

Introduction

The Other Voice

As scholars endeavor to contest the “particular vision of France” that, constructed over centuries, has valorized male canonical writers and silenced the voices of women,¹ the centrality of Madeleine de Scudéry continues to emerge. To date, two volumes published in *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* series feature texts by Scudéry. The first is Karen Newman’s translation of *The Story of Sapho*, an important intercalated tale from the last volume of *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*. Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson’s *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues* brings together a set of shorter pieces drawn from the first volume of Scudéry’s *Femmes illustres*, her *Conversations*, and *Conversations nouvelles*.² The present volume endeavors to fill, if in a modest way, the gap in these recent translations of works by Scudéry by focusing on her final long novel, *Clélie*. Like Newman’s *The Story of Sapho, Lucrece and Brutus: Glory in the Land of Tender* has at its heart an intercalated story, this time from Scudéry’s *Clélie, Histoire romaine*, but perhaps not the story one might expect. Why not choose the “Histoire d’Aronce et de Clelie,” one might ask—the story of Aronce and Clelie, the heroes of the frame story? Clelie’s name, after all, appears in the title of Scudéry’s great novel. Or why not translate “Histoire de Valerie et d’Herminius,” which is said to tell the story of the tender friendship between the novelist herself and Pellisson? These important stories notwithstanding, there are several significant reasons to translate the “Story of Lucius Junius Brutus.”

First, Scudéry’s Lucrece is a figure whose pedigree stretches back to classical antiquity and passes through the Middle Ages and Renaissance via Augustine of Hippo. Within *Clélie*, Scudéry retells the story of the Roman matron Lucretia, who, after she is raped by Sextus Tarquinius, kills herself. Scudéry’s version is both the culmination and the subversion of a tradition that begins with Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ovid, and others and continues with, for example, Boccaccio, Christine de Pizan, Coluccio Salutati, Niccolò Machiavelli, Juan Luis Vives, and Henri Estienne. Moreover, Lucretia is a frequent example and character from the

1. See Faith E. Beasley, *Salons, History, and the Creation of 17th-Century France: Mastering Memory* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 5.

2. Donawerth and Strongson’s volume unfortunately contains pieces from Jacques Du Bosc’s *Nouveau recueil de lettres des dames*, which have been mistakenly identified as letters from Madeleine de Scudéry’s *Lettres amoureuses*. See Madeleine de Scudéry, *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, ed. Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a discussion of Donawerth and Strongson’s misattribution, see Sharon Diane Nell and Aurora Wolfgang, “Reclaiming the Works of Early Modern Women: The Problem of Authorship, Gender, and Interpretation in the *Nouveau recueil des lettres des dames de ce temps* (1635),” *Intertexts* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 1–16.

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first decades of seventeenth-century France. As Philippe Bousquet has written, Lucretia is “one of the most well-known female characters of the seventeenth-century [, and she is] emblematic of the status of feminine heroism” (*un des personnages féminins les plus connus du XVII^e siècle [et, elle est] emblématique du statut de l’héroïsme féminin*).³ Scholars today are struck not only by the number of texts that feature her—Bousquet claims that at least fifty tell Lucretia’s story in one form or another—but also by the different kinds of works in which she appears: theological treatises, plays, example books, and novels analyze, condemn, justify, and stage her actions. Indeed, if you look up the word “heroine” in Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel*, three famous women are mentioned: Joan of Arc, Judith, and Lucretia.⁴ The ambiguous and controversial Lucretia has raised many questions through the ages: Is she innocent or guilty? Is she a woman or a man? Can her Roman virtue be reconciled to Christian virtue? Can her actions be seen as heroic?⁵ Madeleine de Scudéry responds to the questions about her by painting her version of Lucretia, Lucrece, as an innocent, virtuous woman whose love for Brutus is as glorious as it is secret. Moreover, in The Other Voice tradition, Scudéry’s version rewrites the Lucretia narrative in a feminist way. Scudéry “corrects” Livy, by making Brutus a kind of anti-Sextus. On two occasions, for example, Brutus has access to Lucrece in intimate settings, but he never takes advantage of her. The last time he sees her privately, in fact, he climbs the garden wall at Collatia, waits for her in a secluded pavilion, converses with her, and, modeling the behavior of an *honnête homme*, restricts himself to kissing her hand.

