

Material Afterlives of Early Modern Women Authors: Pernette du Guillet, Louise Labé
and María de Zayas y Sotomayor

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Abstract

Material Afterlives of Early Modern Women Authors spans the sixteenth through the nineteenth century and explores what happens when book producers took early modern works by three female authors out of their original contexts and presented them to readers in new languages and new times. I trace three authors, Pernette du Guillet (1520-1545), Louise Labé (1525-1566) and María de Zayas y Sotomayor (1590-1661) through time and across national boundaries in order to see how the material book constructs and deconstructs their authorship. Much of the research on early modern women authors considers only the initial editions of their works; I demonstrate that later editions and translations of these works present the authors in new and conflicting ways. In Chapter One, I follow Pernette du Guillet's *Rymes* from the Jean de Tournes's 1545 Lyonnais and Jeanne de Marnef's 1546 Parisian edition to Louis Perrin's nineteenth century editions. With each re-publication of the work, the physical book reveals the strategies book producers used to present du Guillet and her works to readers. In Chapter Two, I compare the construction of authorship in the 1556 and 1762 editions of Louise Labé's *Œuvres*. While we can perceive an interest in producing an author-figure in the sixteenth century edition, the eighteenth century edition builds on that production, making the author indissociable from the work. In Chapter Three, I examine Paul Scarron, Antoine le Métel d'Ouille and François le Métel de Boisrobert's seventeenth century French translations of Spanish writer María de Zayas y Sotomayor's *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* and *Desengaños amorosos*. Each translator adapts the work for seventeenth century French

audiences in a different way, employing various strategies to make market the work and its authorship.

To Mary and Deborah, with gratitude and admiration.

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Introduction

Material Afterlives of Early Modern Women Authors spans the sixteenth through the nineteenth century and explores what happens when book producers took early modern works by three female authors out of their original contexts and presented them to readers in new languages and new times. I trace three authors, Pernette du Guillet (1520-1545), Louise Labé (1525-1566) and María de Zayas y Sotomayor (1590-1661) through time and across national boundaries in order to see how the material book constructs and deconstructs their authorship.¹ Much of the research on early modern women authors considers only the initial editions of their works; through studies of their paratexts, I demonstrate that later editions and translations of these works present the authors in new and conflicting ways. Illustrations, false attributions, added biographies, translation choices and other paratextual elements insist on particular visions of each author-figure. In each case, book producers find ways to make space for the female author through the material book. The three chapters of this dissertation function as case studies; this study does not intend to present one vision of female authorship over time. Rather, each chapter reveals the paratextual strategies that book producers used to present these authors to readers.

One element that unifies these three authors in their later reappearances in print is that their new audiences would not have been familiar with their names or their works. In

¹ The first editions of these authors' printed works were Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile, et vertueuse dame D. Pernette Du Guillet, lyonnaise* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545); Louise Labé, *Euures de Louiŕze Labé Lionnoize* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555); María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Novelas amorosas y exemplares [...]* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real, y Gñl de N. Señora de Gracia, 1637).

the cases of Labé and du Guillet, eighteenth and nineteenth century editors, respectively, retrieved their works from oblivion and re-printed their complete works for the first time since the sixteenth century. Antoine du Verdier and François Grudé de la Croix du Maine, included both Labé and du Guillet in their tomes of bibliographies of French authors.² Du Verdier's entry on du Guillet is short, stating that she had "[...] écrit quelques rimes." Instead of including some of du Guillet's works with the entry, he concludes the note with Maurice Scève's epitaph for her (946). Du Verdier classifies Labé as a "courtisane lyonnaise" and praises her poetry (822). Later readers would likely only have had these bibliographical notes, if anything, as a way to know about these two lyonnais poets. The Frères Duplain published Louise Labé's *Œuvres* in 1762; Louis Perrin published Pernette du Guillet's *Rymes* three times in the nineteenth century.³ The 1650s mark Zayas's first appearance in French when Paul Scarron, Antoine d'Ouille and François le Métel de Boisrobert published French translations of parts of her work.⁴ The publishers of these later works, aware that their readers would be unfamiliar with these authors, use various strategies to present them to readers in ways that correspond to

² François Grudé la Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la Bibliothèque du sieur de La Croix Du Maine, qui est un catalogue général de toutes sortes d'auteurs qui ont écrit en françois depuis cinq cents ans et plus jusques à ce jour d'huy [...]* (Paris: A. L'Angelier, 1584); Antoine du Verdier, *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, seigneur de Vauprivas, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit ou traduit en françois et autres dialectes de ce royaume [...]* (Lyon: Honorat, 1585).

³ Louise Labé, *Œuvres de Louise Charly, Lyonnaise, ditte Labé, surnommée La Belle Cordière* (Lyon: Duplain, 1762); Pernette du Guillet, *Poésies de Pernette Du Guillet, lyonnaise* (Lyon: Perrin, 1830); Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes De Gentile Et Vertueuse Dame D. Pernette Du Guillet lyonnaise* (Lyon: Perrin, 1856); Pernette Du Guillet. *Rymes De Gentile Et Vertueuse Dame D. Pernette Du Guillet lyonnaise*, (Lyon: Perrin, 1864).

⁴ Paul Scarron, *Nouvelles tragi-comiques, tournées de l'espagnol en français* (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1655); Marie de Zayas y Sotomaior, *Les Nouvelles Amoureuses et Exemplaies*, trans. Antoine le Métel Sieur d'Ouille (Paris: G. de Luyne, 1656); François le Métel de Boisrobert, *Les Nouvelles Héroïques Et Amoureuses : de M. L'abbé De Boisrobert* (Paris: P. Lamy, 1657).

their specific times and their specific purposes. Their obscurity created an opportunity for the book producers to re-create these author figures according to their own designs.

My focus in this dissertation is on the elements that make a text a book, the elements that Gérard Genette calls the paratext of a work. Editorial prefaces, addresses from the author to the reader, footnotes, title pages and author names are some of the many textual objects that present these literary works to readers. These liminary spaces and their contents have the power to influence the way in which we receive these works. Genette defines paratext in stating,

[un] texte se présente rarement à l'état nu, sans le renfort et l'accompagnement d'un certain nombre de productions, elles-mêmes verbales ou non, comme un nom d'auteur, un titre, une préface, des illustrations, dont on ne sait pas toujours si l'on doit ou non considérer qu'elles lui appartiennent, mais qui en tout cas l'entourent et le prolongent, précisément pour le *présenter* au sens habituel de ce verbe, mais aussi en son sens le plus fort : pour le *rendre présent*, pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa 'réception' et sa consommation, sous le forme, aujourd'hui du moins, d'un livre. Cet accompagnement, d'ampleur et d'allure variables, constitue ce que j'ai baptisé [...] le *paratexte* de l'œuvre. Le paratexte est donc pour nous ce par quoi un texte se fait livre et se propose comme tel à ses lecteurs [...].⁵

Genette plays with the two meanings of the word *présenter* in French in his explanation of paratext. The paratext is what introduces a work to readers, explaining how it came to be published and guiding its reception. At the same time, the paratext is what turns a text into a book, allowing it to be presented to readers in material form. I argue that paratextual elements are not only part of what makes a text into a book; the paratext is also the place where the authorship of a work is defined and where an author-figure is presented to the reader. In this dissertation, I situate three authors within the boundaries of the printed pages of their works using a methodology based in Genette's ideas on

⁵ Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), 7-8.

paratext, and I engage with the fields of book history and authorship studies. I am concerned with identifying and exploring the strategies book producers use as they present authors and their works to readers. Editors, translators, authors and others each situate the authorship of a work in specific ways. Editing is an act of interpretation, and the evidence of editorial interpretation exists in the paratext of the work. In addition to interpreting and editing du Guillet, Labé and Zayas's literary texts, editors who came across these works also interpreted and edited these works' paratexts, altering or completely changing title pages, ways of naming of the author and surrounding texts. These changes and the new paratext that editors add structure the work and the author in new and different ways

As this dissertation shows, these three authors had very different printed afterlives, and those differences are, in part, the result of the cultures in which their works reappeared. María de Zayas's works' appearance in print in France in the seventeenth century, for example, coincided with the vibrant salon culture in which women played an important part. For at least one of the translators, Antoine d'Ouville, inserting his version of Zayas's work into the female-space of the salon becomes a priority. D'Ouville chooses Marie de Mancini, Cardinal Mazarin's niece and a frequenter of Madame de Rambouillet and Madame de Sable's salons, as the dedicatee for his work. In his letter to Mancini that serves as a preface to the work, d'Ouville asks for her support of the translation, remarking that the shared gender of Mancini and Zayas might encourage Mancini to assist him in the publication of the work: "[...] vous ne devez pas estre fort surprise de voir que je vous demande [...] votre [protection], pour l'ouvrage d'une Dame belle & spirituelle comme vous & pour la traduction que j'en ay faite" (D'Ouville iii). I argue that

d'Ouville uses Zayas's gender to gain access to the specific cultural space of 1650s salon culture. His presentation of her authorship is linked to the time and place of his translation. While Zayas's afterlife in France can be viewed in this way, the afterlives of du Guillet and Labé are attached to other cultural moments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Lyon. The ways in which editors stage authorship is in many respects dependent on the time and place of their production.

These three authors reappear in new contexts, only to disappear once again. The three versions of du Guillet's work from the nineteenth century are the only editions of the *Rymes* until 1953.⁶ Zayas's authorship of the tales that Paul Scarron translated is often still occluded. For example, it is still not well known that Molière read Scarron's version of Zayas's tale "El prevenido, engañado," tale four from *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, and used it to form the basis for his play, *L'École des femmes*.⁷ Both du Guillet's and Labé's authorship has recently been questioned, hypotheses swirling that it may have been a group of male poets who wrote the *Rymes* and the *Œuvres*.⁸ Theories such as these would not be as plausible for authors about whom we know a great deal. A study that focused on one or several female authors who never fell into oblivion, who sustained presence on the printed page over centuries, and about whom we have a great deal of

⁶ Pernet du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile et vertueuse Dame D. Pernet Du Guillet Lyonnoise* in *Poésies du XVIe siècle*, ed. Albert-Marie Schmidt (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1953)

⁷ *L'École des femmes* was first staged in 1662. It was not until 1886 that a literary scholar recognized Molière's source: "Il est étonnant qu'aucun Moliériste jusqu'à ce jour m'ait signalé la source immédiate à laquelle a puisé Scarron [...] pour *La Précaution inutile*, [...] dont s'est inspiré Molière. [...] [P]ersonne en France n'a remarqué que Scarron n'avait fait autre chose, dans sa nouvelle, que traduire Maria de Zayas [...]." Henri Chardon, *Nouveaux documents que les comédiens de champagne et la vie de Molière* (Paris: Picard, 1886), 460.

⁸ Mireille Huchon, *Louise Labé: une créature de papier* (Paris: Droz, 2006).

historical information would offer a different view of the afterlife of a female author. For example, a study of Marguerite de Navarre's afterlife could take into account her treatment across time being that her work was continuously printed from its first editions to the present day.⁹ Being François I's sister and an active member of the court made it easier for Marguerite to publish her works despite her gender. Marguerite's rank and her actions as both the king's sister and the queen of Navarre have also earned her a respected spot in history. We know much about her life due to the many records, letters, poems in her honor and other details that history has preserved. Such is not the case for the authors I consider in this dissertation. For each, virtually all that remains of their lives is contained in the literary works that bear their names.¹⁰

The afterlives of du Guillet, Labé and Zayas are distinct, and I explore those differences in the individual chapters. However, I chose these three authors in part because of their similarities. One element that unites these works is the position they take

⁹ Versions of the *Heptaméron* have been printed in every century since their initial publication. First printed in 1558 under a different title, the tales have been re-edited and reprinted in every century since. Examples from each century include, Marguerite de Navarre, *Contes et nouvelles de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre* [...] (Amsterdam: G. Gallet, 1698); Marguerite de Navarre, *Heptaméron francais, les nouvelles de Marguerite reine de Navarre* (Berne: Nouvelle societe typographique, 1780); Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre, *Contes et nouvelles de la reine de Navarre* (Paris: F. Polo, 1873); Marguerite d'Angoulême, *L'Heptaméron*, ed. Michel Francois (Paris: Garnier, 1960); Marguerite d'Angoulême, *Heptaméron*, ed. Simone de Reyff (Paris: GF Flammarion, 2001). For a full bibliography of editions of Marguerite de Navarre's works see Harry P. Clive, *Marguerite de Navarre: An Annotated Bibliography* (London, Grand & Cutler, 1983).

¹⁰ All of the information we have on du Guillet's life comes from du Moulin's paratext in the *Rymes*. Labé's birth and death dates are not known, though we do conserve a will in her name. See Louise Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Enzo Guidici, 197-205 for a reproduction of this document. For Zayas, a baptismal certificate from September 12, 1590 bears the name Maria de Zayas, and there are two death certificates with this name, one from 1661 and 1 from 1668. See Alicia Yllera's "Introducción in María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Desengaños amorosos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990) for more information on Zayas's biography.

in the *querelle des femmes*.¹¹ In all three, women's education and writing is defended and encouraged. All three works contain a liminary text that gives the reader guidance in how to read the work. Genette would say that all of these liminary texts are prefaces, which he defines as: "Je nommerai ici *préface* [...] toute espèce de texte liminaire (préliminaire ou postliminaire), auctorial ou allographe, consistant en un discours produit à propos du texte qui suit ou qui précède" (Genette 164). The dedicatory letter from Louise Labé to Clémence de Bourges, the address from du Guillet's editor Antoine du Moulin to the ladies of Lyon, and Zayas's address to the reader at the beginning of *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, "Al que leyere," are all prefaces according to Genette's use of the term. As he explains, "[r]ien enfin n'interdit d'investir d'une fonction préfacielle le poème liminaire d'un recueil," for example, poems titled "Au lecteur" (Genette 174).

The prefaces of all three first editions do not engage with the humility *topos* often used by women. They insist instead on women's prerogative to read and write—and that they can be just as good at it as men. In Labé's *Œuvres* and Zayas's *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, the prefatory texts are in the author's voice, while in du Guillet's *Rymes*, the editor writes the prefatory address. A female authorial name on a printed title page was a rarity in the early modern period; even more rare, however, is the insistence we find in these three prefaces on the importance and validity of women's intellectual education and writing. Louise Labé's dedicatory epistle to Clémence de Bourges begins by affirming that the time had come for women to dedicate themselves to study and writing "[...] et montrer aus hommes le tort qu'ils nous faisoient en nous privant du bien et de l'honneur

¹¹ For more on the *querelle des femmes*, see for example, Catherine Claude, *La Querelle des femmes: la place des femmes des francs à la renaissance* (Pantin: Le Temps des cerises, 2000).

que nous en pouvoit venir.”¹² The poet implores women “[...] d'eslever un peu leurs esprits par-dessus leurs quenoilles et fuseaus” and to pick up their quills so that they will have

[...] valù au publiq, que les hommes mettront plus de peine et d'estude aus sciences vertueuses, de peur qu'ils n'ayent honte de voir preceder celles, desquelles ils ont pretendu estre tousjours superieurs quasi en tout (Labé 42).

Female authors could not only equal men in learning, but also surpass them. We find a similar statement in Antoine du Moulin's prefatory letter to du Guillet's *Rymes*, *Aus Dames Lyonnoises*, which also encourages women to study and write,

[...]Il est quasi incroyable comme elle à peu avoir le loysir, je ne dy seulement de se rendre si parfaitement assurée en tous instrumentz musiquaulx, [...] lesquelz de soy requierent une bien longue vie a se y rendre parfaictz, [...] que la promptitude, qu'elle y avoit, donnoit cause d'esbahissement aux plus experimentez : mais encores a si bien dispencer le reste de ses bonnes heures, quelle l'aye employé a toutes bonnes lettres, par lesquelles elle avoit eu premierement entiere & familiere congnoissance des plus louables vulgaires (oultre le sien) comme du Thuscan, & Castillan, tant, que sa plume en pouvoit faire foy : et apres avoir jà bien avant passé les rudimentz de la langue Latine aspirant a la Grecque (si la Lampe de sa vie eust peu veiller jusques au soir de son eage) quand les Cieulx nous enviantz tel heur la nous ravirent [...]¹³

According to du Moulin, du Guillet surpassed many in her musical and linguistic knowledge, and is an example of a female-gendered *bon esprit*. These prefaces engage in the modesty *topos*, not in regards to the author's intellect, but rather that she has not yet had time to completely polish her work. In her address to the reader, Zayas, too, engages in *la querella de las mujeres* by firmly stating that women are just as capable as men, if not more so:

¹² Louise Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris : Flammarion, 2004). All Labé citations come from this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

¹³ Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes (1545)*, ed. Elise Rajchenbach (Paris:Droz, 2006), 110-111. All du Guillet citations come from this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

[...] Quien duda [...] que habrá muchos que atribuyan a locura esta virtuosa osadía de sacar a luz mis borrones, siendo mujer, que en opinión de algunos necios es lo mismo que una cosa incapaz. Pero cualquiera, como sea no más de buen cortesano, ni lo tendrá por novedad ni lo murmurará por desatino. [...] Porque las almas ni son hombres ni mujeres: qué razón hay para que ellos sean sabios y presuman que nosotras no podemos serlo?¹⁴

[...] Who doubts [...] but that there will be many who attribute to madness this virtuous daring to bring my scribblings into the light, being a woman, which, in the opinion of some fools, is the same as an incapable thing. But anyone, provided that person be no less than a good courtier, will neither find in it novelty nor gossip about it as idiocy. [...] Since souls are neither male nor female—what reason is there that they would be wise and presume we cannot be so?¹⁵

Zayas goes on to write that women are “quizá más agudas” [perhaps of sharper wit], than men (Zayas 160).

We can compare the insistence on women’s intellectual merit in these three prefaces to the opening lines of the first poem in Marguerite de Navarre’s *Miroir de l’âme pécheresse*, which serves a prefatory role. Like the letters and addresses in du Guillet, Labé and Zayas’s works, the poem titled “Au lecteur” advises the reader on how to read the work. In contrast to these other works authored by women, however, Marguerite de Navarre’s poem dismisses women’s intellect, beseeching her reader not to judge the work too harshly because of her gender :

Si vous lisez cette oeuvre toute entiere,
Arrestez vous, sans plus, à la matiere:
En excusant la rythme, & le langage,
Voyant que c’est d’une femme l’ouvrage:
qui n’ha en soy science, ne sçavoir [...].¹⁶

¹⁴ María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, ed. Julián Olivares (Madrid: Catedra, 2007), 159. All Zayas citations come from this edition and Yllera’s edition of *Desengaños amorosos*.

¹⁵ All translations of Zayas, unless otherwise indicated, come from María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Exemplary Tales of Love and Tales of Illusion*, ed. and trans. Margaret R. Greer and Elizabeth Rhodes (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2009), 47.

¹⁶ Marguerite de Navarre, *Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, texte de l’édition de 1547*, ed. Félix Frank (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1873; reprinted Geneva:

Marguerite de Navarre, despite the power that came with being the king's sister and a member of the royal court, de-emphasized her intellectual prowess. Indeed, this type of humility *topos* is what we often find in female-authored works from this period. The three authors I study in this dissertation were anomalies from their first publication, both in their gender, and in the way they declare female writing to be valuable and worthwhile.

Book producers consider these *instances préfacielles* (in Genette's wording) in different ways, depending on their overall strategies. For example, Labé's eighteenth-century editor, Duplain, and du Guillet's nineteenth century editor, Perrin, capitalized on the authors' gender through illustrations, repeated naming of the author, and making gendered connections to other writers. Zayas's gender is treated differently in each of the three translations of her work, none of which contain her proto-feminist preface. D'Ouville perhaps sought to profit from Zayas's gender; Scarron first elides Zayas's identity and gender entirely, and later discounts her writing style. In each case, later book producers manipulate the first editions of these works to their own economic ends.

Materiality and the Physical Book

Recent scholarship in literature from the early modern period has begun to combine two formerly quasi-separate fields of study: book history, textual studies or *histoire du livre* on one hand, and literary scholarship on the other. This is the growing field in which this dissertation is situated, as I have combined close readings of the

Slatkine, 1970), 12, lines 1-7). The *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* was first published in 1531.

physical features of books with readings of the literary works they contain. As Adrian Armstrong remarks, “The minutiae of a text’s transmission are increasingly considered not as a rather unpalatable prerequisite to the study of its thematic and formal properties—as something to be left, if at all possible, to someone else—but as decisively influencing this study.”¹⁷ In this dissertation, I build on the work of Cynthia J. Brown, Leah L. Chang and others who have explored the materiality of early modern books and the many ways in which the physical book can give us important clues about the production of the work it contains.¹⁸ Brown examines late medieval writers such as André de la Vigne’s and Pierre Grignore’s “increasing visibility” in the physical book; authorial presence in the paratext shows interest on the part of bookmakers and writers in the construction of authorial figures (Brown 15). Chang focuses on “[...] what it means for a book to be ‘female-authored’ in early modern print culture” (Chang 24). As Joe Bray, Miriam Handley and Anne C. Henry note, “to mark a text is also to make it; [...] features such as punctuation, footnotes, epigraphs, white space and marginalia, marks that traditionally been ignored in literary criticism, can be examined for their contribution to a text’s meaning.”¹⁹ I build on these studies by looking beyond the first edition of each work and considering the posterity of these authors and their works. I engage in the same type of questions as those Brown and Chang ask as I examine the female author-figure

¹⁷ Adrian Armstrong, “Introduction,” *Book and Text in France, 1400–1600: Poetry on the Page*, ed. Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

¹⁸ Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Leah L. Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009).

¹⁹ Joe Bray, Miriam Handley and Anne C. Henry, “Introduction” *Ma(r)king the Text: The presentation of meaning on the literary page* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2000), xvii.

when her works are re-edited in a new context. In following these authors across time and space we see how later editions present the work and make the work present in very different ways. By calling upon critical bibliography and close literary readings, this project offers observations on the works as textual artifacts and as objects of literary study when they are removed from their original sites of production and reception.

Specific Contexts

Understanding the historical context surrounding the production of these works is essential. Each of my chapters uses the first editions of these works as a point of comparison for the later editions. My studies on Louise Labé and Pernette du Guillet involve a presentation of the socio-cultural context of mid-sixteenth century Lyon. Indeed, their cultural and geographical origins shine through in the material book-- both authors' names are repeatedly followed by the word "lyonnaise" and the books are closely tied to the city of their initial production through both the paratext and the prose and poetry in the works. While scholars such as Rigolot and Giudici have pointed out that it is erroneous to refer to an "école lyonnaise," a literary school with a decided clear mission and established aesthetic, Lyon was the home of a *sodalitium lugdunense* in the years around the publication of Labé's *Œuvres* and du Guillet's *Rymes*.²⁰ Mid-sixteenth century Lyon thrived as a center of collaborative poetic creation, and recent studies have connected du Guillet's and Labé's poetry to the specific cultural milieu of Renaissance

²⁰ Enzo Giudici, *Louise Labé e l'école lyonnaise* (Napoli: Liguori editore, 1964); François Rigolot, *Louise Labé lyonnaise ou, la renaissance au féminin* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997).

Lyon.²¹ The city's geographical position, the comparatively early arrival of the printing press and Lyon's distance from the northern court provided a cultural space that facilitated and provoked the initial publication of these works.²²

Lyon was also a place that valorized literary contributions from women. While the number of female-authored works was few across France, women were more likely to be published in Lyon than in Paris. Mireille Huchon notes this Lyonnais peculiarity:

Lyon toutefois a pour particularité et supériorité sur Paris d'être apparemment une ville prodigue en femmes de plume. Au chapitre qu'il consacre aux femmes écrivains, François de Billon, dans le *Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du Sexe Féminin*, après avoir vanté Marguerite de Navarre et la sœur du roi Henri II, cite, pour Lyonnaises célèbres, Marguerite de Bourg, Claudine et Jeanne Scève, Claude Peronne, Jeanne Gaillarde, Pernelle du Guillet; il ajoute ensuite la Mâcaonnaise Anne Tullonne, puis la Picarde Hélienne, auteur des *Angoisses douloureuses*. Il ne peut citer aucune Parisienne [...] (Huchon 52).

Many of the few printed sixteenth century works in French that we conserve today with female names on their title pages were printed in Lyon, rather than in Paris. There are several possible explanations for the differences between printing female-authored works in Lyon versus Paris. Both the Paris *parlement* and the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne censored literary works, and made it difficult for women who were not part of the royal court to circulate or publish their works. Emblematic of a misogynist attitude in Paris at the time, Parisian printer Henri Estienne wrote,

But beyond all those evils which have now been brought on by the ignorance of printers, male and female (for this only remains to add to the disgrace of the art,

²¹ See for example Karen James, "Editor's Introduction" in *Pernelle du Guillet: Complete Poems, a Bilingual Edition*, ed. Karen James (Toronto: Iter Inc, 2010), 1-73; Elise Rajchenbach, "'Tu le pourras clèrement icy veoir': Les Rymes de Pernelle du Guillet, publication vertueuse ou stratégie éditoriale?" in *L'émergence littéraire des femmes à Lyon à la renaissance 1520-1560*, eds. Michèle Clement and Janine Incardona (Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2008), 123-164 ; François Rigolot, *Louise Labé lyonnaise ou, la renaissance au féminin* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997).

²² Barthélemy Buyer introduced the first printing press to Lyon in 1473.

that even the little ladies have been practicing it), who will doubt that new evils are daily to be expected?²³

Meanwhile, the attitude in Lyon seemed to be more receptive to women's writings. In the preface to du Guillet's *Rymes*, editor and Antoine du Moulin encouraged other women to take up the quill:

[L]es Cieulx nous enviantz tel heur la nous ravirent, ô Dames Lyonnoises, pour vous laisser achever ce, qu'elle avoit si heureusement commencé: c'est à sçavoir de vous excerciter, comme elle, à la vertu, et tellement, que la si par ce si sien petit passetemps, elle vous a monsté le chemin à bien, vous la puissiez si glorieusement ensuyvre, que la memoire de vous puisse testifier à la posterité de la doclitié et vivacité des bons espritz, qu'en tous artz ce Climat Lyonnois a toujours produict en tous sexes, voire assés plus copieusement, que guere autre, que l'on sache (Du Guillet 111).

We can understand why women seeking to print their works, or men seeking to have female-authored works printed, would have found the Lyonnais milieu more attractive than Paris.

Considering the specific cultural space in which Zayas's works were first published is equally important as we seek to understand the French translations of her works that followed. Zayas wrote within the tradition of frame tales and short stories that was popular in the early modern period in France, Spain and beyond. As in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*, a group of noble men and women gather to entertain each other by telling tales, often focusing on relations between men and women. Zayas's collection of amorous and exemplary tales also stems from the *novela* genre popular in Spain at that time. Miguel de Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* were published in 1613 to critical success, and it is clear from Zayas's title of

²³ Henri Estienne, *Epistola qua ad multas multorum amicorum respondet de suae typographiae statu nominatimque de suo thesavro linguae graecae* (Paris, 1569), 26: "Sed praeter illa omnia quae ignorantia typographorum ac typographarum (hoc enim ad cumulandam huius artis ignominiam restabat, ut etiam mulierculae eam profiterentur) iam invexit mala, quis non in dies nova expectanda putet?"

Novelas amorosas y ejemplares that either the author or a book producer was interested in capitalizing on Cervantes's work's popularity. Cervantes' *œuvre* was popular in France as well; both his *Novelas ejemplares* and his longer work, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* were translated into French in 1614.²⁴

Zayas's work is significant in that it marked the first appearance of a female-authored secular text in print in Spanish. While women religious such as Teresa de Avila saw their works published in print in the sixteenth century, secular women writers like Zayas, poet/playwright Ana Caro Mallén de Soto (c. 1600-?), and prose writers Mariana de Carvajal (c. 1610-?) and Leonor de Meneses (c. 1620-64) were not published in print until the mid-seventeenth century. These writers formed what Lisa Vollendorf has called "[...] Spain's first cohort of women who wrote for the public."²⁵ While there were women writing in varied genres in the Golden Age, those works circulated exclusively in manuscript form until the mid-seventeenth century. Indeed, the only other work of Zayas's that we conserve today is a play in manuscript.²⁶ Zayas's work being the first secular writings by a female author to appear in print makes her case of particular interest.

²⁴ Miguel de Cervantes *Les nouvelles de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: ou sont contenues plusieurs rares adventures, & mémorables exemples d'amour, de fidélité, de force de sang, de jalousie, de mauvaise habitude, de charmes, & d'autres accidents non moins étranges que véritables*, trans. Vital d'Audiguier and Francois de Rosset (Paris: Richer, 1614); Miguel de Cervantes, *L'Ingenieux don Quichotte de la Manche*, trans. Cesar Oudin (Paris: I. Fouet, 1614).

²⁵ Lisa Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 2005), 57-58. Carvajal's *Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas, en ocho novellas* was first published in Madrid in 1663; Mallén de Soto's first print publication was *El conde Partinuplés*, printed in *Laurel de Comedias. Quarta parte de diferentes autores* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1653); Meneses's first printed work is her novella from 1655 *El desdeñado más firme*.

²⁶ Zayas y Sotomayor, María de, *La Traición en la amistad*, ed. Bárbara López-Mayhew (Newark, Del.: Juan de la Cuesta, 2003).

Through this dissertation, we can observe how French translators and editors received and edited this unusual work.

Despite the differences in how book producers edited these works and interpreted and constructed these authorial figures, my chapters all show how book producers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries made space for these three female authors. In each chapter, we can see strategies emerging as each editor endeavors to insert his volume into his literary milieu. The author-figures of Pernette du Guillet, Louise Labé and María de Zayas y Sotomayor are unstable and their afterlives in print demonstrate how editors capitalized on their ability to manipulate these figures in new contexts.

Chapter One

Reading Pernette du Guillet's Poetry from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century

In 1545, humanist Lyonnais printer Jean de Tournes published the collected poems of a recently deceased young woman from Lyon named D. Pernette du Guillet. All of the information that we have regarding du Guillet's life and the publication of the collection of poetry entitled *Rymes* comes to us via the paratext of this first edition.²⁷ Du Guillet's works were re-edited and republished several times in the sixteenth century: Parisian printer Jeanne de Marnef published editions of the work in 1546 and in 1547 and Jean de Tournes published an emended version of the first edition in 1552.²⁸ Several of du Guillet's poems appear in sixteenth century songbooks as well.²⁹ After 1552, no complete edition of Pernette du Guillet's *Rymes* appeared until Lyonnais printer Louis Perrin published three nineteenth century editions in 1830, 1856 and 1864.³⁰ Each editor

²⁷ Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile, et vertueuse dame D. Pernette Du Guillet, lyonnaise* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545).

²⁸ Pernette du Guillet, *Les rithmes et poesies de gentile et vertueuse Dame D. Pernette du Guillet, Lyonnaise. Avecq' le triomphe des Muses sur Amour et autres nouvelles composicions* (Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546 and 1547) ; Pernette Du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile, et vertueuse dame D. Pernette Du Guillet, lyonnaise de nouveau augmentees* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552).

²⁹ *Second livre contenant XXVII chansons nouvelles à quatre parties en ung volume* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant and Hubert Jullet, 1540); *Parangon des chansons: neufvieme livre contenant XXXI chansons nouvelles* (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, 1541); *Quart livre de chansons nouvellement composé en musique à quatre parties* (Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1561).

³⁰ Pernette du Guillet, *Poésies de Pernette Du Guillet, lyonnaise* (Lyon: Perrin, 1830) ; Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes De Gentile Et Vertueuse Dame D. Pernette Du Guillet lyonnaise* (Lyon: Perrin, 1856); Pernette Du Guillet. *Rymes De Gentile Et Vertueuse*

of du Guillet's work added paratextual elements that affect the reader's experience with the text and their perception of the author. New title pages, prefaces, footnotes, and intertitles of subsections, as well as the addition of other literary works serve to frame du Guillet's poetry and authorship in new ways. Jean de Tourne's first edition of the work served as the basis for de Marnef's and Perrin's editions, yet in the paratext of their editions, we can see that these two editors had very different readings of du Guillet and her poetry. This chapter explores how de Marnef and Perrin shaped du Guillet's work to fit their own visions of how it should be read and how du Guillet the author should be understood. In each case, du Guillet's editors re-created her as a new author-figure that was specific to their times. The editors made space for the female author through the material book in order to introduce her and her work in period-specific ways to book consumers. Each time bookmakers reconstructed du Guillet as author, it has been through the manipulation of paratext and has been contextualized for a particular audience at a particular moment.

The first two editions of Pernette du Guillet's verse were published by different editors and present the works in differing ways, one offering a more musical presentation of the work. Jean de Tournes's two editions of Pernette du Guillet's works, the first in 1545 and the second in 1552, are the versions scholars consider first, while Jeanne de Marnef's editions are relegated to a secondary status. Indeed, it is clear that de Marnef was working from the de Tournes edition as de Marnef's edition featured much of the

Dame D. Pernette Du Guillet lyonnaise, (Lyon: Scheuring and Perrin, 1864). The first twentieth century edition appeared in 1953: *Rymes de gentile et vertueuse Dame D. Pernette Du Guillet Lyonnaise* in *Poésies du XVIe siècle*, ed. Albert-Marie Schmidt (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1953) 227-268. Schmidt does not include the two Italian epigrams.

paratext of the de Tournes edition, including the prefatory letter by Antoine du Moulin addressed to the ladies of Lyon and the preliminary *huitain* by de Tournes. However, de Marnef made several changes to du Guillet's work that affected the framing of the work and of its author. Specifically, de Marnef's editorial choices underlined the importance of the musical nature of the text. While the de Tournes edition has references to music, the de Marnef edition is more singular in its view of du Guillet's poetry as lines to be set to music, rather than ones to be read silently.

