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LIVRES D'ENSEIGNEMENTS:
FIVE MEDIEVAL BOOKS OF MANNER FOR WOMEN

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During the Middle Ages a large body of didactic literature was written for women. Five of these *livres d'enseignements* (or books of instruction) were selected as representative works: *Les Enseignements de Saint Louis à sa fille Isabelle*, *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, *Le Ménagier de Paris*, *Le Livre des trois Vertus* of Christine de Pisan, and *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, â sa fille Susanne de Bourbon. Because no edition of *Le Livre des trois Vertus* has yet been published, that work was studied on microfilm copies of original manuscripts.

This thesis analyzes and compares the major topics discussed in each of these works: religion, personal relationships, courtly love, and dress and personal appearance. An examination of these subjects reveals the characteristics of the ideal woman as conceived by each author. Louis IX expects his daughter to be devout; her behavior will be motivated by her love for God. The ideal woman of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry is also devout; she will be honored by all and have worldly success because of her behavior. The ideal woman of the Ménagier de Paris is the perfect wife who is concerned with her own religious responsibilities and the comfort of her husband. Christine de Pisan's ideal woman is a responsible individual whose virtue enhances the reputation of all women and contributes to the stability of society. Anne de France wants her daughter to be the ideal woman, devout in her behavior and successful in maintaining her position in society.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the Middle Ages, a large body of didactic literature was written for women. Some of these works deal with specific areas of instruction while others are more general and treat a variety of aspects of manners and mores for women.¹

Some of these livres d'enseignements, or books of instruction, are primarily religious in nature. Included in these would be the works of the Fathers of the Church, for example, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Augustine, as well as later books written to instruct women in their religious duties. Many of these were addressed to nuns or to a specific woman, but some were intended to instruct all women. In these works, such virtues as chastity, virginity, charity and devotion were recommended and praised. St. Ambrose (340-397) wrote two books in praise of virginity, Ad virginam devotam exhortatio² and De lapsu

¹For a general listing and brief analyses of medieval didactic literature for women, see Alice A. Hentsch, De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement aux femmes (Halle, 1903).

²Ibid., p. 22.
virginis consecratae, in which he urges nuns to remain pure in body and spirit. His De viduis is addressed to widows and tells them to live according to the Gospel and to love God. St. Jerome (331-420), author of the Latin version of the Bible known as the Vulgate, was a pupil of St. Ambrose. He wrote a book dealing with the education of a daughter, Ad Laetam de institutione filiae; in this work, he exhorts Laeta to rear her daughter in the love and fear of God. In De sancta virginitate, St. Augustine (354-430) encourages women to remain virgins although he would not prohibit marriage; he believes virgins can lead a more holy life. In another work, De bono viduitatis ad Juliam, he tells Julia that remarriage is not a sin but it is better not to remarry. Many of the teachings of these early authors influenced the works of later centuries.

Later books dealing with religious duties were also written specifically for women. Le Miroir de l'Âme

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5 Ibid., pp. 27-30.
6 Ibid., p. 32.
7 Ibid., pp. 32-33
8 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
was written in the first half of the thirteenth century for Blanche of Castile, mother of Louis IX. This mystical work discusses the pleasures of heavenly delights and the horrors of the punishments of Hell. In the early fourteenth century, Durand de Champagne wrote *Speculum dominarum* for Jeanne, Queen of France and Navarre, wife of Philippe IV. Durand warns the queen that her immortal soul faces special dangers because of the power and luxuries of her life. Jeanne had this work translated into French as *Le Miroir des dames*, and it was widely read by queens and princesses during the Middle Ages.

Other books of instruction for women deal with the subject of *amour courtois*; these are addressed to the aristocratic ladies who played the game of courtly love. In the late twelfth century, André le Chapelain (Andreas Capellanus) wrote a treatise *De arte honeste amandi*, based on Ovid's *The Art of Love*. Later works based on Ovid include Jacques d'Amiens *L'Art d'amors*, written in the mid-thirteenth century. These works instruct women how to be beautiful, how to attract a lover, and how to conduct affairs of courtly love. Women are told there is no joy

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10 Ibid., pp. 101-03.
without love, but there is no love in marriage; the advice includes information on how a woman can deceive her husband. Other works dealing with courtly love are strongly influenced by the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris. One of these, Li Mireoirs as dames, by Watriquet de Couvin was written in 1324 in honor of Jeanne d'Evreux who was about to marry Charles IV of France. This work is an allegory on the subject of beauty and love, and the tone is more idealized than in those works based on Ovid. However, the books of instruction on courtly love do not deal with the whole woman, and they lack a sense of moral responsibility.

There are also many general livres d'enseignements which consider the complete woman in various roles; among these are daughter, wife, mother, mistress of a large household, devout Christian, and widow. They are generally addressed to women of the upper classes, nobles or high bourgeoises who would most likely be able to read them. However, they also instruct women of other classes as well, including servants, farmwives, shopkeepers' wives, and even occasionally chambermaids and prostitutes. Many were written to wives, daughters or sisters; some were written to women in general or to a particular class of women.

\[13\] Hentsch, op. cit., pp. 121-25.
These works were popular throughout Europe and were widely read. They provided women with inspiration and instruction for leading an ideal life.

These general works are most valid to study for a more complete picture of the woman in the Middle Ages. From the description of her duties, her daily life emerges. Her religious activities provide an idea of her spiritual life. The discussion of her social responsibilities and the proper behavior toward other people reveals the structure of her society. Furthermore, the advice which is offered to the medieval woman is quite often valid and applicable to the modern woman.

The five works selected for this present study are all valuable examples of the general and practical books of instruction for women. They were written over a period of 250 years; the social position of each of the five authors is different; and they address different audiences. Two are written by royalty, one is by a member of the lesser nobility, another is by a rich bourgeois and another is by a professional woman author. Two are written by women, three by men. Three are addressed to the daughters of the author, one is addressed to a wife, and the other is addressed to women of all social classes. The varied perspectives of these five works make them a representative selection of the general livres d'enseignement for women.
The first work is that written in the mid-thirteenth century by King Louis IX (1214-1270) for his daughter Isabelle, *Les Enseignements de Saint Louis à sa fille Isabelle*. At the time Louis IX wrote this letter for her (about 1250), Isabelle was Queen of Navarre, and these enseignements are the personal advice of a loving father to his married daughter. However, he is also a king and is accustomed to obedience so he does not explain his instructions with illustrations. Louis IX was well-known for his piety, honesty and sense of justice; he was to become Saint Louis, and his religious character is reflected in the advice he gives his daughter.

Louis IX also wrote letters of instruction to another of his daughters (either Blanche or Marguerite) and to his son Philippe who would become Philippe III. The letter to his second daughter is very similar to that written to Isabelle; it is interesting to note that he informed the second daughter to pray before meals and not to think too much of the delight of eating. Louis makes no such instruction to Isabelle so it is possible that this second daughter may have had a tendency to overindulge

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15 Hentsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
herself in the pleasures of the table. Louis' letter to Philippe\(^\text{16}\) contains all the religious advice that is found in the letters to his sisters, but it also contains specific instructions on the subject of ruling a kingdom. Louis IX reminds his son that he will be ruling by divine right, but he admonishes Philippe to be fair-minded and just. Louis points out that Philippe should appreciate the towns whose wealth strengthens the king's position toward the nobles who might try to usurp his power.

The second work which will be studied is *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*.\(^\text{17}\) The Chevalier wrote his book in the late fourteenth century, about 1371-72. He is a knight of the lesser nobility living near Nantes. (The other four authors were all living in or near Paris.) He had fought in the Hundred Years' War, participating in the siege of Aguillon by the Duke of Normandy who would later become Jean II (1319-64). In his *livre d'enseignements*, he writes to


\(^{17}\)Anatole de Montaiglon, ed. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1854).

\(^{18}\)Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.
his three young daughters to instruct them in the manners of honorable noble ladies. He states in this work that he has also written a book of instructions for his sons; however, no copies of that work are known today. In his prologue, he states that he has two priests and two clerks to assist him with this task of instructing his daughters and that he will draw examples from the Bible as well as from the chronicles of France, England and Greece. In addition, he made extensive use of the examples found in the Miroir des prudes femes. The Chevalier's work enjoyed great popularity in France, England and Germany. Two English translations were made; the second one was printed by William Caxton in 1484.

The third work, Le Ménagier de Paris, was written about 1393 by a wealthy bourgeois to instruct his young wife how to manage their household. So that she will not be embarrassed in front of other people, she has asked him to correct privately any mistakes her inexperience might cause. He undertakes this livre d'enseignements so that she will have all the information she needs to avoid

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19 Chevalier de la Tour Landry, p. 4.
20 Ibid.
mistakes and to be the perfect wife and housekeeper. The Ménagier is much older than his wife and expects to die before her. By teaching her how to make her husband's life at home as pleasant and comfortable as possible, he hopes to insure that his wife's second marriage will be as happy as her first. His advice is often paternal in tone as he patiently instructs her in manners and behavior as well as in the details of running her household. He tells his wife of her religious duties and explains her relationship with her husband. His work is unusual in that he also gives extensive details on the techniques of running a household, including methods of gardening and cleaning hints, as well as how to plan and execute a dinner party from the shopping through the serving. It is probable that the Ménagier died before he finished his work because there are articles listed in his outline which are missing from the work. These were to have instructed his wife in riddles, games and amusements suitable to a lady of her social position.

Although this work is often quoted in modern studies of the period, it did not have a great influence during its own time. It was written by a bourgeois for the private use of his young wife, and only three manuscripts of it are extant. No edition of it was published until 1847.

The fourth livre d'enseignements is by Christine de Pisan (1364-1430), Le Livre des trois Vertus written
after late 1407. Christine de Pisan was born in Italy but was educated at the French court of Charles V, where her father Thomas was physician. She was happily married at the age of fifteen to Etienne de Castel, secretary to the king. When her husband died ten years later, she became a professional author to support herself and her young family. In addition to her didactic literature, she wrote poetry and history. Her works were widely read; in her L'Avision, Christine states that French princes sent her books as gifts to their friends in foreign countries as the unusual work of a woman.

Christine dedicated Le Livre des trois Vertus to Margarite de Bourgogne, wife of Prince Louis, Duc de Guienne. However, the work is addressed to all classes of women. It follows Le Livre de la Cité des Dames in which Christine presented a defense of women against the attacks of anti-feminist writers; she told the stories of many women in history and legend who were good, successful and intelligent. Christine says that the three Virtues, Raison,

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23 This work was written as the practical complement to Le Livre de la Cité des Dames, which was terminated after November 1407, according to the dating established by Maureen Cheney Curnow in "The 'Livre de la Cité des Dames' of Christine de Pisan: Introduction and Critical Edition," Vanderbilt University, 1975, I, 10-13.

Droitture, Justice (Reason, Righteousness, Justice), appeared to her in a dream and told her to write a book instructing women how to live honorably and virtuously to earn themselves a place in the Cité des Dames. The Livre des trois Vertus\footnote{This work is also called Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames.} is this practical and general sequel. Christine explains how the honor of each individual woman contributes to the honor of women in general. She supports the ranks of society, addressing her work to women of all classes according to their social standing, from queens to peasant women. This concern for social order is typical in Christine's work.


Le Livre des trois Vertus was widely read. There are several French editions and the work was translated into Portuguese. Anne de France had two copies in her
library and she used it in preparing her own book of instructions to her daughter Susanne.  

The fifth work to be studied is the book by Anne de France for her daughter Susanne, Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon. Anne de France (1460-1522) was the daughter of Louis XI and ruled France ably as regent during the minority of her brother Charles VIII. In 1488 at Saint-Aubin du Cormier, she defeated the Duc d'Orléans who was unhappy with her regency; he later became Louis XII upon the death of Charles VIII. Anne wrote her Enseignements for Susanne in 1504 just before her daughter was to wed Charles de Bourbon, the constable of France.

In her library at the Château de Moulins, Anne had access to copies of Le Livre de la Cité des Dames and Le Livre des trois Vertus by Christine de Pisan, the book of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry and a copy of an enseignement of Louis IX. Anne also cites the writings of philosophers and teachers to support her advice to

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28 A.-M. Chazaud, éd. (Moulins: C. Desrosiers, 1878).

29 Ibid., p. xxxi.
Susanne. She instructs her daughter how to succeed in the life of court society while maintaining her individual integrity and preserving her good reputation. From her own experiences, Anne realizes that this is not an easy task, and her book of instructions will assist her daughter in achieving success.

The study of manner presented in these five works will include religious duties and attitudes, personal relationships, rules of courtly love, and standards of dress and personal appearance. An examination of these subjects will reveal the ideal woman as she is seen by each of the five authors.
CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The importance of religion in medieval life is reflected in the prominence it holds as a subject in these five works. The relationship with God, its effect on one's life, death, and after-life either serves as the central theme of the work or influences all considerations of worldly responsibilities and rewards. The realization of mortality and the awareness of God's ultimate power are accepted as factors of such fundamental importance that each author must express his opinions and give his instructions on the duties, rituals and attitudes affecting religious behavior.

**Louis IX**

The *Enseignements* of Louis IX to his daughter Isabelle are highly religious in nature and content. Fully one-third of the paragraphs of this short work are theological, and the practical advice given is imbued with this theology. Louis is succinct, terse, serious. He uses no stories or examples to illustrate his points, elaborating only on what it means to love and serve God.
His teachings have as a goal that his daughter learn to live a life loving and serving God.

The first advice he imparts is that his daughter love God with all her heart and all her power: "Chère fille, je vous enseigne que vous amez nostre Seigneur de tout vostre cuer et de tout vostre pooir" (par. 2). This is his basic religious position, the first commandment as stated by Jesus (Matthew 22: 37-38). Paragraphs two through five and seventeen elaborate on this theme and deal with what it means to love God: Nothing is more valuable to Isabelle than to love God with all her heart and all her power (par. 2). She will stray from the right path if her love is not fixed on God (par. 3); loving Him without limit ("sans mesure") because He loved us first (par. 4). There are two ways to show this love: She should always wish to please God, and she should avoid all mortal sins (par. 5). She is to do this, to live thus, always striving to please God for the one reason that she loves God and not for consideration of any material or earthly gains to be thereby acquired.

Chère fille, ayez un desirier en vous ke jamais ne se dépar te de vous, ch'est à dire comment vous puissiez plus plaire à nostre signour, et metez votre cuer à chou ke se vous estiez chertaine que vous ne fuissiez jamais guerredonnée de bien que vous fessissiez, ne punie de mal que vous fessissiez, si vous devriez vous garder de faire cose qui despleust à nostre signour, et entendre à faire les coses qui lui plai­roient, à vostre pooir, purement pour l'amour de lui (par. 17).
This reason, love for love's sake, underlines the pure and sincere nature of Louis' theology.

The practical advice in Louis' Enseignements is principally concerned with demonstrating the love for God in daily behavior. Confession and mass are important daily rituals. Isabelle is to go often to confession, but it is important that her confessors be carefully chosen in order to instruct her well in what she is to do or to avoid. Similarly, she should show herself open to receive instructions and suggestions from her other friends.

Chère fille, accoustumez-vous souvent à confesser, et eslisiez tousjours confessours qui soient de sainte vie et de souffisant lettrure, par qui vous soyez ensignée et doctrinée des coses que vous devez eschiever, et des coses ke vous devez faire. Et soyez de tel manière par quoy vostre confessours et vostre autre ami vous osent ensignier et reprendre (par. 6).

Confession is also useful for unburdening her troubles, but she is cautioned again on the importance of being careful to whom she confesses; she should tell her troubles only to someone who can be relied on to keep her secrets, either her confessor or an associate upon whose loyalty she may depend.

Se vous avez aucune malaise de cuer ou d'autre cosse, dites le à votre confessour, ou à aucune autre personne que vous quidiez qui soit loyaux, et qui vous doisiez bien cheler, pour chou que vous le portez plus en pais, se chest cosse que vous puissez dire (par. 11).

In instructing her to show herself receptive to constructive criticism as well as in cautioning her about to whom she
reveals her secrets, Louis is recognizing Isabelle's particular social position. His advice could be valuable to anyone, but a royal princess must be especially aware of whom she trusts and know how to reveal that trust to those who can help her.

Not only is Isabelle to attend mass, but she is also to take pleasure in hearing the service ("oyez volontiers"), taking care not to let her mind wander ("muser et de dire vaines paroles," par. 7). Louis wants her to be serious, reflective, recollected and attentive, concentrating on the purpose of the mass, not just going through the motions. She is also to hear willingly discussions about Christ, both in sermons and in private conversations: "Chiève fille, oyez vontiers parler de nostre signour en sermons et en privé parlemens" (par. 8). She should seek diligently for prayers and forgiveness for herself ("Pourcachiez vontiers les pardons," par. 8) and for her father ("pourcachiez vontiers oriens de bones gens, et m'ï accompagniez," par. 18). Should he precede her in death, he requests that she buy masses and other good works for the salvation of his soul (par. 19).

Charity, which Louis himself practiced generously, is recommended to Isabelle. He points out that this is charity of time, personal attention and comfort, as well as alms of money, whichever is more appropriate.
Chière fille, ayez le cœur piteux vers toutes gens que vous entenderez qui soient à meschief ou de cœur ou de cors, et les secourez volentiers ou de confort ou d'aucune aumosne, selon chou ke vous le porrez faire en bone manière (par. 12).

He also points out that money for alms can be available if she refrains from spending too much on her wardrobe. She should not have more clothes than are appropriate to her station in life, and she can use the rest of her funds for charity.

Il me semble qu'il est bon ke vous n'ayez mie trop grant seurcrois de reubes ensemble, ne de joaux, selonc l'estat ou vous estes; ains me semble miex que vous fachiez vos aumosnes, au mains de chou qui trop seroit (par. 16).

Louis' advice makes demands on Isabelle's thoughts as well as on her actions. Louis expects his daughter to love God with all her power. The acts of devotion and service he suggests are a means for her to express what should be in her heart and mind. For Louis, the attitude of devotion and love is the most important, and from that will result the actions. This is a contrast with the attitude of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry whose discussion of faith is more concerned with the honor attached to the acts of love and service than to the idea of loving God because He first loved us.
Le Chevalier de la Tour Landry

In Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles, the Chevalier, like Louis, demands that his daughters turn their minds and hearts to the service of God and learn to fear Him. However, he does not request that they do this in return for God's love for them but rather because it is the way of attaining true success and honor in this world as well as in the hereafter. He expresses

... le grant désir que j'ay que vous tournez vos cuers et vos pensées à Dieu craindre et servir, pour avoir bien et honneur en ce monde et en l'autre (p. 5).