Furthermore, Scudéry connects the ancient story of Lucretia to seventeenth-century culture and history. The tale, like other intercalated stories in Scudéry’s novels, portrays mid-seventeenth-century salon life. Like Sappho, whose story is told in Scudéry’s earlier novel *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*,⁶ Lucrece functions as a *salonnière* who regulates conversation and debate, and, at the same time, she

3. See Philippe Bousquet, “L’Héroïsme féminin au XVII^e siècle entre admiration païenne et représentation chrétiennes,” in *Les Femmes au Grand Siècle; Le Baroque: Musique et littérature; Musique et liturgie*, ed. David Wetzel and Frédéric Canovas (Tübingen, Germany: Narr, 2003), 91. See also James F. Gaines, “Lucrece, Junie et Clélie: Burdens of Female Exemplarity,” *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 17 (1990): 515. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

4. Furetière defines heroine as follows: “Maid or woman who has the virtues of heroes, who has accomplished some heroic action. The Maid of Orléans [Joan of Arc] was a *heroïne* of our times. Judith was a true *heroïne*; Lucretia was a *heroïne* in the area of chastity” (*Fille ou femme qui a des vertus de Heros, qui a fait quelque action héroïque. La Pucelle d’Orléans a été une Heroïne de nos jours. Judith estoit une vraye Heroïne; Lucrece une Heroïne en matiere de chasteté*). See Furetière, “Heroïne.”

5. See Bousquet, “L’Héroïsme féminin,” 95–96; Noémie Hepp, “La Notion de l’héroïne,” in *Onze études sur l’image de la femme dans la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Leiner (Tübingen, Germany: Narr, 1978), 15.

6. Note that the Scudéry spelled the poet Sappho’s name with one “p.” Sappho was also Scudéry’s name in her salon. See Madeleine de Scudéry, *The Story of Sappho*, ed. and trans. Karen Newman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 8–9.

ensures civility in a coterie that includes participants from both sides of Rome's political turmoil. In this tumultuous backdrop and in the struggles of Brutus and others against the tyrant, parallels to the Fronde can be seen. As Chantal Morlet-Chantalat notes in her edition of *Clélie*, the "Story of Lucius Junius Brutus" functions as the hinge point between heroic and *précieux* ideology.⁷ Indeed, the developing affection between Brutus and Lucrece enacts the *Carte de Tendre*, and their story fuses the glory of heroism with the tenderness of gallantry.

In the context of *Clélie*, Lucrece plays a crucial role. Although she and Brutus are not central characters in the main action of the novel—the "frame" narrative—they do make appearances in the main action, unlike many characters in other intercalated stories. Lucrece, in fact, can be seen as an alternate, brunette Clelie. The virtue of both women is threatened by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of the king, Tarquin. Early on in part 1, Clelie is captured by the Romans and taken to Rome. There, Sextus begins to desire her. Later on, when Lucrece's husband Collatin, Sextus, and other friends visit Collatia, Collatin's estate, Clelie's male friends intentionally try to substitute Lucrece for Clelie as the object of Sextus's desire. Their plan works and tragedy ensues: Sextus returns to Collatia and rapes Lucrece. The relationship between Clelie and Lucrece does not end with the latter's rape and suicide. Not only does she appear to her beloved Brutus in a dream in part 3, book 3, but Lucrece also appears to Clelie herself near the end of the long novel in part 5, book 2, to warn her about Sextus's vile intentions. Because of Lucrece's warning, Clelie and her women companions swim across the Tiber. Clelie not only achieves her own heroic act because of Lucrece, but she avoids threats to her chastity and virtue. In a very tangible way, then, without Lucrece, Clelie would not have completed her heroic act. Clelie, too, would have suffered rape at the hands of Sextus Tarquinius.

Scudéry's *Clélie* had a significant effect on writers who came after her. Importantly, Scudéry's version of Lucrece's story influenced Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne de Lafayette, specifically one scene at the end of the "Story of Lucius Junius Brutus." After Lucrece's forced marriage, Brutus goes to Collatia, Collatin's estate, where Lucrece has withdrawn to live a secluded life, apart from her husband. He manages to enter her garden at night and has a final conversation with her. This scene clearly inspires the nighttime scene in *The Princess of Cleves* (1678), during which the Duc de Nemours visits and spies on the princess. With this scene, Lafayette pays tribute to Scudéry's Lucrece. Other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works were influenced by Scudéry's tale as well, such as Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot de Villeneuve's *Belle et la Bête* (1740) and Jacques Rochette de la Morlière's *Angola* (1746).

Lucretia, as an emblematic heroic woman, continues to interest scholars in the twenty-first century. In fact, in the recent volume of essays titled *Le rire ou le modèle?*, Jean Dagen and Anne-Sophie Barrovecchio include a unit of five essays

7. Scudéry, *Clélie* 2.1.172n58.

on Lucretia, the only hero or heroine to be singled out in such a way.⁸ Significantly, one of these five essays is devoted to Lucrece's story in *Clélie*. Moreover, elements of Lucretia's story have surfaced relatively recently in the debate surrounding rape and sexual assault, a debate that, sadly, is likely to continue. During the 2012 election, for example, former Congressman Todd Akin hypothesized that only subsequent to a "legitimate rape" can a woman become pregnant. In an online article that followed Akin's statements, Lucretia's rape and Augustine's evaluation of her actions were evoked.⁹ While her life ends tragically with violence and rape, Lucretia, like so many in the current #MeToo movement who are survivors of rape, has been accused, through the centuries, of being complicit in the violent assault on her body.

