

Introduction

The Other Voice

From 1350 to 1650, for the first time, women entered into the intellectual mainstream of European civilization. At first only a small vanguard, but in increasing numbers, they acquired literacy and learning and engaged in the world of ideas from which they had long been excluded. Misogynistic critics still opposed them, but they themselves, and some male defenders, argued for the mental and moral capacity of women in what has been called the *querelle des femmes* (the “debate about women”), until by the mid-seventeenth century a new consensus was emerging, though it was not yet triumphant, that the “mind has no sex.” The increased use of the modern vernaculars (rather than Latin, the language of the professions and the universities), as well as the availability of the printing press, allowed women to reach new audiences. Most of these women authors, however, who were able, in the words of French poet Louise Labé, “to raise their minds a bit above their distaffs and spindles,”¹ came from the nobility or urban elites, and their works were often in genres that permitted little direct personal expression. This volume presents three French women authors born to mercantile or professional families who write in a powerfully personal voice about real experiences and immediate events. Their works are remarkable for the vivid profiles that emerge of their creators, and for the unusual stories they have to tell.

The Pitiful and Macabre Regrets of Marguerite d’Auge (1600) was published once, soon after the author’s execution; Renée Burlamacchi’s *Memoirs Concerning Her Father’s Family* (1623) and Jeanne du Laurens’s *Genealogy of the du Laurens* (1631) remained in manuscript versions until their modern editions.² How did these women withstand the prejudice against female authorship still prevalent in early modern France? How could a woman like Marguerite d’Auge be empowered to speak of what she did when her actions threatened the patriarchal family and the social order it sustained? How did Burlamacchi and du Laurens end up writing the stories of their respective families when, at the time (at least in France), such a task was ordinarily entrusted to the males of the family? And in which ways did gender affect their handling of the family memoir genre? Additional questions present themselves with regard to the issue of religion, the common

1. Louise Labé, *Complete Poetry and Prose: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Deborah Lesko Baker (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), 43.

2. Translations of these works appear in this volume at, respectively, 29–42; 43–54; and 55–79. Citations of original versions and modern editions of all three works appear in the first section of the Bibliography, “Works Translated in This Volume.”

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thread that runs through these works. In times of religious conflict, how could women convey their views on issues such as sin, grace, redemption, and salvation without transgressing gender expectations? Close reading of these women's narratives invites further reflection, which, it is hoped, will deepen our understanding of the relations between gender, religion, and creativity.

Lives and Works

Marguerite d'Auge (15??–1599)

The only information we know about Marguerite d'Auge is what is found in her *Pitiful and Macabre Regrets*, in Pierre de L'Estoile's chronicle *Mémoires-journaux*,³ and in court records from 1599.⁴ According to Louis Le Caron's court records, Marguerite d'Auge was known for her exquisite beauty and her loose mores.⁵ She was married to Claude Antoine, a wine merchant from Paris, to whom she bore one daughter named Marie. For over a year, she had a liaison with Daniel Jumeau, a financial clerk from Surgères. When her husband learned of the affair, apparently from his own mother Claude Macon, he beat his wife and forbade Jumeau to come by his house. On March 5, 1599, Antoine was killed as he was returning home. The corpse was discovered the next day. Rings and money found on the victim proved that the murder was not motivated by financial gain. Marguerite and Jumeau were taken into custody; the case was prosecuted and judgment rendered. Marguerite was condemned to death by hanging; Jumeau was sentenced to live dismemberment on the wheel, although the dismemberment actually took place after his death. La Houssaye, the actual murderer, was sentenced to three days in prison and his estate was seized. On March 10, 1599, the executions took place at the Place Maubert in Paris. That same day at 6 p.m., Marguerite was buried at Saint Cosme, and Jumeau at Saint Innocent. In addition to a brother and a sister, Marguerite left behind one daughter who received her mother's belongings and the sum of two thousand *livres* from Jumeau's estate in compensation.

Marguerite d'Auge's *Pitiful and Macabre Regrets* is a twenty-two-page long broadside. The sole known edition of this text (Lyon: Fleury Durand, 1600) is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as BnF 8-LN27–46809. Judging from the widespread popularity of criminal broadsheets at the time, it is quite

3. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Mémoires-journaux, 1574–1611*, ed. Gustave Brunet et al. (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875–1896; reprint Paris: Tallandier, 1982), 7:179–80.

4. Louis Le Caron, "Du Lundy huitiesme Mars, 1599," *Resolution de plusieurs notables, celebres, et illustres questions de droict tant romain, que françois, coutumes et pratique* (Paris: chez la vefve Claude de Monstrœil, 1613), 404–406.

5. Le Caron, *Resolution*, 405.

possible that this story was printed again in France or another European country, as popular stories often appeared with little alteration and sometimes in a different language. A modern edition of the work by Jean-Philippe Beaulieu is found in his *Remonstrances, prophéties et confessions de femmes, 1575–1650* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 133–54.

Renée Burlamacchi (1568–1641)

On March 25, 1568, Renée Burlamacchi was born in Montargis (France) into an urban, upper-middle class family of Italian Protestant refugees. She was the first of seven siblings, followed by Camille (1569–1646), Jacques (1570–1630), Suzanne (1572–1633), Philippe (1575–?), Madeleine (1579–1663), Claire (1580–?); an eighth, Elie, born between Suzanne and Philippe, died within a month. Her parents came from Lucca in northwestern Tuscany: Michele Burlamacchi (1532–1590), son of Francesco Burlamacchi (who had instigated the rebellion against Florentine overlordship resulting in his execution in 1548),⁶ and Chiara Calandrini (1545–1580). Following the papal bull of July 21, 1542 (*Licet ab initio*) of Pope Paul III that founded the Roman Inquisition, repressive measures were taken in Lucca—a city known to be deeply affected by Protestant influences.⁷ Protestants fled in massive numbers to France (Lyon, in particular), Switzerland (Geneva), and the Netherlands (Amsterdam).