He also says he will know perfect joy if his children select the honorable goal of serving and loving God and gaining thereby the love and favor of others. Their success in the world is a more important consideration for the Chevalier than for Louis; it is one reason to serve and love God. He tells them that

... mon cuer auroit si parfaite joye se ils [mes enfants] tournoyent ^ bien et ^ honnour en Dieu servir et amer, et avoir l'amour et la grâce de leurs voisins et du monde. ... tout père et mère selon Dieu et nature doit enseigner ses enfants et les destourner de male voye et leur monstrer le vray et droit chemin, tant pour le sauvement de l'ame et l'onnour du corps terrien (p. 4).

The Chevalier frequently repeats that God repays all deeds "à cent doubles," a statement which he illustrates with many examples of great reward or harsh punishment. Worldly
honor, glory and esteem are as significant as heavenly salvation. The Chevalier tries to present a balance of worldly and spiritual considerations. His consideration of repayment is different from Louis' injunction to Isabelle to love God first and, for that reason alone, to serve Him as evidence of her love.

In stating that children must be discouraged from the wrong way and shown the right, the Chevalier seems to imply that they might naturally be inclined to the wrong. Therefore, he uses many negative examples, ostensibly to show his daughters what is wrong so that they will know what to avoid ("les destourner de male voye," p. 4).

The Chevalier offers his daughters practical advice on behavior which evidences love of God and service to Him. He explains and illustrates the effectiveness of prayers, masses, charity and humility with stories and examples.

Instantly upon waking, they are to say their prayers. These are to be prayers of honor and praise to the Lord rather than specific requests. The Chevalier states that God knows their needs better than they do. They should praise Him and trust Him to take care of them, not limiting God to those needs they might recognize themselves.

... Dieu fait mieulx à gracier et mercier que à querrer, pour ce que il scet mieulx qu'il faut à homme et à femme que ils ne scevent eulx meismes (p. 6).
This indicates a simple faith in God's care and love as well as an expectation that God will take care of their needs.

His next advice is also very specific: Pray to the dead for their intercession on your behalf, on waking as well as just before falling asleep. He supports this advice with two stories: The first contrasts two sisters, one who prayed to the dead, one who did not. When their suitors came to their beds one night with dishonorable intentions, the sister who prayed to the dead was protected from her suitor by the appearance of a great number of shrouded apparitions who frightened him away. The other sister was not so lucky; her lover successfully completed his visit. When their father discovered the second daughter was dishonorably pregnant, he drowned her by night and burned the guilty chevalier to death (pp. 7-8). The second story similarly tells of a demoiselle who was saved from a great lord's intentions to rape her because she was saying her prayers to the dead at the moment he came upon her in the garden, and he was frightened away by 10,000 shrouded men ("x mil hombres ensepveliz") who guarded her (p. 9).

The Chevalier's comment upon these stories is typical of his conclusions: "Et pour ce est bel exemple de prier pour eulx à toutes heures" (p. 9). He uses these stories as a warning tool. He states that his daughters should always ("à toutes heures") be praying for protection.
He feels such protection might be needed and is worth the concern and effort of constant prayer. He accepts without question the "miracle." However, he has nothing to say about the dishonorable conduct of either the suitors in the first story or the great lord of the second. Nor is he shocked that the father drowned his own daughter. In such a use of examples, the Chevalier is typical of his period.

In the minds of the Middle Ages every event, every case, fictitious or historic, tends to crystallize, to become a parable, an example, a proof, in order to be applied as a standing instance of a general moral truth.  

The complexity of things is ignored by the mentality of the declining Middle Ages in a truly astounding manner. It proceeds to generalizations unhesitatingly on the strength of a single instance.

The Chevalier discusses the manner in which his daughters are to say their morning prayers, "de bon cuer et ne pensez point ailleurs que vous puissiez" (p. 10). A short, devout prayer is better than a long one said with a wandering mind. To this end, he advocates the value of regular fasting before prayers, saying

... pour ce fait-il bon dire toutes ses heures et oyr toutes les messes à jeun, et soy acoustumer à vivre sobrement et honestement, car tout ne chiet que par accoutumance et à l'usaiger (p. 13).

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2 Ibid., p. 234.
This point is illustrated by the story of two sisters. One sister did not fast but ate at all hours of the day and night. Because she was such a glutton, her husband beat her with a stick which splintered, blinding her. The other sister did fast and is described as leading a happy, honorable married life. Because her story is not such an interesting one, the Chevalier tells it in less detail, but he does recommend that his daughters follow her example (pp. 12-14).

Next, he offers his daughters some reasons for fasting. While they are of marriageable age, they should fast three days a week: first, so that they won't get too fat; and second, to keep them more clearly and piously serving God, who will guard them and reward them for this. Fasting will enable them to have a slim figure and thus improve their prospects for a good marriage.

Après, mes chères filles, vous devrez jeuner, tant comme vous serez à marier, trois jours en la sepmaine pour mieux donter votre chair, que elle ne s'esgaye trop, pour vous tenir plus nettement et saintement en service de Dieu, qui vous gardera et guerredonnera au double (pp. 14-15).

The Chevalier mentions first the worldly reasons to fast, a slim figure and a better chance to attract a husband. Thus, he gives his daughters an example of how God will doubly reward their pious behavior. If his daughters find that fasting three days a week is too difficult, they may fast only one day a week on bread and water; of if bread
and water is too little, at least they should eat nothing which has been killed ("qui preigne mort," p. 15). He admits that fasting is not easy, and can even make you sick in the head and body, but that just makes it more valuable. If it were easy, there would be no honor attached.

... et de tant comme le jeuner fait plus de mal à la teste et au corps, de tant est la jeune de plus grant merite et de plus grant valeur; car, se la jeune ne faisoit mal à jeuner, l'on n'y auroit point de merites (p. 20).

As well as prayer and regular fasting, another daily duty his daughters are to practice is to attend mass. He takes a negative approach by warning his daughters of the dangers if they fail in this duty. He tells two stories castigating those who do go to mass but fail to pay attention to the service, noticing instead who and what is around them (pp. 63-66). He suggests his daughters will prefer to avoid the fate of those in the stories by paying attention at church.

Et pour ce, belles filles, a cy bonne exemple comment vous devez contenir humblement et devotement à l'église ne y tenir parolles ne jangler à nulluy pour riens qu'il aviengne (p. 66).

He also tells two stories of masters and mistresses who failed in their duty to hear daily mass with their servants. Their punishment is severe for they are responsible for others' sins as well as for their own (pp. 66-70). Two other legends are of women who willingly attended at least one daily mass and how they were honored by God and by
man (pp. 71-73). These positive examples are much briefer and less detailed than the preceding negative stories.

He laments the moral decline of the day in which there are too few women who want to hear three daily masses (as did one of his heroines) and are satisfied with only one: "leur souffist bien d'une, tant ont petite amour et devocion en Dieu en et son service" (p. 73). The Chevalier overlooks any consideration of the practicalities, the possibility that a busy woman with many responsibilities may not have the leisure time to spend attending three masses. However, he does not insist that his daughters should hear three masses each day, only that they should remember well this example of a truly devout woman.

Je vouldroye que vous eussiez bien retenu l'exemple d'une bonne contesse qui tous les jours voulait ouvrir trois messes (p. 72).

The Chevalier also discusses the value of confession in recounting the "ninth folly of Eve" who blamed the serpent instead of confessing her own sin. The Chevalier says that God is angered by those who are not ashamed to have sinned as they did, but are ashamed only to confess that the responsibility for the sin is theirs (p. 96). His conclusion from the story of the sins of Mary Magdalene is that if the Lord could forgive her, He can surely forgive anyone else who confesses completely. Furthermore, the difficulty of confession of horrible
sins is part of the process; it indicates true repentance and moves God to pity and forgiveness. As he says,

... celle vergoingne et celle honte que l'en a de le dire est une grant partie du pardon et allegiance du mesfait, et Dieu, qui voit l'umilité et la repentance, se esmuet en pitié et eslargist sa misericorde et pardonne (p. 194).

Charity is another duty of his daughters. He illustrates his requirement for charitable character with the example of the ladies who wept for Christ as He went to the cross. He notes that God greatly repaid these women for their tears, and he finds this a good reason for pity toward the poor. Tears, he says, are charity because they are a woman's way of sharing her tender nature. He states that

... femme de sa nature doit estre plus doulce et plus piteuse que l'omme. ... femme de bonne nature ne doit point estre chiche de ce de quoy elle a grant marchie, c'est assavoir de lerme de humble cuer qui a pitié de ses povres parens à qui elle voit avoir besoing et de ses povres voisins (p. 200).

However, more is required than tears, and he lists some charitable duties as practiced by one good lady, including marriage portions to poor gentlewomen and maidens, help to families in need, visits and help for women in child-bed, and medical aid for the poor who could not afford it. God showed his approval by the small miracles which provided the world with evidence of her honor, and especially, by the wonderful fact that her corpse had not putrified
although she had been in the grave over 375 years, but "est encore en sanc et en char" (p. 200). By experiencing instant resurrection, this woman did not have to face the horrors of death before receiving the glories of heaven.

Charity to saintly persons is recommended. He notes how one woman's charity was repaid well. She and her husband finally had a child; but even more miraculous was that when the child died, the saint's prayers restored it to life, all because of the charity which this woman had extended to him. The Chevalier concludes:

Pourquoy, mes chières filles, ycy a bonne exemple comment il fait bon se accointier des sains hommes et les amer, ... et pour certain Dieu est aujourd'uy aussy puissant et aussy debonnaire comme il estoit lors à ceulx qui le serviront (p. 186).

He also tells the story of Martha, sister of Mary and Lazarus, concluding it by repeating that her charity to preachers, teacher, pilgrims and the poor was well repaid: "car Dieu paye le grand escot et rent à cent doubles" (pp. 198-99).

The Chevalier also points out that it would be better for his daughters to do with as few gowns as possible in order to use their money for charitable purposes. He explains that the reward for this is a spiritual one, to be better-dressed in the next world ("donner pour Dieu le seurplus pour estre vestue en l'autre siècle," p. 108). He states that to deprive the poor in order to have rich
gowns would be the work of the devil (p. 62). In this instance, the Chevalier's emphasis is on heavenly reward for worldly virtue and is very similar to Louis IX's.

As for pilgrimages, he warns that they are not to be abused as trysting arrangements and cites several stories of just such abuse. He concludes that pilgrimages should be made only in love and service to God, saying "l'on ne doit pas aler aux sains voiaiges pour nulle folle plaisance, fors pour le divin service et amour de Dieu" (p. 79).

The virtue of thanking God for everything in bad times as well as good, is extolled by the stories of Job, and of blind Tobias and Sarra, wife of the lesser Tobias ("femme au petit Thobie," p. 159). She had lost seven husbands without losing her trust and patience before having a happy, child-blessed marriage with Tobias (pp. 158-61). The Chevalier explains the value of the virtue in hope and humility by reminding his daughters once again of God's power to reward. He says that they must

... avoir bonne esperance en Dieu et soy humilier, et penser que Dieu est aussy puissant de rendre le bien au double comme il le toult, ... et de tout mercier Dieu, et avoir en luy bonne esperance (pp. 160-61).

The Chevalier uses many stories and legends to illustrate God's severe punishments of sin as contrasted
with the wonderful rewards for good behavior. His intent is to encourage his daughters to religious behavior which will result in their receiving God's blessings, both worldly and spiritual. In these considerations, the Chevalier's outlook differs from that of Louis IX, who wishes solely to inspire love and devotion toward God. There is again a different emphasis in the writings of the Ménagier de Paris who uses instruction and exposition to inform his wife of her religious duties, of what she must do to earn God's love.

Le Ménagier de Paris

In the prologue to Le Ménagier de Paris, the Ménagier states that the first section of his book has both a religious purpose and a practical one. It is

... nécessaire pour acquérir l'amour de vostre mary et donner à vous en ce monde la paix que l'en doit avoir en mariage (I, 4).

He has reversed the order of the Chevalier by stating the heavenly consideration, gaining God's love, before the worldly one, winning her husband's love. In contrast to Louis IX, the Ménagier is not expressing the necessity of returning God's love; he indicates instead that it is necessary to earn God's love, to deserve it by performing certain duties. He is also concerned with telling her how to merit the love of her husband. Through the use of explicit instruction, detailed descriptions, and occasional
his young wife on what is involved and how to achieve "la salvacion de l'ame et la paix du mary,... les deux choses plus principalement necessaires qui soient" (I, 4).

In the first article of the first section, the Ménagier explains his wife's religious duties. He stresses the importance of beginning her day with prayer as the Chevalier de la Tour Landry also did. However, the Ménagier tells not why but how, explaining in great detail how she can fulfill this daily duty (I, 9-15).

In his second article, which counsels suitable accompaniment on her trips to town or to church, he admonishes that at church she should concentrate on the service and keep her eyes on her book or upon a holy image, not on a man or a woman: "et sans papierde ou fiction, ayez le cuer au ciel et averez de tout vostre cuer" (I, 16).

The conclusion to this short second article provides an example of the good sense with which the Ménagier consistently credits his young wife. Rather than expound further with examples and illustrations in the style of the Chevalier, the Ménagier depends on her good sense to help her learn from the positive examples around her.

Et ce que dit est dessus doit souffire quant à ce commencement car les bonnes prudtes femmes entour qui vous reporterons, les bons exemples que vous

illustrations, his work is directed toward instructing
prendrez à elles tant par leurs faits comme par leur doctrine, les bons vieulz prestres saiges et preudomes à qui vous vous confesserez et le bon sens naturel que Dieu vous a donné vous attraira et donra le remenant quant à ce second article (I, 16).

In the third article, the Ménagier states that his wife is to love God and explains, in a highly organized manner, how she is to keep herself in God's grace. "Le tiers article dit que vous devez amer Dieu et vous tenir en sa grâce" (I, 16). Her two main duties are hearing daily mass and confessing regularly. Not relying on her previous experience or education, he gives a detailed description of mass and then of confession.

He explains a mass, telling what the priest says in Latin which he also translates into French; he talks about the order in which the mass takes place and what meaning can be derived from each step. His translation of the Latin into French ensures that she will understand the ritual so that she can truly benefit from it.

He defines contrition, confession, and penance and elaborates on these terms. To illustrate the importance of concentrating on each part of the ritual, he tells a story of a man whose failure to concentrate cost him a horse and a saddle.

Et, chère suer, vous en pouvez prendre exemple par un à qui l'en promist donner un cheval pour dire une paternostre, mais qu'il ne pensast autre part, et en disant la paternostre, il se pensa se cellui qui lui donnoit le cheval lui laisseroit la selle, et ainsi le maleureux perdit tout (I, 21).
He follows this with the simple, direct analogy of a judge's power over a condemned man to that of God over the sinner, thereby comparing this world with the hereafter (I, 21-23), an illustration like many others from which the Ménagier has no difficulty deriving an applicable conclusion.

The six conditions of confession are fully outlined, giving a logical, thoughtful approach to the steps required to make a complete confession. He mentions briefly the "five things that prevent confession," namely:

... honte de confesser le péché, mauvaise paour de faire grant pénitance, espérance de longuement vivre, et despérance de ce que l'en a si grant plaisir au péché qu'on ne s'en peut partir ne repentir, et se pense-on que pour riens se confesserait-on pour tantost rencheoir; et de ce c'est la mort (I, 27).

He refrains from providing examples of any of these negative aspects, relying again on his wife's good sense to appreciate the importance of confession from his logical presentation.

He follows this exposition with a long explanation of how one might sin. He discusses the seven deadly sins ("sept péchés mortels qui sont telement mauvais que auques tous les péchés qui sont s'en dépendent," I, 28). He names each sin and enumerates its various branches. Pride, for example, has five branches: disobedience, vainglory, hypocrisy, discord and aloofness. He defines each sin and all its branches in detail and then tells his wife how
she might use this information in her own confessions:

Le pécheur ou pécheresse doit commencer sa confession en ceste manièvre: ... de tous mes péchés lesquels j'ay fais en moult de manières. Premièrement d'orgueil ... (I, 31-32).

Et pour ce, tu qui es paresseux te dois confesser des branches de paresse et dire ainsi. ...(I, 42).

For a positive contrast, he then presents a discussion of the seven virtues: "Cy apres s'ensuivent les noms et conditions des sept vertus par lesquelles vertus l'en se peut garder de mortelment pécher (I, 53-62).\(^3\)

In his conclusion to this article, he again alludes to the good nature and common sense of his wife. His explanations will promote her understanding, and he trusts that with the help of God, she will learn whatever else she needs to learn from sermons and from reading the many volumes of his library which are available to her.

Et atant, chère suer, vous souffise de cette matière, car le sens naturel que Dieu vous a donné, la voulenté que vous avez d'estre dévote et bonne vers Dieu et l'église, les prédications et sermons que vous orrez en vostre paroisse et ailleurs, la Bible, la Légende dorée, l'Apocalypse, la Vie des Pères et autres plusieurs bons livres en français que j'ay dont vous estes maistresse pour en prendre à vostre plaisir, vous donra et attraira parfondément le remenant au bon plaisir de Dieu qui à ce vous vueille conduire et entalenter (I, 62).

\(^3\)Pichon observes in a note to his edition that this nomenclature of vices and virtues is developed in other works of the Middle Ages (I, 28).
He leaves the rest up to her because it is ultimately her own responsibility: "Par m'âme, il est nécessaire à vous, ne nul autre que vostre personne n'y peut estre commise (II, 2)."

Christine de Pisan

Christine de Pisan recognizes that an individual must depend upon herself to choose to love and fear God. At the outset of her discussion on religion in *Le Livre des trois Vertus*, Christine insists upon the importance of loving God. She then develops this by illustrating how a princess will reach her decision concerning this matter.

Christine's first and principal instruction is to love and fear God because, in her view, from this love will issue all the other virtues.

Si fera le fondament de nostre doctrine tout premierement sur l'amour et crainte de nostre Seigneur, car cellui point est le premier de sapience dont toutes les autres vertus yssent et dependent.4

Her attitude is a balanced one: to love God for His goodness, but to fear Him for His justice which will punish any wrongdoing.

