

WOMEN AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS
IN THE LUSO-HISPANIC WORLD,
1447–1700

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Abstract

Questions of gender, feminism, and *écriture féminine* in individual cases continue to be given priority in studies of women's writing in Baroque Spain, to the exclusion of study of the wealth of original sources that show women participating freely and equally in all aspects of the Republic of Letters, as contemporaries called the literary profession.

My doctoral thesis seeks to correct this imbalance by charting the rise and consolidation of the status and image of women as authors in and around the period now recognized as having seen the beginnings of the literary profession, 1600-1650. I take as my field the *república literaria* in the Spanish Atlantic empire in the period 1450–1700, with parallels from England, France and Italy. Using Genette's studies of the paratext (2001) and Darnton's theory of the "communication circuit" (2006), and building on the work of cultural historians (Bouza 1992, 1997, 2001; Bourdieu 1993; Chartier 1994; Cayuela 1996 & 2005), I examine the role of women as authors and readers, chiefly through an analysis of the discourse of their paratexts in a representative corpus of texts patronized, written, or published by women in Catalan, Portuguese, and Spanish. The key criterion of selection has been the projection of a female voice in public texts, whether via a sobriquet, a real name, grammatical gender, or a pseudonym. However, where appropriate, it has been extended to include also literary correspondence, book inventories, and texts, which despite being published anonymously, have been shown to be by women.

The study is divided into two parts wherein extant sources have been selected and arranged chronologically and by theme, rather than by author. Part I, comprising Chapters 1 and 2, examines the rise and expansion of women's symbolic capital in the

public literary sphere. Part II, comprising Chapters 3 and 4, shows that, by the seventeenth century, women's literary practices had achieved commercial, professional and didactic renown on both sides of the Atlantic.

Chapter 1 shows the rhetorical significance embedded in women's first metadiscourses, whether in identifiable or anonymous authorship, dating back to the fifteenth century. Chapter 2 illustrates women's rising literary authority by reviewing their public endeavours and literary self-consciousness in the sixteenth century. Chapter 3 shows the rise of discourses of fame and professionalization in single publications by identifiable female authors, a shift most noticeable in commercial traditions in print (ephemera, the *novela* and the theatre). Chapter 4 challenges the fallacy that women chose anonymity or hid behind a patron (or publisher) because of their sexual difference. It thus assesses whether the question of women's literary successes ultimately depended on a negation of their female sex —through publishing anonymously, under a pseudonym, or in the name of a publisher— or was, rather, influenced by their authorial intent, social and religious status.

In sum, the thesis shows that women's sexual difference did not prevent them from gaining a successful and recognized place within the rising Republic of Letters, but was on the contrary turned to their advantage as a promotional point. Women were as important as men as agents in the emergence of the modern concept of the author as independent artist.

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Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

BHV	València, Biblioteca Històrica
BL	London, British Library
BNE	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNP	Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
BPC	Córdoba, Biblioteca Provincial
<i>Dicc de Aut</i>	<i>Diccionario de la lengua castellana [Diccionario de autoridades]</i> , 6 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726–39), online at < http://buscon.rae.es/ntile/SrvltGUILoginNtile >
D-R	Douay-Rheims Bible: <i>The Holie Bible, Faithfully Translated into English out of the Authentical Latin</i> , trans. by Gregory Martin & others, 3 vols (Rhemes: John Fogny, 1582; Doway: Laurence Kellam, 1609-1610), at < http://www.latinvulgate.com >
<i>DRAE</i>	<i>Diccionario de la lengua española</i> , 22nd edn (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2001), online at < http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/ >
HSA	New York, Hispanic Society of America
JRL	Manchester, John Rylands Library
RB	Madrid, Real Biblioteca
<i>Vulg</i>	<i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem</i> , ed. Robertus Weber & others, 4th edn rev. by Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994)
WL	London, Wellcome Library

Sources are referred to using the author-date system. Quotations from original texts are transcribed without modernization unless otherwise indicated. References to the Bible are to the Vulgate/Douay-Rheims version; where chapter and verse differ from the Hebrew Bible, the standard numbering is added in parentheses.

INTRODUCTION

Es innegable que doquier que se muestra lozana y fecunda, en cualquiera de las ramas del árbol de la belleza, una manifestación, sea cual fuere, del arte, es, no tan sólo porque son á su desenvolvimiento favorables el suelo donde arraiga, y las auras que la mecen, y el calor que la vivifica, sino porque llegan hasta ella en mayor ó menor abundancia y por más o menos conocidos canales, y á manera de hilos de fertilizadoras aguas, las influencias de otros florecimientos, ó anteriores ó coetáneos suyos, ya del propio, ya de extraños países.

(Joaquin Rubió y Ors 1882: 4)

General studies on the beginnings of the book trade and the literary profession in the pre-modern Luso-Hispanic world continue to deny or minimize the role of women, particularly as authors, despite a number of important sources tending to show the contrary.¹ Most such studies do not even acknowledge, let alone account for, the considerable rise in the number of women publishing both in manuscript and print in Iberia and across a wide variety of literary genres and themes (from religion and poetry to prose fiction, history, philosophy, theatre, conduct books, even *relaciones de sucesos*, and panegyrics). In his study of literature as a profession in the Golden Age Christoph Strosetzki (1997) includes only two female representatives. This may be partly justified, since his interest lies in tracing the evolution of humanist topics such as “el menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea” and the polemic between arms and letters. Unacceptable, however, is his quick dismissal of Oliva Sabuco’s *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* (Madrid, 1587) as a case of authorship fraud on

¹ The significant presence of women authors was already revealed by seventeenth-century bibliographers such as Andreas Schott (Schottus 1603-08) and Nicolás Antonio (Antonius 1672), as I show below; and subsequently confirmed by Diogo Barbosa Machado (1741-59), Diego Ignacio Parada (1881), and Manuel Serrano y Sanz (1903-05).

the basis of an unsupported claim, first made public in 1903: that her father, Miguel Sabuco, signed the work in her name out of paternal love and possibly also to hide his *converso* origin (p. 87). The allegation of authorship fraud is one of the ways in which modern historiography has undermined the position of women in the early literary world.² Other more subtle but equally damaging ways include the allegations that few women read, fewer wrote, and, more relevantly, that it was exceptional for them to become authors. All such claims take as foundation women's supposed low levels of literacy in this period:

Si en determinados aspectos se ha superado la inicial tendencia a medir y cuantificar para determinar niveles de alfabetización [...], el tema de las mujeres sigue condenado al enjuiciamiento numérico como excusa de su no inclusión en los estudios. (Graña 1999: 213)³

To conclude that early women authors had no family support, that they were oblivious to one another, that they saw themselves as mere accidents, simply because we have few book inventories, wills and correspondence belonging to women authors seems too basic and unfair. All other literary criticism of this period seems to allow for a considerable degree of positive speculation. As Corbeto López (2008) notes within

² More recently, Ruiz Pérez (2003) takes *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* as an example to illustrate false attributions in the Golden Age. The fact that its authorship remains unsettled is only mentioned in an endnote (p. 72).

³ Studies neglecting, denying, or minimizing women's careers as authors are too numerous to be cited in full, but see Porqueras Mayo 1958, 1965, and 1968; Rodríguez-Moñino 1968; Simón Díaz 2000 (first publ. 1983); McKendrick 1989; Arellano 2002 (first publ. 1995); Ruiz Pérez 2003b; Gies 2004; Thacker 2007.

the context of printing,

[L]a exigencia de pruebas documentales que confirmen de forma fehaciente la aportación de estas mujeres en el trabajo diario de las imprentas no es excesivamente coherente si consideramos que este requerimiento no tiene su debida correspondencia para el caso de los hombres. La falta de informaciones concretas referidas a la actividad de muchos de los impresores españoles no ha supuesto, evidentemente, que se dudase de la capacidad de éstos para dirigir sus respectivos talleres ni tampoco de sus conocimientos del oficio. (p. 3)

Elsewhere in Europe, scholarship on early female literary production has come a long way since it began in the 1970s, and a number of women authors are now studied as part of the canon.⁴ Research on pre-1700 Luso-Hispanic female literary production is rapidly catching up, as confirmed by recent publications, some of which include modern English translations of relatively unknown works (see Guevara 2007; Sabuco 2007; Teresa de Jesús 2008).⁵ Why, then, do women authors continue to be largely excluded from general studies on the book trade, despite important work aimed at

⁴ In UK universities the most studied authors in French are: Christine de Pizan, Helisenne de Crenne, Marguerite de Navarre, and Louise Labe; in Italian: Vittoria Colonna, Laura Cereta, and Veronica Gambara. Modules on early women's literature in English regularly include Aphra Behn, Anne Bradstreet, Mary Wroth, and Margaret Cavendish. In the Luso-Hispanic context the early period tends to be represented, if at all, by those who wrote in Castilian such as Santa Teresa, Sor Juana, María de Zayas, and Ana Caro.

⁵ Under the supervision of Nieves Baranda, furthermore, an online database of primary and secondary sources on women writers from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century was created in 2004 ('Bibliografía de Escritoras Españolas', BIESES).

remedying the deficiency? The question was first raised seriously in the two-volume collection of articles entitled *La voz del silencio*, edited by Cristina Segura Graíño and published in 1992 and 1993.⁶ Of special relevance are Lola Luna's contributions. In 'El sujeto femenino de la historia literaria' (1992) Luna draws attention to the continuous neglect of women by mainstream Spanish literary historiography. Nonetheless, she questions the viability of "historias literarias feministas" that take a separatist approach ("segregación histórica"), especially since this was not the approach used by contemporary bibliographers such as Nicolás Antonio in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Antonius 1672; Luna 1992: 55). For Luna, the problem with a separate theoretical framework lies in the paradox of trying to reconstruct any literary tradition independently of the cultural conventions it represents. To avoid this, women's literary history must overcome the problem of periodization; in the case of Spain Luna proposes starting from the Renaissance, on the grounds that before then the presence of women's authorship was intermittent (pp. 55-56). In 'Las lectoras y la Historia Literaria' (1993) Luna goes on to stress the importance of considering as evidence for female literacy both literary works, and texts on women or those addressed to female recipients.⁷ She argues, for example, that the rise in the number of

⁶ This is not to say that research on pre-1700 Luso-Hispanic women authors prior to this date was unimportant (e.g. Miller 1983; Deyermund 1983; Whetnall 1984; Muriel 1982; Barbeito Carneiro 1986; Vigil 1986; Cantavella 1987; Navarro 1989).

⁷ "Tradicionalmente las lectoras han sido consideradas el reflejo de una minoría de letras. Pero este fenómeno bien podría ser el resultado de una escritura de la Historia que sólo tiene en cuenta fuentes documentales clásicas o que lee los textos como documentos de archivo o fuentes de información,

female readers in sixteenth-century Spain is corroborated by the recurrence of the image of the “mujer lectora” in educational treatises and the religious iconography of, for example, St Anne and the Virgin Mary. She also considers the social and economic conditions that favoured female literacy, such as printing, the general spread of book culture, the humanist educational movement; and the role of noble women in the literary world from the latter half of the fifteenth century (pp. 76-77).

Luna’s pioneering work also includes an article on Ana Caro as a professional writer, or as she put it, an “escritora de oficio”. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Caro managed to find a space amongst the men for whom writing was a career: “los ‘artesanos de profesión’ y los ‘de mercado’” (Luna 1995: 11). Her status as professional is corroborated by proof of payments made to her for four of her *autos sacramentales* and one of her *relaciones de sucesos* (pp. 14-16). For Luna the woman addressed by moralists was a textual construction which the historical case of Ana Caro contradicted; nonetheless, she views Caro as hiding behind the topos of affected modesty in her prologues and dedications, even when she thought to get a favorable reception on the grounds that she was a woman, or when she made use of the strategy of addressing her works to noblemen’s wives “como mediadoras ante el poder” (p. 19). While Romance languages are grammatically gendered, an overtly female perspective can be avoided by using the impersonal; the fact that Caro used the first person feminine could suggest that she was exploiting prologue conventions to

ignorando las dimensiones textuales y el modo en que los textos inscriben o “representan” discursos sociales, convenciones genéricas o estereotipos [...]. Las fuentes literarias nos ofrecen otra panorámica” (pp. 77-78).

foreground her womanhood for promotional ends. At all events, Luna's research on Caro affords new ways of thinking about early female authorship. It demonstrates that even in the seventeenth century discrimination did not prevent women from writing professionally, and that craft was as, or perhaps more, important than sex in determining literary success.

Luna's research may be located within the studies which came after the signature-test was found inconclusive as a proof of literacy, since it does not take into account the fact that individuals may have been able to read but not write.⁸ This realization contributed to literacy rates being discussed in terms of degrees rather than in terms of an absolute distinction between *lectores* and *analfabetos*. Less direct forms of evidence began to be given due consideration, such as the production, trade, and possession of books or the schooling process. Particularly relevant is a study of the diocese of Cuenca between 1510 and 1661 by Sara T. Nalle using records of diocesan visitations and inquisitorial interrogations where "the subject interviewed actually stated whether or not he or she could read or write and how well" (1989: 67). The documents show that in the latter half of the sixteenth century the number of men and women who could read was considerably higher than the number who owned books (p. 74). Nalle, therefore, argued that the spread of literacy in sixteenth-century Castile was due not to printing, but to a desire for education, which extended far beyond the major urban centres. She found that women were typically educated in the home;

⁸ The first studies concerned noble subjects such as Isabel la Católica and Mencía de Mendoza, 2nd duchess of Calabria (see Sánchez Cantón 1950; Ruiz García 2004; García Pérez 2004).

autodidacts were rare. Furthermore, despite the moralists' efforts at controlling recreational reading, the public, particularly women, continued to read fiction (pp. 75, 92; see also Cruickshank 1978; Lawrance 1985; Viñao 1999).

The role of the family in facilitating women's literacy has also been underlined by specialists on female authorship. From a consideration of a corpus of religious autobiographies, for instance, Sonja Herpoel was able to conclude that the majority of pre-1700 women had access to book culture. Those who were able to engage in private reading before entering religion, she notes, came from relatively wealthy families "como los burgueses, mercantiles o, aún nobiliarios", that is, social groups with a higher percentage of literate members; the rest depended, to a greater or lesser degree, on preaching and collective reading (Herpoel 1993: 97; see also Luna 1993; Cuadra-Graña-Muñoz-Segura 1994; Graña 1999; Vollendorf 2005; Howe 2008).

The study of women's private libraries was illuminated, for instance, by Trevor J. Dadson (1998), who includes those of five women, three of whom were nobles, though none authors themselves.⁹ The women's inventories, compiled after their deaths, seem to confirm an overall penchant for devotional and entertaining works. Nonetheless, in his introduction Dadson underlines that book inventories cannot give us a conclusive picture of what may once have been an individual's library. For

⁹ Brianda de la Cerda y Sarmiento, duchess of Béjar (1602), Antonia de Ulloa, countess of Salinas (1605), Ana Piñeiro Manrique, 3rd countess of Puñonrostro (1616), Francisca de Paz Jofre de Loaysa (1626), and Isabel Montero (1629). He studies four libraries of male authors: Alonso de Barros (1604), Juan Francisco de Tornamira y Soto (1620-30), Diego de Silva y Mendoza, count of Salinas (1630), and Antonio de Riaño y Viedma (1659).

example, not all books owned by an individual were sold at a *pública almoneda* to pay off debts or masses, and thus some could have remained in the family or have been passed down to other relatives without being inventoried (pp. 38-39). Readers could also obtain books not listed in inventories through private lending or gifts, practices widespread amongst the erudite, but also, interestingly enough, among lower-class readers. We cannot establish whether they were male-specific, since “aparte de estas referencias esparcidas en la documentación, es muy difícil evaluar de modo científico el tamaño de la práctica del préstamo, ya que su propia naturaleza no es algo que deja atrás un rastro escrito” (Dadson 1998: 40).

The first specialist study to concede and apply such new insights with respect to women is by Cátedra & Rojo (2004), a study involving 278 inventories of women’s libraries in the city of Valladolid during the sixteenth century; Valladolid hosted the royal court at various times from the Middle Ages and from 1601 to 1606, when it moved definitively to Madrid.¹⁰ The evidence confirms that family played a more important role in women’s learning to read than any other factor such as schools.¹¹ Aside from the “línea femenina de instrucción” of relatives such as mothers and

¹⁰ The corpus includes two inventories relating to women authors, Beatriz Bernal and Isabel de Castro y Andrade, countess of Altamira. The first was a published author of chivalric fiction, the second contributed a laudatory poem in Portuguese to the first complete edition of Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana* (1590); see Chapter 2, below.

¹¹ That women could sometimes attend local schools, however, is substantiated by Dadson (2004: 1037). On Teresa de Cartagena and Luisa Medrano attending (and teaching at) university in the fifteenth century, see Graña (1999: 225, 227).

sisters, women's home education often included contracted teachers or wet nurses (Cátedra & Rojo 2004: 51-52). On the specific question of what women read, the inventories of women's libraries show a higher proportion of religious books than secular ones, but also point to the relatively free circulation of works of profane literature in both convents and private homes (p. 160). More relevantly, they corroborate the views that women shared books with their husbands and also read works customarily thought of as being the preserve of men (p. 74).¹² One may conclude that we should not underestimate an individual's breadth of reading, whether male or female, on the sole basis of the nature of the books listed in extant post-mortem inventories. Cátedra & Rojo's evidence suggests that early readers, like modern ones, could use books with discrimination according to their individual needs at any given moment, whether for personal education, professional affairs, or pleasure.

Two further pieces of research relevant to the present study appeared a year after Luna's article on Ana Caro. These are two doctoral theses: Ana Maria Kothe's "Displaying the Muse: Print, Prologue, Poetics and Early Modern Women Writers Published in England and Spain" (1996), and Marta Walliser's "Recuperación panorámica de la literatura laica femenina en lengua castellana (hasta el siglo XVII)" (1996). Kothe's thesis examines printed prefaces by sixteenth and seventeenth-century female authors in England, Spain, and the Americas. The study begins by providing an overview of prefaces to poetry by male writers such as Ben Johnson and

¹² This view, however, has already been argued, for instance, by García Cárcel (1999: 163).

Lope de Vega; the next three chapters are dedicated to prefaces by women novelists (including a translator) and poets.¹³ Kothe stresses the rhetorical foundation of women's authorial voices, as expressed in the paratexts of their works; ultimately she reads women's gendering of the modesty topos as a form of resistance to the mainstream literary world or as a form of trespassing on "forbidden territory" for women (Kothe 1996: 4). Walliser, on the other hand, offers a more positive interpretation of early female authorship, closer to that of the present study. She charts the origins of women's secular writing in Spain from the eleventh-century Hispano-Arabic poets Wallada and Hafsa bint-al-Hayy, and Leonor López de Córdoba, an author of one of the first autobiographies in Spanish, up to the consolidation of women's position as professional writers in the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Her study entails a feminist approach to the texts, or gynocriticism. In particular, she assumes the premise that, since the dominant context was patriarchal, women's textual strategies were always necessarily subversive.¹⁵ Such an assumption

¹³ The sixteenth century is represented by Margaret Tyler, Isabella Whitney, and Beatriz Bernal; the seventeenth, examined over two chapters, by Aemelia Lanyer and María de Zayas, Sor Juana and Anne Bradstreet.

¹⁴ The authors included are Mayor Arias, Florencia Pinar, Beatriz Bernal, Luisa Sigea, Angela Mercader Zapata, Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán, Leonor de Cueva y Silva, Ana Caro, Beatriz Jiménez Cerdán, Catalina Clara Ramírez de Guzmán, Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, María de Zayas, and Mariana de Carvajal.

¹⁵ "[P]ara re-descubrir el texto de la mujer es necesario [...] la deconstrucción del constructo mujer, el análisis de las estrategias textuales de la mujer para asimilar, apropiarse y reinterpretar *subversivamente*

is not without its problems. These women engaged in public discourses during the period when the literary profession itself was still in the process of being formed. Therein lies the paradox presented by studies such as those of Walliser and Kothe.

There are other reasons why the status of early women of letters, especially as authors, remains controversial. Renaissance and Baroque specialists tend to study women writers in a piecemeal way, centring on the literary analysis of individual works or of groups of works divided according to theme, period, geography, or language, thereby obscuring broader diachronic trends towards women's increasing participation in the professional world of authorship.¹⁶ Moreover, attention has so far focused on a few well-known writers in Castilian such as María de Zayas, Sor Juana, and Santa Teresa (e.g. Greer 2000; Brownlee 2000; Vollendorf 2001; Luciani 2004; Andrews & Coroleu 2007; Teresa de Jesús 2008; Gamboa 2009); Portuguese and Catalan female authorship has been less studied (Dias 1996; Cabré 2003; Twomey 2003; Piera 2003; López-Iglésias Samartim 2003).

las formas patriarcales y, por último la recuperación de los textos femeninos” (Walliser 1996: 9-10, my italics).

¹⁶ Examples are Soufas 1997; Campbell & Whitenack 1998 and 2001; Herpoel 1999; Mujica 2004; Ruiz 2005; Campo Guiral 2007; Kim 2008; Olivares 2009. On French and Italian things are better; for example, Susan Broomhall (2002) shows how women partook in every phase of the early printing industry in France. Diana Robin (2007) focuses on literary authorship (a category, she argues, dominated by elite writers) to show that a significant number of women also made a dent in the sixteenth-century Italian book market.

Even those taking a broader comparative approach by studying women authors together, irrespective of language or location, may inadvertently have contributed to the persistence of the view of women authors as outsiders or transgressors in the mainstream literary world.¹⁷ Baranda (2005a), for instance, proposes a framework for a history of women as authors. However, she reads women's statements on sexual difference in prologues as arising from the general position of women in society, from a self-conscious awareness of belonging to a subordinated social group that lacks in the authority, and therefore in the necessary recognition, to make their voice be heard (p. 128). This realization, Baranda notes, is what leads the female writer to the "reducción (real o pretendida) de su discurso a un público femenino, la permanencia en la oralidad, la ocultación de la identidad, la transformación en instrumento divino, la obediencia al mandato superior, etc" (p. 129). As we shall see, this interpretation neglects the material properties of women's texts, whilst mistakenly grouping together widespread (not just female) authorial practices, some of which are only found in specific textual traditions. Drawing on catechisms, elementary textbooks, treatises, *novelas*, book inventories, and paintings, Howe (2008) similarly has shown the role of the *imitatio* of exemplary women as models in women's education, locating its pedagogical origins in Ancient Greece.¹⁸ Her study thus corroborates previous

¹⁷ Examples are Bosse, Potthast, & Stoll 1999; Merrim 1999; Barbeito Carneiro 2003; Baranda 2005a; Vollendorf 2005. Fortunately, this is not the case of Stevenson (2007a, 2007b), whose comparative work convincingly argues for the social acceptance of *femmes savantes* on both sides of the Atlantic.

¹⁸ For a recent discussion of female literacy in England and France, see Ferguson (2003).

scholarship, for instance, on the role of the mother in women's education, as well as on how the educational work of some women transcended the spaces of the court and the convent. Nevertheless, when discussing the question of women as writers, Howe continues to give supremacy to the views of critics —that is, moralists—, thus again neglecting the role or status of women's works as cultural products (pp. 188-89).

The truth is that women writers continue to be viewed as “authors” in our sense only from the eighteenth century onwards, while their “definitive” social acceptance has recently been attributed to the educational work of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (1726; repr. 2002) rather than to their earlier precedents (Palacios Fernández 2002: 265). However, as Mariló Vigil (1986: 1) observed over twenty years ago in her classic *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII*,

No es aceptable atribuir la mejora de las condiciones de vida de un grupo social a un supuesto progreso que se desenvolvería por sí mismo [...]; la escalada de posiciones de un sector cuesta normalmente una larga lucha protagonizada por el mismo [...]. Pero la Historia a menudo está impregnada de la ideología de quienes la escriben, que tienden a presentar los discretos progresos femeninos como el resultado de influencias humanizadoras de determinados pensadores masculinos, o de la civilización que avanza, o del mencionado progreso que caminaría solo.

The study of women as patrons and printers has received relatively little attention, despite the evidence that testifies to women's continuous activity in these two literary arenas during the early period (see Vasconcelos 1902; Toribio Medina 1904). Recent studies in the Portuguese field are Willard (1996) on the patronage of Isabel de Portugal, duchess of Burgundy and great-aunt of Isabel la Católica (see Chapter 1, below); Pinto (1998) on the Infanta Dona Maria; and Lópes-Iglésias Samartim (2003) on Rainha Leonor de Viseu (1458-1525). Ríos Lloret (2003) and Nelson (2004) have focused on the patronage of Germana de Foix, duchess of Calabria and vicereine of

Valencia, while Salvador Miguel (2006) has examined the important literary patronage of Isabel la Católica.

The first study of women as printers was by Rumeau (1971) on Isabel de Basilea, still considered to be the first known woman to appear as responsible for the print publication of a work in Spain. Subsequent studies are Griffin (1993) on Brígida Maldonado (the widow of the famous printer Juan Cromberger in Seville), and Fernández Vega (1999) on Jerónima de Gales in Valencia, perhaps the most salient woman printer in sixteenth-century Spain. Recent studies on the colonial American context include Poot-Herrera (2008) on seventeenth-century women printers such as Paula Benavides, the “viuda de Bernardo Calderón”. In brief, women’s role as printers has only recently been discussed as a social reality in the early literary world (e.g. Méndez Viar & Cortés Corral 2001; Sánchez Cobos 2004; Corbeto López 2008; Garone Gravier 2008).¹⁹

There seem to be two main factors contributing to the absence of women in the mainstream history of early modern authorship. The first is that contemporary negative views on the subject of woman and writing are attributed an underserved value as evidence for discerning women’s place in the literary world.²⁰ When Father

¹⁹ Delgado Casado (1996), for instance, registers nearly one hundred names of women printers in Spain. For a recent general encyclopaedia of women as patrons and printers in Europe excluding Iberia, see Robin, Larsen & Levin (2007).

²⁰ As Luna (1993: 83) argues, “la construcción de la ‘lectora’ por los moralistas, ha sustituido a la lectora real, empírica de la época”. Cantavella (1992a), too, calls attention to the fact that, whenever women are discussed, even in the discourse on woman (the *Querelle des femmes*), the information

Astete (1603) asserted “la muger no ha de ganar de comer por el escriuir ni contar, ni se ha de valer por la pluma como el hombre” (cited from Graña 1999: 222), his words cannot be used to negate the abundant evidence that women did write stories just as men did, for money. While relevant for the question of reception, the views of moralists as critics are insufficient to explain the role of women (or men) as readers and writers in practice, in what was rapidly becoming a highly secular field.²¹ Furthermore, moralists also attacked male authors (e.g. Cervantes, Quevedo and Lope de Vega), while supporting some female authors (e.g. Sor Isabel de Villena, Luisa de Padilla, Sórora Violante do Céu). This would suggest that the problem did not lie in an author’s sexual difference, but, rather, in the uses he or she made of literature, and most particularly, in print. As Graña (1999: 222) asks, why would the moralists prohibit women from taking up a literary profession unless some (plenty, rather, to justify its condemnation in print) were in fact already living, or finding ways to live, by the pen?

The second important factor is intrinsically related to the first. Women authors are, more often than not, viewed in terms of their sex, not their craft. This applies especially to the older period; the earlier the period, the worse the review a woman receives by critics. An example is the tendency to interpret authorial first-person

provided is conspicuously scarce: “No podem confondre com viu una persona amb les opinions que genera, ja siga a títol individual o bé pel fet de pertànyer a una col·lectivitat determinada” (p. 16).

²¹ The many limitations in approaching the history of women from such “discursos masculinos” was previously underlined by García Cárcel (1999: 150).

statements—for example, modesty formulae— rhetorically or ironically when by a male writer, literally when by a female.²² Yet not even the autobiographical discourse could be taken literally (Amelang 1999: 138).

If women wrote publicly, as they did, they must have done so with the knowledge that they would receive mixed reviews, some negative, some positive, just like male writers—they certainly were readers and critics themselves. The horizon of expectation cannot have been wholly detrimental for the woman author before the 1800s, for if it had been, why would women have bothered to parade a female voice at all, however modestly?

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This study charts the rise of women as a social group in the beginnings of literature as a profession in the Luso-Hispanic world from a book-historical perspective attentive to literary, pragmatic, and other historical issues—new research in book history unites the study of ideas with the study of material cultures.²³ It thus focuses

²² The number of studies is far too numerous to be cited in full, but here is one recent example: “Sin duda lo más relevante de esas obras, aquello que encontramos explícito en todas ellas, inscrito en los textos y expresado una y otra vez en sus paratextos, es la conciencia de la propia condición femenina, de ocupar en el mundo una posición que exige dar explicaciones cuando se trata de escribir para el público” (Baranda 2005a: 127).

²³ As Cayuela argues (1996), if lettered women emerged, this is because the literary world was not a male preserve; lettered women existed as an established social and cultural group (p. 98). Robin (2007) explores the public emergence of women writers as a group during the years 1530-70 in Italy and in

on lettered women (not women in general), as reflected in the material and discursive properties of the public works they patronized, authored, and published—in Castilian, Portuguese and Valencian, in manuscript or print—, from the mid-fifteenth to the seventeenth century, in tandem with trends in the European book trade. The specific questions which shall be addressed include the following. What social contexts enabled Luso-Hispanic women to read, patronize, write and publish consistently? What perspectives, literary conventions and topics, if any, characterized their literary endeavours? To what type(s) of audiences did their public acts speak? On what grounds did they claim or conceal authorship of their works? What, if any, were the prerequisites for their publication in print? In short, what does the materiality of the texts that have come down to us suggest about women's public engagements as authors, patrons, and publishers in the beginnings of the literary profession? Such general questions seek to examine to what extent, if any, we can view women's first-person statements literally and what weight should be given to the interpretations of moralists on the subject of women and publication. Hence the focus of this study is above all on public texts where women are given a prominent or central role, and more specifically, on what Gérard Genette has called a book's paratext:

[The text] is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging

tandem with men by focusing on the collective process of publication rather than on the figure of the isolated poet. She views writings as coming from intellectual communities formed by male and female writers alike.

to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to make *present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption. (2001: 1)

This liminal space is of great significance both for the public (self-)construction of an author and the interpretation of his or her text, since it always conveys, to a lesser or greater degree, commentaries that are seemingly, persuasively authorial:

[The paratext] constitutes [...] a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that —whether well or poorly understood and achieved— is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies). (Genette 2001: 2)

Starting from this viewpoint and building on work by literary critics and cultural historians (Bouza 1992, 1997, and 2001; Cantavella 1992a and 1992b; Luna 1992, 1993, and 1995; Bourdieu 1993; Chartier 1994; Cayuela 1996, 2005, 2009; Darnton 2006), the present study interprets women's literary enterprises within the context of changing social modes of literary production and publication. To this end, the established notions of "authors as readers", "texts as cultural artifacts", "literary self-consciousness", and the "Republic of Letters" have been adopted, and due attention has been given to the question of contemporary perception for reasons explained below.

The aim of this study is not to offer a univocal or comprehensive picture of women's literary acts before the 1700s — an impossible task, as the actual statistics of texts produced even after the 1400s is far from being established (Eisenstein 2006: 233). Rather, its aim is to widen our understanding by calling attention to the many different public roles and discourses early women could and did engage in successfully, some even for money. This thesis thus does not seek to claim that

women were socially or economically equal to men in the early modern period. The overall question is to what extent this general context materially or psychologically hindered women's active public participation in the Republic of Letters. What we shall see is that the variety of public images that emerges from this analysis counteracts previous judgments, particularly of the pre-1700 woman author, as exceptional, anomalous, an impostor, or manly —mistaken views that attempted to portray her as a relatively recent phenomenon.

Authors as Readers

Given that the basic premise that literary activity is a social act, and that its productions betoken a public, our starting point for explaining the gradual increase of women's literary participation through the early modern period must rest on the fact of rising female literacy. Thus, aside from the social changes which facilitated it (e.g. the rise of vernaculars, the printing press, noble patronage), we may also take the growing availability of women's literature —native or foreign— in Iberia from the mid-1400s as an equal or even greater stimulus for later generations of women readers to enter a literary career.²⁴ This holds true since early practising physicians did not have a clearly dichotomous view of men's and women's bodies; they tended to interpret female inferiority in terms of behaviour patterns rather than corporeal imperative, a crucial fact not to be underestimated: "behaviour could be changed,

²⁴ Dadson 1998: 31: "Disponibles en España durante todo el siglo de oro había libros de los grandes centros de impresión franceses (París y Lyon) e italianos (Venecia), y libros procedentes de Amberes (la imprenta plantiniana) eran tan comunes como, por ejemplo, libros de Burgos".

while human anatomy could not” (Brown 2005: 183). It has been shown that from 1450 to 1500 male and female humanists developed long-lasting intellectual friendships across Europe (Allen 2002: 1079). The cases of Christine de Pizan (1365-1430) and Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547) are instructive. Both readers-turned-authors enjoyed a considerable amount of fame across Europe, and significantly, copies of their works reached royal Iberian courts.²⁵ Indeed, fifteenth-century Iberian noble women took an important lead in broadening textual culture by commissioning the publication of texts in the vernacular by male and female authors, native and foreign, religious and secular.²⁶ Of special significance was their patronage of one of Pizan’s works (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Women’s writing, however scant at times, should best be interpreted as arising from interpretive communities—to borrow a notion from Stanley Fish (1980)—that included women: “Reflexionando sobre las lectoras [...] descubrimos a las escritoras y viceversa. Puesto que toda escritora es, a pesar de las retóricas de afectada modestia, una lectora crítica” (Luna 1996: 135). Furthermore, viewing women writers as discriminative readers inevitably points to the fact that even those with no direct access to female authorship would have found the motivation to a literary career from

²⁵ Namely, that of Avis in Portugal and that of Trastámara in Castile, as well as powerful families such as that of Mencía de Mendoza (see Willard 1984; Stortoni & Lillie 1997; Panizza & Wood 2000; Broomhall 2002; Robin 2007).

²⁶ The reality of networks and connections between learned women on both sides of the Atlantic was recently argued by Stevenson (2007a and 2007b).

merely reading positive images of the woman author in contemporary texts.²⁷

Of course, the question of women's education must also be considered in this discussion. The fact that women were typically educated at home would explain why the number of women authors rose, despite the restrictions imposed by legislation on formal education and the book trade from the late-sixteenth century. By extension, this would point to the growing and continuous support women authors received from their families (Nalle 1989: 94; Graña 1999: 225, 227; Dadson 2004: 1037).²⁸

In the light of these conditions, women's patronage, authorship, and publishing emerge as the most reliable lens through which to elucidate their shift from reading to writing and publishing: it is in the reading act that the aesthetic and social value of texts —the poetic realities or experiences constructed— are welcomed or rejected, liked or disliked. If female authorship rose in the early period, furthermore, this was

²⁷ Broomhall 2002: 75: “[M]ale writers throughout the sixteenth century [...] cited Christine de Pizan as a predecessor to sixteenth-century women writers”. This holds true, since the “*arte de escribir impreso*”, as a new literacy tool, “podía llegar a todas partes, allí donde no había maestros de primeras letras e, incluso, desplazar a éstos” (Bouza 1992: 56).

²⁸ “Tengo echo este discurso tan largo, porque no lo tengan á milagro, que buena parte se deve á mi diligencia, que los buenos maestros y buenos libros y la continuación azen estas cosas que parecen milagrosas”, as noted Juliana Morell's father in his biography of her, dated 12 September 1613; Morell was a Catalan humanist, who in 1608, aged 14, graduated as Doctor of Law from the University of Avignon, and then entered a Dominican convent (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 5; see also Stevenson 2007a, 2007b). Morell was also included in Andreas Schott's *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* (1608: 344), which I discuss below.

because it enacted a poetic voice capable of speaking for other women on a variety of subjects —and this is the important point— in public. Hence it flourished and evolved, and it is possible to find recurring conventions, religious and secular, in women's texts. One such example is the adoption of a female gendered perspective, whether in the first-person singular or plural. Such a stance, whether manifested implicitly via a female protagonist or explicitly via metadiscourse, presupposes in the first instance a female listener —an effect indubitably much more pronounced in a text signed in a woman's name. Thus the increase in the number and participation of women writers in the public sphere (Habermas 1992: 11) during these centuries reveals itself as a gradual effect. Literary practices can only develop after well-established reading practices: "La existencia de una comunidad de lectoras parece conectarse con la existencia de las escritoras" (Luna 1993: 77; see also Graña 1999: 217).

What is more, powerful communities of readers influence the writing, selling and preserving of certain texts over others. For book producers to trouble themselves with texts manifesting such gendered perspectives there must have been a profitable, legitimate literary market for those texts.²⁹ Consequently, the aesthetic horizon of expectation, in terms of Jauss's theory of reception, must have included a growing female readership, interested in a variety of themes and genres. How else, in a purely

²⁹ Darnton 2006: 11: "Authors are readers themselves. By reading and associating with other readers and writers, they form notions of genre and style and a general sense of the literary enterprise, which affects their texts". In her study of paratexts in the Spanish Golden Age, Cayuela (1996: 98) underlines the key importance of women readers in the business of prose fiction.

practical sense, are we to interpret the increasing number of women authors and female-authored texts over these two centuries?

Texts as Cultural Artifacts

The rise and consolidation of women's authority in Luso-Hispanic literary circles was not due only to an increase in female readership and in the number of female patrons. For women to succeed, whether as printers, patrons, publishers, or authors, they needed conditions propitious to their development such as a wide and willing public and supporters in the book trade that included men as well as women.³⁰ All published literature undergoes a "communication circuit", to use Robert Darnton's term, which runs "from the author to the publisher (if the printer does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition" (2006: 11).

In the Golden Age this "communication circuit" becomes particularly evident in light of the legalities (e.g. the *aprobaciones* or *censuras*, the *licencias*, the *tasa*) imposed on books from the Renaissance, the "traces concrètes" of an administrative process to which they were subjected prior to their print publication (Cayuela 1996: 16). This, by extension, can help us elucidate literary networks and connections

³⁰ Robin 2007: 270: "It is still a trope among scholars of early women to observe that public speech and publication were forbidden to virtuous women [...]. But in fact there was a strong tradition of learned fifteenth-century women writers in Italy, whose names were above reproach and who eagerly sought publication, whether through the circulation of their works in manuscript or in printed editions".

between writers, publishers, and critics. Published works, whether issued in manuscript or print, are cultural artifacts; they are the result of a constant interaction between human motives, intentions, but also conventions. As Roger Chartier (1994) has noted, “authors do not write books: they write texts that become written objects, manufactured by others” (pp. 9-10; see also Finkelstein & McLeery 2006). This holds true even if direct evidence for agreements between writers and printers or publishers, male and female, is scarce, and as has been noted, “some may have been made privately, perhaps even orally, rather than being formally ratified by a notary” (Richardson 1999: 58). Of the relationship between textual production, social utility, and the individual writer, Fernando Bouza states:

No era tanto el género al que pertenecía un texto como la función que se esperaba que cumpliera lo que determinaba que éste pasase por las prensas tipográficas o quedase manuscrito [...]. Es la necesidad o la voluntad del que escribe la que decide si un texto ha de andar impreso, correr manuscrito o reservarse autógrafo o cifrado. (1992: 47-48)

The system of privileges is similarly relevant in this discussion, since privileges were conceded on application by the author or a third party, thus implying an even wider network of support for the writer in question. Moreover, a writer who applied for a privilege would have wished in the first place to protect his or her investment in time and creative effort, and, by extension, financial gain (Richardson 1999: 70; Broomhall 2002: 119; Moll 2003: 80). In fact, the concession of privileges for the publication and sale of books was the only legal guarantee of literary and editorial property at the time (Rodrigues 1980: 15; Cayuela 2005: 32). Even the literary paratexts such as a

work's dedication should be seen as indicating a relation of reciprocity, of mutual interest.³¹ And most importantly, because this was a pragmatic role which contemporary authors assigned to it: “[Las dedicatorias sirven] o para celebrar sus virtudes de la persona y dar (siendo tales los escritos) alguna inmortalidad a sus nombres, o porque a la sombra de su protección, ellos [los autores] la alcancen; *en que parece que corre el interés de entrambos*”.³²

Viewing women's texts as cultural artifacts, furthermore, counteracts the idea that print publication was a violation of cultural constraints defining feminine modesty in the early period, for if it had been, “was being reprinted somehow less so?” (Ezell 2003: 69). In short, the rise of female-authored publications should best be interpreted as reflecting a complex interplay between the author's will and the social and cultural value invested in the texts by the other producers in their society.³³

³¹ Cayuela 2009: 386: “Si las dedicatorias y elogios le confieren al libro un sello de calidad, le conceden también al noble un prestigio social ya que en la República de las Letras tener a escritores entre su clientela es fuente de honor para el mecenas”.

³² This is from Lope's dedication to Jorge de Tobar Valderrama for his *comedia* ‘Quien ama no haga fieros’; cited from Case (1975: 21), my italics.

³³ For example, indications of the importance of the high value placed on didacticism in literature at the time are given by the inclusion of images in printed texts: “Encontramos imágenes grabadas con mayor profusión precisamente en los libros editados con fines aleccionadores y propagandísticos [...] en los que los costes elevados quedan compensados por la labor de difusión ideológica que desarrollan” (Mínguez 1999: 268).

Literary Self-Consciousness: Paratexts and Metadiscourse

This exchange between authorial will and social reception brings us back to the importance of reading critically the manifestations of gendered perspectives, not only in women's metadiscourses, but also in the paratexts of their works —the tangible evidence of Darnton's communication circuit—, the interface where the personal and public facets of a text, intention and reception, converge:

A paratextual element can communicate a piece of sheer *information* —the name of the author, for example, of the date of publication. It can make known an *intention*, or an interpretation by the author and/or publisher: this is the chief function of most prefaces, and also of the genre indications on some covers or title-pages (a novel does not signify "This book is a novel," [...] but rather "Please look on this book as a novel". (Genette 2001: 10-11)

A study of literary self-consciousness in the paratexts of female-authored texts in the Golden Age reveals an unsuspected awareness on the part of women authors and their place in the public literary world from the mid-fifteenth century.³⁴ It is telling that,

³⁴ I understand 'self-consciousness' as defined by Armstrong (2000), namely, as denoting the various ways in which a text may foreground its author's creative investment in it. This definition recognises that texts may proclaim their 'literariness' in different ways by highlighting their processes of elaboration, their authors' identity, but also their own linguistic surface; either by explicitly thematizing it or by using striking language which draws readers' attention to the words which actually serve to structure as well as constitute the work (p. 7). Weiss (1990) traces the emergence of authorial self-consciousness to as early as 1400, but he focuses on male poets; two aristocrats (Enrique de Villena and the Marqués de Santillana) and two professionals (*letrados*) (Juan Alfonso de Baena and Juan de Mena).

while all authors employed humility formulae, only women authors ever openly brought up the question of their sex in public metadiscourse. This practice may be traced back to the fourteenth-century *Querelle des femmes* —the popular topic of discussion for which authors adopted misogynist and profeminist stances— and thus, again, to Christine de Pizan (1365-1430). Pizan’s participation shows that the discussion itself was a “pòlemica superficial. No s’hi jugava l’autèntica consideració de la dona com a ésser social”, as Cantavella (1992a: 18) argues after tracing its origin to the thirteenth century, along with the emergence of universities, the Inquisition, the great cities, the Tomist *Summa*, etc:

A partir del XIII, doncs, i alhora que s’imposa un nou model educatiu a la dona —des del tractat pedagògic [Vicent de Beauvais’s *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*] o la trona—, es popularitzen una sèrie de blasmes literaris al comportament femení. Aviat aquests es veuran contestats per altres opinions favorables a la dona —la figura del cavaller galant amb les dames ha arribat al segle XX—, fins al punt que *uns i altres arguments es convertiran en tòpics obligatoris* d’una disputa semblant a la del clergue i el cavaller, o a la de l’aigua i el vi i tantes altres: el debat pro i antifeminista. (1992a: 15, my italics; see also Cantavella 1992b: 181)³⁵

³⁵ With respect to Jaume Roig’s poem *l’Espill*, Cantavella (1992a: 158) concludes: “Aquest [la part doctrinal-religiosa del text, i especialment a Maria i la Immaculada Concepció] és l’autèntic nucli de l’obra, però està envoltat i amenitzat pels comentaris i les anècdotes de què ens hem ocupat [la crítica femenina]. *La seua funció és d’entretenir el lector proporcionant-li estones de diversió a expenses d’un tema-comodí poc compromés*, i que contrasta amb la gravetat que té a l’època la qüestió de la Immaculada” (my italics). Weiss (1990: 115) makes a similar argument with respect to Diego de Valera’s *Tratado en defensa de las virtuosas mujeres*. Archer (2005), while rejecting the idea that it is an “empty rehearsal of argumentational clichés” (p. 204), also concedes that the misogynous view in

Hence the notion of woman these texts reflected was infused with latent humour and a strong sense of indeterminacy (Archer 2005: 204-205). Far earlier, however, the Roman orator Quintilian, whose rhetorical precepts were considered canonical by Renaissance authors, recommended such appeals to gender for the purpose of the *captatio benevolentiae*:

Sex, age and situation are [...] important considerations, as for instance when women [...] are pleading [...]. For pity alone may move even a strict judge. These points, however, should only be lightly touched upon in the exordium [...]. But a simple statement will not suffice, for even the uneducated are capable of that: most of the points will require exaggeration or extenuation as expediency may demand.³⁶

Clearly, then, adopting a female gendered perspective in the literary context has long been used as an effective rhetorical strategy for winning over communities of readers. Furthermore, it made women's works different from men and this difference gave them originality and uniqueness. Thus the paratexts often emphasised in hyperbolic terms the fact of the works being "the products of women"; Pizan herself exploited the question of sexual difference in her authorial self-representation, which did not prevent her from reaching professional status, the first known female example in

Hispanic texts is rhetorical, to suit a text's specific purposes: "the more the tenets of misogyny are discursively explored, the more its internal incoherence is laid bare" (p. 205).

³⁶ "Multum agit sexus, aetas, condicio, ut in feminis [...] allegantibus. Nam sola rectum quoque iudicem inclinat miseratio. Degustanda tamen haec prooemio, non consumenda. [...] Neque haec dicere sat est, quod datur etiam imperitis; pleraque augenda aut minuenda, ut expediet" (*Institutio oratoria*, IV.1.xiii–xiv; Quintilian 1920: II, 12-13).

Europe (Quilligan 1991: 15).³⁷ Thus the positive implications of difference in the literary world cannot be underestimated. As Pierre Bourdieu observes,

To ‘make one’s name’ [*faire date*] means making one’s *mark*, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one’s *difference* from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them; at the same time, it means *creating a new* position beyond the positions presently occupied, *ahead* of them, in the *avant-garde*. To introduce difference is to introduce time. Hence the importance [...] of the distinctive marks which, at best, aim to identify what are often the most superficial and most visible properties of a set of works or producers. Words —the names of schools or groups, proper names— are so important only because they make things. These distinctive signs produce existence in a world in which the only way to *be* is to be *different*, to ‘make one’s name’, either personally or as a group. (1993: 106)

The emphasis on a female author’s sexual difference cannot therefore be seen as going against the norm; all writers (works) need to introduce “difference” to stand out. Curiously enough, in the paratext such appeals to women’s *sexual difference* for the purpose of the *captatio benevolentiae*, again, seem to have followed canonical recommendations, in this case those of Cicero: “But we shall make our hearers attentive, if we show that the things which we are going to say and to speak of are important, and unusual, and incredible; and that they concern all men [...] or the general interests of the republic” (*De inventione*, Cicero 2004: I, 23).³⁸ An emphasis

³⁷ Broomhall 2002: 84-85: “Many sixteenth century women writers (and their printers) emphasized their work as ‘œuvre de femme’ by using their real names and acknowledging their gender”. This practice has also been noted with respect to the English context (see Salzman 2006).

³⁸ “Attentos autem faciemus, si demonstrabimus ea, quae dicturi erimus, magna, nova, incredibilia esse,

on, even the mere disclosure of, an author's female sex should be seen as a factual message invested with a traditional rhetorical (the trope of rarity; see also Schibanoff 1994) or paratextual value, in Genette's words, to benefit her work's reception. A literal interpretation of such a disclosure unfairly denies its importance:

By *factual* I mean the paratext that consists not of an explicit message (verbal or other) but of fact whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received. Two examples are the age or sex of the author. (2001: 7)

Signing a work in one's name can never be seen as an innocent gesture, for it can be a selling point (Armstrong 2000: 8; Genette 2001: 40). But even when the author's name was concealed (identification only became the norm after the royal decree of 1558, which prohibited anonymity), book producers exploited gendered perspectives for commercial ends. The projection of a female presence behind the mask through such generic expressions as "By a lady" may be seen as serving such a purpose:

It was a means of engaging the desired consumers of the texts, in effect of appealing to a female community as having shared interests —an authoritative woman speaking to women. The fact that it might well have been used by a man in order to attempt to shape the mentality of women [...] does not eliminate the way in which the use of a feminine mask acts as an amplification device as well as a cloaking one, an attractive advertisement rather than a humble excuse. (Ezell 2003: 79)

All this forces us to read rhetorically defensive postures and even the allegations of misogyny in women's texts, especially because "la defensa es una de las principales motivaciones del prólogo" (Porqueras Mayo 1957: 135, 153). An approach attentive

aut ad omnes aut ad eos, qui audient [...] aut ad summam rem publicam pertinere" (*De Inven.*, I, 23; Cicero 2009: I, 16).

to changes and consistencies in book history allows us to consider such rhetorical expressions of literary self-consciousness in any female-authored text —however isolated it might seem— as implying a real community of readers, while simultaneously adhering to a textual tradition. Gendered perspectives, male and female, should be seen in the first instance as strategies to incite empathy from and/or identification with potential readers rather than as evidence of diffidence or a complex of inferiority. As Stendhal correctly observed, “C’est en vain qu’un auteur sollicite l’indulgence du public, le fait de la publication est là pour démentir cette modestie prétendue” (1980: 26). In brief, the disclosure of an author’s female sex necessarily suggests that femaleness and literature could not have been a problem in reality, certainly not at the time of her text’s publication.³⁹

Contemporary Perception: Literary Spaces, Patronage, and Official Discourses

This reading of female perspectives in paratexts and the modesty topos does not seek to deny that the question of the contemporary perception of women within the early literary world was also of vital significance. We have, therefore, to consider the important question of literary spaces and patronage. Female participation in a public

³⁹ Drawing, too, on Bourdieu’s sociology of culture, Moi (1999: 291) underlines the dangers in ascribing to sex alone the effects of a much more complex and interconnected web of factors in a woman’s public successes (e.g. sex, class, race, and age). She thus acknowledges the relational, and more importantly, concedes the potentially advantageous role of gender in a woman’s social life: “In some contexts, ‘femaleness’ may even be converted from a liability to an advantage” (p. 293).

arena of literary production can be traced to the second half of the fifteenth century, that is, to the transition from script to print. The relative paucity of literary academies before the seventeenth century meant that the palaces of patrician women provided the most important venues for this literary activity. Perhaps the most famous example is the literary court of Isabel la Católica, but this was not the only one in Iberia. Other leading examples included the viceregal court of Germana de Foix, duchess of Calabria, in Valencia, the royal house of Avis, and the court of Infanta Dona Maria (1521-1577) in Portugal (see Palma-Ferreira 1982; Rios Lloret 2003; Nelson 2004; Salvador Miguel 2006).

That the court stood as the public literary space *par excellence* during the fifteenth and even sixteenth centuries might be taken to imply that literary acquaintance was possible only for upper-class men and women. This was not the case, however, since the court was open to talent and, in the case of women patrons, could, as we shall see, specifically favour women of other classes (see Chapters 1 and 2). By the seventeenth century women's participation in public literary spaces —the literary academy, but especially in poetic contests (“*justas literarias*”)— had considerably increased (Baranda 2005a: 191-217). Ana Caro, María de Zayas, Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, and Leonor de Meneses have all been shown to have frequented literary academies such as those formed by the Conde de Lemos in Aragon during his viceroyship (c. 1650), by the Conde de Torre Ribiera in Seville, and by Sebastián Francisco de Medrano (1617-1622) and Francisco de Mendoza (1623-1649) in Madrid —three of the most literary-conscious Iberian locations of the time (King 1963: 82, 59, 108, 121-23, 185). And they were not the only female authors, if “Poetry, the drama, and prose fiction—all the major literary genres of the time—can

[...] be shown to reveal some connection with the literary academy” (King 1960: 376).

Scholarship on the history of the book has in general failed to acknowledge the role of women authors in such public literary spheres. Furthermore, it has overlooked the endorsement of women’s position as authors expressed in the first literary bibliographies of Iberian letters; that is, Andreas Schott’s four-volume *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, published in Frankfurt between 1603 and 1608, and Nicolás Antonio’s two-volume *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, published in Rome in 1672, both of which include significant numbers of women authors. Much can be inferred from such sources, especially about the debate between *afición* and *profesión* —writing for liberal and noble pleasure or for mechanical money— in the early modern period. Schott acknowledged eleven learned women, mostly writers of both Latin and the vernacular, who lived in the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ Antonio, for his part, listed forty-nine, whom he placed in a separate section at the beginning entitled the “women’s literary quarters in the Greek household” (*Gynaeceum Hispanae Minervae, sive de gentis nostrae foeminis doctrina claris scriptorum*, 1672, fols. 337-38), as well as listing them in the main alphabetical list alongside their male counterparts, a bibliographical arrangement that corroborates the prominence of women authors by the seventeenth century. The pattern of the entries in *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*,

⁴⁰ The women writers included were Angela Zapata, Ana Osorio, Catalina de Paz, Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, Catalina Trillo, Beatriz Galindo, Isabel Joya, Mencía de Mendoza, Luisa Sigea, Santa Teresa and Juliana Morell (Schottus 1603–08: III, pp. 336, 340–44). *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* was also translated into Italian, helping its wider diffusion.

particularly, suggests that, whether male or female, a writer could be considered an “author” worthy of inclusion in the *bibliotheca* or library of a national literature if s/he produced some noteworthy writing of any kind or on any subject, in Latin or vernacular, whether published in manuscript or print (though printed texts are cited in greater numbers, presumably because they were more accessible).⁴¹ This broad view of the author-function, to use Foucault’s notion (1977: 124-27), was shared also within the French context. In his discussion of this Foucauldian notion Roger Chartier (1994) takes as illustrative cases the *Bibliothèques* of La Croix du Maine (1584) and Du Verdier (1585) and concludes that the deployment of the author-function was not necessarily connected either with print publication, or with the writer’s independence during the sixteenth century, although this had changed by the seventeenth century—for Richelet (1680) and Furetière (1690) only the printed book made an author (p. 42).

In effect, the rapid development in the seventeenth century of the modern notion of the author as one who writes substantially for economic ends, that is by sales of copies, is also an important argument for doubting the common view of women’s marginality in the literary world (see Sheavyn 1967; Lough 1978). In the Luso-Hispanic context it had been argued that it was unusual for writers at that time to publish in print, and live by the pen unless involved in dramatic productions (Torre

⁴¹ Women’s place in *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* was observed by Luna (1996: 32-36), although she overlooked significant details such as the name of María de Zayas and the fact that some women not in the list are acknowledged elsewhere. Antonio’s *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, which covered the period from the Roman Emperor Octavius Augustus to 1500, was published in 1696.

1963; Rodríguez-Moñino 1968; Cruickshank 1978). Recent research has expanded this idea to include poetry and prose fiction, while underlining the role of noble and courtesan circles and social institutions (e.g. town halls and churches) as the other important consumers at the time. Perhaps more relevantly, it has underlined the question of social status, proximity or otherwise to the agents of power, as the decisive factor in determining literary success at the time; the most successful writers of the age came from wealthy families (some even from the low-nobility), had positions at court, or within the Church (Amelang 1999: 133-34; see also Estruch Tobella 1990; Cayuela 1996; Ruiz Pérez 2003b; García Reidy 2009).

The Republic of Letters

If we adopt the notion of the “Republic of Letters” as the true lens of professionalism in the early *literary field* (Bourdieu 1993: 34), it becomes clear that women writers satisfied all the criteria for inclusion in what modern historians now recognize as the beginnings of the literary profession. The term, coined by the Italian humanist Francesco Barbaro in 1417 and in use throughout the early period, serves to divert emphasis from the purely financial implications of making a livelihood from writing implied by the anachronistic term “profession”—implications which are largely irrelevant both to male and female authors in this period— and underline instead, as discussed above, the more relevant questions of social practice (conventions) and authority (see Eisenstein 1979; Marino 1996).

A critical approach which views women as a social group of readers-turned-writers and their texts as cultural artifacts and which is attentive to changes and consistencies in literary self-consciousness and public perception, exposes the fallacies of reading women’s first-person statements on sexual difference literally and conceding

supremacy to the views of moralists as critics. A discussion of women's endeavours with authorship and publication necessarily forces us to focus on the space of their positions and that of their position-takings, to borrow Bourdieuan terms (1993: 30). Indeed, even if some related to personal experiences, we cannot ignore the rhetorical and material contexts wherein women's remarks on such matters appeared (i.e. genre, tradition, medium, contemporary trends). As we shall see, not only does this approach make the view of early women as accidental authors radically fallacious, it also makes clear that they gradually accumulated the two more important forms of authority, consecration and prestige, or *capital* in Bourdieu's sociology of culture, in the Republic of Letters (Bourdieu 1993: 75, 270).

Content and Structure of the Study

In view of the above, a representative corpus from over 50 lettered women has been selected from my database of 209 to offer examples of the rise and consolidation of women's literary practices in the early Republic of letters. A corpus such as this enables us to rethink women's literary acts as cohesive, not accidental. The main criterion of selection has necessarily been the projection of a female voice in public texts, whether via a sobriquet ("por una dueña"), real name (i.e. Ana Caro), feminine epithet ("Prologo de la Autora"), or pseudonym (i.e. Laura Mauricia), and of social acclamation, as inferred from official discourses (i.e. literary bibliographies). Where appropriate, this criterion has been extended to include literary correspondence, book inventories, and anonymously published texts, which have been shown to be by women.

The study is divided into two parts; within them, sources on the role of women as authors (including translators), patrons, and publishers have been arranged

chronologically by subject, not author and, where applicable, with representatives from both the religious and secular traditions. Where pertinent (when concerning texts examined as representative), some attention has also been given to the role of women as printers.

Part I (Chapters 1 and 2) underlines the rise of women's literary traditions, religious and secular, up to the sixteenth century. Both chapters trace the rhetoric of women's first-person metadiscourse in various texts of anonymous and identifiable authorship, as well as changes and consistencies in their manifestations of literary self-consciousness in relation to publishing in manuscript or print. Part II (Chapters 3 and 4) illustrates the consolidation of women as authors by the seventeenth century. A look at the use of promotional strategies in the paratexts of women's single publications points to more favourable social conditions for women in this century, which allowed them to achieve commercial, professional, and didactic renown across the Luso-Hispanic world. In all chapters, the works of well-known authors are considered in tandem with those of lesser-known authors, and certain biographical details are given to help illuminate views on authorship and publication.

Chapter 1 examines the social conditions enabling the first stage in the rise of women's authority within the Republic of Letters: the rise of a female authorial voice in Castilian, Portuguese, and Valencian public texts. The socio-pragmatic implications of finding a woman's perspective in vernacular texts are exemplified by the reception of Christine de Pizan in Iberia, the first woman known to publish in the vernacular, as well as by the writings of the first vernacular female authors in Iberia in both manuscript and print. Such early precedents are argued to have laid the groundwork for the evolution of women's literary traditions over the following

centuries. Chapter 2 locates the second stage in the rise of women's literary authority: the shift towards their greater involvement in the public literary world that occurred from the first decades of the 1500s. A consideration of a number of publications in light of royal decrees shows that women's evolving publication practices and public roles were due to the greater level of peer and public support they enjoyed from the Renaissance onwards.

Chapter 3 locates the gradual rise of discourses of fame and professionalization (i.e. remarks on financial gain and further publications) in women's literature on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly in their printed ephemera, the *novela*, and the theatre—the most popular and profit-driven textual forms of the time. Chapter 4 reflects on the interface of authorship, publication and social status in the seventeenth century, particularly female authorial reticence after the advent of professionalization. It thus assesses to what extent women's literary practices depended on negating their sex (by publishing anonymously, under pseudonyms, or in a publisher's name), and to what extent the motivation came from the expected decorum derived from questions of authorial intent and social or religious status. In this analysis greater attention is given to bibliographical factors such as artwork and illustration. The concluding chapter offers a general assessment of female literary practice and success before the 1700s.

In sum, the present study shows that, much to the contrary of what has previously been noted, women's sex did not pose any real threat to them in the early literary field. Paratextual and metadiscursive evidence drawn from their literary acts (patronage, authorship, and publishing) as well as from other sources document the acceptance won by women in their reception into the Republic of Letters.

Chapter 1

FEMALE AUTHORIAL VOICES

[P]our ce que [...] vostre bon sens naturel vous induit et apprend a amer sapience et toutes les choses que elle demonstre por le desir que vostre tres noble courage a de vivre ou tamps a present ou en celui a avenir par l'ordre et administracion de raison en la maniere que doibt estre reglee et duite toute haulte princesse, Je Cristine, vostre humble servante desireuse de faire chose qui plaire vous peust, [...] ay fait et compilé ou nom de vous et pour vous singulierement cestui present livre, lequel est a la doctrine et enseignement de bien et deument vivre aux princesses et generalment a toutes femmes [...] par le grant desir que j'ay de l'acroissement du bien et honneur de toute femme, grande, moyenne et petite.

(Christine de Pizan, 1405)¹

Introduction

In Portugal and Spain, as in other neighbouring countries such as Italy, the rise of women in the Republic of Letters can be traced back to the second half of the fifteenth century, the moment when questions of voice and named authorship increasingly began to be addressed from a first-person perspective. This period was characterized by the realization that letters had not only social, but also economic, connotations. Only then did the questions of literary censorship and literary property come to the fore, and only then, too, was the notion of plagiarism beginning to bear its modern sense all across Europe (Eisenstein 1979: 121-22).

The rise of women as agents within the Republic of Letters was due to three main factors. The first was the rise of the vernaculars as literary languages, thanks in the first instance to the Italian humanist promoters of the Tuscan writers Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), and Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374);

¹ From her dedication *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* bore to Marguerite de Bourgogne (cited from Branderberger 1996: 112).

following their lead, the Spanish humanists Alfonso de Palencia (1424-1492) and Antonio de Lebrija or Nebrija (1441-1522), who both studied in Italy, marked the rising prestige of Castilian with the former's *Universal vocabulario* (1490) and the latter's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492). The second important factor was the role of noble ladies in promoting vernacular texts by male and female writers in the name of those unable to read Latin, which contributed significantly to the spread of literacy beyond religious settings. The third decisive factor was the advent of the printing press in Segovia in 1472 through the German printer Johannes Parix of Heidelberg.

This chapter identifies the first stage of women's rise in the Republic of Letters by reviewing a corpus of public texts, in Castilian, Portuguese, and Valencian, in manuscript and print, in which women's participation as patrons and authors was prominent or central. It attempts to trace such new literary self-consciousness by reading first-person statements by women as metadiscourse intended to bestow credibility on their literary practices and ensure the reader's interest, while locating it within the larger context of medieval European female authorship. The authors used in this chapter are Christine de Pizan, Teresa de Cartagena, the Infanta Dona Filipa, and Sor Isabel de Villena. The corpus may be seen as not only representative, but also as helping lay the groundwork for women's entry into the Republic of Letters over the following century.

1. 1 A Positive Foreign Referent

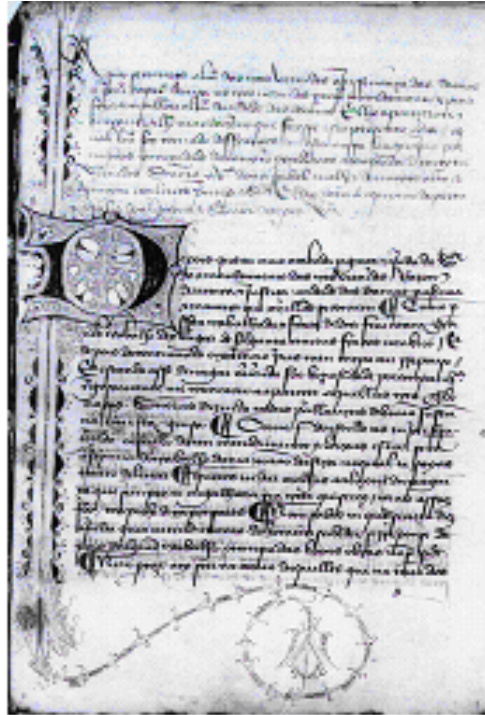


Fig. 1. BNE, MSS/11515, fol. 1.

Aqui se começa *O Livro das Tres Vertudes a Insinança das Damas*. O primeiro capitolo devisa as tres Vertudes, per cujo mandamento Cristina fez e compilou o *Livro da Cidade das Damas*. E lhe aparecerom outra vez e lhe mandarom que fizesse esta presente obra. O qual livro foi tornado de frances em esta nossa linguagem portugues, per mandado da muito excilente e comprida de muitas vertudes Senhora a Rainha Dona Isabel, molher do muito alto e muito excilente Princepe e Senhor, el Rei Dom Afonso, o quinto de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Cepta.²

So reads the incipit to a mid fifteenth-century Portuguese manuscript, a translation of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* (BNE, MSS/11515). Given its literary function, to present the text to the reader, the pragmatic aspect of its appeal to an

² All quotations are from Pizan (2003); henceforth referred to as *Livro das Tres Vertudes*, p. 73.

intended audience should be underlined. Not only does the title present the text as an educational book for ladies (“a insinança das damas”), it also foregrounds women’s roles as writer and patron. Rainha Isabel is clearly identified as the prime mover of the translation. The author figures in the third person, as was customary at the time in scribal titles, but attention is given to her personality: her name is disclosed as Cristina, and she is identified as the author of a better known text, *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, details that clearly point to Christine de Pizan, even if her surname is omitted, a common authorial and editorial practice still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Simón Díaz 2000: 65-79). The idea that Pizan’s work —the earliest known precedent for women writers’ professional status in Europe— was well enough known to serve as a contemporary reference for Iberian readers is highly suggestive, as we shall see when discussing women readers-turned-authors.

Christine de Pizan (1365-1430) was born in Italy, though brought up in France. At fifteen she married Étienne du Castel, a royal secretary and astrologer at the Burgundian court, a prominent focus of late fourteenth and fifteenth-century European culture. After becoming a widow at twenty-five she turned to professional writing to support her three children, her niece, and her widowed mother. She led a successful literary career, encompassing different genres and themes; several of her works were later translated into other vernacular languages.

That her authority as a professional author was considerable may be inferred from the fact that in 1404 she published a biography of Charles V of France, *Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V*. On the subject of women Pizan wrote the two works referred to in the Portuguese incipit. *La Cité des Dames* (c. 1405), a copy of which was sent to Isabeau de Bavière, Queen of France (1385-1422),

allegorically evokes the title of St Augustine's *De civitate Dei* in its structural device of the symbolical "city of women". Pizan reorganized material extracted from Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* (c. 1361-62), together with contemporary examples of famous women, as a debate in which those who, like Jean de Meun in *Le Roman de la Rose* (c.1237-1275-80), upheld a medieval misogynist view of women are refuted. To the debate Pizan contributed the passion of personal implication; by writing on the kindness of women, she was also defending herself and the worth of her word: "Recordem també, però, que si se li va permetre parlar és perquè el poder va entendre que es tractava d'una qüestió literària, no ideològica" (Cantavella 1992b: 181; see also Willard 1984; Cantavella 1992a).

