

Second Edition

**POLITICAL
THEORY**

**Classic and
Contemporary Readings**

VOLUME I

Thucydides to Machiavelli

Joseph Losco

Ball State University

Leonard Williams

Manchester College



Roxbury Publishing Company

Los Angeles, California

2003

Chapter 21: On Thomistic Natural Law: The Bad Man's View of Thomistic Natural Right	267
<i>Edward A. Goerner</i>	
Goerner argues that Aquinas is a classic "natural right" theorist who emphasizes virtue as the route to right action and happiness, even though he is usually characterized as a "natural law" philosopher.	
<i>Christine de Pizan</i>	280
*Chapter 22: Excerpts from <i>The Book of the City of Ladies</i>	283
<i>Christine de Pizan</i>	
*Chapter 23: Excerpts from <i>The Book of the Body Politic</i>	293
<i>Christine de Pizan</i>	
*Chapter 24: 'Now a New Kingdom of Femininity Is Begun . . .': The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan's <i>The Book of the City of Ladies</i>	303
<i>Edward M. Wheat</i>	
Wheat recaps the argument of <i>The Book of the City of Ladies</i> in order to support his view that de Pizan's work marks the origin of feminist discourse.	
*Chapter 25: Polycracy, Obligation, and Revolt: The Body Politic in John of Salisbury and Christine de Pizan	317
<i>Kate Langdon Forhan</i>	
Forhan presents a detailed examination of the ways in which both John of Salisbury and Christine de Pizan used the metaphor of the body politic.	

Part III: Enter Modernity

<i>Introduction</i>	329
<i>Niccolò Machiavelli</i>	331
Chapter 26: Excerpts from <i>The Prince</i>	334
<i>Niccolò Machiavelli</i>	
Chapter 27: Excerpts from the <i>Discourses</i>	341
<i>Niccolò Machiavelli</i>	
*Chapter 28: Introduction to <i>The Prince</i>	349
<i>Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.</i>	
Mansfield summarizes the argument of <i>The Prince</i> in order to show that Machiavelli deserves his bad reputation because he separated the conduct of politics from justice and morality.	

‘Now a New Kingdom of Femininity Is Begun . . .’

The Political Theory of
Christine de Pizan’s *The Book of
the City of Ladies*

Edward M. Wheat

Introduction

Christine de Pizan’s *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) is the first substantial work of political theory by a woman, preceding Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) by almost 400 years. This bold fifteenth century book presents a detailed examination of the treatment of women by previous authors—literary and philosophical, secular and sacred—and their treatment by men in daily life. In doing so Christine discusses many themes that exercise feminists today. But it is not just the feminist themes that make the book interesting and significant. The work is also a studied attempt at political theory in a more general sense, one very much in the tradition of Western political philosophy. In *The Book of the City of Ladies*, Christine offers her readers a political utopia, a “city in words,” to illuminate the problems of the political realm and serve as a guide to political thought and practice.

Though the book is clearly an important political theoretical work, assessing the precise relationship of Christine de Pizan and *The Book of the City of Ladies* to the tradition

of Western political theory is somewhat problematic. Christine was well known in her time as an important writer, a spokesperson on the status of women, and an astute commentator on politics and society. She was born c. 1364 in Venice. Thomas, her Italian father, was a physician and was appointed a councillor and scientific adviser at the court of Charles V of France. Her father supported her early education, and through additional rigorous self-study she eventually attained an education at least as good as the education typically available to males of her social status. She was married at fifteen to Etienne Castel of Picardy, one of the Royal Secretaries (notaries) at the court of Charles VI. Through her father and husband Christine thus had an insider’s view of court politics. (There is some evidence that she herself worked as a court scribe.) She bore three children, was widowed at 25, and did not remarry. Following her husband’s untimely death, Christine supported herself, her children, her mother, her two brothers, and her niece with her writing (Anderson and Zinsser 1988, 79–80; Willard 1984, 35–39, 44–47; Wisman 1984, xiv). She was quite probably the only woman of her time to make her living as a writer.

Over her forty-year writing career, Christine wrote lyric and epic poetry, essays, biography, autobiography, literary criticism, a textbook on military strategy, and a variety of historical and political works (Yenal 1982). Most of her works were originally written on commission, and they were very well received and widely appreciated. Several of her major works were translated into English. The fact that she wrote before the invention of printing in Europe limited the potential circulation of her works. When she was 54, she retired to a convent at Poissy and completed one final work, appropriately enough a long poem celebrating Joan of Arc. She died c. 1431.

Several of Christine’s works were printed in French and English translations after her death, including a printed English edition of *The Book of the City of Ladies* in 1521, but by the late sixteenth century her works were out of print and rapidly became inaccessible and unknown except to medievalists, specialists

in French literature, and collectors of rare manuscripts. In 1982 *The Book of the City of Ladies* was finally rendered into modern English, and Christine began to receive some recognition as a political thinker (see the articles in Brabant 1992), though her relationship to the history of Western political theory is still unclear. Is she a feminist? Is she a medieval thinker? A modern thinker? Is she merely a polemicist?

Chronologically, Christine stands between Marsilius of Padua and Machiavelli. Though *The Book of the City of Ladies* was published over a century and a quarter before Machiavelli's *The Prince* and is often classified as a late medieval work (Cohen & Fermon 1996), the following analysis, which includes comparison with some of the characteristics and ideas of *The Prince*, will suggest that Christine's book is better understood as an important work of modern political thought. Her emphasis on reason, her self-conscious individualism, her critique of religious and philosophical authorities, her egalitarian feminist argument, and her treatment of the centrality of power in political life clearly mark her as a modern.

