

Sous la direction de  
**GUYONNE LEDUC**

**LES RÔLES TRANSFRONTALIERS  
JOUÉS PAR LES FEMMES  
DANS LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'EUROPE**

**Préface**

**SUZAN VAN DIJK**

**L'Harmattan**

Du même auteur

*Morale et religion dans les essais et dans les Mélanges de Henry Fielding.* 2 vols. Paris : Didier Érudition, 1990. XIII + 931 pp.

*L'Éducation des Anglaises au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: La Conception de Henry Fielding.* Paris : L'Harmattan, 1999. 416 pp.

*Réécritures anglaises au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Égalité des deux sexes (1673) de François Poulain de la Barre: du politique au polémique.* Paris : L'Harmattan, 2010, 502 pp.

Dir. *L'Éducation des femmes en Europe et en Amérique du Nord, de la Renaissance à 1848: Réalités et représentations.* Paris : L'Harmattan, 1997. 525 pp.

Traduit en italien : *L'educazione delle donne in Europa e in America del Nord dal Rinascimento al 1848: Realtà e rappresentazioni.* Collana "Logiche Sociali." Torino : L'Harmattan Italia, 2001. 511 pp.

Dir. *Nouvelles Sources et nouvelles méthodologies de recherche dans les études sur les femmes.* Préface de Michelle Perrot. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2004. 355 pp.

Dir. *Travestissement féminin et liberté(s).* Préface de Christine Bard. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2006. 439 pp.

Dir. *Réalité et représentations des Amazones.* Préface de Sylvie Steinberg. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2008. 486 pp.

O'Donnell, Mary Ann, Bernard Dhuicq et Guyonne Leduc, eds. *Aphra Behn (1640-1689) : Identity, Alterity, Ambiguity.* Paris : L'Harmattan, 2000. XX + 310 pp.

Barret-Ducrocq, Claire Bazin et G. Leduc, dir. *Comment l'égalité vient aux femmes. Politique, droits et syndicalisme en Grande-Bretagne, aux États-Unis et en France.* Préface/Entretien de Claudie Baudino. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2012. 253 pp.

Bazin, Claire et G. Leduc, dir. *(Re)naissance et horizons au féminin (littérature anglo-saxonne, XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles).* Préface de Jean-Jacques Lecerle. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2012. 171 pp.

© L'Harmattan, 2012

5-7, rue de l'École-Polytechnique ; 75005 Paris

<http://www.librairieharmattan.com>  
diffusion.harmattan@wanadoo.fr  
harmattan1@wanadoo.fr

ISBN : 978-2-296-99745-5

EAN : 9782296997455

## SOMMAIRE

Préface de Suzan van Dijk ( <i>La Haye</i> ) .....	11
Remerciements .....	20
Introduction: " Les Projections européennes des historiens modernes sur deux impératrices romaines du V <sup>e</sup> siècle : Galla Placidia et Aelia Eudocia "	
<i>Bertrand Lançon (Limoges)</i> .....	23

### PREMIÈRE PARTIE

#### DES TRADUCTRICES

" European Women Writers Translated into Spanish in the XVIII <sup>th</sup> Century : A Global Approach "	
<i>Mónica Bolufer Peruga et Juan Gomis Coloma (Valence)</i> .....	33
" Traductrices françaises (1751-1800) : préférences genrées ? "	
<i>Suzan van Dijk (La Haye)</i> .....	45
" La Chair, l'os et les éléments. 'L'heureuse fécondité' de la traduction scientifique au XVIII <sup>e</sup> siècle : le cas de Marie-Geneviève Thiroux d'Arconville "	
<i>Adeline Gargam (Nouvelle Calédonie)</i> .....	59
" Les Femmes écrivains françaises dans le territoire slovène du XIX <sup>e</sup> siècle "	
<i>Katja Mihurko Poniž et Tanja Badalič (Nova Gorica, Slovénie)</i> .....	77

### DEUXIÈME PARTIE

#### DES MÉDIATRICES

" <i>La Cité des dames</i> , un matrimoine sans frontières "	
<i>Juliette Dor (Liège)</i> .....	99
" <i>Respublica litterarum et respublica mulierum</i> : le cercle féminin transnational d'Anne Marie van Schurman dans l'Europe savante du XVII <sup>e</sup> siècle "	
<i>Sandrine Parageau (Paris-Ouest-Nanterre-La Défense)</i> .....	111
" Les Femmes russes francophones en tant que médiatrices culturelles (fin du XVIII <sup>e</sup> - début du XIX <sup>e</sup> siècle) "	
<i>Elena Gretchanaia (Orléans)</i> .....	123

- " Intellectual women's roles across borders : French educationists Genlis and Leprince de Beaumont's influence in England in the late eighteenth century "  
*Michèle Cohen (Richmond American International University)* ..... 135
- " La Contribution des Roumaines dans la réception des littératures européennes dans l'espace culturel roumain au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle "  
*Ileana Mihaila (Bucarest)* ..... 147
- " La Russie, terre de médiatrices : l'exemple d'Anna Engelhardt "  
*Évelyne Enderlein (Strasbourg)* ..... 157

