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The Popularity of Mme de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*: The Bibliographical Evidence

Abstract
In recent years a great deal of research has been devoted to issues of "readership," especially to the question "who read what?" A related subject has been the popularity of individual works, notably in their own century, but also up to the present day. Tastes change over the years: a bestseller may finish in the literary graveyard, while a "sleeper" may achieve immortality. The factors affecting a work's fortunes are complex and their analysis requires the skills of the historian and the sociologist as well as the literary scholar. No attempt will be made to investigate them here, but I shall list some of them en guise de conclusion.

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The Popularity of Mme de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*: The Bibliographical Evidence

David Smith

In recent years a great deal of research has been devoted to issues of "readership," especially to the question "who read what?" A related subject has been the popularity of individual works, notably in their own century, but also up to the present day. Tastes change over the years: a bestseller may finish in the literary graveyard, while a "sleeper" may achieve immortality. The factors affecting a work's fortunes are complex and their analysis requires the skills of the historian and the sociologist as well as the literary scholar. No attempt will be made to investigate them here, but I shall list some of them *en guise de conclusion*.

But as Fontenelle warned us in the *Histoire des oracles*, "Assurons-nous bien du fait, avant que de nous inquiéter de la cause."[1] Indeed, it is not easy to establish an order of popularity for eighteenth-century French works. Back in 1910, in a pioneering article, Daniel Mornet established which works appeared most often in the catalogues of five hundred private libraries of the second half of the eighteenth century.[2]

1 Fontenelle, *Histoire des oracles*, Première Dissertation, IV.

2 Daniel Mornet, "Les Enseignements des bibliothèques privées, 1750–1780," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (1910), 449–96. Mornet found *La Nouvelle Héloïse* in 165 libraries, the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* in 108, and *Manon Lescaut* in only 33.

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He was cautious about the validity of his findings, not least because the libraries he searched were entirely those of wealthy Parisians, and he insisted on the need to "multiplier autant que possible les enquêtes et les contrôles." In the last decade, similar studies have been made of notaries' lists of deceased persons' books in their *inventaires après décès*. Unfortunately, these lists are invariably incomplete, being restricted generally to the most valuable book on each shelf of a bookcase or library.[3] More recently, Paul Benhamou has started studying the *cabinets de lecture* both in Paris and the provinces to find out what was read by those who could not afford to buy books.[4] One of the problems he faces is determining what books may have been kept "under the counter" and thus omitted from the official lists, because they had been banned. Finally, Robert Darnton has studied bestsellers, using mainly the records of the Société typographique de Neuchâtel for the period 1769–89.[5] Unfortunately, this is the only archive of an eighteenth-century publisher of French books to have survived almost intact, and little comparable evidence is available. These are just some of the many possible approaches, all presenting results of only partial validity and needing to be checked against each other until a clearer picture emerges.

Another approach, which modern computer cataloguing is making increasingly viable, is through physical bibliography. Thorough searches can now produce lists of editions of an author's works which are probably close to complete. It is my contention that, if such lists can be drawn up for the major novels of the century, they will provide sounder evidence for the popularity of each than has heretofore been available. Even so, lists of this kind, as we shall see, raise as many problems as they solve.

Specifically, I am preparing, in collaboration with Jo-Ann McEachern, a full descriptive bibliography of all editions of the writings of Mme de Graffigny, from 1745 to the present day. My original purpose

3 J. Quéniart, *Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l'Ouest au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978); M. Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du XVIIIe siècle (1750–1759)* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1978); and R. Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1987).

4 P. Benhamou, "La lecture publique des oeuvres de l'abbé Prévost à Paris et en province dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle," *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 6 (1989), 151–66. The author has kindly informed me that the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, like *Manon Lescaut*, appears in all three Parisian and four provincial *cabinets* he has studied.

5 Paper given by Robert Darnton at the University of Coimbra in 1988, to be published in his *Edition et édition dans la France prérévolutionnaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).

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was to ensure that the team editing her correspondence[6] could elucidate satisfactorily the numerous references contained in her letters to the publication of her works. It was not expected that the task would take long. Her only novel, the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747), and her first play, *Cénie* (1751), are usually credited with some historical importance in the development, respectively, of the epistolary novel and of the *comédie larmoyante*, but their success is thought to have been ephemeral, and her second play, *La Fille d'Aristide* (1758), was a flop. This judgment is neatly summed up by Pierre Hartmann: "Les *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* ne figurent plus, depuis longtemps, au mémento du lecteur moderne, fût-il féru de littérature. Le patronyme de leur auteur ne lui évoque rien; à peine est-il connu de l'érudit."[7] Despite such predictions, a surprisingly large number of editions has been found. Though progress has been slow, some provisional findings are already available. Here I shall limit myself to two aspects of this work: how I went about my task and what it reveals about the popularity of the *Péruvienne*. My comments on the latter are based on a shortlist of editions found at the end of the article.

The search for editions began with a circular letter sent to the major libraries of the world asking for a list of their printed holdings. Next, the printed catalogues were consulted of the Bibliothèque nationale, the British Library, the Library of Congress, especially its pre-1956 imprints, and so on. Then bibliographies of all kinds. Two were particularly useful. First, Nicoletti's list of editions printed as an appendix to his 1967 critical edition of the *Péruvienne* (P.139 in the shortlist). Unfortunately, he applies the term "edizione originale" to all editions appearing in 1747 and fails to indicate consistently the location of editions, arguing that they can be found "senza difficoltà particolare." Second, Dawson's bibliography of his personal collection[8] enabled me to identify easily other copies of the same editions. Finally, I worked on the computer databases, notably the Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalog and the RLIN and OCLC systems, which between them cover most American, some British and Canadian, and even a few European libraries. The result of

6 Mme de Graffigny, *Correspondance*, ed. J.A. Dainard (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, vol. 1 [1985], 2 [1989], 3–14 [forthcoming]).