Of great relevance for the discussion of women readers-turned-writers is that *La Cité* teaches readers, particularly female ones, how to interpret misogynist words in a literary context by employing a female perspective:

Quant aux poètes dont tu parles, ne sais-tu pas que leur langage est souvent figuré, et que l'on doit parfois comprendre tout le contraire du sens littéral? On peut en effet leur appliquer la figure de rhétorique appelée antiphrase, en disant par exemple —comme tu le sais très bien— qu'un tel est mauvais, laissant entendre qu'il est bon, ou pareillement au contraire. Je te recommande donc de tourner à ton avantage leurs écrits là où ils blâment les femmes, et de les prendre ainsi, quelles que fussent leurs intentions [i.e. humorous]. (Pizan 1986: 39)

This perspective is further reinforced and enacted by the dialogue, for all the interlocutors are identified as female: Christine as author and narrator, and the three virtues Reason, Rectitude, and Justice, grammatically marked as feminine in French and allegorized as damsels.

In *La Cité*'s sequel, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus a l'Enseignement des Dames* (c. 1405), Pizan moves on to advise women on how to cope with social life through all

the stages of their lives (from the contemporary point of view about female roles), from childhood to widowhood. As in *La Cité*, the main character Christine is identified both as author and as narrator engaging in dialogue with the three Virtues.

It was doubtless Pizan's international fame that motivated the copyist to include the details about her which we are given in the incipit of the Portuguese translation. The MS does not include Pizan's dedication to her *mecenas*, Marguerite de Bourgogne (1394-1441), on becoming queen of France in 1404 via her marriage to Louis de Guyenne (1397-1415), which was cited at the beginning of the chapter. This absence, however, illustrates the utilitarian role played by paratexts —as we shall see, the financial interest in dedicating a work to a highborn person was ever-present throughout the early period. Instead, it states that the translation was undertaken at the request of the queen of Portugal, Isabel de Coimbra (1433-1455), wife of Afonso V (1432-1481). Isabel was the daughter of Duque Pedro de Coimbra (1392-1449) and Isabel de Aragón, countess of Urgel, whom he married in 1429. It is noteworthy that her aunt, Isabel de Portugal (1397-1471), a generous patron of literature, married Duc Philippe de Bourgogne, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*'s original dedicatee's brother, in 1430. It has been argued that Pizan's text reached Portugal through her agency, as a wedding present to her niece upon becoming queen in 1447, or before she died in 1455. The translation can, at any rate, be firmly dated between those years (Willard 1996: 310; Pizan 2002: 31).

However the original reached Portugal, the incipit presents the Portuguese text as a work by and for women readers. Manuscripts were made to suit individual needs, and the paratextual features therefore often differed from copy to copy of the same text. Nevertheless, the fundamental motive underlying the work remains encoded in

Pizan's authorial strategies. The Portuguese translation reproduced Pizan's title, and also her authorial voice. The narration begins:

Depois que eu houve acabada, per graça e ajuda do Senhor Deus e mandamento das tres Vertudes Razom, Dereitura e Justiça, a *Cidade das Damas*, per a forma e maneira que em ela se contem, como pessoa trabalhada e fraca de dar fim a tam grande trabalho dei lugar de folgança a meus fracos nembros, e depois do continuado eixarcicio pus meu corpo em repouso. (Pizan 2003: 75)

The first-person pronoun is identified as expressing the voice of the author not only of the present text, but also of a previous one, *A Cidade das Damas*, substantiating the data supplied by the incipit. Having settled the text's female authorship, attention is then drawn to the moment in which the three Virtues, once again identified as ladies, returned to urge the author to resume her writing:

E estando assi devagar, havendo soo ociosidade por companhia, trigosamente me tornaram a aparecer aquelas tres gloriosas Senhoras, dizendo todas palavras d'hũa sustancia em esta guisa:

-Como filha do estudo, hás tu já esqueecido o estilo do teu entendimento e leixas estar seca a pruma do trabalho da tua mão deestra. (Pizan 2003: 75)

The allusion to idleness as companion is a well-known topos, often used as justification to engage in literary activity. So too is the pretence to write by command.³ Also significant is the three Virtues' appellation of the author, "filha do estudo", and their reference to her authorship, "trabalho da tua mão deestra". The

³ Curtius 1990: 86, 89: "The modesty formula is often connected with the statement that one dares write only because a friend or a patron or a superior has expressed such a request or wish or command [...]. Another favourite exordial topos is: 'Idleness is to be shunned'".

first-person pronoun is repeatedly marked as feminine:

E eu, Cristina, ouvindo as vozes de minhas mui honradas Senhoras, chea d'alegria, corri e me pus em gíolhos ante elas e me ofereci aa obediencia de seus dignos mandamentos, os quaaes logo recebi em esta guisa: 'Toma tua pruma e scrive'. Bem aventuradas serom aquelas que morarem em nossa Cidade pera acrescentar o conto de nossas cidadããs. A todo o colegio femenino e a sua devota religiom, seja noteficado o sermom e liçom da Sapiencia. (pp. 77-78)

The personal pronoun *eu* is followed by the female name *Cristina*; the adjective *chea* is feminine. Above all, an appeal is made to fellow women as readers by the claim to serve the whole "colegio femenino". Pizan's metadiscourse is highlighted in this way throughout the text, evincing a high degree of authorial self-awareness: "Nom há no mundo maior bem que a booa e sajes princesa. Beenta é a terra que a tem! Desto daria assaz d'enxemprios, mas muitos scrivi no *Livro da Cidade das Damas*" (p. 109). The self-promotion of this allusion to one of her works not only highlights her status as published author, but emphasizes that she writes for "women". At times, the appeal to the complicity of her fellow women is more directly embedded in the narrative:

[N]ossa doutrina nom se enderença aos homeens (ainda que a todos fosse necessario seer ensinados), mas, porque falamos soamente aas molheres, esguardamos a seu proveito por ensinar os remedios que podem valer a esquivar desonra. (p. 129)

Indeed, while married readers are advised to love their husbands, the emphasis is on avoiding public dishonour. Here one sees Pizan consciously striving to control the reception of her text by spelling out what she means and singling out her intended readership. In fact, eloquence is repeatedly recommended as women's best means of self-defence.

The full novelty of Pizan's persuasive discursive practices is to be understood within the framework of the genre or tradition within which the text positioned itself, namely, that of conduct books or *espejos de príncipes*. Prior to *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, conduct books, even if intended for female nobles, were written by men, and thus adopted a male perspective in both paratexts and metadiscourse. The advice offered was predominantly theoretical and, despite claims to the contrary, increasingly focused on the question of chastity, not intellect (Brandenberger 1996: 107-55).⁴ Pizan's advice, conversely, was practical and intended not just for princesses, but for women from all walks of life, "de qualquer estado que ela seja", and very much centred on rhetoric. In this respect, it is instructive to consider the text's ending:

Eu, Cristina, fiquei [...] muito cansada por a longa scriptura, mas muito leda [...]. Em crescimento d'honra aas Senhoras e a toda a universidade das molheres, presentes e por viinr [...] eu desejo, pensei en mim que esta nobre obra multiplicaria pelo mundo em outros muitos trelados, qualquer que fosse o custo. Seria apresentada em diversos lugares a Rainhas, princesas e altas Senhoras, afim que mais fosse honrada e eixaçada [...] e que per elas podesse seer semeada antre as outras molheres. (p. 309)

Again, the first-person pronoun is not only marked as feminine by the adjectives *cansada*, *leda*, but also by prominently naming itself *Cristina*; the text's female perspective is reaffirmed by projecting the image of a woman writing to enhance the present and future honour and status of "the universality/university of all women", and by the wish that the text be widely publicized, "whatever the cost", by queens,

⁴ One such example is *Jardín de nobles doncellas* by Fray [Alonso] Martín de Córdoba and dedicated to Princesa Isabel de Trastámara, the future Isabel la Católica (see Alvar Ezquerro 2004: 180-89).

princesses and great ladies in order that the text should in turn reach the widest possible female readership. The text is explicitly gendered not only from the point of view of its author, but also from the point of view of its potential readers.

The impact of *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* may thus be said to revolve around authorial strategies of theme (women and learning), voice and perspective (gendered female), and language (vernacular, not Latin). French and Portuguese are grammatically gendered languages, yet Pizan could have employed the impersonal, neuter nouns and adjectives, and omitted her name from the narration. She chose not to; clearly, she was aware of the viability and benefits of affording a female gendered perspective in a public text, especially one intended for a female readership.⁵ Importantly, the same was true for the unknown Portuguese translator and copyist of *Livro das Tres Vertudes*. Pizan's text was passed on, read, evaluated and finally translated for a wider female audience, which substantiates the practice and real benefits, financial and social, of using gendered perspectives as strategies of self-authorization and self-promotion in female-authored texts from the late fourteenth century onwards. In short, the composition of *Livro das Três Vertudes à Enseñança das Damas* suggests that female-authored texts had, by the mid-1400s, a well-

⁵ The Italian humanist Laura Cereta (1469-1499), whose epistolary in Latin was published in 1488, favoured grammatical gender in the feminine, employing a great number of nouns and adjectives in one of the feminine endings of the third declination ("trix"), which has been considered "raro, si no totalmente desconocido" (Cabré 1994: 231).

established public in Iberia.⁶

1.2 Teaching Outside the Church

It was in this female-friendly socio-literary context that the first known public works by identifiable Iberian women emerged; they were all directly or indirectly influenced by noble female courts. The texts were of a religious or didactic nature, one which was and continued to be dominant for another two centuries (see Whinnom 1980; repr. 1994). However, a number of women also engaged in the production of secular literature in verse, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

The first example concerns a prose work of fifty folios, possibly written between the 1450s and late 1460s —although the only extant copy was produced much later (in 1481 or later, since it includes Alonso Nuñez de Toledo's *Vençimiento del mundo*, which bears that date: see Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 218-219). The text is written in Castilian (fig. 2).

⁶ A contemporary example is the fifteenth-century English poem “How the good wife taught her daughter”. Although its authorship is not revealed, it employs a female gendered perspective: it is narrated by the wife and addresses women readers from the lower-classes of society. It was first printed in 1597 as “The Northern Mother’s Blessing to her Daughter”, thus proving, if not its popularity, certainly its continuous relevance (see Labarge 1986).

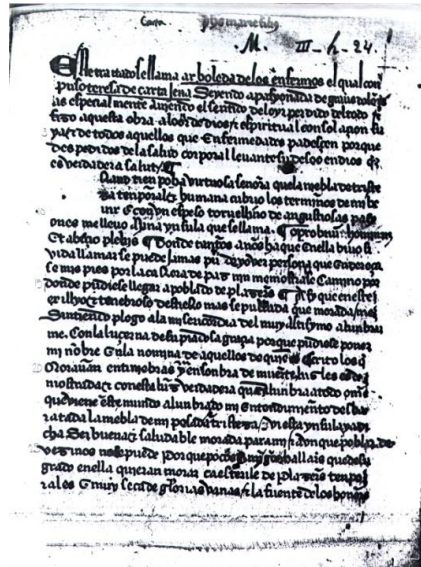


Fig. 2. RB, MS h-III-24: Cartagena, *Arboleda de los enfermos*, fol. 1.

Este tratado se llama *Arboleda de los enfermos*, el qual conpuso Teresa de Cartajena seyendo apasyonada de graues dolencias, espeçialmente auiendo el sentido del oýr perdido del todo. E fizo aquesta obra a loor de Dios e espiritual consolaçion suya e de todos aquellos que enfermedades padescen, porque, despedidos de la salud corporal, leuante[n] su deseo en Dios que es verdadera Salut. (Cartagena 1967: 37)

Its first paragraph constitutes the incipit, written in the third-person singular as that of *O Livro das Três Vertudes*, which provides information to would-be readers about the author, and the circumstances which motivated her writing and its publication.⁷ The text is labelled *tratado*, a tract or treatise, and said to be by Teresa de Cartagena, “a worthy heir of Christine de Pizan” (Howe 2008: 24). Attention is also drawn to the author’s poor health, especially her deafness, while the purpose given for publishing the text is to enhance the name of God, as spiritual consolation for herself and the

⁷ Henceforth the work is referred to as *Arboleda*.

infirm in general. Teresa de Cartagena was probably born in Burgos between 1415 and 1420 to Pedro de Cartagena and María de Sarabia. Her father was *consejero* to Juan II of Castile (1405-1454), and supported the accession to the throne of Princesa Isabel in 1474. The Cartagena/Santa María family was one of the most influential *converso* clans in fifteenth-century Castile (see Cartagena 1967, 1998; Luna 1996; Zavala 1997).

Arboleda is written in the first-person singular, and clearly addressed to an upper-class woman, as inferred from the apostrophe “virtuosa señora” in the first line:

Grand tienpo ha, virtuosa señora, que la niebla de tristeza temporal e humana cubrió los términos de mi beuir e con vn espeso toruellino de angustiosas pasyones me lleuó a vna ýnsula que se llama “Oprobium hominum et abiecio plebis” [“The scorn of mankind and outcast of the people”; Psalm 21:7/22.6] donde tantos años ha que en ella biuo, si vida llamar se puede. (p. 37)

The tone is autobiographical, notably sad and humble, corroborating the information supplied by the incipit about the author’s state of physical and mental suffering. This is no private letter but a prologue in the epistolary form.⁸ As with so many other traditional deferential forms found in pre-1700 prologues, the epithet *virtuosa* serves to predispose readers, here particularly female, to have a benevolent frame of mind

⁸ Weiss 1990: 117: “In all cases, the scholastic prologue was freely adapted to suit the needs of the individual writer. Its use in the vernacular was the product of the new relationship between writer and public, evidence of his desire to communicate more directly, to exercise stricter authorial control and, in the process, to confer greater dignity on his literary status”.

and identify with the author when reading the text.⁹ The fact that the addressee is not named also reinforces the text's public, as opposed to private, nature. There are other traditional forms of *captatio benevolentiae* which reinforce this reading:

[P]logo a la misericordia del muy Altísimo alumbrarme con la luzerna de su piadosa gracia, porque pudiese poner mi nombre en la nómina de aquellos de quien es escrito: 'Los que morauan en tiniebras y en sonbra de muerte, luz les es demostrada'. (pp. 37–38)

St Thomas Aquinas, the most authoritative of the medieval Doctors of the Church, sustained that the argument from authority based on divine revelation is the strongest, whereas that from human reason is the weakest (Minnis 1988: 95, 114). In this sense, Cartagena's claim to be illuminated by divine grace so that her *name* may be recorded among God's enlightened has a double function. It invokes authority through divine revelation, while also seeking approval for her own authority ("poner mi nombre en la nómina"), not just from one person ("virtuosa señora") but from many, and of course, not only females.

Something similar can be said of the following passage, which draws attention to Cartagena's reading, or rather, the sources upon which she hopes to base her authority:

E porque mi pasyón es de tal calidat, [...] conviene sean tales los consejos consoladores que, syn dar bozes a mi sorda oreja, me pue[d]an poner en la claustra de sus graçiosos e santos consejos: para lo qual es neçesario de recorrer a los libros, los quales de arboledas saludables tienen en sí

⁹ On the different epithets used by pre-1700 authors for the *captatio benevolentiae* see Porqueras Mayo (1958: 165-172).

marauillosos enxertos. E como la baxeza e grosería de mi mugeril yngenio a sobir más alto non me consienta, atreuíndome a la nobleza e santidat del muy virtuoso Rey e Profeta llamado Dauit, comyenço a buscar en su deuotismo cançionero que “Salterio” se llama algunas buenas consolaciones [...]. Yo buscaua consolaciones y allé amonestaciones, buscaua consejos e fallélos syn dubda tantos y tales que, sy por ellos guiarme quisyere, poblaré mi soledat de arboleda graciosa. (p. 38)

Cartagena’s inability to hear is said to have motivated her engagement in literary practices, a statement that, by implying that all her knowledge derives from textual culture, authorizes her self-fashioning as a didactic author. The reference to the Book of Psalms serves this purpose, as do also those to Boethius, St Augustine, St Jerome and St Ambrose later in the text. On the other hand, the self-deprecating formula in line 4 of the quotation (“la baxeza e grosería de mi mugeril yngenio”) is employed to appeal specifically to the benevolence of the male reader.¹⁰ Prologues written by women frequently focus on the author’s gender, which men’s prologues never do (see Weiss 1990; Archer 2005); but, far from being intended to exclude men, this tactic

¹⁰ According to Cicero (*De inven.*, I, 16, 22), it is expedient for the orator to show submissiveness and humility. Such modesty formulas achieve an immense diffusion, first in pagan and Christian late Antiquity and then in the Latin and vernacular literature of the Middle Ages: “now the author protests his inadequacy in general, now bemoans his uneducated and rude speech (*rusticitas*)” (Curtius 1990: 83). The authority of the Bible meant that the antique topos was often combined with formulas of self-disparagement derived from the Old Testament: “here formulas of submission and protestations of incapacity stand side by side” (Curtius 1990: 84).

deliberately aims to include them by appealing to their vanity.¹¹ The modesty topos paradoxically reveals not so much the author's womanly privacy and *flaqueza*, but the outspokenness of her *Arboleda's* public nature. Cartagena's self-conscious pride in her role as a teacher is manifested throughout the prologue by such directions:

E porque en mi pequeño plato no todos [advice from David the Psalmist] cabrían, dexaré los que non dexan por eso de ser prouechosos y más que buenos, e tomaré algunos para comienço de mesa e otros para la mesma yantar, e reseruaré algunos para leuantar de la tabla; y no de aquéllos me entiendo aprouechar que más hazen, no sólo al propósyto de mi pasyón, mas al avmentación de mi deuoción y consolación espiritual. (p. 38)

Here, despite the overt mention of personal inner devotion, attention is in fact drawn to Cartagena's careful selection of her material (no doubt to please the reader) through a reworking of the gastronomic metaphor that was to remain customary amongst didactic authors even in the seventeenth century (see Chapter 4).¹² The *captatio benevolentiae* in Cartagena's prologue includes other well-known medieval apologies appropriate to the discourse of public authorship, alleging to write to avoid idleness, fear of being reprimanded for writing, deliberately using humble language the better

¹¹ At the end of the second prologue of *El Conde Lucanor* (c. 1335), don Juan Manuel, Infante de Castilla, notes: "E lo ý fallaren que non es tan bien dicho, non pongan culpa a la mi entençión, mas póngala a la mengua del mio entendimiento" (1997: 59, 73). He wrote the first prologue in the third-person singular.

¹² Cayuela 1996: 187: "Envisager la multiplicité des goûts et des avis, en utilisant la métaphore gastronomique ('Mets', 'plat', 'table', 'goût' etc.) est au-delà du topique un symbole de l'activité herméneutique".

to illustrate the truth, and obeying a duty to impart the knowledge one possesses:

Pues asý es que esta tan esquivada e durable soledad apartar de mí no puedo, quiero hazer guerra a la [o]cçiosydat ocupándome en esta peque[ñ]a obra [...]. Quier[a] [Dios] hazer aplazible e açebto delante los ojos de su grand clemencia lo que enojoso e digno de reprehension a las gentes paresçe. [...]. E con este deseo e avn a este solo respecto dirigiendo mi fin, no e curado de mirar tanto en la polidez de las palabras quanto en declarar la realidat de la verdat; e non tanto me plaze ser estudiosa en ynquirir o buscar graciosa eloquencia, quanto deseosa de manifestar a los que saberlo quisieren aquello que en mí manifesto paresçe, <que> ha fin que como yo lo conosco, lo conoscan todos. (p. 39)¹³

Further evidence that Cartagena envisioned *Arboleda* as a public, not private, text, and that she deliberately portrayed herself as a didactic author, is found in the last lines of the prologue-epistle, where the use of terms such as *prólogo* and *obra* and of a scriptural quotation in Latin as the *thema* (“fundamento”) of her work—a technique borrowed from the art of preaching sermons—reflects a conscious literariness:

Do fin al *prólogo* e comienzo a la pequeña y defectuosa *obra*, por fundamento de la qual me plaze tomar las palabras siguientes: “In camo et freno maxillas eorum constrinje, qui non aproxima[n]t [a]d te” [“With bit and bridle bind fast their jaws, who come not near unto thee” Psalm 31:9/32:9]. (p. 40, my italics)¹⁴

¹³ Curtius 1990: 83, 87: “A particular form of ‘affected modesty’ is the author’s assurance that he goes to work only ‘trembling’, ‘fearfully’, ‘with trembling and agitation’ [...]. A favourite topos is: ‘The possession of knowledge makes it a duty to impart it’”.

¹⁴ The concluding lines of *El Conde Lucanor* read: “E pues el prólogo es acabado, de aquí adelante comenzaré la manera del libro, en manera de un grand señor que fablava con un su consejero” (1997:

The paratextual and metadiscursive features of *Arboleda* thus suggest that the author and her copyist thought it appropriate to promote the work by stressing its didactic religious content, female authorship, and public nature. The literary activity of the *auctor* first became distinguished from the respective roles of scribe (*scriptor*), compiler (*compilator*) and commentator (*commentator*) in the thirteenth century; as Minnis (1988: 94) says, “the *auctor* writes *de suo* but draws on the statements of other men to support his own views”. This is precisely what one perceives in Cartagena’s treatise, where the content is advertised at the front as selected and gathered by the female *auctor*, whereas the name of the (male) copyist is given only in the colophon on the last page of the text: “Este tractado escribió Pero Lopes del Trigo” (fol. 49v).¹⁵

The fact that Cartagena’s name is foregrounded in this way in the MS of *Arboleda* raises the question: had she published previously, was she already a known figure in literary circles, or was the inclusion of her name merely an appeal to the public fame of the Cartagena family, which included well-known historians and translators? Given her courtly connections and her learned background, we may presume that she was already well-known. As Genette (2001: 40) has noted, “‘keeping one’s name’ is not always an innocent gesture”.

73).

¹⁵ Whinnom 1982, repr. 1994: 208: “What might seem an obvious synonymous alternative to *autor*, namely *escritor*, is conspicuous by its rarity [in the fifteenth century], and when not set in an unequivocal context or accompanied by an adjective intended to remove its inherent ambiguity [...] means ‘scribe’, ‘copyist’”.

Arboleda is not the only known text by Teresa de Cartagena; RB MS h-III-24 includes two works (Fig. 3). The second is also written in Castilian and described in the incipit as a treatise by Teresa de Cartagena, in the third person.

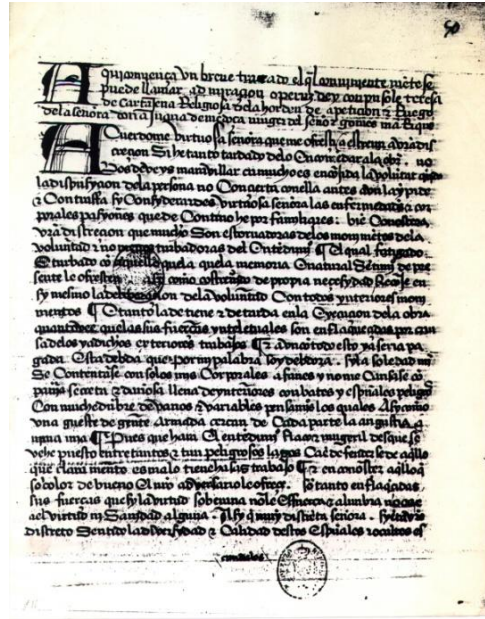


Fig. 3. RB, MS h-III-24: Cartagena, *Admiración operum dey*, fol. 50.

Aquí comienza vn breue tractado el qual co[n]uinientemente se puede llamar Admiración operum Dey. Conpúsole Teresa de Cartagena, religiosa de la horden de [...] a petición e ruego de la Señora Doña Juana de Mendoça, muger del Señor Gomes Manrique. (Cartagena 1967: 111)

Two new details are given: that the author is a nun, and the names of the addressee and her husband.¹⁶ Once again, the text that follows is in the epistolary form, written in the first-person singular and addressed to a “virtuosa señora”:

¹⁶ The omission of Teresa de Cartagena’s religious order is unexplained. Not one single reference is made to her convent sisters or the tranquillity of convent life in either treatise (Marimón Llorca 1990: 112).

Acuérdome, virtuosa señora, que me ofrescí a escreuir a vuestra discreción. Si he tanto tardado de lo encomendar a la obra, no vos devéys maravillar, ca mucho es encojida la voluntat quando la dispusyçión de la persona no conçierta con ella, antes avn la ynpide e contrasta. (p. 111)

The proper name in the incipit suggests the identification of this “virtuosa señora” as the named addressee, Juana de Mendoza. We might assume that both of Cartagena’s treatises were for this lady (though if so, she could have said so also in the incipit of the first). The question again arises: when openly stating that one is writing for a woman, why employ self-deprecating formulae referring to the inferiority of the female sex?

The material properties of the text, again, suggest that the answer was to be found, not in the author’s internalization of misogyny, but, rather, in the fact that *Admiración operum Dei* was, like *Arboleda*, intended for a wider readership.¹⁷ This is not the only evidence of Cartagena’s self-consciousness as a public author. The allusion to her being indisposed (“dispusyçión de la persona”) having prevented her from writing earlier is deployed, as we saw her do before, as a knowing topos of false modesty. Literariness, the material status of her book as a “work”, is again manifested visually through the use of *tituli* such as *introduçion*: “Con la palabra introducción se señala una de las más importantes características del prólogo” (Porqueras Mayo 1958: 58). Despite this textual division, however, Cartagena here keeps up the epistolary fiction throughout, unlike in *Arboleda*, by repeating the address “virtuosa señora”; this has

¹⁷ Branderberger 1996: 106: “Eiximenis dedica su *Libre de les dones* a una mujer; pero [...] los argumentos misógamos, esgrimidos desde un punto de vista androcréntico, y los frecuentes deslices misóginos sólo tienen sentido si se presupone un público por lo menos parcialmente masculino”.

the effect of predisposing the reader to read *Admiraçion* as private communication between two women, and yet it is made perfectly clear that it is nothing of the kind, and indeed has already enjoyed wide circulation among both men and women—a fact that allows Cartagena to contradict directly the modesty topos based on her gender by referring in the same breath to the general “wonder” her work has aroused among both sexes:

Introducción

Muchas vezes me es hecho entender, virtuosa señora, que algunos de los prudentes varones e asý mesmo henbras discretas se maravillan o han maravillado de vn tratado que, la graçia divina administrando mi flaco mugeril entendimiento, mi mano escrivió. E como sea vna obra pequeña, de poca sustança, estoy maravillada. E no se crea que los prudentes varones se ynclinasen a quererse maravillar de tan poca cosa; p[er]o sy su maravillar es çierto, bien paresçe que mi denuesto non es dubdoso, ca manifiesto no se faze esta admiración por meritoria de la escritura, mas por defecto de la abtora o conponedora della [...]. E diga quien quisyere que esta ya dicha admiración es loor, que a mí denuesto me paresçe, que no vanos loores. (p. 113)

That the fiction of private communication serves as a rhetorical strategy is made even more evident when the discussion moves swiftly from the author’s disability (“defecto”) to the misogynistic incredulity that allegedly greeted her earlier authorship of *Arboleda*:

Asý que yo no quiero vsurpar la gloria ajena ni deseo huyr del propio denuesto. Pero ay otra cosa que [no] devo consyntir, pues la verdad non la consyente, ca paresçe ser no solamente se maravillan los prudentes del tractado ya dicho, mas avn algunos no pueden creer que yo hysiese tanto bien ser verdad [...]. E porque me dizen, virtuosa señora, que el ya dicho bolumen de papeles bor[r]ados avía venido a la notiçia del señor Gómez Manrique e vuestra, no sé sy la dubda, a bueltas del tractado, se presentó a vuestra discreçion. (pp. 113-14)

Despite the charming pretence that she is only concerned that Juana de Mendoza and her husband in their intimacy should not be affected by the “dubda” concerning her authorship, the very reference to the approval of “los prudentes” and to the flagrant and insupportable untruth of the minority of doubters (“algunos”) situates the statement in the manifestly public arena of the *Querelle des femmes* (see Cantavella 1992a and 1992b; Branderberger 1996; Archer 2005; Weiss 2006).

A brief look at Cartagena’s metadiscourse in the body of the text corroborates this last point. The plural, *varones*, or *estado fimineo*, alternate with the singular *señora*, causing the text to oscillate between the private and the public, but with a clear preponderance of the latter:

Creo yo, muy virtuosa *señora*, que la causa porque los *varones* se maravillan que muger aya hecho tractado es por no ser acostunbrado en el *estado fimineo*, mas solamente en el *varonil*. Ca los *varones* hazer libros e aprender çiençias e vsar dellas, tiénenlo asý en vso de antiguo tienpo que paresçe ser auido por natural curso e por esto ninguno se marauilla, e las *hembras* que no lo han auido en vso [...] es auido por marauilla; pero non es mayor maravilla ni a la onipotençia de Dios menos fãcile e ligero de hazer lo vno que lo otro [...], ca la suficiençia que han los *varones* no la an de suy[o], que Dios gela dió e da. (pp. 115-16, my italics)

We are drawn to ask whether the names of Juana de Mendoza and Gómez Manrique in the incipit were included in order to imply Cartagena’s connection with the literary circles around Enrique IV, or perhaps even of Princesa Isabel. Again, as Genette (2001: 135) reminds us, “The dedication always is a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual or personal, actual or symbolic, and this proclamation is always at the service of the work”. The dates of Cartagena’s death and of the composition of *Admiraçion* are not known; the *terminus post quem* of the MS is 1481 or later, as we have seen. There is therefore

nothing to suggest that *Admiração* could not have been composed in the late 1460s, in which case it would be attractive to suggest a connection with the circle of Princesa Isabel, whose accession to the throne Gómez Manrique (1412-1490) would later faithfully support, and whom his wife Juana de Mendoza (c.1425-1493) served as lady-in-waiting.

When she became queen, Isabel la Católica (1451-1504), like her Portuguese relatives —her mother Isabel de Portugal was the daughter of Isabel de Bragança, a niece of the Rainha Isabel de Portugal addressed in *Livro das Tres Vertudes á Insinança das Damas*, and hence a relative of Isabel, duchess of Burgundy— took an active interest in literary culture, very much from a female perspective. She patronized a literary court whose only members were women, and promoted texts in the vernacular (see Salvador Miguel 2006). A well-known example of her literary patronage is Antonio de Nebrija’s publication, at the queen’s command, of an edition of his celebrated Latin grammar with interlinear Castilian translation specifically for the self-education of female religious, for whom contact with male teachers was unsuitable. It was perhaps “aquel arte dela gramatica que me mandó hazer vuestra alteza contraponiendo linea por linea el romance al latin” (fol. A4r) that subsequently inspired Nebrija to dedicate to the queen the first Castilian grammar, *Gramatica de la lengua castellana*, published in 1492. The queen’s role, both in rendering female literacy normal and in providing norms for the same, was thus key, as was her support for women teachers for the education of women.¹⁸ She herself took classes in Latin

¹⁸As the humanist Juan de Lucena (1481) noted on the studious character of Isabel la Católica, “Lo que

with Beatriz Galindo “La Latina” (1475-1534) from 1487, according to the household accounts, and in 1500 ordered a Bachiller Sepúlveda to send his daughter, who knew Latin, to teach the nuns in a convent in Granada (Alvar Ezquerro 2004: 209). She patronized a number of women scholars besides her former tutor, Beatriz Galindo (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 420-443).

From all this, it seems plausible that the queen might have read Pizan’s *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* in its Portuguese translation. In fact, a copy of this text was listed in the queen’s book inventory (Sánchez Cantón 1950: 30, 71).¹⁹ Even if she did not own this copy, Isabel la Católica could have been acquainted with the text through her Portuguese relatives, for by the end of the fifteenth century Pizan’s advocacy of female participation in letters seems to have been adopted *de facto* in the higher levels of culture in Castile.

What emerges clearly from Teresa de Cartagena’s surviving texts is the fact that, although at different times and in specific circumstances she employed self-deprecating formulae and alleged adverse criticism, she showed no compunction in publicizing her literary skills and authority from a woman’s perspective. In *Arboleda* her deafness was used as a rhetorical device, if not a pretext, to explain and more importantly authorize her engagement in didactic religious discourse. The mention of

los reyes hacen bueno ó malo, todos ensayamos de hacer [...]. Jugaba el Rey, éramos todos tahures; studia la Reina, somos agora estudiantes” (Lucena 1892: 216).

¹⁹ Ruiz García (2004: 27), conversely, argues that it may have belonged to Reina Margarita de Austria (1598-1611). But the point stands: Pizan’s texts reached Castilian courts.

recognized names and the allusion to her religious status in the incipit of *Admiração* may have served as *captatio benevolentiae* by her claiming to write at someone else's request, but it was also a strategy of self-promotion. Although the name of the religious order to which she allegedly belonged was strikingly left blank in the manuscript, its later index had no hesitation in taking the reference as factual, listing both works as being by a nun.²⁰ It may well be that Cartagena's self-portrayal as a nun was a strategy to justify the fact, not that she was publishing her writing, but that she was portraying herself as a religious authority. Even during the early decades of printing, stressing a religious affiliation in vernacular public discourse was often necessary for similar reasons (Brown 1995: 63).

1.3 Translators and Illustrators

The passion for books of the women of the Portuguese court did not end with the death of Rainha Isabel in 1455. She had other female relatives who took an active interest in literary culture, often in a more direct way. The Infanta Dona Catarina (1436-1463), sister of Afonso V, first cousin to Rainha Isabel and niece to the duchess of Burgundy, was learned in Latin and Greek; she wrote and translated mainly religious texts, as befitted her religious status as a nun of the convent of Santa Clara in Coimbra. Her translation from Latin of Lourenço Justiniano's *Da Perfeiçom da Vida*

²⁰ “Arboleda de enfermos, o co[n]suelo spiritual delos q[ue] padeçen enfermidades co[m]puesta por Theresa de Carthagená monja. / Admiração delas obras de dios co[m]puesta por la mesma monja —fol. 50. / Vençimiento del mu[n]do, de Alonso nuñez de Toledo —fol. 67. / Dichos y castigos de prophetas y philosophos —fol. 84” (transcription mine).

Monástica was first printed by the printer Germão Galharde in her convent in 1531, together with *Livro da Vida Solitária*, which some critics attribute to her cousin, Dona Filipa, under the title *Ho Livro que se Escreve da Regra e Perfeçam da Conversaçam dos Monges* (see Dias 1996: 6-26 and 1998: 319-20; López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 339-71). The Infanta Dona Filipa de Lencastre (1435-1497), Rainha Isabel's sister, was also very learned; she wrote various texts of a religious and political nature such as *Nove Estações ou Meditações da Paixão*, *Practica Feita ao Senado de Lisboa em Tempo que Receava Algum Tumulto*, and *Conselho e Voto sobre as Terçarias, e Guerras de Castela* (see Barbosa Machado 1741-59; Costa 1892). She also claimed full authorship of the Portuguese translation from French of *Livro dos Evangelhos e Homilias*. After her father's death dona Filipa retired to the convent of Odivelas, where she lived for seventeen years —without professing as a nun— and most likely composed her texts; she died aged fifty-six (Dias 1998: 323-324). Of all the works mentioned, only *Conselho* and the *Dedicatória* to *Livro dos Evangelhos e Homilias* have survived; the former was published posthumously with a *Breve Notícia desta Princesa* by the chronicler Fr. Francisco Brandão (Lisboa, 1643; see Dias 1998).

From an analysis of metadiscourse in *Dedicatória*, dated 2 December 1491 and addressed to Mência de Alvarenga, abbess of Odivelas, we shall see that the Infanta D. Filipa used similar metadiscursive practices to Teresa de Cartagena, thus making clear their conventional use in women's literary traditions.

The Infanta's authorial voice pinpoints the abbess and her fellow nuns as the text's intended addressees:

Os dias passados veo a minhas mãos, Madre, Senhora, e devotas Irmãs em Jesu Cristo, o original de ù livro em francês, e porque a ele em vos provectar algũa cousa servisse, quisera-o trasladar

tornado em português por mão de quem melhor que eu escrevera, a qual cousa começada, vierom torvações que disso me desviarom. (Cited from Dias 1998: 360)

The tone is humble yet self-assertive. The mere fact of drawing attention to her poor intellectual abilities makes it affected modesty, for her female authorship is fully claimed:

Querendo mais daí a tempo prosseguir, seguio-se nossa romaria, em a era do Senhor de 90, ao jubileo do Apostolo Santiago em Galisa, onde eu e vós, Madre e muito amiga, com algũas Irmãs de companhia fomos. E da volta assi se tornou o mundo que me pareceo o nom poderia bem escrever, se nom que soo de minha letra fosse. Dei-me a essa ocupaçom e, como eu por meus pecados nom som a plaser de Deos, tam pouco o som as obras minhas. (p. 360)

The audience is appealed to through empathy. This way of seeking identification with readers can be found, to a greater or lesser degree, in all European literary periods. The same applies to stressing one's lack of good health or linguistic ability, although these are more often found in published religious discourse. So it is that the Infanta's authorial practices fall into line with Teresa de Cartagena's:

Corporal infirmitade me tornou tanto que obra de um mez nom podia acabar em quatro. E sobretudo porque nom som boa oficial, em muitas partes vae a letra mui descontinuada, às vezes faminta, outras mais grossa, de rabiscas a lugares, doutros assaz falimentos abastada. Sento, porem, que as palavras e sentenças do livro verdadeiramente som escritas. (p. 360)

Physical illness allegedly prevented the Infanta from satisfactorily completing the translation she so "unwillingly" took on. Again, however, it is her aptness, authority for the task that is ultimately suggested. Like Cartagena, the Infanta calls attention to her "strong" good will, despite possessing no learned knowledge, in a translation on such subject matter (Christ):

Recebê caridosamente meu fraco bem obrar, dando-lhe de contrapeso a boa vontade minha, que em algumas cousas, ao menos para vos querer complaser, sem duvida se acha forte. Nom duvidei com todas estas minguas o apresentar em serviço a esta casa de Jesu Cristo em que O servis, porque a materia dele é de mui principalmente se trata, ficão todas as cousas sem sabedoria. (p. 360)

Thus the apology for ignorance is again purely conventional. The text is justified by religious content, which the author persuasively states will please all by its woodcut images, even if their style is poor:

Aqui estão de sua concepção, nascença, vida, doutrina, milagres, paixom, morte, ressorreiçom, ascensom, enviamento do Santo Spirito, vinda ao juizo, para seres de Sua gloria. Nascença bendita, vida e morte da Virgem Maria Nossa Senhora, Sua madre, epístolas e evangelhos do domingal e ferial [...] alem dos que usaes em quartas e sextas-feiras, com muitos sermoens pequenos e algũas grandes lendas das festas do Senhor e da Senhora, e inda em a fim de cõmundos Santos e festas votivas, alguns poucos. E porque a vista delectosamente ocupe, as imagens destas cousas figuradas e aquelas que em o tempo antigo forão delas figura, ainda que nom som bem feitas, porque nom tive melhor pintor. (pp. 360-61)

Attention is drawn to the Infanta's personal role in commissioning the text's illustrations ("nom tive melhor pintor"), which perhaps further highlights her literary and artistic authorship. The same self-promotion is evident in her commentary on the book's index, which leads to a statement of why the text was worth translating, reading and owning:

Em a fim, tem ùa taboada por A, B, C, que resume acerca tudo o conteudo em o livro, demonstrando onde se busque. Assi que a avondança de tantas boas materias, espero que em vossa devoçom, que supra o defecto de minha fraca escritura [...]. Digo-o nom porque o sinta, mas porque muito o desejo sentir, segundo leo e ja vi quem dele sentindo comessava em esta vida de miserias a ver gosto do Paraíso. (p. 361)

“Segundo leo e ja vi”: the Infanta’s literary self-consciousness is made obvious even in statements such as this. And she goes on:

Acharês em algumas epistolas e evangelhos muitas sentenças, ainda que em português duvidozas de entender. E certo eu tinha livros, louvores ao Senhor, e pessoas que poderom insinar-me a declaraçom delas para ali as escrever; mas houve por bem ante de assi leixar, porque a nós outras, mulheres, pois havemos sempre de ser subjectas, mais convem teer as cousas por fee que por sabedoria, e que ante as perguntemos a outrem ca de nós mesmas as sabermos. (p. 361)

The fact that learning is mentioned yet rejected should not come as a surprise. In the Christian tradition, knowledge of God is also possible through “experience”. Doubtless, the Infanta was familiar with St Augustine’s *Confessions*, which so forcefully illustrate this idea via the author’s own lived experience:

A qual cousa se nom tome por abatimento, que por certo eu o tenho por bem-aventurança nossa, termos azo de sempre nos humildar, acordando-nos com o Psalmista aonde diz: Bom é a mim, que me humildaste ou baxaste, para que aprenda tuas justificações. (p. 361)

In reading the above, furthermore, St Paul’s injunction that women should not be cultivated may come to mind. Yet it is David the Psalmist and his more universal words that are recalled, a verse that ultimately serves to turn women’s “subjection” into a special kind of blessing (*bem-aventurança*). Indeed, since the dedication is overtly addressed to female convent readers, the Infanta’s advocacy of female humility and subjection becomes a rhetorical strategy to instigate identification between the text and its readers (nuns). Finally, as was customary, the dedication ends with a humble acknowledgement of authorship, a spiritual offering to the abbess, and, of course, a prayer:

Ante vossa caridade, pois, este pequeno presente por serviço Seu, vossa espiritual consolação e

algun tanto honesto temporal plaser seja presentado, perdoando meus defectos. E havee de minha alma memoria por amor de Nosso Senhor Deos, a que plaza conservar vosso bem viver santamente a melhor o esforçando, que mereçaes em a fim haver alegremente sua vizom bem-aventurada. (p. 361)

The example of Infanta D. Filipa as translator of vernacular texts may thus be seen as corroborating the manifestations of literary self-consciousness in women's texts examined above; and how the *captatio benevolentiae* based on sexual difference always betokened the anticipation of a male readership. It might also, given her family origins, be seen as evidence of the growing similarities between the French and Portuguese (and Castilian) female publics, even before the turn of the sixteenth century.

1.4 Mass Consumption and Print

The final example of this chapter is instructive not only in that it displays a different conception of authorship, but because it was printed before the sixteenth century. It too concerns a religious work, which should come as no surprise if we consider that, as in other European kingdoms, the first texts to be printed in vernacular languages were religious.²¹ The author was the Valencian nun, Isabel de Villena (1430-1490) and her work, the *Vita Christi* (Fig. 4). As with most contemporary and later works, the printed title-page highlights the work's title, the author's identity, plus

²¹ The first in Castilian was *Sinodal de Aguila Fuente* (Segovia, 1472); it was followed by *Obres e trobes en lahors de la verge Maria* (Valencia, 1474) in Valencian; and *Sacramental* (Chaves, 1488) in Portuguese (see Gerli 2003).

a coat of arms, in this case belonging to the author's family. As we shall see, over the years both the content and visual arrangement of information in the title-page dramatically evolved, thus showing the rhetorical value invested in it by book producers.²²



Fig. 4. Title-page of Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi*, first edition, 1497.

As with the cases seen, the author of this text had courtly connections. Sor Isabel de Villena, whose real name was Elionor Manuel de Villena, was an illegitimate child of Enrique de Villena (1384-1434), a renowned writer, scion of the regal Trástanaras. She spent her early years at the Valencian court of her cousin, Maria de Castilla

²² Armstrong 2000: 5: "Whereas a manuscript's owner had typically commissioned the volume for himself, and therefore knew its contents, printers needed to attract a wide public, which was often unfamiliar with the texts they published. Consequently, title-pages were developed as a useful means of both identifying and advertising texts".

(1401-1451), first wife of Alfons V el Magnànim (Isabel de Villena 1992: 102), before entering the religious life and engaging in religious discourse, and wrote various texts, some of which she illuminated herself (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 575-577; see also Fuster 1968; Cantavella 1987, 1988, and 1992a, 1992b; Hauf 1990; Alemany Ferrer 1992; Orts 1992).

That Sor Isabel was neither an amateur reader nor writer may be inferred from the fact that she engaged in literary discussions at the convent's *locutorio* with many famous contemporary Valencian authors such as Àusias March, Joanot Martorell and Jaume Roig. What is more, Bernat Fenollar, Miguel Pérez and Pere Martínez dedicated some of their works to her: Fenollar his *Història de la passió de Nostre Senyor Jesu Christ* (1493), Pérez his Valencian translation of Thomas à Kempis's *Menyspreu del mon* (1491), and by Fenollar and Martínez, their co-authored *Lo passi en cobles* (1493) (Isabel de Villena 1992: 145-149).

Despite all this, Sor Isabel's authorial reticence appears greater than Teresa de Cartagena's. The incipit of her *Vita Christi* runs:

Açi comença hun Vita Christi en romanç, per que los simple e ignorants puguen saber e contemplar la vida e mort del Nostre Redemptor e Senyor Jesus, amador nostre, al qual sia donada gloria e honor de totes les obres nostres com a faedor e ordenador de aquelles. (Isabel de Villena 1992: 205)

As expected, it is written in the third person. Although the name of the author is not identified in the incipit, attention is drawn to the text's title "Vita Christi" and the fact that it is written in the vernacular ("romanç") so that the unlearned —those with no knowledge of Latin— could learn and contemplate the life and death of Christ, who is said to be the work's ultimate dedicatee. Both the advocacy of the vernacular for

appealing to a wider public and the idea of God as *auctor* of all things were customary in late-medieval discourse, as seen in both of Teresa de Cartagena's treatises.²³

So far, however, it would appear that little or no relevance was given to the name of the author as a promotional point. However, this was not the case. The name is prominently signalled in the dedication to the "molt alta, molt poderosa, christianissima reyna e senyora" Isabel la Católica, and signed by the abbess of the convent where Sor Isabel professed ("D.V.R.M. Humil serventa e oradora Sor Aldonça de Montsoriu, indigna abbadessa del monestir de la Sancta Trinitat"):

La resplendent lum de devocio que dins vostra altesa clareja li ha descubert que en aquest seu monestir hi havia un devot Vita Christi, ordenat per la illustre dona Elionor, alies Sor Isabel de Billena, reverend abadessa e mare nostra; hi, per quant vostra reyal celsitut, tota en la amor del gran rey de paradís encesa, havia escrit al batle general de aquest seu regne de Valencia li trametes trellat de aquell, he pensat fer accepte servey a vostra magestat, per que mes prest a ses reyal mans pogues attenyer, fer aquell empremtar. (p. 204)

The text's print publication is explicitly connected with Isabel la Católica both in the rubric and in the text, while the name of the author is revealed in the first three lines: "dona Elionor, alies Sor Ysabel de Billena". That the allusion to the queen's patronage was not a mere topos may be inferred from the fact that in 1503 she ordered Fray Ambrosio Montesino to translate Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* into Castilian. The book is further evidence that Isabel, like her Portuguese relatives,

²³ In the first prologue of *El Conde Lucanor* Don Juan Manuel, after listing the titles of all his books, notes: "E por ende fizo todos los sus libros en romance, e esto es señal çierto que los fizo para los legos et de non muy grand saber como lo él es" (1997: 70).

played a decisive role in the rise of women's involvement in literacy, reading and authorship. Juan Rodríguez del Padrón dedicated his profeminist *Triunfo de las donas* (before 1445) to Isabel's father's first wife, María de Aragón (1418-1445), who was in turn the sister of Alfons V of Aragon and Naples (1416-1458) (Willard 1965). Thus Sor Isabel's *Vita Christi* was also connected with the cultural circle of female royal patrons. The text also presents two different interpretations of the author-function, to use Foucault's term (1977:124-27), as seen in the following passage:

E, puix ella, humil religiosa, resta loada d'haver callat lo seu nom en la composicio de tant digne libre, yo'n crech attanyer no poch merit davant Deu en publicar lo nom de tant singular mare, de immortal memoria digna: Sor Ysabel de Billena lo ha fet; Sor Ysabel de Billena l'[h]a compost; Sor Ysabel de Billena ab elegant y dolç stil l'[h]a ordenat, no solament per a les devotes sors y filles de hoberdencia que en la tanchada casa de aquest monestir habiten, mas encara per a tots los que en aquesta breu, enugosa e transitoria vida viuen. Yo, serenissima e christianissima senyora, lo tramet a sa altesa; en lo qual trobarà tants profundes e altes sentencies, que clarament coneixera que lo Sperit Sanct era lo regidor del enteniment e ploma de tant dignissima e reverent mare, qui era tant affectada al servici de la vostra celsitut. (p. 204)

Sor Isabel's identity and role in the production of the text is reiterated three times. Perhaps this triple anaphora merely was a sign of fellow pride and boldness at the author's being a woman. What seems evident is that revealing the identity of the author was thought appropriate and persuasive from the publisher and printer's perspective. But if the author herself—as is stated—did not wish to disclose her name, what could be the justification for doing so? The answer seems to lie in the fact that it is someone else, not the author, who reveals the truth, so leaving Sor Isabel's religious humility untarnished: “It is sometimes in one's interest to have certain things “known” without having (supposedly) said them oneself” (Genette

2001: 10). As we shall see, this rhetorical strategy would remain in use in the seventeenth century, especially if the author was noble or religious.

One cannot take Montsoriu's literary act lightly. By informing us of the female identity of both author and recipient, she also encourages women readers to take a special interest in the text; it is presented as "the product of a woman". The dedication thus displays and encourages a gendered reading of Sor Isabel's text. Furthermore, Montsoriu's seeming contravention of Sor Isabel's wish illustrates the rhetorical faculties of late-medieval women authors and their acute awareness of the social power of literature in conferring long-lasting credit upon authors.

The following example may serve to elucidate Sor Isabel's notion of authorship: "Car, certament, no es ver Amador de la verge Maria, senyora y reyna nostra, qui no fa molta estima e no cura de colre lo dia de la sua sagrada Concepcio. Car sa senyoria ha mostrat, per diversos miracles, plaure-li molt lo servir a ella fet en tal jornada" (p. 210). Here, instead of the gendered first person, an impersonal neuter style is used to digress and moralize, exhibiting a type of metadiscourse different from both Teresa de Cartagena's and the Infanta Dona Filipa's. In fact, the text is full of references articulated in this way, and yet, more often than not, Sor Isabel uses the style to praise female figures surrounding the life of Christ. Sometimes the judgement is expressed first in Latin, and then translated into Valencian, a feature no doubt intended to add credibility to Sor Isabel's discourse. For instance, when St Anne takes her daughter, the Virgin Mary, to church, the priest states: "Sa Magestat [Déu] ha-us tan ben hoyda e aconsolada e contentada la voluntat vostra que us ha donat una tan excellent filla, que *valet ad vos multo magis quam decem filii*; car mes val a vos sens comparacio aquesta filla, que deu fills" (p. 214). This might also be read as directed at persuading

misogynist readers to adopt a more positive view of women, as could also the following remarks on Adam's disobedience of God:

Excellent senyora, ja sab vostra altesa que, com nostre Senyor Deu, creant l'[h]ome, li donà aquella insigne casa de parays terrenal per posada, a ell e a tots sos fills, e lo dit Adam, no content [...] volgue's metre en aquella que la magestat divina havia hedificada sols per a si mateix, ço es, la sciencia e saber seu divinal, en la qual casa no vol que nenguna creatura [h]y entre, e per aquesta gran presumpcio e deslealtat mereixque Adam perdre la casa propria e tota sa heretat per a ell e a tots sos fills. (p. 223)

In fact, despite the promise made by its title, *Vita Christi*, Sor Isabel's narration centres mostly on the role of the Virgin Mary and other biblical women, highlighting female social and religious worth. Scholars have long commented on the fact that the text can be read rather easily as a profeminist work due to the predominant role given to female biblical characters (Cantavella 1987, 1988, and 1992a, 1992b; Hauf 1990; Alemany Ferrer 1992; Orts 1992). Presumably, the title was added posthumously by the printer Lope de Roca. As Bouza (1997: 38) reminds us, printers and booksellers, rather than authors, chose titles on grounds of public appeal, not closeness to the subject-matter. Still, the title given to Sor Isabel's text is interesting, since it echoes *Vita Christi* or *Vida de Jesucrist* (before 1403) by Francesc d'Eximenis (1340-1409), while its subject matter seemingly places the text in the *Querelle des femmes*. Jaume Roig (d.1478), the doctor at Sor Isabel's convent, was the author of a poem entitled *L'Espill*, also known as *Libre de las donas* (c. 1460), which discusses the subject of the Immaculate Conception, yet still criticises women (see p. 34, n35).

In short, the rhetorical strategies manifested in this Valencian *Vita Christi*, both in the paratext and in the body of the text, confirm the position of women as patrons, authors, and readers by the turn of the sixteenth century (Cantavella 1992a: 15). Sor

Isabel's work was reprinted in 1513 and in 1527. The 1527 edition, furthermore, includes a plate of the author, the first in female traditions, in which she is shown teaching her nuns authoritatively from an open book.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have outlined the first stage in the rise of women in the Luso-Hispanic Republic of Letters: the enactment of female authorial voices that occurred in public works, thanks to the rise of the vernacular as literary language, noble female patronage, and the printing press, but also the availability of women's authorship, from the mid-fifteenth century. The Portuguese reception of Christine de Pizan preceded the first wave of female authors in Iberia; each and every one of them evidenced an acute knowledge of authorial conventions, but also of the *captatio benevolentiae* based on sexual difference, which foregrounded Pizan's success. Even allegations of misogyny could be turned to the same end, into a promotional point. By the late-fifteenth century, women's literary acts had become public and succeeded, however modestly, from an unmistakable female perspective. The next step was to move forward, towards their expansion.

Chapter 2

WIDER VOICES, WIDER ROLES

[E]n viendo [libro] cualquiera, nuevo o antiguo, dejo la almohadilla y no sosiego hasta que le paso. De esta inclinación nació la noticia, de la noticia el buen gusto, y de todo hacer versos, hasta escribir estas Novelas.

(María de Zayas 2000a: 159)

Introduction

The humanist promotion of female learning that characterized the first decades of the sixteenth century expanded women's authorial and publication opportunities, not only in terms of subject and genre, but also in terms of format —that is, in the transition from script to print. As María de Zayas would stress, over a century later, women gradually moved not only from writing poetry to cultivating prose fiction, historiography, and humanist dialogue, but also into print publication, very much in tandem with men. The next generation of female nobles across Iberia continued to support the public work of authors, male and female. Yet women's opportunities for publication were now much greater, as were their chances of becoming literate outside the convent and the court. As we shall see, the new Iberian female authors again only had to look to other European countries such as France and Italy for inspiration.

The concession of privileges was put in place as an incipient form of copyright, especially to protect publishers' investments, but also as a means to control the diffusion of ideas and texts considered useless and/or dangerous (i.e. heretic). The first royal decree regulating the Iberian book trade was signed by the Reyes Católicos on 8 June 1502, adherence to which was indicated by the formula "Con licencia" (Simón Díaz 2000: 19). The decree, however, only applied to Castile, since the Crown of Aragon had its own *fueros* ("charters"): "Licences could be granted only by

the presidents of the Chancillerías (high courts) of Valladolid and Granada, and by the prelates of Toledo, Seville, Granada, Burgos and Salamanca” (Kamen 2000: 103). But only after the 1558 decree issued by Princess Juana de Austria, regent queen of Spain (1554-1559) on behalf of her brother Felipe II, did the anonymous printing of works become legally prohibited:

Que en principio de cada libro que assi se imprimiere, se ponga la licencia, y la tasa, y priuilegio si lo huuiere, y el nombre del Autor, y del impressor, y lugar donde se imprimió: y que esta misma orden se tenga y guarde en los libros, que auiendo sido ya impressos se tornare dellos a hazer nueva impresión; y que esta nueva impresión no se pueda hazer sin nuestra licencia. (Cited from Simón Díaz 2000: 22)

This decree sharpened the questions of authorial representation and marketability causing named-author publications to rise in number in the second half of the century (Whinnom 1980, repr. 1994: 161). Prior to the decree, anonymity, especially in religious texts or fiction, was common —enough to incite the review of existing policies on authorial provenance (see Asensio 1975; Rico 1998). The institution of the royal licence and privilege, while it introduced censorship, improved the conditions for women to succeed as writers by making the identification of the author a condition of publication, and by guaranteeing certain rudimentary rights of intellectual property. However, it by no means put an end to the production and circulation of anonymous texts. Consequently, decrees regulating the Luso-Iberian book trade continued to appear, though for the most part they went on being ignored.

By the late 1500s, literary production was beginning to turn into a lucrative business, as shown by the rise in print publication and the promotional material inserted in paratexts. Although manuscript transmission prevailed (especially for poetry) print publication was gradually becoming the norm for any aspiring author,

irrespective of sexual difference. Printed texts now included plates, summaries and indexes, register of gatherings (*legajos*) and cost (*tasa*), but also authorial and laudatory stanzas.

This chapter illustrates a second stage in the rise of women in the Republic of Letters: the greater publication opportunities women had in the sixteenth century. It reviews a varied corpus of public texts wherein female collaborations, whether as patrons, publishers, or authors, were positively acknowledged. A consideration of the materiality of such texts in light of the 1558 decree in the book trade underlines the ways it helped authorize female literary traditions: women went on to have more prominent roles from the second half of the century. The corpus under review has been arranged into small sections following a chronological order. The authors used in this chapter include *cancionero* poets, Leonor de Noronha, Luisa Sigea, Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, and Santa Teresa. The expansion of women's literary voices and adoption of more confident authorial stances —especially in print publications on subjects previously the preserve of men— were due to the growing public and peer support women could appeal to in this century.

2.1 First Secular Voices

The first full recognition of women as secular authors occurred in poetry, a literary genre held in high regard at noble courts (Weiss 1990: 214), where secular women's reading was also favoured. Christine de Pizan herself started her career as an author by writing poems about love (Silva Vigier 1996: xxii).¹ The relative scarcity of preserved works by identifiable Iberian women of secular nature before 1500 may be due to losses, a lack of effort in preserving them, or to a reluctance to publish secular texts on the part of the authors themselves (Whetnall 1992: 62). The important point is that the first known cases coincided with the emergence of a courtly lyric tradition in Castilian (Weiss 1990: 235), and the earliest printed *cancioneros* containing the work of multiple authors. Such compilations were a way of establishing a tradition or school of writing, but also of ensuring the widest public exposure. One such printed songbook was the *Cancionero general de muchos y variados autores*, compiled by Hernando del Castillo and published in Valencia in 1511. Talking of the transition from script to print of these medieval songbooks, Rodríguez-Moñino observes:

A fines de la centuria decimoquinta se opera una extraordinaria revolución cuando la imprenta comienza a adueñarse de los textos y a multiplicar los ejemplares poniéndolos en manos de todos. Parece lógico que los primeros impresos fueran aquellos volúmenes que ya estaban preparados de antemano, es decir, los que hoy conocemos con los nombres de Baena, Estúñiga, etc., pero no fue así [...] sólo vieron la luz pública con anterioridad al *Cancionero general* de Hernando del Castillo

¹ In Italy the list of women who first became known as secular authors through poetry is astonishing. Well-known cases are those of Vittoria Colonna, Tullia d'Aragona, Laura Terracina, Veronica Gambara, Lucrezia Marinella (see Stortoni & Lillie 1997; Panizza & Wood 2000; Robin 2007).

(1511) las compilaciones de Juan del Encina (1496), Juan de Mena (1506), Fr. Ambrosio de Montesinos (1508) y Juan de Luzón (1508). (Castillo 1958: 12, 14)

The *Cancionero general* became highly popular soon after its first publication, a fact confirmed by the number of times and places it was republished; Valencia (1511 and 1514), Toledo (1517, 1520, 1527), Seville (1535 and 1540), and Antwerp (1557 and 1573). It was much expanded and modified; Castillo was only responsible for its content between the songbook's first and the 1527 Toledo edition (Castillo 1958: 25). The dedicatee of the 1511 edition was Serafín de Centelles, conde d'Oliva, whose compositions were included in the songbook. Most of the other authors came from the court of the Reyes Católicos, including a good representation of the Valencian nobility, but some also went back to the courts of Juan II and Enrique IV of Castile. Like other nobles, Oliva headed a literary court of his own in Valencia, whose members included Juan Luis Vives, Bernardí Vallmanya, Joan Baptista Aynes, and Castillo himself (see Whinnom 1970, repr. 1994; Perea Rodríguez 2003). In the prologue the compiler carefully explains his reasons for producing and publishing his *cancionero*:

Compile vn cancionero al parescer mio / assi en generalidad de obras como en precio dellas [...] pareciome ser genero de auaricia no comunicar / y sacar a la luz / lo que a muchos juzgaua ser vtil / y agradable. Y que injuriaua a los autores delas mismas obras / que por ser muy buenas dessean con ellas perpetuar sus nombres / y que sean vistas / y leydas de todos [...]. Acorde pues por las razones ya dichas sacar en limpio el cancionero ya nombrado / o la mayor parte del / y dar manera como fuesse comunicado a todos. Y assi ordenado / y corregido por la mejor manera / y diligencia que pude trabaje ponerlo impresso para comun utilidad / o passa tiempo. (Castillo 1958: fol. 1^v)

The emphasis is on diversity and public utility, and on the songbook's representative, not exclusive, nature. The reference in lines 3–4 to the authors' expressed wish to attain fame through writing implies that the poets included, male and female, were fully aware of the benefits for their literary ambitions of publishing in print: "it is reasonable to suppose that the compiler pursued his task publicly, relying to a large extent on the co-operation of the poets from whom he sought copy" (Whetnall 1992: 68). Three of the four named women authors are each represented by a *mote* or motto, a brief verse expressing a feeling. The salient exception is the fourth, Florencia Pinar, whose contribution consists of at least three lyric *canciones*, the musical song form used for the majority of the *cancionero*'s compositions. The first *canción* attributed to her reads:

Cancion de vna dama que se dize Florencia Pinar.

Ay que ay quien mas biue
 por que no ay quien ay se duele
 y si ay / ay que recele
 ay vn ay que sesquiue
 quien sin ay beuir no suele 5
 Ay plazerres ay pesares
 ay glorias ay mil dolores
 ay donde ay penas d'amores
 muy gran bien si del gozares
 aunque viba se cative 10
 si ay quien tal ay consuele
 no ay razon por que se cele
 aunque ay con que sesquive
 quien sin ay beuir no suele. (Castillo 1958: fol. CXXV verso)

The rubric presents the author as “a lady called Florencia Pinar”. Its presence suggests that she thought it pertinent to sign her poem and disclose her name publicly, and yet, despite the *canción*’s amatory and even risqué scenario, to write in a gendered voice readily identifiable with herself; “viva” (l.10) marks the subject as female. A *mise en abîme* in l. 12 envisages this very poem’s revelation of her passion (“no hay razón por qué se cele”); the pronoun in “gran bien, si de él gozares” (l. 9) is cunningly ambiguous (“if you enjoy it [the *bien*]/him”), while the woman’s lovesick moan ¡Ay!—on which the poem’s whole witty word-play depends—becomes substantivized as a synecdoche of erotic love in the refrain, “quien sin ‘¡ay!’ vivir no suele” (ll. 5, 14). We cannot know quite how Castillo found her name (she supposedly came from the court of Juan II), but whatever the order of events it seems permissible to sustain that at some point Pinar thought she could achieve legitimate recognition for herself as a poet, regardless of her sex and estate (“dama”), and that her later publisher concurred.

Further conclusions are suggested by the location of the women’s poems in the songbook. The *notes* by Catalina Manrique and Marina Manuel appear next to *glosas* by a poet called Cartagena, thought to be Pedro de Cartagena (1387-1478), the father of Teresa de Cartagena (see fols, CXLII, CXLIII). It is possible that these three women knew one another. Catalina Manrique may have been the daughter of the poet Gómez Manrique (1412-1490) and Juana de Mendoza (1425-1493), members of Isabel’s court, who, as we have seen, were patrons of Teresa de Cartagena; if so, Catalina was married (to Diego García de Toledo). Marina Manuel was probably a relative of Juan Manuel, duke of Badajoz, and wife of Alvaro de Bazán, also a poet in the *Cancionero* (see Rennert 1894; Arce 1981). Diego de San Pedro makes reference

to her in the prologue to his *Cárcel de amor* (Seville, 1492).²

The selection of named female poets in Castillo's songbook is scant, but the evidence points to a cultured literary circle in which women were freely admitted not only as objects of courtly devotion, but also as writers. That their presence did not go unnoticed is corroborated in the second ever printed songbook, the *Cancioneiro geral* compiled by Garcia de Resende (1470-1536). It was written mostly in Portuguese but contained a few poems in Castilian, and was published by Germão de Campos in Évora in 1516, five years after the appearance of Castillo's compilation, on which it was openly based.³ The *Cancioneiro Geral*'s dedicatee was Prince João (1502-1554), the eldest son of Manuel I *O Venturoso* (1469-1521) and his second wife María of Aragon-Castile (1482-1517). The prologue explains the compiler's motives:

E, porque, Senhor, as outras cousas sam em si tam grandes que por sua grandeza e meu fraco entender nam devo de tocar nelas, nesta, que é a somenos, por em algũa parte satisfazer ao desejo que sempre tive de fazer algũa cousa em que Vossa Alteza fosse servido e tomasse desenfadamento, *determinei ajuntar algũas obras* que pude haver d'algũs passados e presentes e ordenar este livro, nam pera por elas mostrar quais foram e sam, mas *para os que mais sabem*

² The *motes* by Catalina Manrique, Marina Manuel, and Leonor de Centelles, Marquesa de Cotro, are as follows: "Nunca mucho costó poco", "Esfuerçe Dios el sufrir", and "Si acertare / o si muriere / contenta con lo que fuere", respectively. For further discussion, particularly on Pinar, see Deyermond (1978 and 1983), Pérez Priego (1990), and Weissberger (2001).

³ López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 144: "Em castelhano falava a rainha e as outras mulheres da família real, em castelhano conversavam os príncipes e embaixadores, o castelhano era a língua das esferas elevadas e quanto máis se subia na escala social maior tendência havia para o seu uso".

s'espertarem a folgar d'escrever e trazer aa memória os outros grandes feitos. (Resende 1993: 1, my italics)

For the most part this follows Castillo, but Resende adds the original idea of encouraging further writing (ll. 3–4); readers, male and female, would feel empowered by seeing examples of poems in print and follow suit. It is significant, therefore, that the number of named women poets is substantially greater than in Castillo's *Cancionero*. It would appear that the compiler attempted to satisfy the tastes of a wider readership. Some of the authors included can be traced back to the reign of Rainha Isabel and Afonso V. A total of twenty-two *respuestas* in Volume III in the *redondilhas* are attributed to eighteen named women poets.⁴ The interchange of poetic *preguntas y respuestas* was a popular pastime at court (see Weiss 1990; Chas Aguión 2002). The female authorship of these poems is corroborated both by Resende and by the poets themselves:

Dona Caterina Anriquez.

A tais perguntas nam sei,

senhor primo, responder.

Mas, pois quereis, eu direi

⁴ These are: Beatriz d'Ataide, Caterina Anriquez, Dona Margarida Anriquez, Dona Joana Anriquez, Dona Urraca, Dona Guiomar, Dona Branca, Dona Joana de Melo, Dona Margarida Furtada, Ines da Rosa, Dona Isabel Pereira, Maria Jacome, Dona Maria Tavora, Lianor Moniz, Joana Ferreira, Dona Isabel da Silva, Dona Felipa d'Almada, and Dona Maria de Sousa —the last two with two *respuestas* each: see López-Iglésias Samartim (2003: 372-76).

e vos aconselharei

o que deveis de fazer:

5

devê-la de recear,

se tal com'eu é donzela,

mas mais deveis de folgar

perder por ela. (Cited from López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 373)

The poet's female identity is signalled not only by the rubric, but also by grammatical gender: "se tal com'eu é donzela". That is to say, even if it were cited without the rubric, the authorial perspective evoked in the first person emerges as coming from a woman, a young woman to be precise. The implications of this material presence of women in Resende's *cancioneiro* for the social status of female poets carries some weight, especially in light of his stated aim to encourage further writing. The women poets in Castillo's and Resende's songbooks did not think or feel that they were isolated cases, and the appearances of their works in print indicates that the public's interest in women's poetry was on the rise. By the turn of the sixteenth century, therefore, we can deduce that literary talent could flourish and be appreciated in the courtly setting irrespective of the author's sex: "It is impossible to conceive of courtoise poetry, or the *chanson de geste*, without an audience, without public performances, without the idea of success" (Marino 1996: 70).

