

NOVEL TRANSLATIONS

The European Novel and
the German Book, 1680-1730

Bethany **Wiggin**



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Book, 1680–1730*

BETHANY WIGGIN

A Signale Book

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In memory of my mother,
Alison Green Wiggin

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Finally, a brief note on orthography and translations. Readers unfamiliar with early modern German materials may wonder at apparent orthographical and even grammatical idiosyncrasies. All quotations have been given exactly as in the original—except that I have used *u/U*, *v/V*, *i/I*, and *j/J* in accordance with modern norms, and *ä* etc. are substituted for *ê* etc. I have also expanded abbreviations. The early German printers' convention of setting a forward slash (/) where we use a comma today has been retained. Similarly, printers' use of roman letters in texts otherwise in German *Fraktur* (Gothic or blackface) letters is indicated here with italic. Thus a "foreign" word, such as "Roman" (romance and novel), was carefully set by German printers in roman letters and provided visual evidence distinguishing it from its Germanic neighbors, set in blackface. In a study of cultural translation, it seemed important to retain such evidence of acculturation on the printed page. Other "foreign" words thus appear here as, for example, *Memoiren*, mimicking printers' common practice. To capture printers' mix of the foreign and domestic within a single word to pluralize or to decline words from abroad, I have combined boldface and roman type. And to make *Novel Translations*' materials—many popular in their day but now obscure, even to specialist readers—accessible to a transnational readership, I have translated all original German and French texts into today's *lingua franca*, modern English. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. No doubt they sometimes make English sound quite foreign, perhaps appropriately in a book that insists upon the sometimes strange, often *unheimlich*, and frequently innovative work of translation.

NOVEL TRANSLATIONS

INTRODUCTION

“Little French books” and the European Novel

Wann ein Quartal verstreicht/ da nicht einer oder mehr *Romans* auß/ und in die *Catalogos* kommet/ ist es so seltsam/ als eine grosse Gesellschaft/ da einer nicht Hanß hiesse. Manchem ermanglet nicht an einem Wand=gestell voller *Romans*, aber wol an Bibel und Bettbuch. Mann= und Frauen=Volk sitzt darüber/ als über Eyern/ Tag und Nacht hinein. Einige thun gar nichts anders.... Ward demnach von dem Französischen Wort *Roman*, oder *Romant* geredet/ und anerwogen/ daß man diser *Nation* billich überlassen/ disen Materien einen besondern und daurenden Namen zuerfinden/ als die der Romanen vornehmste Eräuffnerin/ und mehr solcher sachen getragen/ als die andre alle.... Man halte Franckreich und andere Länder/ item die *Zeiten*/ da die *Roman* gemein worden sind/ gegen denen *Zeiten* und *Länderen* da sie seltsam sind/ und rede ohnparteilich von der Sach!

A season without a *Roman* published and listed in the book fair catalogues is as unusual as a large crowd with no one named Hans. Some people do not want for a wall lined with *Romans* but have no Bible or prayer book. Men and women brood day and night over them like eggs. Others do barely anything else.... Thus we talked about the French word *Roman* or *Romant* and judged that one should readily grant this nation the right to invent a special and lasting name for these materials since they were the chief inventor of the *Roman* and had borne more of these things than all others.... Compare France and the other countries, ditto the times where the *Roman* has become common with those times and places where they have remained rare and then talk about it impartially!

—GOTTHARD HEIDEGGER, *Mythoscopia romantica* (Zurich, 1698)

One man's anger haunts the pages of this book and demands exorcism. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, Gotthard Heidegger (1666–1711), occasional critic and full-time Swiss Calvinist, poured his rage into pages treating the origin and progress of romance, *Mythoscopia romantica*. The baroque syntax and

vocabulary fail to obscure Heidegger's shrill tone. Styled as a conversation between friends, Heidegger's anti-romance, anti-novel tirade has long been identified as a foundational text for the history of the German novel. It has been reprinted, excerpted, collected in anthologies, quoted by scholars, and read by generations of *Germanisten* as arguably the first full-blown German-language theory of the *Roman*—a term encompassing what English divides into romance and novel. My own book thus began as an exploration of the fury at the origins of the modern novel. Specifically, I set out to discover what lay behind Heidegger's palpable vexation. And the search stretched on, for although Heidegger's *Mythoscopia romantica* escaped obscurity, the books that enraged him did not.

