by middle class women or provincial aristocrats far from the hub of the court. In addition, Christine also wears an elaborate headdress of wire and linen known as a butterfly headdress.[439] Throughout the text of *The Treasure*, Christine writes of the dangers of dressing immodestly or above one's station in life.[440] The artist has not followed Christine's own rules for proper dress, strictly expressed in this very text and established in her earlier portraits. Rather, it appears to be more important to the artist, and perhaps to the patron, to transform Christine into an appealing young lady of fashion. She certainly no longer appears to be the widow of a court official. Her verdant green gown is low-cut and tightly fitted through the bodice and sleeves, falling in crisp, angular folds about her knees and feet. Her neckline, cuffs and hem are lined in rich brown sable. A

wide white damask belt binds her tightly. Christine's headdress and plucked hairline elongates her forehead, and a transparent veil softens her face. She and the Virtues share the same delicate features: an oval face, large wide forehead, negligible chin, curving noses, and full, small mouths.

The further away from the original source, the less compulsion the artist has to follow the dictates of a deceased authority, preferring to update the text with miniatures expressing the tastes of the day. Luxury fabrics and fine, fashionable clothing abound in this miniature and others of the Beinecke *Treasure*, for pleasing the patrons was more important to the artist's livelihood than obeying the sanctions of the author who, however revered, was no longer alive to halt the process.

There are only two known illustrated fifteenth-century manuscripts designed to unite both *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* within a single bound volume,

The Royal *City and Treasure* [441] in the Royal Library of Albert 1st in Brussels and the Paris *City and Treasure* [442] in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris. Coincidently, both the miniatures opening *The Treasure* in each of these manuscripts show no resemblance at all to the Boston *Treasure* prototype by the *City of Ladies* Master.

The Royal *Treasure* contains nine miniatures, six illustrating chapters from *The City of Ladies* discussed in Chapter Three, and three miniatures dedicated to *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. This volume is a product of the Flemish workshop of Jacquemart Pilavaine and was produced circa 1450-60.[443] The first miniature illustrating the Royal *Treasure* is one of the most unusual representations of the Prologue scene found in any of the manuscripts examined in the present study (Fig. 47). Instead of showing Christine at rest, this artist paints

Christine, clothed in the same "nunnish" widow's costume seen throughout the earlier miniatures for the Royal *City of Ladies*, standing in the center of an open courtyard in animated conversation with the Virtues. (Fig. 47) The scene is set outdoors, as are several miniatures for the Brussels *Treasure* discussed earlier (CP 9 & 12, Fig. 50). Beyond the walls we glimpse a far reaching landscape and a large castle with a bridge set on the riverbank. This detail is important, as it depicts the finished City and will be setting for the final miniature of the *Treasure* in this work (Fig. 55). Christine and the Three Virtues are out of scale as their heads reach the tops of the crenellated walls surrounding them. The quiet harmony evident between the figures in this representation embodies the spirit of camaraderie described at the end of the Prologue, where Christine writes:

> Then I, Christine, hearing the soft voices of my very reverend mentors, filled with joy and trembling, immediately roused myself and knelt before them and offered myself in willing obedience to their noble wishes.[444]

The miniature gives no sense of the author's exhaustion and desire to rest, as described in the text of the Prologue. Although Christine is not kneeling, she stands attentive, ready to begin. Christine's costume is consistent throughout all nine miniatures of the *Royal* Treasure. She wears a full, white kerchief over a minimal caul, suggesting a simple veil and wimple arrangement, rather than a "vertical headdress." The kerchief is pinned to cover her neck and chin to another piece of white cloth, the wimple. Such headgear is customary for fifteenth-century married women, widows, and nuns.[445] Christine wears the same simple, full unbelted blue gown seen in the other

miniatures save one, only now it is highlighted by gold hatching lines and an embroidered band. Christine's dress suggests a wealthy burgher's wife or perhaps a provincial aristocratic widow or a nun, with the voluminous gown, loose sleeves, mantle, and veil. Herbert Norris contends that "nun's habits usually consist of 'frozen' elements from the dress of respectable wives and widows at the time of a particular order's origination. Headdresses, cut and color of gown vary from region to region, depending upon the century of origin for each particular order."[446]

A late fifteenth-century Flemish production, the Paris *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, located in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris[447], uses a model outside the tradition of *The Treasure* but a common scene in luxury manuscripts, that of the presentation of the manuscript from author to patron to illustrate the Prologue (CP 10). This tradition is found in late medieval manuscripts and is one used several times by Christine in many of her early illustrated works (Figs. 4 & 5). Although invented in the Carolingian, this kind of presentation scene became popular in the late fourteenth century, particularly in association with King Charles V the wise of France. In such a scene, the author of a book kneels before the patron and offers the completed codex, similar to votive offerings to holy figures well established in Christian iconography. Like the Royal *Treasure*, the Paris *Treasure* is the only other example of illustrated codices containing both companion texts, *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure* within the same volume. Three of its four miniatures illustrate *The City*, while this fourth and final miniature illustrates *The Treasure*. The single miniature for the Paris *Treasure* shows Christine de Pizan kneeling before Margaret of Burgundy and presenting her with this manuscript (CP 10). The miniature does not function as a frontispiece as is

standard, for *The Treasure* is located in the middle of this particular codex. Although presentation scenes were quite common in the fifteenth century, the artist is not following earlier models approved of by Christine. This miniature is located in the middle of the left column of the folio 114, encompassing the final portion of *The City of Ladies* as well as the beginning of the text of *The Treasure*. The rubrics beneath the miniature declare that the text is presented to the Duchess of Guyenne, also known as Margaret of Burgundy. The patron of the Paris *Treasure* cannot be the original Margaret of Burgundy, who died earlier in the century. However, at the time of this manuscript's production, there was another, very much admired Margaret of Burgundy (also known as Margaret of York), wed to Charles the Bold in 1468 in what many scholars describe as the wedding of the century.[448] Although the full history of the Paris *Treasure* is unknown, it is first recorded in the library of Louis of Bruges, one of this later Margaret of Burgundy's descendants.[449] Over half a century has passed since the appearance of the original text, and there is now more freedom of interpretation in the imagery dictated by the artist and/or patron.

This miniature, like the presentation scene by the *City of Ladies* Master of Christine presenting her opus to Isabel of Bavaria, Queen of France, illustrates the favor of a royal toward a fortunate subject (Fig. 4 & CP 10). The figures of the Paris *Treasure* are small and attractive with sweet faces neatly drawn. Christine kneels before Margaret, who stands before a splendid cloth of honor, here a brocade of blue and gold, seen in many Netherlandish, Flemish, and French paintings. The two women are small and doll-like in their poses. Christine is finely dressed, not as a civil servant, but as a noblewoman in her tightly fitted, fur-lined blue gown and her square, gold *henin*, an

ensemble which would not have met with the author's approval. Christine and Margaret are dressed in a surprisingly similar fashion, although Christine's black modesty piece and sheer shoulder scarf cover her décolleté more convincingly than does the scanty bodice of the elegant princess. Margaret's wide, sloping, neckline perches precariously on her rounded shoulders, and her *henin* has no frontlet (loop to adjust the *henin* usually visible on the forehead), but instead is trimmed by a wide band of black velvet. In the late 1460s a broad band of fabric, usually black, was attached to the base of the *henin* across the front to hang on either side of the head down to the shoulders.[450] Margaret of Burgundy (York), married to Charles the Bold, and his daughter by a previous marriage, Mary of Burgundy, are often seen wearing similar *henins* in many portraits[451]. All three, father, stepmother, and daughter, were consummate patrons of the arts, and commissioned many manuscripts during their lifetimes.[452]

The original Margaret of Burgundy (married to the Louis of Guyenne who died before he ever became king), for whom the text was written in 1405, is indirectly addressed in the entire first section of the Paris *Treasure*, where the text outlines the proper education of the princess. Many copies of *The Treasure* include Christine's original dedication, perhaps as Margaret and her sisters, through their impressive marriage alliances, carried it to a vast number of European courts, now part and parcel of the Burgundian aristocratic feminine heritage. None, however, include a presentation scene such as the one found here.

A more inventive scene portraying the Prologue is found in Antoine Vérard's incunabulum printed on vellum and presented to Queen Anne of Brittany in 1497[453] (Fig. 49). This manuscript is embellished with a single full-page miniature, the

bottom half depicting Vérard appropriating the position of author as he kneels before the Queen, offering her the first printed copy *The Treasure.* Cynthia J. Brown writes that Vérard "often overshadowed the authors of his editions, in part because he consciously promoted his association with the volumes he published."[454] Vérard also includes a dedication to Queen Anne of Brittany in the text echoing, Christine's original dedication to Margaret of Burgundy.[455] The portrayal of Christine, however, is utterly fascinating. She sits on the bed as if propped on a stool, dressed as a widow or nun, and she appears to be wide awake. The bed is in the center of the miniature, and the three Virtues stand around her, tall and straight as columns. It is interesting to note that the trio of Queen Anne and her two ladies in Vérard's *Treasure* echo the trio of the Virtues in the top half of the miniature where they surround Christine. The Queen, though stiff-backed and regal in her brocade gown with ermine cuffed sleeves, does enthusiastically stretch out both hands to accept *The Treasure* from the printer, Vérard. That this queen of France was an admirer of Christine de Pizan is also substantiated through her ownership of a set of tapestries (now lost) illustrating *The City of Ladies* in her possession when she marries King Charles VIII in 1491.[456]

Images of Christine in late fifteenth-century illustrated versions of *The Treasure*, similar to her portrayal in *The City of Ladies*, tend to elevate the author in status through dress the further away we get from the prototype image designed by the *City of Ladies* Master. This is because most of the artists have never seen the prototype, but also to the general tendency of the time to portray respected authors as authorities, on par with philosophers and church apologists of the past. To do this for Christine, they usually raise her social status from that of a

bourgeois widow to that of a noble lady. With regard to her aristocratic dress, this is best seen in the Brussels, Beinecke and Paris *Treasures* (CP 9 & 10, Fig. 48). Two other versions of *The Treasure* contain miniatures that defer to the sanctity of religious authority by clothing Christine in nun-like garb—the Royal and Vérard *Treasures* (Figs. 47, 49). Only four miniatures show Christine trying to rest or are associated with the bed as described in the Prologue of *The Treasure* (CP 9, Figs. 3, 48, 49). We find a totally new scene invented by the artist of the Brussels *Treasure*, where clothed as a nun (or widow) in a cheerfully bright blue, Christine stands attentively in a grassy courtyard listening to the Virtues (Fig. 47). A time-honored tradition of the author portrait is utilized in the Paris *Treasure*, perhaps the desire of the artist or patron to stress the courtly connections of this text to its renowned duchesses, the two Margarets of Burgundy of the fifteenth century. This tradition is usurped by Antoine Vérard, the printer, as he has himself portrayed in Christine's place. (Fig. 49).

Dame Prudence

A new character is added to the familiar trio of the Virtues in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*; Dame Prudence. The three Virtues are still present in the text, "but the school is conducted by Worldly Prudence."[457] Worldly Prudence provides the foundation for the curriculum of the College of Ladies, and for Christine, the practice of prudence in one's daily conduct makes other virtues are possible. Throughout *The Treasure*, Christine claims that Prudence is the greatest virtue a woman can cultivate because its practice brings a woman honor. Practicing prudence, Christine believed, was the best defense for women against the temptations of chivalry, excess, anger,

lust, sloth, and other vices. In Part One of *The Treasure*, Prudence shares with a class of princesses her primary teachings: how to conduct oneself toward one's husband, his relatives and friends, how to educate children, how to handle the envious, how to promote goodwill among all classes, how to keep the women of court in order, and finally, how to keep good financial accounts.[458] Dame Prudence is the supreme virtue and exemplar for the princess in *The Treasure,* and is introduced by the Virtues as follows:

> Worldly Prudence's teachings and advice do not depart greatly from God's, but rather arise from and depend on them. Therefore, we shall speak of the wise governance of life according to Prudence, who will teach the princess or noble lady to cherish honor and good reputation above all things in this earthly world. [459]

Prudence is not even introduced to Christine by the three Virtues until Chapter 10 in Part One of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Prudence is first illustrated by the *City of Ladies* Master on the right side of the Boston *Treasure*'s single miniature where she presides over a classroom of students (Fig. 3). Prudence is identifiable by her high position in the center of the lectern as well as by her crown with its emitting rays of light and her rich, fur-lined cloak. Four crowned queens sit on either side of Prudence. Are any of these the Virtues? If so, there is no way to identify them, as all four ladies are crowned and gowned similarly. They may represent the princesses addressed early in the text. Reason, Rectitude and Justice are named in *The Treasure*, but their attributes are not described as they were in *The City of Ladies*. More likely one of the crowned ladies in

the Boston *Treasure's* single miniature represents the princess, and the other three represent the Virtues. *The City of Ladies* Master has paid great attention to detailing all levels of society through the clothing and positioning of the students. However, this distinction is not so clear in the Paper *Treasure*, closest in date to the Boston *Treasure* (Fig. 6). Here, there are only three crowned figures, and the one who should represents Prudence looks very similar to the Virtue seen on the left pulling Christine from her bed. Both individuals are clothed in ermine and brilliant red, yet they are actually wearing different garments. The crowned figure at the podium, ostensibly Dame Prudence, wears a golden long sleeved gown lightly patterned with diamond or lozenge shapes drawn in red. To complicate matters further, the gown Prudence wears is very similar to the gown worn by the Virtue standing closest to Christine behind the bed. She too has slit sleeves of ermine like the Virtue pulling Christine from the bed. The liberal use of ermine on three figures as well as gold, seen in the patterned garments of two, as well as radiating brilliantly from the crown of Prudence, indicates the significance of all figures so adorned. Further confusing the identification of the figures is the black hooded head of a widow or nun peeking out from between Prudence and one of the crowned figures on the right.

What do we make of this confusion? We can be certain that the enthroned figure is Prudence, and the three figures in the scene on the left side of the miniature with Christine are the three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude, and Justice. The two crowned ladies beside Prudence might indicate the princesses of the College of Ladies. This lack of clarity signals that Christine did not control the production of the Paper *Treasure* and its single miniature. The artist or patron, familiar with the prototype, changed the formula in order to surpass the earlier miniature

with luxury materials depicted in the scene, perhaps to make up for the use of paper instead of vellum itself.

The Master of the Amiens 200 in the Beinecke *Treasure* devotes an entire miniature to Prudence and her royal pupils, creating a singular interpretation of the text (CP 11). The second miniature of the Beinecke *Treasure* is entitled "The College of Ladies is Established—Dame Prudence Lectures to a Class of Princesses and Future Queens," yet neither the lectern, three Virtues, or Christine can be seen. That is because the Master of the Amiens 200 has split the prototype composition in two, opening *The Treasure* with the scene of Christine being awakened by the Virtues discussed earlier (Fig. 48). In this miniature, the nine high-born students now face the viewer, as does the lecturer, Prudence, the reverse of the Boston *Treasure*. Furthermore, princesses are the only students pictured in the Beinecke *Treasure* (CP 11). These high-born students have Dame Prudence to themselves, for in all other miniatures for this manuscript the three Virtues lecture students of the lower classes (Figs. 48, 53, 54). The artist seems conscious of the viewers' gaze, transforming the miniature into a stage. The gaze has been called by Patricia Simons "a metaphor for worldliness and virility." In the context of western European culture, men gaze and women are gazed upon.[460] This compositional technique strengthens the assertion by L.M. J. Delaissé that the luxurious manuscript was made for Jean de Créquy, a bibliophile at the court of Philip the Good in the 1470s. The original arms were discovered by an x-ray of the codex by the Beinecke staff. In addition, the arms of at least ten families, including the Crèvecoeurs who lived in the Artois, Lorraine, and Beauvais regions where the Master of the Amiens 200 worked, are found in the text.[461] It is likely that this manuscript was created for a lady in one of the families,

thus reversing the convention of the gaze, for women are doing the gazing at miniatures in the Beinecke *Treasure.*

As to the representation of Prudence, she is in the center of the composition surrounded by nine student princesses. Dame Prudence stands on her most ancient of attributes, the serpent of wisdom, painted a vivid green.[462] The serpent is the attribute of Prudence in her role as one of the four cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance. Prudence can also be shown with a mirror, the attribute chosen by Christine to signify Reason in *The City of Ladies* (the Master of the Amiens 200 has instead substituted a book for the mirror seen in the three other miniatures of the Beinecke *Treasure*). Here, Prudence wears a fashionable turban offset by her archaizing dress, unbelted, with long sleeves trailing out of the gown in the fashion of an earlier century. It should be noted that she and one of her students have costly gowns made out of a red and gold material, the same fabric of the gown worn by Margaret of Burgundy (also known as Margaret of York), the wife of Charles the Rash, from a manuscript of the same date (Fig. 48). Marina Belozerskaya explains that sumptuous textiles were made of real gold threads woven with velvet to form floral patterns. Most of these textiles were made in Italy and imported by Burgundian dukes and courtiers in large quantities at this time, along with silks, damasks, and brocades.[463] Prudence is a regal figure, calling to mind powerful sibyls of antiquity in this portrayal. The setting is equally elegant, with its walls covered in brilliant textiles. Clearly, however elegant, this is not the egalitarian setting Christine directed for the Boston *Treasure* (Fig. 3). There is not a bourgeois student in sight.

The Lecturers and their Classroom

The three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude and Justice, who guide us through the three parts of *The City of Ladies*, do not fade away with the appearance of Dame Prudence in *The Treasure*. In fact, following the Prologue, Part One begins as follows:

> From us three sisters, daughters of God , named Reason, Rectitude and Justice, to all princesses, empresses, queens, duchesses and high born ladies ruling over the Christian world, and generally to all women: loving greetings.[464]

The voice of the Virtues speaks now as a unit, not through the individual mouthpieces of Reason, Rectitude, or Justice. Dame Prudence does not usurp their power as the source of the lessons. Perhaps this is why the *City of Ladies* Master portrays the Virtues (if indeed three of the four crowned ladies to either side of Dame Prudence represent the Virtues) identically to those found in the miniatures of *The City of Ladies* (Fig. 3). However, no attributes reveal the identity of each Virtue here, nor do they in the nearly contemporary miniature of this scene found in the Paper *Treasure* (Fig. 6). The lack of attributes visually underscores the fact that in the text of *The Treasure* the Virtues now speak as one. The Virtues refer to themselves as a group, using "us" and "we" to indicate they deliver a unified message on practical living to all women.[465]

As mentioned earlier, the artist from the workshop of Guillbert de Metz, creator of the three miniatures for the Brussels *Treasure,* makes a variety of changes from the prototype image by the *City of Ladies* Master. First the format is changed from a single miniature to three miniatures with four scenes (CP 9 & 12, Fig. 50). The artist invents an entirely new

look for the Virtues, who are now slender-posed figures with long, blond hair surrounding their oval heads, always tipped in one direction or the other. These three angelic-looking Virtues are still identical to one another in physiognomy, just as Christine states. Each wears a simple, loose gown of the palest rose, yellow and blue, not the fitted *cotehardies* worn by *The City of Ladies* Master's Virtues (Fig. 3). The use of this kind of garment is found in depictions of the Virgin in fifteenth-century northern paintings and is worn by virtues and other allegorical figures in theatrical productions in Burgundy.[466] Two of the three Virtues belt their gowns with red and green sashes. Their gowns fall in rich, soft folds about their feet. In three out of four scenes the Virtues hold their classes outside, in a flower-strewn green meadow.

In all three miniatures, the Virtues appear to the left of their pupils in the meadow. They also hold no attributes. In each miniature the Virtues have slightly different hand gestures. They gesture to one another or glance respectfully toward their royal students. In fact, Prudence is not depicted at all in the Brussels *Treasure*. In the Prologue scene, the Virtues are portrayed twice, first with the sleepy Christine on the left side of the miniature and second with the princesses, empresses, and queens seated in a large throne under a canopy (CP 9). In this scene, two out of the three Virtues look at one another rather than at their royal students. It is as if the lecturers are too awed or shy to speak to their revered students, glancing and whispering to one another anxiously about how best to proceed. This mood is echoed in the text as well, for in the opening paragraphs for Part One, which this miniature illustrates, the Virtues beg the great ladies "not to be ashamed to humble yourselves to hear our lessons, for, according to God whosoever humbles himself will be raised up."[467] The Virtues also warn of

the desire of humans for "gold and precious stones" in this section, reminding the princesses that "the virtues are nobler."[468] In contrast to this admonition, The Brussels *Treasure* is particularly sumptuous, emblazoned with gold and silver leaf throughout, as well containing three well-executed miniatures, full of images of costly furniture, clothing, and jewelry. However, there are privileges due to rank, according to Christine, as she speaks to her royal pupils once again through the Virtues, saying:

> Therefore it is fitting that those men and women who are placed by grace and good fortune in the highest estate should be provided with the very best things. And since virtues are the food of our table, we are pleased to distribute them first to whom we speak, that is, to the above mentioned princesses.[469]

This idea is echoed not only in the treatment the students receive, gleaned from the expressions and gestures of the Virtues, but also in the length and substance of the text itself. Part One is by far the largest section, and Part Three the shortest. Christine explains this through the voice of the Virtues, saying "...we intend everything that we have laid down for other ladies and young women concerning both virtues and the management of one's life to apply to every woman of whatever class she may be. It is said as much for one woman as for another, so each one can take whatever part that she sees pertains to her."[470]

In the second miniature of the Brussels *Treasure*, the Virtues address the ladies of the court and those who serve their royal patrons in both court and country estates. Here we see the Virtues of the Brussels *Treasure* at their most animated – they

glance directly at their fashionably dressed students, gesture, and point and proclaim with their hands to indicate that this is definitely a lecture of the traditional sort, even if it is dictated through the archway of a decidedly pink wall (CP 12). A lovely, silver sky shines behind the Virtues and through the arched door and windows of the pink enclosure.[471] Finally, when we compare the pose and hand positions of the Virtues for Part Two with the miniature for Part Three, we witness an interesting change (Fig. 50). The Virtues in the third miniature appear less severe in their lectures, for it is this section that addresses women from the lower ranks of society, from merchants' wives to the chambermaids, although the artist only depicts wealthy bourgeois ladies in this miniature. The Virtues appear more at ease before their lower class students. Two hold their hands together gently before them; only the first, on the left, extends her hand out in a gesture indicating declamation.

An early, regional variation of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, located in the National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague, offers an informative comparison to the aristocratic miniatures of the Brussels *Treasure* and later manuscripts of the fifteenth century[472] (Figs. 51 & 52). The Hague *Treasure* was produced circa 1430 in an area of the Netherlands where a sister of Margaret of Burgundy settled to become the Duchess of Cleves, bringing a copy of *The Treasure* with her. As Marie Harcourt, a friend of Margaret, also became the Duchess of Guelders, Charity Cannon Willard believes, "It is therefore not too difficult to understand how a copy of the text should have made its way into the hands of a Dutch artist." [473] The Hague *Treasure* contains four miniatures, only two of which will be discussed here. The miniatures indicate no familiarity with *The City of Ladies* Master's prototype, and the text, writes Willard, is abbreviated and differs from Parisian copies of *The Treasure*.

[474] In addition, Christine cannot even be securely identified among the women illustrated in any of the miniatures. The figures in the Hague *Treasure* are short and thickset, and the artist ignores Dame Prudence all together, focusing on the three Virtues and their lively students. In fact, in the first of the four Hague *Treasure* miniatures, located at the beginning of Part One, the Virtues are the sole subjects and fill the entire room in the miniature from floor to ceiling, like deities of old (Fig. 51). The three Virtues are short, sturdy, and animated. Their poses echo the gothic S-curve so admired and cultivated by women in courtly circles. Reason, at the left, points upward with her index finger of her right hand, indicating speech, as the other virtues turn toward her with rapt attention. In both The Hague and the Brussels *Treasures*, discussed below, none of the Virtues wear the *robes royale* often utilized by the *City of Ladies* Master to distinguish the narrating Virtue in each part of the text in *The City*. A sword replaces the vessel given to Justice by Christine in *The City of Ladies* and scales replace Reason's mirror. It is not surprising that the artists of both the Brussels and the Hague *Treasures* either abandon the attributes altogether or give them new attributes as they are not reiterated in the text of *Treasure*. The use of the sword in the Hague *Treasure*, a common symbol for Justice, indicates that sometimes artists ignore instructions in the text in preference for conventional symbols for allegorical figures. In a sense, this is exactly what occurs with changes in dress, more obvious in the Brussels *Treasure* (CP 12, Fig. 50). Older garments are generally worn by the lower classes to indicate individuals from the past or, in the case of the *robes royale*, to signify ceremonial costume. Current fashionable details of dress are necessary in order to designate the power and status of that individual to the viewer. It is interesting that another symbol traditionally

allocated to Justice today, the scales, is held by Reason in the Hague miniatures, while Rectitude, a less common virtue, still holds her ruler. The Virtues are consistently portrayed in the same dress and holding the same attributes in all the four miniatures of the Hague *Treasure*. The last three miniatures all show variations on the Virtues lecturing to their students, who are seated on the floor, no matter what their rank (Fig. 52).

In the Royal *Treasure* of 1450-60, the three Virtues and Christine stand in an open courtyard, towering over the arched entry way, reaching the height of the crenellated walls (Fig. 47). The trio of Virtues on the right provides us with a variety of artful poses. The Virtue in the center, with no identifying attribute, steps forward, right palm outstretched, the left deftly managing her ermine-lined mantel, perhaps to explain the new assignment to their a very willing Christine. The other Virtues look on in pleasant anticipation of Christine's eagerness to write the syllabus for their college. None of the Virtues hold any attributes, even though the text of the City of Ladies where they are described is available to the artist, as the two works are bound together in this luxurious manuscript. However, at least the artist is consistent, as none of the miniatures illustrating the Royal *City of Ladies* show the Virtues with attributes either (Figs. 46, 47). Instead, if a Virtue is representing the narrator of that part of the text, she is distinguished by the height of her *henin*. The colors of mantles and gowns are not used consistently enough to allow us to guess which Virtue is Reason, Rectitude, or Justice in either *The City* or *The Treasure*. The three Virtues are allocated their most unusual location in the Royal *Treasure's* final miniature (Fig. 55). As in the Brussels *Treasure*, they are located outside, but instead of standing on a grassy field, they are squeezed into a pulpit-like projection in the wall of the city. Christine is in front of them,

waving as their students leave the city after class is dismissed. The Virtues, small and supportive, look with approval from on high on their departing students.

In the Beinecke *Treasure*, the three Virtues are represented in three of the four miniatures illustrating this text; in the first, they gently prompt Christine to forgo her nap on the bench and return to her writing, and in the second, they are absent, as the princesses have their own separate class with Dame Prudence (Figs. 48, CP 11). The final two miniatures represent classroom scenes for the pupils of Part One and Two of *The Treasure* and here the three Virtues lecture in as a group. (Figs. 53, 54). This is similar in concept to the Hague *Treasure*, although the Beinecke *Treasure* has a more formal, symmetrical composition of the classroom (Figs. 52, 53, 54). In the text of *The Treasure*, Reason, Rectitude, and Justice are not each given a section of the book to narrate as they did in *The City of Ladies*.[475] In the third and fourth miniatures of the Beinecke *Treasure*, the Master of the Amiens 200 always shows Reason lecturing in the center, the only seated figure, with her hand raised in the gesture of speech (Figs. 53 & 54). Justice and Rectitude frame her on either side, adding an elegant, heraldic symmetry to the scene. They are seated in the middle of the composition on a long bench placed on a high podium before a blue cloth of honor. From this position, they preside over their students before them. The Virtues, as always in the Beinecke representations, are dressed in *robes royale*, consisting of ermine-lined mantels, large brooches, and form-revealing fur *plastrons* with jewel buttons worn over Italian gold brocades.

The Virtues of the Beinecke *Treasure* can be identified by their attributes, but they are not the symbols established by Christine in the text of *The City of Ladies*. In the Beinecke

Treasure, Reason holds a book instead of the mirror Christine accorded her. (Figs. 53 & 54) This is also true of the Vérard *Treasure*'s single miniature, where Reason stands at the left of the composition with an open book, pointing to the text with her right hand. (Fig. 49) The book is a common attribute for many saints and scholars, so in and of itself it is not useful tool for identification of a figure. In secular art, the book was often used to represent the Virtues in general, or, among the liberal arts, Rhetoric, grammar, and philosophy. [476] Justice in the Beinecke *Treasure's* miniatures holds her traditional sword, not the vessel Christine assigned her. Again, this is true of several miniatures illustrating the *Treasure*, the early Hague *Treasure*, and the much later Vérard *Treasure*. (Figs. 51, 52, 49) Rectitude holds both the ruler and scales in the Beinecke *Treasure* miniatures, so it is no wonder she has no hand free to give the sign of speech. Rectitude, representing right action or righteousness, is a virtue rarely seen in allegorical literature, and Christine assigns her a ruler as a symbol for among her many duties is "to give to each person what is his according to capacity, to say and uphold the truth "and the responsibility of measuring all things." [477] The scales, the most common symbol for measuring at this time, are also given to Rectitude in the Hague and Vérard *Treasures*. One might say that Rectitude's concern for right action in *The City of Ladies* foreshadows the significance of "Worldly Prudence"[478] in *The Treasure* and the qualities of good sense and practical knowledge of the ways of the world both represent. Christine does not want her citizens to be kept innocent, gullible prey for the sly manipulators of the world. Curiously, the Hague and Beinecke depictions of the three Virtues Reason, Rectitude, and Justice, while so divergent in formal qualities, do both represent the power of the Virtues visually through their size and body language in the Hague

miniatures and their dress and gesture in the Beinecke. The single miniature of the Vérard *Treasure*, a gift to the Queen of France, comes closest to the Beinecke examples in dress and gesture in its creation of a mood of pomp and ceremony in the two scenes it depicts. The inclusion of a formal presentation scene has powerful associations with court life, and the place of artists, writers, and printers and their reliance upon courtly patrons for their livelihood and creative endeavors.

Students

The College of Ladies is created upon the completion of *The City of Ladies* when the Three Virtues ask Christine to complete their vision of a feminine utopia by developing an educational curriculum. With regard to the miniatures, it is as if the women present in the second and third miniatures of the *City of Ladies* Master's prototype (Figs. 1 & 2) come forward from outside the walls or within the gates of the city to pursue the final promise of this now well defended utopia—education. Even though Prudence is highlighted as the supreme virtue for women by Christine in this sequel, the Virtues, as a unit, are the tenured lecturers at the institution and dominate most of the lectures with a single voice. Scholars have discussed *The Treasure* as a courtesy book, a genre consisting primarily of the limited view of education needed for women previously authored by men.[479] In that regard, the idea of self-fashioning explored by Stephen Greenblatt can be very useful in an effort to understand Christine de Pizan's work and help explain the book's intent to educate its readers. In writing *The Treasure*, Christine is often criticized for what appears to be a departure from her vigorous defense of women presented in *The City of Ladies*. Greenblatt argues, however, that this is not the case in

The Treasure for Christine uses what he describes as self-fashioning as a plan for survival for herself as well as all women intellectually, emotionally, physically, and financially.[480] As companion texts, *The City of Ladies* and *The Treasure* first celebrate the history of women and then guide them with practical advice on how to live. This two-pronged approach creates an advocacy for women's education not seen in the western world prior to Christine's utopic and practical vision. What might appear at first glance as the status quo in *The Treasure*, when combined with *The City*, is actually a strategy of subversion aimed at giving women an identity and protecting them against the many dangers of a male-dominated world. [481] Likewise, the artist is challenged to portray a unique subject – a classroom of women where they grapple with ethics and ideas rather than domestic chores alone. The depiction of the classroom in the various manuscripts with miniatures from *The Treasure* sometimes conveys a new egalitarian sprit, while others display a marked preference for the division of classes into separate but equal classrooms. This organization does mirror Christine's own construction of *The Treasure* into three separate parts, each directed at the education necessary for a different class of women. First, we begin with, as always, *The City of Ladies* Master, to discover Christine's original intention.