The Book of the City of Ladies

In Part One of *The Book of the City of Ladies* (hereinafter *BCL*), Christine introduces herself and tells why and for what purpose she wrote the book. In the initial scene, three "crowned ladies" appear to her in her study and announce that they have come to bring her out of ignorance and to help her "establish and build the City of Ladies" (Pizan 1982, 11). Authorial dialogue with allegorical figures was a popular medieval literary device, and in *BCL* Christine converses with the traditional allegorical figures Reason and Justice, and significantly, with her own literary creation, Droiture, or Rectitude (right thinking, right doing) (Warner 1982, xv). The remainder of Part One is a dialogue between Christine and Lady Reason on several questions concerning women's status in philosophy, literature, society, and politics. In Part Two, the longest of the parts, Lady Rectitude continues the dialogue with Christine, and their interchange shifts to ques-

tions of everyday man-woman relationships, the marriage bond, the education of women, women's virtue, and great services rendered to various past societies and peoples by women. Lady Justice takes over the dialogue in the much shorter Part Three, and lectures Christine on the lives and contributions of several Christian saints and martyrs.

'Come Back to Yourself . . .'

Part One of *BCL* begins: "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 studied for a long time." Several points can be made about this initial sentence. Assuming the reader is aware that the author is a woman, the startling information is conveyed that she has a mind, and not only that, she has a room of her own, in fact a study filled with books, in which she devotes herself, and has devoted herself for a long time, to the solitary study of "weighty opinions." Thus at the very beginning of the book appear two of its main themes, the natural intellectual abilities of women and the central importance of life-long study and education, especially women's education. These are points that Christine insists on, and they are argued throughout the book.

Christine then relates how the book came to be written. She says that she was in her study perusing a book by Matheolus and she began wondering "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" (Pizan 1982, 3–4). Vexed by this question she "thinks deeply" about it and begins "to examine [her] character and conduct as a natural woman" (Pizan 1982, 4). Based on her understanding of her own character and on many previous conversations that she had with "princesses, great ladies, women of the middle and lower classes," she realizes that the slanders of these learned men could not possibly be true. She notes that she had al-

ways dismissed her doubts as the product of the "simplicity and ignorance" of her intellect:

And so I relied more on the judgement 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 this topic. . . . As I was thinking this, a great unhappiness and sadness welled up in my heart for I detested myself and the entire feminine sex, as though we were monstrosities in nature. (Pizan 1982, 4-5)

Gerda Lerner comments: "Here, for the first time in the written record, we have a woman defining the tension every thinking woman has experienced—between male authority denying her equality as a person and her own experience" (1993, 258-259).

Like Socrates—as portrayed by Plato in the *Apology*—Christine is confused about fundamental questions and has sought answers from the traditional authorities. She intuitively knows that these answers are wrong, but she lacks the wisdom, she thinks, to confute them. She is kept in a "stupor," or to borrow a term from Mary Daly, she is "spooked," by their reputations for wisdom (1978, 321-337). Sitting in her study "occupied with these painful thoughts" she is startled by a ray of light that falls on her lap "as though it were the sun" (Pizan 1982, 6). It startles her because she was "sitting in a shadow where the sun could not have shone at that hour" (1982, 6). Looking up, she spies the three crowned ladies—Reason, Rectitude, and Justice—and the dialogue begins. Reason tells Christine,

we have come to bring you out of the ignorance which so blinds your own intellect that you shun what you know for a certainty and believe what you do not know or see or recognize except by virtue of many strange opinions. . . . It also seems that you think that all the words of the philosophers are articles of faith, that they could never be wrong. . . . Come back to yourself, recover your senses, and do not trouble yourself anymore over such absurdities. (Pizan 1982, 6, 7, 8)

In this same passage Reason gives four examples of the philosophers whose words about "the question of the highest form of reality" should not necessarily be taken as articles of faith, but should be subject to critical examination: Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, and the Doctors of the Church (Pizan 1982, 6-7). In the place of their exalted opinions, Reason suggests, Christine should seek "clear self-knowledge" (Pizan 1982, 9).

As these passages demonstrate, *BCL* is Socratic in form. It is a dramatic dialogue; it engages and questions all sources of traditional authority; the ideas of all classes are given credence, including those of "the middle and lower classes"; as the dialogue proceeds there is progressive clarification and enlightenment; there is continual use of Platonic imagery; Christine receives wisdom from an oracle, in her case three oracles, and the oracular answer is the same as that of the Oracle at Delphi—Know (and trust) Thyself. And, most importantly, like the *Republic*, the purpose of *BCL* is the building of an ideal polis, a "city in words." Lady Reason commands Christine, "Get up daughter! Without waiting any longer, let us go to the Field of Letters. There the City of Ladies will be founded. . ." (Pizan 1982, 16). It will be a city "extremely beautiful, without equal, and of perpetual duration in the world" (Pizan 1982, 11). In a passage reminiscent of Socrates likening himself to a midwife of ideas in the *Apology*, Christine declares that despite her ignorance she is a "handmaiden," ready to help the three Ladies "build and construct in the world from now on a new city" (Pizan 1982, 15).

Reason tells Christine at one point that she and the other Ladies do not often appear to humans, but that they have come to her because of her "great love of investigating the truth through long and continual study . . . solitary and separated from the world." They will reward her for her diligence by helping her to construct a City on the Field of Letters for "all valiant women" who have until now lacked the weapons necessary to win "a war in which women have had no defense" (Pizan 1982, 10). What women need, in other words, is what Christine already has, discipline, learning, and a study of one's

own. *BCL* will reveal this to all women, and the book itself, when completed, will be a weapon for their use.

As the dialogue of Part One proceeds, Christine questions Reason about women's intellectual abilities. Reason responds that "although there are ignorant women, there are many women who have better minds and a more active sense of prudence and judgment than most men" (Pizan 1982, 35). "They have minds skilled in conceptualizing and learning, just like men . . ." and "they have minds that are freer and sharper [than those of men] whenever they apply themselves" (Pizan 1982, 63). Christine insists throughout her book on the necessity of education for all women and their ability to take advantage of it. The final paragraph of *BCL* begins with a command by Christine, "In brief, all women—whether noble, bourgeois, or lower-class—be well-informed in all things. . . ." (Pizan 1982, 256).