In March 1567, Michele and his young wife Chiara left Lucca in the company of Chiara's uncle Benedetto Calandrini and his wife Madalena Arnolfini, in order to profess openly their Protestant (and specifically Reformed, or Calvinist) faith. Before bringing his family to France, Michele had stayed in Lyon on several occasions, and had been naturalized in 1566. At first, the Burlamacchis settled in Paris, but when the city became unsafe for Protestants (in France known as Huguenots), they were forced to relocate. For a short time they stayed in Montargis where Renée was born. In June 1568, two months after the Peace of Longjumeau that ended the Second French War of Religion, the Burlamacchis returned to Paris, where Michele had business to conduct. A few months later, conflicts between Catholics and Protestants arose again, and the Burlamacchis had to leave the city once more. This time they moved to Sedan where the situation appeared more promising than in Montargis, even though the city of Sedan was not at that time entirely won over to the Reform. The reason for the Burlamacchis' departure from

6. On Francesco Burlamacchi, see Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, "Religious Refugees from Lucca in the Sixteenth Century: Political Strategies and Religious Proselytism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (December 1997): 343–48.

7. On Lucca, "an infected city," see the notice by M. E. Bratchel, in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), 3:455–57, and Adorni-Braccesi, "Religious Refugees," 338–48.

Sedan remains unclear, but in October 1570, when Jacques was born, they seem to have moved to Luzarches, then again to Paris, and they were still there in 1572 when the tensions that had been escalating between Catholics and Protestants exploded into the mass violence of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre.⁸

Renée's parents Michele and Chiara fled to Sedan and sought refuge at the residence of Henri-Robert de La Marck, duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan. They spent the next five years (1572–1579) there, while the fourth and fifth Wars of Religion raged and the Catholic League was formed in Paris to eradicate Protestants from Catholic France. In 1579, they moved once again and settled for several years at Muret on the land of the Protestant Henri de Bourbon, prince of Condé. In 1580, Renée's mother Chiara died. Michele made a good living taking care of the financial affairs of Charles III, duke of Lorraine, and the prince of Condé, but left with his children in 1585 for Geneva, where a small Italian community had gathered. That year, his name appeared as one of the members of the Italian Church of Geneva and, the following year—some twenty years after he left his hometown of Lucca—he was granted the right to participate in city affairs as a citizen of Geneva.

On May 29, 1586, Renée was married to Cesare Balbani (1556–1621), a wealthy merchant from Lucca who had been living in Geneva since 1573. In June 1602, she experienced a miscarriage but subsequently bore ten children who all died in infancy.⁹ Her father had died in September 1590, and after a long and childless marriage, in April 1621, her husband died of nephritic colic after nearly three weeks of agony. Renée was left with a considerable fortune and a vast patrimony in and around the city of Geneva.

On April 24, 1623, at the age of fifty-five, Renée married the septuagenarian Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, renowned author, Protestant captain, and former councillor to Henri de Bourbon, king of Navarre, later King Henri IV of France. Staunchly loyal to the Protestant cause even after the latter's conversion, Aubigné fled France in September 1620 to avoid persecution and settled in Geneva. Judging from the close collaboration that existed between Aubigné and his second wife, this was a happy union. Renée served as secretary to her aging husband. By writing letters for him and copying his manuscripts, she had access to discussions of extreme importance concerning the political and religious activities of the Protestant party. This was a privileged position that very few women enjoyed

8. For the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, see below at 23 and n. 48.

9. This record of Renée's late experience of reproductive difficulties is not derived from her own *Memoirs*, but from the related *Descrittione della vita et morte del signor Cesare Balbani*, in Vincenzo Burlamacchi, *Libro di ricordi degnissimi delle nostre famiglie*, Ms. suppl. 438 (Geneva: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire), fols. 33r–34r, and in the edition of Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, *Rerum italicarum scriptores recentiores*, no. 7, 1993), at 126–128; and is discussed in *Les femmes et l'histoire familiale*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Colette H. Winn (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), 9–20.

at the time. This is not to suggest that Aubigné consulted her about military, political and religious concerns, but the fact that he relied on her as the mediator of his thoughts on such important issues indicates his trust in her integrity and in her intellectual capacities. As a further sign of his regard for her, by his death on May 9, 1630, Aubigné bequeathed to Renée all of his books in French and Italian. She conveyed his manuscripts to his close friend, the pastor Théodore Tronchin, who had been designated executor of his estate.

Thus widowed in 1630 for a second time, Renée died eleven years later, on September 11, 1641, in the little community of Saconnex near Geneva in the house that Cesare Balbani had bought in 1598. She was buried at Plain-Palais, according to her will, alongside her first husband.

Even though parts of Renée Burlamacchi's life remain unclear, she left personal documents of which we have knowledge, a rarity for an early modern woman. In addition to letters that she herself wrote to her relatives and those she transcribed under the instruction of Agrippa d'Aubigné, we have her will and the memoir that is translated in this volume, her *Memoirs Concerning Her Father's Family*, that tells the story of her family's wanderings during the French Wars of Religion. Originally this memoir was written by Burlamacchi in Italian, the mother tongue of the first generation of Protestant refugees. We know of two Italian versions: the first one, in an Italian close to French, is included in Vincenzo Burlamacchi's *Libro di ricordi degnissimi delle nostre famiglie* (fols. 50r–54v) under the title *Descrittione della vita e morte del signor Michele Burlamacchi gentilhuomo lucchese, missa in luce dalla signora Renea Burlamacchi sua figlia nel mese di gennaio del 1623 in Geneva* (Description of the life and death of signor Michele Burlamacchi, gentleman of Lucca, published by signora Renée Burlamacchi in the month of January of 1623 in Geneva). This version is preserved as Ms. suppl. 438 at the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire of Geneva. The second version, entitled *Memoria dell'uscita di Lucca delli signori Michele Burlamacchi e Benedetto Calandrini l'anno 1567 fatta dalla signora Renea Burlamacchi* (Memoir of the flight from Lucca of the gentlemen Michele Burlamacchi and Benedetto Calandrini in the year 1567, composed by signora Renée Burlamacchi), is held in Geneva in the Archives Turretini, Fonds 2, B7, fine secolo XVII, 12 carte. The first of these manuscripts significantly provides a date for the composition of this family memoir as January 1623, after the marriage to Balbani and before that to Aubigné.

