

Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis in Spain from the 19th to the 20th century

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In the context of our NEWW network, we have very attentively explored two main concerns on the reception and circulation of women's texts:

- The first concern deals with the large corpora of digitized texts that we can read through unprecedented access to either born-digital materials or analog objects that have scanned, mapped, photographed, or modeled in a digital environment. The questions are: to what extent is the number of digital materials relevant for us? More precisely to what extent is the number of digitized *newspapers* relevant to us at present? After some exploration, we found that we have to work on the digitized periodical press in order to estimate women writers' real historical significance: in advertisements, allusions, reviews, comments, and critical papers, editors (most of them male) relied on predictable responses from their readers whose assumptions about gender roles they shared.
- The second concern deals with the reaction of our overwhelmed students. Should we establish digital literacy as a topic of academic study in our agenda as professors and researchers? What kind of skills, knowledge and, moreover, attitudes should be developed at different degrees? Should we set up projects based on crowdsourcing or a kind of group sourcing? My teaching focuses on the use of digital tools in the classroom at all levels, but especially with undergraduates, as much as on the use of digital tools to develop projects with postgraduates dealing with source collection, management, and analysis.

Keeping in mind these two main concerns, we propose a very concrete case-study: Madame de Genlis in the 19th and the 20th century Spanish press, more precisely by means of the two main digital newspapers libraries in Spain, the [Hemeroteca](#)

[Virtual](#) and the [Biblioteca Virtual de la Prensa Hispánica](#): more than 3000 titles are available, all of which are relevant because of their content and free access on the Net (without any copyright), 60-65% of them from the 19th century newspapers at the National Library¹.

As a first step, together with my undergraduate students in 2013-14, we were able to harvest around 8,709 words from the first reference to Madame de Genlis in 1786 to 1868: this allowed for a thorough analysis as to how Madame de Genlis was presented in the Spanish press, before the advent of a certain modernity around 1868, when the September Revolution, called “the Glorious One”, opened a decade of liberalism and the technical progress that triggered the fastest growth of the Spanish press.

As a second step for this presentation, I worked on references about Madame de Genlis from the month of this “glorious” revolution (September 1868) to the end of the so-called “Spanish Silver Age” after the Civil War in 1939. During this second period, I harvested 10,623 words for the analysis.

Finally, I propose comparing two translations of one of Genlis’ novels, *La Duchesse de La Vallière* (1804): one in 1818 entitled *La Heroína/The Heroine*, and another one in 1925 entitled *La duquesa de la Vallière, la voluptuosa /The Voluptuous Duchess of La Vallière*, focusing on an interesting narrative topos, potentially “female” by the way in which it is handled: a concealed pregnancy followed by an explicit childbirth scene, a challenge for the translators who created a “heroine” in 1818 or a “voluptuous” woman in 1925.

PPT This is what I have represented in my time-line:

-from the enlightened king Charles the Third, as the representative of pre-modernity, up to the liberal revolution in 1868 and, afterwards, up to the end of that dream of modernity by the time of Franco’s dictatorship in 1939;

¹ See Dolores Rodríguez Fuentes, “Hemeroteca digital de la BNE: tres claves de su éxito”, *Métodos de Información*, Vol 2, No 2 (2011), pp. 22-23, <http://www.metodosdeinformacion.es/mei/index.php/mei/issue/view/49/showToc>; Dolores Rodríguez Fuentes, “El reto de la digitalización de prensa: Hemeroteca Digital de la BNE”, *Boletín de ANABAD*, nº 4 (oct.-dic. 2012). <http://www.anabad.org/publicaciones/boletin/1418-2012-num-4-octubre-diciembre-boletin-de-anabad.html>. The first challenge to undertake concerns priority criteria to select titles and collections which are to be digitized first: at the beginning, they selected the worst preserved journals, so the 19th century titles because of chemical paper problems, even with mutilation, just to avoid any further deterioration; they selected the *transatlantic collections* (and that is very important for us): journals that were edited in Spain but had circulated all along Central and South America.

- from the first reference to Madame de Genlis in the digitized Spanish press in 1786 to the last in 1935;
- from the first translation of *La Duchesse de La Vallière* in 1818 to the second one in 1925.

In fact we are going to develop a quantitative analysis based on more than 20 000 words on Madame de Genlis in the digitized Spanish press by means of digital tools, what we call a “resourceful reading”², and a qualitative one based on the comparison of the two translations, a more traditional “close reading”, looking for connections between the two types of readings.