On the right side of the single miniature of the Boston *Treasure*, we have the first portrayal of the classroom of Christine's College of Ladies. At the highest level of this academy sit four crowned ladies stand by Dame Prudence, two to each side. As discussed earlier in this chapter, three of these are most likely the three Virtues, and the fourth represents the princesses Christine addresses in the first section of her book. Unfortunately, we cannot distinguish between the Virtues and the royal students as all have the exact same faces, crowns and

hairstyles. One wears a mantle with a large brooch, one's clothing is blocked by the lectern, and the other two, on either side, wear *cotehardies*. All the other women in the classroom are seated on a long bench in the foreground and have their backs to the viewer. To the left in a position of honor close to Prudence sits one aristocratic woman, seen in profile, distinguished by her fashionable *bourrelet*, a costly phenomenon of padded rolls of fabric and jewels. Three of the women on the bench wear the vertical headdresses of aristocrats as well as wealthy middle class women, and three others wear the *liripipe* hood in different colors.[482] Note that these two classes of students are intermingled on the bench, for on the right we have a hooded woman seated between a woman in a vertical headdress, suggesting that an aristocratic woman sits between two women from the bourgeoisie. The different classes of ladies discussed in the text—princesses, aristocrats, merchants and artisans—are identifiable by virtue of their dress and placement within the miniature. Those in gathered hoods with *liripipes* seated along the bench represent the wives of non-nobles such as doctors, lawyers and administrators.[483] The Boston *Treasure's* miniature, however, does not represent the very lowest members of society addressed by Christine, chambermaids and prostitutes, but then again Christine does not spend a great deal of time on those individuals in the text. As in the miniatures accompanying *The City of Ladies*, Christine's message is directly conveyed through both word and image—that all women have a place in this feminine community, a seat on the classroom bench, where they can learn through the lectures of the three Virtues and Christine's new, most practical virtue, Prudence, how to become worthy citizens of the city of ladies.. The students represent all the classes, save the very poorest, that the three parts of *The Treasure* instruct. *The City*

of Ladies Master duplicates the social hierarchy advocated by Christine by placing the single royal lady close to Prudence and relegating the lower aristocracy and the bourgeoisie to benches. Members of various social groups make up our class of students, all indicated by dress. However hierarchical the compositions, all classes of women are invited to attend the College of Ladies.[484]

This is not the case in the miniature for the Paper *Treasure*, which is a nearly exact copy of the *City of Ladies* Master's miniature and is from close to the same date, 1410-20 (Fig. 6). As noted earlier, the main difference between the two, besides the paper medium, are the sumptuous materials added to the clothing of the characters in this illustration. Most interestingly, in the center bench, we see a woman with her back to us; her *liripipe* hood is lined with ermine, and is tossed back upon her shoulders to reveal a black and white patterned *bourrelet*. Such embellishments show that this is not a mere burgher's wife, or if so, she is a very wealthy one. At this point in time, *liripiped* hoods were not the most fashionable attire for an aristocrat, unless associated with a *chaperon*, which were worn by men. So the visual message is confusing. Is she an unfashionable lady or a wealthy bourgeoisie woman flaunting ermine in defiance of sumptuary laws? Knowing the patron would certainly assist in solving the mixed messages of the dress of the students in this scene.

The second, third, and fourth miniatures of the Hague *Treasure*, only one pictured here, produced circa 1430, surpass the egalitarianism conveyed by the prototype image in the Boston *Treasure* (Figs. 3, & 53). Visually, there is a major compositional difference, for there is no throne or podium to distinguish the lecturers and princesses from the middle class

students. This miniature of the Hague *Treasure* is devoted to instructing ladies of the courts and the minor nobility. Nine women crowd awkwardly into a vaulted interior. The three Virtues stand at the left gesturing enthusiastically.[485] In this scene, Rectitude is the narrator, and here she gestures and points in order to engage her students. All the figures in the room are imbued with energy and excitement. Compared to the demure students of the Beinecke *Treasure,* here the gaze of the women has lifted—they look directly at their lecturers! Ladies of different rank sit cozily together. The princess does appear prominently at the front, distinguished by her crown, red robe, gold belt, and collar hung with bells, but seated directly next to her is a woman of the bourgeoisie, in a black cape and unbuttoned hood. Toward the back near the arch, a figure in a *liripipe* hood (with tail of fabric down the back) can be identified. Just as in the Boston *Treasure* by *The City of Ladies* Master, the *liripipe* hood is indicative of middle class (Fig. 3). In the Boston *Treasure*, three of the women seated on the bench with their backs to us wear *liripipes*. The artist of the Hague *Treasure* may err in the details of the Virtues' attributes but stays true to the text with regard to its larger goal, the instruction of women from every strata of society.

Dating from the same decade as the Hague *Treasure*, 1420-30, the three miniatures representing the College of Ladies in the Brussels *Treasure* could not be more different. First of all, the format of the Brussels *Treasure* follows the format favored in the later fifteenth-century miniatures: segregation of the students by their social class (CP 9 & 12, Fig.50). There is no mingling of the princesses and the bourgeoisie here, as occurs in the Boston and Hague *Treasures*. Secondly, gone is the classroom setting with benches and lecterns. Instead, the first miniature of the Brussels *Treasure* is set outdoors, in a

large space on a green plain although the customary diapered background has been replaced with an acanthus leaf motif of gold on red. Our three students are no doubt the princesses discussed early in the chapters of Part One of *The Treasure*, now sharing a long wooden throne upholstered in blue-black damask with a vaulted arch overhead. The princesses are models of courtly decorum, as they all pose with their heads inclined to the right, as if listening in rapt attention. The central princess has her hands raised in exclamation. They are dressed in a variety of ceremonial as well as contemporary garments. All the royal princesses are blonde and wear their hair in coiled buns over each ear, a style commonly seen in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Two wear crowns, although the student in the center has the more elaborate crown, signifying she may actually be an empress. The third royal student wears a *bourrelet*, which Bridgett Buettner claims can indicate an unmarried princess[486] (CP 9). However, the *bourrelet* is also worn often by Isabel of Bavaria, the Queen of France (Fig. 4). It is important to note that while the royal students are seated in a luxurious throne padded in blue brocade, protected by its vaulted overhang – the Virtues now stand before them. This contrasts sharply with the prototype image showing all the figures seated, albeit Prudence, the Virtues and the princess are placed visually higher on a podium. This artist, from the workshop of Guillbert of Metz, has gone to great lengths to show us the high rank of this first group of students in Part One; the princesses wear sumptuous renditions of the *robes royale* or a fur lined *houppelande*. Although these royal students are listening dutifully to their lecturers, it is the Virtues who seem intimidated, and two look at one another rather than at their high-ranking students.

The second miniature of the Brussels *Treasure* is located at the beginning of Part Two of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* and contains the rare silver scrumble sky associated with the school of Gilbert de Mets[487] (CP 12). Unlike the first miniature, this scene occupies the entire miniature and is set in a meadow, at least on the left. The students, three gentlewomen on the right, now stand like their lecturers but within a pink room, which is cut with two windows and an arched doorway looking out onto the silver sky. Reason, Rectitude, and Justice strike animated and artful poses under a silver sky, rosy at the horizon, enlivened by flying black birds. Inside the bright pink enclosure underneath a wooden barrel vault stand three noble women of great wealth, indicated by their mannered poses and costly garments. The first student moves to the right as if engaged in dance with the lady in the center. She creates a sweeping motion with her voluminous blue damask *houppelande* with wide, full sleeves, folded back to display grey fur lining. The center student is demure, head and eyes lowered, appearing almost columnar in her silver and grey high-belted robe with narrow sleeves. She is the only woman in the three miniatures besides Christine to wear a white-horned *henin*, as the other two students in this miniature wear *bourrelets*. The lady to the far right wears a fitted crimson gown with tight sleeves flaring out at the wrists. She holds a small black dog with one hand and lifts her train with the other. The text below reads:

> ...we will address our remarks in the second part of this volume to ladies and maidens and ordinary women, both those who dwell at the courts of princesses, having their position conferred upon them by their service, and those who live on their

> own lands in castles, manors, walled towns and fortified cities.[488]

In the first chapter of Part Two, the Virtues lecture on the duties and temptations of ladies living at court. These are the students pictured in the miniature: noble ladies beautifully and provocatively clothed.

The third miniature for the Brussels *Treasure* is set entirely in a garden-like field (Fig. 50). This time all the students stand outside together in one space under the open sky. Seven women are pictured; the three Virtues, dressed in pallid gowns and four animated and well-dressed students from the lesser nobility or bourgeoisie. The students to the right huddle together in obvious discussion, harkening back to many of the miniatures accompanying *The City of Ladies*. The formality of the previous two classrooms is relaxed in this composition. The elaborate crimped and layered Flemish veil and *liripiped* hoods worn by several of the students establish that these students are from the middle class, so the hierarchy of the previous two compositions is no longer necessary.[489] Clothing distinctions between the lesser nobility and the powerful members of the merchant class are the hardest to identify and regulate through sumptuary laws. These students represent the class to which Christine herself belonged as the wife of a clerk to the king. The artist has not pictured the laborers and serving women Christine also addresses in Part Three of the text. As tempting as it might be to look for a wealthy middle class patron for this manuscript due to the prestige given to our bourgeois students in this miniature, its provenance is well known. This sumptuous manuscript was owned by the de Croy family and later became the property of two famous women and book

collectors, Margaret of Austria and later Margaret of Hungary, noblewomen of the highest rank.[490]

The second and third miniatures from the Brussels *Treasure* are devoted to the aristocratic class and commoners in turn, but now they are more separate than in the Prototype – they do not even share the same space. This is in direct contrast to the Boston *Treasure*, which, collapsing two scenes into one miniature portraying all classes of women seated together at the same lecture, is far more democratic in spirit. With the addition of two more miniatures, the artist of the Brussels *Treasure* does, however, adhere even more rigorously to the structure of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*.[491] The figures possess the refinement and delicacy admired in the Limbourg brothers, active from 1390-1416. The artist from the workshop of Guillbert of Metz, however, uses soft brushstrokes, blurring their silhouettes, and the faces are more diminutive than the Limbourgs. No figure is frontal or stiffly posed. The overall atmosphere is delicate rather than fussy, and the exquisite draftsmanship endows Christine, the Virtues, and the students of the "College of Ladies" with a quaint peculiarity, and a fluid, rather than flamboyant, charm.

Similar to the Brussels *Treasure* above, the Beinecke *Treasure*, thought fifty years later, also segregates the classroom[492] (CP 11, Figs. 53, 54). The first is strictly for princesses, and they all sit around Dame Prudence, who stands in the center of the miniature. Prudence and one of the students wear gowns of the costliest fabric, red and gold patterned brocade. All the other royal students are painted in garments of blue, burgundy, and green. Gowns of a single color also indicate magnificence as they often owed their effect to diverse textures from mat and shiny to high or low pile, or, as is evident

on most of the princesses, the use of fur trim at every cuff or hem or bodice. Additionally, the variety of headdresses represented in this miniature consists of almost every type fashionable during this decade, displaying all manner of heights and points, from flat-topped to cone-shaped.[493] They mirror the headgear worn by the highborn ladies emerging from the College in the final miniature from the Royal *Treasure* discussed later in this chapter (Fig. 55).

All the ladies, including Dame Prudence, are given the small, delicate features and high forehead conforming to late fifteenth-century standards of feminine beauty. With eyes downcast and hands locked inside the cuffs of their sleeves, they listen demurely as Prudence lectures. Christine advocates the traditional passive demeanor required of women in society even from the highest-born princess who must "behave respectably and speak softly, her conduct will be kindly and her expression gentle and pleasant, greeting everyone with lowered eyes."[494] With word and image, the female reader learns how to behave. In this case, where the reader is most likely female, she views a visual model of the very demure posture and downcast eyes, that she is asked to emulate.

The third and fourth miniature of the Beinecke *Treasure*, like the earliest Boston prototype by the *City of Ladies* Master, both take place in a classroom (Figs. 53 & 54). Unlike the princesses, Dame Prudence is not their instructor. Instead, their professors are the three Virtues. The setting in both conveys an interesting take on this ideal medieval classroom, for, as we saw in the unrestricted seating of the Hague *Treasure's* class, here too, all of the students are seated upon the floor, some upon unseen short-legged stools. Warm oak paneling climbs halfway up the grey wall, framed on both

sides by wide windows, letting in streams of light. The first class is located at the beginning of Part Two of *The Treasure*, dedicated to ladies and maidens of the court, baronesses, and ladies living on estates in the country as well as women in religious orders (Fig. 53). Seven ladies are divided into groups of three or four on either side of the composition. All wear high *henins*, indicating their aristocratic status. The *henins* displayed are of the variety popular in France and Flanders in the last quarter of the century, covering all the hair, with a long band of velvet, usually black, attached about the base of the headdress. Their *henins* are made of rich brocades, velvets or damask silk in a stunning display of color and pattern. None of the women in this miniature wear the banner headdress with its mass of wires and veils as seen in the miniature devoted to royal princesses, another instance of dress indicating the specificity of social position. The ladies are seated upon the floor, models of deportment as they listen to their lessons in good citizenship. A woman, younger than the others, is seen at the foreground of the miniature in profile. She is smaller than the rest, and wears a truncated version of the *henin*, a less cumbersome type reserved, perhaps, for young girls as it is worn over her long, unbound hair.

In this miniature and the one that follows, the artist consistently shows Reason as the primary lecturer, holding a book and not the mirror Christine assigned her. In Part II, the Virtues address ladies at court as well as those who live in the country on family estates. The loyalty and deportment of women at the court is of great concern to Christine, and she speaks through the Virtues of the particular dangers of envy and slander among court ladies:

> In this respect the court of a princess ought to be like a well-regulated abbey where the monks have an oath that they will say nothing to outsiders about their secrets or anything that may happen among them. In just the same way ladies and women of the court ought to love and support each other like sisters. They ought not to quarrel with one another in the ladies' apartments, nor betray each other behind their backs like fishwives, for such things are extremely unbecoming at the court of a princess, and they ought not to be allowed.[495]

The fourth and final miniature of the Beinecke *Treasure* miniature portrays a class consisting of eight students, six women, and two children (Fig. 54). The classroom setting is the same as in the previous miniature, with a few different window shutters in the back. Similar to the previous miniature, the compositions of both create a U-shape of figures opening toward the viewer inviting the reader to participate in the lessons of the college. The women on the floor before the Virtues wear a bright array of colors: reds, blues, and spring greens. Many a headdress with a square visor above the forehead was commonly worn by wives of clerks and counselors attached to a great house. With the exception of the young girl holding the white dog, the robes for the other women are loose fitting with wide, outmoded sleeves, all indications that they are not from the aristocracy. In Part III of *The Treasure*, Christine addresses the merchant class pictured in this miniature, the premise of which the Master of the Amiens 200 adhered to carefully:

> The third point that we want to tell you about - you towns-dwellers and women of rank in fine towns - concerning your garments and clothing, is that you must not be extravagant, either in the cost or in the fashions....This is what makes the pomp and luxurious clothing multiply and increase every day, because each person is trying to outdo the other - by which many people are ruined in France and elsewhere.[496]

Christine's arguments against extravagance in dress are as much based on financial concerns as on the sin of vanity. Considering that during the fifteenth century fine Italian textiles cost as much as a jeweled necklace, her warnings appear quite practical. Following Christine's admonitions, the women in this miniature are conservatively dressed. There are no brocades or ermine or sable, and the furs, restricted by sumptuary laws to the nobility, are evident. Only the tight-fitting green dress of the young girl with the dog and the woman behind her betray the latest fashion. Like all the other miniatures of *The Treasure*, the artist does not represent the laborers and serving women Christine specifically includes in the final section of the text. The addition of two children and a dog in this miniature constitute a delightful touch. The toddler, most likely a girl given the nature of the text (boys and girls dressed similarly until about age six), wears a blue robe and seems more captivated by the dog rather than the lecture. Christine advises working women

> to have their children instructed and taught first at school by educated people so that they may know God...it is a great sin of mothers and fathers, who ought to be the cause of the virtue and good

> behavior of their children, but they are sometimes the reason (because of bringing them up to be finicky and indulging them to much) for their wickedness and ruin.[497]

The Master of the Amiens 200 provides us with delightful, genre-like scenes of Christine's utopic educational vision—school rooms for every woman from pompous princesses to toddlers distracted by puppies. All the classes are separated by social status, as they were in the book. The strict adherence to the format of *The Treasure* is given a delightfully inventive twist by the artist of the last miniature of the Royal *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, where the artists shows the students leaving the college after classes are dismissed.

The final miniature of the Royal *Treasure* departs from the narrative setting established by the text and the Boston *Treasure* (Figs. 3, 55). In the text, the three Virtues remain, but their importance is now shared with the addition of Dame Prudence.[498] In this miniature and indeed throughout the Royal *Treasure*, Lady Prudence is not identifiable. Instead, Christine, with the three Virtues behind her, waves to the departing students from a high turret in the college-castle. The students are still grouped according to class. The women on the high bank are ladies of royal blood. Not only are they larger and placed higher in the composition than the others, but each of their gowns is bright with embroidery or brocade patterns of rose and various shades of blue. Their cone-shaped *henins*, collars, cuffs, and hems are trimmed with ermine or miniver. The *bourrelet* of the Boston *Treasure* miniature has merged with the early vertical headdress to form the preferred headgear of mid-century, the tall *henin* swathed in veils (Fig. 3). The ladies below are also aristocratic, but their smaller size and

simpler gowns indicate their status as lesser aristocracy. Members of both groups lean, posture, and glance at one another and back at the city in a lively rather than formal or hierarchical manner. It looks like the College of Ladies has just been dismissed; the students are now ready to take their newfound wisdom out into the world.

The four women on the bridge are of the merchant class, colorfully and fashionably dressed with gowns of crimson, jade, and sapphire. Their stiff, white veils, folded and pinned to fall low over the foreheads, indicate their bourgeois status. This miniature evokes the harmony Christine proclaimed should be the goal of the wives of artisans and craftsmen:

> All wives of artisans should be painstaking and diligent if they wish to have the necessities of life. They should encourage their husbands or their workmen to get to work early in the morning and work until late, for mark our words, there is no trade so good that if you neglect your work you will not have difficulty putting bread on the table. And besides encouraging the others, the wife herself should be involved in the work to the extent that she knows all about it, so that she may always know how to oversee his workers if her husband is absent, and reprove them if they do not do well. She ought to oversee them to keep them from idleness, for through careless workers the master is sometimes ruined. And when customers come to her husband and try to drive a hard bargain, she ought to warn him solicitously to take care that he does not make a bad deal.[499]

Christine gives detailed instructions on the duties and dress of wives and daughters of the burghers and artisans wives in *The Treasure*, here evidenced by the women in the white hoods on the bridge. In spite of this imaginative illustration of a scene never described but certainly implied in *The Treasure*, once again the poor women, servants, and laborers to whom Christine devotes special attention in the final portion of her writing are absent from the miniature.[500] So too, the images of proper deportment between the young and the old, the unmarried, the wives and the widows are not represented in any of the miniatures for *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* discussed in this study. Yet Christine states in this section of the text:

> We intend everything that we have laid down for other ladies and young women concerning both virtues and the management of one's life to apply to every woman of whatever class she may be. It is said as much for one woman as for another, so each one takes whatever part she sees pertains to her.[501]

Not only was this exquisite manuscript of the Royal *City & Treasure of Ladies* commissioned by a woman, Walburge de Meurs, it was later part of the library collections of two women bibliophiles, Louise de Albert and Margaret of Austria. Margaret also owned the Trés *riches Heures du Jean duc de Berry* by the Limbourg brothers. Margaret of Austria is a ruler who certainly epitomizes the qualities of the ideal woman of power, working as she did for peaceful diplomatic resolutions to political differences.

Exemplars: Anne of France and Margaret of Austria

> The duty of the wise queen and princess (is) to be the means of peace and concord, to work for the avoidance of war because of the trouble that can come of it. Ladies in particular ought to attend to this business, for men are by nature more hot-headed and the great desire they have to avenge themselves prevents their considering the evils that result from war. Women are by nature more timid and of a sweeter disposition...if they are wise and if they wish to, they can be the best means of pacifying men.[502]

Such advice must have rung true to Anne of France, regent of France while her young brother Charles came of age to rule. Anne presided over the French court at the Château of Amboise where she gathered a number of young girls to be educated under her tutelage, including Margaret of Austria, Louise of Savoy and her own daughter Suzanne de Bourbon.[503] Susan Groag Bell writes that one can regard Anne's court as "the breeding ground for a future group of powerful, regal women who learned much from Anne's example."[504] Anne herself was well-educated and was envied and admired for her poise and knowledge. She inherited a copy of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* from her mother Charlotte of Savoy, and, as mentioned earlier, wrote her own guidebook for women dedicated to her daughter.[505] Indicative of the tough decisions which must be made by anyone in power, after carefully educating Margaret of Austria to be the next queen of France, she severed that connection to make a better alliance for her brother Charles VIII to Anne of Brittany. Anne of France then accompanied her protégé, the rejected and humiliated Margaret of Austria, now

thirteen, back to Brussels where she was placed into the hands of her godmother, Margaret of Burgundy, formerly Margaret of York, another well-educated bibliophile with a particular penchant for beautifully illustrated manuscripts and printed incunabula.

Margaret of Austria would be wed for a short time to the Infante Juan, crown Prince of Spain until his death three years later. At twenty-one, she had already lost two opportunities to be queen first of France, then Spain. Her education to become a leader would not go to waste, for in her third marriage to Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, she "took the reins of Savoy into her own hands."[506] Philibert, described as her great love, was brother to Louise of Savoy, her fellow student at the school of Anne of France as a child. This marriage, too, was short-lived, and when she became a widow the second time, her father Emperor Maximilian noted her aptitude for politics and diplomacy, and made Margaret of Austria the governor of the Netherlands and guardian of her brother's children, one of whom was the future Emperor Charles V. Late in life she and her former classmate, Louise of Savoy, also a former regent of a future king, negotiated the famous "Ladies' Peace" or the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529. This great act of peaceful diplomacy undertaken on their part brought to a close the fighting between Margaret's nephew, who was really more like a son; Emperor Charles V, whom she had raised; and King Francis I of France, the son of Louise of Savoy.

The story of Anne of France and Margaret of Austria is told at length to demonstrate not only the intricate webs binding so many of the former students of Anne of France, but also to offer the lives of these women as exemplars of the model princess Christine de Pizan hoped to influence in *The Treasure*

of the City of Ladies. Indeed, many of the miniatures discussed in this study can be found in the library of Margaret of Austria. Margaret also inherited the Burgundian *City of Ladies* (CP 1, Figs. 1 & 2) and purchased the Dutch *City and Treasure* discussed earlier from William of Croy in 1511[507] (Figs.9, 16, 20, 21, 22, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42 & 43). Hélène de Laval, once secretary to Anne of France, owned the Geneva City of Ladies (Figs. 11, 13, 19 & 25).[508] In addition to these were many copies of *The Treasure* without miniatures. Christine's influence can definitely be seen in the deeds of Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy.[509]

Illustrating Ladies Learning:

The stylistic variety in the last phase of deluxe manuscript production of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* is extensive, reflecting the wide audience Christine's books acquired as the century progressed, witnessed by their translation into English, Portuguese and Flemish, and in the continuing desire of new patrons for illustrated editions. Carried about the continent by sisters, wives, daughters, and nieces of the original owners, the manuscripts were copied, translated and illuminated by regional artists working in all manner of styles, evident in the great variety of possibilities explored in this chapter. There is no single accepted aesthetic utilized by the workshops illustrating *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. The compositions established by Christine's artists, *The City of Ladies* Master in this case, are often duplicated by virtue of their familiarity, but the details of gown, headdress, materials and accessories are constantly altered and updated to make the women more appealing to the current reader. Christine's own costume is as

subject to change as is that of the princesses, ladies and merchants addressed in the text.

Christine's writings and the miniatures she supervised indicate that she was acutely aware of the power of dress to establish hierarchical levels in the illustrations. *The City of Ladies* Master clothes the Virtues in the costume of the aristocracy—*houppelandes* and *robes royale*—although they are greatly simplified and restrained (Fig. 3). One need only examine the choking collars, rich brocades hung with gold bells and bezants, multi-colored, enormous chaperons, and extravagant costumes worn by the mannered figures painted by the contemporary Limbourg brothers to realize how plain the costumes of Christine and her Virtues are in the Boston *Treasure.* Other workshops were available to her for the illumination of her *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, yet she chose one willing to portray her as a sensibly dressed widow whose social status is easily determined through clearly delineated items of dress.

This restraint was swept away immediately once Christine was no longer alive to supervise and dictate the composition and content of her miniatures. Although she insisted upon modesty and restraint in clothing, her new readers acquired in the decades following her death cannot resist elevating their favorite author to an ever-higher status by dressing her in garments reserved for those far above Christine's actual station as respected court writer (CP 9, 10, Fig. 48). The three portraits of Christine found in miniatures illustrating the Royal *Treasure*, although painted sixty years after the first copy by *The City of Ladies* Master, still reverberate with the action and cooperative spirit one finds within Christine's very words (CP 2 & 5, Figs. 46, 47, & 55). She and her companions are

not so burdened with elegant and fashionable frivolities of dress that they are prevented from lively discussions. Christine's garments once again take on a sensible flavor; her wimple, kerchief, and plain gown appear fine but are hardly fashionable or frivolous.

The portrayal of the Virtues and the students in the miniatures of *The Treasure* produced during the second half of the fifteenth century break from the models first established by Christine and *The City of Ladies* Master. The artists of the Brussels and Beinecke *Treasures* revel in a calligraphy of line, elaboration of dress, ornamentation of headdress, fabric, and fur to display a preoccupation with pattern decedent enough to dazzle the eye of any fashionable reader (CP 9, 11 & 12, Figs. 48, 50, 53 & 54). The Hague *Treasure* miniatures, and to a lesser extent, the miniatures for the *Royal Treasure*, give just enough particulars of fashion in each figure to establish their other worldliness in the case of the Virtues, or social standing in the case of the students, without over emphasis on dazzling details of dress (Fig.51, 52, 47, 55).

Christine de Pizan was by no means a revolutionary attempting to attack the class system and the role of women in society in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Instead she was determined to emphasize the worth of the work women did and to extol the contributions they made to their families and communities, as suited their rank and responsibilities. While outraged at their precarious stature within that culture, she elected to combat this state with sound advice. *The Treasure* reveals Christine for the realist she was. She advises women on how to avoid slander, appease difficult husbands, manage a country, a court or a business, navigate a court-case, end a love-affair, raise children, and most importantly, how to defend her

most precious possession—her honor. Christine's credo is evident in the optimism she expressed regarding the substantial role women could play in society when given the education and opportunity.

Charity Cannon Willard believes Christine wrote *The Treasure* to teach women how to attain a sense of self-worth.[510] Indeed, miniatures for the Boston, Hague and Royal *Treasures*, with their straightforward renditions of the College of Ladies, underscore this creed. These miniatures offer the reader a visual counterpart of the model behavior promoted in the lectures.[511] Christine's original artist, *The City of Ladies* Master, preserves a sense of hierarchy in the classroom while establishing a visual circle of community when giving form to the College and its lecture hall. This interest in hierarchy is very evident in the Brussels, Beinecke and Royal *Treasures*, although established in very different ways. Most of the later artists, such as the Master of the Amiens 200 in the Beinecke *Treasure*, as well as the artist of the very early Paper *Treasure*, were equally concerned with fashionable attire as with social hierarchy, yet all remind the reader that women should gather, listen, read, and think. Christine's prose inspires an imaginative interpretation of feminine culture, even when the artists were most likely men. Although they and their patrons held restrictive notions concerning the role, value, and worth of women, when interpreting Christine's visions, they are forced to create a harmonious vision of a community of women gathering to learn. The majority of the miniatures underscore this philosophy. Most offer the reader a visual counterpart of the model behavior promoted in the lectures, and all in their way remind us that women should gather, listen, read and think.[512] Christine indicates her satisfaction at the end of The Treasure, writing:

> I remained almost exhausted from writing for so long, but very happy, looking at the beautiful work of their worthy lessons, which I have recapitulated. The more I look at them, the better they seem; very profitable for the good, the improvement of virtuous habits, and the increase of the honor of ladies and the whole world of women, present and future, wherever this book can reach and be seen.[513]

The popularity of *The Treasure* over several centuries among many classes of women is a testament to its power. This would have pleased Christine, no believer in false humility, for she had high hopes for the lessons transcribed in her College of Ladies.

Chapter Five

Word and Image

Christine de Pizan recognized the power of the image and took care that a great many of her texts were embellished with miniatures that supported and enhanced specific aspects of her message. Later fifteenth-century artists and their workshops illustrating those same texts had differing agendas dictated by the tastes of the time or of an exacting patron. Considering text and image as equal partners follows a long-held medieval view that there are two ways of learning: by word and by image. First, copies of a given text, though, are rarely illustrated and are often roughly used by copyists or readers, and do not usually survive. Lavish manuscripts do survive, as they are hoarded, stored away in trunks or chained together in private libraries. Lavish manuscripts generally include miniatures.[514] Miniatures, however, do far more than just ensure the survival of a manuscript, and when found within the writings of popular medieval authors, they often act as visual allegory, offering a "concurrent narrative running parallel with the textual."[515] Artists illuminating works for Christine de Pizan constructed visual allegories in narrative scenes, echoing the moral allegories and narratives found in her text. These visual allegories or narratives often include the author as a main or supporting character. This occurs continuously in miniatures discussed in this study, for Christine is written into every scene of *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* through her continual interaction with the three Virtues, Reason, Rectitude, and Justice (CP 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 & 10, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). Having the author as a main character is a literary invention found throughout the late middle ages, most-well known in

case of the celebrated *Divine Comedy* by Dante. This is done not out of a desire to preserve the author's personality or to satisfy his or her vanity. Instead, the author speaks as the voice of everyman, or in Christine's case everywoman. The visual portraits serve the same purpose, demonstrating the active role an individual must take in their own intellectual, spiritual or literary journey.

Christine directed the illumination of her works and chose the artists, ensuring that her voice was reinforced visually, causing the miniatures to become "more directly grounded in the text of the moral chapters they illustrate."[516] Later artists, too, were adept at using these same devices of composition, dress, and body language to add "silent meanings" to the texts they were illustrating.[517] Through manipulation of composition and exploitation of the communicative possibilities of costume and gesture, artists changed and customized the miniatures accompanying *The City* and *The Treasure* throughout the fifteenth century to further enhance or even contradict the meaning of Christine's message.

Clothing Christine's Heroines and Scholars

How are Christine's heroines represented in the fifteenth-century pictorial tradition of *The Book of the City of Ladies*? With a few exceptions, the goddesses are garbed as noblewomen, and the warrior queens are rarely seen "warring" at all. Christine chose to sacrifice illustrating the dramatic lives of Amazons, goddesses, scholars, poets, lovers and saints in the miniatures she commissioned of *The City of Ladies* Master in favor of images portraying the city-as-refuge and its worthy citizens instead. The city is constructed metaphorically brick by brick, life by life, from the previously uncelebrated history of

women.[518] There, its citizens could safely begin the intellectual process of dialogue and Socratic inquiry modeled by Christine, as a new female authority, with the three Virtues. New directions taken by later fifteenth-century artists sometimes continue in the same vein, prefiguring its function as a college in the *Treasure* by illustrating so many women engaged in intellectual discourse (Figs. 18-24). Once Christine's *City of Ladies* officially expands its function to that of a college in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, the accompanying miniatures explode with images of classrooms and courtyards crowded with women engaged in intellectual inquiry as well as practical instruction on how to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of their class. Sometimes they even share the same bench or floor with those of differing social strata, for as Christine writes, "we intend everything we have laid down for other ladies and young women concerning both virtues and the management of one's life to apply to every woman of whatever class she may be."[519] In all cases these later miniatures include changes made to accommodate regional aesthetics and elements of dress, gesture, and visual codes more familiar to the audience and patrons of that time. Nobility and moral character are indicated by elaborate costume, regal carriage, and in at least one manuscript, greater prominence afforded to the Virtues through scale and symbol (Fig. 51 & 52). These manuscripts, carried about the continent by sisters, wives, daughters, and nieces of the original owners, are copied, translated, and illuminated by regional artists in all manner of styles. This certainly fulfills Christine's hopes for her text's message, although they often visually demonstrate her loss of control as its most singular voice, particularly with regard to her portrait. The artists must clothe each figure carefully, for as Brigette Buettner describes, ". . . characters are known by what they wear, and any

accompanying words support the clothes instead of the other way around."[520] Copying the dress and manners of those in power becomes more than an aesthetic act, but rather an artistic language used by artists and recognized by the readers to make Christine's ideas fresh and relevant to new generations of audiences.

Christine, Boccaccio and Other Male Authorities

Christine's main source for the heroines of *The Book of the City of Ladies* was Boccaccio's *Famous Women.* Christine abandoned Boccaccio's chronological arrangement and assembled the biographies of her heroines in *The City* into groups of related professions, family roles and behaviors. She also added contemporary women who exemplified these roles and behaviors, some of whom she knew personally. Additionally, Christine also devoted the third part of her text to the female saints and holy women whose lives were ignored by Boccaccio in his history. Indeed some scholars believe the popularity of Boccaccio's *Famous Women* today is in large part due to renewed interest in Christine de Pizan and *The Book of the City of Ladies.* Neither work is simplistic, nor are their authors predictable. When the prodigious literary output of Boccaccio and Christine is examined as a whole, Christine is not always the raging radical and Boccaccio not always monolithically patriarchal. Boccaccio knew that he was writing something new and daring when he composed his history *Concerning Famous Women*, and he was proud of himself for being the first to do so. Boccaccio, like Christine, also found virtue in those women who as viragos displayed many so-called masculine qualities. In contrast, Rosalind Brown-Grant writes that Christine "devoted over half of her text to women who, as

wives, had virtuously performed the role that was more specific to their sex."[521] These wifely heroines, whether queens, duchesses or burghers' wives, demonstrate the qualities of good moral influence and diplomatic peacekeeping skills sorely needed in the day to day life of the medieval woman, be she high or low in the eyes of society. Boccaccio did not inspire *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, although several male books on the education of wives and daughters did.[522] In *The Treasure* Christine offers explicit instructions on how women could control their lives within their domestic sphere, always stressing the value of women's contribution to men's lives as their partners and helpmates.[523] Having acknowledged that Christine honored both traditional and non-traditional accomplishments of women in history and of her time, there is no doubt that her ideas were uncommon and radical for fifteenth-century France.

Beyond the purely explanatory qualities of illustration, though, there is another reason why looking at visualizations of Christine's miniatures for *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* is a rewarding endeavor. In his essay on visual interpretations of the *Decameron*, Vittore Branca touches upon the potential of illustrations to portray what is not always delineated in the text, or perhaps even what is not intended at all.[524] This stems from attitudes of suspicion and ignorance toward the written word alive even at the end of the fifteenth century. It seems hard to imagine now, at a time when the most frequently censored types of media are visual, but six hundred years ago the scripted or printed word was a mysterious and oftentimes inaccessible phenomenon when compared to the proliferation of images, then regarded as a trusted and well-known method of teaching and communicating religion.