Pour quoy amer? Pour son infinie bonté et les tres grands benefices que vous en recevés. Et

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Love of God is not merely an ideal but a way of life to be evidenced by works ("... tout cuer qui bien aime Dieu le demonstre par euvre," fol. 116v°). Any princess who loves God will show it by following the right path, the light of which will keep her from the shadows of sin and vices ("... la lumiere de droit chemin ... se combatera contre les temptations et tenebres de pechí et de vices," fol. 116v°). Christine illustrates this thought with a description of a princess surrounded by temptations and a discussion of how they will be overcome. She describes the princess:

... en son lit au matin resheiffié de somme. Et elle se verra couchié en mol lit, entre souefs draps, avironnée de riches paremens et de toutes choses pour aises de corps; dames ou damoiselles entour elle qui l'oeul n'ont à autre chose fors à adviser que riens ne lui faille de tous deslices, prestes de courir à elle se elle souspire tant soit petit, ou se elle sonne mot, lez genoulz flechiz, pour ly administrer tout service et obeir à tous ses commandemens (fol. 116v°).

This lively, detailed sketch provides the basis for Christine's discussions of the dangerous temptations that confront the princess: the pride, that she is the greatest, the most powerful, second to none, and able to avenge herself on any who should be so bold as to challenge her; and the urge to wealth, whereby she will have power over those

...
who would wish to ingratiate themselves with her and with which she could buy anything she would want--fine dresses, jewels, food and drink.

Christine provides an answer to these temptations; it is found in the love and fear of the Savior which would remind the princess that she is only human and that frail mortality in the end will prevail over the power and wealth. Christine asks what good will fine gowns or rich food do when you are buried beneath the earth? What will such worldly honor do for you when you are food for the worms, rotting in the earth just as the poorest woman who ever was? She asks,

Folle, musarde mal advisée, que as tu pensé ... ne scès tu que tu es une miserable creature, fresle, et subgette a toutes enfermetés et toutes passions, maladies et autres doleurs que cuer mortel puet souffrir. ... morra en pou de terme, sera viande as vers et aussi bien pourrira en terre que cellui de la plus povre femme qui soit (fol. 117r°).

Such reflections on the futility of pride and wealth should cause the princess to come to her senses ("se revendra à soy," fol. 119v°). She will realize that to continue in prideful behavior would cause her to end up in Hell with Lucifer, a vision which Christine vividly describes:

... en tenebres espoentables en la compaignie des horribles dyables, ennemis de nature humaine, avec les ames damnées qui gettent voix et cris et plains terribles, maudissant Dieu et leurs parens et eulx meisme ... en pueur merveilleuse et en perpetuel orreur et avec ce qui plus enrachine le mal, en esperance de jamais en yssu (fol. 119v°).
It would be a shame if her folly were to cause the princess to lose those joys of paradise which she could gain with just a little effort ("perdra par ta folie la grace que Dieu te promet se tu la veulx deservir par bien petit de labour," fol. 119v°). Christine's description of the joys of paradise, which contrast so strongly with the horrors of Hell, is a positive balance to the negative picture she has previously provided.

Christine has presented a balanced, vivid picture of the two possibilities. She does not rely simply on the fear nor on the hope of joy to convince her readers, but uses both, thus allowing the reader to draw her own conclusions.

Christine then considers the practical matter of what a princess can do if she prefers the second choice, salvation ("se estre veulx sauvee," fol. 120r°). There are two possibilities, both of which Christine describes: the contemplative life and the active life. She says the contemplative life with its complete dedication to God is the most agreeable to Him ("sur toutes autres agreable à Dieu," fol. 120v°). She gives a few examples of some who
chose it but claims she is not worthy to tell of this holy, highly elevated life which can be found better described in scriptures.\(^5\) She is, however, well able to describe the details of the active life: visiting the sick in hospitals, visiting the poor, always busy doing good for others (fols. 120v\(^0\)-121r\(^0\)). She uses the contrast of Mary and Martha: Martha worked hard in the kitchen to feed her guests, Jesus and his disciples, and complained when Mary sat and listened rather than helping her. Jesus said that Mary had made the better choice, the contemplative life, but nevertheless the active life chosen by Martha was also necessary (fol. 121r\(^0\)).

Christine expects the princess to make her choice between these two possibilities based on an honest self-appraisal: she must consider the strength or weakness of her own body, the choice which better suits her temperament, and the station in which God has placed her. If she feels she cannot realistically leave her husband and children and all her responsibilities to pursue the contemplative life, she will do better to choose that which she can handle, the active life. This decision might cause

\(^5\) Christine's daughter had chosen the contemplative life "en sa flor de jonece et tres grant beaulté, ... par inspiracion divine, et outre mon gré." Cited in Mathilde Laigle, Le Livre des Trois Vertus de Christine de Pisan et son milieu historique et litteraire (Paris: Honore Champion, 1912), p. 31. Christine herself retired to a convent soon after completing this work.
a rich princess to worry that she is not following the commands of God and to fear that, as a rich woman, she won't be able to be saved. Christine explains how a rich princess may do God's will by following the active life. It is acceptable to be rich if she distributes charity and alms generously. If she does not prize her wealth but shares it with others, she may qualify among the poor in spirit and will gain the kingdom of Heaven ("... quoy que elle abonde en biens mondains est povre d'esperit et possedera le royaume des cieux," fol. 122r°).

She must at all times remember that though she may have worldly riches and power and rank, she is nevertheless but a poor, weak, mortal sinner ("pouvre creature mortelle, fraisle et pecharece," fol. 122v°) who will have to account to God for all the blessings He gave her.

She will be humble and kind to all, great and small (fol. 122v°). She will give help to all the sick and poor she meets, as well as to poor widows, poor maidens who wish to marry, scholars, priests and the poor who serve God (fol. 125r°). Her charity will indicate that she realizes that God has given her all her earthly goods, but she will be worthy of them only if she shares willingly with those people less fortunate than she (fol. 125r°). She will personally visit the sick, thereby giving them pleasure and a sense of importance at having been worth
the time of a great person; furthermore, she will be setting a good example, which is an important consideration to Christine. In fact, Christine says it would be better to give alms secretly but for the fact that by doing so publicly, the princess may encourage others to almsgiving (fol. 125v°). (However, Christine insists the princess must pay all her debts before making any charitable contributions: "Car neant vauldroit faire aumosne de l'autrui," fol. 125v°.) She points out, as did Louis IX and the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, that even ladies who have not great wealth can manage to be charitable if they are careful about not ordering too many gowns or too much jewelry (fol. 126r°). Christine concludes that charity to the poor is money saved for a heavenly savings account.

Prudence would dictate that the princess will arise early each morning and her first work will be to pray to God. She should hear as many masses as her schedule allows, which will vary, since some ladies will have more duties and responsibilities than others (fol. 129r°). This will provide some of the contemplative aspects which must be a part of the active life ("Car la contemplacion peut bien sans l'active. Mais la droite bonne active ne peut sans aucune partir de la contemplative," fol. 129v°).
The princess will give attention to the poor assembled (at her direction) outside her chapel as she leaves mass, and she will quickly answer to their needs (fol. 129v°). Other daily religious activities include vespers which she is to hear in chapel, or if she is too busy, she should at least say her prayers with her chaplain (fol. 130v°). She is to finish her day with prayers at bedtime. Thus will she live in good, saintly activity ("vivant en bonne et sainte activité," fol. 130v°).

When Christine writes for the other, lesser ranks of ladies, she avoids repeating these considerations of active and contemplative life, masses, prayers and charity because she does not want to waste her time or that of her readers: "Car paine seroit sans nécessité et à ennuy poroit tourner as femmes ou personnes lisans" (fol. 160v°). However, she says that they are to use such of this material written for the princess as can possibly apply to them. She does caution against their being amongst those foolish ones who don't apply to themselves those lessons which are appropriate, but think only of the need for others to listen and learn. Christine states that her reader must not be like some women,

... folles qui sont trop aises quant ilz sont au sermon. Et le prescheur parle sous la charge d'aucun estat qui ne leur touche et trop bien le nottent et dient qu'il dist voir et que c'est bien dit. Mais quant parle de ce qui leur peut appartenir, ilz baissent la teste et cloent les oreilles et leur semble que on leur fait grant tort d'en parler et
She offers some additional advice to wives of laborers in the field. Their work is necessary to provide food for others, but since it does not allow them time to go to church, they should say their prayers wherever they happen to be working. They will thus show their love of God by considering their station in life and doing their work in service to their masters (fol. 204v°).

Christine insists on the importance of love and fear of our Savior in the lives of all ladies of all ranks. She wishes them to keep that love first and foremost. Her vivid picture of the horrors of Hell provides the negative aspect which is balanced by her positive description of the joys of paradise. The demands of the right path which Christine presents are reasonable and realistic, and she gives concrete advice on how they can be followed. She explains what works are necessary to demonstrate the love for God and gives reasons why, advice how and examples of how this can be practiced.

Anne de France

In Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon, Anne also contrasts a negative aspect with a positive one; her purpose is to encourage and instruct Susanne to follow
the path of virtue which leads to both worldly honor and
to the glory of God. However, the tone of Anne's religious
advice to Susanne is a negative one in that it stresses
fear of God's anger, of death and punishment, rather than
stressing love of God. Anne's instructions are thus
recommended to help Susanne avoid God's wrath rather
than to help her demonstrate her love for God.

The first and most important lesson for Susanne
to remember is that she must make an effort with all her
power never to do, say, nor think anything which might
anger God against her.

Le premier et principal point, sur tous les autres,
est que affectueusement, et de tout vostre léal et
plain pouvoir, vous gardez de faire, dire, ne penser
chose, dont Dieu se puisse à vous courroucer (p. 2).

In order to emphasize why this is necessary, Anne recalls
the certainty of death, the horrors of Hell and the day of
judgment which await everyone; she contrasts these with
the joys of paradise.

Pensez parfaictement, au secret de votre cueur, aux
terribles merveilleuses et infinies peines d'enfer,
et aussi aux grans et inestimables gloires et joyes
qui à jamais sont en paradis, craignant sur toutes
 choses, et en grant douleur de cueur, la journée tant
redoubtée du jugement général que incessament actend-
ent bons et maulvaix (p. 3).

Anne's contrast lacks the balance presented by Christine.
She qualifies the first instruction with the word "affec-
tueusement," which implies that Susanne should do this for
love; but her suggestion that Susanne remember the two
possibilities always with fear and trembling accentuates the negative.

The aspect of a dire warning flavors much of Anne's advice. For example, the fear of angering God should influence Susanne's personal relationships; fear of God's hatred of liars will deter her from their company, even though they might be amusing people: "... la fin en est trop périlleuse" (pp. 13-14). Fear of God's judgment will affect all her behavior; if she should manage to go unpunished for improper behavior in this world, she would suffer hereafter, "en ce monde ou en l'autre" (p. 20). This advice points out the punishment that could result; in tone, it contrasts sharply with Louis IX's positive emphasis on loving God.

Daily religious practices recommended are attendance at mass and prayers. In attending mass, Susanne's deportment must be exemplary. She should listen on her knees, with her eyes either on the priest at the altar or on her book. Her hands should be still, not at her nose, mouth, eyes or ears. Such behavior will evidence that she is listening with great devotion and will demonstrate her nobility. Anne states

... devez oyr en grant dévotion et tous jours à genoulx, si possible est, en aïantz les yeulx ententiz envers le prestre à l'autel, ou en vostre livre, sans regarder ailleurs, durant la messe. Pareillement ne faictes de vos mains, comme font aucunes jeunes filles, qui, par folle acoustumance,
ont toujours sans cause la main au nez, ou à la bouche, aux yeux, ou aux oreilles, qui est très mal seant, mesmement à nobles femmes, qui, volontiers sont plus regardées que les autres; par quoi elles s’en doivent trop mieulx garder (pp. 64-65).

Anne does not comment on the value and benefit Susanne could receive from concentrating on the service. The emphasis here is on the necessity for noble ladies to set a good example for those who will be watching them.

Susanne is also responsible to see that those who serve her lead a devout life: hearing mass daily, saying their hours and other devotions, praying for their sins, confessing often and giving alms (pp. 92-93).

Anne advises Susanne that she can benefit greatly from prayer. Specifically, she recommends that Susanne regularly say three Pater noster and three Ave Marias, morning and evening, for their great value against temptations. Her source for this suggestion is Doctor Liénard, whom she cites:

Et dit le docteur Liénard, que pour eschever aucunes temptacions, qu'il est bon de souvent prier Dieu. Et conseille fort, entre aultres prières, dire au matin, en soy levant, trois fois "Pater noster," et autant "Ave Maria" . . . . Ces trois patenostres prouffitent beaucrop à dire au matin et au soir contre maulvaises temptations. Pour tant, ma fille, il se fait bon acoustumer à les dire souvent (pp. 25-26).

Anne is also recommending prayer when she reminds Susanne to praise and thank God even in times of trouble. Anne explains how Susanne might pray if she were unhappily
married. First she should continue to praise and thank God, believing that whatever He does is right ("devez louer Dieu, et croire qu'il est tout juste, et que jamais ne fait rien qui ne soit raisonnable," pp. 72-73). Next, she can ask God to help. For example, if her husband were unfaithful, Susanne could ask God to remedy the situation. Anne tells her,

... en rendre grâces à Dieu, et le louer en luy priant, de bon cueur qui luy plaise l'oster de ceste follie, et avoir pitié de son âme (pp. 73-74).

If her personal affairs are unhappy, the joys of paradise are still hers to gain if she continues to praise God in times of trouble.

Donques, ma fille, pour ceste grant joye et haute gloire de paradis acquérir, regraciez et louez Dieu de bon cueur en toutes vos adversitez (p. 76).

In her discussion of prayer, Anne finally presents a more positive attitude toward religion. Her suggestion that prayer helps to avoid temptations implies the punishment that awaits those who yield; however, her advice on the use of prayer to help Susanne in times of unhappiness is positive.

Conclusion

In all five of these works, the relationship with God and how it affects the character of the individual is the theme of the discussion of religion. The purest
expression appears in the Enseignements de Saint Louis à sa fille Isabelle. Louis IX states that his daughter should love and serve God because God loves us first. A life of virtuous service communicates Isabelle's love and her gratitude for God's love. In Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles, the emphasis is instead on God's power to reward and to punish, both in life in this world and after death. In Le Ménagier de Paris, the Ménagier carefully explains the duties involved in his wife's relationship to God; if she is virtuous, she will thereby earn God's love and gain salvation. Christine de Pisan, in Le Livre des trois Vertus, reverses this emphasis; she states that if a lady loves God, from her love and God-fearing nature will develop her virtuous character. In Les Enseignements d'Anne de France à sa fille Susanne, Anne expresses her desire that her daughter be an honorable, virtuous woman in order that Susanne thereby avoid angering God. Anne's repeated injunction to Susanne to avoid any behavior displeasing to God is the most trenchant example of the fear of God's punishment and the horrors of Hell which is present in all these works. The awareness of mortality and the inevitability of death provide a strong motivation for the establishment of a satisfactory relationship with the God of the Last Judgment.
CHAPTER III

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

All five of these *livres d'enseignements* discuss personal relationships; the most important of these is marriage. As Eileen Power stated in her book *Medieval Women*, "It is permissible to take the wife as strictly typical, for there was no place in feudal society for women who did not marry."¹ In considering the woman as wife, it is accepted that she will marry whomever is chosen by her father; it is further accepted that her husband will be the master to whom she owes complete, unquestioning obedience. However, the wife fulfills her role in various ways. As these descriptions develop, the wife is seen as more than just an obedient servant; she is an important individual. In addition to marriage, each author also considers other personal relationships a woman may have, with her children, servants, friends or acquaintances. From all of this a picture emerges of the importance of woman in her own right.

Louis IX

The religious focus of the advice Louis IX gives his daughter in his Enseignements affects the content of his instructions pertaining to personal relationships. He tells Isabelle that her intimate friends should be people of a good and saintly character and that she should avoid anyone with a bad reputation.

Chère fille, pourvéez vos a votre pooir que les femmes, et les autres mesniees qui avec vos conver- sent plus privéement et secréement, soient de bonne vie et de sainte, et eschivez à vostre pooir toutes gens de male renommée (par. 14).

Louis is concerned with protecting his daughter. She will be vulnerable to her ladies-in-waiting, friends and confidantes who will have access to Isabelle's thoughts, feelings and innermost secrets; but if her associates are virtuous people, she will have nothing to fear from them. In stating that she should avoid people with a bad reputation, Louis does not illustrate (as will the Chevalier de la Tour Landry) the dangers and temptations that they might present. However, if Isabelle does follow her father's advice, she will benefit in both her worldly affairs and her spiritual life.

Louis also advises Isabelle on the subject of her relationship with her husband and parents. His advice is simple and brief; she is to obey them humbly. She will do this because she loves them and because she loves
God; she should not obey anyone in anything which is against the will of God.

Chière fille, obéissez humblement à vostre marit et à vostre père et à vostre mère. Es coses qui sont selonc Dieu, vous devez chou volentiers faire pour l'amour que vous avez à aux, et assez plus pour l'amour nostre signour qui ensi l'a ordené à cascun selonc qu'il affiert, contre Dieu ne devez à nului obéir (par. 15).

Louis does not further explain this advice which sustains his theme that Isabelle's life should be dedicated to loving and serving God. Her obedience to her husband and parents is a function of her station in society, as God has ordered it. Her love for and obedience to God take precedence over her worldly attachments to husband and parents and influence her selection of friends and confidantes.

**Chevalier de la Tour Landry**

Discussing marriage in *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, the Chevalier emphasizes, as did Louis IX, that a wife should obey her husband. He uses many stories to illustrate different aspects of a wife's obedience to her husband. He tells of three merchants who wagered that their wives would obey them quickly and unquestioningly. When the first merchant told his wife to jump into a basin, she asked him "why?" ("A quoy, ne à quelle besoingne?" p. 42). Her husband replied that she should do it because he
wished her to, but the wife did not feel that was enough explanation and refused to jump. Her angry husband struck her for her failure to obey. ("Si n'en fist rien; si fut le mary moult fel, si luy donna une buffe," p. 42.)

The second merchant gave his wife a similar command with the same results; she, too, was beaten for refusing to obey. ("Et au fort elle n'en voult riens faire, et en fut batue comme l'autre," p. 42.) The three merchants then proceeded to the home of the third who reminded his wife that she should always obey any of his commands. During the meal, the husband asked her to put salt on the table, "sel sur table" (p. 43). The wife was so anxious to obey him that she jumped onto the table, thinking he had told her "saul sur table." Thus, the third husband won the wager and his wife was highly praised for her obedience.

... son seigneur avoit gaaingnié la fermaille, et fut la plus loee de obêir à son seigneur, et ne fut mie batue comme les autres, qui ne vouloient faire le commandement de leurs seigneurs (p. 43).