About This Volume

This project translates pivotal seventeenth-century versions of the story of Lucretia, the Roman matron who is credited with causing the downfall of the Roman monarchy. Numerous versions of this story were written in seventeenth-century France: for example, Jacques Du Bosc and Pierre Le Moyne include her in their "galleries" of heroic women, and Pierre Du Ryer and Urbain Chevreau write tragic plays about her. While versions of the story from the first half of the seventeenth century are discussed in appendix A, all of the versions translated in this volume were composed by Madeleine de Scudéry.

The translated texts of *Lucrece and Brutus* are arranged in the order that they were composed and published. First, the reader explores "Glory and Woman before *Clélie*" through two "harangues" from Scudéry's *Femmes illustres ou les harangues héroïques* (1642). Included are not only Lucrece's speech but also Cloelia's (Clélie's). There are two reasons why this second piece is important: not only does Cloelia refer to and judge Lucrece's situation, but also the stories of these two women, as mentioned earlier, intertwine over the course of *Clélie*. The second group of texts are drawn from the first part of Scudéry's *Clélie* (1654) and involve conversations regarding the Language of Tender. The most well-known passage in this group of excerpts introduces Scudéry's Map of the Land of Tender to the reading public.

The third and largest group of texts narrate *Clélie*'s versions of the Lucrece and Brutus stories; indeed, it can be argued that, while Scudéry includes the

8. See the table of contents in Jean Dagen and Anne-Sophie Barrovecchio, eds., *Le Rire ou le modèle: Le Dilemme du Moraliste* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010), 696.

9. Virginia Burrus, professor of Early Church History at Drew University, in an interview posted online, remarks: "As soon as I began hearing the news reports of Akin's remarks, I was haunted by similarities with the thought of the late Roman theologian Augustine. . . . The comparison I have in mind is quite specific, and that is Augustine's discussion at the very beginning of his famous work *City of God* [*sic*] of the rape of Lucretia." See Sarah Morice-Brubaker, "Let It Be unto Me: Akin, Rape, and the Early Church," *Religion Dispatches* (August 29, 2012), <http://religiondispatches.org/let-it-be-unto-me-akin-rape-and-the-early-church/>.

familiar elements of Lucretia's story from antiquity to tell the tale, she also offers an alternative. The five excerpts of "Lucrece and Brutus in *Clélie*" appear in four of the long novel's five parts (from 1654, 1655, 1657, and 1660, respectively) and in five of *Clélie*'s fifteen books. As discussed earlier, the longest passage in this group is an intercalated story in its entirety—the "Story of Lucius Junius Brutus." The last section in this volume contains only one text: Scudéry's "Discourse on Glory" (1671), which is included in this volume because, on the one hand, the reader will be able to discern the progression of the theme of glory in Scudéry's work over the course of about thirty years, and, on the other, this particular piece was honored by the Académie Française.¹⁰

The broader goal of this volume is to make at least a portion of Scudéry's great novel *Clélie* accessible. For this reason, introductions to all translated pieces are provided. Moreover, included is an appendix that offers information on the sources of the Lucretia and Brutus tales from Livy to Augustine as well as descriptions of notable appearances of the stories of Lucretia and Brutus in seventeenth-century France. It is hoped that readers who are interested in Scudéry's erudition will find appendix A illuminating. Because Scudéry's language is so coded and specific, an attempt has been made to use terms in English that are as close as possible to Scudéry's French vocabulary; when that is not possible, at the very least, terms are translated consistently. A glossary of Scudéry's vocabulary is included in appendix B. Finally, to aid the reader in navigating the many characters that appear or are mentioned in the translated pieces, appendix C is a list of characters with a short explanation of the role each plays.

Queen of Tender: The Life and Times of Madeleine de Scudéry

Madeleine de Scudéry lived and wrote in France in the seventeenth century. Her life extended from the childhood of Louis XIII to the old age of Louis XIV and the dawn of the eighteenth century. She lived through international conflicts with Spain under Louis XIII and Richelieu as well as four out of the five international wars waged by Louis XIV; perhaps the conflict most influential on her works,

