

The Spectatorial Gaze: Viewer-Voyeur Dynamics in Book Illustrations of Diderot's *La Religieuse*

Abstract: This article analyses the manner in which, since its first publication in 1796, Diderot's novel *La Religieuse* has been interpreted in book illustration. It begins with a detailed analysis of four of the first series of illustrations commissioned for *La Religieuse*. There has long been an assumption that Jean-François Le Barbier was the first illustrator of *La Religieuse*, whereas this article posits that a number of significant artists preceded him: an anonymous artist (1796), the designer P.J. Challiou (1797), and another unknown illustrator (1797). This investigation will be followed by an overview of viewer-voyeur trends in the subsequent illustration of *La Religieuse*, suggesting that core representation dilemmas, together with the interpretative strategies adopted, vary remarkably little across more than two centuries of reception and illustration.

Keywords: Denis Diderot, *La Religieuse*, eighteenth-century illustration, convents, P.J. Challiou, Jean-François Le Barbier, Édouard Frère, Victor Lhuer, Génia Minache, Marie-Josèphe Birais

Captions:

Figure 1. Title page, from *La Religieuse*, 3 vols. (Paris: T.P. Bertin, 1797), vol. I. The Bibliothèque Municipale de Fontainebleau, France; call number: AB 12478-12480. Courtesy of the Collection de la ville de Fontainebleau.

Figure 2. Unsigned engraved frontispiece, from *La Religieuse* (Paris: Gueffier jeune et Knapen fils, An cinquième [1796]). University College Oxford Library; call number: KCAA/DEL. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of University College Oxford.

Figure 3. The second plate from *La Religieuse* (Paris: Gueffier jeune et Knapen fils, An cinquième [1796]). University College Oxford Library; call number: KCAA/DEL. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of University College Oxford.

Figure 4. Illustration designed by P.J. Challiou and engraved by Edme Bovinet, from *La Religieuse*, 3 vols. (Paris: T.P. Bertin, 1797), vol. II. Bibliothèque Municipale de Fontainebleau, France; call number: AB 12478-12480. Courtesy of the Collection de la ville de Fontainebleau.

Figure 5. Illustration designed by P.J. Challiou and engraved by Pierre-Charles Baquoy, from *La Religieuse* (Paris: Maradan, An VI [1798]). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Call number: 16-Y2-47788.

Figure 6. Unsigned engraving, from *La Religieuse*, 3 vols. (Paris: Le Prieur et Barba, 1797), vol. III. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Call number: Smith Lesouef S-5756 <Vol. 3>.

Figure 7. Unsigned illustration by Édouard Frère, from *La Religieuse*, in *Les Veillées littéraires illustrées* (Paris: J. Bry aîné, 1849), t. II, p.13. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Call number: Z-10196 (6).

This article analyses the manner in which, since its first publication in 1796, Diderot's novel *La Religieuse* has been interpreted in book illustration. It begins with a detailed analysis of four images from the first series of illustrations commissioned for *La Religieuse*. There has long been an assumption that Jean-François Le Barbier was the first illustrator of *La Religieuse*, whereas this article

posits that a number of significant artists preceded him, including an anonymous artist (who produced the 1796 series), contemporary designer P.J. Challiou (1797), and another unknown artist (1797).¹ This investigation will be followed by an overview of subsequent trends in the illustration of *La Religieuse*. Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the emphasis sometimes diverges quite significantly from that effected by the selections of scenes and forms of representation adopted in the eighteenth-century series, while still bearing traces of the iconographical legacy bequeathed by the novel's first illustrations. A set of core representation dilemmas first confronted by eighteenth-century illustrators will be traced through this corpus, together with the interpretative strategies adopted. One such dilemma pertains to representation of Suzanne (as self-aware seductress, innocent ingénue, or feminine beauty); another regards interpretation of the erotic response to the images experienced by the reader/voyeur, together with the compassionate response to them on the part of the reader/viewer.

Diderot's novel *La Religieuse* (1796) traces the tribulations of the illegitimate young Suzanne who, forced to become a nun against her will, experiences abusive régimes in diverse convents until she escapes, aided by a debauched monk. At the outset of the twenty-first century, *La Religieuse* remains a text that is familiar, its recognition facilitated by myriad factors, including a scandalous reputation and publication history, the novel's Enlightenment message and its fascinating historical context, its textual and visual potency, and the interest generated by a story centred on female incarceration. Diderot's convent tale continues to shock, disgust, and attract. While it was to inspire Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk*, this novel was itself inspired, as critic Robert Mauzi puts it so succinctly, 'd'une conjonction paradoxale entre la mystification, l'attendrissement et la colère'.² Parallel to this initial emotive inspiration, *La Religieuse* also encompasses a plethora of witnesses, whether characters within the story, real or putative external readers of the novel, or 'third party' witnesses such as the marquis de Croismare—designated by Philip Stewart as the 'virtual, but absent, arbiter of [the text's] final value'.³ Intradiegetic, extradiegetic, and extratextual readers who all 'witness' Suzanne's misfortunes through the act of reading encounter a text that comprises a series of literary tableaux dotted throughout the narrative with multiple references to seeing, observing, and witnessing.⁴ Book illustrators must navigate this complex and highly visual novelistic space in which the narrative flickers between showing and telling, forcing the reader to oscillate from emotion to detachment and to switch from witnessing to passing judgement. Yet, illustrators lack the reader's luxury of basking in the equivocal: ultimately, picturing *La Religieuse* involves taking decisions on how to address textual ambiguities by visual means of representation.

Manifestly, *La Religieuse*'s striking capacity to suggest visual images made an early impact on readers, publishers, and illustrators alike. Critics agree that Diderot had what Jochen Schulte-Sasse terms a 'predilection for tableaux'.⁵ Alexandra Wettlaufer has explored Diderot's own discussion of the relative power of paintings and words.⁶ Jean-Marie Apostolides neatly defines the literary tableau in *La Religieuse* as 'un procédé esthétique à la charnière de la peinture et du théâtre',⁷ thus recognising its performative power. Jay Caplan terms these tableaux 'moving pictures'.⁸ Houda Landolsi underlines that the verb *peindre* positively haunts the text.⁹ While much has been made of *tableaux* in Diderot's literary texts, remarkably little has been written on the book illustrations of *La Religieuse*. Surprisingly, Christophe Martin and Isabelle Vissière concur that Diderot's own textual *tableaux* rendered any further illustrations redundant.¹⁰ By contrast, the following analysis of different approaches from the eighteenth century will suggest that the illustration of *La Religieuse* is anything but superfluous. Indeed, each series of illustrations responds to the spectator's problematic relationship with the novel's *tableaux* in different ways, bringing out the highly complex and unstable representation of Suzanne herself.