Jeanne de Marnef took over her husband Denis Janot's print shop upon his death in 1544. De Marnef printed at least seven works either on her own or with other printers. By 1548, she had married another printer, Estienne Groulleau, and she probably continued to work alongside her new husband.³¹ De Marnef's *Rithmes de gentile, et vertueuse dame D. Pernette du Guillet Lyonnoise Avecq ' le Triumphe des Muses sur Amour: Et autres nouvelles composicions* appeared in Paris in 1546, only one year after Jean de Tournes's *Rymes de gentile, et vertueuse dame D. Pernette du Guillet Lyonnoise*. De Marnef followed this previous version closely by reproducing all of du Guillet's poetry in the same order as de Tourne's 1545 edition, and including part of the paratext from the 1545 edition. De Marnef's edition is not, however, a simple reproduction of de Tournes's. She appended ten poems to du Guillet's poetry and on the title page she gave these new poems the collective title *Le Triumphe des Muses sur Amour: Et autres*

³¹ For a complete study of Denis Janot's activity that includes some references to de Marnef's printing see Stephen Rawles, *Denis Janot, Parisian Printer and Bookseller (fl. 1529-1544): A Bibliographical Study in Two Volumes* (Theses, University of Warwick, September 1976). For more on Janot, de Marnef and their contemporary printers in Paris see Lynden Warner, "Booksellers and the Market to the 1550s," in *The Ideas of Man and Woman in Renaissance France: Print, Rhetoric, and Law* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), especially 33-34.

nouvelles composicions (see image 1).³²

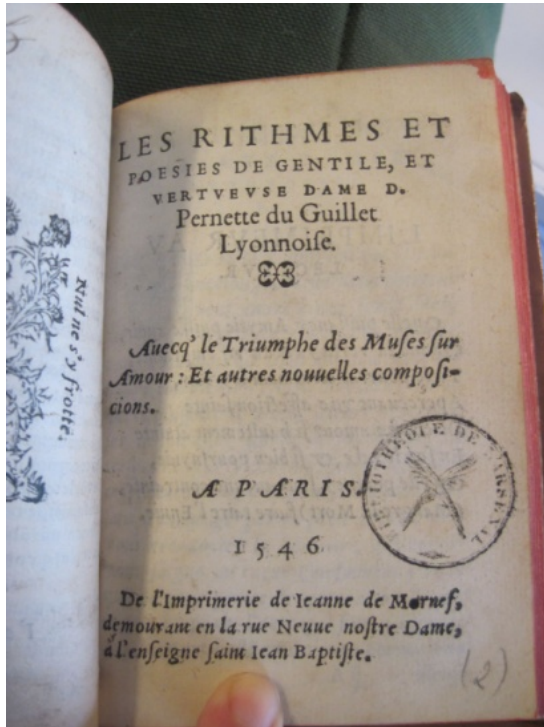


Image 1, Title page, *Les rithmes et poesies* [...], (Paris: Jeanne de Marnef, 1546.) BNF.

Scholarship that focuses on Jeanne de Marnef's editions of du Guillet's verse is scant. To date, only one scholar, Leah Chang, has published research that considers the full 1546 edition.³³ Two other scholars, Beatrice H. Beech and George T. Beech, have jointly published two articles about one of the ten poems in *Les Triumphe des Muses*, "Les obsèques d'amour."³⁴ All three of these critical works are engaged with gender

³² The previous year, Jean de Tournes published four of the ten poems in a collection of seven anonymous poems *Le Panegyric des Damoysselles de Paris sur les neuf Muses*. Henceforth I refer to the ten new poems in de Marnef's edition as *Le Triumphe des Muses*.

³³ Leah Chang, "The Gender of the Book: Jeanne de Marnef Edits Pernette du Guillet" *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, eds. Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 97-120.

³⁴ Beatrice H. Beech and George T. Beech, "A Painting, a Poem, and a Controversy about Women and Love in Paris in the 1530s" (*The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34. 3, 2003),

studies. Chang studied the way in which we can read the de Marnef edition as a “gendered publication,” while the Beeches were interested in the relationship between the poem and the *affaire des Dames de Paris* that began in 1529 (Chang 99; Beech and Beech, “Les obsèques” 243).³⁵ Both arguments are convincing, and these studies offer insight into certain aspects of the edition’s genesis and production. No critical work on the *Rithmes* has addressed the way in which de Marnef’s edition presented the musicality of du Guillet’s verse. I argue that instead of reading the de Marnef edition as a “gendered publication,” we can instead read it as a musical one. Paratextual elements including titles and page layout, as well as the inclusion of the ten additional poems could be signs that de Marnef’s edition harkened back to the first appearance of du Guillet’s poetry in songbooks from the early 1540s.³⁶ It is my contention that for de Marnef, du Guillet’s poetry was musical in nature, and de Marnef’s edition bore this out.

Jean de Tournes’s 1545 edition was not the first appearance of du Guillet’s

635-52; “‘Les Obsèques D’Amour,’ un poème de 1546 et une controverse parisienne sur les femmes et l’amour” (*Seizième siècle* 1, 2005), 237-56.

³⁵ This *affaire* began with an anonymous satirical poem, “Les gracieux adieux faitz aux Dames de Paris” which circulated in manuscript form in 1529. In this poem, the anonymous author named sixteen Parisian ladies in order to disparage their bodies and supposedly loose morals. When it is rumored that Clément Marot penned the poem, other writings began to appear criticizing him. Marot then responded with his *Epître des excuses de Marot faulsement accuse d’avoir faict certains Adieux au desavantage des prinicipales Dame de Paris*. This incited several other responses in what came to be known as the *affaire des Dames de Paris*. According to the Beeches, “Les obsèques d’amour” was part of this exchange.

³⁶ As Chang points out, it is not clear if de Marnef was both editor and printer, or if an anonymous editor in fact prepared this edition. The Beeches assume de Marnef acted as editor, see Beech and Beech, “Obsèques,” 246-247. In his edition, Victor Graham assumes that de Marnef would have approved of the choices made by an anonymous editor; see *Rymes*, ed. Graham, vii. Both of these situations are possible. For the purposes of this chapter, I will assume that if de Marnef did not edit the work herself, she would have still been involved in some way in the editing process and I will therefore refer to her as both editor and printer until more precisions become available.

poetry. Four of her poems were set to music and published in songbooks in 1540 and 1541 by Pierre Attaignant in Paris and Jacques Moderne in Lyon (see images 2-5 for sample pages). These two bookmakers were the leading music publishers in mid-sixteenth century France.³⁷ These songbooks of vernacular verse were intended for household entertainment—both aristocratic and bourgeois, professional and amateur.³⁸ In these volumes, du Guillet's poems appeared anonymously alongside other anonymous works. De Marnef may well have seen du Guillet's poems set to music and this encouraged her to read and present the work musically.



Image 2, Folio V, “En lieu du bien que deux souloient pretendre” *Second livre contenant xxvii chansons nouvelles à quatre parties en ung volume*, Paris, P. Attaignant et H. Jullet, 1540. Bavarian State Library, Munich.

³⁷ See Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 1969) and Daniel Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printers of Music: A Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UC Press, 1969).

³⁸ Richard Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music*, volume I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).



Image 3, Folio VII, “Je n’oserois le penser veritable,” (piece lii in *Rymes*), *Second livre contenant xxvii chansons nouvelles à quatre parties en ung volume*, Paris, P. Attaignant et H. Juliet, 1540. Bavarian State Library, Munich.

Image 4, Folio III, “Le corps ravy,” (piece xii in *Rymes*) *Le Parangon des chansons, neuvieme livre* [...], Lyon, J. Moderne, 1541. Bavarian State Library, Munich.

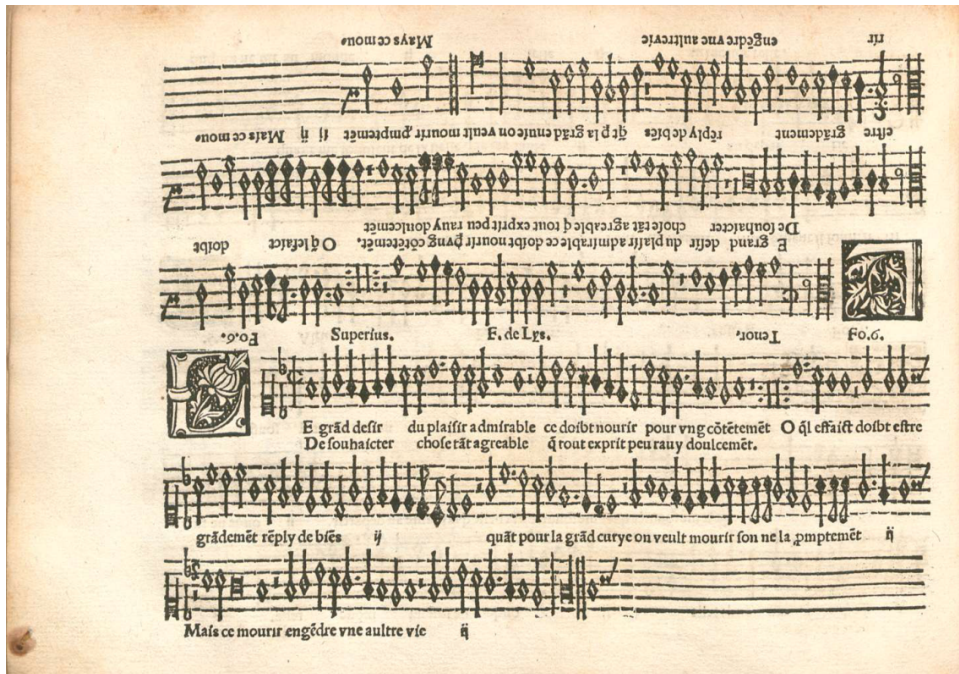


Image 5, Folio 6 “Le grand desir du plaisir admirable,” (piece XIV in *Rymes*) *Le Parangon des chansons, neufvieme livre* [...], Lyon, J. Moderne, 1541. Bavarian State Library, Munich.

Indeed, Antoine du Moulin’s prefatory letter that appeared in both the de Tournes and the de Marnef editions would not have discouraged this reading. In this letter addressed *Aux Dames Lyonnaises*, du Moulin praised du Guillet for her talent for and devotion to music:

[...] veu le peu de temps, que les Cieulx l’ont laissée entre nous, il est quasi incroyable comme elle a peu avoir le loysir, je ne dy seulement de se rendre si parfaitement assurée en tous instrumentz musiquaulx, soit au Luth, Espinette, et autres, lesquelz de soy requierent une bien longue vie à se y rendre parfaictz, comme elle estoit, et tellement, que la promptitude, qu’elle y avoit, donnoit cause d’esbahissement aux plus experimentez [...].³⁹

Du Moulin takes the time to praise du Guillet’s musical expertise before going on to praise her knowledge of other languages, and then finally her writing. In this letter, du

³⁹ Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes* (1545), ed. Elise Rajchenbach (Paris: Droz, 2006), 111. All textual citations from du Guillet’s works come from Rajchenbach’s edition unless otherwise noted.

Guillet is presented as a musician first and a writer second. Furthermore, the way in which du Moulin describes du Guillet's found poetry could also point to a musically-inclined work:

[...] son affectionné mary a trouvé parmy ses brouillars en assés povre ordre, comme celle, qui n'estimoit sa facture estre encor digne de lumiere jusques à ce, que le temps la luy eust par frequent estude et estendue, et lymée. Et pource en la mesme sorte que luy, et moy avons trouvé Epygrammes, Chansons, et aultres diverses matieres de divers lieux, et plusieurs papiers confusément extraictz, les vous avons icy, quasi comme pour copie, mis en evidence, tant pour satisfaire à ceulx, à qui privément en maintes bonnes compagnies elle les recitoit à propos, comme la plus part factz à leur occasion, que aussi pour ne vouloir perdre soubz silence d'eternel oubly chose, qui vous peust non seulement recreer, mais faire honneur à vous, Dames Lyonnoises [...] (111-112).

When the 1545 editors found it, the work was in a disorganized, unpolished state. This could have signaled to de Marnef that the work should be considered musically. Du Moulin refers to the work's fragmentary state in this passage: the work is described as "brouillars en assés povre ordre" and "plusieurs papiers confuément extraictz." Earlier in the letter, du Moulin calls the work "ce petit amas de rymes." This unorganized state would be typical of poetry written to be sung. In one study of sixteenth century music, Kate van Orden uses the words "scattered rhymes" to describe the works of poets like Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Clément Marot while their works were being performed orally and before their verse was bound and printed.⁴⁰ Van Orden reminds us that Clément Marot would have his lyric poetry printed, "[...] only after it had enjoyed some success in musical performances [...]" (73). Indeed, we find evidence of oral performances in du Moulin's prefatory letter. He states that one reason he is printing the works is because of the requests he has received from du Guillet's oral audiences—"pour satisfaire à ceulx, à

⁴⁰ Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UC Press, 2013), 73.

qui privément en maintes bonnes compagnies elle les recitoit à propos.” Du Guillet, like many other poets of her time, would have been performing her works and circulating them orally or in manuscript form for others to read and sing. I argue that de Marnef noticed these references in the preface, as well as the makeup of her poetry and du Guillet’s previous appearances in songbooks, and decided based on these characteristics that she would market her book by highlighting the musical qualities of the work.

De Marnef’s title page, along with her printer’s devise on the facing page, is the first piece of paratext the reader encounters in the 1546 edition. The title page contains an important change vis-à-vis the 1545 Jean de Tournes edition: the title (see image 1). The title changed from de Tournes’s *Rymes de gentile et vertueuse dame D. Pernette du Guillet lyonnaise* to *Rithmes et poesies de gentile et vertueuse dame D. Pernette du Guillet lyonnaise*. De Marnef maintains the same name and descriptors for the author as the 1545 edition changing only the main title of the work from *Rymes* to *Rithmes*. De Marnef also includes Antoine du Moulin’s prefatory letter and Jean de Tournes’ preliminary *huitain*, showing that she was clearly working from Jean de Tournes’ 1545 edition and not from her own unedited copy of du Guillet’s verse. As Chang points out, de Marnef was perhaps hoping to ride on the coattails of the 1545 edition’s success by printing and selling her own version of the work in Paris; while we cannot know how successful the 1545 edition was, it is remarkable that de Tournes re-printed the work in 1552 (Chang, “Gender” 98). This reprint is evidence of the work’s popularity. Despite the fact that de Marnef had this edition in front of her and was forming her own edition from it, she changed the title from *Rymes* to *Rithmes et poesies*. The use of the word *rithmes* is not surprising as this word is often used in reference to poetry in the sixteenth century.

The change, however, is noteworthy. *Rithmes*, more than *rimes*, has a musical connotation. Antoine Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire universel* does not contain the word "rithme" or "rythme" but does have a definition for the word *rythmique*:

C'est un nom que les Anciens ont donné à un art qui considere les mouvemens, & qui regle leur suite & leur meslange pour exciter les passions, les entretenir, les augmenter, diminuer, ou appaiser. C'est aussi le nom que les Auteurs donnent à l'ancienne danse des Grecs, laquelle répond à ce qu'on pratique maintenant dans nos airs de balet. Les Modernes ont appellé les vers *rythmiques*, ceux qu'on a autrement appellé *Leonins*, ou ayans même terminaison.⁴¹

Music and poetry are intertwined in this definition. *Rythmique* could pertain to music, dance or *vers*. A rhythmic art is one that considers "les mouvemens." Furetière's dictionary assigns the word *mouvement* a musical connotation in addition to its definition of physical movement through space: "Mouvement : [...] se dit aussi en Musique, de la manière de battre la mesure pour presser ou alentir le temps de la prononciation des paroles, ou du jeu marqué par les notes." The rhythmic arts also supply an audible beat or pattern for a dancer to follow. At the end of the definition, Furetière refers to poetry directly when he mentions "les vers *rythmiques*", and describes them as those having "même terminaison." That is to say, rhythmic lines are those that rhyme. Poetry in the sixteenth century was often conceived of as music, as verses to be set to an instrument like a lyre. It is for this reason that we refer to poetry like Pernette du Guillet's as lyric.

Poets at this time often thought of their works as musical. This musicality is both figurative and literal in French renaissance verse. Mentions of musical instruments and singing are not merely poetic devices; these references demonstrate strong links between

⁴¹ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* [...] (La Haye: A. et R. Leers, 1690). Original emphasis.

poetic composition and music.⁴² French poets continually link musical instruments with literary production. We find, for example, in the “Avertissement au Lecteur par l'imprimeur Ambroise de La Porte” that preceeds the *Supplément musical* to Pierre de Ronsard's 1552 *Amours* the following affirmation: “[Ronsard] a daigné prendre la peine de les mesurer sur la lyre.”⁴³ Here, music is part of the conception of poetry. Ronsard would have played the lute while he was composing his lines. In 1565, Ronsard writes in his *Abrégé de l'Art poétique*: “[...L]a poésie sans les instrumens, ou sans la grace d'une seule ou plusieurs voix, n'est nullement agreable, non plus que les instruments sans estre animez de la melodie d'une plaisante voix” (Ronsard 9). Poetry needed music to be best experienced.

We find this connection between music and poetry in the works of countless Renaissance poets, including Louise Labé and Pernette du Guillet.⁴⁴ Many of Labé's sonnets and elegies, as well as the poems written in praise of her at the end of the *Œuvres* refer to music and singing. In Labé's first *elegie*, her poetic genesis is musical: “Phébus [...] m'a donné la lyre” (Labé 107). Labé's Sonnet XIV evokes both the poet's voice and her lute:

Tant que mes yeux pourront larmes espandre,
A l'heur passé avec toy regretter:
Et qu'aus sanglots et soupirs resister
Pourra ma voix, et un peu faire entendre:

Tant que ma main pourra les cordes tendre
Du mignart Lut, pour tes graces chanter:

⁴² See for example Carla Zecher, *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry, and Art in Renaissance France* (University of Toronto Press, 2007), 4-6.

⁴³ Pierre de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, vol IV ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris : Nizet, 1982), 189.

⁴⁴ See Zecher.

Tant que l'esprit se voudra contenter
De ne vouloir rien fors que toy comprendre:

Je ne souhaite encore point mourir.
Mais quand mes yeus je sentiray tarir,
Ma voix cassee, et ma main impuissante,

Et mon esprit en ce mortel sejour
Ne pouvant plus montrer signe d'amante:
Prirey la Mort noircir mon plus cler jour (Labé 128-129).

In line 4 of the first quatrain, the poet evokes her own audible voice—"ma voix"; the use of the causative "faire entendre" (make heard) reinforces the oral quality of the poem.

Immediately after we hear the poet's voice, we hear her playing the lute in the first and second lines of the second quatrain. The poet's two instruments, her voice and her lute, reappear in the last line of the first tercet: it is only when she is no longer able to sing (ma voix cassee) nor play her lute (ma main impuissante) that she will despair. Rather than associating poetic composition with pen and paper, many Renaissance poets chose musical metaphors to express their artistic visions. As in the case of Ronsard, this was not just a metaphor—poets used music in composition, performance and publication.

Du Guillet also refers to her audible voice and to music making in her poetry. For example, the second poem in the collection:

[...] Je me trovay de liesse si pleine
(Voyant desjà la clarté à la ronde)
Que commençay louer à voix haultaine
Celuy qui feit pour moy ce Jour au monde (Du Guillet 118).

In the penultimate line of this *dixain*, the poet praises her lover out loud ("à voix haultaine"). We can imagine that this praise would be the singing of the poem at hand. In the second elegy, the poet casts herself as a Diana figure who will seduce her admirer with lute-playing in "la clere fontaine":

[...] Mais je vouldrois lors quant, et quant avoir
 Mon petit Luth accordé au debvoir,
 Duquel ayant cogneu, et pris le son,
 J'entonnerois sur luy une chanson (Du Guillet, 153-154).

The prose in Labé and du Guillet's works similarly endeavors to convince readers of their strong connections to music and of the importance of music to their educations. The paratexts of du Guillet's and Labé's works describe the poets as musicians. Antoine du Moulin writes that du Guillet was, "[...] parfaitement assurée en tous instrumentz musiquaulx, soit au Luth, Espinette, et autres" (Du Guillet 110). In her dedicatory letter to Clémence de Bourges, Labé writes that she spent "[...] partie de ma jeunesse à l'exercice de la Musique" (Labé 41). As Zecher points out, musical education became more and more democratized across the sixteenth century and was an important part of young noblemen and noblewomen's formations (Zecher 8-9). In Baldessare Catiglione's *Il libro del cortegaiano* (1528), a widely-read book that was both descriptive and perscriptive of proper behavior for men and women, the Count remarks, "Gentlemen, I must tell you that I am not satisfied with our courtier unless he is also a musician and unless as well as understanding and being able to read music he can play several instruments."⁴⁵ The Count's perfect Lady would also have knowledge of music to a certain degree: "[...] the musical instruments that she plays ought to be appropriate [...]. Consider what an ungainly thing it would be to see a woman playing drums, fifes, trumpets, or other like instruments [...]" (210). Castiglione's perfect Lady would play the lute or the clavichord, instruments that would be played to accompany lyric verse. Indeed, these two instruments, the lute and the clavichord, became "common accessories

⁴⁵ Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 2004), 94.

of the sixteenth-century [...] study” (Zecher 3). Poets, especially, often thought of music while composing and titling their verse. Ronsard, for example, wrote the poems “Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la Lyre” (1565) and “Stances pronement faites pour jouer sur la Lyre, un jouer repondant à l’autre” (1569) for the Valois court. As Zecher points out, “these titles are instructions [...], conveying the poet’s intention that the verses be sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument” (Zecher 25).

With this inextricability of music and poetry in mind, it is not surprising that the Jeanne de Marnef edition of du Guillet’s poetry insists on the musicality of the work. The word “rithmes” approximates du Guillet’s work to a Greek root having to do with measured music while at the same time distancing du Guillet’s work from Petrarch’s *Rime sparse* to which the 1545 title pays homage. Huchon notes,

Le titre de Rymes, choisi par Antoine du Moulin, est sous le patronage italien. Il sert à désigner un ensemble de pièces poétiques opposés à la prose [...]. Le titre *Rithmes et poesies*, utilisé par Jeanne de Marnef, accentue le caractère musical de certains des textes de Pernette du Guillet (Huchon 59).

De Marnef adds “et poesies” to “Rithmes” in the title. This addition leads the reader to think that some of the works would be “poesies” while others would be “rithmes.” This notion is reinforced by the inclusion of the title at the end of du Guillet’s poetry in the volume (see image 6). Perhaps the texts that would be more “poesie” than “rithme” are those for which silent attentive reading would be required—for example, the poems with anagrams of Maurice Scève’s name.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Poem V with its anagram of Scève’s name is the often cited as proof of du Guillet’s relationship with Scève.

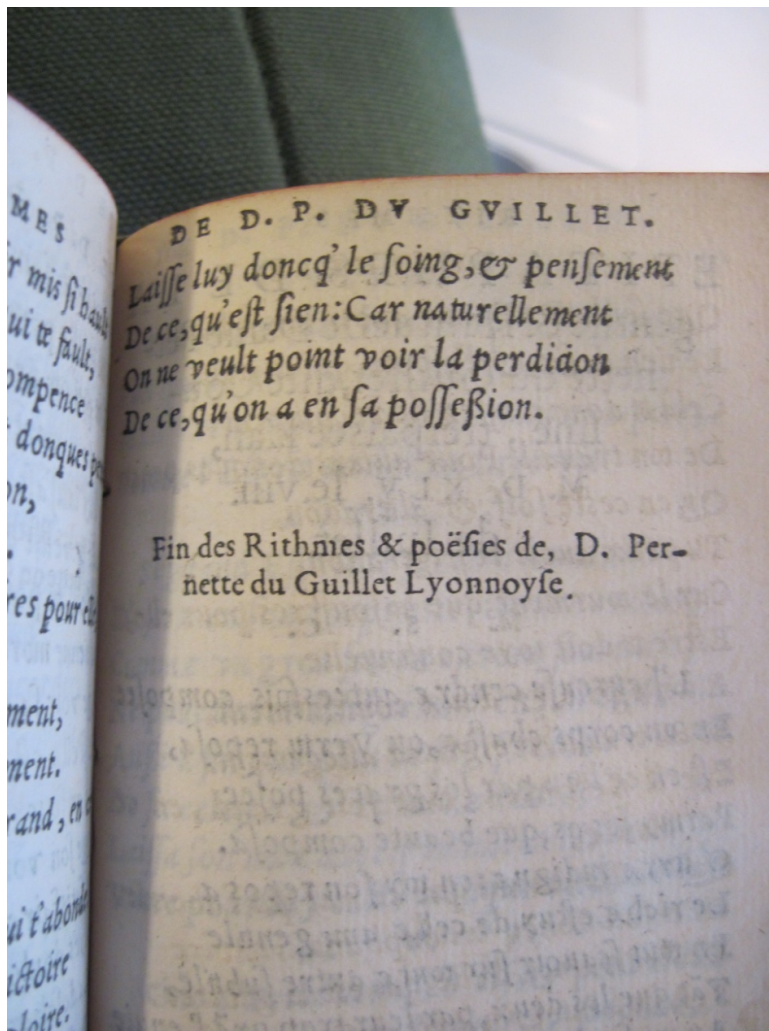


Image 6, End title *Rithmes*, (Marnef: Lyon, 1546). BNF.

The title *Rithmes et poesies* alludes to the fact that the volume contains different types of works—some *rithmes*, some *poesies*. There are indeed a variety of poetic forms in du Guillet’s *œuvre*. As Antoine du Moulin writes in the prefatory letter, “[...] avons trouvé Epygrammes, Chansons, et autres matieres de divers lieux [...]” (Du Guillet 110). In du Guillet’s verse, there are *épigammes*, *chansons*, *élégies*, *épîtres marotiques*, and other forms, including one *coq-à-l’âne*. The two de Tournes editions do not distinguish between all of the different forms within the text other than this mention in the preface.

Only six of the poems in de Tournes's editions have titles, and only one of these titles "Coq a lasne" refers to the poem's form. The five other titled poems in de Tournes's editions are "Parfacite amytié," "Conde claros de Adonis," "La nuict," "Desespoit traduict de la prose du Parangon Italien," and "Confort." Du Marnef, on the other hand, classified the different poetic forms through the use of titles specific to their forms (see image 7 and 8).

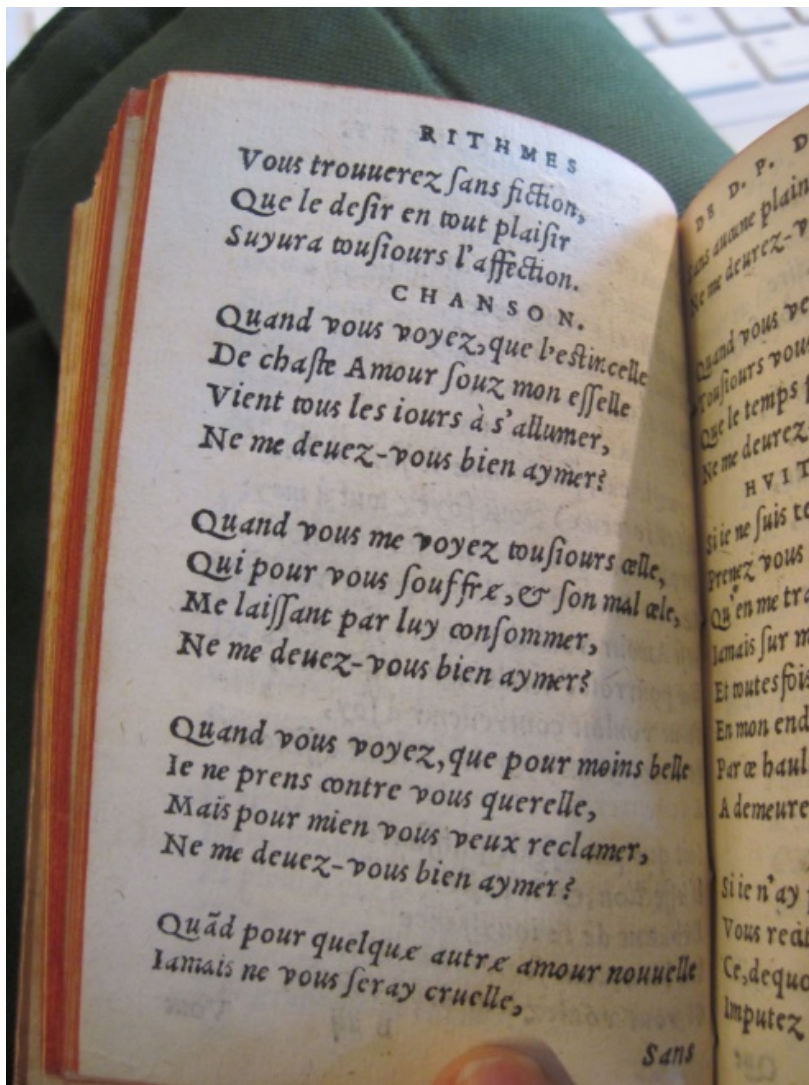


Image 7, Intertitle, "Chanson," folio 23 *Rithmes et poesies*, Marnef: Lyon, 1546. BNF. You can see on the facing page, the next poem is titled "Huitain."

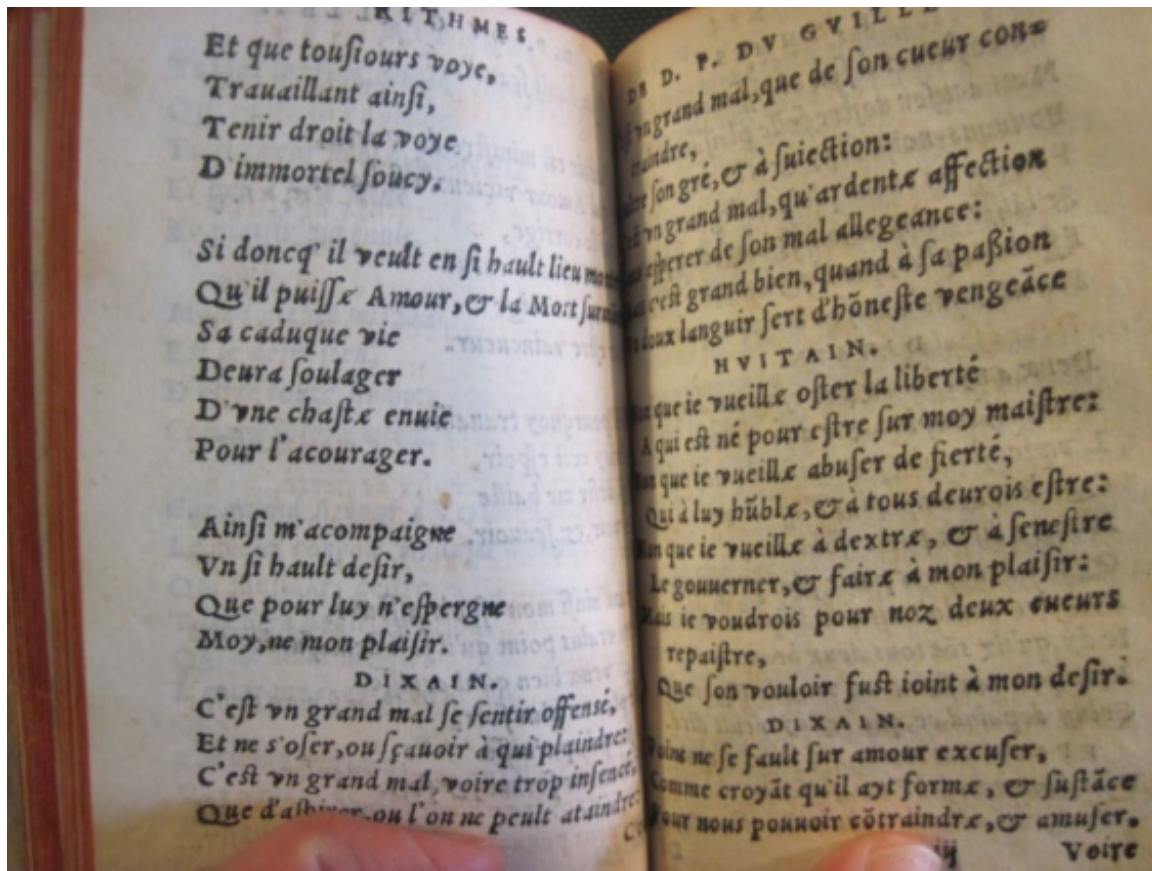


Image 8 Intertitles, “Dixain” and “Huitain,” 51-52, *Rithmes*, Jeanne de Marnef: Paris, 1546. BNF.

De Marnef titled many of the poems “Chanson,” “Chant,” and “Huitain.” Poems by these titles are often followed by another poem of the same form with the title “Un autre” (see images 7-9). By titling some of the poems “Chanson” and “Chant,” de Marnef draws attention to their musicality. The words “Chanson” and “chant” are polyvalent in the sixteenth century—they can refer either to a poem or a song—but in either case, they are related to music. In *Art poetique françois* (1548), Thomas Sébillet defines “chant lyrique” in this way:

Le chant Lyrique, ou Ode (car autant vaut a dire), se façonne ne plus ne moins que le Canticque, c’est a dire, autant variablement et inconstamment: sauf que les

plus cours et petis vers y sont plus souvent usités et mieus séants a cause du Luth ou autre instrument semblable sur lequel l'Ode se doit chanter.⁴⁷

A *chant* is not a poem to be read silently, but rather must be sung with an accompanying lute. Sébillet then makes clear that the *chanson* is meant to be sung: “Car encor que nous appellions bien en François, Chanson, tout ce que se peut chanter” (Sébillet 127). By adding titles like “Chanson” and “Chant” to du Guillet’s poems, de Marnef assigns musicality to du Guillet’s verse. Jan Miernowski makes a similar observation in a recent essay about Marguerite de Navarre’s *Chansons spirituelles*. He notes that in Jean de Tournes’s 1547 edition of the *Marguerites de la Marguerite* (which contains the *Chansons spirituelles*) de Tournes titles certain poems “Chanson,” reiterating their genre for the reader. Miernowski remarks,

Such insistence on labeling as *chansons* the texts which follow the initial ‘Pensées’ and the *rondeau* seems to indicate some kind of anxiety on the part of the author or publisher in regards to the generic and compositional coherence of the *Chansons spirituelles* section of the book.⁴⁸

We can note a similar anxiety in de Marnef’s edition of du Guillet’s work—by inserting titles for individual poems, de Marnef attempts to control readers reception of the work. The editor insists on then poems’ genre—that they are *chansons* and *chants* and should be consumed accordingly.

In de Marnef’s edition, many of the poems that are not titled “Chanson” or “Chant” can also be linked to music due to the prior publication of four of du Guillet’s poems in songbooks, all of which are *huitains*. The majority of the poems in du Guillet’s

⁴⁷ Thomas Sébillet, *Art poétique français* in *Traité de poétique et de rhétorique à la Renaissance*, ed Francis Goyet, 127.

⁴⁸ Jan Miernowski, “Chansons Spirituelles—Songs for a ‘Delightful Transformation’ in A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 237-279.