10. The texts that have been chosen do not in any way exhaust the themes of glory and tender in Scudéry's works. Every single harangue in the *Femmes illustres* uses the word "glory" many times—one can count over 150 times that *gloire* and its derivatives (*glorieux*, *glorieuse(s)*, *glorieusement*) are used over the course of the 1642 volume 1. Moreover, a much later conversation by Scudéry takes up the theme of glory versus love: "Which are greater, the pleasures of glory or of love?" (*Quelles sont les plus grandes, les douceurs de la gloire ou celles de l'amour?*). Our hope, in other words, is that this volume will provide a starting point for further engagement and research with Scudéry on these topics. See Madeleine de Scudéry, *Femmes illustres, ou les harangues heroïques de Monsieur de Scudéry, avec les veritables portraits de ces Heroïnes, tirez des Medailles antiques*, vol. 1 (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville and Augustin Courbé, 1642) and Madeleine de Scudéry, *Entretiens de morale*, vol. 1 (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1692), 171–215, respectively.

however, was the civil war called the Fronde. When she was born, the Edict of Nantes, through which Henri IV gave the protestants the right to practice their religion, was less than ten years old; in her old age, she saw the edict revoked by Henri's grandson.

Brought up to satisfy traditional gender expectations, Scudéry was also provided with a certain education. She lived for many years under the coverture of male relatives, particularly her brother, Georges, but eventually managed to carve out an independent life for herself.¹¹ Scudéry was a worldly woman: she frequented the salon of the influential Catherine de Vivonne de Rambouillet in her youth, and, during the period that she was composing *Clélie*, the novel from which most of the translations in this volume are taken, she reigned over her own coterie in the Marais district of Paris. Attributing literary works to Madeleine de Scudéry has been problematic over the course of the more than three hundred years since her death. Scudéry did not publish under her own name and, for this reason, few texts were attributed to her formally, even though her authorship was an open secret.¹² Scudéry's "authorship" refers to the literary activity of her salon, which she supervised and led. It is generally accepted today that, over the course of her very long life, she wrote and managed to publish a wide variety of texts—from her renowned long adventure novels, such as *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* and *Clélie, Histoire romaine*, to volumes that feature fictional speeches, formal discourses, and conversations.

Youth and Education

Madeleine de Scudéry was probably born on November 15, 1607, in Le Havre and was baptized on December 1, 1608. Her brother, Georges de Scudéry, about six years older, was born in August 1601.¹³ Georges and Madeleine de Scudéry claimed to be of very noble origins.¹⁴ While the degree of nobility is uncertain, scholars

11. In this volume, Madeleine de Scudéry or Scudéry will refer to Madeleine de Scudéry. To refer to Georges de Scudéry, either his first or his full name will be used.

12. For a summary of how her works were signed, see Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 238n14; for a discussion of the open secret of her authorship, see DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 170–71.

13. Nicole Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 82; Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson, introduction to *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical dialogues*, by Madeleine de Scudéry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 3.

14. Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux makes the following comment about Madeleine de Scudéry's vanity regarding her family's origins: "She always says: 'Since the downfall of our house.' You would think that she is talking about the fall of the Greek empire" (*Elle dit toujours: "Depuis le renversement de notre maison." Vous diriez qu'elle parle du renversement de l'Empire grec*). Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux, *Les Historiettes: Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVII^e siècle*, ed. M. Monmerqué, vol. 9 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1861), 133.

agree that the family did have noble connections.¹⁵ The paternal side of their family, the Scudérys, may have left Naples for Provence in the fourteenth century, and they continued to live there, in the town of Apt, for many generations.¹⁶ Georges de Scudéry *père*, like many of his ancestors, was born in Provence, in the town of Gap, but relocated to Normandy when he was in the military service of André de Brancas, an admiral in the Catholic League. The Scudérys' mother's family had lived in Normandy since the twelfth century.

Madeleine de Scudéry's parents, Georges de Scudéry *père* and Madeleine de Martel de Goutimesnil, married in February 1599. The couple had five children, but only Georges and Madeleine de Scudéry survived childhood.¹⁷ Unfortunately, while Madeleine de Goutimesnil brought a sizable dowry to the marriage, her husband spent the family's money.¹⁸ Moreover, there is evidence that Georges de Scudéry *père* engaged in piracy: he was arrested for attacking, pillaging, and destroying a Dutch vessel, which resulted in the deaths of the seventy men onboard. After this incident, Georges de Scudéry *père* was arrested and spent a month in the Conciergerie in Paris; although he promised to pay for the damages, it is likely that he never did so. Madeleine de Scudéry's perpetual financial difficulties may be due to her father's unpaid debts or to her brother's spending habits.¹⁹ Georges and Madeleine de Scudéry's father died in 1613; some sources maintain that their mother died six months later, while other sources indicate that she died much later, when Madeleine was about thirty years old.²⁰

There is evidence that the two Scudéry siblings were raised by a maternal uncle, Guillaume de Goutimesnil.²¹ Not much is known about this relative; however, legend has it that he lived at the courts of three kings—possibly Henri III, Henri IV, and Louis XIII.²² In addition, he is said to have provided Scudéry with an education unusual for a girl, because he “found in the little girl an inclination for virtue and a desire to study fine things” (*trouvé dans la petite fille des*

15. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 81.