### TROISIÈME PARTIE

#### VOYAGES TERRESTRES ET INTELLECTUELS

- " Quand les religieuses cloîtrées sillonnent l'Europe : itinéraires transfrontaliers d'annonciades célestes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle "  
*Marie-Élisabeth Henneau (Liège)* ..... 177
- " Les Femmes russes et la franc-maçonnerie européenne à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle "  
*Alexandre Stroev (Paris 3)* ..... 189
- " Heart of Whiteness : *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* de Mary Wollstonecraft "  
*Nathalie Zimpfer (CPGE, Lyon)* ..... 205

### QUATRIÈME PARTIE

#### MOUVEMENTS FÉMINISTES TRANSNATIONAUX

- " Marie Stopes et la question du contrôle des naissances en Angleterre au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle : un enjeu féministe transnational "  
*Angeline Durand-Vallot (Lyon 1, IUFM)* ..... 223
- " De la lutte pour les droits des femmes à l'établissement de la démocratie et au pacifisme international : la contribution des féministes allemandes à la construction de l'Europe dans les années 1890-1920 "  
*Sylvie Marchenoir (Dijon)* ..... 237
- " L'internationalisation de la question féminine au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle "  
*Fatma Chehih-Ramdani (Paris 13)* ..... 251
- " Construire un espace européen ou construire un espace international ? L'Exemple de Marguerite Thibert (1886-1982) "  
*Françoise Thébaud (Avignon)* ..... 267

" Des intellectuelles aux associations de terrain : l'engagement des femmes musulmanes dans la société allemande "	
<i>Cécile Prat-Eckert (Valenciennes)</i> .....	283

## CINQUIÈME PARTIE

### L'ART TRANSFRONTALIER AU FÉMININ

" Une Voix critique dans l'Europe littéraire de la fin de siècle : Lou Andreas-Salomé "	
<i>Isabelle Mons (Versailles - Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines)</i> .....	295
" Édith Boissonnas et 'le genre art brut' : tropisme suisse chez Jean Dubuffet et chez Jean Paulhan "	
<i>Muriel Pic (Neuchâtel)</i> .....	305
" Les Voix de traverse de Clara Janés (ou les pouvoirs de la poésie) "	
<i>Danièle Miglos (Lille 3)</i> .....	325
" L'Art transfrontalier de Unica Zürn ou les traductions de l'impossible dans un surréalisme au féminin "	
<i>Mireille Calle-Gruber (Paris 3)</i> .....	337
" De Freud à Cixous : Dora et le théâtre de l'hystérature' "	
<i>Sarah-Anaïs Crevier Goulet (Paris 3)</i> .....	349
<b>Conclusion:</b> " Les Européennes et la circulation des idées : entre universel et particulier "	
<i>Françoise Barret-Ducrocq (Paris 7)</i> .....	369
<b>Ont contribué à cet ouvrage</b> .....	381
<b>Résumés des contributions</b> .....	387
<b>Index nominum</b> .....	397

**" EUROPEAN WOMEN WRITERS  
TRANSLATED INTO SPANISH  
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY :  
A GLOBAL APPROACH "**<sup>1</sup>

**Mónica BOLUFER PERUGA and Juan GOMIS COLOMA**

*Universidad de Valencia and Universidad Católica de Valencia*

Among the cultural challenges faced by eighteenth-century Spain, the growth of editorial production is remarkable. Overcoming the crisis of the prior century, the volume of editions tripled from 1730 to 1790. Although still much lower than the production of the major publishing centers in Europe, the development of the book market in Spain was notable in relative terms. The increase in the number of printers, in the titles advertised in the press, or the development of new editorial products (like the periodical press itself) highlight this blooming<sup>2</sup>.

This fact is connected with the increasing number of readers in Spain in the eighteenth century. Studies on literacy rates, based on quantitative analysis of signatures, suggest a certain progress in literacy since 1750, connected to economic growth and to advances (although modest and unequal in terms of social status and gender) in the field of education also in that century<sup>3</sup>.

Women participated in this expansion of reading. Research in the last decades has begun to clarify the role of women as a substantial part of the cultural transformations of the eighteenth century, as readers, writers and participants in institutions of intellectual sociability. The emergence of women readers as a public sector increasingly numerous and increasingly sought by authors and publishers, in the overview of the development of print culture and

---

<sup>1</sup> The research for this paper took place in the framework of the COST Action " Women Writers In History " (ISO901) and of the research Project HAR2008-04113/HIS, financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology (MICINN).

<sup>2</sup> *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472-1914*, ed. Víctor Infantes, François Lopez and Jean-François Botrel (Madrid : Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Soubeyroux, " L'Alphabétisation dans l'Espagne moderne : Bilan et perspectives de recherche ", *Bulletin Hispanique* 100.2 (1998) : 231-54 ; Antonio Viñao Frago, " Alfabetización e Ilustración, diez años después (de las evidencias directas a las indirectas) ", *Bulletin Hispanique* 100.2 (1998) : 255-69.

public opinion, is becoming better known, thanks to the analysis of literary representations of the woman reader, of subscriptions to newspapers and novels, and of private libraries<sup>4</sup>.