Christine as Teacher

Another aspect differentiating Christine from Boccaccio was her role as a teacher in many of her works, particularly in *The City* and *The Treasure.* Charity Cannon Willard believes that Christine's interest in educating others began with her first child, her son, "... although it could not have been entirely unrelated to the fact that through both her father and her husband she was associated with the group at the French court which produced the first humanists, secretaries and advisers surrounding the royal courts and city governments in France as well as Italy."[525] Many of these humanists were essentially teachers whose moral thought was centered on the education of the young.[526] What is certain is that as a widow with young children, Christine was understandably concerned for their education. The problem of how to give women a sense of their own worth in western society and how to prepare them to be well-equipped to face the problems which might confront them provides the basic inspiration for both *The Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies.*[527]

As noted throughout this study, the *Treasure of the City of Ladies* is devoted to the education of women and their proper place in society. It is no accident that it is dedicated to Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless, granddaughter to Phillip the Bold, engaged to the future king of France (although he died before becoming king). The Burgundian dukes showed particular interest in the education of their children, both males and females. The women of their family generally had a more important role in their undertakings than was true of women in the French royal family. There was every reason to suppose that Margaret would one day be queen of France, so it comes as no

surprise that Christine devoted half of the *Treasure* to the education of princesses.[528] The dangerous notoriety of Queen Isabel's ladies in waiting at this time, fifteen of whom were later arrested during the Cabochien revolution that swept the court in 1413, is certainly responsible for the great number of pages Christine devotes to the need for the queen's subordinates to conduct themselves with the honor of their mistress in mind.[529] Christine's dedication of *The Treasure* to this young princess in 1405 and not to her future mother-in-law Queen Isabel is due no doubt to the queen's loss of public favor and the notorious reputation of her court. It is as if having given up on the queen, Christine turns to a younger, less tainted generation in Margaret to carry out hopes for sound leadership and moral example for the future leaders of France. [530] Perhaps, too, this is why we find again and again Christine's warning about the importance of a good reputation, a particularly vivid example of which follows:

> A lady's good reputation is like a great odor from the body of some creature that spreads abroad throughout the world in such a way that all people may smell it. In just this way the odor of a good reputation, which everywhere flows out from a good person, all people can have the scent of a good example.[531]

As usual, Christine's colorful simile pertains to women of all classes in society, not solely the nobility. The later parts of *The Treasure* are aimed at non-royal women, those managing the family estate, supervising apprentices, or educating their children. Calling these women to her school of Worldly Prudence, Christine paints a lively picture of the variety of professions as well as problems confronting the fifteenth

century woman. So, too, the images she supervised provide readers with a visual image of women embodying the behavior and values discussed in the text, namely prudence. Here the young female scholars sit attentively in their seats while listening to the Virtues and Prudence dispense their wisdom (Fig.3). Like the lessons they preach, the miniatures of the *City of Ladies* Master are clear and strong, in concord with the message of Christine's text, which however stern, is never demeaning.

The Feminine Utopia

Jacob Lewis defines the appearance of the medieval utopia in literature as "a form of social dreaming" critiquing the ideological truth of the day including everything from church doctrine, the nature of fame or the hierarchy of society. [532] Often, as in the case with Christine's *The Book of the City of Ladies,* a solution to that problem will be offered, that of a dialectically open ended society, where truth may be reached and conflict resolved through investigation and discussion, offering hope for the future.[533] The vision of an ideal state of mind found in *The Book of the City of Ladies* is brought down to earth in its practical sequel, *The Treasure.* Here Christine provides real world education to all women, even those who could not read or would never have access to her text. Christine's *City* and *Treasure* together form a rather unusual utopian duo, built on the deeds of the past yet providing hope for the future, supported by practical knowledge to be used in living each day with a sense of self worth and dignity.

As we have seen, in spite of many changes and additions, not all the renderings of Christine's City and College of ladies after the *City of Ladies* Master distort her message.

We witnessed visually a continued interest in women's intellectual discussion in the miniatures of the French and Flemish *City of Ladies* (Fig.18-23) and education in the Beinecke, Brussels and Hague *Treasures* (CP 11 & 12, Figs. 50, 52, 53, 54). If we compare the settings of the miniatures opening Part Two and Three by the *City of Ladies* Master, we can see that the most obvious difference is where the citizenry are located. In the prototype versions, if we eliminate the prologue miniatures, the action takes place outside the walls of the city. In the opening for Part Two, Rectitude leads a group of aristocratic ladies to their new utopist abode (Fig. 1). She gestures toward the city itself, as yet unfinished, as there is still a workman on the roof. The women represent the ladies who live at court, on their own manors or in religious orders, now invited to take residence in Christine's utopia. In the miniature for Part Three, the *City of Ladies* Master shows these new citizens spilling out from the arched gateway to greet Mary and the saints (Fig. 2). This organization of citizenry is reversed in the miniature for Part Three in the Munich *City of Ladies*, for here the city is already inhabited by Mary, the Queen, and it is she and the saints who spill out of the gates to greet Christine and future citizens standing outside the city walls (Fig.15). The dual aims of intellectual refuge and education for Christine's utopia finds fitting representation in two miniatures in particular, the Chantilly *City of Ladies,* final miniature for the Royal *Treasure* (Fig.23, 55).

In the Chantilly *City of Ladies*, we visit a sheltered courtyard within the wall of the City. (Fig. 23) Here the women are relaxed and free to pursue traditional activities while they explore, through discussion, the world of ideas. In the Royal *Treasure* Christine, leaning from a round stone balcony bids farewell to her students like a satisfied professor as they march

out from the gate, class by class. (Fig. 55) In the Royal *Treasure* the artist portrays ladies, armed with confidence, hope and practical social skills, leaving the city turned college and heading out into their real lives, ready to put what they have learned into action in the real world (Fig. 55). Yes, they are still divided by their social class, for Christine, though visionary, was of her time and accepted the medieval hierarchical structure as natural, or at the very least saw it as a reality that would not be changing in the near future. Maureen Quilligan describes the literary architecture of *The Book of the City of Ladies* as "neat and civilized--it obeys the appropriate spatial rules, but by the same token it reorganizes the grid that usually separates women into classes, into ideological strata and into the larger grouping of those living and those dead."[534] Although *The Treasure* is organized around the concept of class structure, The *City* is organized by stories of individual merit and deed. The three parts are dedicated to different achievements in leadership and warfare, scholarship and invention, fidelity, and faith. "Like Dante's Paridiso," summarizes Quilligan, "all of Christine's women are joined in communal harmony."[535] This could aptly be a description of most of the fifteenth-century miniatures illuminating the texts of *The City* and *Treasure of Ladies* as well.

Christine's hopes for her works were high, as is indicated at the end of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* where she writes, "...this work will not remain useless and forgotten. It will endure in many copies all over the world without falling into disuse, and many valiant ladies and women of authority will see and hear it now and in time to come."[536] The miniatures that accompanied the sumptuous editions of this text, produced by Christine and later generations of book lovers, insured the survival of her message in a variety of ways. There

is no doubt she would be satisfied that six hundred years later we still read and wonder at the magnificence of her ideas and the vision of her production of text and image together, reinforcing her message, delighting and educating the viewer, no matter their sex.

Notes

[1] See Sandra Hindman, *Epistre Othea* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1986), 144-69, hereafter cited in text. Christine's contemporaries Philippe de Mezieres and Honore Bouvet may also have been so involved.
[2] Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, "Identifications des authographes de Christine de Pizan," *Scriptorium 34* (1980): 22-238; Meiss, *French Painting,* 8 hereafter cited in text.
[3] Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (NY: Braziller, 1988), 27.
[4] Beatrice Gottlieb, "The Problem of Feminism in the Fifteenth Century," in *Women of the Medieval World,* ed. Kirohenes & Wemple (Cornwall: Blackwell, 1985) , 341 hereafter cited in text.
[5] *Le livre du trésor de la cité des dames* was originally titled *Le livre de trois vertus* by Christine de Pizan.
[6] *City of Ladies*, 10.
[7] Christine Reno, "Virginity as an Ideal in Christine de Pizan's *Cite des Dames,*" in *Ideals for Women in the Works Christine de Pizan,* ed. Diane Bornstein (Detroit: Marygrove College, 1981), 80.
[8] Ibid., 85.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* trans. Sarah Lawson (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 31.
[11] Jacob Lewis, "Tools for Tomorrow: The Utopian Function in Medieval England, 1350-1420" (PhD diss., Univ. of Arkansas, 2010) http://comp.uark.edu/~jcl08/.
[12] Ibid.
[13] *Treasure*, 169.
[14] Holland Goss and Roland Schaer, *Imagining the Ideal: Views of Utopia,* exhibition at The New York Public Library, *October 14, 2000-January 27, 2001.* http://www.fathom.com/feature/122134/index.html
[15] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 143.
[16] Ibid., 148.
[17] Hindman, *Epistre*, 2.
[18] A. Gabriel, "The Educational Ideas of Christine de Pizan," *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVI (1955): 4.
[19] Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life,* trans. J. Wisman in *Christine de Pizan* (NY: 1984), 2-69.
[20] For more on the Christine and Latin controversy, see Thelma Fenster's "*Perdre son latin" Christine de Pizan and Vernacular Humanism,* in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilyn Desmon, Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998, 91-107.

[21] Christine De Pizan, *Le livre du chemin de long estude* (Berlin: R. Damkohler, 1881), 87-90

[22] Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of The City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 15.

[23] Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books 1984).

[24] Christine de Pizan, *Livre de la mutacion de* Fortune (Paris : A & J Picard, 1955), 21-22.

[25] Trans. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski.
http://home.infionline.net/~ddisse/christin.html

[26]http://www.tonykline.co.uk/PITBR/French/Frenchpoetry.htm#_Toc91307791, (Translated by A. S. Kline ©2004 All Rights Reserved)

[27] See Charity Cannon Willard "Christine de Pizan: The Astrologer's Daughter," in *Mélanges a la mémoire de Franco Simone: France et Italie dans la culture europénne,* 1:15-111. Bibliothéque Franco Simone, 4. Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1980.

[28] *Le Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie (The Book of Feats of Arms and Chivalry), L'Epistre au dieu d'Amors (Letter to the god of Love) and Le Livre du corps de policie (The Book of the body of Policy).*

[29] Edith Yenal, *Christine de Pisan: A Bibliography of Writings By Her and About Her* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1982), 63.

[30] Bell, *Lost Tapestries,* 24.

[31] Christine de Pizan, The *vision of Christine de Pizan* , translated from the French by Glenda McLeod, Charity Cannon Willard; with notes and interpretive essay by Glenda McLeod (Library of medieval women, 1369-9652). Cambridge: Brewer, 2005. 165, 152.

[32] Ibid., 118-119

[33] E.J. Richards, Introduction to *City of Ladies*, xxi.

[34] "Le Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc," translated by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee, in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan: New Translations, Criticism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), http://maidjoan.tripod.com/ditie.html and http://home.infionline.net/~ddisse/christin.html.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Charity Cannon Willard, "Christine de Pizan: The Astrologer's Daughter," in *Mélanges a la mémoire de Franco Simone: France et Italie dans la culture européan,* 1:195-111 Bibliothéque Franco Simone, 4 (Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1980).

[37] Richards, Introduction to *City of Ladies*, xxi.

[38] Christine preferred the complicated periodic syntax of Latin prose as a model for her own writing in French. In her own time this wall a hallmark of refinement, but this can make her writing difficult for the modern French reader. For an analysis of Christine's scholarly language see Richards xxii

and L. Gay "On the Language of Christine de Pisan" *Modern Philology* 6 (1908) 69-96.

[39] Christine de Pizan, *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, 164-66.

[40] Hindman, *Epistre Othea*, xix.

[41] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1940, English trans. B. Sessions, 1972 edition), 24-25.

[42] Paris BN Mss. Fr. 603 & 604, see modern edition by S. Solente, *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune.*

[43] The City, p. 5.

[44] Gottlieb, "Problem of Feminism," 55.

[45] Benjamin Semple, "The Critique of Knowledge as Power: The Limits of Philosophy and Theology in Christine de Pizan," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilynn Desmond (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. Press, 1998) ,111 hereafter cited in text.

[46] Judith L. Kellog, "Transforming Ovid: The Metamorphosis of Female Authority, " in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1998), 182-83.

[47] From Letter to the God of Love Lines 407-10, 417-18 as quoted by Judith L. Kellog Ibid.

[48] Virginia Brown, Preface to translation of Boccaccio, *De mulieribus claris* (Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), 4.

[49] Meiss, *French Painting,* 15.

[50] Boccaccio's text is written circa 1361-61. Hesiod wrote a Catalogue of Women, which does not survive except through other literary references of the period. A. Jeanroy, 'Boccace et Christine de Pisan, Le De claris mulieribus, principale source du Livre de la Cité des Dame,' Romania vol. 48, 1922, 92-105.

[51] Maureen Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité Des Dames* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991), 2.

[52] Brigitte Buettner, *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1996), 26.

[53] Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan: Humanism and the Problems of a Studious Woman," *Feminist Studies* 3, (1976): 175.

[54] Reno, *Virginity as an Ideal*, 80.

[55] Quilligan, *Allegory of Female Authority*, 3.

[56] Roberta L. Krueger, *Christine's Treasure: Women's Honor and Household Economics in the Livre des trois vertus,* in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altman and Deborah L. McGrady (NY: Routledge, 2003), 103.

[57] Helen Costantino Fioratti, "Mirrors During the Renaissance Period," in *Le'Antiquarie & The Connoisseur Inc.* http://www.lantiquaire.us/mirrors-in-renaissance-period.html

[58] Ibid.

[59] Krueger, *Christine's Treasure*, 103-107.
[60] Lulu McDowell Richardson, *Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance: From Christine de Pizan to Marie de Gournay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1929), 30.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Charity Cannon Willard, introduction to *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor : The Treasury of the City of Ladies by Christine de Pisan,* ed. Madeline Pelner Cosman (New York: Persea Books, 2001), 40.
[63] Willard, *Medieval Woman's Mirror,* 41.
[64] Hindman, 11-12.
[65.] Charity Cannon Willard, "A Portuguese Translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livers des trois vertus,"* PMLA 78 (1963): 459-464.
[66.] *Treasure*, 58.
[67] Royal Library of Albert 1st in Brussels in manuscript 9235-7
[68] National Library of France in Paris BN 1177.
[69] See Kennedy, 107.
[70] Ibid., 42.
[71] Anne of France. *Les enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon.* Extrait d'une épistre consolatoire à Katerine de Neufville, dame de Fresne, sur la mort de son premier et seul filz, texte original publié d'après le Mss. unique de Saint-Pétersbourg, 1878.)
http://www.archive.org/details/lesenseignements00anneuoft
[72] Willard, *A Portuguese Translation*,459.
[73] Krueger, *Christine's Treasure*, 102.
[74] Ibid., 110.
[75] Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library, 2007), 9.
[76] Georges Duby and Arthur Goldhammer, *History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 569.
[77] Duby, *History of Private Life*, 572.
[78] Poulaines are worn by the man chopping wood in miniature portraying the activity of the month of February as well as by the shepherds in the Annunciation to the Shepherds miniature in the very famous calendar section of *The Very Rich Hours of John, the Duke of Berry* painted by the Limbourg brothers circa1416.
[79] Duby, *History of Private Life*, 577-8.
[80] Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe: 1400-1500* (London: Mills & Boon, 1980) and Dorothy Hartley *Medieval costume and Life* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1931).
[81] Duby, *History of Private Life*, 569.
[82] Christine de Pizan, *Treasure of the City*, 150.

[83] Diane Owen Hughes, "La moda prohibita. La legislazione sumptuaria nell Italia rinascimentale," *Memoria* 11-12 (1984): 95-7.
[84] Emil Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge rn France* (Paris, 1931), *32.*
[85] Gerhard Jaritz, a presentation entitled "Ambiguities in Content or Making the Language of Medieval Dress Understandable" in the session *Costumes in Drama and Art* at the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 4th 2001.
[86] Clifford Davidson, "The Visual Arts and Drama, with Special Emphasis on the Lazarus Plays of the Middle Ages," in *Le Théâtre au moyen âge*, ed. Gari R. Muller (Montreal: Editions Univ., 1977), 46.
[87] Alan Hindly, a presentation entitled "Dress Codes: Reading Costume I the Old French Moralitiés" in *Costume in French and English Plays,* at the 36th International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 5th, 2001.
[88] Anne van Buren, a presentation entitled "The Principles of Dress in Medieval Art" in *Details of Dress: Costume and Identity in the Middle Ages II* at the 35th International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, May 5th, 2000.
[89] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (2000), 67.
[90] Véronique Plesch, a presentation entitled "L'habit fait le moine: Costume in Late Medieval Narrative Cycles"in *Costumes in English and French Plays*, at the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo MI, May 5th, 2001.
[91] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* (Summer 1982): 763-64.
[92] Deborah McGrady, "What is a Patron," in *Christine de Pizan and the Catagories of Difference*, 197.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 198
[96] *The City*, p. 236.
[97] Ibid., 236-7.
[98] M. Cheny Curnow, "*The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes,* an English translation of Christine de Pisan's *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*," *Les Bonnes Feuilles* 3 (1976): 118.
[99] Yenal, *Bibliography of Writings*, 63 hereafter cited in text.
[100] Charity Cannon Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the Livre des Trois Vertus and Christine de Pizan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1966): 439-40.
[101] R. Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London: Archon, 1966), 246.
[102] Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition," 433-444; Willard, "A Portuguese Translation," 459-64 hereafter cited in text.

[103] Bodleian Fr. MS 5 is the work of an English scribe and border artists. Miniatures were planned, but never executed. Willard, *The Manuscript Tradition*, 1966, 438.

[104] Ibid., 438. See also Erwin Panofsky, "Guelders and Holland: A Footnote on a Recent Acquisition of the National Museum of Stockholm," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* XXII (1953) 90ff.

[105] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 763-64 hereafter cited in text.

[106] Thomas Kren, "Revolution and Transformation ," in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 197

[107] Brown, Cynthia J., "The Reconstruction of an Author In Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond. (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998), 220.

[108] Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, 12.

[109] Charity Cannon Willard, "The Three Virtues of Christine de Pisan,"*The Boston Public Library Quarterly* II (1950): 291- 305.

[110] BL Harley 4431. Sandra Hindman, "The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment," *British Library Journal* 9 (1983): 93-123 hereafter cited in text.

[111] See Angus Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide* (London: 1984) 93 & 107 hereafter cited in text.

[112]Millard Meiss, "Exhibition of French Manuscripts 13th-16th Centuries at the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris." *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 193.

[113] BNF, MS f. fr.9. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries.* 2 vols. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 12-15.

[114] Ibid., 13.

[115] For John Duke of Berry's library see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* 2 vols. (London: Phaidon Press, 1967) I, 309-318.

[116] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des trois vertus,* (Paris: Champion, 1989), 177-8.

[117] *The Treasure*, 177-178.

[118] Other works by the City of Ladies Master are detailed by Millard Meiss in *French Painting in the Time of jean du Berry: The Limburg Brothers and their Contemporaries.*

[119] Many accountings list six, but they include British Library MS 31841, erroneously listed as *La cité of Ladies.* This miniature illustrates the Prologue of *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* instead.

[120] Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, 377-382.

[121] BR 9393

[122] Christine de Pizan, *The City,* 6

[123] Ibid., 8

[124] Laura Rinaldi Dufresne, "A Woman of Excellent Character: A Case Study of Dress, Reputation and the Changing Costume of Christine de Pizan," *Dress* (1990): 104-117.
[125] Scott, *Margaret medieval Dress and Fashion*, 132.
[126] Christine de Pizan, *The City*, 8-9.
[127] Ibid., 16
[128] Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe 1400-1500* (London: Mills & Boon, 1980) ,150 hereafter cited in text.
[129] Christine de Pizan, *The City*, 99.
[130] *Karma Lochrie*, "Sheer Wonder: Dreaming Utopia in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36 (2006): 493-516.
[131] Christine de Pizan, *The City,* 214.
[132] Ibid., 239-40
[133] Christine de Pizan, *Treasure*, 31.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Semple, *Critique of Knowledge,* 109.
[136] Piponnier, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2000), 84.
[137] de Pizan, *The Treasure*, 109,128,145.
[138] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Well Behaved Women Seldom Make History* (New York: Random House Publishers, 2007), 12-14.
[139] Ibid., 13.
[140] Ibid., 12-13.
[141] Richards, introduction to *The City*, xx.
[142] Ulrich, *Well Behaved Women*, 12-13.
[143] Maureen Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité Des Dames* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991).
[144] *The City*, 3.
[145] Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*.
[146] Hindman, Sandra , L' *Epistre Othea* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986), 13.
[147] Lesley Smith, "Scriba, Femina: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1996), 21-44.
[148] See Gilbert Ouy and Christine Reno, "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 221-238 for more on this topic.
[149] Hindman, *Epistre Othea*, 14.
[150] *L' Epistre Othéa*, London, BL Harley MS 4431, fol. 95r, c. 1406-8 and Paris, BN MS fr. 606, fol. 1r, 1408-10. See Hindman, *Epistre* 14-16.
[151] See Cheunsoon Song and Lucy Roy Sibley, "The Vertical Headdress of Fifteenth Century
Northern Europe," Dress 16 (1990): 5-15 for a description of the vertical headdress with its six types.

[152] Hilda Amphlet, *Hats: A History of Fashion* (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), 56.
[153] Categorized as Type VI by Song and Sibley, 11.
[154] Amphlet, *Hats: A History of Fashion*, 56.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 2000).
[157] *The Treasure*, 150.
[158] *The Treasure,* 149-53.
[159] Examples in miniatures; BL 2960 folio f.3v. from the early 15th century in France; and in print the 1473 edition of De Claris Mulieribus was published by Johann Zainer of Ulm, known as the Ulm Boccaccio. It was the first *illustrated* book to print: *De Claris Mulieribus*, Boccaccio. Louvain : Egidius van der Heerstraten, 1487; *De Claris Mulieribus*, by Boccaccio - from a German translation of 1541.
[160] Susan Groag Bell, Christine de Pizan in her Study" CRMH, Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes *(Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies)*, Études christiniennes, 2008, [En ligne], mis en ligne le 10 juin 2008. URL : http://crm.revues.org//index3212.html. Consulté le 20 juillet 2010
[161] BR 9393.
[162] Bell, "Christine de Pizan in Her Study."
[163] Maureen Quilligan, p 52 note 64, the translation of "ma joe acoudee " as armrest, also can mean "cheek"
[164] Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, *1997*).
[165] *The Treasure*, 31.
[166] Indeed, in more than one of her writings, Christine receives a divine visitor while lying or sleeping in her bed. The Cumean Sibyl appears to her in a dream in *The Road of Long Study* to fill her head with the intellectual pleasures she longed for, serving to inspire Christine's future writings. The artist of this illustration portrays the Cumean Sibyl as if she were an actual visitor in the flesh, lecturing Christine from her bedside as she lies sleeping. See [166] Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan in Her Study, http://crm.revues.org/index3212.html .
[167] Ibid.
[168] Vacatio or vision, see Millard Meiss, "Sleep in Venice. Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities," *in The Painters Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 225.
[169] Buettner, 67.
[170] *The City*, 64-65.
[171] van Buren.
[172] *The City*, 4-5, 15, 17, 63.

[173] Smith, "Scriba, Femina," 21-44.
[174] *The City*, 3.
[175] Georges Doager, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1987), 107. Loyset Liedet's was born and spent his early career in Hesdin, France and was influenced by fellow illuminator, Simon Marmion. Liedet moved to Bruges by 1468 and by 1470 he began working for Charles the Bold produced over 400 miniatures for him during his two-year employment. Liedet worked mainly for the Burgundian court and rarely sold manuscripts on the open market.
[176] Maureen Cheny Curnow, "The 'Livre de la cité des dames' of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt university, Department of French, 1975), 2:451-6.
[177] Georges Doager, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, 59 .
[178] Debae, Marguerite, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d' Autriche*, exhibition catalogue Bibliothéque Royal Albert I, Bruxelles, 1987, 247-51.
[179] Bell, *Lost Tapestries*, 87.
[180] *The City*, 3.
[181] Ibid., 4.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., 4-5.
[184] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1953), 87-88.
[185] Augustine, *The City of God* (New York: New City Press), Book II, 6.
[186] Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, 88.
[187] Mary Weitzel Gibbons, "The Bath of the Muses and visual allegory in the *Chemin de long Estude*," in *Christine de Pisan and the Categories of difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1998), 128-130.
[188] Ibid., 130.
[189] Ibid., 132.
[190] Eric Hicks, "Le Livres des Trois Vertus of Christien de Pizan: Beinecke MS. 427" in *Yale French Studies Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991), 67.
[191] Many accountings list six, but they include British Library MS 31841, erroneously listed as *La cité des dames*. This miniature illustrates the Prologue of *The Book of the Three Virtues* instead.
[192] BR 9393.
[193] Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), 377-382.
[194] Ibid., 13.
[195] *The City*, 39-40.
[196] *The City*, 40

[197] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 61.
Claudia's story is told in Part II, chapter 3 of The Book of the City of Ladies.
[198] *The City*, 42.
[199] Ibid., 44-5.
[200] Ibid., 45
[201] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon, 1979), 183.
[202] *The City*, 40
[203] Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe 1400-1500* (London: Mills & Boon, 1980), 150.
[204] BR 9235-7 folio 52 &112.
[205] See Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), Part 2 & 3.
[206] Scott, *late Gothic Europe,* 190-1.
[207] *The City*, 6.
[208] Meiss, "Sleep in Venice," 224. What Millard Meiss referred to as the *vacatio*, achieved through sleep.
[209] Pacht and Thoss, p. 53.
[210] G. de Courtais, *Women's Headdress and hairstyle*, rev. ed. (London: Batsford, 1986), 36-37.
[211] Maureen Cheney Curnow, "*The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes* an English Translation of Christien de Pizan's *Le Livre de la cité des dames*," *Les Bonnes Feuilles* 3 (1974): 118.
[212] Ibid., 33.
[213] L.M.J. Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1968), 172.
[214] *The City,* 11.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., 12 & 13.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid., 12.
[220] Ibid., 16.
[221] Kren *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 207.
[222] Ibid., 207.
[223] Ibid., 275, figure 73.
[224] *The City*, 99.
[225] *The City*, 16.
[226] Michael Jones, "Jean IV" and "Jean V," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler, volume 932 of the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, 1995, 486.
[227] *The City,* 62.

[228] Ibid., 117.
[229] Ibid., 117.
[230] Maureen Cheney Curnow, *The 'Livre de la cité des dames' of Christine de Pisan: a critical edition*, Ph.D., Vanderbilt Univ., 2 Vols., 1975. SAI, XXXVI (1975-76), 4536-37A, pp 300-345.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies (La cité des dames)*, trans. by E.J. Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), 21.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid, 38.
[236] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. Virginia Brown Cambridge (MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003) and Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of Othea*, trans. S. Scrope (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970).
[237] Ibid., 51
[238] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), 26.
[239] *The Book of the City of Ladies*, 40-41.
[240] Ibid, 42, 48.
[241] Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1983), 28.
[242] In Christine de Pizan's *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Trans. Sarah Lawson (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 59-62. Christine discusses the value of chastity for additional reasons, for the sake of a lady's reputation. For this reason she distrusts popular notions of chivalry and romantic love as it sullies the only protection a woman has, her good name - most often lost due to unchaste behavior.
[243] *The City*, 42.
[244] Brigitte Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript* (Univ. of Washington Press, 1996), 34.
[245] *The City*, 41.
[246] This manuscript belonged to Guilette de Derval, wife of Jean de Malestroit, identified by their combined coat of arms, consisting of ten orbs of gold facing two red bands on a flecked field of silver, found n folio 1v. H. Aubert, *Notices sur les manuscrits Petau*, (Paris, 1911), 151-152.
[247] G. Hindley, *Medieval Warfare* (New York: Putnam, 1971) 94-95.
[248] Søren Bie, *Jeanne d'Arc*, June 7, 2010. http://www.jeanne-arc.dk/p_jeanne/armor.html.
[249] *The City*, 48.
[250] Cynthia J. Brown, "The Reconstruction of an Author In Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998), 64.

[251] Here the miniature of Penthesilea shows her armed with a bow and riding astride, her armor hidden under a side slit surcoat – her hair and headdress with a *fleur de lis* crown – are the focus here. Penthesilea's armor and shield in the Coronation Master's version for Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women* are held by others riding alongside her. Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, figure 31.

[252] Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries* (1924) (New York: Edward Arnold & Co., 1954), 72-73.

[253] Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting* (Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1987), 61, and L.M.J. Délaisse, *Le Siècle d'or de la miniature Flamande* (Bruxelles: Palaise des Beaux-arts, 1959), 59.

[254] The margins are decorated with Walberg's coat of arms, a sun and her emblem of a little bell. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, 61.

[255] C.C. Willard, *Christine de Pizan, Her Life and Works* (NY: Persea Books, 1984), 213. Margaret of Austria inherited this library in 1511. She of was a noted bibliophile, 193 volumes have been retrieved from the 390 texts comprising her library upon her death. The most well known manuscript in her impressive collection is *Trés riches Heures du Jean duc de Berry*. See M. Debae, *La Libraire de Marguerite d'Autriche*, exhib. Catalog. Bruxelles, 1987, xvii.

[256] *The City*, 45-46.

[257] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 36.

[258] *The City*, 46

[259] Theseus and Hippolyta were married with great ceremony once peace was achievement between the Greeks and the Amazons. *The City*, 47.

[260] Minerva, Athena to the Greeks, like Apollo was a civilizing deity, usually shown armed however, as in her early form she was a war goddess. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Icon Ed., 1979, 208-9.

[261] *The City*, 73.

[262] Hall, *Dictionary*, 208-9.

[263] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art.* Princeton, NJ, Princeton Univ. Press, 1972, p. 71.

[264] Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea*, 77-78.

[265] See Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea*, 77 & 89.

[266] Paris, BN MS fr 12420, f. 13v, The Coronation Master, c. 1402.

[267] Ibid, 91.

[268] *The City*, 80.

[269] Ibid, 74.

[270] *The Treasure*, 128.

[271] Arthur III, also known as Arthur of Richemont, was brother to Jean V, duke of Burgundy. Arthur III was a man whose deeds made him worthy of

Christine's ideal princess, Margaret of Burgundy. He was disfigured by facial wounds and captured at Agincourt. In 1423 he was Released from captivity in England, and offered his service to the Anglo-Burgundian cause. He married Margaret of Burgundy, sister of Philippe the Good, duke of Burgundy. Margaret was widow of the French dauphin Louis de Guyenne, who had been a close friend to Richemont. A dispute with the English duke Bedford ended Richemont's service with the Anglo-Burgundian faction in 1424.
At thirty three he was made constable of the state by King Charles VII of France. Although associated with the Valois cause he fell from favor in the French court, when his brother made a pact with the English and when in 1429 Arthur joined the forces of Joan of Arc at the battle of Patay. Upon his return to the French court he was instrumental in the removal of corrupt advisors to Charles VII. Thereafter, Richemont's influence grew along with battlefield successes. He was the principal advisor behind the significant military reforms that made Charles VII's army victorious. When Richemont's brother, Pierre II, died, Arthur became the duc de Bretagne for about a year before his own death. *Société de l'Oriflamme.* http://xenophongroup.com/montjoie/richmond.htm.

[272] *The City*, 38-40.

[273] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 8-10.

[274] Ibid., 9

[275] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 9.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ibid, 11.

[279] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 62.

[280] *The City*, 39-40.

[281] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 63.

[282] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 84.

[283] There is a third possibility offered up by a printmaker in the same century to round out the various views of Semiramis' character as perceived by authors and artists of this period. Both Boccaccio and Christine write that a bronze statue was made to commemorate the symbolism of this event, the Queen's quick action overcoming her feminine vanity in the matter of complete dress, and it was erected in Babylon to honor this legendary moment. [283] This statue is portrayed in the corner of a woodcut from the 1487 Louvain edition of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* by Aegidius van der Heerstraten. The design in this edition was copied from the first printing by Johan Zainer in 1473 and is very different in style and content than our Dutch *City* miniature of Semiramis.

[284] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 11.

[285] *The City*, 39-40.

[286] *The City*, 40.

[287] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 11.
[288] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 67.
[289] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 11.
[290] *The City*, 35.
[291] Ibid, 33.
[292] Hindman, *The Letter to Othea* contains a discussion of the relationship of current politics and the miniatures Christine commissioned for various deluxe versions of *The Letter to Othea.*
[293] Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Press, 1929), 36-37.
[294] Hindman, *The Letter to Othea*, 19.
[295] Ibid, 134-136.
[296] Carolyne Larrington, *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 1995), 156.
[297] *The City*, 33.
[298] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 29.
[299] *The City*, 33.
[300] Ibid, 34.
[301] Ibid, 59.
[302] Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1984), 14.
[303] *Eva/Ave: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints,* exhibition catalogue (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 1990), 147.
[304] Scott, *Late Gothic Europe*, 63.
[305] " .... The Muslim world was shocked by the degree of social freedom with which western women enjoyed (the Queens of Jerusalem). " B. Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (London, 1978), 143.
[306] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. S. Lawson (NY: Penguin Books, 1985), 129.
[307] *The City*, 60.
[308] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 77.
[309] *The City*, 60-61.
[310] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 76-78.
[311] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 32-33.
[312] Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods,* 69-75.
[313] Hindman, *The Letter to Othea,* 85.
[314] Ibid., 88-89.
[315] *The City*, 76.
[316] Hindman, *The Letter to Othea,* 92.
[317] See Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, Figure 9.
[318] Hindman, *The Letter to Othea,* 91.
[319] W. Wells, "A simile in Christine de Pizan for Christ's conception," *JWCI* 2 (1938-9): 68-69.