16. Eveline Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge* (Genève: Droz, 1988), 15. For the various spellings of the Scudéry surname, see E. J. B. Rathéry and C. Boutron, eds., *Mademoiselle de Scudéry: Sa Vie et sa correspondance* (Paris: Léon Techener, 1873), 2–3.

17. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 82; Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 15.

18. Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 16.

19. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 82–83; Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 16.

20. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 83–84.

21. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 84, 90; Donawerth and Strongson, introduction to *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, 3.

22. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 85.

inclinations à la vertu et à la connaissance des belles choses).²³ What is known about her education can be learned from Valentin Conrart, a member of Scudéry's coterie in the 1650s. Conrart writes:

[Guillaume de Goutimesnil] had her learn subjects that were appropriate to a girl of her age and station: to write, spell, dance, draw, paint, and to engage in all kinds of handicrafts. . . . She learned on her own about agriculture, gardening, housework, rural occupations, cooking, the causes and effects of illnesses, how to make an infinite number of remedies, perfumes, colognes, useful and *galant* concoctions that were both necessary and pleasing. . . . Since she often heard Italian and Spanish spoken and was exposed to books that her uncle valued in both languages in his study, she wished to learn to speak them, and, very quickly, she admirably succeeded in communicating her ideas with good pronunciation. From that time on, having grown a bit older, she devoted all her leisure time to reading and conversation.²⁴

Nicole Aronson notes that Scudéry succeeded well at her studies as evidenced by her very good spelling. Scudéry was also taught to do domestic tasks. She learned to cook, for example, because the cakes that she baked were discussed and praised by her friends. She also made perfume and home remedies, which she probably learned to do at her uncle's house.²⁵ The uncle's house seems to have been a social place of frequent visits.²⁶ Scudéry's education and social skills are so refined that when she begins to frequent Rambouillet's salon, she is "at ease" (*à l'aise*) and is quick to become an accepted member of the coterie.²⁷ In other words, while Scudéry was provided with typical domestic skills, she also had a solid formal

23. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 86.

24. "Il lui fit apprendre les exercices convenables à une fille de son âge et de sa condition: l'écriture, l'orthographe, la danse, à dessiner, à peindre, à travailler en toutes sortes d'ouvrages. . . . Elle apprit d'elle-même les choses qui dépendent de l'agriculture, du jardinage, du ménage, de la campagne, de la cuisine, les causes et les effets des maladies, la composition d'une infinité de remèdes, de parfums, d'eaux de senteur, et de distillations utiles ou galantes pour la nécessité ou pour le plaisir. . . . Entendant souvent parler des langues italienne et espagnole, et de plusieurs livres écrits en l'une en l'autre qui étaient dans le cabinet de son oncle et dont il faisait grande estime, elle désira de les savoir, et en peu de temps elle y réussit admirablement, tant pour l'intelligence que pour la prononciation. Dès lors se trouvant un peu plus avancée en âge, elle donna tout son loisir à la lecture et à la conversation." Quoted in Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 86; see also Donawerth and Strongson, introduction to *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, 3, and Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 20.

25. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 87.

26. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 88.

27. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 89.

and social education that prepared her for social success in the upper echelon of French society.

Georges, like his sister, was also provided with a good education by Guillaume de Goutmesnil; his education is likely to have included rhetorical training, given his usage of rhetoric in his plays.²⁸ Since Scudéry wrote pieces within the rhetorical tradition of the Middle Ages and early modern period, such as the harangues of famous women—examples of *ethopoeia*—she may also have been trained in rhetoric. Donawerth and Strongson speculate, in fact, that she may have been tutored with her brother. It is not known whether she studied Latin or Greek, but that seems unlikely.²⁹ It is more likely that she depended for aid in incorporating ancient sources, while composing her novels, on the male members of her coterie who were scholars of classical antiquity, such as Pierre-Daniel Huet, Gilles Ménage, and Paul Pellisson-Fontanier. Joan DeJean specifies that “Huet, to cite one example, was perhaps the finest Hellenist of the century.”³⁰ It was not totally necessary to depend on the original Greek and Latin sources either: Du Ryer’s accessible translation of Livy to French was also completed and published shortly before the first volume of *Clélie* appeared in print.³¹

In the Company of Georges

It is not known for certain when Madeleine de Scudéry moved from Normandy to Paris with her brother, Georges. It could have been as early as 1635 or as late as 1639.³² In any case, the two siblings spent time in Paris before moving there from Normandy.³³

Scudéry was destined to live for quite a few years with her older brother, because she was unmarried and lacked a parent or guardian to live with. Perhaps because many young men in the lower echelons of the nobility went into the

28. Dutertre notes that it is plausible that Georges de Scudéry would have been educated in a *collège* in Le Havre or Rouen, but there are no records of it. If he was sent to a *collège*, it was for a short period of time because he went into the military at a young age, possibly fourteen or fifteen years old. See Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 21–22.