Another of the central teachings of *BCL* is that virginity, chastity, celibacy (both in and out of marriage), and principled widowhood are often necessary to secure women's autonomy, freedom, and power. If you have a choice, don't marry; if you marry, be as celibate as possible; if you are widowed, don't remarry. Throughout the stories of the great legendary and historical women in her book, Christine has recourse to certain phrases that she repeats again and again. "She had such a great and lofty heart that not for a day in her life did she deign to couple with a man, but remained a virgin her entire lifetime." "This lady was so high-minded that she never condescended to couple with a man, remaining a virgin her whole life." "With her considerable force of mind, this lady remained a virgin her entire life." "She was so high-minded that she did not deign to take a husband or to couple with a man." "This lady was quite chaste during her marriage as well as during her widowhood . . ." (Pizan 1982, 33, 42, 48, 61, 74, 157). And so on. Christine sets a demanding ascetic standard for her ladies. A rigorously disciplined mind is the key to feminine power and autonomy, and chastity, or control of one's sexuality, is conducive to maintaining one's high-mindedness. Women must not "set themselves adrift in

the dangerous and damnable sea of foolish love" (Pizan 1982, 202).

Christine, Lady Reason, and Lady Rectitude discuss the exemplary lives of some historical ladies who performed well in public roles that are normally thought to be the preserve of males—politics, statesmanship, war, science, and philosophy—as well as the lives of women from myth and Homeric legend. In presenting these *exempla*, Christine translates and adapts freely from other authors, a common literary practice of the time (Forhan 1994, xviii; Lewis 1964, 5, 11–12). In this case, she relies heavily on Boccaccio's *de claris mulieribus*. Barbara Hooper argues that in presenting these exemplary female lives Christine "reconstructs the idea of woman, countering male discourse with what may be the first feminist theory, the first feminist 'plan'. . . ." (1992, 46–47; see also Kelly 1984).

As already discussed, a principal teaching of Part One of *BCL* is the appropriateness of intellectual work and the scholarly life for women. In terms of politics, statesmanship, and war, Reason cautions Christine against those who say "that women do not have a natural sense for politics and government," and promises to give her "examples of several great women rulers who have lived in past times" (Pizan 1982, 32). In this regard she instructs Christine at some length on the history of the Amazons, whose kingdom "founded and powerfully upheld, lasted more than eight hundred years" (Pizan 1982, 51). "In large battalions constituted solely of ladies and maidens, they advanced on their enemies and laid waste to their lands with fire and the sword, and no one could resist them. . . . They so delighted in the vocation of arms that through force they greatly increased their country and their dominion, and their high fame spread everywhere" (Pizan 1982, 41). Lady Reason tells Christine the stories of several Amazon queens and princesses, but notes that there were so many of these valiant stateswomen, Amazons and otherwise, who met and outperformed men at their own game that "to name all of them one by one could bore readers" (Pizan 1982, 42).

In response to Christine's query "whether there was ever a woman who discovered hitherto unknown knowledge," Reason tells Christine that after Carmentis had to leave Arcadia, her home, because of a regime change, she sailed to the river Tiber, disembarked, and built a fortress on the Palentine that became the foundation of Rome. "After discovering that the men of that country were all savages, she wrote certain laws, enjoining them to live in accord with right and reason, following justice. She was the first to institute laws in that country which subsequently became so renowned and from which all the statutes of law derive" (Pizan 1982, 71). Later she invented and "established the Latin alphabet and syntax, spelling, the difference between vowels and consonants, as well as a complete introduction to the science of grammar." Of Carmentis' accomplishment Reason remarks that "one can say that nothing more worthy in the world was ever invented" (Pizan 1982, 72), since "thanks to her, men have been brought out of ignorance and led to knowledge" (Pizan 1982, 78).

Reason also tells Christine the stories of many women, such as Sappho, who excelled in learning, poetry, and philosophy. Of the Roman woman Proba, Reason remarks that she "had such a noble mind and so loved and devoted herself to study that she mastered all seven liberal arts and was an excellent poet and delved so deeply into the books of the poets, particularly Virgil's poems, that she knew them all by heart" (Pizan 1982, 65). After years of study Proba went on to create her own great works, combining stories from the Scriptures with matter from the great poetry of the classical tradition, of which no less an authority than Boccaccio remarked that it was not just admirable that "such a noble idea would come into a woman's brain, but it is even more marvelous that she could actually execute it" (Pizan 1982, 65-66).

In other stories Reason attributes to women the invention of cultivation, the art of making armor from iron and steel, the fashioning of flutes, fifes, and other wind instruments, the construction of gardens and planting, the science of dying wool, the sci-

ence of the extraction of silk from silkworms, and "the building of cities and towns of permanent construction" (Pizan 1982, 76). Of this last feat, attributed to Queen Ceres, Reason remarks that "she transformed the minds of vagabond and lazy men by . . . leading them from the caverns of ignorance to the heights of contemplation and proper behavior" (Pizan 1982, 78), thus attributing the creation of civilization itself to a woman. Christine expresses her deep gratitude to Reason for enlightening her on these matters, because "the typical opinions and comments of men claim that women have been and are useful in the world only for bearing children and sewing" (Pizan 1982, 77). The burden of Part One has been to challenge such "typical opinions."

'Now a New Kingdom of Femininity Is Begun . . .'

In Part Two of *BCL* the discussion turns more to the everyday personal interaction of men and women in courtship, marriage, childbearing, and so on. And here the dialogue takes on a harder edge; from this point on in Part Two the dialogue shifts away from praise of exemplary women to direct attack on men for their attitudes to women and their baiting of women. Husbands, sons, the Emperors of Rome, Popes and Churchmen, the behavior of all men, regardless of station, is subjected to scrutiny and condemnation. After a preliminary discussion in the first six sections of some other great women in history, Christine asks Lady Rectitude in the seventh section to help her understand a "practice with widespread currency among men—and even among some women—"

that when women are pregnant and then give birth to daughters, their husbands are upset and grumble because their wives did not give birth to sons. . . . Why does it happen, my lady, that they grieve so? Are daughters a greater liability to their parents than sons, or less loving and more indifferent toward their parents than sons are? (Pizan 1982, 110)

Rectitude answers that simplemindedness and ignorance account for much of this misperception, but that it is also a result of

the belief of fathers that daughters are a financial liability and are likely to be deceived when they are young and naive, which would bring discredit on the family. Rectitude tells the stories of many women who exhibited much more filial piety than sons, and she also disposes of the economic argument, pointing out that if one looks closely, over a lifetime sons often cost their parents much more than daughters. "And if you consider the anger and worry which many sons cause their parents—for they often get involved in harsh and bitter riots and brawls or pursue a dissolute life, all to the grief and expense of their parents—I think that this anguish can easily exceed the worries which they have because of their daughters" (Pizan 1982, 111). She adds to this the suggestion that "if you are very attentive, you will find more sons than daughters who are . . . corrupt" (Pizan 1982, 112).

