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THE BRANDING OF FEMALE AUTHORSHIP
IN ENLIGHTENMENT EUROPE:
A PARATEXTUAL STUDY OF *LES JOURNÉES
AMUSANTES* (1722–31) BY
MADELEINE-ANGÉLIQUE POISSON DE
GOMEZ

SÉVERINE GENIEYS-KIRK 

ABSTRACT

As revisionist studies have recently shown in the wake of Gérard Genette's *Seuils* (1987), editorial paratexts in translated works, such as prefaces and illustrations, are valuable documents for capturing the ideological parameters which early modern publishers and translators had to skilfully exploit to promote their work. A case in point is the little known yet important eighteenth-century collection of framed-novelle *Les Journées amusantes* (1722–31) by Madeleine-Angélique Poisson de Gomez (1684–1776). Through the lens of intertextuality and intericonicity, this article offers a two-part analysis of the paratextual material (verbal and visual) contained in the foreign editions of this work. It evaluates the strategies which 'image-makers' used to ensure the legitimacy of a text which was originally written by a woman. In particular, it highlights transnational instances of dialogic interplay and cultural transfer, allowing for a better understanding of the female writer's status across Europe and revealing the cultural and pedagogical parts which translators, publishers and engravers played in the formation of eighteenth-century European readerships.

Keywords: Enlightenment; feminism; paratexts; illustration; translation; gender; intericonicity; cultural transfer; Eliza Haywood; Luise Gottsched; Pietro Chiari; Gaspar Zavala y Zamora; Baltazar Driguet

IN HER 1642 WOMANIFESTO 'Sapho à Erinne, Vingtiesme Harangue' ['Sapho to Erinne, Twentieth Harangue'], Madeleine de Scudéry enjoined talented women to immortalize their fame through writing.¹ Over a decade later, however, she complained about the 'persecution qui est inseparablement attachée à celles qui comme moy ont le malheur d'avoir la reputation de sçavoir quelque autre chose que faire des boucles, et choisir des rubans' [persecution endured by women like myself whose misfortune it is to have gained their reputation from showing greater knowledge than that of curling their hair and choosing ribbons].² Scudéry's reaction against the misogynistic stigma attached to female authorship highlights the paradoxes of patriarchal ideology, which condemned the pursuit of worldly pleasures

and yet commodified women's bodies into sites of spectacle. This view, however contested by the supporters of women's education, was to endure in the eighteenth century, although more women were published and achieved a certain degree of popularity. As Eliza Goodman writes, 'the efflorescence of women readers, scientists, and musicians occasioned the Enlightenment's ardent interest in picturing its accomplished women'.³ Yet these verbal and non-verbal images, however more positive than their quixotic versions, often highlight the 'difficulty of thinking about the complex relationship between femininity and knowledge, often reconfigured as a straightforward opposition between sensuality and intellect in the early modern period'.⁴ In the context of a prevailingly suspicious, if not hostile, attitude toward women's writing, the ongoing European debates about women's place in society, known as the *querelle des femmes*, raised the question of the legitimacy of female *auctoritas*.

As revisionist studies have recently shown in the wake of Gérard Genette's milestone work *Seuils* (1987), editorial paratexts in translated works, such as prefaces and illustrations, are valuable documents for capturing the ideological parameters which early modern publishers and translators had to skilfully exploit to promote their work.⁵ A case in point is the European reception of the eighteenth-century collection of framed-novelle *Les Journées amusantes* [*Pleasant Days*] (1722–31) by Madeleine-Angélique Poisson de Gomez (1684–1776).⁶ Gomez was born into a family of actors and playwrights whose reputation was well established and, according to her autobiographical anecdotes, had gravitated into the worldly and feminocentric circles of France's polite society.⁷ Gomez started her literary career as a playwright, winning over audiences with her play *Habis* (1714), the third most successful tragedy on the French stage between 1701 and 1715.⁸ Like other French women writers who had ventured into theatre before her, Gomez quickly turned to other genres, including essays and occasional poetry, but it was essentially through her fiction, spanning over two decades from 1719 to 1739, that she built her reputation as a learned lady. Although, as was often the case with women's writing, her prolific oeuvre was subject to some misogynistic criticism, it garnered sustained interest in France and, to varying degrees, in different parts of eighteenth-century Europe (including Denmark, Sweden and Russia).⁹ The most popular were *Les Journées amusantes* and its ambitious sequel, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* [*One Hundred New Novellas*] (1732–39), both collections of stories which illustrated Gomez's predilection for 'historical' and 'exotic' subjects, interests which were also visible in her other publications.¹⁰ Composed over nearly a decade during the early years of Louis XV's reign, *Les Journées amusantes* was profoundly marked by Gomez's diverse authorial experiences as a dramatist, novelist, occasional poet and outspoken essayist. It provided an antidote to the flurry of satirical writings about the Regent's dissolute way of life.¹¹ Dedicated to Louis XV (then aged twelve), Gomez's work purported perhaps to instil in Louis XIV's great-grandson the golden rules of social harmony which could only be achieved through the cultivation of 'politeness' and 'civility', and of the progressive ideas and enlightened thinking promoted in contemporary salons.¹²

Modelled on the framed-nouvelle tradition,¹³ *Les Journées amusantes* is divided into eighteen days and features a small gathering of young men and women in a country-house who spend some time reading and exchanging their thoughts on politics, history and philosophy, as well as sharing stories. These stories, which range from cautionary and autobiographical tales to ‘historical’ novellas, can be divided roughly into five types: medieval, Spanish, English, exotic¹⁴ and colonial narratives. The sequel *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, from which the ‘conversation-cadre’ has been removed, retains similar narrative principles: the same characters meet, tell their stories and occasionally offer brief analyses of them. Some of the stories are presented as translations, and others are from unacknowledged sources, such as travel narratives or history books.¹⁵ On the one hand, the stories contained in both collections are instilled with the flavour of *conversations galantes* [polite conversations] that characterizes Scudéry’s fiction.¹⁶ On the other, Gomez’s stories also display a certain ‘modernity’ which reflects the anthropologist spirit of Enlightenment travel literature, and which propels her readers into ‘les espaces étrangers’ [the foreign spaces] of far-away lands (including Africa and Japan).¹⁷ Thus *Les Journées amusantes* and its sequel offered European readers a compendium of encyclopaedic knowledge in an accessible format, as well as a modernized model for intellectual exchange and philosophical reflection.

The iconographical focus of this article has determined the choice of texts. While *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* appears to have been popular among European readers, none of the editions I was able to consult contain any illustrations. *Les Journées amusantes* also appears to be the only work by Gomez that, following its first edition, was illustrated with a prefatorial frontispiece – a bibliographical choice which may be interpreted as a sign of ‘the high esteem [this text enjoyed] in the public imagination’.¹⁸ *Les Journées amusantes* ran through another fourteen editions in French across Paris, Amsterdam and London publishers,¹⁹ and was translated into English almost simultaneously by Eliza Haywood (1724–34),²⁰ into Italian by Pietro Chiari (1758);²¹ into German twice, both times anonymously (1741; 1761);²² and into two rival Spanish versions by Baltazar Driguet (1792–97) and Gaspar Zavala y Zamora (1792–98).²³ Of all these translations, Haywood’s was evidently the most successful, unlike the others which, according to book sales records, did not manage to sell well.²⁴

The primary aim of this article is to examine transnational instances of dialogic interplay and cultural transfer through the lenses of intertextuality and intericonicity, with the intention of developing a better understanding of how, through their positive representation of female authorship, image-makers – here, translators, publishers and engravers – engage with phallogocentric images of sensual and passive femininity in the printed works of female writers.²⁵ This article first explores these works’ verbal paratexts (such as the title-page and dedicatory materials), and then their accompanying frontispieces, in order to reveal the strategies which image-makers employed to both ensure the legitimacy of a work written by a woman and to advertise its literary worthiness, with the ultimate aim of reforming their fellow citizens.

I. Verbal paratexts in the European translations of 'Les Journées amusantes'

Eliza Haywood's translation of 'Les Journées amusantes' as 'La Belle Assemblée' (1724–34)

Like her iconic female predecessor, the Restoration playwright, novelist and translator Aphra Behn, Haywood was a prolific and audacious writer. As critic Alison Conway notes, 'Haywood had established her reputation in the 1720s by writing amatory tales filled with representations of illicit female sexuality untroubled by deep psychological reflection'.²⁶ She was especially known for her salacious romances when she began the translation of *Les Journées amusantes*. This work marked a turning point in her literary career and coincided with the start of her early 'experiment in journalism' with the publication of *The Tea-Table* in 1725.²⁷ As a writer of fiction, she consistently capitalized on 'the attractions of sensual pleasures' as a means of 'affording [her readers] a pedagogical opportunity' for the instillation of moral lessons.²⁸ Haywood would nonetheless go on to redefine and polish her reformist agenda, positing a 'vision of female epistemology' which was informed by her continuous dialogic engagement with *Les Journées amusantes* and *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, from which she translated twelve stories in two volumes under the title *L'Entretien des Beaux Esprits. Being the Sequel to La Belle Assemblée*.²⁹

Like Behn's translation of Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* [*Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*] (1686), a key work in the vulgarization of scientific knowledge for a lay, and more particularly a female, audience, Haywood's *Belle Assemblée* was an impressive feat in the male-dominated world of erudition and aesthetic judgment.³⁰ Haywood brought to light the work of a contemporary Frenchwoman who dialogued with pedagogists such as Fontenelle by showing that women too could be the mediators of scientific, philosophical and historical knowledge.

