

CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

Othea's Letter to Hector



Edited and translated by

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Introduction

The Other Voice

Et audiatur altera pars
And let the other side be heard
Traditional oral proverb in Roman law

No other late medieval woman writer has received the attention that Christine de Pizan has garnered over the last thirty years or so. When we were in graduate school in the late 1970s, no modern English translations of her works existed, and many of her works did not yet exist in critical editions.¹ All this has changed today with numerous new editions and translations of her texts. It would perhaps not be quite accurate today to call Christine de Pizan's voice "The Other Voice," since she has become the subject of countless studies, is taught in a variety of college courses, and, as one of Judy Chicago's dinner party plates, even resides at the Brooklyn Museum of Art. But how "other" was her voice in the Middle Ages? Christine, in fact, had many voices that she brilliantly varied from genre to genre. In her early lyric poetry she spoke as a woman in love but also as a man in love; and she spoke as a bereaved woman who tragically lost her husband and missed him profoundly. It is that voice that many modern readers take to be her most "authentic" one. "Je, Christine," is a formula that appears again and again in her works, but that name, and the persona "Christine," are not always staged in the same way. Christine inhabits and deploys the name "Christine" in many different ways, creating different kinds of authority for herself. By turns, her voice is that of a widow, a historian, a preceptor, a philosopher, or a prophetess.²

One of the key moments in Christine's development as a writer, and—in somewhat anachronistic terms—as a "public intellectual," was her participation

1. Earl Jeffrey Richards's translation of *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) in 1982 (New York: Persea) brought Christine de Pizan into the mainstream of American university curricula. Richards's French edition, with facing Italian translation by Patrizia Caraffi followed in 1997: *Le livre de la cité des dames= La città delle dame* (Milan: Luni). For bibliographical guides up to 2004, see Angus J. Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1984); Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide: Supplement 1* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1994); and Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide: Supplement 2* (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2004).

2. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet brilliantly explored the many ways in which Christine deploys her name in her lecture "Christine de Pizan et le pouvoir du nom," *Le Moyen Français* 75 (2017): 3–17. For the establishment of these different kinds of authoritative voices see Claire Le Ninan, *Le sage roi et la clergesse: L'écriture du politique dans l'œuvre de Christine de Pizan* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013), Part 1.

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in the Debate on the *Romance of the Rose* in 1401–1402.³ David F. Hult has translated the relevant documents of this quarrel for this series, and has shown that by voicing her strong objections to the perceived misogyny and obscenity of the *Romance of the Rose* Christine launched “an active counterassault against an entire intellectual establishment to which women were solely the object of discussion, and which greatly limited their ability to take up the subject position of speech.”⁴ Christine also made herself a speaking subject in her later allegorical works, where her voice was not so different from those of many male writers of her time, such as Guillaume de Deguileville (1295–before 1358) or Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), who invented personas, often bearing their own names, that traveled through allegorical landscapes in order to reveal political and spiritual truths.⁵ Nonetheless, what marks Christine’s voice as “other” is her insistent evocation of women’s historical experiences and her positioning of women as full participants in the political events and the intellectual life of this world.

At the time that Christine composed the *Epistre d’Othea* (Othea’s Letter) in 1399–1400, her vast allegorical compositions still lay ahead of her.⁶ Her voice in that text is literally that of another, since, apart from the Prologue, the person who speaks is an ingenious invention of Christine, Othea, the Goddess of Prudence, representing the “wisdom of women.” The “Christine” persona, by contrast, claims to be “a poor creature / An ignorant woman of low stature, / ... a woman unworthy / Of written learning,”⁷ deploying an almost excessive humility topos. Othea’s voice is didactic and at times ponderous, presenting extracts of mythological tales in the form of an imperative, followed by an explanatory gloss punctuated by a quote from a philosopher, and a spiritual allegory ending with a biblical quotation. The letter is addressed to the Trojan hero Hector when he was fifteen years old. The reinforcement of Christine’s own voice with so many layers of authorities—the voice of Othea, classical myth, sayings of ancient pagan philosophers and the Church Fathers, and quotations from the scriptures—creates a kind of polyphony, joining her own voice with those of a whole chorus

3. For an argument in favor of using this term in a medieval context, see Daniel Hobbins, “The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract,” *American Historical Review* 108 (2003): 1308–1337.

4. Christine de Pizan, *Debate of the Romance of the Rose*, ed. and trans. David F. Hult (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1. See also Kevin Brownlee, “Discourses of the Self: Christine de Pizan and the *Rose*,” *Romanic Review* 79 (1988): 199–221.