In addition, three French translations of the *Descrittione* have been discovered to date under the title *Mémoires concernant Michel Burlamacchi et sa famille* (Memoirs concerning Michele Burlamacchi and his family). Vincenzo Burlamacchi, who had been born in France and knew several languages, most likely authored one of them.¹⁰ Two of these translations are located in Geneva: one at the

10. Vincenzo Burlamacchi (1598–1682) is the son of Fabrizio Burlamacchi, a remote relative of Renée's father Michele. Fabrizio died in 1598 during a plague outbreak in Geneva, and his wife Guiditta,

Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Ms. suppl. 84, cc. 2r–8r, secolo XVIII) and the other at the Archives d'État among the Archives de la famille de Vernet, feuilles alliées, n° XXXII, pages 2–14. The third is found at the Library of Trinity College of Dublin: TCD Ms. 1152. These various translations, and the fact that one of them appeared in the Dublin manuscript alongside other similar memoirs of refugee families also from Lucca like the Calandrini and Diodati shows how important it was for the Protestant diaspora to preserve the memory of the community.

Jeanne du Laurens (1563–after 1631)

On May 1, 1563, Jeanne du Laurens was born to a large Catholic family (nine sons and two daughters) in the southeastern city of Arles. Her father, Louis du Laurens (1511–1574), “came from little,” as she later will write in her history of the family,¹¹ but he was “one of the best and most capable of his profession.” Her mother, Louise de Castelan (1527–1598) came from a noble family “with means and connections.” Louis studied medicine with Louise’s brother, Honoré de Castelan.¹² Shortly after his sister’s marriage, Honoré left Montpellier where he practiced and taught medicine in order to become physician-in-ordinary to the Kings Henri II, François II, and Charles IX, and first physician to the Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis.

The du Laurens had moved to Arles so that the boys could attend a good school and prepare for a career in medicine, theology, or law. In addition to Conchet, a poor relative that the du Laurens had taken in as their own son, three of the boys followed in Louis du Laurens’s footsteps and became physicians: Charles (1555–1588), André (1558–1609), and Richard (1564–1629). André, whose career was by far the most brilliant of the three, was urged by his parents to become a monk. Jeanne reports the conversation she had with her brother André concerning

daughter of Pompeo Diodati, died four years later. At her death, Renée and her husband Cesare Balbani were entrusted with the care of the children, and Renée raised Vincenzo like her own son. See *Descrittione della vita e morte del signor Cesare Balbani*, fol. 35r, and in the edition of Adorni-Braccesi, 130.

11. Du Laurens, *The Genealogy of the du Laurens*, abbreviated henceforth as *Genealogy*, at pages 63 and 58. References given henceforth in parentheses in the text, with page numbers referring to the English translation given below in this volume.

12. It was customary at the time to marry someone from the same workplace, and the wife frequently came from an upper class. The du Laurens had several prominent physicians in their family. In addition to being Louis’s brother in law, Honoré de Castelan was Honoré’s godfather; François Valleriola, physician at Valence and Arles was François’ godfather, and Julien Collin, physician at Avignon, was Julien’s. On such practices, see Alison Klairmont Lingo’s study of the medical circles in two major cities of France, *The Rise of Medical Practitioners: The Case of Lyon and Montpellier*, PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980.

his ambition to become a physician and not a cleric. This episode is meant to show the responsibility parents have in shaping their children's future and in ensuring that they pursue the inclinations they may have. Jeanne takes this opportunity to call attention to the role she herself played in the professional development of her brother, the famous physician André du Laurens. When she became aware of her brother's special calling, she willingly spoke on his behalf to their mother in order to facilitate the communication between mother and son.

After receiving his medical degree in Avignon in 1578, André studied in Paris under the well-known physician Louis Duret. In 1583, he passed his medical examination to qualify for the chair of medicine at the University of Montpellier left vacant after the death of Honoré de Castelan in 1582. After occupying this chair for ten years (1586–1596), André became the personal physician to Louise de Clermont Tallart, Madame de Crussol, duchess of Uzès. It was she who introduced him to the French royal court. From this connection came many opportunities, and André took full advantage of each and every one of them. In 1596, he became physician-in-ordinary to King Henri IV. Four years later, he was appointed first physician to Queen Marie de Médicis. In 1603, he became chancellor of the University of Montpellier while residing at court. In 1606, the duchess of Uzès died, and André was elevated to the post of first physician to the king.

Among Louis du Laurens's sons, two studied theology: Julien (1557–?) and Jean (1565–1617). Both became clerics, and died with the reputation of having lived saintly lives.¹³ Gaspard (1567–1630) studied law at Bourges under the prominent jurist Jacques Cujas, but he felt a calling for religious life. In 1597, he became abbot of the monastery of Saint Pierre de Vienne. At the same time, he entered the Benedictine order and took monastic vows.¹⁴ Two other sons in addition to Gaspard studied law. Antoine (1560–1631?) became an *avocat au conseil*, the official responsible for presenting cases to the royal councils. Honoré switched to law, which he studied at Turin and Avignon, even though his godfather (Honoré de Castelan) had made financial arrangements for him to study medicine in Paris. Honoré became a successful barrister at the regional Parliament of Aix-en-Provence, then succeeded his father-in-law as lawyer to the king. When his wife died, Honoré took clerical orders and became the archbishop of Embrun, due to his brother André's influence at court. A few years later, Gaspard obtained the archbishopric of Arles in the same way. In her memoir, Jeanne recalls with a certain pride the time when she saw her two brothers, Honoré and Gaspard, "preach in the church of Saint Trophime in Arles, each wearing a miter" (*Genealogy*, 77), the headdress signifying the high authority of bishops and abbots.

13. According to Joseph Bergin, Jean, who became a major figure in the Capuchin order of Marseille and of Provence, rejected episcopal office; see *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589–1661* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 613.

14. See Bergin, *Making of the French Episcopate*, 613.

Like male children in wealthier families, the boys in the du Laurens family were given the opportunity to pursue their studies at the university. When their father died, however, Charles was expected to support the family with his income and share with his mother the responsibility of raising the younger children. Boys and girls were taught to love, respect, and obey their parents without fail. They were chastised when they behaved badly or told lies. Girls were raised to be passive, compliant, and submissive. The desired goal for them was to marry (rather than enter the convent) and follow in the footsteps of their mother by tending to the children and the household. Of Jeanne in particular, we know that she read extensively (*Genealogy*, 75). In June 1581, she was married to the “very honorable Monsieur Achard.” Her marriage only lasted “four years, four months, four days and four hours” (*Genealogy*, 70) and from it was born only one child, a son, on December 19, 1582. In her memoir, Jeanne expresses a special sentiment for her first son, an exceptional child in many ways, who would die at the age of seventeen.

