[redacted] breakdown—war, revolution, religious transformation—have [redacted] in which women had a wider role and found a louder voice. Some of these have been very specific, such as the current discussion among medievalists such as Susan Stuard and JoAnn McNamara about the twelfth century as period of significant change in ideas about gender and gender relations.[36]

This creation of new structures is only beginning, as we still—to stay within an architectural metaphor—have only a small pile of bricks with which to work. But many of us are steadily making bricks, mixing together different materials to construct a small part of the past. Others have discovered, in demolishing other structures labeled "capitalism," "Renaissance," "Enlightenment," or "Reformation," useful bricks which we could carry back to our building site. Others decided that brick-making or brick-carrying was boring, and have designed structural plans, often with little concern for the capabilities of the bricks to support such structures. Others decided to carry their bricks to new building sites, labeled "the body," "sexuality," or "the history of masculinity." We need to continue to do all these things—but to spend more time building on the work of others, and less time accusing others of having chosen the wrong task or of doing something useless. We also need to worry less about whether our structure will ultimately be labeled "women" or "gender" or exactly what rooms it will contain. We understand now that the structure we have labeled "history" is, to use a famous architectural metaphor, a City of Men, or to be more precise, a city of some men. That structure now has a few holes in it, but it is millennia old and very sturdy; we must make sure that our new structure, though smaller, is just as sturdy, and that our City of Ladies welcomes all immigrants. We may build high towers, but we need open gates.

[36]JoAnn McNamara, "The *Herrenfrage:* The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050–1150," in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare Lees (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 3–30; Susan Stuard, "The Dominion of Gender: Women's Fortunes in the High Middle Ages," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal et al., 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 129–50.

The *Querelle des Femmes* as a Cultural Studies Paradigm

Margarete Zimmermann

> *I hesitated a long time over writing a book on women. The topic is irritating, particularly for women; and it is not new. A lot of ink has been spent on the quarrel over feminism. At present it is nearly ended, so let us not speak anymore about it. But it is discussed nevertheless. And it does not seem as if the voluminous follies turned out during the last century have helped much to throw any light on the problem. Incidentally—is there a problem? And what does it consist of?*[1]

With these words Simone de Beauvoir opens her essay *The Second Sex* (1949), one of the most famous feminist manifestos of our century. She quotes the long tradition of that debate about texts, images, and gender identities which since the early twentieth century has been known as the *querelle des femmes*, or occasionally as the more encompassing *querelle des sexes*, and which sometimes appears as *polemiche sul sesso femminile* (polemics on the female sex)[2] in older Italian publications. With her "revolutionary essay"[3] and "foundational text of a materialist feminism for the twentieth century,"[4] de Beauvoir situates herself within that late-nineteenth-century phase of the *querelle*, which she calls "the quarrel over feminism." In *Le deuxième sexe* one can detect a clear echo of older, even classic motifs of the historical *querelle des femmes* when de Beauvoir deals with the alleged creative and artistic inferiority of women. Toril Moi summarizes the discussion as follows:

> As long as conditions for women are not equal to those of men, Beauvoir declares, the product of their creativity will evidently be inferior to that

[1]Simone de Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième Sexe*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 1: 11. (Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by Gesa Stedman.)

[2]As in G. Battista Marchesi, "Le polemiche sul sesso femminile ne' secc. XVI e XVIII," *Giornale storica della letteratura italiana* 25 (1895): 362–69.

[3]Toril Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir: Conflits d'une intellectuelle* (Paris: Diderot, 1995), 288.

[4]Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*, 340.

[illegible] by men. This disparity is entirely due to the advantageous situa[illegible] which men enjoy at the heart of patriarchy....[5]

In spite of such obvious parallels, and a decidedly historical perspective which prompts de Beauvoir to look back at the "old quarrel"—*la vieille querelle*—she refrains from defining the term *querelle des femmes* and from specifying the debate's historical periods. Thus, we are confronted with a curious indeterminacy when dealing with this terminological and imaginary complex that the *querelle des femmes* represents. A similar case can be made for the German equivalent, "the battle of the sexes," which "became between 1850 and 1930, but in particular between 1890 and the First World War, a determining topic in art."[6] Again, one encounters an almost irritating casualness in the use of a term with rather fuzzy boundaries. These few examples first of all indicate the different ways in which the historical *querelle des femmes* is called to mind in cultural memory, as well as creating a connection with modern feminism, which—although in need of further definition—is almost always made when the *querelle des femmes* is discussed. Thus, in this term a historical dimension always overlaps with a contemporary dimension.