A quantitative analysis: a resourceful reading

PPT A few words about the methodology we used with my students and myself for the first quantitative analysis: they had to:

(1) go through digitized journals in the digital libraries by means of a simple search of Genlis’ name (and its variants), a very important task, given that it was the first time students worked in a virtual library;

(2) make transcriptions of the occurrences (with an understandable context), a very difficult task, because students are not familiar at all with old spellings;

(3) share all these quotations in our wikis, a somewhat unusual activity because they are not used to working collaboratively and they feel concerned by the scores!;

(4) prepare all this material to be analyzed by Voyeur Tools: from a Word format to a plain text format;

(5) use [Voyeur Tools](#) to interpret some of the results: cirrus, clusters, graphics, contexts of occurrences.

After all these very time-consuming tasks (because they are, without any doubt, but are absolutely necessary as in every research activity), what did we learn about Madame de Genlis’ works and the instruction for reading given to the readers in the (digitized) Spanish press?

² [Katherine Bode and Robert Dixon, *Resourceful Reading. The New Empirism, eResearch, and the Australian Literary Culture*, Sidney, Sidney University Press, 2009.](#)

- **PPT** We discovered a huge number of translations and editions advertised in the newspapers: almost two times more than we knew by means of bibliographies or catalogues³! Even in Mexico! Without any doubt, it is worthwhile to explore newspapers in order to learn more about the circulation of a woman writer's works! As you can see, translations are distributed in three (or four) bundles:
 - around the end of the 18th, so during the "long" Spanish 18th century, when translations have a very didactic scope;
 - before 1868, the Romantic period and the time of the historical novel;
 - after the advent of a certain liberal modernity, when just a serial novel is published and some new formulas of modern editions are used: just two titles within the framework of two very different collections, as we will see (one for children, one for adults)
- **PPT** We visualized frequency and relationships as a cluster where links represent the collation of terms in a corpus by depicting them in a network through the use of a force directed by a graph; in this kind of graphs the frequency of the word is indicated by the relative size of the term;
 - before 1868, based on more than 8,000 words from the first reference to Madame de Genlis in 1786 to 1868: notice the core words at the right concerning translation (*Spanish, French, translated, written*) and the ones at the left dealing with formats and the material conditions of publishing (words such as *engravings, bookbinding, volumes, pocket edition*). These words come mainly from the brief advertisements in that huge amount of translations we noticed.
 - after 1868, based on more than 10.000 words, we have a very different panoramic view: the core words deal with *education works* in the context of the *palace* on the one hand, and historical fiction on the other hand: mainly a *novel* such as *The Siege of La Rochelle*.

³ See my bibliography: to be introduced in the *WomenWriters* database.

We can already say with certainty that a major breakthrough is produced around 1870 (after the liberal revolution) and Madame de Genlis' works will not really take the leap or they will, but in a very particular way.

- **PPT** We also used data represented as cirrus, a word cloud displaying the frequency of terms appearing in a corpus, in such a way that terms occurring more frequently appear larger. My students noticed very quickly:
 - The presence of "celebrated" in this first part of the century
 - The total absence of "romantic", even if her name is associated no more than three times to Scott and Chateaubriand.
 - After 1868, her name is associated to Madame Campan, Madame Cottin, Rousseau and Voltaire, as an Enlightenment author.

We had to look closer at a certain number of occurrences:

- **PPT** Concerning "translation" as a semantic field, there are no occurrences after 1868; they are concentrated, of course, between 1835 and 1860, when most of the translations were published.
- **PPT** On the contrary, concerning "women" as the semantic field, there is no significant number of occurrences before 1868, but afterwards, mainly in the 20th century.
- **PPT** "Roman" and "education" have a very different behavior during the two historical periods: a very different frequency before 1868 (when "education" is the most used, "Roman" appears to have disappeared).