[320] *The City*, 76.
[321] as quoted in Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 26-27.
[322] Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (NY: St Martin's Press, 1989), 217.
[323] *The City*, 81.
[324] Ibid., 81.
[325] Ibid., 82.
[326] Hall, *Dictionary*, 30.
[327] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 50.
[328] *The City*, 81-82.
[329] Ibid., 82.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 101.
[333] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 40.
[334] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 39.
[335] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 174.
[336] *The City*, 64.
[337] Ibid., 64-65.
[338] Meiss, "Sleep in Venice," 224.
[339] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 52-53.
[340] Ibid., footnote 66 p 53-54.
[341] Hall, *Dictionary*, 130.
[342] Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, 96.
[343] *The City*, 67.
[344] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 43-44.
[345] Unless of course the artist has decided to give Justice the sword in the second miniature and not the vessel she holds in the first. Such inconsistency is not impossible.
[346] *The City*, 101-104.
[347] Ibid., 104-6.
[348] Ibid., 106-110.
[349] This is the second time she was engaged to the French dauphin. Charles was her first fiancé, but he died at the age of seven in 1401. Although she and Louis do marry, he dies before becoming king so Margaret will never become the Queen of France. For more on Margaret, see Charity Cannon Willard's introduction to "Christine de Pizan's Advice to Women" in *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies,* edited by Madeline Pelner Cosman (New York: Persea Books, 2001), 39.
[350] BL Harley 4431 folio 323 the cotehardie is lavender.
[351] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 63.
[352] *The City*, 89-90.
[353] This copy is the only surviving manuscript of *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* . Their authorship has been attributed to several members of the

Burgundian court, including Antoine de la Sale and also to the Philip the Bold's chamberlain, Philippe Pot, Seigneur de la Roche. There are one hundred miniatures in the volume, each introducing a tale. From *Fifty Treasures from Glasgow University Library,* MS Hunter 252 (U.4.10), http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/.

[354] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 180.

[355] *The City*, 193.

[356] Ibid., 199

[357] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 179.

[358] *The City*, 20.

[359] Ibid., 205-206.

[360] Ibid., 204-5.

[361] See Buettner, fig. 76 to see an example of the ship with the statue, here personified as a haloed woman wearing a veiled horned headdress and cotehardie ironically like the costume worn by Christine in her portraits. Additionally noteworthy, all the women in this miniature from 1401 are wearing hoods with liripipe, an indication of their middle, non noble status.

[362] *The Treasure*, 133-134.

[363] Hall, *Dictionary*, 329.

[364] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 239.

[365] *The City*, 240.

[366] Michael Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins (*Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 32-41.

[367] Ibid.

[368] Christa Gröossinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art (*New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 20.

[369] Vienna (ÖNB Cod 2605 f. 145). Otto Pacht & Dagmar Thoss, *Franzosische Schule I* (Wien, 1974) , 52-52.

[370] *The City*, 218.

[371] Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 135-140.

[372] *The City*, 217.

[373] Ibid., 219

[374] Hall, *Dictionary*, see p. 202 for the Magdalene and p.58 for Catherine of Alexandria.

[375] *The City* , 231.

[376] Pacht and Thoss, *Franzosische Schule I*, 52-52.

[377] Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 28.

[378] *The City*, 48, and *The Treasure*, 59.

[379] Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 30, and *The City*, 232-33.

[380] Hall, *Dictionary*, 202-4.

[381] Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 34.

[382] Ibid., 37

[383] *The City*, 254-5.

[384] *Catalogue general des Manuscrits des Bibliothéque Publiques de France: Chantilly-Thiers, Jacquemart-Andes.* Manuscrits du Musée Condé a Chantilly (Paris 1928) XIX C 23.
[385] Buettner, *De Cleres nobles femmes*, 1.
[386] Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting*.
[387] Also a characteristic of the style of the Guillebert of Mets workshop.
[388] Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000), 83-84.
[389] *The City*, 256-7
[390] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or the Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (New York: Penguin books, 1985), 35.
[391] For a longer list see Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower, Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden Connecticut: Archon Books, 1983), 134.
[392] See Willard, *Mirror*, 36.
[393] Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower*, 61.
[394] Ibid. 104-5.
[395] Ibid. 49.
[396] Ibid. 52.
[397] *The Treasure*, 64, 80, 89-90, 138, 147, 168, 152.
[398] Ibid. 64.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower*, 50, Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure*, 133, 149.
[401] Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower*, 53.
[402] Ibid., 58
[403] Ibid., 56
[404] *The Treasure*, 76-77.
[405] Charity Cannon Willard, "A Fifteenth-Century View of Women's Role in Medieval Society: Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus*" in *The Role of Women in the Middle Ages*, edited by R.T. Morewedge (Albany: State University of New York, 1975), 100.
[406] Lulu M. Richardson, *Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance: From Christine de Pizan to Marie de Gournay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1929), 30.
[407] Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition," 435-436.
[408] *The Treasure*, 59.
[409] Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan, Readings *in Medieval Political Theory* (London: Routledge Publishing, 2000).
[410] Ibid. 230.
[411] See Lawson's introduction to Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, 24.
[412] BL Harley 4431.

[413] *See Lawson's introduction to Christine de Pizan,* The Treasure of the City of Ladies, *25.*
[414] See Edith Yenal, *Christine de Pisan: A Bibliography* (London: Scarecrow, 1982), 43-44, 46-47.
[415] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 763-764.
[416] The images of women in the middle ages have been the subject of a great deal of research since 1970. Sources useful to this author include Penny Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago, 1985), Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christian and Secular Culture* (Boston, 1985), and Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval Art* (Manchester University Press, 1997).
[417] For more on Christine's role in the supervision and selection of artists illustrating her works see G. Ouy and C. Reno "Identification des autographs de Christine de Pizan." *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 221-238, and M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourg Brothers and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 8.
[418] *The Treasure*, 150.
[419] Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* trans. By Sarah Lawson (New York: Penguin, 1985), 32. All quotes are from this translation.
[420]*The City* and *The Treasure*, as well as other manuscripts by Christine are painted by one of her favorite artists named *The City of Ladies* Master by Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI Centuries at the Bibliothéque National," *Art Bulletin* XXXVIII (1956): 153.
[421]*The Treasure,* 31.
[422] Ibid. 31.
[423] Ibid., 36
[424] Suzanne Solente, *Christine de Pisan* exrait de *Le Histoire Litteraire de la France* XV (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1969), 52-54.
[425] BR 9551-2.
[426] KB MS 131 C 26.
[427]Brussels BR 9551-2. Charles de Croy's signature is on folio 104v & family arms on folios 2, 46 and 66. L.M.J. Delaisse, *La Siecle d'or de la miniature Flamande: Le Mecenat de Philip le Bon* (Bruxelles: 1959), 35-36.
[428] S. Whiton, Interior Design and Decoration (New York: Lippincott, 4th ed., 1974), 95 & 97.
[429] This might qualify as a Type II headdress according to Song and Sibley's system for an internal support resembling a *bourrelet* is visible, p. 7. See Scott p. 111, figs. 48 & 49.
[430] Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 121.
[431] Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 427, fols. 16, 49v, 72. c. 1460. This codex may be one presumed lost, once in the Bourbon Library and owned by

Anne of France (1462-1522). *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 54, no. 4 (1978): 244.

[432] *The Beinecke Treasure* was virtually unknown until its appearance at a sale in Paris in 1968. *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 52, no. 4 (1978): 244.

[433] Susan Groag Bell, *Lost Tapestries*, 75.

[434] Ibid, 244.

[435] Based on works attributed to this master, it can be concluded that The Master of the Amiens 200 worked in Hesdin, Mons and Amiens (For a list of these works see John Plummer, "The Last Flowering": French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530 (Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), 14-15.)

[436] Eric Hicks, "Le Livres des Trois Vertus of Christien de Pizan: Beinecke MS. 427" in *Yale French Studies Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991), 66.

[437] Belozerskava, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 121.

[438] Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan in Her Study" Cahiers *de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Études christiniennes, 2008, [En ligne], mis en ligne le 10 juin 2008. URL: http://crm.revues.org//index3212.html. Consulté le 20 juillet 2010.

[439] Scott, Margaret. *A Visual History of the Costume of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), 94-95, fig. 97.

[440] *The Treasure*, 130-133, 149-153.

[441] BR 9235-7.

[442] BN 1177.

[443] He worked also as a scribe. Only four illuminated manuscripts have been attributed to him with certainty. Anke Esche, "La production de livres," 630. Dogaer attributes the miniatures in this manuscript to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine, active in Mons from 1450-80. Delaissé agrees with this attribution, 59.

[444] *The Treasure*, 31-32.

[445] It comes closest to the Type IV or V headdress construction described by Song and Sibley, although it lacks an intricate veil, or an obvious internal supporter. 9 -11.

[446] See H. Norris' discussion of Margaret of Anjou's costume and hood from an illumination of 1475, "The Roll of Our Fraternity of Our Lady," in *Costume and Fashion: Senlac to Bosworth*, v. 2 (London: J.M. Dent, 1927), 418-19, figs. 574 & 575. Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition", 439.

[447] BN MS f. 1177.

[448] Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), Prologue.

[449] A. Geijer, *A History of Textile Art* (London: 1979), 61 & 148-151.

[450] Blanche Payne, *History of Costume* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 249.

[451] This is an elaboration of Song and Sibley's Type VI headdress, supported by a cone-shaped cap. 11-12.
[452] Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Press, 1929), 164-180.
[453] Vienna ONB Inc.3.D.19, fol.1v.
[454] Cynthia J. Brown, "The Reconstruction of An Author in Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 215.
[455] Ibid. 216.
[456] Bell, *Lost Tapestries*, 109.
[457] Willard, "Christine de Pizan's Advice to Women," introduction to medieval mirror of honor, 36.
[458] *The Treasure*, 62.
[459] Willard, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor*, 90.
[460]Simons, "Women in Frames," 41.
[461] See Eric Hicks for a discussion on he origins of this manuscript, 65-66.
[462] Hall, *Dictionary*, 54.
[463] Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 122.
[464] *The Treasure*, 35.
[465] *The Treasure*, random examples of the use of "us" and "we" 55, 62, 80, 85, 109, 110, 111, 167.
[466] Piponnier, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 149.
[467] *The Treasure*, 35.
[468] Ibid. 35.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid., 145
[471] The artist of BR 9551-2 was originally called "The Master of the Silver Skies" as seen in this miniature. The skies were once silver in the third miniature of this manuscript, but a 16th century artist painted the blue sky with clouds and birds in later. For more on this master see P. Durrieu's *La Miniature Flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne* (1415-1530) Bruxelles, Library national, 1921, 15.
[85] The Hague, KB MS 131 C 26, f. 22v, c. 1430.
[473] Charity Cannon Willard writes that as Marie of Burgundy, Margaret's sister, became the Duchess of Cleves in "The Manuscript Tradition," 438.
[474] Ibid.
[475] A few examples can be found on *The Treasure*79, 109, 145.
[476] Hall, *Dictionary*, 50.
[477] *The City*, 12-13.
[478] Willard, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor*, 90.
[479] Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower*, appendix 133-34.
[480] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), 73.

[481] Ibid.
[482] The *liripipe* is a long tail of fabric extending from the peak of a hood, worn in the fourteenth-century, and commonly worn by the middle and lower classes in the fifteenth-century.
[483] Piponnier, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 84.
[484] *The Treasure*, 31.
[485] The attributes have changed. Reason should hold a mirror, here she holds the sword. Justice should hold a gold cup, instead she holds the scales. Rectitude has her correct attribute, the ruler."This shining ruler which you see me carry in my right hand instead of a scepter is the straight ruler which separates right from wrong and shows the difference between good and evil: who follows it does not go astray. It is the rod of peace which reconciles the good where they find support and which beats and strikes down evil. What shall I tell you about this? All things are measured by this ruler, for its powers are infinite." *City of Ladies*, 13.
[486] Buettner, *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 29.
[487] Durrieu, *La Miniature Flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne* (1415-1530) (Bruxelles, Library national, 1921), 15.
[488] *The Treasure* 109.
[489] The headdress is not only a valuable dating tool, but it is the best indicator of class distinction. The crimpled veils are the same as those worn by the bride in Jan Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding* of 1430. Gowns fashionable in Paris in 1410 are seen in The Netherlands and Flanders in 1430 accompanied by regional headgear, Scott, 125-26.
[39]Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Avon, 1975), 278.
[40] *The Treasure,* 134-38, 149-53.
[490] (M. Debae, xvii, & 56.) Margaret of Austria acquired the de Croy library in 1511. (Delaissé, "Le Siècle d'or ... Flamande, 35-36, no. 27.)
[491] *The Treasure,* 109, 145 & 180.
[492] Beinecke Library, 427.
[493] Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*, 122.
[494]*The Treasure*, 47.
[495] *The Treasure*, 126-127.
[496] *The Treasure*, 153.
[497] Ibid., 168.
[498] According to Willard in *A Medieval Woman's Mirror*, 36, the three virtues serve to unite the two books and badger Christine into organizing the College.
[499] *The Treasure*, 167.
[500] The groups are easily identified by their costume. Middle- class women became great readers of this text in its early 16th century printed editions. See Charity Cannon Willard, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Livre des Trois*

Vertus and Christine de Pisan's Audience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1966): 439-40.

[501] *The Treasure*, 145.

[502] Ibid. 51.

[503] Bell, *Lost Tapestries*, 75.

[504] Ibid.

[505] *Anne de France's Teachings to her Daughter* see Willard, "Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan," in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: visitors to the City*, edited by Glenda K McLeod (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 59-70.

[506] Ibid. 81.

[507] For more on these connections see Bell, *Lost Tapestries*, chapter 5, 72-95, plate VIII and figures 13 & 14

[508] Ibid. 87.

[509] Ibid. chapter five.

[510] See Willard's introduction, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror*, 39-40.

[511] Images of the Virgin Mary reading her prayer book, with eyes downcast, can be found in every illustrated Book of Hours, and were intended to instruct women to do likewise; see Bell, "Book Owners," 763-64.

[512] Images of the Virgin Mary, reading her prayer book, with eyes downcast, can be found in every illustrated Book of Hours, and were directly intended to instruct women to do likewise. See Bell, "Book Owners," 763-764.

[513] *The Treasure*, 180.

[514] Eric Hicks, "Le Livres des Trois Vertus of Christine de Pizan: Beinecke MS. 427," in *Yale French Studies Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991), 64.

[515] Mary Weitzel Gibbons, "The bath of the muses and visual allegory in the chemin de long estude," in *Christine de Pizan and the categories of difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1998), 128.

[516] See my discussion of this in Ch. 1, 3-4. See also Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De Casibus*. Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2008, 262. For further discussion of Christine's role in directing the content of the miniatures see Sandra Hindman "With Ink and Mortar: Christine De Pizan's *Cité des Dames*," *Feminist Studies*,Vol. 10, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984), 464, 469 and 473, and Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*. 2 vols. London: Thames & Hudson, 1974, 9.

[517] Scott, Margaret, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*. London: British Library, 2007, 93

[518] And of course many of these stories had already been creatively illustrated in earlier tests for Christine by *the Epistre* Master. See Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's Epistre de Othéa*.
[519] *The Treasure*, 145.
[7] Buettner, *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, 21.
[521] Roberta L. Krueger, "Christine's Treasure: Women's Honor and Household Economics in the Livre des trois vertus" in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, edited by Barbara K. Altman and Deborah L. McGrady (NY: Routledge, 2003), 91.
[522] This is discussed at length in the opening sections of chapter four.
[523] Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Christine de Pizan as a Defender of Women," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, edited by Barbara K. Altman and Deborah McGrady, 81-100 (New York: Routledge Press, 2003), 91.
[524] Vittore Branca, "Interpretazioni Visuali del *Decameron*," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 15 (1987): 87-119.
[525] Willard, "Christine de Pizan as Teacher." http://tell.fll.purdue.edu/RLA-Archive/1991/French-html/Willard,CharityCannon.htm.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Willard, introduction to *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor*, 29.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 263.
[530] Ibid. 248.
[531] *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*. Translated by Sarah Lawson. New York: Penguin Books, 1985, 56.
[532] Jacob Lewis, "Tools for Tomorrow: The Utopian Function in Medieval England, 1350-1420," (PhD dissertation, University of Arkansas, 2010), http://comp.uark.edu/~jcl08/.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Quilligan, *An Allegory of Female Authority*, 187.
[535] Ibid.
[536] *The Treasure*. 180.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anne of France. *Les enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*. Extrait d'une épistre consolatoire à Katerine de Neufville, dame de Fresne, sur la mort de son premier et seul filz, texte original publié d'après le Mss. unique de Saint-Pétersbourg, 1878.

Augustine. *The City of God*. New York: New York City Press, 2006.

Boccaccio. *Famous Women*. Translated by Virginia Brown. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003.

de Pizan, Christine. *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Translated by Earl Jeffrey Richards and foreword Marina Warner. New York: Persea Books, 1982.

_____ . "Le Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc." In *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan: New Translations, Criticism*, translated by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

_____ . *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune*. Paris: A & J Picard, 1955.

_____ . *Le livre du chemin de long estude*. Berlin: R. Damkohler, 1881.

_____ . *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor : The Treasury of the City of Ladies by Christine de Pisan*, Translated by Charity Cannon Willard. edited by Madeline Pelner Cosman. New York: Persea Books, 2001.

_____. *The Treasure of the City of Ladies.* Translated by Sarah Lawson. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

_____. *The Vision of Christine de Pizàn.* Translated by Glenda McLeod and Charity Cannon Willard, with notes and interpretative essay by Glenda McLeod, Library of Medieval Women. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005.

Secondary Sources

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work.* New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992.

Amphlet, Hilda. *Hats: A History of Fashion and Headwear.* Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2003.

Anke Esch. "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons nouvelles perspectives." In *Als ich Can. Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers,* edited by B. Cardon, J. Van der Stock, D. Vanwijnsberghe. In collaboration with K. Smeyers. Dudley, Mass: Peeters, 2002.

Barrios, Jean Baptiste Joseph. *Bruxelles, Inventoire 1487, Bibliothèque protypographique, ou Libraries des dil du ron Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens.* notice 1889, p. 270. Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1830.

Bell, Susan Groag. "Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Women." *Feminist Studies* 3, no 4 (1976): 173-184.

_____. "Christine de Pizan in her Study" CRMH, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes (Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies),* Études

christiniennes, 2008, [En ligne], mis en ligne le 10 juin 2008. URL : http://crm.revues.org//index3212.html. Consulté le 20 juillet 2010.

_____. *The Lost Tapestries of The City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004.

_____. "Medieval Woman Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs* 7 (1982): 743-768.

Belozerskava, Marina. *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.

Bie, Søren. *Jeanne d'Arc*, June 7, 2010, http://www.jeanne-darc.dk/index.html

Bornstein, Diane. *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women.* Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.

Branca, Vittore. "Interpretazioni Visuali del *Decameron.*" *Studi sul Boccaccio* 15 (1987): 87-119.

Brown, Cynthia J. "The Reconstruction of an Author In Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." In *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond, 215-235. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Brown-Grant, Rosalind. "Christine de Pizan as a Defender of Women." In *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook,* edited by Barbara K. Altman and Deborah McGrady, 81-100. New York: Routledge Press, 2003

_____. *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defense of Women: Reading Beyond Gender.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

Buettner, Brigitte. *Boccaccio's Des cleres et nobles femmes: Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript.* Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1996.

Carroll, Michael. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986.

Cartellieri, Otto. *The Court of Burgundy*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Press, 1929.

Catalogue general des Manuscrits des Bibliothéque Publiques de France: Chantilly-Thiers, Jacquemart-Andes, XIX. Manuscrits du Musée Condé a Chantilly, Paris, 1928.

Curnow, Maureen Cheny. "*The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes,* an English Translation of Christine de Pisan's *Le Livre de la cité des dames.*" *Les Bonnes Feuilles* 3 (1976): 118.

_____ ."The 'Livre de la cité des dames' of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition," 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1975.

Davidson, Clifford. "The Visual Arts and Drama, with Special Emphasis on the Lazarus Plays of the Middle Ages." In *Le Théâtre au moyen âge*, edited by Gari R. Muller. Montreal: Editions Univ., 1977.

Debae, Marguerite. *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d' Autriche*, exhibition catalogue Bibliothéque Royal Albert I, Bruxelles, 1987.

de Courtais, G. *Women's Headdress and Hairstyles*, rev. ed. London: Batsford, 1986.

de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1986.

Delaisse, L.M.J. *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1968.

_____. "Colours in the Renaissance" *Ciba Review* 17: (1939).

_____. *Le Siècle d'or de la miniature Flamande*. Bruxelles: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1959.

Doager, Georges. *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1987.

Duby, Georges and Arthur Goldhammer. *History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ., 1991.

Du Castel, Francoise. *Damoiselle Christine de Pizan: Veuve de M. Etienne de Caste 1364-1431*. Paris: J. Picard, 1972.

Dufresne, Laura Rinaldi. "A Woman of Excellent Character: A Case Study of Dress, Reputation and the Changing costume of Christine de Pizan in the 15th Century." *Dress* 17 (1990): 104-117.

Durrieu, Paul. *La Miniature Flamande: Au temps de la cour de Bourgogne*. Bruxelles: Library Nationale, 1921.

Eva/Ave: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Eva/Ave:

Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints" shown at the National Gallery in Washington D.C.

Fenster, Thelma. " '*Perdre son latin': Christine de Pizan and Vernacular Humanism.*" In *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* edited by Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Fioratti, Helen Costantini. "Mirrors in the Medieval Period." In *The Antique and the Connosieur*, New York, 2008. http://www.lantiquaire.us/mirrors-in-the-medieval-period.html.

Gabriel, A. "The Educational Ideas of Christine de Pizan." *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVI (1955): 4.

Gay, L. "On the Language of Christine de Pisan." *Modern Philology* 6 (1908): 69-96.

Gaspar, Camille and Lyna, Frederic. *Les principaux manuscrits a peintures de la Bibliothéque Royale de Belgique.* 2 vols. 1937. Reprint, 1984.

Geijer, Agnes. *A History of Textile Art.* London: Rizzoli, 1979.

Gibbons, Mary Weitzel. "The Bath of the Muses and visual allegory in the *Chemin de long Estude.*" In *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1998.

Gottlieb, Beatrice. "The Problem of Feminism in the Fifteenth Century." In *Women of the Medieval World,* edited by Kirohenes & Wemple. Cornwall: Blackwell, 1985.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980.

Gröossinger, Christa. *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art.* Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1997.

Hall, James. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art.* New York: Icon Ed., 1979.

Hartley, Dorothy. *Medieval Costume and Life.* London: B.T. Batsford, 1931.

Hedeman, Anne D. *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De Casibus.* Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008,

Hicks, Eric. "Le Livres des Trois Vertus of Christien de Pizan: Beinecke MS. 427." In *Yale French Studies Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature.* New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991.

Hindley, Geoffrey. *Medieval Warfare.* New York: Putnam, 1971.

Hindly, Alan. "Dress Codes: Reading Costume I the Old French Moralitiés." Presentation, 36th International Congress of Medieval Studies in *Costume in French and English Plays,* Kalamazoo, MI, May 5 2001.

Hindman, Sandra. "The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassement." *British Library Journal* 9 (1983): 93-123.

_____. *Epistre Othea.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986.

_____. "With Ink and Mortar: Christine De Pizan's *Cité des Dames,*" *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 457-483.

Hollander, Ann. *Seeing Through Clothes.* New York: Avon, 1975.

Hughes, Diane Owen. "La moda prohibita. La legislazione sumptuaria nell Italia rinascimentale." Memoria 11-12 (1984): 9.

Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries.* 1924. Reprinted, New York: Edward Arnold & Co., 1954.

Imagining the Ideal: Views of Utopia. Edited by Holland Goss and Roland Schaer. New York: The New York Public Library, 2000-2001. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Imagining the Ideal: Views of Utopia" shown at The New York Public Library. http://www.fathom.com/feature/122134/index.html

Jaritz, Gerhard. "Ambiguities in Content or Making the Language of Medieval Dress Understandable." Presentation, 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies in the session *Costumes in Drama and Art*, Kalamazoo, MI, May 4 2001.

Jeanroy, A. "Boccace et Christine de Pisan, Le 'De claris mulieribus,' principale source du 'Livre de la Cité des Dame.' " *Romania* 48 (1922): 93-105.

Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 2000.

Jones, Michael. "Jean IV" and "Jean V." In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler. Vol. 932: the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages.

Kellog, Judith A. "Transforming Ovid: The Metamorphasis of Female Authority." In *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, edited by Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis, Univ. of Minnesota, 1998.

Kennedy, Angus J. *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographic Guide.* London: Grant & Cutler, 1984.

_____. *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographic Guide Supplement 2*. Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2004.

Kren, Thomas and Scot McKendrick. *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003.

Krueger, Roberta L. "Christine's Treasure: Women's Honor and Household Economics in the Livre des trois vertus." In *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, edited by Barbara K. Altman and Deborah L. McGrady. NY: Routledge, 2003.

Kubiski, Joyce. "Orientalizing Costumes in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (*Cité des dames* Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicault Master and Bedford Master)." *Gesta* 40 (2001): 161-80.

La Librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche. Edited by Marguerite Debae. Bruxelles: Bibliothéque Royal Albert I, 1987. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "La Librairie de Marguerite d'Autriche" shown in the Bibliothéque Royal Albert I in Bruxelles.

Larrington, Carolyne. *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Le Franc, Martin. *The trial of womankind: a rhyming translation of Book VI of the fifteenth century, Les Champions des dames*. Translated by Steven Millen Taylor. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press, 2005.

Lewis, Jacob. "Tools for Tomorrow: The Utopian Function in Medieval England, 1350-1420." PhD dissertation, University of Arkansas, 2010. http://comp.uark.edu/~jcl08/.

Lochrie, Karma. "Sheer Wonder: Dreaming Utopia in the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36 (2006): 493-516.

Love and War : A Manual of Life for the Latter Middle Ages. Washington, D.C: National Gallery of Art, 1999. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Love and War : A Manual of Life for the Latter Middle Ages" shown at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.,http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/hsb_exhibover.shtm#images

Mâle, Emil. *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge rn France*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1931.

McGrady, Deborah. "What is a Patron? Benefactors and Authorship in Harley 4431, Christine de Pizan's Collected Works." In *Christine de Pizan and the*

Categories of Difference, edited by Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998.

McWebb, Christine. "Female City Builders: Hildegard von Bingen's Scrivas and Christine de Pizan's Livre de la cite des dames." The Florin Website. 21 April 2004. 1-11. Http://www.florin.ms/beth5a.html.

Meiss, Millard. "Exhibition of French Manuscripts 13th-16th Centuries at the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris." *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 190-94.

_____. *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke.* 2 vols. London: Phaidon Press, 1967.

_____. *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries.* 2 vols. London: Thames & Hudson, 1974.

_____. "Sleep in Venice. Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities." In *The Painters Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art.* New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Nederman, Cary J. and Kate Langdon Forhan. *Readings in Medieval Political Theory.* London: Routledge Publishing, 2000.

Norris, Herbert. "The Roll of Our Fraternity of Our Lady." In *Costume and Fashion: Senlac to Bosworth.* Vol. 2. London: J.M. Dent, 1927.

Ouy, Gilbert. "Une Enigme codicologique: Les signatures des cahiers dans les manuscrits autographes et originaux de Christine de Pizan," *Mélanges Léon Gilissen*, Brussels, (1985): 119-131.

Ouy, Gilbert and Christine Reno. "Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan." *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 221-238.

Pächt, Otto and Dagmar Thoss. *Franzosische Schule I.* Wien, 1974.

Panofsky, Erwin. "Guelders and Holland: A Footnote on the Recent Acquisition of the National Museum at Stockholm." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 22 (1953): 90-102 .

Payne, Blanche. *History of Costume.* New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Piponnier, Françoise and Perrine Mane. *Dress in the Middle Ages.* New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000.

Plesch, Véronique. "L'habit fait le moine: Costume in Late Medieval Narrative Cycles." Presentation, 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies in the session *Costumes in English and French Plays,* Kalamazoo MI, May 5 2001.

Plummer, John. "The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530." Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982.

Quilligan, Maureen. *An Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité Des Dames.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991.

Reno, Christine. "Virginity as an Ideal in Christine de Pizan's *The City of Ladies.*" In *Ideals for Women in the Works Christine de Pizan,* edited by Diane Bornstein. Detroit: Marygrove College, 1981.

Richardson, Lula M. *The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance.* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1929.

Seznec, Jean. *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art.* Princeton, NJ, Princeton Univ. Press, 1972.

Scott, Margaret. *A Visual History of the Costume of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* London: B.T. Batsford, 1986.

_____. *Late Gothic Europe 1400-1500.* London: Mills & Boon, 1980.

_____ . *Medieval Dress and Fashion.* London: British Library, 2007.

Semple, Benjamin M. "The Critique of Knowledge as Power: The Limits of Philosophy and Theology in Christine de Pizan." In *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* edited by Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Shaw, Henry. *Dress & Decoration in the Middle Ages.* London: O.G. Publishing, 1843.

Simons, Patricia. "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," In *The Expanding Discourse*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard. New York: Westview Press, 1992.

Smith, Lesley. "Scriba, Femina: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing." In *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, edited by Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1996.

Solente, Suzanne. "Christine de Pisan." exrait de *Le Histoire litteraire de France* XV (1969): 40:355-415. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1969.

Song, Cheunsoon, and Lucy Roy Sibley. "The Vertical Headdress of Fifteenth Century Northern Europe." *Dress* 16 (1990): 5-15.

Thornton, Dora. *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Well Behaved Women Seldom Make History*. New York: Random House Publishers, 2007.

van Buren, Anne (with Roger S. Wieck). *Illluminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands 1325-1515*. New York: The Morgan Library in association with D Giles Limited, 2011.

_____. "The Principles of Dress in Medieval Art." Presentation, 35th International Congress of Medieval Studies in the session *Details of Dress: Costume and Identity in the Middle Ages II*, Kalamazoo, MI, May 5 2000.

Vaughan, Robert. *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*. London: Archon, 1966.

Warner, Marina. Foreword to *The Book of the City of Ladies*, by Christine de Pizan. Translated by Earl Jeffrey Richards and foreword. New York: Persea Books, 1982.

Weightman, Christine. *Margaret of York Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.

Wells, William. "A Simile in Christine de Pizan for Christ's Conception." *JWCI* 2 (1938-9): 68-69.

Whiton, S. *Interior Design and Decoration.* 4th ed. New York: Lippincott, 1974.

Wieck, Roger S. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life.* New York: Braziller, 1988.

Willard, Charity Cannon. "A 15th Century View of Women's Role in Medieval Society: Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus.*" In *The Role of Women in the Middle Ages,* edited by R.T. Morewedge. Albany: State Univ. of New York, 1975.

_____ . Introduction to *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor : The Treasury of the City of Ladies by Christine de Pisan,* edited by Madeline Pelner Cosman. New York: Persea Books, 2001.

_____. "Anne de France, Reader of Christine de Pizan." In *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City,* edited by Glenda K McLeod. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.

_____. "Christine de Pizan: The Astrologer's Daughter." In *Mélanges a la mémoire de Franco Simone: France et Italie dans la culture europénne,* 1:95-111. Bibliothéque Franco Simone, 4. Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1980.

_____. "Christine de Pizan as Teacher." http://tell.fll.purdue.edu/RLA-Archive/1991/French-html/Willard,CharityCannon.htm.

_____. *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works.* New York: Persea Books 1984

_____. "The Manuscript Tradition of the Livre des Trois Vertus and Christine de Pizan's Audience." *Jounral of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966): 433-44.

_____. "A Portuguese Translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livers des trois vertus.*" PMLA 78 (1963): 459-464.

_____. "The Three Virtues of Christine de Pisan." *The Boston Public Library Quarterly* 2 (1959): 291-305.

Yenal, Edith. *Christine de Pisan: A Bibliography of Writings By Her and About Her.* London: The Scarecrow Press, 1982.