In view of the sometimes uncomfortably fuzzy use of this key term of European gender history, and in view of the creation in 1994 of an interdisciplinary yearbook for gender studies, christened *Querelles*,[7] it seemed a tempting as well as a necessary undertaking to pursue the trail of the European *querelle des femmes* since the fifteenth century. The result has been available since 1997 in the essay collection *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes: Geschlechterdebatten seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, which Gisela Bock and I edited.[8] In what follows, I will take up some conclusions from the introductory essay in that volume, "Die *Querelle des Femmes* in Europa: Eine begriffs- und forschungsgeschichtliche Einführung," by beginning with a short survey of the term's history. Secondly, I will give an overview of the *querelle des femme's* reception history. Finally, I intend to show why the *querelle des femmes* is—like the term feminism—a key word within a modern concept of cultural studies in which

[5]Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*, 312.

[6]Barbara Eschenburg, "Der Kampf der Geschlechter: Der neue Mythos in Literatur, Philosophie und Kunst," in *Der Kampf der Geschlechter: Der neue Mythos in der Kunst 1850-1930*, ed. Helmut Friedel (Munich: DuMont Buchverlag, 1995), 9–42, at 9 (my translation).

[7]The yearbook is published by J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart, and Weimar. It includes volumes 1 through 3: (1) *Gelehrsamkeit und kulturelle Emanzipation*, ed. Angelika Ebrecht, Irmela von der Lühe, Ute Pott, Cettina Rapisarda, and Anita Runge (1996); (2) *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes: Geschlechterdebatten seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gisela Bock and Margarete Zimmermann (1997); (3) *Freundschaft im Gespräch*, ed. Sabine Eickenrodt and Cettina Rapisarda (1998). Cf. Hania Siebenpfeiffer and Gesa Stedman, "*Querelles:* Ein neuer Ort der Streitkultur," in *Virginia*, no. 24 (March 1998): 10, on the yearbook's conceptual background.

[8]Bock and Zimmermann, eds., *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes*.

gender history is considered a natural as well as an indispensable element.[9]

* *

Let us therefore begin with a little *Begriffsgeschichte*, following the famous maxim by Marc Bloch: "The best way to avoid being fooled by a word is by looking at its history."[10] But the term *querelle des femmes* immediately causes some confusion since it is ambiguous from a linguistic point of view. It leaves unresolved the question whether the complement "des femmes" is a *genetivus objectivus* and therefore refers to a quarrel of which women are the object; or whether it is a *genetivus subjectivus*, and therefore refers to a quarrel of which women are the subject. In the latter case, we would be dealing with a quarrel in which women were advocating their own cause. I suspect—but this will need further research—that this Janus-faced terminology reflects the historical development itself. The ambiguity reflects the development from a defense of women by the *champions des dames* (defenders of women), which dominated into the sixteenth century, to an increasing participation in this gender debate by the women themselves.

But before we delve into the history of the word, let us look at a modern definition of the phenomenon:

> The Querelle des Femmes/des Sexes draws on the sources' terminology but, as a more encompassing concept and a kind of technical term, it is a twentieth-century formation and as such refers to a much more complex phenomenon: an all-encompassing gender quarrel in which not only women but—and that has been insufficiently realized—men are at issue as well. It is a quarrel in word and image but also about words and images.... The points of debate are the delimitation of an "imaginaire," an imaginary space of masculinity and femininity, of gender hierarchies, and the stands taken in the relevant areas of the discussion that were topical during each period.[11]

Those "allusions to topical discussions" in particular allow cross-references to social and cultural history: for example, the debate over women's access to reading, writing, and education in the sixteenth century;[12] the assessment of marriage; the controversies

[9]In this essay, I will not deal with the problem that periodizing the *querelle des femmes* poses. Cf. in detail Gisela Bock and Margarete Zimmermann, "Die *Querelle des Femmes* in Europa: Eine begriffs- und forschungsgeschichtliche Einführung," in *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes*, ed. Gisela Bock and Margarete Zimmermann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1997), 9–38; in this context, esp. 16–18.

[10]Quoted from Ulrich Raulff, *Ein Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert: Marc Bloch* (Frankfurt a/M: S. Fischer, 1995), 118.