After spending 1586 with her mother-in-law (the year that followed her widowhood, as was the custom in Provence), Jeanne was called back home by her mother, who believed that “girls should never be separated from their mothers” (*Genealogy*, 69). Shortly after, she was remarried to a certain Monsieur Gleyse to whom she bore four sons and one daughter. Jeanne was sixty-eight in 1631, when she wrote the *Genealogy*, the last known event of her life.

The *Genealogie de Messieurs du Laurens descrite par moy Jeanne du Laurens Veufve à Monsieur Gleyse et couchée nayvement en ces termes* is the only work that we have of Jeanne du Laurens. The autograph manuscript is preserved at the Bibliothèque Méjanès in Aix-en-Provence as Ms. Provence Recueil K 843 (827), pièce 29. Most likely, this twenty-seven-folio text was written in one sitting. In addition to the date at the end (“Done this 1st July 1631”) and the author’s statement (“I wrote this memoir as concisely as I could”), several features corroborate this idea: the regularity of the writing, the uniform color of the ink, the general coherence of the text, and its clean presentation with only a few sentences added in the margins. As far as we know, the *Genealogy* has not been transcribed elsewhere. Jeanne concludes her memoir by saying that it was solely intended for “[her] children and those who depend on [her]” (*Genealogy*, 79). In 1867, the *Genealogy* was published for the first time by Charles de Ribbe under the title *Une famille au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Joseph Albanel), an edition reprinted in 1868 and, revised, in 1879. Besides the 2008 edition by Susan Broomhall and Colette H. Winn in their collection *Les femmes et l’histoire familiale, XVIe–XVIIe*, this work has received scant critical interest.

Study of the Texts

The links between the three texts included in this volume are of two kinds: genre and theme. With respect to genre, d'Auge's *Regrets* (1600), Burlamacchi's *Memoirs* (1623), and du Laurens's *Genealogy* (1631) exemplify the forms women's historical writings took in early modern France. Where the first shares similarities with news broadsheets,¹⁵ the latter two display the characteristics of the *livre de raison*.¹⁶ With regard to theme, while d'Auge's *Regrets* features a woman whose misdeed tarnished the memory of her family and her immediate community, Burlamacchi's and du Laurens's memoirs aim, in contrast, to preserve the memory of their respective families and communities and pass on family values to the next generations. At the same time, the three texts explore different understandings of faith and salvation amid an era of religious disruption and reform. The following analysis explores the complex character of these three texts and their interrelationships.

The Gender of Authorship in d'Auge's Regrets

*The Pitiful and Macabre Regrets of Marguerite d'Auge*¹⁷ is remarkable as a broadsheet that gives voice to a female criminal who is doomed to be executed. The inclusion of the female name in the title implies that what we are about to hear are a personal statement, the true words of the repentant woman, in contrast to the more commonly encountered eyewitness account of a convict or felon.¹⁸

Broadsheets originated as early as 1530 and developed throughout the early modern period. Initially they were meant to satisfy the public's appetite for sensational affairs, and they disappeared when this interest faded. Printed on one side of a single sheet of paper, they were inexpensive and thus accessible to readers from all parts of society. Street sellers loudly hawked these broadsheets, which covered unusual weather events, unfamiliar illnesses, supernatural phenomena, monstrous births, and offences of all kinds, in particular theft and murder. Among the latter, the *crime passionnel* (crime of passion) enjoyed the greatest popularity. Criminal broadsheets typically featured a narrative in prose or a poem with a descriptive title and perhaps a woodcut depicting the event. Supposedly based on actual facts, they were intended to inform and edify readers while providing entertainment.

15. Broadsheets are viewed as history in the sense that they offer valuable insights into past customs and mentalities, and into the people's perceptions of, and reactions to, crime and justice.

16. The term *livre de raison* refers to household inventories or account books that often included family documents or histories.

17. Henceforth abbreviated as *Regrets* and cited in parentheses in the text. Page numbers refer to the English translation given below in this volume.

18. See J. A. Sharpe, "Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 107 (1985): 145–67.

Most were written anonymously. Relatively few were authored by women or featured a female criminal—one who had murdered her husband or her child, as these were the two crimes for which women were principally prosecuted.

Despite the fact that the narrative voice is ostensibly female, the voice that we consistently hear sounds male: it criticizes, warns, and threatens. Marguerite is portrayed as vain, deceitful, manipulative, libidinous, adulterous, and treacherous. This representation of woman as the embodiment of the most traditional flaws of her sex is typical of misogynistic literature of the Renaissance. A large portion of the text is devoted to the advice given to women not to follow in the footsteps of Marguerite but instead to respect and obey their husbands, resist unruly passions, refrain from extramarital affairs, and be mindful of their reputations. Some of this advice is so exaggerated or so irrelevant as to come off as parody. Married women are told that they should comply with the needs of their husbands, and that “[their] powerful charms [should] serve only to please them!” (*Regrets*, 35) They are reminded that they should “obey their husbands ... since they are the masters who hold the key to [their] heart and control [their] emotions at will” (*Regrets*, 35). Marguerite’s deviant behavior demonstrates just the opposite.

D’Auge offers advice and employs the technique of counter-exemplarity in a mode similar to the prescriptions found in exemplary literature, sermons, and conduct books for women. “Women and maidens,” she writes, for example, “... open your eyes and ears in order to ponder and benefit from the lament of a miserable woman.... May my misfortune be a cause of happiness for you, so that you will ... humble your pride and love your husbands as virtuous wives should, instead of treating them with contempt” (*Regrets*, 35). The tone of intimidation and the recurrent mention of the harsh consequences of bad conduct indicate that the greatest concern here is to exert ideological control and reinforce patriarchal values. At the time, stories of female criminals and their punishment served to reassert the state’s authority as well as certain values of obedience and conformity.¹⁹ Emphasis on the inevitability of the punishment for misdeeds and the irreparability of loss serves as a potent reminder not to transgress family values and social order. A permanently tarnished reputation, an end to past happiness, and the prospect of future happiness—the joy a mother could expect from securing a good marriage for her daughter and having grandchildren—provide powerful examples: “If I had loved you, as many virtuous women love their husbands, I would not be the talk of the town.... I would stand with pride, I would be happy, and everyone would honor me” (*Regrets*, 32). But the most powerful of all is the loss of physical appeal. Extremely effective in making this loss real is the juxtaposition of contrasting portraits. The portrayal of Marguerite whose “charms are gone” (*Regrets*, 33), which comes immediately after the description of her enticing beauty and how it enflamed young men’s longing for her is particu-

19. See Sharpe, “Last Dying Speeches,” 148 and 156–67.

larly striking: “My eyes whose light served as the sun to many. My charms whose blazing flames consumed, without being consumed, many young hearts My charms are gone; my eyes clouded ...” (*Regrets*, 33).