APPENDIX A

Manuscripts and their Locations

MULTIPLE MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE SAME LIBRARY

Brussels, Royal Library of Albert 1 st (Bibliothéque Royal Albert 1)

The Burgundian *Book of the City of Ladies*
BR 9393 1405-10 3 miniatures

Artist: *The City of Ladies* Master
Patron: John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy
Collections: Phillip the Good, Mary of Burgundy, Margaret of Austria

The Royal *Book of the City of Ladies & The Treasure of the City of Ladies*
BR 9235-7 1450-60 9 miniatures,

Bound with:

1. *The City of Ladies* (6 miniatures)
2. *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (3miniatures)
3. and Albertano of Brescia's *Prudence et Melibée*

Artist: School of Jacquemart Pilavaine, active in Mons 1450-80
Patron: Walburge de Meurs & Philippe of Croy. Lord of Chimay
Collections: William of Croy, Margaret of Austria

The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
BR9551-2 1420-30 3 miniatures

Bound with: Renaut de Louens Le Livre de Mélibée

Artist: The workshop of Guillbert of Mets (aka The Master of the Silver Skies)*
Patron: Unknown
Collections: Charles de Croy, Count of Chemay, Margaret of Austria

London, The British Library

The Dutch *Book of the City of Ladies*
Add. 20698 1475 130 miniatures, 41 finished

Artist: The Dresden Master's workshop, 2 other unidentified workshops
Patron: Jan de Baenst Riddere Heere van Sint Joris, official at the court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1467-1477)
Language: Early Dutch, *De Lof der Vrowen*
Collection: Mep. Boone 1885, J.S. Huyde worper, J. Hoose ne Amfrel & J.R. Cromer, signatures

The Harley *Opus*
Harley 4431 1410-15 130 miniatures

Bound with: 29 of Christine de Pizan's works of Poetry and prose, one of these is the City of Ladies with 3 prototype miniatures by the city of ladies Master; manuscript reconstituted from independent manuscripts

Artist: *The City of Ladies* Master and workshop, several miniatures attributed to the Bedford Trend Master
Patron: Isabel of Bavaria, Queen of France
Collection: Jacquetta of Luxembourge, Anthony Woodenville, Louis of Bourges, Henry

Cavendish, duke of Newcastle and the Harley family

The London *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
BL Ms 31841 c. 1440 1 miniature

Bound as: Incorrectly identified as *The City of Ladies* the manuscript is an incomplete copy of the *Treasure of the City of ladies*

Artist: Unknown
Patron: Unknown
Collection: bequeathed to the British Library in 1881 by William Burges, Esq.

The Pepwell *Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*
Henry Pepwell printed 1521 4 woodcuts, 2 images (1st print repeated 4 times)

Artist: Unknown
Patron: Henry Pepwell, dedicated to Richard Grey, Earl of Kent
Translator: Brian Anslay, in the service of King Henry VIII of England translated it into English in 1521
Printer: Henry Pepwell 1521
Collections: Woodenville Family (Richard Grey nephew of Anthony Woodenville and translator of several works by Christine de Pizan)

<u>Paris, National Library</u> (Bibliothéque nationale,)

The French *Book of the City of Ladies*
BN MS fr. 609 1460-70 4 miniatures

Artist: School of Loyset Liédet, active in Hesdin and Bruges
Patron: Unknown

Collection: Unknown

The Paris *Book of the City of Ladies & The Treasure of the City of Ladies*
BN 1177 1470-80 4 miniatures

Bound Together:
1. *The City of Ladies* (3 miniatures)
2. *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (1 miniatures)

Artist: In the Manner of the Master of Margaret of York
Patron: Unknown
Collection: Louis of Bruges, Library of Louis XII at Blois

The Paper *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
BN 25294 1410-20 1 miniature

Artist: Unknown
Patron: Unknown
Collections: Unknown

Vienna, Austrian National Library (Ősterreichische Nationalbibliothek)

The Vienna *Book of the City of Ladies*
ÖNB Cod. 2605 1470 3 miniatures

Artist: In the manner of the Teneyken Workshop
Patron: Unknown
Collections: King Charles VI of ?, Prince Eugene Von Savoyen, Bibliothéque Sainte Genevieve in Paris

The Vérard *Treasureof the City of Ladies*
ÖNB Inc.3.D.19 1497 1 miniature

Artist: Unknown
Printer: Antoine Vérard 1497

Patron: Anne of Brittany, Queen of France

ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS

Boston Public Library

The Boston *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
PL MS fr. 101 1405-10 1miniature

Artist: attributed to *The City of Ladies* Master or workshop
Patron: Unknown
Collection: Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint-Vallier 1499-1566; N. Yemeniz; Leclere Dealer in Paris; Erwin Rosenthal

Yale University, Beinecke Library

The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
MS 427 1475 4 miniatures

Artist: The Master of the Amiens 200
Patron: Jean de Créquoy bibliophile at the court of Philip the Good or
may be the codex belonging to Anne of France (1461-1522) presumed lost
Collections: Bourbon Library; Duke de Montausier, Crèvecoeur Family; Count Pajot d'Ons-en-Bay, Rothschild Family, H.P. Kraus, Edwin J. Beinecke

Chantilly, Musée Condé

The Chantilly *Book of the City of Ladies*

MS 856 (662) **1450-70** **1 miniature**

Bound with:

1. incomplete copy *of The City of Ladies* (1 miniature)
2. incomplete copy of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (15 miniatures)

Artist: Circle of Guillbert de Mets? Active in Lille and Tournai
Patron: Unknown
Collations: Bourbon-Condé Arms on binding

<u>The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands</u>
(Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

The Hague *Treasure of the City of Ladies*
KB MS 131 C 26 **1420-30** **4 miniatures**

Artists: Unknown Netherlandish workshop
Patron: Unknown
Collections: Unknown

<u>Munich, National Library</u> (Bayer. Staatsbibl.)

The Munich *Book of the City of Ladies*
Cod. Gall. 8 **1450-60** **3 miniatures**

Artist: in the manner of the workshop of William Vrelant, active in Bruges and Southern Netherlands
Patron: Unknown
Collections: Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis

<u>Geneva, Public & University Library</u>

The Geneva *Book of the City of Ladies*

MS fr. 180 **1470-80** **8 miniatures**

Artist:	Unknown workshop, western France
Patron:	Guilette de Derval and Jean de Malestroit
Collections:	Hélène de Laval, Secretary to Anne of Brittany; Margaret of Austria; Collection of Alexander Petau

Appendix B

Glossary

Terms describing details of dress are inconstant depending on the region and the decade. The definitions below refer to the use of these terms within the preceding text.

BOURRELET: (burlet, chapelet, escoffion): Padded rolls used to make women's headdresses in France, taking a wide variety of shapes and forms. Primarily it is a stuffed circular roll worn on the crown of the head, with or without a cap.

BANNER OR BUTTERFLY HEADDRESS: A variation of the *henin* worn in Northern France, Burgundy and the Low Countries first appearing in the 1450's, and worn well into the sixteenth-century in some regions. It consisted of a cap like an inverted flower pot made of costly fabric often richly embroidered, set at an angle on the head. The arrangement of the transparent veil gives the headdress its name. The veils were sometimes folded and pinned in the center, or more commonly, draped over two to three fine wires radiating from the center front of the cap. Although first appearing in the 1450's, the elaborate versions of this headdress are seen most often in the 1470's and 1480's. A black band of material is often added as in the original henin, worn without wires or veils.

CAUL: Close fitting cap sometimes with ties. Also used to describe women's jeweled net head-coverings worn in the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries, usually cylindrical in shape in the fourteenth-century, becoming squarish or box shaped with time.

CHAPERON: A hood with a crown, a liripipe, and a cape. Worn wrapped around the head or with the hood on shoulders, and the liripipe hanging over shoulder or down the back.

COIF (cap): Skull cap worm primarily by men, especially clerics and scholars; also used in reference to a woman's caul when made of fine fabric, sometimes jeweled and worn alone or under a veil or bourrelet. In this form it is often called a crispine, or crispinette. When it develops into a high conical shape, it can be referred to as a turret.

COTEHARDIE (cote hardy, gown)***:*** A tightly fitted garment made of one or two pieces, worn under more formal outer garments such as a ***houppelande*** or a surcoat, or it may be worn alone. It was worn of varying length for men, often scandalously short, but it was always long when worn by women, but often scandalously low-cut. In fact, it is characterized by a low scoop neck and a tight fitted bodice. It is called a kirtle in England, and a gamurra or camora in Italy.

DAMASK: A form of satin weave using free-floating threads, alternating the floating threads along the length of the textile and across its width. The different ways in which the light travels along the floating thread creates the impression of a fabric made from two tones of the one color, when in fact it is normally made from threads of one tone and color.

DRESS: The total arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body, and all material objects added to it.

ERMINE: The winter coat of a member of the weasel family, completely white in the winter except for the black tip of the tail. In theory its use was limited to the royalty, but members of the aristocracy also wore it, or imitations, which could be

obtained by using scraps of black lambskin to mimic the black ermine tail.

FASHION: Both a form and product of human behavior widely accepted for a limited time, replaceable by another fashion that is an acceptable substitute for it. In dress, the changes in fashion began to accelerate in the fourteenth-century, inciting comment by theologians and secular writers, including Christine de Pizan.

GORGET: A silk or linen veil covering neck, and often the chin, which is often pleated.

GOWN (robe): Long-sleeved, full-length garment worn by women alone or under houppelande; later in the fifteenth century refers to woman or man's outer garment.

HANGING SLEEVES: Sleeves of an over-gown left hanging or put on over other sleeves.

HEART-SHAPPED OR SPLIT-LOAF HEADDRESS: A combination of the horned headdress and the turban or chaperon. With time the horned formation became less wide and the side pieces moved from a horizontal to vertical position, thus becoming heart shaped in the 1440's. As a rule they were formed of rich fabrics and jewels, encased in lightweight gold mesh, decorated with needlework and jewels. Sometimes they became encased in heavy goldsmith's works set with precious stones worn for ceremonial occasions. They were regarded as heirlooms by women of the period, who often mentioned them in their wills.

HENIN (hennin, howvre): A woman's headdress of veils stiffened with wire or padded material (templet, templette), draped over a caul or coif. Its height, shape, and configuration change over the fifteenth century. Early forms are generally placed on the head at an angle about 40 degrees. It was covered

by veils and was popular in France and Flanders making its first appearance in the 1430's, continuing to be worn throughout the fifteenth-century. It was usually cone-shaped in France, and rose to great heights, blunt or squared at the end in Flanders. The hair was rarely visible when it was worn, but often a dark loop called a "frontlet" to ease adjustments of the larger varieties can be detected on the wearer's forehead. The extremely long veils are seen after 1460. About 1470 a broad band of black material was attached to the base of the henin across the front from side to side of the head, with the ends hanging down to shoulder level. The henin leads to the banner or butterfly headdress seen at mid century.

HOODS: Usually confined to members of the middle and lower classes, worn by nobility with a chaperon or only when traveling to protect the head. Hoods could be worn open, or tied or buttoned at the chin. They often ended in a tubular point called a liripipe, sometimes several feet in length.

HORNED HEADDRESS: An arrangement of veils over a wire framework of padded cauls, one on each side of the head, reaching extremely large proportions in the fifteenth-century causing them to resemble horns.

HOUPPELANDE: A voluminous over-gown of varying length for men, always long for women, requiring the use if a large quantity of fabric. It was fashionable in every part of Europe from 1380-1420. It was often heavily embroidered, depending on the date. The wearing of the *houppelande* always indicates wealth, if not status.

LIRIPIPE (cornet)***:*** A long tail or tube of cloth extending from a chaperon and hood worn in the fourteenth to fifteenth-centuries. After 1410, when worn extending down back with hood usually associated with the middle class.

MINIVER: Fur of the grey squirrel arranged in rows with the white of the belly forming a "shield." This fur was also reserved for nobility for it took so many to line a mantle. In 1406 Princess Phillippa had a gown made from two cloths of gold, lined with 1300 miniver skins.

PIECE: French term for the small piece of cloth worn across the chest for warmth or modesty, especially after 1450 when the robes of both sexes were worn low and open at the front. Also called a *tassel.*

PLASTRON: A central front panel of a woman's side less gown, or *cyclas*, which can be made of fur, and is often decorated with a vertical row of buttons. It is part of the ceremonial *robes royal.*

POULAINES: French term for pointed shoes worn from the mid- fourteenth-century, forbidden at the Synod of Angers in 1365, and by King Charles V in 1366, for they made it difficult to kneel during mass. Their derivatives were worn throughout the fifteenth-century in northern Europe.

ROBE: Can refer to a suit of clothes for men or women, but after 1430 generally refers to a sleeved outer gown.

ROBES ROYAL: The name given to a set of garments worn by the royal family and the aristocracy on formal occasions, it incorporated many elements of dress "frozen" from the fourteenth-century. The female robes royal generally consists of a cloak, an open or side less gown with plastron, worn over a cotehardie.

SURCOAT: A sleeveless over-gown resembling a jumper with large armholes, worn over a *cotehardie*, and often decorated with plastron. In this form it is also called a *cyclas*. Surcoat can also refer to a sleeved, closed over-gown, particularly for men.

TURBANS: Easily confused with the chaperon (see above), a turban is a headdress of Turkish inspiration made of padded rolls of silk or velvet decorated with pearls and jewels, often a veil draped over the tip, swathed round the chin. Although it makes an appearance in the early fifteenth-century, it did not become popular until the middle of the century, reaching its peak of fashion after the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

VERTICAL HEADDRESS: See henin, banner or butterfly headdress above.

WIMPLE: A fabric covering the neck and chin worn by married women, widows, and later nuns. It is worn in conjunction with a veil or kerchief over the head.

Index

Laura Rinaldi Dufrense

Dr. Laura Rinaldi Dufrense received her Ph.D. in Art History at the University of Washington-Seattle. She teaches Art History at Winthrop University.

List of Color Plates

Front cover: Christine and the Three Virtues Dismiss Classes at the College of Ladies; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 201, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

Back cover: author photo by Dr. Alice Burmeister

Plates

1. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; Reason and Christine build the City of Ladies; The Burgundian *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9393, f. 3, 1405, *The City of Ladies* Master. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
2. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 3, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.
3. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 3v, 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.
4. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; The Munich *City of Ladies*, Cod. Gall. 8, f.4, 1450-60. Permission of the National Library, Munich.

5. Reason measures the City, Christine Digs the Foundation for the City; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 10v, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

6. Amazons Menalippe and Hippolyta Battle Hercules and Theseus; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 24v, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

7. The Escape of Camilla and her Father the King; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 64v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

8. Arachne Weaving a Tapestry; damaged; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 90, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

9. The Three Virtues Return to Christine; The College of Ladies, Classes for the Princess; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f. 2, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

10. Christine Presents her Book to Margaret of Burgundy; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 114, 1470-80. Permission of National Library of France, Paris.

11. Dame Prudence Lectures to Princesses at the College of Ladies; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 14,1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

12. The College of Ladies; The Three Virtues Lecture Women of the Court and Noble Women; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f. 46, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

List of Black and White Figures

1470, After the "Teneyken" Workshop. Permission of the Austrian National Library.

8. Cornificia at Her Desk; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f.127, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

9. Cornificia in her Study; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL ADD. 20698, f. 70, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer book. Permission of the British Library, London.

10. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 2v, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

11. Christine de Pizan in her Study; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, Geneva, BP & U MS fr. 3v, 1470-80. Permission of the Public and University Library, Geneva.

12. Reason, Rectitude and Justice Lead Christine to the "Field of Letters;" The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 10, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

13. Christine, Rectitude and Reason Discuss Women's Faithfulness in Love; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, Geneva, BP & U MS fr. 62, 1470-80. Permission of the Public and University Library, Geneva.

14. Reason, Rectitude and Justice appear to Christine; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, 1st woodcut, repeated throughout, Pepwell printed edition, 1521. Permission of the British Library, London.

15. Justice Welcomes the Holy Women to the City; The Munich *City of Ladies*, Cod. Gall. 8, f.90v, 1450-60. Permission of the National Library, Munich.

16. Reason Directs Christine as she Digs the Foundation for the City; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 17, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. Permission of the British Library, London.

17. The Three Virtues Supervise Christine and Male Laborers Building the City; The Vienna *City of Ladies*, Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2605. f. 67, 1470. Permission of the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

18. Christine Conversing with Rectitude; The French *City of Ladies*, Paris BN MS fr. 609, f. 59, c. 1460-70. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

19. Christine and Reason Discuss Women Scholars; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, f.34v, Geneva, BP & U MS fr. 180, f.16, 1470-80. Permission of the Public and University Library, Geneva.

20. Christine and the Three Virtues Converse; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 7v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

21. Christine and Rectitude Converse; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 12v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

22. Reason leans on Shovel while Conversing with Christine; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 22, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. Permission of the British Library, London.

23. The College of Ladies a Castle Courtyard; The Chantilly *City of Ladies*, Chantilly, Musèe Condé, MS 856, f. 4, 1440. Permission of the Musée Condé Museum, Chantilly, France.

24. Christine and a Virtue Conversing; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, woodcut, Pepwell printed edition 1521. Permission of the British Library, London.

25. Amazon Warrior; The Geneva *City of Ladies*, Geneva, BP & U MS fr. 16, f.22v, 1470-80. Permission of the Public and University Library, Geneva.

26. The Crowning of an Amazon Queen; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 43v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

27. Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, Leads her troops to Troy; *The Harley Opus*, BL Harley 4431, f.103v, 1410-15, *The Epistre Master*. Permission of the British Library, London.

28. Minerva Provides Arms; *The Harley Opus*, BL Harley 4431, f.102v, 1410-15, *The Epistre Master*. Permission of the British Library, London.

29. Minerva, with Attendant, directs Blacksmith; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 87v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

30. Semiramis, Soldiers, Armor and son Ninus; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 8, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

31. Assyrian queen Semiramis Hears of Rebellion while Attendant braids Hair; The Dutch *City of Ladies*,

London, BL Add. 20698, f. 41, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

32. Queen Fredegund with infant son Clotair Face Rebellious Barons; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 35v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

33. Queen Fredegund with infant son Clotair Leading Troops; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 63, c. 1475, The Master of the Dresden Prayer book. Permission of the British Library, London.

34. Queen Camilla the Hunter; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 56, c.1401, The Coronation Master Permission of the National Library, Paris.

35. Ceres planting Seeds; Isis grafting Trees; *Letter from Othea*, Paris, BN MS fr. 606, f. 13v, c.1401, *The Epistre* Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

36. Ceres Plows a Field; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 84, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

37. Isis directs grafting of Trees; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 85, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

38. Arachne's Suicide at the Loom; Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 28, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

39. Sappho and her Companions; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 78, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

40. Sappho Reads to a Male Audience: Boccaccio, *Concerning Famous Women*, Paris, BN MS fr. 12420, f. 28, c.1401, The Coronation Master. Permission of the National Library, Paris.

41. Ghismonda's Suicide; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 231v, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

42. Lisabetta and her Basil Plant; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 240, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

43. Claudia Quinta Proves her Virtue; The Dutch *City of Ladies*, London, BL Add. 20698, f. 247, c. 1475. Permission of the British Library, London.

44. Justice Welcomes the Virgin Mary and Christ Child to the City; The Paris *City of Ladies*, Paris, BN MS fr. 1177, f. 95, 1460-70. Permission of the National Library,Paris.

45. Christine and the Three Virtues Welcome the Holy Women to the City; The Vienna *City of Ladies*; Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2605, f. 145, c. 1470, After the "Teneyken" Workshop. Austrian National Library, Vienna.

46. Christine and the Virtues Welcome Holy Women to the City; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 112, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

47. Christine and the Three Virtues Converse in a Courtyard; The Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 136, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

48. The Three Virtues Return to Christine; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 1, 1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

49. Upper Register: Christine Sits in Bed conversing with the Three Virtues. Lower register: Antoine Vérard offers his printed edition of The Treasure of the City of Ladies, The Vérard *Treasure*, Vienna, ONB, Inc.3.D.19, fol. 1v, 1497. Austrian National Library, Vienna.

50. The College of Ladies; The Three Virtues Lecture Bourgeois Women; The Brussels *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Brussels, BR 9551-2, f. 66, 1420-30. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

51. The Three Virtues; *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* The Hague, KB MS 131 C26, f.1v, 1420-30, Utrecht or Guelders workshop. Permission of the National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

52. The College of Ladies; Lecturing Princesses, Court Ladies and Common women; *The Treasure of the City of Ladies,* The Hague, KB MS 131 C26, f.22v, 1420-30, Utrecht or Guelders workshop. Permission of the National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

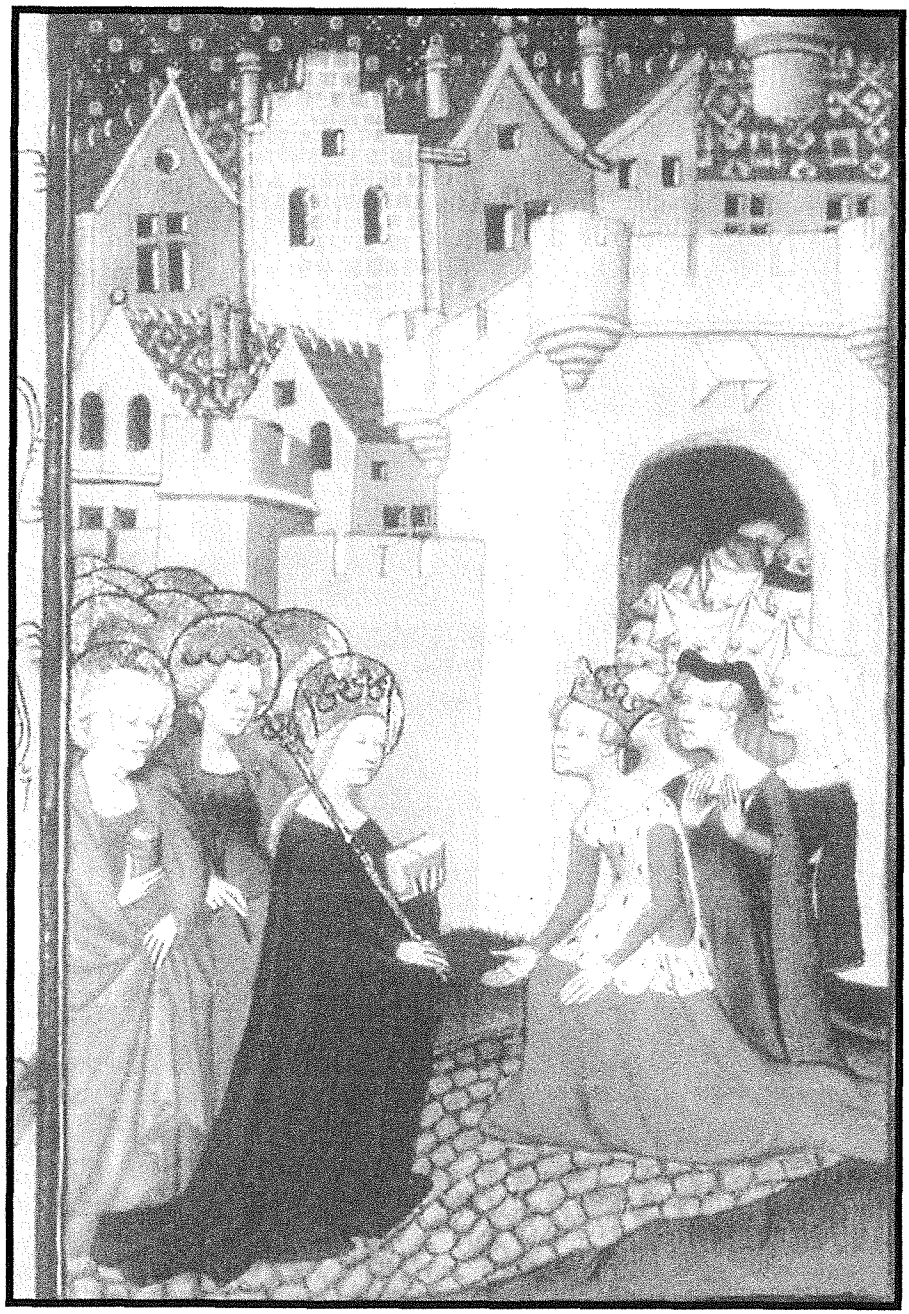
53. The College of Ladies, Lecturing Women of the Court and Noble women; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of*

Ladies, Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 49v,1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

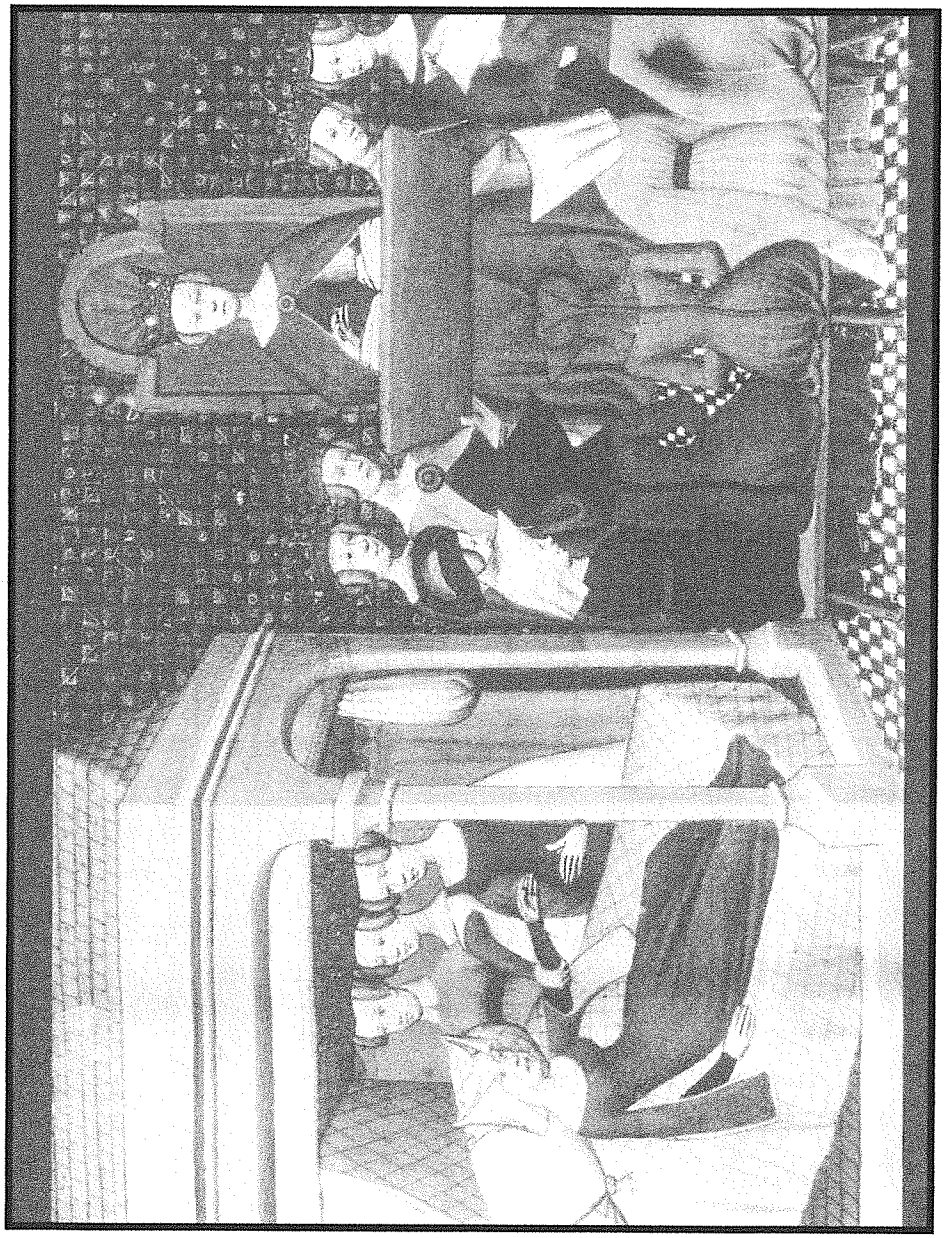
54. The College of Ladies, Lecturing Bourgeois and Common Women; The Beinecke *Treasure of the City of Ladies,* Yale Univ., Beinecke Library, MS 427, f. 72, 1475. Permission of the Beinecke Library.

55. Christine and the Three Virtues Dismiss Classes at the College of Ladies; *The* Royal *City of Ladies*, Brussels, BR 9235-7, f. 201, 1450-60, attributed to the School of Jacquemart Pilavaine. Permission of the Royal Library of Albert 1st, Brussels.