[11]Bock and Zimmermann, *Die europäische Querelle*, 16.

[12]I pursued these questions in "Querelle des Femmes, querelles du livre," in *Des Femmes & des livres*, ed. Dominique de Courcelles; Actes du Colloque du 30 avril 1998 à l'Ecole des Chartes (forthcoming).

bellezza (beauty) and *ornamenti* (frills) in early modern Italy;[13] or *donna letterata* [14] (learned woman) and the *femme poète* (female poet) in the [illegible] century.[15]

Concerning the part played by Christine de Pizan, who is mentioned again and again in the context of the *querelle des femmes* and is often even considered its initiator, let me make only the following short remarks. The Pizan corpus of *querelle* texts comprises three works: the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (*The Letter to Cupid*) completed in May 1399;[16] the letters against the *Romance of the Rose*, written between 1401 and 1402,[17] which the author handed over to the French queen Isabeau de Bavière with a request for assistance in 1402; and the important defense of women *Le livre de la cité des dames* (*The Book of the City of Ladies*) (1404–5),[18] whose title quotes Augustine's important apology for Christianity, *De civitate dei*. That it was Christine de Pizan who initiated the *querelle* is nowadays regarded as rather unlikely, since numerous clues have been found to indicate that *querelle* discourses existed prior to the debate over the *Romance of the Rose* which Christine sparked off.[19]

Christine's keen awareness of the importance of texts and writing for the process of defining gender identities over the centuries, as well as her knowledge of the importance of canonized authors and texts within these processes is, however, notable. Thus, Christine makes it her business in the letters against the *Romance of the Rose* and in the *City of Ladies* to decanonize such authors as Jean de Meun and Ovid, or at least to dethrone them from their previously almost unquestioned authorial positions. Furthermore, her texts are the first examples of the doubling of a feminine text-persona and an empirical female *auctor*-persona. And finally, all textual and argumentative strategies of the *querelle des femmes* are already unfolded in Christine's three central *querelle* texts. These strategies include composing defamatory pamphlets directed against men as counterparts to defamatory pamphlets directed against women; establishing catalogues of women centering on specific topics; resorting to gender-specific anthropologies; and invalidating and obliterating misogynist exempla and text traditions and replacing them with philogynous traditions.

[13]Esther Lauer, "'Bellezza' und 'ornamenti' im italienischen Geschlechterstreit um 1600," in *Die europäische Querelle*, ed. Bock and Zimmermann, 269–91.

[14]An impressive study on this topic is found in Linda Timmermanns' *L'accès des femmes à la culture (1598–1715): Un débat d'idées de Saint François de Sales à la Marquise de Lambert* (Paris: H. Champion, 1993).

[15]Cf. Renate Kroll, *Femme poète: Madeleine de Scudéry und die poésie précieuse* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996).

[16]Edited in Christine de Pizan, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Maurice Roy (Paris, 1886–96), 2: 1–27. In 1402, this text was translated into English by Thomas Hoccleve as *The Letter of Cupide*.

[17]The definitive edition is *Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose: Edition critique*, ed. Erick Hicks (Paris: H. Champion Editeur, 1977).

[18]The Middle French text and an Italian translation are available in the edition supervised by Patrizia Caraffi and Earl Jeffrey Richards, *La città delle dame* (Milano: Luni, 1997).

[19]Cf. Helen Solterer's stimulating study *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Cf. also the anthology *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. Alcuin Blamires (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), as well as *Grundriß der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, 8:1: *La littérature française aux XIVe et XVe siècle* (Heidelberg, 1988), 158–60: "Pour et contre les femmes."

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Let us now take a more precise look at the history of the term.[20] *Querelle* goes back to the Latin etymon *querel(l)a*, which means "lament" and "expression of pain," displeasure and "complaint" in the sense of a charge or criticism, and a legal charge. The lexeme *querelle* has been found in Old French texts since the twelfth century, mainly in the sense of "objection," "legal charge," and "case." It is in this sense—in relation to women who have been deprived of their lawful claim to land, property, and honor, and whose "justified cases and quarrels" have not been taken up by anyone—that Jean de Boucicaut uses the term in his memoirs *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan Maingre, dit Bouciquaut* (1409) (*Book of the Excellent Deeds of the Good Lord Jehan Maingre, called Bouciquaut*).[21] Surprisingly, although the phenomenon of the *querelle* as a gender debate can be observed at least since the early fifteenth century and since the time of Christine de Pizan, its terminological definition only occurs some decades later, namely in Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des dames (The Defender of Ladies)*, written around 1440.

