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“Ruiner la galanterie”. D’Aubignac’s *Les Conseils d’Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputacion* (1666) and its Transfer to the German-Speaking Countries

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“RUINER LA GALANTERIE”

D'Aubignac's *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* (1666)
and its Transfer to the German-Speaking Countries

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Abstract: The article retraces the reception of François Hédelin d'Aubignac's *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* (1666) in the German-speaking lands. The translations that were published at Leipzig in 1696 and 1711 and in Celle in 1749 and once more at Leipzig in 1763 make no changes to the main text at all. Nevertheless, whereas d'Aubignac had intended that his manuel would discourage women from behaving in the galant mode, in the translation, new headings as well as additional material (a frontispiece and a novel inserted in the first Leipzig editions) corresponded to the German literary context, where there a demand for 'galant literature' was prevalent around 1700, which was succeeded in the mid-18th century by enthusiasm for the topic of female virtue.

LES *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*, a manual of conduct for aristocratic young women,

appears anonymously¹ in Paris in 1666.² Despite criticism from the “*esprits libres*” that the rules it contained “*ne tendent qu’à ruiner la galanterie*”,³ ten more editions come onto the market by 1710, in Paris, The Hague and Brussels.⁴ At the same time, a process of transfer to the German-speaking countries begins: translations into German appear in Leipzig in 1696 and 1711,⁵ in Celle in 1749 and in Leipzig and Frankfurt on Main in 1763.⁶ The *Conseils* move into new functional

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1. The author is François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac (1604-1676), preacher, writer, theatre theorist (*La Pratique du théâtre*, 1657). Although he makes his authorship public in another context in 1667, it is concealed in all editions of the actual text. Cf. below.
 2. *Les Conseils d’Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputaton*. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingué, au bout du Pont S. Michel, à l’entrée de la ruë de la Huchette, Et en sa Boutique au premier Pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d’or. M. DC. LXVI. avec Priuilege du Roy. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), NUMM-8116756 (consultable sur place), R-18668; Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle an der Saale, 165 H 8. – The first edition has not yet been available to me in autopsy, a digital copy does not exist. The second edition is cited: *Les Conseils d’Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputaton*. Seconde Edition. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingue’, ruë de la Huchette, dans la petite Ruelle des trois Chandeliers, devant [!] la ruë Zacarie. Et en sa Boutique au premier pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d’or. M. DC. LXVII. avec Privilege du Roy. Digital copy used: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Biblioteca Historica Fondo Antiqua (F), BH FLL 15977 (Google Books), cited as *Conseils* 1667.
 3. *Le Journal Des Sçavans*, du Lundy 5. Avril M. DC. LXVI, p. 161: “*Si les esprits libres se plaignent qu’elles [les règles données, H. M.] ne tendent qu’à ruiner la galanterie, les sages reconnaissent qu’elles retranchent seulement de la société des choses que la modestie ne peut souffrir.*” (ark:/12148/cb39138287s).
 4. The reprint by J É (Bookplate) Bouillet, 2011, available on Amazon, is not considered in this study. S. Koloch, *Communication, Power, Education. Frauen im Kulturprozess der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, Akademie, 2011, esp. p. 26, 228-229, identified nine French editions from 1665 [!] to 1692 and three translations, but without examining them systematically; on French research *ibid.*, p. 26, 31.
 5. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin*, übersetzt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche, Leipzig, by Johann Thomas Fritsch, 1696, cited as H.; *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt*, Leipzig, by Thomas Fritsch, 1711.
 6. *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzogin von C^{xxx} unter den Nahmen Aristé der Princeßin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*. Zelle, bei George Conrad Gsellius, 1749, cited as C.; *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzogin von C^{xxx} unter den Nahmen Aristé der Princeßin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*, Leipzig & Frankfurt am Main, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1763.

contexts: around 1700, they were incorporated into the “Seduction to Gallantry”,⁷ the ‘advertising campaign’ for gallantry that emanated from the city of Leipzig. Forty or sixty years later, according to the modified title, the rules of conduct presented in the text are supposed to ensure the formation of the *Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers* (*Character of a perfect woman*) – and gallantry disappears from the title page.

The systematic reconstruction of the contexts of book and discourse history of the publication of the *Conseils* and their translations provides insights into the stages of this transfer as well as into the prehistory of the *Character of a perfect woman*. Both have so far only attracted the attention of researchers in a fragmentary way.⁸ It becomes apparent that the paratexts initiate the transfer, but the text, the conduct code as such, remains unchanged. First of all, there is the “Avis (Preface)”, which is appended to the two French *Conseils* editions of 1692.⁹ Its German translation of 1696, the “Vorbericht an den Leser (Preface to the Reader)” (H iij, unpaginated), is aimed, like the “Avis”, not at *reputation* but at the “*honneſteté ſi naturelle aux François*” (*Conseils* 1692a/b) / “*die wohlanſtändige ehrbarkeit welche die Frantzöſiſche nation gleichſam von natur hat* (the decent respectability which the French nation has, as it were, by nature)” (H iij). The “Vorrede (Preface)” of 1749 and 1763 rejects this translation and again focuses on the “*Anſehen* (reputation)” and the “*guten Nahmen*

7. Cf. I. Stauffer, *Verführung zur Galanterie. Benehmen, Körperlichkeit und Gefühlsinszenierungen im literarischen Kulturtransfer 1664-1772*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2018 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 152).

8. Cf. the erroneous, insufficiently substantiated claims about the *Conseils* in German-speaking countries in Koloch, *Kommunikation* (note 4), esp. p. 26-31. On the *Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers* H. Meise, *Die Unschuld und die Schrift. Deutsche Frauenromane im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 1992 (*1982), p. 12-31.

9. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. Nouvelle édition Revüé & augmentée. A Paris, Chez la V. Pepingué & Jacques Le Febvre rué de la Harpe, au Soleil d'or, Et au Premier Pillier [!] de la Grand' Salle, vis-à-vis les Requestes du Palais. M. DC. XCII. Avec Privilège du Roy; *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. Nouvelle Edition, Revüé & augmentée D'un nouveau Recueil de Maximes & Pensées diverses. A Paris, chez la V. Pepingué. Se vend A Bruxelles, Chez Jean Leonard, Libraire & Imprimeur rüe de la Cour, 1692. Cited as *Conseils* 1692a and *Conseils* 1692b.

(good name)” to be preserved by “*das Frauenzimmer* (a woman)”, indeed by all those who, irrespective of their class, “*eine nicht geringere rechtschaffene Neigung zur Tugend wie Celimene hegen* (have a no less righteous inclination to virtue than Celimene)” (C 1749, 2ff.). Variations of the title are added: the counsellor Ariste becomes a court mistress (*Hofmeisterin*) (1696/1711) or a duchess (*Herzogin*) (1749/1763) –, Celimene, who is in search of advice becomes a “*galantes Frauenzimmer* (gallant woman)” (1696/1711). The reorientation continues in the placement of a frontispiece and an “*exempel* (exemplum)” in the text (H 1696/1711, 17-38), but is also scaled back in the *Character of a perfect woman*. The paratexts not only set the transfer in motion, they also realign the *Conseils*: the transformation of terms – the dissolution of *reputation* into “*honnestete*”/ “*ehrbarkeit* (honesty and honour)” and its resumption as “*virtue*” – and of discursive roles – the back and forth between the genders of counsellor, author and audience – marks the cultural turn that renders gallantry obsolete as the primary model for the conduct of elites for communication between the sexes.

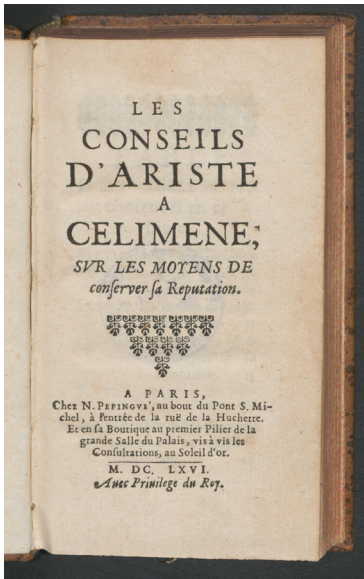


fig. 1

Paris 1666-1692 – La Haye 1687
 – Brussels 1692 – La Haye 1710:
*Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur
 les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*

Bibliographic references and digital copies allow us to trace the career of the *Conseils* as a book, as a material object. Of the eleven French-language editions that appear between 1666 and 1710, eight are published in Paris: three by Nicolas Pepingué (1666, 1667, 1674);¹⁰ two by his widow Pepingué and Jacques Le Febvre, her son-in-law,¹¹ and by her and Jean II Leonard in Brussels (both 1692);¹² three by Guillaume Cavalier (1685, 1686).¹³ Two editions appear in The Hague, by Abraham Arondeus (1687) and by Jean Swart (1710).¹⁴