Marguerite’s forthright penance runs contrary to the modes of self-presentation found in female pardon tales.²⁰ Where, in the latter, women seeking mercy remained, for the most part, “silent about their feelings or many-tongued,”²¹ Marguerite accuses each part of her body of tricking her into infidelity and then into killing, thus admitting to premeditated murder. The term “regrets” in the title of the work indicates that this is a confession and that the most intimate thoughts, particularly the darker motivations, and events that are normally kept secret are about to be revealed. The generic label serves to set certain expectations and pique readers’ curiosity. The fact that Marguerite’s confession is addressed to an intimate circle of friends (as opposed to the “last dying speeches” of criminals that are typically public) is yet another strategy to rouse readers’ interest. In addition to those directly concerned, like her husband and lover, Marguerite speaks to female relatives (her sister and her mother-in-law), and to both unmarried and married women of her acquaintance. The topos of intimacy (a topos used by early modern women writers to justify public speech) adds authenticity to Marguerite’s speech and one has the impression of eavesdropping on “the secrets of women.”²² Here we hear Marguerite tell young maidens about the dream she once had of being married to someone she loved²³; there we overhear an exchange with her mother-in-law; elsewhere we are privy to a conversation Marguerite has with her sister who is also disenchanted with marriage. We learn that she left home and took a lover in despair, searching for a better life.²⁴

20. See Natalie Zemon Davis, “Bloodshed and the Woman’s Voice,” *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 77–110.

21. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, 103.

22. See Anne R. Larsen, “Un honneste passetems’: Strategies of Legitimation in French Renaissance Women’s Prefaces,” *L’Esprit Créateur* 30 (Winter 1990): 11–22.

23. Marguerite claims that her upbringing is not the cause of her deviant behavior (*Regrets*, 37), but that the absence of love for her husband is the real cause and the source of her hostility toward him: “with me he only lived in perpetual discord without a single hour of rest” (*Regrets*, 33); “If I had loved you, ... I would stand with pride, I would be happy,” (*Regrets*, 32). Marguerite’s complaint is reminiscent of the *chanson de la mal mariée*. These twelfth- and early thirteenth-century *chansons* express the grievance of a woman unhappily married to an old and jealous boor and yearning for a young male liberator. However, though most of these poems are anonymous, they are generally thought to have been written by men.

24. “And you, my dear sister... How could you have changed my heart, when you too failed to love your husband? How could you have shown me how to love my own husband, when you had left yours and dreaded the sight of your home? Did you not retreat to my house to enjoy more freedom and live more comfortably away from your husband?” (*Regrets*, 37).

The confession scenario allows truths about women to be brought to light, displaying the extent to which a woman who is out of control will go in order to indulge her desires. Marguerite uses the act of confessing as a tool to claim an “accepted” space in which to enjoy her uncontrollable passion.²⁵ The abundant use of words in the first part of the text and the use of sensual images to describe illicit love suggest that, as she speaks about it, Marguerite enjoys her love encounters with Jumeau all over again.²⁶ Indeed, some of Marguerite’s declarations reveal that her passion is not extinguished: “My sin, though hidden, still sparks some flames” (*Regrets*, 31). Her farewell to Jumeau, despite its spiritual overtones, expresses the wish not to be separated from him but to be reunited forever: “I bid you farewell with a holy kiss and wish to unite your soul with mine, if possible; my tears bear witness to my feelings for you” (*Regrets*, 39).

In the last third of the text a very different image of Marguerite emerges, that of a poised and strong woman. Where Marguerite’s cold-blooded murder inspired awe and indignation, her calm acceptance of the verdict, her attempt to make peace before the execution, and her fortitude in front of death make her a likely object of admiration. Her words of encouragement to Jumeau toward the end of the confession as she urges him to be brave and face his death steadfastly are striking:²⁷ “Take heart; suffer with patience the blows you are about to receive.... Must a woman, who is but a fragile vessel, show you endurance by going to her punishment first?” (*Regrets*, 39). Totally unexpected after the negative view of women that dominates the first part of the narrative, this assertion of female courage is disconcerting—while at the same time it attests to the persistence of the biblical notion of woman as the “weaker vessel” (1 Peter 3:7).

Reading d’Auge’s *Regrets* prompts these questions: Is this the literary invention of early modern theologians and moralists written as a way to remind women of their place at home and in society and of the submissive behavior expected from them? Is this a hoax fabricated by a male writer to make his book an immediate

25. The *Angoysses douloureuses* of Hélienne de Crenne (1538), a bestseller that recounts the illicit love of Hélienne and Guénélic, includes a similar scene: the eponymous character explicitly uses confession to prolong her desire rather than to quell it. On the question of authorship and gender in the *Angoysses douloureuses*, see Anne Réach-Ngò, *L’écriture éditoriale à la Renaissance: Genèses et promotion du récit sentimental français, 1530–1560* (Geneva: Droz, 2013).

26. In her *Debate between Love and Folly*, Louise Labé has Apollo declare: “The greatest pleasure there is, after love, is talking about it.” See Labé, *Complete Poetry and Prose*, 89.

27. According to Claude La Charité, the ambivalence of this female first-person voice can be best understood in the light of Aristotle’s *Poetics* and his prescriptions for the tragic persona. Thus, Marguerite d’Auge could be seen as a transitional figure anticipating Racine’s later female tragic personae. See “L’ethos pathétique de Marguerite d’Auge dans *Les pitoyables et funestes regrets* (1600),” in *Masques et figures du sujet féminin aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, ed. Claude La Charité, *Tangence* 77 (Winter 2005), especially 94–106.

bestseller? Could the repentant woman have become a crusader against the crime she committed and thus assume the moralizing male voice? The questions this text raises regarding the gender of authorship show the problematic nature of female authorship in early modern times, hence the need to carefully examine any claim of authorship, as François Rigolot writes, “in the light of the specific conditions that made it possible for a woman to become a published author.” In early modern France, women did publish, but as Rigolot aptly remarks: “they were most successful when they were clones of Athena, directly born of Jupiter’s brains, and ready to punish female dissidents who did not conform to [the] Olympian order.”²⁸

The Commemorative Role of Women: Burlamacchi and du Laurens

The works of Burlamacchi and du Laurens presented here differ markedly in tone from d’Auge’s *Regrets*: for they are the works not of rebellious wives, but dutiful daughters, who have assumed as their task the preservation of family honor. They execute that task by adapting the genre of the *livre de raison*.