In this immense allegorical poem, in the tradition of the *Romance of the Rose* as well as the *City of Ladies*, the *querelle des dames* is mentioned for the first time. But here the *dames* ("ladies") are only the objects of male discourses, those of the defender of women Franc Vouloir on the one hand, and those of the misogynist Malebouche and his infamous followers on the other. In this text, *querelle des dames* therefore refers to the "women's complaint" and the "quarrel over women" in which the women themselves do not actively participate. Women had already gained the status of subjects defending their own sex, as we have seen, in the works of Christine de Pizan; in this respect Martin decidedly falls behind Christine's example. He does follow her in the tradition of setting up catalogues of exemplary women, which he calls *clergesses* or *grandes dames de France* ("intellectuals" or "great French ladies") and

[20]Some information on the history of the word can be found in D. Zévaco, "Querelle," *Revue de philologie française* 30 (1917–18): 36–40.

[21]Jean de Boucicaut, *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan Le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva: Droz, 1985), 160–61: "It so happened that some charges were brought before the King that several ladies and girls, widows and others, were oppressed and put upon by some powerful men who with their force and power wanted to disinherit them of their land, their property and their honour, and indeed disinherited some of them. In that manner the women suffered a great deal and no knight, no squire, no gentleman and no one else stood up to defend them nor took up their justified cases and quarrels." Boucicaut further speaks of the "champions and defenders of their quarrels" (162), which the women lacked.

whose embedding in cultural memory he assists by constructing numerous memorial portraits.

The term *querelle des dames/femmes*, however, did not really catch on during the early modern period. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when this gender debate in word and image reached its apogee all over Europe, the term's usage strangely tended to diminish. This holds true, for example, in the widely read misogynist tract of the sixteenth century, the *Controverses des sexes masculin et femenin* (*Controversies of the Male and Female Sexes*), written in 1536 by the lawyer Gratien Du Pont of Toulouse.[22] The text is remarkable in that it is an apology for the male sex. In that respect it clearly resembles Boccaccio's *Il Corbaccio* (*The Raven*) (1360), which focuses on a Dantesque dream-vision experienced by the male narrator. He is a scholar suffering from unrequited love for a widow whose deceased husband he meets in his dream. Between both men a kind of teacher-pupil dialogue develops. It focuses on the transmission of knowledge concerning feminine perfidy and slyness, and most of all a systematic deconstruction of feminine beauty. The female body as a projection space for male desire is replaced by a view of the female physique as a space for male disgust.

In Gratien's *Controverses*, the male first-person narrator also dreams of an encounter with a *beau vieillard*, a handsome old man, in this case a decidedly run-down specimen. He is an allegorical representation of the male sex, who complains that he is constantly mistreated by *le sexe femenin*, the female sex, and therefore urgently asks for succor. An illustration from this enormous compendium, the "chessboard in the shape of Eve" (*Eschequier en forme deve*), provides a graphic impression of this form of heavily formalized attacks on women: the white squares contain moral and physical vilifications ending on the feminine syllable -ante, whereas the black squares contain those ending in -esse. The enormous textual edifice of the *Controverses du sexe masculin et femenin* is erected on the fictional foundation of the above-mentioned male pact. Within the overall context of the *querelle*, this treatise occupies an exceptional position, for it is the only example of a male voice taking up the defense of the *sexe masculin* under threat.

On the one hand, contemporary tracts, also of male origin, taking up the opposite position, such as Symphorien Champier's *La Nef des dames vertueuses (The Ship of Virtuous Ladies)* (1515) and Jean Bouchet's *Jugement poëtic de l'honneur femenin (Poetic Judgment on Female Honor)* (1536), act against the misogynist polemical force of the *Controverses*. On the other hand, the frequency of female interventions into this debate increases in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: in France with women writers such as Marie de Romieu, Madeleine and Catherine des Roches, Hélisenne de Crenne, and Marie de Gournay; in Italy with the *tre corone*, Moderata Fonte, Lucrezia Marinella, and Arcangela Tarabotti; and in numerous anonymous

[22]On Gratien Du Pont, cf. Charles Oulmont, "Gratien Du Pont Sieur de Drusac et les femmes," *Revue des études rabelaisiennes* 4 (1906): 1–28; 5 (1907): 135–53.

female *querelle* authors whom we can only hear today as textual voices, or whose identity remains hidden behind the protecting mask of a male pseudonym.