Eighteenth-Century Illustrations of *La Religieuse*: Witnessing, Voyeurism, Judgement

When the first edition of *La Religieuse* was published posthumously in Paris in October 1796 chez François Buisson, copies consisted of one unadorned volume. This first edition was instantly pirated in England on poor-quality *papier grisâtre* and, as expected, the counterfeit editions bore no illustrations.¹¹ It was not at all unusual to find that illustrations were not included in the first edition of a novel published in the eighteenth century, as commissioning plates required a substantial financial investment and were generally reserved for classics and other proven bestsellers. In his article on Le Barbier's illustrations for *La Religieuse*, David Adams suggests that the first edition's unembellished appearance was perhaps due to paper shortages during revolutionary upheavals, and might have reflected Buisson's own political views in support of austerity, even in the realm of publishing.¹² The reading public, however, clearly expected images to accompany successful novels: many readers procured engravings from later editions and had them bound into their copies of the original 1796 tome.¹³ The first series of illustrations provides a crucial visual interpretation of a text and influences artists who are subsequently given the task of illustrating it.

The first illustrations of *La Religieuse*, unsigned, are featured in an edition dated 'An cinquième (1796 v.st.)', bearing the imprint of 'Chez Gueffier et Knapen' and published in Paris.¹⁴ These earliest dated images became available in late 1796 or, according to Giles Barber's timeline, 'by early January 1797'.¹⁵ Subsequently, seven out of the ten 1797 French editions of *La Religieuse*—published in revolutionary 'An cinquième'—include illustrations of some type. In the article mentioned above, Adams focuses solely on the illustrations of the novel which he considers the first, Le Barbier's copperplate engravings; Isabelle Vissière similarly presumes Le Barbier to be *La Religieuse*'s first illustrator.¹⁶ Realistically, four early illustrators of *La Religieuse* deserve close analysis: the anonymous artist, responsible for the two images that appear in the 1796 Gueffier and Knapen edition; P.J. Challiou, who was unusually cited by name as designer of three images, along with the engraver Edmé Bovinet, on the title page of a rare 1797 edition of *La Religieuse* published by T.P. Bertin (Challiou illustrated *Jacques le fataliste* for an edition also published by the same publisher around the same time) (see Fig. 1)¹⁷; another anonymous artist, responsible for three images that appear in the 1797 Le Prieur et Barba edition (reproduced on Gallica); and Jean-François Le Barbier, who signed the four engravings inserted in the 1799 edition issued by Deroy, Moller, Mongie, and Dupréel. The series designed by Le Barbier must be considered because it was sold independently of the text, which was not unusual at the end of the century, and prior to the publication of the 1799 edition.¹⁸ In the list of illustrated editions provided in the anthology *Diderot dans ses fictions: deux siècles d'illustrations*, the 1796 anonymous series and the Bertin images (erroneously attributed to an anonymous artist rather than Challiou) are named, but without further detail, or comment.¹⁹

In the scramble to print and commission illustrations for the bestselling *La Religieuse*, the two anonymous 1796 images thus became the earliest published illustrations, closely followed by P.J. Challiou's three signed, high-quality images. The anonymous engravings in the Le Prieur et Barba edition use a similar selection of scenes and broadly the same composition as Challiou, but are unsigned and less finely executed, thus it seems likely that they are only an inferior imitation, designed and engraved by another duo. However, this 1797 anonymous series is interesting in its own right, as the artists' manner of representing the scenes significantly inflects the interpretation of the novel suggested by Challiou's images, and positions the reader/holder differently as a consequence. Le Barbier's series of illustrations, appearing in the 1799 edition, thus appears likely to be the fourth series. I will analyse these four series in presumed chronological order of publication, to compare and contrast the spectatorial perspectives that these earliest illustrations bring into play.

The rare 1796 edition of *La Religieuse* printed by Gueffier and Knapen contains the first two published illustrations for Diderot's convent novel. This is a polished octodecimo edition, boasting two unsigned illustrations, bearing accurate placement references and positioned opposite the title page in each of the two volumes. Few copies of this edition have survived, with those in Paris, Bonn, and

Oxford consulted for this article.²⁰ In re-issues of this edition, the illustrations are positioned within the text.²¹ While listed by both David Adams and Michel Delon/Michèle Sajous D'Oria, these 1796 images remain unfamiliar to contemporary eyes. The 1796 anonymous artist was truly a pioneer who spearheaded a centuries-long tradition of depicting two key, intimate textual moments: an oppressive convent scene wherein Suzanne fears for her life, and her dramatic escape over the convent wall. Conversely, these illustrations do not engage with the lesbianism that rendered the work a *succès de scandale* from the outset.

The scene which adorns the first volume captures the morning when Suzanne is to be exorcised by the archdeacon (Fig. 2). This illustration references the sequence of suffering meted out by the sadistic Sœur Ste-Christine and bears the caption: 'Quelle grace faut-il que je demande à Dieu?'. The moment depicted is dramatic, while the atmosphere is threatening and oppressive. Suzanne is kneeling, backed into the corner of her small cell, diametrically opposite the door. An absence of witnesses beyond Sœur Ste-Christine and her acolytes is notable, and the ominous accoutrements of holy water, crucifix, and rope imply imminent torture and death. A range of visual indices permit the viewer to ascertain Suzanne's great distress and fear, while her raised hands proclaim her innocence and appeal to the spectatorial gaze. Yet, Suzanne's sheer terror lest she is facing her last moments is not as explicit here as in later versions; nor are her garments shown as scanty, dirty, or torn. Nonetheless, the selection and positioning of this dark persecution scene at the outset of the work deliberately emphasises the moving, theatrical aspects of the novel, which must have spoken to contemporary readers in the light of recent injustices, sequestrations, and the executions during the Reign of Terror.

The second 1796 image visually captures the novelistic *tableau* wherein Suzanne climbs over the convent wall only to land haplessly into the arms of the debauched Benedictine monk, Dom Morel (Fig. 3), a scene which has become quasi-iconic over the centuries thanks in part to the numerous illustrations inspired by it. This engraving bears the citation: 'Me voilà sur le chemin de Paris avec un jeune Bénédictin'. The hint of subsequent sexual assault is represented by Suzanne's physical reliance on the predatory Dom Morel. Such a deliberately provocative *tableau* mirrors pervasive anticlerical sentiment during the recent Reign of Terror, yet it requests sympathy for the victim. It is crucial to discern, in the bright moonlight, the figure of the *cocher*, whose attentive poise is in fact proleptic: like the marquis de Croismare or putative reader of the novel, this voyeur is watching the scene unfold. The *cocher* becomes Suzanne's imminent saviour and his presence hints at the way in which the nun's story brings together suffering, seduction, and escape with a viewer in mind. In enticing the voyeur, the anonymous illustrator deliberately refracts Suzanne's seduction of the narratee/reader/spectator, or to use Jay Caplan's term, her 'paternal reader'.²² Like the *cocher*, the voyeur is strongly lured into becoming the character's rescuer. This image is curiously unique among contemporary representations of the same scene in its positioning of ladder, convent wall, and Suzanne towards the right of the engraving, with coach and moon to the left.

P.J. Challiou is the first identifiable artist associated with the illustration of Diderot's text. Challiou's first design for Bertin's polished octodecimo edition in three volumes is finely executed, and shows Sœur Ste-Christine's incarceration of Suzanne in a crypt after a failed attempt to get her to tender her confession pages. It includes the placement reference ('Tom. 1er'), and truncated caption 'J'invoquais le ciel...'. With overtones of brutality, three nuns are depicted forcibly jostling a barefoot Suzanne within a confined crypt cell containing a prominent *memento mori* in the shape of a skull that captures the light of the flame torch held above her by a fourth nun. Suzanne is the picture of terrified innocence, yet her transparent shift permits the voyeur to see her naked form underneath. Here, the illustrator deliberately highlights the invidious imbalance of power by depicting the nuns clothed and Suzanne as an impotent, stripped, yet sensual, figure: she is the innocent victim of aberrant convent claustration.