Rymes are *épigrammes*, either in eight lines (*huitains*) or ten lines (*dizains*). There are twenty-eight *dizains* and twenty-one *huitains*. Most of the *huitains* follow the rhyme scheme ababbcbc. The poems xii, xiv and lii in the Moderne songbook (“Le corps ravy,” “Le grand desir” and “En lieu du bien”) follow this rhyme scheme, while the other *huitain* set to music in Moderne’s edition, lii (“Je n’oserois le penser veritable”) follows ababbaab.⁴⁹ The fact that many of the poems in du Guillet’s work share the same form and rhyme scheme means that it would have been easy for musicians and singers to use one piece of music for multiple songs. Different poems could be sung to one of the pieces in the Moderne or Attaignant songbooks, substituting the lyrics but maintaining the same musical notation. The titles that de Marnef introduced in her edition point towards this reading. The reader immediately understands that if the poem is a *huitain*, it might pair well with a piece of music for another *huitain*. The use of the title “Un autre” encourages the reader to read the poem in conjunction with or in reference to the one that precedes it (see Image 10). In this way, I imagine that de Marnef’s *Rithmes* may have functioned more as a repertory of song lyrics than as a work to be read silently and solitarily.

⁴⁹ See appendix A for reproduction of these four *huitains* and the variants present in the songbooks.

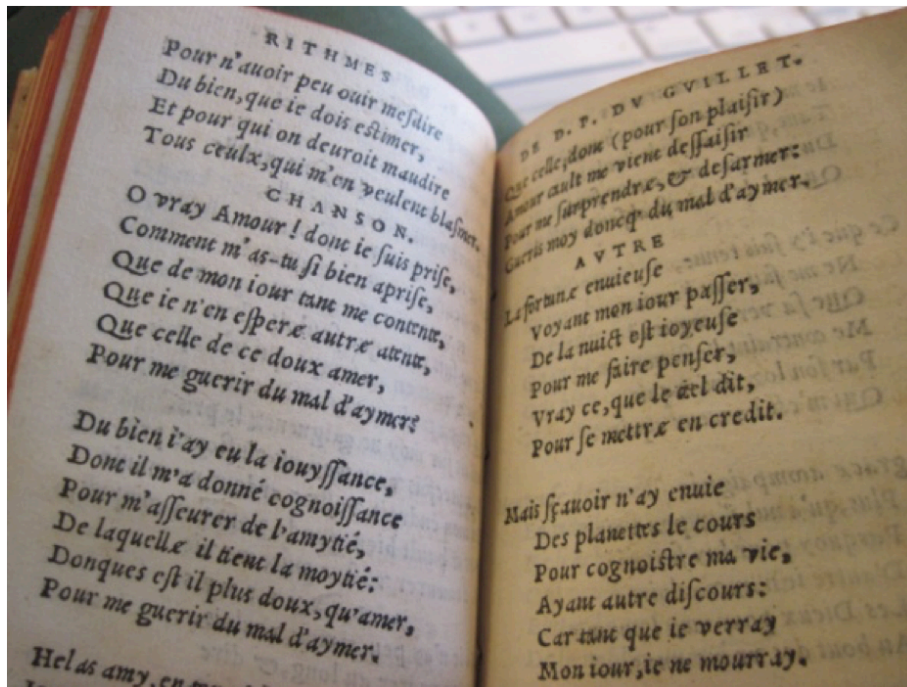


Image 9, *Rithmes*, 17 and 18 Jeanne de Marnef: Paris, 1546. BNF.

Several other paratextual elements encourage this reading. The size of the de Marnef edition is small compared to the de Tournes edition (see images 10 and 11). While a smaller book could be a sign of silent reading since only one person could look at the work at a time, we can also imagine that the de Marnef edition could have been slipped into a pocket, or even easily held in a hand, and carried to a gathering where there might be musicians playing from one of the songbooks in circulation at the time. No musical notation is in the de Marnef edition, but this would not mean that it could not be interpreted as songs to be performed orally. Often, a standard musical mold would be used for many pieces of verse. One *air* or *timbre* would be used for many songs. We can consider the common practice of *contrafactum* where bawdy words are sung to the tune



Image 10, *Rimes*, Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552. BNF.



Image 11, *Rithmes et poesies*, Paris: Jeanne de Marnef, 1547. BNF.

of a spiritual song, or vice versa.⁵⁰ Sixteenth century audiences would have known the tunes to popular songs, and would have been accustomed to the practice of plugging new lyrics into standard *airs*. Jan Miernowski suggests that the practice of using one tune for many texts may have been the case for Margeurite de Navarre's *Chansons spirituelles* at the compositional level:

[...] while writing many of her poems she must have been humming well-known songs, which, in turn, she may reasonably have expected her readers to recognize, anticipating them singing along, even without the need for explicitly indicating the tunes in the printed or manuscript collections" (Miernowski 246).

Miernowski also notes that many of the poems in *Chansons spirituelles* "[...] are built on

⁵⁰ See for example Miernowski on Clément Marot and Marguerite de Navarre's two versions of "Jouyissance vous donnerait," 248.

repetitive structures which lend themselves to rhythmical and melodic arrangements. In many cases, the incipit or a portion of it is repeated throughout the text” (Miernowski 246). An example of this in the *Chansons spirituelles* would be the *chanson* that begins “A la clere fontenelle.” The first words become a refrain, reappearing at the end of each stanza.⁵¹ This is also common in du Guillet’s *chansons*, making them apt for music. One of many examples is poem LVII:

C'est un grand mal se sentir offensé,
Et ne s'oser, ou sçavoir à qui plaindre:
C'est un grand mal, voire trop incensé,
Que d'aspirer, où l'on ne peut atteindre :
C'est un grand mal que de son cuer contraindre,
Oultre son gré, et à subjection :
C'est un grand mal, qu'ardente affection
Sans esperer de son mal allegeance :
Mais c'est grand bien, quand à sa passion
Un doux languir sert d'honnête vengeance (Du Guillet 167-68).

The phrase “C’est un grand mal” and its counterpart “Mais c’est grand bien” anchor the poem rhythmically, making it an easy choice for a composer. Indeed, this very poem was set to music in 1561 by Jean Maillard and published in *Quart livre de chansons nouvellement composé en musique à quatre parts*. Where would Maillard have come across this poem? Perhaps he found it in de Marnef’s edition, or perhaps it was one of du Guillet’s poems that were still circulating orally. This 1561 publication shows that du Guillet’s verse was being read as music.

Another element that might be a sign that de Marnef published her edition with orality and musicality in mind is the indication of the *e muet*, known in the sixteenth century as the *e féminin*, *synaléphe* or *coupe féminine* (Sébillot 42). Beginning before du

⁵¹ Marguerite de Navarre, *Chansons spirituelles*, ed. Georges Dottin (Paris: Droz, 1971), 41-43.

Guillet's time, when reading French poetry aloud, the speaker or singer must not pronounce a final *e* if the next word begins with a vowel or a non-aspirated *h*. In this way, the scansion of a verse can remain intact. Sébillet described the practice of drawing a line through silent *e*'s to remind the reader not to pronounce them when reading aloud (Sébillet 55-56). Indeed, we find just this practice in de Marnef's edition of the *Rithmes* (see examples from de Marnef's edition in image 12). The physical book instructs the reader on pronunciation and encourages an oral reading, or even singing. The physical features of the book, its size and the typographical choices Marnef made, may be signs that Marnef designed it to be used in an oral, musical setting.

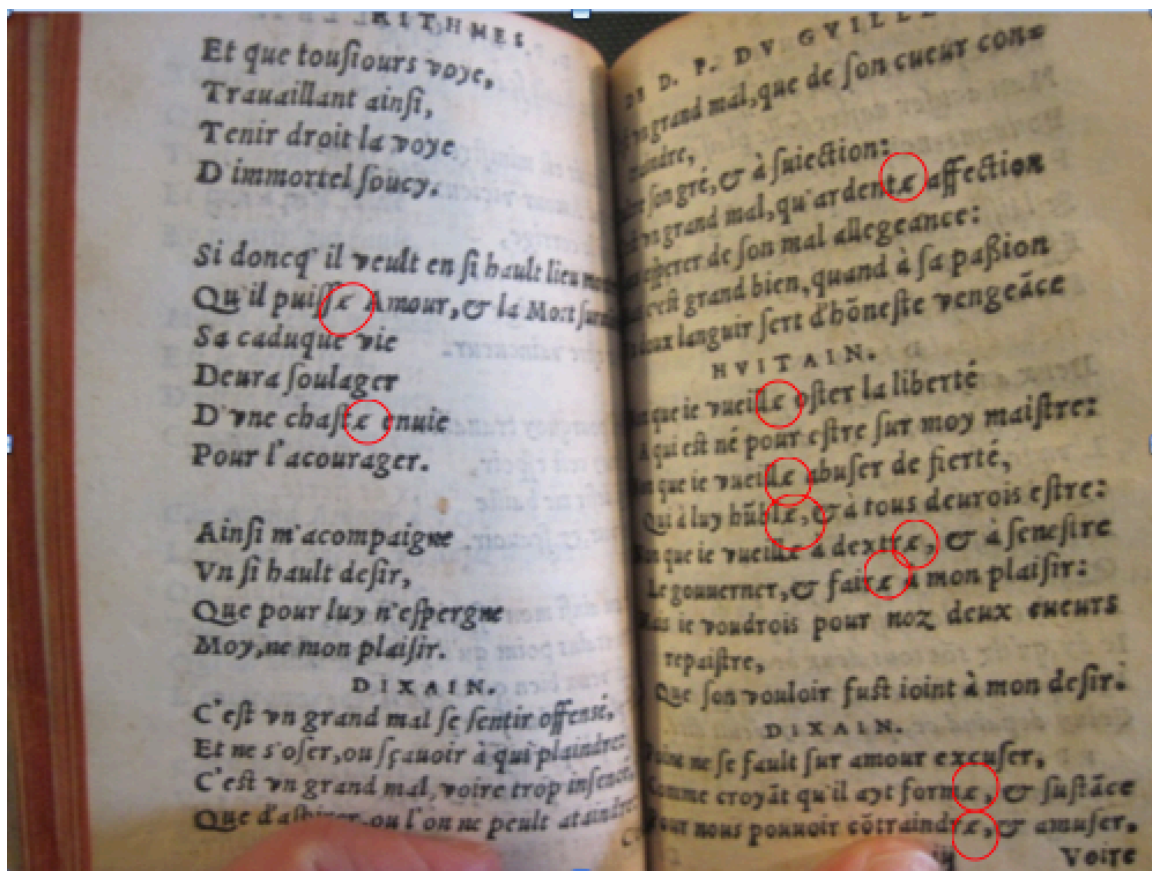


Image 12, *Rithmes*, pages 51 and 52. Jeanne de Marnef: Paris, 1546. Silent *e*'s indicated in red.

The poems that de Marnef appended to du Guillet's poetry also seem to be chosen based on their oral, musical qualities. This is yet another element of the book that could be a sign that a sixteenth century reader might receive the text as a book of songs rather than as one to be read silently. The "Triumphe des Muses sur Amour: Et autres nouvelles compositions" consists of ten poems that appear after du Guillet's verse in the de Marnef edition. Four of the ten poems had previously been printed in a 1545 Jean de Tournes imprint, *Panegyric des damoysselles de Paris sur les neuf muses*. This de Tournes edition contained seven poems: a preliminary *huitain* by Jean de Tournes, and six anonymous works.⁵² De Marnef included four of these poems in her edition of the *Rithmes et poesies* and added another anonymous poem, "Complainte," and five poems signed with initials.⁵³ Chang and the Beeches have hypothesized that de Marnef's editorial choice to print these poems alongside du Guillet's may have been a protofeminist one. Chang writes for example, "[...] the originality of the *Rithmes* [...] lies principally in the way in which the entire volume acquires a gendered governing vision, from the title page, to the printer's notice, to the poetry authored by Du Guillet, to the poems compiled as the 'Nouvelles compositions'" (Chang, "Gender" 99). I suggest that there is an additional if not alternate governing vision in de Marnef's edition, and that the poems de Marnef

⁵² The titular "Panegyric des damoysselles de Paris su les neuf muses," "A celles qui se sont plaintes," "Le triumphe des muses, contre amour," "Les obseques d'Amour," "Complainte d'une damoysselle fugitive" and "L'amante loyale qui Depuis ha esté variable."

⁵³ "Autre epistre a une dame qui se plaignoit de n'avoir este assez louee par M. D. S. G.," "Autre epistre a une noble et illustre dame, par C. G. P.," "Autre epistre a une dame, par le dit C. G. P.," "Response de la dame a l'amy dissimule, L. P. A.," and "Elegie du semi-dieu faunus demandant aux nymphes pourquoy elles ne le vouloient aimer par V. B." Graham has assigned the initials to the following poets: "M. D. S. G." (Mellin de Saint-Gelais); "C. G. P." (Claude Gruget, Parisien); "L. P. A." (Jean Maugin, known as Le petit Angevin); "V. B." (Victor Breaudeau, fils). See notes in Graham's edition of Du Guillet.

chose to append to du Guillet's work are evidence of this governing vision: music. The poems from de Tournes's *Panegyric* that Marnef excluded from her edition are the only ones of the de Tournes published poems that describe composing poetry as writing. Meanwhile, the four poems de Marnef includes from the *Panygeric* all describe poetic composition in oral and musical terms. The "Panygeric," one of the poems that appeared in the de Tournes edition but that was not included in de Marnef's edition, begins:

Je veulx par escript mettre
 En quelque petit metre
 La louange & honneur,
 Qu'ont de Paris les Dames
 Vivantes sans diffames,
 Sans estre blasonneur [...] (Panygeric 3).

The poet puts his praises of these ladies down "par escript." The reference to a textual, print culture is clear. The physical book, de Tournes's *Panygeric*, is that desire brought to fruition. Similarly, the preliminary *huitain* by Antoine du Moulin, also not included in de Marnef's edition, is about the physical book meant to be read:

Ce livre que lon peult nommer
 Romant des Dames vertueuses,
 Se veult faire en brief renommer
 Pour ses graces tant precieuses,
 Et pour ses veines copieuses.
 Lecteur, si l'Autheur tu ignores
 Ne fault que moins son œuvre honores.
 O esprit quiconque tu sois
 Par moy auras loz & lieu ores
 Entre les Poetes François (Panygeric 1).

In the first line, the poet defines the work as a "livre," referring to the physical object to be read. The poet then uses the word "lecteur" instead of "auditeur" to signal to his audience how the book should be consumed. In contrast, the poems from the *Panygéric*

that de Marnef printed in her edition include the “Triumphe des muses, contre Amour” which begins with the following lines:

J'ay paour d'estre desdict,
 Ou n'avoir le credit,
 O Muses gracieuses,
 De pouvoir repeter,
 Et icy reciter Voz forces vertueuses (Panygeric 17).

The word “reciter” in line 5 refers to oral practices, rather than written ones. The other verb, “repeter,” in line 4, could also refer to oral production. Similarly, the poem “Les obseques d'Amour,” also in de Marnef's edition, begins in this way:

Phebus Amy chantez,
 En chantant escoutez,
 Vostre Muse Thalie:
 Qui vous veult reciter,
 Et en beaulx vers compter
 D'Amour la grand folie

Orpheus gracieux,
 En chantz melodieux,
 Terpsichore vous mande,
 De Cupido la mort,
 Son dangereux effort,
 Et temerité grande.

Here, references to singing abound. Three words that have “chant” as their root appear in the first 8 lines of the poem (chantez, line 1; chantant, line 2; chantz, line 8). The first stanza begins with Phoebus, god of poetry, while the second begins with Orpheus, legendary musician in Greek mythology. Both of these refer to an oral, musical culture. The first lines of another poem de Marnef chose from de Tourne's *Panygéric* for inclusion in her 1546 edition, “Complainte d'une damoysele fugitive,” are as follows:

Si lon peult ouyr ma complainte,
 Et le mal dont je suis atainte
 Je vous pouvois bien reciter,
 Mon dieu je serois heureuse,
 Si en voix forte & doloureuse
 Je sçavois le tout racompter! (38).

Once again, rather than evoking written verses, the “Complainte” is about an oral recitation. The verbs “ouyr” and “reciter” in lines 1 and 3, respectively, as well as the reference to the speaker’s “voix forte & douloureuse” in line 5 all indicate this oral framework.

Jeanne de Marnef presented a new more musically inclined Pernette du Guillet to her readers and created a different authorial space than the one provided by Jean de Tournes and Antoine du Moulin in the Lyonnnais editions. De Marnef manipulated the text and the paratext to change the appearance of the words on the page and their reception. We can understand de Marnef’s editions to be a sixteenth century reading of du Guillet’s works in which de Marnef is both reader and editor. De Marnef read de Tournes’s edition before setting about making her own and interpreted both de Tournes’s paratext and edition, along with du Guillet’s poetry in order to present the product to waiting readers and singers. De Marnef underscored the musical nature of the poetry, and these qualities shine through in her conception of the work. In a culture still attached and conscious of the oral, musical quality of lyric poetry, de Marnef may have sought to make an edition appealing to readers eager to use this slim edition as a repertory of more lyrics to put to *airs* they already knew. It seems that her vision proved a profitable one as she reprinted it the following year. At this time in France, reprinting a book involved a

complete resetting so this reprint shows that it must have been economically viable.⁵⁴

This musically inclined edition provides a secure place for du Guillet as a female author. As we noted both in Castiglione and in Antoine du Moulin's preface, *Aux Dames Lyonnoises*, music was an accepted and encouraged pastime for women in the sixteenth century. Insisting on the musical qualities of du Guillet's work would have made sixteenth century audiences more willing to accept and read the book. Sappho, whose poetry was rediscovered and published for the first time in 1546, the same year as de Marnef's first edition of the *Rithmes*, becomes a model for du Guillet as well. Robert Estienne published fragment 1 of Sappho's poetry, her "Ode to Aphrodite," and though the poem was not published in translation until the 1550s, it is possible that translations were circulating in manuscript and that de Marnef was aware of this. In her study of Sappho's afterlife, Joan de Jean posits that Louise Labé was "[...] the lone woman poet of the Renaissance to be pulled into the Sapphic magnetic field."⁵⁵ Indeed, the Sapphic model of female authorship was not available to du Guillet's first editor in 1545. Jeanne de Marnef, however, might have considered giving du Guillet more authority by accentuating the musical qualities of her work, encouraging readers to associate du Guillet with the Greek poet and musician. De Marnef situated du Guillet's authorship and work in a careful, controlled way so that her authorship would be supported socially and historically.

I highlight de Marnef's editorial choices in order to contrast her musically-oriented 1546 edition with Louis Perrin's nineteenth century editions. De Marnef and

⁵⁴ See Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Les Éditions Albin Michel, 1958), 167.

⁵⁵ Joan Dejean, *Fictions of Sappho: 1546-1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 30.

Perrin based their editions on Jean de Tournes's 1545 imprint. While de Marnef successfully marketed du Guillet's work by encouraging consumers to consider it musically, Perrin found new ways to anchor the author-figure in the nineteenth century.

Du Guillet in the Nineteenth Century

After the flurry of activity in the 1540s and 1550s in Lyon and Paris, close to 300 years passed before du Guillet's collection of verse was re-published.⁵⁶ Louis Perrin's Lyonnais print shop then published du Guillet's works three times: in 1830, 1856, and again in 1864.⁵⁷ These were the only nineteenth century editions of her works. Readers would then have to wait until 1961 for a twentieth century edition of her complete poems.⁵⁸ While the poems themselves remained largely the same in these nineteenth century editions as they appeared in their initial publication in 1545, Perrin and other bookmakers in his shop added several paratextual elements that sought to control readers' reception of the work. Just as the de Marnef edition highlighted the musical side of du Guillet's poetry, the nineteenth century bookmakers showed their own concerns and presented the work and du Guillet in new ways. The editorial prefaces and footnotes in Perrin's 1830 and 1864 editions of the work, as well as the inserted biography of the poet in the 1830 edition demonstrate how paratext both informs and complicates our reading of the *Rymes*. Specifically, Perrin built on the reputations of two of du Guillet's

⁵⁶ Individual poems attributed to du Guillet were also published in the second half of the sixteenth century. See Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002), 223-334.

⁵⁷ Pernette du Guillet, *Poésies* (Lyon : Louis Perrin, 1830); Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile et vertueuse dame* (Lyon: Louis Perrin, 1856) ; Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes de gentile et vertueuse dame D. Pernette Du Guillet lyonnaise* (Lyon: Louis Perrin, 1864.)

⁵⁸ Pernette du Guillet, *Rymes de Pernette Du Guillet, gentile & vertueuse dame lyonnaise* (Bruxelles: L'Atelier du livre, 1961.)

contemporaries, Louise Labé and Maurice Scève, in order to present du Guillet's lesser-known work and authorship.

Nineteenth century Lyonnais editor Louis Perrin, referred to by Marius Audin as "le plus grand imprimeur français du XIXe siècle,"⁵⁹ took an interest in Renaissance poets, and in particular in the *école lyonnaise*.⁶⁰ His first publication was an 1824 edition of the *Œuvres de Louïze Labé Lionnoïze*, and he later published Maurice Scève's *Délie*.⁶¹ It is my contention that the paratexts of the 1830 and 1864 editions of Pernette du Guillet's works insist on the relationships between and among these three poets in ways that guide our reading of the *Rymes*. The links the editors draw between Louise Labé and Pernette du Guillet and between Maurice Scève and du Guillet place the author of the *Rymes* in a position of deference vis-à-vis the other two poets. The paratext of these two nineteenth century editions emphasizes du Guillet's relationships with Labé and Scève and markets her work as a complement to theirs.

Perrin's emphasis on du Guillet's relationships with Labé and Scève comes from his reading of the Jean de Tournes edition---de Tournes, too, draws attention to the poet du Guillet's cultural milieu of Lyon. The response poetry to Scève in du Guillet's work frames the poet's work within a larger cultural moment. However, Perrin, read the textual relationship between du Guillet and Scève, and Labé and du Guillet's similarities as *lyonnaises* as the primary lenses through which to experience the work. The edition does

⁵⁹ Marius Audin. "Lettre aux imprimeurs Lyonnais: Perrin, imprimeur." *Revue du lyonnais*, 6, num. 1 (1921), 506.

⁶⁰ See Guidici and Rigolot on the use of this term.

⁶¹ For more information on Perrin's publications see Anne Lamort's *Les œuvres de Louis Perrin: Lyonnais*. Paris: Librairie, 2010.

not take into account the collaborative nature of poetic production practiced in the sixteenth century. In Perrin's edition, du Guillet is a pupil in love with her mentor.

In order to understand du Guillet's poetics, we can consider the publication of poems by other Lyonnais women who wrote within the tradition of response poetry. While the names of women like Claude de Bectone, Jacqueline de Stuard and Jeanne Gaillarde do not appear on the title pages of the books that contain their poetry and that of others, their textual presence alongside Bonaventure Des Periers' and Clement Marot's poetry demonstrates the active communication and poetic collaboration that occurred among poets of both genders.⁶² In this way, Bectone, Stuard and Gaillarde, like their contemporary Du Guillet, show the phenomenon of response poetry that was popular at the time and can be traced back in French to medieval *troubadours* and *trobaritz*. The specific geography in which these women wrote and published their works takes on special importance. Some of these interactions mention the city of Lyon, or identify the female correspondent as "Lyonnaise" or "de Lyon." One example of this is Clément Marot's rondeau "A ma dame Jehanne gaillarde de Lyon. Femme de grant savoir":

D'Avoir le pris en science & doctrine,
 Bien merita de Pisan la cristine
 Durant ses jours: mais ta plume doree
 D'elle seroit à present adoree,
 Selle vivoit par volunte divine.

Car tout ainsi que le feu lor affine,
 Le temps a faict nostre langue plus fine,
 Du qui tu as leloquence asseuree
 Davoir le pris.
 Donques ma main, rends toy humble & benigne,
 En donnant lieu à la main feminine:

⁶² Response poems by Bectone and Stuard appeared in *Recueil des Oeuvres de feu Bonaventure des Périers* (Jean de Tournes: Lyon, 1544), 184-187.

N'escris plus rien en ryme mesuree,
 Fors que tu es une main bienheuree
 Davoir touche celle qui est tant digne
 D'avoir le pris.⁶³

In this rondeau, which appears in Marot's 1532 *L'adolescence clementine*, the poet places Jeanne Gaillarde in the context of Lyon by reminding readers in the title that she is "de Lyon." Marot then inserts her into the tradition of women writers by comparing her to Christine de Pisan and expressing how he wishes to give space to "la main feminine" — the female poet. Indeed, the physical book does just that, as the *Adolescence* contains Gaillarde's response to Marot's rondeau, "Response au precedent rondeau par ma dicte Dame Jehanne Gaillarde":

De m'acquitter je me trouve surprise
 D'un faible esprit, car à toi nay savoir
 Correspondant, tu le peux bien savoir
 Vu quen cet art, plus quautre lon te prise.

Si fusse autant eloquente & aprise
 Comme tu dys, je feroys mon devoir
 De m'acquitter.
 Si veulx prier, la grâce en toy comprise
 Et les vertus, qui tant te font vouloir
 De prendre en gre laffectueux vouloir
 Dont ignorance a rompu lentreprise
 De m'acquitter.

By allowing Gaillarde physical space on the page, Marot and his book producers acknowledge her as a poet in her own right. Gaillarde's rondeau, too, demonstrates her poetic acumen while maintaining a master-student dynamic with Marot. Gaillarde writes within the *topos* of humility in this response poem by comparing her own "faible esprit"

⁶³ Clément Marot, *L'adolescence clémentine autrement les Oeuvres de Clément Marot [...] (Paris: Geoffroy Tory, 1532), 63.*

to Marot's eloquence and knowledge. The poet writes that she is not up to the task of writing the poem, and yet she did write the poem, so she must have been eloquent and learned enough to do so. Again in the last lines, she claims that her *ignorance* made it impossible to do her duty (*m'acquitter*), yet the duty is done at this point, the poem composed, sent and published. The use of the *si* clause in the second stanza with the imperfect subjunctive "fusse" and the present conditional "feroys" mark this clever contradiction. This interaction, which predates the publication of the *Rymes* by thirteen years, is but one example of how poets and book producers in mid-sixteenth century Lyon found ways to circulate works by female poets, and to make their writings material through print. When Louise Labé wrote in 1555 in her dedicatory letter to Clémence de Bourges that the time had come for women to take up their quills, she was perhaps referring to the burgeoning female literary culture at the time:

Étant le temps venu, Mademoiselle, que les sévères lois des hommes n'empêchent plus les femmes de s'appliquer aux sciences et disciplines, il me semble que celles qui ont la commodité doivent employer cette honnête liberté, que notre sexe a autrefois tant désirée, à icelles apprendre, et montrer aux hommes le tort qu'ils nous faisaient en nous privant du bien et de l'honneur qui nous en pouvait venir [...].⁶⁴

The poet Labé shows awareness of this specific moment in book history during which Lyonnais book producers sought to give space on the page to "la main féminine."⁶⁵ Labé's predecessors, Pernette Du Guillet, Jeanne Gaillarde, and others, were way ahead of her.

Perrin does not market du Guillet's work as the product of the collaborative poetic space of Renaissance Lyon. Instead, the names Louise Labé and Maurice Scève surround

⁶⁴ Louise Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Flammarions, 2004), 41.

du Guillet's name and serve to structure the work. Although Pernette du Guillet's name appears on the title page of the 1830 edition, it is Louise Labé's name that appears first in Perrin's "Avertissement de l'Editeur," (see image 13) the first of two texts that precede Antoine du Moulin's epistle, the *huitain* by de Tournes and du Guillet's poems. The "Avertissement" begins in this way :

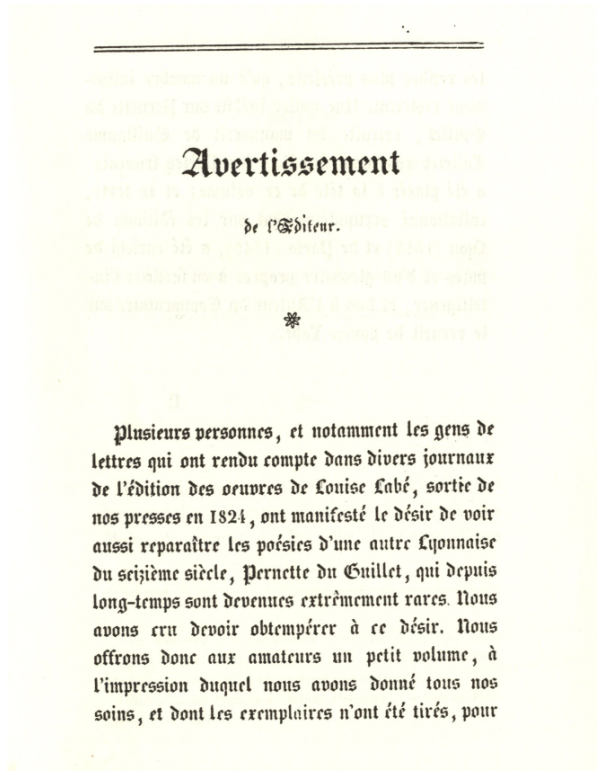


Image 13, *Rymes* "Avertissement de l'édituer," (Lyon: Perrin, 1830).

Plusieurs personnes, et notamment les gens de lettres qui ont rendu compte dans divers journaux de l'édition des œuvres de Louise Labé, sortie de nos presses en 1824, ont manifesté le désir de voir aussi reparaitre les poésies d'une autre Lyonnaise du seizième siècle, Pernette du Guillet, qui depuis long-temps sont devenues extrêmement rares. Nous avons cru devoir obtempérer à ce désir. Nous offrons donc aux amateurs un petit volume, à l'impression duquel nous avons donné tous nos soins, et dont les exemplaires n'ont été tirés, pour

The publication of du Guillet's works is marketed as an encore to Louise Labé's; those who read Labé's works have expressed the desire to read something else like the *Œuvres*. The primacy is given not to du Guillet's name, nor to the quality of her verse, but to her

geographical and temporal provenance. The reading public, according to the editor, would have the works of “[...] une autre Lyonnaise du seizième siècle,” that is to say, of another Louise Labé. The name “Pernette du Guillet” comes after this description. Her name is the answer to the question, “Who is another female writer from the sixteenth century?”

The “Avertissement,” a brief 170 words, manages to mention Louise Labé again, this time at the very end: the last two words of the notice are Labé’s name, not du Guillet’s. This short notice, ostensibly about Pernette du Guillet, is framed by Louise Labé both figuratively and, on the printed page, materially. Perrin’s 1824 publication of Labé’s works provides the impetus for the publication of du Guillet’s works; du Guillet’s works are published under the rubric of “une autre Lyonnaise” (Du Guillet 1830 7). Materially, the two appearances of Louise Labé’s name in this short notice serve as brackets around the name of the lesser-known poet. The reader’s attention is directed towards Louise Labé and to her works. According to the editor, du Guillet’s works were only published because of what her work has in common with Labé’s.

Similarly, between references to medieval writers, Maurice Scève, and Louise Labé, the poet Pernette du Guillet gets lost in the “Avant-propos” of the 1864 edition. The first three pages offer a straightforward criticism of sixteenth-century writings in general without mentioning du Guillet by name at all. The preface opens with, “La plupart des œuvres littéraires qui suivirent immédiatement la Renaissance, celles des poètes surtout, ne mériteraient guère, il faut bien en convenir, l’honneur qu’on leur fait quelquefois de les remettre en lumière [...]” (Du Guillet 1864 v-vii). The editor then goes on to lament the departure from the style of late-medieval works by Froissart (“Pour

justifier ce regret, il suffit de lire Froissart dans son texte primitif [...]”) and above all the style of the *Farce de Maitre Pierre Patelin*, “œuvre magistrale” (Du Guillet 1864 vi, viii). Pernette du Guillet’s name does not appear until the last line at the bottom of the third page. This mention is then quickly qualified by the descriptor, “disciple chérie du ténébreux Maurice Sève” (Du Guillet 1864 viii). The entire description of du Guillet’s poetry is subsequently done through the screen of Maurice Scève’s work and influence. According to the editor she “professait un véritable culte pour le poète philosophe dont le génie avait captivé toutes ses facultés” (Du Guillet 1864 viii). The editor then walks the reader through the work :

Plusieurs de ses rymes lui sont adressées ; dans toutes, elle parle de lui & exalte son mérite & son savoir. Dès la première [ryme], elle s’évertue à deux reprises sur l’anagramme de son nom [Maurice Scève] ; un peu plus loin, elle l’appelle son Jour, [...] ; puis, [...] elle se plaint de ce qu’il a des entretiens sur les lettres & la poésie avec d’autres dames & demoiselles, & elle termine sa plainte par ce dixain dans lequel elle trouve encore le moyen de jouer par deux fois sur son nom [...] (Du Guillet 1864 ix).

The editor then reproduces the dizain that begins, “Puisque de nom & de fait trop seure:”

toutes, elle parle de lui & exalte son mérite & son savoir. Dès la première, elle s'évertue à deux reprises sur l'anagramme de son nom; un peu plus loin, elle l'appelle son Four, apparemment parce qu'il l'éclairait en l'initiant aux mystérieuses profondeurs de sa philosophie; puis, cédant à un mouvement de jalousie, elle se plaint de ce qu'il a des entretiens sur les lettres & la poésie avec d'autres dames & demoiselles, & elle termine sa plainte par ce dixain dans lequel elle trouve encore le moyen de jouer par deux fois sur son nom :

* Puisque de nom & de fait trop feüere
En mon endroiët te puis appercevoir,
Ne t'esbahis si point ne perfeüere
A faire tant par art & par sçauoir
Que tu lairras d'aller les aultres veoir :
Non que de toy ie me voulißfe plaindre
Comme voulant ta liberté contraindre.
Mais aduis m'est que ton sainët entretien
Ne peult si bien en ces aultres empraindre
Tes motz dorés comme au cueur qui est tien. *

A chaque vers on retrouve l'expression passionnée de l'amour chaste & platonique dont son âme s'était éprise pour son illustre pédagogue; on en jugera par cette balade qu'elle composa pour lui :

Image 14, page ix of “Avant Propos,” *Rymes*. Paris: Scheuring and Perrin, 1864.

The editor's use of the introductory phrases and transitions such as “dans toutes”, “[d]ès la première”, “un peu plus loin”, and “& elle termine” would have the reader believe that the entirety of the *Rymes* is speaking to and of Scève (Du Guillet 1864 ix-x). With each of these phrases, the reader's attention is directed to the next supposed interaction between the two poets. These interventions serve as guideposts for the reader, even if the guideposts do not take into account all of the poems in the collection. Further, the *dixain* reproduced in the preface is not the last poem that appears in the collection; it appears

about halfway through the *Rymes*. When the editor writes, “elle termine sa plainte,” the reader is led to believe that he should stop reading after this *dizain*. Next, the editor reproduces the poem “Qui dira ma robe fourée:”

X

« Qui dira ma robe fourée
De la belle pluye dorée
Qui Daphnes (1) enclose esbranla :
Je ne sçay rien moins que celà.