5. See Philippe Maupeu, *Pèlerins de vie humaine: Autobiographie et allégorie narrative de Guillaume de Deguileville à Octavien de Saint-Gelais* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009).

6. *Epistre d’Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999).

7. Prologue, vv. 52–53. The French phrase here, “*femme indigne / de sens acquis*,” uses the rare expression “*sens acquis*” for written learning. References here and henceforth are to the translation presented in this volume.

of authorities in order to fashion a figure of female authority capable of advising a prince, her recipient Duke Louis of Orléans (1372–1407). Christine thus creates a genealogy of wise counsel: Just as her father had advised King Charles V, Louis's father, so now Othea/Christine offers her own lessons for a prince in a troubled kingdom. The *Othea* thus marks an important moment in Christine's career and the development of her voice, the moment she herself sees as a point of transition: when in the *Advisio Cristine* (Christine's Vision, 1405) she sums up her prodigious literary production of fifteen major works between the years 1399 and 1405, she says: "Thus I began to forge pretty things, at the beginning of a lighter nature," but then "improving my style by more subtleness and nobler subject matter."⁸

The *Othea* is indeed a "subtle and noble" text that offers us a multi-layered and extremely complicated didactic work with a challenging vocabulary and syntax. This is undoubtedly why a rigorous and accurate modern English translation of the *Othea* is still lacking.⁹ The *Othea* is a crucial text not only for an understanding of Christine's career and the mission she set for herself but also for that of late medieval mythographic and didactic literature, topics we will explore below. Still extant in some fifty manuscripts, the *Othea* was vastly more popular in the Middle Ages than her *Livre de la cité des dames* (Book of the City of Ladies) of 1405, the work that is taught most often in colleges and universities. We hope that with this new translation of the *Othea*, this intriguing text and its challenges will appeal to a new audience of students and scholars.

Life and Works of Christine de Pizan

Christine de Pizan was born in Venice in 1365 and as a small child moved to Paris when her father, Thomas of Pizan, was appointed the court physician and astrologer of King Charles V of France (r. 1364–1380). The family, landed rural nobles, hailed from Pizzano, a small town near Bologna, and Christine therefore always wrote her name as "Pizan," although earlier generations of scholars often referred

8. "Adonc me pris a forgier choses jolies, a mon commencement plus legieres . . . , amendant mon stille en plus grant soubtillité et plus haulte matiere." *Le livre de l'advisio Cristine*, ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001), 111. Translation in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 194.

9. Parussa's excellent critical edition appeared in 1999. The 1990 translation by Jane Chance contains much good information but is inadequate as a translation: *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, ed. and trans. Jane Chance (Newburyport, MA: Focus Information Group, 1990). See also the 2008 modern French translation and adaptation by Hélène Basso: *Lettre d'Othéa, déesse de prudence, à un jeune chevalier, Hector*, preface by Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008).

to her as “de Pisan,” believing her family to be from Pisa.¹⁰ In 1379 Christine married Etienne de Castel, a notary and secretary at Charles V’s court. By all accounts her marriage was a happy one, and within a few years the young couple had three children, of whom two, a son and a daughter, survived into adulthood. Life for the de Pisan family was prosperous as long as Charles V was alive, but after his death in 1380 their fortunes changed, for Charles VI was less generous and in 1392 fell into a state of madness that destabilized the kingdom. Thomas de Pisan died some time between 1384 and 1389, leaving no inheritance to speak of. Then, in 1389, Etienne de Castel perished in an epidemic and left the young mother of three to fend for herself. Christine, confronted by numerous debts she had been unaware of, now had to provide for her children, her mother, and a niece. Unlike most widowed women who remarried or entered religious institutions, Christine decided to become a professional writer. She probably began her career as a scribe, but soon managed to acquire patrons for her works. How unusual and daring this step was becomes clear when we think of male writers of this time period. Her contemporaries, prolific writers such as Eustache Deschamps (ca. 1340–1406/07), Honorat Bovet (1340/45–1410), or Philippe de Mézières lived from court or ecclesiastical appointments; they wrote many influential works but they did not earn their living from their writing. That Christine succeeded in her enterprise and managed to live from her literary activities, and also to become an important political voice in her troubled period, is a testament to her intellectual vigor and moral force.