Shortly after this discussion, Rectitude announces in section twelve, very close to the center of *BCL*, that they have completed the foundation, houses, palaces and defensive turrets of the city and that

It is therefore right that we start to people this noble City now, so that it does not remain vacant or empty, but instead is wholly populated with ladies of great excellence, for we do not want any others here. How happy will be the citizens of our edifice, for they will not need to fear or worry about being evicted by foreign armies, for this work has the special property that its owners cannot be expelled. Now a New Kingdom of Femininity is begun, and it is far better than the earlier kingdom of the Amazons, for the ladies residing here will not need to leave their land in order to conceive or give birth to new heirs to maintain their possessions throughout the different ages, from one generation to another, for those whom we now place here will suffice quite adequately forever more. (Pizan 1982, 116–117)

Like Queen Ceres, Christine is building a city, but The City of Ladies is a kallipolis, a city in words like Plato's *Republic*, and though it may never be actualized on earth it will be perennially available to those who wish to guide their individual lives by its pre-

cepts and laws. Though a city in words, it is "in the world" as a book, and this is very important; as Reason has stated earlier: "natural sense can only last as long as the lifetime of the person who has it, and when he dies, his sense dies with him. Acquired learning on the other hand, lasts forever . . . and it is useful for many people insofar as it can be taught to others and recorded in books for the sake of future generations" (Pizan 1982, 88). The book is a weapon, a source of intellectual countervailing power, for those who wish to counterattack in the "war in which women have had no defense" (Pizan 1982, 10).

In a series of interchanges, Christine and Rectitude discuss the common views of female psychology and behavior held by men and expressed in their behavior and in the writings of theological and cultural authorities. Christine complains that the authorities argue that marriage is unhappy for men "because of women's faults and impetuosity, and because of their rancorous ill-humor" (Pizan 1982, 118). The authorities say women are untruthful, gossipers, expensive to maintain, betrayers of their husband's confidences and interests, frivolous, immoral, and, as Christine sums up at one point, "Men, especially writing in books, vociferously and unanimously claim that women in particular are fickle and inconstant, changeable and flighty, weak-hearted, compliant like children, and lacking all stamina" (Pizan 1982, 164).

The authorities Christine and Rectitude have in mind share "a common attitude which took its tone from the Church," as expressed by the great 13th century encyclopaedist Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*: woman is "the confusion of man, an insatiable beast, a continuous anxiety, an incessant warfare, a daily ruin, a house of tempest . . . a hindrance to devotion" (Tuchman 1978, 222). Though she appears to be unaware of Christine de Pizan's work and decries "the paucity of political thinking during the middle ages," Diana Coole has argued that Western feminists from the medieval period to the present have faced two culturally sanctioned philosophical arguments denigrating women and relegating them to

the private, non-political sphere: the scriptural arguments stemming from the two accounts of the creation of woman in Genesis coupled with the Pauline commentaries, and a secular argument stemming from classical political theory, especially the naturalistic teleology of Aristotle. The latter, of course, was carried to Christine's time in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers of the Church (1993, 35, 40-52). In her dialogue with Lady Rectitude, Christine directly confronts these arguments.

Rectitude's responses to Christine's various queries and statements are premised in an idea already advanced by Lady Reason in Part One, the divine equality of men and women. "God created the soul and placed wholly similar souls, equally good and noble in the feminine and in the masculine bodies" (Pizan 1982, 23). Lady Rectitude restates the point: "There is not the slightest doubt that women belong to the people of God and the human race as much as men, and are not another species or dissimilar race" (Pizan 1982, 187). Christine's discussion of male/female equality rests on St. Augustine's belief that God created the soul, not the body, "which allowed her to stress the equality of the sexes regardless of their bodily differences" (Lerner 1993, 144).

Continuing the strategy of *BCL* up to this point, Rectitude relates the stories of many great ladies of the past whose behavior refutes the various slanders brought by men against women. In section 47 of Part Two, however, the strategy abruptly shifts to direct attacks upon representative males. Rectitude tells Christine of the inconstancy and weakness and corruption of several Roman emperors, including Claudius, Nero, Galba, and Otho. Not only emperors, but religious authorities as well are subjected to Rectitude's censure:

Let me also tell you about the popes and churchmen, who must be more perfect and more elect than other people. But whereas in the early Church they were holy, ever since Constantine endowed the Church with large revenues and riches, the remaining holiness . . . well, you only have to read through their histories and chronicles . . . you need only consider

whether the words and deeds of temporal and spiritual princes show much firmness and constancy. The point is clear—I will not say more. (Pizan 1982, 169)

Rectitude condemns men for their hypocrisy in blaming women for their own obvious faults, pointing to "all the evil kings in various countries, disloyal emperors, heretical popes, and other unbelieving prelates filled with greed." In fact, "you will never find such perversion in women as you encounter in a great number of men," and "women should bless and praise God who placed their precious souls in feminine vessels" (Pizan 1982, 169, 170).

Just before the passages on the faults of the emperors and religious authorities, Christine poses a question. "I am . . . troubled and grieved when men argue that many women want to be raped and that it does not bother them at all even when they verbally protest. It would be hard to believe that such great villainy is actually pleasant for them" (Pizan 1982, 161). Rectitude ridicules this notion and instructs Christine with the story of Lucretia, who was raped by Tarquin, committed suicide, and in whose memory a "fitting, just, and holy" law was passed that mandated execution for the crime of rape (Pizan 1982, 162), and with the story of "the noble queen of the Galatians," who was violently raped by an officer of the Roman army while she was a prisoner of war. The Queen bided her time, contrived through a ruse to be alone with the officer when the ransom came and then, "the lady, who had a knife, stabbed him in the neck and killed him. She took his head and without difficulty brought it to her husband and told him the entire story and how she had taken vengeance" (Pizan 1982, 163). Christine replies that Lady Rectitude had given her "a remarkable account of the marvelous constancy, strength, endurance, and virtue of women" (Pizan 1982, 164).