In view of such a deluge of digital materials, we need tools, but very friendly tools. We can use radars or telescopes for the mind to identify mass of information and to observe how concepts or practices emerge. It is a matter of facts: digital devices identify and count items better than we do; let's teach our students to use them and keep on reading, interpreting, understanding, working on the longest-standing research problem: „What does this mean?“

A qualitative analysis: a closer reading

About the 1818 translation

We found a translation published in Madrid in 1818, and also edited in Mexico in 1889, as you can see **PPT**. The Spanish printer was specialized in biographies on the one side and in military, political and local history on the other, especially concerning the events at the beginning of the century: the chronicle of the liberal revolution in 1812⁴. Nevertheless, *The Heroine*, the title of the translation of *La Duchesse de La Vallière*, was bought in the frame of the didactic literature of the 18th century, a more religious one coming from Spain or more enlightened coming from France, **PPT** as we can see in the librarian's catalogue:

Title	Origine	Genre
<i>Vida y hechos de Estebanillo Gonzáles</i>	Spanish	Moral fiction
<i>Disertación apologética del estado religioso</i>	French	Religion
<i>Viaje de un filósofo a Selenópolis</i>	French	Philosophy
<i>Catecismo o exposición breve de la doctrina cristina</i>	Spanish	Religion
<i>Historia de los templos paganos , de los judíos y de los cristianos</i>	French	Religion
<i>Diccionario Feyjoniano</i>	Spanish	Philosophy
<i>Ejercicio cotidiano de diferentes oraciones</i>	Spanish	Religion
<i>Catecismo histórico</i>	French	Religion
<i>La heroína</i>	French	Moral fiction

It is essential for us, because a volume has to be read in a series and the reader receives a clear instruction from reading this series.

Moreover, **PPT** the translator explicitly justifies the new title, *The Heroine*, taking mainly into account her "conversion and life of penance"⁵. In fact, he is just developing a possibility included in the foreword written by Madame de Genlis herself. Look at the presence of the word "heroïne" on the first page of the novel and notice

⁴ See Manuel Morán Orti (ed) *La oferta literaria en Madrid (1789-1833)*. Un estudio cuantitativo de la cultura del libro, Madrid, Universidad Europea CEES Ediciones, 2000, and Manuel Morán Orti, Editores, libreros e impresores en el umbral del Nuevo Régimen, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2011.

⁵ "El traductor ha creído del caso, para justificar el título de Heroína que da a la duquesa de la Valliere, copiar aquí lo que de su conversión y penitente vida, después de haberse separado del siglo, y profesado en el convento de carmelitas de París, donde murió, nos dice el diccionario de Moreri, que es lo siguiente" (p. 365).

that I used our own tool to annotate the on-line text, @note, and to compare the original text with the translations:

“Si tous les faits véritables eussent été désignés en notes, ce livre, depuis l’époque de la présentation de l’héroïne à la cour , eût été surchargé de notes presque à chaque page” (p.1)	"Si todos los hechos verdaderos se hubieran puesto en notas, este libro, después de la presentación de la heroína en la Corte , habría sido recargado de ellas a cada página"
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In fact, even if the translator follows the original texts regularly, some important transformations have to be noticed⁶: look at his **PPT**:

What remains	What is deleted
Presentation as a pure historical novel	Authority arguments as historical sources
Focus on the Duchess	Secondary characters
Coherence of the story	No significant anecdotes
Main steps of the narrative progression	Similar steps with the same function
Gallant episodes	Long reflexions about moral dilemma
Moral letters supporting decisions	Moral considerations about a particular character
Historical claims in the footnotes	
Descriptions of places and parties	Very concrete situations at the court
Pregnancy announcement	Childbirth

And what is most important in a text written about women and feminine phenomena: in the Spanish 1818 translation, **PPT** the first sexual encounter between

⁶ Foreword presents the text but delete authority arguments as historical sources coming from Bussy-Rabutin or Saint-Simon or Voltaire (5 pages!). Moral considerations about a particular character disappear or a concrete situation in the court disappear (p. 99)

Focusing on the duchess and not in other characters and their aims or motivations (such as Monsieur de Guiche, p. 101)

Reflexions about serious dilemma such as love or ambition disappear (p.12)

Insignificant anecdotes disappear such as an article in the “gazette” (p. 21)

The coherence of the story is guaranteed: every staying in a convent, as a possibility of being from the very beginning, is preserved (p. 50); but not all the steps when they are similar; for example, as the stay in Fontainebleau is followed by the stay in Vincennes, the first is deleted, the latter remains (around p. 47)

Versailles and Marly are there (p. 303)

Galant episodes remain and the historical claims in the footnotes too

The Duchess is always aware of her culpability

The first escape to the convent remains (p. 84) and the episode when the king arrives to the convent and bring her with him (p. 87-88) remain, but in 1818 the king pulls her out, but not in 1925