Even though Jean Bouchet in *Le Jugement poëtic de l'honneur femenin* (1536) still speaks of "the quarrel which the woman suffers at the hands of the man,"[23] one can observe that this lexeme is replaced more and more often by *apologie*, *défense*, or, in the famous text by Marie de Gournay, *le grief des dames* (in the sense of women's complaint).[24] After 1630, it seems that the *querelle* in its original form had passed its climax;[25] the lexeme *querelle* also took on a markedly pejorative connotation. New forms of the debate over male/female inferiority or superiority include the catalogues of women originating from the older *querelle des femmes*, to which contemporary examples or at least those dating from the immediate past were added more and more often. Such a development can be considered as an early form of anthologizing and cataloguing of women's literature. A further indication of the "continuation of the old *querelle* in new media" is the presence of *querelle* topics in literary texts such as Pierre Marivaux's one-act play *La Colonie* (1729–50) and Christoph Martin Wieland's *Bildungsroman: Geschichte des Agathon* (1794),[26] to mention just two random examples.

This "continuation of the *querelle* by other means" forms a relatively continuous and straight line, which in Italy runs from Ludovico Domenichi's *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime e virtuosissime donne* (*Diverse Rhymes by Noble and Virtuous Women*) (1559) to Luisa Bergalli's *Componimenti poetici delle più illustri rimatrici d'ogni secolo* (*Poetic Compositions by the Most Famous Poetesses of All Centuries*) (1726) to Yolanda De Blasis's *Le Scrittrici italiane, dalle origini al 1800* (*Italian Women Writers from the Beginnings up to 1800*) (1930). The first of these volumes are anthologies with a few added biographical commentaries (Domenichi and Bergalli), while their successor is a preliminary attempt at a gender-specific literary history (De Blasis), a rather unsatisfactory work owing to its lack of structuring categories. Nevertheless, all three examples are interesting for modern readers with regard to canonization processes. In France a similar but richer tradition developed during the same period. It begins with Jean de La Forge's *Le cercle des femmes sçavantes (The Circle of Learned Ladies)* (1665), which is no more than a list of names. But two eighteenth-century works are more important: Abbé de La Porte's *Histoire littéraire des femmes françoyses* (*Literary History of French Women*) (1769), and Louise-Félicité de Kéralio's *Collection*

[23]Jean Bouchet, *Le Jugement poëtic de l'honneur femenin* (Poitiers: I. G. E. de Marner, 1536): avverso.

[24]Parts of Gournay's "Grief des Dames" (1626) first appeared in the preface to her edition of the *Essais* by Michel de Montaigne (1595). Today the text is available in Marie de Gournay, *Fragments d'un discours féminin*, ed. Elyane Dezon-Jones (Paris: J. Corti, 1988), 129–33.

[25]On this topic, cf. Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature, 1610–52* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977).

[26]Christoph Martin Wieland's *Bildungsroman: Geschichte des Agathon* (1794), esp. book 14, chapter 6, containing Aspasia's philippic against the male sex, carries clear traces of the *querelle des femmes*.

des meilleurs ouvrages françois, composés par des femmes (*Collection of the Best French Works Written by Women*) (1786–88). La Porte's learned reference work offers brief bio-bibliographical articles on a large number of women writers and shows how marked the interest in French *dames de lettres* still was shortly before the French Revolution. Kéralio's *Collection* is mainly an anthology; the editor introduces extracts of considerable length—in Christine de Pizan's case more than 500 pages—with her own period-specific comments and provides information concerning the authors. By contrast, Jean Larnac's *Histoire de la littérature féminine en France* (*History of French Literature Written by Women*) (1929), which has to be read against the backdrop of newly emerging images of women during the 1920s, is the first and so far the only history of French literature written by women. Larnac draws on the *querelle des femmes* as his structuring principle. Yet when he repeatedly explains women's writing as expressive of a lack—a lack of personal beauty or of emotional fulfillment—he does nothing more than furnish us with another proof of the gender bias dominating traditional literary history. These developments climaxed around 1900 and in the following decades,[27] during exactly that period in which we experience the surprising renaissance of the term *querelle des femmes*.