29. See Donawerth and Strongson, introduction to *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, 3. DeJean, however, dismisses the suggestion that Madeleine de Scudéry would have studied Greek or Latin. See DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 237n7. Jean Mesnard, on the other hand, points to her usage of Livy, her “obsession” with Greek sources, and the prevalence of Greek names, all factors that indicate humanistic training. See Jean Mesnard, “Clôture: Mademoiselle de Scudéry telle qu’en elle-même,” in *Madeleine de Scudéry: Une Femme de lettres au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Delphine Denis and Anne-Elisabeth Spica (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2002), 319.

30. DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 73.

31. See Pierre Du Ryer, *Les Décades de Tite-Live*, 2 vols. (Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1653).

32. Dutertre dates the move to between 1630 and 1658. See Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 26.

33. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 90.

military or perhaps because of his father's military experience, Georges did serve as a captain of the Guard. While Georges de Scudéry liked to represent himself as someone who spent his life in the army, his military career ended when he was about twenty-eight years old.³⁴ Making a living as a writer was not possible for a noble gentleman; Georges, therefore, portrayed writing as a secondary activity. His playwriting belied his military pretensions: he wrote "assiduously for the theatre" (*assidûment pour le théâtre*)—sixteen plays between 1629 and 1643.³⁵ Proud of his craft, Georges de Scudéry saw himself as being superior to other playwrights of his day such as Jean Mairet and Pierre Corneille.

Always short on funds, Georges de Scudéry attempted to curry the favor of the great personages of his day, such as Christina, Queen of Sweden, to whom he dedicated a poem; however, when she asked him to alter one of his poems—to leave out the name of someone who had lost her favor—he refused. Georges is most famous today for the *Querelle du Cid*, an important literary dispute in the 1630s. He attacked his friend Corneille and worldly public taste to please the powerful Armand-Jean Du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, whom Georges de Scudéry is thought to have sincerely admired and who was not in favor of Corneille's play.³⁶ Due to the plays he wrote and the viewpoint he expressed in the *Querelle du Cid*, Georges de Scudéry exerted real influence on the development of the tenets of French seventeenth-century classicism. Ellen Welch writes:

Georges de Scudery . . . figure[s] among the foremost dramatists devoted to the project of "regularizing" or "classicizing" the French theater. In the same year that his play *L'Amant libéral* was staged, he published *Observations sur le Cid*, attacking fellow playwright Pierre Corneille for shocking French moral and aesthetic standards, which led to stricter codes about verisimilitude and propriety on the stage.³⁷

While it is quite true that Georges de Scudéry did play a role in the literary scene of his time, it is also true, as Welch notes, that literary history retained Corneille as the great playwright, not Georges de Scudéry.³⁸

Scholars, such as Aronson, see in Sapho's brother Charaxe, a character who appears in the tenth volume of Scudéry's *Artamène*, as a fictionalized version of Georges. If this is true, Madeleine de Scudéry thought only well enough of him to describe him in just a few short sentences. After revealing that Charaxe has more

34. Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 22.

35. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 92.

36. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 92.

37. Ellen R. Welch, "Adapting *The Liberal Lover*: Mediterranean Commerce, Political Economy, and Theatrical Form under Richelieu," *Comparative Drama* 45, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 175.

38. Welch, "Adapting *The Liberal Lover*," 166.

money than his sister due to the unjust division of family wealth between them,³⁹ the narrator, Democede reveals,

It is not that Charaxe lacks worthy qualities; it is rather that he has many unworthy ones. He is courageous, but he displays the kind of courage that makes bulls more valiant than stags—not at all the kind of courage that one sometimes confuses with generosity and that is so indispensable to a respectable man.⁴⁰

It is true that his contemporaries and modern scholars have characterized Georges de Scudéry as pretentious and boastful.⁴¹ As Aronson states: “His panache is seen in a very favorable light by his contemporaries, but it is easy to go from having panache to being ridiculous, and [he] seems to have done this far too often” (*le panache est fort apprécié de ses contemporains, mais il est aisé de passer du panache au ridicule, et [il] semble l’avoir fait trop souvent*).⁴²

During the 1630s, Madeleine de Scudéry and her brother both frequented the *Chambre bleue*, Rambouillet’s salon,⁴³ where Scudéry met people with whom she became and remained close friends, such as Antoine Godeau,⁴⁴ Conrart,⁴⁵ Jean Chapelain,⁴⁶ and Vincent Voiture.⁴⁷ Rambouillet herself, in Madeleine’s way of

39. Madeleine and Georges de Scudéry, *Artamène ou le grand Cyrus. Extraits*, ed. Claude Bourqui and Alexandre Gefen (Paris: Flammarion, 2005), 446.