La anécdota se mantiene cuando marca una etapa, but disappears when there is no progress in the action: the long letter of Mme de thémine is there because of the moral content (p. 128-133), but not the previous episode of Rosalie p. 126) or the story of madame*** (p. 253 268) the episode of the carrousel (p. 109 and next) with all kind of details. Pregnancy also remains (p.120)

the king and the duchess is not presented as a conscious sacrifice but as a rape, since Madame de La Vallière was beaten unconscious!:

<p>“O tourment d’un amour illégitime! dit-elle, en tombant dans un fauteuil; ah! Si j’avois prévu tout ce que je souffre, quels efforts m’eussent coûté pour prévenir ma perte! Quoi donc, n’est-il pas temps encore!... Mais qui m’arrachera d’ici! Je suis seule, abandonnée, je cherche en vain l’appui d’une main secourable!... La fuite est-elle donc impossible?... Comme elle disoit ces mots, en jetant autour d’elle des regards égarés, elle entendit marcher doucement, sa porte s’entr’ouvrit, elle fut prête à s’évanouir, c’étoit le roi, il sut profiter de tout son ascendant que lui donnèrent dans cette entrevue l’amour, la crainte et la timidité qu’il inspiroit: victime de son imprudence, mademoiselle de La Vallière, en conservant tous ses principes, sacrifie sa vertu, c’étoit s’immoler elle-même.”</p>	<p>“¡O tormento cruel de un amor ilegítimo " decía dejándose caer en una silla "¡Ah! si yo hubiera previsto bien todo lo que sufro, ¿qué esfuerzos no habría hecho para evitar mi pérdida! ¡Cómo! ¿no es tiempo todavía? ¿Pero quién me arrancará de este funesto lugar? ¡Yo me hallo sola, abandonada, y busco en vano el apoyo de una mano que socorra!" Diciendo esto entra el rey, y dando un grito al verle, se desmaya; y solo vuelve en sí para tener que llorar toda la vida..... (pp. 118-19)</p>
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PPT Even if the allusion to pregnancy remains, the childbirth description disappears almost totally in the Spanish translation: just a general allusion to her “situation” and her “critical condition” to justify her refusal to travel with her best friend, Madame de Themine:

<p>Cependant ce moment terrible et si redouté arriva enfin ; mademoiselle de la Vallière, après avoir souffert en silence durant une journée entière , ressentit vers le soir des douleurs si violentes</p>	<p>"Esta carta inspiró tal entusiasmo de reconocimiento a madamisela de la Valliere, que habría partido al instante si la situación en que se hallaba la hubiera permitido emprender un viaje tan largo sin peligro: por otra parte: ¿cómo en un estado tan crítico había de volver a su provincia y presentarse a una amiga? Reflexionado todo esto, respondió a la carta de madama de Themine con las expresiones del más vivo reconocimiento, prometiendo</p>
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tes qu'elle fit avertir le roi, qui accourut aussitôt avec le médecin qu'il avoit mis dans son secret, une garde-malade et mademoiselle d'Artigni, devenue la marquise de Sourdis. Les souffrances de mademoiselle de la Vallière furent extrêmement prolongées par la contrainte affreuse qu'elle s'imposa; l'infortunée craignant d'être entendue ne jeta pas un cri, ne fit pas un gémissement; le médecin l'exhortant à ne point étouffer ses douleurs; ah! répondit-elle, il ne m'est pas permis de me plaindre?... Louis ne se montra jamais si tendre et si passionné; il ne voulut point consentir à la quitter un seul instant; baigné de larmes, il interrogeoit le médecin à chaque minute, nulle réponse ne pouvoit le rassurer, il la voyoit souffrir, il craignoit tout; il répétoit avec égarement: *Sauvez-la, c'est ma vie que je vous demande, tout ce que je possède est à vous, sauvez-la!*....

Ce ne fut qu'à trois heures après minuit que mademoiselle de la Vallière oublia ses douleurs, ses craintes et sa honte, elle étoit mère, elle tenoit son enfant dans ses bras!... Le roi, dans son transport, embrassa tout ce qui étoit dans sa chambre, sa joie fut aussi touchante que l'avoit été son inquiétude (1); les preuves d'une si vive

formalmente y con sinceridad dejar la corte dentro de dos o tres meses." (p. 135)

About the 1925 translation

The 1925 translation is the pure product of a dynamic printer in Madrid during the 20s. From 1900 to 1930, Madrid, where most editors are concentrated⁷, was experiencing one of its most important moments of demographic growth and literacy rates; this issue raises a large generation of readers and even new writers, women particularly working as authors⁸ or translators⁹. Collections are a successful new

⁷ Jesús A. Martínez Martín, *Editores, libreros y público en Madrid durante la II República*, Madrid: Área de Cultura, Educación, Juventud y Deportes: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 2000, p. 10: "Según las relaciones de las Cámaras Oficiales del Libro realizadas al final del periodo, en 1936, el número de editores que tenían su domicilio social en Madrid era de 117, el mayor del país, seguido de Barcelona con 94"; nevertheless 428 printers in Madrid and 449 in Barcelona.