Along with reading, women also played a role in the world of literary production. Studies in the last twenty years have revealed an increase in the number of female authors who published their writings and, above all, their increasingly visible public presence in the "republic of letters"<sup>5</sup>. New scholarship has dismissed the traditional image of the eighteenth century as a time of limited female literary activity between the women writers of the Spanish Golden Age (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and the emergence of Romantic authors in 1830. Thus, several works have studied the general features of the emergence of women of letters in the eighteenth century and, more particularly, the work of some of them, such as Josefa Amar, María Rosa Gálvez, Margarita Hickey or María Gertrudis Hore<sup>6</sup>. As a result of these investigations, we now know that the Spanish women writers of the eighteenth century cultivated a variety of genres, with a preference for poetry and both moral and pedagogical tracts, for reasons related to the stereotypes of femininity and the conventions surrounding women of letters. We also know that the social background of women writers became more diversified at this time: along with the traditional figures of the nun and the aristocrat, we find an increasing number of female

---

<sup>4</sup> Mónica Bolufer, *Mujeres e Ilustración. La construcción de la feminidad en la España del siglo XVIII* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1998) 300-09; Catherine Jaffe, "Suspect Pleasure: Writing the Woman Reader in Eighteenth-Century Spain", *Dieciocho* 22.1 (1999): 35-59; Elisabel Larriba, *Le Public de la presse en Espagne à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1781-1808)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), chapter 3; Inmaculada Urzainqui, "Nuevas propuestas a un público femenino", *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472-1914*, ed. Infantes, Lopez and Botrel, 481-91.

<sup>5</sup> Constance Sullivan, "Las escritoras del XVIII español", *Breve historia feminista de la literatura española (escrita en castellano). IV. La literatura escrita por mujer de la Edad Media al siglo XVIII*, ed. Iris Zavala (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1997) 305-30; Bolufer, *Mujeres e Ilustración* 309-39; *La vida y la escritura en el siglo XVIII. Inés Joyes: Apología de las mujeres* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008); "Women of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Spain: Between Tradition and Modernity", *Eve's Enlightenment: Women's Experience in Spain and Spanish America, 1726-1839*, ed. Jaffe and Elizabeth F. Lewis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2009) 17-32; Emilio Palacios, *La mujer y las letras en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Laberinto, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Among the most recent studies, M. Victoria López-Cordón, *Condición femenina y razón ilustrada. Josefa Amar y Borbón* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2005); Julia Bordiga Grinstein, *La rosa trágica de Málaga: vida y obra de María Rosa de Gálvez* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2003); Aurora Luque y José Luis Cabrera, *El valor de una ilustrada. María Rosa de Gálvez* (Málaga: Instituto Municipal del Libro, 2006); Frédérique Morand, *Doña María Gertrudis Hore (1742-1801): vivencia de una poetisa gaditana entre el siglo y la clausura* (Alcalá de Henares: Ayuntamiento de Alcalá, 2004); and also "Entre siècle et clôture: Affinités littéraires entre la poétesse gaditane María Gertrudis Hore (1742-1801) et quelques-unes de ses contemporaines", *Regards sur les Espagnoles créatrices, XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Françoise Étienvre (Paris: PSN, 2006) 37-46.

authors from the middle classes (particularly with bureaucratic and commercial backgrounds).

Women writers used new forms of projection of literary work, the periodical press, in which some of them published verses or letters, and which reviewed the work of many of them. The case of women translators is also noteworthy as they translated some significant works representing the new Enlightenment values, making their personal contributions through notes, prefaces and dedications or even adding their own texts. They all worked within a hegemonic cultural context that celebrated publicly their contributions, and yet established express or implied limits for women of letters, who were expected to show humility, lack of ambition, and moral purpose, rather than economic or intellectual brilliance<sup>7</sup>.

In these circumstances, the position of women writers, despite their increasing number and visibility, was still exceptional compared to most women of their time. M<sup>a</sup> Victoria López Cordón has underlined their "intellectual isolation, suffering from the contempt of men and from misunderstanding by their own sex"<sup>8</sup>. Unlike male writers, women of letters had no formal institutions that supported their work, and their reduced numbers made the creation of support networks among them difficult. In fact, studies suggest that in Spain there was no evidence of special networks among women writers, and that the aristocrats who exercised literary patronage did not promote in any particular way the literary activity of other women (except in a few cases). Many of them, in order to justify their intellectual work, looked for models among the European women writers of their time.

Why did they not seek predecessors in the literary tradition of their own country? Indeed, women's writing or publishing was not a new phenomenon in Spain: during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women writers considerably increased in numbers, had been praised by their contemporaries, widely read in some cases, and translated into other languages<sup>9</sup>. However, some of them did not publish, and their manuscript works were lost trace of. Those who did have extensive published work, such as Luisa Sigea (1522-1560) or Oliva Sabuco (1562-?), were rarely reprinted after their lifetimes, so their posthumous

---

<sup>7</sup> M<sup>a</sup> Victoria López-Cordón, "Traducción y traductoras en la España de finales del siglo XVIII", *Entre la marginación y el desarrollo*, ed. Cristina Segura y Gloria Nielfa (Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, 1996) 89-112; M<sup>a</sup> Jesús García Garrosa, "Mujeres novelistas en el siglo XVIII", *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre novela del siglo XVIII* (Almería: Universidad de Almería, 1998) 163-83; Bolufer, "Translation and Intellectual Reflection in the Work of Spanish Enlightened Women: Inés Joyes (1731-1808)", *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back*, ed. Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya and Suzan van Dijk (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 327-46; Theresa Ann Smith, "Writing Out of the Margins: Women, Translation, and the Spanish Enlightenment", *Journal of Women's History* 15.1 (2003): 116-43.