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10. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667. Other copies: BnF, NUMM-8704018 (consultable sur place), R-18669; Institut Catholique de Paris, 22 430; Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (Bibliothèque jésuite des Fontaines), Part-Dieu-Silo ancien SJ A 343/A 42 (Google Books); Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, U 966; University of Toronto, Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library Rare Book Collection (B-1001023) (Internet Archive). *Conseils* 1674: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa réputation*. Troisième Edition. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingué, rue de la Huchette dans la petite Ruelle des trois Chandeliers, devant la rue Zacarie, Et en sa Boutique au premier pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d'or. M. DC. LXXIV. Avec Privilège du Roy. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (BSB), Ph. Pr. 42^c (digital copy).
 11. *Conseils* 1692a: BnF, NUMM-8716746 (consultable sur place), R-18671, Richelieu-Arts du spectacle-magasin 8-RF-5387(1), Arsenal 8-S-3113(1); The British Library, London, 1578/4993 (Google Books); Jerusalem, Jewish National Library, Stacks (70 C 11984) (Google Books); University of Ottawa, Toronto, Rare Books BJ 1682. AB 1692 (Internet Archive). – Cited as *Conseils* 1692a (fn 9).
 12. *Conseils* 1692b (fn 9): Anvers, Bibliothèque Patrimoniale Hendrik Conscience, 233326 (Google Books); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Np 343 (digital copy); Stift Kremsmünster, 8°Co 211 |Sto: SL | Sto: 35-27.
 13. *Conseils* 1685: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine pour conserver la reputation selon la bienséance et la civilité française*, Paris, G. Cavalier, 1685. BnF, R-27098; Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (HAB), M: Lm 1709a; Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, 60 Hy 8621. *Conseils* 1686a: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine pour conserver la reputation selon la bienséance et la civilité française*. A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavalier, 1686 [in-8]. BnF, Smith LESOUF R-828; BSB, Ph. Pr. 42^{ch}. *Conseils* 1686b: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavalier, 1686 [in-12]. BnF, NUMM-16744 (consultable sur place), R-18670.
 14. *Conseils* 1687: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation. Piece tres-curieuse*. Dernière Edition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étoient dans la précédente. A La Haye, Chez Abraham Arondeus, Marchand Libraire, 1687. BSB, Ph. Pr. 42^{ch} (digital copy). *Conseils* 1710: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation. Piece très-curieuse*. Dernière Edition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étoient dans la précédente. A La Haye. Chez Jean Swart, Marchand Libraire dans le Korte Pooten. M. DCCX. Leiden

One edition, the 1677 pirated edition, cannot be attributed to a publisher.¹⁵

The author remains anonymous throughout; the text itself remains unchanged, as does the “Table des sections contenues en ce Livre”.¹⁶ The “Discours”, the programmatic title of the first “Section” (*Conseils* 1667, 1),¹⁷ seeks to give Celimene advice before her marriage on how to maintain her good reputation in her new status as a wife.¹⁸ Her good reputation, says Ariste,¹⁹ must be based on her virtue. To

University Libraries, Closed Stack 5 686 H 20 (Google.Books).

15. *Conseils* 1677: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation: Piece tres Curieuse*. Suivant la Copie imprime A Paris. M. DC. LXXVII. SBB-PK, Np 340.
16. *Conseils* 1667, fol. Aiiij sq., unpaginated.
17. The term embraces theory and practice: “*Diskurs [...] lebhaft Erörterung, Unterhaltung [frz. ‚discours‘, Rede, Ansprache, Abhandlung]*”, G. Wahrig, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Gütersloh/Munich, Bertelsmann, 1991, p. 351. Cf. G. Malquori Fondi, “Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene de l'Abbé d'Aubignac : Un ‘discours’ masqué?”, in Ulrich Döring, Antiopy Lyroudias, Rainer Zaiser (Eds.), *Ouverture et dialogue. Mélanges offerts à Wolfgang Leiner à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Tübingen, Narr, 1988, p. 289-304, p. 298: “*Présenté sous le masque d'un discours à la mode chez les ‘moralistes’, le livre de d'Aubignac nous apparaît plutôt comme le reflet d'un débat très à la mode chez les mondains.*”
18. Cf. Ch. Arnaud, *Les théories dramatiques au XVII^e siècle. Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de l'Abbé d'Aubignac*, Genève, Slatkine, 1970 (1888), p. 79-87: “*Cœuvres de direction et d'éducation*”. The striking similarity of the “Discours” with M^{me} de Liancourt's (1600-1674) *Règlement* cannot be discussed further here. Cf. L. Timmermans, *L'Accès des femmes à la Culture sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, Champion, 2005, p. 96, 210, 946, incorrectly dates the first edition to 1698. Cf. BnF, 24142: *Règlement Donné Par une Dame de Haute Qualité A M^{xxx} Sa Petite-Fille Pour sa Conduite & pour celle de sa Maison: Avec un autre Règlement que cette Dame avoit dressé pour elle-mesme*, A Paris, Chez Augustin Leguerrier, ruë S. Jacque, près les Maturins, à l'Arche-d'Alliance, M. DC. XCVIII. Avec Approbation et Privilège du Roy. On Jeanne de Schomberg Duchesse de Liancourt (1600-1674) and her treatise, see C. Winn, “Introduction”, C. Winn (Ed.), *Règlement [...]*, Paris, Garnier, 2022 (réimpression de 1997) (Textes de la Renaissance 15; L'Éducation des femmes à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique, 1), p. 7-42.
19. On d'Aubignac's passion for the name Ariste – from the Greek “*aristos*”, the best – see G. Malquori Fondi, “Introduction”, in G. Malquori Fondi (Ed.), *François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac : Le Roman des Lettres*, preface Bernard Bray, Paris, Seattle, Tübingen, Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1989 (Biblio 17, 50), p. XVII-CXVI, XXVIII. The reference to Ariste, the “*reasonable pedagogue*” in Molière's comedy *L'École des Maris* (1661), cannot be pursued here.

merely simulate virtue is risky; it must rather be anchored in the heart and from here it can control all the senses:

[...] *que cette vertu qui doit produire un si bon effet [la réputation, H. M.], doit être dans le fond du cœur [...] mais sa réputation [d'une femme, H. M.], ne se pourra jamais conserver si la vertu ne s'est rendüe maîtresse de ses sens, & que toutes ses actions ne soient animées de ce beau feu ; [...].* (*Conseils*, 1667, 19-20).

On the basis of this axiom, Ariste imagines in 30 “*sections*”²⁰ situations that Celimene could face as the wife of a nobleman, in everyday life as well as on special occasions, at her residence as well as at court: conversations inside and outside of marriage, dealing with servants, receiving gifts, taking part in walks, comedies, balls and masquerades, games and carriage rides. Ariste’s casuistry culminates in the question: “*Si une femme peut faire quelque amitié avec un homme.*” (*Conseils*, 1667, 225) The answer is clear: no friendship is possible between a man and a woman; even the slightest suggestion brings the woman into disrepute and destroys all her previous efforts to maintain her “*reputation*” at a stroke. The arc closes, for Ariste had shown Celimene precisely this at the very beginning of the “*Discours*” as the inevitable consequence of the “*visites fréquentes ov assiduité*” on a virtuous woman: “[...] *sa gloire s'éteint, & la laisse comme une personne morte au monde.*” (*Conseils*, 1667, 41).

In contrast to the anonymity of the author, the table of contents and the text, the French editions vary in format and number of pages, the decorations²¹ and the paratexts. The first edition, published by Nicolas Pepingüé (1620?-1688), printer and publisher in Paris,

20. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, fol. Aiii. The error in the “Table” – section XV is missing – is corrected in the third edition of 1674. All later *Conseils* editions have not 30 but 29 “sections”.

21. Fleurons: flower baskets as title vignettes, ribbons for the “Table” and “Sections” as frames for the “Avis”, the “Section Premiere” with initial. The title vignette of the 1692 editions stands out: a ribbon with the inscription “Concordia”⁵ flutters above a sheaf of upright ears of corn, flanked by two cornucopias from which fruits and books respectively sprout.

in 1666, is a duodecimo volume with 239 pages (*Conseils*, 1667); later editions in octavo²² have 140 pages.²³

Additions to the title suggest novelty as well as topicality. While Pepingué retained the title for his second and third editions in 1667 and 1674, Guillaume Cavelier (1658-1726), a generation younger than Pepingué, sought to set himself apart in 1685 by explaining the title twice. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene* remains, but is supplemented: *ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine*. The explanation of the original title *pour conserver sa réputation* remains and is in turn explained: *selon la bienséance et la civilité françoise*.²⁴ In 1686, Cavelier keeps this new title for the reprint in octavo, but returns to the original for his duodecimo edition.²⁵

In three instances there is a subtitle. The pirated print of 1677 explains: *Pièce tres Curieuse*. The title page has no imprint and notes: *Suivant la Copie Imprime A Paris*.²⁶ In 1687 Arondeus takes up the *Pièce tres Curieuse* in The Hague and adds: *Dernière édition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étaient dans la précédente*.²⁷ Swart adopts Arondeus' wording in 1710.²⁸

Pepingué's widow, Radegonde Pepingué, née Bouillerot (?-1707), published a new edition²⁹ with her son-in-law Jacques Le Febvre (1648-1713) in 1692, as well as a second edition with Jean II Leonard (?-1736?) in Brussels.³⁰ Both editions are revised according to the title: *Nouvelle édition revûë & augmentée*. They have an "Avis"; the Paris/Brussels edition also has *un nouveau Recueil de maximes & pensées diverses*. The *Conseils* are followed by two separate texts, each equipped with

22. Cf. *Conseils*, 1686a (fn 11).

23. Cf. *Conseils*, 1687 and *Conseils*, 1710 (fn 12).

24. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine, pour conserver sa réputation selon la bienséance et la civilité françoise*, Paris, G. Cavelier, 1685.