⁸ "No es raro que en una familia estén todos los individuos entregados a las alegrías de la redacción, escribiendo confidencias de niña o exhortaciones de padre de familia, poemas o comedias" en "La inutilidad de escribir", *La España Moderna*, 230 (1908), p. 202; "primerizos que renuncian a la propiedad, profesores que pagan por la publicación de obras mastodónticas, estudiantes noveleros, señoritas bocetistas..." R. Cansinos Assens, *La novela de un literato*, vol. 2, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1982, p. 162. Both

formula to satisfy the plural profile of modern consumers, attentive to high culture but also to a more popular one.

The printer Caro Reggio knows the new market very well. He was the editor of the most important writers of that time, who became bankrupt and disappeared after the Civil War, like every intellectual initiative during Franco's dictatorship¹⁰. But he also bet on bestsellers such as *El Fuego* by Henri Barbusse or more popular collections, and, of course, the collection we are studying: *Las Grandes Enamoradas/Women in Love*.

PPT The aims of the editor are presented in the first volume:

- 1- To introduce to Spain a genre widespread in Europe¹¹
- 2- For the sake of the Spanish people's instruction and leisure¹²
- 3- By means of turbulent, tumultuous and extraordinary women's lives because of their graces, ambition and genius¹³
- 4- To avoid pornography as much as hypocrisy¹⁴
- 5- And to add a foreword signed by a well-known authority to every gallant volume¹⁵.

Women in Love is a collection of 13 freely adapted texts, whose authors are very often invented (**PPT** look at the names in red that sound French, Norwegian, Polish...) but not the authors of the forewords presented as authorities (names in green):

quotations from Jesús A. Martínez Martín, *Vivir de la pluma: La profesionalización del escritor, 1836-1936*, Madrid : Marcial Pons, 2009, pp.159-181.

⁹ Dolores Romero, "XXX

¹⁰ *Diccionario Biográfico español* XI, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2009. Remember the last words of his wife's memoirs: "Parece que se ha marchado todo, absolutamente todo lo antiguo, lo que constituía mi manera de vivir, casa de Mendizábal, imprenta, casa editorial, muebles, alhajas, ropas, casa de los Molinos, automóvil y, por último, Rafael. Se ha cerrado el cielo. Ahora empieza una nueva era para mí [Madrid, 1946]", Carmen Baroja, *Recuerdos de una mujer de la Generación del 98*, Barcelona, Tusquets, 1998.

¹¹ "Este género literario, que participa **al par de la Novela y de la Historia**, existe en todas las naciones, dignificado por insignes plumas, y tiene en todas partes la atención de un público tan distinguido como numeroso."

¹² "Creemos realizar una labor de **divulgación literaria y de esparcimiento nacional**. Sabemos de antemano que los procaces, como los hipócritas, intentarán desvirtuar nuestro propósito con innobles gritos.

Pero asistidos por el hecho universal de que en todos los países esta literatura del Amor, ungida de emoción e ingenio, ha relegado a sus rincones de burdel o de gazmoñería a los mercaderes iletrados, confiamos en que el público español verá con simpatías nuestra empresa, que **tiende a ennoblecer el nivel cultural del pueblo** y a proporcionar, sin mixtificación de ninguna clase, la ciencia deleitosa del Amor humano."

¹³ "Con el título de *Las grandes enamoradas* nos proponemos publicar una serie de libros interesantes, amenos y curiosos, donde daremos a conocer **las vidas agitadas, tumultuosas, extraordinarias, de aquellas mujeres que, por sus gracias, su ambición, su genio**, se han destacado en todos los tiempos y en todos los países, dejando en la historia del Amor páginas amables o terribles."