Critics have noted the absence of salon culture in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England. Instead, coffee-houses emerged as the main forum for public debates. Despite the 'feminizing coffee-house culture' between the 1690s and the 1710s, with the return of the Whig Government in 1715, coffee-houses became a prevalently masculinist social institution in which women intellectuals were demonized.³¹ Haywood therefore began her translation of *Les Journées amusantes* in a deeply misogynistic climate. Through this bestselling translation Haywood played a key role in promoting a counter-model to the 'anti-feminist backlash' that characterized the literary production of Daniel Defoe, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift.³² In other words, Haywood not just 'survived by catering to misogynistic assumptions of female sexual weakness'; she also actively contributed to the emergence of what E.J. Clery has identified as 'the second wave of feminization' in the 1730s under the aegis of the Bluestockings.³³

When Haywood chose to 'over-frenchify' the original title of Gomez's work as *La Belle Assemblée, or the Adventures of Six Days* for her first edition, and *La Belle Assemblée, or the Adventures of Twelve Days* for the second edition in 1728 (Gomez's sequel to her first

volume), her agenda for doing so was manifold.³⁴ Her humourous and eye-catching transposition of the title reveals her taste for literary playfulness. Several intertexts are embedded in the title. The idiomatic phrase *La Belle Assemblée* [*The Polite Gathering*] would have resonated with her mature readers' personal and imaginary experiences of worldly sociability, which they would have gained, if not through direct contact with salon culture in Paris, at least through their reading of earlier French novels – whether conventional or parodic.³⁵ The phrase *La Belle Assemblée* also invokes the comedic personae of Molière's *Les Précieuses ridicules* [*The Pretentious Young Ladies*] (1659) and *Les Femmes savantes* [*The Learned Women*] (1672), which were adapted to the English stage, and also possibly inspired the anonymous satire of female playwrights in *Female Wits* performed in 1696 or 1697 and published in 1704.³⁶ Haywood's initial title could only whet her aficionados' appetite for sensational intrigues and 'gallant' adventures that were published in abundance at the turn of the eighteenth century. In particular, the title would have recalled the amatory fiction by her sybilline predecessors such as Behn and Delarivier Manley.³⁷

On the title page of the third volume of Haywood's translation (which contains the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of Gomez's narrative), published in 1731, the novelistic reference to 'adventures' is however removed; instead, the title page harbours an elaborate, bombastic formulation which enhances the humorous tone of the earlier editions:

*La Belle Assemblée. Being a Curious Collection of Some Very Remarkable Incidents which happen'd to Persons of the First Quality in France. Interspersed with Entertaining and Improving Observations made by them on Several Passages in History, both Ancient and Modern.*³⁸

This formulation would remain the chosen title for subsequent re-editions throughout the eighteenth century. When one bears in mind Haywood's light-hearted and parodic play with romance conventions in her early works, it is clear that her translation ought not to be read simply as a faithful transposition of the original, but as bearing the recognizable marks of her distinct style. Evidently, the choice of this long-winded title was a way of capitalizing upon her readership's growing thirst for encyclopaedic knowledge while marketing her translation in such a way that it connoted guaranteed entertainment.

This hyperbolic formulation of the content of Gomez's work encapsulates, however, two of Haywood's main objectives. As I have argued elsewhere, the 1724 title proposes, on the one hand, a positive model of *sociabilité galante* [polite sociability] for her English readership, in which men and women can coexist as intellectual equals.³⁹ Haywood would use a similar translatorial strategy when she chose the title, *L'Entretien des Beaux Esprits. A Sequel to La Belle Assemblée*, for her translation of *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. Playfully transposed into an idiomatic French phrase, this title erases the generic focus announced in the source title, which is associated with love stories, and thus masks the amatory content of the work. By laying emphasis on the intellectual worthiness of the work rather than its amatory content, Haywood's title presents the work as the emblem of intellectual sophistication.

There is, however, another dimension to Haywood's translation, which can be interpreted as a feminist endeavour aiming to develop Gomez's own enterprise of restoring women's voices to history.⁴⁰ This can be gauged more specifically from her liminary preface to *La Belle Assemblée*. In her bilingual preface of the 1724 edition, dedicated to the French Ambassador, the Count of Broglio, Haywood explains that 'In rendering it in English, [she] had a double View'.⁴¹ First, she describes her mission as a translator in pedagogical and patriotic terms with her female compatriots and fellow writers in mind. In particular, she insists on her reformist agenda, that of 'reforming the Manners of the Age'.⁴² Second, her aim is to legitimate woman's access to knowledge, by offering her female readers a portable library in which they can find some inspiration for their own intellectual fulfilment and self-improvement.

Addressed to the French ambassador, whose honorific title endows him metonymically with the ownership of good taste in literary matters,⁴³ her paratext is a way of presenting her translation as all the more worthy of the *litterati's* attention, since *Les Journées amusantes* enjoyed the 'favourable Reception from his most Christian Majesty'.⁴⁴ The conventional praise of the French ambassador and the mention of Louis XV not only serve as cultural referents embodying intellectual refinement, youth and modernity but as an implicit eulogy of Gomez's own style. Haywood's liminary piece therefore emerges as a discursive space for the justification of her translation of a female-authored work. Haywood elaborates on the latter in the monolingual preface to her 1731 London edition, in which she admires Gomez more specifically for her breadth of knowledge and skill as an historian.⁴⁵

As we shall see next, an analysis of the titular and prefatory material found in the other European translations can highlight similar 'sites of transaction'⁴⁶ and negotiation between the translator or publisher and their target readerships – pointing to the key role which translations played in the promotion of the 'idealized and transformative image of the literary lady'.⁴⁷

The German translations of 'Les Journées amusantes': From 'Die Vergnüten Tage' (1741) to 'Angenehme und lehrreiche Erzählungen' (1761)

In sharp contrast to the editorial success of *La Belle Assemblée*, the German translation only saw three editions: one published in 1741 followed twenty years later by a 'new' translation, which was then republished in 1767.⁴⁸ By the time the first translation of *Les Journées amusantes* was published, other works by Gomez had already captured the attention of her German contemporaries, and one of them was a prominent woman of letters, Luise Gottsched. It is generally accepted that Gottsched played a significant part in the cultural revival of German letters through her prolific body of translations of French and English works into German – which ranged from dramatic and fictional to journalistic, philosophical, religious and scientific subjects. Supported by her progressive husband, Christoph Johann Gottsched, she actively promoted a socio-cultural ethos which valued women's participation in the broad spectrum of Enlightenment debates.

From 1721 to 1731, during the publication of *Les Journées amusantes*, Luise Gottsched concentrated all her energy on the translation of English periodicals. She nonetheless kept abreast of French ‘novelties’. In 1731, Gottsched published her first work, a translation of Anne-Thérèse de Lambert’s letter to her daughter (1727), an extract of which Gomez had included in the ‘Deuxième Journée’ of her first volume. In 1739 she also reworked Gomez’s feminist manifesto *Triomphe de l’Éloquence* [*The Triumph of Eloquence*] (1730) into a new text with a translation of the original, *Triumph der Weltweisheit nach Art des Französischen Sieges der Beredsamkeit der Frau von Gomez* [*The Triumph of World Wisdom, in the manner of the French Triumph of Eloquence by Madam de Gomez*].⁴⁹ Gottsched had praised Gomez effusively in the preface to her own ‘translation’ of *Le Triomphe de l’Éloquence*, and had described her as a maternal source of literary and philosophical inspiration.⁵⁰ As Gottsched was busy translating Gomez’s philosophical essays, another writer, P.G. v. K., had undertaken the translation of Gomez’s *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (*Hundert Neue Neuigkeiten, oder Auserlesene Historien* [*One Hundred New Novellas, or Selected Histories*], 1736–40), before publishing her translation of *Les Journées amusantes* in 1741, which bore the title *Die Vergnügten Tage Der Frau von Gometz aus dem Französischen übersetzt von P.G. v. K.* [*The Pleasant Days by Madam de Gomez, translated from French by P.G.v.K.*], published by Johann Heinrich Rüdiger.⁵¹

This edition by the well-established publisher Johann Heinrich Rüdiger does not contain an opening frontispiece, but the ‘Vorberricht des Verlegers’ [publisher’s preface], addressed to the ‘Geneigte[n] Leser’ [Well-disposed reader], resonates with Haywood’s eulogy of Gomez as a ‘Gelehrte Dame’ [learned lady] whose *Les Journées amusantes* has been widely applauded for its store of ‘historischen und moralischen Gedanken’ [historical and moral thoughts], devoid of the sententious and discouraging tone which scholars employ in their ‘ernsthaften Schriften’ [serious writings] (A3^r).⁵² *Les Journées amusantes*, as the publisher goes on to stress, provides a pleasant and conducive atmosphere for self-reflection and intellectual self-fulfilment, which he wishes to share with German readers, hoping the translation will also be well received. Evidently, it was not. It is possible that Francophone amateurs of French fiction would be more likely to have read the text in the original.⁵³

The second translation, *Angenehme und lehrreiche Erzählungen in vergnügten Tagen* [*Entertaining and Instructive Stories Divided into Pleasant Days*] (my emphasis), printed two decades later, is presented by the son of the first translation’s publisher, Heinrich Rüdiger ‘der Jüngere’ [the Younger], as a more polished version by a writer of note: ‘Ein Schriftsteller, welcher sich schon durch eigene gute und bekannte Schriften um das Publicum verdient gemacht hat’ [an author whose good and well-known works have already done a great service to the public] (2^r).⁵⁴ Rüdiger insists that the aim is to purify the 1741 translation by revising it ‘vom Anfang bis zum Ende’ [from beginning to end] (2^r) to bring it closer to its source text. The new title reintroduces the notion of ‘instruction’, which was removed by the French publishers from the original title of Gomez’s manuscript.⁵⁵ Thereby, it refocuses and enhances the didactic agenda of the work as a whole, while suggesting an air of familiarity with the fashionable German periodicals of the time.⁵⁶ The creation of a light-hearted and cheerful environment is understood to be crucial for the transmission of pleasant and

informative tales, and the new title for the German translation of *Les Journées amusantes* encapsulates this most effectively.

Commenting further on the stylistic improvements the translator has made to the original translation, the publisher adds that they have removed what they consider to be ‘eine bloss moralisierende und leere Schwatzhafteigkeit’ [nothing but empty and sermonizing talk], ensuring however that ‘kein einziger fruchtbarer und lehrreicher Gedanke verloren gegangen ist’ [none of the richness and instructiveness of her thought is lost] (3^r). While insisting on the moral viability of the translation, the publisher’s philogynous agenda sounds close to Gottsched’s own praise of matrilineal achievements in her earlier adaptation of Gomez’s essay *Triumph der Weltweisheit*. As Rüdiger begins by praising the intellectual merit and enduring fame of Gomez in France, it becomes clear that his choice to publish this work was motivated by the success it had with the ‘Landsleuten der berühmten Verfasserin’ [compatriots of this famous woman author] (2^r) who eclipsed the great classics of seventeenth-century French literature. But instead of mentioning a male author, Rüdiger cites Madeleine de Scudéry as the icon of fashion amongst Gomez’s ‘Zeitverwandten’ [predecessors] (2^v). For the mid-eighteenth century German readership, Scudéry’s once fashionable works (including her novels and collections of *Conversations*) remained key references in young men’s and women’s upbringings and in their attainment of social refinement.⁵⁷ By mentioning the name of the internationally renowned Scudéry, Rüdiger inscribes Gomez’s own work within a well-established literary tradition, which was associated not only with romance writing but also with the feminocentric ethos of salon culture. He describes Gomez’s work as the embodiment of literary sophistication and civic virtue by assuring his readers that ‘dadurch so wohl dem Ruhme der Verfasserin als dem guten Gesmacke deutscher Leser, ein wirtlicher Dienst geleistet worden ist’ [in this manner both the fame of our woman author and the good taste of our German readers have been greatly enhanced] (3^r). However, his tribute to the modernity and talent of Gomez serves a well-defined purpose, that of refining his readership’s taste, and sums up the nationalistic orientation of his contemporaries’ Enlightenment programme, such as the Gottscheds’.