<sup>8</sup> López-Cordón, "La fortuna de escribir", *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina*, dir. Isabel Morant, 3 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005) 2: 212.

<sup>9</sup> Nieves Baranda, *Cortejo a lo prohibido: lectoras y escritoras en la España Moderna* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2005); López-Cordón, "La fortuna de escribir".



fame was mainly that of a mere name, repeated in eighteenth-century catalogues of illustrious women as examples of female merit, but hardly accessible to eighteenth-century readers, including aspiring women writers<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, with some exceptions, seventeenth-century women writers seem to have been progressively erased from memory, as the work of many of them, both in style and content, did not fit in with Enlightenment standards of propriety. This is the case of writers such as Mariana de Carvajal and María de Zayas, who during their lifetime had been quite successful, both among readers and critics. Although they continued to be reprinted and widely read a century later, they were no longer considered as acceptable reading or respectable models for female authorship, and were rather scorned for their baroque style and, in the case of Zayas, also for her open treatment of amorous matters and her sharp critiques of the condition of women. The result of all this was that, as far as women's writing was concerned, the seventeenth century appeared, paradoxically, to be a blank period, with hardly any figures to be recovered and celebrated. More generally, the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish women writers were hardly available to their successors in the eighteenth century.

Due to this lack of intellectual references in their own country, Spanish women of letters had to find predecessors among their contemporaries in Europe<sup>11</sup>. We will focus on a particular type of reception: translations. We will analyze various aspects of the female authors and works that were translated in Spain in the eighteenth century and compare the Spanish situation to that of other European countries. Our information concerning translations into Spanish has been gathered from, on the one hand, a thorough revision of current studies and, on the other hand, a detailed research of both library records and bibliographies, and primary sources (eighteenth-century editions themselves and advertisements in the periodical press). The bases of comparison (information about translations in other countries) come from the data introduced in *Women Writers* database. While conscious that these data are but provisional (because information about translations may well be increased and modified in the future, as new authors, new translations and new countries are incorporated and those already present are revised), we think that our analysis can highlight some general trends that should be tested in the future, and that it can illustrate the benefits of comparative approaches.

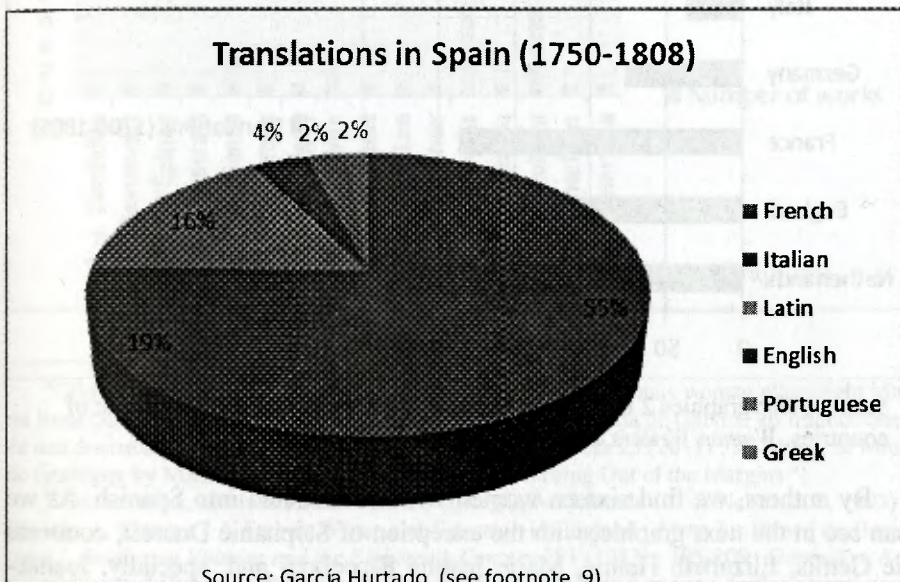
---

<sup>10</sup> Bolufer, "Renaissance Echoes: Sixteenth-Century European Learned Women in Eighteenth-Century Spain", paper presented to the *Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America* (Venice, April 2010).

<sup>11</sup> Hence the importance, for the Spanish case, of the COST Action *Women Writers In History*, devoted to studying the dissemination of works written by women across Europe. As we have said, the reception of such works in Spain was crucial to give female writers references and models to help them shape their status as women of letters. Moreover, the database opens up many possibilities for comparative studies between different countries, in order to uncover new similarities and differences in the reception of women's writings.