Qui dira qu’a plusieurs ie tens
Pour en auoir mon passetemps,
Prennant mon plaisir çà & là :
Je ne sçay rien moins que celà.

Qui dira que t’ay reuelé
Le feu longtemps en moy celé
Pour en toy veoir si force il a :
Je ne sçay rien moins que celà.

Qui dira que d’ardeur commune
Qui les ieunes genz importune
De toy ie veux, & puis holà :
Je ne sçay rien moins que celà.

Mais qui dira que la vertu
Dont tu es richement vestu
En ton amour m’estincella :
Je ne sçay rien mieulx que celà.

Mais qui dira que d’amour faincte
Chastement au cueur suis attaincte,
Qui mon honneur onc ne foula :
Je ne sçay rien mieulx que celà. »

(1) *Daphnes est ici pour Danaé, soit qu’il y ait une faute d’impression, soit, ce qui est plus vraisemblable, que les exigences du mètre aient contraint l’auteur à faire de Danaé Daphné, ce qui serait une licence un peu trop poétique.*

There is nothing in this poem that points directly to Maurice Scève; no anagram, no wordplay. Despite this, the editor insists, “À chaque vers on retrouve l’expression passionnée de l’amour chaste & platonique dont son âme s’était éprise pour son illustre pédagogue; on en jugera par cette ballade qu’elle compose pour lui” (Du Guillet 1864 ix). Just as Antoine du Moulin and Jean de Tournes provide the initial reading of the work in 1545, and Jeanne de Marnef gives the readers of her edition a different view of the author figure in 1546, the nineteenth century book producers provide their own reading of the *Rymes*. Each time book producers rebuild the author and her works, it is a time-bound construction meant for a particular audience. In the nineteenth century, readers would have been unfamiliar with du Guillet’s authorship and her works. While Labé and Scève’s works had been printed in eighteenth century editions, du Guillet’s works were not reprinted until 1830.

The footnotes in the 1864 edition continually draw attention to the influence of Scève on du Guillet’s verse. There are six footnotes in the 1864 edition; three of them mention Scève. Similarly, in the 1830 edition, seven of the twelve footnotes refer to Scève. These footnotes cause the reader’s eye to bounce around the page; from the given line to the reference, and then back to the poem; we are thus reminded with each footnote of the importance of Scève for du Guillet’s poems (see images 16-17). The reading eye must spend time looking at these editorial interventions, and this time spent gives weight to the importance of Scève in the *Rimes*.

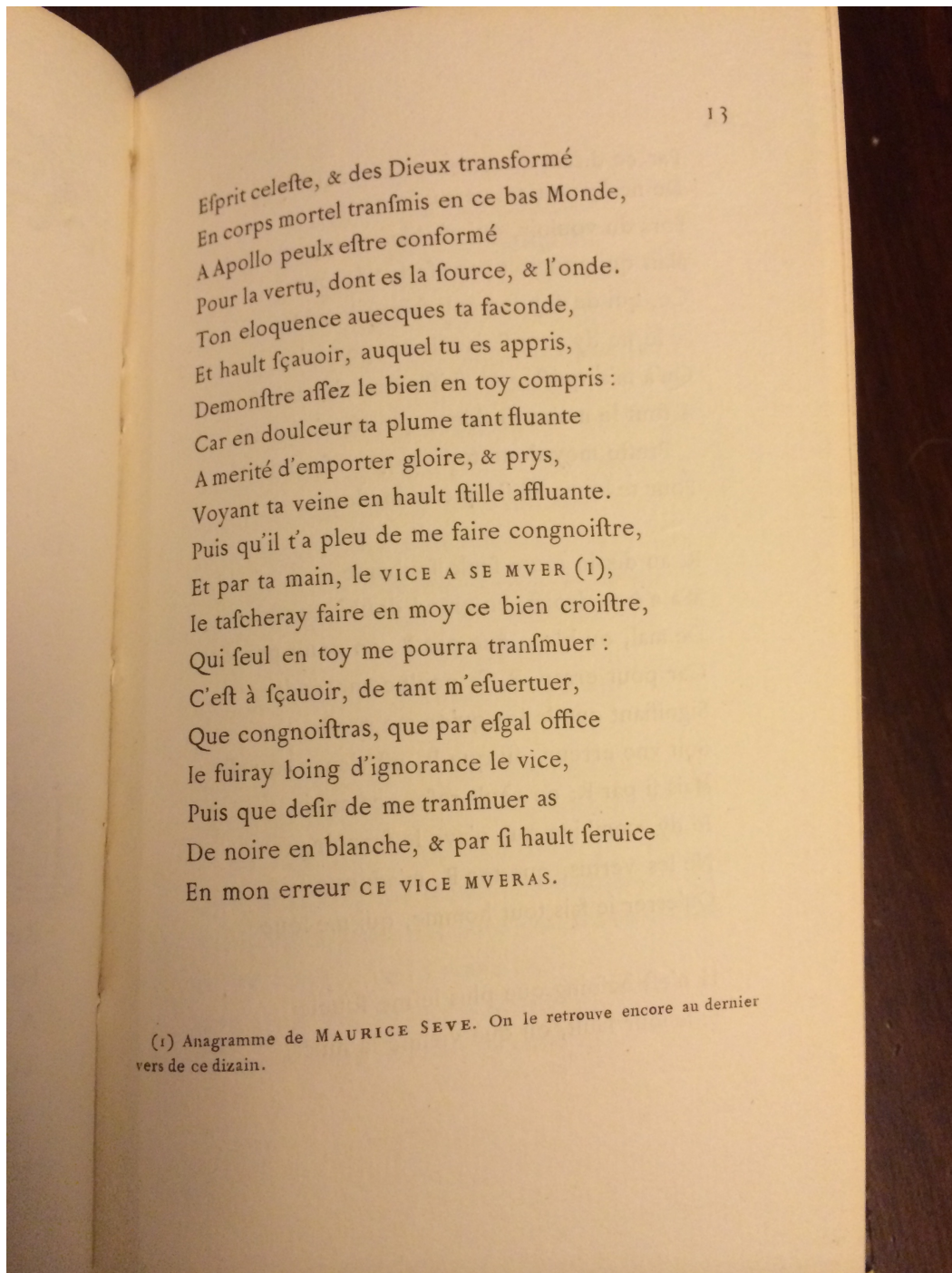


Image 16, Page 13 of Louis Perrin's 1864 edition of *Rymes*. Footnote reads:

"Anagramme de MAURICE SEVE. On le retrouve au dernier vers de ce dizain."

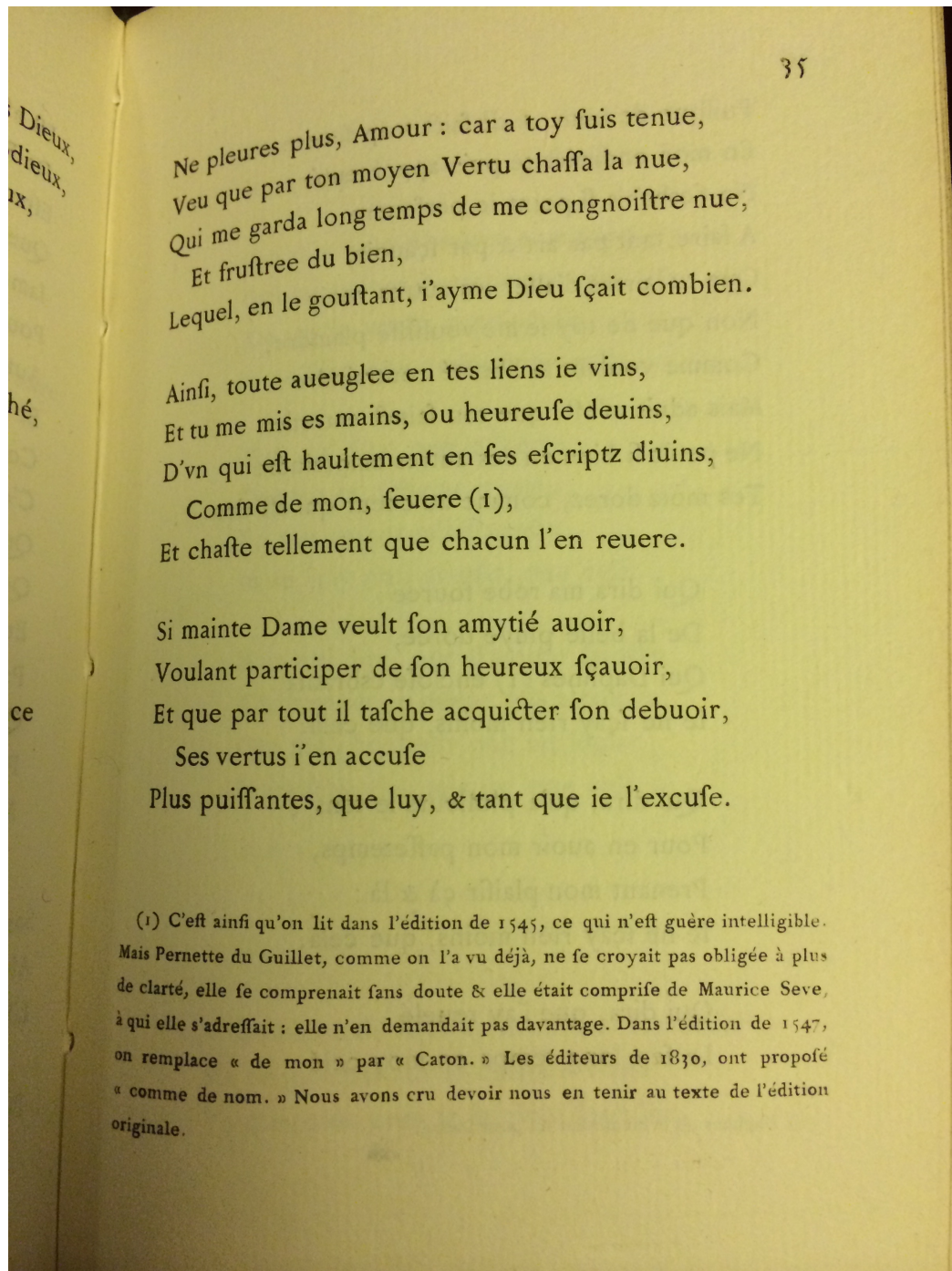


Image 17, Page 35 of Louis Perrin's 1864 edition of *Rymes*. Footnote reads: "C'est ainsi qu'on lit dans l'édition de 1545, ce qui n'est guère intelligible. Mais Pernette du Guillet, comme on l'a vu déjà, ne se croyait pas obligé à plus de clarté, elle se comprenait sans doute & elle était comprise de Maurice Seve, à qui elle s'adressait: elle n'en demandait pas davantage. Dans l'édition de 1547, on remplace 'de mon' par 'Caton.' Les éditeurs de 1830 ont proposé 'comme de nom.' Nous avons cru devoir nous en tenir au texte de l'édition originale"

This depiction of du Guillet's and Scève's relationship is not reciprocated in Perrin's edition of Scève's *Délie*. Whereas in "chaque vers" the editor of the 1864 *Rymes* finds du Guillet's love for Scève, in the 1862 edition of Scève's *Délie* produced by the same publishing house, the lady celebrated in *Délie* is anonymous:

Délie formant l'anagramme de l'idée, on a pensé que le poète n'avait en eu vue sous ce nom que de célébrer une maîtresse abstraite et idéale. Quoi qu'il en soit, le désir d'innover et de se distinguer du vulgaire le précipita dans l'affectation, la recherche & l'obscurité. Il n'en parut que plus grave & plus profond à ses contemporains, qui s'accordèrent avec Joachim du Bellay, pour l'honorer des titres de nouveau, d'esprit divin.⁶⁶

This is the only mention in the paratext of the 1862 edition of *Délie* of the object of the poet's desire. The difference between this and the portrait offered in the 1864 *Rymes* is stark. While it is impossible to say for sure why this would be, it certainly affects the interpretation of the two works. While Scève is omnipresent in the nineteenth-century *Rymes*, du Guillet is completely absent in the contemporary *Délie*.

The "Avant-propos" of the 1864 edition ends with another comparison between du Guillet and Labé: "[...] Pernette du Guillet n'a pas été chantée de son vivant, comme Louise Labé, par un essaim de poètes qui ont célébré à l'envi en grec, en latin, en italien & en français [...] Pernette du Guillet ne fit rien pour obtenir de pareils succès" (Du Guillet 1864 xx). The editor continues to send the reader outside of the work we are currently reading, du Guillet's, to the work about which he is in fact reading, Labé's.

These paratextual elements in the nineteenth century editions of the *Rymes* control the reader's experience. While information about Pernette du Guillet's similarities or dissimilarities with Louise Labé or her real and/or textual relationship with Maurice

⁶⁶ Maurice Scève, *Délie, objet de plus haute vertu: poésies amoureuses* (Lyon: N. Scheuring and L. Perrin, 1862), x.

Scève is not necessary to read and interpret the *Rymes*, these details do have the capacity of changing our appreciation of the text. Analogously, Genette, writing of our knowledge of Proust's homosexuality and Jewish heritage writes, "Je ne dis pas qu'il faut le savoir : je dis seulement que ceux qui le savent ne lisent pas comme ceux qui l'ignorent."⁶⁷ All context becomes paratext. Once we are told that the *Rymes* is about du Guillet's relationship with Scève, it is difficult to put this out of our minds and separate our individual understanding of the text. Furthermore, de Tourne's and du Moulin's exemplary readings in the paratext of the *Rymes* have carried over into the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Critics such as Colette Winn have pronounced, "Toute lecture des *Rymes* devra se situer dans ce 'contexte', par rapport à cet 'autre' auquel Pernette fait sans cesse référence, à partir duquel elle tisse son propre texte."⁶⁸ Certainly, we may read the *Rymes* alongside *Délie*, but must we? As another example of du Guillet being seen as a secondary figure to Labé, Françoise Charpentier's 1983 edition of Louise Labé's works is combined with Pernette du Guillet's *Rymes*.⁶⁹ In this edition, the presentation of the two works on the cover tells a similar narrative to the nineteenth century versions' (see image 15).

⁶⁷ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris : Seuil, 1987),13.

⁶⁸ Colette H. Winn. "Le chant de la nouvelle née: Les Rymes de Pernette du Guillet," *Poétique*, 20, 1989. 208.

⁶⁹ Louise Labé, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Françoise Charpentier (Paris: Gallimard, 1983).

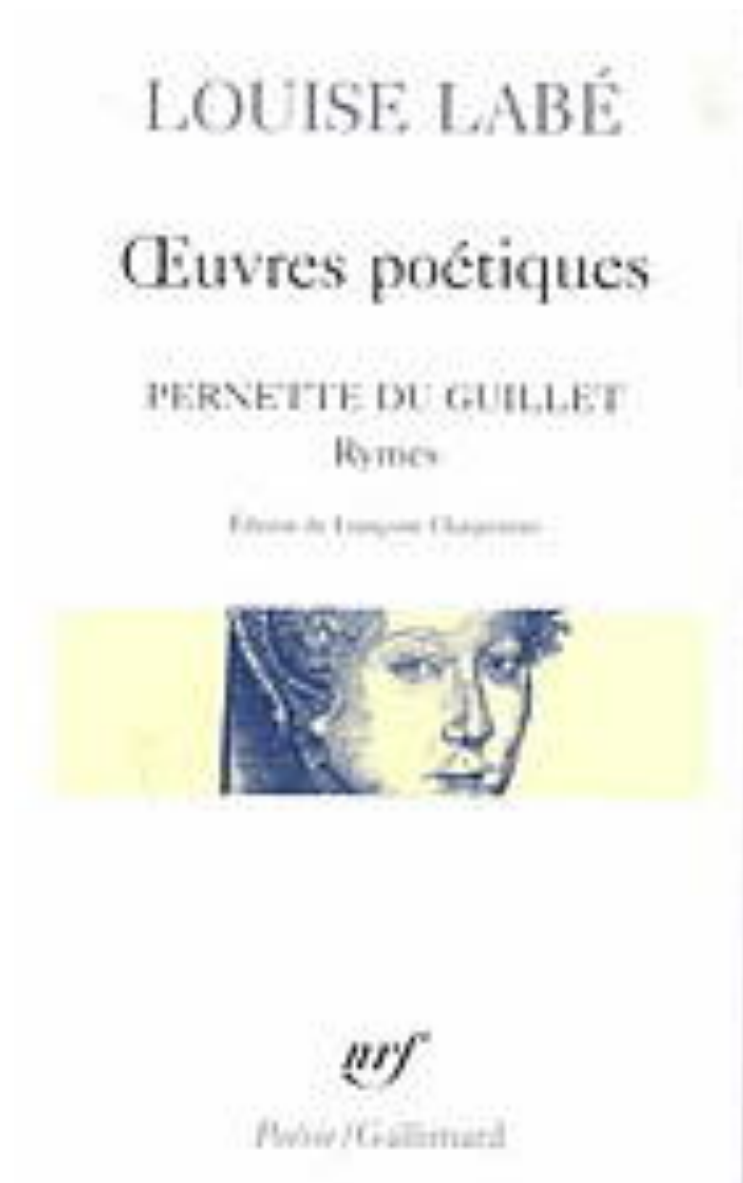


Image 18 Cover, Louise Labé *Œuvres poétiques*; Pernet du Guillet *Rymes*, ed. Françoise Charpentier (Gallimard: Paris, 1983).

In the case of Pernet du Guillet's works, we will never know for what purpose she intended them or how they were received at the time of their first appearances. Whether her poems were written and considered as songs to be performed or as response poetry to a mentor, or both, will perhaps never be made fully clear. What is clear is that with each successive edition, du Guillet's "petit amas de rymes" takes on a new life. From the first

edition in 1545, book producers have constantly manipulated du Guillet's works to appeal to the audience of their time. By comparing the various editions of du Guillet's work, from the two very different sixteenth century de Tournes and de Marnef editions to Perrin's nineteenth century editions that insert du Guillet more firmly into the *école lyonnaise*, the author figure and her works are unstable and repeatedly shifting. In each case, the editor made choices for the author-figure and her work that serve to anchor them in their specific times.

In this chapter, we explored the ways in which editors Louis Perrin and Jeanne de Marnef anchored Pernette du Guillet and her works in specific contexts. In the next chapter, "Paper Creations: Louise Labé and Early Modern Authorship," Labé's 1555 *Œuvres* travel from their first publication into the eighteenth century where they were re-edited in the lyonnais Frère Duplain printshop. While Perrin interlaced other authorial figures with du Guillet's in order to solidify her for nineteenth century audiences, Duplain constructed Labé's authorship by using the paratext to intensify the *fonction-auteur* in his 1762 edition.

Chapter Two

Paper Creations: Louise Labé's *Œuvres* and Early Modern Authorship

In her 2006 book, *Louise Labé: une créature de papier*, Mireille Huchon claims that there was no such author as Louise Labé (c. 1520-1566).⁷⁰ According to Huchon, readers of Labé's works have been the dupes of an elaborate hoax for 400 years. The dedicatory letter, dramatic allegory, three elegies and 24 sonnets that compose Labé's *Les Euures de Louize Labé Lionnoize* (1555) were, according to Huchon's hypothesis, produced by a collaboration of male poets. And to whom does this name, Louise Labé, belong? A prostitute. Huchon's assertion launched a debate that, as Mary McKinley states in a reaction piece published in *Critique*, "fait rage, désormais, des deux côtés de l'Atlantique."⁷¹ At the heart of Huchon's argument, and those of responding scholars, lie questions of the collaborative production of book and author.

This chapter is not simply another response among the fray surrounding Huchon's hypothesis. Instead, my analysis of the lyonnais printer Pierre Duplain's 1762 edition of the *Œuvres* examines the ways in which Duplain's book amplifies the author-figure found in the of the 1550s Jean de Tournes editions of *Les Euures de Louize Labé lyonnaise*. A comparison of the initial sixteenth century editions with the 1762 reveals the ways in which we can see the material book producing the author-figure in early and later print cultures.⁷² Putting aside the historical

⁷⁰ Mireille Huchon, *Louise Labé : Une créature de papier* (Paris: Droz, 2006).

⁷¹ Mary McKinley, "Louise Labé, 'invention lyonnaise' et polémique internationale," *Critique* 125, 737 (2008) : 748.

⁷² Louise Labé, *Euures de Louize Labé Lionnoize. reuues & corrigees par ladite dame* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1556). The copy of this edition I consulted is in the Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia, Gordon, 1556.L25. The same printer first published the work in

figure of the poet/courtesan Louise Labé and what part she may or not have played in writing the prose and poetry in the *Œuvres* allows us to focus on the strategies book producers employed in the sixteenth and eighteenth century editions. While the sixteenth century editions construct an author-figure, the eighteenth century book develops and deepens that construction in order to appeal to its later audience. Specifically, paratextual elements such as illustrations, naming of the author and others, royal privileges, title pages, and other extratextual and paratextual elements allow the figure of an author to emerge. While other scholars such as Leah Chang and François Rigolot have examined the production of authorship in the 1555 edition of Labé's *Euures*, no scholars to date have explored the afterlife of this work and the ways in which later editions of the work re-construct the author-figure in new ways. The sixteenth century Jean de Tournes edition carves out a space for Louise Labé as an author; the eighteenth century Duplain edition uses the material book to turn Louise Labé into an author who is legible to eighteenth century readers. Since the *Euures* had not been re-edited and published since the second de Tournes edition of 1556, it is clear that Duplain was reading and editing from de Tournes's versions. By first examining the construction of authorship in the 1550s edition in the first part of this chapter, we can later turn to the Duplain edition in order to see how the 1762 edition regenerates and reestablishes Labé as an author in the eighteenth century.

The Production of Authorship in the 1556 Edition of Louise Labé's *Euures*

In his seminal essay "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" Michel Foucault analyzes the relationship between the text and the author figure, indicating ways in which the text points "[...] vers cette

1555: Louise Labé, *Œuvres de Louise Charly, Lyonnoise, ditte Labé, surnommée La Belle Cordière* (Lyon: Duplain, 1762). University of Virginia Library, Gordon 1762. L25.

figure qui lui est extérieure et antérieure [...].”⁷³ The author as a proper noun serves a classificatory purpose. An author’s name is more than just an indication. It is more than just a naming. Instead, the name itself becomes a description. As Foucault explains, “Le nom propre [...] a d’autres fonctions qu’indicatrices. Il est plus qu’une indication, un geste, un doigt pointé vers quelqu’un; dans une certaine mesure, c’est l’équivalent d’une description” (796). For example, when we say that a play is Shakespearean, or that an idea is Foucauldian, this signifies more than just who put the words on the page. These namings tell us what kind of work we should expect and how we should read it. The naming of the author allows readers to classify it: to place it alongside certain texts, to set it apart from others. “[An author’s name] permet de regrouper un certain nombre de textes, de les délimiter, d’en exclure quelques-uns, de les opposer à d’autres” (798). What Foucault calls the author-function entails a set of beliefs that controls how texts are produced, classified and consumed. Foucault contends that it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when a shift occurred and “[...] les discours ‘littéraires’ ne peuvent plus être reçus que dotés de la fonction auteur: à tout texte de poésie ou de fiction on demandera d’où il vient, qui l’a écrit, à quelle date, en quelles circonstances ou à partir de quel projet” (800). One can note in considering medieval and renaissance works that this shift began much earlier than Foucault initially proposed, as early as the late medieval period, and was most certainly underway by the publication of the first edition of Louise Labé’s *Euures* in 1555. Roger Chartier similarly remarks that, “[...] les traits essentiels qui, dans le livre, manifestent l’assignation du texte à un individu particulier, désigné comme son auteur, n’apparaissent pas avec les ouvrages imprimés, mais caractérisent déjà le livre manuscrit dans les derniers temps de

⁷³ Michel Foucault, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” *Dits et écrits*, t. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 792.

son existence.”⁷⁴ The idea of the author and the consequent author-function is already at work in the years surrounding the invention of printing press.

A notable distinction between the post-seventeenth-century author-function and the medieval and early modern periods’ author-functions is the following: for Foucault, the author-function is set into motion due to the possibility of writers being transgressive: “Les textes, les livres, les discours ont commencé à avoir réellement des auteurs [...] dans la mesure où l’auteur pouvait être puni, c’est-à-dire dans la mesure où les discours pouvaient être transgressifs” (799). It was for this reason that rules about authors’ rights, authors-publisher relationships and printed reproductions were enacted around the turn of the nineteenth century — authors became dangerous and needed to be controlled. In the early modern period, on the other hand, it is authors seeking to control their works rather than authorities trying to control discourses and their producers.

Cynthia J. Brown highlights an example of this in her book, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Early Modern France*. Brown demonstrates that authors such as Andre de la Vigne and Pierre Gringore took interest in their roles as authors as well as in their ownership of their respective works and that we can see evidence of this in the paratexts of their works.⁷⁵ La Vigne won a lawsuit against printer Michel Le Noir, successfully preventing Le Noir from printing his *Vergier d’honneur*. Brown points out that this judicial process, and others like it, “[...] raised the issue of literary property to a level never before known. [This...] reveals an awareness of literary rights. [...] Authors were beginning to ask who owned a literary text”

⁷⁴ Roger Chartier, *L'ordre des livres : lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIVE et XVIIIe siècle* (Aix-en Province: Alinea, 1992), 60.

⁷⁵ Cynthia Jane Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995) and “The Interaction between Author and Printer: Title Pages and Colophons of Early French Imprints,” *Soundings: Collections of the University Library* 23 (1992): 33-53.

(Brown, *Poets*, 19). The author-function at this time is both the same and different from the author-function Foucault describes occurring three centuries later. While the source and the reason for control may be different in the late medieval and early modern periods, the methods and results are similar to modern ones.

When texts get “[...] pris dans un circuit de propriétés” and authors become concerned with their rights, discourses begin to take on the author-function” (Foucault 799). We see such concerns in Brown’s studies of early sixteenth-century writers. She focuses in particular on how the paratext reveals authorial involvement and their concerns over textual ownership. For the purposes of studying Labé’s *Euures*, it is useful to see how other authors in this period used the liminal space of the paratext to signal their authorial involvement in the production of the book. Brown writes of Gringore’s changing title page content and layout in different editions of his works: “[T]he fact that Gringore’s extratextual presence became more obvious in his later works suggests that he came to play a greater role in [...] decision making” (Brown, *Interaction* 34). Here, Brown shows Gringore getting caught up in the circuit of ownership that Foucault identified as a key factor of the author-function. The 1556 edition of Labé’s *Euures* contains similar signs of extratextual presence. Whether that presence is real (the signs of a historical person named Louise Labé) or constructed (the historical person Louise Labé did not actually contribute to the text or paratext) is not of concern in this chapter. There does not need to be an historical author in order for an author-function to be apparent in the text and paratext. Regardless of whether or not Louise Labe wrote the *Euures*, the text and the surrounding material work to convince its readers that she wrote it and that she is the originator of the work. By examining the title page, the other works contained within the edition’s covers, and the royal privilege in the colophon, the author-function Louise Labé is revealed.

The title page of the 1556 edition (see Image 1) gives its viewer several key pieces of information.⁷⁶ While title pages in early print books were first used simply to protect the first page of the text, this paratextual feature quickly came to serve other purposes. Specifically, the title page serves as an advertisement and as a mark of the capitalistic enterprise of book making. The title page gives us extratextual information about the production of the book and those involved in that process.

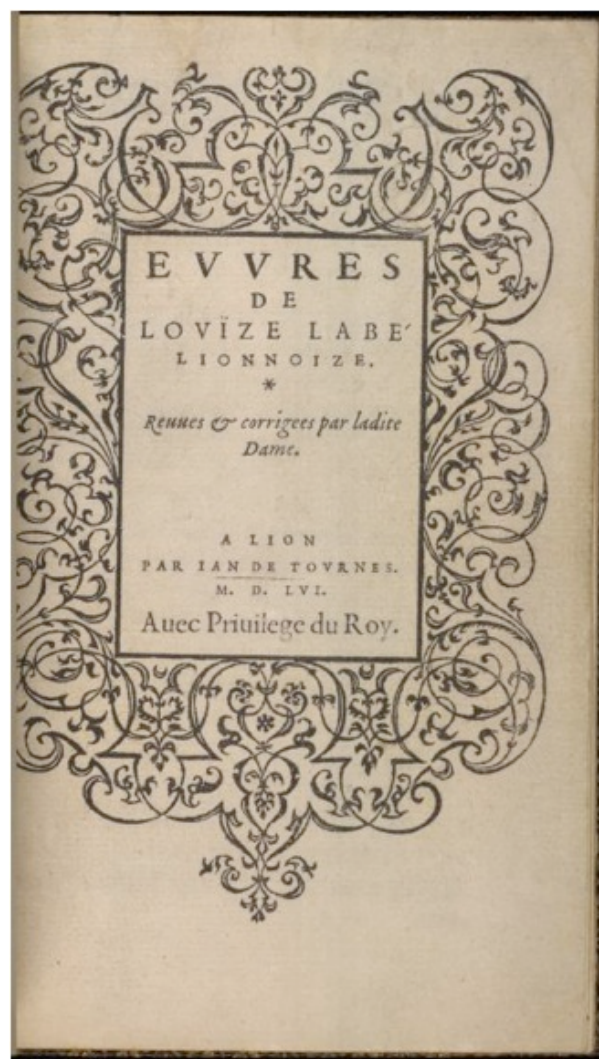


Image 1, Title page, *Euures de Louize Labé Lionnoize*, (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1556).

⁷⁶ The first edition appeared in 1555.

Alfred Cartier, in his extensive bibliography of the editions produced by the two Jean de Tournes, father and son, remarks that while the 1556 *Euures* does not count among the *chefs d'œuvres* of the de Tournes, it was nevertheless “[...] exécutée avec soin.”⁷⁷ De Tournes’ attention to detail is visible in the arabesque frame with *cul-de-lampe* along with the four different fonts used, both in italic and roman. Twenty-first century readers may assume that the typefaces used in texts and documents are of little importance, considering modern techniques make it easy to change a typeface with a few clicks. However, in the first century of printing, putting the impression of a letter on a page indicated a strict attentiveness to the task at hand. Sixteenth century printers like Jean de Tournes were required to make or purchase each font and arrange each one individually in their presses. For Gérard Genette: “La composition, c’est-à-dire le choix des caractères et de leur mise en page, est évidemment l’acte qui donne forme de livre à un texte.”⁷⁸ While this statement by Genette can be read as reductive (one can argue that there are other elements that turn a text into a book), the physical printed words on the page and the careful choices behind them do serve important, elucidatory purposes. The intentionally produced page reveals that the erudite humanist printer Jean de Tournes considered Louise Labé’s *Euures* worthy of such care.

We can also examine the page spacing, the font sizes, and the amount of space certain words occupy on the page. Authorial information occupies half of the space given to text on the 1556 title page, with the title and author name in the largest all-capital font. As a result, the reader’s primary focus becomes the author and the printer information follows as secondary. The title *Euures* or *Œuvres* (Works) may seem mundane to twenty-first century readers, but,

⁷⁷ Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 392.

⁷⁸ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987) 38.

according to Nancy Regalado, this word was not used on the title page of a literary work until the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ It was not used as a title for the collected lyrics of a single vernacular author until a 1529 re-publication of *Les Œuvres de feu Maistre Alain Chartier*.⁸⁰ Prior to that, according to Regalado, the word “Euures” or “œuvres” in French only appears twice on a title page. The word first appeared on a title page in 1500 for a translation of Seneca’s works and again in 1502 for Robert Gaguin’s translation of Caesar’s *Euures et brefves expositions*.⁸¹

Prior to the sixteenth century, the word “œuvres” in literary composition referred to pious deeds or works of the Lord. The practice of using the word “œuvres” to mean the collected writings of a writer in a title was a recent development at the time of the first editions of Labé’s works. As Regalado points out, this marks an important shift in the way vernacular literature was published. Regalado posits that this 1529 usage may have been a way for booksellers to, “[...] lend the prestige of classical authority to secular poets of the recent past [...]” (88). Soon after, the word appeared on the title page of still-living author Clément Marot in his collection of verse published in 1532 in Paris by Geffroy Troy, *L’adolescence Clementine, Autrement, Les Œuvres de Clement Marot*.⁸² In 1538, the word “Œuvres” took on a more significant role when Lyonnais printer Etienne Dolet published Marot’s collected works. Rather than using all of the various titles (*L’adolescence clementine, La Suite de l’Adolescence clémentine, Le Premier Livre de la*

⁷⁹ Nancy Regalado, “Gathering the Works: The ‘Œuvres De Villon’ and the Intergeneric Passage of the Medieval French Lyric into Single-Author Collections,” *Esprit créateur* 33 (1993), 87–100.

⁸⁰ Alain Chartier, *Les Œuvres de feu maistre Alain Chartier* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1529).

⁸¹ Julius Caesar, *Les euures et brefues expositions de Julius Cesar sur le fait des batailles de Gaule*, trans. Robert Gaguin (Paris: Michel Le Noir, 1502).

⁸² Clément Marot, *L’Adolescence Clementine. Autrement, les Œuvres de Clement Marot composees en leage de son Adolescence. Avec la Complaincte sur le Trespas de feu Messire F. Robertet. Et plusieurs autres Œuvres faictes par ledict Marot depuis leage de sa dictre Adolesce~ce, etc.* (Geofroy Troy: Paris, 1532).

Métamorphose d'Ovide) they were given the abbreviated title *Les Œuvres de Clement Marot*.⁸³

The author becomes the point of origin for his works. Other poetic works with this title by authors of the same period as Labé include *Les Œuvres* of Mellin de Saint Gelais (1547) and *Les Œuvres* by Joachim du Bellay (1561).⁸⁴ This title encourages the reader to receive the prose and poetry contained in the volume as a whole, complete and unified totality. The unifying factor and organizing principle is not the type of writing contained, but rather it's source: it's author.

Foucault notes this link between *auteur* and *œuvre* in recalling the “thèse bien familière” that the literary critic ought to separate the author from the work. Yet, what is a work without an author behind it?

Or il faut aussitôt poser un problème: ‘Qu’est-ce qu’une œuvre?’, qu’est-ce donc que cette curieuse unité qu’on désigne du nom d’œuvre? De quels éléments est-elle composée? Une œuvre, n’est-ce pas ce qu’a écrit celui qui est un auteur? On voit les difficultés surgir. Si un individu n’était pas un auteur, est-ce qu’on pourrait dire ce qu’il a écrit et dit, ce qu’il a laissé dans ses papiers, ce qu’on a pu rapporter de ses propos, pourrait être appelé une ‘œuvre’? (Foucault 794).