Christine’s earliest works were a collection of one hundred ballads, love poetry desired by her patrons, as she herself stated. Several poems dealt with widowhood, a new topic for lyric poetry,¹¹ and it is these verses that have often been considered to be her most autobiographical. In her *Epistre au dieu d’amours* (The God of Love’s Letter, 1399) she began to think about the status of women and how they were maligned and subjugated in medieval society.¹² The years 1399–1400, when she composed the *Othea*, signaled the beginning of an extremely fertile period, which saw the creation of her long allegorical works, both in prose and verse, as well as several devotional texts. In her *Advison*, as we saw above, she describes how she composed fifteen major works in the span of five years. These include the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (The Book of the Path of Long Learning, 1402),¹³ where, inspired by the late antique philosopher Boethius and by the

10. And this in spite of such excellent early biographies as that of Philipp August Becker: “Christine de Pizan,” *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931): 129–64.

11. See Kevin Brownlee, “Widowhood, Sexuality, and Gender in Christine de Pizan,” *Romanic Review* 86 (1995): 339–53.

12. Translated by Kevin Brownlee in Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, *Selected Writings*, 15–29.

13. *Le chemin de longue étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski, with modern French translation (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2000).

great Italian poet Dante, a figure named Christine, guided by the Sibyl of Cumae, embarks on a voyage around the known world and toward the heavens; there, a tribunal of allegorical ladies tries to determine who would be the best ruler for the troubled world. Next, Christine composed the very long *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* (The Book of Fortune's Transformation, 1403),¹⁴ a universal history that features, in its first part, a veiled autobiography where she describes how, after her husband's death, she was transformed into a man. In both of these allegories political troubles throughout history play a major role. The troubles of her own times—the Hundred Years' War, the Great Schism of the Western Church, and the incipient civil war between different factions of powerful French dukes—begin to shape her writings more frequently.¹⁵ During the Great Schism, a division of the Catholic Church that lasted from 1378 until its resolution at the Council of Constance in 1417, two, and at one point three, popes struggled for power and divided Europe in the process. This crisis of spiritual and political authority caused widespread anxiety, an emotion that found its expression in many poetic and prophetic writings, including those of Christine.¹⁶ The Great Schism surfaces in several of Christine's works, beginning with the *Chemin de long estude* and the *Mutacion de Fortune*, where she indicts the Church leaders as wolves that devour their flocks. In her biography of the late King Charles V (1404), commissioned by his brother, Duke Philip of Burgundy, Christine devotes ten chapters to the Schism and demonstrates that she is familiar with the political wrangling that led to France's adherence to the Avignon faction of the papacy. Here she accuses the devil of having planted "this painful schism and poisonous, contagious plant into the bosom of Holy Church."¹⁷ In the 1405 *Advision* (which also contains a detailed autobiographical section in Part 3), Christine devotes many chapters to contemporary politics, especially the Schism, the war against the English, and the

14. *Le livre de la mutacion de Fortune*, ed. Suzanne Solente, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959–1966). The new translation of the abridged text that was published in 2017 (Toronto: Iter Press; Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies) is entitled *The Book of the Mutability of Fortune*, ed. and trans. Geri L. Smith.

15. See Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Christine de Pizan and the Political Life in Late Medieval France," in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 9–24; Le Ninan, *Le sage roi et la clergesse*; and Tracy Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

16. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), chap. 5.

17. *Livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du sage roi Charles V*, trans. Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Paris: Pocket, 2013), Part 3, chap. 61. Blanchard and Quereuil translate the work previously edited by Suzanne Solente: *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1936–1940; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1977).

internal French conflicts, whose culmination as a full-blown civil war was still in the future at the time she composed the *Othea*.

Several specific political events may have inspired Christine to undertake the composition of a major didactic work for a prince in 1399: the defeat of a European alliance, led by Jean de Nevers, the son of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Bold, in the fateful battle of Nicopolis (in today's Bulgaria) against the Ottoman Turks in 1396; the French withdrawal of obedience from the Avignon pope Benedict XIII in July 1398; and the deposition of the English King Richard II and his subsequent death in 1399.

In 1393 ambassadors from Hungary had arrived in Paris to ask for help against the Turks' advance in the Balkans. Although Charles VI promised them aid, in the end only the Duke of Burgundy committed himself—or rather his son—to the military campaign to assist King Sigismund of Hungary. The complete defeat of the European forces, countless deaths, and the imprisonment of scores of knights led to soul searching among the survivors and to laments and reproaches by those who had counseled against the expedition. Philippe de Mézières, with whom Christine was acquainted, offered a searing indictment of the French forces in his *Epistre lamentable and consolatoire* (A woeful and consoling letter) addressed to the Duke of Burgundy in 1397.¹⁸ He believed that only a complete moral and spiritual reform of French chivalry could save it from extinction. The *Othea*, with its moral glosses and spiritual allegories addressed to “the good knight” and “the good spirit,” could be seen as a response to Philippe's exhortations.