The second half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth were a boom time for translations in Spain, encouraged by the multiplication of cultural relations with other countries, growing interest in what was happening abroad, greater access to learning foreign languages, an increase in the instruments available (such as grammars and dictionaries) and, as we already mentioned, a general development of publishing and reading<sup>12</sup>. While just 300 translations were published in the first half of the century, over 2,100 publications of translated works (by men and women) appeared between 1750 and 1808, mostly taken from French, followed at a considerable distance by Italian and Latin translations, with a much smaller presence of other languages (see graphic 1)<sup>13</sup>. French also played an important part as an intermediary language for texts written in other countries, which were then translated from French.

Graphic 1



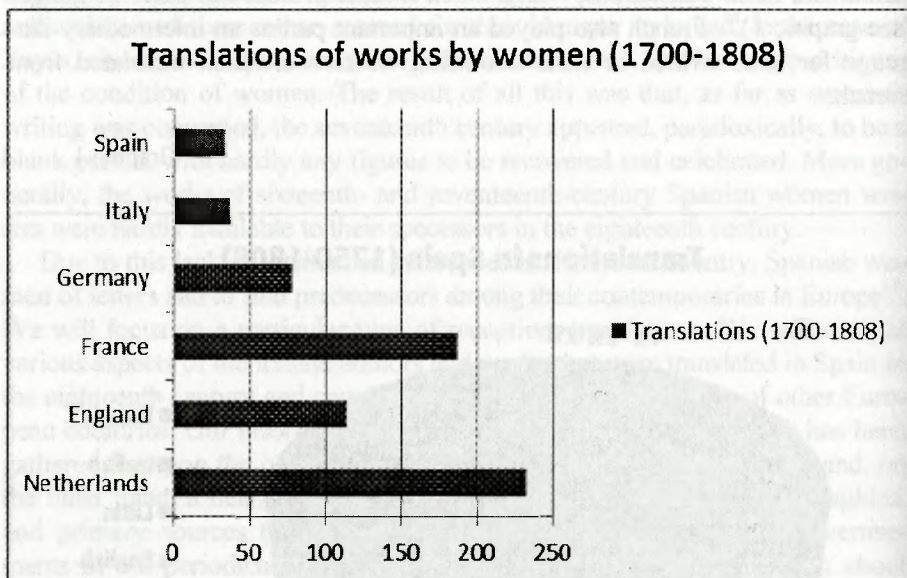
Among all the Spanish translations published in the eighteenth century, how many of them were of works written by women? As we can see in graphic 3,

<sup>12</sup> Francisco Lafarga, ed., *La traducción en España (1750-1830) : libro, literatura y cultura* (Lleida : Universitat de Lleida, 1999); García Garrosa and Lafarga, *El discurso sobre la traducción en la España del siglo XVIII. Estudio y antología* (Kassel : Reichemberger, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Manuel-Reyes García Hurtado, " La traducción en España, 1750-1808 : cuantificación y lenguas en contacto ", ed. Lafarga, 35-43. The date of 1808 is usually taken by Spanish historiography as the end of the so-called " long eighteenth century " in Spain, because of the beginning of the War of Independence.

the numbers are reduced: only 16 women authors and 38 works translated<sup>14</sup>. Given the relatively reduced size of the Spanish literary market for that period, these low figures are not surprising. We can use the *WomenWriters* database to compare these numbers with those from other countries and thereafter check the low impact of foreign women writers in Spain in comparison with countries like England (114 translations from 1700 to 1808), Netherlands (233), or France (187) (see graphic 2).

Graphic 2



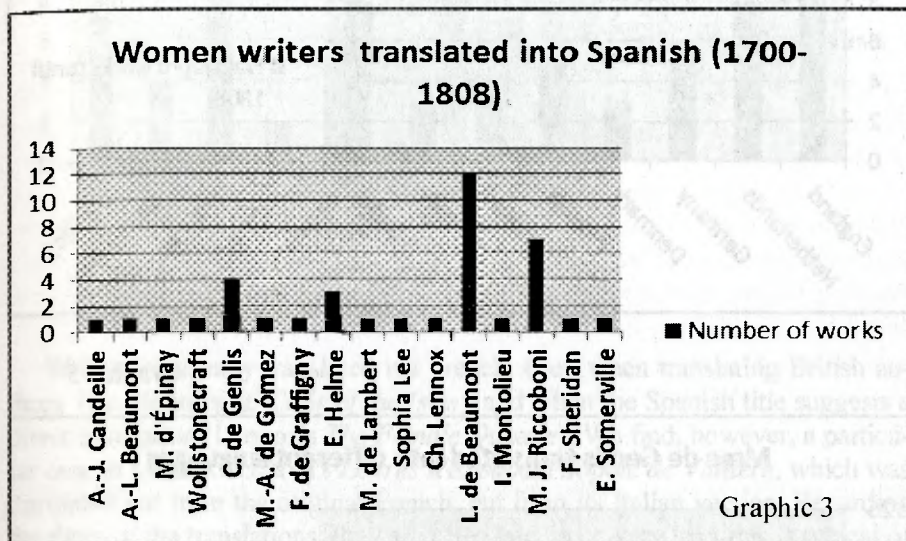
Sources (for graphics 2 to 6): for Spain, our own research data; for the rest of countries, *Women Writers* database (consulted in April 2011).