Pietro Chiari’s translation of ‘Les Journées amusantes’: ‘Li giorni di divertimento’ (1758)

Identified as the father of the Italian novel, Pietro Chiari, like Haywood, became a popular author of prose fiction.⁵⁸ Similarly to Haywood who succeeded in ‘appropriating’ French material and contributed to shaping the English novel, Chiari gave a new impetus to Italian literature and ‘moved [it] into a new aesthetic and cultural domain’.⁵⁹ The literary trends in the Italian book industry were largely dictated by the growing number of translations of foreign works. Chiari ostensibly capitalized on his readerships’ infatuation with anything French or English, despite the hostility of the literary establishment especially toward the ‘gallicization of Italian’.⁶⁰ At the same time, like English and French writers of fiction, Chiari defied the *literati*’s and clerics’ general distrust of novels which was inherited from a long tradition of

prescriptive and educational literature, such as Juan Luis Vivès's influential *Institutione Feminae Christianae* [*The Education of a Christian Woman*] (1529).⁶¹ Defined as dangerous and pernicious by its detractors, novel writing was associated with excessive imagination and frivolity – attributes which were widely accepted as ‘feminine’ and were dwelled upon to demonstrate the incompatibility of novel reading with women’s cultivation of virtue. Chiari’s important contribution to the debates on the interrelated questions of the viability of the novel as an educational tool and of the legitimacy of women’s cultural agency can also be measured from the editorial and visual paratexts in the first Italian edition of his translation of *Les Journées amusantes* (which was published anonymously).

The liminary pieces contained in the first and second volumes of the 1758 edition indicate two levels of scrutiny. The most important one, from a legal point of view, is in the form of an official approval, ‘Noi riformatori dello Studio di Padova’ [We the Reformers of the University of Padua], issued and signed by the ecclesiastical authorities, the guardians of the Catholic faith and good mores, who are in charge of authorizing or censoring what goes into print.⁶² The other piece is the printer’s preface, which seeks to legitimate the publication of Chiari’s translation on aesthetic grounds. It provides an assessment of the emerging literary field of *nouveautés galantes* [polite and amatory fiction] in Italy and inscribes the translation of Gomez’s work within the Italian context of transalpine migrations characterized by the steady import of ‘Novelle, Storie galanti e altri simili operette curiose’ [Novellas, fashionable tales and other similar intriguing little works].⁶³ Aware of the bitter controversy over the Italian readers’ fad for French novels, the printer is cautious to emphasize that there are good and bad novels, and that it is for readers, and more particularly for ‘persone di lettere e disappassionate’ [for belletrists, and the dispassionate], to judge on the matter. He then makes a cross-reference to the Abbé Prévost’s best-seller, *Le Philosophe anglois ou Monsieur de Cleveland* [*The English Philosopher or Mr Cleveland*] (1731–39), translated into Italian as *Il filosofo inglese*, which the printer tells us was ‘incontrò l’universale approvazione’ [met with universal approval].⁶⁴ Several layers of intertextuality and meaning are embedded in this cross-reference, providing an interesting example of ‘citation network’, which was a recurring strategy in early modern paratexts of translated works.⁶⁵ The mention of Prévost’s work, supported here by laudatory evidence of its successful reception, is important because it directs the readers’ preliminary evaluation of *Les Journées amusantes* through literary association. Furthermore, it assumes that any reader has, if not already read it, at least heard about it – possibly through Chiari’s first novel, *La filosofessa italiana* [*The Italian Woman Philosopher*] (1753), since he used the same cross-reference in the preface to this work. It is worth noting here that the parallels between Prévost’s and Chiari’s novels are striking. In Prévost’s work, the titular character is educated by his mother, Elizabeth, a well-read philosopher, who gives her son a book-length moral guide that she has compiled based on her library readings. In Chiari’s work, the female philosopher, who is an autodidact and takes a deep interest in a broad range of topics (including history and moral philosophy), also authors educational memoirs for her daughter’s perusal.⁶⁶ In these two works, Prévost and Chiari therefore appear to deconstruct

the erotic and spurious connotations between women and philosophy which had become common currency thanks to the widespread commercialization of French libertine literature across Europe.⁶⁷

Thus, if we return to the preface of *Li giorni di divertimento*, the reference to *Le Philosophe anglois* anchors a new paradigm of femininity: one that values women's intellectual agency and frames the presentation of Gomez's work as a live example of female achievement. In this way, the printer not only confers upon *Li giorni di divertimento* a philosophical status in line with the vulgarizing spirit of the Enlightenment, but also challenges explicitly, as I discuss in greater detail in the second part of this article, the phallogocentric prejudices which treat female scholarship as a futile occupation that generates frivolous writings.

The Spanish translations of 'Les Journées amusantes': 'Jornadas divertidas' and 'Días alegres'

Although Gomez's work had met with approval in 'el orbe literario' [the literary sphere], the Spanish censors' appreciation of *Les Journées amusantes* did not reflect the general enthusiasm which the European readerships had shown for this work.⁶⁸ In particular, the censors objected to Gomez's 'Jesuitic' position on 'free will' and man's innate inclination to good and desire for spiritual improvement.⁶⁹ Baltazar Driguet and Gaspar Zavala y Zamora both had to address this aspect of Gomez's work in order to obtain the license to publish their respective translations. The paratexts therefore play an important role in legitimating their respective versions and in asserting Gomez's 'worthiness' as a writer.

One determining factor in Driguet's careful consideration of how to present and package his translation was the competing version *Días alegres* [*Pleasant Days*] by his rival Zavala, who was mainly known for his highly popular dramatic works. The title page of Driguet's translation stands out when compared with those in the other European editions. It introduces Gomez's work as 'escritas por la Seneca del siglo XVII Madama de Gomez' [composed by Madam de Gomez, the Seneca of the Eighteenth Century]. By identifying Gomez with the famous Greek philosopher, Driguet chooses to lay emphasis on Gomez's intellect rather than her fanciful imagination. Through this paratextual strategy, he destabilizes the commonly-held association between women's writing and amorous fiction, and deflects the frivolous undertones that the adjective 'divertidas' may denote. Here 'entertainment' is presented as an erudite and philosophical enterprise.

As in the English translation, the title page serves to magnify in one glance the historical and philosophical scope of Gomez's work: *Jornadas divertidas, políticas sentencias y hechos memorables de los reyes y heroes de la antigüedad* [*Entertaining Days with Political Sayings and Memorable Deeds Performed by Kings and Heroes in Ancient History*]. Like Haywood in her preface, Driguet explains what motivated him to translate Gomez's work, insisting on the key concepts of *delectatio* and *utilitas*: 'la hallé no solo divertida por las varias noticias que subministra, sino tambien instructiva por las excelentes máximas

políticas y morales que en sí encierra; esto me inclinó á traducirla en nuestro Idioma' [I have found this work not only entertaining for its many anecdotes but also instructive for its excellent political and moral maxims. This is what brought me to translate it into our language].⁷⁰ In particular, Driguet gives weight to the European fame Gomez has gained through her writings which 'han tenido general oceptacion [sic] en todas las Naciones' [have been well received in all the Nations].⁷¹ Although he states he read the eighth edition of Gomez's work in 1788, his reference to the other European translations indicates that he views his own translation as the culminating point in this foreign series of commemorative homages to Gomez's accomplishment as a female philosopher. Commenting on his own translation and its rationale, Driguet defensively justifies his moral duty as a translator. He insists that he has faithfully retained the wording of the original, while ensuring 'que ne hay nada que se oponga al Estado ni a la Religión' [there is nothing which goes against the State or Religion], and seeing to not 'obscurecer el mérito del autor' [overshadow the merit of the author].⁷²

By contrast, Zavala's paratext is a direct and lively address to his 'lector'. He writes his preface to *Dias alegres* from his privileged standpoint as a successful playwright who had already adapted a selection of Gomez's stories to the stage.⁷³ In it, he clearly shows his defiance of the established criteria of aesthetic judgment when it comes to assessing the moral legitimacy of prose fiction. While he agrees that most novels do not fulfil the *delectatio/utilitas* [pleasure/usefulness] criteria, according to him *Les Journées amusantes* constitutes an exception to the rule. However, unlike his predecessors, his focus is not so much on the erudite content as on the work's 'imagination' and 'variété'. He cites directly in French from *La Littérature française, du règne de François Ier à l'an 1774* [*French Literature, From the Reign of Francis I to the Year 1774*] by Antoine Sabatier de Castres,⁷⁴ and draws his reader's attention to the presence of 'merveilleux' [the marvellous] in Gomez's tales, a characteristic which had become a distinct feature of late eighteenth-century Gothic novels and which his readers would have relished. However, Gomez's critics viewed the presence of 'merveilleux' as pedagogically and morally detrimental. Consequently, as the French biographer goes on to remark, those critics have failed to appreciate her 'stile [sic] d'ailleurs agréable et facile' [style which is actually pleasant and easy to read].⁷⁵ Seeing little point in bringing any more evidence from other secondary sources to support his own opinion, Zavala explicitly urges his reader to 'leer[la], y forma[r] luego el juicio que quisier[e]' [to read her work and form their own opinion on it],⁷⁶ so as to fully grasp the intrinsic qualities of *Les Journées amusantes*. Having informed his reader of the linguistic, stylistic and cultural negotiations he has made with the source text, he proceeds to apologize for 'lo hecho' [this intervention], and pleads for his reader's lenience, insisting he had legitimate reasons, some of which pertained to common sense and others which were made out of political necessity. Zavala's defensive preface also provides a eulogy of Gomez, whom he ranks among the 'mujer[es] ilustre[s]' [illustrious women] and whose works are 'tan fecundas como interesantes' [as fertile as interesting].⁷⁷ Describing Gomez's 'exquisitas producciones' [exquisite writings] as a metonymy for her intellectual worth, Zavala echoes his predecessors' respective

homages to Gomez as a woman of letters and, most specifically, to her contribution to the enhancement of the novelistic genre.