7 P. Hartmann, "Les *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* dans l'histoire du roman épistolaire," in *Vierge du Soleil/Fille des Lumières* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1989), p. 93.

8 Robert L. Dawson, *Additions to the Bibliographies of French Prose Fiction 1618–1806*, *Studies on Voltaire* 236 (1985), nos 131–38.

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all these searches was a long, confused list of editions, few of which were adequately described for identification purposes, and for some of which no locations were available. After sorting them out as best I could, I sent about thirty letters to libraries, asking for detailed descriptions of some of the editions which appeared to pose difficulties and which I did not expect to be able to see in my subsequent travels.

I now tried to see as many copies as possible. I first examined the Toronto and McMaster collections. Then I went by car on four trips. The first was to Québec, Halifax, Harvard, Yale, New York, Washington, and Penn State. The second, to Toulouse, Cognac, London, Oxford, Manchester, Cambridge, Nottingham, and Leicester. The third, to Cleveland, Cincinnati, Bloomington, Urbana, Chicago, Notre Dame, and East Lansing. The fourth, to Warwick, Birmingham, Leeds, The Hague, Leiden, Amsterdam, Groningen, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Uppsala, Oslo, Paris, Saint-Omer, Louvain-La-Neuve, and Brussels. There are still copies I have located but have yet to see—in East Germany, Italy, and Australia, for example—and copies listed by bibliographers, notably Nicoletti, for which I have no locations.

The final product will be a full-scale bibliography, with a page or two devoted to each edition, more for the first and early editions, so it will be a book-length work, modelled on Jo-Ann McEachern's new bibliography of Rousseau's *Emile*.[9]

Before examining the evidence for the popularity of the *Péruvienne*, a few notes of caution must be sounded. What is the validity of counting editions to determine a work's popularity? For example, the print run is known for none of the editions found. Some editions did not sell out quickly, since they were reissued with a new title-page over the next few years. For example, P.18, a 1752 Duchesne edition, had to be reissued in 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756 before it finally sold out. However, Duchesne must have had confidence in the work's saleability, since he brought out another edition in 1760 (P.31), which was reissued in 1761.[10] Reissues should perhaps be listed separately, since in the above example a false impression of the success of Duchesne's two editions is created if the seven issues involved are each treated as separate editions.

9 Jo-Ann E. McEachern, *Bibliography of Jean Jacques Rousseau to 1800*, vol. 2: *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1989).

10 For an account of Mme de Graffigny's negotiations with Duchesne and with the original publisher, la veuve Pissot, see English Showalter, "Les *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*: composition, publication, suites," *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 54 (1983), 14–28.

Translations, too, should perhaps go in a separate list, so that a clearer picture emerges of the *Péruvienne*'s popularity outside France. It has been translated into seven languages—English (1748), Italian (1754), Russian (1791), German (1792), Spanish (1792), Portuguese (1802), and Swedish (1828). Graffigny's plays in German were far more popular than her novel, but the reverse was the case in Italian, mainly because of the high number of bilingual French-Italian editions of the *Péruvienne*. Starting in 1759, some twenty-six such bilingual editions had appeared by 1833. Frequently, but apparently not always, the same typesetting was used to bring out at the same time a unilingual French and a unilingual Italian edition. As most of them included stress marks for the Italian and one of them is specifically entitled *Cours de langue italienne* (P.85), they must have been used to learn and probably also to teach Italian in France, and maybe French in Italy, and even both languages in England, since more than one of them was published in London. Frances Burney seems to have used one of them to improve her Italian. On 30 August 1773 she writes in her *Teignmouth Journal*: "This morning, Mr Rishton being out, his wife and I were studying Italian, when we received a visit from Mr Crispen. [...] Mrs Rishton got the *Peruvienne Lettres* and beg'd him to hear her read."[11]

But once a novel becomes almost a school text, as *Télémaque* was in the nineteenth century, how valid is it to count these editions in assessing an author's popularity? To give another example, Camus's *L'Etranger*, partly because it is linguistically easy, has been used in huge first-year classes in North America, but does that make it more popular or just give a different meaning to the term? Finally, debates on the merits of a translation, such as those surrounding Deodati's *Peruviana* or Scott Moncrieff's *Remembrance of Things Past*, often draw linguists into the literary fold, thus increasing the number of a novel's readers.

Again, why do some of these editions exist today in thirty or forty copies and others only in unique copies? The productions of well-known Paris publishers like Duchesne, who must have acquired some sort of copyright on Graffigny's novel, seem to exist in numerous copies, whereas those of obscure publishers like Jean Racine of Rouen (P.67) are rare indeed. Perhaps the latter had shorter print-runs or were less aggressive salesmen. High-quality editions, like those of the Didot (P.84), tend to be kept by their owners, as are first editions, whereas shoddy

11 *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars Troide (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Oxford and New York: Clarendon, 1988–), I, 304.

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and later editions are more likely to be destroyed. All of which makes it difficult to know how to assess the evidence in terms of Graffigny's popularity.

But assuming that all these factors balance out and that the number of editions *is* a reliable indicator of a work's popularity, the problem we then face is establishing a standard of comparison. For how many other novels of the eighteenth century has a thorough search for editions been conducted? To my knowledge, only for *La Nouvelle Héloïse* for the period up to 1800 and for *Manon Lescaut* up to 1980.

Jo-Ann McEachern has shown in a recent article in this journal[12] that, excluding translations and reissues, there were at least seventy editions of *Héloïse* in its first forty years, or 1.75 a year. The *Péruvienne* in its first forty years went through forty-seven editions, forty-eight if the *Œuvres* are included, a frequency rate of 1.2 a year, which drops to 1.1 for the period 1747 to 1800.