In the year before Christine began to compose the *Othea*, one of the major crises caused by the Great Schism erupted in Paris. When Clement VII, the pope supported by the French, died in 1394, the French king insisted that peace should be made in the Church and that no new pope should be elected for the Avignon faction until negotiations with the Roman pope, Boniface IX, could lead to his abdication and an election of a new pope. However, through various machinations, the Spanish cardinal Pedro de Luna had himself quickly elected as Benedict XIII, and all hopes for a resolution of the Schism were dashed. Louis of Orléans, the dedicatee of the *Othea*, was much involved in the negotiations to get Benedict XIII to step down. After a few years the stalemate between the French monarchy and the tenacious pope came to a head, when several ambassadors departed for Avignon in order to persuade the pope once more to abdicate. These ambassadors were two uncles of Charles VI, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and the king's brother, the much younger duke Louis of Orléans. Despite being confronted by such an illustrious group, Benedict XIII remained deaf to the French entreaties.

18. Philippe de Mézières, *Une épître lamentable et consolatoire adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis, 1396*, ed. Philippe Contamine and Jacques Paviot (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 2008).

The pope's stubborn refusal led the French to withdraw obedience from Benedict XIII through an elaborate edict published on July 27, 1398.¹⁹ This withdrawal, which had serious financial and political repercussions for the Avignon papacy, was a huge event in Paris and, given Christine's close relations with the court, she surely must have known that Louis of Orléans was one of the frustrated ambassadors. The advice that Othea gives to Hector in the areas of diplomacy would have come in handy in the critical years before 1399.

The Hundred Years' War began in 1337 because the English King Edward III, as a grandson of the French King Philippe le Bel, wanted to claim the French throne.²⁰ The English still possessed a fief on the continent, the duchy of Guienne in southwestern France, and when Philippe occupied that area, the conflict that was to last until 1453 began. The French lost a number of major battles, notably at Crécy in 1346 and at Poitiers in 1356, when King Jean le Bon was taken prisoner and was liberated only through payment of a huge ransom. In 1360 the French surrendered the large region of Aquitaine to the English in the Treaty of Brétigny. When Christine and her family arrived in France, hostilities were at a low ebb. Indeed, almost the entire period between 1364, when Charles V, Jean le Bon's son, assumed the throne, and 1399, had been relatively peaceful. The Truce of Leulinghem, concluded between the French and the English in 1389, was still holding. But 1399 brought a series of calamitous events: King Richard II, who in 1396 had married Charles VI's seven-year-old daughter Isabelle,²¹ was brutally deposed by the Lancastrians, and Henry IV took his place. Richard died under mysterious circumstances a few months after his deposition. Henry IV, for his part, was determined to resume the war with France.

This particular crisis touched Christine personally, as her son was in England at the time. In 1398 the Earl of Salisbury had met Christine on one of his

19. For details see Howard Kaminsky, "The Politics of France's Subtraction of Obedience from Pope Benedict XIII, 27 July 1398," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115, no. 5 (1971): 366–97. The withdrawal of obedience came to an end in 1403, but not before Benedict was imprisoned in his palace in Avignon. Louis tried to act as a mediator, and at that time the conflict with the House of Burgundy grew until it reached the tragic outcome of Louis's assassination on the order of the Duke of Burgundy in 1407. For details on the events of this period see Noël Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. 3 (Paris: Picard, 1901), chap. 3.

20. There are hundreds of studies of this conflict. See, for example, Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

21. Such a marriage would not be consummated until the bride was at least twelve years old. Philippe de Mézières was a strong advocate of this marriage, which he hoped would bring lasting peace to France and England. See his *Epistre au roi Richart II*, in *Letter to King Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975).

embassies to Paris in connection with the marriage of Richard II and Isabelle.²² He had taken Christine's son Jean with him as a companion to one of his own sons. About a year later, the Earl of Salisbury was executed by the citizens of Chichester for leading an uprising in support of the deposed Richard II, and King Henry IV took charge of Christine's son. Christine despaired of seeing him again but managed to negotiate his return, a strategy which cost her several manuscripts, as she put it in the *Advison*.²³ One of these works was the *Epistre au dieu d'amours* (adapted in 1402 by Thomas Hoccleve as *Cupid's Letter*); another one was the version of the *Othea* that features a dedication to "a king" and which was translated into English by Stephen Scrope around 1440. James L. Laidlaw argues persuasively that this king was Henry IV, whom, in the *Advison* (in 1405, once her son was safely back in France!) she labels a usurper, but to whom she gives some praise in the dedication—or, as Laidlaw puts it, "she used a minimum of fulsome phrases, just enough to secure Henry IV's good will."²⁴ Christine's plan succeeded, and her son returned to France in 1402. Thus the *Othea* had a critical function in Christine's own life and in that of her son. But its wider function was to provide expert chivalric, moral, and spiritual leadership to a country confronted by multiple crises.