The terms author and work are inextricable. Assigning a literary production the title “Œuvres” informs the reader that they are encountering an authored creation.

Returning to the title page of Louise Labé’s *Euures*, other details insist on the author’s participation in its publication. Inserting the phrase “Revue & corrigees par ladite Dame” under

⁸³ Clément Marot, *Les oeuvres de Clement Marot de Cahors, ualet de chambre du roy augmentées de deux liures d'epigrammes : et d'ung grand nombre d'autres oeuvres par cy deuant non imprimées* (Etienne Dolet: Paris, 1538).

⁸⁴ Mellin de Saint-Gelais, *Œuvres de luy tant en composition que translation ou allusion aux auteurs grecs et latins* (Lyon: P. de Tours, 1547); Joachim Du Bellay, *Les Œuvres ... fidelement reveues, & corrigees outre les precedentes impressions. C'est a scavoir, La Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Française. L'Olive augmentée. L'Anterotique de la vieille et jeune amye. Quelques vers lyriques. La Musagneomachie. Le recueil de poésie. Et plusieurs autres Œuvres poetiques* (Paris: Charles Langelier, 1561).

the author's name encourages the reader to return a second time to the author's name to remind herself of the name and identity of "ladite Dame." This double reference to the author and her name reinforces the reader's awareness of the work's creator. The work was not only written by Louise Labé, but also reviewed and corrected by her. By insisting on the authorial involvement in creation of the work and its production into the book, the paratext shows a concern for ownership and authorship. The publisher found it important for the reader to know that an individual authored the work, and that that individual was involved in the production of the book.

While the printer's name and location lack the prominence of the author's name and location, the first-page inclusion of his details in the printed material warrants the reader's consideration. Jean de Tournes began his own printing operation in 1542 after working for two other Lyonnais printers for at least a decade before that (Cartier 6). By 1555, de Tournes was one of the two foremost printers and publishers in Lyon. He had a reputation as an erudite humanist who published many works in Latin, translations from Latin to French (Ovid and Virgil, among others) and the works of many well-known Lyonnais poets including Clément Marot (12 editions) and Maurice Scève (*Microcosme* in 1562 and *Saulsaye* in 1547).⁸⁵ By 1559, he was granted the prestigious title of royal printer (Cartier 8). By placing the names "Louise Labé" and "J[e]an de Tournes" on the same printed page, the illustrious reputation of the latter is transferred to the former. Both individuals are also placed in the same named geographical space; the descriptor *Lionnoize* is used for the author and the printer is located à *Lion*. They are associated on the physical page and, through the printed text, into the real space of Lyon. As Ann Rosalind

⁸⁵ Maurice Scève, *Microcosme* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1562) and *Saulsaye* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547).

Jones notes, “Jean de Tournes extended the identification of the woman with the city by framing her *Euures* with the tripartite name ‘Louize Labé Lionnoize,’ which he set on the title page and at the end of her final sonnet. By doing so, he advertised the author, their shared city, and his own profession simultaneously.”⁸⁶ The title page becomes an advertisement, Jean de Tournes a brand, and Louise Labé a product. By branding Louise Labé with Jean de Tournes, the author figure takes on the positive attributes of her printer.

Moving forward through the book, the first authorial text we encounter is itself an element of the paratext—a dedicatory letter, “A.M.C.D.B.L.” (À Mademoiselle Clémence de Bourges, Lyonnaise) that precedes and introduces the poetry to follow. Prefaces, especially authorial prefaces, serve as guideposts for readers. According to Genette this is because

La préface auctoriale originale [...] a pour fonction cardinale d’assurer au texte une bonne lecture. Cette formule simplette est plus complexe qu’il n’y peut sembler, car elle se laisse analyser en deux actions, dont la première conditionne, sans nullement la garantir, la seconde, comme une condition nécessaire et non suffisante: 1. *obtenir une lecture*, et 2. *obtenir que cette lecture soit bonne*. Ces deux objectifs que l’on peut qualifier, le premier, de minimal (être lu) et le second, de maximal (... et si possible, bien lu) sont évidemment liés au caractère auctorial de ce type de préface (l’auteur étant le principal et, à vrai dire, le seul intéressé à une bonne lecture), à son caractère original (plus tard, il risque d’être trop tard: un livre mal lu, et *a fortiori* non lu à sa première édition risque de n’en pas connaître d’autres), et à son emplacement préliminaire, et donc monitoire: voici *pourquoi* et voici *comment* vous devez lire ce livre (Genette, 200, original emphasis).

The prefatory letter in the *Euures* instructs us on how to read the work, and it also instructs us on how to receive the author-figure. By making the preface a letter to Clémence de Bourges, a young Lyonnais noblewoman, instead of a simple address to the reader, the book creates a community behind the author. In his bio/bibliographic dictionary of 1585, Antoine du Verdier

⁸⁶ Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Currency of Eros: Women’s Love Lyric in Europe, 1540-1620* (Bloomington: U of Indiana Press, 1990), 158.

calls de Bourges, “la perle des Damoysselles Lyonnaises de son temps.”⁸⁷ The real space of 1555 Lyon is made material in the *Euures* through this address to de Bourges. The letter also assures would-be audiences that the work has already been read by de Bourges and met with her approval. In this way, de Bourges is the first of the “vertueuses dames” who will read the work, and this first, exemplary reading serves in part to support the author-figure.

Upon first reading, Louise Labé’s poetry, particularly the series of 24 sonnets, seems to contradict the ideas she in this letter to de Bourges. The prefatory letter signed by the author urges its female readers to “eslever un peu leurs esprits par-dessus leurs quenoilles et fuseaus” and reminds them that carnal pleasures are both fleeting as well as the subject of memories which are “autant facheuse[s], comme les actes ont esté delectables.”⁸⁸ It can then be puzzling after reading in the dedication, to encounter 24 sonnets lamenting a love affair gone wrong in what François Rigolot has called “une véritable defense et illustration de la femme française.”⁸⁹ In the letter, the poet urges women to not be distracted by carnal pleasures and to instead focus on scholarship and writing. She further implores women to join her in creating a new community of women writers. On closer examination-it becomes apparent that the poet does maintains this call to *plumes* throughout the work, and in this way presents a unified whole work. As with the unifying title “*Œuvres*,” this unity in the work creates the sense that both prose and poetry come from a single source: an author.

Sonnets, V, XIV, and XXIV, which can all be read as traditional lover’s laments, reveal the poet’s focus on the themes of writing, memory and solidarity. In this way, the poetry

⁸⁷ Antoine du Verdier, *Bibliothèque* (Lyon: Honorat, 1585).

⁸⁸ Louise Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: GF Flammarion, 2004), 42. All textual citations come from this edition.

⁸⁹ François Rigolot, “Préface” in *Louise Labé: Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Flammarion, 2004), 10.

reinforces and exemplifies the ideas in the dedicatory letter and binds the work together. Sonnet V includes references to light, female solidarity and poetic production as allusions back to the initial epistle. Sonnet XIV sees the poet's desire to put forth her own work in her own voice overwhelming that of her desire for her absent lover. Finally, reading Sonnet XXIV alongside the first and third elegies presents the poet's vision of a community of female readers and writers. The poetry and prose in this single-author work are woven together and present the reader with a unified author-figure. We see the theory in the letter, and the practice in the poetry.

In the prefatory letter, the author seeks solidarity from de Bourges through her prospective benefactor's support and participation in women's learning and writing. De Bourges is someone capable of helping her navigate what will be a difficult entry into the world of publishing: "pour ce que les femmes ne se montrent volontiers en public seules" (Labé 43). We see this anticipation of possible negative consequences in her quasi-humorous threat to those friends who encouraged her to publish her works: "[...] ils m'ont fait accroire que les devais mettre en lumière, je ne les ai osé éconduire, les menaçant cependant de leur faire boire la moitié de la honte qui en proviendrait" (Labé 43). The author creates a community in writing that she hopes de Bourges can help make her own writing, and perhaps that of others, better:

[...]Je vous ai choisie pour me servir de guide, vous dédiant ce petit œuvre, que ne vous envoie à autre fin que pour vous acertener du bon vouloir [...] et vous inciter et faire venir envie, en voyant ce mien œuvre rude et mal bâti, d'en mettre en lumière un autre qui soit mieux limé et de meilleure grâce (Labé 43).

De Bourges is a would-be collaborator as well as an editor for the *Œuvres* and for other unwritten works. The letter signals that the author and the work belong to each when the poet identifies it as her own, "ce mien œuvre." This serves as a signpost to her reader that the author named is the author of the work, and that the prose and poetry contained in the covers is a unified authored whole.

There are at least three ways to understand this other work (“un autre”) that the author would have Clémence de Bourges help produce. Possibly, it is the *Euures* themselves; de Bourges becomes a prospective guide who will polish (*limer*) the unpublished work. Alternatively, the poet solicits de Bourges’s assistance in helping other poets to write, publish and bring their works to light. Deborah Lesko Baker suggests a third option, which argues that the other work is one by de Bourges herself: “The goal of stimulating Clémence to take up the pen on her own, to continue the work that Labé herself has begun [...] emphasizes [women’s writing’s] participation in a process of continuing evolution.”⁹⁰ All possibilities are consistent with the rest of the letter in which the poet calls for other female writers to follow her example. Perhaps it is intentionally ambiguous. In all three cases, the author Louise Labé is solidified. By becoming a named author for de Bourges and other writing women in Lyon, and potentially launching a legacy of women writers, this request for assistance from de Bourges makes Labé as author realer on the printed page.

This triple-reading is appropriate given the letter’s call for solidarity among women writers. The author not only speaks of why and for what benefit she herself writes, but also how other women could and should do the same—and even do it better than she has. The poet insists that this is not a solitary endeavor; she cannot complete the task by herself, imploring her female readers to turn to reading and writing “[...] ne pouvant de moymesme satisfaire au bon vouloir que je porte à notre sexe, de le voir non en beauté seulement, mais en science et vertu passer ou egaler les hommes” (Labé 41). The does not denigrate the *Euures*, but rather insists that hers must be one of many in order for the status quo to be changed. In this way, the prefatory letter

⁹⁰ Deborah Lesko Baker, “Louise Labé’s Conditional Imperatives: Subversion and Transcendence of the Petrarchan Tradition,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21.4 (1990), 20.

inserts the author of the *Euures* into an on-going tradition of women writers and names herself as one of them.

The poet is not only inserting Labé into a tradition of women writers, but into one that includes writers of both sexes. In the letter, men's writing will improve alongside women's "[...O]utre la reputacion que notre sexe en recevra, nous aurons valù au publiq, que les hommes mettront plus de peine et d'estude aus sciences vertueuses, de peur qu'ils n'ayent honte de voir preceder celles desquelles ils ont pretendu estre toujours superieurs" (Labé 42). Men will read the works of women, including Labé's, and will find them to be as good as their own.

According to the poet, writing, reading her own work, and in this way remembering past experiences is a source of pleasure. Each re-reading of the work puts forth more possibilities by provoking a re-discovery of the original pleasure and by providing new pleasure through her changed perspective. With every re-reading, the poet re-writes and re-experiences the original event as well as the memory of its writing, and it is this perpetual cycle that allows the poet's pleasure to last longer. As Lesko Baker states, "[...] Labé situated writing itself as the particular aspect of intellectual endeavor that maximizes pleasure through its role as a vehicle of authentic remembrance" (Lesko Baker, "Conditional" 20). Throughout the letter, the poet exhorts women to turn away from "autres recreations" and to focus their attention on their studies, especially writing (Labé 43). We discover the pleasure that Labé finds in writing in her encouragements for other women to put down their spindles and pick up their quills. The production of her own poetry brings this, and by writing about writing, the poet insists on her own authorship. Through writing, she re-discovers the "plaisir passé" paired with the "singulier contentement" that comes from re-reading and judging the written form of that pleasure (Labé 45). It is this pleasure, a "contentment de soy," produced by oneself and by one's own production—that the poet considers

an attraction to virtuous ladies: “le plaisir que l’estude des lettres ha acoutumé donner nous y doit chacune inciter” (Labé 42). Throughout, the letter to Clemence de Bourges encourages women to produce their own written works. In this way, they are also encouraged to become authors. This sends to the reader that Labé already is an author, that she has produced the work in the reader’s hands, and that the reader should consume the work with that in mind.

The work continues to insist on the role of the author and her activity in the *Euvre*’s sonnets. We find this same interest for written production and a female literary community from the dedicatory letter in sonnet V:

Clere Venus qui erres par les Cieus,
Entens ma voix qui en pleins chantera,
Tant que ta face au haut du Ciel luira,
Son long travail et souci ennuieus.

Mon œil veillant s’attendrira bien mieus,
Et plus de pleurs te voyant gettera
Mieus mon lit mol de larmes baignera,
De ses travaux voyant témoins tes yeus.

Donq des humains sont les lassez esprits
De dous repos et de sommeil espris.
J’endure mal tant que le Soleil luit :

Et quand je suis quasi toute cassee,
Et que me suis mise en mon lit lassee,
Crier me faut mon mal toute la nuit (Labé, 123-124, Sonnet V).

Like the dedicatory epistle, this sonnet focuses on poetic activity. The words voice (voix), sing (chanter), and cry (crier), point to auditory production, though we encounter them in written form describing the activity of the poet/lover. This poetic production is associated with the goddess of love and beauty, Vénus. In the second line, the poet’s voice falls in the same metric position as the goddess Vénus in the first line. This paired with the consonance of the ‘v’ in “Vénus” and “voix”, which returns in the second quatrain, connects these two subjects. The poet

associates poetic production and Vénus's presence in a third way by bouncing between the two subjects in the first quatrain. The first line concerns Vénus, the second the poet's voice, the third line moves back to Vénus and the fourth returns to the poet's production. This bond that the poet establishes between herself and Vénus in this sonnet is similar to the bond between the poet and Clémence de Bourges in the prefatory letter. She needs Vénus's light in order to produce her work, whether figuratively as inspiration or literally as a light by which to write. Labé . In the dedicatory letter, the author uses the phrase "mettre en lumière" to describe what she hopes will be De Bourges's contribution and expresses a similar need for de Bourges as someone who can show her the way and help bring the written works to light. In this way, both Venus and de Bourges are associated with light. The use of apostrophe at the beginning of the sonnet further assimilates the two. In both the sonnet and the dedicatory letter, the poet makes use of direct address in order to ask for assistance with her poetry. Vénus and de Bourges become part of the community of female writers that Labé calls for in the prefatory letter.

Not only does the poet seek self-expression, she also desires to be seen, heard, and understood. In the letter to her desired patron, the poet implores Clémence de Bourges to bring poetic works to light. In sonnet V, the poet requests that Vénus continue shining her light upon the poet's bed so that she may continue expressing herself in her own voice. In lines 3 and 4, the lover/poet will continue her work so long as Vénus continues shining her light down on her. While the author of the epistle hopes de Bourges will assist her in polishing her work, the lover in sonnet V states that her lament will be better if Vénus continues to be a witness to it's production. The repetition of the word "mieus" in lines 5 and 7 seems incongruous at first reading—how can one cry better? -- if we do not read the sonnet as a statement of poetic productivity. The poet continues her concern with expressing herself in the best way possible.

Just as she hopes Clémence de Bourges will help her improve her work, guiding her forays into the world of publication, the lover in sonnet V claims that Vénus's presence will make her tears and cries better—"mieus." Her tears improve as they become more refined and serve as better reminders of her experiences. In lines 5 and 6, the poet affirms that her laments will not only be better, but also more plentiful. With Vénus as a witness, the poet will be able to produce more tears, and therefore more poetry.

In the letter to Clémence de Bourges, the author imagines a community of writers and readers encouraging each other and improving their works as a result. For the writer of the dedicatory letter, these future writers would bring honor not only to themselves, but to the entire community as well. This communal aspect is emphasized in the letter as the poet insists on what study—"la science"—can bring to the group as a whole: "[...] l'honneur que la science nous procurera, sera entierement nôtre: et ne nous pourra estre oté" (Labé 41). In the sonnet, the reader might expect to find the figures of the poet and her lover, yet the object of the poet's affection is nowhere to be found. Instead, the poet sits alone and awake by the light of the moon. The only characters in the poem are the poet and Venus, two together working on a singular task: writing. This is the same dynamic as the one in the letter to de Bourges.

Another element that unites the work and thereby works to convince the reader that a single author composed it is the poet's need for self-expression. Expressing herself is not optional. The poet/lover of this *canzoniere* considers such expression both a duty and a compulsion. The author states in the dedicatory letter, "[...] il me semble que celles qui ont la commodité, doivent employer cette honneste liberté, que notre sexe ha autre fois tant desiree, à icelles aprendre, et montrer aus hommes le tort qu'ils nous faisoient en nous privant du bien et de l'honneur qui nous en pouvoit venir" (Labé 41). Those who can write, should. At the end of

sonnet V, this idea of duty or compulsion reappears with the use of the phrase “il faut.” This line leads the reader to see the poet's double obligation; the poet must write out of civic responsibility, and because she is too inspired by both love and the muses not to do so.

The letter to Clémence de Bourges and sonnet V link specific temporal moments to poetic composition: a new era of women's writing and nighttime, respectively. In the letter, the past is separate from the present and the future: “Estant le tems venu, Mademoiselle, que les severes loix des hommes n'empeschent plus les femmes de s'apliquer aus sciences et disciplines [...]” (Labé, 41). In the past, men's laws prevented women the access to scholarly activities, but now that time is over. In sonnet V, the poet pairs the quiet and solitude of the night with celestial light to produce her poetry. In this way, the poet identifies two temporally separate moments in both the letter and sonnet V. The *Euures* marks the beginning of new times—the nighttime, and a time when women may pursue scholarly activities. Just as the daytime ends, just as the time of the severe laws of man comes to an end, the protector-muses -Venus and de Bourges emerge. In both the sonnet and the prefatory letter, the moment of transition is paramount; the sun sets, literally in the sky and figuratively on the reign of men's oppression of women's scholarly activities.

Line 11 of the sonnet describes the pain that the poet endures during the daytime: “J'endure mal tant que le Soleil luit.” On one level, the lover cannot tolerate the day. She must keep up appearances in front of other people when she wants to be alone in her bedroom, crying over her broken heart. Yet even this superficial interpretation belies a deeper one: she cannot tolerate the day because she cannot produce tears or compose poetry. The daytime is not a time when she can write. The complaint “J'endure mal tant que le Soleil luit” forms a link with the idea expressed in the first sentence of the poet's letter to Clémence de Bourges. The references to

bonds established between female readers, writers and patrons, light, poetic production and time make the poem an analog to the preface and serves to unify the work. A female author figure is at the center of this unified work.

The treatment of both pleasure and memory serve as another link between the sonnets and the preface. All twenty-four sonnets lament love lost and within that lamentation comes pleasure: the pleasure of writing and reading one's own creative production, the "contentement de soy" the author describes in the preface. In Sonnet XIV, the poet not only laments the loss of her lover, but the possibility of losing her memory of him and the time they spent together:

Tant que mes yeux pourront larmes espandre,
A l'heur passé avec toy regretter :
Et qu'aus sanglots et soupirs resister
Pourra ma voix, et un peu faire entendre :

Tant que ma main pourra les cordes tendre
Du mignart Lut, pour tes graces chanter :
Tant que l'esprit se voudra contenter
De ne vouloir rien fors que toy comprendre :

Je ne souhaite encore point mourir.
Mais quand mes yeus je sentiray tarir,
Ma voix cassee, et ma main impuissante,

Et mon esprit en ce mortel sejour
Ne pouvant plus montrer signe d'amante :
Prirey la Mort noircir mon plus cler jour.

The poet no longer needs her lover so long as she can remember and express her thoughts. This brings her an intellectual pleasure, one reaped from writing memories, which allows those memories to remain with the poet longer than they would otherwise. If this ability keeps the poet alive, it follows that writing and re-reading her own memories help her form an idea of her selfhood. As Lesko Baker states, this is where the "contentement de soy" comes from: "[a]s long

as the poet retains the sense of self therein described, she truly lives.”⁹¹ The poet lives on due to her ability to remember her past through her own writing.

In the first tercet, the poet states: “Je ne souhaite encore point mourir.” This use of the present tense informs the readers that the poet’s heartbreak is not enough to make her wish for death. The next line, line 10, begins with the word “mais” and we discover what will make the poet desire death: when she is no longer able to write. Here, the verbs are conjugated in the future. For the moment, the poet still lives. She is still able to produce. The poet’s tools of poetic production are presented to the reader. In lines 10-14, eyes, voice, hands and spirit are called out as the elements of the poet. In the hypothetical future, her eyes, voice, hand and spirit would be dry, broken, impotent and unproductive, respectively. However, at present, they are just the opposite: powerful and productive.

While the sonnet may initially seem to be written as a broken-hearted complaint of the past, the time frame is not in the past, but instead in the present and the future. The focus rests on the poet’s desire to maintain her memory and continue expressing herself. If a negative emotion comes out of the poem, it is not necessarily the sadness of her bygone love, but rather the fear of losing her memory of it. As Lesko Baker points out, certain conditions must continue in order for the poet to go on (Lesko Baker; “Conditional” 534.) Both quatrains hinge on the repeated conjunction in lines 1, 5 and 7 of “tant que” that delineates these conditions. The poet will continue to live as long as she is able to produce. That production, in the first quatrain of Sonnet XIV, as in Sonnet V, includes tears and the poet’s own voice. The entire cycle of poems is the literary product of the poet’s memories of despair. The lover does not ask for her lover to return

⁹¹ Deborah Lesko Baker, *The Subject of Desire: Petrarchan Poetics and the Female Voice in Louise Labé* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996), 149.

to her in this poem. Instead, the poet expresses her desire for her memories to remain with her as a way of helping her continue her poetic production.

The process of experience, writing, and memory is explained in the letter to Clémence de Bourges:

[Q]uand il advient que mettons par écrit nos conceptions, combien que, puis après, notre cerveau court par une infinité d'affaires et incessamment remue, si est-ce que, longtemps après reprenant nos écrits, nous revenons au même point et à la même disposition où nous étions. Lors nous redoublons notre aise: car nous retrouvons le plaisir que nous avons eu [...]. Et outre ce, le jugement que font nos secondes conceptions des premières nous rend un singulier contentement (Labé, 42-43).

At first there seems to be a sticking point in the letter to Clémence de Bourges. Women are cautioned against engaging in love affairs instead of literary pursuits when clearly the author of the sonnets has been doing both: “les plaisirs des sentiments se perdent incontinent et ne reviennent jamais, et en est la mémoire autant fâcheuse, comme les actes ont été délectable” (Labé, 42). The author directs the criticism not toward the acts themselves, but of their fallible memories. If we do not make a written record of these pleasures, our memories of them will be distorted and potentially painful. In Sonnet XIV, the poet presents the idea that, despite diversions in idle entertainment, she who does not write her ideas down cannot trust her memories as an accurate accounting of the past. She presents the same idea in her letter to de Bourges: “[...] quelque souvenir qu’il en vienne, si ne nous peut-il remettre en telle disposition que nous étions; et quelque imagination forte qu’imprimions en la tête, si connaissons-nous bien que ce n’est qu’une ombre du passé qui nous abuse et trompe” (Labé, 42). While the memory is one of amorous suffering, the poet converts it into an object worthy of her own study through transcription. Through the poet’s study and re-reading of her own work her pleasure is doubled. Not only can the poet re-experience the past, she can also re-create it through reading and writing her own works. As Lesko Baker affirms, writing and reading give the poet a “more authentic

access to a past that is [...] viewed [...] as both more enjoyable and more useful” (Lesko Baker, *Subject* 36). The theory the author lays out in the preface is born out in the poetry. Women should turn away from “autres récréations,” including erotic love, because they do so without using learning to record and re-experience their conceptions. Love, after all, is from where the poet’s inspiration comes. By insisting on the poet’s written production, and her lived experience that inspired her, the author-figure becomes more and more substantial.

If sonnets V and XIV are re-writings and further explorations of the dedicatory letter, sonnet XXIV, the final sonnet in the series, serves as an epilogue to the cycle as the poet re-explores the community in her letter and elegies. This final sonnet in the volume refers back to the introductory letter as a way of encouraging the reader to recognize the volume as a unit.

Ne reprenez, Dames, si j'ai aimé,
Si j'ai senti mille torches ardentes,
Mille travaux, mille douleurs mordantes,
Si en pleurant j'ai mon temps consumé.

Las ! que mon nom n'en soit par vous blâmé.
Si j'ai failli, les peines sont présentes.
N'aigrissez point leurs pointes violentes ;
Mais estimez qu'Amour, à point nommé,

Sans votre ardeur d'un Vulcan excuser,
Sans la beauté d'Adonis accuser,
Pourra, s'il veut, plus vous rendre amoureuses

En ayant moins que moi d'occasion,
Et plus d'étrange et forte passion.
Et gardez-vous d'être plus malheureuses.

The theme of a female literary community to which the author Louse Labé belongs calls back the letter to de Bourges. The sonnet begins with an apostrophe to a group of women: “Dames”; these women she addresses in the sonnet become the same reading and writing women in the letter to de Bourges. In this final sonnet, the poet addresses her inscribed readers one more time and

references the material they have just read: the sonnets she has written. The “mille douleurs” the poet experienced are represented in the preceding poetry. The use of the word “pleurant” and the reference to time, “mon temps,” brings the reader’s mind back to the last line of sonnet V, “pleurer il faut mon mal toute la nuit,” further stitching the work together. Female readers similarly appear in the first elegy:

[...] Dames, qui les lirez,
De mes regrets avec moy soupirez.
Possible, un jour je feray le semblable,
Et ayderay votre voix pitoyable
A vos travaux et peines raconter,
Au tems perdu vainement lamenter [...] (Labé 108, lines 43-48).

In this first non-prose work in the volume, poet employs the future tense in addressing the women who will read her works (*lirez*, will read, *soupirez*, will sigh). In the last poem authored by Labé in the work, Sonnet XXIV, the poet writes in the past and present tenses (“Ne reprenez” “J’ai senti”) throughout the first quatrain. This helps to establish the continuity of the collection—we find the same group of readers throughout the work, with the modern-day reader following the same path that they have. In elegy 1, the subject is what the reader will read; in sonnet XXIV, it is what she has read.

The poet again sets the past against the present and the future when she evokes the ancient accounts of the women Sappho and Semiramis. Sappho becomes an example to follow, Semiramis a warning to her readers of what to avoid. The poet compares herself to both, thereby inserting herself in a rich tradition and encouraging the reader to consider her to be in their ranks.

The poet aligns herself with the most famous female poet of antiquity, Sappho, by writing:

Il [Phoebus] m’a donné la lyre, qui les vers
soulait chanter de l’Amour Lesbienne:
Et à ce coup pleurera de la mienne
Ô doux archet, adoucis-moi la voix,
Qui pourrait fendre et aigrir quelquefois,

En récitant tant d'ennuis et douleurs,
Tant de débits, fortunes et malheurs (Labé, 108, lines 14-20,).

Through her words, the poet takes up Sappho's instrument to sing her own song. As Sharlene May Poliner points out, "Sappho's lyric lyre becomes the inheritance of each woman who follow the lover's example and passes from commiserating 'sighs' to signs - and a text - of her own."⁹² Sappho is the original embodiment of the type of writing the author calls for in the dedicatory letter. Indeed, for Leah Chang, it is this insertion into a Sapphic dynasty that serves to construct Labé's authorship: "The two women poets are mutually constructed, each in the service of the other, as part of an editorial and typographical project [...]."⁹³ Phoebus, the god of poetry, has passed the lyre on to Louise Labé. It was the very instrument used in the past by Sappho, the most illustrated and well-known female poet in the western tradition, which Labé will now put to use in the future. In this way, the work situates Labé firmly in the female lyric tradition and she becomes a female author in the Sapphic tradition.⁹⁴

If Sappho and her lyre/lyric poetry passed on to Labé are valorized, then the case of Semiramis is equally lamented in the first elegy. Seven questions posed to the Babylonian queen go unanswered.

[...] Royne de Babylonne,
Ou est ton cœur qui es combaz resonance ?
Qu'est devenu ce fer et cet escu,
Dont tu rendois le plus brave veincu ?
Ou as tu mis la Marciale creste,
Qui obombroit le blond or de ta teste ?
Ou est l'espee, ou est cette cuirasse,
Dont tu rompois des ennemis l'audace ?

⁹² Sharlene May Poliner, "'Signes d'Amante'" and the Dispossessed Lover: Louise Labé's Poetics of Inheritance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 46.2 (1984): 341.

⁹³ Leah Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 100.

⁹⁴ For more on Labé and Sappho, see Joan Dejean, *Fictions of Sappho: 1546-1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), especially 29-43.

Ou sont fuiz tes coursiers furieux,
Lesquels trainoient ton char victorieux ?
T'a pù si tot un foible ennemi rompre ?
Ha pù si tot ton cœur viril corrompre,
Que le plaisir d'armes plus ne te touche :
Mais seulement languir en une couche ? [...] (Labé, 109, lines 73-86).

Unlike Sappho and her sixteenth century heir, Louise Labé, Semiramis did not “mettre ses conceptions par écrit” (Labé, 43). She did not, as Poliner would say, convert her sighs to signs.

Both Sappho and Semiramis suffered amorously, yet it is Sappho whose lyre the poet claims.

Louise Labé is not just a woman scorned, but an author.

The addressees in the last sonnet form the last part of the timeline envisioned by the poet. In the two tercets, the poet forecasts that the same fate that befell Sappho, Semiramis, and herself could befall her female readers. The unpredictable nature of love means that, Love “Pourra, s’il veut, plus vous rendre amoureuses” (Labé, 135, line 11). A line of female writers and readers extends from Sappho, in the seventh century, forward to a continuing readership of Labé’s works to form an intertemporal community of women. The poet not only involves her contemporary readers and the women who she hopes will join her in turning their attention to reading and writing, she also connects that sixteenth-century alliance to the past. In the last sonnet of the sequence, the poet warns her current and future readers not to judge her too harshly, for a similar fate could befall them: “gardez-vous d’être plus malheureuses” (Labé, 135, line 14). That which might make her readers “plus malheureuses” would be a failure on their part to record and study their own ideas. They risk joining the ranks of Semiramis if they do not turn their future sighs into signs, becoming authors like Labé.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Louise Labé was of course not the only one to envision a community of this type. Antoine du Moulin, in his preface to Pernette du Guillet’s poetry calls for similar action on the part of Pernette’s readers : “Les Cieulx, nous enviantz tel heur, la nous ravirent, ô Dames Lyonnoises, pour vous laisser achever ce qu'elle avoit si heureusement commencé: c'est a savoir de vous

Throughout the dedicatory letter, elegies, and sonnets, a single female-gendered speaking subject dominates the work. In this way, the *Euures* attributed to Louise Labé demonstrate a remarkable continuity. The author returns time and again to the central ideas of her dedicatory letter in which she envisions a community of reading and writing women. Female solidarity, community, and the benefits of the scholarly and the writerly life are set as goals in the dedicatory letter, and these themes knit the work together, giving its reader the distinct impression that he is reading a single-author work. At the same time, these themes are all focused on authorly activity

The prose and poetry in the volume speak to and of a female-gendered community of readers and writers. The title page of the 1556 edition insists on the city of Lyon and places author and publisher in the same space, geographically and textually. The series of poems that follows Labé's sonnets, "Escriz de divers Poetes, a la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize" (see Image 2) expands that community to include other members. These "divers Poetes" serve to amplify the authority of Labé. As Leah Chang notes, "a community of poets, gendered male, is being constructed textually (if not historically) by the production of the book, specifically around the figure of Labé" (Chang, 126). This act of editing seeks to construct a community of authors around Labé who are inspired by and praising of her writing. That construction is compounded by the constant repetition of Labé's names (16 of the 24 poems contain a reference to her name) and by the acronyms *L.L.L.* (Louise Labé Lyonnoise) and *D.L.L.* (Dame Louise Labé). These acronyms force the reader to slow down, attempt to decipher them and pay extra attention to this

exciter, comme elle, a la vertu, & tellement que, si par ce sien petit pasetemps elle vous a monsté le chemin a bien, vous la puissiez si glorieusement ensuyvre, que la memoire de vous puisse testifier à la posterité de la docilité & vivacité des bons espritz, qu'en tous artz ce Climat Lyonnois a tousjours produit en tous sexes, voire assés plus copieusement que guere autre, que l'on sache" (82). "Préface," *Rymes* (1545), ed. Elise Rajchenbach (Paris: Droz, 2006), 110-113.

naming. Often, many of the explicit references to her name only appear in the title, which could be signs of editorial intervention by Jean de Tournes. This paratextual strategy serves its intended purpose well. It serves to remind the readers that each poem was written to honor the named author, and to familiarize readers again and again with the author's name. The fact that the poems in the "Ecriz" are all anonymous (they were later attributed) reinforces the importance of Labé. She is named while they are not; the name the reader associates with the text is not Maurice Scève or Olivier de Magny, but Louise Labé. This naming gives the appearance of a deliberate orchestration on the part of the publisher in his effort to construct the author figure Louise Labé.

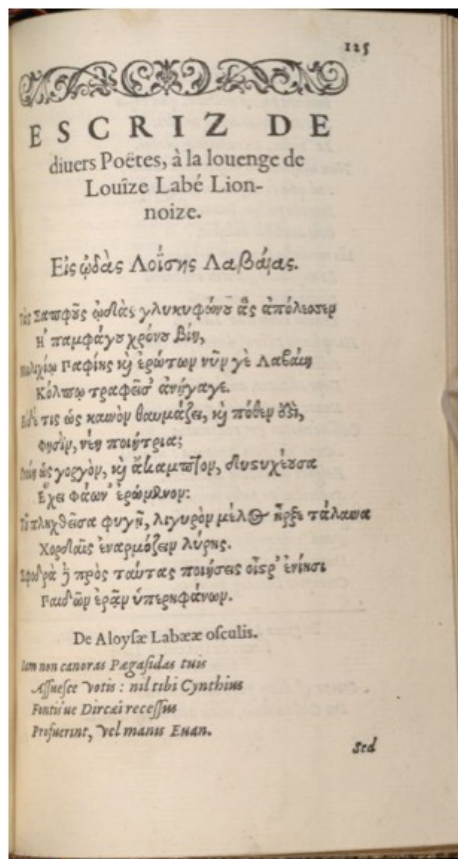


Image 2, Intertitle, "Ecriz de diuers Poetes à la louange de Louise Labé Lionnoize," *Euures de Louize Labé Lionnoize*, 1556. University of Virginia Special Collections.