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This renaissance occurred mainly thanks to the work done by the literary historians and *seiziémistes* Abel Lefranc and Emile Telle, who used the term *querelle* in their studies on Rabelais (*Le Tiers Livre de "Pantagruel" et la querelle des femmes*, 1904, reprinted in 1914, 1931) and on Marguerite de Navarre (*L'œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre et la querelle des femmes*, 1937). This return to a classic term of gender history was no accident but can be explained by a specific historical constellation: the encounter of early French feminism and historicism around 1900.[28] From both arose the tendency to historicize an important contemporary phenomenon, feminism, and to find its founders and precursors.[29]

A second phase of the *querelle des femmes* took place during the new women's movement of the sixties and seventies. The women's movement was not so much

[27]Cf. Gianna Pomata's argument in "Storia particolare e storia universale: In margine ad alcuni manuali di storia delle donne," *Quaderni storici* 74 (1990): 341–85. For a discussion of these developments, cf. Roswitha Böhm, "Unter Ausschluß der Wieblichkeit: Strategien französischer Literaturgeschichtsschreibung," in *Gender Studies in den romanischen Literaturen: Revisionen, Subversionen*, ed. Renate Kroll and Margarete Zimmermann, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a/M: Dipa, 1999), 1: 315–36; and Margarete Zimmermann, "Gender, Gedächtnis und literarische Kultur: Zum Projekt einer Autorinnen-Literaturgeschichte," in Kroll and Zimmermann, *Gender Studies*, 29–55.

[28]Concerning the current debates on historicism, cf. Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus: Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996).

[29]Cf. Margarete Zimmermann, "Christine de Pizan et les féminismes 1900," in *Sur le Chemin de Longue Etude: Actes du IIe Congrès International sur Christine de Pizan, Orléans 1995*, ed. Bernard Ribémont (Paris: H. Champion, 1998), 183–204.

interested in finding possible precursors; rather, it acknowledged the *querelle* as a phenomenon *sui generis*, important for the history of women, which became the center of attention. From this perspective, the works by Maïté Albistur and Daniel Armogathe,[30] Ian Maclean,[31] and Marc Angenot[32] appeared in 1977; and the influential and now classic essay by Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Thought and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1400–1789," was published in 1982.[33] In addition, several new editions of *querelle* texts were brought out during these years, finally reawakening them from their centuries-long sleep in the archives and providing them with a new lease on life.[34] Editors' activities of this kind had a snowball effect since they also encouraged new research.

Signs of a third boom within modern *querelle des femmes* research can be detected during the 1990s. Obvious indications are Linda Timmermans's groundbreaking study *L'accès des femmes à la culture (1598–1715)* (1993), with several references to seventeenth-century *querelle* texts; and Helen Solterer's book *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (1995). Solterer shows a new interest in the medieval forms of the gender quarrel, as well as a concern with the legal background and the development of a "disputational figure of a woman" and a "dialectic between masterful writing and women's response."[35] In this context, the term "woman" does not refer to biological sex or social gender but to a position within the debate which can be taken up by women as well as by men. And finally, one could also place the collection of essays on the European *querelle des femmes* edited by Gisela Bock and me, as well as Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani's study *La Quenouille et la lyre*,[36] within this new *querelle* boom of the nineties.

A final point: the fact that mainly specialists in French literature have used the term *querelle des femmes* has had a detrimental effect. France was foregrounded to

[30]Maïté Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français*, 2 vols. (Paris: Des femmes, 1977).

[31]Maclean, *Woman Triumphant*.

[32]Marc Angenot, *Les Champions des femmes: Examen du discours sur la supériorité des femmes, 1400–1800* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1977).

[33]Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Thought and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1400–1789," *Signs* 8 (1982): 4–28; reprinted in Joan Kelly, *Women, History, and Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 65–109.

[34]Solterer, *Master and Minerva*, 18

[35]These include M. Screech's edition of François de Billon's *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur féminin* (1970); the anthology *La femme dans la littérature française et les traductions en français du XVIe siècle*, ed. Luce Guillerm-Curutcher, Jean-Pierre Guillerm, Laurence Hordoir-Louppe, and Marie-Françoise Piéjus (Lille: Université de Lille, 1971); Maureen Curnow, "The *Livre de la Cité des Dames* of Christine de Pizan: A Critical Edition" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1975), which up to then was only available in manuscript; the new edition of texts by Marie de Gournay, beginning in the eighties; and *Archiv für philosophie- und theologiegeschichtliche Frauenforschung*, Elisabeth Gössmann (Munich: Iudicium, 1984).