Although the liminary pieces analysed in this section were designed to justify the publication of *Les Journées amusantes*, and to promote the work of a woman writer in the target cultures, these paratexts feature as valuable pieces of aesthetic assessment in the European literary field of the Enlightenment. This is reinforced by the iconographical material which adorns the front pages of the opening volumes. As we shall see next, image-makers relied on a rhetoric that blends the visual and the verbal most effectively into a metatextual reflection on women, writing and decorum.

II. The iconographical representation of female authorship in the French and European editions of 'Les Journées amusantes'

Scholars have commented on the cultural and ideological significance of illustrations in books as 'constituent of elements of discourse, history, identity, memory and power' through a process of repetition and imitation on the one hand, and through a process of reinterpretation, displacement and transcreation on the other.⁷⁸ As visual studies on eighteenth-century book illustrations have shown,⁷⁹ 'intericonicity' provides a useful tool for decoding the ideological tensions, shifts and ambiguities that are at play in the constitution of visual memories.⁸⁰

The advertising strategies that underpin the branding of female authorship in the opening frontispieces of *Les Journées amusantes* and its foreign translations are to be understood within the broad context of the *querelle des femmes* and the visual portraiture of women's consumption and production of knowledge (whether spiritual, emotional, philosophical, scientific or historical) alongside their multifaceted verbal representations (whether in fiction or treatises). Testifying to the patriarchal and misogynistic anxieties about women's knowledge, iconographic representations of educated women from the mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries across Europe reveal four types of depictions:

1. The eroticized portrayal of women as readers (mainly as consumers of amatory and libertine fiction);⁸¹
2. Women as pedantic intellectuals (from the caricatures of the 'précieuses' and 'femmes savantes' in Molière's plays to the satirical portrayals of the Bluestockings at the end of the eighteenth century);⁸²
3. Women as mentees (under the direction of a male mentor);
4. Women as producers of knowledge.

The third and fourth types overturn the other two depreciative stereotypes by proposing rewarding epistemological possibilities for women's self-improvement and self-accomplishment within the limits of social *bienséance* and aesthetic constructions of femininity. This fourth type of portraiture, which brings us closer to the subject of the frontispieces adorning *Les Journées amusantes* and its translations, unconditionally

celebrates women as cultural agents of positive change, and coincides with the 'Enlightenment's penchant for picturing genius', despite the steady flow of misogynistic satires.⁸³ Thus, at the same time as erotic and parodic engravings of women readers became common currency as visual paradigms, the iconographic prototypes of the *femmes savantes* or 'brilliant women' invited respect and admiration, and signalled among the supporters of women's learning the civic desire to legitimize and negotiate a place for female scholarship within the Republic of Letters across Europe.⁸⁴ These varying and competing depictions of women as consumers and producers of knowledge thus provide important visual paradigms for the analysis of the iconographic representation of female authorship in Gomez's work and its foreign translations.

Across the different editions of the French original, there are three frontispieces in particular which foreground the growing participation of women in the production of knowledge. There are, however, some variants from one edition to the next. In the first Paris edition published by Guillaume Saugrain, containing the first three days (1722) and the next three days (1724), there is no liminary frontispiece. The next volume containing days seven, eight and nine (also published in 1724) opens, however, with a frontispiece in which men and women converse with each other in a study (filled with books).⁸⁵ The same scene is transferred into a garden in the frontispiece opening the fifth volume (1730) which contains days thirteen, fourteen and fifteen (also reproduced in some of the foreign editions) – shifting the focus from the studious atmosphere of the 'bibliothèque' to a more leisurely, casual type of polite conversation.⁸⁶ As for the last two parts published in 1731, their frontispieces represent a scene capturing a dramatic moment in the stories to be narrated. These frontispieces have all been reproduced in the subsequent Paris editions published by Charles Leclerc (1728–31) and Jacques Clousier (1737). What is striking is the presence of two additional frontispieces in Leclerc's and Clousier's editions: one representing a woman writing in her library, placed after the dedicatory epistle to Louis XV,⁸⁷ and another depicting a woman sitting and writing in a bucolic landscape, which opens the second volume.⁸⁸ The records on the Eighteenth Century Collections Online indicate that both of these were inserted in the 1728, 1731 and 1736 London editions, and in the 1740 Dublin edition (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 3). These frontispieces also feature in the 1751 and 1754 London French editions.⁸⁹ In most Amsterdam editions, as well as in the German 1761 and 1767 editions (Fig. 2), only the frontispiece from the second volume was retained. On the other hand, the first frontispiece from Le Clerc's and Clousier's editions replicated in the English edition (Fig. 3) was replaced in the Italian edition (Fig. 6) and polished in the Spanish edition (Fig. 8). Thus the opening frontispieces contained in the foreign translations can be described as instances of 'intersemiotic translation', exemplifying the four primary practices that have been identified in studies of book illustrations: 'keeping, adapting, replacing and creating'.⁹⁰ In the process, through these pictorial mutations there appear to be several layers of intericonicity which, as we shall see next, import into the receiving cultures a positive message about women's agency in the Republic of Letters.



Figure 1: Eliza Haywood, *La Belle Assemblée* (London, 1728), vol. 1, Frontispiece (Image courtesy of Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gomez, Madame de. *La belle assemblée: or, the adventures of twelve days. Being a curious collection of remarkable incidents which happen'd to some of the first quality in France. Written in French for the Entertainment of the King, and dedicated to him by Madam de Gomez. In two volumes.* 2nd edn, vol. 1, printed for D. Browne, at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar; Weaver Bickerton, in Devereux-Court, without Temple-Bar; and Joseph Pote, at the Golden-Door over against Suffolk-Street, near Charing Cross, M.DCC.XXVIII. [1728]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/gVCSWg>. Accessed 16 March 2019. GALE|CW0111649748

The opening frontispieces in the French, English and German editions: Representation of female authorship in situ

In the opening frontispiece reprinted in the English translation (Fig. 1), the bucolic setting clearly serves as a backdrop for female poetic creativity, as embodied by the presence of a woman sitting on a rock and writing away. The conventional association between nature and womanhood is, however, displaced into another realm of interpretation. There emerges an image of the new literary woman, who is not only fully participating in the shaping of a civilized society, but who can also make a living from her own pen without breach of decorum. In the foreground the pages and coins, which are strewn randomly, symbolize Gomez's prolific imagination as well as the capital gains she is reaping from her work.

However, the frontispiece calls for different levels of interpretations. On the one hand, the stormy sky in the background serves as a metaphor for the adventure and love tales contained in *Les Journées amusantes*. The looming clouds convey a well-trodden association between women's works and frivolous works which only deal with amatory topics. On the other hand, this deeply ingrained prejudice is metaphorically offset by iconographical signs which effectively bring into relief the spirituality of the female subject. The crown she wears, her solemn posture and her elegant dress confer upon her a certain gracefulness and recall representations of Clio, the Muse of History, often pictured surrounded with books and holding a scroll open. The poor quality of the reprinted engraving in Haywood's translation suggests that there was a real sense of urgency in satiating her readers' curiosity for a work whose forthcoming volumes were hot off the French press.

By contrast, the engraving which we find on the title page of the German edition (see Fig. 2) has been transposed into an elegant and delicate Rococo style frame. In fact, after presenting Gomez's work and giving details about the translator's stylistic touches and negotiations with the source text, the publisher proudly proceeds to describe his own contribution to the embellishment of the book as a physical object. He comments on his choice of paper, cover and illustration, and introduces the book as an artefact that is as much for the pleasure of the eyes as of the mind: 'so habe ich für billig gehalten, es auch durch diese Stücke mit einer neuen und schönern Kleidung im Ausserlichen zu versehen' [Thus I have thought it only fair to adorn this work with a new and more beautiful appearance through these pieces] (3^v).

The highly stylized engraving (Fig. 2) is by a well-established German artist, Christian Benjamin Glassbach (1725–79), who had made a portrait of Frederick the Great that drew upon a branch of rococo style, known as the Augsburg taste, which was popularized by Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner.⁹¹ All in all, the cartouche reflects the *modus vivendi* of rococo aesthetics and serves as an allegorical anamorphic device which guides the reader's own interpretation of the content of the work. Unlike in the opening frontispiece of the English edition (Fig. 1), there are no coins, and the stormy clouds have been replaced with the name of the author and the title of the work in large, elegant Gothic letters. Thereby, female authorship is given spiritual weight through the framing device of the arabesque. In particular, the engraving



Figure 2: Anon., *Angenehme und lehrreiche Erzählungen in vergnügten Tagen* (Berlin and Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Rüdiger, 1767), vol. 1, frontispiece engraved by C. B. Glassbach (Image Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Bibliotheca Albertina, 53-8-5698:1)

is characterized by a certain sobriety. Intericonicity is at work here: the floral lines of the cartouche are delicate and seemingly weightless, recalling Baumgartner's portraits of François de Sales and John the Evangelist.⁹² In this way, Glassbach invites the viewer to create meaningful parallels between Baumgartner's religious subjects and his personalized depiction of the famous 'Verfasserin'. Thus, if the softness and lightness of the arabesque which encloses the female subject in the *locus amoenus* of poetic creativity conveys feminine sensuality, the implicit iconic reference to visual



Figure 3: Eliza Haywood, *La Belle Assemblée* (London, 1736), vol. 3, Frontispiece (Image Courtesy of Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gomez, Madame de. *La belle assemblée: being a curious collection of some very remarkable incidents which happened to persons of the first quality in France. Interspers'd with Entertaining and Improving Observations made by them on several Passages in History, both Ancient and Modern. Written in French for the Entertainment of the King, and dedicated to him by Madam de Gomez. In four volumes. Adorn'd with copper-plates.* 4th edn, vol. 3, printed for J. Brotherton and others, M.DCC.XXXVI. [1736]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9VCQN6>. Accessed 16 March 2019. GALE|CW0114769936

paradigms of devotion thus serves to highlight, to a German audience, not only the suitability of Gomez's work but also the compatibility between women's writing and the exercise of virtue.