2.2 Patrons and Publishers

"Por mandado dela muyto esclarecida reyna dona lyanor molher do poderoso e muy magnifico rey do[m] Juan segundo de Portugal" the second translation of Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* was undertaken and issued in Lisbon in 1518 by the same Germão de Campos who, two years earlier, had printed Garcia de

Resende's *Cancioneiro geral* (Fig. 5). Rainha Leonor de Portugal (1458-1525), a great patron, thought it worthwhile to promote Pizan's work over other *espejos de príncipes* intended for a female readership (López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 250-67).



Fig. 5. Title-page of *O Espelho de Cristina*, 1518.

The new publication of Pizan's conduct book showed important differences, of which the most decisive—at least, pragmatically speaking—was that concerning the title. The title of the fifteenth-century manuscript translation was *O Livro das Tres Vertudes a Insinança das Damas*. The print version, however, was published as *O Espelho de Cristina* (see Branderberger 1998; Pizan 2002). The title-page also included a note on the work's intended readership: women from all walks of life. The two French editions circulating at that time (1497 and 1503) bore the title *Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames* (Pizan 2002: 55). It is thus possible that the new title signalled public recognition, the author having become well-known in Portugal by this time.

Considering the rising prominence of women as writers documented above, the addition of Christine's name by the printer to the title may be seen as a sign of the positive appreciation, if not also symbolic and cultural authority, of women's place in the Republic of Letters by the sixteenth century. That Pizan's work circulated across Iberia, not just in Portugal, may be inferred from a sixteenth-century annotation found below the explicit of the first translation in BNE MSS/11515, fol. 97v. (Fig. 6):

Este libro hallo frai Luis de Borja en Sant Antonio / de la Cabrera año de treienta i quatro y enbio / lo a la señora marquesa de Ionbai doña Leonor de / Castro el qual fue paje del enperador don Carlos y despues fraile de San Francisco y por / ques verdad firmolo de su nonbre [rubricated signature and skull]. (Pizan 2002: 36)

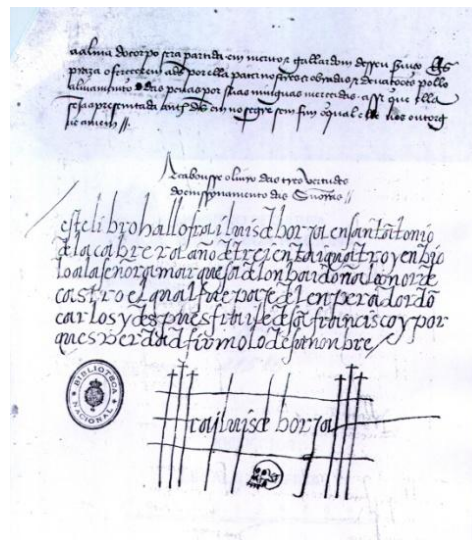


Fig. 6. BNE, MSS/11515, *explicit*.

The Franciscan Lluís de Borja was a member of the most prominent noble family of Valencia. The Franciscan friary and *studium* of San Antonio is situated near the village of La Cabrera in the Guadarrama mountains north of Madrid. The fact that Lluís, who had himself been brought up as a page in the Emperador's household, sent the manuscript to a woman at court, the Portuguese noblewoman Leonor de Castro

Melo e Meneses (d. 1546), the favourite *camarera* of the Emperatriz Isabel de Portugal (1503-1539), indicates his appreciation of sexual differences in reading. Leonor was the wife of Lluís's relative Francesc de Borja, marquis of Lombay and later duke of Gandia and viceroy of Catalonia between 1539 and 1543 (after Leonor's death he entered the Jesuit order and was later canonized).

It is, therefore, probable that Pizan's text was introduced, via its Portuguese translation, to the Renaissance Castilian court, although no Castilian translation has yet been found.⁵ Pizan's successful reception in Iberia, in manuscript and print, demonstrates how authority and its implications for the production and reception of literature are fundamentally related to the question of literary self-consciousness. Pizan's self-promotional strategies worked even in foreign lands thanks to the gendered perspective which her text still afforded in its Portuguese versions. The title, the author's name, the text's female didactic voice, and its prominent association with female patrons all continued to arouse interest amongst avid female readers. Despite its relatively small diffusion in print, sixteenth-century women authors

⁵ In fact, Estefania de Requesens (d. 1549), wife of Juan de Zuñiga, captain of the royal guard since 1524 and chief commander of Castile in the Order of St James since 1532, knew the said Leonor de Castro. This is confirmed by her letters, written in Catalan, sent to her mother Hipólita Roís de Liori i de Montcada, countess of Palamós, covering the period between 1533 and 1540. Requesens was also acquainted with Mencía de Mendoza, 2nd duchess of Calabria —she was a first cousin of Juan de Zuñiga— to whose charge one of their daughters was entrusted. Thus it seems feasible that both women would have discussed and even exchanged books, including Pizan's conduct book, for Mencía was a renowned patron and bibliophile at the time (see Requesens 1987).

frequently referred to the work's themes and Christine de Pizan continued to be upheld as a positive referent to aspirant women authors (see Broomhall 2002). This reminds us of the enduring importance of manuscript publication and the prominence of social usage over aesthetics in the first decades of print.⁶

As the number of secular women writers in print increased, whether their names were identified or not, so did the degrees of support they received and could exert in the Republic of Letters. This is best illustrated by the publication of the Castilian translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* by Juan Boscán (1490-1542), a close friend of Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536), the most imitated poet of the Spanish Renaissance. Boscán's *Cortesano* was published in Barcelona in 1534 with a dedication to a female patron, Gerònima Palou de Almogàvar, duchess of Soma, who was married to a cousin of Boscán's (Castiglione 1534: fols 2-3). The role the duchess played in the production and publication of *El cortesano* is forcefully underlined in the book's front matter, which consists of two letter-prologues by Boscán and Garcilaso. The former's dedication states:

Vuestra merced ha sido la que me ha hecho determinar, mandándome que le traduxese [...] Cuanto más que este libro, dándose a Vos, es vuestro, y así Vos miraréis por él en aproballe y defendelle si fuere bueno, o en ponelle en parte donde no parezca, siendo malo. Yo sé que si yo no le he estragado en el traducille, el libro es tal que de ninguna otra cosa tiene necesidad sino de un

⁶ Joana da Gama published in print, *Ditos da freyra* (Évora, [1575?]), a work written in verse, also for women's learning (see López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 285-302). That it reached female readers outside Portuguese territory emerges from the fact that a copy of this work was listed in the post-mortem book inventory of Isabel Montero (carried out in Madrid in 1629) (Dadson 1998: 466).

ingenio como el de Vuestra Merced que sea para entendelle y gustalle; y así he pensado muchas veces que este Cortesano ya cuanto a lo primero es dichoso, porque en Italia alcanzó por señora a la marquesa de Pescara, que tiene fama de la más avisada muger que hay en todas aquellas tierras, y casi en sus manos nació y ella le tomó a su cargo y le crió y le hizo hombre para que pudiese andar por el mundo ganando honra; y agora en España habrá alcanzado a ser de Vuestra Merced, que (por hablar templadamente) tenéis las mismas calidades della; y a él podréisle hacer tanta honra que quizá le baste para no querer más ni curar de otra cosa ya sino de sosegar y descansar de sus trabajos en vuestras manos. (“A la muy magnífica señora doña Gerónima Palova de Almogávar”)⁷

Boscán’s comparison of his own case with the literary connection between Castiglione and the Marchioness of Pescara, Vittoria Colonna (1490/92-1547), is very significant. Colonna, the first woman to publish in print in Italy (*Rime spirituale* Parma, 1538), was admired and praised by such prominent authors as Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), and Juan de Valdés (1500-1541) (see Robin 2007). And this reflects back in a flattering but also paradigmatic way on the reference to Gerónima’s possession of Colonna’s same qualities and to her *ingenio* as the most suitable literary critic of such a work (“para entendelle y gustalle”) —a parallel underlined by the careful mention of both ladies’ “hands” and the conceit of their respective roles in giving birth to and mothering the (male) “courtier”, a metaphor both of the book and of the Renaissance cultural ideal it so famously embodied (“en sus manos nació”, “descansar de sus trabajos en vuestras manos”). The point is reiterated and expanded in Boscán’s concluding praises of his female

⁷ Quotations are taken from Boscán & Vega (1995: 637-1019, with corrections), p. 644.

patron, where he confronts those who would deny such *ingenio* or wit to women:

No me maravillaría hallarse quizá algunos de los que consideran las cosas livianamente y no toman dellas sino el aire que les da en los ojos, que les parezca mal enderezar yo a Vuestra Merced un libro que, aunque su fin principal sea tratar de lo que es necesario para la perfección de un cortesano, todavía toque materias enricadas y más trabadas en honduras de ciencia de lo que pertenezca a una mujer y moza y tan dama. A éstos respondo que el que hizo el libro entendió esto mejor que ellos y de tal manera mezcló las cosas de ciencia con las de gala [...] que a todo género de personas, así a mujeres como a hombres, convienen y han de parecer bien, sino a necios. Y aunque todo esto no fuese, vuestro entendimiento y juicio es tal que vos no os habéis de encerrar en las estrechezas ordinarias de otras mugeres, sino que toda cosa de saber os ha de convenir totalmente. (p. 646)

The female dedicatee is here praised not on grounds of chastity or beauty, as she might have been in earlier or more conventional dedications, but on grounds of intellect, the worth of which, as Boscán goes on to say, can only be inferred from actions, not sex:

Y en fin, porque ya sobre esto no haya más que debatir, quiero aprovecharme de un argumento casi semejante al de un filósofo que, disputando un día con él muchos y haciéndole grandes razones para proballe que no había movimiento en las cosas, la respuesta que les dio para concluilles fue levantarse de donde estaba asentado y pasearse, y allí nadie pudo negar el movimiento. Y así a éstos quiero yo también concluilles con que *Vuestra Merced se mueva un poco, y os vean cómo entendéis y gustáis las cosas, por altas que sean y entonces verán si os son convenientes o no.* (p. 646, my italics)

Boscán's advice to his female patron to "move a little" —to demonstrate her intellect through discriminating literary understanding and patronage (thus a change in behaviour; see Introduction, above, p. 26)— was significant for the larger question of women and authorship; his analogy served women as a group, not just Gerónima, not

only by empowering them against misogynist criticism but also by calling upon them to be open and public about their engagement in literature. In this he did no more than respond to the ideal of the female courtier prescribed in *El cortesano*, which also provided a model for the practices of secular women authors. Behind Boscán's attitude, clearly, there lay the rise in the number of secular women authors of which I have been speaking; he was not calling for something still unheard of, but raising a standard in defence of an existing trend seen as novel, and by some perhaps as blameworthy, yet invested in high courtly circles with the cultural esteem of a style of life deemed more cultivated and civilized than the medieval habits that preceded it.⁸

The same can be seen in another landmark text by the same authors, the book that nine years later effectively transplanted the Italian Renaissance style to Spain: *Las obras de Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega, repartidas en quatro libros* (Barcelona, 1543). This, too, was dedicated to the duchess of Soma, and furthermore owed its publication to the direct intervention of a woman, since, a year after Boscán's death, Ana Girón de Rebolledo acted as publisher by seeing the edition through the press; the publisher's role at the time was limited to acquiring the *privilegio* and arranging a printer for the publication in question (Simón Díaz 2000: 118). While Ana Girón's prologue (fols A1-A2) was left unsigned, her female identity and relationship with Boscán is fully identified in the *privilegio* signed by

⁸ This holds generally for Renaissance Europe; in Iberia the specific ímpetus of the example of Isabel la Católica was also added, of whom Castiglione's own book at one point remarks: "Qué rey o qué príncipe hemos visto en nuestros días [...] que merezca ser comparado con la reina doña Isabel de España?" (p. 886).

Carlos V.⁹ Meanwhile, in his dedication to the duchess, Boscán returned to the theme of women's place in the new Renaissance Republic of Letters, this time even more incisively:

Pues, a los otros que dicen que estas cosas [i.e. “sonetos y canciones hechas al modo italiano”], no siendo sino para mugeres, no han de ser muy fundadas, ¿quién ha de gastar tiempo en respondelles? Tengo yo a las mugeres por tan sustanciales, las que aciertan a sello (y aciertan muchas), que en este caso quien se pusiesse a defendellas las ofendería. (Boscán, “A la duquesa de Soma”, dedication to “Libro segundo de las obras de Boscán”, pp. 83–87)

Girón's role as publisher was deeply influential; Boscán's and Garcilaso's poems were an immediate success, and were republished many times during the sixteenth century.¹⁰ As we shall see, her role as a woman publisher of secular works, whether of poetry, drama or prose, was soon to be replicated. Like Castillo's and Resende's *cancioneros*, Boscán's and Garcilaso's *Obras* called attention to and promoted the role of women in the literary world, but the book's significance was undoubtedly far

⁹ “Por quanto por parte de vos, doña Ana Girón de Rebolledo, viuda del quondam Juan Boscán, cavallero de Barcelona, nos ha sido hecha relación que el dicho vuestro marido compuso [...], damos licencia, permissão y facultad a vos, doña Ana Girón de Rebolledo” (fol. 2). I quote the *Obras* from the edition in Boscán & Garcilaso de la Vega (1995: 1–498, *privilegio*, pp. 17–18).

¹⁰ Barcelona 1543 (pirate edition), 1554; Lisbon 1543 (pirate edition); Antwerp 1544, ca. 1550, [1551(?)], 1554, 1556 (2nd edn “corrigiendo y emendándolos en infinitos lugares”), 1569, 1576, 1597 (“enmendadas agora nuevamente y restituidas a su integridad”, two editions); Medina del Campo 1544, 1553 (colophon: “en Valladolid”); Rome 1547; Lyon 1549; Venice 1553; Estella 1555; Toledo [1555(?)]; Alcalá de Henares 1575.

richer, in that both poets fully articulated women's place in the Republic of Letters on intellectual grounds, internally (by the content of their poems) and externally (in their paratexts).¹¹ Likewise, the great fame of the work —indubitably the most famous, widely known, and significant single collection of poetry of the age— ensured that the roles of the duchess of Soma and Ana Girón in its publication, as patron and publisher, besides endorsing the implicit and explicit gendered perspectives mentioned above, also helped authorize further secular publications by women.

Further evidence of women's involvement as patrons and publishers in Renaissance Iberia is found in *Libro intitulado "El cortesano"* by Luis de Milán (1507-1559). The text was produced at the request of the ladies at the court of the duke and duchess of Calabria in Valencia between 1526 and 1536, but printed posthumously in 1561 with a dedication to Felipe II.¹² The first duchess of Calabria, Germaine de Foix (1488-1536), had been educated at the court of her aunt Anne de Bretagne and Louis XII of France, where she might have been introduced to Pizan's *Livre des Trois Vertus* (Ríos Lloret 2003: 31). On her death the duke married Mencía de Mendoza (1502-1554), marchioness of Cenete, an important *mecenas* at the time,

¹¹ Both poets were profeminist in the standard Renaissance courtly and Neoplatonic sense, but one may adduce more specifically relevant items, such as Garcilaso's Soneto xxiv "Ilustre honor del nombre de Cardona" in praise of the literary culture and poetry of the "tenth muse", Maria Violant de Cardona (1509–1563), marchioness of Padula and countess of Avellino.

¹² This literary court has been described as "a veritable Athenaeum that was frequented by writers, musicians, philosophers and theologians" (Nelson 2004: 196).

who had the famous humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) as her tutor.¹³ In his lifetime Milán published *Libro de motes de damas y caballeros* (Valencia, 1535), also dedicated to Valencian courtly ladies, and *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano, intitulado “El maestro”* (Valencia, 1536). The latter, considered a jewel of Renaissance music, was dedicated to João III (1521-1557), a half-brother of the Infanta Dona Maria (1521-1577), who, as we shall see, received education from famous female humanists at her Portuguese literary court. Suffice to say that Paula Vicente (1519-1576), one of its members, acted as publisher for one of the most famous playwrights of the time, her father Gil Vicente (1465?-1536?); it was due to her that *Copilaçam de toda las obras de Gil Vicente [...] feita por João Alvares* was printed in 1562.¹⁴ She is credited with being the first woman to engage in public theatre (see Hormigón 1996). Also noteworthy is that a total of twenty of Gil Vicente’s plays were ordered by or intended for Rainha Leonor and Rainha Catarina (see Maia 1995: 335-61).

¹³ The title-page of the chivalric book, *Valeriano de Hungria* (Valencia, 1540), reads as follows: “Agora nuevamente traducido de su original Latino por Dionysio Clemente, notario valenciano. Dedicado y dirigido á la ilustrissima señora doña Mencia de Mendoça, Marquesa del Zenete” (cited from Gayangos 1997: LXXVII).

¹⁴ The *Privilégio*, dated 1561, reads: “Eu El-Rei faço saber aos que este alvará virem que Paula Vicente moça de câmara da minha muito amada e prezada tia me disse que ela queria fazer imprimir um livro e cancionero de todas as obras de Gil Vicente seu pai” (cited from Palma-Ferreira 1982: 12).

2.3 Prose Fiction Writers

The rise in women's self-confidence and symbolic and cultural authority as authors may be seen by considering women's transition from reading and patronizing to writing and publishing prose fiction. The transition was perhaps initiated by two publications: *Palmerín de Olivia* and its sequel *Primaleón*, as is identified in the prologue and colophon. Despite being anonymously printed in Salamanca in 1511 and 1512, respectively, both texts, however, speak of female authorship.¹⁵ The evidence suggests that Catalina Arias and Francisco Vázquez, mother and son (he is the only person named in the preliminaries), may have co-authored both works (Gagliardi 2003: 111-12).

For the contemporary critic the idea that a woman may have penned chivalric fiction was not all that unrealistic. In his 1528 and 1534 editions of the *Primaleón*, Francisco Delicado (1480-1535), author of the picaresque text *La lozana andaluza* (1528) and editor of best-sellers such as *Amadis de Gaula* (1533) and *Celestina* (1531-1534), states:

Avisandoos, que quanto mas adelante va, es mas sabroso, porque como la que lo compuso era muger, y filando el torno se pensaba cosas fermosas, que dezia a la postre, fue mas inclinada al amor que a las batallas, a las quales da corto fin [...]. Mas el defecto está en los impressores y mercaderes que han desdorado la obra de la señora Agustobriga, con el ansia de ganar. (From the

¹⁵ This has long been commented on, but mostly in order to reject it. For instance, Eisenberg & Marín Pina (2000: 395) read the "Augustobrica" mentioned in the last lines of the laudatory poem by Juan Augur de Trasmiera in *Primaleón* as referring to the Latin name of Ciudad Rodrigo, where both texts were published.

1534 and 1528 editions cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 130)

If the paratexts of these chivalric books spoke of female authorship, it was because women's reading practices were known to include this genre; it would have been financially unwise to do so otherwise. The same idea may also be inferred from the paratexts of popular chivalric and pastoral texts such as *Tirant lo Blanch* (Valencia, 1490) in which it is said (in the colophon): “la quarta part, que és la fi del llibre, és estada traduïda [de l’anglés] a pregàries de la noble senyora Dona Isabel de Lloris, per lo magnífic cavaller Mossèn Martí Joan de Galba” (Martorell 1990: 1188); and from that of *Tractado de amores de Arnalte é Lucerna* (Burgos, 1491), dedicated to the ladies at the court of Isabel la Católica: “a las damas de la reyna (sic) nuestra señora”, a dedication borne also in later editions (1522, 1525, and 1527). The 1496 edition of *Leriano y Laureola, o Carcel de amor*, published in Burgos, furthermore, ended the prologue by way of laudatory verses addressed to Isabel la Católica (Gayangos 1997: LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXX).

The potential social impact of such works cannot be underestimated, for they soon became best-sellers. Clearly it was no secret that women enjoyed secular literature — even prose fiction was thought pertinent for female monarchs.¹⁶ Such abundant paratextual information is evidence that book producers found women's engagement

¹⁶ *Heptaméron* was published in 1558 in the name of Reine Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549). It consists of a collection of short stories in French in the form of a framed narrative, similar in style to Boccaccio's *Decameron*: “It alone was reprinted eleven times, and this excludes the faulty edition of 1558 by Pierre Boaistuau” (Broomhall 2002: 122).

in prose fiction permissible and worth encouraging.¹⁷ *Palmerín de Olivia* and *Primaleón* pointed to an increase in women's literary self-confidence and by implication their social support. Furthermore, women readers of chivalric books found such editorial statements empowering, for the use of the sobriquet "por una dueña" was soon replicated.

Don Cristalián de España was printed in Valladolid in 1545 by Juan Villaquirán (Fig. 7). The title-page highlights the dedicatee's identity, Felipe II and his coat of arms, as well as the fact that the text was printed "Con preuilegio imperial" at a time when publishing under a *privilegio* was not the norm (Simón Díaz 2000: 123). It was written by "una dueña de la villa de Valladolid". From all this, the contemporary reader was arguably able to envisage the author as a Castilian woman. More importantly, the title-page established the text's female authorship at a time when named authorship was not yet enforced. The idea was further strengthened by the fact that the prologue, here called *prohemio*, also manifests a female perspective.

¹⁷ Two later examples are *Libro de los honestos amores de Peregrino y Ginebra* (Seville, 1527), dedicated to María Manuel de Villena: "Prologo para el ill. señor don Lorenzo suarez de Figueroa, conde de Feria, etc. por Hernando diaz, residente en la muy noble universidad de Salamanca, sobre los honestos amores de Peregrino e Ginebra, fingidos por la mayor parte moralmente é dirigidos a su muy ilustre Señora [María Manuel de Villena]"; and, *Crónica del muy valiente y esforzado caballero Platir*, anonymously published in Valladolid in 1533, which was addressed to the marquis and marchioness of Astorga, Pedro Alvarez Osorio and María Pimentel y Velasco (cited from Gayangos 1997: LXXXII; see also Eisenberg & Marín Pina 2000: 417).



Fig. 7. BL G.10290: *Don Cristalián de España*, title-page.

Don Cristalián's authorship was revealed after the Royal Decree of 1558, in the title-page of a reprint published in 1586 (though the colophon says 1587): "por doña Beatriz Bernal, natural de la muy noble villa de Valladolid" (Fig. 8). The reprint appeared also in folio format, bearing both the prologue and the author's dedication to Felipe II, although this time in Alcalá de Henares by Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica.¹⁸ All the production costs were covered by Diego de Xaramillo ("mercader de libros").

¹⁸ Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica operated almost exclusively in Alcalá de Henares during the years 1570 and 1599. He married the Viuda de Pedro Madrigal, while she was running her deceased husband's printing house from Madrid (Delgado Casado 1996, I: 344-45).

Born some time between 1501 and 1504, Beatriz Bernal may have been a relative of Fernando Bernal, the author of *Floriseo* (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 156). What is clear is that she was married twice: first to the *escribano público* Cristóbal de Luzón, and later to the *bachiller* Torres de Gatos who died in 1536, with whom she had a daughter, Juana de Gatos (see Gagliardi 2003: 1-29; see also Eisenberg & Marín Pina 2000; Barbeito Carneiro 2007).



Fig. 8. BHV, BH R-1/087: Bernal, *Don Cristóbal de España* (1587), title-page.

The fact that the name of the female author is given bearing the title of *Doña* in the title-page merits some discussion, especially since this situation was soon to be repeated, as we shall see. Covarrubias defines *Don* as “título honorífico dado al caballero y noble y al constituido en dignidad”, but adds that “en las mujeres se admite con más indulgencia y facilidad”. Research has shown that more than a third

of Golden Age Spanish prose fiction writers vindicate in such a way their noble status in the title-pages of their books. And yet, only in five cases is this specified, and within this five only one does so by giving his full title “non sans l’avoir déjà signalé de façon iconographique par l’inclusion (sur la page précédant le frontispice) d’un énorme blason” (Cayuela 1996: 141). The implication of this is that not all those who claimed it were nobles; more often than not, it was merely a promotional strategy. In other words, the ascription of the title of *Doña* to Bernal’s name in the title-page appears to have been a strategy by the book producers, Lequerica and Xaramillo, to promote *Don Cristalián* on grounds of class as well as on grounds of sex; this is the only detail in the paratext that points to the author’s noble background.

The reprint was issued because of Juana Bernal de Gatos, Bernal’s only daughter, as the new *privilegio* (dated San Lorenzo, 17 August 1584) shows:

Por quanto por parte de vos doña Juana Bernal de Gatos biuda vezina dela villa de Valladolid, hija y vnica heredera de Beatriz Bernal difuncta, muger que fue del bachiller Torres de Gatos, nos fue fecha relacion, que la dicha vuestra madre auia compuesto vn libro intitulado don Cristalian de España, de que hizistes presentacion, juntamente con vn privilegio original, dado a Christoual Pelegrin, el qual lo cedio en la dicha vuestra madre, y otra vez se auia impresso con licencia y privilegio del Emperador y Rey mi señor, que esta en gloria. (signed “YO EL REY. / Por mandado de su Majestad / Antonio de Erasso”)

The original *privilegio* in 1537 was obtained via Cristobal Pelegrín, an intervention that may explain why the work was not published for another eight years. However, the situation itself was not rare either then or in the following century (Cayuela 2005: 32). Judging from the original censor’s remarks, the delay was not caused by the work’s female authorship: “mi parescer es que ninguno de los d’esta qualidad se devría imprimir, mas que por la razón que los otros se han impresso podría

dispensarse con éste, porque no tiene más mal de ser la materia como de los d'este género todos".¹⁹

In the new *privilegio*, furthermore, it is stated that *Don Cristalián*'s reprint was made due to the family's precarious financial situation: "Y porque auia muchos dias que se auia cumplido, estauades pobre, y padeciades necesidad, nos pedistes y suplicastes os le mandassemos prorogar y conceder de nueuo". However, popularity levels may have also played a part, for *Don Cristalián de España* was still on sale over ten years after it was first published. This is confirmed by the inventory of the Italian-born bookseller Juan de Junta, carried out in 1556 in Burgos by the notary Pedro de Espinosa; two unbound copies of *Don Cristalián* were registered that year and priced at 612 *maravedís* (Pettas 1995: 115).²⁰ In 1557, furthermore, it was anonymously translated into Italian and published by Michele Tramezzino, a Venetian printer and bookseller; the original *proemio* to Felipe II is here replaced by a

¹⁹ Cited from Gagliardi (2003: 157); the censor is identified as Dr Busto, perhaps "el mismo Bernabé de Busto que en aquel entonces desempeñaba el cargo de maestro de gramática de los pajes de Carlos V" (ibid.).

²⁰ Junta was the son of the famous Florentine publisher Filippo di Giunta, and was married to Isabel de Basilea, the daughter of the first known printer in Burgos, Fadrique de Basilea. She was first married to the publisher Alonso (or Alfonso) Melgar, who worked for her father. Upon Melgar's death in 1525, Isabel carried the business forward in Salamanca (Pettas 1995: 2). Juana Maldonado (widow of Jusquín le Caron) and Ana Maldonado (widow of Bernardino de Castronovo) also operated in Salamanca, both listed, in their names, in a document of the Compañía de libreros de Salamanca written in 1530 (Bécares Botas 2003: 49).

dedication to Giacomo Loigi Cornaro (Gagliardi 2003: 162-63).

The copy of the 1545 edition examined here begins with “Parte Primera”. The *proemio* does not appear until folio VIII, unlike in the 1586 reprint where it comes after the *privilegio* in folio V. Its rubric reads: “Siguese el proemio del autor, dirigido a la Catholica Real Magestad el Rey Don Philippe nuestro Señor”. As with those of male authorship, Bernal’s prologue begins with a discussion of the ways in which chivalric ideals are necessary, especially for princes. This idea is then linked to the author’s reasons for choosing Felipe II as dedicatee:

La humana felicidad, muy alto y muy poderoso señor, hallo yo que consiste en poseer abundancia de bienes, en dos maneras: bienes de naturaleza, que tenemos por propiedad, y bienes de fortuna, que tenemos por arbitraria voluntad [...]. Lo qual por mi considerado, muchas vezes entre mi pensaua, en que personas hallar pudiesse las qualidades que para esta propuesta beatitud conuenian, para dirigir esta obra, que de entre mis ocupaciones hauia sacado. Y es verdad, que aunque con la imaginación vagando anduue, nunca halle otra que a la de vra Magestad se ygualasse.²¹

The work’s literariness is emphasised by a reference to the process of fabrication all literary works undergo (what Darnton would later coin as “communication circuit”, 2006: 11): “todas las obras han sido, son, y han de ser *fabricadas* a fin de ser dirigidas a tales personas” (my italics). Bernal present hers as an unworthy literary work. Yet the works she alludes to and claims to have read act as a source of *auctoritas* and as a rhetorical strategy for seeking patronage:

²¹ All quotations are from Bernal (1587).

En la presente veo yo, serenissimo Señor, dos grandes contrarios: el mucho merecer de a quien se dirige, y la brozna y apocada orden con que se halla lo dirigido. Porque bien mirado es tan alto vro merecimiento, que si la famosa Yliada del Griego, y la capacidad de Mantuano, y la subtil imaginación de Ouidio, y la apassionada pharsalia del Lucano; en estos tiempos se supieran y acabaran, a vra serenissima persona se offrecieran: quanto mas vna tan [paup]errima obra como esta, que del mas flaco lector no se halla digna.

Indeed, despite seemingly criticising her work in relation to that of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Lucano, the authorial voice —note the use of the terms of *obra* and *lector*— is, pragmatically speaking, endorsed with their authority (the author has read them). Furthermore, by using grammatical gender and gender stereotypicality in her apologies, the resulting effect is literary self-assertiveness, if not self-promotion, from an overt female perspective:

No se marauille vuestra Magestad, que *vna persona de fragil sexo como yo, aya tenido osadia de os dirigir y endereçar la presente obra*, pues mi intimo desseo me exime de culpa, por tres razones. La primera es, suplicar a vra Magestad, que queriendola admitir y examinar, mande hazer della lo que su yerro mereciere. La segunda, para que siendo admitida, y de vro fauor amparada, *estoy muy satisfecha, que sin temor de fluctuosa, ni aduersa tempestad osara nauegar, manifestandose a quien la quisiere leer*. (my italics)

The third reason why Felipe II should grant his protection to the female author rests on the quality of such books to serve as “espejos de príncipes”:

La tercera y vltima, porque los insignes Principes, han de ser aficionados a leer los libros que cuentan las auenturas y extremados hechos en armas [...] para que los despierte y habitue en altos pensamientos, *especialmente este hallado por tan estraña auentura*. (my italics)

After arousing the dedicatee and the reader’s interest through a *captatio benevolentiae* based on sexual difference and aided by the trope of rarity, the author moves to

situating her work within the chivalric tradition by fictionalizing, through a well-known topos, the circumstances surrounding her literary act: her discovery of a mysterious text written in a foreign language, whose subject-matter made it imperative that she translated it into Castilian (similar to in *Tirant lo Blanch* and *Amadís de Gaula*). Strikingly, despite its religious setting, it is openly secular, even blasphemous, in subject:

Y es, que yendo vn viernes de la Cruz con otras dueñas a andar las estaciones (ya que la aurora traya el mensage del venidero dia) llegamos a vna yglesia adonde estaua vn muy antiguo sepulchro, en el qual vimos estar vn defuncto embalsamado; y yo siendo mas curiosa que las que conmigo yuan, de ver y saber aquella antigüedad, llegueme mas cerca y mirando todo lo que en el sepulchro auia vi que a los pies del sepultado estaua un libro de crecido volumen, el qual (aunque fuesse sacrilegio) para mi apliqué; y acuciosa de saber sus secretos, dexada la compañía me vine a mi casa

Thus, while following the genre conventions, the author nonetheless gives the introduction of her work a twist by taking a distinctively female gendered perspective:

[Y] abriendole hallé que estaua escripto en nuestro común lenguaje, de letra tan antigua que ni parecia española, ni arauiga ni griega. Pero todavia creciendo mi desseo y abraçándome con vn poco de trabajo, vi en el muy diuersas cosas escriptas, de las quales, como pude, traduxe y saqué esta historia, *pareciendome de mas subtil estilo que ninguna otra cosa*: donde se cuentan las hazañas y grandes hechos en armas que este valeroso principe don Cristalian de España, y el infante Luzescanio su hermano hizieron. (my italics)

Even in the anonymous print this authorial decision alone corroborates the rising prominence of women as readers of fiction: it would have made little financial sense to bear a female perspective in a published text of a profane nature, had there been only a handful of women and men interested in and supporting the practice.

Considering the new *privilegio* and that both publications bear a consistent female authorial perspective, we may surmise that the new title-page simply fulfilled the prerequisites stated in the 1558 Royal Decree regarding later reprints.²² In this new light, *Don Cristalián de España* provides an important countercase for those who view sobriquets such as “por una dueña” in paratexts as cases of authorship fraud (i.e. the author was really a man), or insist that print publication was a violation of cultural constraints defining feminine modesty.²³ As a cultural artifact, this work shows that, already in the sixteenth century, publishing in a woman’s name was not seen as improper, even when relating to fiction. In fact, the claim could even be financially worthwhile, especially if articulated by the author herself, as we shall see later in the chapter.

Bernal’s writing career was paralleled elsewhere in Europe. Leonor Coutinho also authored a chivalric book, *Cavalaria de D. Belindo* (Vasconcelos 1994: 36; see also Palma-Ferreira 1982). For her epic poem, *Il Meschino, altramente detto il Guerrino*, Tullia d’Aragona (1510-1556) transposed into *octavas Il Meschino di Durazzo*, a popular late-fourteenth-century chivalric romance written by Andrea da Barberino: it

²² In France, new, vernacular authors had little chance of seeing their names appear on the title-pages of the first editions of their works, unless “they had already established another kind of reputation, such as a religious affiliation [...]. However, [they] were likely to be featured on title pages of later editions, presumably after their earlier volumes had proved to be good profitmakers” (Brown 1995: 63).

²³ Broomhall 2002: 86: “No woman writer in the sixteenth-century has yet been shown to have hidden her gender by writing under a male pseudonym”.

was printed posthumously in Venice in 1560. More relevant was the case of Margaret Tyler, who translated the first part of Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de principes y cavalleros* (Zaragoza, 1555) into English, and published it in 1578 as *The Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*. In her prologue Tyler explicitly commends her work to "young Gentlemen", excusing herself for writing of "a matter more manlike than becometh my sexe" by noting, "it is not necessarie for every trumpetter in the warre to be a good fighter" and adducing the model of the Amazons. Conveniently, she justifies her choice of a light story rather than "exquisite learning" or "sadnesse in divinitie" on the grounds that she could not find any such book "in that [Spanish] tongue which would not breed offence". Indeed, the rhetorical value invested becomes evident, if we consider that Tyler ultimately disputes men's "claime to be sole possessioners of knowledge" in a printed text, and one which was to mark the beginning of the popularity and availability of continental romance in England (Hackett 2000: 57-61):

Many have dedicated their labours, some stories, some of warre, some Phisicke, some Lawe, some as concerning gouernment, some diuine matters, unto diverse Ladyes and Gentlewomen. And if men may and do bestow such of their trauailes upon Gentlewomen, then may we women read such of their workes as they dedicate unto us; and if we may read them, why not further wade in them to the search of a truth? ('To the Reader', in Ortúñez de Calahorra 1580(?): fols A3–A4^v)

Thanks to Bernal's daughter, furthermore, we have access to what once may have been the library of a sixteenth-century woman author. The book inventory taken in 1588, after the death of Bernal's sole heir, Juana de Gatos, has come down to us. Juana was the widow of the *licenciado* Alonso de Torres, but given the total lack of judicial texts, it seems more than probable that many of the works listed may once have belonged to Bernal, especially in light of her writing and the presence of some

works destined for learning Latin (Gagliardi 2003: 26; Cátedra & Rojo 2004: 169).

The list runs as follows.²⁴

- [1] Unas oras con las tablas de plata y sus manezillas.
- [2] Otras oras con sus manezillas de plata.
- [3] Un libro de latín que se llama Antonius Arenas probinzialis.
- [4] Un libro en blanco con su encuadernación de bezerro morado.
- [5] Otro que se llama *Contentus mundi*.
- [6] Las *Enblemas de Alziato*.
- [7] *Epístolas familiares*.
- [8] Una *Zelestina* encuadernada en bezerro.
- [9] Otro libro *De la considerazio y oración y meditación*.
- [10] Otro libro de Junes Gersonis.
- [11] Un *Enquiridió de verbos*.
- [12] Otro librito que dize *Silba de ytropelias*.
- [13] Otro de Alexo Piamontés.
- [14] *Luzero de la Tierra Santa*.
- [15] Otro libro que se llama *Coloquio deboto en que se declara la santa cofradía del Rosario*.
- [16] Otro de *Maleus malefiziarum*.
- [17] *Teórica de virtudes*.
- [18] Otro librito [¿?] Antonio de Guebara.
- [19] La *Auracana* de don Alonso de Erzilla.
- [20] *Aviso de sanidad*.
- [21] *Sentenzias* de Aristóteles
- [22] Las *Epístolas* de Tulio en romanze.
- [23] *Confisiones* de san Agustín.
- [24] Otro librito *Parto de la Virgen*.
- [25] *Dichos de barios estilos*.
- [26] Unas oras viejas.
- [27] El *Libro de cuentos y entretenimientos*.
- [28] Un libro de *Don Cristalián*.
- [29] Las *Epístolas* de don Antonio de Guebara.
- [30] Las *Epístolas* de san Gerónimo.
- [31] Segunda parte d' *Espexo de consolación*.
- [32] *Recopilación de todas las obras del poeta Juan de Mena*.
- [33] *Françisco Petrarca de los remedios contra próspera y adbersa fortuna*.
- [34] *Agonía del tránsito de la muerte*.
- [35] El *Libro de la entrada de Portugal*.
- [36] Otro librito que se dize *Petraca* [sic].
- [37-38] Dos libros *De las repúblicas del mundo*.

²⁴ AHPV, Protocolos, leg. 859, fol. 174, cited from Cátedra & Rojo 2004: 350-56.

- [39] Jubenal y Persio.
- [40] *Sermones* de san Bizente.
- [41] Otro que se llama *Aurea ynorum*.
- [42] Otro librito que se llama *Trezientas preguntas de cosas naturales*.
- [43] Otro que se llama *Glosa peregrina*.
- [44] Un libro de oraciones grande.
- [45] Un libro de oraciones en ytaliano.
- [46] Un libro de mano biejo.
- [47-48] Otros dos cuerpos de libros de *Don Christalián*.
- [49] Un *Bocabulario* de Antonio.
- [50] Otro libro llamado *Proemio*.
- [51] Otro libro de las *Dinidades y ofizios que tubo san Juan*.
- [52] *Gal[a]teo español*.
- [53] Un *Tratado de deotísimas contemplaciones*.
- [54] El *Libro de los quarenta cantos*.
- [55] *Sex linguarum*.
- [56] *La de Roncesballes*.
- [57] Un librito de la Santísima Trinidad.
- [58] Un libro de mano de bariedades de letras.
- [59] Mas unas oras, de plata, las coberturas, pequeñas.
- [60-61] Otras dos orillas pequeñas de manecillas de plata.²⁵

In the larger context, this inventory further substantiates the view that secular female authorship, however scant before the 1600s, went hand in hand with a rise in female readership, and suggests that women authors could have well-equipped libraries, even if details of book ownership and reading remain elusive.²⁶

²⁵ Cátedra & Rojo 2004: 350: “En otros bienes propios de las prácticas devocionales, había ‘un librito de oro que servía de relicario’”.

²⁶ A copy of *Don Cristalián de España* (§47–48) was owned, for example, by Brianda de la Cerda y Sarmiento, duchess of Béjar, as shown by an inventory made at her death in 1602. For Dadson (1998: 240–41), the link between her ownership and reading, though hypothetical, is not impossible.

2.4 Humanist Circles

The humanist Ana de Cervantó or Cervatón was amongst the ladies referred to by Luis de Milán at the court of Germaine de Foix in Valencia. Amongst the works with which she has long been credited are some Latin epistles (c. 1512) to Lucio Marineo Sículo, a well-known scholar at the Isabelline court, and a lost *De Saracenorum apud Hispaniam damnis*, which, as the title announces, was a work of Latin historiography (see Jiménez Calvente 2001: 752-56). Sículo also exchanged Latin epistles with Luisa Medrano, a member like Beatriz Galindo of Isabel la Católica's literary court, and who, according to Sículo, taught for a whole year at the University of Salamanca, a fact later recalled by Nicolás Antonio (see Antonius 1783-88: 351-52; Jiménez Calvente 2001: 633-34).

The careers of these women are indications of the degree to which, in the first third of the sixteenth century, the participation of women in humanist literature was rising. This fact is further illustrated by texts such as *El buen plazer trobado en treze discantes de quarta rima castellana segun imitacion de trobas francesas* by Juan Hurtado de Mendoza (d.1525). Published posthumously (Alcalá, 1550), the text contains two Latin poems by Catalina Paz —two others are preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript— one of which bears the rubric: “Ad clarissimum virum Dominum Joannem Hurtadum Mendoçam, de obitu matris” (“To the noble man, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, on the death of his mother”) (Stevenson 2005: 210).

The best evidence of female humanist practices comes from the literary court of the Infanta Dona Maria (1521-1577) in Portugal. Like Isabel la Católica, her great-grandmother, the Infanta surrounded herself with female humanists, including the aforementioned Paula Vicente (see Vasconcelos 1994; Pinto 1998). Leonor de

Noronha (1488-1563) was born to Fernando de Menezes, 2nd Marquis of Vila Real, and Maria Freire de Andrade. She was a “discipula dilecta” of Cataldo Parísio Sículo, a Latin Humanist (1455-1517) who worked as secretary for João II and teacher for various Portuguese nobles, including Noronha whom he admired: “Ela excede em talento, memória, graças de conversação, não só os nossos contemporaneous mas todos os antigos” (Vasconcelos 1994: ix).

Noronha engaged in the translation (from Latin) publication in print of vernacular texts under royal patronage. Her patron, however, was not the Infanta but Rainha Catarina de Portugal (1507-1578). She published in Coimbra in 1550 and 1553 a two-part translation of *Decades rerum Venetarum* (first published in 1487) with a chapter on Job not included in the original text.²⁷ The author was Marcantonio Sabellico (c. 1436-1506), the foremost manipulator of the power of print publication in late-Quattrocento Venice (Richardson 1999: 83). Both title-pages bear the name of the translator, as well as the dedicatee’s name and coat of arms (see Fig. 9-11); they are based on architectural models; the allegorical complexity of such forms would reach its high peak in the seventeenth century with the use of the frontispiece (Martínez Pereira 2003: 53). Noronha’s second recorded intervention was her patronage, if not also authorship, of *História da Nossa Redenção*, published in two parts: first in Lisbon by Germão Galharde in 1552, then in Coimbra by João de Barreira in 1554

²⁷ The professional author Hélisienne de Crenne was a contemporary referent of Noronha, who in 1542 published the first ever translation into French of Virgil’s *Aeneid* as the *Eneydes* (Paris, Denys Janot). It was dedicated to the king, Francis I (Broomhall 2002: 110).

(see López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 348-357).

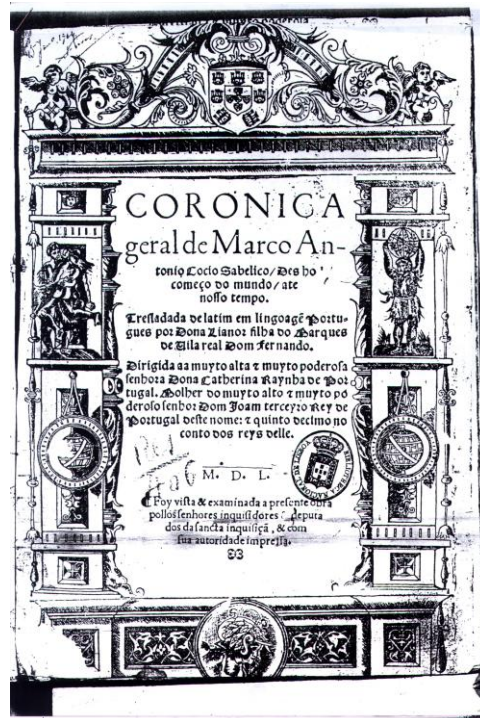


Fig. 9. BL, C.63.a.24: Noronha, *Coronica Geral*, title-page of the first part.



Fig. 10. BL, C.63.a.24: Noronha, *Coronica Geral*, title-page of the second part.



Fig. 11. BL, C.63.a.24: Noronha, ‘Capitulo de Iob, de que nam faz mençam Sabelico’, first page.

Given the relative paucity of extant sources by female humanists, it seems pertinent to consider Noronha’s metadiscourse in her dedication to Rainha Catarina “Muyto alta e muyto Poderosa Senhora”:

[P]era fazer cousa de que V.A. se servisse treladey para as suas damas de latim em lingoagem Portugues hũa coronica geral pera que nam gastem tam bem auenturado tempo pera nos —como este em que vossas altezas reynam—em ler fabulas senam verdades, e sera muyt proueitoso, porque sabendo as passadas conhecemos milhor as presentes.²⁸

Here the supremacy of women’s fictional readings serves the translator to justify her self-fashioning as a didactic author. Although her translation also evokes a female gendered reading through the first-person pronoun, marked as feminine, claiming to

²⁸ Quotations are from López-Iglésias Samartim (2003: 400).

translate for the women at the queen's court, it is clear that male readers also form part of her target public. This can be seen through the *exemplum* she gives to highlight the benefits of reading history, which concerns a male philosopher and a man:

Preguntando hũ philosopho como podia hũ homem ser bem auenturado, respondeo que consi[de]rando os feytos dos passados. He a historia como hũa torre alta de que vemos os maos passos e caminhos em que se outros perderam pera nos guardarmos delles, e os bons em que se saluaram e acertaram pera os seguirmos. E ao menos ganhamos em ler historia ser participantes no merecimento da virtude alhea com a louuarmos e desejarmos de imitar. (p. 400)

What is more striking is that Noronha's didacticism makes no distinction between male and female readings, and proposes that women readers widen their reading practices. Noronha's chosen text is also seen as relevant for Rainha Catarina, and potentially any avid reader, who likes Sabellico:

Treladey eu, seõora, a coronica de Sabelico assi porque he muy geral e chegou elle em contar ate o tempo dos reys vossos auos, e os que apos elle acrecentaram ate o de VV. AA.; como porque he bom latino e os que o souberem lhes aproueitara cotejar o seu latim com a nossa lingoagem. (p. 400)

Furthermore, she underlines the beneficial uses of her translation by spelling out for like-minded readers the methodology, criteria, and more importantly, her input:

Porque a tençam que segui nesta obra foy tresladada a letra, tirando poucas palauras sobejas pera a lingoagem e necessarias para elegancia do latim, e acrecentando outras necessarias para a lingoagem e escusadas pera elegancia do latim. Diuidia em capitulos pera menos enfadamento dos leytores. E porque ha hi cousas em que Sabelico vay muy curto, acrecentey eu algum pouco mais que pus nas margens nesta primeira eneida, e nas outras meti as adições dentro nos mesmos capitulos. (pp. 400-01)

The most celebrated member of the Infanta's literary court was, however, Luisa Sigea de Velasco (1522-1560), the Infanta's teacher and protégée. Her parents were Jacques Sigée and Francisca de Velasco, a middle-class couple of Flemish and Castilian origin respectively, settled in Toledo. She had a sister called Angela, who was also a humanist and a musician. In 1542 both sisters moved to Portugal as ladies-in-waiting at the Infanta D. Maria's small court, residing there for thirteen years. Sigea's return to Castile in 1555 was due to her marriage to Francisco de Cuevas, an *hidalgo* from Burgos and relative on her mother's side, with whom she had a daughter called Juana. In 1556 Cuevas was made secretary of the Valladolid Court, and four years later Luisa Sigea died (Palma-Ferreira 1982: 13-16; Vasconcelos 1994: 38-42).

Much has been said about Sigea's unhappiness once married (although no direct evidence exists to prove such a postulation), the implication being that she could no longer continue with her literary practices. Yet this was not the common view held at the time, or, at least, not by everyone, as a contemporary manuscript shows: "Esta señora cassó despues en Burgos muy honradamente, donde vive con su marido este año de 1556, y las cargas del matrimonio no la ympiden el noble exercicio de las Letras" (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 397). The idea that Sigea's sadness originated from her inability to find a suitable post at court —and not from the fact that she was a woman— was expressed also in a letter dated 4 March 1572, addressed by Tomás Gracián Dantisco to the royal secretary Diego de Zayas:

Por otra tal repulsa murió de sentimiento aquella famosa Luysa Sigea, criada que fué de la Reyna doña María y lo pretendió ser de la Reyna doña Isabel [...] y assí me acuerdo que el Nuncio Terracina y otros hombres doctos que celebraron con versos su muerte y memoria tocaron bien en esto: *despecta graviter repulsam tulit*. (cited from Serrano y Sanz, 1975: II, 398)

Gracián Dantisco refers to the fact that, after leaving Portugal, Sigea requested to become one of the ladies-in-waiting at the court of the Infanta María de Hungría (1505-1558) in Valladolid, who was in charge of the regency of Spain between the years 1548-1551 during the absence of her brother Carlos V and his son Felipe, the future Felipe II. Her request was granted and both she and her husband moved there. Unfortunately the Infanta died in 1558 and Sigea was left once again without a patron: the Infanta left her only a small pension in her will. In 1559 Luisa wrote to Felipe II, reminding him of her merits and asking him for financial help, a request which was rejected, although not on sexual grounds: years later this monarch elected to support a Portuguese woman scholar, Públia Hortênsia de Castro (1548-1595), with a life pension, as underlined in Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1672: II, 347; see also Vasconcelos 1994; Stevenson 2005 and 2007a). Sigea then applied for a similar post at the court of Reina Isabel de Valois, but was, again, rejected (Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 397-398; see also Baranda 2005 and 2007).

Sigea's works were written mostly in Latin, revealing her learned background. Undoubtedly her most famous works are *Syntra* (c. 1546) and *Duarum virginum colloquium de vita aulica et privata* (c. 1552). The former, moreover, contains four Latin epigrams by Sigea, in particular *Sintra*, a bucolic evocation of the royal pleasance of Sintra in which a river nymph prophesies the future good fortune of the *princeps augusta*, i.e. Dona Maria. Circulated first in manuscript, it was printed in Paris in 1566 by Jean Nicot at the request of Sigea's father (Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 403), as is made clear by a pair of letters from one to the other printed at the start. Nicot states in his reply to Jacques Sigée:

Eccum tibi, mi Sygæe, Aloysiæ tuæ carmen: quo equidem sum in ipsa navigatione adeo delectatus

ut tedii nauseæque levationem ejus Manibus, tibi que debeam. Nunc ad te redit ornatum CI. Monselli peritissimi viri commendatione. Tu cura, ut Infans Maria, quid judicium de ejus alumna in Gallia factum fuerit, id vero intelligat. Aloysia, Sygæ, ex te denuo nascitur: immo vero prorsus numquam interiit. Viret autem sæculis innumerabilibus hoc pulcherrimarum atrium, quas illa studiosissime coluit, adjumento; ac tanquam fax nunc magis accensa non Hispanas modo feminas, sed ceteras quasvis etiam incredibile litterarum amore inflammabit. Vale. Dat. Lutetiæ Parisiorum Kal. Junii MDLXVI.²⁹

Written ten years into her life at the Portuguese court, and not printed until Serrano's edition in 1903, the *Colloquium* is written in prose and in the form of a dialogue between two adolescent girls, Flaminia and Blesilla, about whether it is better to lead a public life at court or a private one in retirement, a variation on the old debate between the active and contemplative lives which played such an important part in the early ideological formations of civic humanism. Sigæ's version is given impact and originality, of course, by being discussed for the first time from a female point of view. It has been described as portraying "her experience in the exclusive women's academy surrounding the princess" and as a "testament to the disillusionment brought on by the intrigues of the princess's humanist circle and by the lack of the remuneration for her services" (Kaminsky 1996: 78). The last point perhaps reflected the mentality of Sigæ's bourgeois family background, since the evidence suggests that she held a more privileged position as *Latina* at the Infanta's court than other female humanists.³⁰

²⁹ I quote from the copy of the 1566 edition in BL 11408.f.42.

³⁰ Baranda 2005: 220: "Entre todas ellas Luisa ocupó, sin duda, el lugar preferente que testimonia un

At least two poems —one *canción* and the other in *octavas*— and two letters written in Castilian by Sigea have survived.³¹ The letters are addressed to a certain *caballero* about solitude, a theme that echoes the concept of *saudade* in Portuguese lyric poetry widely discussed at the time. The first of the letters complains to a friend, or modestly affects to complain, about the publication of one of Sigea's writings, which, to judge by the description "mi escrito de la yedra", was her poem *Syntra*:

Mal haze v.m. del tratante, pues le sabe la maña, que quando no tienen muy acendradas mercaderias, ponenlas en piezas sin luz, para que no les vea lo malo y se les vendan mejor; v.m., al rebés desto, muestra mi escrito de la yedra á lo más claro del mundo, que son los buenos ingenios; los quales, á mi ver, son como el sol; á quien los griegos llaman el todo lo vee, y assí se haze anothomia brauissima de mi mal estilo y palabras á la gallega, que ni bien son castellanas, ni portuguesas; y lo bueno es que no solo padezco yo daño en la tal muestra, mas aun la diuina amistad de que el señor escrito trataba [...]. De aquí adelante, pues v.m. se precia tanto de ser buen amigo, no muestre la amistad tan mal retratada, que según, es [de] delicada condicion desdeñarse a de v.m. y de mí; de v.m., porque la muestra; de mí, porque la pinto; y pues ella es lo que dize su Plauto: *proba materies, si probum adhibeas fabrum*, ó la pinte y esculpa el mismo, ó

salario de 16.000 reis anuales, que recibió desde 1543, cuando entró al servicio de la infanta (más, por ejemplo, que Joana Vaz) hasta 1552, en que recibe 25.000 reis por su boda, siempre en concepto de Latina". Joana Vaz was a librarian "na casa da rainha Catarina e passou no ano de 1533 ao serviço da infanta para substituir como professora de D. Maria o castelhano Julián de Alba" (López-Iglésias Samartim 2003: 232).

³¹The first lines of the compositions are as follows: "'Pasados tengo hasta agora' and 'Un fin, una esperança, un como, ó quando'" (see Martínez Góngora 2006: 423-43). The letters are held in the BNE, MS 10.722, fols 46-49.

quando la viere de mala mano dexela al rincon, y á mi tambien me dexe v.m. en fee de lo que de mí dixere sin mostrar listita de tan mal paño, siquiera por no ver al ojo todos que se engaña. (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 418)

The “buen amigo” of this letter could have been her father. Although *Syntra* was published in 1566, after her death, he may have initiated arrangements much earlier, or more likely showed the poem to others in manuscript. In any case, it would appear that Sigea did not approve, or so she claimed, of this person acting as a *tratante* or commercial middleman. Such self-effacement was a recurring trope, often found in dedications and prologues; in fact, most pre-1700 authors, male and female, claimed disapproval, if not discontent, at the discovery that their texts had been publicly disseminated. Such authorial statements were standard forms of *captatio benevolentiae*, irrespective of gender (Broomhall 2002: 95). What remains striking, however, is Sigea’s characteristic interest first in her reputation, and then in its commercial aspect, even if only intended in a metaphorical sense (“mercaderías”, “se les vendan mejor”, and the final metaphor from selling cloth). The tone of her protestations is light-hearted, and no one could be misled into thinking that this was a writer who did not seriously crave celebrity.³² Indeed, Sigea soon became well-reputed not only in Iberia but also in Renaissance Europe, confirming that, despite her alleged disapproval, she consciously sought public recognition. She received it from several contemporary male authors such as Andrés de Resende, from the first ever

³² Commenting on the dedication to *Duarum virginum colloquium*, Vian Herrero (2009: 403) notes: “Además de coquetear tópicamente con sus vanas fuerzas, la autora deja constancia de que ha meditado personalmente sobre esos autores y que los conoce desde su más tierna mocedad”.

literary bibliographers (Schottus 1608; Antonius 1672), and also, to a greater extent than any other female humanist of whom we know, from later generations of women authors, as we shall see. Her name was later affixed to a text of pornographic nature, *Satyra sotadica de arcanis amoris et veneris* (ca. 1658-60), a set of dialogues supposedly translated into Latin from her Castilian by Jan van Meurs and published without an imprint, a fraud that has been attributed —on flimsy grounds— to the French historian Nicholas Chorier (Sigea 1970; Serrano y Sanz 1975; Stevenson 2005).

2. 5 Authoritative and Commercial Status

The shift towards reaching authoritative and commercial status during the sixteenth century is represented by Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, whose extant work enters the arena of natural philosophy: “Sabuco makes her mark in the history of philosophy as an early examiner of the mind-body problem and as a mind-body interactionalist-dualist” (‘Introduction’, Sabuco 2007: 3). While both the exact date of her birth and death remain a mystery, it is known that Sabuco was baptized on 2 December 1562 in the village of Alcaraz in Albacete, Castilla-La Mancha. Her parents were Miguel Sabuco y Álvarez and Francisca de Cosar. She was married to Acacio de Buedo, with whom she had a daughter called Luisa de Buedo.

Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre was printed in Madrid under a *privilegio* by Pedro Madrigal in 1587.³³ It was written in dialogue form following

³³ Henceforth referred to as *Nueva filosofía*. Pedro Madrigal worked in Madrid from 1586 until 1594, when he died. He was based in Calle de Atocha, and he had previously worked in Salamanca since

humanist practices and contains seven treatises, the last two primarily in Latin, doubtless aimed at the erudite in Iberia and elsewhere (Sabuco 2007: 7).³⁴



Fig. 12. Title-page of *Nueva filosofia de la naturaleza del hombre* (Madrid, 1587).

1580. After his death his widow took over the business until 1604, using as an imprint “Viuda de Pedro Madrigal” or “En casa de Pedro Madrigal”. During the years 1628 and 1635 the imprint used was “Herederos de la Viuda de Pedro Madrigal”; and finally, from 1634 to 1666, the imprint “María de Quiñones” (Delgado Casado 1996, I: 410-11).

³⁴ The title of the treatises are as follows: ‘Coloquio del conocimiento de si mismo’, ‘Coloquio dela compostura del mundo, como está’, ‘Coloquio de las cosas que mejorarán este mundo y sus repúblicas’, ‘Coloquio de los auxilios o remedio de la vera medicina’, ‘Vera Medicina y vera Filosofía, oculta a los antiguos’, ‘Dicta brevia circa naturam hominis’, and ‘Vera Philosophia de natura mistorum, hominis et mundi, antiquis oculta’.

The paratexts comprise the *tasa*, the royal *privilegio*, the author's prologue ("Al lector"), two laudatory sonnets by the Licenciado Juan de Sotomayor, and the author's dedication to Felipe II. Embedded in the body of the work is also a letter to Francisco Zapata de Cisneros, count of Barajas, Chief Justice of Seville, and later President of the Council of Castile (Vélez de Guevara 1951: 153), headed: "Carta en que doña Oliva pide favor y amparo contra los emulos deste libro" (Sabuco 1587, fols 199-200).

That *Nueva filosofía* quickly became a success inside and outside Iberia can be inferred from two sources: first, the acknowledgement which the author received, along with other female humanists, in Andreas Schott's literary bibliography, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* (1608: III, 347-48), and approving citations by writers such as Francisco López de Úbeda in his *Libro de entretenimiento de la pícara Justina* (1605), the French physician Charles le Pois (1563-1633) and Étienne de Clave, who in 1635 referred to "la Docte Dona [...] Oliva, philosophe Espagnole" as a critic of Aristotle and Galen ('Introduction', Sabuco 2007: 3);³⁵ second, the two octavo reprints of her text which followed, one in Madrid in 1588 and the other in Braga in 1622 (then under Spanish rule). Both included Sabuco's prologue and her dedication to the king, but the 1622 edition omits the *privilegio* and the letter to the Count of Barajas.

³⁵ References to Oliva by Úbeda are in the third part of Book II, Chapter I and Chapter II.

The dedication of the 1622 reprint, signed by its publisher, Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto, refers to Sabuco as already dead.³⁶ However, this could not have been the case, as Sabuco and her husband acted as witnesses for the marriage of their daughter on 26 August 1629. It has been argued, therefore, that the reference may have been to protect Sabuco from the Spanish Inquisition, since the title-page states: “Co[n] las adiciones de la segunda impression, y en (esta tercera) expurgado”, and Basto specifies that the second edition of 1588 had been withdrawn from circulation out of “fear” and womanly diffidence:

Este Liuro de Dona Oliua he forçado sair cobarde, pello mau sucesso da segunda impressão em que o mandarão recolher: & por ser seu autor hũa mulher; aquem, como fraca he mais natural o temor, particularmente em impressas semelhantes; tam alheas de sua profissão, & aque tam poucas se atreverão. Pello que o Liuro, & sua autora (ainda depois de morta) parecem me estão pedindo o não tire outra vez a luz sem protector que com seu valor o anime, & defenda das calumnias de que o fauor de hũ Monarcha o não pode defender. (Sabuco 1622: fols *3^v–*4^r)³⁷

³⁶ The rubric reads: “A Dom Ioam Lobo Baram D’Albito do Conselho de sua Magestad Señor das Villas de Villanova, Aguiar, & Oriola, Provedor, & administrador das capellas d’el Rey Dom Afonso IIII. & da Raynha Dona Beatriz, &c”.

³⁷ Basto’s appeal to a male protector and maidenly fearfulness was a transparent irony, because *recolher* (*recoger*) was the standard technical term for an edition withdrawn at the order of the Inquisition, i.e. a *mau sucesso* in the true sense. The editors of Sabuco 2007 explain why the work could provoke suspicion of heterodoxy: “She presents humans’ quest for salvation, but she does not tie it directly to the idea of Christ’s redemption on the cross or to baptism and confession in the church but rather to the idea of an immanent God [...]. Instead Sabuco presents a vague account of religion and vehemently challenges the prevailing Christian, Aristotelian-Galenic view of human nature”

Despite the fame that *Nueva filosofía* enjoyed as the work of an avowedly female writer, its authorship became the object of controversy in the nineteenth century, and more influentially in the twentieth. After publishing Sabuco's biography, José Marco Hidalgo, "registrador de la propiedad de Alcaraz", found the last will of Miguel Sabuco, dated 20 February 1588, in which the father claimed the authorship of the book, alleging that previous attribution had been a "derision" to honour his daughter. Marco Hidalgo failed to find the "escripturas" of 15 September 1587 that the father alleged to have presented before a solicitor, but this did not stop him from publishing his article 'Doña Oliva no fue escritora' (1903).³⁸ However, no document other than the father's will puts her authorship in question. More to the point, the work continued to be published in the name of Doña Oliva Sabuco de Nantes in all its seven editions from 1587 to 1888, three of them before her death (1587, 1588, and 1622).

That is, if the father really tried to assert his authorship by legal means —and the coincidence in date between the documents and that of the first edition (the *tasa* of

('Introduction', Sabuco 2007: 12). But it is noteworthy that there is not a hint of suspicion in the work's original licence; unusually, Mármol makes no reference in the *privilegio* to the book's content, or to any censor's report.

³⁸ Although supporting a dubious claim, the well-reputed bibliographer Antoni Palau y Dulcet (1966) brought Marco Hidalgo's find to public notice. This is why the Biblioteca Nacional de España has (since around 1975) listed the work in the father's name. Despite supporting Oliva's authorship, Martínez Tomé later suggested the idea of a collective authorship formed by Dr Heredia (her godfather), *bachiller* Gutiérrez (her teacher), as well as her father and the next village's *boticario* (see Waithe 1989; Cabré 1993; Albero Muñoz 2006; Sabuco 1981 and 2007; Baranda 2005 and 2007).

which is dated 12 February 1587, and its *privilegio* 23 July 1586) is suggestive— his case was unsuccessful; the “segunda impression”, reprinted by Madrigal in 1588, though described on its title-page as “enmendada, y añadidas algunas cosas”, still bears unchanged the ascription “compuesta por doña Oliva Sabuco” (Sabuco 1588: fol. *1^r, repeated on fol. *2^v) and the *privilegio*’s explicit statement:

por parte de vos Oliua Sabuco de Nantes [...] nos fue fecha relacion, diziendo que vos auiades compuesto un libro, intitulado, Nueua filosofia, medicina y vera filosofia: en lo qual auiades puesto mucho trabajo [...]. (Sabuco 1588: fol. *4^r; identical in Sabuco 1587: fol. *4^r)

It seems unconceivable that the “corrector general de libros por su Magestad” Juan Vázquez del Mármol, his *escribano de cámara* Cristóbal de León, the majesty of the Council of Castile, and the book’s dedicatee, Felipe II himself, would have countenanced the extension of a privilege to a book of such contentious matter (n38, above)—and then its reprinting under their very noses in Madrid—in the face of legal arguments that its authorship was spurious. Given the workings of the Crown’s censors in that age, such a scenario is wildly improbable; hence Miguel Sabuco’s testimony, if it is to be taken at face value at all, actually confirms rather than disproves his daughter’s authorship.

Recalling again, therefore, the coincidence in date with the purchase of the book’s *privilegio* and printing, we can only speculate as to Miguel’s motives in claiming that the ascription to Oliva was a “joke”. Either his relations with his daughter were cordial, in which case he was trying to protect her from harrassment, not himself (e.g. because they were *conversos*, as suggested by Strosetzki 1997: 87); or their relations were uncordial, in which case chauvinism, financial greed, or baser motives might have been in play. What is certain is that both Oliva and Miguel asserted their legal

authorship in public; whilst we can think of reasons (some honourable) why a man in those days might have wanted to pass off his daughter's work as his own, it is hard to imagine how or why she would have attempted the reverse.