Challiou's second illustration is a provocative frontispiece inspired by a textual tableau wherein Suzanne is depicted in an intimate embrace with her Arpajon Mother Superior (Fig. 4). Its caption reads: 'Elle m'assit, me pencha la tête sur le dossier et me baisa le front.' Here, the predatory Mother Superior actively envelops the passive Suzanne within her intrusive embrace, her lunging momentum reflected in the fluttering of her veil. While the viewer identifies Suzanne as the startled victim of acts fomented by unnatural celibacy rules, the voyeur notes that Mme*** (de Chelles) has seized Suzanne's bosom and is kissing this newcomer's forehead. Textual ambiguity surrounding Suzanne's understanding of these actions and her innocent participation in the scene is evidenced by her welcome for her new mother with hands ingenuously held wide open. To emphasise clausturation and intimacy, the artist created a setting which is entirely enclosed by heavy wooden panelling, with a bed behind rich drapes to the left. Such a spatial depiction appears almost like a mocking eroticisation of what Diderot himself termed 'la plus cruelle satire ... des cloîtres'.²³ This is the first image representing one of the various seated kiss scenes, some more or less eroticised, which were replicated by successive illustrators.

Finally, Challiou's third illustration is uncannily similar in design to that of the anonymous artist responsible for the 1796 edition, even featuring an identical caption: 'Me voilà sur le chemin de Paris/ avec un jeune Bénédictin.' Challiou hints at sensuous bodies beneath folds of religious garb, while using tree shadows and sombre lighting to suggest the monk's dark intent. Suzanne's left hand hangs nervously, suspended in the air. The monk grabs her around her posterior, while planting his face in her bosom, her dainty slipper exposed while he gazes up at her, retaining her captive in his arms. The *cocher's* salvific presence, first seen in the 1796 image, is here reduced to the metonymic coach-wheels in the background. It is worth noting that Challiou's positioning of the wall to the left has influenced nearly all subsequent representations of this pivotal scene.

Interestingly, a well-executed frontispiece which represents Diderot's boudoir scene (Fig. 5), also signed by Challiou, but engraved by Pierre-Charles Baquoy, adorns a 1798 duodecimo edition of the novel, which advertises this sole iconographic supplement on the title page.²⁴ This interior scene depicts the salon of Mme*** at Arpajon. The superior is lounging in her bed, surrounded by pretty young women, one of whom is Suzanne, recently re-entered, coquettishly revealing her petticoats in a discreet, yet discernible way, thus actively engaged in the precarious game opposing favourites and outcasts. The flirtatious gesture is slight, but Challiou's impish detail, together with the shapely bosoms subtly visible beneath the garb of the two nuns in the foreground, encapsulate the suggestive sensual undertow of his illustrative viewpoint which is supported by the caption: 'Une autre avoit pris ma place sur le bord/ du lit de la supérieure.'

Arguably, the attraction of Challiou's illustrations lies in the double reading potentially generated by them. Challiou invites a complex double gaze, issuing the invitation to look and re-look at carefully framed images which radiate latent sensuality. In keeping with Diderot's own textual fetish for using the verb 'voir',²⁵ Challiou imbues his images with multiple perspectives, ranging from the depiction of Suzanne as purely innocent to her visual portrayal as subtly coquettish. Through hinting at anticlericalism, and criticising the *huis clos* convent regime, Challiou subtly comments on imposed celibacy and enforced clausturation. While doing so, he openly celebrates Suzanne's sensuality to capture the gaze of the avid voyeur. He primarily depicts intimate scenes that allow an erotic reading, but at the same time seem geared to provoking sympathy for the suffering and ordeals experienced by Suzanne (indeed, the difficulty of separating out these responses is one of the problematics of the text with which the images seem to be engaging). Suzanne's status as innocent victim, but one capable of self-conscious flirtation, is also communicated through the embodiment of her coquetry in these images.

The three 1797 unsigned frontispieces designed for the Le Prieur and Barba octodecimo edition are noteworthy on account of their explicit eroticisation of the scenes chosen for representation.²⁶

These anonymous images are similar in design to Challiou's more masterful illustrations, with which they share attendant underlying criticism of enforced celibacy and claustration. The similarities confirm a direct intericonic link between these anonymous images and the Challiou/Bovinet ones. However, the two sets of engravings differ significantly in quality and execution, suggesting the hasty completion of the anonymous series. Furthermore, the captions of the anonymous images are inaccurate. The first frontispiece contains a sensual, intimate embrace scene, bearing the flawed caption: 'Je pensai lui dire en me jettant entre/ ses bras, eh! plût à Dieu.' While the caption alludes to Suzanne upset at the Sainte-Marie convent, the image evokes lesbian encounters at Arpajon. The superior has one hand on Suzanne's bosom and lunges in to kiss her; the former's hand grips between her superior's legs; the setting is an intimate and dimly lit boudoir which contains a bed with opened drapes behind; the characters' position is shaded from external view by a closed door which nonetheless has tiny windowpanes, inviting the passing voyeur to take a peek.²⁷ The anonymous illustrator clearly decided to champion the novel's libertine element and to invite a voyeuristic stance, thus underscoring Diderot's satirical condemnation of convent sequestration and his aversion to imposed celibacy. The illustration is in line with a particular tradition of erotic iconography in convent settings associated with what Robert Darnton has called 'philosophical pornography' (albeit here in a more subtle and less obscene vein).²⁸

The second frontispiece portrays a scantily clad, terrified Suzanne, cornered by five nuns on the morning of her exorcism. While the illustration copies the design of Challiou's crypt image, its caption is both mismatched and inexact: 'Quelle grâce faut-il demander à Dieu?'. Moreover, the image is eroticised: Suzanne's clothes lie crumpled at her feet; she is draped in a transparent voile beneath which she is evidently naked; she is depicted being flagellated at three points of her body by four nuns, with the Mother Superior, Sœur Ste-Christine, in a voyeuristic position and, incidentally, revealing a shapely leg beneath her garb. Reflecting the unhealthy microcosm of the convent, the small cell space shrinks, with the door firmly shut, emphasising the setting's figurative airlessness. Although Suzanne's hands are slightly raised in impotent defence of both face and modesty, this tableau is highly eroticised, reflecting Caplan's observation that, in the text, the protagonist's 'suffering body remains charged with erotic interest'.²⁹ The bringing together of erotic imagery (Suzanne's barely veiled nakedness), and the direct representation of the violence meted out to her suffering body, brings into sharp relief the ambiguities surrounding the reader-viewer's response: implied in the text, her pain and suffering are actualised in this visual representation.