25. HAB: M: Lm 1709a.

26. *Conseils*, 1677: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Réputation*. *Pièce tres Curieuse*. *Suivant la Copie Imprime A Paris*. A Paris. M. DC. LXXVII.

27. (fn 12).

28. (fn 12).

29. *Conseils*, 1692a (fn 9).

30. *Conseils*, 1692b. Cf. also (fn 10).

title page and preface, separate page count³¹ and alphabetical index at the end – for the *Maximes* from “Agrement” to “Vertu”, for the *Pensées* from “Ambition” to “Vie”.³² This is a reprint of a reprint: Radegonde Pepingué and Le Febvre had reprinted the *Maximes Et Pensées Diverses*³³ in 1691, which had first been published in 1678 by Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy (vers 1630-1687) in Paris and in 1679 by Pieter Hagen (?-?) in The Hague.³⁴ The author of the *Maximes* is Madeleine de Souvré Marquise de Sablé (1598-1678), author of the *Pensées* Nicolas d'Ailly (16?-1712?), “*chanoine de Lisieux*”;³⁵ the texts lead directly into the “*weibliche Maximenkritik*” by the salon in Port-Royal.³⁶ Pepingué and Le Febvre included texts, prefaces and indexes in their 1692 edition of *Conseils*, but not the authors' names.³⁷ Their innovation of combining the preface of the *Maximes* as marginalia,³⁸ however, recurs in both *Conseils* editions of 1692. In the margin of the first “*section*” it says: “*Occasions où l'on a besoin de conseils pour imiter parfaitement le modele qu'on s'est proposé de suivre*” (*Conseils*, 1692a, 5). Marginalia of this kind always bring the “Discours” together again; at the same time, these comments function as reading aids.

The materiality of the *Conseils* editions also includes handwritten and pasted-in additions that make their contexts of use visible. As the digital copies show, the name of the author or the provenance

31. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 9), *Maximes*, p. 1-26; *Pensées*, p. 27-54.

32. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 9), unpaginated.

33. *Maximes Et Pensées Diverses*. A Paris, Chez la V. Pepingué & Jacques Le Febvre, ruë de la Harpe, au Soleil d'or, Et au premier Pillier de la Gran' Salle, vis-à-vis les Requestes du Palais. M. DC. XCI. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, 340167.

34. Cf. *Maximes Et Pensées diverses*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678. BnF Res-Z-2618, NUMM-6261291; *Maximes de Mme la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678. BnF Z-17932, NUMM-6276334; *Maximes de Mme la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, La Haye, P. Hagen, 1679; BnF Arsenal, 8-S-2137.

35. Data BnF.

36. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 96 sq; R. Baader, *Dames de lettres. Autorinnen des preziösen, hocharistokratischen und “modernen” Salons (1649-1698): M^{lle} de Scudéry - M^{lle} de Montpensier - M^{me} d'Aulnoy*, Stuttgart, Metzler (Romanistische Abhandlungen 5), 1986, p. 202-210.

37. Cf. (fn 31). Catalogue note to *Maximes de M^{me} la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678, BnF Z-17932, NUMM-6276334: “*Seul le titre de cette édition la différencie de la précédente.*”

38. The margin says: “*Utilité des Maximes qu'on va lire.*” *Maximes*, Pepingué/Febvre 1691 (fn 32), preface, unpaginated.

– “*Bibliothek. Oberaltaich* (Library Oberaltaich)” –³⁹ on the endpapers and title pages; stamps indicate the owning library;⁴⁰ signatures the systematic location: “*Ph[ilosophia] Pr[actica]*”, “*Philos[ophia]. Ethica popul[aris]*”.⁴¹ Further entries refer to the owners. The text of the Madrid copy of 1667 has underlining throughout – except in the last two “sections” – with accompanying manuscript marginal notes, mostly translations of individual words into Spanish. At the end it says: “Bilbao turcmoreau moreau 1667” –⁴² the *Conseils* were probably worked through in the year of their publication. The entries “? Dornant?” and “Louise angelique chabot Dornant – 1737” on the title page of the British Library copy of 1692 prove that the *Conseils* were still in the hands of ladies in 1737.⁴³ Louise Angelique Chabot (1683-1737) had married Louis Dornant (1685-1751), “*ecuyer, seigneur des Valléis, lieutenant au régiment de Vivarais*” in 1713.⁴⁴ Whether she noted the name and date in her own hand is unclear.

A paratext, the “*Extrait du Privilège du Roy*”, inserted in the *Conseils* of 1667,⁴⁵ brings into play the author and the contexts of the origin of his “Discours”. The “*Extrait*” certifies that the privilege is granted “A.S.A.D.A.C.A.E.P.O.D.S.M.”, which stands for: “*Au Sieur Abbé d’Aubignac Conseiller Aumonier et Predicateur Ordinaire de Sa Majesté*”.⁴⁶ This refers to François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac,⁴⁷ known since the 1640s as Richelieu’s “*protégé*” for his writings on raising the “prestige of the theatre”⁴⁸ and as a “galant

39. *Conseils*, 1674 (fn 10).

40. Cf. (fn 9) to (fn 15).

41. BSB, *Conseils*, 1674 (fn 10). Cf. the metadata for the *Conseils*, 1687 (fn 13): “Shelf group Philosophia practica – ethics, morals, philosophy of law and religion.”

42. *Conseils*, 1667 (fn 2).

43. *Conseils*, 1692 a (fn 9).

44. <https://man8rove.com/fr/profile/2rpuk44k-louise-angelique-chabor>.

45. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, unpaginated. The *Conseils* 1692b (fn 9) also insert the “*Extrait du Privilège du Roy*”, with the final sentence: “*Achevé d’imprimer le 22. Decembre 1691.*”

46. Malquori Fondi, *Conseils* (fn 17), p. 298, footnote 1; cf. also Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 87.

47. (fn 1).

48. H.-J. Neuschäfer, “Introduction. D’Aubignacs *Pratique du théâtre* und der Zusammenhang von *imitatio, vraisemblance und bienséance*”, in *Id.* (Ed.), *François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac. La pratique du théâtre and other writings on the doctrine classique*. Reprint of the three-volume edition Amsterdam 1715 with

abbé⁴⁹ and writer who frequented the Parisian salons but also opposed M^{lle} de Scudéry and the *précieuses*.⁵⁰ In 1667, d'Aubignac revealed himself as the author of the *Conseils* in his *Roman des lettres*, published by Jean-Baptiste Loyson (161?-1694?) in Paris.⁵¹ The novel revolves around the figure of Ariste, behind whom the abbé is barely concealed⁵² – as author of and protagonist and correspondent in another work that included gallant letters.⁵³ Ariste refers to the *Conseils* several times; he also sends them to his correspondents⁵⁴ as a book. To Edumène he writes:

[...] *le petit ouvrage que ie prends la liberté de vous enuoyer, m'en offre, ce me semble, une occasion assez fauorable. Il a receu dans Paris & dans*

an introductory essay by Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, Munich, W. Fink Verlag, 1971 (Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der Schönen Künste 13), p. VII-XXXX, IX. See also H. Baby, "Introduction", in *Id.* (Ed.), *Abbé d'Aubignac. La Pratique du Théâtre*, Paris, Champion, 2011 (Champion Classiques 22), p. 9-24; G. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. by A. Adam, Paris, Gallimard, (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 151), 1970, II, p. 904-908.

49. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 30. Cf. Ch.-L. Livet, "Clef historique et anecdotique du Grand Dictionnaire des Precieuses", in Ch.-L. Livet (Ed.), *Antoine Baudeau de Somaize : Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses*. Nouvelle édition augmentée de divers opuscules et d'une Clef historique et anecdotique, I/II, Hildesheim/New York, Georg Olms, 1972, II, p. 123-403, rubrique 136-138.
50. The "Discours" praises Celimene right at the beginning as the daughter of Arthénice. Arthénice, an anagram of Catherine, stands for Catherine de Vivonne Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) and the salon she ran in her hôtel; Celimene could be her daughter Julie d'Angennes (1607-1671), who married Charles de Sainte-Maure Duc de Montausier (1610-1690) in 1645, Koloch, *Communication* (fn 4), p. 26. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 75-84; on the relationship d'Aubignac - Mlle de Scudéry (1607-1701) see B.J. Bourque, *All the Abbé's Women. Power and Misogyny in Seventeenth Century France, through the Writings of Abbé d'Aubignac*, Tübingen, Narr (Biblio 17, 209), 2015, p. 147-165; Baader, *Dames* (fn 36), p. 91, 297; Livet, "Clef" (fn 49).
51. François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac, *Le Roman des Lettres* (fn 19).
52. Malquori Fondi, "Introduction" (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, XXIX: "*Dissocié d'un personnage qui est d'Aubignac sans l'être, auteur d'une fiction où il parle de lui-même en feignant qu'un autre parle d'une tierce personne, l'abbé n'a laissé la marque de l'anonymat que sur le frontispice de son curieux roman. Pourquoi donc, en empruntant le terme et la 'tentation' désignative à G. Genette, ne pas définir 'onymat' un anonymat qui n'en est pas un?*"
53. Cf. Malquori Fondi, "Introduction" (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, LXIX. Cf. *ibid.*, p. XXXVI: "*Composé de lettres et billets qu'un dialogue fictif inséré dans un contexte narratif encadre, [...]*".
54. As far as I can see, the *Conseils* in the *Roman des lettres* are only sent to male and not to female correspondents.