The French term *livre de raison* designates a broad category of early modern books in which families would record household data and family events. Some family books exclusively recorded financial transactions (profits and expenses) and acquisitions of property, often beginning at the time of marriage. Others contained data about marriages, births, and deaths, the education and careers of husbands and sons, the social positions held, and so forth. In addition, some family books would focus on the particulars of the family’s story, and recount those episodes that might be of value to the authors’ descendants with advice for them to follow. The rationale for compiling these histories was to commemorate the deeds of fathers and sons, and set a model for their male followers. In general, the father was responsible for safeguarding the family memory. After his death, the eldest son assumed that responsibility.

Initially, family histories may have been the prerogative of women as Barbara Caine notes,²⁹ but at the time when du Laurens and Burlamacchi wrote, only

28. François Rigolot, “The Invention of Female Authorship in Early Modern France,” in *Teaching French Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Colette H. Winn (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2011), 92–93.

29. Barbara Caine gives as examples the *Commentarii* of the Roman empress Julia Agrippina (first century CE), Rade Gund’s *Epistolae* (sixth century CE) and Princess Anna Kommena’s *Alexiad* (twelfth century). See Caine, “Family,” in *Companion to Women’s Historical Writing*, ed. Mary Spongberg, Ann Curthoys and Barbara Caine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 160–70. On the role of medieval women in family commemoration, see Elisabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 65–92.

a handful of women engaged in writing history.³⁰ What then prompted Burlamacchi and du Laurens to take on the male role of reminding their children of their ancestors? After all, both of them had male relatives who could have recorded the family's history. What could have drawn them to try their hand at this particular genre? Was there an opportunity for them, given the set format of these family histories,³¹ to appropriate the genre and be innovative in some way? Were their perspectives different from those found in family memoirs authored by men?

The private dimension of family histories allowed Burlamacchi and du Laurens to write at a time when women were encouraged to retreat from public discussion and hide from view. The subject matter (the family) and the self-effacing approach in both these narratives conformed to society's expectations regarding women's acceptable occupations and proper place within the family. Both authors seem to have realized that focusing on the family enabled them to take the pen, an opportunity they may not have had otherwise. In writing about their families, they could commemorate relatives lost and express their devotion and gratitude to their parents, but also tell the story of their families from their own point of view. In both narratives, gender shaped the writing of family history.

Women and the Memory of the Community in Burlamacchi's Memoirs

Right from the start of her *Memoirs*, Burlamacchi introduces herself as the widow of Cesare Balbani: "I, Renée Burlamacchi, widow of Cesare Balbani."³² In the opening paragraph, another name is mentioned, that of her father. The name of Cesare Balbani is associated with Burlamacchi's marriage after she moved to Geneva where the Luccan community reunited and with "the beginning of the restoration that God granted [her] poor family" (*Memoirs*, 52). The name of Michele Burlamacchi brings to mind the Protestant Luccan families who left their homeland after the Roman Inquisition was established in 1542. These two names serve as indicators of the geographical limits—from Lucca to Geneva—of the two interrelated stories recounted in this memoir: the story of Michele and his community, which is presented as an illustration of the trials and tribulations of

30. The only example Natalie Zemon Davis gives for sixteenth-century France is Charlotte Arbal-este. See "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820," in *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1980), 153–81.

31. See Davis, "Gender and Genre," 162: "[t]he subject of the family history was in principle the same no matter who wrote it."

32. Burlamacchi, *Memoirs Concerning Her Father's Family*, 45. Henceforth abbreviated as *Memoirs* and cited in parentheses in the text. Page numbers refer to the English translation given below in this volume.

God's elect; and the life of Renée, which is told implicitly and exclusively from the points of view of daughter, wife, and Christian.

Burlamacchi's memoir provides insight into the upheavals in the everyday lives of the Italian refugees and into the ways in which they were touched by religious persecution, from physical deprivation, to the ever-present insecurity forcing them to constantly relocate in order to save their lives, to the perils of traveling in wartime. Mention of dates—dates of important events and places where they took place, as well as dates of the family's journeys and places where they originated and ended—are a recurrent feature, creating a repetitive pattern that gives the reader a realistic sense of what life on the run may have entailed for a family with young children.

Selection, Giovanni Ciapelli notes, "is an essential orienting principle in the production of family memory."³³ Michele's flight seemed like an appropriate time to begin the memoir since it was a landmark in both his personal life and the history of the Italian Reformed community.³⁴ Few episodes of the Burlamacchis' lives are fully developed. Because of their scarcity, these narratives stand out against the repetitious backstory. Practically all of the episodes in Michele's life that Burlamacchi focuses on are associated with important national political events:³⁵ the repressive edicts of King François I following the "Affair of the Placards" (1534); the beginning and later the end of the Second War of Religion (1567–1568), and the beginning of the Third (1568–1570); the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), and so forth.³⁶ Various examples are given to show the impact these events had on family life. For example, some of the children could not be baptized immediately after their births as was customary. Among the more fully developed episodes, one passage in particular illustrates Burlamacchi's unassuming style. Michele and his relatives, forced to flee once again, follow the army of Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé, as he retreats to Luzarches after the defeat of Saint Denis. The scene has great emotional potential, but Burlamacchi provides just enough information to help her reader visualize the situation: "Both my mother and her sister Laura, the wife of Pompeo,

33. See Giovanni Ciapelli, "Family Memory: Functions, Evolutions, Recurrences," in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 31.

34. This appears to be typical of family histories. See Nicolai Rubinstein, "Family, Memory, and History," in *Art, Memory, and Family*, 41: "There seems to have been a tendency to start the writing of *ricordanze* at a moment that the author considered a landmark in his life."