The royal privilege included in the colophon of the 1556 edition (see Image 3) is given to Louise Labé and not to Jean de Tournes. This choice implies greater control by the author of her written works. Other authors of the period used similar strategies in their own editions. For example, Cynthia Brown, points to Gringore's increased paratextual presence in his works published in 1505: "Clearly he and his contemporaries had learned from printers and publishers—their collaborators but at times their competitors—to advertise their own role in the bookmaking process by placing their names in colophon or on the title page and by calling attention to the terms of the privileges they obtained for their own protection. Prominent placement of this verbal information played a key role in promoting an author's literary status. But visual promotion of the writer likewise contributed to his greater presence and authority in book production" (Brown, 97). By gaining and advertising the privilege in Labé's name, instead of in de Tournes's, the paratext insists both on Labé's literary status as well as her authority in the production of the book.

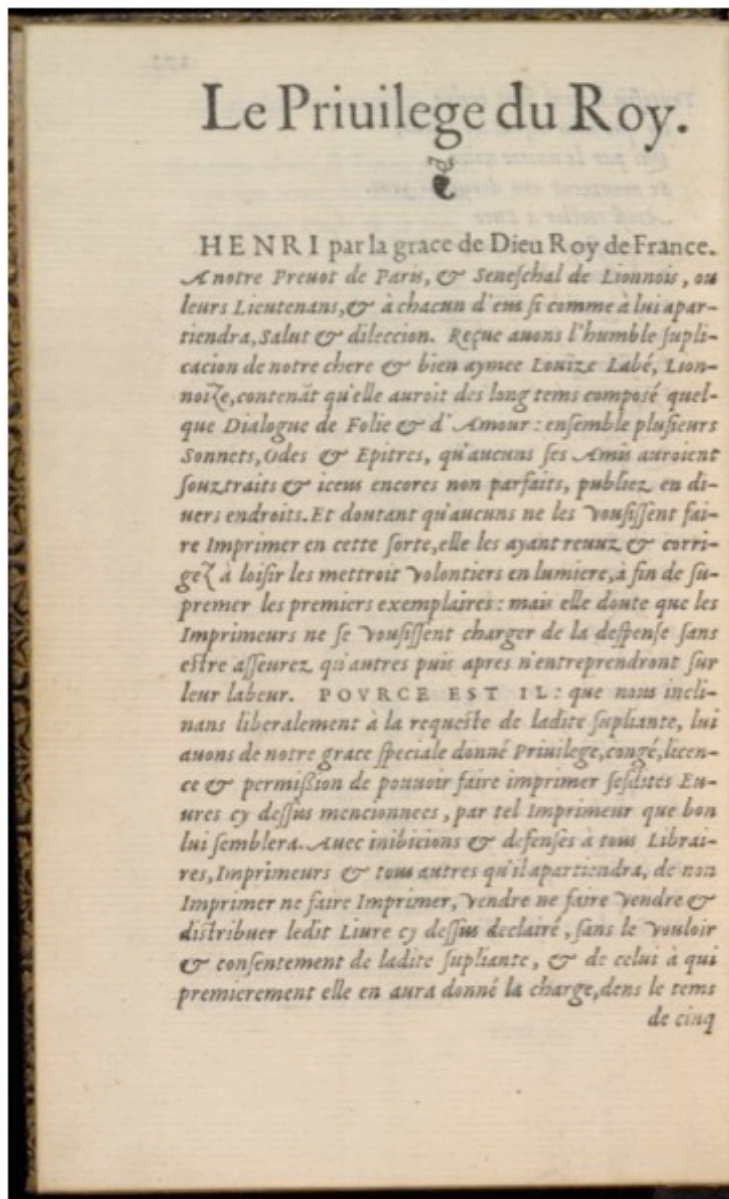


Image 3, Royal Privilege, *Euures de Louize Labé Lionnoise*, 1556. University of Virginia Special Collections.

There is an imagined document written by Labé that does not appear in the *Euures*: the basis for the Letters Patent. Elizabeth Armstrong details the production of a Letters Patent, the basis for the text of a royal privilege: “Once empowered to proceed with the grant of the privilege [...] the secretary drafted the text of the Letters Patent. He would have in front of him

the written petition from the author or publisher. This was easily adapted to form the basis of the preamble.”⁹⁶ The pre-text of the royal privilege, a text that is both outside the book and predates it, must be a text written by Louise Labé, as she is the author granted the privilege. Even though this text is not available to be read, the implication points to its production. Through this implication, the reader can imagine an authorial text that exists both within the book and outside of the book as well.

Another example of an outside text that intrudes on the book are the poems mentioned in the Privilege but not published in the *Evvres*. We read about them in the Royal Privilege “Reçue avons l’humble supplicacion de nostre chere et bien aymée Louize Labé, Lionnoize, contentant qu’elle auroit dés long temps composé quelque Dialogue de Folie et d’Amour: ensemble plusieurs Sonnets, Odes et Epistres, qu’aucuns ses Amis auroient souztraits, et iceus encore non parfaits publiez en divers endroits. Et doutant qu’aucuns ne les vousissent faire imprimer en cette sorte, elle les ayant revus et corrigez à loisir, les mettroient volontiers en lumiere, à fin de supprimer les premiers exemplaires.”⁹⁷ The privilege makes reference to “plusieurs Sonnets, Odes et Epistres” yet there are no odes and only one epistle published in the *Evvres*. This reference and the reference to works either removed or eliminated lead the reader to believe that the poems and prose she has just read are not all of Labé’s works. The author herself is said to have chosen which works to include. This direct reference to author as editor is emphatic; the author is controlling her own works, or at least the printed edition is giving the reader an impression of authorial involvement. As in the dedicatory letter to Clémence de Bourges, the paratext works to

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System 1498-1526* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 64.

⁹⁷ Royal Privilege, colophon, 1556 edition.

construct a pre-history for the book by detailing how, when, by whom and for what purpose the book was produced.

As Genette says, the typeface and spatial arrangement of a text are one of the crucial ways in which a text becomes a book. While the typeface and positioning of printed items on the page work to shape a work into a book, there are other essential elements that also serve this purpose. The printer's name and details serve to anchor the book within a context. The reader is able to compare it to and arrange it alongside other books produced by that printer. A royal privilege similarly grounds the text in a specific time and place while providing a certain seal of approval on the text's impression. When a book producer includes texts not written by the main author they serve to contextualize the text within the book itself. While those elements simultaneously serve to create book from text, they also feed into the creation of author from book – a point that is even more salient in the 1762 edition of Louise Labé's *Œuvres*.

Re-constructing Louise Labé: 1762

The 1762 edition of Labé's works was the first edition published since de Tournes's 1556 reprint of the 1555 first edition. Published in Lyon by the Frères Duplain, this edition includes a striking amount of added paratext comprised of both text and image. By examining these elements, one can see Labé's shifting status of authorship in the eighteenth century. Specifically, the association of the author with a new and very different publisher, an amplified obsession with naming Labé, and the presence of several images all affect the reader's perception of the author. Like Pernette du Guillet in the nineteenth century, Louise Labé is pulled out of oblivion and presented to an audience that would have been completely unfamiliar with the author and her works. In order to create a space for the author Louise Labé in the eighteenth century, Duplain

found it necessary to supplement the original paratext with new material that insists on the author's identity and her relationship to the work.

Duplain's reputation could not be more different from that of Labé's first publisher's, de Tournes. Historian Daniel Roche classifies him as a "requin de livres."⁹⁸ A specialist of *mauvais livres* and a champion of counterfeiting, Duplain is most famous for his scandalous involvement in the printing of Diderot and d'Alambert's *Encyclopédie*.⁹⁹ He refused to pay his debts, rigged his accounts and threatened to blackmail his associates (Roche, 196-197). Robert Darnton describes him in this way: "Duplain was one of the scrappiest book dealers in one of the toughest towns of the book trade" (Darnton, 59). It would seem that Lyon was no longer home to a *sodalitium lugdunense* like it was in the years around 1550.¹⁰⁰ Rather, Lyon was the main city through which illegal literature from Geneva and Lausanne was smuggled in order to satisfy the demands for *mauvais livres* in France. Emeric David, a printer from Aix-en-Provence, described the situation in Lyon in his 1797 diary: "'Douze imprimeries-les trois quarts ne s'occupent qu'aux contrefaçons [...] Point d'imprimeur qui cherche a bien faire [...] amour de l'argent [...] brigandage.'"¹⁰¹ Duplain was involved in the illegal book trade until he was denounced in 1773 and had to flee to Switzerland. In 1777 he popped up in Paris working as a clandestine book dealer, keeping himself from bankruptcy by dealing in the "most lucrative and dangerous kinds of forbidden books and manuscripts" (Darnton, 58-62).

⁹⁸ Daniel Roche, "Les Imprimeurs Lyonnais" In *L'Histoire de l'édition française* eds. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, and Jean-Pierre Vivet (Paris: Promodis, 1983) 196.

⁹⁹ See Robert Darnton's *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 59.

¹⁰⁰ François Rigolot, "Louise Labé and the 'Climat Lyonnais'" *The French Review* 71.3 (1998), 405.

¹⁰¹ Emeric David, "Mon voyage de 1787," a diary in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, ms. 5947, quoted by Darnton, 60.

One can only speculate as to what effect the ill repute of this book shark might have had on the perception of the 1762 *Evvres* and of Labé's authorship in late eighteenth-century France. If de Tourne's geographic and textual association with Labé, along with his background as a publisher of erudite, scholarly and well-received texts served to give Labé authority, Duplain's background may have done just the opposite. Instead of being in the company of Scève, Marguerite de Navarre, Ovid and Marot, she is printed and sold alongside illegal, salacious, *mauvais livres*. This difference can be considered partially to rumors about Labé that began soon after the original publication of her work. This association between Duplain and Labé is figured in the same way as the connection between de Tournes and Labé: their names appear together on the title page (see Image 4). Labé receives a new brand name through her new association, which perhaps changes the view of her product, her poetry, as well.

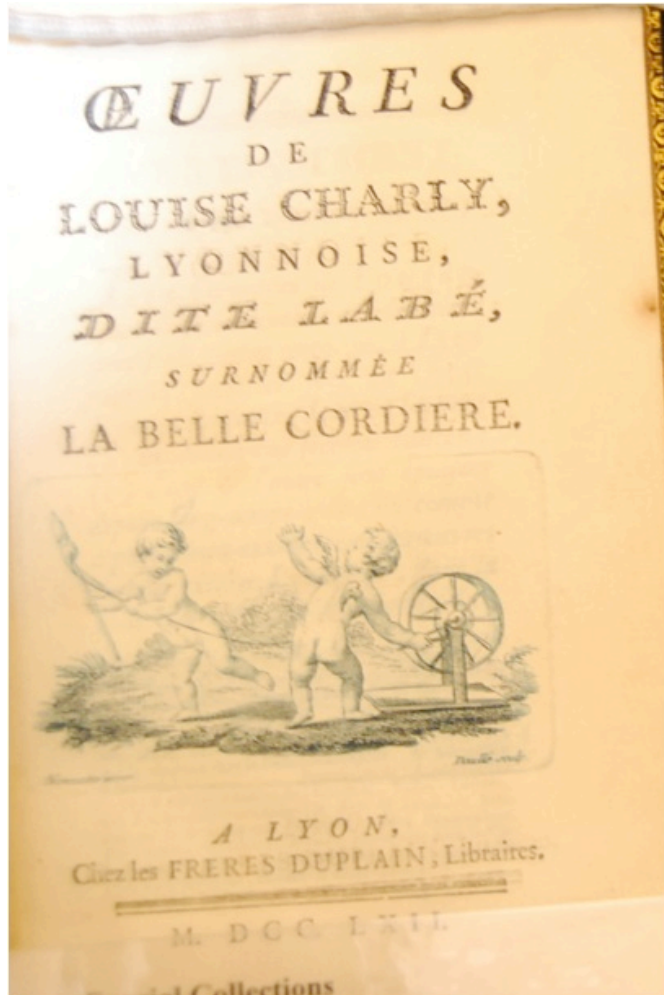


Image 4, Title page, *Œuvres de Louise Charly, lyonnoise, surnommée La Belle Cordière*, 1762.

University of Virginia Special Collections.

Other elements of interest on the title page concern the naming of the author and the variety of typefaces used to do so. In the 1556 edition, the author is named “Louize Labé Lyonnoise” (see figure 1). In the 1762 edition, she is given more names, more identities: “LOUISE CHARLY, LYONNOISE, DITE LABÉ, SURNOMMÉE LA BELLE CORDIERE” (see figure 4). This reworking of the name imbues the author figure with a history. The editor revises the author’s identity, giving her a new last name (Charly) and two nicknames. While she

may have been called Labé in the past, her true identity for the 1762 editor is Charly. The book encourages the reader to recognize this author. If they do not know her by one name (Louise Charly), they may know her by another (Labé) or perhaps just by the name she was given by posterity (la belle cordière). The two additions (Charly; la belle cordière) also link the author to men (her father and her husband, respectively) as well as to a concrete personal history. The historical person Pierre Charly was the father of the historical person Louise Labé. The name “Labé” had been the surname of Charly’s first wife’s first husband. That Labé was a well-known ropemaker and Pierre Charly took on the surname of the deceased man, as François Rigolot puts it, for commercial reasons.¹⁰² Sometime between 1543 and 1545, Louise Labé married Ennemond Perrin, also a ropemaker (Rigolot, 16). The historic Labé/Charly is thus twice associated with ropemakers. By calling her *cordière*, the editor makes reference not only to her poetry but also her family life.¹⁰³ Her long and very detailed will, dated April 28, 1565, is in the name of “Loyse Charlin dite Labé, veuve de feu Sire Ennemond Perrin, en son vivant bourgeois citoyen habitant à Lyon.”¹⁰⁴ One can note the same syntax in her will as in the 1762 edition. The reader of the 1762 text is forced to dig into the history of the historical person Louise, called Labé, just as the editor of the book must have done in order to have this information. The 1555 and 1556 editions were content with naming her once. The 1762 edition concretizes the historical person while conflating that person with the author of the *Œuvres* by naming her three times. By giving this unknown author a real past, the 1762 edition carves out a specific space for Louise Labé that would be legible to eighteenth century readers.

¹⁰² François Rigolot, “Signature et Signification: les baisers de Louise Labé” *The Romanic Review* I no. LXXV (1984), 15-16.

¹⁰³ For relationship between poetry and the ropemaker nickname, see Rigolot, “Les “sutils ouvrages” de Louise Labé, ou: quand Pallas devient Arachné,” *Études littéraires* 20 no 2, 1987, 43-60.

¹⁰⁴ Cited by Huchon, 10.

The variety of typefaces used in this naming in the 1762 Duplain edition draws further attention to this insistence on ascertaining the specific identity, history and name of the author (see Image 4). There are a total of seven different founts used for the title and author on the page. Each piece of information can be considered separately and as a discrete unit of information; the reader's eye must readjust to read each line of text. The most intricate font, containing white space within the black ink and a rococo style, is the font used for the author's supposed real name, Louise Charly. The emphasis is thus placed on the historical identity of this newly-named author figure with a past. Additionally, the presence of punctuation affects the way in which readers interact with the text. The commas after "Charly", "Lyonnoise" and "Labé" and the period after "Cordiere" force readers to pause after each unit of new information about the author. In many ways, this title page gives Labé more authority than the original 1550s editions did. In giving the author an origin, a personal history and a triple naming, the work is attributed a specific origin and creator.

The images in this edition are striking in their portrayal of authorship and author and in their relationship to the work, especially compared to the sixteenth century editions, which have no images at all. In the 1762 edition of Labé, the images have an indexical relationship to the text and to the stated author. Alain-Marie Bassy, in his study of eighteenth century text and image, remarks that such is often the case in this period:

Les heures de gloire du livre illustré français—à la Renaissance; au XVIII^e siècle, [...] à l'époque romantique [...] sont celles d'un équilibre, d'une harmonie trouvée ou retrouvée entre les deux systèmes de communication: loin de se concurrencer ou de s'ignorer, l'écrit et l'image superposent leurs signification et se servent mutuellement.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵Alain-Marie Bassy, "Le Texte et l'image" in *Histoire de l'édition française* eds. Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, and Jean-Pierre Vivet (Paris: Promodis, 1983), 140.

Indeed, the images here seem to serve the text, taking up the same themes as the text in order to summarize them; the topic and the conclusion of the textual work is restated and reified by the image. For example, in the image below the title and author on the title page (see Image 4), two putti are depicted with a loom. This image is a commentary on both the text and the author. Firstly, the symbol of the loom and weaving is linked to the act of writing and storytelling through the myth of Arachne. The poet retells this famous story in the third elegy:

[...] Sur mon verd aage en ses laqs il me prit,
 Lors qu'exerçois mon corps et mon esprit
 En mile et mile Euures ingenieuses,
 Qu'en peu de tems me rendit ennuieuses.
 Pour bien savoir avec l'esguille peindre
 J'eusse entrepris la renommee esteindre
 De celle là, qui plus docte que sage,
 Avec Pallas comparoit son ouvrage [...] (Labé, 116, lines 29-36).

Although Arachne is not mentioned by name, the reference is direct.¹⁰⁶ The weaving of *celle là* is compared to the writing of the poet; the “esguille” in line 33 becomes a writer’s quill.¹⁰⁷ This image of a loom is also, however, a reference to Labé’s nickname “La Belle Cordière” and to her father and husband’s profession as cord makers. The two putti are weaving a cord in the image; one holds a length of rope in his hand. Furthermore, the presence of these two putti figures is always a referent to love, whether divine or earthly. Often instruments of profane love and associates of Cupid and Eros, their presence on the title page of Labé’s *Œuvres* signals to the reader what the main theme of the poems she will read will be: love. All of these layers of

¹⁰⁶ Arachne, a young woman skilled in weaving challenged the goddess Pallas to a tapestry-weaving contest. Her work was so excellent that Pallas destroyed the tapestry and turned the woman into a spider who must continually weave and spin her web. See book 6 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁰⁷ François Rigolot explores the relationship between writing a text and weaving a textile in Labé and Ovid, “Les ‘Sutils ouvrages’ de Louise Labé, où quand Pallas devient Arachné” *Études littéraires* 20 no. 2 (1987): 43-60.

meaning point both to the author and to the work, interlacing the two and making them difficult to separate. The material book insists on the identity of the author in order to make her understandable to an audience that would not have known her previously. By binding the historical person Louise Labé, the author by the same name, and the work with her name on it together, the book makes the author impossible to deny. Being that the only information eighteenth century readers would have had about Louise Labé and the *Euures* would have been Duplain's edition, readers would have been further encouraged to allow the 1762 paratext to influence their readings of the author and her works.

One image appears twice in the eighteenth century edition. The first appearance comes towards the beginning of the edition, after the title page and royal approval, and just before the 25 page Labé biography entitled "Recherches sur la vie de Louise Labé Lyonnaise." It appears a second time before the poems praising Labé entitled "Escriz de divers poetes a la louange de Louise Labé" (see Images 5 and 6, respectively). Four figures are depicted around a bust of Labé: two robed men and two putti who pull back a curtain to let the viewer/reader see the scene as the other putto engraves something - perhaps Labé's triple naming - into the base of the bust. One of the robed figures places a laurel on the bust with the right hand and holds a scroll with writing on it in the left. In the background, the other robed figure reads a different scroll. This induction scene places Labé among the ranks of these anonymous poetic figures.

The reader assumes that they are reading Labé's works; the scrolls look similar to the scrolls depicted in a writing scene found in another image (see figure 7). The difference between the Labé bust and the other figures becomes clear upon consideration: she no longer lives and they live on. Yet, what will happen once that laurel is placed upon her head? Perhaps, once

crowned poet laureate, she will take on new life as the two robed Greco-Roman figures apparently have. She will become, like Petrarch, Ovid and Virgil, an enduring author figure. The putto pulling back the curtain gives the reader the impression that she watches a scene previously unseen and *in media res*. In many ways this image serves as a symbol for the 1762 edition of the book. The book uncovered Labé, pulled back the metaphorical curtain (the text had not been republished since 1556) and reified the author by giving her a concrete history. In the image, the physicality of Labé and of her literary production is doubly concretized in the form of the bust



Image 5, Intertitle, “Recherches sur la vie de Louise Labé Lyonnaise,” *Œuvres de Louise Charly, lyonnaise, surnommée La Belle Cordière*, 1762. University of Virginia Special Collections.



Image 6, Intertitle, “Ecrits de divers poètes, à la louange de Louise Labé,” *Œuvres de Louise Charly, lyonnaise, surnommée La Belle Cordière*, 1762. University of Virginia Special Collections.

and in the overall image itself. The illustration of the bust doubles the meaning. The reappearance of the image near the end of the book reinforces this idea. The double appearance of this image is not unexpected in the eighteenth century, according to Bassy: “L’image se trouve

ainsi saturé d'informations. Les illustrateurs ne craignent pas la redondance : redondance de l'image elle-même, redondance du texte et de l'image" (Bassy, 152). The presence of the image before the section of 24 poems - written by other poets in praise of Labé - does seem to be a retelling of those poems. The male poets giving figurative laurels to Labé in the poems become male poets giving literal laurels to Labé in the illustration. The illustrations restrict the possibility of other interpretations. Bassy further states in his study of eighteenth century text-image relations: "'Ces images ont l'ambition de supprimer (ou, au moins, de restreindre) l'aléa de la lecture, et de fixer la mémoire des choses" (Bassy, 152). This allows the memory of those reading the 1762 edition of both book and text to become fixed by the images accompanying the text. Not only does the image reference the text but amplifies it and completes it, even if the completion chosen was not the only one offered in the text.

The image inserted before the elegies depicts the moment of writing and the moment of *innamoramento* are simultaneous (see Image 7). The poet sits on a mountain, most likely Mount Parnassus, waiting for inspiration with quill in hand. A putto in flight sets an arrow to shoot at the poet. The winged horse Pegasus, friend of the muses, soars in the background as a symbol for poetry. This image provides a reading, and in many ways a restricting, of the text that comes underneath the image:



Image 7, Intertitle, “Elégies,” *Œuvres de Louise Charly, lyonnaise, surnommée La Belle Cordière*, 1762. University of Virginia Special Collections.

Au tems qu'Amour, d'hommes, et Dieus vainqueur
 Faisoit bruler de sa flamme mon cœur,
 En embrasant de sa cruelle rage
 Mon sang, mes os, mon esprit et courage :
 Encore lors je n'avois la puissance
 De lamenter ma peine et ma souffrance.
 Encor Phebus, ami des Lauriers vers,
 N'avoit permis que je fisse des vers :
 Mais maintenant que sa fureur divine
 Remplit d'ardeur ma hardie Poitrine,
 Chanter me fait, non les bruians tonnerres
 De Jupiter, ou les cruelles guerres,
 Dont trouble Mars, quand il veut, l'Univers.
 Il m'a donné la lyre, qui les vers
 Souloit chanter de l'Amour Lesbienne :
 Et à ce coup pleurera à de la mienne.
 O dous archet, adouci moy la voix (Labé, 107, lines 1-17).

Many elements from these first few lines of the first elegy are depicted in the illustration. They appear compounded; the elements are forced together. The illustration both tells the story in the elegy and does not tell it at the same time. It acts as a vignette that outlines the story and controls how the reader interprets the text by laying out the scene prior to the text, thus providing a visual referent. We are presented with a stereotypical image of poetic composition; the elements that

are not essential are simply not represented. Those things that the poet says she will not address (Mars's war; Jupiter's thunder) are eschewed by the illustration. Phoebus is transformed into a putto and a pegasus; perhaps more identifiable as symbols of love and muses than an image of the Roman god Phoebus. The illustration provides a limited reading of the text, but one that is both clear and decided. As Bassy writes of eighteenth century vignette illustrators: "[...] sur ces lecteurs complices, l'illustrateur doit produire des effets plus violents et plus assurés que ceux du discours" (Bassy, 153). The image is easier to scan and read than the text itself. By reading the image first, the reading of the text becomes pre-determined and secondary. The text is read with the image as its referent rather than the other way around because the image precedes the text and draws the reader's eye in first.

The 1762 edition firmly places the author figure of Louise Labé within the ranks of other poets from the early periods. At the same time, by depicting the moment in which the laurel is being placed on her head, the book introduces Louise Labé into a community of authors. The images compact the information contained in the text and influence how it reads. The book continually points to Labé as the author, origin and creator of the text, and as an historical person with a concrete history. Texts are woven together with authorial histories and personal histories to a point where they are no longer dissociable. One has the impression that the author is being exhumed, brought out into the light of day for the first time in 200 years. The book produces the author, brings her forth, textually and materially. It provides abundant images depicting the author writing, entertaining, and it insists on her identity as an historical person worthy of attention through the reuse and manipulation of her name. It seems that while one Louise Labé is surely deceased, another Labé lives on. Louise Labé, the daughter and wife of rope makers, resident of Lyons in the 1550s, no longer lives, but the Labé who shaped, and was shaped by, her

text and material books live on through those that mediate it. Both author and text are shifting paper creatures, creatures that take life as we open their pages and summon them forth with our readings and interpretations.

Chapter Three

The Afterlife of María de Zayas y Sotomayor's Novellas in France

Spanish writer María de Zayas y Sotomayor's (1590-1661?) popular two-part work, *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (1637) and *Parte segunda del sarao y entretenimiento honesto* (1647) took on a new life in mid-seventeenth century France.¹⁰⁸ Paul Scarron, François Le Métel de Boisrobert and Antoine Le Métel d'Ouville translated parts of the work into French, each picking a few of Zayas's twenty tales and pulling those tales out of the context of Zayas's original frame tale in order to produce free-standing novellas. These translators then made other changes to the text and paratext that changed the work's presentation. Through these editorial interventions, we can see that each translator took a different attitude towards Zayas and her works. For some of the translators, Zayas's identity and her authorship are not mentioned; for others the female author figure takes on particular importance as the work is newly situated in seventeenth century French salon culture. The strategies D'Ouville, Scarron and Boisrobert used as they brought Zayas's tales to French readers come into focus through close readings of the paratext as well as aspects of the translations themselves. As Jerome McGann has pointed out, no text is entirely free from the mediation or "corruption" that occurs due to production processes and it is impossible to "place the reader in an unmediated contact with the author."¹⁰⁹ These editors mediate the work for readers, their editions serving as go-betweens for readers and the work. These mediations also affect the construction, or lack thereof, of the author figure. The paratextual changes undertaken by Scarron, D'Ouville and Boisrobert in these three French

¹⁰⁸ The second part was later called *Desengaños amorosos*.

¹⁰⁹ Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 41.

versions of Zayas's work allow us to trace Zayas's works' afterlife in France and reveal that both the text and the authorship are unstable. Although these three translations appeared within two years of each other, each constructs authorship differently.

Scarron, Boisrobert and d'Ouville do not present the same author figure that the first Spanish editions do. In Chapter 2, we saw how the material book and its paratextual elements constructed Louise Labé's authorship. In this chapter, we will see how book producers deconstructed authorship through manipulation of the paratext. Zayas's short stories take on a new life in France, one that is quite separate from their original form in Zayas's two books. While the original Spanish paratext of Zayas's works insists on her authorship, the French translations do not always maintain this interest in Zayas as author. In this way, Scarron, Boisrobert, and D'Ouville deconstruct Zayas's authorship, pulling apart her work and making it their own. By comparing signs of Zayas's authorship in the paratext of early Spanish editions of her works with the representations of her authorship found in these three French editions, we can find a new way to understand Zayas as author in the context of mid-seventeenth-century France.

María de Zayas as Author in Spain

Zayas's tales of love gone wrong were quite popular at the time of their initial publications. In Spain, only Miguel de Cervantes, Mateo Aleman, and Francisco de Quevedo saw their works published more than Zayas did.¹¹⁰ Julián Olivares calls her "[...] la escritora española más famosa de su tiempo."¹¹¹ Zayas writes of the first work's popularity in the frame of the second part: "[...] como sucedió en la primera parte de este sarao, que si unos le desestimaron, ciento le aplaudieron, y todos le buscaron y le buscan [...]" (Zayas *Desengaños*

¹¹⁰ See Alicia Yllera's introduction in *Desengaños amorosos* (Catedra: Madrid, 1998), 64-93.

¹¹¹ Julián Olivares "Introducción," *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010), 11.

257). (As it happened with the first part of this party, if some did not like it, a hundred applauded it, and everyone looked for it and looks for it).¹¹² Despite the popularity of her works, we know very little about Zayas's life. Since we have so little documentation, scholars have looked to the paratext of her works, and to mentions of her in other literary works for clues about her life. Other than a baptism record in Madrid, the only concrete references to her are related to her literary activities.¹¹³ For the purposes of this study, it is useful to see how texts construct the Zayas author-figure. Much of the information we have about Zayas as author comes from her contemporaries who penned elegies to her. These elegies form an epitext around Zayas work in its original context in the 1630s and 1640s in Spain. As Genette explains:

Est épitexte tout element paratextuel qui ne se trouve pas matériellement annexé au texte dans le même volume, mais qui circule en quelque sorte à l'air libre, dans un espace physique et social virtuellement illimité. Le lieu de l'épitexte est donc *anywhere out of the book*, n'importe où hors du livre.¹¹⁴

Whether María de Zayas's works' epitext is based on fact or fiction, it confirms and praises her activity as an author. Just as the poems about Labé appearing at the end of the *Œuvres* give Labé authority and assign her the role of poet, the epitextual mentions of Zayas work to convince readers of Zayas's role as author. For example, seventeenth century Spanish novelist and playwright Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (1584?-1647?) praises her writing in the preface to his 1642 work *La Garduña de Sevilla*:

En estos tiempos luce y campea con felices aplausos el ingenio de Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, que con justo título ha merecido el nombre de Sibila de Madrid, adquirido por sus admirables versos, por su ingenio y gran prudencia: habiendo sacado de la estampa un libro de diez novelas, que son diez asombros para los que escriben este

¹¹² My translation. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

¹¹³ For more information on research pertaining to Zayas's life, see Julián Olivares, "Introducción," 11-16 and Alicia Yllera, "Introducción," 11-21.

¹¹⁴ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris : Seuil, 1987), 346, original emphasis.

género; pues la meditada prosa, el artificio de ellas, y los versos que interpola, es todo tan admirable, que acobarda las más valientes plumas de nuestra España.”¹¹⁵
[At this time there is much applause for the shining ingenuity of Dona Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, who justly deserved the name of Sybil of Madrid, acquired for her admirable verses, for her ingenuity and great prudence; for having printed a book of ten novellas, which are ten surprises for those who write in the genre; for the thoughtful prose, the artistry, and the inserted poetry, it's all so marvelous that it intimidates the most courageous pens of our Spain.]

Castillo praises not only her *inventio* --“su felice ingenio”-- but also Zayas’s *dispositio*—her “meditada prosa” and “versos que interpola.” What he finds most ingenious is the way in which Zayas weaves poetry into her prose. Many of the 20 intercalated stories, as well as the frame story, contain various poetic forms—sonnets, *romances*, *décimas*, and *liras*.¹¹⁶ Castillo praises the formal aspects of Zayas’s works (as we shall see later, even the most flattering of the French translators only praises her subject matter). Zayas’s gender is only evoked through the word Sibila (Sibyl).¹¹⁷ De Solórzano says her novelas are “asombros” (surprises), he sees Zayas leading the way, acting as an oracle, in a new style of novella-writing in Spain. Since this is the only gendered reference that Solórzano makes, her female gender is not cast in a negative light. Rather, as in Antoine du Moulin’s prefatory letter in du Guillet’s *Rymes*, the author’s gender and intelligence make her an example for other women.

Lope de Vega (1562-1635) also praises Zayas in his *Laurel de Apolo* (1630). This book of 10 lengthy *silvas* is a catalog of contemporary Spanish poets. As Anthony Carreño puts it, “the *Laurel de Apolo* establishes a historical memory of ‘who’s who’ and of Lope’s reception of the

¹¹⁵ Alonso de Castillo y Solórzano, *Teresa de Manzanares y La guardaña de Sevilla*, ed. Fernando Rodríguez Mansilla, Iberoamericana: Madrid, 2012: 71.

¹¹⁶ None of the French translators use any verse forms in their translations.

¹¹⁷ Female Greek and Roman prophets or oracles, sibyls were respected sources of information about the future.

arts and letters of his time.”¹¹⁸ Zayas appears in Silva VIII and is the last poet mentioned in that poem before Lope goes on to praise himself:

[...]O dulces Hipocrenides hermosas!
los espinos Pangeos
aprisa desnudad, y de las rosas
texed ricas guinaldas y trofeos
a la inmortal Doña María de Zayas,
que sin pasar a Lesbos, ni a las playas
del vasto mar Egeo,
que hoy llora el negro velo de Theseo
a Sapho gozará Mytilenea,
quien ver milagros de muger desea:
porque su ingenio vivamente claro
es tan unico y raro
que ella sola pudiera
no solo pretender la verde rama,
pero sola ser Sol de tu Riviera,
y tu por ella conseguir mas fama,
que Napoles por Claudia, por Cornelia
la sacra Roma, y Tebas por Targelia [...].¹¹⁹

[O, beautiful, sweet Muses of Hippocrene, strip thorny Pangaion Oros and from its roses weave garlands and trophies for the immortal lady María de Zayas, for whoever wishes to see womanly wonders, without traveling to Lesbos nor the beaches of the vast Aegean Sea that today weep Theseus's black sail, will enjoy a Mytilenean Sappho, because her lively clear talent is so unique and rare that she alone could aspire to the green bough, she alone could be the sun to your shores, and you through her could secure more fame than Naples for Claudia, holy Rome for Cornelia and Thebes for Targelia].¹²⁰

Lope compares Zayas to classical female figures: Sappho, who founded a female literary society, and Cornelia, mother of Tiberius and Gaius, admired for her intelligence. The epitext in Spain around the time of Zayas's writing places her in the ranks of other well-established authors, as well as in a lineage of learned women.

¹¹⁸ Antonio Carreño, "El Laurel de Apolo de Lope de Vega y otros laureles," *Bulletin Hispanique*, 106 (2004): 103-128.

¹¹⁹ Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, ed. Antonio Carreño (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

¹²⁰ María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Exemplary Tales of Love and Tales of Disillusion*, ed. and trans. Margaret R. Greer and Elizabeth Rhodes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 22.

Indeed, we see this commonality in Labé, du Guillet and Zayas's paratext and epitext. Within the Zayas editions, the prefatory material paints the portrait of an accomplished and respected author. In the earliest edition we currently have access to (1637), the title page (see image 1) gives us several key pieces of information about the author: her profession, class, gender and origin. The full name, title and origin of the author printed on the title page of this edition tell us that Zayas is noble, female, and Spanish: "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid." The edition repeatedly reminds its reader of her authorship as her full name is then repeated at the top of each even-numbered page of the book. As Zayas's *Novelas* was the first female-authored secular work to be published in print in Spain, it seems that Esquer followed the practice of including the author's name throughout the text in this way in the same manner as was customary for male authors. For example, Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* follow the same pattern (see image 2).