*toute la Cour vn si bon accueil des honnestes gens, que ie ne pourrois vous l'expliquer sans me rendre suspect de quelque vaine complaisance ; & ie n'ay pu me cacher plus long temps sous les caracteres enigmatiques qui portent mon nom. Vous me voyez à decouuert ; & ie m'estimeray bienheureux, si ce n'est pas à ma confusion.*⁵⁵

The *Journal des sçavans* had carried a positive review of the *Conseils* on 5 April 1666:

*Ce livre a cela de singulier que sans perdre le temps pour traiter les maximes qui sont de la connoissance de tout le monde et qui se trouvent tant de fois rabattues dans les auteurs qui ont écrit de la morale, il s'attache aux particularités qui concernent la conduite d'une jeune dame et règle ses conseils sur les circonstances de la vie commune et sur les actions ordinaires du beau monde. Ces règles sont fondées sur l'honnêteté, et sont écrites d'un style agréable. Si les esprits libres se plaignent qu'elles ne tendent qu'à ruiner la galanterie, les sages reconnaissent qu'elles retranchent seulement de la société des choses que la modestie n'y peut souffrir. On ne connaît pas bien encore le nom de l'auteur ; mais il est facile de voir que cet ouvrage sort de la main d'un homme qui s'est acquis l'intelligence des bons livres et qui connaît parfaitement la vie de la cour.*⁵⁶

The *Ariste* of the *Roman des lettres* is not afraid to exploit this review immediately:

En remerciant son correspondant pour le "beau liure" qu'il vient de recevoir, Bissérius affirme qu'il en a "déjà veu l'éloge dans le Journal." Et Edumène de préciser : "Le Journal des Sçauans qui est le truchement de l'approbation publique ne m'auoit desjà que trop instruit du merite de cet ouvrage [...]." ⁵⁷

55. D'Aubignac, *Roman* (fn 51), p. 437; *Ariste* à Bissérius, p. 409, 415.

56. (fn 3).

57. Malquori Fondi, "*Conseils*" (fn 17), p. 289. Cf. d'Aubignac, *Roman* (fn 51), p. 415, 442.

Ariste ignores the criticism of the “*libres esprits*” that the *Conseils* “ruined” gallantry. Although d'Aubignac's *Roman des lettres* was reprinted in 1673, it was considered an “*insuccès*”⁵⁸ in contrast to the *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene*, which continued to appear anonymously.⁵⁹

The privilege of 1667 further proves the chronological proximity of the *Conseils*⁶⁰ to d'Aubignac's *Histoire du temps, ou Relation du royaume de Coqueterie. Extraite du dernier voyage des Holandois aux Indes du Levant*, which Charles de Sercy (1623-1700?) had also published anonymously in Paris with a privilege dated 11 November 1654.⁶¹ The allegorical-satirical depiction of the “*Isle qui n'avoit point encore esté découuerte, & qui n'est point marquée sur les Cartes Maritimes*”⁶² is considered one of the Abbé's “*oeuvres de salon*”: “*mais*

58. Malquori Fondi, “*Conseils*” (fn 17), p. LXXXVI-XCVI.

59. The *Bibliographie clerico-galante* of 1879 describes the *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene* as “*Ouvrage très curieux et fort rare*”, *Bibliographie clerico-galante. Ouvrages galants ou singuliers sur l'amour, les femmes etc., écrits par des abbés, pretres, chanoines*, par l'Apotrophe Bibliographe, Paris, M.-A. Laporte, 1879, p. 93. The complete reproduction of the review in the *Journal des sçavans* by lexicographers of the second half of the 18th century, however, testifies to the unbroken presence of d'Aubignac's *Conseils*. Cf. [de Petity, Jean Raymond], *Bibliothèque des artistes et des amateurs, ou Tablettes analytiques, et méthodiques [...] sur l'usage et le choix des livres*, Paris, P. G. Simon, 1766, p. 11; [Id.], *Encyclopédie élémentaire ou introduction à l'études des lettres, des sciences et des arts. Ouvrage utile à la jeunesse et aux personnes de tout âge, enrichi d'amples notices des meilleurs auteurs dans chaque faculté*, 3 Vol., Paris, Hérisant fils, 1767, p. xj; [Id.], *Sagesse de Louis XVI, Manifestée de jour en jour, enseignée à ses Peuples, fondée sur les premiers principes de toute Vérité. Ouvrage Morale et Politique. Première Partie. Sur les Vertus & les Vices de l'Homme*, Paris, Gueffier/Hansy, 1775, p. 373.

60. According to the “*Extrait*” of the *Conseils* 1667, d'Aubignac had already received a printing licence for the *Conseils* on 15 January 1656 for a period of five years and had left this to Nicolas Pepingüé. The final sentence reads: “*Achevé d'imprimer pour la seconde fois le 12 iour de février 1667. Registré sur le Livre de la Communauté des Libraires & Imprimeurs le 25 janvier 1656, suivant l'Arrest du Parlement du 9 avril 1653. Signé, Ballard, Syndic. Et aussi Registré au Greffe des Requestes de l'Hostel du Roy le 24 juillet 1663*”, *Conseils*, 1667, unpaginated.

61. *Histoire du temps, ou Relation du royaume de Coqueterie. Extraite du dernier voyage des Holandois aux Indes du Levant*, A Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, au Palais, dans la Salle Dauphine, à la Bonne-Foy couronné. 1654. Avec Priuilege du Roy. Cf. “*Priuilege du Roy*”, *ibid*, unpaginated. BnF, Inventaire Y² 9805. Cf. Bourque, *Women* (fn 50), p. 147-165; for a discussion of the controversy on this, L. Leibacher-Ouvrard, “*L'Envers de l'Écrit. Romans et Paratextes chez d'Aubignac*”, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 90, 2, 1990, p. 147-164.

62. D'Aubignac, *Histoire* (fn 61), p. 2.

la fadeur en est relevée par une intention didactique".⁶³ After a review of the islanders and their gallant habits – from the “*Admirables, Precieuses, Ravissantes*” to the “*Barbouillés* (Scribblers)” and the “*Mal Assorties*” to the “*Aventuriers*” and the “*Enjoués*” –⁶⁴ the vanishing point at the far end of the island appears to be

[...] *la chapelle du Saint-Retour, gardée par le capitaine Repentir. C'est le Refuge des Coquettes bien avisées ; là "elles jouissent d'un repos et d'une satisfaction véritable, qu'elles avaient inutilement cherché dans le séjour du trouble et des infortunes."*⁶⁵

The female readership can find their way back to the right path:

*Les auditrices [...] devaient trouver en somme bon prêtre ce prêtre galant et coquet, qui savait leur dire la vérité tout en l'embellissant, osait leur parler de repentir au sein même de leurs plus mondaines badinages, et semblait leur montrer du doigt, à travers la porte, le confessionnal qu'il venait de quitter et où il allait les attendre.*⁶⁶

The *Histoire* gives rise to a debate, a letter in which a certain Ariste defends the *Royaume de Coquetterie*:

Lettre d'Ariste à Cléonte, contenant l'apologie de l'"Histoire de temps" ou la défense du "Royaume de Coquetterie".

The figure of Ariste is introduced,⁶⁷ as are the arguments against gallantry and women:

Les femmes, suggère d'Aubignac, ont tout à perdre au jeu des voluptés fugaces et ne sont finalement que des proies. [...] "les sauvages galants

63. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 75.

64. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 76.

65. D'Aubignac, *Histoire* (fn 61), p. 72-75; Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 77.

66. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 77.

67. *Lettre d'Ariste à Cléonte, contenant l'apologie de l'"Histoire de temps" ou la défense du "Royaume de Coquetterie"*, cited from Leibacher-Ouvrard, “Envers” (fn 61), p. 147. Cf. Malquori Fondi, “Introduction” (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, XXVIII sq.

[...] *quand ils en ont pris assez de divertissement la laissent comme demi-morte.*"⁶⁸

In the *Conseils*, the arguments made to Celimene becomes sharper: "*sa gloire s'éteint, & la laisse comme une personne morte au monde.*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 41). The *Histoire* appears thus to be a prequel to the *Conseils*.