The paratexts of the work's printed versions do nothing to contradict Oliva's authorship; in light of it, however, they become surprising. Licenciado Juan de Sotomayor, a native of Alcaraz, did not question her in his two 'Sonetos en alabanza del Autor, y de la Obra' (fol. *7^{r-v}), and he was surely in a position to know the facts and avoid making a fool of himself by writing laudatory verses to a spurious author.³⁹

His emphasis on Oliva's femaleness can be read as falling easily within the parameters of this traditional strategy for advertising a book, and hence as yet another

³⁹ Unless otherwise stated, quotations are henceforth from Sabuco (1587). Sotomayor mentions Oliva's name seven times and calls her "el autor". The *Corpus diacrónico del español* (Real Academia Española, n.d.) gives 104 cases of *autora* before 1650 in the attributive sense 'causing, perpetrating' ("la edad autora de los males", "Fortuna autora de agravios", "mujer [...] autora y causadora de una muerte", "belleza autora de tanto fuego", etc.), but none earlier than 1585 and not one as substantive "woman author" (the closest is Cervantes's *autora* "woman theatre manager", 1615). This is because binary *-or/ora* was still rare as a noun form in Spanish (e.g. only five attestations of *escritora* "woman writer" before 1650, all in *La pícaro Justina*, 1605, by the fictional author herself); speakers in the 1580s therefore felt no gender clash in calling women *el autor* (to clinch the point, Oliva does not scruple to refer to herself this way, "Tan extraño y nuevo es el libro, quanto es el autor", fol. 2; cf. "por ser seu autor hũa molher" in Frutuoso Lourenço de Basto's preface to Sabuco 1622 quoted above, though two lines later, when he wants to stress that she is just a frail woman, "sua autora"—which may, as far as I am aware, be the second Iberian occurrence of *autora* in the modern sense; the first was in 1618 with respect to Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, as we shall see in Chapter 3).

reflection of the huge changes in the sixteenth-century book trade that ushered in the spread of authors' presence and names inside and around their texts, changes that Brown (1995: 6) attributes to a growing sense of the author's role in the literary enterprise and in society itself. What makes Sotomayor's verses interesting, however, is their juxtaposition with Sabuco's own prologue to the reader, which immediately precedes those verses, for she, by contrast, makes not one reference to the fact that the author is female:

Cosa injusta es, y contra razon (prudente Lector) juzgar de una obra⁴⁰ sin verla ni entenderla. Equidad y justicia hazia aquel Filosofo que quando oha alguna diferencia, atapaua la una oreja, y la guardaua para oyr la otra parte. Pues esta es la merced que aqui te pido, que no juzgues deste libro hasta que ayas visto y entendido su justicia, passandolo y percibiendolo todo: entonces pido tu parecer, y no antes. [...] No daras lugar (benigno Lector) a que la injusta inuidia, emulation, o interesse priue al mundo de poderse mejorar en el saber que mas importa, y mas utilidad y fruto puede dar al hombre. Vale. ("Al lector", fol. *6^{r-v})

While Sabuco seems here to employ a defensive tone on first addressing her reader, she does so on intellectual, not sexual grounds: she asks would-be readers to judge her text only after reading it. This change in the manifestation of literary self-consciousness is all the more significant, given the lack of self-deprecating formulae, especially since in her dedication to Felipe II, although she does not reveal and make play of her sex (see below), she nevertheless undermines ancient *auctoritas*:

Trata del conocimiento de si mismo, y dà dotrina para conocerse, y entenderse el hombre a si

⁴⁰ obra 1588 cosa 1587.

mismo, y a su naturaleza, y para saber las causas naturales por que vive, y porque muere, o enferma. Tiene muchos y gra[n]des avisos, para librarse de la muerte violenta. Mejora el mundo en muchas cosas [...]. Este libro faltava en el mundo, asi como otros muchos sobran. Todo este libro falto a Galeno, a Platon, y a Hippocrates en sus tratados de natura humana: y a Aristoteles quando trato de anima y de vita & morte. Falto tambien a los naturales como Plinio, Eliano, y los demas quando trataron de homine. Esta era la Filosofia necessaria y la mejor y de mas fruto para el hombre, y esta toda se dexaron intacta los grandes Filósofos antiguos. (‘Carta Dedicatoria al Rey nuestro Señor, fols 1—4^v, at fol. 2^v)⁴¹

In her letter to the Count of Barajas Sabuco even offers to prove the aptness of her philosophy in person to an audience of male doctors:

Todo lo qual, si el Rey nuestro señor, y V.S. en su nombre fuere seruido de concederme su fauor, y mandar juntar hombres sabios [...] yo les prouare y dare evidencias como ambas cosas estan

⁴¹ It is worth noting that the famous doctor and philosopher Juan Huarte (1529-1588) used similar strategies (verdicts on the text only after being read, claims of originality) for the purpose of *captatio benevolentiae* in the prologue to his *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (‘Al lector. Segundo prohemio’, in Huarte 1575: fols 4^r–9^r: “curioso lector, si uviera forma para poderte primero tratar [...], en secreto te dixera sentencias tan nuevas y particulares, quales jamas pensaste que podian caer en la ymaginacion de los hombres. Pero [...] bien sabes, discreto lector, que es impossible inuentar un Arte, y poderla perficionar; [...] Harto haze el primer inventor, en apuntar algunos principios notables [...] Te ruego, ingenioso lector, antes que des tu decreto, leas primero toda la obra”). The claim to originality was further emphasized in his expanded second edition (Huarte 1594: fols 8^v–20^v ‘Prossiguiese el segundo Prohemio’, e.g. “Ningun Philosopho antiguo ni moderno, que yo aya visto, à tocado esta dificultad”, fol. 9^v).

erradas y engañado el mundo. (fol. 200)⁴²

In her signed dedication to the king, as mentioned already, Sabuco adopts an apparently different authorial stance. Speaking explicitly as a woman —though still without any self-deprecating formula in regard to authorship— she defends her daring *osadía* by a curious appeal to the masculine code of chivalry:

Una humilde sierva y vasalla [...] osa hablar: Diome esta osadia y atreuimiento aquella ley antigua de alta caualleria: a la qual los grandes señores y caualleros [...] se quisieron atar y obligar, que fue fauorecer siempre a las mugeres en sus aventuras. (fol. 1^r)

Furthermore, she overtly plays on her femininity to fish for royal patronage (a seemingly extraneous detail that later female authors would repeatedly exploit), and a strange yet still conventional reference to her “motherhood” of her book⁴³:

La magnanimidad natural y no aprendida del león (rey y señor de los animales) usa de clemencia con los niños y con las flacas mujeres, especial si prostrada por tierra tiene osadia y esfuerço para hablar, como tuuo aquella cautiuua de Getulia, huyendo del cautiuerio por una montaña, donde auia muchos leones [*in marg.*: Pli. lib.8. c.16]: los quales todos usaron con ella de clemencia y fauor, *por ser mujer* [...]. Pues assi yo con este atreuimiento y osadia, oso offrecer y dedicar este mi libro a V. C[atólica] M[ajestad] y pedir el fauor del gran león rey y señor de los hombres, y pedir el

⁴² Such female boldness in relation to scientific publications was not confined to Iberia: “In 1609, Louise Bourgeois published her own account of gynaecology in *Observations diverses sur la sterilité, perte de fruicts, fœcondité, accouchements, et maladies des femmes, et enfants nouveaux naix*. She insisted that her experience as a midwife, both to the women of her neighbourhood and later to the family of Henri IV, would expose the errors of physicians” (Broomhall 2002: 84).

⁴³ The book, conceived of as a child, was another popular topos (Curtius 1990: 132).

amparo y sombra de las Aquilinas alas de V.C.M. debaxo de las quales pongo *este mi hijo que yo he engendrado*. (fols 1^v-2^r, my italics)

Despite the images of prostration, however, Oliva's upright and didactic stance remains clear, like that of Leonor de Noronha—but to an extent that leaves Noronha behind, and makes even the Baroque excess of contemporary male bombast look like self-effacing, childish prattle. The tone and emphasis of her long letter is of unrepentant self-assertion: key words are *osar*, *osadía* (*atrevimiento*, *esfuerzo*). Far from inviting the reader to imagine her on her knees, then, Oliva faces her public resolutely, even haughtily. She reminds the king of his duty, which is to listen to her (“Esta [filosofía] compete a los reyes, porque conociendo y entendiendo la naturaleza y propiedades de los hombres, sabran mejor regirlos y gouernar su mundo”, fol. 2^v). She boasts of the unique utility—or as she put it, “necessity”—of her book for the future of humanity and the universe (“Mejora el mundo en muchas cosas: a las quales si V.M. no puede dar orden, [...] por ventura los venideros lo haran [...] Este libro faltaua en el mundo”, fol. 2^{r-v}); and she readily advises the ruler of the world's greatest empire to attend to his lesson (“no se contente V.M. con oyrlo una vez, sino dos y tres”, fol. 4^v) and not forget that royal coffers exist for the reward of such benefactions (“Quan estraño, mas alto mejor, y de mas fruto es este libro, [...] tan estrañas, mejores, y extraordinarias mercedes, espera esta humilde sierva de V.M.”, *ibid.*).

Overtuning the well-worn etiquette of false modesty, Oliva actively revels in her lack of education, which only proves her innate genius (“se vino nacida, no acordandome yo de medicina porque nunca la estudie, pero resulta muy clara y evidentemente [...] estar errada la medicina antigua que se lee y estudia”, fol. 3^r);

permits herself to condescend when she considers the glittering array of noble wits who will grapple—if they can—with unrelenting perusals of her mighty system (“De lo qual no solamente, los sabios y Christianos Medicos pueden ser juezes, pero aun tambien *los de alto juyzio* de otras facultades, y qualquier hombre abil y de buen juyzio, *leyendo y passando todo el libro*”, *ibid.*, my italics); and, naturally, gives in to the temptation to land a well-aimed boot on what she conceives to be the tender spot of men’s anatomy, their vanity at being male (“reciba V.M. este servicio de una muger, que pienso es mayor en calidad que quantos han hecho los hombres”, fol. 2^r).

Sabuco’s self-promotional strategies in her letter to the king do not read as calculated or self-serving. There is something fresh in this energy that betokens new and unselfconscious confidence. She solemnly offers a trial period of a year to assess the public utility of what she no longer calls her book, but fondly represents as her future “cult” (“pues mi peticion es justa, que se prueue esta mi secta un año, pues han prouado la medicina de Hippocrates y Galeno dos mil años, y en ella han hallado tan poco efecto y fines tan inciertos, como se vee claro cada dia”, fol. 4^r). The same can be said of her gendering of the topos of rarity, and especially her constant claims to originality, and her determination to shrug off plagiarism:

Y si alguno, por auer yo dado auisos de algunos puntos desta materia en tiempo passado, ha escrito o escriue, usurpando estas verdades de mi invencion: Suplico a V.C.M. mande las dexe, porque no mueua a risa, como la Corneja vestida de plumas ajenas. (fols 4^r-4^v, signed “Catholica tuae Maiestatis Arcilla, / Oliua de Nantes / Sabuco Barrera.”)

A close look at the paratext of *Nueva filosofía*, therefore, confirms that for the contemporary reader, including the book producers and the king, Oliva Sabuco was an author of natural philosophy fully aware that she was competing against male

philosophers. The novelty presented by Sabuco's case within the context of female authorship lies in the way that it shows that women's *captatio benevolentiae* formula could successfully be based upon non-religious ideals (chivalric ideals) and be bold. It also illustrates the financial and social benefits that gendering the trope of rarity, following Cicero's recommendations, could bring for women authors. As we shall see, the rhetorical strategies used in *Nueva filosofía* would serve as a model for promoting the work of secular women authors in the following century.

Nueva filosofía's immediate widespread success, as far as secular female literary production goes, seems to have motivated women's step towards collaborating as authors in the launching of male publications in print, and to predispose the female reader's interest in and benevolence towards a newly published text. In effect, laudatory poems could be taken as a sign of the author's renown, and the evidence suggests that some poets undertook this task in exchange for remuneration (Cayuela 1996: 76-77; Simón Díaz 2000: 200). First, it seems pertinent to recall however briefly, the case of Isabel de Vega, since it illustrates how only through increased public exposure and peer support (i.e. Castillo, Resende, Boscán, Garcilaso) as writers could women ever have adopted such a commercial role.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Vega may have been the daughter of Juan de Vega, Carlos V's ambassador in Rome (c. 1543) and viceroy of Sicily (1547-1557), and his wife Leonor de Vega Osorio, a lady-in-waiting to the Emperatriz Isabel de Portugal (1503-1539), and one of the most important patrons of Ignacio de Loyola (1491-1556). In 1535 they had a daughter named Isabel de Vega y Osorio, who in 1550 married Pedro Julio de Luna y Peralta, 2nd duke of Bivona; she is thought to have died in 1617, aged eighty-four. This Isabel was the founder of a college in Bivona, reportedly her biggest endeavour (Hufton 2001: 351),

Vega is known to have contributed, at least, one poem to Diego Ramírez Pagán's *Floresta de varia poesía*, printed in Valencia in 1562. This should not be read as a sign of her poor literary worth or lack of public involvement. As Rodríguez-Moñino (1968: 24) famously argued: “el libro, el volumen impreso con la obra lírica de un autor, es excepción en los grandes poetas de los siglos de oro [...]. Los impresos, pues, no pudieron ser la fuente de un conocimiento amplio, por parte de los contemporáneos”.

Vega's known manuscript work is greater and has survived in two *cancioneros* copied in the second half of the sixteenth century: RB, Ms. II-617 (*Cancionero de poesías varias*) and BNF Ms, esp. 602. As with those compiled by Hernando del Castillo (Valencia, 1511) and Garcia de Resende (Lisboa, 1516), the *cancioneros* collecting Vega's work include poets with courtly connections: Gómez Manrique, Juan Hernández de Heredia, Castillejo, Garcilaso de la Vega, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and among the other women, Andrea de Mendoza.⁴⁵

but whether she was our poet remains uncertain. If she was, most if not all, of her surviving literary work would have been composed while married, thus further showing that marriage was not always the impediment to women becoming writers that it is supposed to have been.

⁴⁵ Andrea is named, usually by her initials A.D.M., in the rubrics of *Cancionero de poesías varias*: “No mas ya, corazon, no mas contento” (Soneto. La misma D. A. D. M., fol. 212), “Quando mis ojos os vieron” (Glosa de D. A[ndrea] De M[endoça] under “Nunca mas veran mis ojos”, fol. 210 v.º), “Tieneme Amor de tal suerte” (Glosa de Doña Andrea de Mendoza, under “Ved, señora, que es mi mal”, fol. 209 v.º), and “Tieneme tan consumido” (Glosa de la mesma D. A. D. M., under “Mi termino es variar”, fol. 211 v.º). The other women include Magdalena de Bobadilla, Leonor de Guzmán y

From this, one may infer that Vega achieved a certain degree of recognition in courtly literary circles, and that she may have been acquainted with or related to those poets who were her contemporaries. This is also suggested by some of her “poesía de ocasión”, for instance, her “Soneto de la misma señora [Doña Isabel de Vega] / a la muerte del emperador Carlos Q.R.D.S.P.”:

¡O muerte! cuánta gloria as alcançado
triumphando de el que triumphos par no tiene!
Que triumphes más de nadie no conviene
pues no ay “Plus ultra” de donde as llegado.
Sosiéguese de oy más tu pecho ayrado,
quel daño que por ti, cruel, nos vien,[e]
ni el miedo del que en tal dolor nos tiene
no temas que jamás será oluidad[o].
¡O Çéssar y Alexandro que ganastes
tan clara fama por los hechos rraros
y con ellos triumpháis en el abismo!
¡O Carlos, clara luz, que bos volastes
al sumo çielo con triumphos claro[s]
después de auer triumphado de uos mi[s]mo.⁴⁶

Toledo, Ana Félix de Guzmán and María de Padilla, all of whom supposedly came from the court of Isabel de Valois, third wife of Felipe II (see Baranda 2007 and 2009).

⁴⁶ Unless otherwise stated, all references are from Labrador, Zorita, & DiFranco (1986), p. 553.

Vega's sex is clearly signalled ("De la misma señora"). Her name has been given in full earlier in the *cancionero*, RB II/617, fols 357-58. Her literary confidence is manifested by the form (heroic sonnet) and her knowing play on the Emperador's chivalric motto *Plus Ultra* in the first quatrain, and the emphasis on the military triumphs of Caesar and Alexander.

The following is another heroic sonnet on a male hero, and though he is praised as a writer rather than a warrior, the modesty topos ("mi Musa indigna", l. 11) takes the standard form of *recusatio*, not a sex-specific humility (see Fig. 13, above):

Soneto / D. y. DV

Si llegara mi pluma, o gran Hurtado
 qual la gloriosa tuya al terçer çielo
 de do truxiste con veloçe buelo
 de apolo musas y el sauer Hurtado
 Mi musa con estilo no hurtado
 pusiera a tu tristeza gran consuelo
 m[as] ay que en mi no ay mas de desconsuelo
 y si viviere⁴⁷ algun bien sera Hurtado
 Pues si quiero mostrarme agradeçida
 al verso heroyco con que favoreçes
 mi musa yngdina de tan gran Renombre
 Atájame⁴⁸ entender lo que mereçes

⁴⁷ Or *hubiere*: for the meaning (*no hay ... y si hubiere*) and for the metre (*viviere* cannot be scanned correctly, given that *hurtado* < *furtado* implies an hiatus cf. l. 5— Vega must have been from Toledo or from even further south, thus pronouncing it with an aspired *h*, like Garcilaso).

y ver que es ynposible la suvida

a pretender loar tu claro nombre. (BNF MS esp. 602, fol. 68)

In the Paris manuscript the rubrics to this and other poems refer to Vega only by her initials, without specifying her sex.

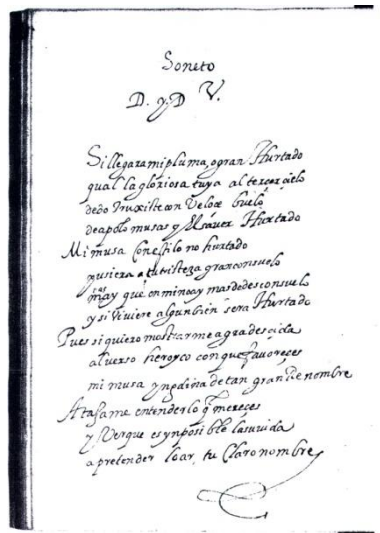


Fig. 13. BNF, MS. esp. 602, fol. 275v.

Nevertheless, the fact that it was written by a woman is revealed through grammatical gender (“Pues si quiero mostrarme agradeçida”, l.9). The rubric’s use of the author’s initials cannot, therefore, be read as an attempt to hide her female identity. The evidence shows that both women and men occasionally wrote works that they signed using only initials, and even these, when used by women, do not appear to have been specifically to hide their sex (Broomhall 2002: 83). The sonnet’s constant references to poetic craft and to literary concepts —*pluma*, *Apolo*, *Musa*,

⁴⁸ *Atájame*: “Atajar [...] significa metafóricamente estorbar que una cosa pase adelante” (*Dicc. Aut.* 1727: 455). The shape of the variant letter -s- or -j- is unclear in the MS, so that it is difficult to select between these two readings.

estilo, verso— display no concession to any kind of modest feminine reticence.

The addressee was probably Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), a well-known man of letters, also represented in the same manuscript. Furthermore, he was the uncle and tutor of Magdalena de Bobadilla (1546-1580), also included in the manuscript, and one of the most powerful female members in the Mendoza family (see Nader 2004).⁴⁹ In short, Vega's sonnet registers a Renaissance woman author showing no compunction in comparing her craft to one of the most polished poets of the day. By their very lack of a feminine perspective on their subject-matter, the two poems imply that women authors were becoming ordinary members of the Iberian Republic of Letters.

From the rubric to the following *canción*, however, we learn that the sonnet on the death of Emperador Carlos V was received at the royal court (most likely in Toledo) with astonishment that its author was a woman. Don Carlos (1545-1568), son of Felipe II and his first wife Maria Manuela of Portugal, is alleged to have said that such a feat was "impossible". On the face of it such a remark would seem to contradict the last sentence of my previous paragraph that women authors were becoming ordinary members of the Iberian Republic of Letters. Isabel de Vega's response suggests, however, that it can only have been intended as banter, a gambit of courtly flattery, not a reproof, since, unabashed, she uses it as the pretext for a firm

⁴⁹ The connection between Vega and Bobadilla is also revealing; the latter maintained a literary correspondence—in which both Boscán and Garcilaso are mentioned—with Juan de Silva, marquis of Portalegre and ambassador of Felipe II in Portugal (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 163).

(though still flattering) reply: “De la misma [Doña Isabel de Vega] al / Príncipe Don Carlos, porque / auí[e]ndo visto este / sonecto dixo que / no hera possible / auerle hecho / muger”.⁵⁰ This time it is in the more relaxed and conversational form of *quintillas*:

Muy alto y muy poderoso
nuestro Príncipe y señor,
dignamente subçessor
del ynvicto y glorioso
Çéssar, Sacro Emperador.
No del reyno solamente,
mas de aquel temido nombre
y seréis del gran rrenombre
y del ánimo exçelente
con que se engrandeze el hombre.
Los que por nuestro alvedrío
sólo a çiegas naegamos,
tam presto nos anegamos

⁵⁰ That Vega’s relations with Príncipe Carlos were in fact cordial is implied by another of her sonnets addressed to him, apparently of condolence on his imprisonment (“Soneto de la misma [Doña Isabel de Vega] / al Príncipe Don Carlos de España sobre / este versso de Daud: *Oia eçelssa / tua et flutus tui super / me transierunt.*” (pp. 554-55). Labrador, Zorita, & DiFranco (1986: xxi) conjecture that it was written some time between the prince’s imprisonment by his father on 18 January 1568 and his death on 24 July 1568: “Hay un poema relativo a la prisión del príncipe don Carlos, por lo cual la recopilación no pudo estar concluída antes de 1568 [...]. La colección debió concluirse, pues, entre los años 1568 y 1571”.

como en el hondo del río
porquel vado no hallamos.
Y por esso nos llegamos
al exemplo de mayores,
porque si bien lo miramos
nuestras obras son mejores
si las suyas ymitamos. (ll. 1-20, p. 554)

The literary self-consciousness manifested here by the appeal to the revered principles of imitation and the example of “mayores” is developed into a *captatio benevolentiae* that, though conventionally humble (“umilde zelo”, l. 26; “rrudeza”, l. 31, and “atrevimiento”, l. 41), is turned to advantage, and even a kind of triumph, by the witty reversal of the final compliment:

Pues viendo que todo el mundo
los pequeños y mayores
con llantos y con clamores
alaban al sin segundo
rrey de rreyes y señores,
quise con umilde zelo
de que esto se conseruasse,
y por no ser en el suelo
sola la que no cantase
las glorias de vuestro agüelo.
Mostrar quise mi rrudeza
viendo tan gran ocassión,
pero no con yntinción
que viese vuestra grandeza
versos que tan baxos son.

*Y de ser mía la obra
la rrazón está muy clara:
porque ninguno hablara
do tanta materia sobra
que más no la leuantara.
Bien ssé que fue atreuimiento
entrar yo en tan hondo mar,
pero no pude dexar
de mostrar el sentimiento
que todos deuen mostrar. (ll. 21-45, p. 554; my italics)*

Though the terms of humility could easily be, and very often were, used in similar apologies by men —they are the standard gambits of the modesty topos— they are here rendered sex-specific by the way in which the poetic voice is increasingly made to coincide with the historical author through grammatical gender (masc./common plural “los que [...] a ciegas navegamos” in ll. 10-11 becomes “[yo] sola” in l. 29). As it does so, the tone subtly reveals itself as more self-assertive. In venturing to defend her literary talent Vega strategically turns apology into self-promotion (“de ser mía la obra / la rrazón está clara”, ll. 36-37), and incidentally into a defence, if not advertisement, of women’s right to enter the public arena of heroic celebration.

The case of Isabel de Vega is thus instructive in illuminating a specific turning-point in the trajectory of women’s acceptance into the Republic of Letters, when poetry by women on overtly public matters was on the brink of making its way into print via the genteel atmosphere and conventions of the literary coteries of noble and royal courts.

The first appearance of women as laudatory poets occurred in 1588 —the year of *Nueva filosofía*'s second reprint— with the publication of *Florando de Castilla, lauro de caballeros*, written in *octava rima* by Jerónimo Gómez de Huerta (see Baranda 2005a). The text was printed in Alcalá de Henares “En casa de Juan Gracián” and commissioned by the bookseller Juan García Callejas. As with the female-authored works already seen, the paratext of this work contains a variety of legal and literary documents. The dedication is addressed to María de Porras y de Zuñiga, wife of the poet Juan Hurtado de Mendoza; again the Mendoza women appear in literary circles. The *aprobación* dated 27 June 1587 is by Alonso de Ercilla. The *privilegio* was signed by Juan Vázquez del Mármol, who, as we have seen, the same year signed also the one for Oliva Sabuco's *Nueva filosofía*.

Of a total of seven laudatory poems, two are of female authorship (a sonnet by Ana de Valdés and some *estancias* by Clariana de Ayala) placed directly after the *erratas*. The other five, all sonnets, are by Bartolomé López de Enciso; the *licenciados* Remor y Araque, Diego de Aguiar, Luis de Vargas Manrique (c.1560-1630); and Luis Barahona de Soto (1548-1595):

SONETO DE DOÑA / Ana de Baldes, en
loa del / licenciado Guerta.

Si vn tronco rudo a la maestra mano
Agradecido el beneficio paga:
El fruto esparze la rayz por paga
Mostrando que no fue nacido en vano
Y si porque su flor el inhumano
Yelo marchita, y la esperança estraga:
Quiere que el fruto y falta satisfaga
Leña en inuierno, y sombra en el verano.
La obligacion del hombre se ve cierta

ESTANCIAS DE / Doña Clariana de Ayala, al
Autor.

No los jardines de frescura llenos
Adornados de flores olorosas
Donde los vientos de rigor agenos
Iuegan con ellas deshojando rosas:
Ni las verdes florestas, que en sus senos
Ofrecen otras de color vistosas,
Y gualan a ti Guerta que das flores
De batallas, de empresas, y de amores.
Con grande perfeccion en ti florece

Pues ha de repartir al patrio suelo
Quanto del cielo su caudal encierra.
Es exemplo Hieronymo de Guerta,
Cuyos arboles oy la deuda al cielo
Pagan, comunicados a la tierra.

Lo mas perfecto que conoce el suelo,
De quien tu claro pecho se enriquece
Enriquecido con fauor del cielo:
Tu fama pues con el tiempo crece
Vaya bolando con eterno buelo,
Dandote por el mundo aqueste nombre,
Diuino en obras, y en las muestras hombre.

What is significant about these two poets is that, aside from signing their compositions, neither employs a distinctively female gendered perspective, either through grammatical gender or gender stereotypicality. Female authorial assertiveness is radiated instead in a strikingly effortless way via textual form and content, thus further showing that self-deprecating statements on the author's sex were not a prerequisite for women's publications, even in print.

The participation of women as laudatory poets was resumed with the launching of the first complete edition of the three parts of Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, published in Madrid in 1590 by Pedro Madriral (printer of Sabuco's *Nueva filosofía*), and dedicated to Felipe II.⁵¹ Ercilla supposedly met the female poets at the literary academy which Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566-1633, the eldest daughter of Felipe II) held at court in Madrid (King 1963: 26). *La Araucana* concerns a first-hand account of the conquest of Chile and is written in *octavas*. Soon after its first part was printed in 1569 it became a best-seller. Its popularity amongst the female public was doubtless enhanced by the laudatory sonnets prefixed to the text, but also by the

⁵¹ The first part was published in 1569; the second in 1578, and the third in 1589.

following remarks made in the prologue: “también las mujeres a la guerra, y peleando algunas veces como varones, se entregan con grande ánimo a la muerte” (Ercilla 1998: 70). While no reference is made to its author, the first laudatory sonnet, furthermore, connects Ercilla with Boscán, Mendoza and Garcilaso, all “famous polished poets” (soldiers-turned-poets) with a progressive attitude to women’s literary production.⁵² Below is the sonnet written by Leonor de Yciz: “Soneto de la señora doña Leonor de Yciz, señora de la baronía de Rafaeles, a don Alonso de Ercilla”:

Mil bronce para estatuas ya forjados,
mil lauros, de tus obras premio honroso,
te ofrece España, Ercilla generoso,
por tu pluma y tan lanza tan ganados.

Hónrese tu valor entre soldados,
envidie tu nobleza el valeroso,
y busque en ti el poeta más famoso
lima para sus versos más limados.

Derrame por el mundo tus loores
la fama, y eternice tu memoria,
porque jamás el tiempo la consuma.

5

10

⁵² “Soneto a Don Alonso de Ercilla. Parten corriendo con ligero paso / Marón de mantua y de Smirna Homero / cada cual procurando ser primero / en la difícil cumbre del Parnaso. / Van de la Italia Ariosto, el culto Tasso / y del pueblo famoso del ibero / Boscán, Mendoza célebre y sincero / y el ilustre y divino Garcilasso. / Vais después dellos, generoso Ercilla, / y aunque en tiempo primero que vos fueron / pasáis adelante a todos fácilmente. / Apolo en veros tal se maravilla, / y antes que a todos los que allá subieron / con lauro os ciñe la sagrada frente” (Ercilla 1998: 70-71).

Gocen ya, sin temor de que hay mayores,
 tus hechos y tus libros de igual gloria,
 pues la han ganado igual la espada y la pluma.

Literary self-confidence here is shown via the choice of form and theme: a sonnet evoking the Renaissance trope of *sapientia et fortitudo*, thought to have first entered via Castiglione's didactic writing (Curtius 1990: 178). What is radically new, however, is that Ibiz's sonnet praises Ercilla's skill both as poet and as a warrior; from a woman author such a commendation could, at least, if the commonplace critical assumption that women were aberrant or at best second-class members of the Republic of Letters, seem doubly inappropriate and beyond her profession. However, Ibiz shows not the least compunction in arrogating to herself the authority to comment upon Ercilla's status as soldier, and she does so because she can locate herself without hesitation among the ranks of the famous polished poets. Below is the sonnet by Isabel de Castro Andrade (b. 1516): "Soneto de la señora doña Isabel de Castro y Andrade a don Alonso de Ercilla":

Araucana nação, mais venturosa,
 mais que quantas og'ha de gloria dina,
 pois na prosperidade e na ruina
 sempre enuejada estais, nunca enuejosa.
 Se enresta oh illustre Alonso! A temerosa
 lanza, se arranca a espada que fulmina,
 creyó que julgareis que determina
 s'ó conquistar a terra bellicosa.
 Faraa, mas não temais essa mão forte,
 que se vos tira a liberdade e a vida,
 ella vos pagara be largamente.

5

10

Qu'a troco du'a breve e honrada morte,
Co seu divino estilo, esclarecida
deixara vossa fama eternamente.

While not as overt as in Iciz's sonnet, praise of Ercilla's skills here is also given from the woman poet's perspective through the information given in the rubric, plus the use of literary terms: "Co seu divino estilo". Castro's role in the enterprise was to promote the text within the Portuguese-speaking context.

Castro's post-mortem book inventory has also survived the passage of time. It is dated 26 August 1580, and only lists "unas horas de mi señora la Condesa sin manos y un libro de frai Luis de Granada" (Cátedra & Rojo 2004: 317), thus illustrating what to expect (and not to expect) from an inventory (Dadson 1998: 25). As a secular poet herself, Castro would have owned, certainly had access to, more than two religious texts in her lifetime. The inventory cannot be said to be a true representation of her readings, and clearly not of her wider interests.⁵³

⁵³ The case of Violante de Bar, a sister of Charles V of France, and third wife of Juan I, duke of Gerona and king of Aragon (1387-1396), is instructive here. Their marital correspondence reveals that they both shared the same literary tastes and practices, including the subjects of science, astronomy and astrology. Having been an avid reader all her life, requesting translations and borrowing from and through relatives, especially her husband, once a widow Violante turned to devotional works: "Algunos los pide a sus parientes de Francia pero sólo cuando no los puede conseguir a través de su marido o algún otro miembro de la casa real aragonesa [...] las lecturas de la reina viuda se dirigen hacia los libros piadosos y de contenido moral, alejándose de las novelas que tanto le habían gustado, que prestaba, hacía copiar y traducir y que quizá puso de moda, pues las encontramos en los inventarios de hombres y de mujeres catalanes de toda condición" (Riquer 1994: 162; 164-65; 168, 170).

In 1591, *Diversas rimas* by Vicente Espinel (1550-1624) was printed in Madrid by Juan de Montoya. As in the previous example, the author was a well-known poet and a book censor: Espinel was also a “poeta limado” in the manner of Garcilaso, Boscán, and Ercilla, as well as a friend of Lope de Vega and Cervantes, amongst others (Ayala Ruiz 2006: 5). The *aprobación* was signed by Alonso de Ercilla in 1587, prior to his collected printed edition of *La Araucana*. The fact that Ercilla was involved in all three publications would suggest the support women received in the literary circles he frequented. Despite including laudatory compositions by well- or soon-to-be established male poets, Espinel —presumably following Garcilaso, Boscán and Ercilla— thought it pertinent to enhance the promotion of his text by including one by a woman: “De doña Catalina / çamudio, al Autor. / Soneto”.⁵⁴ As in those by Iciz and Castro, the poem projects a female authorial perspective unafraid of commenting on the craft of a *poeta limado*:

El que con tierna boz del reyno escuro
Te[m]pló el furor, y suspe[n]dio el torme[n]to,
Y el que con dulce, y regalado acento
Traxo las piedras al Tebano muro,
Si oyeran de tu estilo raro, y puro,
El son ayroso, y numeroso aliento,
Hizieran a tu canto el movimiento,

5

⁵⁴ In order of appearance, the established poets are: Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Pedro de Montedoca “el Indiano”, Hernando de Soto, Luis de Contreras, Felix Arias Girón, Gerónimo Franco Mohedano, Mateo de Cárdenas, and Lope de Vega.

Que al suyo hizo el coraçon mas duro:

Que entre brutos, y en el siglo bruto

Eternizaron tanto su memoria

10

Con simple boz por el inculto oydo:

Tanto mas leuanta el gran tributo,

Que en este siglo das, qua[n]to es mas gloria

Vencer al vencedor, que no al ve[n]cido.

So it is that the connection between women authors and the launching of publications in print is made again through poetry, the first genre they cultivated from a secular perspective. Here, furthermore, the work's prologue consists of a lengthy eulogy of poetry, royal literary patronage and authorship, in this case by Alonso de Valdés, brother of Juan de Valdés, whose circle of literary friends included Vittoria Colonna.⁵⁵ In view of this and the wider context, therefore, Zamudio's case cannot be underestimated; it represented women's active involvement in the vindication of such important matters in Iberia.

The tradition of women's didactic literature underwent a further process of authorization, this time within the religious sphere, by the posthumous print publication in Salamanca in 1588 of the complete works of Santa Teresa (Fig. 14),

⁵⁵ Curtius 1990: 549-50: "The eulogy sets forth that there are two reasons for writing poetry: honor and reward. Both are bestowed by kings. Hence studies always flourish when rulers patronize them [...]. The dignity of poetry is shown, first, by the fact that it contains all other arts within itself [...]. Second, by the esteem which it enjoys in the eyes of rulers, heroes, and philosophers".

who is still and likely to remain the most studied pre-1700 woman writer in the Luso-Hispanic context; some have even labelled her “El primer gran modelo positivo de escritora” (Baranda 2005a: 136). Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada (1515-1582) was born to a wealthy *converso* family in the province of Avila. In 1536 she took the veil, and soon after began to have frequent mystical experiences such as states of rapture and visions. In 1614 she was beatified and in 1622 Pope Gregory XV ordered her canonization. Her authoritative status within the Church went from strength to strength, and in 1970 she was named the first woman doctor of the Catholic Church by Pope Paul VI (see Weber 1990; Ávila 2002 and 2008).

Los libros de la madre Teresa de Jesús were published by Fray Luis de León (1528-1591), the well-known ascetic poet, humanist, and friar of the Order of St Augustine.

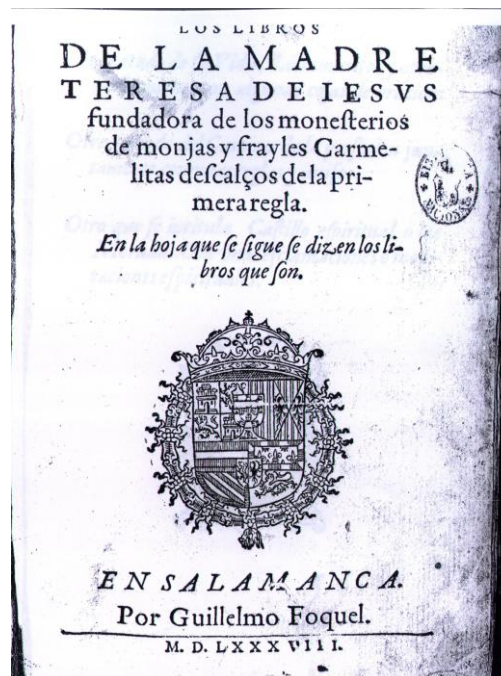


Fig. 14. BNE, R/14241: Santa Teresa, *Los libros de la madre Teresa de Jesús*, title-page.

The paratext contains the usual documents: an *aprobación*, a *privilegio*, the *tasa*,

two dedications, one addressed to Princesa Margarita, the future wife of Felipe III, and one to the prioress Ana de Jesús and other fellow nuns at the Carmelite Convent of Madrid; and a plate of the author underlining Santa Teresa's status as founder of the Order of the "descalços Carmelitas" (Fig. 15). This paratextual apparatus reflects the "labor de difusión ideológica" which all printed didactic works set to carry out (Minguez 1999: 268).



Fig. 15. BNE, R/14241: Santa Teresa, *Los libros de la madre Teresa de Jesus*, plate of the author.

Two of the documents were written by Fray Luis de León. The first was the *aprobación*, here called *Censura*, dated 8 September 1587.⁵⁶ What is instructive here

⁵⁶ Cayuela 1996: 16: "Les approbations que le lecteur découvre dans les pages préliminaires sont donc les témoignages de ce contrôle qui s'exerçait sur les livres, et signifient que le livre a franchi l'écueil de la censure préalable".

is that the collection's print dissemination is promoted on the grounds of being beneficial for all readers, male and female:

[Woodcut "H"]e visto los libros que compuso la madre Teresa de Iesus [...] son de muy sana y catholica doctrina, y a mi parecer de grandissima vtilidad para todos los que los leyeren, porque enseñan quan possible es tener estrecha amistad el hombre con Dios: y descubren los passos por donde sucede este bien, y auisan de los peligros y engaños que puede auer en este camino [...] para el prouecho comun conuiene que estos libros se impriman y publiquen.

The other document is a twenty-four-page dedication, which functioned as what Genette calls an "allographic preface", a recommendation wherein the pragmatic value derives from the sender's identity (2001: 264-65). Fray Luis notes,

[Woodcut "Y"]o no conocí, ni vi, a la madre Teresa de Iesus mientras estuuu en la tierra, mas agora que viue en el cielo la conozco y veo casi siempre en dos imagines viuas que nos dexo de sí, que son sus hijas, y sus libros, que a mi juicio son ta[m]bien testigos fieles, y mayores de toda excepcion de su gran grande virtud [...]. Porque no siendo de las mugeres el enseñar, sino el ser enseñadas, como lo escriue S. Pablo, luego se vee que es marauilla nueva una flaca muger tan animosa que emprendiesse una cosa tan grande, y tan sabia y efficaz que saliesse con ella.

Not only does a well-reputed religious author and a critic recommend the reading of a woman's didactic works, but he also authorizes (she was yet to be beatified) her status as a teacher before the masses. Such a recommendation further substantiates the ideological function the saint's collected works in print were intended to carry out.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The works included were: "Vn tratado de su Vida, llamamiento, aprouechamiento con algunas cosas de oracion", "Otro tratado del Camino de la perfeccion juntamente con unas reglas y auisos"; and "Otro que se intitula Castillo spiritual o las Moradas. Con unas exclamaciones o meditaciones espirituales".

One can readily see the level of peer support the collected works as a cultural artifact elicited, more so than any other of her printed publications.⁵⁸ Santa Teresa's *Libro de la vida*, particularly, propelled the high number of female spiritual autobiographies which followed, a number so high as to reach the point of becoming an important sociocultural phenomenon.⁵⁹ Significantly, the great majority of *autobiógrafas* had important positions in their convents, a fact that reveals the close relationship that power and writing could have at the time.

Santa Teresa's influence on female authorship was not merely felt in the tradition of the spiritual autobiography. Her humility formulae often denying knowledge or claiming to be merely following orders on sexual grounds (e.g. "yo las quisiera excusar [las comparaciones] por ser mujer, y escribir simplemente lo que me mandan" (2001: 193) also had an almost immediate effect on the female religious tradition in

⁵⁸ *Camino de perfección* had appeared in Evora in 1583 (Baranda 2005a: 137).

⁵⁹ The majority came from the Order of the Carmelites, and included the following: Catalina de Jesús (1540-1586), Catalina de Cristo (1544-1594), María Bautista (1543-1603), and María de San José (1548-1603). From 1606 to 1642, there was a proliferation of manuscripts, whose most famous protagonists include Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566-1614), Mariana de Jesús (1565-1624), Ana de Jesús (d. 1617), and Ana de Bartolomé (1549-1626). The success of this genre continued between 1631 and 1646 —examples include Estefanía de la Encarnación (1597?-1665), Ana María de San José (1581-1632), María de la Cruz (1563-1638)— and began to wane from the second half of the seventeenth century. Its last exponents included: Lucía de Jesús (1601-1653), María Salinas (1602-1657), Jerónima de San José (1609- 1661), María de Jesús de Ágreda (1602-1665), and Ángela María de la Concepción (1649-1690) (see Herpoel 1999).

general.

An early example of a printed work influenced by Santa Teresa is *Libro de las alabanzas y excelencias de la gloriosa santa Ana*, a doctrinal treatise in prose in praise of the maternity of the Virgin: “a esa sucesión de embarazos milagrosos que comenzaría con Ana y que continuarían Isabel y María” (Luna 1996: 50; see also Baranda 2007). It was published in print in Seville under a *privilegio* by Sor Valentina Pinelo, a member of an illustrious and wealthy Genoese family brought up in one of the richest and more important convents in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Seville.⁶⁰

The influence of Santa Teresa on Sor Valentina’s metadiscourse is made clear, for instance, in Pinelo’s prologue to the reader: “el auer osado acometer a tan alta empresa, siendo muger y sin letras, y con poca habilidad, y encerrada, sin comunicar con letrado ninguno jamas”, “no è tenido otro maestro q[ue] Dios, ni otros cursos q[ue] las siete horas canonicas, ni otra escuela y academia q[ue] el coro”. Conveniently, the claims of being a woman and uneducated did not affect Sor Valentina’s decision to print and seek fame for her work; Lope de Vega praises her poetry (in the form of two sonnets and *octavas*) in the preliminaries.⁶¹ In short, both

⁶⁰ The printer was Clemente Hidalgo. The *privilegio* was signed by Luis de Salazar, the *licencia* by Diego Muñoz de Ocampo, and the *aprobación* by Rafael Sarmiento.

⁶¹ In the dedication, Sor Valentina notes: “Pero no por mis faltas le á de faltar el Amparo y favor, del nombre valeroso de Vuestra Señoria Ilustrísima, pues teniendo tal protector [...] tendra mi libro de las tres partes las dos, que le an de hazer famoso; el sujeto, y el defensor”.

the paratextual and discursive features of Sor Valentina's work ultimately point to the author's wide and unrestricted literary practices.

Only three years later *Historia de la vida, muerte, y milagros de Catalina de Sena* appeared in Valladolid in the name of Doña Isabel de Liaño, "natural de Palacios de Campos", a village near Valladolid.⁶² It was printed by Luis Sánchez, who then held the title of "impresor del Rey", and was one of the few with printing houses in Madrid and Valladolid (Rojo Vega 1994: 195).⁶³ Although echoing the hagiographic tradition and written in *octavas reales*, the text is presented as a religious biography: its title ("Historia de la vida [...] de Santa Catalina de Sena") and book structure ("dividida en tres libros") covering different stages in the saint's life (see Velasco 1992; Cruz 1999).

As with the collected works of Santa Teresa, the text was dedicated to Reina Margarita de Austria (1598-1611), a detail also underlined in the title-page; between 1601 and 1606 the royal court was transferred from Madrid to Valladolid, thus coinciding with the date and place of the publication. Reina Margarita was the wife of Felipe III and an important patron of the arts (Simón Diaz 2000: 148-49). In short, *Historia* marks the moment wherein religious history is first tackled by a woman

⁶² Henceforth referred to as *Historia*.

⁶³ The name of the printer is clearly stated in the work's title-page. Nonetheless, Rojo Vega lists Liaño's work under the production of Margarita Sánchez, of whom, as distinct from other entries, he only says that she was a printer from Valladolid (p. 197). After examining Liaño's work, I find Rojo's attribution to be an error.

leading a secular life (Velasco 1992: 126).⁶⁴

The author's non-religious status did not pose any problems, for *Historia* was published under a royal *privilegio* dated Pardo, 22 April 1602 by Luis de Salazar, who also signed the one for Sor Valentina's publication.

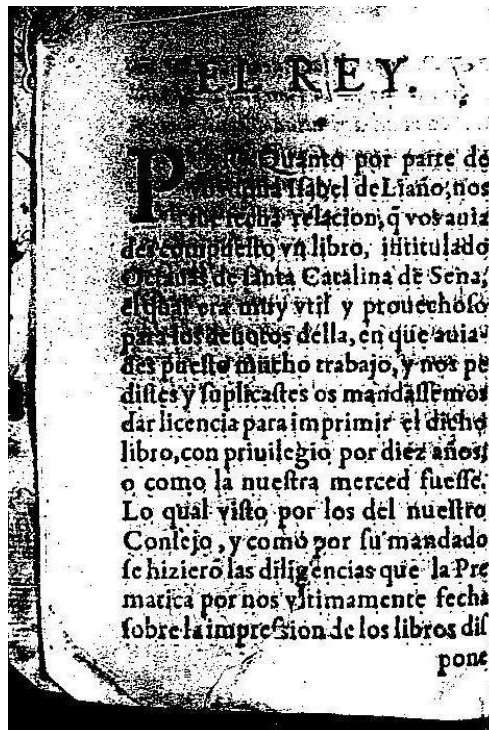


Fig. 16. BNE, R/8292: Liaño, *Historia de la vida [...] de santa Catalina de Sena*, privilege.

⁶⁴ Her status as a widow is disclosed in the *licencia* dated Valladolid, 15 March 1604, by Cristóbal Núñez de León “escrivano de Camara de su Magestad”: “doy fee, que auie[n]dose presentado por parte de doña Isabel de Liaño biuda, ante los señores del Consejo vn libro”. The *errata* bear no date and are by Doctor Alonso Vaca de Santiago, and the *aprobación* dated Valladolid, 26 March 1604, is by Luis de la Puente.

The *privilegio* was conceded on the grounds of the author's personal effort and public utility: "el qual era muy vtil y prouechoso para los deuotos della, en que auiaades puesto mucho trabajo, y nos pediste y susplicastes os mandassemos dar licencia para imprimir el dicho libro, con priuilegio por diez años".⁶⁵ The paratext, furthermore, includes a plate of the Virgin Mary holding Christ as in the *Pietà* (1499) by Michelangelo (1475-1564).⁶⁶ It also includes eight laudatory poems—all but one (a *décima*) in the sonnet form and in Castilian, except for one in Portuguese—by different authors, the majority *juristas*, all of whom praise Liaño's literary skill, not her text's subject matter: some compare her to Minerva and call her the "Décima Musa", a worthy title (it had been accorded by Plato to the Greek woman poet Safo), which, as we shall see, would also later be accorded to many other women authors.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The recently edited inventory of the bookseller Alonso Pérez de Montalbán dated Madrid, 5 January 1648, lists a book, which strikingly echoes Liaño's title: "mas uno de Hist de santa catalina" (fol. 783r). Cayuela (2005: 335) takes the entry as referring to Juan Gavaston's *La regla que profesan las beatas de la tercera orden de predicadores, la vida de santa Catalina de Sena y otras* (Valencia, Juan Chrysóstomo, 1621). However, as the titles suggest, the entry seems more akin to Liaño's work. Cruz (2009: 44) argues the same idea, albeit with regard to the inventory of the painter Vicente Carducho.

⁶⁶ Mínguez 1999: 267: "el encargo [of the *grabado*] lo realizaba el propio autor del texto".

⁶⁷ After recalling the important places held by Virgil, Lucano, and Homer in their respective countries, Joan de Balboa Mogrobejo Balboa says about Liaño: "soys de nuestro ca[m]po otra Minerua". Similarly, Miguel Fernández Silvera ("Lusitano") notes: "Oje [...] vemos una mente femenina, / No cume do Parnasso collocada". Bernardino de Ulloa praises her as Apollo's favourite, for she outshines the nymphs Caliope, Daphne and Clicie: "Porque ve q[ue] venceys; muy claram[e]n[te], / Caliope en

As with the collected works of Santa Teresa, therefore, *Historia* as a cultural artifact was printed to serve an ideological purpose, this time across the Luso-Hispanic world, as the inclusion of a laudatory poem in Portuguese suggests.

Despite the apparently trouble-free, if not successful, publication process (only two years passed between the *privilegio* date and the *licencia* date; see Simón Díaz 2000: 118-123), Liaño adopted a profeminist stance in the prologue, and claimed to have been accused of plagiarism.⁶⁸ Whether the accusation was true, the paradox lies in that such a claim was made in a printed text, whose main pragmatic function (from the perspective of those who authorized it) was ideological, similar to the publication of Santa Teresa's collected works in print. The embedded rhetorical value in Liaño's profeminist stance, in serving the purpose of *captatio benevolentiae*, should not be overlooked. This is how the prologue begins:

[Woodcut "U"]na de las cosas menos admitida entre leyes humanas, es la ciencia administrada por femeniles juyzios, deuio de ser conuiniente, pues vn tan gra[n] Santo como San Pablo aprueua la misma opinio[n]. Iunto co[n] esto sabemos q[ue] por la mayor parte entre escritores antiguos y modernos anda *nuestro no[m]bre* aniquilado, sea razon, ó no lo sea, no me quiero meter en

cantar, Daphne en velleza,/ Y a Clicie en le seguir co[n] vuestra Lyra". Bachiller Bartolomé Montero calls her: "O Sabia, mas que Palas ingeniosa" and "O decima a la nueue del Parnaso". The remaining three laudatory poets are Pedro Yuañez de Segovia, Alvaro de Fonseca, and Francisco López.

⁶⁸ In 1598 Dr Pedro López de Montoya wrote to the secretary Mateo Vázquez, noting: "Es increíble la dificultad con que negocian los authores de libros [...] en las licencias y privilegios que yo he sacado para ciertos libros que he de imprimir he tenido tal experiencia desto que estoy determinado a embiar los otros fuera destos reynos" (cited from Simón Díaz 2000: 157).

aeriguar esto, porque diran q[ue] defiando mi propia causa, solo la remito á Dios. (my italics)

As did Pizan's and later Cartagena's, Liaño's authorial voice oscillates between the first-person feminine singular and plural, clearly in an attempt at winning over the support of readers, male and female, through identification and empathy:

mas porque imagino que desseara saber el curioso Letor, que causa tuuo vna simple muger como yo, para intentar atreuimiento tan grande, quiero satisfazer su desseo, pues el mio es darle gusto. La diuina prouide[n]cia [...] quiso fauorecerme con algo q[ue] pareciesse bueno, mostrando su omnipotencia en vna cosa tan deshechada de todos como el ingenio de vna muger, juzgado por incapaz de toda obra essencial.

Thus Liaño claims to have received knowledge directly from God, a long-standing strategy, as we have seen, in religious discourse (Weiss 1990: 112). The fact that she did not lead a conventual life and was hardly the first woman to publish her work makes her explanation of how she came to write the text unnecessary and, by extension, makes her profeminist stance seem to have been adopted for self-promotion. The grounds upon which she claims to have been accused of plagiarism in fact stress the idea that publishing in a woman's name was seen as more profitable for inciting curiosity in the reader (one of the purposes of the *captatio benevolentiae*):

saque mi trabajo a luz, quedando mas escurecida mi justicia, con la incredulidad de *nuestros contradictores*, diziendo que hurtè esta Poesia, y que alguno que la hizo la quiso atribuyr a mi, por auentajarse en la venta della, pues por tener nombre de autor tan desacreditado, gustarian de verla todos con curiosidad, y como cosa a su parecer imposible. (my italics)

This authorial admission (again articulated in the first-person feminine singular and plural) further reinforces why we should not take Liaño's profeminist stance and emphasis on her literary skills as being "female" lightly: "la llaneza del verso tan sin

ornamento del que vsan los famosos Poetas, [...] vn language tan casero sin acotar con historias profanas, fabulas de Ouidio, curiosidades de Virgilio [...], bien claro manifesta ser traça de pecho femenino”. As Genette (2001: 40) reminds us, “the author’s gender [...] may have crucial thematic relevance”.

Liaño was not as *incapaz* as she states. She makes clear the fact that she has read works by Ovid and Virgil, boasting that she could make use of their *auctoritas* if so she wished (Cruz 2009: 46): “Aunque confiesse de mi, que por auer leydo algunas dellas, quiza supiera engerillas aqui, si de mi inclinacion no fuera tan enemiga de ver las historias diuinas adulteradas con las profanas, de que por la mayor parte vsan los Poetas”. Furthermore, the vindictive metadiscourse only concerns her poetics, not her literary activity, and the appeal to her patron for protection rests solely on literary, not sexual, grounds.⁶⁹ In other words, Liaño, like Sor Valentina, carefully followed Santa Teresa’s authorial strategies. The supposedly problematic personal details in her self-representation as an author ultimately accentuate her skilfulness; had they been in any way detrimental, they would have not been mentioned. But Liaño went further. She thought it pertinent to conclude the prologue by suggesting a parallel between her life and the struggles alluded to by the saint in *Libro de la vida*:

sino se le diere esta letura, no por esso aniquilen la obra, ni al autor della, considerando el buen zelo co[n] que se hizo [...], y co[m]puesto por vna muger simple, a quie[n] Dios hizo tanta

⁶⁹ “Si el cielo no huiera puesto en V. M. un coraçon tan deuoto, aco[m]pañado de tanta potestad y grandeza, quedara este libro huerfano de fauor ta[n] alto, *por carecer de las variedades fabulosas con que suelen adornar las historias que mas apetecen los gustos mundanos*” (fol. 3^v; my italics).

merced de dar tan fuertes azeros de paciencia, que cercada de mil persecuciones, fuy continuando mi prete[n]sion, que sabiendose en el lugar donde yo resido, no pocas murmu- [incomplete in the original]. (my italics)⁷⁰

Conclusions

In this chapter I have outlined a second stage in the rise of women in the Republic of Letters: the expansion of women's public literary roles that occurred in the sixteenth century, as manifested in relation to the 1558 Royal Decree. The lack of identifiable secular female voices was considered as a result of the fact that only after the decree was the identification of the author made a requirement in print —if the lack had been due to sexual difference, there would have not been a subsequent rise in the number of named women authors. This approach accentuated the nature and growing support and roles women authors gradually received from and adopted within the Republic of Letters, but also elucidated changes in their manifestations of literary self-consciousness. The 1558 Royal Decree bestowed on women's public literary voices tangible authority via the legal documents affixed to their first printed works and to those in whose launching they participated, as shown by the publications of Oliva Sabuco and Santa Teresa. By the turn of the seventeenth century, women's publications and rhetorical strategies had undergone a phase of considerable expansion, and reached authoritative and commercial status.

⁷⁰ “Comenzó la murmuración y persecución de golpe [...] Decían que me quería hacer santa y que inventaba novedades” (Teresa de Jesús 2001: 258).

Chapter 3

FAME, PRINT AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

Yo no imprimo mis libros para alcanzar la fama en el mundo, que ya en él soy conocido por mis obras; provecho quiero, que sin él no vale un cuatrín la buena fama.

(Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II, 2001: 504)

Introduction

As Cervantes himself so famously noted (via the translator of *El bagatele*), by the turn of the seventeenth century, literature was turning into an increasingly profit-oriented social practice. This is confirmed by the rise of discourses of professionalization or commercialization in the paratexts of print publications. These changes were not confined to Iberia, however.

Commentaries on “success” increase in number [all across Europe], with a marked switch from traditional (classical) “glory” to (modern) literary “reputation.” The latter implies reaching a wide audience, a strategy of success, professionalism, the idea of a literary career [...]. The writer turns, in effect, into a professional and [...] is aware of it. (Marino 1996: 185-87)

This was also true of female literary traditions. After their role in the launching of printed works written by men, women’s next turning point came in the form of an increase in their secular publications and peer support.¹ Some of the new women authors, including the married ones, sought fame through print, irrespective of

¹ Six women appeared in the preliminaries of Agustín de Rojas’s *El viage entretenido* (Madrid, 1603), a realistic account of the writer’s experiences as strolling actor and playwright: Juana Vázquez, Doña Juana de Figueroa, Doña Antonia de la Paz, María de los Ángeles, Doña Maria de Guzmán, and Doña Inarda de Arteaga.

whether or not they claimed to publish for financial ends. Furthermore, secular female authorship now flourished in colonial America, particularly Mexico, thanks to transatlantic cultural exchanges and the establishment of the printing press in Mexico in 1539, both of which facilitated the relatively free circulation of books across the Old and New Worlds (see Toribio Medina 1907-11; Torre Revello 1957; Leonard 1992; Rueda Ramírez 1999). By the second half of the century, female authorship in Castilian and Portuguese proliferated (both in the original and in translation) in the Spanish Netherlands and France.

Poetry remained the field most cultivated by women, and a common starting point for many in a literary career. However, women now also increasingly published prose fiction, theatre and, for the first time, ephemeral writings such as panegyrics and *relaciones de sucesos*, the three most profit-driven textual forms of the time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas *poema*, *fábula*, *comedia*, and *novela* evoked literary genres, terms such as *relación*, *historia*, *crónica*, *década*, or *noticia* were associated with history. Yet the boundaries between genres were sometimes deliberately blurred to avoid censorship (Simón Díaz 2000: 82). The *relación*, which corresponded to what we should now call newspaper journalism, was no exception; its alleged purpose was to inform, but also to entertain the reader. Some *relaciones* were written in verse, some in prose, some were published as *pliegos sueltos* or broadsheets, others as books. The subject-matter could be news about real or invented events. Unlike modern reporting, however, the first person was constantly employed as a strategy to stress veracity. Those who engaged in this type of writing were motivated primarily by financial gain (see García de Enterría 1999; Pena Sueiro 2001). Typically, institutions and private individuals commissioned them as a form of

self-glorification: “writers dutifully flattered the paying patron” (Leonard 1958: 124). That they were extremely popular may also be inferred from the Royal Decree of 1627 by Felipe IV that sought to limit the print publication of anonymous texts (Simón Díaz 2000: 26-27). In colonial Mexico, the *relación* enjoyed one of the highest public demands (Rama 1998: 47).

In many ways, the year 1608 marks the moment when these changes began to materialize for female literary traditions. It was then that the third volume of Andreas Schott’s literary bibliography, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, appeared in Frankfurt acknowledging eleven Iberian learned women, including Luisa Sigea, Oliva Sabuco, and Santa Teresa (pp. 340-44).

This chapter therefore outlines a third stage in the rise of women in the Republic of Letters: women’s shift towards professional attitudes through print, whether via choice of textual form (ephemera, the *novelas*, and theatre), metadiscourse, or both, as a result of their rising fame and participation in the public sphere (i.e. *justas literarias* and literary academies) within and outside Iberia. The authors examined as representative in this chapter include Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, Ana Caro, María de Zayas, María de Estrada Medinilla, and María Nieto de Aragón. The materiality of such women’s published texts suggests again that female sex still posed no real threat to their literary careers, even when publishing on royal and noble subjects, or blatantly seeking financial profit, on both sides of the Atlantic.

3.1 Publishing as *Casadas* and *Doctas*

The earliest known female example illustrating this shift in attitude is that of Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda (1595-1644). Her (self-)fashioning as a *poeta-cronista* bears much resemblance to, if not anticipates, Oliva Sabuco, as well as that of those later engaging in commercial genres. As we shall see, Lacerda also used the apology of sex for the *captatio benevolentiae*, but, unlike the earlier examples, she, with her success, gave the topos legitimacy for women to achieve public renown as authors.²

As with many of her contemporaries, Lacerda sometimes published in Portuguese, but mostly in Castilian. Her first text, *España libertada: parte primera*, was dedicated to Felipe III and printed in 1618 in Lisbon by Pedro Crasbeeck “Con todas las licencias necesarias”. Its title thus announced the author’s intention to publish at least a sequel (Fig. 17).³

² Lacerda was born in Oporto to Dr Ignacio Ferreira, Chancellor “mayor del reino” and Paula de Sá Pereira. She was married to Fernando Correa de Sousa with whom she had children, though only one survived: María Clara de Meneses (see Jesus Maria 1753: III, 542-80; Barbeito Carneiro 2002; Baranda 2005a and 2007).

³ The same year *Vida de la bienaventurada Santa Angela de Fulgino*, a translation from Latin into Castilian, appeared (in octavo format) in the name of Doña Francisca de los Ríos; the dedicatee was Reina Isabel de Borbón (1602-1644). It was published in Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta, renowned to this day for printing the first editions of Cervantes’s *Don Quijote* (1605 and 1615). The translator was from Madrid and had a religious vocation, as inferred from the *privilegio*. However, this is nowhere mentioned by de los Ríos herself. Unlike Sor Valentina and Isabel de Liaño, her *captatio benevolentiae* is not based on sexual difference, although it exploits her young age. Her prologue to the



Fig. 17. BNP, F.6295: Lacerda, *España libertada*, title-page.

It is a long narrative poem, an *epopeya* in *octavas* on Spain's victories up to reign of Alfonso X, supposedly written for Felipe III's visit to Portugal in 1619. The author possibly felt inspired by Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* on the Spanish conquest of Chile, also written in *octavas*, even if she mainly borrowed from the historian Juan de Mariana (1536-1624).⁴

The paratext contains five *licencias*, plus the *tasa* and the *erratas*. In Portugal, as in Italy, the concession of printing licences was always granted by the Inquisition, in

Christian reader contains not the slightest hint of defensiveness or exasperation. The translation is justified on the grounds of serving public utility. Barbeito Carneiro (2007) includes de los Ríos in her study.

⁴ Baranda 2005a: 193: "La fuente principal del poema es el compendio de historia de España [...] del jesuita Juan de Mariana, que sólo entre 1601 y 1618 tenía ya tres ediciones en castellano".

virtue of the Council of Latran (in 1515) and the Council of Trent, unlike in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon where, since 1554, the *ordenanzas* of the Crown guaranteed the exclusive jurisdiction on *licencias previas* to the Council of Castile (Cayuela 1996: 16-18). The lack of laudatory poems should not be taken as a sign of the author's alienation from literary circles. It is likely that she frequented some, since by the turn of the century some women were forming literary academies (see Fig. 18).

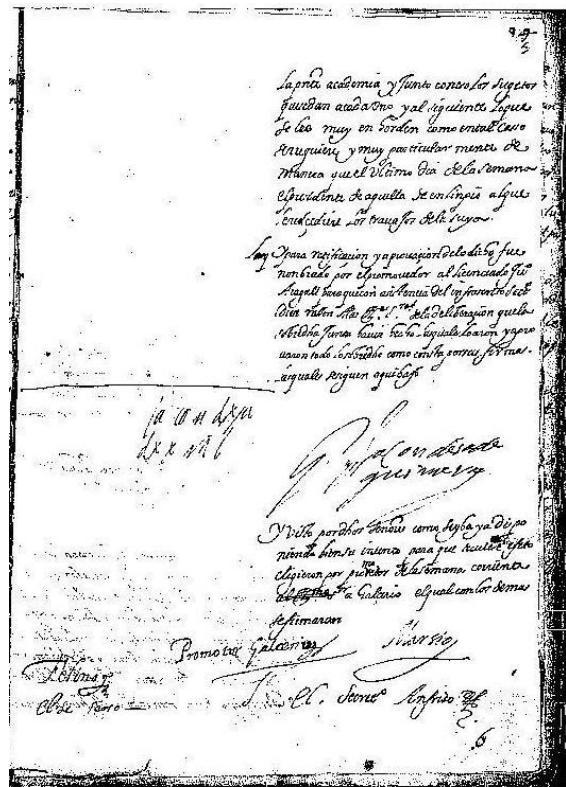


Fig. 18. BNE MSS/9396: 'Pitima contra la ociosidad', *Actas*, signatures, fol. 5.⁵

⁵ The Countess of Guimerá and her mother-in-law the Countess of Heril co-founded in the summer of 1608 a literary academy near Zaragoza called *La pítima contra la ociosidad*. Although they do not appear to have written any composition (perhaps justified, since the attendees were required to adopt a pseudonym), individuals from both sexes were allowed to engage in literary and scientific debates and

The first *licencia*, dated Lisbon, 5 March 1618, is by Fray Thomas de S. Domingo, and, here, the trope of rarity is employed as a promotional strategy. However, for the first time, it does not call on the author's sex, but, rather, on the fact that the *Auctora* has written a book entirely in *octavas*:

[A] Auctora mostrou seu raro talento em emprender hu[m]a cousa que parecerà increiuel a quem não tiuer noticia de seu admirauel engenho; porque como o liuro ser todo em oitaua Rima, he a sua lição tão suaue q[ue] parece hu[m]a prosa muito bem concertada.

While this was not true (Isabel de Liaño's *Historia* was in *octavas* too), the point is still instructive in that it suggests that by then works by women authors could not be promoted solely on their sex, and that by then female authorship could no longer be considered rare. Here one of the *censores* exploits as promotional points the author's literary assets (seriousness, *brevitas*, truthfulness, etc), as well as, for the first time, her married status, place of birth, and role as a historian:

Em esta obra se vem juntas, grauidade no contar, breuidade & suauidade no stylo, verdade na historia, & muita clareza na disposição & ordem das cousas cada hu[m]a por si mais para espantar,

verify "certámenes y justas de ingenio" (Parada 1881: 212-13). The statutes, minutes, and some products of this academy are preserved in BNM MSS/9396. Hosted on the estate at Fréscano of the count of Guimerá, Gaspar Galcerán de Castro y Pinós, the amusingly named group (called after a type of *socrocio* or saffron poultice applied to the heart against melancholy) met every afternoon from 9 June to 30 August 1608, and included, besides the women, the count's two sons and members of his household; it accepted verse or prose in Latin, Castilian, or Valencian, and held *certámenes* in honour of the beatification of Fray Luis Beltrán, St Agnes, and St Francis, as well as discussing such diverse topics as Virgil and Alciato, jurisprudence, and anatomy.

principalmente sendo esta senhora casada [...]. Co[m] este liuro honrou muito a sua nação, & mais a sua Cidade, & muito mais aos de seu sangue [...]. Pelo que julgo que merece esta noua & singular historiadora que cantem della os Hespanhois os lououres que se deuem à poesia tão peregrina, & não ouuida ategora, & que este seu liuro say a luz para gloria de nosso Portugal.

Following genre conventions, Lacerda's prologue is enmeshed within the literary text; permeability is a key feature of prologues and metadiscourse (Porqueras Mayo 1958: 100-01; Cayuela 1996: 216). The author's invocation is not, as was commonly the case, to the muses but to Apollo, personified as Felipe III. In this way, the authority elicited from the title-page is carefully transferred into the realm of the literary text: "No inuoco aquí de Phebo las hermanas, / El licor de Aganippe no les pido, [...] Porque el Patron de Hespaña ha de ser solo / Mi Parnaso, Helicon, y rubio Apolo" (ll. 9-10, 15-16).

As in Sabuco, the author's female sex is brought up in metadiscourse as a selling point to obtain patronage, but also to capture the interest of readers worldwide ("todo el vniverso"). This is done more overtly than in previous texts, since the statements are expressed in the literary text, not in the paratext as in Sabuco:

Iacobo ilustre, y fuerte cauallero,
Y si con el fauor vuestro me veo,
Si vos me dais la mano como espero,
Embidiarà mi canto el mismo Orpheo,
Y yo ni el de Virgilio, ni de Homero,
Que (*aunque de muger*) sera mi verso
Celebrado por todo el vniuerso. (ll. 26-32, my italics)

Boldness is another feature that connects the two women authors, as shown by the author's claims not to envy Virgil or Homer. This further demonstrates that humble

and defiant stances could be and often were adopted without fear of jeopardizing one's literary career, irrespective of sexual difference. That Lacerda eventually achieved the royal interest she desired and expected (see l. 28) may be inferred from the fact that Felipe III asked her in 1621 (the year of his death) to act as teacher for his adolescent children, Carlos and Fernando. This was a request she, nonetheless, humbly rejected, but which at any rate shows that women's appeals for patronage in their works, like that of their male counterparts, could attract some social and financial benefits.⁶ As we shall see later in the chapter, Lacerda went on to achieve renown across the Luso-Hispanic world, if not beyond.