While the opening frontispiece of the first volume of the English and German editions (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) depicts an open space, the frontispiece included in the third volume of the 1736 English edition represents a study in which a fully absorbed woman sits at her desk (Fig. 3). The intellectual vibrancy and seriousness of the place, denoted by the rows of books, is counterbalanced by the presence of mischievous-looking cherubs sitting on the floor. Several questions arise, depending on the consulted edition. In the 1731 Paris edition, for example, the title can be easily decrypted, which indicates that the female subject is meant to represent Gomez herself; it is not the case in the 1736 edition of the English translation (Fig. 3). Who is then represented? Is it any female reader of *Les Journées amusantes*? The translator (that is, Haywood herself)? Is the woman reading or writing amatory tales? Is she absorbed by the love stories she is reading or writing, as the presence of the Cupids in the foreground may suggest? Or is she deep in thought because of the political, moral and philosophical observations she is putting down on paper? Is she resisting the temptation of reading more amatory stories possibly contained in the volumes that the cherubs try to make her read? This is a set of questions which Chiari and Driguet disambiguate through their respective iconographical choices.

Visual representation of female authorship in Chiari's 'Li giorni di divertimento'

Unlike the title of Haywood's translation, Chiari's is brief and faithfully reproduces that of the French edition: *Li giorni di divertimento*. Chiari chose not to expound Gomez's title into a bombastic formulation. However, the dynamic interplay between entertainment and instruction is visually foregrounded by the graphic design which adorns the title of each volume in the 1758 edition: one small engraving featuring a neo-classical gardenscape under the title of the first volume (Fig. 4), and one representing a smiling, satiated Cupid sitting under a canopy in the second volume (Fig. 5).

Put side by side, these two images emblemize the ludic and erudite content of Gomez's work, but also serve as metonymic representations of female *auctoritas*, as I argue next through a close analysis of the first engraving (Fig. 4). The latter represents a Baroque three-tiered gardenscape with trompe-l'œil perspectives. Its fountain serves as the focal point of a theatre stage whose curtain has just been lifted by a god and a goddess. With his caduceus, his winged hat and lyra, the half-naked God can be identified as Hermes, who is endowed with the power of guiding human souls from earth to heaven. The identity of the gracefully draped goddess lends itself to an array of possibilities. In one hand, she holds an elongated, pointed object, which could be a spear, an arrow, a quill or more feasibly a distaff, as her other hand rests on a spindle; both distaff and spindle are symbols of chastity and female modesty. The fluid functionality of the object she holds suggests that the goddess is Artemis/



Figure 4: Pietro Chiari, *Li giorni di divertimento* (Venice: Domenico Deregni, 1758), vol. 1, frontispiece (Bodleian Library, Vet. F5 e.310 v1)

Diana who watches over the good conduct of young women. Eighteenth-century readers would have effortlessly understood the symbolism of Hermes's and Artemis's presence on either side of the picture. This moral and spiritual allegory is rendered through the detailed and well-structured composition of the gardenscape. In particular, the fountain has a two-fold iconographic function in poetry and mythology: it is to be construed as an intellectual and erotic source of inspiration. At the top of the

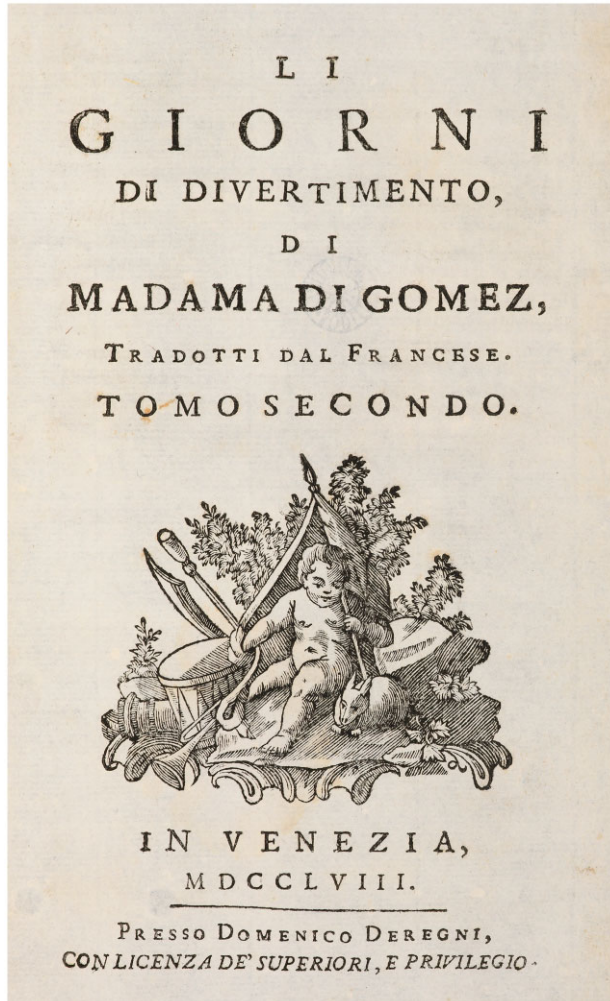


Figure 5: Pietro Chiari, *Li giorni di divertimento*, vol. 1, title page (Bodleian Library, Vet. F5 e.310 v1)

edifice, vertically above the fountain stands the goddess Fortuna: she holds a banner, has one foot on the wheel of fortune (a reference to the love and adventure stories about to be narrated), and is surrounded with books (a reference to the intellectual scope of Gomez's work). As a highly codified composition, the image serves as a two-layered metatext. On the one hand, its Latin inscription (*varietas delectat*) advertises *Les Journées amusantes* as emblemizing a perfect equilibrium between reason and passion, erudition and entertainment. On the other, the minutely detailed persona of the goddess Artemis can be decoded as an allegorical portrayal of Gomez's intellect and spirituality, and by extension as a celebration of women's cultural agency.



Figure 6: Pietro Chiari, *Li giorni di divertimento*, vol. 2., title page (Bodleian Library, Vet. F5 e.310 v2)

The opening frontispiece in the second volume of *Li giorni di divertimento* (Fig. 6) shifts this allegorical representation of the female intellect into the physical space of a library, similarly to Le Clerc's and Clouzet's editions mentioned earlier. Here the corresponding illustration from the original has been replaced with another one, belonging to Prévost's novel *Le Philosophe anglois*, which was reused in Chiari's *La filosofessa italiana*. As we saw earlier, an intertextual reference to *Le Philosophe anglois* can also be found in the prefaces to Chiari's novel and translation of *Les Journées amusantes*. This frontispiece has been analysed at length by Nathalie Ferrand in the context of Prévost's novel.⁹³ In the context of *Les Journées amusantes*, the image, which

is slightly reworked, lends itself to a new interpretation when compared with the frontispiece of the 1731 Paris edition kept in the 1736 London edition (Fig. 3). It too represents a woman sitting in an impressively well-stocked study. She is pictured in the very acts of writing, thinking and reading at the same time as a young, half-naked boy shows her a passage from a book. However, emphasis is on the modesty of the female subject: she wears an austere dress whose fabric is straight and looks heavy, contrasting sharply with the flowing, feminine curves of her frilly apparel in all the other foreign frontispieces (including the Spanish engravings and those in the Guillaume Meyer editions).⁹⁴ Furthermore, unlike all the other European editions, the young boy is standing, appears much older and looks interested in learning. Behind him feature the iconic symbols of human frailty and transience, and of man's sinfulness and search for redemption: a globe, from beneath which a snake tries to escape, and on the top of which there is a cross. Although these objects have a story of their own to tell and constitute much of the topical substance of the tales in *Les Journées amusantes*, the geometrical lines of the study room embody order and reason. Around the female subject and the young Cupid, books and manuscript leaves are lying on the ground as proof of her prolific imagination and intense study. The seven liberal arts are roughly depicted on a pillar, and on the top of the library shelves sit the busts of two male thinkers. One of them is Plato, and he appears to sanction the intellectual activities in which the female subject is engaged. The other bust has its head turned in the direction of a loose sheet, on which is neatly inscribed the name 'Seneca', which contrasts with the less decipherable label positioned vertically in the engraving found in *Le Philosophe anglais*.⁹⁵ In the frontispiece of *Li giorni di divertimento* (Fig. 6) the label seems to be freely floating and is in fact part of a carefully composed geometrical figure, showing a triangular shape whose other two vertices are the heads of the female subject and the male bust: the onlooker's gaze is compelled to make symbolic connections between the Roman philosopher and the female writer in the picture. In this way, the reader is invited to interpret *Les Journées amusantes* as the intellectual property of a woman who is 'la Seneca del XVII siglo', as formulated by Driguet in 1792.

Visual representations of female authorship in Driguet's 'Jornadas divertidas'

The first four volumes of *Las jornadas divertidas* open with visual material (Fig. 7), which was drawn and engraved, as in the German edition, by artists of note: the Spanish-born Mexican painter Rafael Jimeno y Planes (1760–1825) and the court artist José Asensio y Torres (1759–1820). A few years earlier, Rafael Jimeno had illustrated a new edition of *Don Quixote* (1780) as well as Tomás de Iriarte's translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (1789). Asensio y Torres was also known for his illustrations of scientific works, such as Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, partially translated into Spanish (1789–96). If the very act of commissioning two leading figures to illustrate *Jornadas divertidas* did not turn it into a best-seller, at least symbolically it situated Gomez's text within a modern lineage of historically significant works.



Figure 7: Balthazar Driguet, *Las jornadas divertidas* (1792), vol. 1, frontispiece (National Library of Scotland, NE.763.g.2)

From Driguet's own assertion that he decided to publish his work 'adornada con una estampa en obsequio de Madama de Gomez' [adorned with an illustration in homage to Madame de Gomez],⁹⁶ it is clear that he felt invested with a mission: trumpeting the merit of the woman who enriched a generation of male and female readers by making erudite knowledge accessible to them while maintaining a fine balance between learned conversations and storytelling throughout her work. As in the German frontispiece, the persona of Gomez is embellished through careful attention to the flowing movement of her dress and smooth features of her face. Although this engraving may be interpreted as a sensualistic rendering of the female intellect, it

promotes the idea that femininity, sensuality and physical beauty are not incompatible with learnedness, and that intellectual occupations are not incompatible with the cultivation of civic and domestic virtue.