Both pursue the same goal:⁶⁹ "[...] *accorder les vertus avec la vie du beau monde.*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 14) The setting is now not a distant unknown island, but the world of the court, familiar to Celimene.⁷⁰ The pedagogical ambitions are not directed at women and men devoted to gallantry, but aimed at Celimene alone, a noblewoman whose marriage is imminent and who, as a wife, must worry about her reputation. By committing her to virtue as the sole "*maïstresse de ses sens*" and "*de toutes ses actions*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 19 sq.), Ariste's rules undermine, as the *Journal des sçavans* immediately recognised, the model of behaviour and the spaces for action that gallantry had also opened up for women. His "Discours", which culminates in the rejection of any friendship between man and woman, insinuates that Celimene can be seduced at any time and is too weak to defend herself simply because of her sex. Following the *Querelles des femmes*, in which the "misogynists" considered women to be naturally inferior to men,⁷¹ Ariste, as a long-time confessor who pursues the "*plus secretes pensées*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 4) of his confessional child, once again takes a stand against the *Salonnières*, who from the 1630s onwards

68. Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61), p. 150-151.

69. Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61).

70. The "Extrait" of the *Conseils* 1667 proves that d'Aubignac's treatise appeared three months before the premiere of Molière's *Le Misanthrope* on 4 June 1666 at the Théâtre du Palais Royal – Alceste's antagonist probably bears her name not by chance, cf. H. G. Hall, "Molière's *Le Misanthrope* in the light of d'Aubignac's *Conseils d'Arise à Célimène*", *Kentucky Romance Quarterly*, 19, 3, 1972, p. 347-363, 350.

71. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 239-397; Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61), p. 151; C. Opitz-Belakhal, *Streit um die Frau und andere Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Querelle des femmes*, Roßdorf bei Darmstadt, Ulrike Helmer, 2020; G. Bock, *Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, C. H. Beck, 2000, p. 13-53.

had been discussing friendship as an alternative to marriage and trying out new forms of sociability.⁷²

In these contexts of book- and discourse history, the editions published by Radegonde Pepingué in Paris and Brussels in 1692 mark both a high point and a turning point. First, there is the “Avis”, which distinguishes the two *Conseils* editions from all others. It has six pages, is indented between the title page and the “table” and framed by fleurons, but is neither signed nor dated. He wants to initiate a transfer and, in addition to the bookseller’s argument – “*le grand nombre d'impressions [...] marque assez le succès qu'il a eu*” (*Conseils*, 1692a, 2) – he introduces ethical-political arguments, which are additionally marked in a correspondence of their own:

Que ces conseils devroient êtres sçus & pratiquez par tout ce qu'il y a d'honnêtes gens dans le Royaume & traduits en autant de sortes de Langues qu'il y a de Nations differentes sur la Terre, afin que tous les hommes participassent au même avantage, & pussent dans leur conduite donner de marques de cette honnêteté si naturelle aux François. (ibid., unpaginated, italics in the original).⁷³

The reference points and objectives of the *Conseils* shift: from the personally addressed addressee to an anonymous crowd, from the young noblewoman to all “honnêtes gens”, from the secret knowledge exclusively only entrusted to her to knowledge accessible to all,⁷⁴ from French to all languages, from France to all countries. Indispensable prerequisites for the acquisition of the “*honnêteté*” (*ibid.*) native to the kingdom of France were “*l'éducation de la Jeunesse*” and a constant willingness to read: “*afin de ne rien laisser échapper de ce qui peut leur être utile dans cette entreprise* [the acquisition of *honnêteté*, H. M.]”. The hymn to the reading of the authors, “*qui ont le mieux écrit au sujet de l'éducation des Enfants & des devoirs*

72. The “Société précieuse” was well known to d’Aubignac, cf. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 27-29; Bourque, *Women* (fn 50), p. 16ff; Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 73, 138, 173-174, 234, 322-323, 761-762; Baader, *Dames* (fn 36), p. 91, 97.

73. Likewise *Conseils*, 1692b.

74. Cf. H 6 sq.

de la Vie Civile” also encompasses the work of the author: “*Ces sources où l'on puise ne sçauroient être trop pure, & l'on est en danger de s'y méprendre, à moins que d'avoir la même délicatesse qu'avoit la Personne qui a composé les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene.*” (*Ibid.*)

On the other hand, there is the confrontation of *Conseils* and *Maximes & Pensées diverses* that the 1692 edition launches. The texts come from different literary circles, even camps, and bring contradictory positions into play – from “Amitié” to “Vertu”. It seems likely that the widow Pepingué was pursuing a sales strategy which included reigniting the debate on gallantry and the treatment of the sexes.

*
* *

Under the title *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, übersetzt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche*. Leipzig, by J. Thomas Fritsch, 1696 (fig. 2)⁷⁵, the first translation into German literally takes its cue from the French “Avis” of 1692: it translates both the “Vorbericht an den Leser (Preface to the reader)” (H ij) and the “kluge[n] rath” [the “Discours”, H. M.] (H [ijv]) into German, both true to the original. The omission of the *Maximes & Pensées diverses*⁷⁶ and the complete reproduction of the “Avis” suggest that the Leipzig edition is based on the French edition 1692a: just like the “Avis”, the very first sentence of the “Vorbericht” emphasises the “öftere auflage (repeated editions)” (H ij) of the work. The aforementioned shifts – from the aristocratic young woman to the “*manns-personen* (men)” or “*allen ehrliebenden leuten* (all those who love honour)” (H ijv) with “*eine[r] lange[r] erfahrung bei vielen geschäften und umgang mit ehrliebenden leuten* (a long experience in many negotiations and interaction with those who love honour” (H [ijv]) – function as an introduction to the *Conseils*, for which the term “*discours*” from the original is retained and repeatedly invoked.⁷⁷ The fact that the “Avis”

75. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, AB 42 8/k, 16 (1) (digital copy).

76. Cf. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 10).

77. Programmatically in the first chapter H 7. Likewise H 36 and more often.



fig. 2 Leipzig 1696 – Leipzig 1711: *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin*

sees the act of reading and reading matter as indispensable means of education is strikingly placed in the German title: “*Vorbericht an den Leser* (Preface to the reader)”.

Die kluge Hofmeisterin was published in duodecimo in a lavish layout. The title vignette shows the publisher’s signet of Johann Thomas Fritsch (1666-1726),⁷⁸ a Pegasus charging from right to left, against the background of a fleuron. The frontispiece shows two ladies walking on the terrace of a palace. Fleurons frame the “*Vorstellung derer in diesem werckgen enthaltenen sachen* (Presentation

78. C. Gründig, “Thomas Fritsch”, in *Saxon Biography*, <http://www.isgv.de/saebi>.

of the matter contained in this small work).” (H unpag.) listing 29 chapters without page numbers; fleurons also introduce the first chapter: “§ I. *Von der Gelegenheit zu dieser Unterweisung* (On the occasion for this instruction).“ (H A) and frame the page numbers at the top of the page. The initial of the first chapter is the only one highlighted. Lower case is the rule; upper case is reserved for persons, the beginnings of sentences, paragraphs and foreign words from the Romance languages, which are also indicated by antiqua.

The original title is no longer recognisable: Ariste is replaced by a *kluge Hofmeisterin* (clever court mistress) – it should be noted that this change is not reflected in the “Discours” itself –, Celimene is replaced by a *galantes Frauenzimmer* (gallant woman), who remains nameless but has *gallant*⁷⁹ qualities: “a gallant young woman” and “a clever court mistress” thus confront each other. The term *conseils* – the “Vorbericht” speaks of “*kluger rath* (wise counsels)” (H [ij]) – is removed from the title and with it the dialogical gesture of giving advice. The subtitle *sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* is also not present; no subject is named. The fact that it is a translation is noted, but there is no reference to the translator. The title vignette leads to the imprint.

The frontispiece marks another difference from the French *Conseils* editions.⁸⁰ The two ladies walking on the terrace of a palace wear the latest fashions and fontange coiffure, clear indications of their aristocratic status. Behind a balustrade projecting onto the terrace from the left is the lower parterre of a garden with geometrically

79. J. & W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 4 (1878), p. 1157: “un galant homme. Ein mensch, dem alles wohl ansteht, der gleich vor allen der leute augen auf sich zieht und ihnen immer besser gefällt [...] ein nach der mode sich tragender mensch [...] ein galan, der sich dem frauenzimmer zu gefallen immer zierlich heraus butzt.” (A man to whom everything looks good, who immediately attracts the eyes of all the people and pleases them better and better [...] a man who dresses himself according to fashion [...] a gallant who always daintily dresses up to please the women). The term is also applied to women, cf. Stauffer, *Verführung* (fn 7); R. Florack/R. Singer (Ed.), *The Art of Gallantry. Facets of a Model of Behaviour in Early Modern Literature*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter (Frühe Neuzeit 171), 2012.

80. On the role of frontispieces in the sales of novels, cf. B. Wiggin, *Novel Translations. The European Novel and the German Book*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell UP, 2010 (Signals), p. 164-166; on the title and frontispiece of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* Koloch, *Kommunikation* (fn 4), p. 28.

laid-out paths and borders, enclosed on the right by a building and in the distance by a pergola and cypress trees. The balustrade separates foreground from background, interior from exterior; the ladies on the terrace move in the foreground, on the threshold between the spaces. The open décolleté makes the one at the back appear younger, the shawl makes the one at the front appear older. The fans in their right and left hands are closed, but emphasise their gestures and the liveliness of their conversation. The message is clear: the “*anleitung* (instruction)” (H vj) of women is women’s business.