Women's roles in the public arena of theatre in the first half of the sixteenth century were as patrons and publishers. But in the seventeenth century women went on to pen, publish, and stage plays, and asserted their role in the enterprise from a financial perspective (see Hormigón 1996; Ferrer Valls 2002; Granja 2002). The earliest example known is *Tragicomedia los jardines y campos sabeos*, published twice in the name of Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán; first, in Coimbra by Jacomo Carvallo in 1624 (Fig. 19), and later with revisions by the author, in Lisbon by Gerardo de la Viña in 1627. It is of profane nature combining verse and prose, and is

⁶ This event is narrated by Fray Joze in his biography of Lacerda (1753: III, 550-51). Baranda (2005a: 212), however, sees it as a military strategy, on the grounds that her father was involved in the reception of the monarch in Lisbon, only a year after his daughter's publication —an epic poem praising Spain's historical victories. Nevertheless, the *anécdota* was seen as realistic, especially if we consider Luisa Sigea and Públia Hortênsia de Castro's cases, two Iberian *femmes savantes* remunerated by monarchs for their services (see Stevenson 2007a).

in two parts, each of five acts or *jornadas* (subdivided into further short scenes) containing courtly and mythological figures, and two *entre actos*.

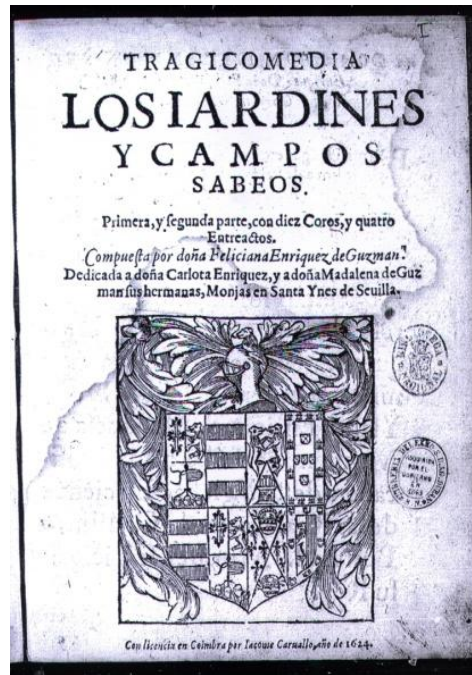


Fig. 19. BNE, T/10870: Enríquez de Guzmán, title-page of the 1624 Coimbra edition.

The choice of theme should come as no surprise. By the early 1620s, women had substantially increased their peer support as writers and even publishers of prose fiction. Cervantes's widow, Catalina de Salazar, was granted a *privilegio* for the posthumous publication of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, 1617). The work was an instant success, and even more popular than *Don Quijote*; in that year alone it was reprinted seven times (two more reprints than *Don Quijote* in 1605) ('Introducción', Cervantes 1969: 29).⁷ Evidence of similar support may be inferred

⁷ "Por quanto por parte de vos doña Catalina de Salazar biuda de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra nos fue fecha relacion, que el dicho Miguel de Cervantes auia dexado compuesto vn libro intitulado, Los trabajos de Persiles, en que auia puesto mucho estudio, y trabajo, y nos suplicates, os ma[n]dasemos

from Lope de Vega's *La Filomena*, printed in 1621 by the "viuda de Alonso Martín".⁸ In the embedded dedication to Marcia Leonarda (for whom Lope claims to have written *Las fortunas de Diana*), Lope observes,

Fuero[n] en esto [en escribir libros de caballerías] los Españoles ingeniosísimos, porque en la inuencion ninguna nacion del mundo les ha hecho ventaja, como se vee en tantos Esplandianes, Febos, Palmerines, Lisuartes, Florambelos, Esferamundos, y el celebrado *Amadis* padre de toda esa maquina, que compuso vna dama portuguesa. (Vega 1621: 59)

Lope's attribution of the anonymous *Amadís de Gaula* (Zaragoza, 1508) to a Portuguese woman author is revealing, even if disputable. Only three years earlier

dar lice[n]cia, para le poder imprimir, y priuilegio [...] os damos lice[n]cia, y facultad, para que por tie[m]po de diez años primeros siguientes [...] podais imprimir, y vender el dicho libro" (dated 24 September 1616, and signed "YO EL REY. / Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor / Pedro de Contreras").

⁸ Francisca de Medina, known as "Viuda de Alonso Martín de Balboa", was one of the most successful women printers in Madrid. She operated after her husband's death, that is, during the years 1614 to 1639, publishing a great number of works: "Si tuviéramos que señalar alguna característica de la viuda de Martín de Balboa habría que aludir a su importancia como impresora de la literatura clásica española" (Delgado Casado 1996, I: 427). Works that she published include, Agustín de Rojas's *El viage entretenido* (1614), Lope de Vega's *La Filomena con otras diversas rimas, prosas y versos* (1621), *La Circe* (1624), and *Triunfos divinos con otras rimas sacras* (1625), Cervantes's *Viaje al Parnaso* (1614) and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1619), Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana* (1622), Castillo Solorzano's *Tardes entretenidas* (1625), Fernando de Rojas's *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, vulgarmente llamada Celestina* (1632), *Las Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique* (1632), and Quevedo's *Juguete de la niñez y travesuras del ingenio* (1633).

Lacerda had published an epic poem, as we have seen. In view of this, the anonymity of the author of *Amadís*, the purported female authorship of *Palmerín de Oliva* and *Primaleón*, and Beatriz Bernal's *Don Cristalián de España*, it follows that Lope had no problem in attributing a similar kind of excellence to a Portuguese woman.⁹ At any rate, the idea was expressed in print by the most successful and widely imitated (also by women) poet and playwright of the time.

Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán was born around 1580 and probably in Seville. She was married twice and twice widowed —first to Cristóbal Ponce Solís y Farfán, and later to Francisco de León Garabito— and had two sisters, Doña Carlota and Doña Magdalena, both of whom were nuns at the Convent of Santa Inés in Seville (see Montoto de Sedas 1915; Enríquez de Guzmán 1988; González Santamera & Dómenech 1994; Ruiz 2005; Baranda 2007; Bolaños Donoso 2007). The fact that, despite being from Seville, a city with a tradition of editing and printing, she published her work in Portugal has fuelled the view that the two extant editions were backdated (Enríquez de Guzmán 1988: 26-27). Between the years 1625 and 1635 a number of laws and decrees were promulgated in Madrid, making the publication of plays and novels especially problematic in Castile. As a result, many authors opted for publishing elsewhere in the peninsula or abroad, although some simply chose backdating. Enríquez de Guzmán may have also chosen Portugal following the

⁹ *La Filomena* was also dedicated to a woman, Leonor Pimentel, a member of the duchy of Benavente (of Plascencia), of whom Lope speaks as “Templo de las Musas” and as having “claro juyzio”, praises he recalls again in his prologue to the reader.

example of earlier female precedents such as Oliva Sabuco, whose *Nueva filosofía*'s 1622 reprint was made in Braga, and of course, Lacerda's. The *Licenses* for the Coimbra edition, dated 14 January 1624, are by Fray Thomas de S. Domingo, who, as we have seen, also signed one of the *licencias* for the first part of *España libertada*. As we shall see, not only was Enríquez de Guzmán well-versed in old and contemporary female authorship, but she actually also makes that clear to readers.

The 1624 edition contains four dedications in Part I and three dedications and a prologue in Part II. All the dedications are addressed to the author's relatives, and there are many references to her husband in the text ("León Garabito is Clarisel and Maya is Feliciano", 'Introducción', Enríquez de Guzmán 1988: 25).

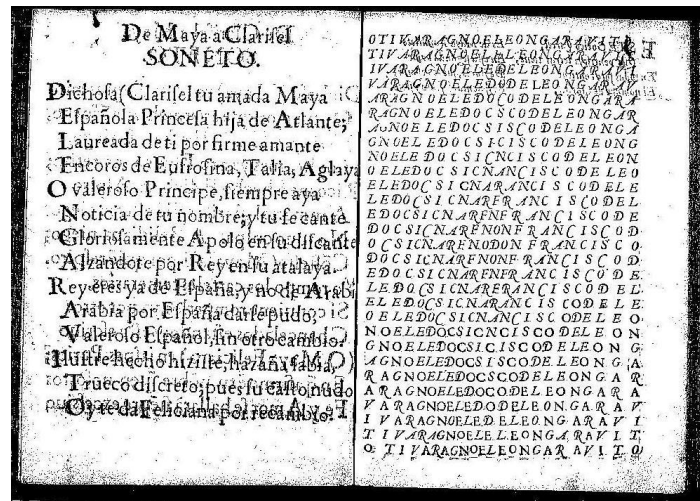


Fig. 20. BNE, T/10870: Enríquez de Guzmán, preliminaries, second part of the 1624 Coimbra edition.

The familiar tone characterizing Enríquez de Guzmán's preliminaries might suggest that *Tragicomedia* was written for a private readership.¹⁰ The fact that

¹⁰ All quotations are from Enríquez de Guzmán (1624). Those in Part I bear the following rubrics: "A DON LEON, Y A DONA YSABEL / Enriquez Doña Feliciano Enriquez de / Guzman D. F. E.", "A

Tragicomedia was printed, however, suggests otherwise.¹¹ Its publication format forces us to concede instead the idea that family support could have promotional value in the publishing industry. As McKendrick reminds us, “Printers published plays not to preserve them but to turn a small profit for themselves” (1989: 265).

Besides, despite what the dedications may suggest, religious communities or family literary circles were not the only target market *Tragicomedia* sought to appeal to. A rather different metadiscourse is employed in the author’s prologues. That contained in Part II (dedicated to her husband, Lorenzo de Ribera Garavito) is

DOÑA CARLOTA ENRI-/QVEZ, Y A DONA MADALENA DE / Guzman mis hermanas”, “A DON DIEGO DE LEON GARAVITO / Vicario, y Beneficiado de Cicacica en / los Reynos del Pirú [her brother]” and “DEDICATORIA [a Dona Ana Enriquez, sv prima]”. The dedications in Part II bear the following rubrics: “A DON LORENÇO DE RIBERA / GARAVITO”, “A FRAY GERONIMO DE RIBERA PRIOR / del Conuento de San Augustin de Seuilla, que passò / desta presente vida a la eterna Miercoles dos de Mar-/ço deste presente año de 1622. Doña Feliciana / Enriquez de Guzman su hermana [in verse]”, and “A DONA LEONOR / Correa de Guzman mi tia”.

¹¹ In one of her dedications, furthermore, the author unaffectedly promotes her *Fabula* —as the work is described— to religious circles. This is the second dedication in Part I: “Esta mi Tragicomedia, hermanas, os dedico, aunque en su primera parte solamente he celebrado los vanos amores del dissimulado Clarisel con la peruertida Belidiana [...]. Que si bien es verdad, que esta parte no os toca, tocaos la Segunda, en la qual se celebran los solidos, y constantes Amor, y Contramor del mismo Clarisel, y de vuestra Española Maya [...]. Remitoosla para que la celebreys, y representeys dentro de vuestro recogimiento con vuestras amigas” (“A DOÑA CARLOTA ENRI-/QVEZ, Y A DONA MADALENA DE / Guzman mis hermanas”; it is dated 9 October 1619, and signed “Doña Feliciana Enriquez de Guzman [...] en casa”).

addressed to the non-religious *discretos*. This is shown by the deferential *señores* in the first line. For such an audience the author employs a more academic metadiscourse and calls herself *Maestra*:

[Woodcut “E”]N este sitio, señores,
Os prometi dos comedias
q[ue] los preceptos antiguos
Guardassen de actos, y scenas;
Leyes de tiempo, y lugar 5
Con poeticas licencias:
La primera oystes luego;
Oyd oy su compañera.
Empresa ha sido difficil,
Pero no impossible empresa; 10
Aunque ha parecido a muchos
Impossible en nuestra era.
Como en los tie[m]pos passados
Precio siempre quimera,
Que en en el Antartico polo 15
Vuiesse pobladas tierras.
Mas ya este gra[n]de impossible
Ya estas dos mares inmensas
Se ha hallado nao victoria,
Que las nauegue; y las vença. 20
Auer sido *la Maestra*
De esta nao, de esta Victoria
Vna muger, vna hembra. (p. 43, my italics)

The paratexts of the 1627 Lisbon edition, furthermore, comprise three extra documents: a prologue in verse ('Prólogo') at the beginning of Part I, and a 'Carta Executoria' and a second prologue in prose ('A los lectores') at the end of Part II, which further develop Enríquez de Guzmán's authorial strategies in witty and unexpected directions.¹² In the prologue in verse a promotional mode of literary self-consciousness is manifested and rendered unmistakably female by grammatical gender ("nuestra poeta", "sola") and repetition of the pronoun *ella*. In fact, the author asserts her textual authority (l. 36) with a boldness perhaps only previously seen in Oliva Sabuco's *Nueva filosofía*:

Cree <i>nuestra</i> Poeta, que <i>ella</i> ha sido	35
La primera de todos en España,	
Que imitando a los Cómicos antiguos	
Propiedad ha guardado, arte, y preceptos	
De la antigua Comedia; y que <i>ella</i> es <i>sola</i> ,	
La que el Laurel a todos ha ganado;	40
Y ha satisfecho a <i>doctos</i> el desseo,	
Que tenían de ver una, que fuese	
Comedia propriamente, bien guardadas	
Sus leyes con rigor; porque hasta aora	

¹² Quotations are from Enríquez de Guzmán (1988). A question arises as to whether Enríquez de Guzmán herself was the author of the Lisbon interpolated pieces. I judge from their style and ethos that they are, but for the purposes of the general argument about women's reception in the Republic of Letters the point is immaterial —what matters overall is the climate of opinion, the fact that these views were expressed in published texts of female authorship.

Ni se ha impresso, ni ha visto los Teatros. ('Prólogo', p. 43, my italics)

Her self-proclamation within the literary world as the first ("de todos", l. 36) in Spain to conform to Aristotelian precepts echoes, in terms of authorial confidence, that of Cervantes in the prologue to the first part of his *Novelas ejemplares* (Madrid, 1613): "Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana" (Cervantes 2003: 52). This is revealing, since Cervantes's famous remark has been seen as a "manifiesto literario", reflecting the ways in which writing went on to be linked to developments in the editorial market (Cayuela 2000: 42). Such self-promotional metadiscourse is raised to an ever greater level of authorial confidence, however, in the *Carta executoria* which is added at the end, but directly refers back to the proud boast "primera de todos en España" in the 'Prólogo'. This *ejecutoria* parodies not only the legal language of contemporary letters-patent of nobility, but also the risible academicism and pedantry of contemporary literary polemic. This had also been the target of Lope de Vega's ironies against Aristotelian dramatic precept in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (Madrid, 1609), although Enríquez de Guzmán upheld precisely the opposite literary theory to his. Lope advocated quietly abandoning precept in the interests of popularity, Enríquez de Guzmán argued on the contrary that the answer lay in returning to the ancients with far deeper fidelity, insight, and creativity.¹³

¹³ The fact that it followed classical precepts for drama at such a time has been seen as foreseeing the triumph of the *teatro cortesano* and mythological drama favoured in the second half of the seventeenth century (Ruiz 2005: 29).

But, in fact, what is supposedly or conveniently at stake in the *Carta* is not high theory but chauvinism: Apollo and the nine muses are called upon to judge a complaint against Enríquez de Guzmán for having dared to challenge hidebound literary orthodoxy despite being a woman:

por lo qual se querellaron della y le pusieron demanda, diziendo que siendo muger, y no pudiendo hablar entre poetas, avia tenido atreuimiento de componer la dicha Tragicomedia y dexádose dezir en ella, que auia sido la primera, que con toda propiedad y rigor avia imitado á los Cómicos antiguos, y guardado su arte Poética y preceptos, y ganado nuestro laurel á todos los que avian compuesto Comedias: en lo qual avia excedido notablemente; y todo lo que dezia era Noceda, chymera y disparate. (pp. 258-59)

In the circumstances, however, the call of the misogynists to have her reprimanded and her work banned from being printed (“la condenássemos en perdimiento de tiempo, y de la impression y en las costas della”, p. 259) is made to look ridiculously ineffectual, and the authorial irony of including (that is, inventing) the charge emerges as contemptuously sarcastic. Enríquez de Guzmán’s self-assurance, and indeed self-promotion, does not end here. In the god’s sentence on the *demanda* she again picks up a specific phrase, “siendo muger, y no pudiendo hablar entre poetas”, in order to situate herself beside amongst other famous lettered women in the Luso-Hispanic Republic of Letters (Mencía de Mendoza, Luisa Sigea, Catalina Paz, etc):

Porque si ella era muger, tambien lo eran nuestras caríssimas hermanas las nueue Musas, sin embargo de lo qual, las hemos hecho del nuestro Consejo Real de Poesía [...]. Y tambien fueron insignes, en buenas letras, la dignísima Marquesa de Cenete, la celebrada Ysabella Joya de Barcelona; la eruditíssima Sigea Toledana, á quien por sus letras latinas y hebreas, la serenissima Reyna de Portugal, con increíble admiracion recibió en su casa y hizo maestra de la classe que en ella tenia de mugeres ilustres; Doña Ángela Zapata, Doña Ana Osorio, burgalesa, y Doña Catalina

de Paz, gloria y honor de Guadalajara, y otras españolas, sin número, que siempre han honrado las Españas, señalándose en ellas en todos tiempos. (p. 259)

It is striking that Enríquez de Guzmán calls in her defence many of the women (secular, not religious), and in the same order, as were listed in the catalogue of learned women in Schott's *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* (1608: III, 336, 340-44). It seems probable that she carefully studied that catalogue for self-promotional purposes.

That the defiant fiction of the Parnasian tribunal was part of a well-considered marketing plan may be inferred from the apparent caution with which she sidesteps any *ad hominem* (in the etymological sense) complaints. She claims to have no criticism of her male rivals apart from their contravention of the unities, though the concomitant reference to Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, and more precisely to his feeble hack Rocinante's bites at Pegasus, betrays a covert irony in her disavowal:

Que ella no ponía defeto ni otra nota en la elegancia y eloquencia, donayres y sales de las comedias Españolas [...]. Que sola su censura era del único lugar público, y contexto de breue tiempo, y diuision de actos y scenas, en que se afirmaua aver ganado nuestra corona de laurel y aver faltado todos los cómicos Españoles. Los quales no se deuian ofender de esta censura, que muy más rigurosa era la de otras muchas personas, y señaladamente la del buen cauallero andante D. Quixote de la Mancha, cuyo Rocinante se atreuió á morder á nuestro cauallo Pegaso, y le dixo en jumental idioma que las comedias de los dichos poetas lo auian conuertido en cauallo Gradario, haziéndole discurrir algunas dellas, casi por todas las partidas del mundo con sus autores y actores. (p. 260)

After observing that *Tragicomedia* has been performed for various members of the Spanish aristocracy, at home and abroad, the allegorical judges reach a verdict in favour of *Tragicomedia*, recommending it as a model to be followed by all Spanish poets and read in all the literary academies: “Y mandamos se lea en todas nuestras

Academias por Arte de buenas Comedias” (p. 262). This last remark may be seen as further consolidating what by then had become a social reality: women’s participation in literary academies.

In the prologue in prose Enríquez de Guzmán’s self-assertive authorial stance adopts a more serious, if not scholarly, tone. Particularly relevant is the detailed discussion of her authorship with respect to stage performance and print publication, a further sign that amongst her intended audience were readers-turned-writers, like herself:

Entiendo auer limitado en esta Tragicomedia con todo rigor, y propiedad el estilo, y traça de las Comedias, y Tragicomedias antiguas, assí en la diuisión, y artificio de sus Actos, y Scenas, como en guardar siempre vn mismo lugar publico en el teatro, y en toda la fábula vn continuado contexto de breue tiempo, en el qual naturalmente, los que se hallassen presentes, pudiesen sin larga intermisión, auer asistido a todo el suceso [...]. En la primera impresión dividí licenciosamente, cada vna de sus dos partes en tres jornadas, al vso Español, vsado hasta estos días para su más cómoda representación: y porque imitassen, y contuuiesen en sí las tres partes de la Comedia, Prótasis Epítasis, y Catástrofe.¹⁴ Oy, que veo el edificio fraguado, y firme; he quitado en esta segunda las zimbras de las jornadas a los arcos de los Actos, para que ellos solos lo sustenten. (p. 263)

The prologue in prose also discusses the choice of venue (palaces, not *corrales*) and the author’s skill at achieving verisimilitude, despite the play being set in ancient

¹⁴ *Prótasis* is the introductory part of a play or narrative poem. *Epítasis* is the development of a play that ends in catastrophe, the final event, especially in a *tragedia*. Their importance is noted, for instance, by the Pinciano in ‘Epístola nona’ of his *Philosophía antigua poética*, III (1973: 77).

times. Finally, it also explains why the play was labelled a tragicomedy, again as if envisioning a debate with other playwrights (pp. 263-64).

The case of Enrique de Guzmán as a playwright, we may surmise, shows not only that women's secular traditions before 1600 received attention in her work, but, furthermore, were overtly acknowledged as authoritative precedents for her self-fashioning as a profane dramatist. It also shows how seemingly redundant information about an author played a commercial role in the business of publishing theatre.

The role of women as *poetas-cronistas* which Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda may have initiated, and in which she certainly succeeded, was supported by most literary circles. This becomes evident in *Eternidad del rey don Felipe III*, written by Ana de Castro Egas under a *privilegio* in Madrid, and printed by “la viuda de Alonso Martín” in 1629 (Fig. 21).

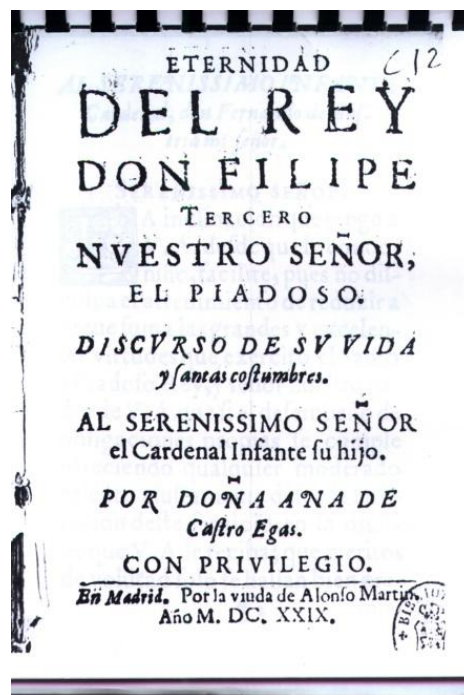


Fig. 21. BNE, R/8338: Castro Egas, *Eternidad del Rey Don Felipe Tercero*, title-page.

Eternidad is a royal panegyric, but because it covers the life of Felipe III has also been seen as a biography, or an abbreviated form of a manual for princes (Cruz 1999: 20).¹⁵ The case of Ana de Castro is instructive because of the level of peer support her work received and elicited.

Eternidad was dedicated to the third son of Felipe III, Fernando de Austria (1609/10-1641), also known as the Cardenal-Infante (the appellation borne on the title-page). In her signed dedication Castro stresses her familiarity with the Cardenal-Infante as a justification, if not a promotional point, for writing and dedicating to him a biography of his father, or as she calls it a “breve suma”: “[Woodcut “L”]a inclinacion que tengo a V.A. desde que le conoci niño, facilite [...] el atreuimiento de reduzir a breue suma las grandes y excelentes virtudes que exercitó el Santo y Piadoso Rey, y señor nuestro padre V.A.”. Allegedly Castro only wished for it to be accepted, although the last sentence suggests that she expected some favours in return: “que meritos de volu[n]tad solo se hallan bien premiados en el soberano entendimiento de V.A”. This seems possible, since the Cardenal-Infante acted as patron for a number of authors such as Luis Vélez de Guevara, Antonio Mira de Amescua, José de Valdivielso, Gabriel Bocángel, and García de Salcedo Coronel (Palencia 1946; Simón Díaz 1983; Dadson 1991).

¹⁵ Covarrubias 2006: 1319: “PANEGÍRICO. Es un razonamiento hecho en alguna celebridad, modo oratorio, donde concurre mucha gente en fiesta de algún santo que celebra la Iglesia, o en coronación o honras de algún rey y, largo modo, en honra de algún señor particular o persona singular en vida y ejemplo”.

In the *aprobación*, dated Madrid, 4 April 1629, by Hortensio Felix Paravicino (1580-1633), the well-known priest-poet and follower of Góngora, the male opposition to the learned woman is exposed as merely belonging to an old literary topic: “Pongan los noticiosos este papel mas en el numero de las mugeres doctas, que en vnas letras y otras han escrito, y descansen los curiosos en la question antigua: Porque dio nombres de mugeres la Erudición, y no de hombres a las Musas”. Paravicino’s comment, therefore, further points to the idea that misogynist criticism was perceived by most members of the Republic of Letters as having a theoretical, not practical, foundation.

No fewer than thirty-two individuals (twenty-five male and seven female) appeared with laudatory compositions in the front matter of Castro’s text.¹⁶ Some of the female participants may have been relatives of the author. Most of the male laudatory poets came from the Cardenal-Infante’s household, but they were also the most celebrated writers of the day (e.g. Lope de Vega, Antonio Mira de Amescua and Gabriel Bocángel).¹⁷ Even Luis [Cabrera] de Córdoba, author of *De historia, para entenderla*

¹⁶ I note Simón Díaz’s comment that much of this support was due to the text’s subject matter (2000: 200). For the purpose of this study, however, the important point is that a woman penned the life of Felipe III and was explicitly praised in print for her talent.

¹⁷ Duque de Lerma, Marqués de Alcañizas, Conde de Sirvela, Conde la Roca, Lope Felix de Vega y Carpio, Luis de Córdoba y Ayala, Gaspar Bonifaz, Agustín Manuel Vasconcelos, Alonso Ordoñez das Seyjas, Antonio de Herrera Manrique, Mira de Amescua, Jacinto Bocanegra y Guzmán, Diego de Collazos, Gabriel Bocángel, Francisco López de Zárate, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Miguel de Silveira, Antonio Carnero, Francisco de Villalobos y Tapia, Juan de Andosilla Larramendi, Joseph Pellicer de

y escribirla (Madrid, 1611) and *Filipe II Rey de España* (Madrid, 1619) participated (Mínguez 1999: 274-75). Córdoba thus bestowed further credibility on Castro's case as a historian. *Eternidad* also includes a seven-page allographic preface, a recommendation (here called a panegyric) by Francisco de Quevedo. He also repeatedly refers to Castro as *Autora* and *docta*, thus recognizing her while enforcing her public perception as such:

[Woodcut "L"]lamar Panegyrico esta vengança docta de los desprecios de la muerte, siempre descortes a la habitacion del alma, en la *Autora* deste escrito, es modestia, y será Religión deuیدا a los milagros de su pluma, afirmar q[ue] resucita el Principe q[ue] escriue, pues nace a nueva vida del parto deste ingenio, cuydado se conoce del Cielo en disponer *Autora* prodigiosa a ta[n] admirables virtudes.

Additionally, he draws attention to Castro's female sex as grounds for promoting the text only in the context of the royal panegyric, similar to the censor in Lacerda's *España libertada* but there within the context of epic poetry. In the context of the royal panegyric Castro, Quevedo notes, surpasses her male counterparts, making them jealous of her:

Todas las naciones se ocuparo[n] por deuda en admiracio[n] y alabanza deste Santo Rey, faltaua que lo imitasen entrambos sexos: y oy doña Ana de Castro desempeña el suyo, y excede el

Salas y Tovar, Alonso de Peralta y Cabrera, Agustín Collado del Hierro, Lope Sánchez de Valenzuela, Diego de Vargas, Luis Alfonso de Ayala, Francisco de Vivanco, and Jorge de Tovar Valderrama. The female poets are as follows: Mariana Manuel de Mendoza, Juana de Luna y Toledo, Victoria de Leyva, Catalina de Río "sobrina de doña Ana de Castro", Ana María de Castro, Clara María 'prima de D. Ana de Castro', and Justa Sánchez del Castillo.

nuestro, dexadonos tan reconocidos, como puede envidiosos, quando excusamos el serlo por no desconsolar mas el vencimiento con el delito.

Quevedo extends his praise, commenting with some precision on Castro's didactic literary skills:

El volumen es descansado, el estilo pulido, con estudio dichoso, las palabras sin bastardia mendigada de otras lenguas [...]. Tan docto escrúpulo ha tenido en lo que dexa, como cuerda eleccion en lo que elige: la sentencia es viua y freque[n]te, los afectos eficaces, y deuídos; pues sin digressiones forasteras dexa viuir su vida al Principe [...]. Dedicó la obra a su Eternidad: esto pudo escusar, pues la Eternidad siempre se dedica a tales trabajos. No quiso la *Autora* quitar esta prerrogatiua a su modestia, quando prodiga de Eternidad su pluma, recibe de si la que dá.¹⁸

All this praise was intended to be taken seriously. What Quevedo criticised was “l’ostentation d’erudition et de savoir” (Cayuela 1996: 99).¹⁹ Otherwise, he would not, only two years before Castro's *Eternidad*, have agreed to have two women participate in the publication of his *Sueños y Discursos* (Barcelona, 1627).²⁰

¹⁸ My italics. The rubric reads: “DESENGAÑO A LAS PRISIO-/nes del sepulcro, mortificacion a los blaso-/nes de la muerte, desencierro de las / clausuras del olvido. / ACREDITALE DON FRAN-/cisco de Queuedo Villegas, Ca-/uallero del Orden de San-/tiago. / CON LA ESCLARECIDA / memoria que escriue a la Magestad de / don Felipe III. Nuestro señor, doña Ana / de Castro y Egas, inteligencia a nuestro si-/glo de grande admiración, y al sexo / de sumo ornamento”.

¹⁹ This reading undermining Quevedo's supposed misogyny, was previously argued by Peraita Huerta (2005: 165-66), also with regard to his praise of Castro in *Eternidad*.

²⁰ The women were Raymunda Matilde and Violante Miserea. The latter's sonnet projects an overt manifestation of a (female) protective stance. The rubric reads: “De Doña Violante Miserea. Soneto a

That Castro's *Eternidad* was well received can be inferred from the public praise she received only a year later from Lope de Vega in "Silva primera" of his *Laurel de Apolo*, and from the prolific Mercedarian fray Alonso Remón in *Las fiestas solemnes y grandiosas que hizo la sagrada religión de N. Señora de la Merced, en este su convento de Madrid, a su glorioso patriarca y primer fundador san Pedro Nolasco*, both printed in Madrid in 1630 by the "viuda de Luis Sánchez" (see Baranda 2005a; Peraita 2009; Cruz 2009).²¹

3.2 Professional Attitudes

Ana Caro de Mallén stands as the earliest and most famous example of a woman author publishing for money —ephemera and theatre— in the Luso-Hispanic world. Little is known about her life with any certainty. She was born around 1590, most likely in Seville, where she lived. Caro was contracted by the council of Madrid, Seville Cathedral and nobles from both Seville and Madrid. As we shall see, Caro's case was representative of those in her position, that is, women authors leading secular lives with a considerable amount of prestigious male peer support. She is thought to have died by 1655 (Serrano y Sanz, 1975; Luna 1992, 1993a and 1995; Voros 2003; Riesco Suárez 2005; Barbeito Carneiro 2007).

todo Lector destos Sueños, en defensa, y alabanza del Autor".

²¹ The Viuda de Luis Sánchez worked for the Imprenta del Reyno from 1628; her husband printed Liaño's biography in verse of St Catherine de Siena. The *viuda's* production offered vast thematic variety and a staggering number of literary works by all of the now most renowned Spanish authors of the time (Delgado Casado 1996: I, 341-42).

Caro published a total of four *relaciones* between the years 1628 and 1637. That she quickly became well-reputed for this type of writing may be inferred from the last *relación*, *Contexto de las reales fiestas del buen Retiro*, the only one of a non-religious nature, for which she was paid 1,100 *reales* (100 *ducados*) by the Villa de Madrid in 1640.²² The three-year delay in receiving the payment may suggest that it was Caro herself who financed the printing of her *relación*, seeking patronage only thereafter. If this is correct, Caro's *relación* would have competed for patronage against those of other poets, a familiar scenario at the time. During the 1616 Lerma festivities many poets and chroniclers, driven by the desire to be chosen to sing its praises, anticipated "impresiones de lo que no se les había encargado" (Ferrer Valls 2003: 4). In fact, we know that three other *relaciones* of the same nature were printed the same year, two of identifiable authorship, and that the Villa de Madrid paid the same amount Caro received to the author of one of them.²³

²² All quotations are from Caro (1637). The payment is listed amongst the festivities' incurred expenses documented in "Madrid, Almacén de la Villa. Sig. 3-687-4, and was found by Varey (1968: 268); Luna (1995: 14) also notes it. For the three remaining *relaciones* (see López Estrada 1978 and 1983; Luna 1992; Riesco Suárez 2005).

²³ According to Varey (1968: 268), the fortunate poet was Andrés Sánchez Espejo, author of *Relación ajustada en lo posible a la verdad y repartida en dos discursos: primero de la entrada en estos reinos de Madama María de Borbón, princesa de Cariñán. El segundo de las fiestas que se celebraron en el real palacio del Buen Retiro, á la elección del Rey de Romanos*, printed by María de Quiñones.

As we shall see, the paratext of *Contexto de las reales fiestas del Buen Retiro* offers further evidence that female-authored publications did compete against their male counterparts on fair terms (Fig. 22).

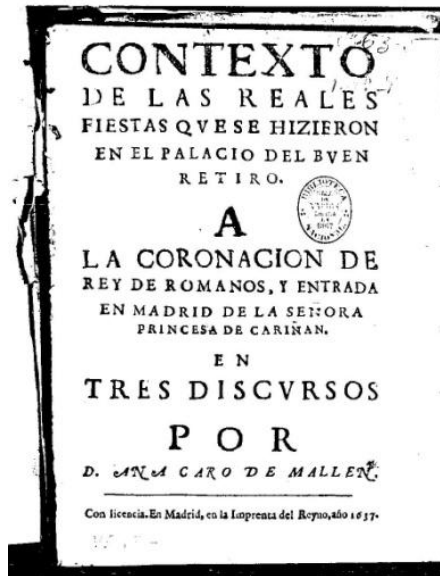


Fig. 22. BNE, V.E. 63-5: Caro, *Contexto*, title-page.

The title-page promises the reader a descriptive account of two significant events, though divided in three *discursos*; the crowning of Fernando III, king of Hungary, as “Rey de Romanos”, and the entrance in Madrid of María de Borbón, princess of Carignano, wife of Tomás de Savoya (see Elliott 2009: 557, 574). Each piece of information is capitalized, but set in different type-sizes. Whilst no dedicatee is named (an inexplicable absence I will return to later), its female authorship is underlined at the bottom of the page: “POR D. ANA CARO DE MALLEN”. Below the author’s name, clearly apart, is the imprint “En Madrid: en la Imprenta del Reyno”, together with the formula “Con licencia” in accordance with Castilian law as

enacted by the royal pragmatic on state censorship of 1502.²⁴ The book's genre and content are announced, in the first and most prominent word on the page, by the rare word *contexto*, instead of the more common *relación*.²⁵ This curious feature was probably designed to link with the use of the term *discursos*, "discourses" —also an unusual usage, since it refers in this case to poetry— in order to give the text an academic appearance, or at least an echo of the ambience of the literary academy (see King 1960; Simón Díaz 2000). In consonance with this more elevated generic pretension, the page-layout and format are those of a regular book, with a separate title-page and forty-three pages of printed text.

Contrary to the title-page, the inside of *Contexto* bears witness to the paramount importance the question of patronage had for Caro, for it includes not one, but three dedications, one per *discurso* or poem; one dedicatee would have been sufficient since it concerned only one publication. Here lies an important parallel between Ana Caro and Lope de Vega's authorial strategies. As has been noted, Lope was the first to exploit "el ritual de la dedicatoria". From *Parte XIII* of the publication of his plays he dedicates each of the twelve *comedias* of his collections to a different individual (Case

²⁴ The Imprenta del Reyno operated from 1628 to 1698 through different typographers, who rarely indicated their names. The viuda de Luis Sánchez was the first to do so, and after her death, her daughter Juana Isabel Sánchez took over the business; theirs was notable for its diversity of themes published, as well as the "enorme número de obras literarias de todos los autores clásicos españoles" (Delgado Casado 1996: I, 341-42).

²⁵ I consider it "rare" since this is the only instance I have found concerning a *relación de sucesos* during this period.

1975: 21; see also Cayuela 2009: 385-86).²⁶ “No cabe duda”, says Case (1975: 19), “que Lope buscaba el favor de gran número de estos nobles y administradores influyentes para reivindicar su reputación en estos círculos”. Of course, the justification he gives in his prologue to the reader is much more modest: “porque entre tantos no falte el debido agradecimiento al honor que se hace con la dirección de los libros”.²⁷ What we shall see is that Ana Caro may have been following precisely the strategies adopted by Lope in order to fish for patronage and become known in various influential circles.

Contexto’s title-page is followed by the dedication of the first *Discurso*: “A la señora doña Agustina Spinola y Eraso”. Like Lope, Caro approaches her dedicatee through praise addressed to other powerful figures to maximise the relation of reciprocity, in this case the dedicatee’s husband: the Genoese banker Carlos Strata, who only two years earlier had greatly assisted the Count-Duke of Olivares financially (Elliot 2009: 554).²⁸ However, unlike Lope, her appeal for patronage

²⁶ Lope published a total of 96 dedications addressed to 94 different people —Marta de Nevares, his lover, and Juan Antonio de Vera y Zuñiga, received two.

²⁷ From the prólogo to *Parte XIII*; cited from Case (1975: 20).

²⁸ From Lope’s dedication to doña María de Vera y Tobar: “Si pudiera ser entretenimiento para V.S., en la ausencia del señor don Juan Antonio de Vera, este libro, *Parte veinte de mis comedias*, quedárame por consuelo a mí del tiempo que no he de ver a su señoría, y del buen ejemplo del que gasté en estamparle; y de ésta que he dedicado a su ilustre nombre tuviera tanta dicha en el afecto, como en el atrevimiento disculpa [...]. En todas las repúblicas del mundo [...] se eligieron siempre hombres de mayor valor, entendimiento y letras para estos cargos: testigos, Roma y Grecia, de quien en el mismo

ultimately rests on sexual grounds because of her dedicatee's female identity, similar to Lacerda's in the second part of *España libertada*, as we shall see:

[T]odos la cantan, y aunque ninguno bien, ellos menos mal que yo, y yo mas aficionada que todos ofrezco a V. merced esse Poema, inutil desperdicio de algunas horas, asseguro a mi ingenio ricas medras, sino desmerece por obra de muger, mas quando le dedico a muger. (Signed 'Seruidora de V.m. / Doña Ana Caro de Mallen.', 2r)

In the prologue the author's sex is not specifically mentioned, yet it is easily inferred from the feminine grammatical gender markers. Furthermore, her identity is wittily alluded to in the deferential opening address to *letor caro*, "dear reader", where the epithet *caro* is an erudite Latinate or Italianate neologism for *querido* that calls attention to the fact that it is also the author's surname. That the prologue is addressed to the general public, and not just female readers, is clear from the conventional masculine (i.e. common or unmarked) grammatical gender of the formulaic title *Al letor*, "To the Reader" (Porqueras Mayo 1957: 61):

Al letor.

Letor Caro: si lo fuere para ti este Contexto, mas por lo que te puede enfadar que costar, perdonale este pecado a mi ignorancia, aduirtiendolo que lo mal razonado dèl, es auerse hecho sin intencion de publicarlo [...]. Suplicote le censures como tuyo, y le compres como ageno, que con esso, si tu no contento, yo quedaré pagada. (fol. 3r)

libro [*Embajador*] se hallarán tantos ejemplos que me excusan con V.S. de ajustar los méritos del señor don Juan a lo que él mismo escribe; pues hablando con su prima con sangre, y con su mujer por elección, fácilmente me concederá que se retrató a sí mismo" (cited from Case 1975: 248).

Despite claiming modestly that she wrote without thought of publishing —a common humility topos— Caro’s chief subject of discussion is the eminently professional one of cost. This theme opens in the first line with the epithet *caro* (which in Spanish means both “dear” and “expensive”), continues in the supplication to the reader to buy the text (“Suplicote [...] le compres”), and ends with the pun on *quedaré pagada* (“I shall be pleased”, even if you are not “content”, marked masculine, but also “I shall be paid”, marked feminine).²⁹

The paratexts’ metadiscursive markers of a female-gendered perspective are immediately taken up in Caro’s poetic narrative, written in *octavas* following the literary precepts of Lope:³⁰

Por muger ignorante (ò claro Apolo)
 Mal cursada en tu escuela, mi Talia
 favor te pide, dasele pues eres
 preceptor de vna clase de mugeres. (ll. 21-24)

This invocation appears to align itself with erudite male readers through the appeal to Apollo, god of music and poetry, from an explicitly inferior female standpoint (“muger ignorante”) under the aegis of Thalia, muse of comedy and playful idyllic poetry, to whom Góngora dedicated his *Polifemo*. However, this humble stance is ironic, given that the invocation is made by a self-aware and highly regarded woman

²⁹ On the theme of cost in prologues of the time, see Porqueras Mayo (1957: 143-44).

³⁰ He offers this advice in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*: “las relaciones piden los romances, aunque en otavas lucen por extremo” (Vega 1976: 126).

poet. Indeed, Apollo is appealed to as preceptor not of women, but of a *class* of women, a distinction which tacitly presupposes the god's (and men's) recognition of muses or women poets as a group (not as isolated cases) that occupies a worthy place on Parnassus.

This subtle assertiveness behind the apparent topics of humility is exploited for self-promotion with respect to Caro's female public. Her references in the poetic narrative to her female dedicatee represent another important parallel with the authorial strategies of Lope.³¹ Nonetheless, here, besides allowing extravagant praise of a fellow woman, the references are also made to serve as indirect apostrophes to women readers in general, and to elicit their complicitous identification with her project as "the product of a woman":

A tu consorte generosa, y clara,
A cuya piedad mi ruego aplico,
Por Noble, Ilustre, Peregrina, y Rara,
Que admita mis borrones le suplico,
Si por muger, como muger me ampara. (ll. 537-41)

Caro's second *discurso* concerns the procession orchestrated by Gaspar de Guzmán (1587-1645), the king's *valido* and count-duke of Olivares, to whom it is also dedicated. Many authors like Góngora, Lope, and Quevedo sought his favours and some, like Vélez de Guevara, won them (Elliott 2009: 209). The choice of dedicatee

³¹ See, for instance, *Las fiestas de Denia* (Valencia, 1599), dedicated to Catalina de Zuñiga, Countess of Lemos. Cayuela (2009: 389) makes a similar argument about Lope's self-promotional strategies in *La Filomena*.

is significant since the patronage of his wife, Inés de Zuñiga y Velasco, was also sought by Lope.³² If, as has been claimed (Luna 1995: 19), Caro's condition as both a woman and an author was indeed a problem, presumably she would have dedicated this second *discurso* also to a woman (to doña Inés). In fact, Caro's practical aim in choosing the Count-Duke of Olivares as dedicatee is revealed by the word *generoso* in the following passage, which broadly hints at generosity in the financial sense:³³

Porque saliendo debaxo de la proteccion de su Excellentissima mano, que mil vezes veso, ellos [mis versos] alcancen valor, V. Excellencia exercite su piadoso oficio, y yo tenga en la Grandeza, y vondad de V. Excellencia, generoso amparo. (fol. 12r)

This is the only dedication to underline overtly the female author's position as *poeta-cronista* and the dedicatee's role in the transition of the *relación* from manuscript to print: "La Relacion de las fiestas Reales del buen Retiro, que escriuí a Seuilla, y V. Excelencia viô, me han pedido que imprima". Caro doubtless aimed to appeal to the Count-Duke's literary interests and patronage, thus constituting yet another parallel with Lope's strategies (see Case 1975: 146). Here Caro's authorial voice discusses authorship, publication, and patronage, without using a *captatio benevolentiae* based

³² For instance, Lope de Vega dedicated to her *Triunfos divinos con otras rimas sacras*, published in Madrid by the Viuda de Alonso Martín in 1625: "*Triunfos divinos* consagro a V. E.^a devidos a sus virtudes, escritos a su devoción, y dignos de su entendimiento. No pensé (como sucede a tantos) qué dueño habían de tener, que serlo V. Ex.^a anticipó a la pluma".

³³ According to Covarrubias, one can be *generoso* on grounds of lineage or, as in the case studied here, on the sole grounds of one's personality: "Generoso a veces significa el que considerada su persona sola, tiene valor, y virtud, y condición noble, liberal, y dadivosa".

on sexual difference, even though the author's female sex is clear through grammatical gender in the signature: "Seruidora de V.m. / Doña Ana Caro de Mallen." (A2 r-v).

As distinct from the perspective adopted in the dedication, the author's sex is invested with paratextual value in the poetic narrative "(O impulso de muger determinada)", "Pues en vna muger tanto excede" (ll. 12, 82), but so is the fact that she is from Seville: "Gviada del espiritu ambicioso [...] / Dexè a Seuilla dulce patria antigua [...] Y à mis dichas busquè segunda esfera / En esta insigne villa [Madrid]" (ll. 1, 13, 15-17). Indeed, Caro's reference to her hometown at this point into the *relación* seems to be made, given the "generoso amparo" which the Count-Duke gave the authors from this city (Elliott 2009: 53-54, 208-9), again similar to Lope (see Case 1975: 36).

The third and final *discurso* concerns the additional festivities, theatre, and mascarades taking place during the events, and is preceded by another dedication, this time to a place: the Villa (Town Hall) de Madrid. In 1599 Lope had dedicated his poetic work *Isidro* to the Villa. Caro's dedication stands out for her feminine and powerful characterization of the Villa, for she openly calls it "piadosa madre" and "Reyna de todos los del Orbe":

Al cabo de los años mil incitó mi deseo à mi humildad, alentando lo desflaquecido del animo, en las grandiosas acciones que V. Señoria cada dia exerce co[n] los desvalidos y pobres, de quien es *piadosa madre*: y principalmente en la bizarria, y gallardo animo con que en las Reales fiestas del Buen Retiro mostrò quan generosamente se corona *Reyna de todos los del Orbe*: y assi aunque tarde ofrezco à V. Señoria esta pequeña parte de mi mucha aficion. Suplicole, *por de muger*, reciba el don afectuoso, como tan *generosa*, admitiendole (aunque desigual) con la disculpa de tan heroicas acciones, pues por serlo carecen de ponderación. (fol. 30r, my italics)

The significance of such gendering of the appeal when addressing an abstraction appears to lie in the fact that it allowed Caro to mention her female sex again as part of a *captatio benevolentiae*: a woman author seeking identification with her “woman” reader on grounds of sex. The portrayal of the Villa as “Reina”, furthermore, prompted it to act magnanimously towards her, thus echoing Oliva Sabuco’s strategies in her letter-dedication to Felipe II (see Sabuco 1587, fols 1^v-2^r).

Not one of the preliminary pieces included in *Contexto* suggests that Caro’s position as a published author was problematised because of being female. As we have seen, all pieces suggest that the financial element of writing was in her mind at all times. Clearly, Ana Caro was right to increase the number of dedicatees so as to increase her chances of remuneration, for, as we know, it worked. In this context, the absence of the dedicatee’s name on the title-page could not have been accidental.³⁴ It would appear that Caro did anticipate the printing of her *relación* to securing patronage; she apologises to the Villa de Madrid, her semi-*Mecenas*, for offering her *relación* late (“y assi aunque tarde”), only in the printed version. The rhetorical or paratextual value of Caro’s dedications thus lies in serving the author more as self-publicity stunts, as in Lope’s *Partes*, than as praise for already gained benefits. Ana Caro did indeed compete as a professional writer against her male counterparts on fair terms.

Thus, by the late 1630s, a long list of women authors had successfully entered the

³⁴ Lope’s *Isidro*, for instance, bears the name of its dedicatee in the title-page: “A la muy insigne villa de Madrid”.

Republic of Letters, whether as patrons, didactic authors, poets, publishers, writers of prose fiction, humanists, *poetas-cronistas*, playwrights, and with Ana Caro, finally, as professional authors. Nevertheless, not all women authors felt such positive changes by then, or so they claimed. A case in point is that of María de Zayas, Spain's most famous female prose fiction writer of the period. Although most, if not all, of Zayas's personal life remains elusive, it is commonly accepted that her public literary career, like Caro's, began in the early 1620s, through her participation in *justas literarias* ("poetic tournaments") (King 1963: 59).³⁵ Zayas was praised by Lope de Vega in his *Laurel de Apolo* (1630) along with other women such as Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, and Juan Pérez de Montalbán in his *Para todos* (1632), where he also called attention to her skills as a playwright: "Doña Maria de Zayas, décima Musa de nuestro siglo, ha escrito a los Certámenes con grande acierto, tiene acabada una Comedia de excelentes coplas [*La traición en la amistad*], y un libro para dar a la estampa en prosa, y verso de ocho Novelas exemplares" (p. 537). She later published preliminary poems and panegyrics in praise of both authors.

That Zayas knew Ana Caro, Bernarda Ferreira de Laceda and Sórora Violante do Céu (see Chapter 4), may be inferred from their collaboration in Juan Pérez de Montalbán's *Fama póstuma a la vida y muerte del doctor Frey Lope Félix de Vega y*

³⁵ Given her active years as a writer, Zayas has been thought to be the daughter of Fernando de Zayas y Sotomayor "caballero del Hábito de Santiago, capitán de Infantería", born in Madrid in 1566. This is supported by Serrano y Sanz, who found her baptism certificate, dated 12 September 1590, in the parish of St Sebastian in Madrid. If this is correct, Zayas's mother was María de Barasa (Zayas 2000a: 14).

Carpio (Madrid, 1636).³⁶ If she did not know them personally, she would have known about their careers as successful authors. Aside from her single publications, Lacerda contributed poems in the preliminaries of several works by men published in the 1630s.³⁷ She and Sórora Violante do Céu wrote the only three laudatory compositions included in Francisco de Sâ de Meneses's *Malaca Conquistada, Poema Heroico: com os Argumentos de Dona Bernarda Ferreira* (Lisboa, 1634), dedicated to Felipe III.³⁸ As the title suggests, Lacerda helped with the writing, a role and an input the book

³⁶ They were not alone in doing so; as well as in Castilian, laudatory poems of female authorship (claimed and under pseudonyms) in Italian, French, and Portuguese were also included: Madame Argenis (French, p. 132), Doña Antonia Garay (Castilian, p. 160), Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda (Castilian, pp. 42 and 137), Doña Britis de Geuora (Castilian, p.114), Doña Constança Margarita (Castilian, p. 183), Dona Senhora Elisa (Portuguese, p. 135), Madona Fenice (Italian, p. 132), Doña Iusepa Luisa de Chaues (Castilian, p. 93), Doña Iacinta Baca (Castilian, p. 96), Madama Lisida (Castilian, p. 164), Doña Maria de Zayas (Castilian, p. 117), La peregrina (Castilian, p. 150), and Sórora Violante del Cielo (Castilian, p. 54).

³⁷ Lacerda's other major work is *Soledades de Buçaco*, written in verse, and printed in Lisbon by Mathias Rodrigues in 1634, and dedicated "A las religiosas carmelitas descalças del convento S. Alberto de Lisboa". It consists of twenty octosyllabic *romances* in Castilian with various poems in Portuguese, Italian and Latin. This work is listed in Alonso Pérez's 1648 inventory: "mas 20 tomos de soledades de bucaco en 8^{va}" (fol. 761^v; Cayuela 2005: 263).

³⁸ The first laudatory poem, written in Latin, in this book is by Lacerda, and its rubric reads: "Ad Auctorem Franciscum de Sa / de Meneses. / Dona Bernarda Ferreira". The second one, this time in Portuguese, is also by her: "A FRANCISCO DE SAA / de Meneses na sua Malaca / conquistada. / D. Bernarda Ferreira".

producers saw fit to underline, evidently on the grounds of her rising fame. As Genette (2001: 46) has noted, “with respect to the cover and title page, it is the publisher who *presents* the author”. Closer to Zayas’s home, Lacerda was also praised by Lope de Vega as “Dezima Musa Lusitana” in his *Filís egloga* (Madrid, 1635), which he also dedicated to her.³⁹ Caro, furthermore, contributed some *décimas* for the preliminaries of Zayas’s *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*, published in Zaragoza in 1637, if not earlier.⁴⁰

The editorial trajectory of Zayas’s first publication has long been debated. Moll (1982) contends that the original manuscript (which may have contained only eight short stories) was presented in Madrid, not in Zaragoza, since its *licencia* is dated Madrid, 4 June 1626, by Juan de Mendieta. That it took eleven years to appear in print and in a different city (the second *licencia* is dated Zaragoza, 6 May 1636 by Dr Pedro Aguilón, who also signed an *aprobación*) would suggest that, in Madrid, Zayas only managed to secure the ecclesiastical licence (she also needed the “Licencia del Ordinario”). Moll attributes these difficulties to the ban on publication of works of

³⁹ “Tu pues; Dezima Musa Lusitana, / Que á la lengua Latina y Portuguesa / Te dignas de juntar la Castellana, / Si alguna vez de tus estudios cesa / En verso Heroico, ó Lyrico la pluma, / Que del Parnaso te aplaudió Princesa; / Aunque llegar intrepido presuma / Tan cerca de tu Sol, piadosa admite / Esta de mis cuidados breue suma: / Deuido vassallage los permite, / Que assi le deuen á tu ingenio claro, / Como Rios y Fuentes a Amphitrite [...]. Oye, Bernarda ilustre, á dos Pastores, / A quien las mudas seluas escucharon. / Deuieran consagrarte las mejores / Coridon Griego, y Titiro Latino; / Yo solo ofrezco a tus estudios flores, / Sombra del Sol de tu Laurel diuino” (fols 2-3).

⁴⁰ Henceforth referred to as *Novelas amorosas*.

fiction and *comedias* in Castile between the years 1625 and 1634 (p. 177). It is telling that, of all the approved works of prose fiction published during the ban, only one bore the word *novela* in the title in the last year of the suspension (Cayuela 1996: 43; see also Zayas 2000a and 2000b).

Novelas amorosas had no dedicatee; the coat of arms displayed in the title-page belonged to the publisher Pedro Esquer (Moll 1982: 177). In addition to Ana Caro, the preliminaries of *Novelas amorosas* include laudatory poems by men and women, some already famous authors: Alonso del Castillo Solórzano, Isabel Tintor, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Francisco de Aguirre Vaca, Alonso Bernardo de Quirós, Diego Pereira, Ana Inés Victoria de Mires y Arguillur, and Victorián Josef de Esmir y Casanate. The work thus aimed to appeal to a wide readership across Luso-Hispanic World, for one composition is in Portuguese.



Fig. 23. BNE, R/16950: Zayas, *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, 1637, title-page.

The paratext includes an *aprobación* dated Madrid, 2 June 1636, by Josef de Valdivielso, who participated in the publication of Ana de Castro's *Eternidad*. Importantly, even in this, her first known print work, the publicity campaign rested on

Zayas's established literary success.⁴¹ Zayas's metadiscourse is, however, loaded with profeminist remarks, which have attracted the attention of numerous critics.⁴² While no doubt personally implicating her (she, the author, was a woman), we cannot overlook the earlier precedents of female authors and their manipulation of the apology of sex. More to the point, we cannot ignore the fact that Zayas's chosen stance seems at odds with the material properties of her text (profit-driven genre, legitimate publication, print medium, peer support, etc.). The prologue runs:

Qvien duda, Lector mio, que te causará admiracion que vna muger tenga el despejo no solo para escriuir vn libro, sino para darle a la estampa, que es el crisol donde se auerigua la pureza de los ingenios; porque hasta que los escritos no se rozan en las letras de plomo, no tiene[n] valor cierto [...]. Quien duda, digo otra vez, que aura muchos que atribuyan a locura esta virtuosa ossadia de sacar a luz mis borrones, siendo muger, que en opinion de algunos necios, es lo mismo que vna cosa incapaz: pero qualquiera, como sea no mas de buen Cortesano, ni lo tendra por nouedad, ni lo

⁴¹ All quotations are from Zayas 1637: "De Diego Pereira, en portugués, soneto: No tempo que a rosada primaveira / se mostra mais alegre e deleitosa, / quan girnalda de loureiro e rosa, / vi que a fama baixaba de alta esfera. / Dezejando eu saber para quem era, / preguntolle: ¿Aonde vas tan cuidadosa? / —A coroar a Minerva, nova diosa, / junto a Manzanares vou, aonde me espera. / —¿Que obra ofrece, digo, a teus altares? / —Novelas —me responde, são de amores, / suspensa dice, logo a fantasia. / Si é Madril a quem rega Manzanares, / *si é mulher a que goza tais favores, ¿quem pode ser se não dona Maria?*" (my italics).

⁴² The list of studies is too numerous to be given in full, but see Roca Franquesa 1976; Ordóñez 1985; Jed 1994; Williamsen & Whitenack 1995; Maroto Camino 1999; Merrim 1999; Rodríguez Cuadros & Haro Cortés 1999; Greer 2002; Vollendorf 2005; Baranda 2007; Barbeito Carneiro 2007; Gamboa Tusquets 2009.

murmurará por desatino.

Although seemingly deemed unimportant by the rubric (“Al que leyere”), Zayas’s sex is stressed for the *captatio benevolentiae* right from the very first line. As we have seen, she was by no means the first woman to print her work, which she herself knew, as the last two lines confirm. The fact that she still chose to bring up her sexual difference when discussing print makes it affected. As a reader-turned-writer, Zayas would have been familiar with examples of prose fiction by women; early-seventeenth-century booksellers such as Cristóbal López had Beatriz Bernal’s *Don Cristalián de España* in stock.⁴³ Similarly, she would have been aware of the important male support which prose fiction by women enjoyed (i.e. Lope de Vega).

Zayas’s self-conscious manipulation of sexual difference to advance her career as an author is further manifested by her use of a catalogue of ancient learned women (Argentaria, Temistoclea, Diotima, Aspano, Eudoxa, Cenobia, and Cornelia). This was not a prerequisite or the only source of *auctoritas* in print female authorship, for it was not used in, for instance, Ana Caro’s professional writings. Furthermore, while both women authors exploit the notion of gallantry towards women to achieve a positive reception of their work, Zayas does so with greater irony than Caro, which

⁴³ The bookshop was located in Madrid. The book inventory, carried out between October 1606 and January 1607, lists one copy of *Don Cristalián* priced at 16 reales, as well as copies of *Primaleón* and *Palmerín de Oliva*, both priced at 10 reales each (Dadson 1998: 492-93). Considering the decline in the production of chivalric books after the 1590s, López’s stock may have in part represented a family inheritance. Nevertheless, as Dadson observes, we cannot overlook the fact that in 1606 a bookseller had an important stock of chivalric books, “evidencia al menos de alguna demanda” (p. 296).

makes her stance appear more affected, and therefore more akin to those of Sabuco and Enríquez de Guzmán:

Con mugeres no ay competencias; quien no las estima, es necio, porque las ha menester: y quien las vltra, ingrato, pues falta al reconocimiento del hospedaje que le hizieron en la primera jornada. Y assi, pues no has de querer ser descortes, necio, villano, ni desagradecido, te ofrezco este libro, muy segura de tu bizarria, y en confiança de q[ue] si te desagradare, podras disculparme con que naci muger, no con obligaciones de hacer buenas Nouelas, sino con muchos desseos de acertar a seruirte. Vale.

Zayas's authorial stance vindicates the intellectual equality of sexes because her *novelas*'s target market was the female public, amongst which this topic remained ever popular (see Broomhall 2002): "Y que despues q[ue] ay Polianteas en Latin, y Sumas Morales en Romance, los seglares, y las mugeres pueden ser letrados".⁴⁴ More importantly, male readers were also targetted, as shown by the inclusion of laudatory compositions by men in the preliminaries and the fact that adverse criticism is only expected from "algunos necios". Finally, as in Caro, the financial aspect of print is ultimately underlined (see l. 3, p. 207, above).

In the unsigned 'Prologo de vn desapassionado', furthermore, Zayas's status as an author is boldly promoted (in the third person singular, "poco lo encarezco") through the topos of rarity based on sex: readers should allow the author's female identity to

⁴⁴ Polyantheas were a kind of encyclopedic compendium of knowledge, which existed in Spanish as well as in Latin (Greer 2002: 16). An example is Juan de Aranda's *Lugares comunes de conceptos, dichos y sentencias, en diversas materias* (Sevilla, 1595; Madrid 1613), which Zayas may have read; the learned women she recalls are cited almost in the same order as in Aranda (see fols. 110^v-111^r).

take centre stage when forming an opinion about the book:

Lector cruel, o benigno, q[ue] en el Tribunal de tu aposento, juzgas atreuido, o modesto, las mas leues menudencias de lo que lees: este libro te ofrezco un claro ingenio de nuestra nacion [...] poco lo encarezco, si consideras q[ue] en el flaco sexo de una muger, ha puesto el cielo gracias tan consumadas, que aventajan a quantas celebran los aplausos, y soleniza[n] los ingenios.

The claim to women's participation and acclaim in literary academies is again an innovation presented by Zayas's case.⁴⁵ This and the emphasis on her *novelas's* morality ultimately show that female authorship, including the *Novela* tradition, was by then established. Zayas's profeminist stance could not have been adopted on ideological grounds:

La señora Maria de Zayas [...] (a quien las doctas Academias de Madrid tanto han aplaudido, y celebrado) por prueua de su pluma, dà a la Estampa esos diez partos de su fecundo ingenio, con nombre de Nouelas; la moralidad que encierran, el artificio que tienen, y la gracia con que estan escritas, son rasgos de su viuio ingenio.

Instead, Zayas's case shows conclusively that the appeal to favour the reception of a work for being "by a lady" was financially worthwhile, since here it is also made by the publisher: "Por Dama, por ingeniosa, y por docta, deues (o Lector) mirar con respecto sus agudos pensamientos, desnudo del afecto embidioso, con que censuras otros que no traen este saluo conducto deuido a las Damas". Indeed, since the production costs were usually covered by "mercaderes de libros" and the tenor of

⁴⁵ Zayas is thought to have frequented the academies of Sebastián Francisco de Medrano and Francisco de Mendoza in Madrid through her connection with Castillo Solórzano (King 1963: 59)

discussion is the book's purchase, it follows that this prologue was written by the publisher Pedro Esquer: "Y no solo deues hazer esto, mas anhelar, por la noticia de su Autora, a no estar sin su libro tu estudio, no pidiendolo prestado, sino costandote tu dinero, que aunque fuesse mucho, le daras por bien empleado". This section in fact echoes the unsigned prologue of Quevedo's *El buscón* (1626), which has been attributed to the publisher Roberto Duport:⁴⁶

Su Autor, ya le sabes, el precio del libro no le ignoras, pues ya le tienes en tu casa, sino es que en la del Librero le hojeas, cosa pesada para el, y que se auia de quitar con mucho rigor, que ay gorriones de libros [...] y es gran lastima que tal se haga, este murmura sin costarle dineros. (Quevedo 2001: 92)

In sum, the real novelty presented by Zayas's first collection of *novelas* lies in the expression of the idea, for the first time, that only print endows writing with authority from an unmistakably commercial and female perspective.

The repercussions of Caro and Zayas's publications in 1637 were felt almost immediately, as shown by the number of female-authored publications which followed. Only a year later Doña Ana de Leyva published in Madrid a panegyric on the reception of Francesco d'Este, duke of Modena (1629-1658), who was credited with reshaping the identity of the Este dynasty through his patronage of both permanent and ephemeral works of art and architecture (see Grier Jarrard 1993). It is written in prose with intercalated verses, and contains only eight pages. As with Caro's *Contexto*, the visual and material presentation (a panegyric in print format)

⁴⁶ For a recent discussion on the role of publishers, see Cayuela (2005).

make Leyva's confident and profit-driven stance apparent, but as we shall see so too did her metadiscourse (Fig. 24).

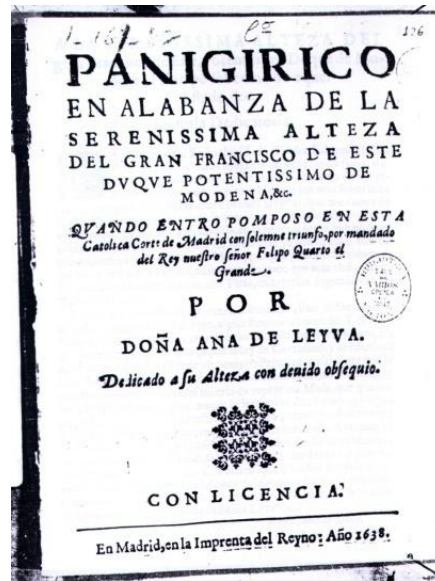


Fig. 24. BNE, V.E. 152/28: Leyva, *Panigirico*, title-page.

The fact that the work is in a quarto broadsheet may explain why it contains no legal texts, although it could be a reprint, for it bore an official imprint: “CON LICENCIA / En Madrid, en la Imprenta del Reyno; año 1638”. Ana Caro had used the same printing house for *Contexto* a year earlier.

If Leyva's publication practices show her debt to Ana Caro, in content and style they show her debt to María de Zayas. The author's signed dedication, intended as a prologue, opens with a mention of a catalogue of ancient learned women, which places Leyva's publication in the context of the *Querelle des femmes*: “La Emperatriz Eudochia (S.A.) Proba, Falconia, Julia, Porcia, Tulia, y otras mugeres de venerada fama, dadas a los Estudios, no emplearon lo fecundo de sus ingenios menos que con

pintar Heroes los mas soberanos de sus tiempos” (fol. 2^r).⁴⁷ To further enforce the identification between herself and the ancient women, Leyva adds: “Acordeme entre breues treguas, que me concede la honesta ocupacion [...] en el estrado, y almohadilla, en la rueca, y aguja, que no se me ofrecio menor la ocasión que a las Matronas ya nombradas”. Leyva thus disapproves of investing “lo fecundo de su ingenio” in household chores, and admits to having been presented with no less an opportunity than the ancient women she recalls to take up the pen and “pintar heroes” (e.g. Francisco d’Este).

If such similarities with Zayas’s profeminist stance were not enough, Leyva overtly uses her sexual difference as grounds for her text to be well received: “[S]i fue atreuimiento, muger soy exempta de vengança por la ley de Cortesano, y del duelo” (fol. 2^r). And yet, likewise, Leyva makes clear that she knew women’s rising place in the Republic of Letters. This is shown by the fact that, despite her profeminist stance, she ultimately reminds the dedicatee of the benefits her publication could bring him: “si acierto, seràlo en los ojos de vn benigno Principe, y assi el premio serà logro que la grandeza de V.A. liberalmente sin merito nuestro puede impender [gastar, invertir]” (fol. 2^r). That is, Leyva hints at the relation of reciprocity, of mutual interest, afforded by the dedication of a published text.

⁴⁷ The rubric reads: “A LA SERENISSIMA ALTEZA DEL / gran Francisco de Este, Potentissimo Duque de Modena, Principe soberano de aquel Estado, &c. / Epistola Dedicatoria” (signed “Dona Ana de Leiua”).

With her success as a *poeta-cronista* it is unsurprising that Ana Caro was amongst the first women to engage in the business of commercial theatre: “Writing for the theatre, therefore, was pleasantly profitable —by far the most profitable form of writing at the time— but the fees were certainly not high enough to permit extravagant living” (McKendrick 1989: 191). Presumably not content with the profit from selling her plays to *autores de compañías*, Caro decided to publish many in print. One such example is her *Loa sacramental* for the Corpus Christi festivities, printed “Con licencia” in broadsheet format in Seville by Juan Gómez de Blas in 1639 (Fig. 25). The publication’s first page promoted Caro’s *Loa* on linguistic grounds; it was written in four languages (Castilian, Latin, Portuguese and Valencian) (see López Estrada 1976). Although many were not even given a title, the *loa*’s significance was considerable given the function it served, which included settling the audience and putting it in a good mood (McKendrick 1989: 139).