The third frontispiece depicts Suzanne's escape, while sharing identical layout and caption with its likely source of inspiration, Challiou's image: 'Me voilà sur le chemin de Paris avec un jeune Bénédictin.' In this instance, the artist represents the monk's tight embrace of Suzanne as he breaks her fall (Fig. 6), then engineers Dom Morel's head up against her bosom, and thus permits her skirts to ride up, exposing her shapely legs and pretty shoes for the voyeur to appreciate. This entire anticlerical staging presages the monk's imminent attempted rape of the ill-fated escapee, while the *cocher* in the background rushes to Suzanne's assistance.

In his article on Le Barbier's illustrations of *La Religieuse*, Adams examines in detail the series of four high-quality, if somewhat stiff, illustrations published in editions dated from 1799 and 1804.³⁰ Both editions feature a portrait of Diderot and an embedded series composed of four polished illustrations.³¹ Elegant in execution, these images were well received by the public and could be purchased separately.³² By virtue of their first publication date, they almost certainly follow the three previous series, thus Le Barbier should definitely not be considered the first artist to have illustrated *La Religieuse*. The perspective adopted by the artist suggests an interpretation that is more poised and reflective than the focus on intimate scenes from the previous series. Le Barbier devotes his attention to echoing Suzanne's own purported desire to bear witness to events by writing her memoir, and in the process, to elicit sympathy and support from a male narratee. In Le Barbier's illustrations, hands are

almost always used to direct the viewer's gaze—through pointing, shaming, embracing, or piano playing—to non-erotic focal points. Suzanne's viewership includes not just the well-known public figure of her designated addressee (the marquis de Croismare), but also characters within the novel (including legal experts, her family, and entourage), the wider public who would read her memoirs in her time, and future generations of readers, all of whom are invited to act as judge and jury on questions of liberty, justice, and convents. Without focusing on sordid or erotic details, these four images support textual chronology by framing novelistic events which occur on the start or end of four convent *reigns*. Through his scene choice, Le Barbier attempts to divide or regulate the potentially anarchic flow of a typical memoir or confession-style narrative that has no evident textual breaks or divisions. As a neoclassical artist who fully embraces the artistic principles promulgated by Jacques-Louis David, the designer also wished to invest his illustrations with a degree of decorum. Ultimately, his four tableaux are all *group* scenes that capture public events, attended by multiple witnesses, who judge by bearing witness.

Le Barbier's first illustration depicts Suzanne's theatrical rejection of her vows at her first convent, Sainte-Marie. She appeals to multiple witnesses, including members of her family, gathered in the public gallery. The convent grid being halfway down communicates Suzanne's half-belonging to the outside world. In his analysis of this novelistic moment, Stéphane Lojkin suggests that the grid facilitates communication between two normally exclusive worlds comprising 'deux façons différentes de voir'.³³ Le Barbier's caption reads: 'Messieurs, et vous sur-tout mon père et ma/ mère, je vous prends tous à témoins...' Suzanne stands tall and dominates centre-stage in a spotlight mid-performance; she extends her hand as if to grasp at her former world. Those surrounding her are depicted stretching towards her in shock, as if to silence her, and, together with Suzanne, they occupy the largest part of the image, while beyond the grille, audience members are squeezed into a very small space as if to emphasise their inaccessibility.

Le Barbier's second image captures Mme de Moni, radiant on her deathbed, at Longchamp, with the caption: 'Approchez toutes que je vous embrasse, venez recevoir ma bénédiction et mes adieux.' This scene is transformed by Le Barbier into a formal, public moment, where the inmates of the convent are arranged around a deathbed. In this decorous, dark setting, lit only by the flame of a torch, the mood is sad and sombre. Omitted from this visual transposition are Suzanne's extreme emotion at losing her sole support and mentor, and the ambiguity of Mme de Moni's visionary status, replaced instead by an external, detached gaze.

The third image comes at the end of the litany of tortures endured at Longchamp by Suzanne under Sœur Ste-Christine. Accompanied by two clergymen, the archdeacon points both at Suzanne, kneeling, and at her bare, empty cell, while Ste-Christine attempts to deny knowledge of events. The selection of this post hoc moment eclipses the shocking textual details of Suzanne's victimisation. By contrast with the earlier illustrators' focus on more emotive or distressing images of Suzanne, Le Barbier depicts a nonviolent and sober atmosphere. The image captures the precise moment where the archdeacon absolves Suzanne of wrongdoing and, before witnesses, publicly condemns Sœur Ste-Christine twice, for her actions and for the shameless lie which is reiterated in the caption: 'Eh bien, madame!/ Elle répondit: je l'ignorais.'

The designer's decision to gloss over the erotic suggestiveness conveyed in the text and his preference for group scenes culminate in his final image of Suzanne playing the harpsichord during her public reception into the Arpajon community. The artist deliberately sidesteps the infamous libertine harpsichord scene of the Mother Superior's orgasm and the multiple chair embrace scenes in which the two characters are alone together, in favour of this earlier, proleptic episode, thus avoiding scandal and eroticism. This public performance belies the Mother Superior's seductive words in the caption beneath: 'Elle joue et chante comme un ange.' While the bowl of apples and the Mother Superior's strangely positioned hand, touching her own lap in a visual echo of Suzanne's playing of the

harpsichord, might suggest the erotic effects provoked by Suzanne's performance, this image is highly coded and implicit, unlike the more explicit 'showing' of embraces and partial nudity in other eighteenth-century illustrations of this relationship. Le Barbier's more subtle, understated approach may account for Vissière's dismissal of eighteenth-century illustrations of Diderot's work as generally mediocre, containing 'des personnages raides ou trop grandes pour le cadre'.³⁴

Le Barbier plays down the sexually transgressive elements in the story, particularly the lesbian episodes, but also the atmosphere of seductive sensuality that permeates the text. Instead, he favours group scenes which appeal to a more sober judgement with the suggestion of a higher authority (be it religious, aesthetic, or legal), thus championing a very different emphasis to that of other illustrators of his time. As Adams notes, Le Barbier avoids representations of high emotion and extreme pathos (Suzanne's acute physical and emotional suffering are not shown iconographically).³⁵ The artist appeals to the external viewer in a rational manner, while the physically restricted nature of the four small interiors that he designs accentuates themes of justice in the context of captivity. His reinstatement of decorum where libertinism reigns in his time is reflective of both the neoclassical artistic order and the post-revolutionary desire to restore justice and order. Universal pairings of privacy/reflection or liberty/justice are thus privileged in his images. As Marian Hobson observes in regard to verbal expression in *La Religieuse*, '[t]he whole tenor of the writing is calculated to make others sympathise and to persuade them to action'.³⁶ Le Barbier's viewer, however, judges rather than joining in, and maintains distance from the image, rather than participating with emotion, or as a voyeur, in the scene before his eyes.