The Chevalier declares that wives of a higher social class should not be beaten but only courteously reprimanded: "... doit l'en chastier et par bel et par courtoisie, car autrement ne leur doit l'en faire" (p. 43). That is a generous statement on his part; however, "canon law specifically allowed wife-beating, and ... such punishments were practised in the highest of circles."²

²Power, Medieval Women, pp. 16-19.
The Chevalier considers that obedience in a wife proves that she loves and fears her husband as she ought to do. A good wife will immediately obey her husband's command, unless it is simply too outrageous. The Chevalier does not explain what an outrageous request would be, but he does add that the blame falls upon the husband if the wife commits a vice at his command.

... doit toute bonne femme fère, craindre et obeir à son seigneur, et faire son commandement, soit tort, soit droit, se le commandement n'est trop outrageux, et se il y a vice, elle en est desblasmée, et demoure le blasme, se blasme y a, à son seigneur (pp. 43-44).

In his example, the Chevalier considers worldly honor from the husband's viewpoint. The wife is considered good if she obeys her husband unquestioningly before others; even if she looks ridiculous jumping onto the table, she is showing others that her husband is the authority in their household. However, it is also evident from his examples that wives did not always obey so completely.

The Chevalier does offer his daughters some advice on a practical way for a wife to disagree with her husband. Although a wife should always honor and obey her husband before others, when they are alone, in privacy, she can kindly and courteously tell him how he erred. (He may correct his wife and even beat her in front of others, however.)

... il est raison et droit que le seigneur ait les hautes paroles, et n'est que honneur à la bonne
The Chevalier realizes that the husband may not always be right in what he says or does; however, it is the wife's duty to honor her husband by agreeing and obeying him when others are present. The opportunity to present her own opinions in private gives the wife a voice in the relationship with her husband which is lacking in Louis' direction that Isabelle is always to obey her husband.

The Chevalier also cautions his daughters, as did Louis IX, that obedience to God has priority over obedience to her husband. For Louis IX, this priority comes from the desire to love and serve God; but the Chevalier emphasizes instead the power of God to save or condemn for eternity. Thus, his daughters would not want to be obedient to a husband in anything which would anger God against them. Furthermore, a wife should be more concerned with the fate of her husband's soul than with being obedient to him in anything that would jeopardize his salvation.

Et encore vous dis-je que l'obeyssance de Dieu et la crainte fut premier establie que mariage; car l'en doit premier obeir au creator, qui les a faiz à sa sainte ymaige et qui leur peut donner grace d'estre sauvés ou perdus. Et ainsi la loy commande que l'en ne doit pas tant obeir au corps ne estre en l'obeyssance de son seigneur que l'en ne obeisse premier au prouffit de l'ame, qui est
un bien pardurable. Et dit la glose que toute bonne femme doit premièremenent tirer au bien de l'ame de son seigneur et puis au service du corps (p. 197).

Ideally, the Chevalier would have a wife be obedient to her husband, responding promptly to his commands; however, he realizes that a wife might wish to disagree with her husband, and the Chevalier suggests how she might effectively do this. The obedient wife will therefore maintain her husband's honor before others. In a question of the salvation of the immortal soul, the Chevalier recognizes that God's power is superior to that of a husband in anything that would arouse God's anger.

The Chevalier deals briefly with the subject of remarriage for a widow. His advice is that a woman should remarry only upon the advice of her family and friends; she should accept their choice of her second husband as she did the first. He especially objects to those women who marry someone younger or lower in rank than their first husband; though they may choose to do so for love, they lose prestige and honor. He tells his daughters:

... que vous ne remariez ne par plaisance ne par amouretes, fors par le gré et le bon conseil de voz parens et amis, et ainsi garderez vostre honneur sauve et entière sans reproche (p. 224).

The Chevalier is not concerned only with the opinion that others might have of the widow's second marriage. He is thinking of the ardent suitor who would want to marry the widow and her wealth, but who might become an unloving
husband. The Chevalier wants to protect his daughters from a marriage they might regret.\(^3\)

The subject of child-rearing is mentioned when the Chevalier suggests that it is much better to beat a child who needs reprimanding than to become angry and curse the child: "... car il vauldroit mieulx cent foiz batre ses enffans que les mauldire une seule foiz, tant y a grant peril" (p. 166). He tells a story of a couple who were quick to anger. Enraged at their son, they cursed him to the devil. Unfortunately, the devil actually came and lifted the boy off the ground. The child never again was able to use that hand and arm where he had been burned by the devil's touch. The story is a good example of why a parent should never curse his child.

Et pour ce est grant peril de maudire ses enffans ne de leur destiner mal, et pis encore de les donner à l'ennemy, par courroux ne par yre que l'en ait aecques eulx (p. 166).

The Chevalier's use of this story indicates his belief in the power of a curse. The parent who is concerned for his child's welfare should not jeopardize the child's life in order to correct his faults.

The Chevalier also gives his position on the subject of literacy for women. He declares that, contrary to what

\(^3\) The Chevalier himself married again after the death of his wife. His second wife was a widow, Marguerite des Roches, and several of their children intermarried. (Montaiglon, Chevalier de la Tour Landry, pp. xvi-xvii.)
some believe, daughters should be taught to read. Women will benefit from reading the Bible, lives of the saints, and other good teachings. However, he does not want them to read love stories nor does he feel it is necessary that women be able to write. He states that it

... est bonne chose de mettre ses enffans juyennes à l'escole et les faire apprendre ès livres de sapience, c'est-à-dire ès livres des saiges et des bons enseignemens, où l'on voit les biens et le sauvement du corps et de l'ame, et en la vie des pères et des sains, non pas les faire apprendre ès livres de lecheries et des fables du monde; ... et pour ce que aucuns gens dient que ilz ne vouldroient pas que leurs femmes ne leurs filles sceussent bien de cler­gie ne d'escipture, je dy ainsi que, quant d'escripre, n'y a force que femme en saiche riens; mais, quant à lire, toute femme en vault mieulx de le scavoir, et cognoist mieulx la foy et les perils de l'ame et son sauvement, et n'en est pas de cent une qui n'en vaille mieulz (p. 178).

The Chevalier naturally includes his own work for his daughters in the category of good books of learning. Although he uses many negative examples, these stories present a valuable lesson because misdeeds are always punished.

The Chevalier also offers his daughters some general advice on personal relationships. All women who wish to have the grace of God and the love of others should be humble and courteous.

Après, mes belles filles, gardez que vous soiez courtoises et humbles, car il n'est nulle plus belle vertu, ne qui tant attraitte à avoir la grace de Dieu et l'amour de toutes gens, que estre humbles et
The Chevalier further explains that it is important to be courteous to everyone, whether they be great or small. His daughters must extend courtesy to those of higher rank because it is their rightful due to receive it.

However, the Chevalier explains that his daughters will gain honor if they are also gracious to those of lesser rank. Their gratuitous courtesy will evoke praise.

The Chevalier counsels his daughters that they will gain honor for themselves by treating others honorably, through obedience to their husbands and kindness to all.

Le Ménagier de Paris

When the Ménagier instructs his wife on her relationship with her husband in Le Ménagier de Paris, the advice is often the same as that which the Chevalier de...
la Tour Landry gives his daughters. In his prologue, the Ménagier states that one of the two most important things he is going to teach his wife is how to insure the comfort of her husband; the other is the salvation of her soul. It is interesting that the husband whom the Ménagier is considering is not necessarily himself. He suggests the possibility of a second husband, saying "pour servir autre mary se vous l'avez après moy" (I, 3). Because he is much older than his wife, he expects that he will leave her a widow and that she will remarry, and he tells her to love her husband, "soit moy ou autre" (I, 5). He wants to instruct her how to behave toward a husband greater than himself, not for his own benefit but because she can then be a good wife to her second husband. She will have a better chance for happiness, and she and all who instructed her will receive more praise because of her behavior.

Et tant plus saurez, tant plus d'onneur y aurez et plus loés en seront vos parens et moy aussi et autres entour qui vous aurez esté nourrie. Et pour vostre onneur et amour, et non mie pou moy servir, (car à moy ne convient mie service fors le commun, encore sur le moins)... (I, 3).

The Ménagier states that it is the duty of a wife to give her husband absolute and unquestioning obedience, in all things, great or small; his examples, like his ideas, resemble those of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry. He tells of wagers among husbands as to which wife will
be most obedient. There was a husband who would be treated to dinner by his friends if his wife would repeat after him "one" and "two" and "three" but lost the wager when his wife complained of being treated like a child: "Je ne suis mie enfant pour apprendre à compter" (I, 141). The Ménagier also tells of a wager he witnessed at Melun. As the bettors watched, a wife of that town was told by her husband to jump over a stick. She did so without hesitation or complaint, and the astonished sire d'Andresel lost his wager. Returning home, the sire d'Andresel made the same request of his wife and was angry when she refused to obey him. The Ménagier explains that it would have been better for her to do as her husband had asked and to have made a joke out of the incident than to have refused him as she did. He states:

... que s'elle eust accompli le commandement de son mary, lequel il faisoit plus pour jeu et pour essay que pour prouffit, elle eust mieulx gardé son honneur et mieux lui en eust pris (I, 153).

The Ménagier realizes that the wife's failure to jump over the stick was not in itself of great importance; however, he stresses the point that a wife is to obey her husband in all matters. It is not for her to decide if it is appropriate and necessary to obey any particular command because she is always to obey in all things. It is sufficient that she know what he wants, and she must not ask her husband for any reason or explanation of his commands.
The Ménagier does admit, as did the Chevalier, that the wife may question her husband in private, but when others are present her obedience must be immediate and complete. He states that the wife is not to blame for the result of any action she does at her husband's command; the responsibility is his.

To illustrate obedience, the Ménagier tells the story of Griselda, which was told originally by Bocaccio and also by Petrarch and by Chaucer as "the Clerk's tale" and by Christine de Pisan in La Cité des Dames. The Ménagier considers it a tale of extreme cruelty; he does not apply for his wife a general moral truth to this story as the Chevalier might have done. Instead, he claims he would have no right to assault nor to assay his wife as the Marquis of Saluzzo treated Griselda, especially since he already knows her to be a trustworthy, obedient wife.
je n'en suis mie digne, et aussi je ne suis mie marquis
ne ne vous ay prise bergerie, ne je ne suis si fol,
si outrectecuidié, ne si jeune de sens, que je ne doie
bien savoir que ce n'appartient pas à moy de vous
faire tels assaulx, ne essais ou semblables. Dieu
me gart de vous, par ceste maniere ne par autres, soubs
couleur de faules simulations, vous en essaier! Ne
autrement en quelque maniere ne vous vueil-je point
essaier, car à moy souffist bien l’espèreve ja facite
par la bonne renommée de vos prédécesseurs et de vous,
avecques ce que je sens et voy à l’ueil et congnois
par vraieexpérience. Et me excuse se l’histoire parle
de trop grant cruaulté, à mon advis, plus que de raison
(I, 125-26).

The Ménagier does accept that the wife owes her husband
such complete submission, but he faults the marquis for
demanding loving obedience of his wife while offering her
unnecessary cruelty in return. He illustrates the need
for mutual responsibility in the marriage relationship
with examples of forgiving spouses. He tells of Jehanne
la Quintine who provided her husband's paramour with food
and furniture; she told the other woman she did this be-
cause she wanted her husband to be comfortable when he
was away from herself and also because she would love the
woman her beloved husband loved. However, Jehanne did not
wish to shame her husband Thomas, so she asked his mistress
not to tell him of Jehanne's generous gift. When Thomas
jealously accused his mistress of having acquired her
new possessions through having been unfaithful to him,
she revealed the truth in self-defense. Ashamed, Thomas
returned home a repentant, loving husband who was never
again unfaithful to his wife Jehanne (I, 237-39). The
Ménagier cites this as an example of how a wife can reclaim her husband by her loving humility: "Et ainsi sagement, non pas par maistrise ne par haultesse, doivent les bonnes dames conseiller et retraire leurs maris par humilité" (I, 239-40).

The Ménagier also expects such forgiveness from a husband. He tells the story of a couple of Venice; on her deathbed, the wife wished to confess to her husband that one of their three children was not his. Before she could tell him more, he pardoned her, adding that she must not tell him her story. He wished to continue to love all three children equally; and if he did not, her shame would fall not only upon his wife, but also upon himself and the rest of the family as well. The Menagier states that this is an example of what a husband and wife can be expected to do for one another.

Belle seur, ainsi véez-vous que le sage homme fleschi son courage pour saulver l'onneur de sa femme qui redondoit à luy et à ses enfans, et par ce vous appert que les sages hommes et les sages femmes doivent faire l'un pour l'autre pour sauvener son honeur (I, 183).

A successful marriage is a cooperative relationship based on mutual love. The Ménagier says that the husband must love his wife as she loves him.

Par Dieu, je croy que quant deux bonnes preudes gens sunt mariés, toutes autres amours sont reculées, annichiliées, et oublieées, fors d'eulx deux, .... Et tous leurs plaisirs espéciaulx, leurs principaulx désirs et leurs parfaicte joies sont de faire les plaisirs et obéissances l'un de l'autre, et s'ils
A loving husband will not have unreasonable expectations of his wife, and a loving wife will obey his every command with pleasure. Her obedience is an expression of her love.

In addition to obedience, a further duty required of a wife is that she provide a comfortable household for her husband. This is her part of their shared responsibilities. The Menagier points out that the husband's business is to earn the family's living outside the home; the wife's business is to manage the household. When the husband returns home, the wife should welcome him to a clean, warm house; she will see that his feet be washed and that he be given fresh shoes and hose; he will be served good food and drink, and be lovingly bedded in white sheets and furs. He speaks of the care the wife will take of him upon his return, to the aises, joys and pleasures she will make for him; to have a good fire, his feet washed, new shoes and hose, good food and drink, to be well served, well bedded in white sheets and fine furs, and all the other joys and entertainment that I have been. And the next day, new dresses, linens and garments (I, 168-69).

The Ménagier gives explicit directions on running a household successfully, instructing his wife how all the chores and duties can best be accomplished. Included in these household instructions is advice on choosing and
managing the household staff and on hiring people to do piecework or to provide seasonal services. The Ménagier gives his inexperienced wife a complete picture of what she can expect in dealing with servants and hired help; he tells her how to exert authority over them to avoid trouble. He states that it is worth paying more for servants in order to engage good ones.

Et pour ce faictes par vos gens prendre des serviteurs et aides paisibles et debonnaires et leur donnez plus, car c'est tout repos et paix que d'avoir à faire à bonnes gens (II, 56).

His wife is to be mistress of her household; in her own sphere, she will have absolute authority: "après vostre mary, vous devez estre maistresse de l'ostel, commandeur, visiteur, gouverneur, et souverain administrateur (II, 59). She can appoint a housekeeper to manage the servants for her, including hiring and firing them at her command. The Ménagier does suggest that because of her youth and inexperience, his wife should consult him for advice. However, just as the wife owes her husband obedience before others and can question him only when they are alone together, the Ménagier wishes to advise her on household matters only when they may speak together privately. He declares,

afin qu'elles [domestiques] vous obéissent mieulx et qu'elles vous doutez et craignent plus à courroucier, je vous laisse la seignorie et auctorité de les faire choisir par dame Agnès la béguine ou autre de vos filles qui vous plaîra, à recevoir en nostre service, de les louer à vostre gré et de les paier et
tenir en nostre service tant comme il vous plaira et
leur donner congé quant vous voudrez. Toutesvoies
de ce devez-vous à part secrètement parler à moy et
faire par mon conseil pour ce que vous estes trop
jeune et y pourriez bien estre deceue par vos gens
mesmes (II, 56-57).

Running a well-ordered household is his wife's responsi-
bility, and he does not wish to undermine her authority
by advising her in front of the servants. (In fact, he
has written her this livre d'enseignements for the purpose
of privately instructing her.)

The Ménagier does not instruct his wife on the
education of children. He says only that in the case of
caring for children, she will be assisted by governesses
and housekeepers ("pvez-vous bien avoir aide," II, 3).
However, it may be assumed he would advocate that any
daughters he might have should be taught to read French.
The basis for this inference is his advice to his wife that
she can derive valuable religious instruction from her
own personal reading in the books of his library (I, 62).
It is probable he would expect this advice to apply to
his daughters as well, especially in view of his patern-
alistic attitude toward his young wife. He is not
explicit on the subject of writing, saying that a wife
should correspond with her husband in his absence either
by writing him personally if she knows how or by having
someone else she can trust write for her (I, 76).
The Ménagier is concerned to instruct his wife on her duties in the relationship of marriage. She is to obey her husband and strive always to please him. She will do this because of her love for him, a love which he will return. Although the husband is seen as the master in the relationship, the Ménagier also knows that mutual love is the responsibility of both husband and wife; in this respect, marriage is a partnership.

Christine de Pisan

In Le Livre des trois Vertus, Christine de Pisan also discusses marriage as a relationship in which the husband is the master. However, the duties of the wife involve more than obedience; Christine explains how the wife's responsibilities are those of a valuable partner in the marriage.

Although her first advice is addressed to princesses and great ladies, Christine makes it clear that it applies as well to all other women: "a tottes femmes grandes, moyennes et petites" (fol. 131r°). The love for and good faith in her husband will cause a woman to be humbly obedient to him. She will obey him in all because she loves and trusts him.

La noble princesse qui en toutes choses vouldra suivre la rigle d'honneur se maintendra vers son seigneur soit viel ou jouene et tottes les manieres que en tel cas bonne foy et vraye amour commande.
Christine here suggests, as did the Ménagier and Louis IX, that because of the love a woman feels for her husband, she will be pleased to obey all his commands. Ideally, the love she feels for her husband will be returned by his love for her. As did the Ménagier, Christine encourages the expression of love between the husband and wife. She explains how this love can be fostered using the example of a newly-married couple. The young princess is served by an older lady, a governess; this older lady should use her knowledge and sophistication to guide the young couple into expressions of their mutual love, telling them discreetly how they may please one another.

Christine points out that as the love is cooperative, so are the duties necessary to run the household. The husband has the responsibility to provide the living for his family; the wife's duty is to manage the household so that the husband is comfortable when he returns home from his work.
One of Christine's suggestions for successful management of a household is the importance of living within one's budget. She explains how a woman can assume much of the responsibility for this. For a lady living on her estate, Christine mentions several considerations. Since the lady's husband will often be away from the manor leaving her in charge, it is important that the wife know exactly how much income she has to manage. She must ask him to discuss and plan with her so that she can have an accurate idea of their financial position.