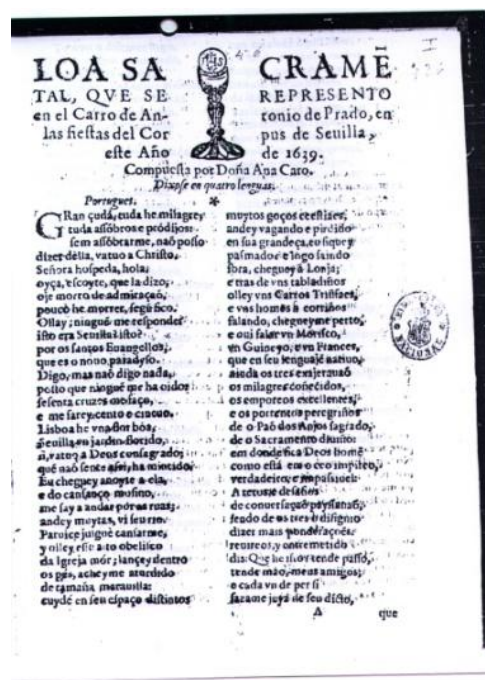


Fig. 25. BNE, T/697: Caro, *Loa*, fol. 1.

Caro wrote two *autos sacramentales*, now lost: *La puerta de la Macarena* and *La cuesta de Castilleja*, which were represented in the Corpus Christi festivities —“by far the best-paid occasions in the theatrical calendar” (McKendrick 1989: 191)— in Seville in 1641 and 1642. For the first Caro was remunerated with 300 *reales*, the same amount Lope de Vega charged for his *autos* (Hormigón 1996: 427-28).⁴⁸

By the 1640s Ana Caro was well-known in literary academies, as corroborated by Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *El diablo cojuelo*, where she is called “Dezima Musa Seuillana” (Tranco IX, 1641: 110). Although a satirical text, Caro’s participation in the literary academy held by the Conde de Torre Ribiera in Seville is in no way described as exceptional (King 1963: 82). Moreover, in his unfinished *Varones insignes en letras naturales de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (c. 1647), Rodrigo Caro wrote “Doña Ana Caro, insigne poeta, que ha hecho comedias representadas en Sevilla, Madrid y otras partes con grandísimo aplauso, y ha hecho otras muchas y varias obras de poesía, entrando en muchas justas literarias, en las cuales, casi siempre, se le ha dado el primer premio” (cited from Caro 1993a: 2-3).

That Caro’s publicity as a playwright in print was neither accidental nor considered as such becomes obvious in light of other cases. Angela de Azevedo is known to have penned at least three plays, all supposedly written between the late 1630s and early 1640s (Hormigón 1996: 403). She was born in Lisbon to Juan de Azevedo Pereyra

⁴⁸ *Veinte y una parte verdadera de las comedias del Fénix de España*, published in Madrid “Con privilegio” in 1635 by the Viuda de Alonso Martín, were due to Lope’s daughter Feliciana Felix del Carpio, as stated in the text’s dedication which she wrote and signed.

and Isabel de Oliveira and, once a widow, she became the protégée of Reina Isabel de Borbón at her court in Madrid. There she married a highborn man, and upon his death, she entered a convent belonging to the Order of St Benedict with her only daughter (Serrano y Sanz 1975; Soufas 1997; Barbeito Carneiro 2003 and 2007).

Azevedo was thus another female author connected with that great enthusiast of the theatre, Felipe IV. As with Caro's plays and most printed plays, Azevedo's extant works bear no imprints or other paratextual documents. They are long by Golden Age standards, for the norm was 3000 lines, and all follow the textual division recommended by Lope de Vega; they are divided into three *jornadas* or acts instead of five (Thacker 2007: 90).⁴⁹ No records of the plays have been found in the popular theatre. Although by no means rare, this *lacuna* has been taken to suggest that Azevedo's plays provided entertainment for aristocratic and royal audiences, if not also the literary academy. Additionally, all three require frequent use of extensive stage machinery and props, thus indicating Azevedo's probable court sponsorship (see González Santamera & Dóminech 1994; Soufas 1997; Ferrer Valls 1995; 1998; 2006a).

⁴⁹ Azevedo's *La Margarita del Tajo que dio nombre a Santaren* (4000 lines, 62 pages) has been included within the *comedias de santos*, whose rules demand the death of the main character and his or her subsequent glorification as a saint (Ferrer Valls 1998: 9). Azevedo's other extant plays are *El muerto disimulado* (3781 lines, 56 pages) and *Dicha y desdicha del juego y devoción de la Virgen* (3688 lines, 56 pages). Leonor de la Cueva y Silva wrote *La firmeza en la ausencia*. However, like Zayas's play, no printed versions have survived.

3.3 Seville-Madrid-Mexico-Zaragoza Networks

In colonial America female participation as identifiable printers dates to the late sixteenth century, and the first known example was María Sansoric in 1572. Colonial American readers had access to poetry by women through the works which were imported to the New World, amongst which was Pedro Espinosa's *Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*. This anthology was printed in Valladolid by Luis Sánchez in 1605. Sánchez, as we have seen, only a year earlier had printed Isabel de Liaño's biography of St Catherine of Siena in verse. Espinosa's anthology included poetry by the sisters Luciana and Hipólita de Narváez, and Cristobalina Fernández de Alarcón.⁵⁰ This was a remarkable achievement, since even that of the most famous writers of the time continued to be published in manuscript (Rodríguez-Moñino 1968: 24).⁵¹

María de Estrada Medinilla was a *poeta-cronista* of some fame in seventeenth-century Mexico (see Muriel 1982, repr. 1994; Sabat de Rivers 1992). The evidence suggests that Estrada was well-versed in the work of Ana Caro, and possibly also that of María de Zayas. Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Medina, "abogado de la Real Academia de

⁵⁰ Four poems were by Hipólita de Narváez ('Atended que menguadas las espadas,' p. 59; 'Fuese mi sol, y vino la tormenta,' p. 77; 'Engañó el navegante a la sirena,' p. 105; 'Leandro rompe (con gallardo intento)', p. 140), two were by Cristobalina Fernández de Alarcón ('Cansados ojos míos', p. 137 and 'Reina del Cielo que con bellas plantas', p. 200; and one was by Luciana de Narváez ('Donde está el oro ilustre Magdalena', p. 176). Cristobalina was also celebrated in *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1672: I, 628).

⁵¹ Espinosa's anthology also included some of the earliest poetry by Francisco de Quevedo.

Mexico y cura de su Cathedral”, bound a copy of Estrada’s *relación* to his own, noting that it had been written by “Doña Maria de Estrada Medinilla, simil de la famosa Seuillana Doña Ana Caro” (1640: 40; repr. 1947). His comparison underlines how forms of female literary self-consciousness were imported and welcomed into America from metropolitan Spain; neither the distance nor the different contexts managed to hide the similarities between the literary skills of the two women from the contemporary reader. As we shall see, Estrada’s case is particularly instructive in showing how the epistolary genre was deliberately exploited by women and their book producers in commercial traditions.



Fig. 26. BL, 1045.h.35.(3.): Estrada Medinilla, *Relacion*, fol. A1.

As distinct from Caro’s, the title in Estrada’s *relación de sucesos* occupies the same page as the first verses of the text. The text’s genre and female authorship are immediately stated in the first three lines. The more sparing use of capital letters here works to draw the reader’s attention to the fact that the text is a *relación* by a named

secular woman, Doña Maria de Estrada Medinilla. Only after this does the small print detail the occasion of the *relación*, finally returning to more prominent print and capitals to name the publication's presumed patron, the new viceroy of Nueva España, Don Diego López Pacheco. It is noteworthy that the title mentions a specific addressee "vna Religiosa monja prima suya", but she is given no proper name. The format is that of a broadside or *pliego suelto*; it is printed on a single sheet, folded into four quarto leaves, the popular and cost-effective format used for *poesía de cordel*, often printed in runs of as many as 1500 copies (Bouza 1992: 38). As was often the case with *pliegos sueltos*, it bears no imprint. This omission, however, may also have been due to reasons of space and cost (to avoid having to use two single sheets instead of one), or provenance (it may not have been the first copy printed).

Toribio Medina (1907: 198) described a copy of Gutiérrez de Medina's book in his own possession containing an incomplete, but evidently quite different edition of Estrada's *relación* that recorded an important textual variant. Here the title occupies its own page, complete with a woodcut and imprint (México: F. Robledo), and it adds the name of the dedicatee, Antonia Niño de Castro. On the verso is the licence from the royal censor, Juan de San Miguel SJ, and this is followed by another leaf bearing the ecclesiastical imprimatur and, most importantly, a dedication to Castro. The *licencia* was dated 7 September, only nine days after the viceregal entry and five days after Estrada signed the dedication of her work. The remainder of the text is missing.⁵² It makes sense to analyse Estrada's *relación* in the reprint variant for what

⁵² In this copy, preserved at the Hispanic Society of America and with signature F 1211 G98, the

this can tell us about editorial strategies in republication, especially given the paucity of surviving works of this nature by women.

In the reprint, the prologue or exordium is enmeshed within the literary text, which was not odd, as we have seen (Porqueras Mayo 1958: 100-01; Cayuela 1996: 218). Still, the contrast with other *relaciones* published at the time such as that of Ana Caro is instructive. In Caro's work, the reader, or rather purchaser, of the book is addressed in a separate prologue "Al lector". In Estrada's, by contrast, one passes immediately from the title to the first word of the text (marked by a seven-line wood-block calligraphic initial "Q"); and the addressee is apostrophized, in parenthesis, as *amiga* and in the singular as *tú* ("por darte relación"), adopting the private epistolary convention of the *carta-relación* that ostensibly excludes the direct participation of purchaser-readers, leaving them to read over the shoulder of the interlocutors:

Quise salir, *amiga*

(Mas temprano por dar alivio à mi fatiga)

Temprano ayer de casa,

Por darte *relacion* de lo que passa. (ll. 1-4, my italics)

dedicatee Antonia Niño de Castro is identified as the "religiosa prima suya". In his *aprobación*, the Jesuit Fray Juan de San Miguel notes: "Ya no tendrá que envidiar México à Atenas su Corinna, à Lesbos su Sapho, à Milesia su Alpasia, à Grecia su Cleobulina, à Alexandria su Hypathia, à Lydia su Sofipatra, à Palmira su Cenobia; ni à Roma su Proba Valeria, porque en sola esta hija suya compendió la Naturaleza, y gracia, quanto dispendió raro y admirable en todas. No hallo cosa digna de censura, de admiración mucho, de aplauso todo".

As was customary, the first person is used to stress veracity. By referring to the addressee not as “cousin” but with the conventional poetic apostrophe “friend”, so frequently used to address the general reader, Estrada contrives to nudge the pragmatic situation from the private towards the public.⁵³ What poses as an intimate communication between two female cousins thus takes the stage as a *relación de sucesos* by a named female poet. The very use of and play on the generic term *relación* in line 4 and the text’s literary tradition point to Estrada’s literary self-consciousness in this regard. Moreover, despite the gender of *amiga*, the readership addressed is not only female. This may be inferred from the presence of various ironic gestures towards the topic of gender stereotypes in Estrada’s humility formulae: “Aunque tan poco valgo, / Menos que a entrada de vn virrey no salgo” (ll. 13-14). Contemporary moral precept enjoined women to practice modesty by staying as much

⁵³ On the masculine form *amigo* Porqueras Mayo (1958: 165) notes: ‘Es frecuentísimo. Con este tratamiento se atrae al lector “a la predilecta intimidad” tantas veces aludida’. The satirical poet Catalina Clara Ramírez de Guzmán (b.1611-1670?), *sobrina-nieta* of the famous humanist and politician Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (1583-1658), also wrote in verse, *Relación en coplas de pie quebrado de la fiestas que celebró Llerena a el nacimiento de el príncipe nuestro señor don Felipe Próspero* (368 lines), dated 1657. Although no printed version of this has been found, Ramírez’s *relación* alludes to being written for public circulation: “Y pues ya logro el inttentto / dando esta fiesta a la estampa, / por ser prenda de la gloria / pido la gracia” (ll. 365-68). As in Estrada’s, moreover, the reader is addressed as a female friend: “Amiga, bien disculpa el romance mi resistencia, y su precepto arastra mi desconfianza. Temo que van las coplas quebradas, y vuelvan rotas. Perdone la prosa, que romance tan largo no excusa dedicatoria. No pase el original a otra mano” (Ramírez de Guzmán 2004: 138-48).

as possible within the home, so that this statement works in one way to ingratiate a specifically male readership, but the incongruous exaggeration (she will go outdoors for “nothing less” than the arrival of a new viceroy) reveals a subversive attitude towards conventional mores that becomes explicitly ironic in what follows:

Mas el ser hizo effecto.

y assi quise cumplir con lo imperfecto,

Mudando de semblante;

No *quieras* mas, pues fui sin *guardainfante*,

Con que *auràs* entendido,

Que todo queda bien encarecido. (ll. 15-20, my italics)

The second-person address in the last three lines serves to re-engage with the reader by the familiar elision (*amiga/lector*) commented on above while simultaneously reasserting a female authorial voice, most notably with the comic reference to her impatience to don the cumbersome *guardainfante* or farthingale, a symbol of modesty whose joyful abandonment to the frivolous social pleasure of being a spectator at a festival tacitly subverts the patriarchal order to which she had seemed, at the outset, to subscribe. The last two lines then follow this up with another significant reversal, as the authorial voice self-consciously contradicts the earlier modest *captatio benevolentiae* by praising her own text's worth. Estrada's authorial presence is constantly exhibited through the first-person narrative and metadiscursive markers: “Donde mas que admirada / Quedé viendo del Archo la fachada, / Que tocarè de passo”, “Y aunque de mi discurso en esta parte / Ponderación colijas”, “Antes del Arco arriba referido” (ll. 29-31, 198-99, 333). When informing the reader that what follows is a poetic description of the viceroy she again assumes the mask of humility:

Pintar su dueño [the viceroy] agora,
Quien tanto el arte de primor ignora;
Aunque el objeto obligue,
Mal lo comienza, y tarde lo consigue,
Y epítetos vulgares, no son para las cosas singulares. (ll. 211-15)

Here, however, where the subject-matter might be presumed to be more serious, her authorial stance is not humble on sexual grounds. Indeed, the opposite is true, as another curious sign of self-consciousness reveals when addressing the text's readership:

Que *alguno* aurà pensado,
Que aquel descuydo todo fue cuydado;
Aunque se està sabido,
Que es aquella postura de entendido,
Con que està dicho todo. (ll. 244-48, my italics)

By choosing the marked masculine form of the indefinite pronoun *alguno* over the standard unmarked or common-gender form *alguien*, these rather bold authorial statements on poetic skill seem to be consciously directed at potential male critics. Further evidence of Estrada's self-confidence as a professional author may be seen in the fact that she wrote her *relación* with an eye to the metropolitan competition, as may be inferred from the following:

Y aunque el verlas te inquiete,
Mayores fiestas Mexico promete:
Mascaras, toros, cañas,
Que puedan celebrarse en las Españas. (ll. 390-93)

The promotion of further festivities in Mexico to rival those in Spain implies a promise to celebrate them in her writing too, and, in condign fashion, to rival Spain's writers by doing so. Final evidence of literary self-confidence is manifested in the concluding lines of the *relación*, and once again in the context, or disguise, of a humility topos:

Esto es en suma *prima*

Lo que passò, ò mi cuydado

Mal erudito pero bien guiado.

Perdona, que à mi *Musa*

El temor justo del errar la escusa. (ll. 394-98, my italics)

While the concluding apostrophe *prima* takes us back to the title-page, Estrada's allusion to her Muse reaffirms the text's literary rather than private nature. Thus it affectedly stresses that, if Estrada's *cuydado* (skill) is prone to error and hardly erudite, it is nevertheless well directed.

Despite the lack of legal and literary preliminaries (the dedication), Estrada's *relación* in the reprint variant still validated her role as a commercial author of New Spain, and, by extension, substantiates the view that seemingly personal details in women's texts should not be seen as "marginal" or "extra-literary", be they in the paratext or in the literary text itself. They are never accidental; whether on the part of book producers, the author herself, or both, gendered perspectives are always rhetorical, and therefore strategic, designed to ensure the best possible public

reception.⁵⁴ Estrada's *relación* achieved sufficient fame to be reprinted the very same year. In short, a lack of legal documents or a predominant use of gendered perspectives in the paratext of a female-authored work do not necessarily mean little or no peer support.⁵⁵ It should also be noted that Francisco Robledo printed another *relación* on the same event by Sabina de Estrada y Orozco. Whether relatives or not, the materiality of their *relaciones* appears to point to a network of women who shared

⁵⁴ Only two years later, after the independence of Portugal from Spain, *Ramalhete de flores a felicidade deste reyno de Portugal em sua milagrosa restauração por sua Magestade Dom João IV* appeared in Lisbon in the name of Dona Mariana de Luna ("natural de Coimbra"), written in verse in both Portuguese and Castilian. It was printed "Com todas as licenças" by Domingos Lopes Rola and "A costa d'Autora", showing Luna's trust in there being a place in the contemporary book market for her, since very few authors covered the production costs themselves (Moll 1979: 95; Cayuela 1996: 59). In her dedication Luna states that she is publishing given her knowledge that other poets, including females, from Lisbon had hitherto succeeded in doing so: "serue de estímulo a minha confiança, saber que a real benignidade de vossa Magestade, entre os famosos laureis, que as celebradas Musas, & Soberanos Apollos desta Cidade lhe tem dedicado: aceitara esta piquena flor".

⁵⁵ For instance, Estrada could have worked with the printer Paula Benavides, one of Francisco Robledo's most important rivals at the time, but she chose Robledo instead. Upon the death of her husband Bernardo Calderón in the early 1640s, Paula Benavides, not only took over the family business, which included a bookshop, but also substantially improved them for over more than four decades: "De 1641 a 1684, de su imprenta sale un gran número de publicaciones, la mayoría de los libros que se imprimen en aquellos años, y su librería es de la más nutridas de la Nueva España" (Poot-Herrera 2008: 306).

and engaged in similar literary practices in colonial Mexico.⁵⁶

By the early 1640s women from both sides of the Atlantic shared literary interests and practices that attracted some financial gain. Some of the subsequent female authors recalled feeling like “gente de importancia” within a few months of publishing their works. An example illustrating such experiences with ephemera is *Lágrimas a la muerte de la Reina Doña Isabel de Borbón*, written by Doña María Nieto de Aragón and printed in Madrid in 1645.⁵⁷ *Lágrimas* was published in quarto by Diego Díaz de la Carrera, and is written solely in verse, thirteen pages in length. It includes six sonnets, two *canciones*, some *décimas*, and a *romance*, all of which are addressed to the queen, and one final sonnet addressed to the queen’s widower Felipe IV. As we shall see, Nieto’s case offers some revealing insights into what sudden success at the time might have been like for women authors.

⁵⁶ Sabina’s *relación* narrates the arrivals of Mexico’s new viceroy and his companion, Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles. An extant copy is kept in The Hispanic Society of America with signature A-A8.

⁵⁷ Henceforth referred to as *Lágrimas*. Nieto de Aragón also published *Epitalamio a las felicissimas bodas del Rey Nvestro Señor*, and dedicated it to her patron’s sister. The rubric reads: “Su amiga, y Señora doña Violante de Ribera y Pinto”. It is a shorter text (ten pages), also in quarto, and has no imprint (BNE VE/154/22; see also Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 82; Baranda 2007; Barbeito Carneiro 2007; Marín Pina 2007).

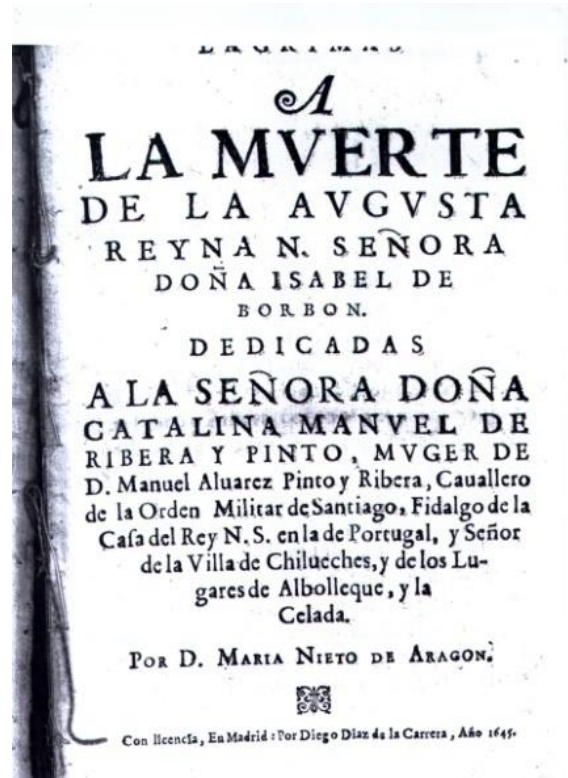


Fig. 27. Córdoba, Biblioteca Provincial 3/72(5): Nieto de Aragón, *Lágrimas*, title-page.⁵⁸

Lágrimas was dedicated to Catalina Manuel de Ribera y Pinto. However, the name of Catalina's husband also appeared in the title-page and in the dedication, similar to Caro's *Contexto*. Nieto addresses Catalina as if she and her family knew her well, if not worked for her:

Natural inclinacion (ademàs de reconocer, como puedo, *las obligaciones que mi padre tiene a la casa de V.m.*) me llevó à ofrecerle estos Versos [...]. Guarde Dios à V.m. en compañía del señor Don Manuel Aluarez Pinto y Ribera, felizes y dilatados años, con los aumentos de estado que *sus criadas* desseamos. (signed "Seruidora de V.m. D. Maria Nieto de Aragon", my italics)

⁵⁸ The title-page of this copy seems to have been trimmed to fit in with the binding of the book which contains it, hence the word *Lágrimas* is almost unintelligible.

The choice of dedicatee(s) seems most pertinent. As recently accepted into the nobility, the dedicatees needed to build their reputation, and print was the medium to do that (Cayuela 2009: 386). Manuel Pinto de Ribera was a descendant of the Lopes Pinto in Lisbon, a merchant family of “nuevos cristianos”.⁵⁹ Nieto seemed confident about the positive reception of her work, for she adds: “la materia le asegura buena acogida”. Aside from the usual legal texts, the preliminaries of *Lágrimas* also include a laudatory poem by the playwright Pedro Rosete Niño praising Nieto, and two brief epistles by two of the most distinguished members of the Republic of Letters. The first, dated Madrid, 9 January 1645, is by Francisco López de Zárate (1580-1658), who participated in the publication of Ana de Castro’s *Eternidad* (1629):

Preguntame V.m. con sobrada modestia (como de tan adelantado ingenio) si dará a la estampa los versos que hizo à la Reyna N.S. y la asseguro que seran muy dignos de alabaças: Y aunque no son de tanta admiracion, como otros que he visto de V.m. espero, que por estos han de ser deseados los demas, y no creidos, sino es sabiendo como yo, quan suyos son, y con que facilidad escriue en todo. Misterio diuino, que en catorze años de edad quepan tantos aciertos de virtud e ingenio, con razon no creido de los que no han visto obras de V.m. que admiran à los que mas alcançan. (unrubricated and signed “Francisco Lopez de Zarate”)

The second, dated 15 November 1644, is by the famous *literato* Manuel de Faria e Sousa, a self-confessed “autor-celebridad” (Bouza 2001: 29):

Mandame V.m. que vea estos versos, y que diga libremente lo que me pareciere, para saber si le

⁵⁹ Acquier 2000: 93: “[El] recibe el Hábito de Santiago en Portugal en noviembre de 1639, año en el que obtiene la naturaleza española, entra al servicio del rey, y compra el señorío de Chiloeches, muy próximo a Loeches, feudo del Conde Duque de Olivares”.

conuiene publicarlos [...]. Lo que digo es, que sino viera a V.m. tan niña, pensara que allà, desde las cumbres del Parnaso, auia baxado a nuestros valles qualquiera de las antiguas Musas: Y bien creo que es assi, si he de creer que ellas nunca enuejecen: Y si esto auia de suceder en algun tiempo, nunca mejor que en este; porque à los llantos de vna tal Reyna, no faltassen los cantos de vna tal Musa. Guarde Dios à V.m. para que enseñe à escriuir con limpieza, y acierto a tantos presumidos. (“RESPVESTA DE MANVEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. / Cauallero de la Orden de Christo, sobre lo mismo”)

Both prestigious “referees” pinpoint the author’s young age and poetic agility, rather than sexual difference, as the grounds for promoting the publication. Nothing is said or insinuated about protecting her against misogyny.⁶⁰ In fact, Nieto emerges as an experienced poet with adequate skills to teach.⁶¹

As mentioned above, Nieto’s case stands out amongst those whose works also included renowned authors showing their support (i.e. Pinelo, Castro, Zayas) because for her we have some extant letters offering a first-hand insight into what often came with sudden success. It also affords conclusive proof that women’s works circulated

⁶⁰ The *aprobación* dated, 14 January 1645, by Antonio Sigler de Huerta also underlines her age and hometown (Madrid) as promotional points: “No he visto LAGRIMAS lloradas tan dulcemente [...]. Siendo exceso de su edad, es asombro de la nuestra, y honra de nuestra Nacion, y de su Patria Madrid, que gloriosa con tantos Hijos, lo fuera solo por esta Hija”. The *licencia* dated, Madrid, 12 January 1645, is by Gil Gonzalez Davila.

⁶¹ Her previous experience with print includes a sonnet in Joseph Micheli y Márquez’s *El cristal más puro representando imágenes de Divina y Humana política, para exemplo de Príncipes, labrado de las acciones heroicas de Doña Isabel de Borbón* (Zaragoza, 1644) (Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 80).

widely. Despite publishing in Madrid, Nieto exchanged literary correspondence with scholars from Huesca and Zaragoza such as Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztárróz, chronicler of Felipe IV, and founder of the “Academia de los Anhelantes” in Zaragoza (King 1963: 73). Below is a transcription of what appears to be the first letter dated Madrid, 10 March 1645:

A la raya del desuanecimiento me puso la carta de v. md. y casi llebada de parecerme ser ya persona de inportancia, quise pasar los límites que la cordura me atajaba; y si en alguna ocasión pudiera tener disculpa, fuera en ésta, pues me beo con exceso fauorecida de v. md., á quien veneran todos por grande; conosco la ventura que he tenido en que mis versos llegasen a mano de quien tan vien sabe animar á cortos talentos para que se adelanten y no desmaien en los primeros pasos de camino tan dificultoso. La grandeça de la materia fué causa de que pudiese escriuir esos números, el affecto del sentimiento justo les dió el alma, porque para llorar nadie lo sabe mejor açer que los de poca edad [...]. En las ocasiones que se ofrescan siempre tendre a v. md. por mi Mecenas y espero con dilatados elogios manifestar mi reconocimiento. (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 78-79)⁶²

Thus, only two months after the publication of *Lágrimas* (the *licencia* is dated 12 January 1645), Nieto was approached by a scholar “quien todos veneran por grande” to congratulate her and, judging by her reply, Uztárróz offered to help advance her career as an author. In such a context, it is no wonder that she almost fainted, as she stresses in the opening lines. What is more striking is that she states that she feels like “ya persona de inportancia” after receiving the first letter, and calls him her

⁶² The letters are to be found in BNE, MS 8390 [V.170], fols 564-67.

Mecenas.⁶³

Nieto's literary career was on the rise five years later, as another letter to Uztárroz dated Madrid, 22 January 1650, shows. The letter confirms that she still had his support, and makes clear that, by then, the Marqués de Torres and Juan de Lastanosa, two other renowned Aragonese scholars, were also supporting her literary career. The letter addresses her studies, participation in poetic contests, and plans for future publications also in print, and gives evidence that her father and husband approved of it all: "Muy aprissa daré á la estampa mi *Templo de la eternidad*, y otros uersos [...] Mi padre y don Francisco besan la mano a v.m., suplicandole los ocupe en su seruicio" (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: 79). In fact, Nieto, rather than her male relatives, may have been the one lending a helping hand due to her success as a royal panegyrist; she wedded Francisco de Valdés y Tovar in 1647, and only two years later Felipe IV named him Sargento Mayor of Asturias (Serrano y Sanz 1975: 78).

⁶³ Also in 1645 María Nieto and Leonor de la Cueva y Silva each contributed a sonnet to *Pompa funeral, honras y exequias en la muerte de la muy alta y católica señora Doña Isabel de Borbón* (Madrid: Diego de la Carrera). They were the only females to contribute sonnets on the occasion. "SONETO XXIV. Cede al sueño fatal, la que divina / Ostentava hermosura, quando humana, / A la inferior porcion tan soberana, / Que anduvo en sus dos mundos peregrina. / Oy luciente farol la determina / El hilo que cortò Parca temprana, / Disponiendo el Ocaso en la mañana; / De rayos suspension, mas no ruina. / Deve a la muerte el luminoso Imperio. / Y a gozarle inmortal, pisando estrellas, / Oy traslada su luz, que no la oprime. / Y qual Sol, que se pone al Emisferio, / Solo niega que a los ojos luzes bellas: / Porque en la noche su Deidad imprime" (fol. 100^r). De la Cueva's sonnet begins as follows: "SONETO VI. Este grandioso Tumulo erigido" (fol. 95^v).

In this social context the sequel to María de Zayas's *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* appeared two years later. It bore the title *Parte segunda del sarao y entretenimiento honesto* and was printed, also in quarto, in Zaragoza by the Hospital Real, y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia “a costa de” Matias de Lizao.⁶⁴ This printing house also published works by didactic women authors (see Chapter 4). The sequel bore a dedication to don Jaime Fernandez de Ijar, Silva, Pinos, Fenoller y Cabrera, duke of Ijar, written and signed by Inés de Casamayor. Again, it is the fact that the work is “by a lady” what justifies the choice of dedicatee and *Mecenas*:

[C]onstar ha de mi acertada elección para que, como a la Autora deberán siempre las edades aplausos de entendida, ella deba a mis aciertos los agradecimientos de tal Mecenas, pues ni su buen gusto pudo aspirar a mas para su amparo, que a la nobleza, ingenio y valor de tan gran príncipe, ni de Vuestra Excelencia se puede esperar menos que es amparar a una *dama* que fía su nombre y crédito de tan gloriosa protección. (Cited from Zayas 2001: 386; my italics)

One of the two *aprobaciones* included in *Sarao* is by Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztárroz dated Zaragoza, 11 November 1646. The connection between Zayas and Uztárroz is revealing if we consider the case of María Nieto de Aragón. Zayas now had the prestigious *coronista* promoting her authorship through print: “no hallo q[ue] estas diuersiones ingeniosas ofendan [...]. Y assi se le puede co[n]ceder la licencia q[ue] pide [...] para darlas a la estampa; porque este aplauso tiene muy merecido el dueño desta obra” (cited from Zayas 1664). As we shall see in Chapter 4, neither Nieto nor Zayas were exceptional in having the support of such an eminent figure.

⁶⁴ Henceforth referred to as *Sarao*.

The new *novelas* did not have a separate prologue. They were instead preceded by an unsigned introduction carrying on the fiction from the first part with the author's voice enmeshed in it, as shown below:

Introducción

Para el primero día del año quedó, en la Primera Parte de mi “Entretenido Sarao”, concertadas las bodas de la gallarda Lisis con el galán don Diego, tan dichoso en haber merecido esta suerte, como prometían las bellas partes de la hermosa dama, y nuevas fiestas para solemnizarlas con más aplauso. (Zayas 2000b: 115)

Although more usual in reprints, it was not uncommon to publish *novelas* without a prologue in the first place (Cayuela 1996: 216-18). The fact that the author's profeminist stance had aroused the desired effect is inferred from her decision to adopt it once more with the same, if not greater, degree of exaggeration:

—Mandásteme, señora mía, que contase esta noche un desengaño, para que las damas se avisen de los engaños y cautelas de los hombres, para que vuelvan por su fama en tiempo que la tienen tan perdida [...] pues ni comedia se representa, ni libro se imprime que no sea todo en ofensa de las mujeres, sin que se reserve ninguna. (p. 124)

Indeed, the claim that no work was printed “que no sea todo en ofensa de las mujeres” contradicts the fact that women were the intended-readers in prose fiction in the early period, as has been shown (Cayuela 1996: 101). The same can be said of the calculated use of gender-specific terms and situations (*parto*) by male authors.⁶⁵ At

⁶⁵ “A las muy científicas, y leidas Damas. Cvriossimas Lectoras, ya ha llegado su Prologuista de Vs.mds. el sea muy bien venido, que era grossero descuydo (siendo Vs.mds. la misma piedad) no averlas aclamado benevolas, pias, discretas, con las demas virtudes Prologales, con que se capta la

the end of *Sarao*'s introduction, furthermore, the female author boasts the success of her *Novelas amorosas*; by commenting on the number of times it was reprinted, which, again, announces her self-assured and profit-driven attitude, in the same manner as Ana Caro:

Que trabajos del entendimiento, el que sabe lo que es, le estimará, y el que no lo sabe, su ignorancia le disculpa, como sucedió en la primera parte de este sarao, que si unos le desestimaron, ciento le aplaudieron, y todos le buscaron y le buscan, y ha gozado de tres impresiones, dos naturales y una hurtada. (p. 258)⁶⁶

Zayas's stance doubtless responded to her awareness of women's growing literary authority. In the second *aprobación*, dated 28 October 1646, by Juan Francisco Genovés, "cura de San Pablo", *Sarao*'s print publication is justified on moral grounds, and the increase of the female public:

benevolencia; como si su censura de V.mds. no fuera de temer, y mas respetado su aplauso, y estimacion. Mi amigo don Pedro de Castro y Anaya, y yo en su nombre, las ofrece el primer *parto* de su ingenio, digo el que ha emancipado entregandole a la Imprenta. Suplico a V. md. le miren con buenos ojos, y le juzguen con buena boca" (my italics). Thus runs the prologue to *Auroras de Diana* (1640: 16), a best-selling collection of academic *novelas*, written in prose and verse, by Pedro de Castro y Anaya. Noticeably, prologue conventions of deference are humorously recalled as the *virtudes* with which a writer "capta la benevolencia": would-be female readers are asked to receive and judge the text positively ("le miren con buenos ojos", "le juzguen con buena boca"). The text was reprinted four times during the seventeenth century (Murcia, 1632; Madrid, 1637; Málaga, 1640; Coimbra, 1654), and booksellers such as Alonso Pérez stocked it in large numbers (see Cayuela 2005).

⁶⁶ Although Zayas admits to supervising two out of three reprints, the total number of reprints has been found to be six (see Zayas 2000a).

[L]e veo lleno de exemplos, para reformar costumbres, y digno de que se dê a la estampa, q[ue] en êl (*ya que el ocio de las mugeres ha crecido el numero de los libros inutiles*), la que se ocupare en leerle, tendrá exemplos con que huir los riesgos, a que algunas desatentas se precipita[n]. (Cited from Zayas 1664, unpaginated)

In the light of *Novelas amorosas*'s overall promotional tone and the lack of a distinctive prologue in *Sarao*, it is tempting to view Zayas's profeminist stance, in the first instance, as a selling point, a way of securing the interest and support of women readers.⁶⁷ Its calculated nature becomes evident, particularly, if we consider it against the parallel case of Ana Caro, a professional *poeta-cronista* of the same period (*Contexto* was also published in 1637), or the much less-influential successes of authors like Ana de Castro Egas and María Nieto de Aragón, both royal panegyrists.

Zayas's profeminist stance in *Sarao*, we surmise, again appears to have had no real ideological foundation. If she was not familiar with Quintilian's exordial recommendations, she certainly would have been familiar with the success which the *captatio benevolentiae* based on sexual difference had brought to female authors in print, including herself.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The authority of communities of female readers becomes evident when considering the nature of the works most often reprinted. Amongst Hélienne de Crenne's works (published between 1538 and 1542), reprinted nine times by 1560—in individual editions and in a collective work, *Œuvres* (1543)—was the defence of women's speech in the *Epistres* and the more didactic guide to women, *Songe* (Broomhall 2002: 123).

⁶⁸ Alonso Pérez de Montalbán, one of the most important booksellers in Madrid, may have had Oliva Sabuco's *Nueva filosofía* in stock. This may be inferred from his inventory dated Madrid, 5 January

Thus, while it would be an error to deny or undermine the positive social implications of Zayas's stance, we should not overlook the fact that she was, as we have seen, one of the most celebrated female authors of the seventeenth-century Republic of Letters.

3.4 Commercial Traditions by the late 1600s

Sarao was also a success, for its first reprint—in octavo format—produced and financed in Barcelona by Sebastián de Cormellas (“y a su costa”) dates to 1649 (Zayas 2000b: 71). By the 1650s Caro and Zayas's fame as authors was well-established both within and outside Spain. Caro's renown after her death, supposedly in 1650, is inferred from the fact that one of her known secular plays, *El Conde Partinuplés* (2095 lines), was included in *Laurel de comedias: quarta parte de diferentes autores*, dedicated to Bernardino Biancalana “ciudadano de la Illustrissima Ciudad, y Republica de Luca”, and printed in Madrid under a *privilegio* by the “Imprenta Real” in 1653 “a costa de” Diego de Balbuena (Figs. 28-29).⁶⁹ Caro's play

1648: “mas uno de la naturaleza del hombre” (fol. 782^r). Cayuela (2005: 331), the inventory's editor, sees the entry as referring to the *Nueva filosofía*'s 1622 reprint, or Raimundo Sebunde's *Diálogos de la naturaleza del hombre, de su principio y su fin* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1614).

⁶⁹ The Imprenta Real was located in Madrid between 1597 and 1617. As the Imprenta del Reyno, it operated through a number of different professional printers, whose names are not always revealed. Nevertheless, we know that four women were involved: Teresa Junta (1625-61), Catalina Blondiel, widow of Mateo Fernández (c. 1659-64), the Viuda de José Fernández de Buendía (1681), and the Viuda de Mateo de Llanos y Guzmán (c. 1682-97) (Delgado Casado 1996, I: 343). Caro's other *comedia* was *Valor, agravio, y muger*, and was published without an imprint. Two manuscripts are

appears alongside those of Calderón de la Barca, Francisco de Vitoria, Luis Vélez de Guevara, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Antonio de Mendoza, Gaspar de Ávila, Tomás Osorio, Manuel Gonzáles, Dr Mira de Amescua, all of whom were well-established playwrights across Spain.



Fig. 28. BL 11725.b.4, title-page of *Lavrel de comedias: quarta parte*.

preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España: one from the seventeenth century consisting of 48 pages in quarto; the other a copy also in quarto from the seventeenth century, but of 31 pages (see Luna 1993; Soufas 1997; Rodríguez Cuadros & Haro Cortés 1999; Maroto Camino 2007).

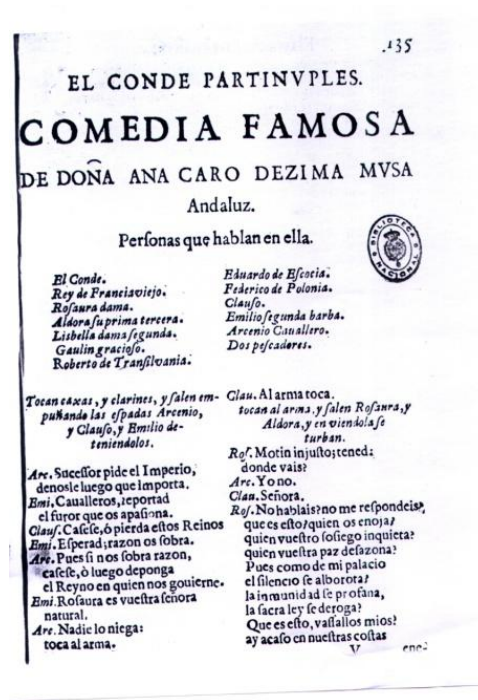


Fig. 29. BL 11728.i.7.(15), title-page of Caro's *El conde Partinuples*.

On the death of Felipe IV in 1665 the public theatres were closed for over a year and no more court spectaculars were produced for almost five years (McKendrick 1989: 231). It is therefore unsurprising if the next records of women's dealings with the theatre we have come from the last quarter of the century, and some happen to be reprints such as Angela de Azevedo's three plays (c. 1700). The fact that all are in the author's name and bear the epithet "Famosa" suggests their financial worth and continuing place in the book trade (Fig. 30). The situation could not have been problematised, given that a number of acting companies were run by enterprising women, "not all of whom, by any means, were widows merely stepping into their dead husbands' shoes" (McKendrick 1989: 189). Elsewhere in Europe the position of the female playwright remained strong. Aphra Behn (1640-1689) stands as the third fully professional author, male and female, in Britain (see Schofield & Macheski 1991; Hughes & Todd 2005; Robin, Larsen & Levin 2007).

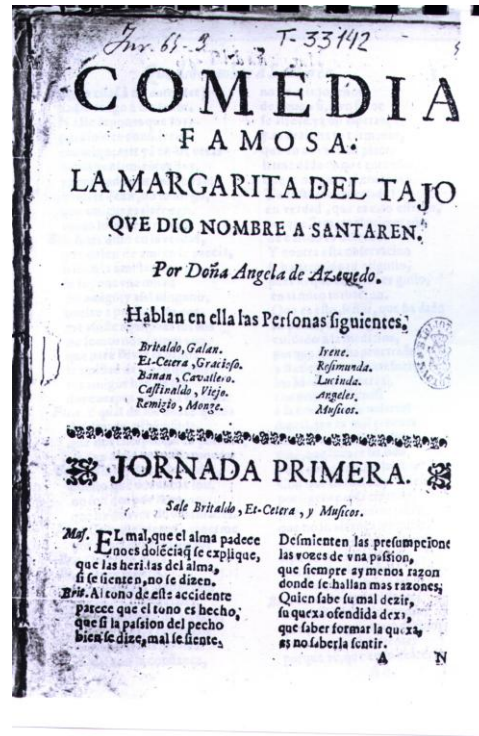


Fig. 30. BNE, T/33142: Azevedo, *La margarita del Tajo que dio nombre a Santaren*, title-page.

The case of Zayas is more impressive. Some of her *novelas* were translated into French and published in print in 1656 by Antoine de Méthel as *Nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires*. Her international status was further increased when her work became available again in French (in *Le Roman comique*, Scarron, 1657; *Les nouvelles amoureuses et exemplaires*, Paris, 1658; and *Nouvelles de Dona Maria de Zayas, traduites d'Espagnol*, 1680) and in English by the translator John Davies in 1665. However, as with many reprints and translations, only the publishers' prologues (rather than the authors') were included. In Spain the two parts were published in one volume: twice in Madrid in 1659 by "Melchor Sanchez" (Fig. 31), and then again in 1664.

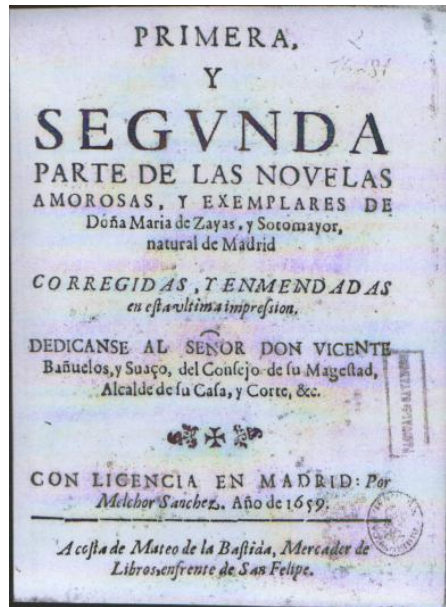


Fig. 31. BNE, R/16681, title-page of the 1659 edition.

The first volume containing all the works by Zayas constituted the last text she published during her lifetime, for she reportedly died two years later. Nevertheless, Zayas's success was to remain firm on both sides of the Atlantic. The printed inventory of the bookseller, Capitán don Diego Ibañez, lists Zayas amongst the approved authors, whose works could be sold in the Americas.⁷⁰

The popularity and financial success of Zayas's *novelas* motivated other women authors to follow her example. A case in point is Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra's *Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas, en ocho novelas*, published in quarto in Madrid in 1663 (Fig. 32). The author was born in Jaén between 1610 and 1615 to

⁷⁰ "Catálogo / o Memoria de libros, / de todas las facultades. / Se venden en casa del Capitán don / Diego Ybáñez. / Con licencia del Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición / para vender en las Indias"; it is dated Seville, 10 January 1690, and signed by Francisco de Cabrera (cited from Torre Revello 1962: 20-22; see also Sánchez Escribano 1990: 149; Rodríguez & Haro 1999: 151; Zayas 2000b: 82-90).

Alvaro de Carvajal and María de Piédrola. While still very young, her family moved to Granada where she would meet and marry in 1635 Baltasar Velázquez “alcalde de hijosdalgo” (see also Bourland 1925; Rodríguez Cuadros 1986; Carvajal 1993; Rodríguez Cuadros & Haro Cortés 1999; Barbeito Carneiro 2007).



Fig. 32. BNE, R/4932: Carvajal y Saavedra, *Navidades de Madrid*, title-page.⁷¹

Carvajal became a widow in 1656, and following her husband’s instructions as stated in his will, dated Madrid, 27 July 1656, she wrote a (undated) document to Felipe IV asking him for a pension of 200 *ducados* for her first-born child, in virtue of his twenty-three years of service to the Crown, which she obtained (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 237). In his will Carvajal’s husband, furthermore, leaves her as his *albacea*

⁷¹ All quotations are from Carvajal y Saavedra (1993); henceforth referred to as *Navidades de Madrid*.

and *testamentaria* with other individuals, including the famous bibliophile Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado and his wife, and in the last lines he explicitly requests that the latter look after his wife Mariana and children:

[Y] suplico a su señoría [Doña Lorença de Cardenas] por el amor de Dios y por lo que debe a su sangre, christiandad y piedad, quiera acetar este mi nombramiento, amparando y favoreciendo a Doña Mariana, mi muger y a ocho hijos huérfanos y con tan notable desamparo; y voy muy consolado me ha de hacer su señoría esta merced. (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975; I, 241).

This request points to a well-established connection between the two families, and, by extension, the traces of yet another woman's literary network. Lorenza de Cárdenas may have attempted to sell her husband's huge library shortly after his death in 1658, but their *sobrina-nieta*, Catalina Clara Ramírez de Guzmán, was an avid writer; her literary production included a *relación de sucesos* and a *novela*.⁷² As we shall see, furthermore, Carvajal seems to have been acquainted with the works of Ana Caro and María de Zayas.

Navidades de Madrid was printed under a *privilegio* in Madrid by Domingo García Morrás in 1663 and financed by Gregorio Rodríguez. One of the *aprobaciones* is

⁷² Catalina's now-lost novel *El extremeño* appears to have been her most important work, as inferred from some extant laudatory poetry: "novela, entre pastoril y caballeresca, entre cortesana y bucólica, antes quizá a la manera de los *Cortesianos*, de Castiglioni y Boscán que a manera de Cervantes y Gil Polo" (Ramírez de Guzmán 2004: 30-32). She contributed a laudatory poem to the preliminaries of *Vida, virtudes y dones soberanos del Vble. P. Hernando de Mata* by Fray Pedro de Jesús María, published in Málaga in 1663 by Mateo López Hidalgo (BNE, 2/8934, pp. 185-86). See also p. 221, n53.

dated, 22 September 1662, while the *licencia* is 25 September 1662.⁷³ It is dedicated to Francisco Eusebio de Pötting (1627-1678), and Carvajal could not have chosen better; within a year he became Imperial ambassador at the court of Felipe IV, a role he was to enjoy for ten years (see Oliván Santaliestra 2006).⁷⁴ Carvajal's appeal for patronage does not rest on sexual difference, but, as in Caro's *Contexto*, has financial undertones: "representándome a V. Exc. hallé no sólo el lleno de mi codicia, sino el logro de los más ambiciosos intereses" (Carvajal 1993: 4). Such undertones are particularly important, for, here again, it concerns a text openly described as a collection of *novelas*. In the *aprobación* by Fray Juan Pérez de Baldelomar, dated 22 September 1662, Carvajal's *novelas* are described as morally correct and written in a style which is both pleasurable and useful: "antes he admirado que haya en él recogimiento de una mujer, estilo para que con sus honestos divertimientos de materia para deleitar, aprovechando a quien leyere" (p. 6).

In the prologue ("Al lector") Carvajal's metadiscourse emerges from a female stance and, although she does employ self-deprecating formulae, these are not based on sexual difference. The female author's intention to publish further work is openly

⁷³ The second *aprobación*, dated 12 November 1662, is by Fray Ignacio González, and the *licencia* by Lic. D. García de Velasco.

⁷⁴ The *erratas* were by Lic. D. Carlos Murcia de la Llana, the most famous of the "correctores generales" (Simón Díaz 2000: 167). The *privilegio* is dated 7 December 1662, by Pedro Hurtiz de Ipiña, and the *tasa*, dated Madrid, 13 August 1663, is also by Hurtiz de Ipiña. A content list with the eight titles of the *novelas* was also included.

revealed: “cuidadosa [...] te suplico admitas mi voluntad, perdonando los defectos de una tan mal cortada pluma, en la cual hallarás mayores deseos de servirte con un libro de doce comedias, en que conozcas lo afectuoso de mi deseo” (p. 5).⁷⁵ More significant, promotionally speaking, is Carvajal’s mention of her *primer suceso* (a term she equals with *novela*) concerning a widow and an orphan. This comes just before her efforts to incite the interest of noble readers (her target market), and is expressed through the trope of *noblesse oblige*, which, as we have seen, was employed strategically in the paratext of Zayas’s *Novelas amorosas*. Below is the relevant passage from Carvajal’s prologue:

Por primer suceso de este breve discurso te presento una viuda y un huérfano: obligación precisa es de un pecho noble el suavizar tan penoso desconsuelo, pues el mayor atributo de que goza la nobleza es preciarse de consolar al triste, amparar al pobre y darse por bien servido del siervo humilde. (p. 5)

It hardly seems coincidental that at the time Carvajal herself was a widow with dependants. In other words, the allusion may be seen as a bold attempt by Carvajal to exploit personal information (other than her sexual difference) for commercial ends.

⁷⁵ I note Cayuela’s comments that Carvajal’s prologue makes no reference to the moral or doctrinal worth of the book, so often found in prologues by male novelists (1996: 175). Nonetheless, the absence need not be attributed to her female sex if we consider it within the larger context of female authorship at the time. The same applies to her use of modesty formulae (“atrevimiento”, “corto ingenio”, “defectos de una tal mal cortada pluma”, p. 5), which, as we have seen, derived from the medieval theory of authorship.

Finally, again echoing Zayas, although less boldly, Carvajal's prologue concludes by using gender stereotypicality with irony (Vollendorf 2005: 59): "Ni me desvanecerán los aplausos de tu bizarría, ni me daré por ofendida de tu censura, pues mi mayor vencimiento será el estar a tus plantas siempre, atenta, a tan prudente corrección. Vale" (p. 5).

It is likely that this was not a one-off publication for Carvajal. She expresses her intention to publish some *comedias* in the prologue, and the sequel to *Navidades de Madrid* in the concluding lines ("espero en Dios nos han de dar motivo para hacer la segunda parte de este libro", p. 276). The latter, nonetheless, constituted a customary, final attempt made by authors at promoting their *novelas* (Cayuela 1996: 75). *Navidades de Madrid* was reprinted five years later, this time in *octavo* format. A year after this Zayas's *Primera, y segunda parte de las novelas, amorosas, y exemplares* was again reprinted in Madrid by Joseph Fernandez Buendia (Fig. 33).

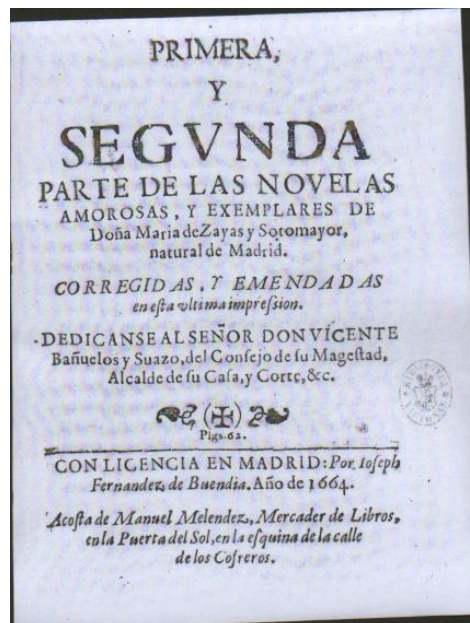


Fig. 33. BNE, R/3061, title-page of the 1664 edition.

Women's *novelas* and plays were thus popular enough to justify investing in their sequels and reprints posthumously. But the same applied to women's position as panegyrists and *poetas-cronistas*. As we have seen, a *relación de sucesos* by María de Estrada Medinilla was reprinted the same year it appeared in México. Later examples include the three *relaciones de sucesos* in verse, which were printed "Con licencia" in the name of Eugenia Buesso "natural del Reyno de Aragon" (one in quarto and two in folio) in Zaragoza during 1669.⁷⁶ Buesso's metadiscourse is not grammatically gendered or overtly self-promotional.⁷⁷ Yet the material and discursive properties of her texts confirm that she achieved a certain degree of fame; the

⁷⁶ The full titles are as follows: *Relación de la entrada en la Imperial ciudad de Zaragoza de su Alteza Serenissima el Señor Don Juan* (Zaragoza, 1669; in quarto), *Relacion de las fiestas que en la Imperial ciudad de Zaragoza se han hecho en la canonizacion de San Pedro Alcantara y Santa Maria Magdalena de Pazzis* (Zaragoza, 1669; in folio); and *Relacion de la corrida de toros qve la imperial civdad de Zaragoza hizo en obsequio a sv alteza* (Zaragoza, 1669; in folio).

⁷⁷ As was customary with broadsheets, the prologue is enmeshed in the body of the text, and it is here that Buesso's authorial voice establishes her role as a *poeta-cronista*: "MVsas del Sacro coro Diamantino, / Que en delicias amenas del Parnaso / De Iupiter el nectar cristalino, / Golfo, a golfo bebeis, no vaso, a vaso, / Infundid en mi vn rumbo peregrino: / Inundeme la fuente del Pegaso, / Y intrepido el raudal, siempre perene, / Me vañe de Elicona, ò de Hipocrene. *Favor os pido para que en bosquexo, / pueda pintar la gracia, y viçarria, / El Valor, la arrogancia, y el despejo, / El aliento el orgullo, y la osadia: / El doynare, la gala, y el cortejo, / El arrojo, la tema, y la porfia, / Con que a la muerte dieron por tributo, / Tanto racional rayo, a tanto bruto*" (*Relación de la corrida de toros*, ll. 1-16, my italics; its imprint reads: "Con Licencia: En Zaragoza, por IVAN DE YBAR, en la Calle de la Cuchillería. Año 1669").

chronicler Diego José Dormer (1677-1705) later praised her in his *Anales de Aragon: desde el año MDXXV hasta el de MDXL*, published in Zaragoza in 1697 (Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 171; see also Marín Pina 2009).

Four years after Buesso's publications, *España libertada: poema póstumo, parte segunda* was issued in Lisbon, also "Com todas as licenças necessarias" (Fig. 34). It is tempting to see this act as subversive (on the part of the book producers, that is), given the timing of the publication. The Portuguese victory (liberation from Spain) only became secured in 1665 (Birmingham 1998: 49). Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the publication of the sequel was arranged by Maria Clara de Meneses, the author's daughter. A portion of women's literature, then, continued to be passed down by female relatives, as had happened with Pizan's and Bernal's works.

In *Parte segunda* the dedicatee is Isabel de Borbón —the eldest daughter born to the marriage between Henri IV (1553-1610), King of France, and Marie de Médicis (1575-1642)—, *reina consorte* of Spain and Portugal following the accession to the throne of her husband Felipe IV in 1621.

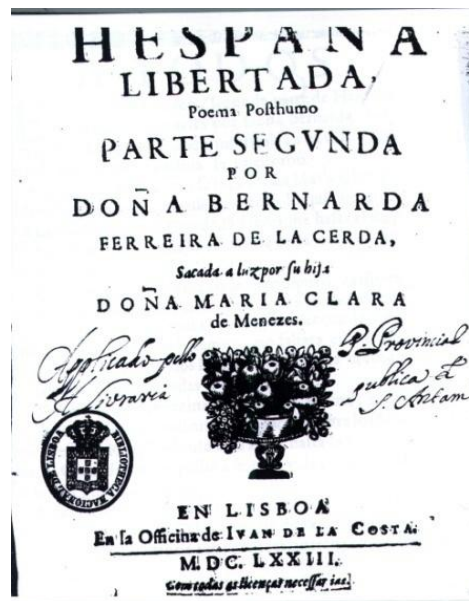


Fig. 34. BNP, F.6295: Lacerda, *España libertada: poema póstumo, parte segunda*, title-page.

The sequel opens with the prologue to the reader bearing the rubric “A TODOS”, thus indicating that it was intended for all types of readers. The prologue is written in the third person, in all probability by the printer / publisher Juan de la Costa, given its commercial tone. It underlines Lacerda’s intention to publish a third part, but, above all, her established fame across literary academies in Europe, thus confirming that the social conditions in the last quarter of the seventeenth century remained propitious for women authors:

Este Poema Heroyco, segunda parte de Hespaña libertada, compuesta por Doña Bernarda Ferreyra de la Cerda no se pudo imprimir en su vida, porque la muerte intempestiua se lo estorbò. Agora sale a[l] mundo por su hija Doña Maria Clara de Meneses [...]. Tercera parte determinaua escribir la Autora [...] mas el passar a mejor vida, le atajò dar màs esta gloria a Hespaña. Letor, si los muertos no te escapan, muerde sin piedad, que no importarà el diente de tu venenosa Imbidia contra vna Matrona tantas vezes laureada en las Academias de Europa. Vale.

As we have seen, the acclamation of women in literary academies was first manifested as a promotional point by the publisher in Zayas’s first collection of *novelas* (Zaragoza, 1637). The print publication of the sequel to Lacerda’s *España libertada*, therefore, shows that it continued to be seen as financially viable nearly forty years later.⁷⁸

In terms of authorial strategies, furthermore, the sequel illustrates how women authors emulated each other across genres. Lacerda uses the appellatives of “Celeste

⁷⁸ Other examples are found in the paratexts (in the *aprobaciones* and prologue, respectively) of Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo’s *Casa del placer honesto* (Madrid, 1620) and *Don Diego de noche* (Barcelona, 1624), and of Francisco de Quevedo’s *Sueños* (Barcelona, 1627).

Musa”, *Minerva*, and even “Theresa Santa” (ll. 16, 18, 26) to persuade her dedicatee to act as patron. The queen died in 1644, and so the second part would have been composed before then. Presumably motivated by the rising success of Ana Caro and María de Zayas, for her second part Lacerda sought patronage, if not fame, on national and sexual grounds:

Sè que atreuida lo impossible emprendo,
 Però mi pertencion no serà vana,
 Que acabarla felizmente entiendo,
 Si vuestra luz a mi humildad se allana:
 Con razon confiada lo pretendo
 Por ser de vuestro sexo, y Lusitana. (ll. 40-45)

Other differences between the two parts lie in the fact that, here, authorial self-confidence (e.g. the claim to surpass Homer’s fame) is shown as arising from the confirmation the author has received from the dedicatee: “Será [mi verso] màs que el de Homero, celebrado: / Ni me puede engañar esta esperança / Porque es vuestro fauor, quien me le ha dado” (ll. 72-77). Something similar can be said of the use of the noun “Fama”, which further contributes to endowing Lacerda’s position as *poeta-cronista* with royal authority: “Y assi saliendo a luz con nueva Fama / Centella vengo a ser de vuestra llama” (ll. 78-79).

We may thus surmise that, as a cultural artifact, *Parte segunda* projected an open craving for fame by a self-assured female author, who was both supported and celebrated within and outside royal circles, thus reflecting by extension the permanence of women’s position in the Republic of Letters.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have argued for the existence of a third stage in the rise of women in the Republic of Letters. By the seventeenth century women had achievement of professional and commercial status. This shift in attitude makes clear why women's manifestations of literary self-consciousness based on sexual difference in public works were not to be taken lightly. Most, if not all, of the new women authors, including the married ones, were connected with literary academies, and this was gradually turned into a promotional point in the publication of their works. They increasingly engaged in print with the then most profit-driven textual forms: ephemera (on real events concerning monarchs and nobles), the *novela*, and the theatre. Whether drawn from paratexts, literary correspondence, or bookseller's inventories, the evidence shows conclusively women's place in such traditions. Even those texts by less influential authors were both supported and well received on both sides of the Atlantic. That women wrote openly as women in such public genres signals the degree to which their society had in fact accepted their right to a place in the Republic of Letters: all the texts considered coincided in promoting women's literary skills from a self-consciously gendered perspective, explicitly aiming at a readership of men and women that would accept their authors as real "writers". Whether as *poetas-cronistas*, panegyrists, novelists, or playwrights, women continued to enjoy the public's interest and as great, if not greater, peer support, as ever before.

Chapter 4

AUTHORIAL INTENT, RETICENCE, AND RENOWN

Este fue, señor, el primer *parto* de mi ingenio, delito de la juventud, como se descubre en su libertad y atrevimiento. Déjéle peregrinar desconocido por España, para prueba dél y de mí [...]. Volvió a mi presencia tan ultrajado de los que le habían copiado, que me obligó a formallo de nuevo, con tales contraseñas, que se pareciese más a su padre. Pero ni esta diligencia me satisfizo: le tuve en las tinieblas de la pluma, sin permitille salir a la luz de la estampa, hasta que la mereciese otra obra de más juicio y de más utilidad pública, como creo son las *Empresas Políticas*.

(Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, 1999: 61; my italics)

Introduction

The consolidation of women's place in the literary world by the seventeenth century was not merely manifested by their engagement in commercial authorship. Manuscript and anonymous publication, even of didactic works, remained widespread, indicating that the establishment of decrees such as that of 1627 had little effect in practice in the Iberian book trade (Kamen 2000: 105). Likewise, not all women authors portrayed themselves as professional writers. Their status as authors during the seventeenth century could rather be shown by promoting themselves as teachers and scholars, and once again, contemporary referents abounded both in the Luso-Hispanic world and elsewhere in Europe. Here, too, the marketability of female authors continued to be focused on their sex, age, title, social status, and religious affiliation, and often only varied depending on the genre or discourse used:

Los autores religiosos también se presentan como escritores que se afanan por conseguir lectores y que redactan sus escritos de tal manera que tengan perspectivas de poder alcanzar a un amplio público lego [...] no sólo se promocionan haciendo referencia a la utilidad moral, sino también a la utilidad práctica del manual en forma de compendio. (Strosetzki 1997: 204)

The same applied to the use of self-deprecating formulae (e.g. the anticipation of adverse criticism), irrespective of an author's sex and social status. Even Felipe IV followed humility conventions:

No me maravillaría que, siendo tan diferentes los entendimientos de los hombres y tan diversas las opiniones que aprehenden, aya algunos que les parezca que no tocava al autor desta traducción el haverse ocupado en este trabajo voluntario quando tiene tantos precisos a que acudir.¹

Growing female confidence as authors was manifested by the constant adoption of gendered perspectives, irrespective of whether or not women's texts were signed in their own names. Writers' reticence with regard to revealing their names was not unusual at the time and had nothing to do with sexual difference. Authorial intent played the decisive role, as shown by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584-1648) in his dedication of *La república literaria* to the Count-Duke of Olivares, quoted above as the epigraph to this chapter. "Dejéle peregrinar desconocido por España [...] sin permitille salir a la luz de la estampa", he asserts. But this statement itself was published under a pseudonym, Claudio Antonio de Cabrera, in the work's first edition, entitled *Juicio de artes y ciencias* (Madrid, 1655).² Such practices were current not only among successful secular authors, but also, or even perhaps especially, among the religious. Examples of both kinds, male and female, abound

¹ From the prologue to his handwritten translation of *Storia d'Italia* by Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540); cited from Bouza (2001: 307).

² Its title-page displayed the publisher's name, D. Melchor de Fonseca y Almeida. A second edition was published in 1670 in Madrid by María Fernández; here the author's name was changed to Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, and the publisher was D. Joseph de Salinas (see Saavedra Fajardo 1999).

throughout the century. Despite their well-established stature as authors, it is well-known that Quevedo, Gracián and Fray Gabriel Téllez published both religious and profane works under their own names and also under pseudonyms such as Juan Lamas, Nifroscancod Viveque Vascello, or Aldrobando Anathema Cantacuzano, García de Morlanes or Lorenzo Gracián, and Tirso de Molina. Such examples show that we should expect that, even after their successful entry into the Republic of Letters, women's practice and status as authors by no means conformed to a single or simple pattern.

This final chapter reflects on the interface of authorship, publication and social status in the seventeenth century in order to examine some of the nuances and complexities that arose, and in particular the question of female authorial reticence after the advent of professionalization. In this analysis greater attention will be given to certain bibliographical innovations such as artwork and illustration. The first section considers authors publishing from 1637 to 1672, the year in which Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana nova* was published, with its first specifically gendered catalogue of women writers: Luisa de Padilla, Leonor de Meneses, Sórora Violante do Ceu, María de Guevara, and Sor Ana Francisca Abarca Bolea. The second section focuses on women publishing between 1672 and 1700: Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Isabel Correa, and Joana Josefa de Meneses.

Women's authorial reticences were motivated by reasons other than sexual difference or literary genre. From a historical, literary, and pragmatic point of view the support of a publisher or patron still remained the most indispensable prerequisite for launching an author's literary career without damaging his or her decorum as a member of the nobility or Church.

4.1 Authorship and Publication, 1637-1672

In the same year that Ana Caro and María de Zayas published *Contexto de las fiestas reales* and *Novelas amorosas y exemplares*, respectively, an anonymous work in octavo format appeared in Zaragoza entitled *Nobleza virtuosa*, and Lastanosa published Baltasar Gracián's first work, *El héroe*, in Huesca. Despite its anonymity, however, *Nobleza virtuosa*'s paratexts let it be known that it was by a woman, and, as with the first edition of *Don Cristalián de España*, they gave some clues as to the identity of the author (Fig. 35).

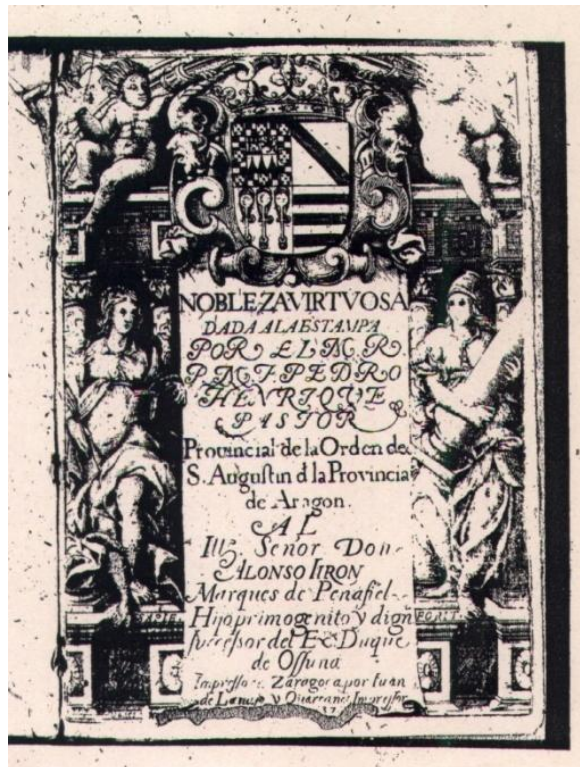


Fig. 35. BHV BH Y-64/068, *Nobleza virtuosa*, title-page.