¹⁴ "Desdeñaremos, igualmente, **la pornografía soez y la hipocresía empalagosa**. [...]El público español, dividido en dos zonas fanáticas de hipocresía o de licencia, desconoce, con raras excepciones, esta clase de libros sin prejuicio ni casillero. Acostumbrado a las lecturas **francamente ñoñas, o franca y torpemente groseras**, necesita sumarse a la cultura universal por medio de estas obras sin tartufismo ni cinismo"

¹⁵ "Sin orden cronológico ni preferencia alguna de países, irán saliendo estos volúmenes galantes, españoles o traducidos, siempre bajo **la salvaguardia de un Prólogo, que será como escudo en la contienda e irá firmado por autoridad indiscutible.**"

Title	Author	Foreword
<i>Paulina Bonaparte, the Sensual</i>	Octave Faguet¹⁶	Duchess of Abrantès
<i>Madame Du Barry, the Libertine</i>	Luis Pidansat¹⁷	Cristóbal de Castro (translator)
<i>The Eighteen Favourites of Frederic of Saxon</i>	Weimann	August II of Poland
<i>Catherine of Russia, the Insatiable</i>	Demetrio Nekrasof	Paul de Saint-Victor
<i>Laura Bon, the Fiery</i>	Giulio Piccini¹⁸	Julia Fenino
<i>The Beautiful Courtesans of Charles II of England</i>	Tomás Murray	Paul de Saint-Victor
<i>The Five Favourite Sisters of Louis XV</i>	Sophie Gay	Paul de Saint-Victor
<i>The Actress Clairon, the Corruptor</i>	Pierre Alexandre Gaillard¹⁹	Edmond de Goncourt
<i>Christina of Sweden, the Male Woman</i>	Harold Strimberg	Rafael Urbano
<i>Elzelina Tolstoy, the Female Knight</i>	Esteban Bienlostof	Renato de Saint-Guy
<i>Wives and Favourites of the Prince of Wales</i>	Léon Gozlan	J. Casan Herrera
<i>The Marquise of Pompadour, the Decadent</i>	Comtesse of Charon²⁰	Paul de Saint-Victor
<i>The Duchess de la Valliere, the Voluptuous</i>	Comtesse of Charenton	Madame de Genlis

My hypothesis: most of the authors are invented in order to avoid copyright barriers or mainly because they are free adaptations of different texts perhaps made by... women who cannot sign as authors, nor as translators, but who need the guarantee of an authority in the foreword. Working on women translators from over two centuries, we can see that they were very familiar with this kind of free writing,

¹⁶ Emile Faguet does exist, but not Octave! But we found Henri d'Almérás. *Une Amoureuse : Pauline Bonaparte*, Paris : A. Michel, (1907)

¹⁷ More concretely Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert, *Anecdotes sur la comtesse Du Barry*, Paris : A. Quantin, 1880

¹⁸ Perhaps Giulio Piccini, in arte Jarro (1849 – 1915), scrittore italiano.

¹⁹ Perhaps Histoire de Mademoiselle Cronel dite Frétillon, actrice de la Comédie de Rouen, écrite par elle-même 1750

²⁰ Perhaps Michel Zévaco, *La Marquise de Pompadour*, Paris : A. Fayard, (1912)

the kind of job they could do at home, a first step to becoming a writer, and an important livelihood.

Concerning our volume, *The Duchess de la Valliere, the Voluptuous*, the author is false and the text is, in fact, adapted from Mme de Genlis, *La duchesse de la Vallière*, in a way so free and so biased that the editor does not dare attribute it to Genlis, but to one “Comtesse of Charenton” that nobody knows.

Nevertheless, remember that Madame de Genlis was considered an established writer by the Spanish press at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th concerning historical novels such as *The Siege of La Rochelle* as much as education in the palace. Consequently, she was considered an authority as a preface writer, at the same level as other respected males and learned colleagues in our list such as Paul de Saint-Victor or the Goncourt brothers.

In fact, this collection in pocket format must be viewed against the backdrop of erotic literature collections²¹ such as this one you can see in this slide **PPT**, a successful genre up to 1926, when the dictator Primo de Rivera, after speaking with Mussolini, imposed a degree of censorship: that is perhaps the reason why the collection “Women in Love” died after 1925²². At any rate, during the 30s when militant literature as a tool for social emancipation gives way to novels in the gallant style, particularly in Madrid, the collection could fail or succeed based upon favorable (or not) public reception.