By authors, we find sixteen women writers translated into Spanish. As we can see in the next graphic, with the exception of Stéphanie Ducrest, comtesse de Genlis, Elizabeth Helme, Marie Jeanne Riccoboni and, specially, Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont<sup>15</sup>, most of the authors were translated into Spa-

<sup>14</sup> Our study focuses on the works written by eighteenth-century women authors, translated in Spain from 1700 to 1808.

<sup>15</sup> On the reception of French women writers in eighteenth-century Spain, see Bolufer, "Pedagogía y moral en el Siglo de las Luces: las escritoras francesas y su recepción en España", *Revista de Historia Moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 20 (2002): 251-92; "Conversations from a distance. Spanish and French Eighteenth-Century Women Writers", *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*, ed. Xon de Ros and Geraldine Hazbun (London: Tamesis, 2011) 175-88.

nish only once<sup>16</sup>. We can use then the database to check the number of these authors' translations in Europe, between the same dates. For example, if we take the translations of Mme Leprince de Beaumont's works, we can see that the numbers in Spain are similar to those in England, the most prolific country by Leprince de Beaumont's translations<sup>17</sup>. However, the results are different in the case of Mme de Genlis : Spain remains in a secondary position with regard to other countries<sup>18</sup>. We obtain the same result for Mme Riccoboni (see graphics 4, 5 and 6)<sup>19</sup>.



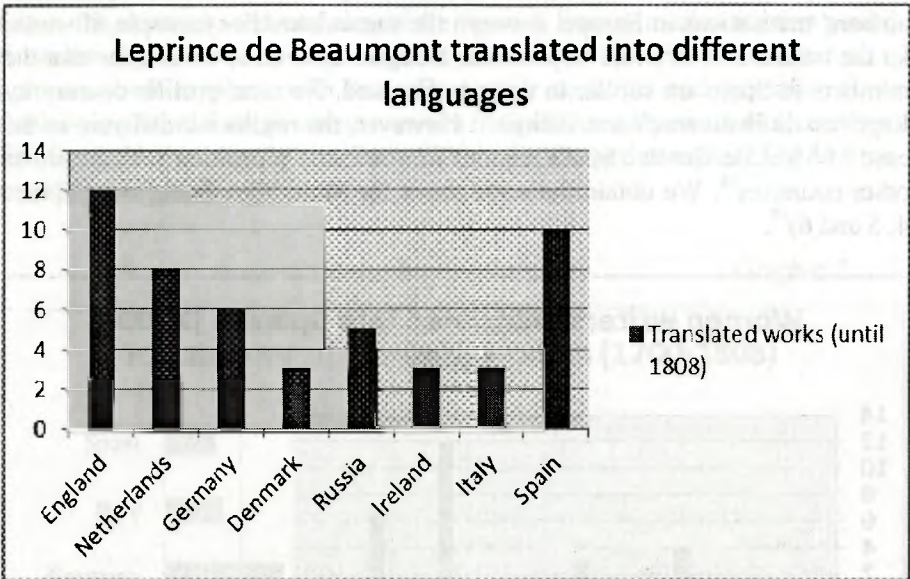
<sup>16</sup> This is the case of translations of Julie Candeille by the famous woman playwright María Rosa Gálvez (see García Garrosa, "La otra voz de María Rosa de Gálvez: las traducciones de una dramaturga neoclásica", *Anales de Literatura Española* 23 (2011) : 35-65), or of Mme de Graffigny by María Rosario Romero (see Smith, "Writing Out of the Margins").

<sup>17</sup> On her work, see Joan Hinde Stewart, *Gynographs* (Lincoln : U of Nebraska P, 1993) ; Patricia A. Clancy, "A French Writer and Educator in England : Mme Le Prince de Beaumont", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 201 (1982) : 195-208 ; Geneviève Artigas-Menant, "Femmes des lumières : Les Lumières de Marie Leprince de Beaumont, nouvelles données biographiques", *Dix-huitième siècle* 36 (2004) : 91-301.

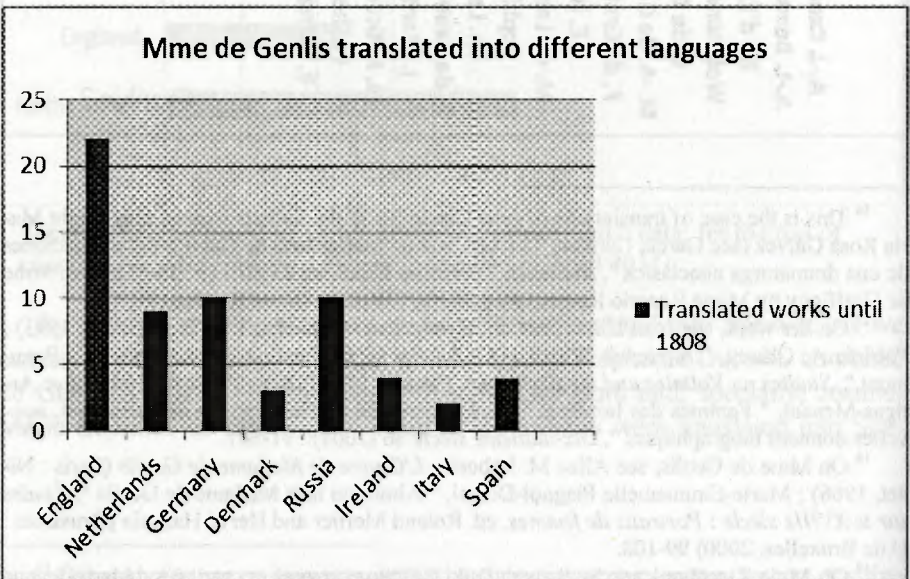
<sup>18</sup> On Mme de Genlis, see Alice M. Laborde, *L'Œuvre de Madame de Genlis* (Paris : Nizet, 1966) ; Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval, "Aimer ou haïr Madame de Genlis", *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle : Portraits de femmes*, ed. Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin (Bruxelles : U de Bruxelles, 2000) 99-108.