Christine's comment that the wife must use gentle words to encourage her husband to discuss this subject with her indicates that a wife might otherwise have the responsibility of managing the budget without the benefit of knowing precisely what is involved. A lady following Christine's advice would have a much better chance of living within her means, a condition which Christine

\[^{4}\]Christine de Pisan, Le Livre des trois Vertus, quoted by Mathilde Laigle, Trois Vertus, p. 249.
endorses: "Car sans faille ce n'est point honte de tenir estat selon sa terre ou rente soit ores petis" (fol. 179v°). Christine further advises the lady on the wisdom of acquiring a familiarity with the law pertaining to their land and living. She will then be able to protect her family's property from those who might try to take advantage of her when she alone is in charge of running the estate.

Il appartient à celle demoiselle que elle soit tout aprise en drois de fiefz, d'ariere fiefs, de censures, de droittures, de champars, de princes, de plusierous mains et de Touttes telz coses qui sont en droit de seignourie selon les coustumes de divers pays affin que elle n'y puist estre deceue (fol. 174v°-175r°).

A wife with the knowledge to defend their rights could easily prove a valuable partner to a husband whose duties keep him away from their manor.

Christine explains to the wife of a merchant how she too can be a helpmeet to her husband. She must understand his business well enough to supervise the work in his absence.

Sy doit tant fera que elle se congnoisse en l'ouvrage affin qu'elle sache deviser à ses ouvriers se le mary n'y est et les reprendre se ilz ne font bien (fol. 198v°).

The merchant's wife can further help him keep his business solvent by discouraging him from unwisely extending credit ("lui conseille que le moins qu'il puet face de creances s'il ne scet bien ou et a qui," fol. 198v°). Christine states that the wife can do more than follow her husband's
orders; she can actively participate in their success through her own valuable contributions.

When Christine deals with the special conditions of the widow, her advice to the wife to be knowledgeable in the financial and legal affairs of her husband becomes especially helpful. If the widow is aware of her rights, there is less chance that others can take advantage of her ("aucun lui veulle faire tort de ce qui lui doit appartenir. Si comme souventeffois on fait as dames vesves soient grandes ou petites," fol. 144r°). Christine also encourages a widowed princess to maintain a good relationship with her husband’s family ("tendra à son pooir en amour les parens de son seigneur et grant honneur leur portera," fol. 144v°). For the benefit and protection of her children, she must further sustain the allegiance of the barons and knights.

Bien ara besoing de prudente dame qui desirera à garder le bien de ses enfans que elle mette a œuvre son grant savoir. Adont lui ara mestier tenir en amour les barons affin que tousjours soient bons et loyaulx et de bon conseil à son enfant. Le chevalliers, escuyers, gentilz hommes affin que de plus grant cuer voulentiers et hardiemment se combattent se mestier est et maintiennent la guerre pour leur josne seigneur (fol. 144v°).

The situation of the princess who is left a widow affects not only herself but also her husband’s subjects. It is important for the stability of society in general that she be successful in doing as Christine advises.
On a more personal level Christine addresses the widow of a lower social class, telling her that though she will be suffering much grief, she cannot expect pity from anyone. Instead, she can anticipate having money problems: "demandes de plusieurs gens en fait de debtes ou de calenges de terres ou de rentes" (fol. 191r°). To guard her good name, she will have to be exceptionally careful to do nothing that could give anyone the least reason to criticize her; she will even need to be discreet as to visits from male relatives and priests lest others misunderstand and slander her.

Ne soient trop acointables ne privees à hommes que on voye souvent frequenter en leur maisons s'ilz ne sont leurs parois. Et encore que ce soit fait discrètement. Ne beau pere, prestres, ne freres pou ou neant quelque devotte qu'elle soit, pour ce que le monde est tant enclin à dire mal (fol. 192v°).

As to the difficulty a widow can expect to encounter in protecting her property and funds, Christine suggests that it is preferable to avoid litigation; women generally don't understand the working of the law, and they can expect others to presume upon their ignorance. However, should it become inevitable to enter into proceedings-at-law, Christine gives three suggestions: first, the widow should seek advice from expert lawyers and clerks; second, she should hire experienced advocates to plead her case, not unseasoned young men; and, third, she should have a lot of money to finance the undertaking. If she lacks any of
these, she will undoubtedly lose her case: "Car sans doubte se l'une de ces iij. choses fault, quelque bonne cause que la personne ait, en peril sera de la perdre" (fol. 192r°). There is bitter irony in the third suggestion, but Christine offers some encouragement; it will be helpful for the widow to adopt the heart and courage of a man, to be strong, wise and direct, and not to dissolve in tears or hide like a cornered dog. She says,

... que elle prengne ceur d'homme. C'est assavoir constant, fort, saige pour adviser et pour poursieu- vre ce qui lui est bon à faire, non mie comme simple femme s'acrouppir en pleurs et larmes sans autre deffence comme ung povre chien qui s'acule en ung cuignet et tous les autres lui queurent sus (fol. 192v°).

A widow would find this frank advice to be valuable. Having experienced these difficulties herself, Christine knows how to prepare others for the troubling vicissitudes of widowhood.

On the subject of child-rearing, Christine offers more complete advice than did the Chevalier. She expresses her opinion that it is the duty of a mother to cherish her children and to supervise them personally and closely. Although it is the father's duty to hire the tutor for their sons, Christine would have the mother assume responsibility for overseeing the care and education of all their children. She will personally observe their progress and judge for herself the attention they are receiving. While it is important that her sons should be taught Latin and
other subjects ("que ilz soient introduis ou latin et que aucunement s'entendent es sciences," fol. 134r°), their physical care, and, even more essential, their moral development, must be of great concern to her: "Et plus a ce qui touche discipline de meurs et d'enseignemens que au gouvernement du corps" (fol. 133v°).

Daughters are to be instructed in their prayers and also should be taught to read. Christine points out, as did the Chevalier, that girls who can read will be able to benefit from studying books of devotion. She says,

... quant sa fille sera en eaige apprengne à lire; apres ce que elle sara ses heures et son service, qu'on lui administre livres de devotion ou qui parlent de bonnes meurs (fol. 134v°).

As Louis IX suggested that Isabelle surround herself with people of saintly character, Christine encourages the mother to know that the people who teach her children are exemplary. For example, the governess of a princess should be a devout woman of suitable experience:

Et que la dame ou demoiselle à qui baillera en gouvernement sa fille soit de bon renom, devotte envers Dieu, et de sens et honneur mondain, saige et prudente affin que elle lui sache bien montrer le bien, la contenance et maintien qu'il appartient a fille de prince avoir et savoir (134v°).

The mother must have similar regard for those who tutor her sons:

Ceste dame se prendra bien garde des meurs du maistre et de sa sapience, aussi des autres qui seront entour
Christine would not consider this responsibility to be burdensome. She feels that a mother is naturally interested in the welfare of her children ("nature de mere est communément plus encline au regart de ses enfans," fol. 133v°), and that it is high praise of a mother if she is said to be solicitous of her children's well-being.

Sy les doit bien tenir chierement et est grant los de dire que elle en soit soingneuse. Car c'est signe que elle est saige et bonne (fol. 134r°).

In her discussion of the woman as wife, Christine concentrates less on the obedience owed a husband than did Louis IX, the Chevalier de la Tour Landry and the Ménagier de Paris. Instead, she is more concerned with illustrating the many ways a loving wife and mother can be a valuable companion to her husband.

**Anne de France**

In Les Enseignements d'Anne de France à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon, Anne de France praises the institution of marriage as an honorable goal for her daughter, "une ordre tant belle et si prisée, ... que on ne la pourroit trop honnorer ne assez louer" (p. 37). She encourages her daughter to behave with such decorum and propriety that she will not jeopardize her chance for this happiness.
However, if Susanne is to be mistress of her behavior, she is in no way mistress of her fate. That rests ultimately with God ("s'il plaisoit à Dieu") but her family or friends will be the ones to decide if and to whom she will be married. Anne admonishes Susanne,

... ne doit on avoir, en ce cas, aucun chois, desirs, ne souhaitz, ne user en riens de sa propre et seulle voulenté, mais s'en doit-on du tout actendre à la prudence bonne grâce et ordonnance de ses amys (p. 38).

Once she is married, Susanne must then subordinate her own wishes to those of her husband. Her duty is to love, obey and honor him, for he is second only to God as master of her life. Anne suggests, as did Christine de Pisan, that maintaining a good relationship with her husband's family and friends is an additional way of honoring him.

Or pensez donc, ma fille, puisque ainsi est, que vous qui estes féminine et foible créature, devez donc bien mectre peine, quelque heureuse fortune que puissez jamais avoir, à vous conduire gracieusement, en parfaicte humilité, par espécial, envers vostre seigneur et mary, auquel, après Dieu, vous devez parfaicte amour et obéissance, et ne vous y povez trop fort humilier, ne trop porter d'honneur, et le debez servir en toutes ses nécessitez, et luy estre doulce, privée et aymable, et aussi à tous ses

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5 Le Livre des trois Vertus, B.N., f. fr. ms.1177, fol. 133r.
parens et amys, à chascun selon son degré; car en toutes choses faust tenir ordre (pp. 47-48).

Anne does not intend that Susanne should be equally complaisant to all of her husband's friends and family because an ordered society requires maintaining differentiation of rank ("plus au frere que au cousin, et ainsi à chascun selon son ordre," p. 49). This distinction of social position presents a difficult problem, that of pride.

Anne states that pride is a most damnable and troublesome vice ("ce maulvais et damnable vice d'orgueil, ..., le plus déplaisant à Dieu et au monde, et dont à présent viennent grans envyes et maulx," p. 54). As an illustration, Anne tells the story of a lady, the wife of a simple knight, who pretentiously took precedence over her aunt because her aunt was only a demoiselle; Anne adds that the lady was ridiculed by many for her ostentation (pp. 51-52). This lady's error was in priding herself above her family, forgetting her own background. Anne quotes Dr. Liénard,

... on ne peult mieulx manifester sa follie que, par son orgueil, vouloir ravaller ce dont on est descendu, et que, par raison, on doit honnorer et aymer (p. 52).

Anne also criticizes the presumption of a woman who behaved toward her own relatives in a manner which elevated them to the level of her husband's family, ignoring the
superior rights of others more nobly born (p. 55). Rank does have its privileges; those of higher social position should have their rights. Anne says:

... noblesse, laquelle, selon les termes de raison, ne doit point estre de nulz autres foulée ne amain-drie. Et doivent, en ce cas ou autres semblables, toujours, les plus grans avancer les autres, sans y user de faveur ne faintise (p. 55).

Anne does caution Susanne that she should be courteous, rather than arrogant, in asserting herself lest she annoy others.

Mais, non obstant, ma fille, à cause des murmures, haines, et envies, qui, pour soustenir et garder son droit, adviennent souvent, je vous conseille que, envers les autres, de quelque petit lieu qu'elles soient yssues, vous y usez de la plus grant courtoisie et humilité que vous pourrez, en leur portant partout honneur, sans les courroucer, ne leur faire desplaisir aucunement (p. 56).

The Chevalier de la Tour Landry recommended kindness to others for the positive reason of gaining honor. Anne recommends kindness as a means to avoid arousing the anger of others.

The etiquette involved in this question of pride and of precedence was highly devloped. Anne wants Susanne to recognize her own place in the order and to maintain it courteously but firmly. Anne's concern for social order emphasizes Susanne's position in it; Christine de Pisan was more concerned with the stability provided by maintaining the social order.
Anne also offers her daughter advice on the subject of rearing children. It is most important that children become good, virtuous people; to this end, a mother must consider their religious instruction. Anne suggests that the character of those who nurture the children is of prime consequence; thus Susanne should be particular in selecting not only the governess or tutor but also the godparents of her children. She should consider moral character rather than nobility of birth; Anne criticizes those who are more interested in the prestige of choosing high-born godparents than in the welfare of their children. She states,

... devez bien regarder par qui vous les faites baptiser, lever à l'autel, ne nourrir, car ceux-là doivent estre saiges et de honnestes conditions, sans faire comme font aucuns, à qui il ne chault qui baptise ou tienne leurs enfants, mais qu'ilz le soient haultement et noblement (pp. 103-04).

Aussi gardez bien que, autour d'eulx, n'y ait gens de maulvaix gouvernement, affin qu'ilz n'y preignent mauvais exemple, et leur remonstrez le grant bien et honneur qui vient pour estre humble et véritable (pp. 105-06).

As did Christine, Anne stresses the influence of guardians upon the children.

As to the substance of their education, Anne mentions only religious instruction. She says children are to be taught the following:

... les articles de la foy, les commandements de la loy, et en quelle manière on y peut pêcher; aussi
She further considers the possibility that the child may wish to assume a religious calling. She advises that if this should occur, Susanne should not discourage him, nor should she encourage him unless the child is mature enough to make such a momentous decision.

A religious vocation is an honorable one, but because of its serious nature, Anne insists that the resolution not be made prematurely.

Anne would agree with Christine de Pisan that the effort involved in child-rearing is pleasurable if it is done well. She says there is no joy to compare with that of having well-behaved children: "..., en ce monde, n'a telle joye au père et à la mère, que avoir enfans saiges et bien endoctrinez" (p. 104).

There is another condition which Susanne should consider. In addition to obeying and honoring her husband, Susanne may also find it necessary to serve a great lady. If she is to be a lady-in-waiting, the first consideration, for Susanne's sake, is that she be in service to a sensible good woman. Though others may decide that Susanne should
serve at court, Anne suggests that her daughter might also have some option in the matter. She says that if

... par le conseil et advis de noz seigneurs et amyz, advinst que fussiez mise à la court, ou en quelque aultre grant hostel, quoy que vous fussiez, au moins s'il vous est possible, mectez-vous en service de dame ou damoiselle qui soit bien renommée, non muable, et qui ait bon sens (p. 14).

Anne advises Susanne how to manage if she does find herself with a "foolish mistress." Anne warns that very often servants are unjustly blamed for the faults and follies of those whom they serve. She states,

... souvent advient que les serviteurs ou servantes, voire aucunes fois les plus parfaitz, portent les charges et pugnitions des grans derisions faulques soubdaines et folles entreprises que les folz maistres ou maistresses, font de leurs desraisonnables voulentés (p. 16).

Susanne will therefore hope to rectify her mistress's faults and injudicious behavior both for her own protection and for her mistress's benefit. She must proceed discreetly and subtly, perhaps by telling appropriately edifying stories or by praising the contrary behavior of others. Anne suggests.

... par subtilles manières, en doulceur et signe d'amour, comme en comptant à ce propoz nouveaulx et gracieux comptes, ou en louant aultres, et donnant bruyt de cas et faitz contraires, et tousjours revenant à la juste et morale vérité (p. 17).

Anne also recommends that Susanne could remind her mistress of her mortality, warning her of the necessity to prepare to face death and judgment. She must use this
approach only with caution and avoid lengthy lectures because her mistress will not tolerate well such a subject as death ("car ce n'est pas la coutume de telx gens, de voulentiers ouyr parler de mourir," pp. 17-18).

Regardless of who her mistress might be, Susanne's duty will be to serve her faithfully, striving always to please in all reasonable ways.

Car, quelz qu'ilz soient, on leur doit complaire puis qu'on est en leur service, c'est assavoir en choses raisonable, et non aultrement (p. 18).

If Susanne follows her mother's advice, she will bring honor to herself by serving her mistress well, and she will above all maintain her integrity.

Anne also discusses the manner in which Susanne should deal with her own servants. First, they should be of good character, and she will further encourage their devotion: "Aussi les devez induire à dévocion, ..., qu'elles ne laissent à servir Dieu" (p. 92). Anne reminds her daughter that her servants must above all be God-fearing; He is their first master as He is hers, and Susanne must never interfere in their relationship with God. Then, Susanne must superintend her servants and ladies-in-waiting to ensure that they work diligently.

Car oysiveté est fille du dyable, laquelle meine dames à perdition. Elle n'engendre pas seulement la pêché de la chair, ains tous les vices (pp. 80-81).
By saving her servants from idleness which leads to the sin of sloth, Susanne is safeguarding their souls. In addition, Anne suggests that one reason servants are uncontrolled is that their mistress fears that they may reveal her secrets; Susanne must therefore protect her own reputation by close supervision of her servants. Anne says,

... car soubz umbre de ceste souffrance, souvent se font faulx jugemens, et principalement sur la maistresse, comme de pencer qu'il y a quelque chose secrete en la maistresse (p. 81).

Anne elsewhere encourages Susanne to live a blameless life; here, she is concerned that her daughter's reputation not be indirectly and unjustly tarnished through misinterpretation by others of her servants' behavior.

However, it is not necessary that her servants work all the time. Anne also reminds her daughter that they should be allowed recreation and diversions. Once they have completed their daily tasks and their religious obligations, they may relax with singing, dancing and innocent amusements ("... vous les povez laisser aucunes fois esbatre, chanter, dancer et gracieusement jouer en toute honnestete," p. 93). Anne further exhorts her daughter to be a good mistress, saying she should be fair, loyal and honest with all members of her household.

Et s'il advenoit, ma fille, que vous eussiez hostel ou plusiers gens, gardez vous d'y user de faveur ne faintise, mais vous monstrez à tous léalle, constante, et véritable, en gardant à chascun son bon droit (p. 59).
In detailing Susanne's relationships with others, Anne stresses that she must sustain her honor. She may be in a position to serve and honor others--her husband or a mistress; or she may be in a position to guide others--her children or servants. In any circumstance, she must remain true to God and concerned with preserving her own good reputation.

Conclusion

In all these works, the most important personal relationship, that of marriage, is seen as one in which the husband is unquestionably the master. A wife owes her husband obedience second only to God. For Louis IX, in his Enseignements à sa fille Isabelle, an admonition for obedience is the whole of his advice. In Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry, the Chevalier reveals his understanding that the wife may have her own ideas as well; therefore, he concedes that complete obedience by the wife to the husband when others are present will maintain the honor of both. In Le Ménagier de Paris, the Ménagier's advice corresponds with that of the Chevalier; however, he stipulates that a good marriage will further be based on a mutual love between husband and wife. In their works, these three men approach the subject from the male viewpoint; their emphasis is on how the husband will best be served. The female
viewpoint is better expressed by Christine de Pisan in *Le Livre des trois Vertus*. She is able to suggest what a wife can contribute to the marriage and how she can be a helpful companion to her husband as well as his obedient servant. In *Les Enseignements à sa fille Susanne*, when Anne de France states that her daughter owes complete obedience to her husband, the emphasis is not that Susanne should please her husband. Rather, it is that by fulfilling the role society expects of her as a wife, Susanne will best serve her own personal integrity. With each succeeding author, greater potential is expressed for the wife to be a partner in the alliance. Christine de Pisan and Anne de France are best able to see the wife as an individual true to herself through her honorable service to her husband.
CHAPTER IV

AMOUR COURTOIS

In the late twelfth century the code of courtly love, *amour courtois*, was developed at the court of Marie de Champagne. It became an ideal of wide influence throughout the Middle Ages. According to its rules, the man was the vassal in service to the lady he loved. He could prove his love by performing the difficult feats she required of him, but he must not expect to win her favors without first demonstrating that he was worthy of her. Because courtly love must be given freely ("amer par amours") and not out of a sense of duty, it had no place in marriage; the knight's beloved was another man's wife. However, her good name was protected by secrecy, for the knight must not reveal the object of his love, not even in the poetry he wrote and sang in her honor.