As the adaptor doesn't follow at all the original text, but bases his/her versions on 1818 translations and other memoirs or historical treatises we are not yet able to identify²³, some important transformations have to be pointed out²⁴ **PPT**:

²¹ María Teresa de Zubiaurre, *Culturas del erotismo en España, 1898-1939*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2014. Trigo veut faire du sexe et des femmes l'agent de la liberté sociale et sexuelle, de la modernisation du pays (Felipe trigo, *El amor en la vida y en los libros: mi ética y mi estética*, Madrid, Pueyo, 1920(1908): donde frente a Marañón dice que ve a la mujer trabajando como el hombre y que el embarazo no es un problema (contraria mente a Marañón)

²² And also “La Novela de la Noche”. “EL Libro galante” “La novela Inocente”. See Alberto Sánchez, “Colecciones literarias”, in Jesús A. Martínez Martín (dir.), *Historia de la edición en España (1836-1936)*, Madrid : Marcial Pons, 2001, Cap. XII pp.373-395. María Teresa de Zubiaurre, *Culturas del erotismo en España, 1898-1939*, Madrid : Cátedra, 2014, Cap. 9. Ficciones eróticas. Sexo narrado y pedagogía (pp. 337-391)

²³ Episodes coming from other texts, for exemple in CAP VIII LA MÁSCARA DE HIERRO. EL SALVAJE DE LITUANIA DIANA Y ACTEON, EL MARQUES Y EL POETA. LA DUQUESA INTRIGANTE. UN CONSEJO, UNA CARTA Y VARIAS EQUIVOCACIONES, LA “MENINA” ESPAÑOLA. MADAME CONTRA LUISA. EL REY, ENFURECIDO. LA FAVORITA, AL CONVENTO.

²⁴ A new version on the basis of 1818 translation: ex the episode of the letter of the Spanish king (p. 123 and son on). It is not presented explicitly as a historical novel in the foreword as Mme de Genlis did. The foreword focused on The Duchess' figure: it begins at p. XVIII. “J'ai représenté madame de la Vallière avec plus de detail: c'est sa vie que j'écris”. Spaces descriptions disappear: almost any detail on scenery and surroundings (for example, descriptions in p. 3). They are not interested in the ambiance of the salons and the conversations developed by Madeleine de Scudéry, for exemple (p. 47), but some celebrations

What remains	What is deleted
Focus on the Duchess	Presentation as a pure historical novel
	Secondary characters
	Historical claims
	Innocence, humility, charitable acts
Main steps of the narrative progression	Similar steps with the same function
Gallant episodes transformed into dialogs	Long reflexions about moral dilemma
	Moral maxims, mottoes and proverbs
	Moral letters supporting decisions
	Descriptions of places and parties
	The ambiance of the salons
	Defense of women or feminine perspective
	Sickness with love
Childbirth	Pregnancy announcement

We are not facing a typical “Bildungsroman” where different experiences with different characters shape the protagonist. The point is, first, **PPT** to distribute narrative materials in chapters announcing events to guide the reader²⁵

CAP VIII LA MÁSCARA DE HIERRO. EL SALVAJE DE LITUANIA DIANA Y ACTEON, EL MARQUES Y EL POETA. LA DUQUESA INTRIGANTE. UN CONSEJO, UNA CARTA Y VARIAS EQUIVOCACIONES, LA "MENINA" ESPAÑOLA. MADAME CONTRA LUISA. EL REY, ENFURECIDO. LA FAVORITA, AL CONVENTO.

and, second, to present the “unfortunate duchess” (p. 81) as “Louise, the voluptuous” (p. 81).

“la malheureuse duchesse de la Vallière” (p. 81)	"Luisa, the voluptuous. [...] The King continues to be madly in love with Mme de la Vallière; she
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such as the “carroussel” (p. 109 and next) remain. No need to prove the truth of the story with authority criteria. The translator has the tendency to avoid moral maxims, mottoes and proverbs. The long letter of Mme de Thémise is there because of the moral content (p. 128-133) disappears. Some gallant anecdotes remain but they are transformed into dialogs, for example the presence of two young men in the night near La Vallière’s et Artigni’s rooms (p. 58) or the bracelets (p. 73). Just a few scenes of pure “galanterie”, but nothing about the scenes of aveu de la part du roi. No charitable act concerning the burned village (p. 167) The text doesn’t insist on the La Valliere’s innocence and humility (p. 70). The confidant disappears and also the moral internal debate of La Valliere. No particular defense of women or feminine perspective as in p. 163. They are not sick with love, as in French p. 144. No other rejected suitors such as Bragelone (p. 150). Toda la lucha que la duquesa desarrolla durante casi 10 pp desaparece (pp. 75-85) en favor de esta breve compra que no aparece ni en francés ni en el texto español.