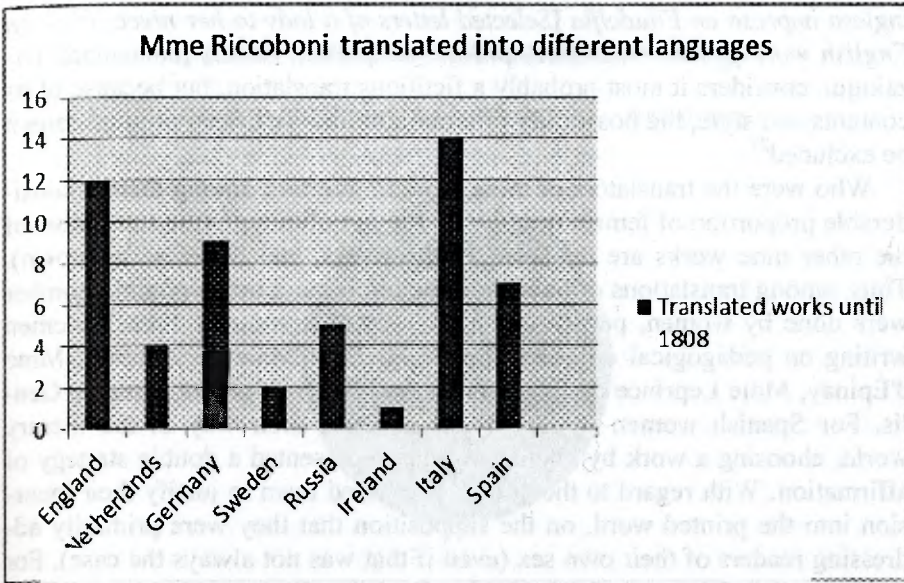
<sup>19</sup> On Mme Riccoboni, see Suzan van Dijk, "Fictions revues et corrigées : Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni en face de la critique contemporaine", ed. Malcolm Cook and Annie Jourdan, *Journalisme et fiction au 18e siècle* (Bern : Peter Lang, 1999) 163-78 ; also "Françoise de Graffigny y Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni : escritoras feministas ?", ed. Nieves Ibeas and M. Angeles Millán, *La conjura del olvido. Escritura y feminismo*, 2 vols. (Barcelona : Icaria, 1997) 1 : 213-30; regarding her translations in Spain, see García Garrosa, "Las novelas de Mme Riccoboni en España : nuevas traducciones (M. de la Iglesia, B. Cerat y V. Rodríguez de Arellano)", *Dieciocho* 20.1 (1997) : 43-60.

Graphic 4



Graphic 5





Works are usually translated *via* French, even when translating British authors (i.e. Helme's *St. Clair of the Isles*), and when the Spanish title suggests a direct translation (Lennox's *The Female Quixote*). We find, however, a particular case in Mme Riccoboni's *Lettres d'Élisabeth Sophie de Vallière*, which was translated not from the original French, but from its Italian version. Regarding the dates of the translations, they are often late, even very late: this is typical of the Spanish case, for different reasons such as the limited reading public or the censorship's distrust of novels. Translations usually take ten to twenty years after the original publication, or even longer: Lennox's *Quixote* took fifty-six years, Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* forty-five, or Gómez's *Les Journées amusantes* seventy. By contrast, we can find early translations of Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* (three years) and of Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des pauvres* (six years).

There are also some interesting cases which deserve further research, and which would benefit from a comparative analysis: first, we find two attempted (and not allowed by censors) translations of Leprince de Beaumont's *Les Américaines*, one by José Morcillo in 1782 and another by a woman, Cayetana de la Cerda, Countess of Lalaing, in 1790. Her request was rejected on 17 March 1791, on the grounds that, by setting out the arguments of atheists and Protestants against Catholicism too explicitly, the book was thought to lead readers to waver in their faith, and that writing on religious controversies was reserved for the clergy<sup>20</sup>. The second interesting case is a work allegedly translated from an English/American original, which has not been identified. It is Rita Caveda's

<sup>20</sup> On this case, see Bolufer, "Pedagogía y moral", and "Conversations from a Distance".

*Cartas selectas de una señora a una sobrina suya, entresacadas de una obra inglesa impresa en Filadelfia* [Selected letters of a lady to her niece, from an English work printed in Philadelphia]. Her present editor, Inmaculada Urzainqui, considers it most probably a fictitious translation, but because of its contents and style, the possibility of a real English-American original cannot be excluded<sup>21</sup>.