In sum, once the success of Buisson's first edition, published in 1796, intimated a popular bestseller, numerous Parisian and foreign publishers rushed to reprint the novel and to commission illustrations for their own products. Given the slight inaccuracies in the first series of unsigned engravings published in 1796, and the derivative, imprecise, and eroticised qualities of the anonymous 1797 images, one suspects that both sets were executed under considerable time pressure to adhere to rushed publication deadlines. By contrast, both Challiou's and Le Barbier's illustrations were meticulously executed and carefully planned. All these early illustrators were influenced by the interface between their post-revolutionary moment of publication, on one hand, and the complex and ambiguous position of the viewer-voyeur of the original novel, embodied by the figure of the marquis de Croismare, on the other. Challiou's images slip between, and ultimately merge, an erotic voyeuristic mode and a sympathetic viewer one, fusing public and private, external and intimate, through the artist's combined depiction of moments of suffering and the suggestiveness of semi-nudity. Subsequently, Le Barbier's well-organised compositions and sober style reflect a more rational, neoclassical mode of witnessing and judgement, which implies critical detachment. The emergence of several contemporaneous sets of illustrations at the end of the 1790s reflects the diverse and multi-layered readings inspired by and embedded in Diderot's complex novel. These different manners of engaging with the ambiguities of Diderot's text are played out repeatedly in subsequent book illustrations, which often adopt images from the early series as templates, prototypes, or forms of homage.

Nineteenth-Century Perspectives: Eroticism, Anti-Clericalism, and Aesthetic Invention

Between 1797 and 1900, many gifted artists illustrated *La Religieuse*. Adams's material bibliography identifies over twenty illustrated French-language editions out of approximately forty-six editions for this period alone. Illustrators include the anonymous designers and engravers mentioned above and also: P.J. Challiou, whose designs were engraved by Edme Bovinet (1797), Pierre-Charles Baquoy (1798), and Jean Beugnet (1804); Reiner Vinkeles (1798, for a Dutch translation); Jean-François Le Barbier, engraved by Jean-Baptiste-Michel Dupréel and Antoine Giraud (1799; 1804); Thiebaut and Louvet (1821, for a Spanish translation); Wilbrode Courbé (1832; 1835); Édouard Frère, engraved by

[François] Rouget (1849); Adèle Laisné, Jacques-Adrien Lavieille, Dujardin and Paul Soyer (1852, for an English translation in Chapman's 'Cheap/Illustrated Literature' series); G. Moynet and Jules Tanneur (1884); Paul Kauffmann (1887); Ludwig Marold, Mittis, Frédéric Florian and Frederic Steinmann (1892); and Léon Jouenne (1894). Where editors or publishers have opted for including engravings from a previous edition, there are at least two possible explanations, according to Adams: either the plates were sold and reused, or too many images were printed and the unused images were purchased for use in a later edition.³⁷

The illustration of *La Religieuse* through time is closely tied to the reception of the text. As Mauzi notes, '*La Religieuse* a longtemps passé pour un livre deux fois abominable: obscène et anticlérical'.³⁸ Biographer Philip N. Furbank underscores that the lesbian scenes in the latter half of *La Religieuse* originally caused it to be labelled as libertine fiction and led to its censorship in 1824 and in 1826.³⁹ This dual labelling as both erotic and anticlerical would hang over the novel as late as 1966, as the censorship of Jacques Rivette's film adaptation attests. Of course many artists embrace the novel's eroticism: an example is the 1832/1835 provocative frontispiece by Courbé fils which bears the caption: 'Elle m'invitait à lui baiser le front les joues/ les yeux et la bouche et je lui obéissais.' Courbé's embrace scene is possibly inspired by Challiou, but his style reflects the brazen and ludic atmosphere of the July Monarchy under Louis-Philippe, and his composition saucily invites the voyeur's gaze in a blatantly suggestive fashion.

By contrast, an 1849 abridged edition, published as part of the 'véritablement populaire' series *Les Veillées littéraires illustrées*, adopts a belligerently anticlerical stance,⁴⁰ and bizarrely omits the entire latter (Arpajon) half of the book. As in the gothic or *roman noir* tradition, images focus intensely on the mistreatment of Suzanne within the cloister. Édouard Frère's five illustrations depict angry, tormented nuns, with almost caricatural facial expressions, as they oppress Suzanne. The five captions, narrating offences to Suzanne's person, poignantly highlight the literary anthology's deliberately populist focus on violence, both mental and physical, inflicted by religious figures, prompting condemnation by the viewer: 'J'étais à terre et l'on me traînait'; 'On me trouva étendue par terre'; 'Levez-vous ... mettez-vous à genoux'; 'On me passa une corde au cou'; 'On me fit coucher dans une bière'. Heavy use of dark black for the nuns' apparel contrasts with Suzanne's mainly white shifts. In one scene (Fig. 7), Suzanne's attackers are shown brutally dragging, pulling, whipping, accusing, and threatening her, before they imprison her in an underground cell. A later scene shows Sœur Ste-Christine's acolytes leading Suzanne on a leash in a design reminiscent of one used in the 1797 unsigned series. A similarly anticlerical angle is taken in an 1883 edition of *La Religieuse*, appearing in a special issue of the journal 'l'Anti-Clérical', edited by Léo Taxil, with illustrations by Moynet and Tanneur. Here the Arpajon episode is merely ridiculed as a 'sérail de nonnettes', and depicted in the darkest hues available for the printing of newsheets.⁴¹ Such illustrations avoid eroticism and adopt the perspective of the external judge first seen in Le Barbier's images; they penetrate the habitually veiled microcosm of the convent, inviting the viewer to gaze through the grille and into the cells of nuns, who are unequivocally depicted as sadistic, vindictive, and violent.

By contrast, in Édouard Dentu's 1892 edition, for the 'Petite Collection Guillaume' series, artists Marold, Mittis, Florian, and Steinmann provide delicate illustrations, pursuing a familiar visual trajectory in broadly following the novel's plot: oppression-seduction-escape. However, this gently romanticised volume harbours no lesbian embraces or explicitly libertine scenes. In their vignettes, the illustrators evoke Suzanne's femininity, sensuality, and vulnerability by frequently depicting her as isolated—whether pensive, suffering, or praying. The focus is on Suzanne's internal suffering rather than on the variously configured social interactions depicted in earlier illustrations. Suzanne's escape scene replicates Challiou's design, featuring familiar elements: a wall to the left, a rope tumbling down to Dom Morel, and a coach to the right in the hazy background. In this instance, the *cocher* is clearly discernible, but with his back discreetly turned. Two fresh tableaux enter the iconographic repertoire

through this edition: a significant first attempt to depict Mme***'s madness in the image of a nun prostrated, with hands clasped and face down on cold stone steps; and the depiction, in the final vignette of the series, of an attractive Suzanne with her back to the reader, sitting at the table writing her memoirs, in a gesture quite familiar from pictorial renditions such as Georg Friedrich Kersting's *Lady Writing by a Window* (1811). The absorbed Suzanne appears unaware of the spectatorial gaze falling upon her from behind.

The innovative Dentu edition also features a fresh interpretation of the *boudoir* tableau, first visualised in Challiou's 1798 mildly erotic image. Illustrator Steinmann's 1892 perspective mirrors a cinematographic medium close-up: all that is visible are the Mother Superior's head and shoulders, as the caption denotes: 'une tête fort agréable enfoncée dans un oreiller'. The artist picks up on the eroticism of the moment and on the leisurely attitude of the Mother Superior in bed: 'une supérieure qui touchait à la quarantaine, blanche, fraîche, pleine d'embonpoint, à moitié levée sur son lit[.] ... les bras étendus mollement à ses côtés, avec de petits coussins sous les coudes pour les soutenir'.⁴² The lazy alliteration in *mollet-moitié-mollement* and *côtés-coussins-coudes* reinforces the indolence and sensuality embedded in the pose. Mme*** is depicted as pretty and alluring in her plush bed. This is clearly an image designed to lure the reader-voyeur of either sex or persuasion.