Later in Part Two Christine comes back to the question of sexuality, a subject "that goes somewhat beyond the temperament of reason," and remarks to Rectitude that "a natural behavior of men toward women and of women toward men prevails in the world which is not brought about by human insti-

tutions but by the inclination of the flesh, and in which men and women love one another with a very strong love strengthened in turn by foolish pleasure" (Pizan 1982, 186). Christine complains that though both sexes possess natural sexuality, males complain that it is women that are deceitful in matters of the heart. Ovid justifies his attack on women in his "Ars amatoria," Christine notes, by saying that it is for the common good that the deceptions of women be made public.

The Goddess defers to Christine on the subject of natural sexuality and women's deceit, saying "Dear friend, as for the charge that women are deceitful, I really do not know what more I can say to you, for you yourself have adequately handled the subject, answering Ovid and the others in your 'Epistre au Dieu d'Amour' and your 'Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose'" (Pizan 1982, 187). In further response, Rectitude relates stories of several women who were not deceitful and were constant to their men unto death, but before this Rectitude undertakes to respond to Ovid's claim that to reveal the ruses of women is in the interest of the common good, saying that this itself is deceitful, since

the common good of a city or land or any community of people is nothing other than the profit or general good in which all members, women as well as men, participate and take part. But whatever is done with the intention of benefiting some and not others is a matter of private and not public welfare. (Pizan 1982, 187)

Since men and women (according to Christine) equally possess natural sexuality, Rectitude argues that the deceit of men and the traps they lay for women should also be publicized for the common good. "Therefore I conclude that if these men had acted in the public good that is for both parties—they should also have addressed themselves to women and warned them to beware of men's tricks just as they warned men to be careful about women" (Pizan 1982, 188).

This interchange points to an interesting egalitarian, even "democratic" political argument that runs throughout *BCL*. In these passages, the natural equality and sexuality of men and women that Justice proclaimed

in Part One and Rectitude reiterated in Part Two serves as the basis of a discussion of the common good as it applies to "a city or land or any community of people." The City of Ladies itself is said at several different points to be populated by "women from all classes" (Pizan 1982, 214). According to one scholar, "no writer before Christine showed as much interest in the situation of the poor; no one spoke of them with such feeling or kindness" (Brian Woledge, quoted in Reno 1992, 176). Exemplary stories are told of all classes of women from prostitutes to queens. The unrelenting attacks on the traditional hierarchies of sacred and secular governmental and literary authorities that occur throughout the book are part of this democratic argument, as is the strong insistence on the education of women and the recurrence throughout the book of the Socratic idea of the value of self-knowledge. And women are said to have "a natural sense for politics and government" (Pizan 1982, 32). During her telling of the story of Veturia, a noble lady of Rome, Rectitude remarks offhandedly but pointedly that "it is extremely dangerous for a people to be governed at the will of a single individual" (Pizan 1982, 150).

Another theme that is strongly related to Christine's democratic/egalitarian argument runs throughout Parts One and Two of *BCL*—a cogent critique of socially constructed gender roles. Christine's concern with this dates from 1399 when she became involved in a public debate about an extremely popular literary work, Jean de Meung's *Roman de la rose*, a maliciously satiric poem with misogynist elements. Christine wrote a long poem critical of de Meung's portrayal of women and exchanged a number of letters with male literary authorities that were publicly circulated. This exchange was an early moment in the *querelle des femmes*, a debate on the status of women that lasted for more than three centuries in Europe and "represented the first serious discussion of gender as a social construct in European history" (Lerner 1993, 146; see also Kelly 1984, 66–72; Willard 1994, 138–141). Putting her ideas in modern terminology (Elshtain 1992, 4; cf. Pateman [1983] 1991; Pateman 1988, 224–227), she accepts

that there are biological differences of sex and that this entails somewhat different social roles, but she disputes the way socially constructed private and public gender roles have traditionally been defined and the terrible abuse that these imposed definitions have often justified.

Earlier, Christine had asked Lady Reason why, if women "have minds skilled in conceptualizing and learning, just like men," women are not learned in the sciences. Lady Reason answers, "Because my daughter, the public does not require them to get involved in the affairs which men are commissioned to execute. . . ." "If it were customary to send daughters to school like sons, and if they were then taught the natural sciences, they would learn as thoroughly and understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences as well as sons" (Pizan 1982, 63). Interestingly, Lady Rectitude later remarks of Christine's own case that whereas Christine's father was unusual in that he encouraged her in her studies, her mother "who wished to keep you busy with spinning and silly girlishness, following the common custom of women, was the major obstacle to your being more involved in the sciences" (Pizan 1982, 154-155). Here, as in other places in her writings, Christine offers intimate autobiographical evidence for her historical and theoretical arguments. The individualism this reveals is striking; for Christine the personal is, indeed, political. And by the end of Parts One and Two of *BCL* her stern prescription for individual female autonomy and personal empowerment has been clearly outlined: self-knowledge, self-trust, life-long study, an ascetic life-style, principled celibacy, and recourse for intellectual countervailing power to *The Book of the City of Ladies*.

'Be Well Informed in All Things . . .'

In the final and shortest part of *BCL*, Christine steps back and allows Lady Justice to dominate the dialogue. Justice nominates the Virgin Mary to rein as Queen over the City of Ladies and proceeds to populate the city with numerous female Christian saints and martyrs whose stories she tells to Christine: Christine remains completely silent

during Justice's eighteen-section monologue. Only in the nineteenth and final section of Part Three—"The End of the Book: Christine Addresses the Ladies"—does Christine regain her authorial voice, and when she does it is to utter some somewhat surprising statements.