40. “Ce n’est pas que Charaxe n’ait quelques bonnes qualités, mais c’est qu’il en a beaucoup de mauvaises. En effet, il a du courage, mais c’est de celui qui rend les taureaux plus vaillants que les cerfs, et non pas de cette espèce de courage que l’on confond quelquefois avec générosité et qui est nécessaire à un honnête homme.” Madeleine and Georges de Scudéry, *Artamène*, ed. Bourqui and Gefen, 452.

41. See Charles Clerc’s 1929 biography of Georges de Scudéry: *Un Matamore des lettres: La Vie tragico-mique de Georges de Scudéry* (Paris: Spes, 1929), 28. See also Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 91.

42. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 92.

43. *Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet* (1588–1665): For an in-depth discussion of Rambouillet, her salon, and its habitués, see Benedetta Craveri, *L’Age de la conversation*, trans. Eliane Deschamps-Pria (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 56–116.

44. *Antoine Godeau* (1605–1672): One of the *habitués* of the *chambre bleue*, Godeau becomes the bishop of Grasse, leaves Paris, and devotes himself to his pastoral appointment. See Craveri, *L’Age de la conversation*, 652.

45. *Valentin Conrart* (1603–1675): Conrart founds the Académie française after being directed to do so by Richelieu and becomes its first secretary; moreover, Conrart contributes significantly to the foundation of the classical esthetic. See Craveri, *L’Age de la conversation*, 645.

46. *Jean Chapelain* (1595–1694): Chapelain also contributes with Conrart to the foundation of the classical esthetic. See Craveri, *L’Age de la conversation*, 642.

47. *Vincent Voiture* (1597–1648): Poet whose works were an early example of *galanterie*. See Alain Viala, *La France galante* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 231–32. See also Craveri, *L’Age*

thinking, embodied the perfect salon hostess. In her “Conversation on Courtesy” (*Conversation de la politesse*), a conversation that appeared in the first volume of the *Conversations nouvelles*, Scudéry described Rambouillet, whom Scudéry called by her salon name, Arthenice, in the following way:

Arthenice was a model of perfect virtue, but her virtue was modest and charming, and, since she combined courtesy and reason, she never did anything that lacked grace nor said a single word that could anger or displease others.⁴⁸

Scudéry also praised Rambouillet in *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*, where she called her Cleomire:

Cleomire’s intelligence was not the kind of intelligence which only has the light that nature provides; indeed, she cultivated her intelligence carefully, and I think I can say that there were no worthy subjects of knowledge that she did not acquire. She knows various languages and is unaware of almost nothing that merits being known; but she knows it without seeming to; and one would say, in hearing her speak, due to her modesty, that she speaks so admirably of all the things that she does through common sense alone. Nonetheless, she is knowledgeable about everything: the most elevated sciences do not elude her understanding; the most difficult arts are perfectly known by her.⁴⁹

The set of virtues and characteristics that Cleomire/Rambouillet offered is one that Scudéry will incorporate in her portrayal of Sapho in *Artamène* and the title character of *Clélie*: polite to a fault, learned but never displaying or acting pretentious about her learning. In fact, other praiseworthy women in *Clélie*, such as Racilia,

de la conversation, 80–107, and Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 97–98.

48. “Arthenice a esté un modele de vertu parfaite, mais d’une vertu modeste & charmante, qui joignant la politesse à la raison, n’a jamais fait une action de mauvaise grâce, ny dit une parole qui ait pû fâcher ny déplaire.” Madeleine de Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets, dédiées au roy*, vol. 1 (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1684), 122.

49. “L’esprit de Cleomire n’est pas un de ces esprits qui n’ont de lumiere que celle que la Nature leur donne; car elle l’a cultuié soigneusement: & ie pense pouuoir dire, qu’il n’est point de belles connoissances qu’elle n’ait aquisées. Elle sçait diuerses Langues, & n’ignore presque rien de tout ce qui merite d’estre sçeu: mais elle le sçait sans faire semblant de le sçauoir; & on diroit à l’entendre parler, tant elle est modeste, qu’elle ne parle de toutes choses admirablement comme elle fait, que par le simple sens commun, & par le seul vsage du monde. Cependant, elle se connoist à tout: les Sciences les plus esleuées, ne passent point sa connoissance: les Arts les plus difficiles sont connus d’elle parfaitement.” Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*, vol. 7 (Paris: Augustine Courbé, 1656), 298.