In addition to the title and frontispiece, there is a further, hitherto unnoticed innovation, a text insert of just under 20 pages, which extends the scope of the fundamental chapter of the “discours”: “§ III. *Dass die tugend der reputation ursprung sey* (that the virtue is the origin of reputation).” (H 11-35) is doubled. Aristes’ axiom reads in German:

[...] *es ist nicht genug, daß der leib unbefleckt und sich der unschuld rühmen könne, es muß solche unschuld auch in der seelen sein [...] allein die reputation bleibt [...] nicht ungekränckt/ wann die tugend ihre sinnen nicht bemeistert hat, und alles ihr vornehmen nicht von deren trieb geleitet wird* ([...] it is not enough that the body should be undefiled and able to boast its innocence, there must also be such innocence in the soul [...] for reputation alone does not remain [...] unblemished, if virtue has not mastered her senses, and all her actions are not guided by its impulse). (H 14 sq.).

The following paragraph ends by saying: “*Ich will ihr nur ein exempel erzehlen, das sie selbst unter einen von obigen puncten setzen kan* (I will only recount one exemplum that she herself can apply to one of the above points.)” (H 17) This is followed by the love story of Countess N.N., a rich and virtuous noblewoman from Normandy. At her father’s request she had married a count, although she was already in love with his friend the Marquis, whom she had first met, a fact that only becomes clear to her after her marriage. At first, the Countess tries to repress it; however, as she finally confesses to her husband at his estates in Languedoc, she will always keep her love

a secret out of “*unverbrüchlicher treu* (unbreakable faithfulness)” to him and through “*die strenge und die ernsthaftigkeit ihrer tugend* (the strictness and earnestness of her virtue” (H 27). The Count is moved and declares himself unworthy of such loyalty; the Marquis, overhearing the confession, hopes to be heard. They return to court. Here the Count “*ämsich* (assiduously)” (H 30) gives himself over to a love affair of his own “*Neben-liebe*” (H 31), so that the Countess summons up her virtue and charms to win back his heart. Unmoved by this, he reproaches her for her dealings with the Marquis, the Countess reveals her “secret affection” (H 32) to the Marquis for the first time, but only on condition that he should not see her again and that he would not deny to her virtue such assistance in her unhappy state (H 33). The Marquis reluctantly agrees to her request. His absence provides the Count with the pretext to gloss over his own behaviour and lay the blame on the Countess, with the scandalous pretence that she had fallen in love with his friend. (H 34). While the Countess's virtue is “suffering anew” (H 34), a serious illness leads to the sudden death of the Count. The Countess, meanwhile, stifles the Marquis' immediately rekindled hopes. She

[...] *opferte sich der strenge ihrer tugend auf, [...] und damit man die lästermäuler stopfen, zugleich aber auch sie dem Marquis den verdruß benehmen möge, welchen er billig empfinden könnte, dafern sie einem andern dasjenige bewilliget was sie ihm zuversagen genöthigt würde, so wolle sie sich aus der welt machen. Welches versprechen sie auch bewerkstelliget, aldieweil sie/ obwohl noch sehr schön und jung/ in ein ihr vorhero wohl bekanntes kloster gangen und den orden angenommen.* ([...] sacrificed herself to the severity of her virtue, [...] and in order that the scandalmongers might be silenced, but at the same time so that she might save the Marquis from the displeasure which he might justly feel, if she granted to another that which she was compelled to deny him, she wanted to remove herself from the world. Which promise she kept, because she, although still very beautiful and young, went to a nunnery already well known to her and took the veil). (H 35)

The story unmistakably follows the plot and resolution of the *Princesse de Clèves*, protagonist of the novel of the same name by Madame de La Fayette (1634-1693) of 1678.⁸¹ But the *clever court mistress* breaks down the ‘narrative’ to the doctrinal-moral purpose of an “*exempel* (exemplum)” (H 17), the demonstration of the invincible virtue of a wife even in the face of the most shameful and unjust ‘sufferings’. Significantly, her “discours” picks up again with the word “No”:

Nein gewißlich, ich will nicht bürgen sein/ daß eine warhafftige und aufrichtige tugend, eine kluge und eingezogene lebens-art, und eine fleißige nachfolge aller meiner wohlmeinenden anleitung, die ich ihr in diesem discours gebe, [...] eine hochachtung unverrücklich erhalten [...] könne. (No certainly, I will not vouch that honest and sincere virtue, a prudent and withdrawn way of life, and the diligent following of all my well-meaning instruction, which I give her in this *discourse*, [...] can maintain unchanging high esteem [...]). (H 36)⁸²

The casuistry of “*falschen tugendschein* (a false show of virtue)” (H 16) is further explained.

All the innovations, the modified title, the frontispiece and the insertion of the example, prove that the *kluge Hofmeisterin* ‘overwrites’ the *Conseils* with set pieces from the pedagogical and

81. [Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne Comtesse de La Fayette], *La Princesse de Clèves*. 4 t. en 2 Vol., in 12. A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le second perron de la Sainte Chapelle. M. DC. LVIII. Avec privilege du Roy. First in German: *Liebes-Geschichte Des Hertzogs von Nemours Und Der Printzeßin von Cleve Wegen seiner ungegemeinen Anmuth! Aus dem Frantzösischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, Leipzig and Frankfurth published by Johann Pauli, bookseller in Amsterdam, 1711. BSB, Rem. IV 856.

82. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, p. 22: “*Non, non, je ne veux pas être garant qu’une vertu sincere & veritable, qu’une conduite sage & sans relâche, & qu’une pratique exacte & religieuse de tous les conseils que je prepare en ce discours [...] puissent conserver une estime inébranlable, [...]*.”

literary discussions current in the German-speaking countries about gallantry⁸³ and political prudence.⁸⁴

The *Conseils* come in handy for Fritsch, the up-and-coming Leipzig bookseller and publisher. His competitors Johann Friedrich Gleditsch (1653-1716),⁸⁵ Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (1663-1741) as well as Moritz Georg Weidmann (1658-1694) and Moritz Georg Weidmann (1686-1743), father and son,⁸⁶ force him to press ahead with the expansion of his own programme and raise its profile.⁸⁷ *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin* can be linked to his anthology *Herrn von Hofmannswaldaus und anderer Deutschen Gedichte* of 1695, in whose preface Benjamin Neukirch (1665-1729), the editor, also sets out the “literary principles” of the “*lieblichen, galanten und verliebten schreib-art* (delightful, galant and enamoured style of writing)”.⁸⁸ The *Conseils* also allow a direct appeal to the target audience à la mode, namely the *gallant woman*. Fritsch adopts the formula for his new, expanded edition of Talander's *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe*⁸⁹ from 1696, first published by Johann Friedrich Gleditsch in 1692. At the same time, he brings out Fontenelle's (1657-1757)

83. See, among others, the novels and epistolary writings of Talander [August Bohse] 1684ff.; K. Barthel, *Gattung und Geschlecht. Weiblichkeitsnarrative im galanten Roman um 1700*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2016 (Hallesche Beiträge zur Europäischen Aufklärung 56); Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 150-166.

84. Cf. A. Lingnau, *Lektürekanon eines Fürstendienerers. Die Privatbibliothek des Friedrich Rudolf von Canitz (1654-1699)*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, Oldenbourg, 2021 (Bibliothek Altes Reich 32), p. 57-221, 335-350.

85. A. J. Brauer, “Gleditsch, Johann Friedrich”, *NDB* 5 (1964), p. 439-440.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 441-442.

87. Cf. Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-164, 179-180.

88. *Herrn von Hofmannswaldaus und anderer Deutschen auserlesene und bisher ungedruckte Gedichte, nebenst einer Vorrede von der deutschen Poesie*, Leipzig, Bey J. Thomas Fritsch, 1695; E.A. Metzger, “Neukirchsche Sammlung”, *Killy Literaturlexikon* 8 (1990), p. 362-364, 363.

89. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe: in neun Abtheilungen/ deren jede hundert Brief in sich hält; nebst einem nöthigen Titular-Büchlein und vollständigem Register der curieusen Welt zur Ergötzung und belieblicher Nachahmung an das Licht gegeben von Talandern*, Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1692. HAB, Kc 10; *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe. Nebst einem nöthigen Titular-Büchlein. Mit vielen neuen Exempeln anietzo verbessert von Talandern*, Leipzig, by Thomas Fritschen, 1696.

Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes (Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten)⁹⁰ as well as a new edition of Mme d'Aulnoy's (1652-1705) *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien) —⁹¹ this time under her name, with a note to the translator and new portrait engravings.⁹² It is not surprising that the frontispiece of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* strongly resembles those of Talander's novels, most of which were published by Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Moritz Georg Weidmann, father and son,⁹³ nor that Talander's preface to his epistolary manual of 1692 *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat Kunst* (*The Galant Woman's Art of Writing*) also recommends the work to men and that it incorporates fictional elements.⁹⁴ Fritsch sticks to his strategy: the second edition of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* of 1711 has the same title, the same frontispiece and the same example; only the publisher's name ("Thomas Fritsch") and pagination are new.⁹⁵

90. *Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten*, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1696; Bernard le Bouyer de Fontenelle, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes*, Paris, Vve C. Blagaert, 1686. Cf. Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-163, 166; Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 127-128, 131.