Such was the ideal, but as Maurice Bardèche says, there is no good reason to believe that the ideal was actually practiced.¹ It did, however, inspire a body of literature, including lovesongs of the troubadours,

the romantic adventures of Chrétien de Troyes, the Roman de la Rose, and livres d'enseignements based on Ovid's Art of Loving, for example L'Art d'amors of Jacques d'Amiens. Such books could be dangerously misleading, for they depict an ideal that was seldom, if ever, realized. It was difficult for both men and women to live up to the ideal. Courtly love was "a kind of parlor game played by the ladies of the aristocracy; busy barons took no known notice of [it], and amorous knights made their own rules." An unsuspecting lady naively trusting the ideal could suffer deception and disgrace.

In his Enseignements à sa fille Isabelle, Louis IX makes no specific mention of amour courtois. It is completely alien to the religious character of his work. However, he does tell Isabelle to avoid all people of bad repute ("eschivez à vostre pooir toutes gens de male renomée," par. 14) in which category he would probably have classed courtly lovers.

Because the Ménagier de Paris is a sensible bourgeois, the aristocratic notion of courtly love is irrelevant to his work. In Le Ménagier de Paris, he does however mention that his wife should take care to avoid contact

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with the type of man who might try to seduce her in a
game of courtly love. He says she should be

du tout en tout estrange des oultrecuidés et oyseux
jeunes hommes et qui sont de trop grant despence
selon leur revenue, et qui, sans terre ou grands
lignaiges, deviennent danceurs; et aussi des gens
de court, de trop grans seigneurs, et en oultre de
ceux et celles qui sont renommés et renommées
d'estre de vie jolie, amoureuse ou dissolue (I, 76-77).

The Chevalier de la Tour Landry, Christine de
Pisan, and Anne de France do specifically consider the
question of *amour courtois*. Their works reveal that the
reality of courtly love affairs was far from the ideal and
fraught with peril for the lady.

**Chevalier de la Tour Landry**

In *Le Livre du Chavelier de la Tour Landry pour
l'enseignement de ses filles*, the Chevalier's attitude
toward courtly love is a positive one. He is attracted
to the concept in its purest and ideal form. Although
his wife also thinks it is a beautiful idea, she realizes
that the ideal is seldom attained. She therefore recommends
that her daughters avoid courtly love affairs.

The Chevalier reports on a debate between himself
and his wife in which he takes the position that there
are certain circumstances when a lady could love honorably.

Je vouloye soustenir que une dame ou damoiselle peut
bien amer en certains cas de honneur, comme en espé-
rance de mariage; car en amour n'a que bien et hon-
nieur, qui mal n'y pense (pp. 246-47).
He is not actually supporting courtly love with his contention that a girl could give her love to the man she hopes to marry because, according to the rules, amour courtois could only be freely given and had no place within the constraints of marriage. However, he is expressing an ideal of courtly love when he declares that the love of the lady will inspire her lover to feats of prowess and displays of knightly honor and will generally improve his behavior: "et en prent en lui meilleure maniere et meilleur maintieng en tous estaz pour plaire à sa dame et à sa mie" (p. 247). The Chevalier would not insist that the inspired lover be her husband-to-be; a married lady might enjoy the pleasure of having inspired another young man to do honorable deeds for love of her. He says,

quant elles seront mariées, que, se elles prennent aucune plaisance d'amour pour elles tenir plus gayes et plus envosyiées, ... car ... ce leur seroit grant bien de faire un homme de néant valoir et estre bon (p. 256).

He further states that once the young man has earned his place among the worthy through the feats he has accomplished in honor of his lady, he might request an embrace from her as his reward: "pour l'amour d'elle a tant fait qu'il sera nommé entre les bons, se il la requiert d'acoler et de baisier, ce n'est mie grant chose" (pp. 262-63).

His wife takes the opposite side in this debate, refuting all of his positions. She does not believe that the lover performs any of his feats for the honor of the
lady; she contends that he does them for his own pleasure and purposely deceives the lady who wants to believe herself to be his inspiration. The Dame de la Tour Landry says,

...il ne leur couste guères à le dire pour leur plaire .... Mais, combien qu'ilz disent que ilz le facent pour elles, en bonne foy ils le font pour eulx meismes (p. 248).

An unmarried girl must be careful because it is very likely that such behavior will cost her a husband rather than inspire a lover. The Dame reminds her husband of a lady whom he had declined to marry because she had been too easily inclined to speak of love: "pour le grant semblant qu'elle vous fist, vous vous retraystes de la demander" (p. 254). The Chevalier is guilty of judging the rules of courtly love by a double standard.

A married woman should avoid illicit love affairs because they can only harm her marriage. The Dame claims, as did the rules of amour courtois, that a woman can love only one person at a time ("une femme ne puet avoir deux cuers à amer l'un et l'autre," p. 257); the Dame states, however, that the lady's beloved should be her husband and not another man. A wife should avoid even any semblance of courtly romance lest false rumors ruin her reputation, spread to her husband and cause him to withdraw his love: "Et ainsi veez l'amour de leur mariage perdue, ne jamais parfaitte amour ne bien ne joye n'auront ensemble" (p. 259).
The Dame further objects that a young woman whose heart is on her romance will be too distracted to serve God as she ought ("juenne femme amoureuse ne puet jamais servir Dieu de fin cuer ne de si vray comme devant," p. 249). However, she does concede that it would be all right for a knight or esquire to love a lady if it were only for the honor of serving her, a pure form of courtly love:

Mais, se un chevallier ou escuier ayme une dame ou damoyselle par honneur, tant seulement pour l'on-neur d'elle garder, et pour le bien, la courtoisie et la bonne chière qu'elle fera à lui et aux autres, sans autre chose lui requerre, ceste amour est bonne, qui est sans requeste (p. 263).

Nonetheless, this love could never be consummated. It must remain love and honor at a distance; and she absolutely refuses that her daughters should allow a lover the reward of an embrace: "je leur deffens le baisier, le poetriner et tels manières d'esbatemens" (p. 263).

Although the Chevalier disagrees with his wife, he demurs to her judgment as regards their daughters.

Si je ne m'y pourroye consentir, ne ja ne m'y consentiray. Mais quant à voz filles, vous leur povez dire et eschargier ce qu'il vous plaist, et après du fait sera fait droit (p. 262).

There is one discussion in which the Chevalier clearly warns his daughters of the dangers of love. He discusses the follies of Eve, comparing her encounter with the serpent to the encounters of a woman with a lover.
He states that the first mistake is to listen to the sweet deceiving words ("doulces parolles et couvertes; car parfois elles sont decevables et venimeuses," p. 86). Eve's second folly was that she responded to the serpent without first consulting her husband; the Chevalier suggests a woman could handle any improper advances by asserting the need to discuss the proposition first with her husband. He says,

... se aucuns vous requiert de folie ou de chose qui touche contre vostre honneur, vous vous pouvez bien couvrir et dire que vous en parleriez à vostre seigneur (p. 87).

The third folly of Eve was that she wanted to believe the serpent, just as a foolish woman wants to believe the flattering promises a prospective lover makes her (p. 89). The fourth folly, the glance, leads to the fifth folly, touch, from which it is only a short step to the sixth folly, false delight. Eve took her delight in the taste of the forbidden fruit; the Chevalier compares this to illicit love;

... car ilz viennent à escouter la folie, et puis aux regars et puis au touchier, et du touchier au baiser, et du baiser au fait du faulx delit (p. 92).

The Chevalier is criticizing the woman who falls victim to the deception the lover practices; just as it is through the fault of Eve that mankind knows original sin, a woman's reputation is lost because she foolishly allows herself to be dishonored. It is the woman who must bear the blame.
The Chevalier gives an example of the deception and danger about which his wife has warned their daughters. He tells of the knight Bouciquaut who had sworn his love to three different ladies. These three were one day discussing their loves and discovered his infidelity: "Vrayement, ... il n'est pas si loyal chevalier comme nous cuidions. Ce n'est que un bourdeur et un trompeur de dames" (p. 52). When they confronted him, Bouciquaut replied that he was not a deceiver; he had indeed loved each one at the moment he had made his vows to her: "car à l'eure que je le dis à chacune de vous, je y avoye ma plaisance et le pensoie ainsy, et pour ce avez tort de moy tenir pour jengleur" (p. 53). The Chevalier comments that Bouciquaut was a good talker and so enjoyed great popularity ("... estoit saige et beaul parlier sur tous les chevaliers, et si avoit grant siècle et grant senz entre grans seigneurs et dames," p. 51). The Chevalier's purpose in telling this particular story is to illustrate that it is better not to argue with such a worldly sophisticate: "Et pour ce a cy bon exemple comment l'on ne doit point entreprendre parolle ne estriver

3In his notes on the edition, Anatole de Montaiglon says that the Bouciquaut here involved is the father of Jean le Maingre de Boucicaut, maréchal de France (p. 292). Thus, the Bouciquaut discussed here by the Chevalier is the father of the Boucicaut who founded the order of "la dame blanche à l'escu vert" and wrote the Livre des cent ballades.
avec celles gens" (p. 53). He fails to state that it is also an example of the deception a man may practice upon the woman he claims to love. Nevertheless, this story does point out the difference between the ideal and the reality of *amour courtois*. The reality is the reason that the Dame de la Tour Landry advises her daughters to take her advice.

Si vous di, mes chières filles, que vous ne croiez pas vostre père en ce cas, et vous pry, si chiere comme vous m'avez, pour vostre honneur garder nettement sans blasme et sans parlement du monde, que vous ne soyez point amoureuses (p. 248).

To preserve their honor, her daughters should disregard their father's praise of the idealized concept of courtly love.

Christine de Pisan

In *Le Livre des trois Vertus*, Christine de Pisan is as strongly opposed to the practice of courtly love as is the Dame de la Tour Landry. Christine contradicts each excuse commonly given in support of *aimer par amours* and offers several additional considerations to discourage a lady from such love.

To the lady who claims only to seek harmless pleasure in loving, Christine responds that there is more danger than there is pleasure, especially for the woman. There is the ever-present and real danger of being discovered and the subsequent loss of honor.
Car quant à la plaisance, soyez certaine qu'en amours a cent mille fois plus de duel et de dangers perilles par especial du costé des dames. Qu'il n'y a de plaisir. .... La paour de perdre honneur et qu'il soit sceu leur demeure ou cuer (fol. 157v°).

Christine considers it a folly to say that there will be nothing wrong in the affair because it will not actually involve any sin. She observes that no one can be so self-assured as to be certain not to become more involved.

Et quant à dire ce ne sera mie mal puisque fait de pechîé n'y a.

Helas madame ne soit nul ne nulle sy asseuree de soy qu'elle se rende certaine quelque bon propos qu'elle ait de garder tousjours mesure en se faitte amour et qu'il ne soit sceu (fol. 157v°).

To those who claim they will inspire a lover, Christine replies that it is ridiculous to devalue oneself in order to increase the worth of another.

Et à dire je feray ung homme vaillant. Certes je dy que c'est trop grant folie de soy destruire pour accroistre ung autre (fol. 157v°).

Neither should a lady claim that she will gain a loyal servant in her lover because if he were to provide her any service, others would learn of their shameful affair, and she would be dishonored.

Dieux de coy poroit servir ung tel amy à sa dame, car s'elle avoit aucun affaire il ne s'ozeroit porter en nul cas pour elle pour paour de sa deshonneur (fol. 157v°).

Nor should he declare, as do many, that he serves her when he performs feats of valor. Christine notes, as did the Dame de la Tour Landry, that he does such exploits for
his own honor, not for the honor of his lady: "Mais je
dy qu'il servent eulx mesmes. Car honneur et le preu
leur en demeure et non mie à la dame" (fol. 157v°).

Nor will Christine accept that a pleasant love
affair can be a source of solace to a lady who is unhap-
pily married. If such is the lady's circumstance, she can
acquire honor by patiently accepting her situation, but
she should not render herself a less worthy person simply
because her husband is unpleasant. Christine suggests
the lady should find other ways to keep herself amused
and occupied. For example, a mother can have no finer
pleasure than to visit her children and observe the care
they receive.

Celles qui ont enfans, quelle plus gracieuse plaisance
puet on demander et plus delictable que de souvent les
veoir et prendre garde que bien soient nouriz et
endoctrinez (fol. 158r°).

Another possibility would be to occupy herself with fine
needlework that she will be able to use and which will
keep her mind from useless thoughts. Christine says she
can

faire fins linges estrangement ouvrez ou draps de
soye ou d'autres choses de quoy elles puissent user
justement. Et telles occuppations sont bonnes et
destourbent à pensser a choses vaines (fol. 158r°).

Christine mentions several of the many other dangers
involved in illicit love affairs. The first and greatest
danger is that God will be angry, as will be her husband
and family if they should discover her shameful behavior.

In either case, the consequences will be severe.

... à parler des perils et dangers qui sont en celle amour lesquels sont sans nombre.

Le premier peril et grigneur est que on courrouche Dieu. Aprés que se le mary s'en apperçoit ou les parens la femme est morte ou cheolite en reproache ne jamais plus n'aura bien (fol. 158v°).

An adulterous wife might suffer capital punishment; at the least, she would lose all her worldly honor, and the anger of God will imperil her immortal soul.

Christine adds that even if others do not discover her affair and her lover does remain true for its duration, such loves do not last forever.

Toutefuoyes est chose vraye que l'ardeur de telle amour ne dure mie longuement mesmes aux plus loyaulx et c'est chose certaine (fol. 158v°).

Once the love is gone, the perils yet remain. The lady will regret her folly: "combien elle vouldroit que ... ne ly fust advenu et que tel reproche d'elle ne peust estre ditte" (fol. 158v°). She will fear that her former lover and "servant" will reveal what she has done. If he tells, she is dishonored; if he does not tell, she worries when he will.

Et en la fin souvrenteffois de telle amour le blasme et parler des gens aux dames en demeurent ou à tout le mains la crainte et le paour en leurs cuers que ceux mesmes en qui se sont fiez le dient et s'en vantent ou aucun autre qui le fait fache (fol. 158v°-159r°).
The servants who knew of their mistress's infidelity are another source of the danger of revelation. They may easily reveal her secret, either by speaking of it or by their impertinent behavior which the lady will not dare correct lest they betray her. Nevertheless, others who notice the situation will perceive the truth, and will tell of her disgrace.

Et que pensez vous que dient ceulx et celles qui en voyent et nottent. Ilz n'y penssent fors ce qui y est. Et soyez certaine qu'ilz en murmurent assez (fol. 159r°).

When everyone knows or suspects the worst, the lady's reputation will be tarnished, and her fears will have been realized. She will have lost a great treasure, the good name which all ladies should seek and cherish:

... toutte grant maistresce et semblablement toute femme doit trop plus estre convoitouse d'acquerir bon renom que quelconque autre tresor. Car il la fait reluire en honneur et demeure tousjours a elle et ses enfans (fol. 157r°).

For the princess, there is an additional danger. The shame resulting from her love affair could have serious consequences for her children's future happiness. Even if she had only an innocent flirtation, doubt will be cast upon the legitimacy of her children.

Et aussi pour cause de leurs enfans qui doivent seignourir les terres et estre princesses des autres gens. Si est grant meschief quant il y a aucune souppechon qu'il ne soient drois hoirs et maint mes- cief en puet advenir. Car posons qu'il n'y ait mes- fait de corps se ne le croient mie ceulx qui seule- ment oront dire telle dame est amoureuse (fol. 156v°).
This is a grave consideration. Not only could such an affair ruin the reputation of the great lady and her children, but also when a question of legitimacy arises, it would adversely affect the peace and stability of her country.

Christine explains that she does not mean that a lady can never enjoy herself in the company of gentlemen. On the contrary, she should take pleasure in entertaining visitors well, devoting care and attention to them according to the degree of their rank.

Et ne dis mie que une grant maistresse ne se puist bien esbatre, rire et jouer convenablement en temps et lieu mesmement ou il ait seigneurs et gentilz hommes et que elle ne doye honnourer les estraingiers selon qu'à sa haultesse appartient chacun selon son degré (fol. 158r°).

However, such entertaining should be done with a calm, dignified manner. Above all she should take care to avoid any behavior which could be misinterpreted as amoureuse. She should behave

... si rassizement et de si bel maintieng qu'il n'y ait ung tout seul regard, ung ris, non une parolle qui tout ne soit à mesure et par raison assiz. Et tousjours doit estre sur sa garde que on ne puist apperchevoir à parolle, regart ou contenance en elle chose desconvenable ne mal seant (fol. 158).

To protect her good name, a lady must avoid any connection with courtly love and lovers. Christine has shown that it is highly improbable that an illicit affair will have any benefits and pleasures to commend it, and certainly
none to balance the dangers that are present. The evils are so many that Christine says she could not possibly tell them all. A lady must not deceive herself into believing that she can take pleasure without peril for she simply cannot.

Tres redoutée dame, que vous en diroye, soyez certaine que aussi tost on espuiseroit ung abisme comme l'en poroit raconter tous les perilleux maulx qui sont en icelle vie amoureuse. Et ne doubtez du contraire car il est ainsi (fol. 159v).

Anne de France

In her Enseignements à sa fille Susanne, Anne de France insists that her daughter avoid courtly love altogether. As did the Dame de la Tour Landry and Christine de Pisan before her, she points out the dangers such love poses to a woman.

When Anne praises love to her daughter, she refers to the esteem and honor which Susanne should hope to acquire by her pleasant and virtuous behavior to all. She tells her:

... vous vous devez tant plus fort mettre en peine d'estre vertueuse, affin de faire toujours tant, que vostre conversation soit honnesteté et bonne, et en toutes choses courte et amiable, que vous soiez à tous plaisante, et de chacun aymée (p. 31).

Such a love, which is founded on honesty ("honnesteté en soit la fondation," p. 31), has no connection with amour courtois, which Anne refers to as "other love," a devilry and hypocrisy. Urging with all her authority as a mother,
she commands her daughter to eschew this false love,
in word, thought and deed.