35. On the historical aspects of family memoirs, see Rubinstein, "Family, Memory, and History," 39–43.

36. In contrast, du Laurens's *Genealogy* contains only three references to historical events: the invasion of Provence by Charles V in 1536; the visit of Marie de Médicis to Marseille on November 3, 1600; and the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. She says that her brother Charles was in Paris at the time of the Massacre, and that he wrote a long letter to his family about his experience of it, but she abstains from detailing the content of his letter.

were pregnant with their first child. This journey, which lasted twelve days, would not have been possible without much suffering and great discomfort, since they had to endure extreme hunger and cold” (*Memoirs*, 46). Further down, she simply observes the empathetic response of those present at the scene: “When they arrived at Montargis, by the goodness of God, the Duchess Renée of Ferrara, whom our people had begged for lodging, took great pity on the state of those two young pregnant women” (*Memoirs*, 46). The fact that it was Renée with whom her mother was pregnant indicates that Burlamacchi’s account is her personal story, which may explain her self-effacing narrative strategy.

Other events that receive attention include the Burlamacchi’s encounters with important people like Renée of France, duchess of Ferrara; Louis, the prince of Condé; Henri, the duke of Guise; Henri-Robert de La Marck, the duke of Bouillon; and the French regent Catherine de Médicis. Clearly the most memorable is the encounter with the duchess of Ferrara at her château of Montargis. Burlamacchi was born there and named after Renée of Ferrara, who had offered her parents refuge after they fled the Catholic city of Paris at the beginning of the Second War of Religion. In the turbulent decade between 1560 and 1570, the duchess of Ferrara gave asylum in her château of Montargis to thousands of Italian refugees as she had done for French fugitives in the 1530s at the court of Ferrara. But after the rise of the Protestants in Orléans on August 20, 1569, Renée was compelled to expel over 460 of her refugees. Also deemed worthy of recollection is the encounter of the Burlamacchi family with the duke of Bouillon when they lived in Sedan, and the special friendship that developed between him and Michele. Such events not only had a decisive bearing on the family’s welfare, but also situate the family story in a wider historical context.

Burlamacchi may have hoped to give wider resonance to the experience of the Luccan refugees by aligning familial experience with historical events of national importance and with key political and spiritual leaders. As mentioned earlier, Burlamacchi’s memoir opens with her father’s flight from Lucca, and closes with his settling in Geneva. The cyclic story serves as a demonstration that all the sufferings endured by the Luccan refugees were not in vain. God’s elect were reunited after they had been scattered. This may have been a message of hope to future generations.

A Daughter’s Tribute to Her Mother: the Genealogy of the du Laurens

As may be expected in family memoirs, du Laurens begins by recounting the exemplary life and medical career of her father Louis du Laurens. After we are told of his death, however, the focus shifts to her mother, Louise de Castelan, who becomes the center of attention for the remainder of the story. While ostensibly

writing about the careers and public achievements of her brothers, du Laurens portrays Louise as the force responsible for keeping the family together and promoting her sons' professional advancement. Initially, Louise is described as acting to fulfill her husband's intentions, but little by little she is shown taking things into her own hands, managing the family's income, and making important decisions like selling family property in order to allow her sons to pursue their studies. It is quite clear that she has made the values promoted by her husband her own. From then on, she is shown reminding her children of the importance of hard work, of honesty and kindness to others, and of unwavering faith in God.

Obviously, du Laurens uses the family memoir genre to explore questions of parental responsibility for the raising and rearing of children, but she also crafts it to show the crucial role that the widowed mother played in seeing to it that each of her sons receive a good education and so enter a respectable career. A distinctive feature of this memoir is the use of direct speech.³⁷ Du Laurens frequently lends her voice to her mother. Over and over again, she cites the words spoken by her mother as if she could still hear them loud and clear in her memory. At one point, we hear Louise speak to one of her sons: "Go in God's care. May he give you the grace to be as good a man as your father was" (*Genealogy*, 67). Elsewhere, we hear her voice again, as she reprimands her grandson for committing a petty theft: "Your mother told me that you will no longer be a thief" (*Genealogy*, 76). In addition to gaining in authenticity, passages in direct speech have greater force.

The memoir contains several stories that Louise told her daughter³⁸ in order to illustrate a particular point or recall a special event in the family history. A crucial episode in the lives of the du Laurens was the visit that Honoré de Castelan arranged for his nephews to meet King Charles IX. The words of the king, reported in direct discourse by the mother to her daughter, are given as a good omen and as a sign that the family's rise to prominence suited the king's will and, through him, God's will: "I will remember them" (*Genealogy*, 62). The stories the mother shares with her daughter show the role women played as keepers of family histories. They also serve to illustrate the importance of storytelling as a means for women to preserve and transmit knowledge about ancestry from one generation to the next.³⁹

Judging from Louise and Jeanne's exchanges, a strong bond must have existed between mother and daughter. The widowed mother frequently confided

37. On the use of direct speech in du Laurens's *Genealogy* see Colette H. Winn, "La mise en scène de la parole et ses implications pour la mémoire familiale dans la *Généalogie de Messieurs du Laurens* (1631)," in *Sens et enjeux de la mémoire dans la société moderne: De la Renaissance au seuil du siècle classique*, ed. Colette H. Winn, *Tangence* 87 (Summer 2008): 63–85.

38. These stories are introduced in the text by such phrases as these: "I once heard her tell a good story that I will briefly recall here"; "My mother often told us this story" (*Genealogy*, 59, 62).

39. On the commemorative role of women and the female tradition of storytelling, see Van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, 65–92.

in her eldest daughter. Louise shared her concerns with Jeanne when she felt that her brothers were going astray and when she found herself helpless to combat their insatiable ambition: “My daughter, your brother has sent the title of another abbey. I want to write him that I take no pleasure in this extravagance. You had enough with the first abbey, and you should not think so much of worldly honors” (*Genealogy*, 73–74). Shortly before her death, Louise called upon Jeanne to write down her last words to each of her brothers. The last conversation she had with her mother is reproduced towards the end of her memoir. It reads like a summary of what has been told earlier but this time the story is told from the unique perspective of Louise who looks back at her own life, at the role she played as head of the family, and at the choices she made regardless of the advice given to her by her friends. We hear Louise express once more her views on the importance for parents to teach their children the fear of God, give the boys the opportunity to go to good schools so as to achieve excellence in the profession they choose, and to marry the girls well.