Jean Sgard has counted editions of *Manon*, which he calls "le roman le plus édité de notre littérature."[13] After searching "les bibliographies spécialisées, les catalogues imprimés, le *Journal de la Librairie* et la *Bibliographie de France*," he finds 234 editions for the period 1731 to 1981. This works out at a little less than one edition a year. Sgard compares these figures with those for *Paul et Virginie* with 229 editions, presumably for the period 1787 to 1981, which works out at 1.2 a year, and with *Télémaque* with 298 editions for the period 1700 to 1981, or just over one a year.

In the case of the *Péruvienne* one other factor is worth mentioning. Just as the popularity of plays can to some extent be judged by the parodies they provoked, so we can judge that of novels by the number of their sequels.[14] *Gil Blas*, *Manon*, *Candide*, and *Héloïse* all had their *continuations*. There were at least five of the *Péruvienne*, none of them by Mme de Graffigny. The first was an anonymous seven-letter *Suite* which went through four editions in 1747 alone. In late 1748, but under the date 1749, Hugary de Lamarche-Courmont brought out a second sequel, the *Lettres d'Aza*, in thirty-five letters, in which the voice of the absent Aza

12 Jo-Ann E. McEachern, "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*: Some Bibliographical Problems," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 1 (1989), 305–18.

13 Jean Sgard, *L'Abbé Prévost: Labyrinthes de la mémoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), pp. 221–31. All subsequent quotations from this book are from this section of it.

14 There is a good article on the three French sequels by Jacques Rustin in the aforementioned Strasbourg volume, pp. 125–46. See also Showalter, pp. 23–28.

is heard at last. Publishers started routinely including them in editions of the *Péruvienne*, so that Graffigny, to her annoyance, was often thought to be the author. She said of her *continuateur*: "Je le trouve assez bien pour le sentiment, fort sot pour les critiques des moeurs, et très faible imitateur."[15] She tried to outflank these sequels in 1752 by rewriting the last part of her novel, increasing the number of letters from thirty-eight to forty-one (see P.18). The last three sequels were in English (1774, nine letters), by R. Roberts (P.54), in Spanish (1792, one letter), by Maria Romero Masegosa y Cancelada (P.77), and in French (1797, fifteen letters), by Mme Morel-Vindé (P.84). In the English and Spanish versions Zilia is converted to Christianity, and in the latter she is even made to justify Spanish atrocities in Peru in terms of the need to ensure its inhabitants' salvation. The English and French versions marry Zilia to Aza's French rival Déterville, a happy ending which Mme de Graffigny deliberately avoided.[16] As Roberts declared: "I was not indeed altogether satisfied with the conclusion, being desirous the Indian princess should become a convert to Christianity through conviction; and that so generous a friend as Déterville might be as happy as his virtues deserved."

In conclusion, it must be confessed that a variety of sociological factors have been left aside, some of which are being studied by various "readership" schools. What sort of a public did the *Péruvienne* appeal to? Why does its popularity before 1835 go in fits and starts, as if several publishers all suddenly got the idea that a new edition would sell? As Sgard says: "Les éditeurs n'ont guère d'autre moyen de pressentir le marché que d'observer les succès ou les échecs de leurs confrères." Why does the popularity of an author's work usually go into decline for about twenty years after his or her death, what Sgard calls "un purgatoire suivi d'une résurrection," and how did the *Péruvienne* escape this tendency—Graffigny died in late 1758 but the 1760s and 1770s were the period of her novel's greatest popularity apart from the year of its first publication? Did technical advances in printing have any effect on the question? Books were certainly cheaper to produce by 1850 than before the Revolution, but when did printers start to keep whole novels in standing type, so that they could bring out a new issue at short notice? Did the reading public increase as the eighteenth century progressed? When did the literacy level start to show dramatic improvement? What was the ef-

15 Yale University, Graffigny Papers, XXXVI, 169, 13 December 1748.
16 Showalter, p. 23.

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fect on sales of the *cabinets de lecture*, which were instituted about 1765 and must have increased the number of a novel's readers? When did medical advances start to have a serious impact on population increase? Did the development of a larger bourgeoisie in the first half of the nineteenth century contribute to the *Péruvienne*'s popularity, as members of the new middle class sought to acquire an instant library? Was the *Péruvienne* successful because it was deemed suitably uplifting or harmless reading for unliberated women, a sort of female equivalent of *Télémaque*? In which case, how do we account for the relative popularity of the *Péruvienne* and unpopularity of *Manon* in the years 1786 to 1800, which included the Revolution, when prudery was at a low ebb and readers could be expected to be looking for excitement? Or was there so much excitement out in the street that readers wanted nothing better than to curl up with a book and recapture the calm of earlier days? As Talleyrand wrote: "Qui n'a pas vécu dans les années voisines de 1780 n'a pas connu le plaisir de vivre."[17] The other great mystery for me is this: Why did the *Péruvienne* suddenly cease to be popular after 1835—only two editions in French in the rest of the century and none in the twentieth till 1967? Perhaps by this time the epistolary novel, with its "dubious claims to authenticity," had given way to "the authority of the omniscient author/narrator."[18] Or perhaps the need for immediacy and personal expression was satisfied in other genres during and after the Romantic movement. But why did *Manon*, which, though not an epistolary novel, is written in the first person, start to become very popular just as the *Péruvienne* went out of fashion? Finally, why is Graffigny enjoying a mini-revival in the 1980s? Besides the *Correspondance* and the Bray edition of the *Péruvienne* (P.140), she has certainly been the object of numerous articles and papers in the last decade. If the reviews of the *Correspondance* are any clue, the burgeoning of women's studies is an important factor in this development.[19]

17 Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, 2 vols (Paris and Leipzig: Lévy, 1859), I, 6.