Car autre amour n'est que faulce deablerie et ypocri-
sie, laquelle je vous commande fouyr, de toute l'auc-
torite et puissance que mere peult et doit avoir sur
fille. C'est assavoir de semblans, regardz, parolles,
couraiges, pensees, desirs, voulentez, et puissances
(p. 31).

Anne explains her vehemence by expressing her contempt
for the perfidy of men who abuse love ("tant deshonneste-
ment en use l'on à present," p. 32).

She says there is no man who does not consider it
to his credit to deceive women; stating,

... il n'y a si homme de bien, tant noble soit, qui
n'y use de traison, ne à qui ce ne semble bon bruit,
d'y abuser ou tromper femmes de façon, soient de
bonne maison ou autres, ne leur chault ou (p. 32).

An example of such betrayal is found in the experience of
a great lady whom a knight vowed to love, swearing on his
faith as a noble man and on the altar where mass was sung
daily; he kept his vow less than four hours: "lequel
chevalier ne teinst pas son serment plus de quatre heures"
(p. 33).

Anne concedes, as did the Dame de la Tour Landry,
that courtly love would be a wonderful thing if it could
exist in its ideal form. If a worthy, honorable woman
were to find a lover whose qualities matched hers, they
would realize the ideal.

Aussi certainemment, il ne fault pas doubter, que
si telle vertueuses conditions s'abordoient
ensemble, ... que l'amour n'y fust merveilleusement grande, et la fin bonne et honneste (p. 34).

The reality of such love is unfortunately otherwise.

Furthermore, God would not want such good qualities wasted on amour courtois; He would not allow the ideal affair because it might interfere with the devotion each lover owes Him.

... Dieu ne veult point consantir, que couraiges fermes francs et loyaulx en ce cas trouvent leur semblable, de doubte que l'amour, qui doit estre principalement à luy, n'y fust ajoincte et actri-buée (p. 34).

Nor would the devil allow it. He would destroy the ideal love affair to prevent the worldly honor and the good which it might cause.

... l'ennemy qui est plain de venimeuse subtilité, de sa puissance se efforce de rompre et eslogner telle amour pour les grans biens et honneurs qui s'en peuvent ensuivre (p. 35).

Thus Anne concludes that the ideal affair of courtly love is a match made neither in Heaven nor in Hell.

If, despite her mother's warning, Susanne were to indulge in such an affair, she would suffer. Even if she were not deceived by a false lover, nevertheless her reputation would be ruined. If she trusts anyone, she is indulging in self-deception. Anne warns her,

... ne vous fiez en chastété, force ne perfection que vous cuydez congnoistre en vous ne en aultre, créant que une entre mille n'en eschappe pas sans estre chargée de son honneur ou deceue, tant soit l'amour bonne ou parfaicte (p. 35).
Having told Susanne to avoid any involvement in an illicit love affair, Anne tells her how to decline any offers and propositions. Most important is that she refuse politely: "user de paroles doulces et humbles" (p. 127). Not only is humility praiseworthy, but it will also be more effective. If her answer is arrogant and proud, she will not discourage her suitor, but rather encourage him. For if she indulges in one sin, that of pride, he may readily believe that she will eventually yield to his repeated requests: "Et croiez, quant vous y feriez fières responces, que plus tost on vous requerrera, penseant que ce vice n'est pas seul" (p. 128). Additionally, Susanne may wish to express her surprise and displeasure to him, that he would suggest such a dishonorable thing, pointing out to him the "eternal joys and honorable praise" which are earned by those who are virtuously chaste. Anne suggests,

... povez dire que ne croiriez jamais qu'il eussent le couraige si bas ravallé, que le mettre en si villes choses, en leur remonstrant les éternelles joyes et honorables louanges, que on acquiert par l'excellente vertu de chasteté (p. 129).

The easiest way for Susanne to protect herself from such offers is to avoid the men who make them: "car c'est souverain remède pour bien soy garder" (pp. 129-30). However, as she participates in the company of good society, she will inevitably encounter them. She can turn such experiences to her benefit if they serve as a test of her virtue.
Si sont doncques dignes de estre louées les femmes qui, en ce misérable monde, sçavent vivre en purité de conscience et chasteté, et sont dignes d'avoir gloire éternelle (p. 131).

With the help of the Virgin Mary, Susanne can live honorably and without reproach to her reputation. She should pray for help,

... à la doulce vierge Marie, ... que, en ce monde, vous puissiez vivre sans reproche, mais en toute purité et netteté puissez garder vostre honneur (pp. 126-27).

Conclusion

The position taken in each of these works is that women should avoid becoming involved in affairs of courtly love. The Chevalier de la Tour Landry declares himself in favor of "amer par amour," but the double standard by which he judges and the opinion of his wife present the opposite view. His daughters are told to follow their mother's advice in this matter. Christine de Pisan stands clearly in opposition to the concept of amour courtois; in Le Livre des trois Vertus, she insists that the dangers are real and many to a woman who foolishly believes she will find pleasure in such an affair. In Les Enseignements à sa fille Susanne, Anne de France admits that she considers the ideal of courtly love to be wonderful and honest; however, she realizes that in practice, such love is far from the ideal, and she commands Susanne to avoid it.
All three women counsel against illicit love affairs because of the perils a woman must face. It is inevitable that the lady will be hurt. At the very least, she will suffer deception. In their arguments against courtly love, Anne de France and the Dame de la Tour Landry are particularly interested in protecting their own daughters from the dangerous deceptions of *amour courtois* as they know it is practiced. They each concede that the ideal of being loved from afar could be beautiful and honorable, but they know that it is not reasonable to expect it to be so. Calling on their authority as mother, they tell their daughters to have no part of courtly love. Christine de Pisan is primarily concerned with a lady's honor and good name. She knows that the theory of courtly love may be attractive to her readers, but she warns them how they would be deceived, dishonored and disgraced.
CHAPTER V

DRESS AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Introduction

During the Middle Ages costumes of wealthy men and women were beautiful and colorful. Beginning about 1360, manuscript illuminations reveal the development of "fashion" as we know it today; that is, rapidly changing styles.¹ Fine linens and woolens were decorated with silks and satins, furs and velvets, jewels, and embroideries of gold and silver. Costume was an indicator of wealth and, supposedly, of class; the higher one's social position was, the more lavishly adorned should be his dress. However, the rising middle class was often able to afford finer clothing than some noblemen, and sumptuary laws were passed to attempt to restrain spending on wardrobe according to rank.

The subject of dress is an important one for these five livres d'enseignements because the way a woman presents herself to the world in her dress and grooming has an effect both on her self-esteem and on how the world will

judge her. With a view to the extravagance and expense of medieval costume and its close relationship to social estate, the five authors discuss how personal appearance and dress contribute to a lady's honor before God and before the world.

**Louis IX**

In his *Enseignements à sa fille Isabelle*, Louis IX does not devote many words to the subject of dress; but though it is brief, the advice he gives his daughter covers four important points and supports his basic theme that she should live to love and serve God.

First of all, she should dress according to her rank, which implies that, as a royal princess, she may have fine clothes and jewels. However, she does not need to have too many. Isabelle must use her own judgment, taking into consideration this advice from her father. Louis adds that any money she does not spend on clothing can be used instead for alms to the poor.

Isabelle should not spend too much time and effort in dressing, and she should avoid any extraordinary costume, seeking instead always to achieve moderation, choosing less rather than more. He states,

> ... que vous ne metiez mie trop grant tans ne trop grant estuide en vous parer ne achesmer. Et prenez garde que vous ne fachiez outrage en votre atour, mais tousjours vous enclinez au chois devers le mains que devers le plus (par. 16).
Louis' personal preference for his own dress was a simple style.

It seems that, according to Robert de Sorbon, Louis's form of dress did not please his wife:

"Madam," said the King to the Queen, "It would please you would it if I dressed myself more modishly?" The Queen replied that it would and that she wished he would. The prince replied, "All right, I will do it for you since the laws of marriage decree that the man must please his wife, and vice versa. But this law which makes me bow to your wishes works both ways and you have agreed to accede to mine as I to yours. Therefore I wish you to give me the pleasure of wearing simpler clothes. You wear mine and I will wear yours." This the Queen refused to do, so that she had to allow her husband to dress in his habitual style.

Louis is not as concerned with fashion as the later authors will be because it had not yet become customary for new modes to come and go rapidly. Although his advice is not definite, he has nevertheless informed his daughter of his opinion in the matter of dress. If she follows his advice, Isabelle will not allow preoccupation with dress to interfere with a life of love for and service to God.

Chevalier de la Tour Landry

In Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles, the Chevalier's instructions on the subject of dress and personal appearance are more extensive and contain more specific details. He uses

colorful tales to illustrate the effects of dress on the acquisition of worldly honor and heavenly reward or divine punishment.

He advises his daughters to dress according to the style of the good ladies of their own country. There is no honor in following new or foreign modes, but only dishonor and mockery. He illustrates this point with a report of a debate between a woman who followed the latest trends in fashion and a knight whose wife maintained conservative provincial style. The knight had the better arguments, including his statement that the wisest women are those who are the last to take up new styles: "les plus saiges sont celles qui derrenièremenl prennent telles nouveaultez" (p. 47). The Chevalier concludes from this example that if his daughters wish to avoid being ridiculed, they will follow the moderate, most common styles of good ladies of their own country.

Et pour ce, belles filles, a cy bonne exemple de prendre et tenir l'estat moyen et l'estat des bonnes dames de son pays et du commun du royaulme dont l'en est, c'est assavoir dont les plus des bonnes dames usent communément, ... car à prandre nouvel estat venu d'estranges femmes ne d'autruy pays, l'en est plus tost moquée et rigolée que de tenir l'estat de son pays (p. 48).

He repeats his counsel of following the moderate path, doing less rather than more ("tenir le moyen estat, c'est à en faire plus sur le moins que sur le plus," p. 102) supporting this advice with stories of women who did not.
One young woman was ridiculed when she wore a fantastic headdress in the form of a gallows (p. 104). Another woman was so interested in clothes that God finally caused her to be paralyzed until she learned her lesson and served a seven-year penance. It was she who admitted that often she had worn her dresses so tight when she was pregnant that she had jeopardized the life of the child she carried (pp. 58-60). Others, in an effort to appear slim, had worn so little clothing that they could not keep warm in the cold of winter (pp. 236-39, 241-42). One foolish girl who had done this lost her healthy color and is described as being black with cold ("toute noire de froît," p. 237). The suitor whom she had been trying to impress with her slimness chose instead to marry her sister who had dressed warmly and looked pink-cheeked and healthy. The Chevalier concludes that this story provides a good reason to avoid wearing light clothes in the cold of winter for the sake of a slim appearance.

Sy est cy bon exemple comment l'en ne se doit mie si lingement ne si joliettement vestir, pour greslier et faire le beau corps ou temps d'yver, que l'on en perde sa manière et sa couleur (p. 239).

In order to look slim, the Chevalier recommends instead the benefits of fasting three days a week. "Après, mes chères filles, vous devrez jeuner, ... trois jours en
la sepmaine pour mieux donter votre chair, que elle ne s'esgaye trop" (p. 14).

The Chevalier mentions two women whose toilettes had led them astray. By flaunting herself as she combed her hair, Bathsheba caused David to fall in love with her, and they both sinned as a result of her vanity: "Et tout ce pechée vint pour soy pingnier et soy orguillir de son beau chief, dont main mal en vint" (pp. 154-55). Another woman who had worn make-up was seen in her coffin to be incredibly ugly, uglier than she would have been had she never worn make-up. "Sy pense bien que le farde- ment de la painture, qu'elle vouloit faire et mettre en elle, estoit l'achoyson de cellui fait" (p. 112). The Chevalier asks his daughters to remember this woman's fate and to refrain from altering the faces God has given them, not plucking their eyebrows nor forehead.

Pourquoy, mes belles filles, je vous pry, prenez cy bon exemple et le retenez en vos cuers, et ne adjou- stez à vos faces, que Dieux a faites à sa sainte ymaige, fors ce que luy et nature y ont mis; ne rapetissiez vos sourcilz ne fronts (p. 112).

The story of a widowed chevalier who had lost three beloved wives provides several valuable lessons. The first wife is burning in Hell because she had too many clothes. The extravagance of her costume outweighs all her goodness and charitable actions, and she is condemned to torment. Specifically, the devil pointed out
to St. Michael that this woman had had more than twice the clothes she needed. She had owned ten sets of gowns, long and short and cote-hardies (close-fitting, knee-length garments), when one long and two short gowns and two cote-hardies should have been sufficient. In fact, God would have preferred that she have even fewer than that:

... ceste femme avoit dix paires de robes, que longues, que courtes, que costes hardies, et vous savez bien qu'elle en eust assez de la moitié moins, c'est d'une robe longue et de deux courtes et de deux cottes hardies, pour bien se y passer selon une simple dame, et encore elle s'en deust bien passer à moins selon Dieu (p. 106).

The Chevalier notes further that although there are many women who willingly pay it, he considers forty to eighty francs is an exorbitant price to pay for a gown. Yet these same women think they are being generous if they give one franc, or even less, for charitable purposes.

... toutesfois en a-il maintes par le monde, qui ont bien le cuer à faire acheter une robe de Ix. ou de iiiiiXX francs; mais elles tendroient à grant chose se elles avoient donne pour Dieu un seul franc ou une cote d'un franc à un povre homme (p. 108).

The second wife, who also loved pretty clothes, went from that sin to the sin of adultery; her interest in being admired for her lovely appearance had led to her further sinning and resulted in her condemnation to Hell. The third wife was also condemned to burn in Hell for having plucked her eyebrows and forehead. Where each hair had been plucked, an eternal flame burned and tortured her.
The Chevalier asks his daughters to learn from the tale of these three women that too much concern for one's personal appearance can lead to pride and thence into adultery, sins which God punishes severely.

The Chevalier counsels the necessity for dignified deportment with a story of worldly honor. When the King of England went to choose a wife from amongst the daughters of the King of Denmark, it was expected he would choose the eldest and most beautiful. However, she turned her head from side to side, looking all around, which gave her a flighty, undignified appearance. The second daughter talked too much, interrupting when she should have been listening. The youngest sister, though she was not beautiful, was the most attractive of the three daughters. Her bearing was sure and graceful; she spoke seldom, but intelligently; her gaze was humble, but steady. Because of her dignified manner, it was she who was chosen to be honored as the wife of the King of England (pp. 27-27). For this reason, the Chevalier concludes his daughters should take care not to have a roving eye nor to turn their head from side to side, but to move their body carefully when they need to see. They are counseled not to speak all the time, but only when they have something worth saying, and to listen carefully when someone speaks to them. He says,

... n'aiés pas trop l'œil au veoir ne vertillous, ne ne tournés le visage ne ça ne la; quant vous
vouldrez resgarder quelle part que ce soit, virés visaige et corps ensemble, et ne soiez pas trop em-parliers, car qui parle trop ne puet toujours dire que saige. Et doit-on bien à loisir entendre avant que respondre; mais, si vous y faictes un peu de pause entre deulx, vous en respondrez mieulx et plus saigement (p. 27).

The Chevalier uses vividly detailed stories to encourage his daughters to make honorable choices in dress and deportment. The ridicule and mockery or severe punishment suffered by the women in the Chevalier's illustrations should convince his daughters to follow his advice.

Le Ménagier de Paris

In Le Ménagier de Paris, the Ménagier offers his young wife advice on being neatly dressed according to their social position and on having a dignified manner. In contrast to the colorful tales used by the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, the Ménagier bases his instructions on his own opinions. As Louis IX does with Isabelle, the Ménagier expects his wife to use her own knowledge and common sense in the application of his suggestions.

The Ménagier first requests that his wife keep in mind their financial state, what they can afford to do, and their place in society, the position of their kinfolk, with whom she will regularly associate. She should follow the fashion of her own class, maintaining her rank in the conservative style, neither overdressed nor underdressed, nor in the latest fashion.
Sur quoy, chère seur, sachiez que se vous voulez ouvrer de mon conseil, vous aurez grant regard et grant advis aux facultés et puissances de vous et de moy selon l'estat de vos parens et des miens entour qui vous aurez à fréquenter et reparier chacun jour. Gardez que vous soiez honnêtement vestue, san induire nouvelles devises et sans trop ou pou de bouban (I, 13).

He emphasizes the importance of neatness and cleanness.

She should be neatly and tidily attired before she goes out of the house.

Et avant que vous partiez de vostre chambre ou ostel aiez paravant avisé que le colet de vostre chemise, de vostre blanchet ou de vostre coste ou surcot ne saillent l'un sur l'autre (I, 13-14).

Gardez donc, belle seur, que vos cheveulx, vostre coiffe, vostre cueuvrechief et vostre chapperon et le surplus de vos atours soient bien arengéement et simplement ordenés (I, 14-15).

She should carry herself with dignity, not like foolish women who go about without shame, their clothes in disarray, their hair astray, walking mannishly and uncouthly. He describes these

... yvrongnes, foles ou non sachans qui ne tiennent compte de leur honneur ne de l'onnesteté de leur estat ne de leurs maris, et vont les yeulx ouvers, la teste espoventablement levée comme un lyon, leurs cheveulx saillans hors de leurs coiffes, et les colez de leurs chemises et cottes l'un sur l'autre et marchent hommassement et se maintiennent laide-ment devant la gent sans en avoir honte (I, 14).

He gives his wife explicit instructions on how she is to bear herself when she walks to town or to mass. She will walk straight and solemnly, with her eyelids lowered and
still, looking upon the ground four rods ahead of her, without stopping to visit.

... ayant la teste droite, les paupières basses et arrestées et la veue droit devant vous quatre toises et bas à terre, sans regarder ou espandre vostre regard à homme ne à femme qui soit à destre ou à senestre, ne regarder hault, ne vostre regard changer en divers lieux muablement, ne rire, ne arrester à parler à aucun sur les rues (I, 15).

The Ménagier has instructed his wife specifically on her deportment when she walks in public. He has also given her general suggestions on how she is to dress, stressing neatness, cleanliness, and appropriateness to their station in life; he trusts her good sense and good taste to know how to apply this information to her selection of her wardrobe. If she follows his advice, she will set a good example and be honored for her respectable dress and for maintaining her rank properly.

Christine de Pisan

In Le Livre des trois Vertus, Christine de Pisan also stresses the necessity of and the honor attached to dressing according to one's own rank. She insists that each class should maintain its own style of dress. Furthermore, she advocates conservatism; no one should wish to be among the first to wear new styles, which she considers unattractive. Instead the dignity of established fashions should be maintained. Cost should be a consideration for all.
A great lady should dress well, richly, with fine jewels and accessories. This recognizes and honors God who has given her this great estate.