The inscription beneath the frontispiece showing Fame leading ‘Madama Gomez’ to the Temple of Immortality indicates that her success is not solely due to her erudition but also to her literary genius, as she is welcomed by Clio (the muse of history), Calliope (the muse of poetry) and Euterpe (the muse of music). This frontispiece contrasts with Rafael Jimeno’s earlier engraving of ‘Cervantes entregando su Don Quijote a la musa Talía’ [Cervantes offering his volume of *Don Quijote* to the muse Thalia] (dated between 1780 and 1789), with which Driguet’s readers would have been familiar, given the recent re-editions of the timeless best-seller.⁹⁷ The scene is set in the open air with a temple in the distance and amorous deities in the foreground. Cervantes, who is minutely portrayed in an elaborate seventeenth-century outfit, stands tall and smiling as he confidently hands the complete set of *Don Quijote* over to the muse of comedy.

Gender politics is at play when one compares this image with Rafael Jimeno’s later engraving of Gomez. To her right, Calliope securely holds volumes (presumably those already written by Gomez) and brandishes a crown with which to adorn Gomez’s head. But unlike Cervantes, she does not voluntarily visit the Muses and seems shy. Rather, she is solicited by them possibly to write more stories, as she still holds her quill in her hand. The reader has time to internalize the embedded message within this frontispiece which is reproduced four times. This visual emphasis on the role women can play as agents of cultural transaction is further elaborated through the reworked image of Gomez in her study, which opens each of the last four volumes of *Jornadas divertidas* (Fig. 8). It was designed by another famous Spanish illustrator, José Jimeno y Carrera (1757–1807), who had also been involved in iconographical work for the editions of Cervantes’s *Novelas ejemplares* [*Exemplary Novels*] (1783) and *Galatea* (1784).

In his adaptation of the frontispiece from the 1731 Paris edition, José Jimeno, who collaborated with the engraver Vicente Pascuale y Perez (d. 1829), has added sensuality to the erudite environment by means of decorative garlands (Fig. 8). Gomez, who is wearing the same dress as in the previous scene (Fig. 7), has now settled down, blessed by Seneca who watches over her. She is possibly proofreading one of her stories, ‘Jornada XII’ [Day XII], which is neatly inscribed on the page. The poetic inscription below the engraving identifies the female subject as ‘Madama Gomez’ herself and indicates that she is impervious to the earthly temptations embodied by the presence of the Cherubs. Read alongside each other, the two frontispieces in the Spanish translation tell the story of how Gomez achieved recognition and respect among the Muses. As with the opening frontispiece of the first four volumes, the second drawing is part of a visual strategy through which the viewer/reader is offered a just appreciation and positive opinion of female authorship and female knowledge.

Thus, this artistic visualization of female authorship erects a commemorative monument to Gomez. In this way, even if it is not possible to ascertain whether the image-makers might have known Gomez’s feminist manifesto, *Entretiens nocturnes*



Figure 8: Balthazar Driguet, *Las jornadas divertidas* (1792), vol. 5, frontispiece (National Library of Scotland, NE.763.g.2.Vol.5)

[*Nocturnal Conversations*], they responded (knowingly or not) to Gomez’s call for the inclusion of women in the official history on a par with a Cervantes.⁹⁸

Conclusion

Although a comparative study of all six translations remains to be undertaken to fully evaluate the translators’ nationalistic and ideological agendas, this article’s analysis of

the liminary paratexts (verbal and visual) in the European editions of *Les Journées amusantes* provides a fine example of how their function is to ‘prime, explain, contextualize, justify, and through beautification, tempt’.⁹⁹ In an effort to reform their fellow citizens and advocate ‘good taste’, the preface writers not only insist on the novelty and timeliness of *Les Journées amusantes* but also implicitly herald this as proof that women can be intellectually empowered without neglecting their social duties and being led astray.

This study has shown that the image-makers involved in the packaging of *Les Journées amusantes* and its translations sought to appeal to their eighteenth-century viewers’ and readers’ ability to develop and cultivate a critical mind by deconstructing misogynistic prototypes of femininity (whether pictorial or linguistic), as well as commonplace assumptions about ‘women’s curiosity’.¹⁰⁰ Although the frontispieces analysed here do not illustrate a specific scene in the text, they offer a visual point of entry into Gomez’s feminist work, in which her female characters, who are presented as poetesses, translators, historians and philosophers, provide inspiring models of cultural agency.

Through their artistic visualization of female authorship and promotion of the female intellect, these liminary paratexts challenge the phallogocentric ‘order of things’. They not only frame woman’s access to culture in a way that legitimates and officializes her right to intellectual production, but they also emerge as valuable historiographic and commemorative contributions to the creation of an inclusive and transnational cultural memory.

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NOTES

¹ Madeleine de Scudéry, *Les Femmes illustres, ou les harangues héroïques de Mr de Scudéry: avec les véritables portraits de ces héroïnes, tirez des médailles antiques* (Paris: Antoine de Sommerville, 1742), pp. 423–45. On the feminist aspects of this text, see Caren Greenberg, ‘The World of Prose and Female Self-Inscription: Scudéry’s “*Les Femmes Illustres*”’, *L’Esprit créateur*, 23,2 (1983), 37–44. The translation of titles which exist already in English translation has been adopted. For the translation of the foreign titles of Gomez’s works, the translations are mine.

² Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1656), ed. by Claude Bourqui and Alexandre Gefen <<https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/cyrus/navigate/1/11/3/4/>>, p. 6935 [accessed 19 May 2022]. The translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

³ Eliza Goodman, *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 3.

⁴ Line Cottegnies and Sandrine Parangeau, ‘Introduction’, in *Women’s Curiosity in Early Modern France*, ed. by Line Cottegnies and Sandrine Parangeau (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1–26 (p. 4). On the *querelle des femmes*, which was a pan-European debate about women’s place in society from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century, see Gisèle Bock and Margarete Zimmerman, ‘The European Querelle des Femmes’, in *Medieval Forms of Argument. Disputation and Debate*, ed. by Georgiana Donavin, Carol Poster and Richard Utz (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), pp. 127–56; and the recent Société Internationale pour l’Etude des Femmes de l’Ancien Régime (SIEFAR) publication series

'Revisiter la *Querelle des femmes*', *SIEFAR* <<http://siefar.org/revisiter-la-querelle-des-femmes/bibliographie/>> [accessed 19 May 2023].

⁵ Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987). For the English translation, see Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For recent significant post-Genette work in this area, see Kathryn Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts* (London: Routledge, 2018) and *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)*, ed. by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁶ For Gomez's life and works, and the popularity of her works in France and abroad, see Séverine Genieys-Kirk's biographical entry for Gomez in the *Dictionnaire des Femmes des Lumières*, ed. by Huguette Krief and Valérie André (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015), pp. 538–42.

⁷ See Séverine Genieys-Kirk, 'Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez: Historiographer of Women', in *Festschrift for C. E. J. Caldwell*, ed. by Michael Brophy, Phyllis Gaffney and Mary Gallagher (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008), pp. 239–47. For the notion of feminocentric culture, see Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

⁸ See Henry Carrington Lancaster, *Sunset: A History of Parisian Drama in the Last Years of Louis XIV: 1701–1715* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), p. 29.

⁹ See Emmanuel Bouchard, Guillaume McNeil Arteau and Séverine Genieys-Kirk, 'Introduction', in *Nouvelles Choies de Madeleine-Angélique Poisson (Madame de Gomez)*, ed. by Emmanuel Bouchard (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, forthcoming), which provides a richly documented account of the reception of her works in France and abroad.

¹⁰ For a full list of Gomez's publications, see Séverine Genieys-Kirk, 'Madeleine-Angélique Poisson', *SIEFAR* < http://siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Madeleine-Ang%C3%A9lique_Poisson> [accessed 19 May 2023].

¹¹ See Chad Denton, *Decadence, Radicalism and the Early Modern French Nobility: The Enlightened and the Depraved* (London: Lexington Books, 2017).

¹² For the notions of politeness and civility, see Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 53–73, 67.

¹³ For more on this tradition, see Josephine Donovan, 'Women and the Framed-Nouvelle: A Tradition of Their Own', *Signs*, 22.4 (1997), 947–80.

¹⁴ By and large, Gomez's vast body of *Outre-mer*, or overseas stories, takes her reader across the world, including Africa, the Middle East, Asia Minor, Japan and Java, as well as Mexico and America. As such, this work reflects the early modern fascination with foreign lands and the Other, and is to be understood within the context of the Enlightenment's 'exotic fiction' which, as Julia Douthwaite shows, differs from 'the conceptualization of the exotic as a product of the nineteenth-century consolidation of the anthropology, archaeology and sociology into scientific disciplines that structured the description of unfamiliar world. [...] the exoticism of the ancient regime relies on an earlier tradition. Like Montaigne [...], eighteenth-century writers often seem torn between their progressive ideals and their traditional aesthetics'. Julia Douthwaite, *Exotic Women: Literary Heroines and Cultural Strategies in Ancien Régime France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), p. 9. The term 'exotic' is used by early modern scholars to refer to literary and cultural practices that find creative ways of staging encounters with the 'non-European world' (Schmidt 36). These include 'exotic novels' as examined by Douthwaite (16), real and fictional récits de voyages and philosophical tales as well as 'exotic artefacts', 'decorative art', maps of the world and *cabinet de curiosités* (Schmidt 36). Benjamin Schmidt, 'Geography Unbound Boundaries and the Exotic World in the Early Enlightenment', *Boundaries and Their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands*, vol. 48 (United States: BRILL, 2009), pp. 35–61. On the broader issue of literary exoticism, see also Jennifer Yee, 'Introduction', in *Exotic Subversions in Nineteenth-century French Fiction* (London: Legenda, 2008), pp. 1–23, in which the author traces the history of 'exotic fiction', which she describes as 'confronted with a fundamental choice concerning the nature of its focalization: to adopt the perspective, knowledge and mind-set of a European traveller, or to feign the world-view of the fictive Other' (11). For more on the 'exotic' dimension of Gomez's fiction, see Emmanuel Bouchard and Guillaume McNeil Arteau, 'Madame de Gomez et le monde autochtone', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 22.2 (2022), 273–94.

¹⁵ See, for example, Séverine Genieys-Kirk, 'Eliza Haywood's Translation and Dialogic Reading of Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez's *Journées amusantes* (1722–1731)', in *Translators, Interpreters and Mediators: Women Writers 1500–1900*, ed. by Gillian Dow (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 37–54. More work still remains to be done to identify which stories from this corpus are original, and which are adapted or 'plagiarized'.

¹⁶ See Delphine Denis, *La Muse galante et la poétique de la conversation dans l'œuvre de Madeleine de Scudéry* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997).

¹⁷ Bouchard and McNeil Arteau, 'Madame de Gomez et le monde autochtone', p. 273.