18 A. Rosenberg, "*La Nouvelle Héloïse* Today," unpublished article. See also Hartmann, p. 94

19 I am indebted for their advice and help to John Baird, Paul Benhamou, Andrew Brown, Silvio Corsini, Alan Dainard, Robert L. Dawson, William Hanley, Richard Helmstadter, Jean-Marc Lemelin, Jo-Ann McEachern, Aubrey Rosenberg, English Showalter, and Jean Sgard. Vivienne Mylne has kindly brought to my attention an article by Angus Martin which I have read too late to take into account here: "Romans et romanciers à succès de 1751 à la Révolution d'après les rééditions," *Revue des sciences humaines* 35 (1970), 383–89.

Provisional Shortlist of Editions of Non-Dramatic Works by Mme de Graffigny (1745–1983)

In this list the names of publishers are mentioned whenever they appear on the title-pages of the editions in question. Pagination and signatures are given only where these are necessary to avoid confusion between two or more editions. Locations are given, wherever possible, for at least one copy in each of Europe and North America, as well as for all copies of P.1–P.8 and S.1–S.5, and all copies in the following libraries and institutions: Bibliothèque nationale, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, British Library, Taylor Institution, Library of Congress, Harvard University, Princeton University, Yale University, McMaster University, University of Toronto. I have placed in square brackets the copies I have not yet seen; for the accuracy of these locations I can give no absolute guarantee. The following abbreviations are used: M=Muncipal; N=National; P=Public; R=Royal; U=University.

Œuvres

0.1. *Œuvres choisies*, Londres, [Cazin,] 1783, 2 vols. Arsenal: 8° NF 5427; RF 10.376; British: 12518 a 8; Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1812, 1813; Yale: Hfd 29.66.

0.2. *Œuvres complettes*, Londres, 1788, 4 vols. B.N.: Rés. Z. 2347–2350; [Arsenal: Rf 10377;] British: 246 d 20–23.

0.3. *Œuvres choisies*, Paris, Caille & Ravier, 1819, 2 vols. [B.N.: Z 28773–28774;] [British: 12518 a 8;] Princeton U.: 3255.6.1819.

0.4. *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Briand, 1821. B.N.: Z 28775; Arsenal: 8° BL 34616; Rf 10 378; GD 8° 1045; British: 1341 f 13; U. of Toronto: PQ 1986 A1 1825 [*sic*] (2 copies).

0.5. *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Lelong, 1821. Reissue of O.4. [Arsenal: 8° Z 3110;] Vancouver, U. of British Columbia.

Short Stories

SS.1. *Cinq contes de fées*, 1745. Includes *La Princesse Azerolle, ou l'Excès de la constance, Conte* (pp. 59–175) by Graffigny. [B.N.: Y2 9115;] B.N.: Y2 23098; Arsenal: 8° BL 19133.

SS.2. *Recueil de ces Messieurs*, Amsterdam, Westein [*sic*], 1745.

Includes *Nouvelle espagnole. Le mauvais exemple produit autant de vertus que de vices* (pp. 136–245) by Graffigny. B.N.: Y2 12356; Zz 3972; Arsenal: 8° BL 21971; British: 837 c 9; Harvard: *FC7.C3185.A745r.

These works are usually catalogued under Caylus. Editions of his *Œuvres badines* also include Graffigny's short stories.

Lettres d'une Péruvienne, including reissues and translations

P.1. A Peine, [1747], viii + 248 pp. B.N.: 16° Y2 53682; [Vienna, N.;] New York P.: *KB 1749; Québec, U. Laval: PQ 1986 L 651; [U. of Victoria, British Columbia.]

P.2. A Peine, [1747], [2] + vi + 278 pp. British: 12512 a 8; Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1905(2); [Montpellier, M.;] Brussels, R.: II 58523A.

P.3. A Peine, [1747], x + 285 pp. [Paris, François Moureau; Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson;] University Park, Penn State U.; Princeton, English Showalter.

P.4. A Peine, [1747], [2] + vi + 304 pp. [Montpellier, M.;] Cambridge U.: 7735 e 63; [Edinburgh U.: E.B. 8485 Hug.;] Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1705; Chicago, Newberry: Ayer 551 G 73 (1747); McMaster U.: RB B 10035.

P.5. A Peine, [1747], xii + 336 pp. [Dijon, M.: 8123; Lyon. M.: 382.594;] Toulouse, M.: Fa D 6252; Taylor: 296 a 2; [Venice, Querini-Stampalia; Verona, Civica; Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson.]

P.6. A Peine, [1747], [2] + viii + 337 pp.; $\pi 1$ a^4 A–$2E^{8/4}$ 2F1. C3 is signed. Rouen, M.; [Versailles, M.;] Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1748; [Nashville, Vanderbilt U.: Sevier 843.6 G73L; Sevier 843.6 G73L P3;] Yale, Lewis Walpole Library (two copies).

P.7. A Peine, [1747], [2] + viii + 337 pp.; $\pi 1$ a^4 A–$2E^{8/4}$ 2F1. C3 is unsigned. First edition? B.N.: 12° Z 15578; Arsenal: 8° BL 19881; [Cologne, U.;] U. of Chicago: PQ 1986 Z5 A19; Harvard: *FC7.G7587.7471; [Los Angeles, U. of California;] Philadelphia, U. of Pennsylvania; [Princeton, English Showalter; Canberra, N.: R.B. CLF.1342; Tunis, N.]

P.8. A Peine, [1747], [2] + viii + 337 pp.; $\pi 1$ a^4 A–$2E^{8/4}$ [2F]1, misprinting p. 308 as 408. [Los Angeles, U. of California; Tucson, U. of Arizona;] University Park, Penn State U.