Illustrated Editions for Twentieth-Century Mass Markets and Consumer Tastes

The publication of new editions of *La Religieuse* would continue to flourish throughout the twentieth century, heralding over seventy more in French alone. Two main strands can be identified: mass market copies with a cover image and no further illustration, and beautiful collector's items which are copiously and carefully illustrated.

Of the French editions published between 1900 and 2016, the majority sport no illustrations at all: some merely append a portrait of Diderot; others provide unrelated decorative or typographic ornamentation. Interestingly, Georges May's 1975 critical edition of *La Religieuse* (volume XI of the DPV *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*) reproduces as its sole illustration an indistinct generic frontispiece: it is a sketch of two nuns with faces averted, by Nicolas Lancret, from the collection of the Louvre. Rather than reproducing the original title page (as in Jacques Proust's edition of *Jacques le fataliste* for DPV), or avoiding illustration altogether (as in Henri Coulet's edition of *Le Neveu de Rameau* for DPV), it appears that the twentieth-century editors of *La Religieuse* perhaps succumbed to the charms of Suzanne, to the perennial temptation of depicting nuns, or to the intrinsic mystique of the veil. Where images are inserted within twentieth- and twenty-first-century editions by major French publishing houses, these often consist of copies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrations for *La Religieuse*, as is frequently the case for paperback editions of eighteenth-century classics. For example, the strikingly dark 1849 images by Frère are reprinted, but unattributed to the artist, in 1968 (Éditions S.E.C.A.) and 1975 (Éditions de Saint-Clair). The 1997 Pocket edition by Annie Collognat-Barès provides an eight-page illustrated montage insertion full of nuns, comprised of images from various sources: Jacques Rivette's 1966 film *Suzanne Simonin, la Religieuse*; contemporary and modern art (including sculpture); and early illustrations by Giraud, Le Barbier, and Challiou (here attributed solely to engraver Bovinet). Famot's 1980 Genevan edition reproduces a Challiou illustration (again attributed only to Bovinet), rendered in colour. Claude Mauriac's 1984 edition boasts a number of reproductions of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century illustrations. Claire Jacquier's rich 2000 *Classiques de Poche* edition reproduces the rare 1796 anonymous artist's escape scene, alongside images by Le Barbier and other artists. Michel Delon's 2004 *Pléiade* edition of Diderot's prose fiction reproduces Le Barbier's 1804 series of engravings.⁴³ Florence Lotterie's 2009 Garnier Flammarion edition reproduces Challiou's escape scene (inverted) on its cover, thus providing a poignant link with eighteenth-century reception and illustration.⁴⁴

Unlike the classic portrait of the castaway in his exotic milieu and costume usually featured in editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, the visual corpus of *La Religieuse* does not contain a perennial image that attained iconic status or became synonymous with the novel. Yet, if a metonymic link connects text and illustration in *La Religieuse*, it is surely the eternal wimple, the veil, or the nun's dark garb, with its intrinsic overtones of holiness versus enticement, and its connotations of mystery, elusiveness, and seduction. Unsurprisingly, many modern paperback editions of *La Religieuse* seize upon representations of generic nuns for their cover image, as if to set the scene or entice the modern reader. Typical of this is Roland Desné's 1968 Garnier-Flammarion striking cover design by Jean-Pierre Reissner, which imitates Andy Warhol's style, showing the bust of a nun highlighted in pink, facing the opposite way to three other ranks of identical blue-highlighted busts of religious figures. Predictably, many editions following Rivette's film feature stills or images of Anna Karina as Suzanne. Jean Restout's *La mort de sainte Scholastique, sœur de saint Benoît* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours) is utilised in Robert Mauzi's 1972 Folio Classique edition. Editions by Bookings International in 1994 and Maxi-Livres in 2002 adopt images from Philippe de Champaigne's 1662 painting of Mère Agnès Arnaud (former abbess of Port-Royal), which depicts a seated nun alongside the head of the convent who stands, praying by her side (an artwork now in the collection of the Musée du Louvre). Roland Mortier's 1995 Marabout edition favours the seventeenth-century Italian *Portrait de la Nonne de Manza*, whereas his 1975 Marabout edition features an unattributed modern painting of a blue-eyed nun's pretty wimple-bound face—possibly an oblique reference to Anna Karina. A 1996 EDDL edition shows a veiled nun with a prayer book, by nineteenth-century painter Mosé Bianchi, *Femme priant à l'église*. Claire Jacquier's 2000 Librairie générale française edition shows a veiled face from Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *Tête de jeune fille couverte d'un voile, des fleurs dans les cheveux* (Musée du Louvre). Thus, into the twentieth-first century, the universal veil or wimple and the traditional nun's garb, so instantly recognisable in an age of mass marketing and quickly decoded symbolism, have remained synonymous with Diderot's *La Religieuse* for those who wish to visualise and market Suzanne's convent story.

As Delon and Sajous D'Oria reveal in their recent anthology which includes reproductions of selected illustrations from Diderot's novels, many key twentieth-century artists have readily embraced the challenge of visualising *La Religieuse* anew. The list of illustrated editions of *La Religieuse* contained in the anthology enumerates sixteen significant, original series of illustrations across three centuries, executed by French artists and mostly published in Paris: anonymous artist(s) (Gueffier and Knapen, 1796), anonymous artist(s) (actually P.J. Challiou; Bertin, 1797); Le Barbier (Rousseau, Mme Devaux et Bertin frères, 1804), Marold and Mittis (Dentu, 1892), Martin Van Maele (1916), American Frank Stick (1923), Gaston Goor (1928), É. Bartan (1931), Armangeol, a.k.a. Armand Gros (1935), Victor Lhuer (1943), Paul-Émile Bécât (1947), Hugues Bréhat (Grenoble, 1966), Russian Génia Minache (1970), Portuguese José David (1974), Marie-Josèphe Birais (Romorantin, 1977; 1987), and François Féret (1991). This anthology reproduces a choice of images from the series listed above and groups them thematically along the following lines: 'L'ombre du cloître', 'Les vœux forcés', 'La punition', 'La séduction', and 'La fuite'. The critics' main focus is clearly on twentieth-century illustrators, including a number of niche specialists: the libertine perspective predominates in work by Martin Van Maele, Goor, and Bécât, all known for their erotic touch. Many modern artists—including Stick, Bartan, Armangeol, Bécât, and David—hone in on the same intimate chair embrace scene of lesbian seduction first depicted by Challiou. No doubt in homage to Challiou's original image, Suzanne is typically portrayed seated, and either entwined around, or cornered by, her predatory Mother Superior who lunges amorously towards her. Suzanne's varying degrees of complicity or resistance in representations of this scene reflect the complexities of narrative voice in the original text. Unsurprisingly, as Sajous d'Oria notes, modern series exploit the erotic suggestiveness of female bodies imprisoned together.⁴⁵ But twentieth-century series equally place corporal punishment and

predatory seduction scenes centre stage, with the spotlight on the interface where bodily distress, flagellation, or oppression come to represent mental anguish.