Who were the translators of these works? We find among them a considerable proportion of female translators: ten out of thirty<sup>22</sup> (the translators of the other nine works are unnamed in the works, and therefore unknown). Thus, among translations of foreign women writers, a not negligible number were done by women, particularly if the originals were by French women writing on pedagogical or moral themes, such as Mme de Lambert, Mme d'Épinay, Mme Leprince de Beaumont, Mme de Graffigny or Mme de Genlis. For Spanish women writers trying to make their way in the literary world, choosing a work by another woman represented a double strategy of affirmation. With regard to the public, it enabled them to justify their incursion into the printed word, on the supposition that they were primarily addressing readers of their own sex (even if that was not always the case). For themselves, following in the footsteps of another woman who was more or less established could strengthen their own feeling of entitlement to take up the pen, and give them with a sense of complicity (see table 1)<sup>23</sup>.

---

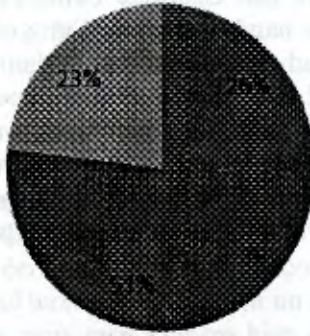
<sup>21</sup> Inmaculada Urzainqui, ed., "Catalin" de Rita de Barrenechea y otras voces de mujeres del siglo XVIII (Vitoria: Ararteko, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> We have included here the "translation" by Rita Caveda.

<sup>23</sup> On the relationship between women authors and women translators, see Bolufer, "Conversations from a distance"; however, women, of course, also translated work by men, with which other sorts of complicity sometimes could be established (about the translation of Samuel Johnson by Inés Joyes, see Bolufer, "Translation and Intellectual Reflection"; on the translation of Saint Lambert by Antonia Río y Arnedo, see Helena Establier, "Las 'luces' de Sara Th\*\*\*. María Antonia de Río Arnedo y su traducción dieciochesca del marqués de Saint-Lambert", *Anales de Literatura Española* 20 [2008]: 161-87).

### Spanish translators of women's writings

■ Female translator   ■ Male translator   ■ Unknown



### Translations made by women

AUTHOR	WORK	TRANSLATOR
A.J. Candeille	<i>Catherine ou la belle fermière</i>	Rosa Gálvez
Mme d'Épinay	<i>Conversations d'Émilie</i>	Ana Muñoz
Mme de Genlis	<i>Adélaïde ou le triomphe de l'amour</i>	María Jacoba Castilla
Mme de Graffigny	<i>Lettres d'une Péruvienne</i>	María Romero Masegosa
Mme de Lambert	<i>Œuvres</i>	Cayetana de la Cerda, Countess of Lalaing
Mme Leprince de Beaumont	<i>Lettres du Mme du Montier</i>	M <sup>a</sup> Antonia Río y Arnedo
	<i>Les Américaines</i>	Cayetana de la Cerda, Countess of Lalaing
E. Somerville	<i>Flora, or, The deserted child</i>	Juana Bergnes
Unknown	<i>Cartas selectas de una señora</i>	Rita Caveda y Solares
M. Wollstonecraft	<i>Letters from Scandinavia</i>	Frasquita Larrea

Table 1



It is also true, however, that male translators did not exclude, at all, translating women's writings, particularly those which seemed marketable. It is the case of Bernardo María de la Calzada, one of the most prolific translators in eighteenth-century Spain : a military man, he seems to have devoted himself to translation in order to complement his income, and to have had a keen eye for bestsellers<sup>24</sup>. Among his many translations there were Stéphanie de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* and Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*<sup>25</sup>. This suggests, on the one hand, that some European women writers, especially those who had already gained success in their own country, were considered by publishers and translators excellent opportunities for the Spanish market. And, on the other hand, that their work was not always seen as addressing exclusively a female audience, which, in Spain, was still a very reduced part of an already meagre public. In many cases, they were considered of potential interest to a wider, more general public.

\*

In eighteenth-century Spain, translations of women authors (and, more generally, their being known – read, but also simply heard of – by the Spanish public) were vital in building of a legitimacy for women's reading, writing and publishing. Due to the lack of intellectual references in their own country, Spanish eighteenth-century women writers had to find predecessors in their contemporaries in Europe, particularly in France, to resignify the figure of the woman writer and intellectual, in an age when discourses on gender and women's presence in new public spaces of sociability and the republic of letters were undergoing significant challenges. The presence of works by female authors translated in Spain, despite their low numbers, is an indication of these challenges.

<sup>24</sup> He is one of the few eighteenth-century translators included in Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute, eds., *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en España* (Madrid : Gredos, 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Among his translations we can find Jean François de La Croix's *Diccionario manual de hechos y dichos memorables de la historia antigua* (1794), Condillac's *La lógica o los primeros elementos del arte de pensar* (1788) or La Fontaine's *Fábulas morales* (1787). On his translation of Lennox, see Jaffe, "From *The Female Quixote* to *Don Quijote con faldas* : Translation and Transculturation ", *Dieciocho* 28.2 (2005) : 120-26.