P.9. A Peine, [1747], [2] + viii + 337 pp.; $\pi 1$ a^4 B–P^{12} [Q]1. British: C 150 b 18; Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1757; McMaster U.: RB A955; U. of Toronto: B–10 2795.

P.10. Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1748. B.N.: 16° Y2 42870; British: 12518 ccc 5; Yale: Hfd 29.64.

P.11. Sur l'imprimé, A Paris, 1748. [Rolle, Switzerland, M.;] Bloomington, Indiana U., PQ 1986 L6 1748.

P.12. Lausanne, Marc-Michel Bousquet, 1748, 2 parts. Arsenal, 8° BL 19891; [Berkeley, U. of California.]

P.13. *Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess* (henceforth *Princess*), London, J. Brindley, 1748. British: 12511 cc 21; Harvard: Houghton 40535.19.9; Yale: Hfd 29.65b; McMaster U.: AO120.

P.14. *Princess*, Dublin, S. Powell for Thomas Moore, 1748. Cambridge U.: Hib. 7.748.62; Urbana, U. of Illinois: 844 G75 O1E.

P.15. *Princess*, London, J. Brindley, 1749, 2 parts. British: 1606/251; Chicago, Newberry: Case Y 1565 G 758.

P.16. 3e édition. Peine, 1750. [West Point, U.S. Military Academy.] No copy seen.

P.17. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1751, 2 vols. Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 1749; [Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson.]

P.18. Paris, Duchesne, 1752, 2 vols. Includes *Cénie*. B.N.: Z 15580–15581; Harvard: Houghton WKR 24.8.10.

P.19. Paris, Duchesne, 1753, 2 vols. Reissue of P.18. Bruxelles, U. libre: LPB 2994–5

P.20. *Princess*, London, 1753. British: 1606/1037.

P.21. *Letters from Zilia to Aza*, Dublin, Saunders, 1753. Oxford, Bodleian: Malone 280(3); [Urbana, U. of Illinois.]

P.22. *Lettere d'una Peruviana* (henceforth *Peruviana*), All'Aja, A spese di Domenico Deregni, 1754. Arsenal: 8° BL 19888; New York P.: *KF 1754.

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P.23. Paris, Duchesne, 1754, 2 vols. Reissue of P.18. U. of London, Warburg Institute: EBH 772; [Wellesley College.]

P.24. Paris, Duchesne, 1755, 2 vols. Reissue of P.18. Arsenal: 8° BL 19882(1–2); British: 12511 d 11; McMaster U.: B 9955–9956.

P.25. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1755, 2 vols. The Hague, R.: 186 F 19; [Durham, N.C., Duke U.]

P.26. *Letters of Princess Zilia to Prince Aza of Peru*, London, James Wilde, 1755. Oxford, Bodleian: Vet A 5 f 1616; Princeton U.: Ex. 3255.6.358.9.

P.27. Paris, Duchesne, 1756, 2 vols. Reissue of P.18. Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1756; Harvard: 40535.19.3; Yale: Hfd 29.64f.

P.28. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1758, 2 parts. Arsenal: 8° BL 19887.

P.29. *Lettres d'une Péruvienne/Lettere d'una Peruviana* (henceforth *Péruvienne/Peruviana*), Paris, Briasson, Prault fils, Duchesne & Tillard, 1759, 2 vols. Bilingual edition. B.N.: Z 15595–15596; Arsenal: 8° BL 19884(1–2); 8° BL 19885(1–2); British: 99 a 23–24. Nicoletti (see P.139) mentions a unilingual Italian edition but I have not located a copy.

P.30. *Princess*, London, J. Robson, 1759, 2 parts. Reissue of P.15. British: 1606/1563; Chicago, Newberry: Y762 G762; Case Y1565 G76.

P.31. Paris, Duchesne, 1760, 2 vols. Institut de France: 12° R 430; [Stanford U.]

P.32. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1760, 2 parts, xii + 240 & viii + 124 pp. [Albi, Rochegude: 2190;] Princeton U.: Ex. 3255.6.358.

P.33. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1760, 2 parts, viii + 183 & [2] + iv + 86 pp. Amsterdam U.: OK 70-49; Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1760.

P.34. *Peruviana*, Parigi, Duchesne, 1760. No French title or half-title, but it is a bilingual French-Italian edition. B.N.: 8° Z 28335; Arsenal: 8° BL 19886; [Coral Gables, Florida, U. of Miami.]

Smith: The Popularity of Mme de Graffigny's Lettres d'une Péruvienne

P.35. Paris, Duchesne, 1761, 2 vols. Reissue of P.31. Arsenal: 8° BL 19545(1–2); British: C 30 d 36; Chicago, Newberry: Y 762 G 761.

P.36. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1761, 2 vols. Leeds U.: Sp. Coll. Fr. G 10.

P.37. *Supplément à la Bibliothèque de campagne, ou Amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur*, Genève, 1761, 7 vols. B.N.: Y2 8392; British: 12410 b 1; Taylor: UNS 105 i 21. The *Péruvienne* is in vol. 4, pp. 197–428.

P.38. Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1761, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 15583–15584.

P.39. *Princess*, London, W. Johnston, 1762. [Wellington, N.] No copy seen.

P.40. Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie des libraires associés, 1763, 2 vols. [Trieste U.;] New York P.: *KL.

P.41. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1764, 2 parts. Arsenal: 8° BL 19883(1–2); Princeton U.: Ex. 3255.6.358.1764.

P.42. Paris & Leipsic, Gaspard Fritsch, 1765, 2 vols. [Strasbourg, N.: Cd 165 599;] Ann Arbor, U. of Michigan.

P.43. *Bibliothèque de campagne, ou Amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur*, Lyon, P. Duplain l'aîné, 1766, 24 vols. Vol. 21 (= vol. 4 of *Supplément*) contains the *Péruvienne*. [B.N.: Y2 8365–8388;] U. of Toronto: B 11 2834.