What strikes the eye in the selection of images presented by Delon and Sajous D'Oria is the phenomenon of intericonicity across centuries and periods: artists illustrating *La Religieuse* proudly emulate their predecessors, consistently transposing and replicating Diderot's textual tableaux for new audiences. The impact of the early illustrations is visible, as is a core desire, on the part of the artists, to adhere relatively closely to Diderot's original text in image and spirit. Intriguingly, the modern choice to represent elegant eighteenth-century furniture, as well as period gowns and frockcoats is near-ubiquitous. The creative synergy in such artist/publisher partnerships as David/Bonnot and Minache/Jacquet results in stunning collectors' books produced with great attention to visual detail and material presentation. Artist Victor Lhuer and publisher Éditions Arc-en-Ciel provide a nice original touch by weaving images through the text and by providing information on the colophon page in the shape of a cross. Elsewhere, David's illustrations echo the appearance of woodblock engravings, while his publisher fashions his imprint on the title page itself in eighteenth-century style: 'BONNOT tenant négoce de libraire à l'enseigne du canon'.

Whereas early illustrators opted for veiled nudity, modern illustrators frequently depict Suzanne either completely naked, being stripped of her clothing, or left in scanty underclothes. Even conservative artists such as Lhuer and Birais represent Suzanne semi-naked in the exorcism/flagellation scene. This general progression through time from veiled to full undress reflects a growing predilection for nudity in mainstream media, while visually suggesting the layered ways in which Suzanne's suffering is eroticised in Diderot's textual tableaux, reflecting the unrelenting sadism to which the female protagonist is subjected and undercurrents of sensuality and eroticism within the original text. Nonetheless, while readers are instantly complicit in some degree of voyeurism, greater modern tolerance of nudity also risks undermining the earlier satirical aspect of the text's eroticism.

The use of monochrome hues is another marked trait in twentieth-century illustrated editions. Vissière insists that *La Religieuse* is a nocturnal novel, with chiaroscuro effects and no colour.⁴⁶ As such, it was perfectly suited to eighteenth-century engraving. The proliferation of monochrome images in the last century is a tribute to eighteenth-century draughtsmen and engravers: Van Maele (1916), Stick (1923), Goor (1928), Bréhat (1966), and David (1974) all work in monochrome hues. Elsewhere, the pale greyish shades of Bécat (1947) and the restricted palate of muted tones, including variations on grey or brown, used by Birais (1987), are also sensitively in tune with the overall subdued shades of the novel. The predilection for a near monochrome approach to illustration extends to the dark garb worn by featureless nuns, the choice of sinister or deviant subject matter in the visual tableaux, and the multiplicity of interior or closed-space scenes (including settings such as cells, underground cellars, chapels, refectories, corridors, sickbeds, and deathbeds). In Diderot's novel, Suzanne's imprisonment, exorcism, escape, and other similar moments take place predominantly indoors, in confined physical circumstances, or in the dark evening, night, or half-light, each weighty with symbolism. It is far from incidental that illustrators' muted or monochrome choices are selected to replicate psychological darkness and situational shadows, reflecting novelistic themes of distress, secrecy, lawlessness, predacity, and danger.

Two female twentieth-century artists, Génia Minache (1970) and Marie-Josèphe Birais (1987), provide a fascinating counterpart to the dominant mode of representation outlined above. Minache's fourteen full-page illustrations are populated by figures wearing sumptuous eighteenth-century costumes, transported in gilded coaches, and moving through period interiors that include tapestry curtains and baroque ornamentation conveyed in a delicate pastel palette. It is uncanny how Minache's escape scene echoes Challiou's early design. She renders even nuns' garb sensuous with trademark swirls and palpable sexuality. Suzanne, for example, is featured nude or partially clothed in a number of images, including one in which she lies comfortably naked in bed alongside the Mother Superior.

But Minache's three predatory scenes recount sexual pursuit, aggression, and anguish, thus revealing the artist's keen sensitivity to communicating emotion and eliciting a response. Minache seduces the reader-voyeur, by flaunting both Suzanne's sexuality and her vulnerability.

In her choice of hue, dress, and moment, Birais's ten full-page illustrations in muted colours 'orientalise' the novel's scenes. Her illustrations highlight Suzanne's tragic isolation within a community of sisters, with Suzanne appearing brooding, pensive, or troubled. Birais's representation of male figures, who are strategically positioned as external judges, obliged to peer in from afar, is reminiscent of Le Barbier's formalised approach. Her designs eschew eroticism in favour of reflection, and all of her figures are copiously draped, even in bed. Like Minache's representation of the same scene, Birais's depiction of Mme*** and Suzanne in bed is one of female warmth and complicity rather than of anguish or pursuit. Such a depiction falls literally within that ambiguous realm of alleged innocence which permeates the female protagonist's textual experience, as Apostolidès recognises: '[Suzanne] ne cesse de déclarer innocents les baisers et les caresses qu'elles échanget'.⁴⁷ This might be read as a female artist's recuperative rereading of the everyday need for mutual female comfort and touch, where the male artistic gaze leaps immediately towards lesbian sensationalism. Ultimately both readings of lesbianism in Suzanne are possible simply because of Diderot's original textual painting of Suzanne as a highly complex character who is '[d]iverse, multiple, insaisissable'.⁴⁸

Conclusion

A range of coherent interpretative strands emerge from the outset in this visual corpus. The anonymous artists responsible for the 1796 series and also Challiou privilege a sensual and emotional gaze on the injustices inflicted on Suzanne as a victim, hinting at the text's inherent eroticism. The later anonymous artists' interpretation of Challiou's designs in 1797 brings out the erotic dimension, thus directly adopting the libertine perspective, satirising sequestration and enforced celibacy alike, a route keenly adopted by modern artists; by contrast, Le Barbier champions the universal, detached perspective, suppressing eroticism to draw on the external witness gaze, to better appeal to readers' sense of justice and liberty. In all of these strands, the reader-viewer and reader-voyeur are invited to adopt an array of sometimes overlapping positions (whether rational observer, compassionate witness, or erotically implicated voyeur), that together fuse within the abundance of veils and layers of ambiguity that comprise Diderot's convent novel.

Following extensive research, I posit that it was anonymous artists who first interpreted the visual wealth of Diderot's *La Religieuse* to produce an original set of illustrations in 1796 and not Le Barbier as previously assumed by critics. Other near-contemporaneous series of eighteenth-century engravings are striking in their attempts to translate intersemiotically the novel's *non-dit*, a quality often perceived, conjectured, witnessed, or sketched. Together, the four pioneering sets of early images that I have examined engage with the complex dynamic of Diderot's text in ways which have been adopted to varying degrees by subsequent illustrators. The early series offer valuable clues of the novel's reception and comprise essential fragments of the large, and largely unexplored, visual corpus globally surveyed in this article. The legacy of those eighteenth-century series simply cannot be reduced to the choice of perspective or exact moment. Even when changing horizons of expectation inspired abridged or conservative editions, artists have consistently chosen to return to the seminal scenes captured by late eighteenth-century illustrators and to remain faithful to Diderot's tableau-filled novel. As nineteenth- and twentieth-century illustrations demonstrate, accusations of libertinism have melted away in an era of voyeurism and exhibitionism, but Diderot's core conventual and anticlerical condemnations remain.