[36]Gisele Mathieu-Castellani, *La Quenouille et la lyre* (Paris: José Corti, 1998).

querelle was at times even falsely seen to be a purely French [illegible] invoked for a long time that the *querelle* is a historical phenomenon of [illegible] dimensions of which some offshoots can even be found in Latin American culture.[37] As a result, research into non-French aspects of the *querelle* began late.[38] In the essay collection *Die europäische Querelle des Femmes*, the French *querelle* was intentionally emphasized less than Italian, Spanish, and English *querelle* texts. Middle and Eastern European variants of this gender debate remain to be considered.

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The title of this essay contains a proposition; namely, that the European *querelle des femmes* should be considered as a paradigm for historical cultural studies. If we agree with Roger Chartier that gender history is a part of historical cultural studies,[39] and see gender history as "inscribed in practices and facts, organizing reality and the everyday," as "always constructed by the discourse which founds and legitimizes it,"[40] and as grounded in social reality, then the *querelle des femmes* marks a point of intersection of cultural studies research interests. The *querelle* combines an intensive discourse of "man" and "woman" with reference to their respective social reality and its practices: exertion of political power, access to education, forms of control over the body, and marriage, to name only a very few relevant topics. The longer one studies the *querelle des femmes*, the more one gains the impression that we are confronted with a historical phenomenon of global importance which, in its numerous offshoots, reaches deep into the heart of the history of our disciplines. If new evidence from the most various disciplines of such an omnipresence of *querelle* structures in different fields were not constantly appearing, one could easily dismiss this as the misconceived idea of an academic in love with her own object. These research interests, however, have not been brought together and as yet await integration into a broader cultural studies context. I will content myself with just a few references.

Concerning Italian studies, Deanna Shemek[41] and Pamela Benson[42] prove that even classic texts such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* or Castiglione's *Cortegiano* are

[37]Cf. Friederike Hassauer, "*Die Seele ist nicht Mann, nicht Weib*: Stationen der *Querelle des Femmes* in Spanien und Lateinamerika vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Die europäische Querelle*, ed. Bock and Zimmermann, 203–38.

[38]Friederike Hassauer draws attention to this phenomenon in Bock and Zimmermann, *Die europäische Querelle*, 207–8.

[39]Cf. Roger Chartier, "L'histoire culturelle entre 'Linguistic Turn' et retour au sujet," in *Wege zu einer neuen Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1995), 29–58.

[40]Chartier, "L'histoire culturelle," 53.

[41]Deanna Shemek, "Of Women, Knights, Arms, and Love: The *Querelle des Femmes* in Ariosto's Poem," *Modern Language Notes* 104, no. 1 (January 1989): 68–97.

[42]Pamela Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). Franco-Italian literary relations within a *querelle* context are analyzed by Anna Slerca, "L'utilizzazione del De claris *mulieribus* in due testi della 'querelle des femmes': Il *Champion des Dames* di Martin Le Franc (1440) e il *Jugement poetic de l'honneur femenin* di Jean Bouchet (1538)," in *Laube de la Renaissance: Pour le dixième anniversaire de la disparition de Franco Simone*, ed. Dario Cecchetti, Lionello Sozzi, and Louis Terreaux (Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1991), 47–65.

shot through with *querelle* references and therefore require rereading. The counterpart for German baroque literature has been presented by Cornelia Plume with her research on Daniel Casper von Lohenstein.[43] Concerning the history of art, I would like to refer only to Mary D. Garrard's work on Artemisia Gentileschi;[44] Sara Matthews Grieco's work on popular prints and emblems of the sixteenth century;[45] the exhibition *Die Galerie der starken Frauen/La Galerie des Femmes Fortes* (*The Gallery of Strong Women*), which was curated by Bettina Baumgärtel and Silvia Neysters in 1996 at the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf;[46] and the illustrated book *La Guerre des Sexes* by Laure Beaumont-Maillet (1977), which includes important material on the early modern *querelle*.