NOVELAS
AMOROSAS. Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPVESTAS POR DOÑA
*Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, na-
tural de Madrid.*



CON LICENCIA.
*En Zaragoza, En el Hospital Real, y Gñl de N. Señora
de Gracia, Año 1637.*

A costa de Pedro Esquer, Mercader de libros.

Portada de la primera edición de *Novelas amorosas*. Zaragoza, 1637.

Image 1: Title page 1637 *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*

Novelas exemplares de

gentes están sujetos, los Gitanos, pudieron deslustrar su rostro, ni curtir las manos: y lo que es mas, que la crianza tosca en que se criaba, no descubría en ella, sino ser nacida de mayores prendas que de Gitana, porque era en extremo cortés, y bien razonada. Y con todo esto era algo defembuelta: pero no de modo que descubriese algun genéro de deshonestidad: antes con ser aguda, era ran honesta, que en su presencia no osaba alguna Gitana vieja, ni moça cantar cantares lasciuos, ni dezir palabras no buenas, y finalmēte la abuela conoció el tesoro que en la nieta tenia: y así determinó el aguila vieja facar à bolar su aguilucho, y enseñarle a viuir por sus vñas. Salíó Preciosa rica de villanzicos, de coplas, seguidillas, y çarabandas, y de otros veríos, especialmente de romances, que los cantaba cō especial donayre. Por que su raymada abuela echó de ver, que tales juguetes, y gracias en los pocos años, y en la mucha hermosura de su nieta auia de ser felicisimos, atractiuos, è incentiuos, para acrecentar su caudal, y así se los procuró, y buscó por todas las vias que pudo, y no faltó poeta que se los dresse: que tambien ay poetas que se acomodan con Gitanos, y les venden sus obras, como los ay para ciegos, que les fingen milagros, y van a la parte de la ganancia, de todo ay en el mundo y esto de la hambre tal vez haze arrojar los ingenios à cosas que no están en el Mapa. Criose Preciosa en diuersas partes de Castilla, y à los quinze años de su edad su abuela putatiua la boluio à la Corte, y à su antiguo rancho, que es adonde ordinariamente le tienen los Gitanos en los campos de santa Barbara, pensando en la Corte vender su mercaderia, donde todo se compra, y todo se vende. Y la primera entrada que hizo Preciosa en Madrid, fue vn día de santa Ana Patrona, y abogada de la villa, con vna dança, en que yuan ocho Gitanas, quatro ancianas, y quatro muchachas;

Miguel de Cervantes.

2

chas, y vn Gitano gran baylarin, que las guiaba: y aunque todas yuan limpias, y bien adereçadas, el affco de Preciosa era tal, que poco à poco fue enamorando los ojos de quantos la mirauan: de entre el fon del tamborin, y y castañetas, y fuga del bayle salíó vn rumor que encañecia la belleza, y donayre de la Gitanilla, y corrian los muchachos à verla, y los hombres à mirarla. Pero quando la oyeron cantar, por ser la dança cantada, allí fue ello, allí si que cobró aliento la fama de la Gitanilla, y de comun consentimiento de los Diputados de la fiesta, desde luego le señalaron el premio, y joya de la mejor dança: y quando llegaron a hazerla en la Yglesia de santa Maria, delante de la imagen de santa Ana, despues de auer baylado todas, tomó Preciosa vnas sonajas, al fon de las quales, dando en redódo largas, y ligerisimas bueltas, cantó el Romance siguiente:

Arbol preciosísimo,
Que tardó en dar fruto
Años, que pudieron
Cubrirle de luto,
Y hazer los desleos
Del consorte puros,
Contra su esperança,
No muy bien seguros:
De cuyo tardarse
Nació aquel disgusto,
Que lançó del Templo
Al varon mas justo.
Santa tierra esteril,
Que al cabo produjo
Toda la abundancia,
Que sustenta el mundo.
Casa de moneda

A 2 Do

Image 2, Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares* (Juan de la Cuesta: Madrid, 1613) 1-2.

The adjective “compuestas” that follows the title of the work denotes an organizing agent, an author who wrote the work. Sebastián de Covarrubias’ 1611 dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* defines “componer” in this way: “Componer es hacer versos, por el artificio, y compostura que tienen de silavas, y consonantes en nuestra lengua. También dezimos fulano ha compuesto un libro aunque sea en prosa, por el orden y concierto que lleva en el.”¹²¹ [To compose is to make verse, for the artistry and the composure of the syllables and consonants in our language. We also say someone has composed a book, even if it is in prose, because of the order and coherence born out in it]. In order for the work to be composed, for that work to have

¹²¹ Sebastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611: 496.

an order and coherence, there must be someone composing it. The title page gives that organizing role to Zayas.

Not only does the title page assign the role of author to Zayas, so do the three legal documents included at the beginning of the book and the laudatory poems that precede Zayas's work. In order to print and publish a book in Spain (or France) at this time, it was necessary to receive various licenses and approvals from state and religious officials. Three such documents appear at the beginning of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*. In all three, Zayas is referred to by name and as the author of the work.¹²² Joseph de Valdivieso writes, "[En] esté Honesto y entretenido Sarao, [...] que escribió doña María de Zayas [...] [In this Honest and entertaining Party [...] that lady María de Zayas wrote] and later uses the word "autor" (author) when naming Zayas; Juan de Mendieta identifies the work as "esté libro, Tratado honesto y entretenido sarao, compuesto por doña María de Zayas" [this book, Honest treatise and entertaining party, composed by lady María de Zayas]; Pedro Aguilón similarly refers to the work as "estas Novelas compuestas por doña María de Zayas" [these Novelas composed by doña María de Zayas]. Before we even encounter the first word written by Zayas in printed form, we have three officials telling us that she wrote the book, that she is its author.

Laudatory poems by various poets appear after the licenses and approvals and before Zayas's own prefatory material. The two 1637 Esquer editions feature some of the same poems, and each includes some poems that the other does not include.¹²³ In both editions, there are two poems by Alonso de Castillo Solórzano as well as one each by Caro de Mallén, Juan Pérez de Montalbán and Francisco de Aguirre Vaca. Each poet writes explicitly about Zayas's identity as an author. Castillo Solórzano writes, for example, "Con tan divinos primores / vuestro libro a luz

¹²² See Appendix B for full text and translations of these documents.

¹²³ See Olivares, 153-158, for full text of all poems from both editions.

sacáis, / que en nuestra España les dais / envidia a sus escritores” [It is with such divine talents / you bring your book to light / that in our Spain you make / its writers jealous”].¹²⁴ Here, Castillo Solórzano gives agency to Zayas; it is she who brings her own book to light.

The two prefaces that follow the laudatory poems in the 1637 edition of *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* also insist on Zayas’s active role as author. The first, “Al que leyere” (To he who might read) begins in this way:

Quién duda, Lector mío, que te causará admiración que una mujer tenga despejo, no sólo para escribir un libro, sino para darle a la estampa, que es el crisol donde se averigua la pureza de los ingenios; porque hasta que los escritos se gozan en las letras de plomo no tienen valor cierto, ni firmeza, por ser tan fáciles de engañar los sentidos; que la fragilidad de la vista suele pasar por oro macizo lo que a la luz del fuego es solamente un pedazo de bronce afeitado. ¿Quién duda, digo otra vez, que habrá muchos que atribuyan a locura esta virtuosa osadía de sacar a luz mis borroneos siendo mujer, que en opinión de algunos necios es lo mismo que una cosa incapaz? (*Novelas Zayas* 159).

[Who doubts, my reader, that you will be amazed that a woman would have the audacity not only to write a book, but to send it for printing, which is the crucible in which the purity of genius will be tested. For until one’s writings are enjoyed in letters of lead, their worth is uncertain, since our senses are so easily deceived that the fragility of sight usually takes as gold that which by the light of fire is seen to be a piece of polished bronze. Who doubts, I say again, but that there will be many who attribute to madness this virtuous daring to bring my scribblings into the light, being a woman, which in the opinion of some fools, is the same as an incapable thing?] (Greer and Rhodes, 47).

Zayas states that the printing press is the true test for any author—“el crisol donde se averigua la pureza de los ingenios.” The fact that we are reading her printed work would mean that her genius is proven—it has been printed. According to her, the printing press is the only way for written works (escritos) to have assured value; since her work has been printed, the reader understands that this work is surely gold, not bronze. This rhetoric enables Zayas to write within the trope of humility and modesty (referring to the audacity of a woman writer and the

¹²⁴ María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Novelas amorosas* ed. Julian Olivares (Madrid: Catedra, 2010), 153, lines 11-14. All citations from Zayas’s works come from Julian Olivares’s edition of *Novelas amorosas* (Madrid: Catedra, 2010) and Alicia Yllera’s edition of *Desengaños amorosos* (Madrid: Catedra, 1998).

anticipated shock of her reader) while praising her own work (it has value if it has made it past the printing press). While the word “*admiración*” in the first line indicates the shock the reader might feel when learning the author is female, it also calls to mind the Renaissance idea of *admiratio* or wonder. Marina Brownlee explains this double meaning:

The sensationalism exploited by Zayas was not exclusively an appropriation of the shock value of the ephemera merely calculated to pander to the masses; it was simultaneously predicated on the venerable compositional quality of *admiratio*, the author’s ability to engross the reader in a text that elicited admiration in the etymological sense of ‘wonder,’ a marveling at the strangeness of the event recounted, but also at the aesthetically pleasing, artistic manner by which it is recounted.¹²⁵

By using the word *admiración*, Zayas defines herself as an author: she creates *admiratio* in her reader. She does this while writing within the trope of modesty. Zayas identifies herself as an author who has gone through the *crisol* of the printing press, an author whose work is worth reading.

The author’s preface is followed by another preface entitled “*Prólogo de un desapasionado*,” presumably written by someone who has already read the work.¹²⁶ Genette reminds us that “[p]our préfacer un livre, il faut en avoir lu quelques pages” (Genette 267). This prologue writer serves as a first, exemplary reader. The author of the preface encourages the reader to buy the book. “[D]ebes, oh lector!, mirar con respeto sus agudos pensamientos [...] Y no sólo debes hacer esto, más anhelar por la noticia de su autora a no estar sin su libro en tu estudio, no pidiéndolo prestado, sino costándote tu dinero, que aunque fuese mucho, le darás por bien empleado.” [You should--O reader!—admire her sharp thinking [...] And not only should you do this but long that your study should not be without her book in it, due to what you know

¹²⁵ Marina Brownlee, *The Cultural Labyrinth of María de Zayas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 91.

¹²⁶ Critics have pointed out that this anonymous person could be Zayas as the writing style is similar to hers.

about its author, not borrowing it but purchasing it with your money, which even were it a lot, you will find it well spent] (Zayas *Novelas* 26; Greer and Rhodes translation 52-53). The readers should buy the book because of the author and her reputation. The author is central to the book in this preface. Indeed, both prefaces in *Novelas amorosas* focus on Zayas as author and on the book as a whole, complete unit

Scarron: “ma précaution inutile”

Less than ten years after the publication of the second part of Zayas’s work, French poet and playwright Paul Scarron (1610-1660) obtained a royal privilege for his *Nouvelles tragico-comiques, tournées de l’espagnol en français* on April 23, 1655 and published the first French translation of Zayas’s work. He published the four stories in this collection separately between 1655 and 1657, each new edition including the previously published tales. The first story was a translation of Zayas’s tale “El prevenido, engañado”; Scarron titles it “La précaution inutile.”¹²⁷ It was not until 1866 that Zayas’s tale was recognized as the source material for this tale.¹²⁸ In this work, Scarron adapts María de Zayas’s “maravilla” told by party guest Don Alonso.¹²⁹ While the story Scarron published is immediately recognizable as a translation of Zayas’s cautionary tale, differences abound between the two works. In particular, Scarron’s preface to the tale offers a different view of Zayas as author than the Spanish editions had.

¹²⁷ The second tale is based on Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo’s 1612 *La Hija de Celestina*, titled “Les Hypocrites,” the third a translation of Zayas’s “Al fin se paga todo,” titled “L’adultère innocente,” and the fourth novella, “Plus d’effets que de paroles” is a version of Tirso de Molina’s 1627 *Palabras y plumas*. Scarron later added three other *nouvelles* to his work, also from Spanish sources, “Le chatiment de l’avarice,” from Juan de Hoz’s play *Castigo de la miseria*;

¹²⁸ Henri Chardon, *Nouveaux documents sur la vie de Molière* (Picard: Paris, 1866), 397.

¹²⁹ This story would later be the subject of Molière’s *L’école des femmes*, first staged in 1662.

One difference between the 1637 Esquer editions and Scarron's version is their treatment of the author's name. The Spanish versions insist on the author's name, reminding the reader of it frequently. Both 1637 title pages list the author's name as "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, natural de Madrid." Her full name is then repeated at the top of each even-numbered page of the book and is mentioned many times in the legal documents and the elegaic poems that precede the work. When Paul Scarron mentions the writer in his preface, he refers to her as Marie de Zayas, a significant paring down of the original. Her first name is gallicized—María becomes Marie. He removes her honorific title "Doña" (Lady) as well as her second family name, Sotomayor, and her place of origin (natural de Madrid). In shortening the author's name down to this form, Scarron appropriates her, turning her into something more familiar, more French.

Scarron does not include this gallicized version of Zayas' name in order to give her credit for writing the story. The mention of her name is simply part of a diatribe against his rival, another Zayas translator, Antoine Le Métel d'Ouville (1589-1657?). D'Ouville published ten plays between 1638 and 1650 and is best known for his adaptations of Spanish Golden Age theater, especially Calderon's comedies. In his preface, Scarron is more concerned with the comparison between his work and d'Ouville's than between Scarron's publication and his source material. Before he mentions Zayas by name, Scarron begins deriding d'Ouville's French version of the same tale. Similarly, in his own preface, D'Ouville accuses Scarron of not attributing his work to Zayas and of taking credit for the Spanish writer's work. We can imagine that D'Ouville read the 1655 version of Scarron's "La précaution inutile," perhaps while he was preparing his own translation. D'Ouville then published his version in *Les Nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires* (1656), and Scarron published the second installment of *Nouvelles tragi-comiques* later that same year that included this preface in which he writes of d'Ouville's version. In the

1656 preface, Scarron responds to d'Ouville's criticism, calling D'Ouville a big liar, "un grand menteur", and describes him as being "peu sincere en François et fort ignorant en Espagnol." When he finally does mention Zayas's name in its Gallicized form, it is only to continue the argument with d'Ouville and to be able to give more reasons why his (Scarron's) version of the tale is better:

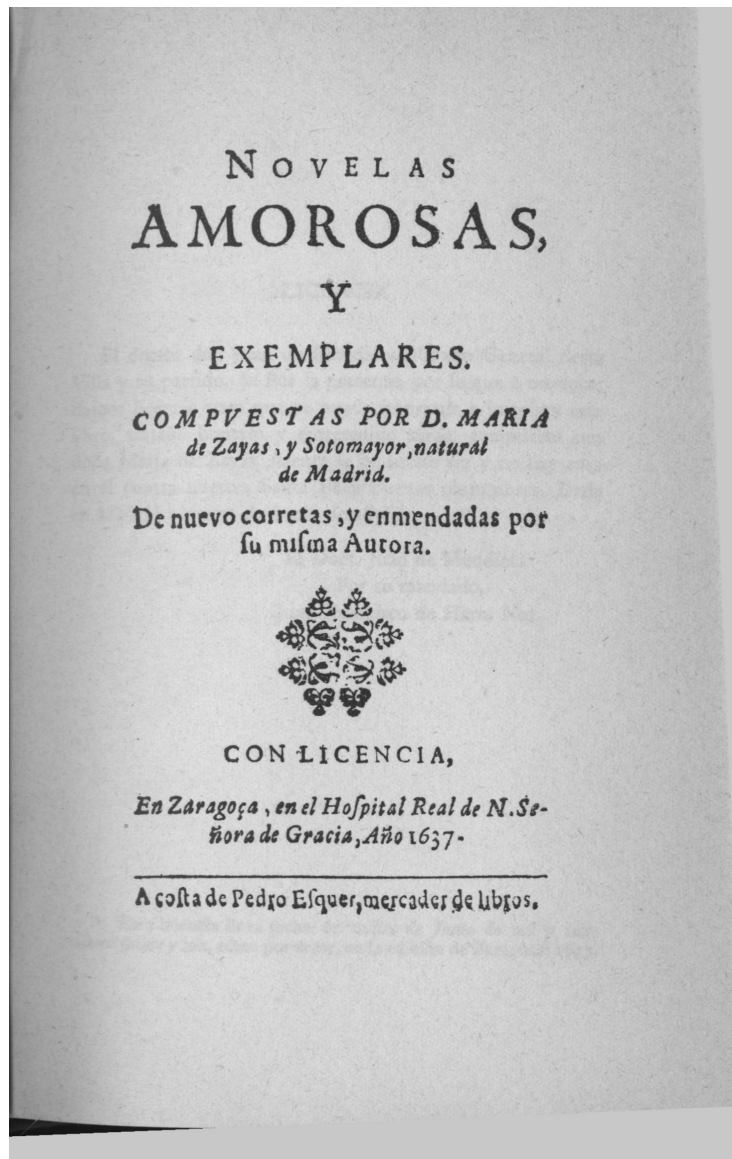


Image 2, Title page *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, 1637, second edition.

Dans ce temps que je faisois imprimer la Précaution Inutile, Monsieur de Boisrobert me fit l'honneur de me venir voir et, dans la conversation que nous eusmes ensemble, il me dit qu'il alloit faire imprimer les Nouvelles de Marie de Zayas, mises en François par son frère [d'Ouville]. Je l'advertoys qu'un de mes amis (c'estoit de moy que je parlois) avoit fait une Version du *Prevenido Engañado*, qui est le vray tiltre Espagnol, et non pas *Precaucionado*, comme l'a mis témérairement et faussement le gaillard Avant-propos à qui je parle (Scarron iv).

As he did with Zayas's name, Scarron shortens the name of the work: *Novelas amorosas y exemplares compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor* is truncated, becoming "Nouvelles de Marie de Zayas." The past participle "compuestos" is omitted, taking Zayas out of her active role as author. There are three acting figures in the reported conversation in Scarron's preface--Scarron, Boisrobert, and D'Ouville. Both Scarron and Boisrobert "have printed" (faire imprimer); D'Ouville has put the work into French (mises en François); Scarron has made a version ("avoit fait une Version") of the work and Boisrobert and Scarron speak about the printing of these French versions. Zayas, on the other hand, is given no agency, no verbs. Scarron then assigns himself the role of author by referring to the story he has translated as "ma nouvelle" and "ma Précaution inutile." Furthermore, though the story remains the same, Scarron claims his version is better written than the original Spanish tale; he writes that Zayas's style is "extravagant" and has "rien de bon sens" (Scarron vi).

The original 1655 title of Scarron's four-part work that includes "La précaution inutile" is *Nouvelles tragi-comiques, tournées de l'espagnol en français*. The 1656 and all subsequent versions are titled *Nouvelles tragi-comiques de Monsieur Scarron*. This change silences the Spanish source material. Between the 1655 and the 1656 titles, Scarron shifts roles from translator to author. The reader who had not encountered the 1655 edition of Scarron's translation would assume that he was their author (see image 3).

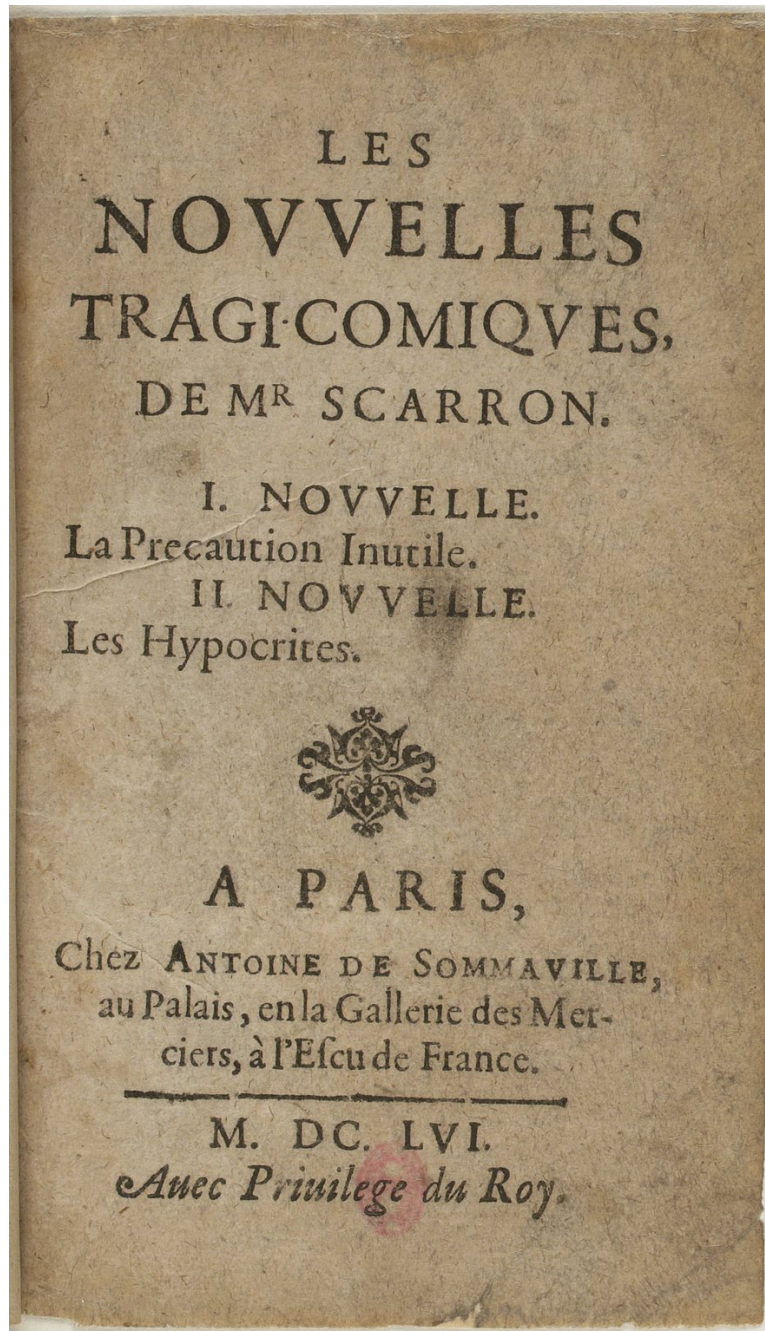


Image 3: Title page, *Les Nouvelles Tragi-comiques de Mr Scarron*, 1656.

Imitation and re-appropriation of works of literature is common in the Early Modern period. An author's *dispositio*, or arrangement, and *elocutio*, or word choice, is almost as

important as the *inventio*, finding something to say.¹³⁰ Our modern idea of a monolithic author as the source of the work is very different from ideas about authors and authorship in the early modern period. In *L'Apparition du livre*, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin argue that notions of authorship changed as a direct result of the printing press:

[...] tandis que les hommes du Moyen Âge ne se souciaient guère de mettre un nom sur une œuvre, les imprimeurs seront tout naturellement amenés à rechercher ou à faire rechercher le véritable auteur des œuvres qu'ils impriment - parfois aussi à l'inventer. Au XVe siècle encore, bien des ouvrages sont imprimés sous leur forme médiévale, sous un nom d'auteur fallacieux ; mais bientôt cela cessera. Enfin, ne l'oublions pas, la possibilité pour les auteurs contemporains de faire désormais imprimer et répandre leurs œuvres à de multiples exemplaires, de faire connaître leur nom : stimulant précieux et aussi indice d'un temps nouveau, celui où les artistes signeront leurs œuvres et les écrivains aussi - où peu à peu le "métier d'auteur" prendra une autre forme.¹³¹

Certainly, the arrival of the printing press affected the way writers, printers and publishers dealt with authors and their names. The transition, however, to the Foucauldian *fonction-auteur* whereby a work must have an author in order to be legitimate, did not happen overnight. There were authors in the medieval period who were very concerned about putting "un nom sur une œuvre." We can think, for example, about Guillaume de Machaut's intense involvement in the production of manuscripts of his work, as well as the ways in which he draws the reader's attention to his name through anagrams.¹³² Febvre and Martin's reading of the role and function of authors post-Gutenberg could also be nuanced. I argue, based on the contents of these four

¹³⁰ See Sylvia Anderson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber, *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 182.

¹³¹ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Les Éditions Albin Michel, 1971), 167

¹³² See Laurence De Looze, "Mon nom trouveras: A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut," *Romanic Review* 79 (1988), 537-57; Laurence De Looze, "Signing Off in the Middle Ages: Medieval Textuality and Strategies of Authorial Self-Naming," *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 162-78; Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), 461-503.

prefaces (Zayas's, Scarron's, D'Ouville's and Boisrobert's) that we can see the shifting role of the author and the tension that accompanies those shifts. For some of Zayas's seventeenth century French editors/translators, her authorship is paramount. For others, it is not addressed at all. In Zayas's own work as well as in the three French translations, the paratext is the place where that tension becomes apparent. In the 1637 Spanish editions, Zayas's role is central and confirmed in myriad ways. We have already seen how Scarron deals with the author and her role in his translation—Zayas provides the *inventio*, but Scarron disparages her *dispositio* and *elocutio*, blaming this shortcoming on her gender. Scarron's paratextual choices show a translator distancing himself from his source author, appropriating the text as his own, and claiming the role of author for himself.

D'Ouville: "Le sens tout pur"

At first glance, Antoine de Methel D'Ouville "*Les Nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires* (1656), is the most transparent translation of the three French versions. D'Ouville translates Zayas's "El prevenido engañado" faithfully, however his paratext and his framing of the tale stray from this word for word or even paragraph for paragraph translation style. Instead, D'Ouville works to bring this tale out of its original frame narrative and to present it to French readers. Three parts of his work—the preface, his introduction to the story, and his conclusion to the story show the ways in which D'Ouville forces this tale into a new format. These changes are subtler than the ones Scarron and Boisrobert make. D'Ouville tells the same story as the one Zayas's character don Alonso tells, changing almost nothing in the main story. Of the three 1650s French translations, his title page is the only one that advertises the book as a translation, the only one that provides a word-for-word translation of Zayas's title, and the only one that lists

María de Zayas's name (see image 4). While d'Ouville's changes are not as immediately obvious as those made by the other two translators, his book-producing choices are also examples of appropriation.

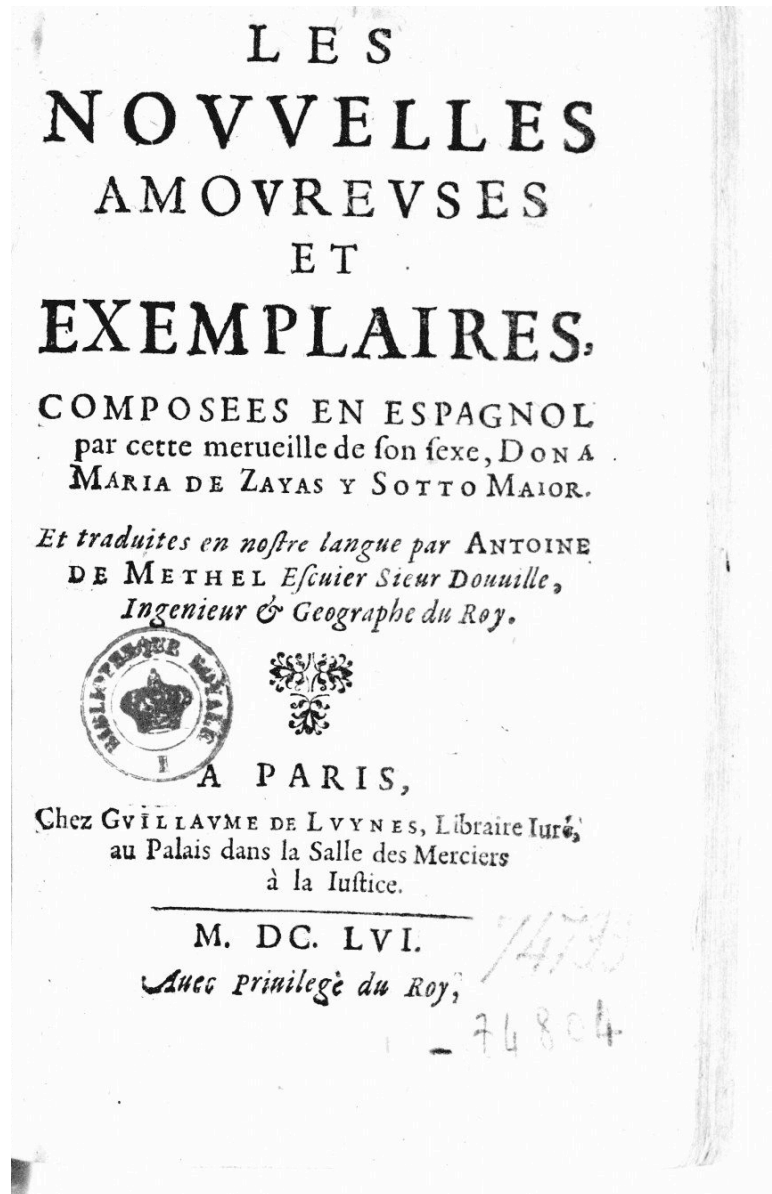


Image 4: Title page *Les Nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires*, 1656

D'Ouville begins his translation with a letter addressed to Marie de Mancini, Cardinal Mazarin's niece. He presents the work to her as the first installment of a translation of Zayas's

works.¹³³ In this short letter that serves as a preface to his translation, D'Ouville uses his own voice and does not write explicitly about Zayas's preface. Indeed, his edition does not include Zayas's original preface at all. Despite this, there are several parallels between the two prefaces that demonstrate that D'Ouville is translating the ideas from the Spanish preface without translating the content. D'Ouville read Zayas's preface and is reformulating it for French readers.

D'Ouville takes up the ideas of admiration and the equality of the sexes that we find in Zayas's preface. Both prefaces begin by acknowledging the surprise the reader may feel because of the gender of the addresser. D'Ouville begins with,

Vous vous étonnerez sans doute de voir qu'un homme qui vous doit estre inconnu, & qui ne vous connoist aussi, que par vostre reputation, qui s'estend par tout, vous ait choisi sur toutes les personnes illustres de vostre sexe, pour vous dédier le dernier, & le plus agreable de tous ses ouvrages (D'Ouville ii-iii)

Zayas begins her own preface in the same way: “Quién duda, Lector mío, que te causará admiración que una mujer tenga despejo, no sólo para escribir un libro, sino para darle a la estampa.” [Who doubts, my reader, that you will be amazed that a woman has the audacity not only to write a book, but to send it for printing] (Zayas *Novelas* 21; translation Greer and Rhodes 47). In both cases, the writer anticipates the *admiratio* the addressee will feel upon reading. The 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* immediately links “étonnement” with “admiration:” “ESTONNEMENT. Action ou effet qui cause de la surprise, de l'admiration. Tous les prodiges causent de l'estonnement.”¹³⁴ In both prefaces, that which surprises the reader is the gender of the writer.

D'Ouville engages in the same debate that Zayas poses in her preface: *la querelle des femmes*. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the *querelle* is a debate about gender roles. Often, the

¹³³ Marie de Mancini became romantically involved with Louis XIV around 1657. When negotiations surrounding the king's marriage to Spanish Infanta Maria Theresa, Mazarin removed Marie from the court.

¹³⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694), 792.

debate takes the shape of two texts dialoguing with each other. Many French scholars place the beginning of the *querelle* with an epistolary debate surrounding Jean de Meun's second part of the *Roman de la Rose*. Jean de Montreuil Pierre and Gontier Col defended de Meun against Christine de Pizan et Jean Gerson's criticisms.¹³⁵ With this debate, Pizan opened up a new space for female voices and argued for fairer treatment of women on the page. In seventeenth century France, the *querelle* is affected by salon culture and changes under this new influence. As Siep Stuurman writes, "The ideal of the cultivated and learned lady [...] flourished as never before: the 1650s and 1660s were the heyday of the *précieuses* who extolled literary refinement and female independence."¹³⁶ Key texts include the anonymously written *La femme généreuse* (1643) which argues, like Zayas does in her preface, that souls are neither male nor female:

Porque si esta materia de que nos componemos los hombres y las mujeres, ya sea una trabazón de fuego y barro, o ya una masa de espíritus y terrones, no tiene más nobleza en ellos que en nosotras; si es una misma la sangre; los sentidos, las potencias y los órganos por donde se obran su sefecos, son unos mismos; la misma alma que ellos, porque las almas ni son hombres ni mujeres: ¿que razón hay para que ellos sean sabios y presuman que nosotras no podemos serlo? (Zayas *Novelas* 159)

[Because if this material of which we men and women are made, whether a combination of fire and mud, or a mass of spirits and clods, is no more noble in them than in us, if our blood is the same thing, our senses, faculties, and organ through which their effects are wrought are all the same, the soul the same as theirs—since souls are neither male nor female—what reason is there that they would be wise and presume we cannot be so?] (Greer and Rhodes 47).

¹³⁵ Christine de Pizan compiled and sent the letters in this debate to the queen of France, Isabeau de Bavière, and the *prévôt* of Paris, Guillaume de Tignonville. See Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier and Pierre Col, *Le débat sur le "Roman de la Rose,"* ed. Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1977).

¹³⁶ Siep Stuurman, "L'égalité des sexes qui ne se conteste plus en France: Feminism in the seventeenth century," *Perspectives on Feminist Thought in European History: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Tjitske Akkerman and Siep Stuurman (London: Routledge, 1997), 68.

Anna Maria van Schurman's exchange with André Rivet over whether women should devote themselves to learning highlights the same concerns we see in Zayas, Labé and du Guillet.¹³⁷ Madeleine de Scudéry's female characters are often skeptical of marriage, believing that it turns men into tyrants and women into slaves.¹³⁸ Other works include Jacqueline Guillaume's *Les dames illustres* (1645), Jacques du Bosc's *La femme héroïque*, Pierre Le Moyne's *La galerie des femmes fortes* (1647), and Jean de La Forge's *Le cercle des femmes sçavantes* (1663). This debate is active in Spain in the Early Modern period as well. As numerous critics have pointed out, Zayas uses several arguments in her preface to convince her reader of the intellectual and virtuous capacities of women.¹³⁹ D'Ouville engages in this *querelle* as he draws a comparison between Zayas's invention and brilliance and that of the "plus grands hommes" stating that her work is just as good, if not better, than theirs.