P.44. *Peruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Molini, 1767, 2 vols. [Boulder, U. of Colorado, lacks vol. 2.] No copy seen.

P.45. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1767, 2 vols. [Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson.] No copy seen.

P.46. Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1768, 2 vols. Copenhagen, R.

P.47. *Princess*, London, M. Cooper, 1768. British: 1484 i 15.

P.48. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1770, 2 vols. Cognac, M.: Le 1621 bis; [Haverford College, Pennsylvania.]

P.49. *Princess*, London, J. Robson, 1771, 2 vols. British: 12510

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dd 1; Congress: PQ 1986 L4 E4 1771; Princeton U.: Ex. 3255.6.358.5; Yale, Lewis Walpole Library.

P.50. Paris, Veuve Duchesne, 1773. B.N. Z 15585; University Park, Penn State U.: PQ 1986 L3 1773.

P.51. *Princess*, St. Christopher, Thomas Howe, 1773. British: C 115 tt 46; [Worcester, American Antiquarian Society.]

P.52. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Briasson, Prault fils, Duchesne & Tillard, 1774, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 15597 (vol. 1 only); Yale: Mudd WA 24327.

P.53. *Princess*, Dublin, William Colles & Richard Moncrieffe, 1774. British: 1607/431; McMaster U.: RB B 5884.

P.54. *The Peruvian Letters*, London, T. Cadell, 1774, 2 vols. British: 636 d 19; Harvard: Houghton 40535.19.15; Princeton U.: 3255.6.358.8.

P.55. *Peruviana*, Londra, G. Nourse, 1774. British: 10923 df 39; [Philadelphia, Library Company.]

P.56. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1775, xii + 240 & viii + 124 pp. B.N.: Z 15586–15587.

P.57. Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1775, xii + 239 & viii + 124 pp. Arsenal: 8 BL 19890(1–2).

P.58. Paris, Briasson, 1775, 2 vols. Listed by Nicoletti (see P.139) without locations but with title-page illustrated. No copy found.

P.59. Genève [=Paris, Cazin], 1777. B.N.: Z 15588; Harvard: Houghton 40535.19.4*.

P.60. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Duchesne, 1777. B.N.: Z 15598; New York P.: *KF 1777.

P.61. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Duchesne, 1777, 2 vols. [Perugia, Comunale.] No copy seen.

P.62. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Veuve Duchesne, 1780. B.N.: Z 15599; Ann Arbor, U. of Michigan.

P.63. Paris, Didot l'aîné, 1781, 2 vols. B.N.: Rés. Z 3862–3863; Z 3910–3911; Z 3945–3946; Vélins 2568–2569; Arsenal: 8 BL 28956(1–4) Rés.; British: C 26 b 24–27; Montreal, McGill U.: Cutter Y 39F G75.

P.64. *Princess*, London, Harrison, 1782. British: 1207 b 10(4); Princeton U.: Ex. 3595.685(9); Yale: Ib 80 t 780(9). Exists separately and as item 5 of vol. 9 of *The Novelist's Magazine* (1782) by the same publisher.

P.65. Paris, Briasson, 1782, 2 vols. British: 12511 de 10; Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1782.

P.66. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Veuve Duchesne, 1786. Bilingual edition (455 pp.) and unilingual Italian edition (228 pp). Oxford, Bodleian: Vet. E 5 f 116 (bilingual); B.N.: Z 15600; U. of Toronto: RB 119/168 (unilingual).

P.67. Rouen, Jean Racine, 1787, 2 vols. U. of Warwick: Sp. PQ 1986.

P.68. *Princess*, London, Harrison, 1787. McMaster U.; [Edinburgh, N.] Exists separately and as item 5 of vol. 9 of *The Novelist's Magazine*, 1782. See P.64 above.

P.69. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Lyon, Bruyset frères, 1787, 2 vols. Congress: PQ 1986 L4 I4 1787; [U. of Bologna.]

P.70. Lyon, Bruyset frères, 1787. London, U. College: 211 L 249 Gra; [Stony Brook, State U. of New York.]

P.71. Paris, Briasson, 1788, 2 vols. Cleveland, Case Western Reserve U.: 846.59 G 73 ou.

P.72. Bruxelles, Olivier LeMay, 1790. Louvain-La-Neuve, U.: [Amherst, U. of Massachusetts: PQ 1986 L3 1790.]

P.73. *Peruanskiia Pis'ma*, 1791, 2 vols. No copy seen. Microfilm at Columbus, Ohio State U.

P.74. *Princess*, London, 1792. [Manchester P.; Providence, John Carter Brown.] No copy seen.

P.75. *Briefe einer Sonnenpriesterinn*, Gera, H.G. Rothe, 1792. Princeton U.: 3255.6.32.

P.76. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Lyon, Bruyset frères, 1792, 2 vols. The Hague, R.; [Albuquerque, U. of New Mexico.]

P.77. *Cartas de una Peruana*, Valladolid, Viuda de Santander, 1792. [Santiago de Compostella, U.;] New York P.: NKT.

P.78. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Londres, I. Herbert, F. Wingrave, T. Boosey, Molini & Cie, M. Stace, & Vernor & Hood, 1795.

British: 1608/1242; Taylor: Rudler F 64; [Montreal, Concordia U.]

P.79. *Péruvienne*, Paris, Déterville [*sic*], An IV, 1796, 2 vols. No copy located. See Aspin catalogue 75 (1989), n° 357.

P.80. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Duchesne, 1796. British: 1476 b 8.

P.81. *Princess*, London, C. Cooke, [1796], 172 pp. Congress: PQ 1986 L4 E4 1795 Office; [Harvard: 11443.500;] London, Westfield College.