In her final address, Christine rejoices at the completion of her task and exhorts the ladies to be well informed in all things and to use the City as a refuge and as a weapon of defense against "enemies and assailants." All this is to be expected; but given the critical and egalitarian argument of Parts One and Two, it is somewhat disquieting to come to the end of Part Three of *BCL* and find Christine writing the following: "And you ladies who are married, do not scorn being subject to your husbands, for sometimes it is not the best thing for a creature to be independent," and supporting this idea with quotations from scripture (Pizan 1982, 255). Christine says that she hopes that women will be lucky and have "peaceful, good, and discrete" husbands, but that even those wives who have "cruel, mean, and savage" husbands should be patient and "strive to endure them" while endeavoring to bring them back to a seemly life. So at the close of *BCL*, it appears, we have an acceptance of the traditional hierarchies and double standards that have received such a battering during the argument of Parts One and Two.

One way to explain this is to say that Christine's critique takes place within a framework of unquestioned Christian belief and dogma. But the place of Christianity in Christine's political theory is a vexed subject. In Parts One and Two of *BCL* she attacks the writings of religious thinkers and the behavior of clergy. In an important study of Christine's use of the metaphor of the "body politic" in one of her later polemical works, Kate Langdon Forhan concluded that "despite Christine's apparent piety, [her] matter-of-fact attitude toward the clergy may indicate that her religious belief is more conventional than inspired" (1992, 45; see also Forhan 1994, xxii). At points Christine seems to give sacred writings the same status as secular writings, or even a somewhat lower status, though she refers to the classical histories

themselves as “fictions” (Pizan 1982, 103). She has Lady Justice refer to the story of Jesus and the Apostles as a “holy legend” (Pizan 1982, 252). She remarks to her own creation, Rectitude, “Indeed, my lady, what you say is as true as the Lord’s Prayer” (Pizan 1982, 155). Yet the few extant accounts of her life and works assume she was a believing Christian. Marina Warner calls her “a devout Christian woman” (Warner 1982, xvi).

Earl Jeffrey Richards argues cogently that Christine simply wanted men to live up to their professed Christian standards, and this argument has some merit. In this account, her use of Christianity is to overcome oppression. In this view, she is similar to Martin Luther King and other modern reformers in her commitment to radicalizing Christian values. She presents herself as a Christian, and her book can be seen as a complement to Saint Augustine’s *City of God*: “By juxtaposing the two cities Christine did not intend that her City of Ladies rival the City of God, but that her political vision be understood as participating in a Christian tradition of political philosophy” (Richards 1982, xxix). This sort of argument justifies Christine’s seeming turnabout at the close of her book, but perhaps there is another way of looking at it.

A Manual for Princesses?

Christine began her writing career as a poet, and her biographer Charity Cannon Willard notes that she was attracted very early by the idea of hidden meaning in poetry (1984, 68). In the closing stanzas of one of her poems, “This Mask No Grief Reveals,” Christine acknowledged this aspect of her poetics:

So no plaint nor appeal
 My aching heart can show
 And mirth, not tears, bestow;
 Those my gay rhymes conceal.
 May this mask no grief reveal
 So it is I conceal
 The true source of my ditty,
 Instead I must be witty
 To hide the wound that does not heal.
 Let this mask no grief reveal.

—(Willard 1994, 55)

Covert techniques of literary exposition were common in Christine’s time, and they have a long history in political philosophy. Might it be that in her prose works Christine indulged in a form of the “secret” or “esoteric” writing that Leo Strauss argued is often a necessary strategy of political philosophy due to its subversive nature (Strauss 1969, 29–53)?

In Christine’s time most written texts were produced under a patronage or commission system, and indeed most of Christine’s works were so produced. Her first major prose work, *The Book of the Deeds and Good Customs of the Wise King Charles V (1404)*, was commissioned by Philip, the Duke of Burgundy, the King’s brother. The title indicates the somewhat hagiographic nature of the book, yet scholars have argued that even in the works she produced on commission from the Duke of Burgundy and various other royal authorities Christine often criticized her patrons and many of the institutions and practices of her time and found “ways to say more than she could sometimes write explicitly” (Reno 1992, 179; see also Forhan 1994, xvi–xvii).

The fact that *BCL* was not a commissioned work is important. Since Christine wrote and published the book on her own, it is much more explicitly critical than her other works, and she defers much less to traditional and status-quo ideas. Given the nature of her times, however, she could not be completely explicit, and read carefully *BCL* can be seen to embody a variety of covert techniques. Christine deploys her own literary creation, Lady Rectitude, in Part Two of *BCL*, which is appreciably longer than the other two Parts. She sandwiches many of her most interesting and radical ideas between somewhat more moderate discussions in Part One and a very conventional, and much shorter, discussion of Christian saints and martyrs in Part Three. In Part Two, where she announces the beginning of the “New Kingdom of Femininity,” she directly attacks males, in the form of the ultimate patriarchs—the emperors of Rome, popes and churchmen, and husbands. She also comes more to the fore herself—the sayings of Rectitude, her literary creation, are said to be as

true as the Lord's Prayer; she talks of her own experience, using it as evidence; she also directly discusses natural sexuality, and women's sexual freedom, and Christine is lauded by Rectitude as an expert in the subject.

A comparison of the section titles of Parts One, Two, and Three, provides textual evidence for the idea that Christine means the Parts of *BCL* to have different "weights." At the beginning of Part One, when Christine describes the initial scene in her study and the appearance of the Ladies, the titles have initial stock phrases like "Here Christine describes . . .," "Here Christine tells. . ." Once she begins conversing with Lady Reason, the titles with Christine's name in them all begin "Christine asks . . ." and in those titles with Lady Reason's name, Reason most often "speaks," as in "Here Reason speaks of a queen of France. . ." In Part Two, Christine's name first appears in the title of section seven, "Christine speaks to Rectitude," and thereafter in Part Two, with only one exception, when Christine again "asks," she "speaks" to and with Lady Rectitude. Christine also begins frequently using the construction "Then I, Christine said . . ." or "I Christine spoke . . ." within the text of the sections of Part Two. By contrast, in Part Three Lady Justice does all the "speaking," and Christine's name does not appear in any but the title of section nineteen, the final section of the book, "The end of the book: Christine addresses the ladies." The "I, Christine" construction is not used at all in Part Three. Perhaps these are hints to the attentive reader of *BCL* that Christine's real teaching is to be sought primarily in Part Two of the book.