Other aspects of D'Ouville's letter to Mancini show that he is incorporating parts of Zayas's preface into his own, making her ideas his own. Zayas and D'Ouville's prefaces dialogue with each other in typical *querelle des femmes* fashion. The idea of admiration that we found in Zayas' preface continues as D'Ouville writes about his reading and esteem of Zayas: "J'ay lu certes avec admiration les nouvelles de Maria de Zayas, & ravy de voir tant d'invention, & tant de brillans dans l'esprit d'une femme, qu'on peut comparer aux plus grands hommes"

¹³⁷ Schurman's letters and writings were first published in *Amica dissertatio inter nobilissimam virginis Annam Mariam a Schurman & Andream Rivetum de ingenii muliebris ad scientias et meliores literas capacitate* (Paris, 1638) (*A friendly discourse between the most noble virgin Anna Maria van Schurman and Andre' Rivet concerning the aptitude of the female mind for sciences and the Belles Lettres*). For a recent English translation, see *Whether a Christian Woman should be Educated and Other Writings from her Intellectual Circle*, ed. and trans. Joyce L. Irwin, The Other Voice Series (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

¹³⁸ See for example the heroine of *Artamène et le Grand Cyrus* (1649-1653?).

¹³⁹ See for example Margaret Rich Greer, Chapter 3, "The Prologue 'Al que leyeré' and the Question of Zayas' Feminism" in *María de Zayas Tells Baroque Tales of Love and the Cruelty of Men* and Lisa Vollendorf, *Reclaiming the Body : María De Zayas's Early Modern Feminism* (Chapel Hill : U.N.C. Dept. of Romance Languages, 2001).

(D'Ouville vi). This passage replies directly to Zayas preface; "J'ai lu certes avec admiration" responds to Zayas's opening "Quién duda, Lector mío, que te causará admiración." Both Zayas and D'Ouville use the idea of doubt to declare that the work will provoke shock and admiration in the reader. The first sentences of their respective prefaces contain the phrases "quién duda..." [who doubts] and "sans doute."

Another element in the paratexts that links the two prefaces is the audience. D'Ouville's choice of recipient places his translation into a community that is not dissimilar to the one present at Zayas's fictional *sarao*: the literary salons in Paris. D'Ouville spends the majority of this prefatory letter flattering its recipient, Marie de Mancini, and uses a similar vocabulary to describe her as he does to describe Zayas. The shaky patron relationship between the Le Métel family (D'Ouville and Boisrobert) and the Mancini/Mazarin family is evoked in this letter. D'Ouville writes, for example, "[...] outre l'estime generale qui m'a donné le courage & la hardiesse de m'adresser à vous, je sçay, MADEMOISELLE, l'estime particuliere que Monsieur l'Abbé de Chatillon [Boisrobert] mon frere, fait de vos excellentes qualitez, je sçay de plus que vous avez été assez genereuses, Madame votre mere, & vous pour le proteger dans sa derniere disgrace" (D'Ouville iv). This "derniere disgrace" is recounted in Emile Magne's 1909 biography, *Le plaisant abbé de Boisrobert*: D'Ouville's addressee, Marie, and her mother had recently helped D'Ouville's brother, Boisrobert, when he was exiled from the court. While playing cards with the Mancini sisters, and continually losing, Boisrobert launched a series of blasphemes that shocked his company and got him exiled from Paris:

Un soir, les demoiselles Mancini, nièces de Mazarin, [...] admettent [Boisrobert] à leur table, sachant qu'entre les coups subtils du hoc, inventé par leur oncle, il place, pour exciter le rire, des anecdotes épicées. Il joue donc en leur compagnie. Il perd. Il perd même avec tant de continuité que la rage obscurcit son jugement. Il oublie que ses partenaires appartiennent à ce sexe qu'il courtoise sans le désirer, qu'elles sont belles à damner, parentes d'une Eminence, couvées par la convoitise des plus hauts seigneurs.

Son énervement se manifeste tout d'abord par de petits jurons familier, puis brusquement, et à voix tonnante, ses lèvres blasphèment le nom de Dieu.¹⁴⁰

The king, getting news of this, ordered Boisrobert to leave Paris without delay. Magne describes how “Mazarin et les demoiselles Mancini pencheraient pour le pardon” (Magne 348). I describe this incident in order to show Boisrobert's and D'Ouville's link to the female members of the Mancini family and thus to a female, noble community of patrons. We find the same type of community in Zayas' frame tale: a group organized by noble females and interested in sharing tales orally.

In 1656, at the time of the publication of d'Ouville's translation, Mancini and her sisters were members of Anne of Austria's circle and frequenters of Madame de Rambouillet's and Madame de Sable's salons. Perhaps d'Ouville thought that Zayas's tales would interest these *salonnières* whose literary productions included writings on virtue, vice, and love, much like the stories told in Zayas's work. As Erica Harth points out, “The subversive stuff of salon conversation had to do with a radical reexamination of love and marriage that positioned the *salonnières* and their male guests on what we would now term the feminist side of the *querelle des femmes*.”¹⁴¹ D'Ouville's recipient seems particularly well-chosen. This might explain why D'Ouville mis-attributes some of the stories, giving the appearance that they were all written by a woman. D'Ouville states that Zayas wrote them all when two are by Castillo Solórzano.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Emile Magne, *Le plaisant abbé de Boisrobert, fondateur de l'Académie française, 1592-1662. Documents inédits* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1909), 347-8.

¹⁴¹ Erica L. Harth, *Ideology and Culture in 17th Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 188.

¹⁴² While the first, second, fifth, and sixth novellas D'Ouville translates are from Zayas's *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (story four, “El prevendio engañado”; story one, “Aventuarse perdiendo”; story two, “La burlada Aminta, y venganza del honor”; and story seven, “Al fin se paga todo”), the third and fourth novellas come Castillo y Solórzano's collection *Los alivios de Casandra* (novella three “Los efectos que hace el amor” and novella four “Amor con amor se paga”).

Perhaps he hoped that the novelty of a female author would mean that his translations would be read and discussed in one of the salons the Mancini sisters frequented. The references D'Ouille makes in this preface to the gender and sensibility of Mancini and Zayas points towards an implied female audience. He writes, for example, "[...] vous ne devez pas estre fort surprise de voir que je vous demande [...] votre [protection], pour l'ouvrage d'une Dame belle & spirituelle comme vous & pour la traduction que j'en ay faite" (D'Ouille iii). Further, D'Ouille continually inserts his translation into the trend of *galanterie* by insisting that is the "plus agréable" of all of his works (D'Ouille i). Alain Viala uses this same word, *agréable*, in his definition of *la littérature galante*: "[...] celui qui a l'art et la manière des belles manières, qui a une belle éducation et peut plaire dans les salons, avoir de la distinction et être d'une compagnie raffinée, agréable aux dames en particulier."¹⁴³ Through his preface, D'Ouille uses Zayas authorial persona as a noble, learned woman to insert his translation into the current literary trend in France.

The way in which D'Ouille frames his story is, like his preface, an appropriation and a re-telling. Instead of translating Zayas's frame-tale, he re-formulates it in order to bring these tales into French. "El prevenido engañado" is the fourth tale, told by party guest don Alonso on the second night of festivities. Alonso introduces the story to the other guests in this way:

Ya suele suceder, auditorio ilustre, à los mas avisados y que van más en los estribos de una malicia, caer en lo mismo que temen, como lo veréis en mi maravilla, para que ninguno se confie de su entendimiento ni se atreva a probar a las mujeres, sino que teman lo que les puede suceder, estimando y poniendo en su lugar a cada una; pues, al fin una mujer discreta no es manjar de un necio, ni una necia empleo de un discreto: y para certificación de esto digo asi (Zayas *Novelas* 292-293).

[Now it usually happens, illustrious audience, that the most informed and most on the lookout for malice fall into the very thing they fear, as you will see in my tale of wonder, so that none may trust their understanding nor dare to test women, but rather may fear

¹⁴³ Alain Viala, "La littérature galante," *Il seicento francese oggi. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (maggio 1993), 104.

what may happen to them, esteeming and putting each one in her place, since, in the end, a discerning woman is not food for a foolish man, nor a foolish woman the occupation of a discreet man; and to attest this, I say thus (Greer and Rhodes 102). It is obvious that D'Ouville has Zayas's text in front of him; the gist of the introduction remains the same. D'Ouville makes several additions, however, in order to guide his reader's understanding. His version begins in this way (I have italicized the parts that are additions to rather than translations of Zayas's text):

Il arrive d'ordinaire, Messieurs, que les hommes *les plus subtils & les plus advisez*, & qui se precautionnent le plus pour se mettre à couvert des malices, & *des tromperies des femmes*, tombent *plus souvent* dans leurs pieges *que ceux qui n'y songent point*, & *esprouvent enfin a leur dommage les choses qu'il apprehendent*. J'espere vous le faire voir par cette nouvelle, par laquelle on connoistra clairement qu'il ne faut pas que personne se fie en son bon esprit, *car quelque excellent qu'il puisse estre, les plus habiles se mescontent, & les plus experts se trouvent trompés. Que pas un d'eux donc ne soit assez temeraire pour courre le hazard d'une si dangereuse espreuve*; mais que chacun bien plustost craigne le mal qui luy peut venir de ce costé-là, & ne mesprise pour l'esviter quelque occasion que ce puisse estre, parce qu'en effect une femme sage & bien avisée, n'est pas viande pour un sot, ny une sottise & stupide une occupation digne d'un homme d'esprit (D'Ouville 1-2).

Readers of D'Ouville's work are given information that Zayas's readers did not have.

D'Ouville's readers know before the story starts that the tale will be about "des tromperies des femmes" and that the man in the story will, in the end, suffer just what he had been trying to avoid. Further, D'Ouville lets his reader know that appearances will be deceiving in this tale : "[...] car quelque excellent qu'il puisse estre, les plus habiles se mescontent, & les plus experts se trouvent trompés. Que pas un d'eux donc ne soit assez temeraire pour courre le hazard d'une si dangereuse espreuve." While Zayas's readers (and don Alonso's audience) could think that don Fadrique would marry his first love and live happily ever after; D'Ouville's readers know better, even before the story begins.

The tale concludes thusly in Zayas's text:

[...] Y yo le tengo de haber dado fin a esta maravilla para que se avisen los ignorantes que condenan la discreción de las mujeres. Que donde falta el entendimiento, no puede

sobrar la virtud; y también que la que ha de ser mala no importa que sea necia ni la buena el ser discreta pues siéndolo sabra guardarse. Y advierten los que prueban a las mujeres al peligro que se ponen.

A los últimos acentos estaba don Alonso de su entretenida y gustosa maravilla, y todos absortos y elevados en ella, cuando los despertó de este sabroso éxtasis el son de muchos y muy acordes instrumentos, que en una sala antes de llegar a esta en estaban se tocaron (Zayas *Novelas* 340).

[And I have pleasure in ending this tale of wonder in order to advise ignorant [men] who condemn the discretion of women. For where understanding is lacking, there cannot be an excess of virtue; and also for the woman who will be bad, it matters not whether she be simple-minded nor the good woman discerning, for being so, she will know how to save herself. And those who put women to the test, be warned of the danger in which they place themselves.

Don Alonso was at the last words of his entertaining and pleasing tale of wonder, and all absorbed and elevated by it, when they were awakened from this savory ecstasy by the sound of many and well-tuned instruments that played in a room in front of the one they were in] (Greer and Rhodes 144).

What follows the tale is dancing, a ridiculous *entremes* and a dinner. The guests do not discuss the story or its moral, and hostess Lisis is much more interested in her own love life than that of don Alonso's characters. Zayas's work continues for three more nights of story-telling.

D'Ouville's conclusion to the *nouvelle* is a translation of Zayas's

[...] Je la suis de mon costé d'avoir mis fin à cette nouvelle, & d'avoir appris aux ignorants qui condamnent *l'esprit*, & *la sagesse* des femmes, que là où manque l'entendement, la vertu ne peut estre parfaite, quand une femme doit estre meschante, il n'importe pas qu'elle soit sotté, & quand elle est bonne, rien ne luy nuit d'estre advisée, parce que l'estant elle se sçaura garder *des inconveniens qui luy pourroient arriver* ; mais que ceux qui veulent esprouver les femmes, prennent garde sur cet exemple au peril où il se mettent. FIN (D'Ouville 130-31).

Of course, since there is no frame story in D'Ouville's translation, his version ends here. Spanish readers would have to wrestle with the puzzling reaction of the party-goers, and would balance the lessons learned from this *maravilla* against those learned from others. Indeed, the lesson to be learned is not entirely clear in Zayas's work. The imbedded readers—the party guests—do not react to the story with anything other than amazement. For Lisis's guests, the story is but one part of the evening's entertainment, and they are happy to move on to the next event. D'Ouville's

French readers are left with nothing connecting this story to the next one in his volume. Indeed, the next story in D'Ouville's *Nouvelles* is the first story from Zayas's *Novelas amorosas*, and he then inserts two tales from Alonso de Castillo Solórzano. D'Ouville does not include any information about Castillo Solórzano, leaving his reader to believe that Zayas wrote all of the tales he includes. Unlike Scarron and Boisrobert, d'Ouville casts Zayas's gender in a positive light, going so far as to attribute a male author's works to her. Zayas's gender invalidates her writing for Scarron and, as we shall see, Boisrobert does not mention Zayas, stating simply that the tales come from Spain. D'Ouville strategically capitalizes on Zayas's gender in order to insert his versions of her tales into the salons Mancini frequented. D'Ouville's version is a significant departure from the other two translations. His manipulation of her gender is similar to the way in which Duplain staged Labé's authorship in the eighteenth century. By drawing attention to her exemplarity as a female author, d'Ouville inserts Zayas into salon culture.

Boisrobert

François Le Métel de Boisrobert (1592-1662) was the last of the three 1650s French translators to adapt Zayas's source material for a French audience. Four novellas compose Boisrobert's *Nouvelles amoureuses et héroïques* (1657). Only one of the four is based on a novella from Zayas: "La perseguida, triunfante." Unlike Scarron and d'Ouville, Boisrobert ventures away from *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (1637) to translate a tale from its continuation, *Segunda parte del sarao y entretenimento honesto* (1647). Boisrobert's treatment of his Spanish source texts works to convince readers that the identity of the original author is irrelevant. Furthermore, he posits that the "sujets" and "incidents" that he writes about only attain their true value when they are made French.

Boisrobert is best known for being one of the founders of the Académie française (1635). He wrote novellas, plays and poetry, finding much of his source material south of the Pyrenees. All of his sources for *Nouvelles héroïques et amoureuses* (1657) are Spanish and, eleven of the eighteen plays he wrote came from Spain. Three of the four novellas in *Histoires héroïques et amoureuses* (1657) are adaptations of Spanish *comedias* while the other is a re-writing of one of the “desengaños” tales.¹⁴⁴ The preface to the four novellas is a letter addressed to Nicolas Fouquet, one of Louis XIV’s finance ministers. His letter begins in this way:

Si les plus beaux Esprits du siecle à qui j’ai communiqué ces Nouvelles, avant que d’oser les publier sous l’autorité de vostre nom, ne m’ont point flatté, les sujets que j’ay tirez tous nus & tous simples de l’Espagnol, & que j’ay rectifiez, selon nos manières, en sont tout particuliers & tout beaux, les incidens en sont tout merveilleux & tout surprenans, le stile en est pur & net, & enfin ce petit ouvrage peut passer parmy les plus delicats de la Cour pour galand & pour agreable (Boisrobert 2).

This passage marks the only reference Boisrobert makes to his source material. He mentions none of the authors by name, nor does he mention the names of their works. Rather, he calls the Spanish works that he adapts “sujets” and “incidens.” He does not use words like *traduire* or phrases like *tourner en français* or *mettre en français* to describe his work. The two verbs he uses for the act of putting the Spanish *sujets* into French are “tirer” and “rectifier.” Boisrobert has pulled these stories out of Spain and has corrected them, making them fit for French consumption. For Boisrobert’s version of Zayas’s “La perseguida, triunfante” the elements that he is correcting have to do with religion and verisimilitude.

¹⁴⁴ The first novella, “L’Heureux désespoir” takes material from two plays by Lope de Vega, *Mirad a quien alabáis* (1621) and *El poder vencido y el amor premiado* (1618); the second novella is from the penultimate tale in María de Zayas’ *Segunda parte del sarao*, “La perseguida triunfante”; the third novella “Plus d’effets que de paroles” is based on Tirso de Molina’s *Palabras y plumas* (1627); the final novella, “La vie n’est qu’une songe,” is an adaptation of Calderón de la Barca’s *La vida es sueño* (1636).

A salient element of Zayas's "La perseguida, triunfante" is the story's religious overtones. Indeed, many of the stories told and the frame tale in the *Segunda parte* have this in common. As Patricia Grieve notes, "hagiography functions as the structural and thematic underpinning of *Amorous Disillusionments* by giving the collection a strong unity."¹⁴⁵ Indeed, at the end of frame tale, the hostess, Lisis chooses to go live in a convent as a secular resident rather than marry. In "La perseguida, triunfante," the martyr-like qualities of the protagonist, Beatriz, and many of plot devices are clearly borrowed from saints' lives. The episodic nature of this tale which tells of Beatriz's many trials and tribulations, her choice at the end of the tale to become a nun, and the Virgin Mary's miraculous interventions are other examples of the hagiographic nature of this tale.

Beatriz, happily married to the king of Hungary, is pursued by the king's brother, Federico. When Beatriz threatens to tell the king, the brother lies and says that the queen has been pursuing him. The king is shocked, but believes his brother, and the queen is carried away into the mountains where her eyes are cut out and she is left with nothing. Just when she thinks all seems lost, a woman appears and saves her, restoring her eyesight; the reader later learns that this woman is the Virgin Mary. When Federico's men go to look for her remains and the scraps of her dress, they find nothing. Fearing that she is still alive, the brother conspires with an evil magician to kill her. The necromancer and Federico then paint Beatriz as a traitor to all of her potential rescuers. Each time they are close to being rid of her, the Virgin Mary rescues the queen. Otherworldly magic permeates this episodic tale. At the end, after spending eight years in a cave, the queen is redeemed, and it seems that she will go back to the king and carry on her life as she did before. Instead, she decides to withdraw from secular life to spend the rest of her days

¹⁴⁵ Patricia E. Grieve, "Embroidering with Saintly Threads: María de Zayas Challenges Cervantes and the Church" *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (1991): 86-106.

in a convent. While this tale is about a love triangle gone wrong, and men's mistreatment of women, it is also about Beatriz putting her faith in the Virgin and becoming a saint-like figure.

Given the importance of the Virgin in this tale, and its similarity to hagiographies, it is striking that Boisrobert completely abandons this element of the story. Boisrobert instead opts for a more straight-forward telling, doing away with the multiple events that make up Zayas's tale as well as all of the religious and magical elements. He preserves the basic plot: while the King is away, the brother tries and fails to have a tryst with the queen; when she refuses, he claims that she was the lascivious pursuer and he was the innocent victim. The king orders the queen's death but in the end she lives on. However, in Boisrobert's version, the queen does not go through multiple trials and tribulations, and it is the King's guard rather than the Virgin Mary who rectifies the situation. While the restoration of the queen's reputation and life in Zayas's version is thanks to the Virgin's otherworldly powers, Boisrobert's denouement involves the king's guard pretending to kill the queen until the king learns the truth about his brother.

The paratext of Boisrobert's work suggests some possible reasons for the omission of the religious and otherworldly elements of the tale. Both the title of the book, *Nouvelles amoureuses et héroïques* and the title of the tale, "L'inceste supposé" pull the reader's attention away from the female characters. Zayas's title *Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto* or *Desengaños amorosos* focuses on the storytellers who are all women. The tale's title "La perseguida, triunfante" focuses the reader on Beatriz's character. While we might imagine that Boisrobert pulled his title from Zayas's earlier *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, Boisrobert adds the new element of heroism. In his tale, the hero is the king's guard who protects the queen. Boisrobert's novella title does not have to do the queen's triumphant redemption—it is the king and his guard who believe the false story about the queen, and the king's guard who lays those

falsehoods to rest. The Virgin Mary and the queen's faith save the queen in the Zayas tale; the king's guard saves her through an act of heroism in Boisrobert's version.

Boisrobert also minimizes the importance of exemplarity in the tale. While the 1647 title does not have the word "ejemplares" in it, since it is the continuation of the 1637 *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, the idea of exemplarity would still be on readers' minds. The title *Desengaños amorsos* may have come later, but the idea of *desengaño* is in the frame tale of the 1647 work. The storytellers are all women and are called "desengañadoras." These disillusioners are telling stories about men's mistreatment of women so that other women will not make the same mistakes. The first *desengañadora* prefaces her story in this way:

Muchos desengaños pudiera traer en apoyo en esto de las antiguas y modernas desdichas sucedidas a mujeres por los hombres. Quiero pasarlas en silencio, y contaros mis desdichas sucesos, para que escarmentando en mí, no haya tantas perdidas y tan escarmentadas (Zayas *Desengaños* 125).

[I could cite many tales of disillusion to support this idea of the old and new disgraces visited upon women by men. I wish to pass over them in silence and tell you the unfortunate events of my story so that, taking example in me, there may not be so many women lost and so few forewarned (Greer and Rhodes 206).

Exemplarity is central to both parts of Zayas's work. Beatriz's is an example to follow in "La perseguida, triunfante"; indeed, Lisis follows her example at the end of the book and eschews marriage for convent life. The theme of exemplarity and *desengaño* is replaced by heroism in Boisrobert's book, in particular in his version of Zayas's tale. Rather than the Virgin bringing someone back to life, it is the king's guard who brings the queen back to life—he helps her fake her death until the king is convinced of her innocence.

These changes are perhaps another expression of Boisrobert's relationship with the Catholic Church. Though he was born into a Protestant family, Boisrobert converted to Catholicism at a young age (Magne 173-74). He acquired several religious titles—notably, prieur at Ferté-sur-Aube, abbé de Chatillon and du Mans, and chanoine de Rouen. Emile de Magne

details several anecdotes that point to Boisrobert's tenuous relationship with religion, including his exile for blasphemy, his refusal to wear the tonsure, and several poems and songs that he wrote mocking Catholicism. As Magne puts it, "la religion [...] ne lui tourmente guère" (174).

Several scholars have noted the otherworldly magic in Zayas's *Parte segunda*. "La perseguida triunfante" is the only story from this 1647 work to be translated in France in the 1650s, and the only source story taken up by these three translators that contains magical elements. Perhaps Boisrobert eliminated these elements because their implausibility would be unappealing to a French reading public accustomed to verisimilitude in novellas. *Vraisemblance* is a central tenet of the novella in mid- to late- seventeenth century. Novella-writer Jean Regnaud de Segrais writes,

[...] la différence qu'il y a entre le Roman et la Nouvelle [...] que le Roman écrit ces choses comme la bienséance le veut, et à la manière du Poète; mais que la Nouvelle doit un peu davantage tenir de l'Histoire, et s'attacher plutôt à donner les images des choses comme d'ordinaire nous les voyons arriver, que comme notre imagination se les figure.¹⁴⁶

Indeed, Boisrobert's version of the tale is perfectly plausible, and is something that could have happened without any stretch of the imagination, and could be something pulled from the pages of a history book. Zayas's tale is more similar to a medieval legend or a saint's life.

This is not to say that the truth, or at least the illusion of the truth, is not important in hagiography. As Grieve reminds us, "The insistence on the veracity of the stories is, of course, a commonplace of secular literature, but eyewitness accounts are also stock devices of hagiography and, of the very process of canonization: hagiography values witnesses to the life of the saint and, naturally, depends on testimonies of miracles" (Grieve 88). The difference between the supposed veracity found in hagiography and the verisimilitude described by Segrais is that something being true does not necessarily make it credible. Indeed, there are visual witnesses to

¹⁴⁶ Jean Regnaud de Segrais, *Nouvelles françaises*, vol. I, (Paris :S.T.F.M, 1990), 146.

the Virgin's miracles in Zayas's "La perseguida, triunfante." In Du Plaisir's *Sentiments sur les lettres et sur l'histoire avec des scrupules sur le style*, he theorizes four main rules for novellas: they should have no digressions, a setting neither far in the past nor distant in space, no narrations by confidants, no beginning *in media res*, and verisimilitude based on believability, not necessarily historical facts. For Du Plaisir, truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. Boisrobert follows French rules for novella writing in his adaptation of Zayas's work.

By excising the religious and unbelievable elements from Zayas's story, Boisrobert removes the driving force of the novella. As Guillaume Hautcoeur has theorized, Boisrobert performs a *francisation* of Zayas's tales.¹⁴⁷ The translation itself becomes a kind of paratext in this case. The translation, like the material in the paratext, presents the work to the reader. The translation, like the paratext, turns the work into a consumable object for French readers: a book. Indeed, in the conclusion to *Seuils*, Genette mentions translation and explains that it, too, is part of the paratext of a work: "[...] la pertinence paratextuelle me paraît indéniable" (Genette 408). Boisrobert's translation presents the work to French readers in the same way as his title page and preface do.

In order to present the work to a French reading public, Boisrobert writes the Spanish out of the story. The hagiographic references and unbelievable elements are omitted in favor of a shorter, clearer, more credible version of the tale. Boisrobert's own misgivings about religion, as well as the literary style in place in France at the time provide possible explanations for these changes. The paratextual and translation choices Boisrobert made have the same effect—they make Zayas' work present and presentable for French readers.

¹⁴⁷ See for example Guiomar Hautcoeur, "Jeu des contrats et reception: le cas de la nouvelle espagnole en France au XVII^e siècle," *Littératures sous contrat*, ed. E Bouju (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2002), 117–135 and "Le classicisme français face à l'Espagne" *Europe et traduction* (Arras: Artois presses université, 1998), 79–89.

Conclusion

Instability is the condition of every text. Philip G. Cohen writes, “[...] the texts of written and printed and electronic works often exist in different versions. Over time, texts are subject to welcome and unwelcome, intended and unintended changes by authors, friends, editors, and publishers.”¹⁴⁸ I argue that authors, too, are instable, and exist in different versions. Each of these editors/translators uses Zayas tales for their own aims and bends her work and her authorship to suit them. One way to consider this shifting author function it to consider that it is the material book that constructs the author in every case, and that there is no construction that is true or real—each is the product of editors and other book producers. Indeed, this line of thinking would parallel current trends in textual criticism that respond to W. W. Greg, Fredson Bower’s and G.T. Tanselle’s demands that bibliographers purge texts of non-authorial “corruption.” Bowers wrote in 1963 that a critical edition “that pursues and recovers the author’s full intentions [...] and correctly associates them in one synthesis, is clearly the only suitable edition that is complete and accurate enough to satisfy the needs of a critic.”¹⁴⁹ Current textual scholars like D.C. Greetham argue for non-authorial, fragmentary and multiple-text oriented editing:

Instead of postulating a single, consistent, authorially sponsored text as the purpose of the editorial enterprise, [contemporary editorial proposals suggest multiform, fragmentary, even contradictory, texts as the aim of editing, sometimes to be constructed ad hoc by the reader. In general, the characteristic feature of textual scholarship in the closing years of this century is its democratic pluralism.¹⁵⁰

The author figure can be understood analogously as fragmentary and multiple, providing clues for her production sites and places. Early modern female author figures like Zayas, du Guillet

¹⁴⁸ Philip G. Cohen, “Introduction” *Texts and Textuality: Textual Instability, Theory and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, xii.

¹⁴⁹ Fredson Bowers, “Textual Criticism,” *The Aims and Methods of Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, ed. James Thorpe (New York: MLA, 1963), 25.

¹⁵⁰ D.C. Greetham, “Textual Scholarship,” *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures*, ed. Joseph Gabaldi (New York: MLA, 1992), 112.

and Labé are perhaps even more manipulable than other authors who left more traces. By acknowledging, including and teaching multiple views and representations of authors like Zayas, we can come to fuller understandings of how her works were read in the seventeenth century.

Appendix A

[XII] page 126 of Rajchenbach edition, page 14 of 1545 edition

Le Corps ravy, l'Ame s'en esmerveille
Du grand plaisir, qui me vient entamer,
Me ravissant d'Amour, qui tout esveille
Par ce seul bien, qui le faict Dieu nommer.

Mais si tu veulx son pouvoir consommer:
Fault que par tout tu perdes celle envie:
Tu le verras de ses traictz se assommer,
Et aux Amantz accroissement de vie.

Several variants are found in the version set to music by Gabriel Coste in *Parangon des chansons—neufvieme livre contenant XXXXI chansons nouvelles*, Lyon, Jacques Moderne, 1541 f° 3. In l. 2 “Du grant plaisir que tu me peulx donner” and in l. 4-8: “Pour ce seul bien il se faict Dieu nommer / Mais veulx tu veoir son pouvoir consommer / Fault que par tout l'on perde celle envie / Lors tu verras son loz diminuer / et aux humains accroissement de vie.”

[XIV]

Le grand desir du plisir admirable
Se doit nourrir par un contentement
De souhaiter chose tant agreable,
Que tout esprit peult ravir doucement.

O que le faict doit estre grandement
Remply de bien, quand pour le grand envie
On veult mourir, s'on ne l'a proprement:
Mais ce mourir engendre une autre vie.

Several variants are found in the version set to music by François de Lys in *Parangon des chansons—neufvieme livre contenant XXXXI chansons nouvelles*, Lyon, Jacques Moderne, 1541 f° 6. Line 5 varies for the different voiceparts: for the *Superius* we find, “O que l'effaict [...]”, for the *Altus* “O que le faict [...]”, for the *Tenor* “O que lefaict [sic]”, and for the *Bassus*: “O que le defaict [...]”.

[LII]

Je n'oserois le penser veritable,
Si ce n'estoit pour un contentement,
Qui faict sentir ; et veoir ce bien durable
Par la douceur, qui en sort seulement.

De tous les heurs c'est le commencement :
J'en fais tesmoing le sçavoir estimable.
Est-ce le bien au'on dict tant incroyable ?
Je ne le croy, et le sçay seulement.

Several variants are found in the version set to music by Pierre de Villiers ; which appears in both the *Second livre contengnt XXVII chansons nouvelles à qutre pqrties en ung volu,e*; Pais; Pierre Attaignant et Hubert Jullet, 1540, f° 7 and *Parangon des chansons—sixiesme livre contenant XXV chansons nouvelles*, Lyon, Jacques Moderne, 1540 in l. 2-4 : « Si ce n'estoit ung grand contentement / Qui faiz scavoir sentir ce bien durable / Pour la douceur [...] » and l. 6-7/ « J'en faiz tesmoings sçavoir tant extimable. / Est-ce bien qu'on dict tant increable ? »

[LIII]

En lieu du bien, que deux souloient pretendre ;
Je veulx le mal toute seule porter :
Puis que malheur ainsi me veult surprendre,
Il est besoing qu'aprenne à supporter.
O foy, amour, plaisir, se contenter,
Ce n'est moyen de mon mal subvertir.
Helas j'ay bien cause de regreter
Ce, qui souloit en deux se despartir.

Set to music by François de Lys qnd by Quntin according to respective attribution by Jacques Moderne in *Parangon des chansons—sixiesme livre contenant XXV chansons nouvelles*, Lyon, Jacques Moderne, 1540 and by Pierre Attaignant et Hubert Jullet en 1540 in *econd livre contengnt XXVII chansons nouvelles à qutre pqrties en ung volu,e*; Pais; Pierre Attaignant et Hubert Jullet, 1540.

Appendix B

Aprobación del maestro

Joseph de Valdivieso

[En] esté honesto y entretenido Sarao, que me mandó ver el señor don Juan de Mendieta, Vicario General en esta Corte, y que escribió doña María de Zayas, no hallo cosa no conforme a la verdad Católica de nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia, ni disonante a las buenas costumbres. Y quando a su Autor, por ilustre emulación de las Corinas, Safos y Apasias, no se le debiera la licencia que pide, por dama e hija de Madrid, me parece que no se le puede negar.

En dos de junio de 1636.

[In this honest and entertaining Party, that don Juan de Mendieta, General Vicar in this Court, sent for me to see, and that lady María de Zayas wrote, there is nothing which does not conform to the Catholic truth of our Holy Mother Church, nor is there anything that does not go along with public morals. As for its author, for her illustrious emulation of the Corinnas, Saphos and Apasias, she is not owed the license she is asking for, but as she is a lady and daughter of Madrid, it seems to me that she cannot be denied it.

On the second of June 1636.

LICENCIA

El Doctor Juan de Mendieta, Vicario General de esta villa y su partido, etc. Por la presente, por lo que a nos toca, damos licencia para que se pueda imprimir e imprima esté libro, Tratado honesto y entretenido sarao, compuesto por doña María de Zayas. Atento le he hecho ver y no hay cosa en él contra nuestra santa Fe y buenas costumbres. Dada en Madrid a cuatro de junio de 1626.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Changed to 1636 in second edition.

El Doctor Juan de Mendieta

Por su mandado

Juan Francisco de Haro, Notario

[The Doctor Juan de Mendieta, General Vicar in this town and its district, etc. At present, as far as we are concerned, we give license so that this work, Honest treatise and entertaining party, composed by lady María de Zayas may be printed. I have looked carefully and there is nothing in it against our holy Faith and public morals. Given in Madrid fourth of June 1636.

The Doctor Juan de Mendieta

On his behalf

Juan Francisco de Haro, Notary

APROBACIÓN Y LICENCIA

Por comisión del señor Doctor don Juan Domingo Briz, Prior y Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia del Pilar, y Vicario General del Señor Arzobispo Don Pedro Apaolaza, he visto y reconocido estas Novelas compuestas por doña María de Zayas, y nada he hallado contra nuestra Santa Fe ni buenas costumbres, antes gustosa inventiva y aplacible agudeza, digna del ingenio de tal Dama. En testimonio de ello, di la presente censura, en Zaragoza, a 6 de mayo de 1635.

Doctor Jaun Domingo Briz

Prior of Pilar and General Vicar

Doctor Pedro Aguilón

[APPROVAL AND LICENSE

At the request of the Doctor don Juan Domingo Briz, Prior and Canon of the Holy Church of Pilar, and General Vicar of the Archbishop Don Pedro Apaolaza, I have seen and recognized

these Novelas composed by lady María de Zayas, and I noticed nothing against our Holy Faith nor our public morals, but rather pleasant inventiveness and agreeable wit, befitting the ingenuity of such a lady. As proof of this, I gave the present document the 6th of May of 1635.]

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