Further examples from the fields of history,[47] philosophy, anthropology, theology, the history of fashion,[48] gender history, and literary history[49] round out the picture.[50] Since the "exceptional quality of feminist research... lies in its interdisciplinary approach"[51] and it must therefore be interested in working with precisely defined terms applicable across lines, the *querelle des femmes* offers itself as an exceptionally fertile key concept. It permits the focusing of similar research initiatives from the different disciplines involved in cultural studies but also allows us to uncover the considerable overlap in European *querelle* traditions. This will ultimately result in at least a partial rewriting of single-discipline histories such as literary history or art history. It may lead to the ultimate dissolution of monodisciplinary

[43]Cornelia Plume, *Heroinen in der Geschlechterordnung: Weiblichkeitsprojektionen bei Daniel Casper von Lohenstein und die "Querelle des Femmes"* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996).

[44]Mary P. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), esp. chap. 2.

[45]Sara Matthews Grieco, *Ange ou Diablesse: La représentation de la femme au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1991).

[46]See the catalogue *Kunstmuseum Dusseldorf*, ed. Bettina Baumgärtel and Silvia Neysters (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1995).

[47]Among many other studies, see Claudia Opitz, "Streit der Frauen? Die frühneuzeitliche *Querelle des femmes* aus sozial- und frauengeschichtlicher Sicht," *Historische Abhandlungen* 8, no. 1 (1995): 15–27.

[48]Cf. in this context Odile Blanc, *Parades et parures: L'invention du corps de mode à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

[49]The attempt at structuring literary history with the help of the *querelle des femmes* can be observed already in Jean Larnac's *Histoire de la littérature féminine en France* (Paris: Editions Kra, 1929); and Germaine Brée, *Women Writers in France: Variations on a Theme* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973), although this work covers a much more restricted time period.

[50]Among other studies, see Elisabeth Gössmann and Elisabeth Koch, *Maior dignitas est in sexu virili: Das weibliche Geschlecht im Normensystem des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a/M: V. Klostermann, 1991).

[51]Monika Kopyczinski, "Feministischer Diskurs und Wissenschaft," in *Feministische Literaturwissenschaft in der Romanistik*, ed. Renate Kroll and Margarete Zimmermann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), 74–83; at 80.

favor of a new cultural studies paradigm at whose center the *querelle des* and its place.[52]

[52]I am grateful to Gesa Stedman for translating this chapter into English.

Grammar in Arcadia

Gabriele Beck-Busse

This essay focuses on two works which, although published two hundred years apart, feature the arcadian setting evoked in the title as well as a number of other similarities. Both works, which present the French language and grammar, clearly have didactic aims. Peter Erondell's *French Garden,* published in 1605,[1] targets an English-speaking public that is learning French as a foreign language, whereas Alexandre (or Antoine) Tournon's *Promenades de Clarisse,* published between 1784 and 1787,[2] is aimed at a French public that wishes to be introduced to the principles of its own mother tongue or to the fundamentals of grammar in general. I intend to show some of the characteristics that help to determine the genre of "Grammars for Ladies" by means of these two textbooks, which can be considered a representative sample.[3]

The first work, Erondell's *French Garden,* can be characterized as a collection of dialogues that seek to convey not only practical language competence but also moral values as prescribed in innumerable earlier works. For example, the anonymous *Decor puellarum,*[4] Juan Luis Vives's *Institutio foeminae christianae,*[5] and Giovanni

[1]Peter Erondell, *The French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in. Or, A Sommer dayes labour. Being an jnstruction for the attayning vnto the knowledge of the French Tongue: wherein for th[e] practise thereof, are framed thirteene Dialogues in French and English, concerning diuers matters from the rising in the morning till Bed-time. Also the Historie of the Centurion mencioned in the Gospell: in French Verses. Which is an easier and shorter Methode then hath beene yet set forth, to bring the louers of the French tongue to the perfection of the same* (London: printed for Ed[ward] White, 1605).

[2]Alexandre (or Antoine) Tournon, *Les Promenades de Clarisse et du Marquis de Valzé, ou Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre les principes de la langue et de l'ortographe françaises à l'usage des dames* (Paris: Cailleau, Jombert Jeune, Mérigot, Bailly et les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1784–87).

[3]See also Gabriele Beck-Busse, "Grammatik für Damen: Zur Geschichte der französischen und italienischen Grammatik in Deutschland, England, Frankreich und Italien (1605–1850)," (habilitationsschrift, Freie Universität Berlin, 1999).

[4]*Questa sie una opera quale si chiama Decor Puellarum: Zoe Honore de le donzelle: La quale da regola forma e modo al stato de le honeste donzelle* (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1471) [Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Inc. V.609].

[5]For dating, see Manfred Lentzen, "Vives' Ideen über die Erziehung der Frau: Zu «De institutione