P.82. Paris, Migneret, 1797. B.N.: Rés. m.Z.194; [4° Z 6278]; British: 1093 k 3; Harvard: Houghton WKR 4.5.3; Yale: Hfd 29.65.

P.83. Paris, Louis, An V (1797), 2 vols. Listed by Nicoletti (see P.139) with illustration of title-page but without location. No copy located.

P.84. Paris, P. Didot l'aîné, An V, 1797, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 15589–15590; [Rés. Smith-Lesouëf 5074–5075;] Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1797; Congress: Rosenwald (large paper).

P.85. P.J.F. Luneau de Boisjermain, *Cours de langue italienne...*, Paris, An VI, 1798, 4 vols. Vol. 1 is a bilingual French-Italian edition of the *Péruvienne*. The Hague, R.: 652 H 17.

P.86. *Peruviana*, Parigi, Duchesne, Anno VII [1798?]. Congress: PQ 1986 L4 I4 1798.

P.87. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Londres, Baylis, Boosey, Dulau & Co, Vernor & Hood, 1798. British: 1507/1667; 1507/1108 (incomplete). No copies seen of a unilingual Italian edition (186 pp.; Dublin, N.) nor of a unilingual French edition (Monash U.) by the same publishers, both of which may be dated 1802.

P.88. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Veuve Seguin, & Paris, C. Pougens, An VIII [1800?]. [Montpellier, U.: Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson; Canberra, N.] No copies seen of bilingual edition (2 vols) or of unilingual French edition (235 pp.).

P.89. *Princess*, London, C. Cooke, [1800?], 185 pp. [Oxford, English Faculty Library;] Montreal, McGill U.: PQ 1986 L6 E5.

P.90. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, Duchesne, An VIII [1800]. [Trieste, Civica, Santa Barbara, U. of California.] No copy seen.

P.91. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, London, Da Ponte, 1801. British: 12510 bbb 19; Princeton U.: Ex. 3255.6.358 1801.

P.92. Paris, An IX [1801]. Copenhagen, R.

P.93. Paris, Joachim, [1801?]. Dating based on the fact that, like P.92, these *Péruviennes* are "publiées par Mme de Grafigny" in an "édition corrigée avec soin." Copenhagen, R.

P.94. *Péruvienne/Princess*, Paris, Durand, 1802. Bilingual edition (2 vols) and unilingual French edition (360 pp.). B.N.: Z 15608–15609; Congress: PQ 1986 L4 E4 1802 (bilingual); B.N.: Z 15591; New York P.: NKT (unilingual).

P.95. *Cartas de huma Peruviana*, Lisboa, 1802. Paris, Sorbonne: L Fr 626 12°; [Durham, N.C., Duke U.]

P.96. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*. Avignon, Veuve Seguin, an XI [1803?], 2 vols. Title-pages illustrated in Nicoletti (P.139). [B.N.: 8° Z 18678 ("hors d'usage").] No copy seen.

P.97. Avignon, Veuve Seguin, an XI [1803?]. May be the unilingual French version of P.96. British: 12518 a 30; East Lansing, Michigan State U.: PQ 1986 L3 1802.

P.98. *Peruvian Letters*, Dublin, P. Wogan, 1803, 2 vols. [Austin, U. of Texas: Gz G918.5 G758lT 1803.]

P.99. *Peruviana*, Lipsia [Leipzig], per Augusto Schumann, 1804, 2 vols. [Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Poes. 982.] No copy seen.

P.100. Rouen, Labbey, 1805, 2 vols. [Mantua, Comunale.] No copy seen.

P.101. *Peruviana*, Firenze, Guglielmo Piatti, 1805. British: 12510 a 11.

P.102. *Peruvian Letters*, London, T. Jones, Hatchard, Bell, Ostell, Julien & Co, & Thomson & Son, 1805, 2 vols. British: 12511 bb 26; Yale: Hfd 29.65c.

P.103. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Seguin, 1807. Bilingual edition (2 vols.) and unilingual Italian edition. Cognac, M.: 2807 bis (bilingual); [Versailles, M. (unilingual).]

P.104. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Seguin, 1809. Listed in *Bibliographie lorraine* but no copy located.

P.105. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Londres, Cox, Fils & Baylis, Boosey, Dulau & Co., Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, & C. Law, 1809.

Bilingual (371 pp.), unilingual Italian (186 pp.) and unilingual French (185 pp.) editions. British: 1094 e 15; [U. of Ottawa] (bilingual); Oxford, Bodleian; [Los Angeles, U. of Southern California] (unilingual Italian); London, Dr Williams's Library (unilingual French).

P.106. *Princess*, London, Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1809. British: 1509/3012; Philadelphia, U. of Pennsylvania.

P.107. *Peruviana*, London, L. Deconchy, etc., 1809. [Austin, U. of Texas: Gz 918.5 G758lTId 1809.] No copy seen.

P.108. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Seguin frères, 1810. Bilingual edition (2 vols) and unilingual Italian edition (214 pp.). B.N.: Z 49859–49860; [Philadelphia, Temple U.] (bilingual); B.N.: Z 49858; British: 12510 aa 4; [Hanover, Dartmouth College] (unilingual).

P.109. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Paris, 1810. Bilingual (2 vols.) and unilingual French editions. Cambridge U.: Acton d 49.342 (vol. 1 only); [Tunis, N.] (bilingual); [Princeton, English Showalter] (unilingual).

P.110. Paris, Bertrand-Pottier, 1812, 2 vols. [Lausanne, U.]

P.111. Paris, Duprat-Duverger, 1812, 2 vols. U. of Western Ontario. Reissue of P.110.

P.112. Paris, Briand, 1813. Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1813.

P.113. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Offray fils, 1815, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 49861–49862.