91. Cf. Marie Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville Baronne d'Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, 3 Vol., Paris, Claude Barbin, 1691; *Die Reise durch Spanien! beschrieben von der Graefin D'Aulnoy*. Translated by Johann Job, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1695; *Der Gräfin Aulnoy Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien*. 2 Theile, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1696.

92. On the competition between J. F. Gleditsch and Fritsch, see Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-163.

93. Cf. Barthel, *Gattung* (fn 83), p. 419-422.

94. Cf. Stauffer, *Verführung* (fn 7), p. 154, 150-165.

95. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, übersezt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche*, Leipzig, bey Thomas Fritsch, 1711. 225 p. In-12. SBB-PK, Np 16090. The copy has a bookplate: "Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensis. Dono Friderici Wilhelmi IV. Regis Augustissimi D. V. Nov. MDCCCL. Ex Bibliotheca B. M. Kar. Hartw. Gregorii de Meusebach." (digital copy). It belonged to Karl Hartwig Gregor Freiherr von Meusebach (1781-1847), jurist, collector, literary historian, cf. P. Sprengel, "Meusebach, Karl Hartwig Gregor Freiherr v.", *NDB* 17, 1994, p. 271-272, 271.

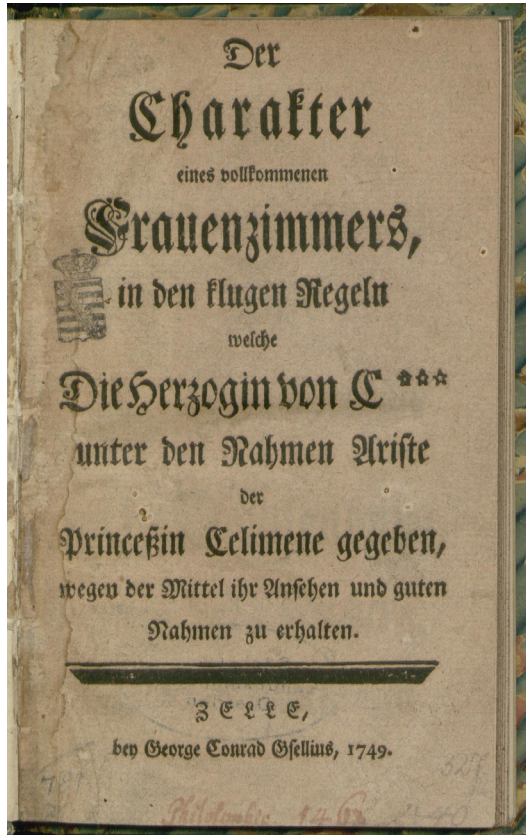


fig. 3
Celle 1749 - Leipzig/
Frankfurt am Main
1763: *Der Charakter
eines vollkommenen
Frauenzimmers
(The Character of
a Perfect Woman)*

A second German translation⁹⁶ of the *Conseils*, also true to the original, appeared in Celle in 1749, almost 40 years later, with a new, modified title:

*Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche Die Herzogin von C*** unter den Nahmen Ariste der Prinzessin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und*

96. Questions of translation cannot be dealt with within the framework of this study.

guten Nahmen zu erhalten. Zelle, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1749. (The character of a perfect woman, in the wise rules which the Duchess of C*** gave to the Princess Celimene under the name Ariste, on the means by which to maintain her reputation and good name).⁹⁷

The octavo volume of 135 pages does not include the *Maximes* or *Pensées*, a frontispiece or an inserted exemplum; what is new, however, is a dedication between the title page and the “preface”. The list of chapters in the book – there are 29 – is placed at the end (C 134f.), the page numbers are at the upper left and right margins, with a fleuron in the middle. Fleurons are also found above the preface and first chapter. The initial of the preface is emblazoned on the massive base of a vase, set in a landscape with palm trees, cypresses and birds soaring in the air. The initial of the first chapter appears in the open portal of a building over which the sun shines; those of the following chapters are highlighted as such. Lower and upper case are used according to the rules.

The dedication takes up two pages with alternating font sizes and markings:

*Der | Hochgebornen Frauen, | F R A U E N | H. E. Gräffin | von
der Schulenburg, | geborne von Steinberg. | Seiner gnädigen Frauen |
überreichet | gegenwärtige wenige | Bogen | in schuldigster Ehrfurcht |
und empfielet sich zu Dero beharr- | lichen Gnade | der Uebersetzer.
(H. E. Countess von der Schulenburg, née von Steinberg. | The
translator presents these few sheets to his gracious lady in the
greatest respect, and commends himself to her persevering mercy).
(C, unpaginated, blocked in the original, H. M.)*

“Elevation of the addressee” and “self-deprecation of the speaker”⁹⁸ go hand in hand. The recto page displays the name, title and

97. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Phil. C. 888 (digital copy).

98. Cf. M. Beetz, *Frühmoderne Höflichkeit. Komplimentierkunst und Gesellschaftsrituale im altheutschen Sprachraum*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1990 (Germanistische

address of the dedicatee in a baroque manner; addressing her as “*Frauen*” and “*Seiner gnädigen Frauen*” further elevates the addressee. The words “the translator”, on the other hand, appear at the bottom of the verse page in infinitesimally small letters. He exists, but without a name and cannot be located. Not so Hedwig Ernestine von der Schulenburg, née von Steinberg (1692-1750). The daughter of the “*Wolfenbütteler Geheimenrath auf Brügggen und Achim und Gertrud von Grapendorf*” married Christian Günther von der Schulenburg (1684-1765), Chief Overseer of Forests and Master of the Hunt, Bailiff of Schernebeck, Hereditary Master of the Kitchen, resident at Hehlen near Celle, in 1710. From 1711 to 1734 the couple had twelve children, seven sons and five daughters; all but one son reached adulthood.⁹⁹ This was a propitious time to dedicate a book to the countess: in 1747, two years earlier, Christian Günther von der Schulenburg had become universal heir to the very important allodial fortune¹⁰⁰ of his unmarried maternal grandfather Matthias Johann von der Schulenburg (1661-1747). The latter had been a field marshal in the service of the Republic of Venice since 1715 and had distinguished himself not only as a patron of the arts, but also as a patron of several of his nephews.¹⁰¹

Parallel to the dedication, the “Vorrede (Preface)” reinforces the new orientation of the *Charakter* by retracing the argumentation of “Avis” and “Vorbericht”. The origins and objectives are explained at the beginning:

*Gegenwärtige Schrift, welche auf Begehren einer französischen Princeßin von ihrer Ober-Hofmeisterin der Hertzogin von *** entworfen worden, enthält die Mittel wie dieselbe ihr Ansehen und gutes Gerüchte so sie bis daher ihrer Tugend halber bewahret, in ihrem anzutretenden ehelichen Stande ferner erhalten solle.* (The present document, which was drafted at the request of a French princess by her Ober-Hofmeisterin

Abhandlungen 67), p. 211-219, 258-263.

99. Cf. J. F. Danneil, *Das Geschlecht der von der Schulenburg*, Salzwedel, In Commission bei J. D. Schmidt, 1847, p. 385-389.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 389-391.

(Chief Court Mistress), the Duchess of ***, contains the means by which she should further maintain the esteem and good reputation that her virtue has brought her in the married state on which she is about to enter. (C, Vorrede, unpaginated)

The focus is not on “people of all ranks”, but on women who love virtue:

So hat man sich bereden lassen solche Blätter aus dem Französischen zu übersetzen und solche auch denen die keine Princeßinnen sind, gleichwohl aber eine nicht geringere rechtschaffene Neigung zur Tugend wie Celimene haben, mittheilen wollen. (Thus someone was persuaded to translate these pages from the French in order to communicate them to those who are not princesses, but who nevertheless have a no less righteous inclination to virtue than Celimene). (C, Vorrede, unpaginated)

The two following sections and the conclusion reinforce the fact that they are addressed to a female audience:

Zu wünschen wäre es daß man auch Regeln mittheilen könnte, wie das so leicht verschertzte gute Gerüchte wieder zu erlangen stünde, und die häßlichen Beynahmen, die einer solchen Person theils heimlich theils öffentlich beygelegt werden, zusamt denen damit gemeiniglich begleiteten Erzehlungen womit man sich bey den Zusammenkünften zu beschäftigen pfleget, getilget werden könnten; Man hält sich versichert daß solche von denen, denen dergleichen Unfall begegnet, nicht ungeneigt aufgenommen werden dürften. (It were to be wished that rules could also be communicated as to how a good reputation so easily lost might be regained, and the ugly names that are sometimes secretly and sometimes publicly attributed to such a person, together with the tales that commonly accompany them, and people are accustomed to occupy themselves at gatherings, could be eradicated; one can be assured that such rules would not be unappreciated by those who have met with such accidents). (C, Vorrede, unpaginated).