Thus, in the years after 1398 Christine's engagement with public life progressed on several fronts. Just when she had finished the *Othea* she became a player in the acerbic intellectual debate on the *Romance of the Rose*. Composed by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun between 1228 and 1270, this text was one of the most popular of the Middle Ages, featuring an allegorical quest for the love of a rosebud. It was the second part by Jean de Meun that gave rise to the debate between, on one side, Jean de Montreuil (1354–1418), provost of the city of Lille, and the brothers Pierre and Gontier Col, and, on the other, Christine and Jean Gerson (1363–1429), the powerful chancellor of the University of Paris. At stake was the morality of the work, since Jean de Meun had created a number of fictional characters, such as the Jealous Husband or the Old Woman, into whose mouths he put discourses that could be interpreted as immoral and misogynistic.

22. For details of these events see James L. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury, and Henry IV," *French Studies* 36, no. 2 (1982): 129–43.

23. This is how Christine speaks of her anguish about her son's situation and her strategy to get him back in the *Advison Cristine*: "Le roy Henri, qui ecores est, qui s'atribua la couronne, vid desditz livres et dictiez que j'avoie ja plusieurs envoiez comme desireuse de lui faire plaisir, audit conte." The king invites Christine to come to England but she is not "tempted" to go, and instead sends some of her books: "Et a brief parler, tant fis a grant peine et par le moien de mes livres que congié ot mon dit filz de me venir querir par de ça pour mener la, qui encore n'y vois" (112–13). This return is also the subject of *Autres Balades XXII*, in *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, ed. Maurice Roy, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886–1896; reprint, New York: Johnson, 1965), 1:232–33.

24. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan," 140. This version exists in the British Library manuscript Harley 219, a mid-fifteenth-century copy of the original Christine sent to Henry IV.

At one point during the debate Christine collected a selection of the letters that had flown back and forth between the debate participants in a dossier that she presented to Charles VI's wife, Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, an act that made her known and also promoted the anti-misogyny stance that came to full fruition in her *Book of the City of Ladies*.²⁵ Here, in a by now famous pro-woman move, Christine assembled hundreds of women from the past and from her own age to show how much they had contributed to the achievements of civilization and to the spread of the Christian faith. Inspired by Boccaccio's *Concerning Famous Women*, a book she could read in the original Latin as well as in the translations by Laurent de Premierfait,²⁶ Christine did not hesitate to reinterpret existing stories and chronicles in order to highlight women's intellectual and political power. Boccaccio had not dealt with Christian women, so Christine turned to the thirteenth-century chronicler Vincent of Beauvais and combed his vast histories of the early Church to find examples of saintly women who, through their piety and constancy, would support the arguments she used in her fight against misogyny.²⁷ Right after the *City of Ladies*, Christine composed a kind of continuation to it, a didactic treatise addressed to all classes of women, *Le livre des trois vertus* (The Book of the Three Virtues).²⁸ During this time Christine also became a publisher of her own works by copying and assembling her works into beautiful volumes for specific patrons, such as Louis of Orléans, Duke Jean of Berry, and the queen, whose splendid manuscript found its way to England late in the Hundred Years' War and is now known as British Library Harley 4431.²⁹

Christine's literary activity became more and more overtly political as the crises in France deepened. In 1407 she composed another didactic work, the *Livre du corps de policie* (The Book of the Body Politic),³⁰ addressed to the French dauphin Louis of Guienne (d. 1415), which drew on ancient history for exemplary tales, but did not return to the abundant use of classical mythology of the

25. See Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading Beyond Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), for Christine's defense of women across most of her oeuvre.

26. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). Christine also used Boccaccio's *Decameron*, not yet translated into French in 1399; Laurent de Premierfait's translations, both done for Jean de Berry, date from 1401 to 1409.

27. See Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "'Femme de corps et femme par sens': Christine de Pizan's Saintly Women," *Romanic Review* 87 (1996): 157–75.

28. *Le livre des trois vertus*, ed. Eric Hicks, introduction and notes by Charity Cannon Willard (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1989).

29. On this manuscript, see *Christine de Pizan: The Making of the Queen's Manuscript*, <<http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk>>. See also Gilbert Ouy, Christine Reno, and Inès Villela-Petit, *Album Christine de Pizan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 316–43.

30. *Le livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Champion, 1998).