P.114. *Peruviana*, Avignone, Seguin aîné, 1817. B.N.: Z 15601; British: 012550 de 79; [Congress: PQ 1986 L414 1817]; Harvard: 40535.19; Princeton U.: Ex. PQ 1986 x 146/1817s; Yale: Beinecke Z 150.16; [Mudd WA 1942.]

P.115. Londres, Law & Whittaker, 1818. British: 12515 h 30.

P.116. *Princess*, Avignon, Seguin, 1818. B.N.: Z 15610; British: 12517 a 25; [Chapel Hill, U. of North Carolina.]

P.117. *Peruviana*, Londres, G. & W.B. Whittaker, 1821. British: 12510 bbb 8; Harvard: 40535.19.2.

P.118. Paris, Ménard & Desenne fils, 1822. [B.N.: Z 15592;] Louvain-La-Neuve, U.; [Houston, Rice U.]

P.119. Paris, Lebègue, 1822, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 42904–42905.

P.120. *Peruviana*, Lione, Joseph Janon, 1822. Yale: Mudd WA 22814.

P.121. *Cartas Peruanas*, Paris, Rosa, 1823. B.N.: Z 15607; British: 12490 bb 17; Bloomington, Indiana U.: PQ 1986 L68 1823 Mendel.

P.122. *Peruviana*, Parigi, Seguin, 1824. B.N.: Z 15602; Princeton U.: 3255.6.358.

P.123. *Peruviana*, Napoli, Luca Marotta, 1824. [Naples, N.] No copy seen.

P.124. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*. Paris & Lyon, Antoine Blache, 1826. [Sydney, Macquarie U.] No copy seen.

P.125. Paris, Werdet & Lequien fils, 1826. [La Chaux-de-Fonds, M.; Iowa City, U. of Iowa.] No copy seen.

P.126. Paris, Werdet, [1826?]. Brussels, U.: 846.5 G 7581. Dating based on that of P.125, of which Werdet was co-publisher.

P.127. Paris, Dauthereau, 1827. B.N.: Z 15593; Congress: PQ 1986 L3 1827.

P.128. *Peruvianska Bref*, Stockholm, 1828. Göteborg U.

P.129. *Cartas de huma Peruviana*, Lisbon, Tip. Rollandiana, 1828. [Riverside, U. of California.] No copy seen.

P.130. Paris, Dalibon, 1830. [Nashville, Vanderbilt U.] No copy seen.

P.131. Paris, Hiard, 1831. B.N.: 16° Z 2807; [Jamaica, St John's U.]

P.132. *Péruvienne/Peruviana*, Avignon, Auguste Offray, 1833, 2 vols. B.N.: Z 49863–49864.

P.133. Paris, Adolphe Rion, 1835. B.N.: Z 15594.

P.134. *Peruviana*, Parigi & Lione, Cormon & Blanc, 1835. B.N.: Z 15603; New York P.: NKT (unilingual Italian; 126 pp.); British: 1094 cc 27 (2 vols; bilingual).

P.135. *Cartas de una Peruana*, Valencia, J. de Orga, 1836. Ithaca, Cornell U.

P.136. *Zilias Bref*, Stockholm, 1844. Göteborg U.

P.137. *Peruviana*, Parigi & Lione, Cormon & Blanc, 1855. [Iena U.] No copy seen. May be same as P.134.

P.138. Paris, 1872. [Naples, N.] No copy seen.

P.139. ed. Nicoletti, Bari, Adriatica, 1967.

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P.140. ed. Bray, *Lettres portugaises, Lettres d'une Péruvienne, et autres romans d'amour par lettres*, Paris, Flammarion, 1983.

Suite des Lettres d'une Péruvienne, including translations

S.1. A Peine, [1747], 44 pp. [Vienna, N.;] New York P.: *KB 1749; Quebec, U. Laval: PQ 1986 L 651.

S.2. A Peine, [1747], 60 pp. Cambridge U.: 7735 e 63; [Edinburgh, N.: Monro 31; Edinburgh U.: EB 8485 Hug.;] McMaster U.: RB 10035; U. of Toronto: RB B-10 2795.

S.3. A Peine, [1747], 62 pp. [Dijon, M.; Princeton, English Showalter.] No copy seen.

S.4. A Peine, [1747], 66 pp. University Park, Penn State U.: PQ 1986 L3(2); [Princeton, English Showalter; Austin, Texas, Robert L. Dawson.]

S.5. *Lettres d'Aza, ou d'un Péruvien* (henceforth *Aza*), Londres, Robert Wilson, [1749]. Leeds U.: Buckmaster Coll.; [Chicago, Newberry.]

S.6. *Aza*, 1749. [Dijon, M.;] Yale: Lewis Walpole Library.

S.7. *Aza*, Amsterdam, Aux dépens du délaissé, 1749. Arsenal: 8° BL 19723; Taylor: Vet. Fr. II A 296; Vet. Fr. II. A 1905(1).

S.8. *Sequel of the Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess*, Dublin, Richard James, 1749. McMaster U.; [Edinburgh, N.: 2.307(4).]

S.9. *Letters of Aza, a Peruvian*, Dublin, Richard James, 1751. Urbana, U. of Illinois: 844 G 75.

S.10. *Lettere di Aza Peruviano*, All'Aja, Domenico Deregni, 1764. Arsenal: 8° BL 19889; New York P.: *KF 1754.

S.11. *Suite des Lettres d'une Péruvienne/Continuazione delle Lettere d'una Peruviana*, Paris, Desenne, Debray, Vente & Fayolle, An VI [1798?]. B.N.: Y2 70767.

The above list is only of separate editions. From 1747 onwards, these two sequels were usually included in editions of the *Péruvienne*. See further sequels in P.54, P.77, and P.84.

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