It seems possible that she, as Leo Strauss argues of Machiavelli and other political philosophers, trusts that many readers will leaf through the first few pages of the book, begin scanning the titles of the numbered sections, lose patience, and skip over the more troublesome matter of Part Two to the end to read her more familiar and comforting scripturally based account of religious saints and martyrs. She even inserts a bit of filler at the beginning of Part Two in case a reader skips from the first few pages of Part One to

the beginning of Part Two. She cunningly suggests this approach to the casual reader on the first page of *BCL* when she describes her encounter with Matheolus' book. On the second day of reading his book she says that she found it to be unpleasant and full of lies and that she completed it by "browsing here and there and reading the end" (Pizan 1982, 3). This puts Christine's acceptance of the traditional hierarchy within Christian marriage put forth on the last few pages of the book in a very different light. The closing discussion serves to distract the casual reader from the central fact that there are no men in the City of Ladies and softens the impact of the openly secular and separatist argument of the book as a whole. Only the serious reader will engage the central arguments of Parts One and Two.

In Christine's time there was, of course, an accepted tradition of religious female separatism dating from the 3rd century of the Christian era (Lerner 1993, 24–25). But Christine's separatist city is quite different than a cloistral retreat (within a patriarchal institution) for religious purposes; the *raison d'être* of *BCL* is general female empowerment. Christine's "city in words" serves as a safe haven, an intellectual fortress, from which all women can begin to reclaim their rightful place in the secular social and political world.

Is there anything beyond her secular egalitarian arguments, her overt attacks on male authorities, her open discussion of natural sexuality, and her separatist political principles that can account for her elaborate concealments? Is it possible that Christine wrote *BCL* as a "manual for princesses" over a hundred years before Machiavelli wrote his manual for princes?

There are many similarities between the two books. The concealment of central principles is one similarity. Another is their use of history. Both Christine and Machiavelli use history in a particular way; they appeal to history as an experiential and authoritative base for their teachings, but as many scholars have noted, Machiavelli modifies history to suit his purposes and teach his lessons. Marina Warner has noted the same of Christine's use of history and mythology: "To

achieve her vindications of women, Christine alters her source material in the most surprising ways, sometimes refreshing, sometimes bizarre." Socrates' wife, Xanthippe, who is traditionally portrayed as shrewish, "emerges from Christine's pages as loyal and devoted and wise" (1982, xv, xvi; see also Lerner 1993, 259–260; Willard 1984, 92, 136).

There are some stylistic similarities as well. Christine's book is based on an architectural metaphor that recurs throughout. She refers to ink as the mortar of the city, her pen as a means of fortification, great ladies' lives as the foundation stones of the wall, and so on. Machiavelli adopts many architectural metaphors throughout *The Prince*, likening the establishment of a secure political base to the building of a house or the construction of a wall. Both use hunting metaphors as well (Machiavelli 1992, 5, 19, 34, 41; Pizan 1982, 12, 38, 256).

Yet another similarity to Machiavelli's ideas is the ascetic standard that Christine prescribes for the ladies of her city. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli argues that a successful prince must exert rigid control over his passions and appetites; the prince must be disciplined, studious, and must engage constantly in military training. Most important, the prince must be frugal and chaste: he must "keep his hands off the property of his subjects or citizens, and off their women" (Machiavelli 1992, 46). Christine decrees a regimen of constant rigorous intellectual study and self-improvement. And she argues that celibacy is necessary for woman's autonomy.

An idea that is often cited as one of Machiavelli's central political teachings is found in an inchoate form in Christine's book. Machiavelli taught that no matter how strenuously a virtuous Prince might prepare for eventualities, no matter how much wisdom and prudence he brings to bear, it is impossible to secure a principality forever. There will always be the chance events that bring down a kingdom. Fortuna, or fortune, will fell even the wisest and most prudent Prince (Machiavelli 1992, 68). Similarly, in the story of Queen Dido, the founder of Carthage, told in Part One of *BCL*, Lady Rea-

son praises the Queen for her "prudence and attentiveness," but notes that even this great female lawgiver "lived for a long time in glory and would have lived so the rest of her life if Fortune had not been unfavorable to her, but Fortune, often envious of the prosperous, mixed too harsh a brew for her in the end" (Pizan 1982, 95).

Read in a certain way, Christine gives the same notorious twist to the concept of "virtu," or virtue, in *BCL* as does Machiavelli in *The Prince* (on Machiavelli's redefinition of the word virtu, see Berlin 1992; de Alvarez 1989, xix–xxii). Though Christine constantly exhorts her ladies to "cultivate virtue," Brabant and Brint point out that in *BCL* she does not give a catalogue of deadly sins or "identify immutable moral principles" (1992, 209) as do many other writers of her time. Recall the story related earlier of "the noble queen of the Galatians," violently raped by an officer of the Roman army while she was a prisoner of war. The wronged lady managed to stab her defiler to death through a ruse, cut off his head, and deliver same to her husband as proof of her vengeance. At the beginning of the section the Queen is described as "quite beautiful, simple, chaste, and virtuous" (Pizan 1982, 162). Then there is the story told in the scriptures of the widow, Judith, who was upright, beautiful, and "above all chaste and virtuous" (Pizan 1982, 144). Judith saved the people of Israel by agreeing to come to Holofernes' bed and then sneaking in and cutting off his head with his own sword. The people of Israel were saved by this "honest woman" (Pizan 1982, 145). One final example will suffice. Artemisia, Queen of Caria, "possessed strong virtue, moral wisdom, and political prudence." The neighboring Rhodians did not like the idea of a female ruler and planned to attack Caria. Hearing of this, Artemisia left the city, tricked them into thinking that the city had capitulated, and then slipped back into the city and "captured and killed all the princes" (Pizan 1982, 55–57).

It does not take strenuous analysis to read in these passages the identical notorious distinction between private and public virtue that is found in the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli and other modern political

thinkers. Many of the great ladies profiled in *BCL* combine virtue in their private dealings with the intellect, guile, and willingness to get their hands dirty and use force that constitutes Machiavellian *virtu* in public life. They are, like Judith, also willing to use their sexuality to advance public ends, and this is justified; it does not compromise their virtue. The great ladies are often both Lions (force) and Foxes (guile). *BCL* is a manual for princesses with a very modern message. Though she went to some lengths to conceal her "unladylike polemics" (Laennec 1993) in her work, Christine appears to develop the Argument of the Dirty Hands sixty-four years before Machiavelli was born.