Again, the “instruction” (C A) is classed as a matter between women. A simple trick turns the duchess into a female counsellor in the guise of Ariste: *Unter dem Nahmen der Ariſte (under the name of Ariſte.)* Whereas the Leipzig editions had immediately deleted the gender adjustment in the table of contents: “*Von dem vorhaben des verfaſſers*” (H “Vorstellung”, 8), now it explicitly speaks “*Von dem Vorhaben der Verfaſſerin (On the purpose of the lady author)*” (C 6, 134). In contrast to the “Vorbericht”, however, it remains open whether the “Vorrede” is addressed to a male “*leser*” (H) or readers. The text changes from the “*sie* (she)” of the Leipzig editions: “*Sie hat, unvergleichliche Celimene (She, the incomparable Celimene) [...]*” (H A) to “*Ihr* (you plural)”: “*Ihr ſeyd damit nicht zufrieden [...]* (You are not satisfied)” (C A). The axiom is general:

[...] *daß diese Tugend welche so gute Wirkungen hervorbringen soll sich im Grunde des Hertzens befinden müſſe; es iſt nicht genug daß sich der Leib einer Unschuld rühmen könne, es muß auch solche in der Seele ſeyn; es iſt nicht genug daß eine Frau die Ueppigkeit meide, ſie muß auch die Ehrbarkeit lieben [...].* ([...] that this virtue which is to produce such good effects must be lodged at the bottom of the heart; it is not enough that the body can boast of innocence, there must also be such in the soul; it is not enough for a woman to shun lewdness, she must also love respectability [...]). (C 10).

The Duchess then takes up the address to the Princess again:

Ihr liebet ſie [die Ehrbarkeit, H. M.] von gantzer Seelen und folget ihr aus allen Kräften. Diefes ſind die wahren Gründe eures guten Gemüths, und es iſt die erſte und fürnehmſte Regel, die ihr allezeit nöthig erachtet habet euer Anſehen und guten Nahmen zuerhalten. Ich wende mich also zu denen, wozu ihr mich vermocht euch ſolche ſchriftilich vorzulegen. (You love it [respectability, H. M.] with all your soul and follow it with all your strength. These are the true reasons for your good disposition, and it is the first and noblest rule which you have always considered necessary to maintain your reputation and good name. I

turn, therefore, to those for whom you have enabled me to present to you in writing). (C 13)¹⁰²

Whereas “Avis” and “Vorbericht” “*nos ames*” / “*unser gemühte*” (Conseils 1692 a, Avis/H Vorbericht) had called for “emulation” / “*edeln Eifer* (noble zeal)”, “*de s'en corriger [des défauts]*”, H. M] in order to “*se distinguer parmy les personnes recommandables par la vertu*” / “*sich unter allen leuten welche durch die tugend eine hohen ruhm erlanget sonderlich herfür zu thun* (to distinguish oneself among all people who have attained a high degree of fame through virtue)”, the title and “preface” of the *Charakter* are aimed solely at women. It is not the qualities of “gallant” and “clever” that are at issue, but the *character*, the “*unterscheidende merkmal, kennzeichen, grundzug* (distinguishing feature, characteristic, basic trait)”.¹⁰³ Virtue becomes its basis and thus that of *perfection*. Every woman comes into view as an individual; at the same time, it is incumbent upon her to correspond to this “*mahl, bild, zeichen, art, sitte, gepräge* (painting, picture, sign, nature, custom, character)”.¹⁰⁴ The perfect individual stands for the gender as a whole.

The bookseller and publisher Georg Conrad Gsellius (1707-1770) had moved from Hanover to Celle in 1737 with a “stock worth 6 – 7000 talers”; Hehlen, the Schulenburgs’ residence, was nearby. With his prosperous business he quickly became the “publisher to his customers, the clergy, lawyers and schoolmen in Celle and the rest of the Hanoverian countryside and rose just as quickly to the position of “Royal private bookseller or Libraire du Roi”.¹⁰⁵ Whether

102. Cf. by contrast H 38: “*Sie liebet sie ja ohne dem schon von grund des hertzens/ und folget ihr mit allen ihren kräften. Dieses ist die grundveste ihrer reputation, und die erste und vornehmste regul, die sie zu deren erhaltung allezeit von nöthen hat. Ich mache mich demnach an diejenigen, zu welchen sie mich, solche schriftlich zu verfassen, veranlasset.* (She already loves her from the bottom of her heart and follows it with all her strength. This is the foundation of her reputation, and the first and foremost rule which she always needs to maintain it. I accordingly set about to address those to whom she induces me to write.)”

103. Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, 2 (1860), Sp. 611.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *200 years Gsellius 1737-1937. 1000 beautiful and valuable books from 6 centuries. Bookshop and antiquarian bookshop. Berlin W 8, Mohrenstr. 52. Anniversary*

and how he and the translator tailored their new edition of d'Aubignac's *Conseils* to the city of Celle is not known. A second edition is published in 1763, with a corrected title, updated publisher's address and slightly altered pagination.¹⁰⁶ In 1766, the *Berlinische Magazin* included it in its section "Fortgesetzte Anzeige der neuern moralischen Schriften (Continuation of the advertisement of recent writings on morals)" and commented listlessly:

Es sind Briefe einer Herzogin an eine Prinzessin, welche im Begriff steht, sich zu vermählen. Die besten und wichtigsten Materien sind sehr kurz und nur unvollständig darinne abgehandelt. Dem Herrn Uebersetzer giebt man Schuld, daß er hier nur schlechtes deutsch rede. (These are letters from a duchess to a princess who is about to marry. The best and most important matters are dealt with very briefly and only incompletely. The translator is blamed for speaking only bad German here.)¹⁰⁷

The Munich copy attests to the fact that the text continued to be read.¹⁰⁸ According to the ex libris "*Ex donat[i]one Molliana*", it comes from the possession of Karl Maria Ehrenbert Freiherr von Moll (1760-1838), naturalist, collector, initially statesman in the prince-bishopric of Salzburg, from 1805 in Bavarian service and from 1807, among other things, a member of the Bavarian Academy of

catalogue. Antiquarian bookshop catalogue N° 437. [s. l.]: Goetz, [s. d.], p. 1-2. The "publisher's mark of Georg Conrad Gsellius. Mid-18th century in Zelle and Leipzig", which the front cover of the catalogue depicts, does not adorn the title page of the *Character*.

106. *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzoginn von C*** unter dem Namen Aristé der Prinzessin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*, Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1763. BSB Mor. 222^m (digital copy), cf. GBV and KVK for further copies. What motivated Gsellius to move to the two 'capitals' of the book trade is unknown. – The edition in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1764, which Koloch, *Communication* (fn 4), p. 228-229, mentions, is not verifiable.

107. *Berlinisches Magazin, oder gesammelte Schriften und Nachrichten für die Liebhaber der Arzneywissenschaft, Naturgeschichte und der angenehmen Wissenschaften allgemein*, II. Vol., 1. piece, No. 444, Berlin, bey Arnold Wever, 1766, p. 626.

108. BSB Mor. 222^m (digital copy).

Sciences in Munich.¹⁰⁹ The paste down contains the manuscript entry:

Die Schriften dieser Art, nach der Anlage der gegenwärtigen eingerichtet, sind Quellen für die Sittengeschichte ihrer Zeit. Die gegenwärtige enthält treffliche, wiewol noch sehr strenge Vorschriften, doch kann man das ungerechte Urtheil von der ganzen dienenden Klasse S. 58 nur mißbilligen und als einen starken Schatten im Charakter der Aristokratie betrachten. Die Übersetzung ist zuweilen so dunkel, daß der Wunsch nach dem Original doppelt rege werden muß. Die Bemerkungen sind oft so fein, und aus der Tiefe der menschlichen Natur geschöpft, daß man der Sprache wohl mächtig seyn muß, um sie in ihrer ganzen Stärke und Zartheit auszudrücken. M. (The writings of this kind, which follow the same disposition as the present one, are sources for the moral history of their time. The present one contains excellent, though still very strict rules, but one can only disapprove of the unjust judgement of the entire serving class (p. 58) and regard it as a strong shadow cast on the character of the aristocracy. The translation is sometimes so obscure that the desire for the original must be doubly inspired. The remarks are often so fine, and drawn from the depths of human nature, that one must be well-versed in the language to express them in all their strength and tenderness. M.)¹¹⁰

If the reader of the Madrid copy had struggled in 1667 to comprehend the *Conseils* in Spanish,¹¹¹ the central theme, the “still very strict regulations” that fix women on *their reputation and good name*, has now become historical. The writer¹¹² is now moved by two entirely different problems, the attitude of the “aristocracy” towards the

109. F. J. Fischer, “Moll, Karl Ehrenbert Freiherr von”, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950 (ÖBL)* 6, 1975, p. 353-354.

110. BSB Mor. 222^m (digital copy).

111. Cf. above, note 42.

112. My thanks to Dr. Rahel Bacher, BSB, for kindly examining the copy in autopsy and comparing it with the *travel diary on the Alpine journey* in which Balthasar Hacquet and Karl M. E. von Moll recorded their journey of 1785 in handwriting, BSB Cgm 6151. The paraphrase “M.” and the comparison make it very likely that the entry was made by Moll himself.

“serving class” – which raises the question of its “character” and illustrates the transfer of the term – and on problems of translation. The transfer of the *Conseils d'Ariste* to the German-speaking countries removed it from the realm of gallantry; the question of translation returns the reader to the necessity of the original text.