The stories told during these conversations between mother and daughter, particularly this last one on the eve of Louise’s death, show that Louise, even more than Jeanne, saw it as her duty as head of the family to transmit the family memory. In taking the pen to write her family history, Jeanne was in fact merely preserving the family’s oral tradition and pursuing the task her mother was unable to complete.

As has been seen, Burlamacchi combines Protestant advocacy literature, the literature of pain and suffering, and the lives of great men within one text in her attempt to inscribe the communal experience of Italian refugees into the larger picture of the Reformation. In contrast, du Laurens turns to various genres like advice manuals on parenting, moral treatises, and the lives of exemplary women to pay tribute to motherhood and to her mother in particular. Louise is portrayed as an influential model of female strength and piety. Through the voice of the daughter, the voice of the mother is preserved and her stories are passed down as an essential part of the family memory.

The Question of Sin and Salvation

During the religious conflicts that divided sixteenth-century France, the theological concepts of sin and salvation and all that they entailed regarding the issues of predestination, election and divine grace, man’s free will, devotion and good works fueled countless debates. Negative sentiments about women delving into theological debates abounded, as religious authorities invoked Saint Paul’s injunction against female expression (1 Corinthians 14:34) in order to exclude women from participating in such debates. Others, like the humanist Montaigne, claimed that it was not a woman’s business to discuss theology. Montaigne pointed to the

twenty-fifth of the tales collected in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron* (1558), featuring a hypocritical young man and easily-deluded monks, as an example of why women were not fit to discuss theological matters.⁴⁰ Ironically, Marguerite's *Mirror of the Sinful Soul* (1531), a serious devotional work in which she explores the progression of the loving soul toward God, was immediately blacklisted as heretical by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris. Women did, nonetheless, participate in the religious discussions that characterized the era. Recent scholarship shows that many taught or discussed theological doctrine, engaged in scriptural exegesis, and penned proselytizing writings of all sorts.⁴¹

Our three authors, as well, engage in religious discussion, and controversial notions of sin and salvation are crucial in the texts included here. The treatment of the question of penance and redemption after a sinful life in d'Auge's *Regrets* should be read in light of the revival of the cult of Mary Magdalene during the Counter-Reformation and Baroque periods.⁴² The issues of faith and salvation in the family memoirs of Burlamacchi and du Laurens are approached from two personal and unique perspectives—one Protestant and one Catholic—but both show the key role women played in the transmission of faith from one generation to the next. The religious dimension of each of these three works is explored in the following sections.

The Penitent Harlot in d'Auge's Regrets

Tales of female criminals were meant to exemplify a world of vice and corruption and provide a means for readers to share in the depths of sin, while anticipating their own spiritual salvation. For “transgress[ing] the holy laws of matrimony” (*Regrets*, 37) and plotting her husband's murder, d'Auge was condemned to die “a shameful death” by execution. As was customary in last dying speeches, she begins her lament by confessing to her sins. She assumes full responsibility for her deed, and claims that she not only persuaded her lover that they should kill her husband, but also gave him the sum of fifty *écus* to have a certain La Houssaye

40. Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), “Of Prayers,” 1:56, at 235.

41. On women's religious writings, see Alison Weber, “Literature by Women Religious in Early Modern Catholic Europe and the New World,” and Jane Couchman, “Protestant Women's Voices,” in *The Ashgate Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allyson M. Poska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine A. McIver (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013): 33–51 and 149–70.

42. On the Magdalene of the Baroque era, see Ingrid Maisch, “The Penitent Magdalene: A Symbol of the Baroque Era,” *Mary Magdalene: The Image of a Woman through the Centuries*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 62–81. For a general overview of the significance of Mary Magdalene, see Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1993).

execute the murder.⁴³ She admits that she deserves to die for her “pride and disdain” in wishing to be married to someone ranked higher in society,⁴⁴ and for her unruliness and her lust. Next she asks all those she offended for forgiveness. Then she professes her faith; forgives her executioner—as was customary, following the example of Christ who petitioned God to forgive those responsible for his death (Luke 23:34); and comforts those left behind, including her lover, who has been condemned to be quartered.

In a period of increasing sensitivity to violence, gory details were not spared. Such details were expected in the sensational and bloody *canards*, or broadsheets, sold in the streets of Paris,⁴⁵ and in flourishing genres closely related to them like Baroque tragedy and the tragic tale.⁴⁶ Clearly the author was aware of the emotional appeal and special resonance bloody imagery⁴⁷ could have for readers. Particularly striking are the depictions of Jumeau’s mutilated body and the emphasis on blood imagery: “body pierced and tormented by the arrows of death” . . . “his blood spills from his wounds,” “must your limbs be broken” (*Regrets*, 31, 36, and 39). For the reader of late sixteenth-century France, such images evoked the violent spectacle of public executions. But for the Christian of that period, the image of blood spilled was inseparable from man’s sin and Christ’s freely consented sacrifice. The references to the “sacrilegious hands stained red,” hands that “will not enjoy rest until they received the punishment they deserve,” and to the “precious blood” (*Regrets*, 31 and 32) function as reminders that humans will have to account for their conduct someday and will be judged accordingly.

Could there have been a more shining example of conversion than the figure of Mary Magdalene that appears in the last part of the text? With much insistence, to emphasize the point to the reader, shared characteristics between the repentant Marguerite and the Magdalene are underlined, beginning with their names and the way they sound. Like the Magdalene before her conversion, Marguerite is shown to have indulged in vanity and in frivolous and selfish pleasures, the outward signs of lust: “What has become of the ornaments that embellished

43. “Did I not give you money for the wretched murderer who carried out this pernicious murder with you?” (*Regrets*, 34).

44. She admits having wished “to rise to the status of lady, not content with that of honorable bourgeoisie” (*Regrets*, 33).

45. Thomas Cragin, *Murder in Parisian Streets: Manufacturing Crime and Justice in the Popular Press, 1830–1900* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 25–27.

46. See Louise Frappier, “Histoire tragique et tragédie: Anatomie du pathétique dans les nouvelles de François de Rosset,” *Tangence* 96 (Summer 2011): 11–25. On the affinities between these genres and d’Auge’s *Regrets*, see La Charité, “*L’ethos pathétique*.”

47. In the last third of the sixteenth century, blood was practically a cultural obsession as shown by the poetry about the religious wars. See Henri Weber, “Poésie polémique et satirique de la Réforme sous les règnes de Henri II, François II et Charles IX,” *CAIEF* 10, no. 1 (1958): 116.