Conclusions: Christine and Political Philosophy

Christine de Pizan is a critical theorist, if we follow John Dryzek's characterization of critical theory as a "theory addressed to a specific audience and designed to liberate them from their sufferings"; a theory that "strives to interpret the condition of a group of sufferers, make plain to them the cause of their suffering, and by sketching a course of relief, demonstrate that their situation is not immutable" (1990, 19, 185). In *BCL*, Christine directly attacks the misogynistic arguments and actions of the secular and sacred authorities of history and her own time, and she offers a course of relief: education, especially as regards the collective experience and history of women; control of one's sexuality; and the safespace provided by her book. The specific audience her theory addresses is, of course, women. Though Sheila Delany (1992) and other scholars argue that the use of the modern term "feminist" to refer to Christine and her works is somewhat misleading and anachronistic, her work is profoundly and radically feminist in Carolyn Heilbrun's sense of the term: "A feminist . . . questions the gender arrangements in society and culture . . . and works to change them; the desired transformation gives more power to women while simultaneously challenging both the forms and the legitimacy of power as it is now established" (1990, 3).

Though the thrust of her work is feminist, Christine's dialogue explicitly participates in a broader tradition of political philosophy stemming from the classical Greeks. Like the Socratic dialogues of Plato, a central purpose of *BCL* is human liberation through study and dialectical thought. The arguments of *BCL* embody a critique of various forms of domination, including the domination of institutionalized religion, but the critique is based partially in a radicalized and purified Christianity that looks forward 125 years to the European Reformation. Situated chronologically on the cusp of the Modern between Marsilius of Padua and Machiavelli, Christine advances arguments reminiscent of the universalism and hierarchicalism of the classics but more congenial to the relativism and individualism of the moderns. If political science, following in the choppy wake of other disciplines, ever gets around to revising and expanding its canon of central thinkers, Christine will surely be a candidate for inclusion.

There is one certainty: Christine de Pizan is a founder of feminist political theoretical discourse, and she should be more widely recognized as such. She forcefully argues for female autonomy and equality against the arguments of history and the practices of her own culture, and she correctly identifies women's lack of education as a central cause of their condition. Feminism is traditionally seen as dating back some 200 years to Mary Wollstonecraft's manifesto "The Vindication of the Rights of Woman" (1790). But feminism, at least theoretical feminism, is nearly 600 years old. What Christine de Pizan wrote in her book in 1405 can be said of her book, "Now a new Kingdom of Femininity is begun."

References

- Anderson, Bonnie S. and Judith P. Zinsser. 1988. *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present, Vol II*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Berlin, Isaiah. 1992. "The Question of Machiavelli." In *The Prince: A Norton Critical Edition*, 2nd ed., Robert M. Adams, ed. New York: Norton.

- Brabant, Margaret and Michael Brint. 1992. "Identity and Difference in Christine de Pizan's *Cité des Dames*." In *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, Margaret Brabant, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Cohen, Mitchell and Nicole Fermon, eds. 1996. *Princeton Readings in Political Thought: Essential Texts Since Plato*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Coole, Diana. 1993. *Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism*, 2nd ed. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Daly, Mary. 1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- de Alvarez, Leo Paul S. 1989. "Introduction." *The Prince*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Delany, Sheila. 1992. "History, Politics, and Christine Studies: A Polemical Reply." In *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, Margaret Brabant, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Dryzek, John. 1990. *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy, and Political Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 1992. "Introduction." In *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, Margaret Brabant, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Forhan, Kate Langdon. 1992. "Polycracy, Obligation, and Revolt: The Body Politic in John of Salisbury and Christine de Pizan." In *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margaret Brabant. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- . 1994. "Introduction." In Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, Kate Langdon Forhan, ed. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Heilbrun, Carolyn G. 1990. *Hamlet's Mother and Other Women*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hooper, Barbara. 1992. "'Split at the Roots': A Critique of the Philosophical and Political Sources of Modern Planning Doctrine." *Frontiers* 13(1): 45–80.
- Kelly, Joan. 1984. "Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*." In *Women, History, and Theory: the Essays of Joan Kelly*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Laennec, Christine Moneera. 1993. "Unladylike Polemics: Christine de Pizan's Strategies of Attack and Defense." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 12(1): 47–59.
- Lerner, Gerda. 1993. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to 1870*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, C. S. 1964. *The Discarded Image: Art Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 1992. *The Prince*. Robert M. Adams, ed. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Pateman, Carole. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . [1983] 1991. "Feminist Critiques of the Public-Private Dichotomy." In *Contemporary Political Theory*, Paul Edwards, ed. New York: Macmillan.
- Pizan, Christine de. 1982. *The Book of the City of Ladies*. New York: Persea Books.
- Reno, Christine M. 1992. "Christine de Pizan: 'At Best a Contradictory Figure'?" In *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, Margaret Brabant, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Richards, Earl Jeffrey. 1982. "[Translator's] Introduction." In Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*. New York: Persea Books.
- Strauss, Leo. 1969. *Thoughts on Machiavelli*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Tuchman, Barbara W. 1978. *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Warner, Marina. 1982. "Foreword." In Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*. New York: Persea Books.
- Willard, Charity Cannon. 1984. *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works*. New York: Persea Books.
- , ed. 1994. *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*. New York: Persea Books.
- Wisman, Josette A. 1984. "Introduction." In Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life with an Epistle to the Queen of France and Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Yenal, Edith, ed. 1982. *Christine de Pisan [sic]: A Bibliography of Writings by Her and About Her*. Metuchen, N.J., & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Reprinted from: Edward M. Wheat, "'Now a New Kingdom of Femininity Is Begun . . .': The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*." In *Women & Politics*, Vol. 20(4) 1999, pp. 23–47. Copyright © 1999. Reprinted by permission of The Haworth Press, Inc., New York. ♦