These paratexts start with a noteworthy architectural frontispiece. This was an expensive choice of title-page design, most often used in didactic literature at that period (Martínez Pereira 2003: 59). As was customary, the classical pediment, which is flanked by the allegorical female figures of *Sapientia* and *Fortitudo*, displays in the centre of its architrave the coat of arms of the text's dedicatee, Alonso [Téllez] Girón,

Marqués de Peñafiel, whose name appears at the bottom of the page, described as the eldest son and heir of the Duque de Osuna.³ What is more striking, however, is the prominence given to the name of the editor, Fray Pedro Enrique Pastor, Provincial of the Augustinian Order in Aragon. This is printed in the centre, between the title and the Marqués's name and in larger type than either; that is, in the space and style normally reserved for the author's name. There is nothing to show the writer's identity, an absence rendered all the more conspicuous by the presence of Pastor's name and the ambivalence of the expression *dada a la estampa por*, which might even suggest at first sight that he was the author.

After the usual preliminaries of *aprobaciones* and *privilegio*, however, Pastor gives two dedications, and these begin to lift the veil that the title-page cast over the mysterious author. The first is signed by himself and addressed to his patron, the book's dedicatee:

Entre los papeles de vn Cauallero, à quie[n] en vida reconoci obligaciones; y en muerte he deseado mostrarme agradecido: Hallè estos quadernos con tanto aliño, que descubrian especial estimacion de su deposito. De la primera à la postrera oja aduerti, que era obra con la vltima mano para entregarse a la estampa; aunque con aduertencia de que ocultaua el nombre de su Autora. ('AL ILVSTRISSIMO / señor Don Alonso Giron', signed "Capellan de V.S. Fr. Pedro Enrrique Pastor, Provincial", in Padilla 1637, fols *[7]^r–[8]^v, at 7^{r-v})

³ The name "Alonso" was in fact an error and should have been Gaspar (1625-1694), only son of Juan Téllez Girón Enríquez de Ribera. The mistake was corrected in the book's sequel (see n6, below).

The claim to have discovered a literary manuscript by chance was a conventional topos often found in chivalric books (including, as we have seen, Beatriz Bernal's *Don Cristalián de España*). In this case it is made unusual, however, as the hypothetical text is a copy ready for publication, and is explicitly attributed to a woman *autora*, despite the fact that her name is not revealed. Pastor goes on to promise would-be readers, including his patron, a text offering both pleasure and delight, a topos of public utility which he links to that of praise of the unknown writer's wit ("Mirèla con cuydado, y leì con gusto; admirando igualmente la vtilidad de su doctrina, y lo soberano del Ingenio", fol. 7^v). This allows Pastor to reveal at last the further detail that the *autora* is of noble lineage: "basta ser de vna gran Señora [...] para que Principe lo admita, Noble lo estime, Hijo lo lea, Padre lo enseñe" (fol. 8^{r-v}).

The second dedication is by the author herself, and is paginated as part of the body of the text (pp. 1–6), to which it serves as an introduction. Its rubric repeats the fact that she is a noble lady, and justifies the hiding of her name as a matter of decorum: "DEDICATORIA EN LOS CONSEJOS que dexò à sus hijo, y hija mayores vna gran Señora destos Reynos de España, que por justos respectos se ocultò su nombre" (p. 1).⁴ Despite its intimate tone and personal comments about the author's poor health, the dedication may be seen as rhetorical rather than real, for the children remain

⁴ Richardson 1999: 79-80: "In higher circles the very idea of the diffusion of one's work to the masses might be looked at askance as indecorous [...]. The advice given in Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano* was that a courtier should be skilled in writing both verse and prose, but that he should be circumspect about showing his work to an audience larger than just one's trusted friends".

unnamed and happen conveniently to be of each sex, the male being the first-born:

no auindose seruido nuestro Señor [...] de darme tiempo, para que en vuestra educacion lo manifestasse, pues me hallo tantos meses ha rendida en esta cama, à vna enfermedad tal, que desde su principio me amenaza con la muerte, y vuestra orfandad en tiernos años, [...] os exorto con estos documentos (que he recogido con el desuelo posible) juzgando es la mas estimable herencia que puedo dexaros en prendas del entrañable amor que os tengo. (pp. 1–2)

Nobleza virtuosa is divided into two treatises, each addressed to one of the author's supposed children, of 207 pages and 158 pages respectively. Both treatises may be seen as *espejos* (mirrors or self-help books) for nobles. The first, addressed to the “son”, offers moral and practical advice on appropriate noble male behaviour from the age of seven, including behaviour towards one's wife, children, king, servants, etc, while the second, addressed to the “daughter” is presented as “vn espejo de grandes Señoras” (p. 215). Here the advice on virtuous female behaviour is divided into the states of adolescence, marriage, and widowhood. Most of it is traditional, although in one important respect it is rather progressive:

Con lo que he tocado de las correspondencias por cartas y lectura de libros, declaro no seguir la opinion de algunos, que aun las mugeres nobles no quieren que sepan leer, y escribir; pareceme rigurosisima [...] falta, en vna Señora; assi para las cartas de su marido, como para gouernar su casa, y aun su estado en ausencia del [...] antes juzgaria yo, que algunas de tal calidad, conocidamente inclinadas a ello, no les estaria mal estudiar la Gramatica, y algo de Philosophia. (pp. 253-55)

The author, like Zayas and Leyva, recalls a catalogue of ancient learned women as *auctoritas*. Through the *exemplum* of Cornelia, particularly, she challenges the placement of women's biology ahead of their intelligence and validates her self-fashioning as a didactic author, incidentally justifying her own use of anonymity by

the concept of avoiding “infamy”:

[A]dmirable exemplo Cornelia madre de los Gracos el emperador Marco Aurelio, exorta[n]do à las Princesas, y Señoras nobles, que se exerciten en la Sabiduria, y gasten mas tiempo con los libros, que en componerse vaname[n]te [...] de quatro cosas daua cada dia gracias a los Dioses. Y era la *primera* auerla hecho sabia, y no idiota; *segunda*, que le dieron paciencia para pasar muchos trabajos [...] *tercera*, porque en sesenta y cinco años pasados de vida no auia tenido vna hora de infamia; y *ultima*, auerle dado tales hijos: y concluyo esta materia, con que en lo dicho se encierran muchos consejos juntos. (pp. 255-57, my italics)⁵

Although it was published anonymously, therefore, *Nobleza virtuosa* does not conceal the fact that it is written by a woman beyond its title-page, where a male priest takes responsibility for “giving it to the press”, a reticence immediately and consistently presented as being motivated by scruples of class, not sexual difference. As a cultural artifact, indeed, the book illustrates an expansion in women’s symbolic and cultural authority as teachers, for, as we have seen, women had hitherto published only for other women’s education.

At this point the identity of the author of *Nobleza virtuosa* was known only to those responsible for the book’s publication. Two years later there appeared a second part, *Noble perfecto y segunda parte de Nobleza virtuosa*, again printed in Zaragoza by Juan de Lanaja at the behest of Pedro Enrique Pastor (Fig. 36). The title-page is another architectural frontispiece, this time bearing the engraver’s signature “J. Vallés F[ecit]”, whose previous work included an architectural frontispiece for *Primera parte de los Anales de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1630) by the famous poet and historian

⁵ On Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, see Dixon (2007).

Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562-1631). This time Pastor's name is placed decently in the lower position, putting the dedicatee in the centre; but the author's name is still absent.

The images Vallés depicted could not have been more fitting for the work's subject matter. Again, the dedicatee's coat of arms occupies the centre top of the design, which this time is the proscenium arch of a theatre rather than the pediment of a temple. On either side of the stage revealed by the parted curtains are two pedestals with (noble) children holding books. On the left the figure is a mother surrounded by three children, below which reads "PERFECTIO"; on the right, a skeleton is resting on a staff and holding an hour-glass, below which reads "FINIS". *Noble perfecto* has been described as a sort of catechism for the education of noble children, composed with the typical devices for its memorization (Egido 1998: 28). The frontispiece allows one to add two important details: it is written from the perspective of a mother, and with a Baroque moral emphasis on *desengaño*.



Fig. 36. BNE, 7/15817: *Noble perfecto*, title-page.

The paratexts comprise the usual documents, including a royal *privilegio* of Felipe IV, dated 10 March 1639. In the third (undated) *aprobación* by Gerónimo Mascaros, the noble background of the author is underlined by drawing a parallel between the information on the title-page and the identity of its “real owner”, the author:

Ociosa porfía serà persuadir la estimacion deste libro, quando el solo, su titulo, el Escudo de sus Armas, la voz de Iacob, bastan para encarecerle por grande, y aun grandissimo, no siendo la menor grandeza la fecundidad del rico talento de su verdadero Dueño.

The dedication is, as in the first text, by the editor/publisher Pastor, and addressed to the Marqués of Peñafiel and heir of the Duque de Osuna, now corrected to Gaspar [Téllez] Girón.⁶ Pastor alludes to the successful public reception of the first part, especially by nobles, among whom it is said to have been enjoyed “as intended”. Also significant is the metaphor of the publisher as *arcaduz fiel*, merely the means through which the second part could be published. Pastor stresses that he played no part in the composition of the text. The text’s female authorship is again asserted:

[Woodcut “E”]l gusto, con que V.S. recibió la Nobleza Virtuosa, y el aplauso, que con su amparo ha tenido entre los Nobles, (sin duda con el fruto, que se pretendia) no solo me ha quitado el rezelo de cansalle; pero ha dado nuevo aliento, y aun reconuenido, a q[ue] como arcaduz fiel, (que sin poner algo de su parte, solo sirue de dar paso al agua cristalina que recibe, para que sin detenerla, ni apropiarsela, corra y fertilize campos y jardines) sacara a luz esta segunda parte.

⁶ The rubric reads: “AL ILVSTRISSIMO / Señor Don Gaspar Giron, / Marques de Peñafiel, hijo [...] del Excelentissimo Duque de Osuna”. At the end of the dedication, the publisher notes: “con esse conocimiento [its female authorship], y el seguro amparo de V.S. se la remito; restituyendo en ella el nombre felicissimo de Gaspar, que por yerro va trocado en la primera parte”.

After a second title-page, this time with no mention of Pastor's intervention, and the *erratas*, come two prologues by the author, one addressed to teachers and one to students.⁷ As in the first part, the author's children are presented as the intended readers, but here, too, the allusion acts as an amplification device: "De poca importa[n]cia seria hijos mios el desuelo de vuestros padres, en buscar Ayos, y Maestros a quien se pueda fiar ta[n] importa[n]te negocio como vuestra educacion, si no poneys en esto el rendimiento" ('EXHORTACION à los Dicipulos', pp. 25–26).

The mystery of the anonymous authorship of these two works was finally uncovered when, later in 1639, a third part appeared in Zaragoza issued by the same publisher, *Lágrimas de la nobleza*, a work explaining to the noble reader how to prepare for death.⁸ Her identity is still not revealed on the title page, but it is unveiled in the paratexts, and in the BNE copy a reader has shown recognition of this fact by adding a marginal annotation under the imprint: "Es Autora de este libro la Condesa de Aranda". The annotation suggests that the omission of her name had aroused the desired public interest, since it had seemingly created a mystery that, at least for some

⁷ The second title-page reads: "NOBLE / PERFECTO, / Y / PARTE SEGUNDA DE LA / Nobleza Virtuosa, que contiene / tres partes. / EN LA PRIMERA VN DIALAGO / de diuersas materias tocantes a nuestra / Santa Fe Catolica, entre Maestro, / y Dicipulo. / EN LA SEGUNDA VN / Exercicio para ordenar la vida. / Y EN LA TERCERA OTRO / para la Muerte. / PONENSE POR EXORDIO / dos Exhortaciones a los Maestros, / y Dicipulos".

⁸ The *privilegio* is dated 18 November 1639, and signed by the Duke of Nochera (d. 1642), whose confessor was none other than Gracián.

readers, awaited closure.⁹



Fig. 37. BNE, R/1018: *Lágrimas de la nobleza*, title-page.

After the usual legal paratexts comes Pastor's dedication to Antonio Jiménez de Urrea, count of Aranda (the dedicatee, in the same year, of Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *Epitome de la vida y hechos del ínclito Rey don Pedro de Aragón*), and it is here that he unveils the author's name:

Mire V. Ex. este desuelo de vn admirable ingenio, [...] que si se me huiera dado licencia para ello

⁹ The practice of leaving such clues in paratexts once a first edition had been successful seems to have been widespread. In 1658, for example, Cristóbal Lozano published *Los monjes de Guadalupe. Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo: novelas y comedia ejemplares* under the name of his nephew, but in the work's 1663 reprint his real name is disclosed "au lecteur attentif", in the *aprobación* (Cayuela 1996: 147, 150).

[...] dixera en el Primero, Segundo, y Tercero Tomo, lo mismo que el mundo ha conocido, que su vnico Autor es la Excelentissima Señora, Doña Luysa de Padilla, Condesa de Aranda, feliz consorte de V. Ex. a cuyo amparo me acojo si este descuydo fuere culpable. (‘AL EXCELENTISIMO Señor Conde de / Aranda’, signed ‘Capellan de V. Ex. Fr. Pedro Enrique Pastor, Padilla 1639b: fols **[1]–**[7]^v, at 7^{r-v})

Pastor, *capellán* of the dedicatee, admits to having had no permission to reveal the author’s name earlier; and he further admits that the *descuido* of revealing it now may not please the author. The irony lies, of course, in the fact that the mysterious female author is none other than the dedicatee’s own wife.¹⁰ It is unlikely that she wrote her three books at night (“desvelo”) and without her husband knowing. The humorous artifice of such a claim would have been evident for most readers, especially since the literary interests and practices of Luisa de Padilla y Manrique (1590-1645), like those of her husband, were publicly known in Zaragoza, where she lived.¹¹

¹⁰ Their marriage in 1605 was arranged by Padilla’s tutor Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, 1st count of Gondomar, and ambassador in England between 1612 and 1622. Gondomar maintained correspondence with the religious activist and writer Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, for whose unconditional release from prison the count’s intervention was instrumental (see Carvajal y Mendoza 1965; Egido 1998, 2000, 2001; Marín Pina 2007).

¹¹ In the preliminaries to *Certamen de la traslación de las reliquias de San Ramón Nonat* (Zaragoza, 1618), the editor and publisher Fray Pedro Martín, *capellán* to the count and countess, praises the dedicatee Luisa de Padilla for her wit “as displayed in her books”, which he describes as being useful and entertaining (Egido 2001: 13-14). The poetic tournament had been celebrated a year earlier in Zaragoza. A large number of women, some religious, some noble, attended, as did Fray Pedro Enrique Pastor and Juan de Lanaja, Padilla’s publisher and one of her printers respectively.

As we have seen, the subject to which Padilla devoted herself was the education of nobles, male and female, from birth to death. Only in her first two anonymously published texts did she adopt the perspective of a mother teaching her children, a perspective seemingly used for conferring credibility on her authorial persona, as a noble woman writing on the education of noble children who herself was a mother.¹² It hardly seems coincidental that Padilla abandoned such a perspective in favour of that of a didactic author once her authorship was revealed. In fact, it is questionable whether or not she actually had any children, for not a single reference to children is made in her will, dated Épila, 17 February 1645. They may have died young, of course. Nevertheless, after her death in 1646 the count admitted in a letter to his brother, the Marqués de Astorga, his need to re-marry to ensure his *sucesión*.¹³ What her will does suggest is a long-term friendship, if not literary network, with the Countess of Guimerá, co-founder of the literary academy *La Pítima contra la ociosidad* in 1608, referred to in Chapter 3 (p. 172, n.5): “Item, dexo de graçia á mi

¹² This aspect should not be overlooked, since women could be seen as having particular types of authority in domestic knowledge. As Broomhall (2002: 84) observes: “The *Privilège* of Madame and Philippe du Verger’s 1595 child-rearing handbook argued that their experience in raising children as governesses in Paris must be published, in order not to be lost to their contemporaries and future generations”.

¹³ When considering a potential candidate, he notes: “supe que la condición la tenía muy apacible y tiene muy buen discurso, y *había tenido hijos*, circunstancias todas á mi propósito” (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 99, my italics). The last comment implies that Luisa de Padilla may have been unable to have children; this time the count was looking for a guarantee.

señora la Condessa de Guimaran, en señal de la amistad que siempre hemos profesado, una imagen de la huida á Egipto” (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 103).

After the “revelation” of the author’s identity comes a one-page plate by “J. Vallés F. [fecit]”, who, as we have seen, did the title-page for the sequel to *Nobleza virtuosa*.



Fig. 38. BNE, R/1018: *Lágrimas de la nobleza*, plate.

The Latin motto is *Nota e[st] apud Deum et apud ho[m]i[n]es*, adapted from Vulgate Sapientia 4: 1 “Melior est generatio cum claritate, immortalitas est enim in memoria illius, quoniam et apud Deum nota est et apud homines” (lit. “Better is the generation [or procreation of children] with nobility, for immortality is in its memory, because it is known both by God and by men”). This is clearly relevant to the title, but the onlooker has to know the biblical quotation to realize that the steps of virtue are in fact leading up to *generatio cum claritate*, noble birth or *nobleza* (as it is here

interpreted). Interestingly, however, this Vulgate translation has nothing to do with what the original Greek means: “Better than this [*i.e.* having children in adultery, the subject of the previous chapter] is childlessness with virtue (ἀτεκνία μετὰ ἀρετῆς), for in the memory of it [virtue] is immortality, because it is known both by God and by mortals”. Women do not have to have children to become immortal, they can do it by being virtuous.¹⁴

The female figure seated under the canopy on her throne thus represents *Nobleza*, or rather, *Generatio cum claritate*. However, it is significant that the engraver chose a Deutero-canonical passage that has to do with the ways in which a woman can achieve immortal memory without having children. The female figure appears to be holding two small figures, possibly children, in her left hand, and a book in her right. If this is the case, the figure *represents* *Nobleza*, but also alludes to Padilla herself, in her capacity both as a woman and as author of the book; her “child”, her way of being remembered by posterity. The female figures (or statues) on the steps clearly represent the virtues written below them. They are women, for the purposes of iconography, because all the virtues are feminine nouns, in both Latin and Castilian. Thus on the right *Religion*, in an aureola, holds the Book (Scripture); *Fortitude* has her helmet and column; *Truth* is naked (*i.e.* not dressed in lies), with the sun (light,

¹⁴ By 1639 most scholars would have known this, and the text of the Vulgate had been amended; at least, Douai-Rheims translates a variant of the first clause, *O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate*, “O how beautiful is the *chaste* generation with glory: for the memory thereof is immortal, because it is known both with God and with men”, which attempts to translate “childlessness” as “casta generación”.

enlightenment) in her hand and her foot on the orb of the world (*vincit omnia veritas*, see Figure 39 below); *Obedience* holds what appears to be a *rueca* (distaff, spindle), and *Generosity* a cornucopia. On the left *Faith* is dressed in episcopal vestments and holding the chalice of the sacrament; *Justice* is a crowned queen holding the scales, *Chastity* holds a branch of oak (sacred to Diana, goddess of chastity); *Concord* the olive branch and pair of doves, and last but not least, *Humility*. What is interesting is not the fact that the virtues are feminized—this iconography is ancient and conventional—but that there are ten of them, not just the theological and moral “seven”, and that the extra ones are specifically feminine, like chastity.

Lágrimas’s prologue is not written by the publisher or presented as a private document; it is presented as being by the female author: “Prologo de la Autora” (Padilla 1639b: pp. 1–10.). And it is here that Padilla’s authorial voice emerges for the first time, without the pretence of writing and publishing for her children. She talks not only about the aim and structure of this work and the three Parts as a whole, but also about her plans for future work, about the text’s public utility, and her prerogative as a noble to write on nobles. Despite all this, however, when finally addressing the question of authorship, Padilla turns to an old rhetorical strategy in religious discourse: “si estas [verdades] parecen muchas, y muy claras, crean no son mias, sino que para publicarlas ha hecho Dios nuestro Señor eleccion de tan incapaz instrumento” (p. 8). And yet, the prologue’s rubric clearly reads “Prologo de la Autora”. Furthermore, already with *Nobleza virtuosa*, she had challenged the restriction or denial of women’s literary practices and intelligence.

Although still bearing the publisher's name, a fourth publication of *Elogios de la verdad y invectiva contra la mentira* appeared in 1640 with the name of Luisa de Padilla prominently printed on the title-page (Fig. 39). Furthermore, from this time onwards all the *privilegios* for her books were granted to the author in her own name; the one for *Elogios* is dated 7 December 1640 and is again signed by the Duque de Nochera, dedicatee of Gracián's *El político*, and published by Lastanosa in the same year in Zaragoza (see Egidio 1998, Egidio & Marín Pina 2001).

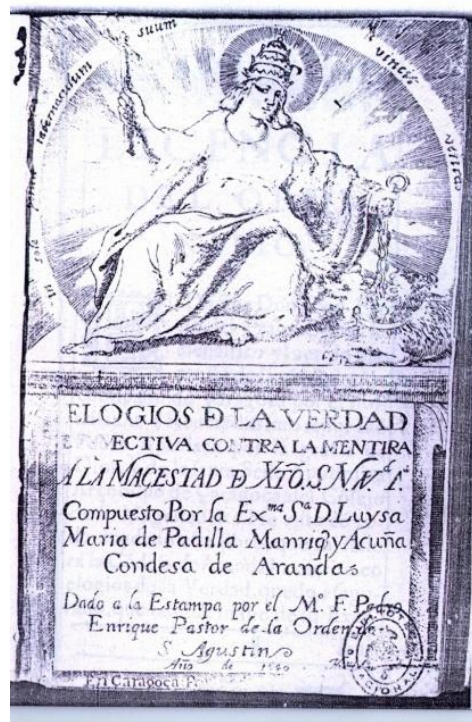


Fig. 39. BNE, U/1562: Padilla, *Elogios de la verdad*, title-page.

The title-page of this work is once again a separate sheet with a costly engraved illustration. The Latin on the left is *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*, which is from Vulgate Psalm 18: 6 “The heavens show forth the glory of God” (Douai-Rheims trans. “He put his tabernacle in the sun” = standard Bible Ps 19: 4 “In the heavens he has

pitched a tent for the sun”). On the right appears *vincit veritas* “truth conquers”, a common proverb or motto, of no specific origin.¹⁵ Therefore, the seated figure is *Verdad*, holding the double-headed beast *Mentira* in chains. It could be argued that it looks like a woman, if it were not for the dedication of the book, in the title below: “A la Magestad de Christo S[eñor] N[uestro] V[erda]d 1^a. [Primera]” (or one could perhaps read the last words as “S[uma] N[uestra] V[erdad]”). This could be Christ. Or, more interestingly, it could be Christ/Truth represented as a woman. At any rate, s/he has “placed her tent” in the heavens, the sun (= the light of God/Truth) shines around, s/he is identified with Christianity by the Cross (Truth = Christian religion).¹⁶

¹⁵ Particularly popular in the medieval and early modern period was a verse from the Apocryphal book Vulgate 3 Esdras 3–4 (standard Bible 1 Esdras 3: 10–12), the debate of the three Persians nobles before Darius: verses 3.10–12 read *Unus scripsit “Forte est vinum” Alius scripsit “Fortior est rex”. Tertius scripsit “Fortiores sunt mulieres, super omnia autem vincit veritas* (“One wrote, “Wine is strong.” Another wrote, “The king is stronger.” The third wrote, “Women are more strong, but truth is victor over all things”). Zorobabel/Zerubbabel’s defence of the third of these propositions follows in chapter 4; his proof that women are strongest is amusing, but the key verses are 4:33–41, his praise of Truth, especially 4: 36 *Omnis terra veritatem invocat, caelum etiam ipsam benedicit* (“The whole earth calls upon truth, and heaven blesses her”), which gives the necessary link to Psalm 18/19. This connection between the Sun and Truth also occurs in the iconography of Plate 39, see above.

¹⁶ The only unexplained detail is the tiara s/he wears on his / her head, and the fact that s/he has a halo or nimbus: I believe the tiara represents the Church (i.e. the papal tiara), but the headgear was also really a visual representation of a temple; the halo could mean s/he is an angel, but an identification with the Blessed Virgin Mary is also admissible. At any rate, only divinities or saints can have a halo, so this is *Santa Verdad*.

This plate confirms the continuing confidence in the saleability and financial value invested in Padilla's didactic works by the book's producers. Like *Lágrimas, Elogios* was printed in Zaragoza by Pedro de Lanaja. In the *licencia*, dated 6 December 1640, and again signed by Dr Plano del Frago, the text is located for the reader in relation to Padilla's published work, and promoted on grounds of public utility and specific benefits for both learned and common readers: "el docto hallara erudicion, obseruancia de estilo el entendido, y todos suma dulzura, la mentira el castigo que merece, y nuestros [i]lustres la Verdad co[n] tan eloquentes elogios, muy dignos de la estampa".

The prologue is written by the publisher, although it is followed by a seven-page dedication by the female author to God. In the prologue ("Al Lector") the veiling and unveiling of Padilla's identity is again the centre of emphasis, a fact that substantiates the argument that her anonymous publications were part of a well-thought out marketing enterprise:

CON mas gusto doy a la estampa este Tomo de las Excelencias de la Verdad (entretanto que se dispone el quarto) que los otros tres de la Nobleza: porque en aquellos no se permitiò dezir el nombre descubiertamente de su Autora; y en este la misma Verdad, que aun disimulaciones humildes no admite, ha obligado a que se diga; que es la Excelentissima señora Condesa de Aranda Doña Maria Luisa de Padilla, Acuña y Manrique (lustre de la Nobleza, primera marauilla de mugeres, lisonja de la sabiduría, emulacion de los varones eroycos) milagro de la naturaleza.

References to a fourth part soon to be published and to the author's female sex and noble status are also intended as promotional strategies, this time authorized by an invocation of Seneca: "como dixo Seneca, no anduuu malignamente con las Señoras Nobles, ni estrechò su virtud; antes les dio igual vigor y facultad para todo lo honesto, y loable".

Padilla's fifth publication *Excelencias de la castidad*, appeared also "Con privilegio" in Zaragoza by the printer Pedro de Lanaja in 1642. This was the first time that the publisher's identity was not mentioned in the title-page, or indeed, anywhere in the paratext.

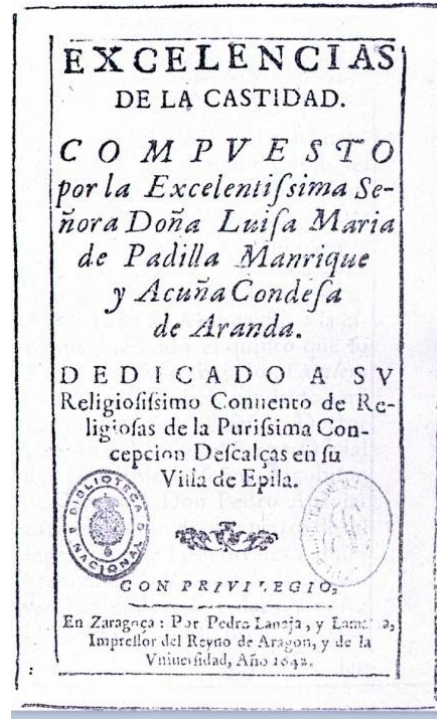


Fig. 40. BNE, U/1384: Padilla, *Excelencias de la castidad*, title-page.

In this publication Padilla's previous texts are again recalled with much praise for marketing purposes in the paratext, and in the *aprobación*, dated Zaragoza, 28 December 1641, by Fray Juan Ginto "Lector Iubilado, Calificador del Santo Oficio", she is even referred to as "única Doctora en estos siglos". The text contains a staggering thirty-page dedication to the "Religiosa Comunidad de Descalças de la Purissima Concepcion de la Villa de Epila". Clearly, Padilla knew full well the best contexts for her discourses, and aims her discussion of chastity at nuns.

The last of Padilla's publications, *Idea de nobles y sus desempeños en aforismos: parte quarta de la Nobleza virtuosa*, appeared in 1644 in Zaragoza; again with no mention of the publisher in the title-page.¹⁷ It was published with *licencia* and under a *privilegio*, but by a different printing house, the "Hospital Real de Nuestra Señora de Gracia", upon which a *corral de comedias* was dependent (Egido 1998: 15), and consequently with a less costly title-page.

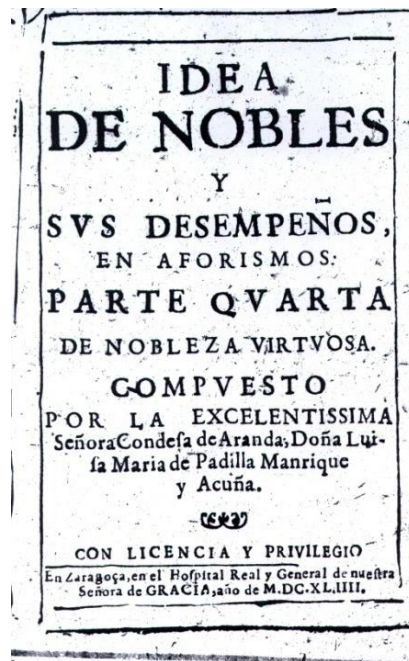


Fig. 41. BHV BH Y-64/070: Padilla, *Idea de nobles*, title-page.

Idea de nobles is divided into four sections that discuss the religious, moral, political, and military virtues of the nobility in the form of aphorisms, a device based on the *Proverbios* of the Marquis of Santillana, who is in turn presented as a model

¹⁷ The same year Andrés de Uztároz dedicated his *Diseño de la insigne, i copiosa Biblioteca de Francisco de Filhol* (Huesca, 1644) to the Count of Aranda.

for nobles to follow.¹⁸ Again, the prologue to the reader here foliated as part of the preliminaries rather than numbered with the text, is by the author (Padilla 1640: fols *6^r–*4^r). Padilla’s authorial voice and literary self-consciousness, not to mention self-promotion, emerge unmistakably. She underlines her authorship of several works published in her name, including those printed in her publisher’s name:

[Woodcut “C”]ON Aduertido descuido, he dilatado el cumplimiento y desempeño de la palabra ofrecida, en sacar à luz esta Quarta Parte de *NOBLEZA VIRTVOSA*, pareciendome que estos años que he ocupado en los *Elogios de la Verdad*, y *Excelencias de la Castidad*, aurian muchos Nobles oluidado lo que contienen las tres primeras partes; y que seruiria esta vltima de recuerdo, ò libro de memoria para conseruar la de las virtudes que exortan la primera, y segunda parte, y huir los vicios q[ue] llora la tercera. (fol. *6^r)

Padilla uses a gastronomic metaphor to explain her literary arrangement, in a manner similar to Teresa de Cartagena.¹⁹ She then outlines the text’s benefits for all types of

¹⁸ Weiss 1990: 129: “The first poet to receive the kind of learned treatment which had traditionally been reserved for the ancient and modern classics was Santillana [...]. *Los Proverbios* became a theological and philosophical tract. The *sententiae* of each stanza are methodically expanded, their meaning and implications explored with continuous reference to biblical and, to a lesser extent, classical authorities (mainly Aristotle and Seneca)”.

¹⁹ “Todas las quatro sera[n] vn general banquete para la Nobleza, el primer plato de co[n]sejos, sazonados con el dulce de exe[m]plos y doctrinas de Filósofos Morales: el segu[n]do, con el agridulce de la en q[ue] los Doctores y Santos enseña[n] las obras de superrogacion, y virtudes q[ue] mas vnen con Dios: el tercero, con lo pica[n]te de los desengaños, autoridad y apoyo de los mismos Doctores y Filósofos: y porque este sabor suele despertar la sed, se ofrece en la quarta parte vna beuida compuesta de Sentencias ò Aforismos, nectar do[n]de en liquida quinta essencia se da la doctrina de los tres para

readers, and explains her choice of subject-matter, “las virtudes de q[ue] vn Noble puede y debe adornarse” (fol. *8^v). Subsequently she lists her *auctoritates* for the purpose of the *captatio benevolentiae* (i.e. Hippocrates, Galen, Pliny, Quintilian, St Augustine, and André de Resende).²⁰ But the striking point is that Padilla adds her own views as reader, the implication being that by this publication she herself felt like an authority, and she proudly asserts that she will not waste her readers’ time: “el ladron mas perjudicial es el que escriue cosas insubstanciales en prolixos discursos, pues roba la mejor joya que es el tiempo del Lector, auiendo tanto bueno q[ue] leer, y sie[n]do tan cortas las vidas” (fol. **[3]^v).

The story of these four books shows that Padilla’s anonymity had nothing to do with genuine reticence, and more to do with a rhetorical strategy to preserve her noble decorum until her authority had been demonstrated. Only in her last two works did she show herself openly in the publishing enterprise. Whether published anonymously or not, Padilla took her authorship very proudly, as shown by a letter she sent to the chronicler Andrés de Uztároz dated Épila, 10 March 1642, where she remarked of her works that “los hijos del ingenio se aman mucho” (cited from Serrano

su mejor comprehension, y mas facil exercicio” (fol. *6^{r-v}).

²⁰ Some of the works of Marie de Gournay (1565-1645), a professional author in Paris, reappeared in print around the same time as Padilla was publishing hers in Spain; she too listed her favourite authors, Plato and Socrates, Plutarch, Ovid, and Quintilian. Gournay published her collection of works under the title, *Les Advis, ou, les Presens de la demoiselle de Gournay* (Paris, 1641); it contains *L’Ombre de la Damoiselle de Gournay* (Paris, 1626) and *Advis, ou, les Presens de la demoiselle de Gournay* (Paris, Toussaint Du Bray, 1634) (see Gournay 1997).

y Sanz 1975: II, 103). The letter stands as evidence of another connection between Padilla and the literary world, in this case with the well-celebrated *coronista*. We may surmise that Padilla's female sex and noble status, but also her "motherhood", were used as promotional points, and that the image of women as didactic authors was one that the ecclesiastical authorities also supported.

Padilla's successful dealings with anonymous publication may have encouraged others to follow suit. An example is *El desdeñado más firme, primera parte*, a collection of four *novelas* (of 82 pages), which was printed under the pseudonym "Laura Mauricia" in the mid 1650s, years when a number of such collections of *novelas* appeared under similar disguises.²¹ The paratext contains a signed dedication to Luisa Maria de Meneses, countess of Portalegre and marchioness of Govea, who is appealed to as patron:

Las Faltas de la pluma (Excelentissima Señora) enmienda el acierto de la Dedicatoria: y aunque el discurso no admire, por grande, respectos de grande adquiere con la proteccion de V.Exc. à quien suplico sea el patrocinio [...]. De las manos de V.Exc. se vale esta Fabula (primera de las que el enfado de un dilatado ocio me ocasiona a escriuir) (fol. 2^f-2^v; dated 'Paris, 30 de Mayo de [1]655' and signed 'Esclaua de V.Exc. mas afectuosa, / que su planta besa. / Laura Mauricia').

²¹ That pseudonyms became something of a literary trend is suggested, not only by the example of Gracián and Saavedra Fajardo already quoted, but also by *La dama beata* and *Acasos de fortuna, y triunfos de amor en dos novelas*, both printed under pseudonyms in 1655 (Rodríguez Cuadros & Haro Cortés 1999: 70).

As with Padilla's paratexts, this preliminary gives clues. It makes clear that the author's name was but pseudonymous, yet that it coincides with her real identity in sex.²² But even when this detail remained unknown, the authorial signature projects the idea of female authorship through grammatical gender. As Genette (2001: 48) notes, the point about the pseudonym as a paratextual element is the effect it produces on readers. In this respect, it is instructive to note that the name "Laura Mauricia" echoes a typical practice of the literary academy, the adoption of pseudonyms. The very first rule or *ley* in becoming a member of the literary academy "Pítima contra la ociosidad" was precisely the adoption of a pseudonym:

La primera que los congregantes pudieran tomar diferente nombre del que tenían por quanto el intento y instituto desta Junta mas es abilitarse que no engrandecerse con el ruido y opinion que se podria tomar del fruto que de aqui esperan sacar y asi *incontinenti* [al instante] lo hizieron. (BNM MSS/9396, p. 3, my italics; see also p. 175, n6).

In this light, the author appears to have deliberately associated her publication with an instantly recognizable ambience and her participation in it. By extension, her use of a pseudonym would have been seen as fitting: "using a pseudonym is already a poetic

²² The dedicatee's identity is revealed in the title-page. According to Barbosa Machado, the author was the dedicatee's cousin (Bibliotheca Lusitana, III, p. 13). If this is correct, the author was Leonor de Meneses, born in Lisbon in 1630 to Fernando de Meneses and Joana de Toledo da Câmara, and twice married, first to Fernando de Mascarenhas, first Count of Serém with whom she had one son, Jorge Mascarenhas, and later to Jeronimo de Ataíde, sixth Count of Atouguia, with whom she had four children. This Leonor de Meneses died in 1664 (see Barbosa Machado 1965; Serrano y Sanz 1975; Meneses 1994; Rodríguez Cuadros & Haro Cortés 1999; Campbell 2000).

activity, and the pseudonym is already somewhat like a work” (Genette 2001: 54).²³

Thus, while the noble dedicatee may have legitimated the publication “officially”, the earlier cases of publishing women authors and their participation in literary academies did so pragmatically.²⁴ In brief, the underlying motivation for publishing *Desdeñado* anonymously appears to have been a literary one.²⁵

Desengaños de la corte y mugeres valerosas was also published in print anonymously: “COMPVESTO POR VN AVTOR / moderno, poca experiencia, y / grande çelo”.²⁶ It has been seen as a reason-of-state treatise, a genre mostly published

²³ This idea also has been argued by the style in which the *novelas* are written, which presuppose the author’s presence in such public spaces: “Todas las composiciones tratan del amor a la manera académica y son presentadas como si Doña Leonor estuviese simplemente transcribiendo una verdadera reunión académica a la que hubiese asistido” (King 1963: 185).

²⁴ María de Santa Isabel, a nun at the Real Convento de la Concepción in Toledo, also expressed her intention of printing her poetry, religious and profane, in book format, and under the pseudonym of Marcia Belisarda, which also echoes the practice of the literary academy (see Serrano y Sanz 1975: II, 362-78).

²⁵ Manuel Lorenzo de Lizarazu y Berbinzana, author of *Acasos de Fortuna y triunfos de amor en dos novelas* (Zaragoza, 1654), has, furthermore, been seen as exploiting anonymity for the purpose of the *captatio benevolentiae* (Cayuela 1996: 152-53).

²⁶ Henceforth referred to as *Desengaños*. Covarrubias describes the adjective *moderno* with regards to *Autor* as the one who has scant experienced in writing “y por eso no tiene tanta autoridad como los antiguos”. On the debate between the ancients and the moderns, see Weiss (1990).

anonymously in broadsheet, which proliferated from the 1640s.²⁷ This would explain why it has no separate title-page and why the only preliminary piece, the author's dedication to "Principe N. S. / que Dios guarde. / D. CARLOS IOSEPH", was left unsigned.

Despite this and the absence of grammatical gender, however, the owner of the copy discussed here seems to have found out the author's identity, as confirmed by some marginalia in the title-page: "Este libro hiço la Condesa de Escalante / en año de 1664". María de Guevara inherited the title of Countess of Escalante from Ana Catalina de Guevara, her cousin, in 1641. After her death in 1683, the title passed on to her nephew Martín de Saavedra Guevara, for, although she married three times, she had no descendants. She was the great-great niece of the well-known chronicler, courtier, and bishop Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545), whose work has been seen as fundamental for her "almost-governmental recommendations" ('Volume Editor's Introduction', Guevara 2007: 7).

From all this, it seems plausible that Guevara, like Luisa de Padilla, may have chosen to hide her identity from the common reader, but not from those close to her.

²⁷ Finally, in 1682, a newly-revised policy on authorial provenance was put in place to prevent this type of publication: "Habiendo reconocido, que resultan muchos y muy graves inconvenientes al buen gobierno y conservación de mis dominios, de que se impriman libros, memoriales y papeles, en que se trate ó discurra de ellos, ó cosa que toque á su representación ó advertencia, sin que preceda un exácto exámen con el inmediato conocimiento é inteligencia, que requiere la importancia de las materias que suelen incluir semejantes escritos; he resuelto, se prohíba generalmente la impresión de ellos" (cited from Simón Díaz 2000: 28).

She may have attended a literary academy and discussed her writings there. She is known to have penned other writings of a political nature, both in manuscript and print; the implication is that those who were familiar with them would have known that she was also the author of *Desengaños*.²⁸ Furthermore, recent research has called attention to Guevara's dealings as a "juanista", as an active supporter of Juan José de Austria, the illegitimate brother of Carlos II, at the court in Madrid (Oliván Santalíastra 2006: 136). These activities, if not also the author's class, would suggest that *Desengaños* was published anonymously, again, for reasons other than sex, namely those connected to politics and class.

To illustrate why the question of anonymity was not a special prerogative for women authors, we may now consider those who published in print from the convent. An instructive case is *Rimas várias*, a collected work of poetry, by Sórora Violante do Céu (1601/1607-1693), published in Rouen in 1646 allegedly at the orders of the dedicatee (Fig. 42). *Rimas várias* is 190 pages long, with sixteen pages of preliminaries. It is written in both Portuguese and Castilian, and much of it resembles

²⁸ Guevara also published the following: *Memorial de la casa de Escalante y servicios de ella al Rey Nuestro Señor* (Valladolid, 1654; BNE, V-C^a 57); a non-autographed manuscript, entitled *Tratado y advertencias hechas por una mujer celosa del bien de su Rey y corrida de parte de España* (1663), and an autographed letter to Don Juan José de Austria, which comes accompanied by a gazette (1668). Also of importance are two other documents: a report of the day journey to Vitoria (1660) and a proof of class won by the Countess, entitled *Ejecutoria ganada a pedimento de la Condesa de Escalante, del pleito que en esta Real Audiencia ha tratado con Antonio Abad de Arizaga y Bartolomé de Gárate y otros consortes, vecinos de la villa de Elgoibar* (Valladolid, 1669; BNE, MS 19.085) (see Serrano y Sanz 1975; Guevara 2007).

the style of Lope de Vega and and looks forward to that of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. What is more, it offers further evidence that women authors knew about one another, if not personally, despite writing from a convent; she entered the Convent of St Rosa in 1630.²⁹

The paratext contains a dedication to Vasco Luís de Gama, 5th count of Vidigueira, a letter by the publisher D. Leonardo de São José, a pseudo-*licencia* by Captain Miguel Botelho de Carvalho, “Secretário do Conde Almirante” with some poems, an unsigned prologue (“A quem ler”), as well as four laudatory poems addressing the author.³⁰ The dedicatee was the ambassador of João IV at the Parisian court of Louis XIII and Anne de Austria (1642-1646), and an important patron of the arts, whose literary circle was formed by *cristão-novos* and *letrados apologistas* of the Portuguese Restoration.

²⁹ The other addressees are: D. Inês de Noronha, the dedicatee’s wife “[A la Señora de la Vidigueira vestida de pardo, por la ausencia del Conde], SONETO. Ostenta la mayor soberanía” (p. 53); “[A la muerte de la Duquesa de Averó], SONETO. Aquí yace sin luz el Sol de Averó” p. 56; Mariana de Noronha, wife of the commander of Pernes “CANÇÃO. Sembrar en agua, edificar en viento” (pp. 86-89), the countess of Penaguião “SONETO. Si como admiro en vos, lo que en vos miro” (p. 57); Lope de Vega [A morte de] “CANÇÃO. Si crédito, si gloria” (pp. 90-1), Dona Maria de Lima [pedindo-lhe uns reposteiros] “DÉCIMA. Quer a sancrista da Rosa” (p. 132), and João IV “SONETO EM DIÁLOGO. Que logras Portugal? um Rei perfeito” (p. 59).

³⁰ These are: a *décima* ‘Entre las gentilidades’ by António Moniz de Carvalho “Comendador de Vimioso, de la Orden de Cristo, y Residente por la embajada de Portugal en Francia”; *décimas* ‘Admirar emudecendo’ by the publisher, Leonardo de S. José; a *décima* by Jorge de Sousa a Costa; and a *canción* ‘Sus Rayos comunica al universo’ by Antonio Enríquez Gómez (pp. 45-49).

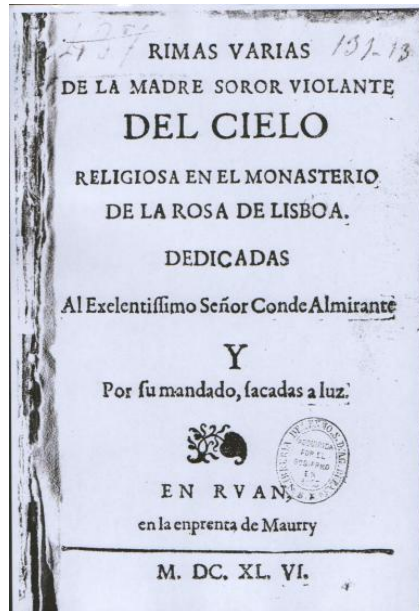


Fig. 42. BNE, R/988: Sórora Violante, *Rimas várias*, title-page.

Not one preliminary text is signed by the author, yet all confirm the important literary stature of Sórora Violante both in Portugal and in Paris. More importantly, her profane verse is nowhere discussed as being incompatible with her religious status; in fact, the latter is not even mentioned. For instance, in the dedication, dated Paris, 30 January 1646, by Dom Leonardo de São José, the count's *Capelão*, Sórora Violante is labelled “Águia de Portugal, décima Musa de Espanha (título que lhe dá o comum aplauso)”, and her work described as enjoying the count's patronage (Violante do Céu 1993: 41). In the unsigned prologue, presumably written by the publisher, Sórora Violante is spoken of as *Autora*. And although her lack of literary self-confidence and modesty are underlined, it is also her famous status that is used for the *captatio benevolentiae*:

Foram [estes versos] mais prolixos e limados se sua *Autora* tivera deles notícia, mas paga-se tão pouco de sua obras, que ainda nas acções do maior aplauso, por não ofender sua modéstia, se recata comedida, e se nega retirada. *Mas quando isto não baste para te agradarem não deixarão de alcançar o que já lhe tem concedido os maiores engenhos.* (p. 44, my italics)

Such a picture of Sórora Violante's authorial reticence, furthermore, contrasts radically with the one we get from reading her poetry. Of special interest in this regard is a *canção* addressed to Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda (also praising Lacerda's daughter), as it expresses Sórora Violante's desire to achieve a similar level of authorial fame without the slightest hint of concern at not being able to because of her religious status:

De hermosa planta, hermoso fruto admiro,
y aunque es la admiración justa alabanza,
de un corto ingenio a un celestial trasunto,
a tanta gloria, a tanto honor aspiro,
que lo que apenas el discurso alcanza
afecto noblemente, por asunto:
porque a tan alto punto
llega el deseo de inmortal memoria,
que si el natural canto es imperfecto,
por el divino y singular objeto
llegar pretendo a tan subida gloria
que aplauso solicite
y la parlera fama heroica excite. (ll. 1-13; pp. 82-83, my italics)³¹

³¹ The other *poeta-cronista* praised by Sórora Violante is Dona Mariana de Luna, author of *Ramalhete de flores* (Lisboa, 1642): "Musas que no jardim do Rei do dia / soltando a doce voz prendeis o vento; / Deidades que admirando o pensamento, / as flores aumentais que Apolo cria; / Deixai, deixai do Sol a companhia / que fazendo envejoso o firmamento, / ãa Lua, que é Sol, e que é portento, / um jardim vos fabrica de harmonia. / E porque não cuideis que tal ventura / pode pagar tributo à variedade, / pelo que tem de Lua a luz mais pura, / Sabei que acreditando a Divindade, / este jardim canoro se assigura / com

In fact, as early as 1619 Sórora Violante had written *Comedia de Santa Engracia*, which was performed on stage before Felipe III in Lisbon (see Violante do Céu 1993). Lieutenant Jacinto Cordero praised her in his *Elogio de Poetas Lusitanos: Al Fenix de España Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, published in Lisbon in 1631 by Jorge Rodríguez.³² In 1634 Sórora Violante joined Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda in being the only two laudatory poets, male or female, to appear in the preliminaries of *Malaca Conquistada* by Francisco de Sá de Meneses, published in Lisbon by Mathias Rodrigues.³³ Two years later she also became involved alongside other women authors in Pérez de Montalbán's homage to Lope de Vega.³⁴ Thus Sórora Violante's

o muro imortal da eternidade" (Violante de Céu 1993: 63; see Chapter 3, p. 225, n54).

³² "Que es Violante deidad, cuya Camena / A valientes ingenios desafía, / Con tanta admiración, que, alzando el vuelo, / Las letras hurta del insigne abuelo" (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 267).

³³ "A FRANCISCO DE / Sã de Meneses na sua Ma- / laca conquistada. / Violante do Ceo Religiosa no / Conuento da Rosa. / SONETO. Cópia gentil, portento soberano / De animoso valor, saber profundo, / Que denotando vn par sin par al mundo, / Buelues diuino el mismo ser humano: / Graue exemplar de heroica, y docta mano, / Vitoria singular, parto fecundo, / Que obró primero, eternizó segundo / Vno, y otro diuino Lusitano. / No Persiano lugar presuma archino / A tu insigne valor mas refulgente / Le otorgue el Cielo a tan gloriosa suma. / Donde a pesar del tiempo executiuo / Viuan por tu occasion eternamente / De Albuquerque, y de Sã la espada y pluma". After Sórora Violante's sonnet come the *erratas*, unsigned and undated.

³⁴ The rubric reads: "A la Muerte de Lope de Vega. / DE LA SEÑORA SOROR VIOLANTE / del Cielo, Monja en el Conuento de la Rosa en Lisboa, / conocida por sus obras. / A LA MUERTE DEL FÉNIX DE España Lope de Vega Carpio" (fol. 54). The following also appeared in print in Sórora Violante's name: a sonnet in *Varias poesias de Pavlo Gonçalvez d'Andrada* (Lisboa, 1629); some *décimas* in *Memorias*

publicized authorial reticence was, as in the other cases seen, influenced by reasons other than her sex. In reality, however, she led a somewhat secular life while living in a convent; she received visits from distinguished members of society and the Republic of Letters, and not only did she read profane verse, but, as we have seen, she also published some herself, becoming famous as a result (see Barbosa Machado 1965; Serrano y Sanz 1975; Violante do Céu 1993; Hormigón 1996).

Catorze vidas de santas de la Orden del Cister was printed in the name of Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea in Zaragoza by the heirs of Pedro de Lanaja “impressor del Reyno de Aragon y sv Universidad” (Fig. 43). As we have seen, Juan and Pedro de Lanaja printed four of the six texts published by Luisa de Padilla.



Fig. 43. BHV BH Y-41/066: Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, *Catorze vidas de santas*, title-page.³⁵

fúnebres [...] na morte da D.^a Maria de Attayde (Lisboa, 1650); *Oitavas a Nossa Senhora da Conceição, em applauso da victoria de Montesclaros* [17 June 1665]; *Soliloquios para antes e depois da communhão* (Lisboa, 1674) (see Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 264–68).

³⁵ Henceforth referred to as *Catorze vidas*. The chapters are on the following: Santa Aleyda “Madre de

Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea (1602-1686) spent most of her life in a convent in Casbas, Huesca. She was a sister to the Marquis of Torres, Luis Abarca de Bolea, member of the literary academy founded by the Conde de Lemos, Pedro Fernández de Castro (1575-1637) (King 1963: 121); and, as we have seen, one of the supporters of the royal panegyrist María Nieto de Aragón. Indeed, Sor Ana was another woman author who maintained literary correspondence with Aragonese scholars such as Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztároz, Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa, and Baltasar Gracián (see Fernández de Bethencourt 1912; Alvar 1945; Blecua 1986; Oltra 1988; Campo Guiral 2001 and 2007).

Catorze vidas was dedicated to Fray Miguel Escartín (d. 1673), bishop of Barbastro “y electo de Lerida” from the Order of the Cister. This and the title itself would suggest that the publication was intended for religious communities. Yet its actual readership appears to have been much wider, as can be inferred from the two epistles included in the paratext. The first is by Manuel de Salinas, dated Huesca, 2 July 1655. In this, Salinas praises Sor Ana’s *ingenio* and *erudición*, as well as her choice of subject matter for her book. He also states that she had to be persuaded to publish (a recurring topos in male works) and that she chose the first one to be in honour of her religion: “animada su desco[n]fianza, a publicar alguna de sus obras;

San Bernardo” (p. 25), Santa Vmbelina “primera Religiosa Cisterciense, hermana de San Bernardo” (p. 45), and Santa Matilde, Princess of Scotland (p. 63), St Hildegarda (p. 82), Santa Isabel de Esconaugia (p. 110), Santa Maria de Ognies (p. 126), Santa Christina ‘llamada comunmente la admirable’ (p. 156), Santa Catharina ‘llamada Rachel antes del Bautismo’ (p. 183), Santa Lutgarda ‘Profetissa’ (p. 209), Santa Hidubigra ‘Duquesa de Silesia, y Polonia’ (p. 246), Santa Eufemia (p. 282), Santa Franca (p. 330), and Doña Beatriz de Silua (p. 351).

quiso que fuera la primera en gloria de su Religion, historiando las vidas de las Santas que la ilustraron, y engrandecen”. As we shall see, Sor Ana would later also publish a secular work. Salinas even suplicates Sor Ana (“la suplico”) to keep writing so that, en la Excelentissima señora [Luisa de Padilla] Condesa de Aranda, y en v.m. logren en nuestra edad, y nuestro Reyno, tantas glorias, como conseruan otros en la ilustre memoria de ta[n] insignes mugeres en letras, que han tenido, no solo en los ancianos siglos, sino en los presentes.

He also praises her manuscript poetry, profane and religious, encouraging her to publish it also in print: “En la Poesia esta ya manifestado su gallardissimo natural de v.m. en lo jouial, y serio, en diferentes poemas, y assumptos, que esperan dignamente la luz de la Empronta”.³⁶ This would suggest that Sor Ana and most of her intellectual contemporaries had no difficulty whatsoever in combining secular literary practices with the religious life.

The second epistle is by Francisco de la Torre and is dated Vallibona, 24 June 1655. This one is instructive in that, aside from the subject-matter (religious history), the praise extends to the author’s skills by calling Sor Ana “Décima Musa”, but also *coronista* (“chronicler”), based on the criteria used at the time:

Passando al estilo, no puede ser mejor, que el que v.m. dispone [...]: ya de oromaticas drogas, en Lugares de Escritura: ya de vtiles yeruas, en autoridades de Sa[n]tos: ya de hermosas deleitables flores, en sentencias de Filosofos, y Poetas [...]. Llegando al Autor, ya se sabe quan releuantes prendas, han de concurrir en quien valga para la empresa de *Coronista* [...]. Atendiendo pues a

³⁶ This is an extract from: “EPISTOLA / DEL DOCTOR DON / MANVEL DE SALINAS, / y Lizana, Canonigo, y Prepo-/sito de la Catedral de / Huesca. / A LA ILVSTRISSIMA SEÑORA / MI SEÑORA DOÑA ANA / Francisca Abarca de Bolea, y Mur, / Religiosa en el Conuento / de Casvas”.

esta inteligencia, *si virtud, nobleza, ingenio, y noticias, son los quatro elementos del Soberano Historiador*; que le falta a v.m. para poderlo ser? (my italics)³⁷

In short, two well-known scholars became involved in promoting Sor Ana both as a poet and historian and placed her in the larger context of female authorship in Aragon.³⁸ More relevantly, none of them makes a point about the incompatibility between literary publication and the author's religious status.³⁹

Sor Ana's metadiscourse in the prologue ("Proemio") also helps reveal her well-established position as an author, and this point should be emphasised, without the use of the religious formulae repeatedly employed by Santa Teresa and her followers. Instead, Sor Ana sought to authorize her publication on the grounds of belonging to a well-established female literary tradition.

³⁷ This is an extract from: "CARTA / A DOÑA ANA FRANCIS-/CA ABARCA DE BOLEA, Y MUR, / Religiosa del Cister, en el Real / Conuento de Casvas./ ELOGIO A SV OBRA./ POR DON FRANCISCO DE / la Torre, Cauallero del Abito / de Calatrava".

³⁸ Alvar 1947: 155-61: "La Torre se movió [...] en un ambiente selecto: alternó con Gracián, Salinas, Lastanosa [...] . En la Corte gozó de la amistad de los ingenios más insignes: Bocángel, Solís, Polo de Medina y Calderón". Salinas translated, in verse, Martial's *Epigramas* (Madrid, 1648), while de la Torre published *Entretenimiento de las musas* (Zaragoza, 1654), some plays, and translated John Owen's *Agudezas* (Madrid, 1674).

³⁹ In one of her letters to the chronicler Andrés de Uztároz, dated 27 May 1649, Sor Ana comments on her writing, editing, and plans for the publication of *Catorze vidas* with not one single reference to her sex or religious status as possible grounds for attracting adverse criticism (see Serrano y Sanz 1975, I: 3).

Sor Ana begins her prologue with an admission that she ignored her lack of literary skills and of falling below the standard set by many precedents of female authors, but still published her work in print:

[Woodcut “E”]l conocimiento propio, pudiera servir de freno a mi inclinacion, para tener a raya el deseo de sacar a luz mis primeros borrones: pues aunque muchas mugeres han ilustrado las estampas con sus escritos, no les han puesto lunares, como yo haré con los míos; pero como la variedad haze hermosa a la naturaleza, parecerà menos monstruoso este parto de mi ingenio, con que podré escusar los temores que hasta aora me han acobardado. (p 1)

So it is that the first lines of the prologue position her publication within the context of female authorship, even if no names are given. Despite her self-deprecating stance, she nevertheless refers to her text as a child of her wit, one of the most popular metaphors of the time (Curtius 1990: 133). Sor Ana’s metadiscourse registers, in print, a secular understanding of authorship, despite her religious status; she does not claim that her knowledge was infused by God.

Sor Ana admits that her literary aspirations came from the work of scientific women authors: “Estimularonme a esta empresa, los escritos de mugeres científicas; el deseo de seguir sus pisadas, y juntamente el de hazer algun obsequio a mi Religión” (p. 2). In light of the allographic material in the paratext, by *científicas* Sor Ana would appear to mean didactic authors such as Luisa de Padilla and Ana de Castro Egas.⁴⁰ More importantly, the fact that she felt the need to make explicit the type of

⁴⁰ In one of her letters to Uztárróz, Sor Ana reveals her original choice of dedicatee: “el dedicarlo a de ser a la señora doña Mariana, su ija [ilegítima] del Infante Cardenal, con quien tengo muchas inclusiones y ahora de nuevo grande comunicación” (cited from Serrano y Sanz 1975: I, 3). The

women authors she meant (“científicas”) would suggest her familiarity also with profane female authorship.

Thus Sor Ana admits to writing voluntarily as opposed to be following a superior’s command, a topos, as we have seen, in the religious tradition. But she also speaks of her literary practices as being one of her more important obligations (“Voluntariamente emprendi este trabajo, y ya le hallo por vna de mis mayores obligaciones”), and overtly draws attention to her formal education: “en su [Monasterio de Calvas] escuela confieso auer grangeado el adquirido ser” (p. 2).

As if anticipating what Isabel Correa would later proudly boast, Sor Ana expresses the idea (or exposes the topos, Curtius 1990: 83) that, for writers, the fear of adverse criticism is always subordinate to gaining public recognition, and comments on her future publishing plans: “Poco acobarda el temor a quien determinado escriue, y assi desconociendo el escarmiento, sacarè a luz, si Dios me da vida, la de la Gloriosa Santa Susana, Princesa de Vngria [...], que su memoria merece estar esculpida en laminas de bronce” (p. 3).

We may surmise that, despite her conventual vocation, Sor Ana’s literary career, perhaps to a greater degree than that of Sórora Violante, bore much resemblance to that of secular authors.

connection between the two women may suggest that she was also familiar with Castro’s biography of Felipe III, which was dedicated to the Cardenal-Infante. If Sor Ana later chose the bishop of Barbastro over doña Mariana, this was, as she states in *Prohemio*, to render tribute to her order. The importance of early precedents of female authors as stimulus for Sor Ana’s literary practices was previously underlined by Oltra (1988: 97).

4.2 Authorship and Publication, 1672-1700

The next set of female-authored publications dates from the late 1670s, the richest context in terms of women's awareness of being part of a long literary tradition, even if the women authors themselves continued to criticise it. By this stage first-hand referents abounded and the first part of Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, the second literary bibliography in Spain, had been published, wherein female authors, both of didactic and profane works, were listed side by side with male authors.⁴¹ Thus, despite not acknowledging the *Bibliotheca*, most contemporary women readers-turned authors would have been familiar with it, as their male readers would have been. "No avia quien imprimiesse, que no la contribuyesse vno, como à la Fee de erratas", would note Sor Juana's first biographer (see p. 321).

Female literary traditions in Castilian, Portuguese or Valencian —the three main languages of the Iberian Peninsula— went as far back as the second half of the fifteenth century. The seventeenth century gave new women authors some worthy and closer precedents, all of which doubtless helped them to succeed. The case of Luisa de Padilla as a didactic author was notable, if we consider the number of works she published; but so are those of Sórora Violante and Sor Ana. They all show that, by then, women could successfully publish from inside and outside convent walls on a variety of themes as long as they had peer support, similar to their male counterparts.

⁴¹ For instance; Beatriz Bernal (p. 394), Luisa Sigea (pp. 57-58), Leonor de Noronha (p. 405), Oliva Sabuco (p. 124), Santa Teresa (p. 237), Valentina Pinelo (pp. 257-58), Isabel de Liaño (p. 397), Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda (p. 285), Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán (p. 394), María de Zayas (p. 71), Luisa de Padilla (p. 57), and Mariana de Carvajal (p. 71).

The situation does not seem to have differed greatly in Mexico. This becomes evident, if we consider the case of María de Estrada Medinilla with the *relación de sucesos* in print (allegedly written for a nun) as early as 1640.⁴² Only ten years after Estrada's publication, the works of Anne Bradstreet (1612-1672) were printed with the intervention of her brother in London as *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America or Several Poems, compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning*.⁴³ Other cases of *femmes savantes* across Europe included Anna Maria van Shurman, Elena Piscopia, and Sophia Brenner, all of whom were widely famed for their linguistic and literary skills (see Stevenson 2005; 2007a; 2007b).

A first instructive example of the last decades of this rich century is *Vigilia y octavario de San Juan Baptista*, a “miscelánea, al estilo de la época, enmarcada [...] en una sencilla trama pastoril”, printed in the name of Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de

⁴² Also relevant is the case of Paula Benavides, a printer, who went on to become the recipient of Francisco de Robledo's *concesión* to print exclusively “libros del Santo Oficio”, and to whom was assigned the task of publicizing news from Europe in Mexico. Poot-Herrera 2008: 307: “Y lo hace al publicar las primeras *Gacetas* [from 1671] que vieron la luz en la Nueva España”. In the early 1680s an important number of works began to appear printed by the Viuda de Rodríguez Lupercio. Following the death of her husband, Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, she continued the business as a printer and a bookseller successfully, from 1683 until her death in 1697 (Poot-Herrera 2008: 309).

⁴³ Merrim (1999: 142-52) studies Bradstreet in relation to Sor Juana. However, the fact that she published as both a wife (she was married to the governor of Massachusetts) and a mother (to eight children) makes her case more relevant in a discussion of authors such as Luisa de Padilla. As we have seen, Padilla's femaleness and her alleged experience as a mother were used to promote the sale of her books.

Bolea in 1679 in Zaragoza. It includes two interpolated *novelas* (Campo Guiral 2007: 31).⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Sor Ana's role in this publication has been undermined on the grounds that she did not write any document from the paratext, and that she remained silent as to her authorship of this work. The latter has been seen as a sign that she held it in low esteem, perhaps because this was "una obra de ficción, de temática, en parte profana" (Campo Guiral 2007: 28).

The *licencia* was taken out by Sor Ana's niece Francisca Bernarda Abarca de Vilanova, also a nun at the Convent of Casbas; Sor Ana would have been over eighty years old by then. The publisher was Baltasar Vicente de Alhambra, and the dedicatee, Bernardo Abarca de Bolea, 3rd Marqués de Torres, the author's nephew. Here, again, we can see an author's protecting her reputation by getting someone else to act as the "supposed" instigator for the publication. This was a widespread rhetorical strategy, as we have seen; Lastanosa acted as publisher for a number of works by Baltasar Gracián.⁴⁵ More relevantly, the preliminary material interprets the author's *modestia* from a purely conventional stance: "no es nuevo publicar vn hombre la sabia discrecion de vna muger".⁴⁶ Additionally, Sor Ana's extensive

⁴⁴ *Apólogo de la ventura en la desdicha* and *El fin bueno en mal principio*. Whitenack (2001: 255) sees the *novelas* as akin in spirit to Cristóbal Lozano's *Persecuciones de Lucinda* (1664) and *Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo* (1672), given the author's overtly moral-didactic stance.

⁴⁵ *El discreto* (Huesca, 1646) and the revised and augmented second edition of *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (Huesca, 1648) were dedicated to Luisa de Padilla's husband.

⁴⁶ From the 'CENSVRA DEL M.R.P.M. FRANCISCO / Sobrecasas, del Orden de Santo Domingo, Lector / Iubilado, y Calificador del Santo / Oficio', dated Zaragoza, 15 February 1678.

experience as an author is ultimately emphasised: “A los cinco libros que ha escrito mi Señora Doña Ana Abarca. Vexamen de D. Baltasar Vicente de Alhambra”.⁴⁷

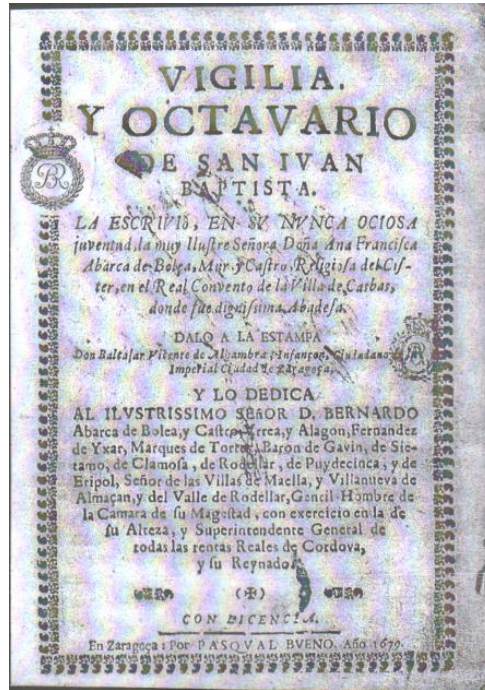


Fig. 44. BNE, R/43976: Sor Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, *Vigilia y octavario*, title-page.

In the prologue to the reader, aside from listing all her works, the publisher, furthermore, states that the reason why Sor Ana consigned *Vigilia y Octavario* to oblivion was the sudden death of those who had incited her to write it (her first-intended readers):

El quarto, este que intitula Vigilia, y Octavario de San Iuan Baptista [...] no por vanidad de su pericia (que es grande su modestia) sino por desempeño del que la avia acreditado, hizo una

⁴⁷ Aside from *Catorze vidas* (1655) and *Vigilia y octavario* (1679), Sor Ana also published in print *Vida de Santa Susana* (1671). *Vida de San Félix Cantalicio* and *Historia del aparecimiento y milagros de la Virgen de Gloria* “quedaron inéditos y sus manuscritos, desgraciadamente, se han perdido” (Campo Guiral 2007: 20).

recopilacion de gran parte de sus versos; y de las Flores Historiales, observadas en el numero siete [...]. *Pero aviendo passado aquellos Cavalleros a mejor vida, al tiempo que esta Obra avia de salir a luz, la juzgô yâ inutil, y como a tal, resolviô entregarla al silencio.* (“PROLOGO AL / DISCRETO LECTOR”, my italics)

The reason for the delay may have been much simpler. Capitalized in the title-page was the fact that Sor Ana wrote this work in her youth (“LA ESCRIVIÓ, EN SV NUNCA OCIOSA JUVENTUD”). Whether or not this is the case —King (1963) and Campo Guiral (2007) believe that its composition date was around 1650— Sor Ana had already used such grounds with regard to her publication of *Catorze vidas*: “Siempre me guiò mi genio a estas ocupaciones [...]. Oy, que ni la niñez los desacredita, ni la mucha edad me oprime, le he consentido este desahogo a mi inclinacion, y los primeros buelos a mi pluma” (Ana Abarca de Bolea 1655: 2).