²⁵ The experience with the marechal and with the king’s sister-in-law (pp. 29-35), for example, disappear. “La reine faisoit souvent des loteries de bijoux” (p.71). Capítulo VI: LA REINA Y SU LOTERIA. LOS DOS BRAZALETES, UN REGALO REGIO. LUISA Y LAURA. PEGUILLÍN LOARREGLA TODO. LA FORTALEZA SE RINDE

	undoubtedly possesses, it must be admitted that she possesses unsuspected voluptuousness beneath her veils, which do not allow more than a hint of thin, liquid shapes..." (p. 81)
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There is no internal or moral struggle in the duchess' behaviour: she is considered an object of desire, a commodity **to be bought and consumed** by the king, like other women:

"-What a wretch I am, my lord!" exclaimed Luisa upon seeing him. Your majesty wishes to **purchase my virtue** like that of other women, putting me at their level... Have compassion for my weakness!... said Mme de la Vallière with a faint voice..., and the king added one more triumph to his greater glory..." (pp. 49-50)

The prostitute, the actress, the favourite, the duchess are in fact figures of public/private pleasure, of consumption, a close association between economic and erotic excess in dominant images of femininity being at the heart of the modern in the late 19th century.

No comments about the first sexual encounter or about pregnancy, **PPT** only the induction of childbirth as a direct consequence of one of these encounters with the king, his frightened reaction, calling the ladies-in-waiting for help (but not any men, of course not!), the explicit allusion to genital aspects as the place of pleasure and birth, finally the quick recovery of the duchess, ready to welcome the queen as was due above all and despite the bad smells in the room that she tried to neutralize with bundles of "dangerous" flowers in her state... (my translation of this text):

SEE the TEXT in THE SLIDE

Without any doubt it is a violent and challenging scene: the duchess of La Vallière going out of the room just a few hours after childbirth just to fulfil her commitments regarding the Queen. But why is childbirth present in the 1925 version and not omitted, as in 1818? Why are motherhood and sexuality presented as two faces of the same coin, from one to another and once again back, in a continuum? Why is the question of (in)compatibility between private and public, bodily and social dimensions explicitly asked?

We are not surprised in the context of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, when the establishment of increasingly rigid boundaries between private and public selves seemed to solidify gender differences. The duchess

of la Vallière can go out of the private to integrate the public domain only as a commodity and that triggers women's sufferings and enormous risks to her health, to her life.

Perhaps this woman, dangerously experiencing her sexuality and motherhood at the same time, private and public (in)compatibility and possible bridges between them, is announcing the "new woman". Of course Madame de la Vallière is condemned at the beginning of the 19th and of the 20th centuries, but not in the same way: in 1818, the private dimension (sexual and maternal) is hidden and distance with the public dimension is guaranteed and awarded in such a way that the duchess becomes a heroine; around 1925, a "collection" of "voluptuous" women dared to bridge the gap between the private sphere and the public domain, crossing borders as women do every day at present. It was dangerous and had to be condemned, but the possibility was announced²⁶ and the key to an autonomous femininity with it²⁷.

In conclusion, we have good reasons to say that Madame de Genlis is not French, she is not an 18th-century author, and her works don't transmit dissent, but the dissonances²⁸ of modern times.

²⁶ As Mme de Genlis condemned *La femme auteur* because she could break the "sexual contract". I am following the well-known concept of Carole Pateman, *The sexual contract*, Cambridge, Polity Press, (1988) 1997, and Yaël Schlickm "Beyond the boundaries: Staël, Genlis, and the impossible "femme célèbre" in *Symposium* 196, pp. 50-63.

²⁷ See Rita Felski, *The gender of modernity*, London-Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 16-29. It is with good reason that we can remember Lou Andreas Salomé's words about "The Human Being As a woman" in 1899 when she vindicates the experience of motherhood as the ultimate symbol of a totality which allows woman to unite both masculine and feminine impulses within herself: Felski, op.cit., pp. 52-53 quoting Lou Andreas Salomé in Biddy Martin, *Woman and Modernity: The (Life) styles of Lou Andreas-Salomé*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991, p. 151. A step forward dealing with fears at the beginning of the 20th and 21st centuries: the time of a very modern threatening process of feminization of the society.

²⁸ We are grateful to Bernard Lahire, *La culture des individus. Dissonances culturelles et distinction de soi*. Paris, Ed. La Découverte 2004.