¹⁸ Christina Ionescu, 'Introduction: Towards a Reconfiguration of the Visual Periphery of the Text in the Eighteenth-Century Book', in *Book Illustration in the Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, ed. by Christina Ionescu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), pp. 1–51 (p. 17).

¹⁹ First published by G. Saugrain, Vve Guillaume and C. Le Clerc (1722–31), the complete set saw another two Parisian editions by D. Mouchet in 1736, by J. Clouster and by C. Le Clerc both in 1737–38; nine Dutch editions by La Compagnie des libraires in Amsterdam (between 1731 and 1779); and two London publications in French by G. Meyer (1751 and 1754).

²⁰ Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, *La Belle Assemblée, or, the Adventure of Six Days. Being a curious collection of remarkable incidents which happen'd to some of the first quality in France. Written in French for the Entertainment of the King, and dedicated to him by Madam de Gomez. Translated into English*, trans. by Eliza Haywood, 3 parts (London: D. Browne and S. Chapman, 1724–25). This was followed by the translation of the following six days, under the title *La Belle Assemblée, or, the Adventure of Twelve Days. Being a curious collection of remarkable incidents which happen'd to some of the first quality in France. Written in French for the Entertainment of the King, and dedicated to him by Madam de Gomez. In two volumes* (London: D. Browne, W. Bickerton and J. Pote, 1728). The full translation was completed by 1734, with the publication of a third volume in 1731 (containing days thirteen, fourteen and fifteen), and the publication of a fourth and final volume in 1734 (containing days sixteen, seventeen and eighteen). The translation has been identified by Patrick Spedding as one of Haywood's most popular works. For more on the complex publishing history of Haywood's translation, which was continuously re-edited between 1724 and 1765, see his milestone work, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), pp. 161–206.

²¹ Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, *Li giorni di divertimento*, trans. by Pietro Chiari (Venice: Domenico Derogni, 1758). A second edition was printed in Naples by Andrea Migliaccio in 1777.

²² Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, *Die Vergnügen Tage der Frau von Gomez aus dem Französischen übersetzt von P.G.v.K.*, trans. by [Anon.] (Danzig: Johann Heinrich Rüdiger, 1741) and *Angenehme und lehrreiche Erzählungen in vergnügten Tagen*, trans. by [Anon.] (Berlin: Johann Heinrich Rüdiger [the Younger], 1761, repr. 1767).

²³ See Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, *Jornadas divertidas, políticas sentencias y hechos memorables de los reyes y heroes de la antigüedad Escritas por la Seneca del siglo XVII Madama de Gomez. Traducidas fielmente del frances al castellano. Por Don Baltasar Driguet y adornadas con cinco laminas finas*. Several Madrid publishers were involved in the publication: Isidoro de Hernández Pacheco printed the first volume (1792); Benito Camo the second, third and fourth volumes (1794) and the fifth and sixth volumes (1796); and Fermin Villalpando the seventh and eighth volumes (1797). For Zavala's translation, see Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, *Dias alegres escritos en Frances por Madama de Gomez y traducidos libremente por Don Gaspar Zavala y Zamora* (Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, 1792–98).

²⁴ I would like to thank my anonymous reviewer for sharing the following information regarding the Italian and German translations: 'the stock catalogues of the Remondini booksellers issued in 1772 and 1793 indicate that the 1758 editions was still available 35 years after its publication. The German edition of 1767 is shown as still available for sale in the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* in 1798 at a very reduced price'.

²⁵ I use the term 'image-makers' here, following the usage proposed by Ionescu, to refer to 'any individuals actively involved in the production and dissemination of images', including visual artists as well as 'patrons who commissioned and displayed art works, and translators, editors and publishers'. Christina Ionescu, *Visualizing the Text from Manuscript Culture to the Age of Caricature: A Theoretical, Methodological and Conceptual Framework* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2017), p. xxvi. In the context of this article, this concept is particularly useful when it is not always possible to ascertain the

parts played by the author, translator or publisher in the selection and designing of frontispieces, or the extent of the collaborations between these different individuals. See also Ionescu, *Book Illustration in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 37.

²⁶ Alison Margaret Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709–1791* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 115. See also Christine Blouch, ‘Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 31.3 (1991), 535–52; and Kathryn King, *Eliza Haywood: A Political Biography* (London: Routledge, 2012).

²⁷ See Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman, ‘Introduction’, in *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and the Female Spectator*, ed. by Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006), pp. 13–41 (p. 38, n. 16).

²⁸ Conway, p. 30. See also Genieys-Kirk, ‘Eliza Haywood’s Translation’.

²⁹ For how Haywood articulates her vision of women’s access to culture, see Juliette Merritt, ‘Reforming the Coquet? Eliza Haywood’s Vision of Female Epistemology’, in *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and the Female Spectator*, ed. by Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006), pp. 176–92.

³⁰ In 1688, Behn provided an alternative version, *The Discovery of New Worlds*, to the earlier translations, *A Discourse of the Plurality of Worlds Written in French by the Most Ingenious Author of the Dialogues of the Dead*, trans. by W. D. Knight (1687); and *A Plurality of Worlds*, trans. by John Glanvill (1688).

³¹ See E. J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 48.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁴ See Madeleine-Angélique Poisson de Gomez, *La Belle Assemblée, or the Adventures of Twelve Days*, trans. by Eliza Haywood, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: D. Browne and S. Chapman, 1728).

³⁵ Although Madeleine de Scudéry’s multi-volume romances in this period were not as fashionable as they had been, collections of conversations extracted from her novels were still widely read, as were the abridged version of Honoré d’Urfé’s *Astrée*, and the trendier works by later seventeenth-century female novelists such as Marie-Madeleine de Lafayette’s *Princesse de Clèves* (1678) and Marie-Catherine de Villedieu’s *Memoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière* (1672–74).

³⁶ For the English adaptations of Molière’s plays, see Suzanne Jones, *The First English Translations of Molière: Drama in Flux (1663–1732)* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2020). On *Female Wits*, see Lucyle Hooke, ‘Introduction’, in *Female Wits* (Los Angeles, CA: Augustan Reprints Society, 1967), pp. i–xvi, Project Gutenberg <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/37546/37546-h/37546-h.htm>> [accessed 24 June 2023].

³⁷ For the influence of the French novel on English fiction, see Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women’s Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

³⁸ Gomez, *La Belle Assemblée [...] Vol. III*, trans. by Eliza Haywood (London: D. Browne and W. Bickerton; T. Astley; F. Cogan; and T. Green, 1731), title page; see Spedding, *Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, pp. 183–206.

³⁹ For an analysis of the English translation, see Genieys-Kirk, ‘Eliza Haywood’s translation’. See also Charles C. Mish, ‘Mme de Gomez and *La Belle Assemblée*’, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 34 (1960), 212–25. On French gallantry as an intellectually refined disposition inherent in salon culture, see DeJean, *Tender Geographies*; and Denis, *La Muse galante*.

⁴⁰ See Séverine Genieys-Kirk, ‘Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez: une militante oubliée...: “J’ai beau prendre la plus éclatante de mes voix, les hommes ne veulent point l’entendre”’, in *Revisiter ‘La Querelle des femmes’: Discours sur l’égalité/inégalité des sexes de 1600 à 1750*, ed. by Danièle Haase-Dubosc and Marie-Elisabeth Henneau (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2013), pp. 139–49.

⁴¹ Gomez, *La Belle Assemblée, or the Adventures of Six Days*, trans. by Haywood, 3 parts (London: Printed for D. Browne and S. Chapman, 1724–25), Part 1, (1724), p. vii.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. vi–viii.

- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p. vii.
- ⁴⁵ *La Belle Assemblée* (London: Printed for D. Browne et al. 1731), vol. 3, pp. 3–4.
- ⁴⁶ See Julie Candler Hayes, *Translation, Subjectivity and Culture in France and England, 1600–1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 8.
- ⁴⁷ In her monograph, Clery applies this phrase in relation to the ‘Pindarick Lady’ in the late seventeenth-century feminist periodical *The Athenian Mercury* founded by John Dunton. According to Clery, ‘nowhere in the 1720s and 1730s do we find the idealized and transformative image of the literary lady’ (48–49). The popularity of *La Belle Assemblée*, however, suggests otherwise.
- ⁴⁸ See n. 22.
- ⁴⁹ Hilary Brown, *Luise Gottsched, The Translator* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), p. 138.
- ⁵⁰ See Genieys-Kirk, *Dictionnaire des Femmes*, p. 542.
- ⁵¹ P.G.v. K is associated with the translation of other women writers’ works, such as Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy’s *Histoire d’Hippolyte, comte de Douglas* (1690) [*Historie des Hypolitus Grafens von Douglas*, 1744] and Eliza Haywood’s *Anti-Pamela, or Feign’d Innocence detected in a series of Syrena’s Adventures* (1740) [*Antipamela oder die entdeckte falsche Unschuld in den Begebenheiten der Syrene*, 1743–1744]. The identity of P. G. v. K is intriguing. Records held on the HEIDI catalog for this translator inconsistently signal their identity as ‘Übersetzerin’, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether or not the translator was a woman. To view the full detail of the 1741 publication of *Die Vergnüeten Tage*, see *Die Vergnüeten Tage Der Frau von Gometz*, HEIDI <<https://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cgi-bin/titel.cgi?katkey=68462282>>, and to view the title page, see *Die Vergnüeten Tage Der Frau von Gometz (1. Theil)* (Danzig: zu finden bey Johann Heinrich Rüdigers, 1741), Universitätsbibliothek Heiderberg, Heidelberg Historic Literature - Digitised <<https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.50218>> [accessed 20 June 2022].
- ⁵² *Die Vergnüeten Tage*, Universitätsbibliothek Heiderberg, Heidelberg Historic Literature - Digitised <<https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.50218#0011>> [accessed 20 June 2022].
- ⁵³ For more on this point, see Rotraud von Kulesa, ‘La Réception des œuvres de Françoise de Graffigny en Allemagne’, in *Françoise de Graffigny (1695–1758), Femmes de lettres des Lumières*, ed. by Charlotte Simonin (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2020), p. 353.
- ⁵⁴ The citations are from the 1767 edition.
- ⁵⁵ Séverine Genieys-Kirk, ‘Érudition et ludisme dans *Les Journées amusantes* de Mme de Gomez’, in *Theatre, Fiction and Poetry in the Long Seventeenth Century / Le Théâtre, la fiction et la poésie à l’âge classique*, ed. by William Brooks and Rainer Zaiser (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 111–25 (p. 113).
- ⁵⁶ As Brown observes, there was, however, a certain amount of hostility towards magazine literature in Germany, which was deemed to be too satirical and contentious (*Luise Gottsched*, 84–107). So, any literary production pertaining to journalistic style, as was the case with *Les Journées amusantes*, might have raised the authorities’ suspicion as to its actual content. Indeed, as is evident from the vagaries of the Spanish translations (see n. 70), some of the philosophical, political and religious views expressed in the French original could have been subject to the German censors’ close scrutiny. See also Kulesa who comments on the possible unreadiness of the German public to engage with subversive topics such as anti-clericalism and cultural alterity (‘Graffigny’, 353).
- ⁵⁷ Brown, pp. 26–27.
- ⁵⁸ For the re-evaluation of Chiari’s contribution to the shaping of the Italian novel, see Carlo A. Madrignani, *All’origine del romanzo in Italia: il ‘celebre Abate Chiari’* (Naples: Liguori, 2000).
- ⁵⁹ See Marius Warholm Haugen, ‘Appropriating the Novel: Pietro Chiari’s *La filosofessa italiana*’, *Forum for Modern Languages Studies*, 51.2 (2014), p. 216.
- ⁶⁰ Haugen, p. 218.
- ⁶¹ See Madrignani, *All’origine del romanzo in Italia*, p. 99.
- ⁶² Z. Alvise Mocenigo and Marco Foscarini, ‘Noi riformatori delle studio di Padova’, in *Li giorni di divertimento* (Venice: Domenico Deregni, 1758), vol. 2, not paginated.
- ⁶³ ‘Lo Stampatore a chi legge’ [The Printer to the reader], in *Li giorni di divertimento* (Venice: Domenico Deregni, 1758), vol. 1, not paginated.