Lucrece, and Valerie, who play key roles in the “Story of Lucius Junius Brutus,” also have these characteristics. Aronson contends that, although Madeleine de Scudéry was allowed to attend sessions in the *Chambre bleue*, she was not one of the main actors in Rambouillet’s salon, at least not at first.⁵⁰

During this period, Scudéry appears to have begun to write. The first novel, *Ibrahim ou l’Illustre Bassa*, was published in 1641 under her brother’s name. Its preface is important because it is one of the documents that enlighten us as to Scudéry’s theoretical views on the novel—the novel as a genre was controversial at the time.⁵¹ Also published in 1641 was Scudéry’s *Lettres amoureuses de divers auteurs de ce temps*, a collection of letters from men to their unfaithful—and unresponsive—female beloveds. This early experiment in the epistolary novel reversed the model set forth by Ovid in his *Heroides*, in which women complain to husbands and lovers who, they perceive, have abandoned them.⁵² Scudéry’s experimentation with Ovid did not stop with the *Lettres amoureuses*: of particular importance to the present volume, in 1642 and 1644, respectively, were published the two volumes of the *Femmes illustres, ou les harangues heroïques*. In these collections, women were allowed to give speeches—“heroic harangues”—to husbands or family members. Although these speeches are not literally letters, as in Ovid, the parallels are clear. It is generally accepted that although both volumes were published under the name Monsieur de Scudéry, Madeleine de Scudéry wrote all or part of the harangues.⁵³

In 1644, the two Scudéry siblings left Paris to live in Marseille. Georges had been appointed in 1642, through Rambouillet’s efforts, as governor of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, a citadel overlooking Marseille that had been constructed by François Ier. As was expected, the unmarried Madeleine de Scudéry accompanied him to the south and lived there from 1644 to 1647. Georges was quite proud of this appointment, but, in reality, he had little to do as governor; moreover, the citadel itself was in ill repair because its location was not as strategically important as Georges de Scudéry would have liked.⁵⁴ Although Madeleine de Scudéry was not enthusiastic about living there, traces of this three-year stay are present in the

50. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 100.

51. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 101–11.

52. See DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 79.

53. DeJean and Donawerth/Strongson attribute these works to Madeleine de Scudéry; however, Bourqui and Gefen do not. In fact, the latter publish their excerpts of *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* under the names of both Madeleine and Georges de Scudéry (although they put Madeleine’s name first). See DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 282; Donawerth and Strongson, introduction to *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, 4; Madeleine and Georges de Scudéry, *Artamène*, ed. Bourqui and Gefen, 621–22.

54. See Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 139, and Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 30–33.

next literary production: the ten-volume *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus*.⁵⁵ While in Marseille, she wrote to women friends, such as Perrine Gorgeu de Chalais, Marie Robineau, and Angélique Paulet, who remained in Paris, and she made friends locally as well.⁵⁶ Both siblings worked on their literary endeavors during this period: Georges composed and published his *Cabinet de Monsieur de Scudéry, Le Grand exemple* (a poem dedicated to the Duc de Richelieu), and *Discours politiques des rois*.⁵⁷ Brother and sister returned to Paris at the end of 1647 and moved in with the Clermont family in the Marais. They lived with this family for more than two years. Several of their friends resided in the area, including those with whom Madeleine corresponded while in Marseille. In October 1651, they moved into a house on the rue de Beauce. While Georges was compelled to go into exile in Normandy in August 1654, Madeleine de Scudéry remained in this house for more than fifty years.⁵⁸

The Glory of the Femmes Fortes

Georges de Scudéry fell into disfavor due to the Fronde. With Richelieu dead and the unpopular Jules, Cardinal Mazarin in charge, Louis XIII dead, a new king who was still a child, and the third female regency in less than one hundred years underway, the time was ripe for the revolt known as the Fronde, a conflict which resisted the progression toward absolutism that had been in the works since the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹

Anne of Austria's regency⁶⁰ began upon Louis XIII's death, in 1643. Immediately, "competing forces" (*les pouvoirs concurrents*) became active⁶¹ and attempted to remove Cardinal Mazarin,⁶² the prime minister that Anne had chosen. The first phase of the Fronde, the "Parliamentary Fronde" (*la Fronde Parlementaire*),

55. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 144–46.

56. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 147–50.

57. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 151.

58. See Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, ou le voyage au pays de Tendre*, 154; Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge*, 35; Jean Mesnard, "Mademoiselle de Scudéry et la société du Marais," in *Mélanges offerts à Georges Couton*, ed. Jean Jehasse (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1981), 178–79.

59. See Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1689* (New York: Norton, 1970), 137; Sophie Vergnes, *Les Frondeuses: Une Révolte au féminin (1643–1661)* (Seysse: Champ Vallon, 2013), 17; Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoires in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 43.

60. *Anne of Austria* (1601–1666): Widow of Louis XIII and queen regent during the minority of Louis XIV. See Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1689*, 137.

61. Vergnes, *Les Frondeuses*, 18.

62. *Cardinal Mazarin* (1602–1661): Italian born Guilio Mazarini first served the Pope and then the French state under Richelieu. At Richelieu's death, Mazarin became prime minister. See DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 36.