Il appartient bien que toute princesse ou dame terrrienne, selon son degré, soit ricement atournée, tant de vestemens, d'atours, de paremens, de joyaulx, comme de grant court de gens et d'estat pour l'onneur de l'office de Dieu l'a assize.

However, even a great lady should avoid wearing anything grander than her predecessors wore or trying a new style of dress, for that is against honor and moderation.

Mais ne doubte pas que se toy ou autre n'estoye contente de tel estat ou habillement que tes nobles devanchieres ont porté que vouslisses avoir plus grant ou commenchier nouvelles choses, tu mespren­deroies et feroyes contre ton honneur et contre le bien de sobrece (fol. 127v).

As did the Chevalier de la Tour Landry and the Mélangier, Christine also stresses that dignified and graceful bearing is an important part of a woman's personal appearance.

Prudence et sobrece aprendront a la dame a avoir parler ordonné et saige eloquence, et non pas mignotte mais rassize, coye, assez basse et à beaux traits, sans faire mouvements du corps, de la teste, ne des mains, ne grimaces du visage. La gardera de trop rire et non sans cause (fol. 128r).

Christine laments current trends of women dressing above their rank. Traditionally, a duchess would never have dared to wear the outfit of a queen, nor a simple lady to wear that of a countess. Now disorder reigns,

³Christine de Pisan, Le Livre des trois Vertus (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. 1177), fol. 127v. All subsequent references to this manuscript will be cited in the text.
and all classes dress above their rank: "Mais a présent pareillement que tout est désordonné."  

She finds it even more deplorable that when one person decides to try an outrageous new style, others follow.

"Et tout ainsy que les brebis sievent l'une l'autre. S'il y a aucun home ou femme que voye faire outragé à aultre ou desordonnance en habit ou habillement, tantost les aultres le sievent, et dient, il faut faire comme les aultres."

Christine says she cannot understand how anyone could be so foolish unless it is lack of good sense. The greatest mockery is to see someone dressed in great estate who has no right to it nor can she afford it.

"Et sans faille je ne say quelle plaisance ce puet estre et n'est que faulte de sens qui ainsy abuse creature. Car par telz outrages d'estat, d'abis, et d'abillemens, on n'en est de riens mieulx pri-siez, mais mains de ceulx et celles qui ont sens. Car il n'est plus grant moquerie que de veoir à personne, qui que elle soit, grant et outrageux estat et on scet bien qu'il ne luy appartient ou qu'il n' y a de quoy le maintenir."

In fact, many go unnecessarily into debt to buy gowns, pawning one gown to buy the next, all because everyone wants to dress like royalty.

"Car plusieurs s'en desertent et mettent à povrete par telz outrages qui fussent bien aise se amodera-ment volssissent vivre. .... Et fault que ilz

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4Le Livre des trois Vertus (Brussels: Bibliotheque Royale, ms. 9235), fol. 194v°.

5Ibid.

6Ibid., fol. 195r°.
As do Louis IX and the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, Christine would prefer that money being spent on dress be used instead for charity. She notes that even a woman without a great deal of wealth can spare some of her clothing allowance for alms for the poor (fol. 126r°). And the wife of a wealthy merchant could gain more honor by spending money on charity to the poor than by spending it on expensive clothes (fol. 190).

Christine describes one gown, sewn for a simple dame, made of five Parisian ells of Brussels cloth, trailing three quarters of a cubit on the ground, with sleeves down to the feet. Christine considers this extravagant gown, by its ugliness and inappropriate styling, to be one that will prove that moderate styles are more pleasing. She describes this gown that a tailor had made

pour une damme simple que demeure en Gastinois, une cotte hardie ou il a mis .v. aunes a la mesure de Paris de drap de Bruxelles de la grant moison. Et trainne bien par terre .iij. quartiers de keulbe. Et aux mances a bombardes qui vont jusques aux piez. Mais Dieux scet se selon c'est habit couvient large atour et haultes cornes qui est en verité ung tres lait abillement et qui messiet. N'est pas doubtre qui cler y voit le moyen est le plus doulx et le plus plaisant.8

7 B.R. 9235, fol. 195r°.
8 Ibid.
She considers fashion elsewhere, and especially in her native Italy, to be more reasonable. They don't change styles so often and the gowns are covered with jewels and stones which can be used more than once; thus, clothes cost less. She notes with practicality that long, dragging sleeves of the French style will wear out and need replacing. Christine also prefers the Italian style of headdresses because the Italians reveal more hair, and hair is a woman's finest adornment: "Car il n'est ou monde plus gracieux a tor à femme que biaulx ceveulx bons."\(^9\)

Christine's counsel to the bourgeoises summarizes the advice she has given. There are five good reasons why they should avoid giving inordinate attention to their costume and personal appearance. First, it is a sin, displeasing to God, to be unusual in one's person, altering one's God-given appearance: "c'est pechie et chose qui desplaist à Dieu d'estre tant curieuse ou curieux de son corps" (fol. 203vº). Second, one does not gain honor but loses it by outrageous dress or behavior: "De faire oultrage on n'en est ja pour ce plus prisié, mais mains" (fol. 203vº). The third reason is that it is an impoverishing waste of money: "gastement d'argent, apovrissement et vidange de bourse" (fol. 203vº). Fourth, it sets a bad example, and the problem escalates, as

\(^9\)B. R. 9235, fol. 195vº.
when a dame sees a mere damoiselle dressed as grandly as herself and feels she must dress more grandly to assert her superior rank.

... on donne mauvais exemple à aultruy, c'est assavoir cause de ainsy faire ou plus. . . . Par ce que chacune tent tousjours sourmonter l'aultre dont maintes gens sont grevez et apovris en France et aultre payt (fol. 203v°)

Finally, outrageous costume engenders sin in others by causing them either to gossip or to be envious: "oultrageux habis occasion à aultruy de pechier ou en murmuration ou en convoitise desordonnaée qui est chose qui trop desplais a Dieu" (fol. 204r°).

Christine has expressed a sense of impatience in dealing with the subject of dress. She deplores the lack of common sense she sees revealed in those who wear strange new styles or dress above their rank, often acquiring heavy debts to do so. Christine dislikes this lack of respect for traditional values, for it represents to her a troubling disorder in society.

Anne de France

In her chapters on the subject of dress in her Enseignements à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon, Anne de France counsels her daughter to dress neatly and stylishly, according to her rank, but to avoid extreme styles or preoccupation with dress. She also explains the importance of dignified deportment. Anne adds her opinion on the style
of dress to be worn by Susanne's ladies-in-waiting and her daughters, as well as some thoughts on beauty and on aging gracefully.

In contrast to Christine de Pisan, Anne does not object to new styles. As does the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, she feels that her daughter should dress according to the style of the country in which she is living. But while the Chevalier's daughters are advised to wear whichever style is that of the majority of respected ladies of that country, Anne counsels her daughter that she should wear the style which pleases her own mistress. Thus, if her mistress wore the latest styles, Susanne would also wear the newest fashions. Anne does, however, caution these exceptions: Susanne must be young enough that she does not look ridiculous in the styles, nor should she wear anything that does not suit her rank or that is too extraordinary.

Aussi, ma fille, touchant ces habitz et atours, je suis assez contente, tant que serez jeune et en estat pour les porter, que, selon la coustume du pais ou vous serez, et le plaisir de vostre maistresse, que vous les portez (pp. 24-25).

Susanne should take care always to be neatly dressed and to look as fine as she can, but she should not allow herself to become preoccupied with dress to the point of neglecting her duties to God.

Et ne peult homme ou femme de fasson estre trop gent ou trop net à mon gré; mais que ce soit sans
trop grant curiosité, et qu'on n'y mecte pas tant son cueur, qu'on en laisse à servir Dieu (p. 25).

There is a further danger in becoming preoccupied with dress, and that is that one might develop so much pride in her appearance as to anger God. For this reason, Anne advises that Susanne choose to follow moderation in her wardrobe, regardless of how much wealth she might have.

... car en toutes choses, le moyen est vertueux; pour ce je vous conseille le tenir, quelque habondance de biens ne d'honneurs que jamais vous aiez, affin que, par orgueil, vous ne courrouciez Dieu (p. 92).

Anne explains further what she means by extraordinary costume when she advises her daughter not to wear the most outrageous styles, such as those which are too tight or those which hang down too low: "je vous conseille que ne les portez pas les plus oultreageux, trop estroitz, ne fort cheans" (p. 27). As did the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, Anne also disapproves of attempts to appear slimmer by wearing clothes too tightly laced or by wearing lightweight clothing in winter. Anne mentions that the latter will probably result at least in losing one's healthy color, but what is even more serious is that either action may result in fatal illness. Such a cause of death would be a great sin, suicide.

Ma fille, ne soiez pas aussi de celles qui, pour sembler plus gentes et menues, se vestent en yver si ligèrement qu'elles en gellent de froit, et en sont souvent jaulnes et descoulorées, et tant que, par les secretes froidures, qu'elles y prennent, ou pour
Anne stresses the importance of a dignified bearing, as did the Chevalier, the Ménagier, and Christine de Pisan. Anne counsels Susanne to avoid all unnecessary movement, but to be deliberate and graceful in her manner, for ladies "ne doivent mouvoir corps ne membre sans besoing, et par droit ordre de doulceur compassée en toute raison" (p. 29). Anne then illustrates the importance of these points with a story. She tells of three daughters of a Poitiers nobleman who were known for their beauty. However, through their own foolish behavior, the girls lost the opportunity to marry three German princes who had come to propose. The first daughter fainted because she was so tightly laced and cinched; her suitor feared she might never be able to bear children and so decided against marrying her. The second prince disliked the flighty, giddy, foolish manner of the second daughter and decided not to propose. The third daughter flirted and spoke so boldly that her suitor judged her foolish and unchaste. Anne draws many lessons from this example. She instructs Susanne,

... vous gardez ... de faire nulles lourdes contenance, tant de branler ou vire la teste ça ne là, comme d'avoir les yeulx agus, légiers, ne espars. Aussi de beaucoup ne trop rire, quelque cause qu'il
y ait; ... de parler beaucoup, n'avoir langaige trop afilé, ... (p. 43).

Gardez vous aussi de courir ne saillir, d'aucun pincer ne bouter (p. 45).

The question of rank reappears when Anne instructs her daughter on the handling of her ladies-in-waiting. She explains that Susanne must always show herself to be the mistress, and that dress is as important as behavior in this respect. Her gowns and accessories must always be finer than those of her ladies, stressing Susanne's social superiority. Susanne must dress according to her role,

..., affin aussi de mieulx vous montrer leur maistresse, tant en port, manieres, semblans, que en atours, robbes et autres habillemens, lesquelz habillemens vous devez tous jours avoir meilleurs et plus riches que nulle de voz femmes, et en rien ne vous en doivent ressembler (p. 91).

Similarly, Susanne should dress her daughters according to their rank. They should dress differently from the daughters of her husband's relations, according to their respective positions: "... doit avoir difference des habitz de voz filles à ceulx des parentes de vostre mary, et, selon leur degré" (p. 113). However, her daughters should not be too well-dressed because that might arouse the envy of some who might wish to hinder their advancement: "... par l'envye des maulvaix sont plusieurs reboutez de leur bien et avancement" (p. 106).
As for Susanne, she should not try to rival her daughters once they become beautiful young women: "Et quant elles seront en eage de porter atours, peu à peu vous devez laisser les vostres" (pp. 106-07). Anne considers that once a woman has passed the age of forty, she will have lost any beauty that might once have been hers. No clothing, regardless of how finely made, can hide the wrinkles of age.

Beauty, however, is the least dependable, least desirable attribute a woman could have anyway.

Susanne should follow moderation in dress and should teach the same to her daughters and expect it of her ladies in order to gain for herself an honor and renown which will be worthy of being remembered forever.

In counseling her daughter to follow moderation, ("le moïen"), Anne intends that Susanne will dress neatly and stylishly; she does not object to new fashions unless
they are extreme. Susanne's appearance must be appropriate to her social rank and should contribute to her personal honor.

**Conclusion**

In all five of these works, the ideal of moderation is commended as a virtue. However, each author presents a slightly different emphasis on what moderation involves. True to the religious nature of his work, Louis IX in his *Enseignements à sa fille Isabelle* counsels his daughter that with moderation, her attitude toward dress should not interfere with her devotion to God. The Chevalier de la Tour Landry in his *Livre pour l'enseignement de ses filles* agrees that moderation in dress will prevent his daughters from sinning through excess; he also stipulates that it will bring them worldly honor. In *Le Ménagier de Paris*, the Ménagier considers moderation to mean dress appropriate to his wife's social and financial position, and, like the Chevalier, he advises that this will bring honor, to her and to himself as well. Christine de Pisan, in *Le Livre des trois Vertus*, believes moderation involves maintaining traditional styles according to an individual's social and financial position, as does the Ménagier. For Christine, this brings more than individual honor; it also contributes to the stability of society. In *Les Enseignements à sa fille Susanne*, Anne de France states that moderation
in dress means avoiding outrageous styles while dressing according to one's rank; it also means that Susanne should not be so preoccupied with dress as to neglect her duties toward God.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION:  LA FEMME IDÉALE

The study of these five livres d'enseignements reveals that the complete and ideal woman is the goal of the instructions of each author. Her religious duties and responsibilities are explained, and recommendations are made concerning personal and love relationships, dress and personal appearance. Attitudes toward and definitions of the ideal are different according to the social background of the author. Most important are her relationship with God and the attitude she assumes in performing her activities.

All five authors are agreed on the importance of devotion to God; however, each emphasizes a different reason why the ideal woman is devout. Louis IX says she must love God and for that reason alone will wish to serve Him; his is an unselfish attitude. The Chevalier de la Tour Landry says his daughters must serve and love God, for their earthly honor as well as for the sake of their soul: He reverses the order of love and service as expressed by Louis IX and repeatedly emphasizes God's
power to punish and reward as a reason to serve Him. The Ménagier advocates service to God as a duty done for the salvation of his wife's soul; good works are her responsibility. Christine de Pisan stresses that the love of God inspires service and results in virtue, but she also mentions the fear of what will happen to those who do not serve Him. Anne de France underscores that fear even more; Susanne must serve God so as not to arouse His anger.

The social background, purpose and historical position of each of the authors discussed is reflected in the viewpoint expressed by each concerning the ideal woman. Louis IX is a king, a father and a religious man, all of which influence the style and content of his Enseignements. He briefly makes the points that he considers most important, principally those relating to God. Louis' discussion of personal relationships is concerned with how people will behave toward Isabelle and the type of people with whom she will surround herself. She should dress in a style appropriate to her rank. Because of her position, the standard for her behavior is high.

Chère fille, mettez grant peine que vous soyez si parfaite que chil qui orront parler de vous et vous verront, i puissent prendre bon exemple (par. 16).

If she follows the advice which her father has given her, Isabelle will indeed perfectly set that good example.
The Chevalier de la Tour Landry is also a father writing to his daughters, but his work is very different from that of Louis. His family is of the lesser nobility, and the Chevalier's daughters have different social responsibilities from Isabelle. He instructs them how they must behave toward others so that they will be honored by all. Their religious behavior should contribute to their worldly honor as well as to their spiritual benefit. They should dress respectably and avoid courtly love affairs in order to secure an honorable reputation. The Chevalier wants his daughters to be ideal women, and his livre d'enseignements instructs them in the manners they must follow to fulfill the ideal.

The Ménagier is a husband writing to his much younger wife to explain how she can be the perfect housewife. Much of his work is devoted to the practical details of maintaining a wealthy bourgeois household. However, he does not overlook his wife's personal development because he also carefully explains her religious duties and her relationship with her husband. He tells her she should dress neatly and conservatively and behave with dignity in public. Her personal relationships are limited to her family, household, and friends who are good, sensible women ("bonnes preudes femmes," I, 16) of her own social class. By fulfilling her religious and domestic duties, she will lead an honorable life and increase her
chances for happiness. The Ménagier respects his wife's common sense and expects that it will enable her to follow his instructions and be a complete and ideal woman. This is her responsibility, and none can do it save her. He tells her:

n'avez charge fors celle qu'autre ne puet faire que vous et de chose qui vous doit estre bien plaisant, comme de servir Dieu et penser du corps de vostre mary, et en somme c'est tout (II, 3).

Christine de Pisan is a woman writing to all women to encourage them all to live up to her idea of an actively virtuous woman. Her work is more general in scope. A widow who suffered the vicissitudes of fortune, her own experiences have made her realize that a woman is capable of taking responsibility and discharging it competently. She calls on women of all classes to increase their honor and to prove themselves worthy of the good name which should be theirs; Le Livre des trois Vertus tells them how to do this. Christine's ideal woman is devout, whether in pursuit of the contemplative or the active life. Regardless of her social position, she works hard. Christine says that even the prostitute can change her disreputable ways and become an honest woman through hard work; she must choose to repent and devote her life to good, not to sin. If she was strong enough to tolerate the abuse men gave her, she is strong enough to find some kind of work to support herself honestly (fol. 202).
As a wife, the ideal woman is a loving partner to her husband and will avoid courtly love affairs. Although Christine realizes that individual duties vary according to station in society, the necessity for each woman to assume her own responsibilities is universal. In this way, each will contribute to enhancing the good and honor of all women ("l'acroissement du bien et honneur de toute femme, grande, moienne et petite," fol. 114v°).

Anne de France is a woman of highest station, the daughter of Louix XI and regent for Charles VIII. She knows the ways of the court and how to instruct her daughter to acquire honor there. She tells Susanne to dress according to her rank, but without ostentation, and to avoid courtly love. She reminds her that along with the privileges of Susanne's rank go its responsibilities; it is incumbent upon Susanne to set an example for others to follow. Anne tells her daughter how to behave as a function of her rank so that Susanne will be honored by others as well as true to her own integrity. Thus will Susanne be the ideal woman.

These five livres d'enseignements are representative of the general books of instruction which were an important part of medieval didactic literature. They present a picture of the medieval woman as a person competent to handle her many duties and to take responsibility
for her relationship with God. Each author reminds her of these tasks and exhorts her to perform them in a way which will demonstrate her worth and set an example for all to see. In these works, each author reveals his ideal of the complete woman. It is lofty but drawn with a wealth of realistic detail which enables the reader to aspire to the ideas described by Louis IX, the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, the Ménagier de Paris, Christine de Pisan, and Anne de France.
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