Black and White Figure 1



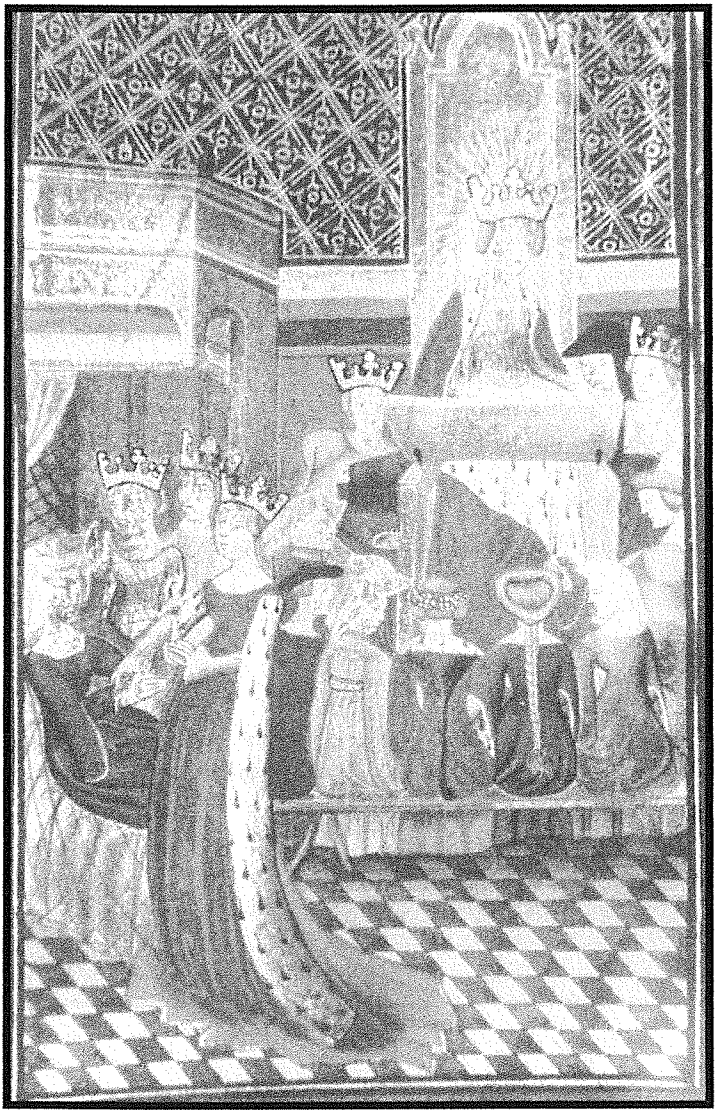
Black and White Figure 2



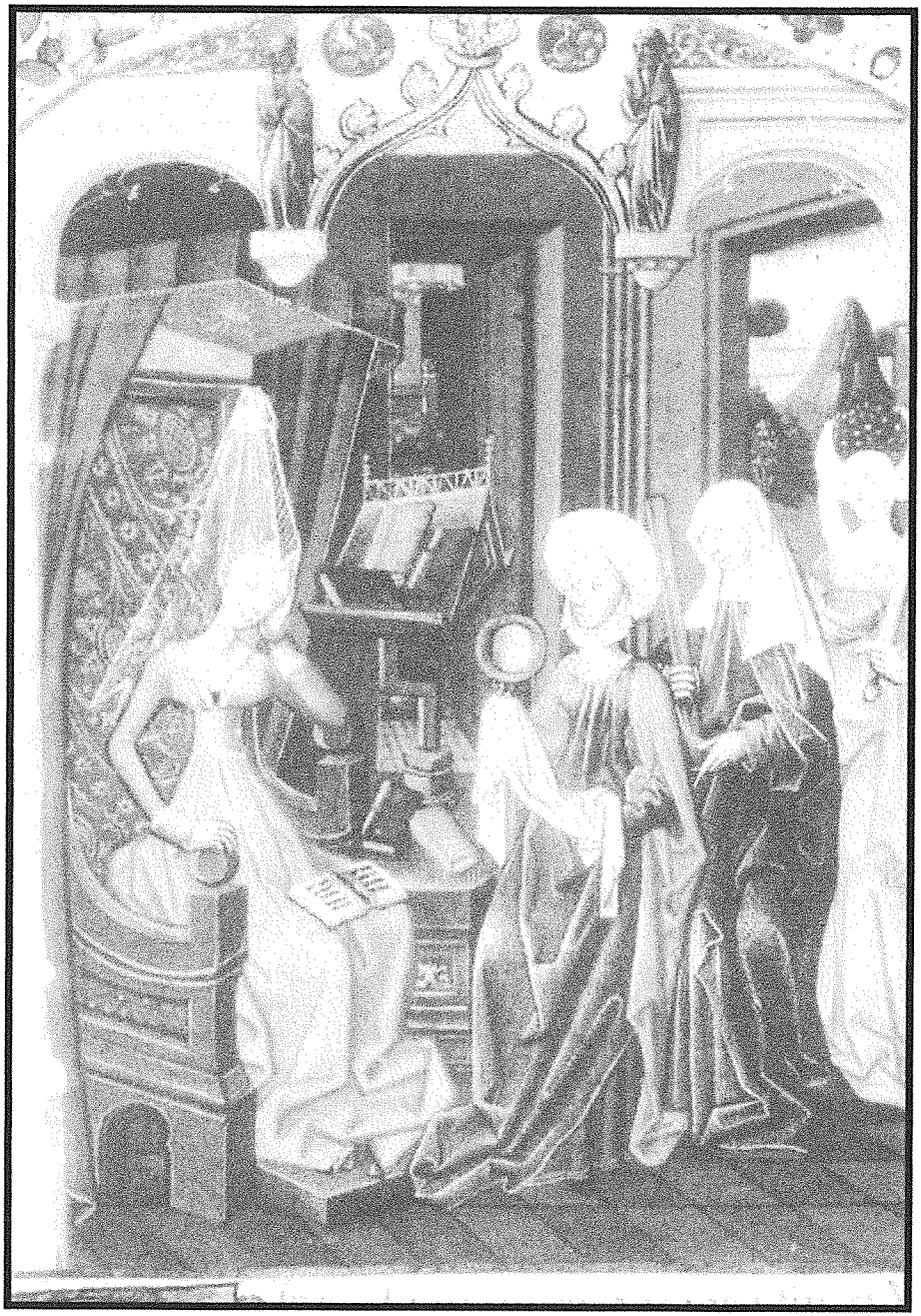
Black and White Figure 3

Black and White Figure 4

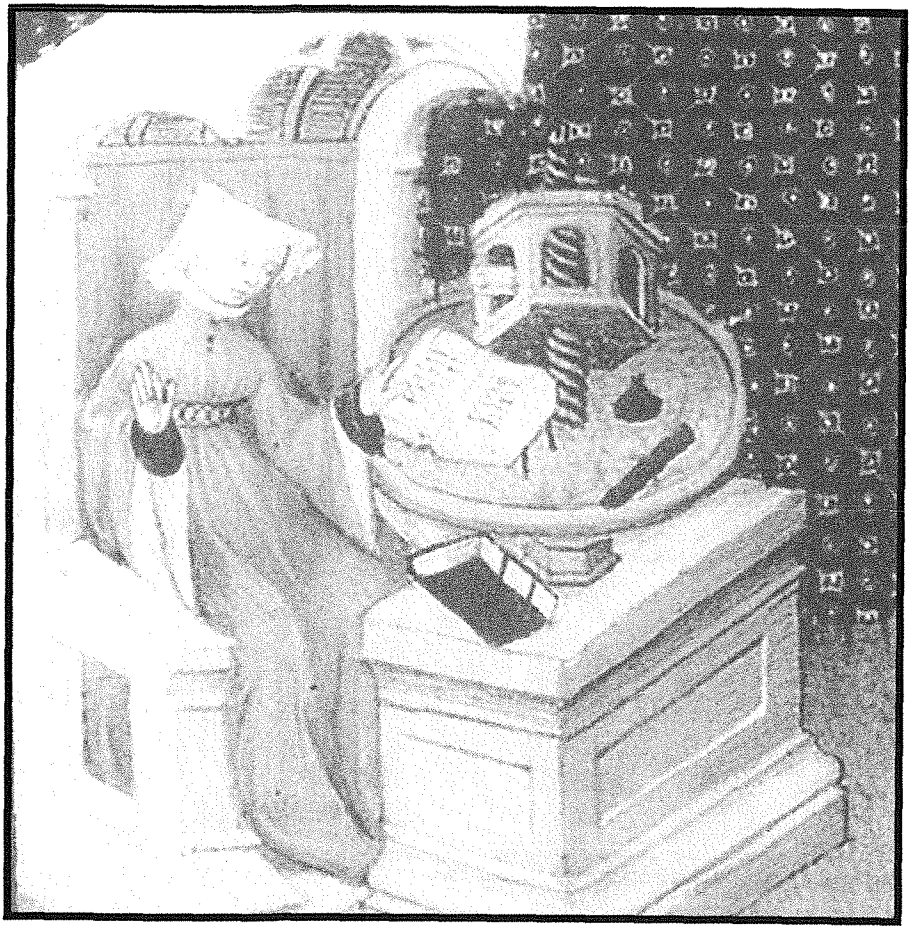
Black and White Figure 5



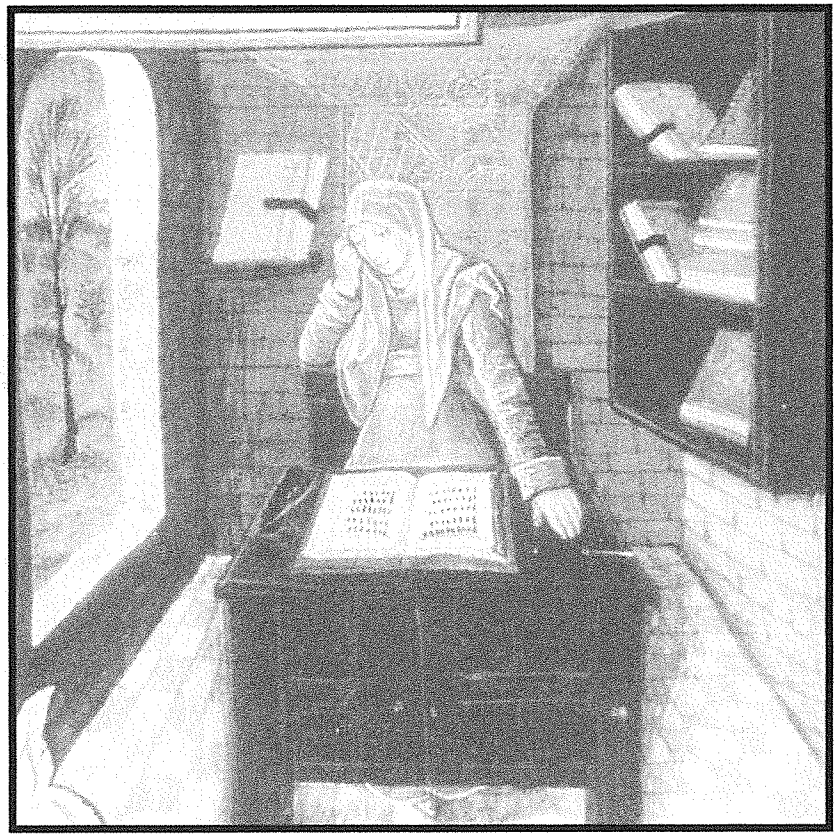
Black and White Figure 6



Black and White Figure 7

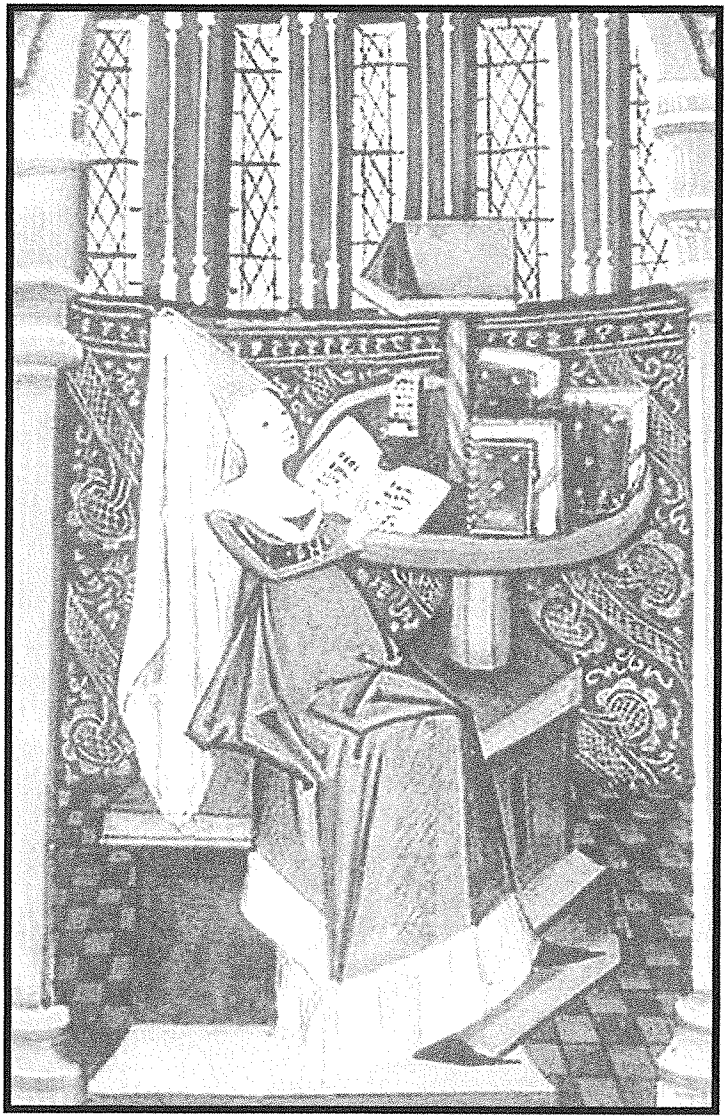


Black and White Figure 8

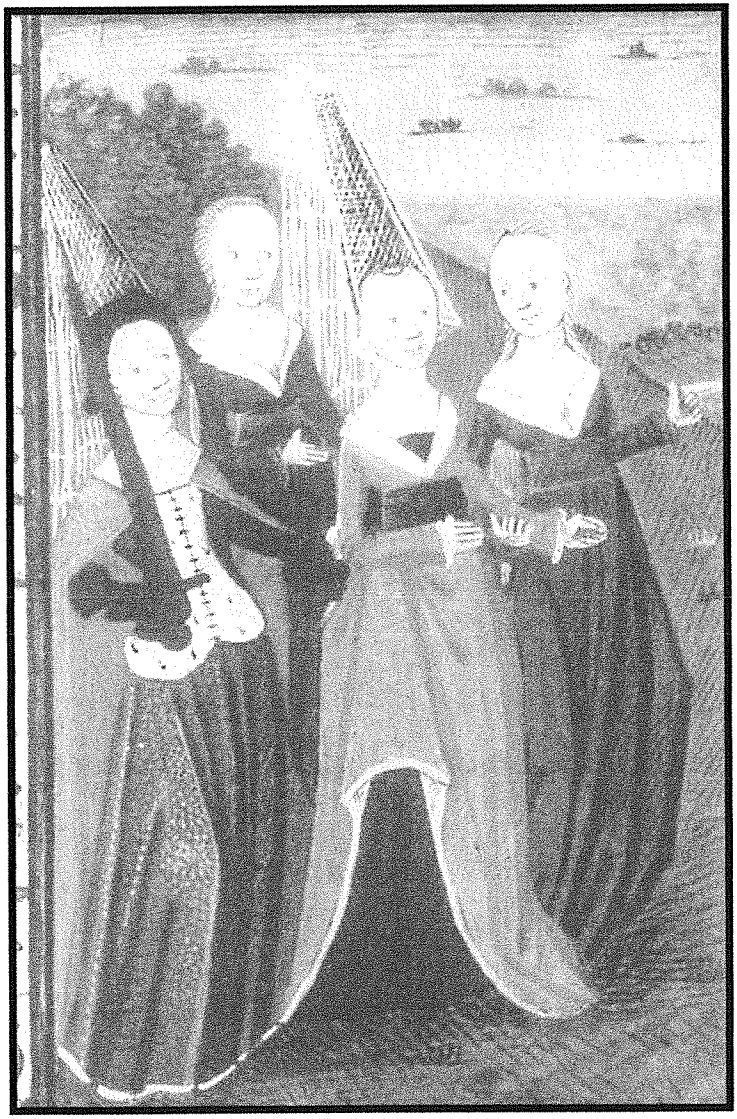


Black and White Figure 9

Black and White Figure 10

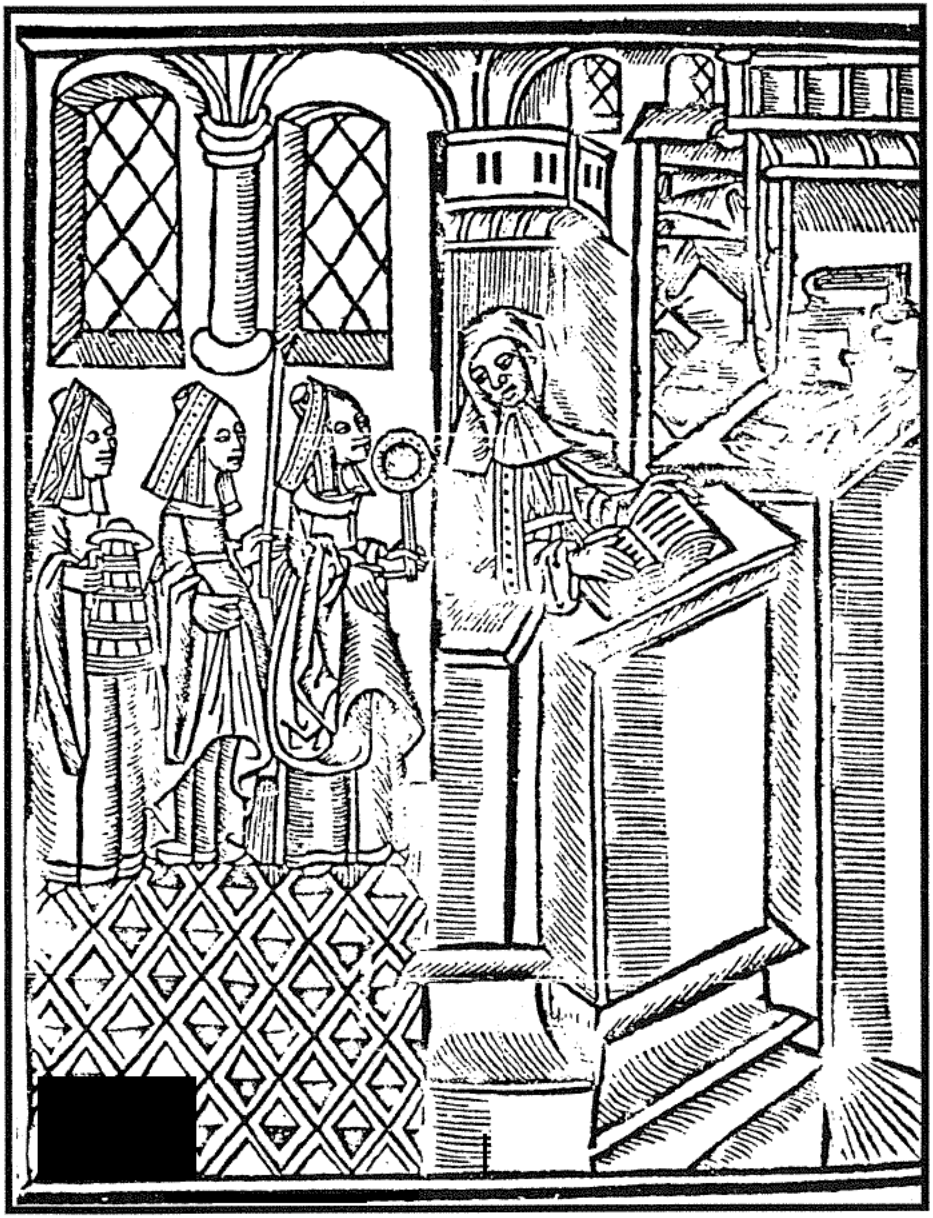


Black and White Figure 11

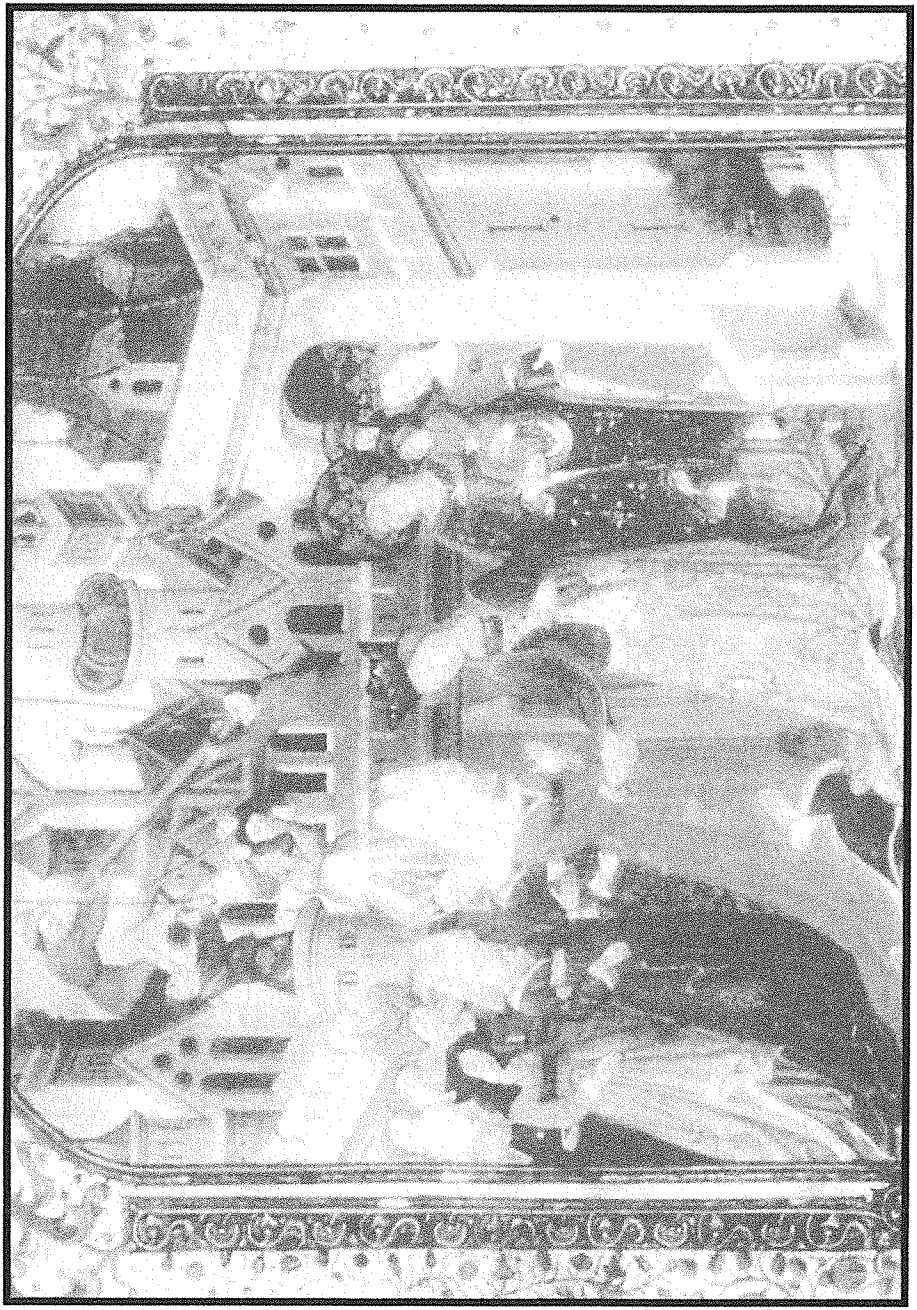


Black and White Figure 12

Black and White Figure 13

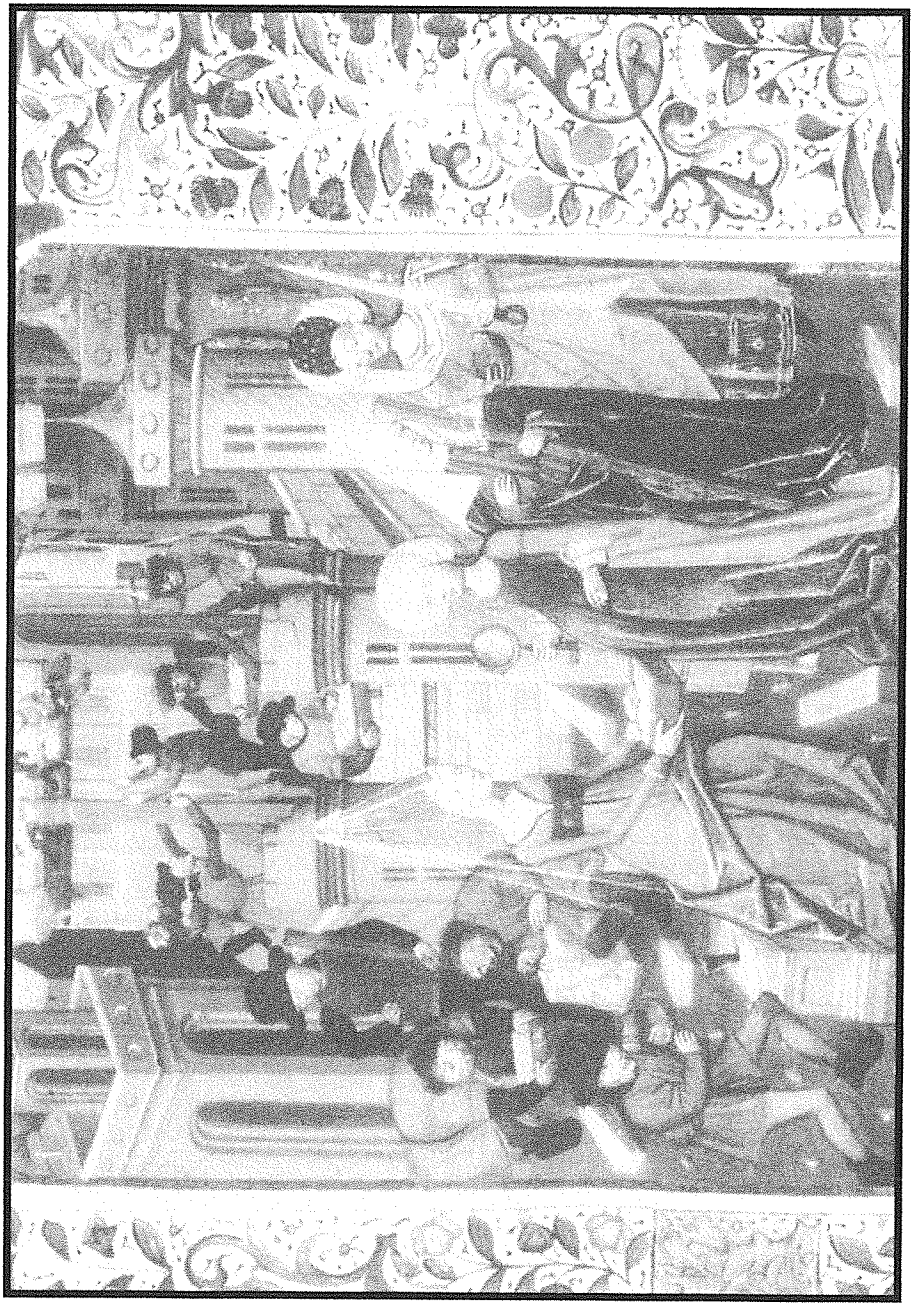


Black and White Figure 14

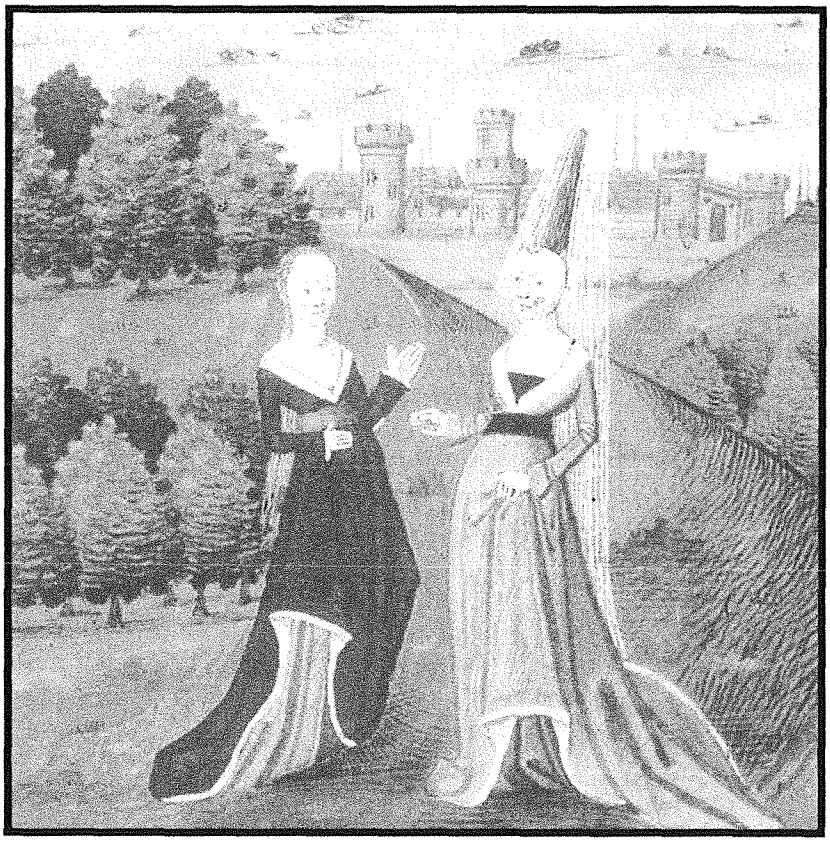


Black and White Figure 15

Black and White Figure 16



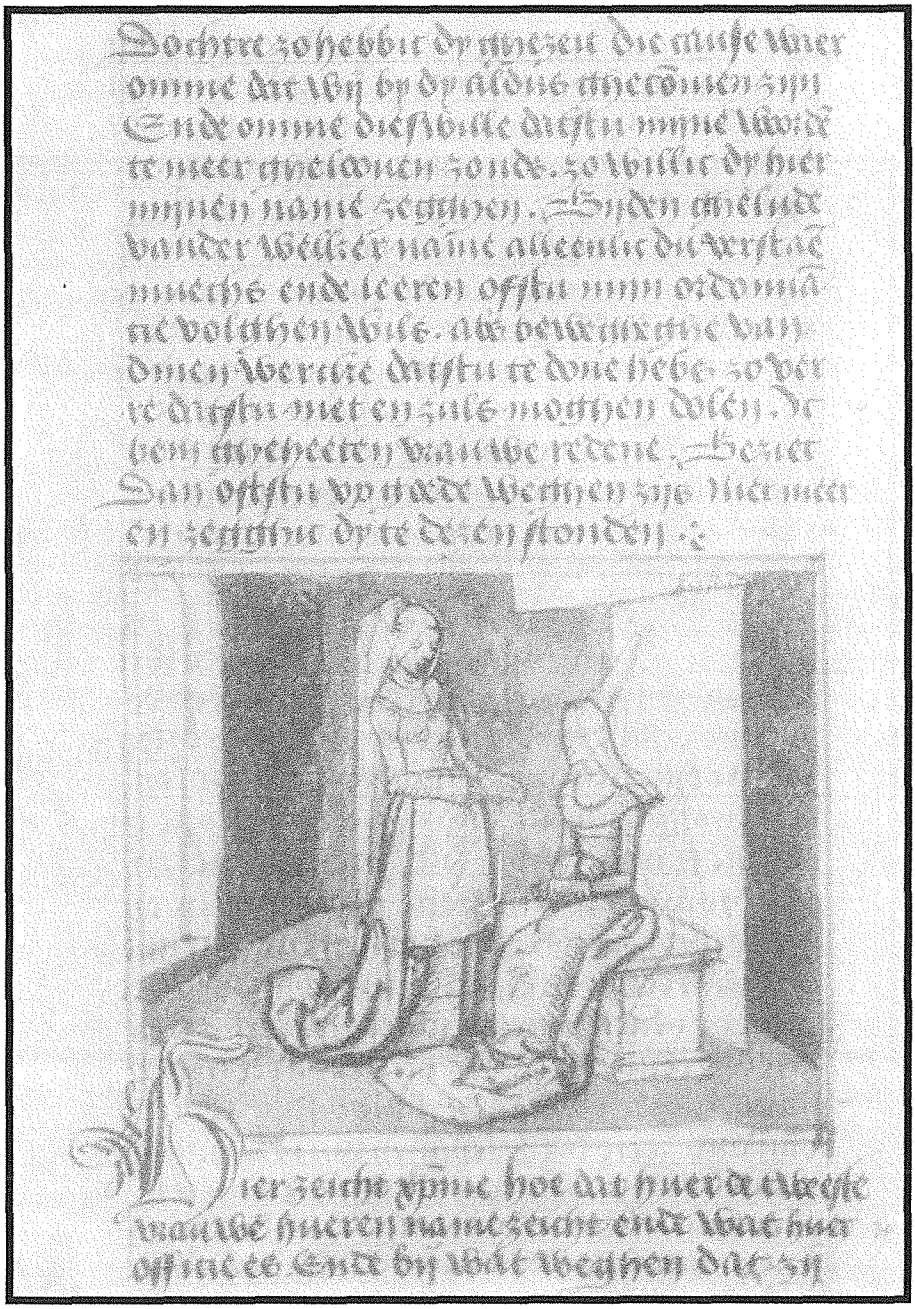
Black and White Figure 17



Black and White Figure 18

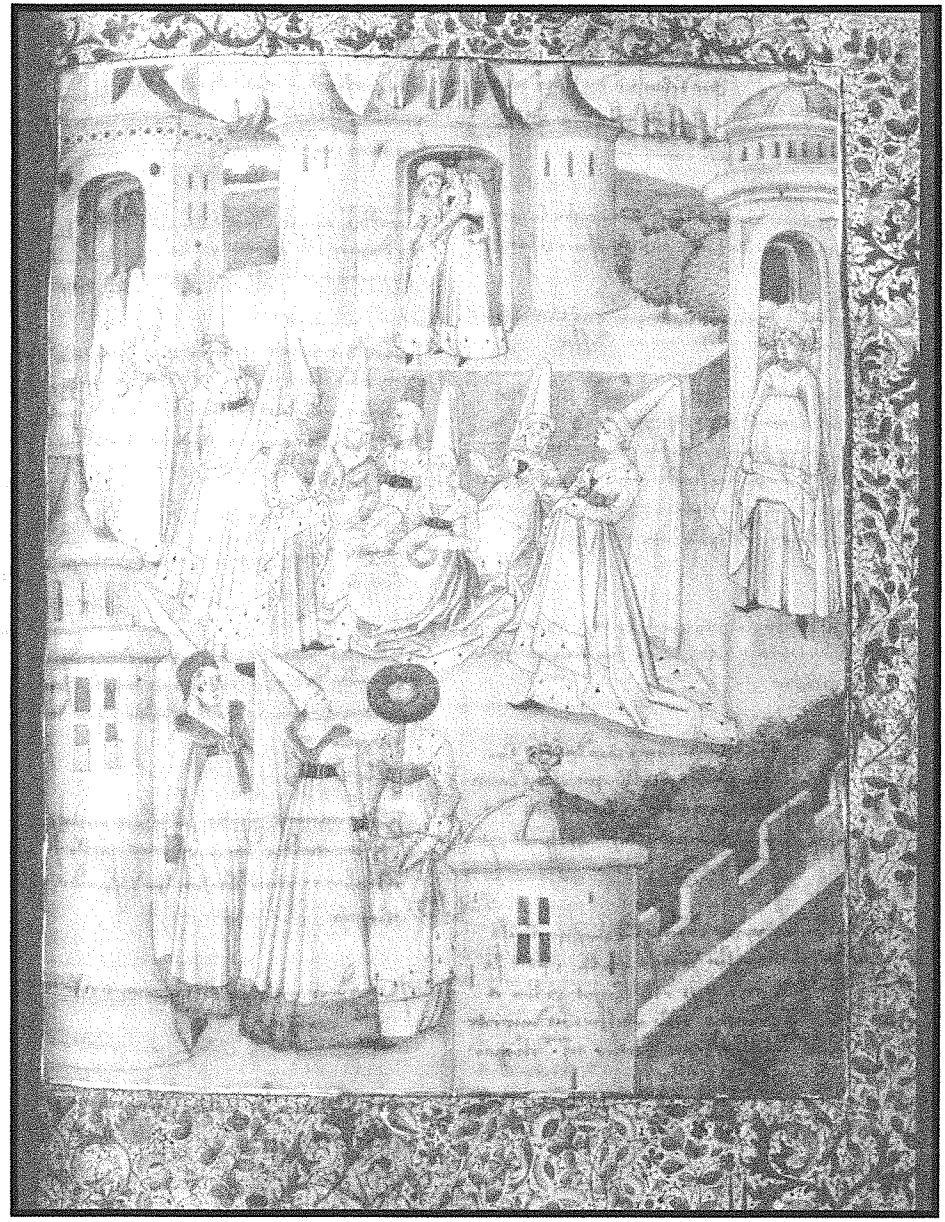
Black and White Figure 19

Black and White Figure 20



Black and White Figure 21

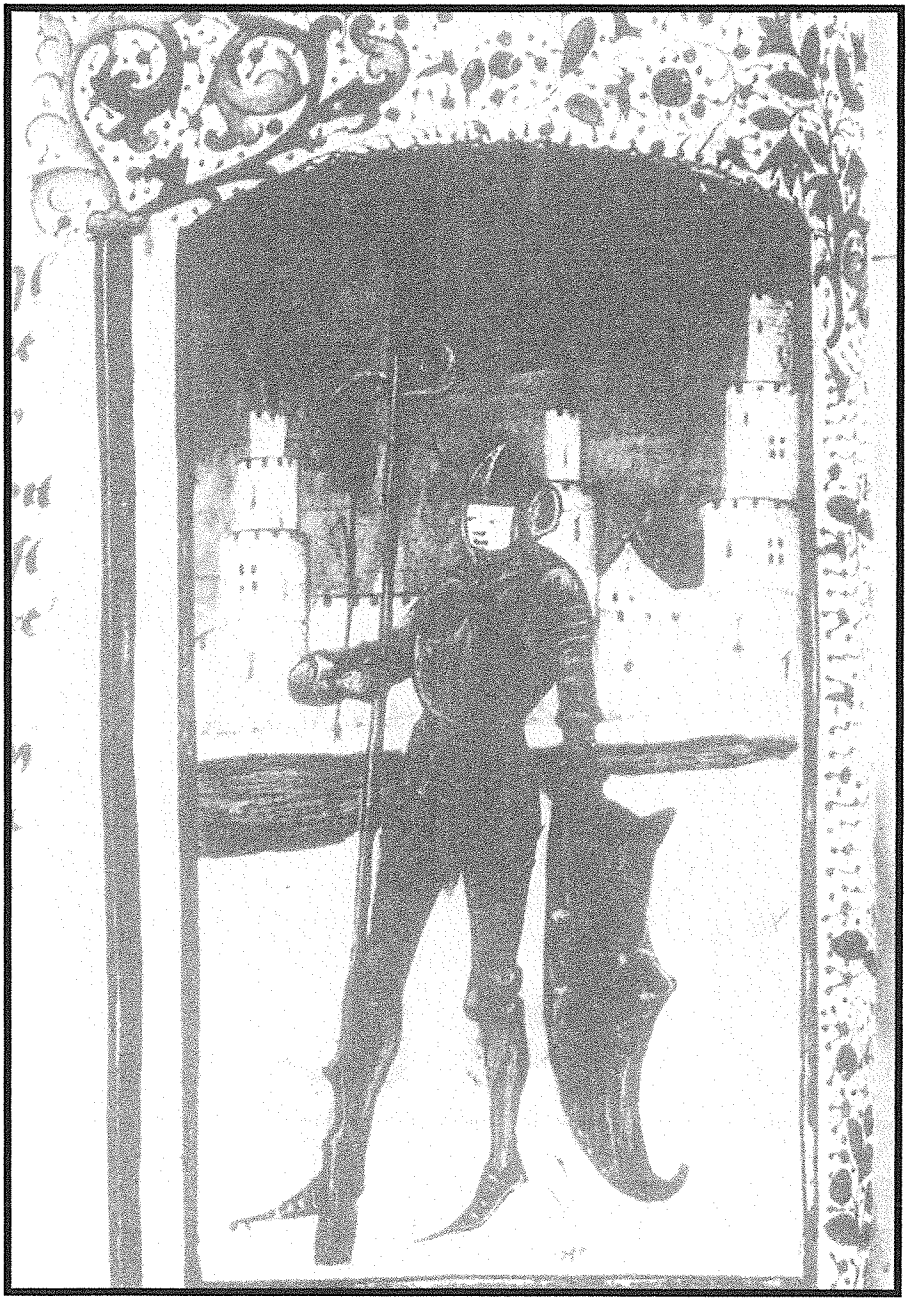
Black and White Figure 22



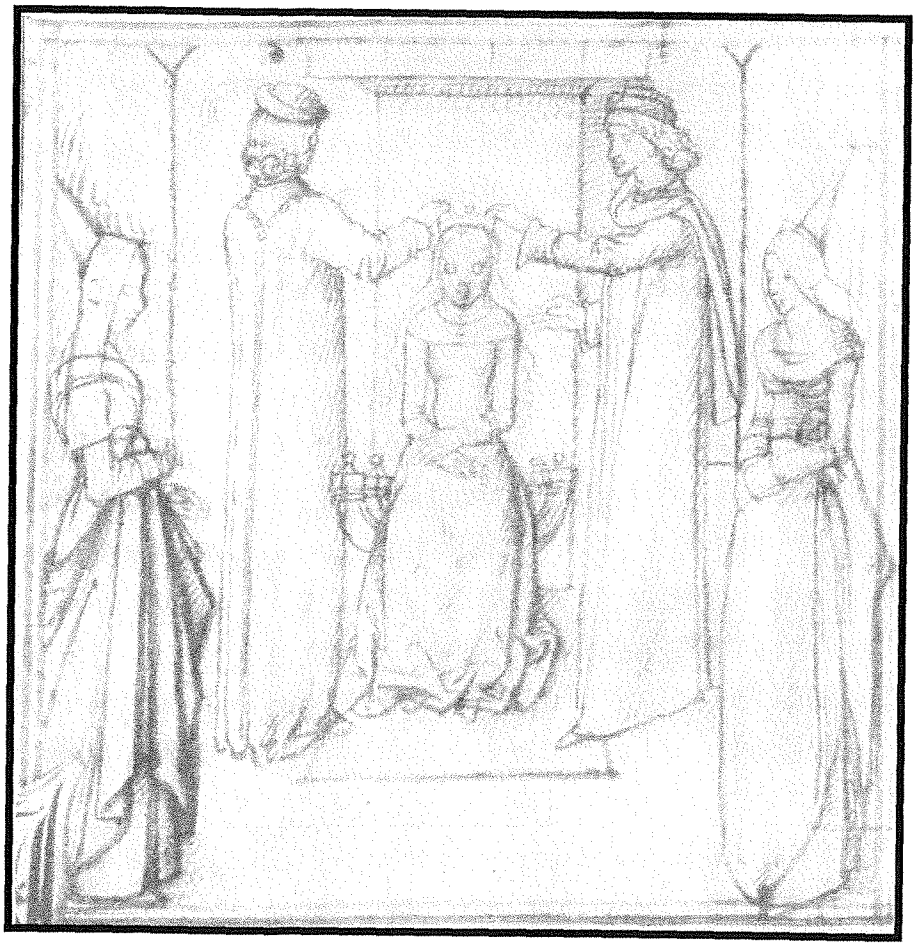
Black and White Figure 23

Here endeth the thyrde and the
last partye of the boke of the Cyte of
Ladyes. Imprynted at London
in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne
of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell.
In ỳ yere of our lorde. M. CCCCC
.xxj. The. xxvj. day of October. And
the. xij. yere of the reygne of our soue
rayne lorde kynge Henry the. viij.