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century French historiography, literature, and history of ideas. With James Hanrahan, she recently co-edited *The Dark Side of Diderot/ Le Diderot des ombres* (Peter Lang, 2016).

¹ For a study of the early illustrations of Diderot's convent novel, see David Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', in *La douleur: beauté ou laideur*, ed. David Adams (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2005), p.41-52. A selection of illustrated editions of this novel are presented by Michel Delon and Michèle Sajous D'Oria in *Diderot dans ses fictions: deux siècles d'illustrations* (Venice: Edizioni Lineadacqua, 2013).

² Robert Mauzi, 'Introduction' to his critical edition of *La Religieuse* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), p.9.

³ Philip Stewart, *Half-Told Tales: Dilemmas of Meaning in Three French Novels* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), p.85.

⁴ On this subject, see Florence Lotterie's discussion, which focuses on the multiple uses and connotations of the verb *voir* within the novel. Diderot, *La Religieuse*, ed. Florence Lotterie (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 2009), 'Présentation', p.xvii.

⁵ Jochen Schulte-Sasse, 'Afterword', in Jay Caplan, *Framed Narratives: Diderot's Genealogy of the Beholder* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), p.113.

⁶ Alexandra Wettlaufer, *In the Mind's Eye: the Visual Impulse in Diderot, Baudelaire and Ruskin* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003).

⁷ Jean-Marie Apostolidès, 'La Religieuse et ses tableaux', *Poétique* 137 (February 2004): p.73.

⁸ Caplan, *Framed Narratives*, p.49.

⁹ Houda Landolsi, 'Les tableaux de *La Religieuse*: du roman de Diderot au film de Nicloux', *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 50, no. 1 (2015): p.244.

¹⁰ Christophe Martin, 'Dangereux suppléments': *l'illustration du roman en France au dix-huitième siècle* (Louvain: Peeters, 2005), p.24; Isabelle Vissière, 'Une originalité de Diderot: le *texte-image*', in *Diderot, les Beaux-Arts et la musique*, ed. Henri Coulet (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1986), p.111.

¹¹ For a material bibliography of early editions of Diderot's *La Religieuse*, see David Adams, *Bibliographie des œuvres de Denis Diderot 1739-1900*, 2 vols. (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du 18^e siècle, 2000). See also an important earlier study: Giles Barber, 'A Note on the English Piracies of *La Religieuse* and *Jacques le fataliste*, 1797', *Diderot Studies* 16 (1973): p.15-21.

¹² Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', p.42.

¹³ Adams, *Bibliographie des œuvres de Denis Diderot 1739-1900*, vol. II, p.376.

¹⁴ University College Oxford Library, call number KCAA/DEL; Bonn University Library, call number Fc 336/2; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, call number Y2-27655-27656. For their generous assistance in tracking down and accessing copies of this elusive edition and its reprint, sincere thanks are owed to: Emily Green and Elizabeth Adams (Oxford); and to Brian Cooper, Nathalie Hild, and Ursula Gasper (Bonn). David Adams's bibliography and the Worldcat catalogue list other copies in Sweden, New York, Moscow, and Dresden.

¹⁵ Barber writes that Gueffier and Knapen's edition was 'advertised in the *Mercure de France* on 29 January 1797'. See Barber, 'A Note on the English Piracies of *La Religieuse* and *Jacques le fataliste*, 1797', p.20.

¹⁶ Vissière, 'Une originalité de Diderot: le *texte-image*', p.109.

¹⁷ Bibliothèque municipale (Section Patrimoine), Fontainebleau, call number AB 12478-12480. Sincere thanks to Marie-Dominique Ehlinger, who facilitated viewing of these rare volumes at Fontainebleau, which have sustained significant water damage. These signed images seem relatively unknown: even Delon and Sajous D'Oria recently designated Challiou's images as *anonymes*. See Delon and Sajous D'Oria, *Diderot dans ses fictions: deux siècles d'illustrations*, p.137.

¹⁸ Adams mentions in passing the fact that Le Barbier's images were soon available with *marchands de gravures*, sold 'à part', before being attached to any edition. See Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', p.43.

¹⁹ Delon and Sajous D'Oria, *Diderot dans ses fictions*, p.137.

²⁰ The Oxford volume (see note 13 above) contains an extended *Avis au lecteur* not in the Paris edition. For specific references to copies, see David Adams's *Bibliographie des œuvres de Denis Diderot 1739-1900*.

²¹ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, call number Y2-27657 (I), Y2-27658 (II).

²² Caplan, *Framed Narratives*, p.48.

²³ Georges May, ed. *La Religieuse*, in *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. Herbert Dieckmann *et al.* (Paris: Hermann, 1975), vol. XI, p.31.

²⁴ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, call number 16-Y2-47788.

²⁵ Caplan, *Framed Narratives*, p.50.

²⁶ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, call number Smith Lesœuf S-5754-5756.

²⁷ For a discussion of the problematics surrounding Suzanne's relative innocence within Diderot's narrative, see Lotterie, 'Présentation', p.xxi-xxiii.

²⁸ Christine Clark-Evans, *Diderot's 'La Religieuse': A Philosophical Novel* (Montreal: CERES, 1995), see chapter 3; Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-revolutionary France* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), chapter 3.

²⁹ Caplan, *Framed Narratives*, p.52.

³⁰ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, call number Y2-27659-27660; Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, call number Cd 114 836. Sincere thanks to Yann Tholoniât for images from BNU Strasbourg's 1799 edition.

³¹ Cohen attributes this portrait to Louis-François Aubry. See Henri Cohen, *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures du XVIII^e siècle*, 6th ed., augmented by Seymour De Ricci (Paris: Librairie A. Rouquette, 1912), p.305.

³² Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', p.43.

³³ Stéphane Lojkin, *La scène du roman: méthode d'analyse* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2002), p.110.

³⁴ Vissière, 'Une originalité de Diderot: le *texte-image*', p.122.

³⁵ Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', p.51.

³⁶ Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.101.

³⁷ Adams, 'Les premières illustrations de *La Religieuse*, ou la via non dolorosa', p.43.

³⁸ Mauzi, 'Introduction', p.29.

³⁹ Philip N. Furbank, *Diderot: A Critical Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p.221.

⁴⁰ Michel Nathan, *Splendeurs et misères du roman populaire* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1990), p.17.

⁴¹ Denis Diderot, *La Religieuse*, ed. by Léo Taxil (Paris: Librairie anti-cléricale, 1883), p.3.

⁴² Diderot, *La Religieuse*, ed. G. May, p.244.

⁴³ Denis Diderot, *Contes et romans*, ed. Michel Delon (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 2004), p.412-14.

⁴⁴ Bovinet is here erroneously given the initial F.

⁴⁵ Delon and Sajous D'Oria, 'Variations sur Diderot', in *Diderot dans ses fictions*, p.11.

⁴⁶ Vissière, 'Une originalité de Diderot: le *texte-image*', p.115.

⁴⁷ Apostolidès, '*La Religieuse* et ses tableaux', p.82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.84.