⁶⁴ Prévost's full title reads as *Le Philosophe anglois ou histoire de M. Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell* (1731–39). It was translated anonymously into Italian (1751–55) as *Il filosofo inglese, o sia la Storia del signor di Cleveland, figliuolo naturale di Cromwell scritta da lui medesimo* (Venice: Battista Deregni, 1751–55) and adapted to the stage in 1753 by Carlo Goldoni as *Il filosofo inglese*.

⁶⁵ Candler, p. 12.

⁶⁶ For a comparative analysis of these two texts, see Nathalie Ferrand, 'Un roman plus philosophique que *Cleveland? La Filosofessa italiana* de l'abbé Chiari (1753)', in *Fictions de la pensée, pensées de la fiction: roman et philosophie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, ed. by Cola Duflo (Paris: Hermann, 2013), pp. 207–21.

⁶⁷ Nathalie Ferrand, "'C'est en habit d'homme qu'une femme peut philosopher": figures féminines dans *Thérèse philosophe* et *La Filosofessa italiana*", in *La Figure du philosophe dans les lettres anglaises et françaises (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. by Alexis Tadié (Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Nanterre, 2010), pp. 171–87.

⁶⁸ Quotation from *Dias alegres*, p. vii.

⁶⁹ For more on this point, see María Jesús García Garrosa, 'Días alegres, de Gaspar Zavala y Zamora: Recuperación de una obra perdida. [I]. Historia editorial', *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment*, 26.2 (2003), 199–222 (p. 205), and María Jesús García Garrosa, 'Días alegres, de Gaspar Zavala y Zamora: Recuperación de una obra perdida. [III]. Análisis del texto', *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment*, 27.2 (2004), 233–53 (p. 243).

⁷⁰ Baltazar Driguet, 'Advertencia al lector' [To the reader], in *Jornadas divertidas, políticas sentencias y hechos memorables de los reyes y heroes de la antigüedad Escritas por la Seneca del siglo xvii Madama de Gomez. Traducidas fielmente del frances al castellano. Por Don Baltasar Driguet y adornadas con cinco laminas finas* (Madrid: Isidoro de Hernández Pacheco, 1792), vol. 1, not paginated.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ For more on his plays adapted from *Les Journées amusantes*, see Rosalva Fernández Cabezon, 'Les Journées amusantes de Mme de Gomez. Fuente para el teatro de Gaspar Zavala y Zamora', *Castilla*, 20 (1995), 85–103.

⁷⁴ Zavala's cited entry on Gomez can be found in the following edition whose full title is *Littérature française ou tableau de l'esprit de nos écrivains depuis François I^{er} jusqu'en 1774 en forme de dictionnaire. Nouvelle édition, corrigée et augmentée considérablement, tome second. À Amsterdam et se trouve à Toulouse chez Laporte, libraire, près les Changes* (1775), p. 201.

⁷⁵ *Dias alegres*, p. viii

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Dias alegres*, p. x.

⁷⁸ Ionescu, *Visualizing the Text*, p. 22.

⁷⁹ See Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image and Text* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992); *Traduire et illustrer le roman au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. by Nathalie Ferrand (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011); *Book Illustration*, ed. by Christina Ionescu.

⁸⁰ For a definition of intericonicity and the history of its usage in critical discourse, see Mathilde Arrivé, 'L'Intelligence des images, l'intericonicité et enjeux', *E-rea*, 13.1 (2015) <<https://journals.openedition.org/erea/4620>> [accessed 17 June 2022]. In this article, she contends that the concept of intericonicity, while adopted more systematically by scholars over the last decade, is still relatively new and often substituted with that of intertextuality due to 'the overwhelming prevalence of textual authority in visual studies' [*la formidable présence des modèles textuels dans le domaine visuel*] (9). The phrase 'intersemiotic translation' is also used to refer to the phenomenon of intericonicity, emphasizing the translatability of images from one set of visual codes into another (Ionescu, *Book Illustration*, 34).

⁸¹ For more on the representations of women readers, see William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment. The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain (1684–1750)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). See also Nathalie Ferrand, 'Les Femmes parmi leurs livres', in *Livres vus, livres lus: une*

traversée du roman illustré des Lumières, ed. by Nathalie Ferrand (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009), pp. 165–212.

⁸² See *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage (1730–1830)*, ed. by Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁸³ Goodman, p. 2.

⁸⁴ For an analysis of this phenomenon in France, see Goodman (pp. 50–79); and in Britain, see E. J. Clery, “‘To Dazzle let the Vain Design’: Alexander Pope’s portrait gallery; or the, impossibility of brilliant women”, in *Bluestockings Displayed*, pp. 39–59; and Claire Barlow, ‘Virtue, patriotism and female scholarship in bluestocking portraiture’, in *Bluestockings Displayed*, pp. 60–80.

⁸⁵ ‘Frontispice. Tome 3e’, in *Les Journées amusantes dédiées au Roy par Madame de Gomez. Enrichies de figures en tailles douces* (Paris: Guillaume Saugrain, 1724). It also features in the London, Dublin and some of the Amsterdam editions. For an analysis of this frontispiece, see Séverine Genieys-Kirk, ‘Érudition et ludisme’, pp. 111–25.

⁸⁶ ‘Frontispice, p. 1’, *La Suite des Journées amusantes, tome cinquième, première partie* (Paris: Charles Leclerc Clousier, 1736), Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/lesjournesamusano5gome/page/n15/mode/2up>> [accessed 20 June 2022].

⁸⁷ ‘Frontispice tome 1, p. 1’, *Les Journées amusantes* (Paris: Jacques Clousier, 1737), Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/lesjournesamusano1gome/page/n7/mode/2up>> [accessed 20 June 2022].

⁸⁸ ‘Frontispice, tome 2’, *Les Journées amusantes* (Paris: Jacques Clousier, 1737), Internet Archive <<https://archive.org/details/lesjournesamusano2gome/page/n7/mode/2up>> [accessed 20 June 2022].

⁸⁹ Interestingly the two frontispieces in the 1754 London edition of the French original were reprinted in the same order as in the English version, in volume 1 and in volume 5. *Les Journées amusantes* (London: G. Meyer, 1754), tome 1, Gallica, not paginated <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96098247/f10.item>> [accessed 20 June 2022]; *Les Journées amusantes* (London: G. Meyer, 1754), tome 5, Gallica, not paginated <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9609825n/f14.item>> [accessed 20 June 2022].

⁹⁰ Ionescu, *Visualizing the Text*, p. 18.

⁹¹ Christian Benjamin Glassbach, *Fridericus Magnus (c. 1760–79)*, Engraving with etching, Royal Collection Trust <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/607661/fridericus-magnus-frederick-the-great-of-prussia>> [accessed 1 February 2019].

⁹² Johann Wolfgang Baumgartner, *Der Heilige Salesius* [Francis de Sales the Saint], *Artnet* <<http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/johann-wolfgang-baumgartner/der-heilige-salesius-EziKi38pxHLXhAgDKGvMhw2>> [accessed 1 February 2019] and *Der Hl. Johannes der Täufer in einer Landschaft auf einem Felsenvorsprung sitzend* [Saint John the Baptist in a desert landscape, sitting on a rock], *Artnet* <<http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/johann-wolfgang-baumgartner/der-hl-johannes-der-t%C3%A4ufer-in-einer-landschaft-RSSoNzeLkAW6KJzvoAocQ2>> [accessed 1 February 2019].

⁹³ *Livres vus, livres lus*, pp. 36–38; 165–69.

⁹⁴ For the 1754 London edition in French, see volume 5. *Les Journées amusantes* (London: G. Meyer, 1754), tome 5, Gallica, not paginated <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9609825n/f14.item>> [accessed 20 June 2022].

⁹⁵ The frontispiece of *Le Philosophe anglois* to which I am referring is from the following edition: Antoine François Prévost d’Exile (L’Abbé), *Le Philosophe anglois, ou histoire de Monsieur Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell* (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1744), vol. 1, p. 12. It can be viewed on this website: <<https://archive.org/details/lephilosopheanglooprvo/page/n40>> [accessed 28 February 2019].

⁹⁶ Driguet, ‘Advertencia al lector’, in *Jornadas divertidas*, vol. 1, not paginated.

⁹⁷ Rafael Ximeno y Planes, ‘Cervantes entregando su Don Quijote a la musa Talía’, *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000182877>> [accessed 4 March 2019].

⁹⁸ See Genieys-Kirk, ‘Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez: une militante oubliée...’, pp. 139–49.

⁹⁹ Valerie Pellatt, 'Introduction', in *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext*, ed. by Valerie Pellatt (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar, 2013), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ For more on this concept, see *Women's Curiosity in Early Modern France*, ed. by Line Cottagnies and Sandrine Parangeau (Leiden: Brill, 2016).