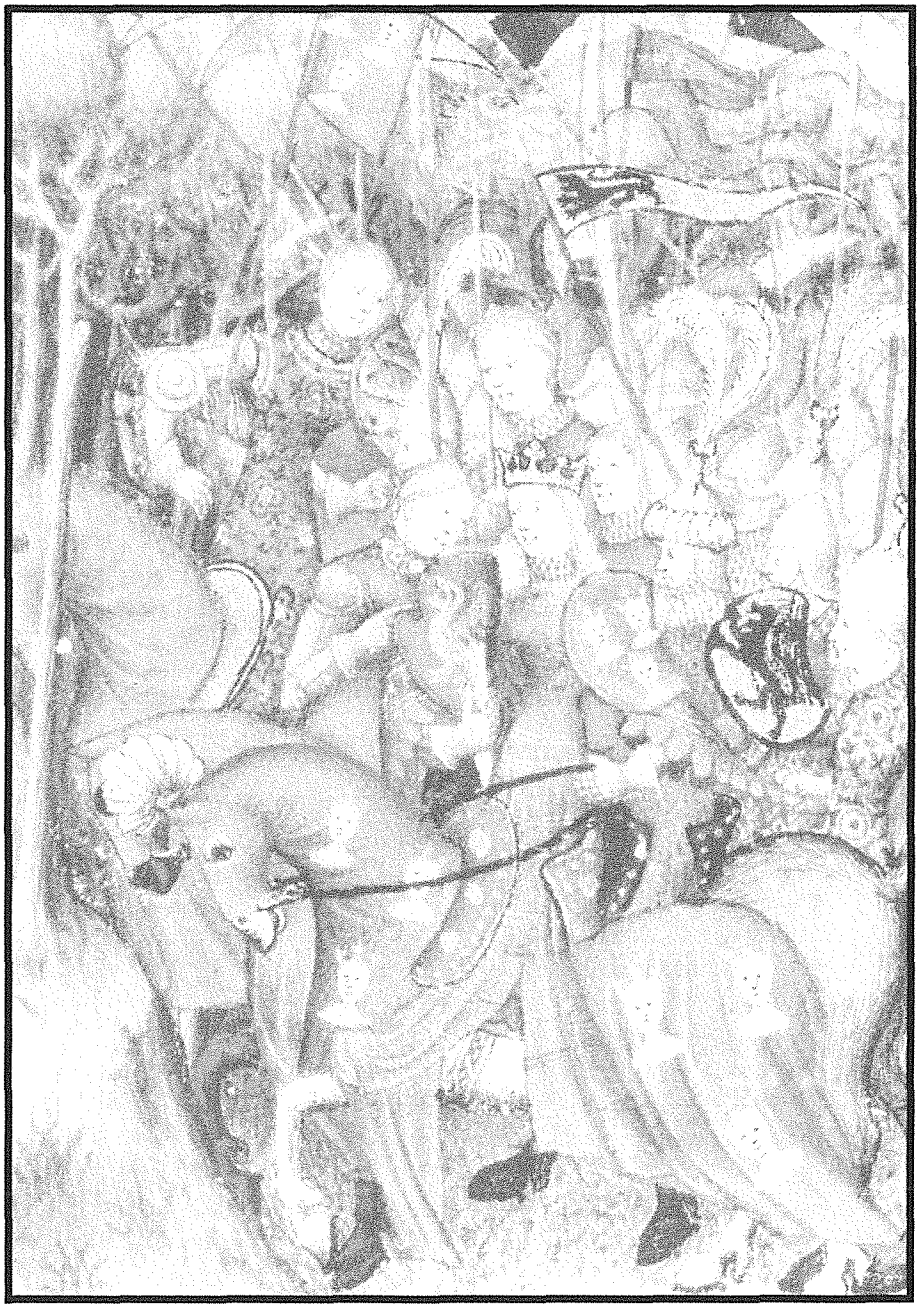
Black and White Figure 24



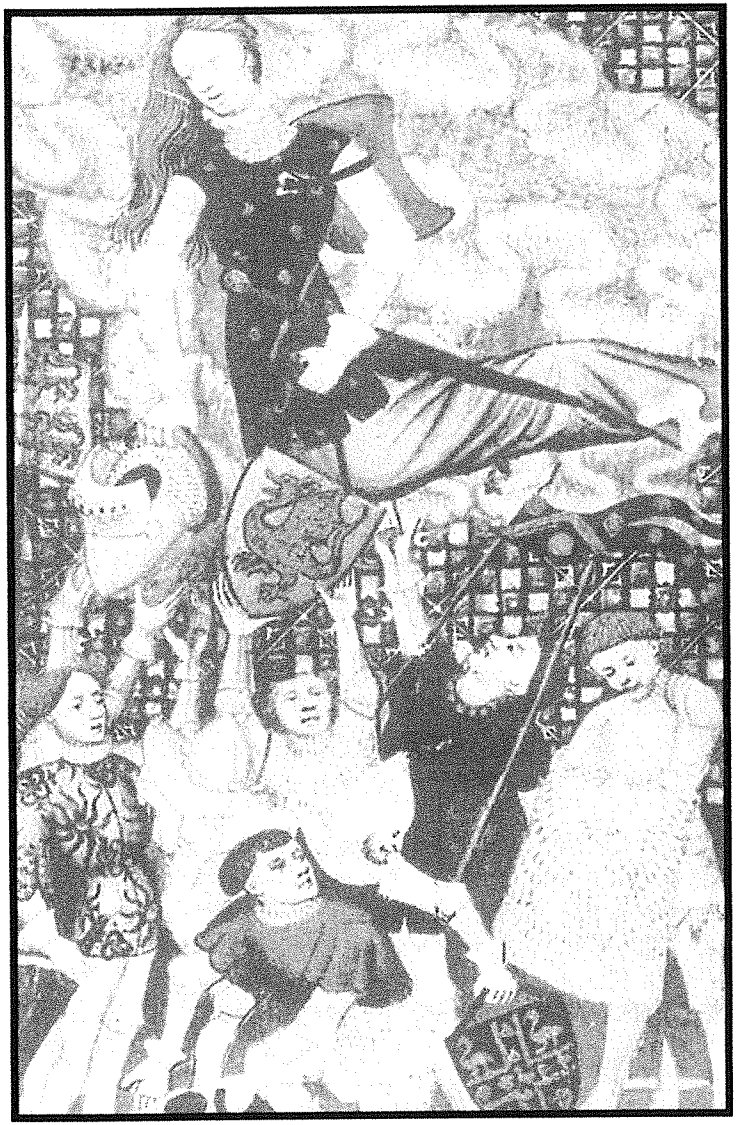
Black and White Figure 25



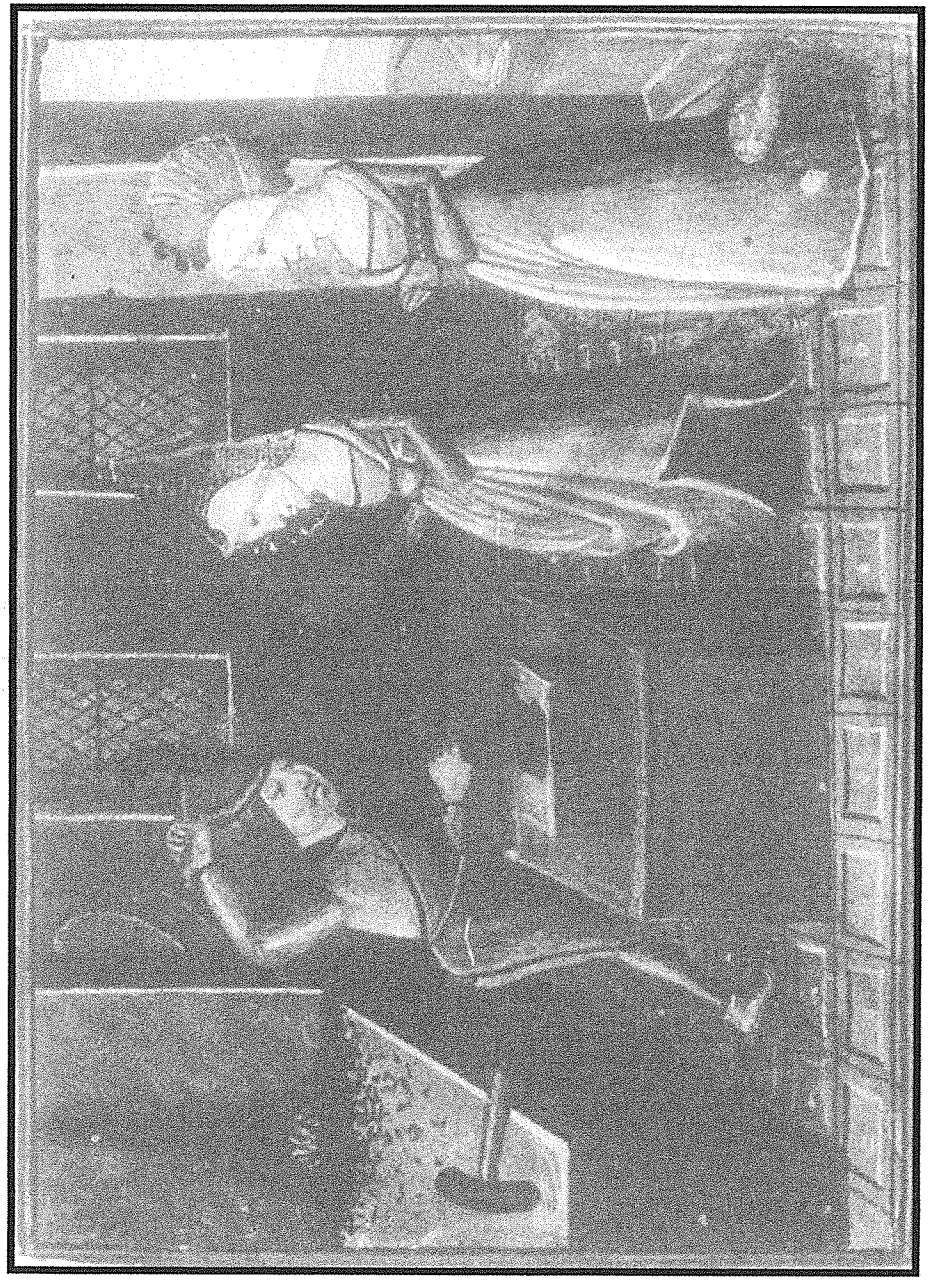
Black and White Figure 26



Black and White Figure 27

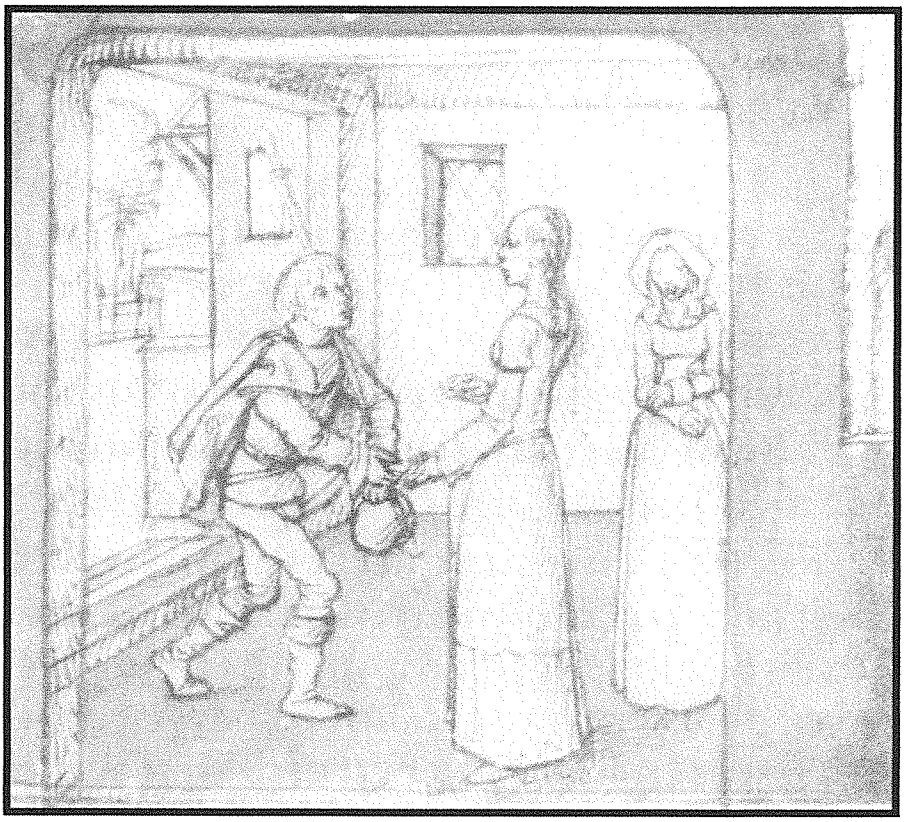


Black and White Figure 28

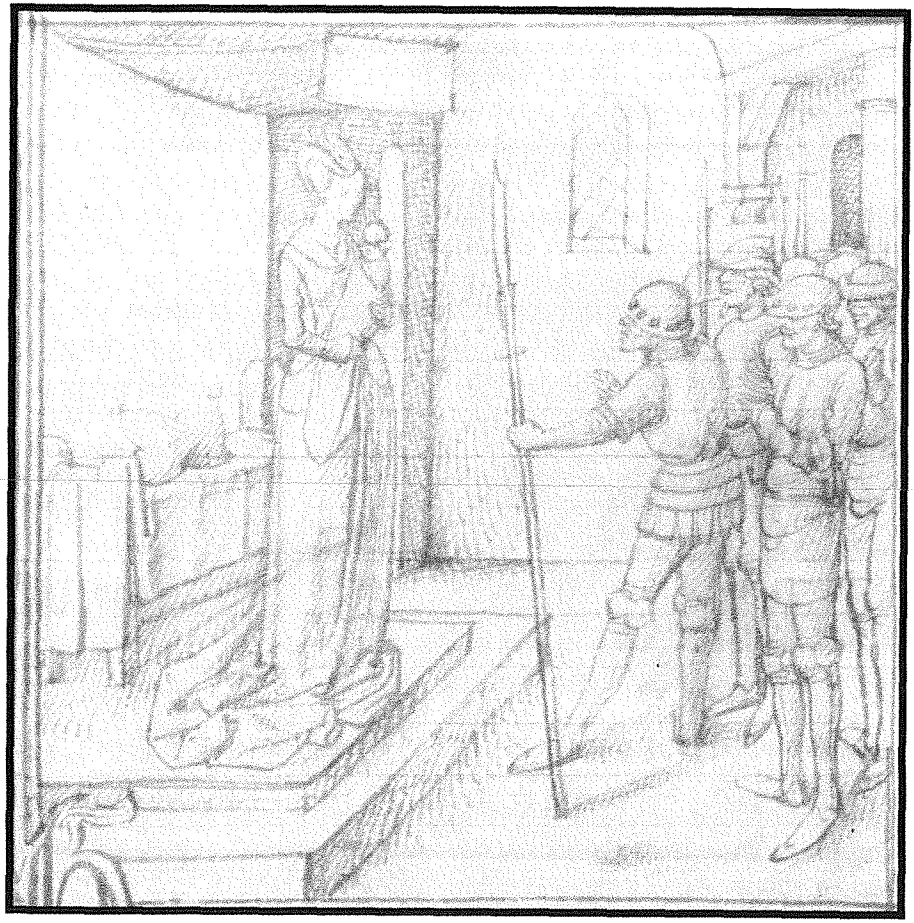


Black and White Figure 29

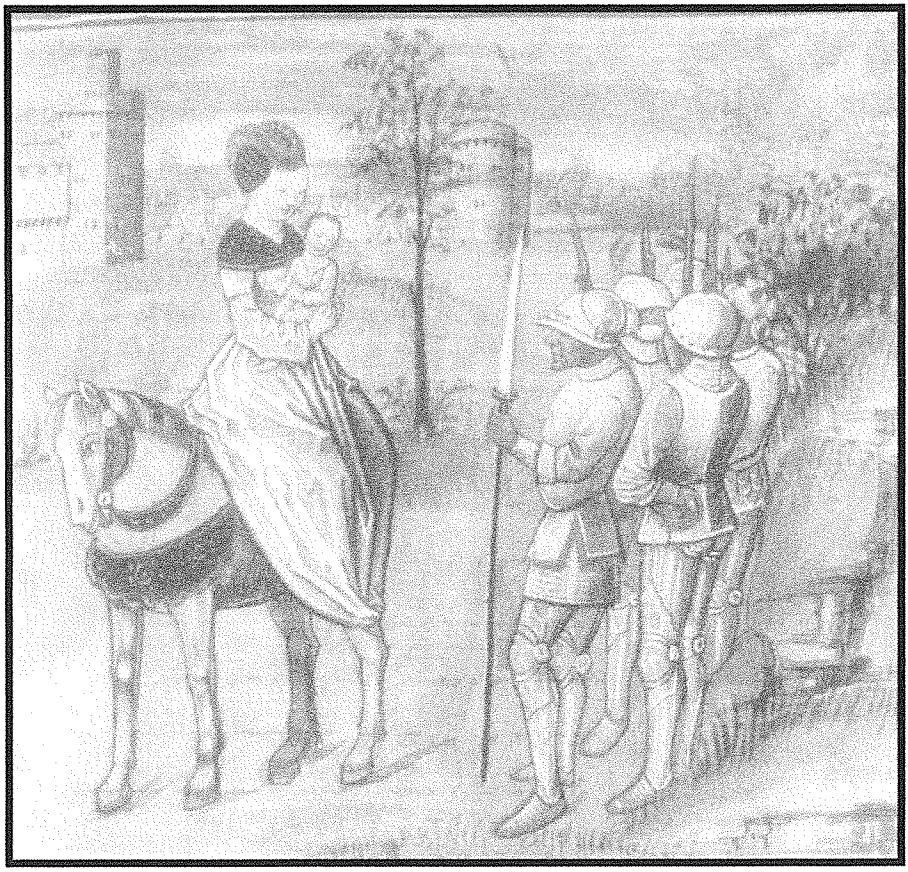
Black and White Figure 30



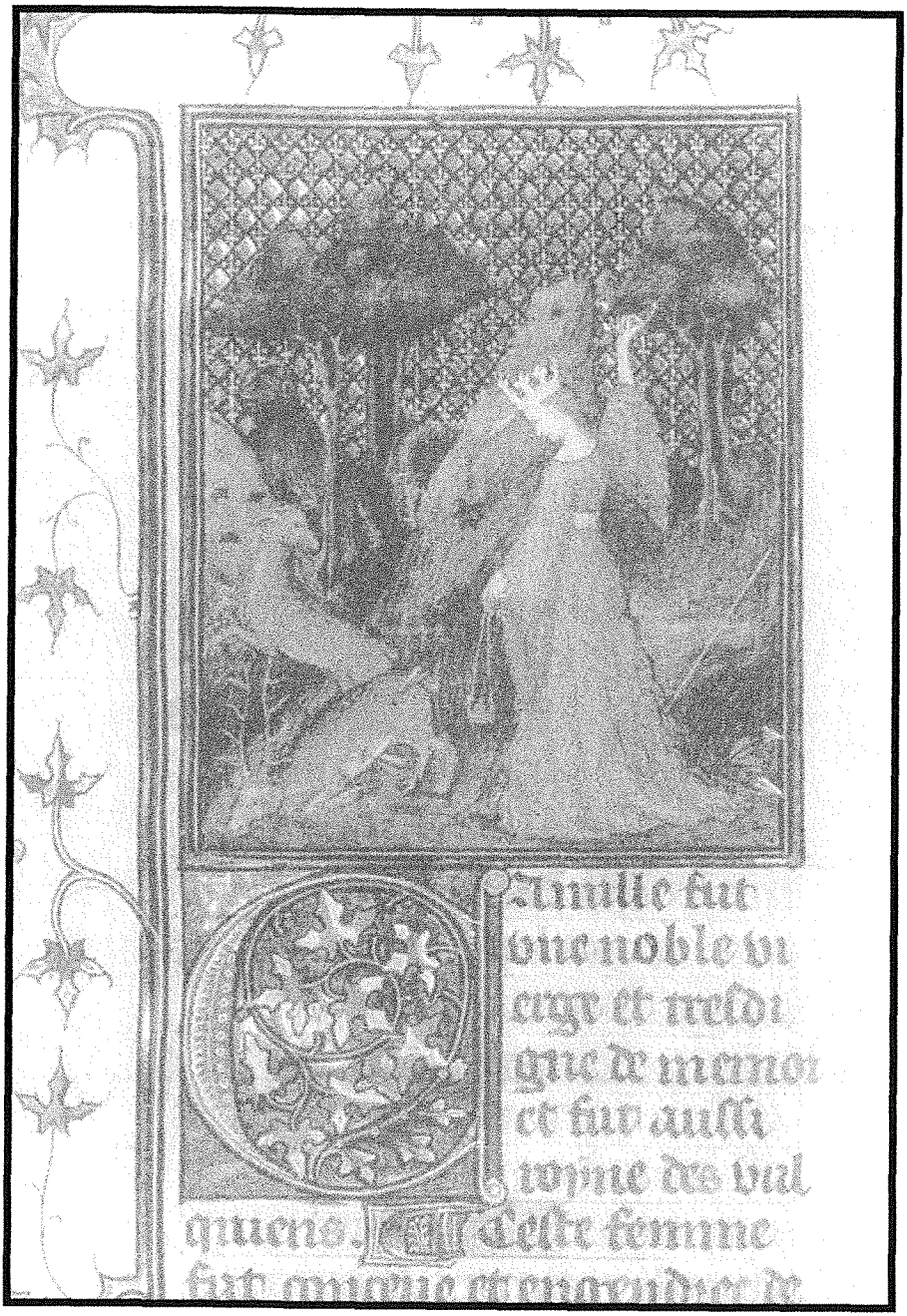
Black and White Figure 31



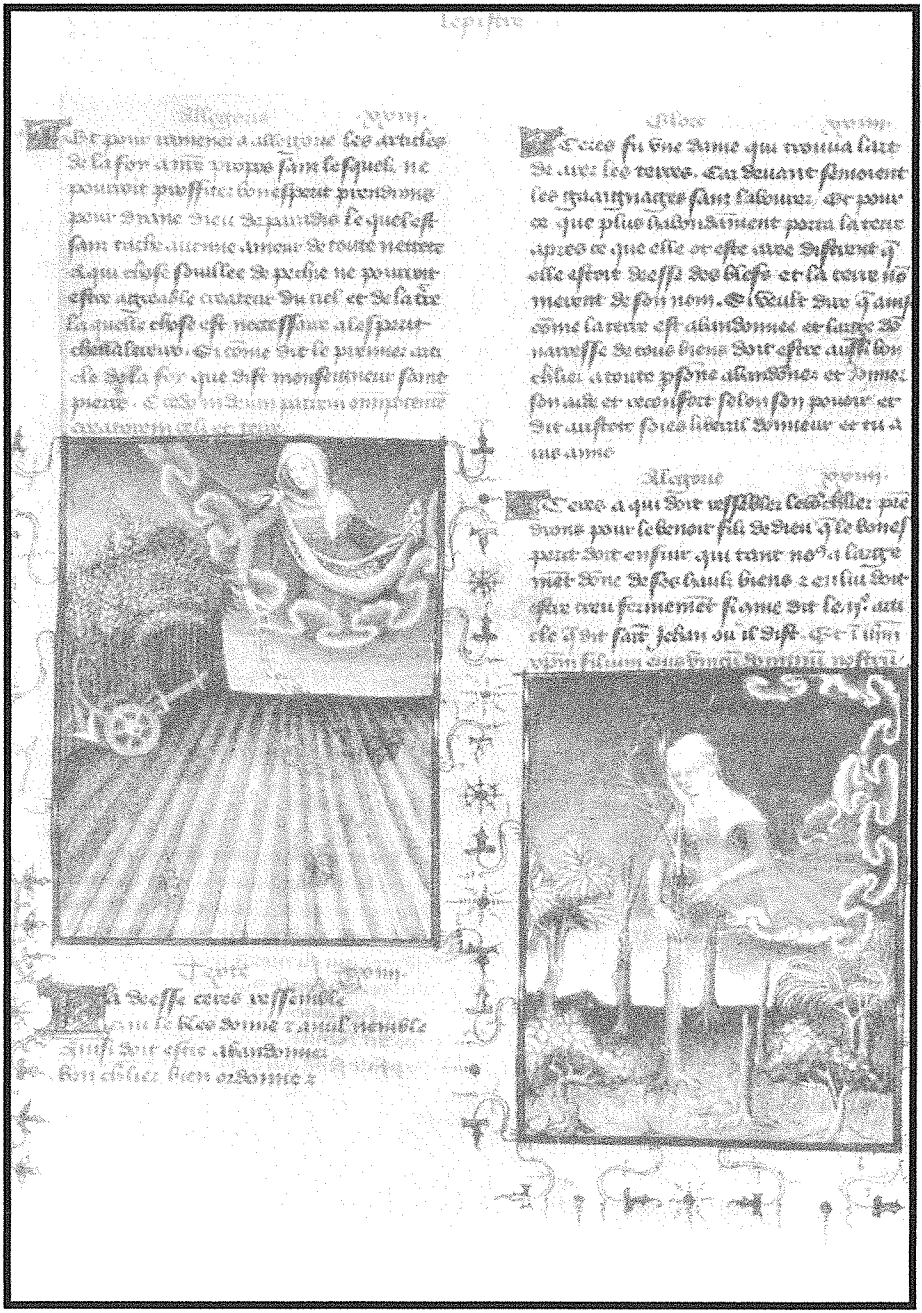
Black and White Figure 32



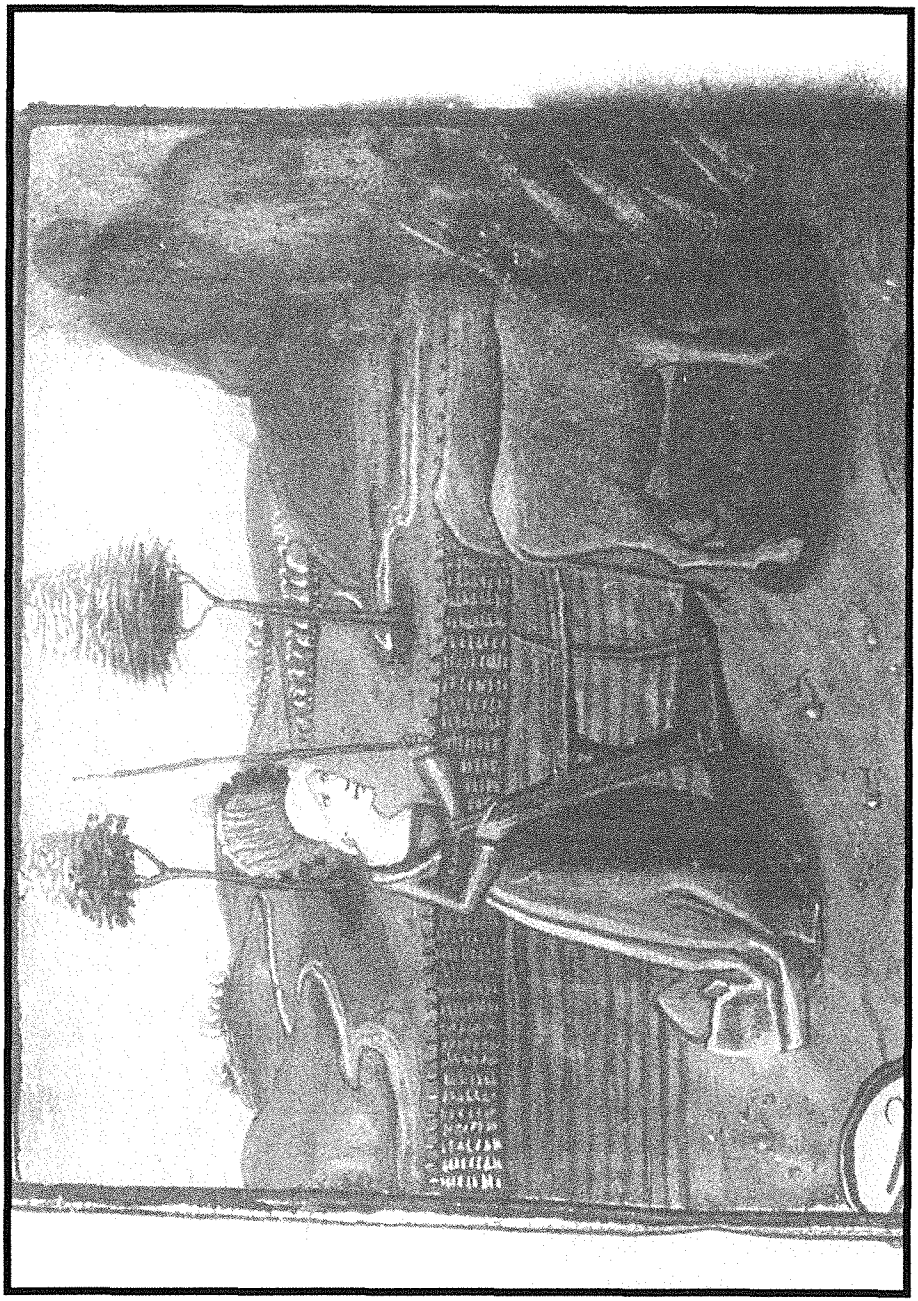
Black and White Figure 33



Black and White Figure 34



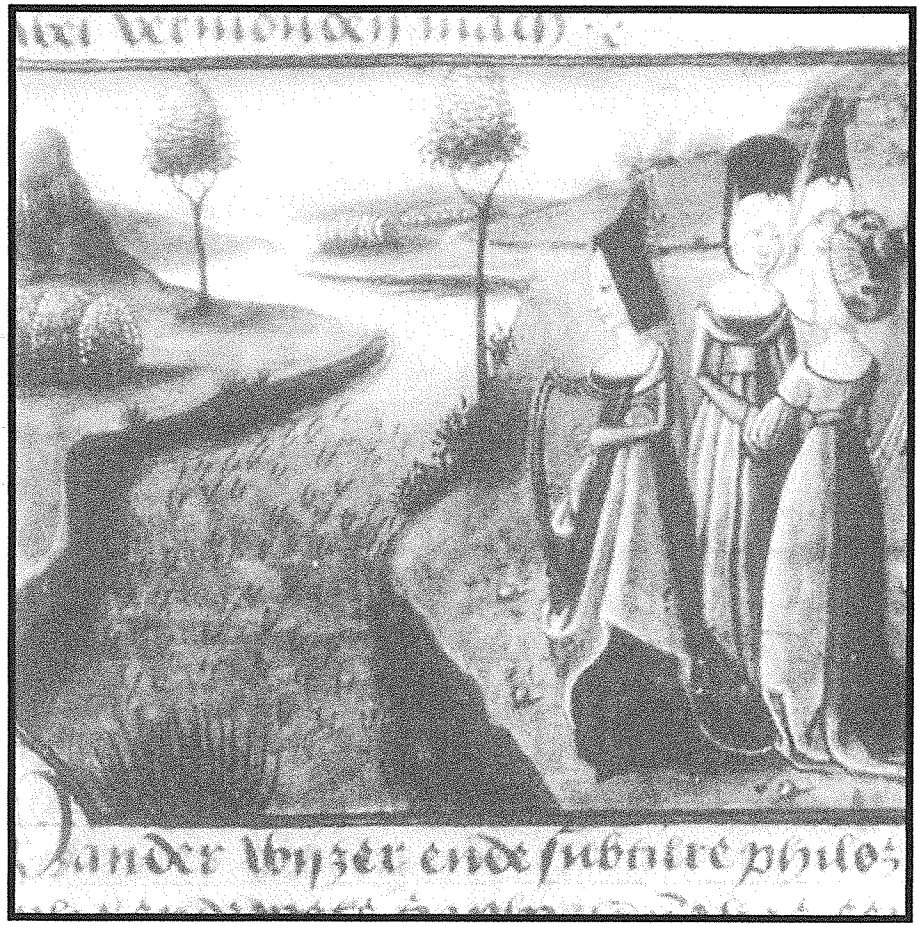
Black and White Figure 35



Black and White Figure 36

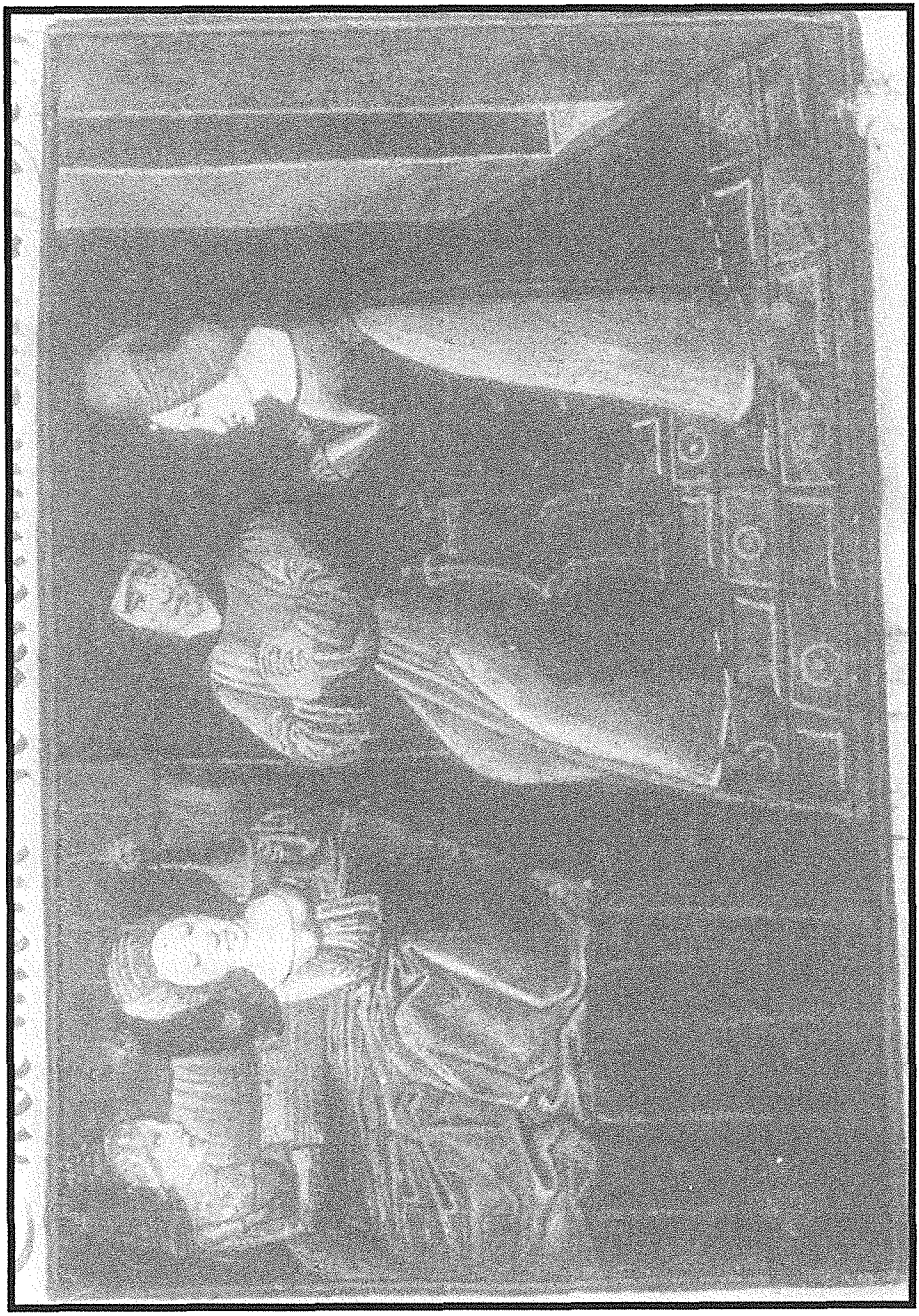
Black and White Figure 37