Furthermore, she may have been of the opinion that such works should be published last, when one’s career was established: “le [*La república literaria*] tuve en las tinieblas de la pluma, sin permitille salir a la luz de la estampa, hasta que la mereciese otra obra de más juicio y de más utilidad pública” (Saavedra Fajardo 1999: 61). At any rate, this publication, like *Catorze vidas*, had the complete support of reputed scholars.⁴⁸ Therefore, we may surmise, Sor Ana’s supposed authorial

⁴⁸ “Merece la aceptacion de los eruditos; como la ha conseguido, con suma calificacion, no solamente de los grandes sugetos, que por comission de los Superiores, aprobaron sus escritos, sino de otros muchos, que por evitar prolixidad no se refieren; pues basta para su credito, aver el excelente, y digno de toda alabança Don Francisco de la Torre, Cavallero del Habito de Calatrava, trasladado del manuscrito deste Libro [...]. Y aver celebrado el muy ingenioso, y erudito Padre Gracian en su Arte de Ingenio” (from ‘PROLOGO AL / DISCRETO LECTOR’).

reticence was affected and firmly rooted in literary custom.

An undoubtedly more famous example of female authorship from the last decades of the seventeenth century is *Inundación Castalida*, the first collected works of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, which appeared “Con privilegio” in Madrid in 1689 by the printer Juan García Infanzón (Fig. 45).

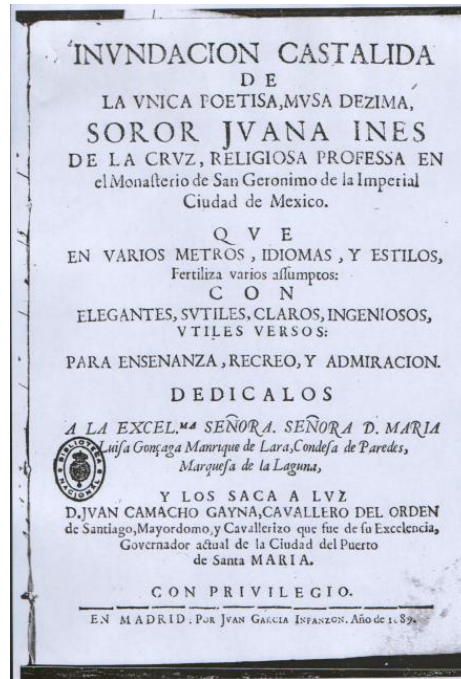


Fig. 45. BNE, R/3053: Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Inundacion castalida*, title-page.

As with the works of some noble and religious women, it was the publisher, not the author, who arranged for the print publication of *Inundación Castalida*. Nevertheless, the main selling points were thought to come from the work's title and the author's name, as shown by the font size in the title-page.⁴⁹ The other details underlined are the

⁴⁹ As early as 1676 fifteen sets of *villancicos*, written by Sor Juana, were commissioned and patronized by Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, bishop of Puebla, and Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas, archbishop of México, but only one, *Villancicos de San Pedro Nolasco*, appeared in her name (Méndez Plancarte

author's status as an eminent female poet, the text's public utility, as well as the dedicatee's name ("A LA EXCEL.^{MA} SEÑORA D. MARIA / Luisa Gonzaga Manrique de Lara, Condesa de Paredes, / Marquesa de Laguna"), below which is given the publisher's identity "Y LOS SACA A LVZ / D. JUAN CAMACHO GAYNA".

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz stands as the second most studied female author of the Golden Age. Sor Juana (1651-1695) was born outside wedlock almost certainly in Nepantla (México), as noted by her first biographer the Jesuit Diego Calleja, and registered in the convent annals. She learnt to read and write in a school for girls in Amecameca, near Panoayán, and it was her grandfather's extensive library that incited her love for literature. Despite her illegitimacy, she was brought up at the court of viceroys. In 1669, after nearly five years as the favourite servant-companion to Leonor Carreto, the then Vicereine of Mexico, she entered the Convent of St Jerome, where she remained until she died in 1695.⁵⁰

1952: II, 368). Some of these first publications such as *Villancicos de la Asunción* (1676), *Villancicos de la Concepción* (1676), as well as those on San Pedro Apóstol (1677 and 1683) might have been printed by Paula Benavides (Poot-Herrera 2008: 308). For an up-to-date chronology of Sor Juana's published works and other writings, see Storey (2007).

⁵⁰ Her mother, Isabel Ramírez, managed lands leased from the church, and had six children (Sor Juana being the second) with three partners: the identity of Sor Juana's father remains a mystery. Callejas notes that she died at this convent due to an epidemic of yellow fever in 1695, an event that was taken as factual for many years. However, a recent review of death records at the convent shows no indication of a plague (see Paz 1982, repr. 1998; Arenal 1983; Franco 1989; Jed 1994; Arenal & Powell 1994; Merrim 1991 and 1999; Baranda 2007).

Sor Juana's withdrawal from the literary world and the selling of her library have been interpreted as marking the point of decline in female literary traditions. Some critics have argued that the Church disposed of her belongings, including her library, as punishment for her lifelong dedication to secular pursuits. And yet, Sor Juana, too, sought fame through print, and more importantly, she achieved it:

el continuo cartearse con literatos y clérigos aficionados a las letras, la tertulia en el locutorio de San Jerónimo, los homenajes en verso a escritores e intelectuales... Durante toda su vida vivió inmersa en el tráfico y el tráfago de la literatura. No en valde su último libro se llamó *Fama*: la buscó y la obtuvo [...] estas circunstancias son, justamente, un testimonio de sus afanes por verse en letras de molde: juntó sus poemas, los mandó copiar, los envió a España y escribió un prólogo en verso que va al frente del volumen. Los textos que componen el segundo tomo de sus obras también fueron recopilados, copiados y enviados a España por ella [...] gracias a la devoción de la condesa de Paredes, pero también a sus propios cuidados, se publicó en vida suya la mejor y la mayor parte de sus escritos. (Paz 1998: 363)

The paratext of *Inundación Castálida* contains both legal and literary texts, all of which are invested with much promotional value.⁵¹ Of special significance is the *aprobación* by Tineo de Morales, as it discusses a theme most relevant in Sor Juana's scholarship: the question of whether or not profane letters are compatible with religion. Interestingly, here the religious are depicted as being more business-oriented than those leading secular lives:

⁵¹ The two laudatory sonnets are by "Don Joseph Perez de Montoro" and "Doña Catalina de Alfaro Fernandez de Cordova, Religiosa en el muy ilustre Convento de Sancti Spiritus de la Ciudad de Alcaraz". A six and a half page *aprobación*, signed by Tineo de Morales comes next, followed by a *licencia*, a second *aprobación*, this time by Diego Calleja, the *privilegio*, the *erratas* and the *tasa*.

Como reconozco que: *stultorum infinitus est numerus* [Ecclesiastes. 1:15: “Infinite is the number of fools”]; podrá ser, que entre tantos, no falte alguno de los que bautizan el idiotismo con nombre de santidad, que piense, que han de canonizarle con publicar guerra à los consonantes de *intra Claustra*, como si fuera à la secta de Lutero. Lo que sè es, que los de esta profession saben mejor conceptuar su negocio, y cultivar sus conveniencias, que los que tratan de cultivar el Parnaso, y conceptuar discreciones, con que se puede entender, que estos viven mas apartados del mundo.

The idea that profane letters are not incompatible with religion is argued —if not promoted— by recalling famous cases of religious men-turned-poets. More importantly, would-be readers are urged to celebrate the author (Sor Juana) as none other than the female version of St Augustine:

Lo cierto es que no es incompatible, ser muy siervos de Dios, y hazer muy buenas coplas. Ansi vemos muy grandes Santos, que aviendoles dado Dios este Numen, (que sin duda es dadiva suya) no se han desdeñado de practicarle, y por èl han conseguido muy singulares aplausos, los Tertulianos, los Ambrosios, los Nazianzenos, y otros. Lo mismo digo de Soror Juana, y añado [...] que ha de ser muy santa, y muy perfecta, y que *su mismo entendimiento ha de ser causa de que la celebremos por el S. Agustin de las mugeres*. (my italics)

It seems improbable that the analogy with one of the Doctors of the Church, one who was not only “a profound thinker but also a writer of high rank” (Curtius 1990: 74), would have been made, or be seen as appropriate, had Sor Juana not had a considerable amount of peer and public support.

Before the author’s signed dedication, there is a revealing three-page prologue to the reader (“Prologo al lector”), left unsigned. Here prologue conventions, such as that of using a catalogue of learned women in defence of or as source of *auctoritas* for a female author, are undermined and deemed redundant. In short, readers are urged not to take the use of this catalogue seriously:

No pienso gastarte (Lector amigo, ò lo que tu quisieres) ni las admiraciones, en ponderar con visonèria pleveya, que sèa vna muger tan ingeniosa, y sabia? espanto que se queda para la estolidez rustica de quien pensare, que por el sexo se han las almas de distinguir: ni el tiempo, es hazerte leer traslados à Rabisto, Casaneo, ù otros, para hazer aqui vn Catalogo inutil de mugeres, que en varios siglos ha[n] escrito con elegancia docta; erudición que dan los Indices tan de valde.

Instead, readers are exhorted to judge books, by men and women, by focusing on the author's skills:

solo emplearè mi prevencion en assegurararte, que hallaràs en estas Poesias el estilo natural, con limpia cadencia, y aun elegante la cultura en las hablas comunes: las voces de que vsa, son tersas, y para significar lo que quiere, mandadas del establecimiento; que no las violenta su antojo, à que signifiquen, lo que ellas no quieren dezir: estàn los consonantes primeros tan tassados, à lo que han de querer expressar los vltimos, que su armonia, mas parece accidente, que menester. Los conceptos son profundos, y claros, sutiles, y faciles de perceber, ingeniosos, y verdaderos; calidades de vnion tan dificil, que rara vez se hallan amigas.

The prologue, too, underlines the fact that the volume was published following the command of Sor Juana's patron (a recurring topos, as we have seen), and the nature and level of her support. In effect, the then vicereine of Mexico, María Luisa Manrique de Lara y Gonzaga, Countess of Paredes, is openly described as her "Mecenas". Sor Juana had also worked for the previous vicereine, Leonor Carreto, Marchioness of Mancera. The author's other supporters are, readers are told, "Arçobispos, como Capitulares de vno, y otro Cabildo, Religiosos, y Forasteros". Finally, the "study of the Muses" is stated as being undertaken by the author only to combat idleness (another topos), not as a remunerated activity —a distinction that inevitably implies that Sor Juana also wrote for money, as, in fact, she did (Paz 1998: 256). The idea is illustrated by recalling two lines from one of Sor Juana's now-most famous sonnets: "Consumir vanidades de la vida; / que consumir la vida en

vanidades”. The sonnet, however, may easily be read as a declaration of her absolute passion for intellectual pursuits, which would suggest that Sor Juana was not the author of this preliminary piece.⁵²

The author’s dedication to her patron comes next with the rubric: “Soneto / a la excelentissima señora Condesa de Paredes, Marquesa dela Laguna, enviándole estos papeles, que su Excelencia la pidio, y pudo recoger Soror Iuana de muchas manos, en que estaban, no menos divididos, que escondidos, como Thesoro, con otros, que no cupo en el tiempo buscarlos, ni copiarlos”. Thus, again, Sor Juana’s entire poetic work is stated to have been published only to carry out a superior’s command, here reenacted by the dichotomy of master (patron) and slave (author). That the work is said to have been collected from several individuals, all of whom regarded it as a *Thesoro* (“treasure”) naturally suggests that Sor Juana’s *œuvre* first circulated and reached public acclaim in manuscript. The dedication’s promotional value lies in the fact that the “master or mistress” was the previous vicereine of Mexico, and the “muchas manos” regarding it as *Thesoro* belonged to the churchmen in Sor Juana’s circle of supporters, thus providing corroboration, now seemingly from the author herself, of the information provided in the unsigned prologue.⁵³

⁵² The crucial lines are as follows: “Yo no estimo tesoros ni riquezas; / y así, siempre me causa más contento / poner riquezas en mi pensamiento / que no mi pensamiento en las riquezas”. (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 134).

⁵³ During almost eight years the Countess of Paredes resided in Mexico (from November 1680 until April 1688), coinciding with the richest and most productive period in Sor Juana’s life (Paz 1998: 192).

Only a year later there appeared a second edition of *Inundación Castalida* “corregida y aumentada” by the author, this time with a prologue by Sor Juana written in the *romance* form, and, also in Sor Juana’s name, *Carta Atenagórica de la madre Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Fig. 46).⁵⁴ *Carta Atenagórica* was printed in Puebla de los Ángeles, México, by Diego Fernández de León. It constitutes Sor Juana’s refutation of the sermon on *Las finezas de Cristo* by the Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira (1608–1697). After the text’s title and the author’s name, the name of the publisher is given, “Sor Phylotea de la Cruz”, allegedly an “estudiosa y aficionada” at the convent where Sor Juana professed.

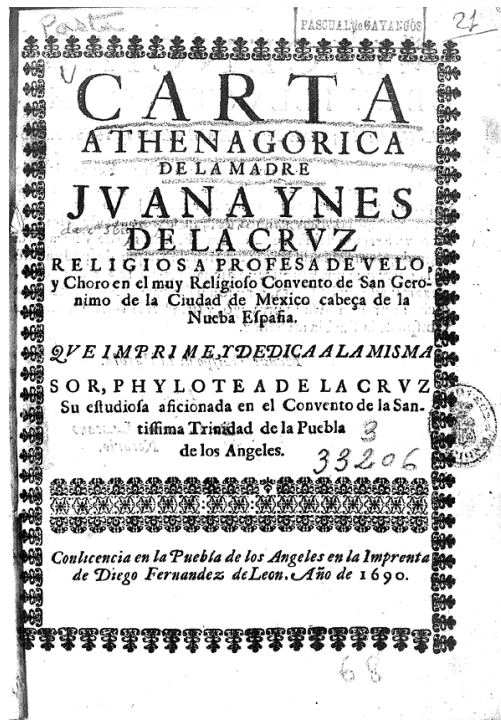


Fig. 46. BNE, DGMICRO/13679: Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Carta Atenagórica*, title-page.

⁵⁴ The prologue’s first four lines read: “Estos versos, lector mío, / que a tu deleite consagro, / y sólo tienen de buenos / conocer yo que son malos” (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 3).

The paratext includes only a *licencia* granted by Manuel, bishop of Puebla, and dated 25 November 1690 in the presence of the *notario* Gerónimo Lazcano, and an epistle-prologue signed by Sor Philotea de la Cruz. As is well-known, both preliminary texts were in fact written by Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1637–1699), bishop of Puebla at the time. The authorship was publicly settled in the 1700 edition of Sor Juana’s collected works, as we shall see.⁵⁵ The epistle-prologue begins in the following manner:

Señora mía: He visto la Carta de V. Md., [*Carta Atenágórica*] en que impugna *Las finezas de Cristo* que discurrió el reverendo padre Antonio de Vieira en el Sermón del Mandato [...] a mi juicio, quien leyere su apología de V. Md. no podrá negar que [...] pudieran gloriarse de verse impugnados de una mujer que es honra de su sexo. Yo, a lo menos, he admirado la viveza de los conceptos, la discreción de sus pruebas, y la enérgica claridad con que convence el asunto, compañera inseparable de la sabiduría [...]. Para que V. Md. se vea en este papel de mejor letra, le he impreso, y para que reconozca los tesoros que Dios depositó en su alma y le sea, como más entendida, más agradecida. (Juana Inés de la Cruz 2002: 30)

The bishop goes on to praise Sor Juana’s reasoning and acknowledge earlier precedents of religious female writers such as Santa Teresa. Nonetheless, he criticizes the fact that Sor Juana’s work gives more prominence to profane letters: “pero deseara que les imitara, así como en el metro, también en la elección de los asuntos” (Juana Inés de la Cruz 2002: 32). Santa Cruz’s motive in publishing the *Carta* may in part

⁵⁵ Some editors of this text have seen the pseudonym as a witty clue to the identity of the writer: “‘de la Cruz’ is a more transparent allusion to the bishop’s surname, Santa Cruz” (Juana Inés de la Cruz 2002: 33).

have been rivalry with Francisco Aguiar y Seijas (Bishop of Michoacán 1677–1680, Archbishop of México 1680–1698), also a Jesuit, who opposed women’s learning. He and Sor Juana could have planned the publication together to ridicule Aguiar y Seijas, an agreement which would have given Sor Juana the opportunity to comment on the publication of *Inundación castalida* (Paz 1998: 526; see also Cossío 1952).

A close consideration of *Carta Atenagórica* at any rate points to its public nature: “Muy señor mío: De las bachillerías de una conversación, que en la merced que V.md. me hace pasaron plaza de vivezas, nació en V.md. el deseo de ver escrito algunos discursos que allí hice de repente sobre los sermones de un excelente orador” (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 811)⁵⁶. If it really was a private document, there would have been no need to recall the circumstances which motivated Sor Juana to write her refutation of Viera’s Sermon; the bishop would have known without further preamble. Something similar can be said of Sor Juana’s claim that she wrote it only to obey orders (a well-known topos) and the reference to her morals, which again seem unnecessary if *Carta* was conceived as a private letter:

De esto hablamos, y V.md. gustó (como ya dije) ver esto escrito; y porque conozca que le obedezco en lo más difícil, no sólo de parte del entendimiento en asunto tan arduo como notar proposiciones de tan gran sujeto, sino de parte de mi genio, repugnamente a todo lo que parece impugnar a nadie, lo hago. (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 811)

⁵⁶The rubric reads: “CARTA DE LA / MADRE IUANA INES DE / LA CRUZ RELIGIOSA DEL CONVENTO de la Ciudad de Mexico en que haze juicio / de vn Sermon del Mandato, que predicò el Reverendissimo P. / Antonio de Vieyra de la Compañia de JESUS, en el / Colegio de Lisboa”.

The references to the bishop as being the text's sole intended reader and to an adverse public reception if it were ever to circulate in public seem to be made in response to, or anticipation of, an imminent situation:

[S]erá V.m.d. solo el testigo, *en quien la propia autoridad de su precepto honestará los errores de mi obediencia*, que a otros ojos pareciera desproporcionada soberbia, y más cayendo en materia de letras con la común acepción de todo el mundo. (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 811, my italics)

In other words, the embedded rhetorical value in Sor Juana's metadiscourse should not be overlooked either by *Carta's* personal tone or letter-form. As we have seen, authors and book producers alike had long exploited the personal even in the most public and profit-driven textual forms of the time, the *relación de sucesos* and the theatre. Furthermore, Sor Juana had used the topos of writing by command in her first publication, despite the fact that it was she who authorized it. The potential damage does not seem to have worried Sor Juana all that much, for if it had, presumably she would have not written it in the first place. And if in doubt, she would have not projected such a confident and uninhibited *ethos*:

Pues si sintió vigor en su pluma [Vieira] para adelantar en uno de sus sermones (que será solo el asunto de este papel) tres plumas, sobre doctas, canonizadas, ¿qué mucho que haya quien intente adelantar la suya, no ya canonizada, aunque tan docta? [...] Si hay quien ose combatir en el ingenio con tres más que hombres, ¿qué mucho es que haya quien haga cara a uno, aunque tan grande hombre? (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 812)

That the publication of *Carta Atenagórica* did not pose any immediate threat to Sor Juana's literary career can be inferred from the third edition of *Inundación Castalida*, "corregida y añadida por su autora", which appeared in print only a year later (Barcelona, 1691). It included three extra *villancicos*, and the *loa y auto sacramental* of *El divino Narciso*: "Estos cambios no pudieron hacerse sin la intervención y la

autorización de sor Juana” (Paz 1998: 558). And two years later, the second volume of her works appeared (Sevilla, 1692) again “Con privilegio” (Fig. 47).

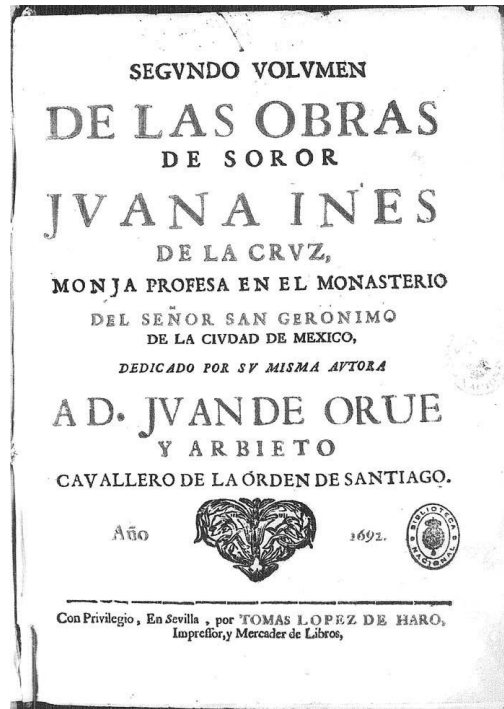


Fig. 47. BNE, R/19244: Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Segundo volumen de las obras de Soror Juana*, title-page.

This publication was dedicated by the author to Juan de Orve y Arbieto, knight of the Order of Santiago. The fact that this authorial intervention is capitalized in the title-page points to the promotional value book producers attached to Sor Juana’s identity as an author.

Despite this being her fourth consecutive authorized publication, Sor Juana still claims to be merely following orders, thus showing that her authorial reticence was due to her adherence to canonical rhetorical precepts. What makes this an explicit form of affected modesty is the fact that here, perhaps more so than in the *Carta Atenagórica*, the situation is publication, and not just the act of writing. Additionally, the reference to the text’s potential detractors overtly points to the *vulgo*, not the

Church. The idea that the dedicatee's protection did not prevent, or indeed, stop criticism in practice, furthermore, echoes Cervantes's remarks in the prologue to the first part of his *Novelas ejemplares*:⁵⁷

[Woodcut "M"]uy señor mio. La intencion Ordinaria de nuestros Españoles, en dedicar sus obras, expressa, que es tener Mecenas, que las defienda de las detracciones del Vulgo: como si la desenfrenada Multitud, y libre Publicidad guardasse respeto à la mas Venerable Soberania. Yo en estos papelillos, que à Vm. dedico, llevo muy diverso fin; pues ni quiero empeñar su respeto en tan impossible empresa, como mi defensa, ni menos coartar su libertad à los letores en su sentir: *el intento no passa de obedecer à Vm. en su entrega.* (my italics)

If Sor Juana still employs self-deprecating formulae based on sexual difference, this is because the second main interpretative community her work was targeting or anticipating was the male religious. As we have seen, the claim that one had an inadequate disposition for writing was an ever-popular form of affected modesty. When based on sexual difference, it was mostly exploited by female authors of the religious tradition, the implication is that their knowledge (thus authority) came from God. By no means, however, had it turned at this point in literary history into a requirement nor was it detrimental to the author's success:

Yo me holgara, que fuessen tales [mis escritos], que pudiesen honrar, y no avergonçar à nuestra Nacion Vascongada; pero no estrañarà Vizcaya, el que se le tributen los hierros que produce, y mas quando llevan la disculpa de ser obra, no solo de vna Muger, en quien es indispensable qualquier defecto, sino de quien [...] nunca ha sabido, como suena la viva Voz de los Maestros, ni

⁵⁷ "el segundo [error], decirles que las ponen debajo de su protección y amparo, porque las lenguas maldicientes y murmuradoras no se atreven a morderlas y lacerarlas" (Cervantes 2003: 54).

ha debido à los oidos, sino à los ojos, las especies de la Doctrina en el mundo Magisterio de los libros.

The reference to the author's Basque origin in her appeal for patronage is not random either. Throughout the viceregal regime, institutions dedicated to women's education were associated with Basque patronage (Torales Pacheco 2001: 32).

Sixty laudatory pages constituted the text's front matter. *Inundación Castalida* attracted so much public attention that the new book producers included a note to the readers:

Aviendo D. Juan de Orue y Arbieta de dar à la luz publica este segundo Volumen de las Obras de la Madre Juana Ines de la Cruz, ò por anticiparles el gusto de leerlas, ò por examinar si corrian vniformes en aquel *aplauzo vniversal*, con que fue recibido el primer Tomo, las consultò con algunos Varones insignes en Religion, y Letras, remitie[n]doselas para que las viesén: Y hallando por las Respuestas dadas à su Consulta eruditamente *confirmada la Fama de la Autora*, no ha querido defraudarla de tan relevantes expresiones, ni à la curiosidad de los Lectores de la vista de tan brillantes Elogios; y assi los ofrece consecutivos ocupando las vezes del mas proporcionado, y elegante Preludio. (my italics)

The pragmatic value of the material submitted is too substantial to be described here in full. Let the following therefore suffice as example: Ambrosio de la Cuesta, canon at Seville Metropolitan Church, authorizes Sor Juana's practices by recalling Santa Teresa and Sor Valentina Pinelo, but interestingly also, Sórora Violante do Céu, who published verse in the manner of Lope and Góngora.⁵⁸ For the Carmelite Gaspar

⁵⁸ That women's penchant for *culteranismo* was by then an established social reality is corroborated by Luis Vélez de Guevara: "Iten, porque a nuestra noticia ha venido, que ay vn linage de Poetas, y Poetisas àzia palaciegos, que hazen mas estrecha vida que los Monjes del Paular, porque con ocho, o

Franco de Ulloa, Sor Juana's *Sueño* excels Góngora's style. More revealing is the praise she receives from Juan Silvestre, a reader in theology, for it includes his interpretation of Santa Teresa's words with respect to women and the ostentation of knowledge: "Harto más quiero, que presuman de parecer simples, que es muy de Santas, que no tan Rectóricas [...]. Santa mía! Muy Rectórica, y Latina os contemplo, sin faltar a lo Santo, con que sois la práctica solución de vuestro argumento" (with corrections). Thus Silvestre's remarks remind us that, however self-deprecating, Santa Teresa's authorial self-representation was not to be taken literally; it was seen as a rhetorical construct at the time, as was presumably that of her followers.

The *Nota* may have been aimed to appeal to Sor Juana's support within the Church in Mexico.⁵⁹ However, we should not overlook its general promotional value; the point about such "brillantes elogios" is Sor Juana's transatlantic fame. As we have seen, focusing on the author's sex was a favourite promotional stunt in the publication of female-authored texts. The implication of this is that Sor Juana's supporters were merely following an established, successful marketing strategy. The same can be said of their lack of negative judgments: "los censores no siempre se mantenían en un plano objetivo, limitándose a señalar con discreción los méritos de la obra" (Simón Díaz 2000: 152). Furthermore, such panegyric *aprobaciones* were not exceptional

diez vocablos solamente [...] quieren expresar todos sus conceptos y dexar a Dios solamente que los entienda" (*El diablo cojuelo*, Tranco X, 1641: 126-27).

⁵⁹ Paz sees it as a marketing campaign organized by the Countess of Paredes to defend her friend from her detractors, based on the fact that the participants' praises focus on Sor Juana's female gender, her triumph over Vieyra, while none condemns her literary practices (1998: 561).

in any way, but rather the norm by the end of the seventeenth century (Bègue 2009: 103). Finally, the overall emphasis on *Carta Atenagórica* may be seen as intended for the “doctos” within the text’s targeted communities of readers (on both sides of the Atlantic). Thus, leaving aside aesthetic matters, if Sor Juana appears “exceptional” in comparison to other female authors it is, we surmise, because of the promotional campaign and public support she and her work attracted (Luna 1996: 160; Stevenson 2007: 92). If we take into account aesthetic matters, her authorial reticences emerge all the more rooted in literary customs.

Another case that illustrates the dangers of reading women’s authorial reticences in a literal sense, while taking men’s as metaphorical or rhetorical is that of Isabel [Rebeca] Correa, a Portuguese-born *judeo-conversa*, whose literary career took place around the same time as Sor Juana, but in the Spanish Netherlands. The earliest record of Correa’s literary skills in print comes from the preliminaries of *Coro de las musas* by the Portuguese Jew Miguel de Barrios (1625-1701), published in Brussels in 1672. Correa contributed some laudatory *décimas*, which were placed at the front of the preliminaries alongside two sonnets; one by an “ilustre ingenio de Lisboa”, and one by her future husband Sergeant Major Don Nicolas de Oliver y Sullana, who served in the wars against France and the Low Countries.⁶⁰ She resided in

⁶⁰ “AL AUTOR Y A SU OBRA, / Decimas. / De Doña Isabel Correa. No solo un vital aliento / te exalta, sublima, y dora: / divino influxo mejora / tu candido entendimiento: / con el alto lucimiento / de tu ingenio superior, / dàs al Pindo mas verdor, / qualquiera Musa es mas bella; / cada renglon una estrella, / y cada letra una flor. / Sale con gracias difusas / de tu methodo profundo /al gran theatro del Mundo / todo el Coro de las Musas: / por las lineas que andar usas, / igualandote à ti solo, / buelas al ursario

Amsterdam, where she attended the literary academy founded by Manuel de Belmonte (see Scholberg 1962; Serrano y Sanz 1975; Navarro 1989; Hormigón 1996; López Estrada 1999).⁶¹ As we shall see, an analysis of paratextual and metadiscursive features of Correa's translation shows continuity and expansion, rather than recession, in women's dealings with theatre and their status as scholars.

Correa's translation was of the famous pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor Fido* (Venetia, 1590) by the Italian poet, dramatist, and diplomat Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612). It was published in Antwerp in 1694. Aside from these details, the title-page also underlines Correa's special input: "Traducido de Italiano en Metro / Español, y ilustrado con Reflexiones / POR / ISABEL CORREA". The paratext contains the female translator's signed dedication, prologue to the reader, two sonnets (one laudatory and one on the play's theme rubricated "Soneto heroico"), a summary of the play by Guarini, and the unsigned *erratas*. That is, it suppresses Guarini's dedication and prologue in verse to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy for whose wedding the play was staged, while it contains no legal texts.⁶²

Polo, / desde el Hispanico nido, / entre las Gracias Cupido, / y entre las Musas Apolo".

⁶¹ One of the laudatory poets in Barrios's publication was Manuel de Pinto y Ribera, who, as we have seen, was the "second-intended" dedicatee of María Nieto de Aragón's panegyric. The other five sonnets are by the Almirante Don Jayme Ortensio Lopez, Juan Alonso del Campo, Juan de Faria, Don Antonio del Castillo, and Don Joseph Milano.

⁶² Another copy at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, with signature R/12370, bears the imprint "Amsterdam, 1694". The reason for this apparent ambiguity lies in the fact that the religious community to which Correa belonged prohibited any publication lacking the board of directors' explicit

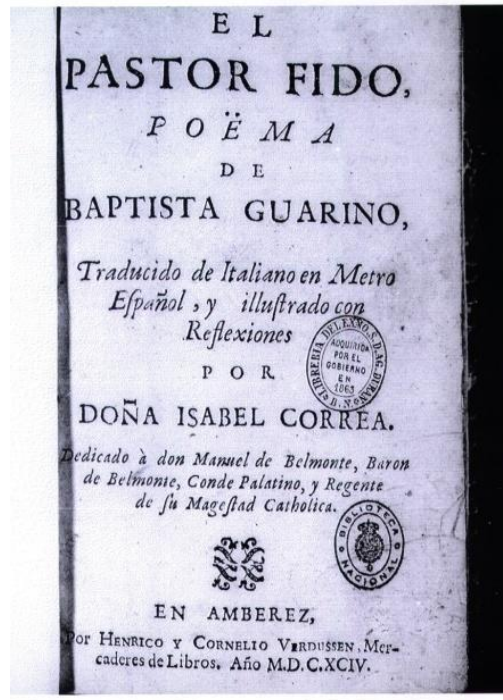


Fig. 48. BNE, R/3241: Correa, *El pastor Fido*, title-page.

Correa's dedication, dated Antwerp, 15 November 1693, is addressed to Manuel de Belmonte, the founder of the literary academy she frequented in Amsterdam. One of its interests lies in locating the editorial trajectory of Guarini's play in translation in relation to hers, while underlining the role of women patrons in its success in both Italy and France:

[E]l Pastor Fido: Poëma del siempre laureado Baptista Guarino, el qual haviendo llenado la esphera del aplauso en su primer Idioma Italiano con favor y amparo de la AUGUSTOSA CATALINA, dignissima Consorte del INVICTISSIMO CARLOS, Duque de la gran Toscana; à quienes fue dirigido, y à si mismo en la Version Françesa, por un Anonimo ingenio, dedicado con

approval: "puesto que les estaba prohibido editar en Amsterdam, seguirán editando allí, pero con indicaciones tipográficas falsas de Bruselas y de Amberes" (Martín Abad 2003: 108).

igual grandeza, y fortuna à una Excelentissima Princesa de Francia; oy que en los ocios, que dispona la tarea de la aguja [...] lo traduxe metrificado en Español, no cediendo en asseo, y pompa à los dos sus predecesores.

Correa thus admits to be presenting to her dedicatee a text which has already been translated twice into Spanish; Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (1571-1645) published his in Naples in 1602, and this was then reprinted in Valencia in 1609. Her authorial tone is proud and uninhibited in this preliminary piece, similar to that of Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán. She argues that her translation is better because it is illustrated with some reflections: “antes permitame la modestia el decirlo, los supero en parte (si no me engaña el serlo propria en semejante juicio) por haverlo Ilustrado con algunas Reflexiones”. The appeal to the dedicatee’s support is made by recalling the topos of *noblesse oblige*, rather than by explicitly drawing attention to her sex:

No [...] otra Persona, à quien con mas devida proporcion deba, y pueda dirigir, y consagrar mi peregrino Pastor, que V.S. por [...] la nobilissima sangre, que le Ilustra, para que busque su affable proteccion: pues es de nobles amparar à quien de ellos se vale.

Correa’s self-assertive metadiscourse is consistent throughout her six-page prologue (“Prologo / al / benigno lector”), but, here, from the very first line, her sexual difference assumes what should by now be seen as a worn-out rhetorical, inherently promotional role in female literary traditions:

[Woodcut initial “T”]*omo la pluma, aunque de poco tomo en mano de muger, confieso ingenuamente, que entre la intencion, y determinacion fluctue procelosos mares, y naufrage tormentosos Caribdes; aquellos de justissimos rezelos: estos de temidos detractores.*

Despite expressing fear of misogynist criticism and claiming to be in a confused state of mind, the author, nevertheless, predictably admits to having found the courage to take up the pen. This time it is thanks to the *inspirante* (“inspiring”) Apollo and his

enlightening of Correa's *dispuesto numen* ("predisposed intellect"), thus blatantly secularizing one of the topoi most often found in religious discourse: the claim that one's intellect has been enlightened by God (Minnis 1988: 83):

[P]ero como suele en instantaneo momento commutarse la mas desesperada tormenta dulce [...] tal le sucediò à mi contrastado espiritu [...] que se vido iluminado del siempre inspirante Apolo [...] assi tocado de su influencia mi dispuesto Numen alterna conceptuosas cadencias.

As with many other female authors, Correa seeks to draw authority from recalling a catalogue of ancient and contemporary learned women. However, she makes it clear there is no need to do so; she concludes her mention of the catalogue so that readers do not take what is purely a sign of respect for a personal matter:

Decoroso estimulo, que ardientissimo me inflama, à que siga por la literaria palestra las siempre vestigiosas huellas de tantas, que con incansables cursos ganaron de las manos del aplauso el Victorioso Palio de las Letras [...]. Cesso en el Epilogo [...] porque no suene à passion particular, lo que es mero discante de tan merecidos Elogios.

The remark echoes the one made in the unsigned prologue of Sor Juana's *Inundación Castalida*; the implication of this is that Correa appears to have been acquainted with this work. In fact, amongst the contemporary female referents she recalls is María Guadalupe de Alencastre y Cárdenas, duchess of Aveiro (1630-1715), to whom Sor Juana had dedicated a laudatory *romance* (see Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 47).⁶³

⁶³ "La Excelentissima Duquesa de Aveiro, que oy vive, y viva muchos años para ser heroico timbre del sexo: en el que està componiendo de la China, y otras infinitas, tanto veteranas, quanto modernas en sus memorables escritos". The duchess became a well-known figure at court in Madrid, and was a leading patron of Jesuit missions in America (Paz 1998: 343).

Other manifestations of Correa's authorial self-confidence include the use of plain humour. It would have made little financial sense to make the following jokes in a printed text, had the public not supported women's roles as translators of theatre:

Ya oigo que me dizes entre dientes, (sin mostrarmelos, no porque no los tendras, aunque todo puede ser; sino por tu affable benignidad) Valgate Dios por muger, en que ha de parar tanta anticipada precaucion, tanto tempestuoso concepto, y tanta encadenada erudicion.

The same can be said of Correa's overt admission to be publishing in order to acquire wisdom, fame, and self-pleasure or amusement:

Lector amigo [...] tres motivos concitaron del veieñoso⁶⁴ letargo, en que jazia mi casi sepultado ingenio: el primero virtuosamente util [...] la *Sabiduría* [...]. El segundo [...] *renombre*, porque [...] todos nos incitamos al estudio por codicia de la Gloria. El tercero [...] siendo [...] el escribir lo que dictan las musas un graciossimo alivio, y un sabroso *entretenimiento*. (my italics)

Correa recalls the opinion of famous seventeenth-century scholars such as Manuel de Faria e Sousa on Guarino's play, and, like Luisa de Padilla, her experiences as a reader (of several Romance languages), which further point to her cultural authority:

Hasta aqui Sousa. Aviendolo en fin leydo con atencion, y agrado, tanto en su primer Idioma Italiano; quanto en la Version Francesa, enamorada de sus elegantes Episodios, discretas Allusiones, conceptuosas Sentencias, y amantissimos Afectos: encendiò en los mios su gallarda disposicion, el ardientissimo deseo de traducirlo en el nuestro Castellano.

⁶⁴ This is obviously a misprint, or misreading, of "veleñoso" (*beleñoso* in modern Spanish). That is, lethargy brought on by administration of a drug made from deadly nightshade/belladonna.

So it is that her admission that the play had already been translated into Spanish in the dedication is used here to allow her to comment on the shortcomings of the previous translator, and highlight, even boast about, the strengths of hers with a reference to Quintilian:

El ver estaba con muchas quiebras de valor, por carezer de lo dulce, y grave del Ritmo, esmalte que tubo por imposible, dar à su traduccion este Autor [Suárez de Figueroa], y que yo le di à la mia, venciendo la con metrificadas cadencias [...] con la diversidad [...] permitame la osadia, sin que me riña la modestia, el que me atreva a dezir que excedo el original, en parte, (sino me engaña el serlo en juicio propio) por averlo ilustrado con algunas Reflexiones, que me ocurrian al proposito, y assi mismo por lo que intima Quintiliano, en lo que afirma: ser de limitado ingenio, no saber dezir mas de lo que otros dixieron.

There is no doubt that Correa's position within the Republic of Letters was secured. Otherwise, she would have not publicly discredited a well-respected translator and even Guarino's original (Catelli & Gargatagli 1996: 47). The discussion of her approaches to translation (the location, order, logic, etc, of her reflections) furthermore suggests that, aside from the *vulgo*, Correa also envisioned a like-minded readership for her text (e.g. "van anotadas à la margen con una estrella *, cuyo influxo se difunde hasta que termina en dos paralelas rayas"). And, as in Caro and Zayas, it is the question of financial gain that draws the prologue to an end:

Amigo Lector, tercera vez sale al mundo metamorphoseado el Pastor Fido. Confio, (aunque me gradue de necia la misma confianza) que le sirvirà de tercera discreta, para grangearle el general agrado. Si este logra de ti, como espero, me alentarè a darte por mano de la emprenta Obras proprias à diferentes asuntos, donde tu halles tu gusto, y yo mi provecho. Vale.

Correa's authorial mark is also located within Guarino's text, thus making her input unmissable. In between his *Argumento* and Act I, there is a sonnet rubricated and

underlined as follows: “Ingenua Confession de la AUTORA / en la traduccion del / PASTOR FIDO. / SONETO”.⁶⁵

In a radically contrasting fashion, *Despertador del alma al sueño de la vida* was published a year later in Lisbon “Com todas las licenças necessarias”, but under a pseudonym “dale a la estampa / Apolinario de Almada”. It consists of 300 *octavas* imitating Góngora’s style. The work’s female authorship is suggested in the unsigned prologue “Al que leyere”, the first preliminary text, through gender stereotypicality. However, the question becomes settled by the first *octava* in the poetic text through grammatical gender.⁶⁶ That such authorial reticence was influenced by moral and religious grounds rather than sexual difference may be inferred from the prologue: “O Christiano Lector [...] importan poco los aplausos, no solo a quien no tiene nombre, pero a todos los que tienen conocimiento; pues no dan las fragiles alas de una pluma

⁶⁵ “Como deben al SOL los esplendores, / Las que alumbra à THELLUS por la esfera, / Como deben à EOLO su Carrera, Musicos ramilletes de colores; / Como à SIBILIS deben sus verdores, / La vejetable turba lisongera; / Como à THETIS, la vida placentera, / Deben sin respirar sus moradores. / Tal el que alterno numeroso CANTO, / Al modulado PLECTRO CASTALINO, / Canviando en nupcial risa el mortal LLANTO / Sin alterar sus ASUNTO peregrino, / Aunque es mia la voz de Aliento tanto, / Debe sus locuciones à Guarino” (p. 17). Correa was probably also the author of the poem below the unsigned *erratas* (“Las advertidas Erratas, / Y las sin notar te ruego / Lector, que las atribuyas / A la estampa, y no al ingenio”).

⁶⁶ “[Woodcut “C”]arissima prision, vinculo estrecho, / Copia de mis alientos perceptible, / Imbecil humo, de ayre satisfecho, / Brillante efecto de arte incomprehensible; / Compuesto vano, en que *advertida* acecho / De mi invisible ser forma visible, / Fabrica humana, que llevò la palma, / Aparente ilusion, vida del alma” (ll. 1-8, p. 1, my italics).

buena razon de los intentos, si de gloria màs digna no hazen mejor aprecio las virtudes”.

Aside from the usual legal texts, the work contains a laudatory sonnet in Castilian by the historian Luis de Meneses, 3rd Count of Ericeira.⁶⁷ Presumably, both his involvement and the clues given in the prologue led to the unveiling of the author’s identity. He was married to his niece, Joana Josefa de Meneses (1651-1709), by whom he had a son, Francisco Xavier de Meneses, a general and later also a successful author of works both of poetry and prose.⁶⁸ Joana was the protégée of Queen Catherine of England, aunt of João V of Portugal.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ “A un libro poetico / intitulado / Despertador / del alma, / al sueño de la vida. / Soneto. / Despertador, que en clausulas sonoras / Con reguladas, dulces armonias, / Del mundo los engaños desafias, / Del Cielo los avisos athesoras. / Divino inspiras, metrico enamoras, / Y del tiempo en las rapidas porfias, / Convinces el error de tantos dias / Con la breve lecion de pocas horas. / De Numen superior son influídos / En tantas exemplares excelencias / Ritmos perfectos, numeros partidos. / Y es la luz que señalan tus cadencias / Despertador que avisa los sentidos / Desengaño que alumbra a las potencias” (signed “Do Conde da Ericeyra”). The other preliminary pieces are ‘Admiracion de un papel / De Autor incognito, / intitulado / Despertador / del alma, / al sueño de la vida. / Romance endecasilabo’, signed “De S.P.V.”, the *Aprovaçam* by Joseph da Cunha Brochado dated Lisbon, 20 August 1694, the usual five *Licenças*, and the *Taxaõ* dated Lisbon, 5 March 1695.

⁶⁸ Joana’s parents were Fernando de Meneses, 2nd count of Ericeira (also a famous author), and Leonor Filipa de Noronha, a lady-in-waiting of Luisa de Guzmán, queen of Portugal (1640-1656).

⁶⁹ Once a widow, she was appointed as *Camarera mayor*, one of the most important positions at court: “la Camarera reunía en torno a su figura oficial un cúmulo de competencias que la convirtieron en un personaje poderoso e influyente en los círculos cortesanos [...] estuvo inmersa en la dinámica política

As in Padilla's case, therefore, the most immediate family circle of Joana Josefa de Meneses had an active interest in literature, and her literary skills were also publicly known through manuscript.⁷⁰ The count committed suicide on 25 May 1690, which means that both his poem and the work itself must have been written at least five years before it was actually published. In their son's epic poem *Henriqueida* (Lisboa, 1741), the "cronista da Casa de Bragança" calls the author's family "Casa da Sabedoria". But the important point is that the chronicler does not state (or insinuate) in any way that Joana adopted anonymity because of her sex or that her authorship had remained veiled until then.⁷¹ Last but not least, the pseudonym chosen is a rather erudite joke, pointing to *her* religious vocation. "Apolinario" is a reference to St Apolinaris Syncletica, a hermitess (listed in the Roman Martyrology) who donned male attire to live out her religious life as 'Dorotheus', hence the masculine inflexion of the name; Almada looks across at Lisbon from the southern bank of the Tagus.

de las facciones cortesanas apoyando intereses familiares o personales; esta faceta no era desconocida por los principales personajes políticos de palacio, por lo que la negociación con la camarera mayor siempre se buscó, y no sólo en posibles mediaciones para acceder a la reina" (Oliván Santaliestra 2006: 144).

⁷⁰ She is known to have authored some works of drama: an *auto sacramental* divided into two parts, *Contienda del amor divino y humano*, and two *comedias*, *El divino imperio del Amor* and *El duelo de las finezas*, all of which were lost during the fire in her palace caused by an earthquake in November of 1755 in Lisbon (see Barbosa Machado 1965; Serrano y Sanz 1975; Hormigón 1996).

⁷¹ The rubric reads: "Do ordinario / censura do M. R. P. D. Joze Barbosa C. R. / Chronista da Serenissima Casa de Bragança, Academico da / Academia Real de Historia Portugueza, e Examinador / Synodal do Patriarcado de Lisboa", unpaginated.

In this context, where some women authors continued to adopt overtly confident stances exploiting their sexual difference in print publications, and while others hid under anonymity on moral grounds, the posthumous collection of Sor Juana's poetic and prose work appeared in Madrid in 1700 "Con privilegio" and by Manuel Ruiz de Murga (Fig. 49).

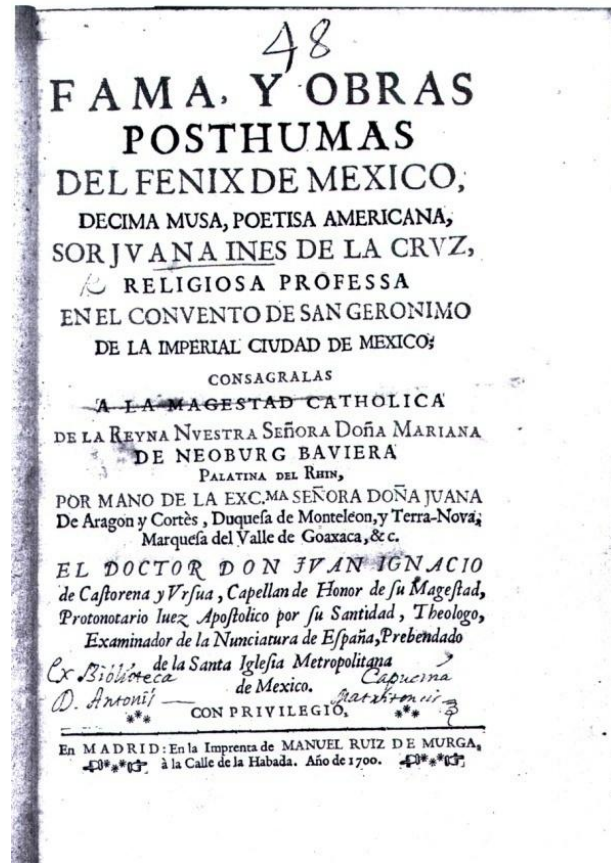


Fig. 49. BL, 11450.ee.51: Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Fama y obras posthumas del Fenix de Mexico*, title-page.

Fama y obras póstumas del Fénix de Mexico involved the collaboration of a great number of poets, male and female, from the entire Hispanic world to pay due respect to Sor Juana's life and work, thus imitating Pérez de Montalbán's homage to Lope de Vega. Furthermore, it included "Respuesta de la poetisa a Sor Filotea de la Cruz", published here for the first time in print (Fig. 50). This text has received a large amount of scholarly attention due to its seemingly personal yet rhetorical tone, and the

fact that it was written for Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, the bishop of Puebla, who, supposedly without Sor Juana's consent, printed *Carta Atenagórica* (see Perelmuter 1983; Merrim 1991 and 1999; Arenal & Powell 1994; Paz 1998).

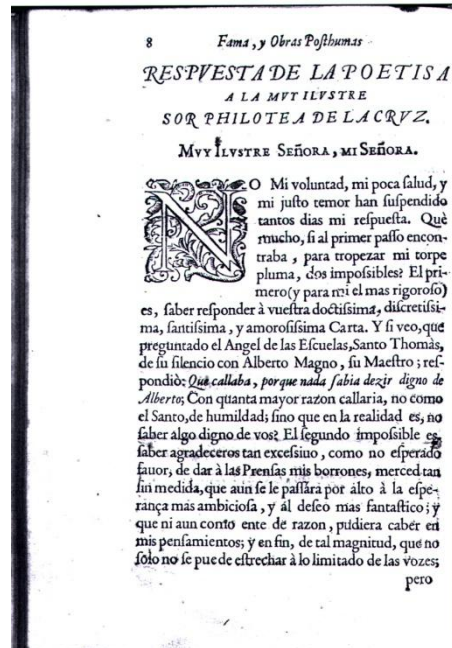


Fig. 50. BL, 11450.ee.51: Juana Inés de la Cruz, first page of *Respuesta* (p.8).

Proof that Sor Juana's words were not to be taken any more lightly than Santa Teresa's, whether in manuscript or print, is given in this text: "en lo poco que se ha impreso mío, no sólo mi nombre, pero ni el consentimiento para la impresión ha sido dictamen propio, sino libertad ajena que no cae bajo mi dominio" (Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 847). Here, again, we can see at work what Genette (2001: 10) calls the publication benefits of having certain things "known" without having supposedly said—or, indeed, allowed—them oneself. Furthermore, we have no evidence that the bishop ever replied to Sor Juana nor do we know his reaction upon receiving the *Carta*.

Nonetheless, this apparent void (the Bishop's silence) has been seen as bizarre: "la *Respuesta* era un escrito excepcional, no sólo por venir de quien venía sino por los asuntos que trataba, entre ellos el de la educación de las mujeres y sus derechos a

comentar e interpretar las Escrituras” (Paz 1998: 551). In reality, however, the subject matter was not that exceptional. As we have seen, the defence and condemnation of women’s education was discussed in the ever-popular *Querelle des femmes*.⁷² The same can be said of Sor Juana’s advocacy of women as exegetes (Luna 1996: 160; Stevenson 2007: 92). Furthermore, she was and continued to be in fact praised in print for her refutation of Vieira.

Fama’s paratext includes two dedications, one addressed to Reina Mariana de Neoburg Baviera, and one to Juana Piñateli, duchess of Monteleón and Terranova, both signed by Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa. It also bears two *aprobaciones*, one by Diego de Heredia, dated 19 December 1698, and one by Diego Calleja, dated 17 April 1695, the year in which Sor Juana dies. Calleja also wrote one for *Inundación*, but this time his comments amount to what can be seen as the first biography of Sor Juana; here the emphasis lies on reconciling her literary practice and her religious status:

Afirman los que la trataron, que jamàs se avra visto igual perspicacia de entendimiento, junta con tan limpiissima candidez de buen natural: nadie la oyò jamàs quexosa, ni impaciente: su quitapesares era su Libreria, donde se entraba à consolar con quatro mil amigos, que tantos eran los Libros de que la compuso, casi sin costa, porque no avia quien imprimiesse, que no la contribuyesse vno, como à la Fee de erratas. Estas disposiciones de natural tan limpio, y compuesto hallò el año de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres la Divina gracia de Dios, para hazer en

⁷² This point is not new. Some scholars have also deemed Sor Juana’s familiarity with the work of Christine de Pizan and of other figures of the *Querelle des femmes* possible (see Merrim 1991 and 1999).

el corazon de la Madre Juana su morada de asiento.

The hagiographical tone would have been seen as customary within the context of the early biography of writers (see Peraita 2003). Yet for some readers it may have been somewhat puzzling in light of the unsigned sonnet, which comes after the *aprobación*, and whose rubric reads: “Al desengaño con que murió la Madre Juana / Inés de la Cruz”.

Importantly, the paratext contains more positive visual and literary material such as a plate of Sor Juana holding a quill and a book, doubtless aimed at reflecting the celebrity literary status she achieved, similar to Pérez de Montalbán’s homage to Lope de Vega (Fig. 51).

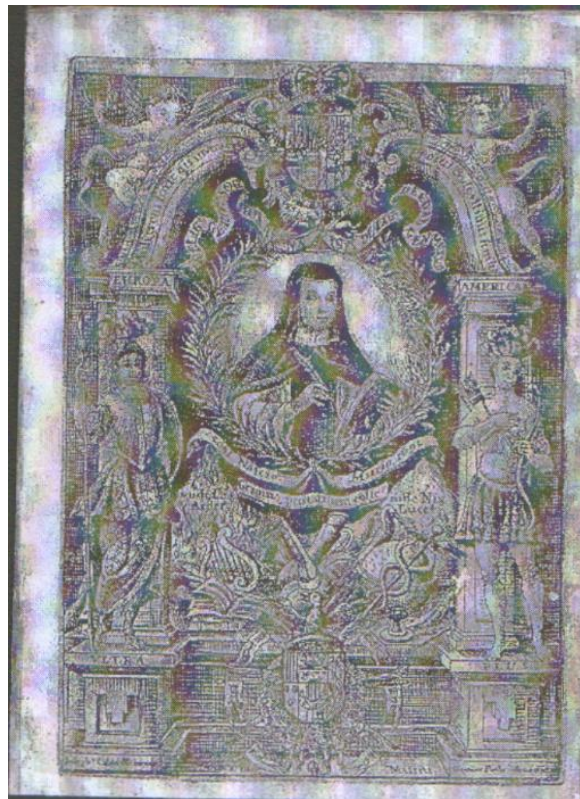


Fig. 51. BL, 11450.ee.51: Juana Inés de la Cruz, plate of Sor Juana.

Likewise, *Fama* includes a great number of laudatory poems—all either on her death, the publication of her third volume, or her intellectual knowledge—including

some by women leading both secular and religious lives. This, too, reflects the positive reception of Sor Juana's work amongst male and female readers, and especially, the continuous relevance, indeed appeal, of women's views on female authorship, even if complicity could only be achieved via sexual difference: "Pues solo en el sexo pude / Ser, Juana, tu semejante".⁷³ This statement further attests to why gendered perspectives were adopted and emphasised in female-authored texts.

The *Parecer* of Dr Jacinto Muñoz de Castilblanque, a Spanish theologian and archbishop-elect of Manila in the Philippines, again, focuses on the tenor of Sor Juana's celebrity status:

No es eleccion de los hombres la Fama, esta si los elige à tan superior honra. Creciò la desta Poetisa, porque creciò el merito para ser la mas celebrada, y no cabiendo en el Nuevo Mundo sus aplausos, ocuparon à todo el Mundo sus ecos.

The prologue is written by the dedicatee, Juan Ignacio de Casterona y Ursúa, and it is here that the identity of Sor Filotea de la Cruz, the publisher and recipient of *Carta atenagórica*, is finally revealed to all readers. Here the bishop's exhortations are said to have influenced Sor Juana's selling of her library, and also, by implication, her withdrawal from the literary world: "con tales avisos, luego, luego, por enagenarse Evangélicamente de si misma, dio de limosna hasta su Entendimiento en la venta de sus libros". Nonetheless, it has long been demonstrated that Sor Juana did not sell all her books (see Schons 1926; Paz 1998). Furthermore, the recently-discovered will of

⁷³ These are the last two lines of a composition rubricated: "En alabanza de las obras de la madre / Sor Juana Inès de la Cruz, / escribe tambien la señora / Doña Francisca de Echauarri con elegante, y culto Numen Poetico este / romance".

the cleric José Lombeida, dated 15 July 1695, gives conclusive evidence that Sor Juana herself commissioned the sale of her books; there was no forced renunciation of her intellectual pursuits (see Vera 2011). Finally, the message (the supposed impact of the bishop's exhortations) was transmitted to contemporary readers, along with the idea that Sor Juana's status as a scholar and "Dezima Musa" was worth celebrating even posthumously. The latter doubtless carried more weight, given the continuous praise of all her profane works in print, including those which allegedly caused her withdrawal from the literary world:

En la tercera Parte hallaràs la Prosa, y Versos de la Poetisa, q[u]e la definen [...]. Los Versos de la Poetisa son como suyos, naturales, claros, subtiles, conceptuosos, siempre adelantando, ceñidos al intento: estàn al vso, que tambien las Ciencias mudan trages, segun los tiempos. La Prosa llena de leyes de lo eloquente, y retorico con peregrina claridad, sin palabra forastera, (estilo proprissimo de su sexo) [...]. Pero si en la respuesta à la muy ilustre Phylotea en este, en la Crisis [*Carta Atenagórica*] al principio del segundo, y el Arco Triumphal al vltimo del primero Tomo [...]: reglas, que dieran el acierto al Castellano desde la elegancia Latina, en los Tacitos, Cicerones, y Quintilianos.

The same can be said of Sor Juana's *romance* (51), supposedly written in 1692, and whose rubric reads: "En reconocimiento a las inimitables plumas de la Europa, que hicieron mayores sus obras con sus elogios: que no se halló acabado". The poem was also included in *Fama* (for the first time), despite being unfinished and despite the fact that it no way reflects the slightest hint of desire on the part of Sor Juana to abandon the literary world (Paz 1998: 594).⁷⁴

⁷⁴ *Romance* (50) also deals with the same theme but addressing only one reader, the Conde de la Granja

Therefore, we may surmise that in *Fama*, too, Sor Juana continued to be praised and celebrated for her literary talent. Nowhere, and this point should be emphasised, was it said that there had ever been a problem with Sor Juana's female sex, even when withdrawing from the literary world. The success Sor Juana enjoyed makes it clear that the pressing factor in her life at the time came from elsewhere. It hardly seems coincidental that her decision came after losing viceregal protection with the death of the Marquis of Laguna and the rise of Aguiar y Seijas in 1692 (Paz 1998: 606). The fact that Sor Juana never admitted to craving celebrity status should therefore not lead us into thinking that it was not in her mind or that the idea itself was not supported when regarding a female religious, for it was, as we have seen. As Isabel Correa boldly noted, "*Todos nos incitamos al estudio por codicia de la gloria*" (from Correa's prologue, my italics).

Conclusions

In this final chapter I have argued that female authorial reticence in the seventeenth century did not undermine the consolidation of women authors in the public sphere. A close look at the material and discursive properties of women's publications, including artwork and illustration, showed that the adoption of anonymity and pseudonymity by women in all cases fitted with contemporary literary trends. Some of those who published anonymously, or "hid" under a publisher, in fact went on to reach national and international renown as didactic authors and scholars, despite publishing as members of the nobility or the Church. In two such instances, the

(see Juana Inés de la Cruz 1999: 70-72).

captatio benevolentiae based on sexual difference and aided by the trope of rarity continued to prove a worthwhile promotional point. Even when not used, the reasons motivating anonymity and pseudonymity were to be found elsewhere. The marketing strategies utilized by authors and book producers only differed in relation to authorial intent, and, whatever their nature, in all cases they seemed to have been adopted at the author's discretion, not as requirements. The modern notion of the autonomous, independent, and self-promoting literary artist, male and female, still lay in the future; that is why I have chosen to denominate the phenomenon that has occupied us in these pages by its contemporary name of "the Republic of Letters".

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that, in practice, the question of sexual difference did not interfere with women's literary endeavours during the transition from manuscript to print, even print publication prescribed no prerequisite when the author was a woman. A paratextual and metadiscursive examination which included artwork and illustration in a representative corpus of public texts showed that the social contexts enabling Luso-Hispanic women to read, patronize, write and publish consistently, the perspectives, editorial conventions and topics characterizing their endeavours, the type(s) of audiences they spoke to, and the grounds on which they claimed or concealed authorship of their works, closely resembled those of their male counterparts. The only deviation was that the women and their book producers repeatedly, though not in all cases, turned the question of sexual difference also into a promotional point. This was an exploitation, a development of the traditional trope of rarity, recommended by Cicero.

The rise of women's social position within the Luso-Hispanic Republic of Letters began in the latter half of the fifteenth century and was consolidated over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This gradual rise took place in several stages, from the first manifestations of a female authorial voice in public discourse to an active engagement in secular writing, increasing publication in print, and finally the adoption of more professional, profit-driven and scholarly attitudes. That is, from the moment when women first began to step onto the Iberian public literary stage with a self-conscious awareness of their own status as authors, their engagement in literary production steadily became easier, and found growing support amongst the public, which eventually became accustomed to the notion of female participation in the

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Republic of Letters, as active members in the forerunner of what we would now think of as the profession of writing. The careers of Ana Caro, María de Zayas, and Sor Juana emerged as the most successful, rather than exceptional, cases of those who published for money or status, similar to Timoneda, Cervantes, Quevedo, and Lope de Vega within male literary traditions.

The turning point took place when the rise of the vernacular as literary language, the advent of the printing press, and the active role of noble female patrons permitted the enactment of female authorial voices (literary self-consciousness from a female perspective) in public works of named authorship, in a similar manner as in Italy. From this moment, female literary acts began to evolve consistently, making their sexual difference an asset, in line with contemporary trends in Iberia and elsewhere in Europe, as shown by the cases of Teresa de Cartagena, the Infanta Dona Filipa, and Sor Isabel de Villena.

The emphasis on education characterizing the sixteenth century gradually gave women the possibility of expanding their interpretive skills and assuming different roles or positions in the book trade, some distinctively secular and commercial. Some women readers-turned-writers continued to engage in public religious discourse, but others also acted as publishers for works now considered landmarks of the Renaissance and published profane poetry, humanist writings, and collaborated with prestigious male authors in the publication of texts in print. Such new roles and practices signalled above all that lettered women acted as a group, whose symbolic and cultural authority was increasingly rising.

In many ways, Boscán and Garcilaso's works propelled or extended women's authority to secular literary circles. As we have seen, the first consistent group of identifiable secular women writers happened to be connected with their followers

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(Ercilla, Espinel and Mendoza). The 1558 Royal Decree bestowed on women greater symbolic and cultural prestige as authors through the legal requirements it imposed on newly printed works. Indeed, the printed works of Beatriz Bernal, Oliva Sabuco and Santa Teresa went on to set the secular and religious model of authorship and publication for women up until the end of the seventeenth century, if not beyond. By the turn of the seventeenth century, female literary production had undergone a phase of major expansion, both in didactic and imaginative traditions.

The next step came when a group of women changed positions and position-takings, that is, when they began to engage in the most commercial and profit-driven of contemporary textual forms (ephemera, the *novela*, and the theatre) on both sides of the Atlantic. Whether as *poetas-cronistas*, novelists, playwrights, or translators, the overall reception of women's works was positive, as shown by the support they received from some of the most prestigious authors and book critics of the time: Paravicino, Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo, Andrés de Uztároz, and Manuel de Faria e Sousa. The analysis of these commercial works showed that women's literary practices fitted with contemporary trends. Hence, in the seventeenth century, when textual production established itself as a lucrative practice, more female authors than ever before chose print over manuscript publication.

Likewise, the question of authorial reticence by no means compromised the consolidation of women's literary traditions in the seventeenth century, and in fact, also fitted with contemporary literary custom. Indeed, some of those who manifested it went on to reach national and international renown as didactic authors and scholars while being members of the nobility or the Church. Women's sexual difference in practice continued to prove a valuable asset, not a setback, in the seventeenth-century literary world.

Conclusion

Over two centuries the lead first provided by Christine de Pizan proved a strong, positive referent to aspirant Luso-Hispanic women authors, who, like her, did not hesitate to adopt female gendered perspectives to emphasise their difference in order to further their careers as authors. A similar thirst for authorial renown was evident, whatever the degree, from the manuscript works of Teresa de Cartagena to those publishing in print in the late-seventeenth century. Increasingly, the material properties of women's published texts began to project an image of a woman author whose confidence and authority in her right to engage in public discourse was not jeopardized by male or even misogynist opposition. The disparity in women's uses of the *captatio benevolentiae* itself ultimately suggests authorial freedom. Otherwise, their writings would not have been printed or circulated with the abundance and freedom which we have observed in the course of this study. Clearly, female authorship was not as commonly criticised as has previously been thought.

Similarly, women's complaints about their sexual difference being an impediment to a literary career appear to have had no real foundation. A close consideration of changes and continuities in the presentation of women's public works demonstrates that self-deprecating or defiant stances concerning their sexual difference are not necessarily to be taken at face value, any more than their allegations of misogynist criticism. Indeed, the mention of misogyny could be, and often was, adopted by women as an efficient rhetorical strategy to further their positions as authors. This exploitation became evident in relation to the material properties of their works; some of those who claimed it had in fact the support of influential figures, male and female; some even published under a *privilegio*. It is true, certainly, that the topic reveals an important asymmetry: men, though they regularly employed all the other formulae of modesty seen in women's prologues, never had recourse to this argument based on

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sexual difference. But this practice, too, was based on canonical recommendations, in this case those of Quintilian.

The topic of misogyny was, besides, by no means the only sex-based argument exploited for promotional ends at the time. Chivalric ideals such as magnanimity and gallantry, and other *topoi* such as decorum, the affectation of mystery, motherhood, place of birth, religious affiliation, or marital and class status were also turned to the same end. Even when anonymously publishing or working from within the *clausura* of the convent, women encountered little difficulty in asserting their right to be considered as legitimate authors (and here the etymological connection with “authority” is meaningful). Furthermore, the process traced in this study did not go into reverse by the time Sor Juana entered the Republic of Letters, as has previously been suggested. The parallel case of Isabel Correa as a published translator of theatre strongly confirmed the opposite. At all events, one could argue, with some degree of credibility, that the position of women writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Luso-Hispanic world would be worse than that which they had enjoyed in the seventeenth, for reasons to do with the collapse of the system of patronage that, as we have seen, was the bedrock upholding the social and economic structure of the early-modern Republic of Letters for men and women alike. But this would be beyond the scope of the present study.

In the period that concerns us, however, the continuing progress of women authors was not to be denied. In most cases, due to the conditions of patronage just mentioned, it was publishers and patrons, not authors, who became the front *face* in the literary enterprise. Rarely, however, was this protagonism enforced at the expense of the author’s intellectual ownership of her own text —no more so, at any rate, than when the author was male. As often as not both publishers and patrons were also

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themselves women. Such all-female enterprises may be adduced to challenge the view that authorial reticence or anonymity provided greater benefits for women authors, religious and secular, than it did for their male counterparts. In all cases, however, the success of authors and their promotional strategies ultimately depended on the writer's social status, their proximity or otherwise to the agents of power, to a far greater extent than it did upon their sex. The evidence shows conclusively that during the course of the period studied here there were few restraints upon women writers other than those –chiefly created by class, education, and economic means– which also affected their male counterparts.

In this respect, even Sor Juana's much publicized abandonment of her literary life cannot be seen as univocal testimony of the barriers besetting women authors in the Golden Age literary establishment; it is time that other factors were given due weight, such as her illegitimacy, her Indian blood, her intellectual pride, and above all, the trait shared by all writers, her well-nigh indomitable and always stubborn independence of spirit. Against her case and those of Ana Caro and María de Zayas must be set the many examples of tranquil, uncontested female authorial careers traced in this thesis.

In sum, the rise and consolidation of the position of women as authors within the new *república literaria* in the Spanish empire 1447–1700 went hand in hand with, and precisely in step with, that of men. The 'rise of the author' was not gendered in the way that has previously been supposed; both men and women were equally involved in it as agents.

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