Black and White Figure 38



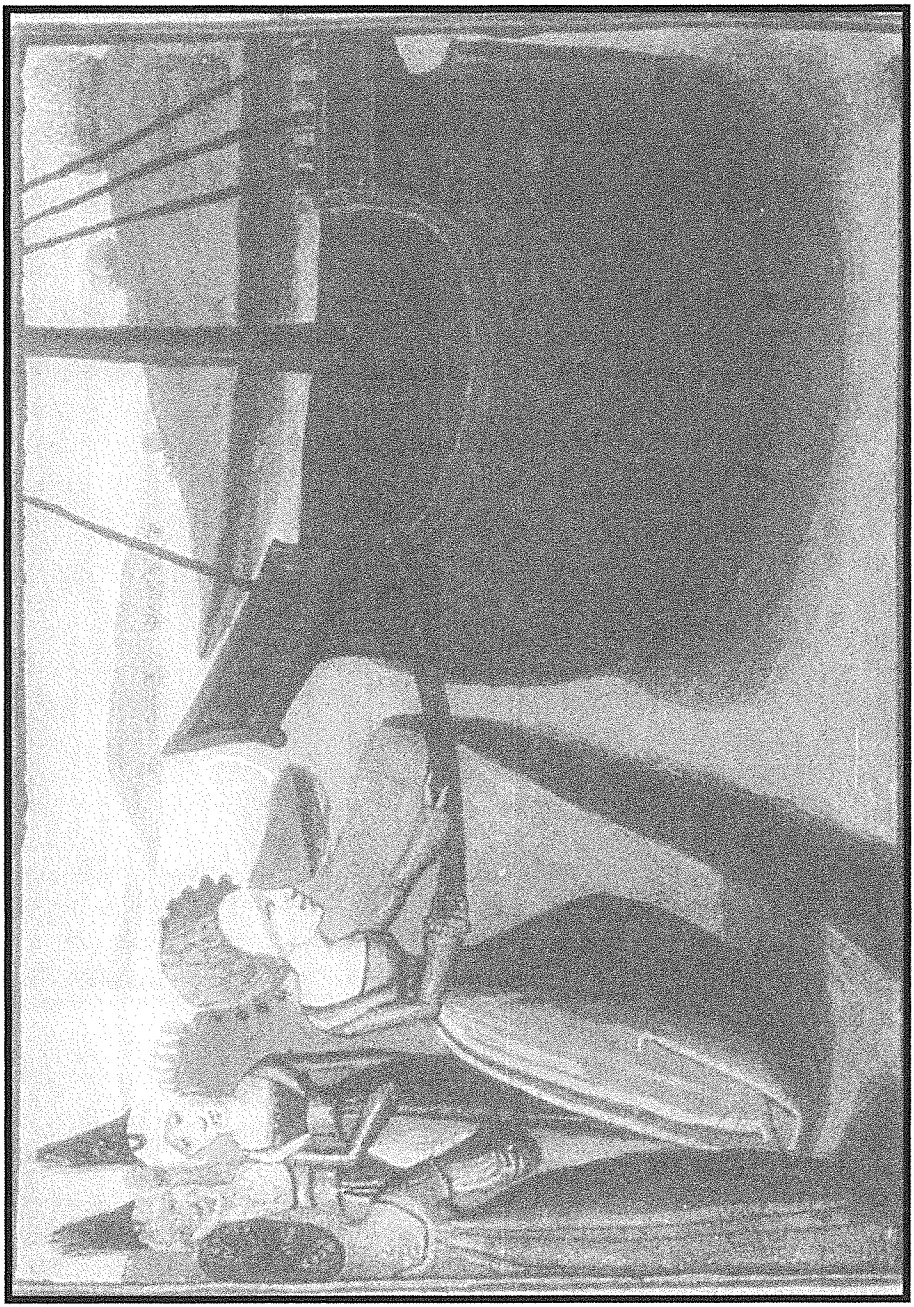
Black and White Figure 39

Black and White Figure 40



Black and White Figure 41

Black and White Figure 42

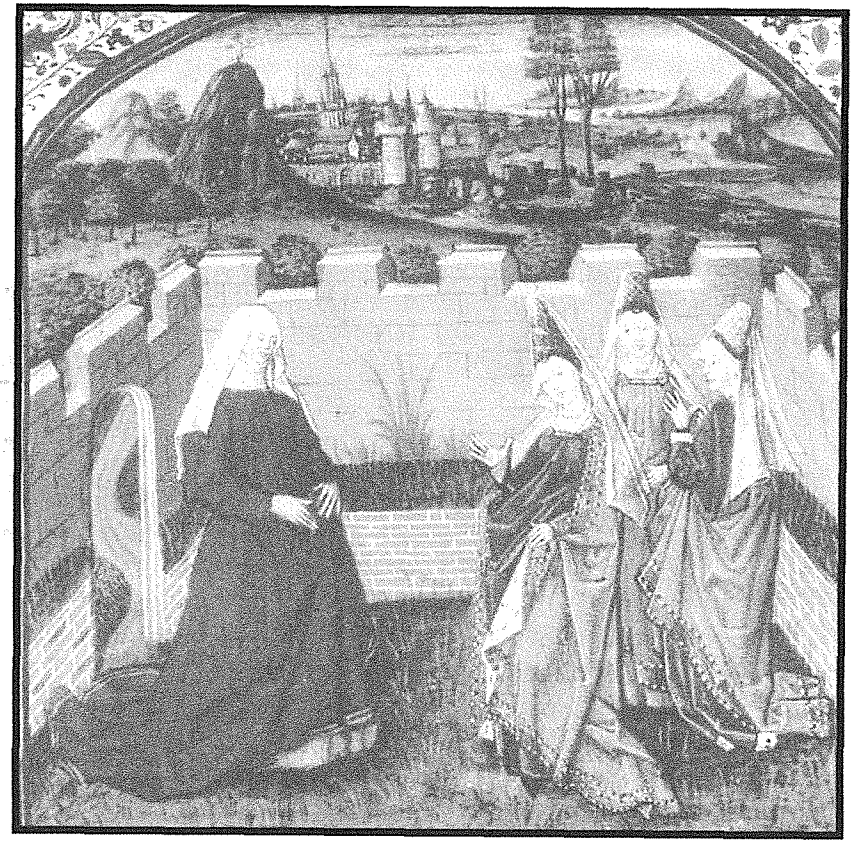


Black and White Figure 43

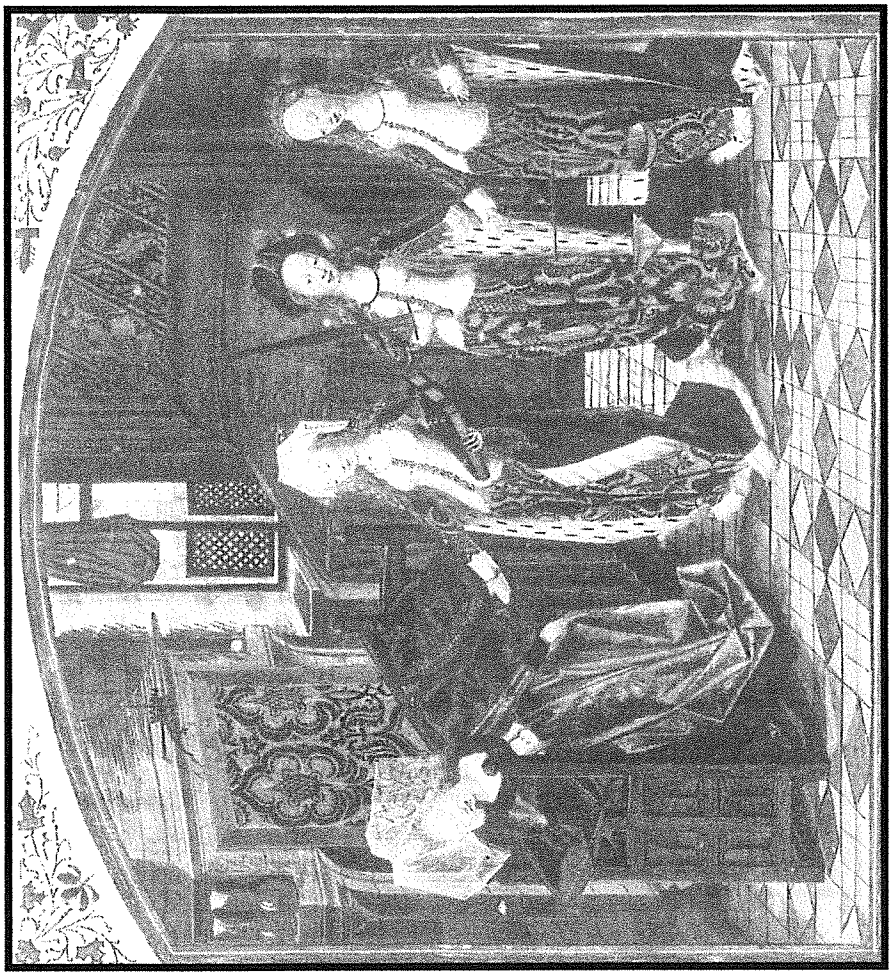
Black and White Figure 44

Black and White Figure 45

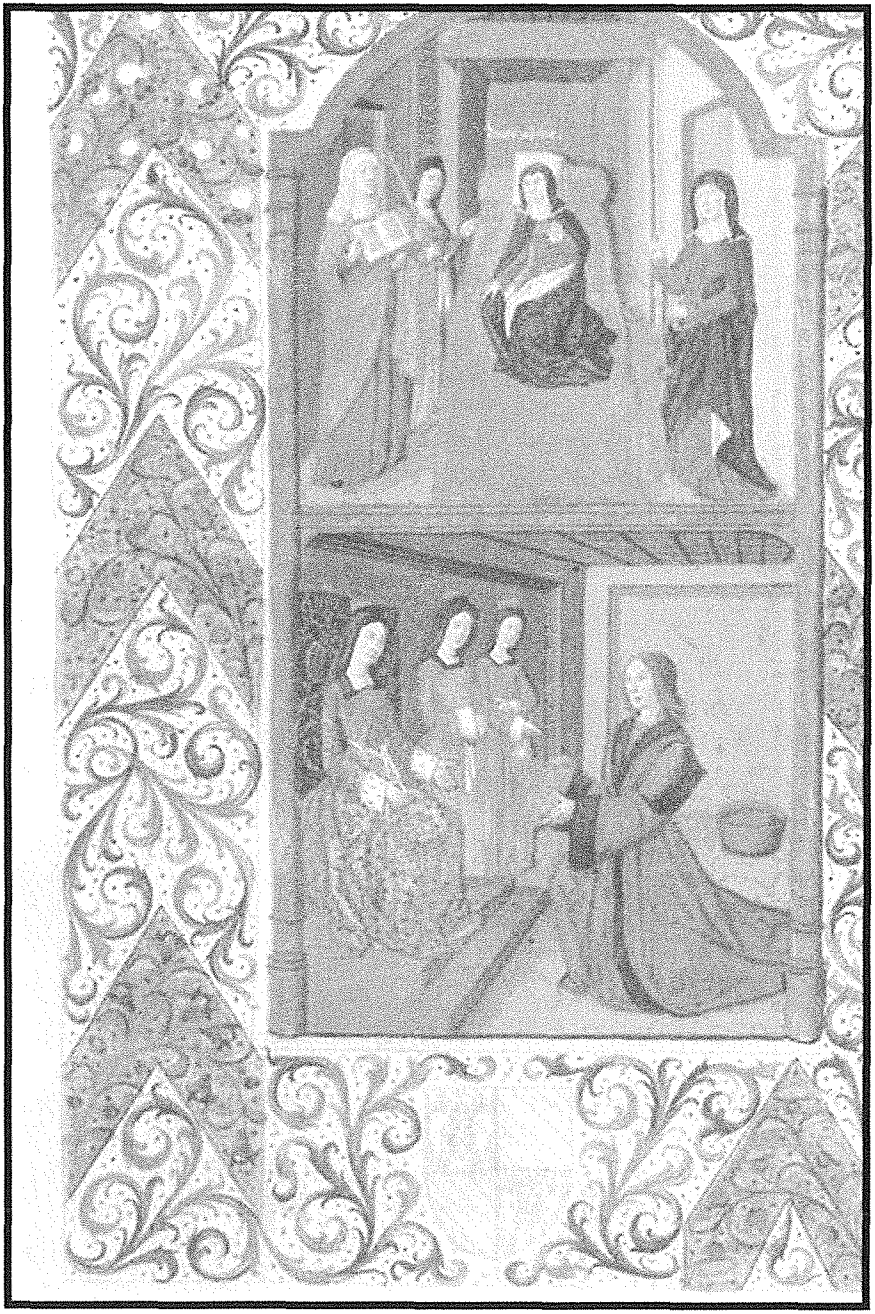
Black and White Figure 46



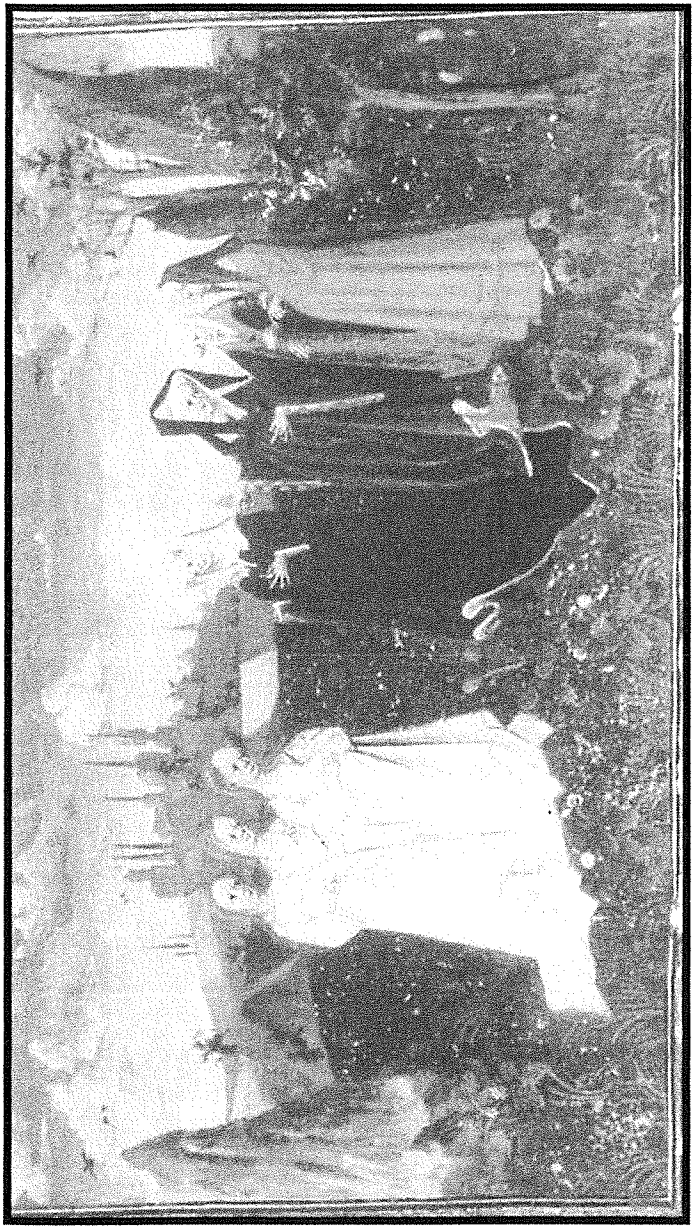
Black and White Figure 47



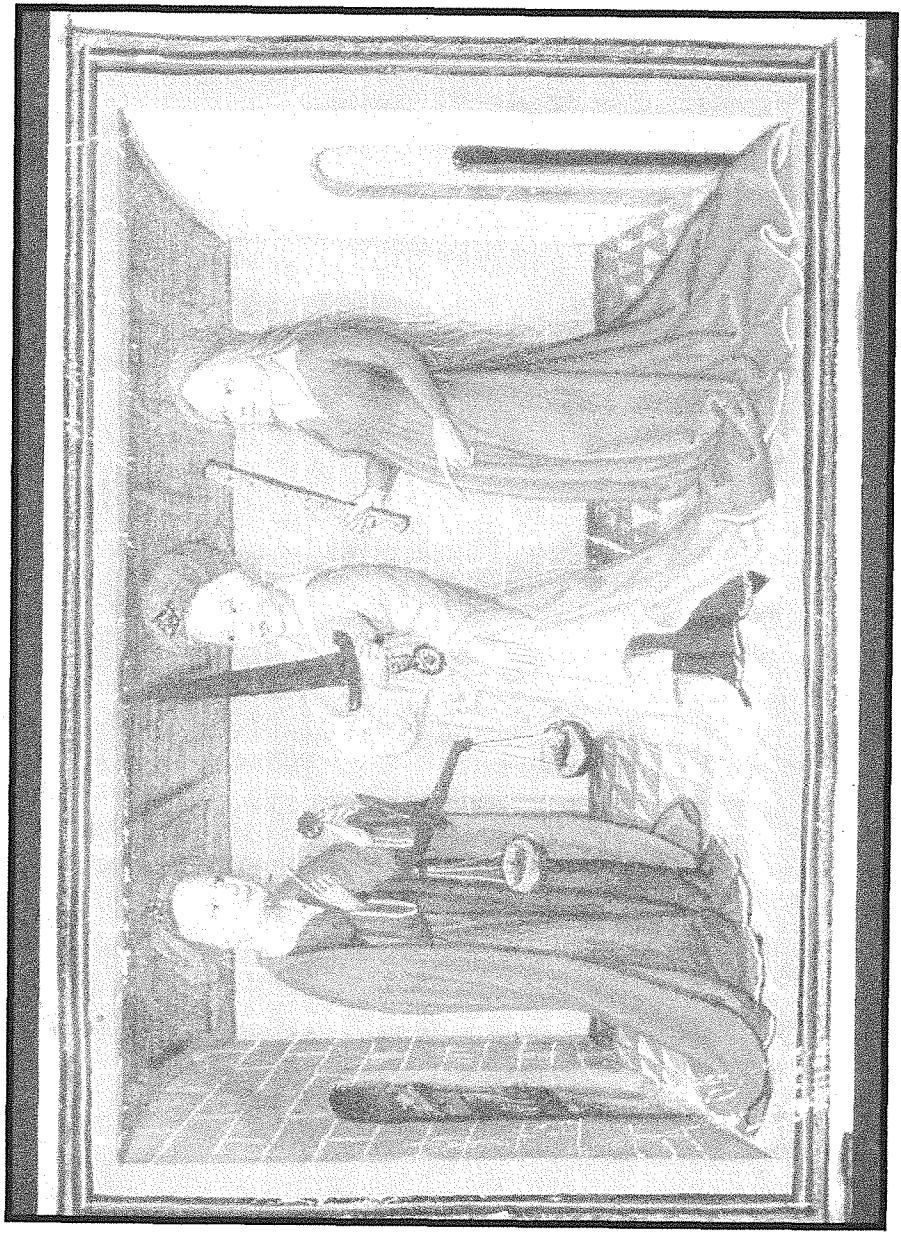
Black and White Figure 48



Black and White Figure 49

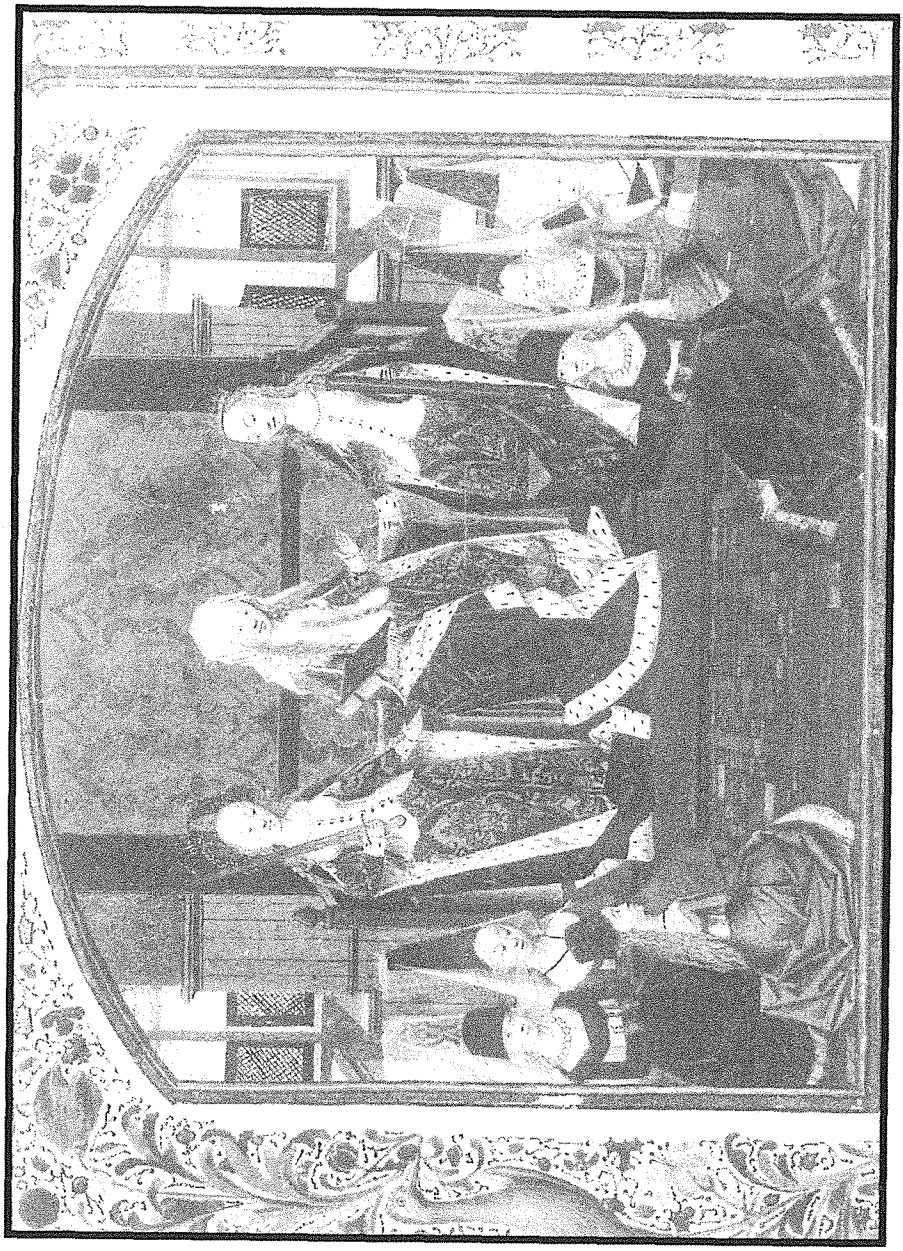


Black and White Figure 50



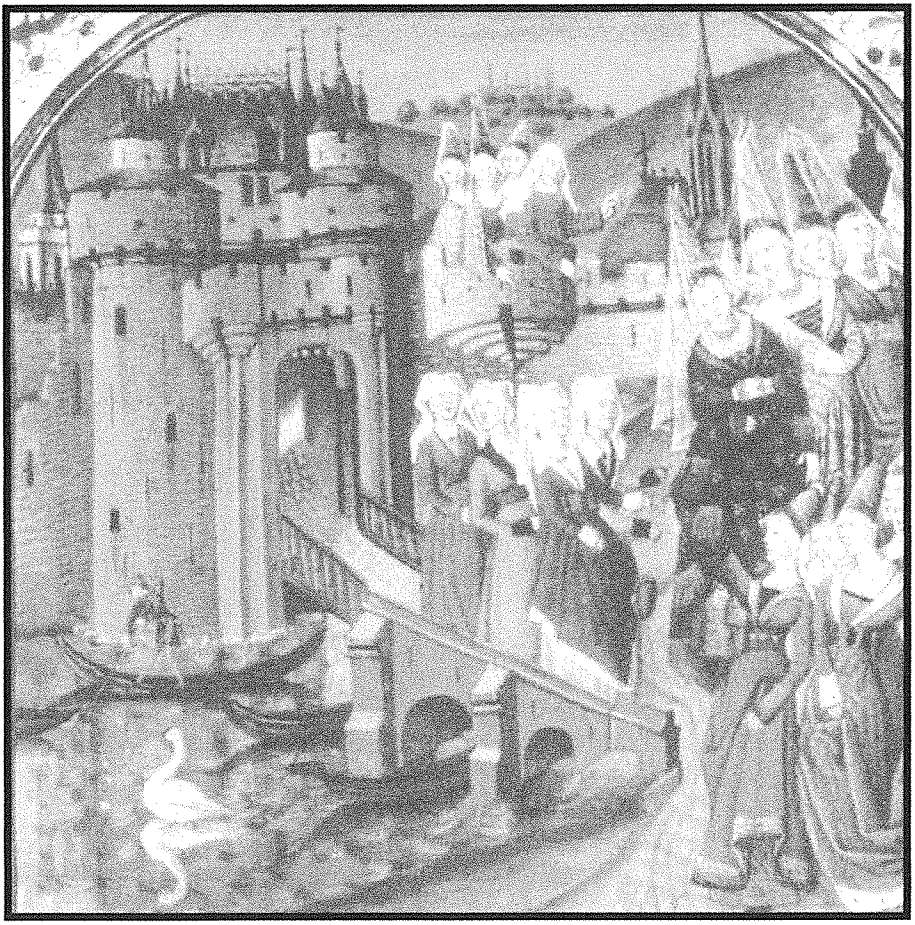
Black and White Figure 51

Black and White Figure 52



Black and White Figure 53

Black and White Figure 54



Black and White Figure 55