Heidegger's *Mythoscopia romantica* theorized more than just the genre he labeled with what was then considered by Germans to be a French word, *Roman*. He also presented a theory of the rise and fall of nations. Heidegger's printer-publisher in Zurich, David Gessner (1647–1729), followed common German typographical practice and set the term *Roman* in italic letters to make its foreignness leap off a page of Gothic type (*Fraktur*). So foreign was the word that its spelling was uncertain: “the French word *Roman* or *Romant*.” While the many texts labeled with this term could vary considerably, their shared French provenance overrode any differences.

In assigning the *Roman* an exclusively French origin, Heidegger was explicitly borrowing from a more celebrated theorist of the genre, Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721), elected to the Académie française in 1674. Huet's *Traité de l'origine des romans* (1670) had provided what many across Europe agreed to be the most erudite and elegant treatment of the genre to date, and it was quickly translated into English, German, and Latin. His *Traité* also neatly excluded any Spanish and Italian pretenders from the genre's throne—despite ample claims that seemed to make the genre theirs. Charles Sorel (1602–1674), for example, had famously used and recommended the adoption of Spanish examples by other French writers. Spanish models, and not only the picaresque, were in fact so widely imitated in French that later scholars have identified a seventeenth-century French subgenre named the “roman hispano-mauresque.”¹ So advanced were Spanish and Italian practitioners of the form that French Jesuit scholar René Rapin (1621–1687) argued, in his *Reflections on Aristotle's Poetics* (1674), that it had precluded those nations' success in writing tragedy. And, ironically enough, Huet's *Traité* was itself first published with *Zaïde*, whose subtitle prominently proclaimed it an *histoire espagnole*. No matter, however, for France was the place where, Huet claimed, the *roman* had first been brought to full flower, initially by Honoré d'Urfé (1568–1625), then by Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), and finally by the author of *Zaïde*, listed on the original title page as “Monsieur de Segrain” (Jean Regnault de Segrain, 1624–1701),

1. For references to the early twentieth-century scholarship that proposed this subgenre, see Coulet 248.

a title attributed today to Segrais's friend and close collaborator Marie-Madeleine, comtesse de Lafayette (1634–1693), whose *Princesse de Clèves* (1678) is often cited as the first modern novel. Huet played down the wealth of evidence to the contrary to stake his claim for French cultural achievement. He flaunted the *roman* as the crown jewel in Gallic power and imperial glory.

If Huet's theory of the *roman* was overdetermined by a theory that yoked culture to power, so too was Heidegger's. Across time and space, the Swiss pastor tirelessly demonstrated, cultural achievement and political power had traveled in tandem, *translatio studii et imperii*. Each term subtended the other. Crucially, they could also be read in reverse. If cultural accomplishment accompanied political might, cultural decline was equally certain proof of power's ebb. What augured the rise prognosticated by one soothsayer could be read by another to herald a fall. Thus, while for Huet the *roman* predicted French preeminence, for Heidegger it told of French decadence. Huet's *roman* burnished French glory; Heidegger's exposed that nation's seamy underside. It was the genre's intense reception beyond France that had so vexed the Swiss Calvinist. Its popularity portended a fall from grace for all nations who sampled of its fruits.

Laced with a generous dose of sexism and brimming with anti-French chauvinism, Heidegger's warnings elicited lukewarm reactions in the press of his day. In the March 1702 edition of *Neue Unterredungen* (New Conversations), first in a string of journals edited by publicist Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (1671–1729), the enlightened editor identified Heidegger's allegations as "eine Grille" (wild fantasy) and snickered: "Gewiß es nimt mich Wunder/ daß unser Autor nicht auch gesaget/ Eva hätte kurtz zuvor/ ehe sie vom verbotenen Baum geessen/ einen Roman gelesen: oder eine von der nichts würdigem Schlangen praesentirte Histoire galante" (60). (I confess it surprises me that our author did not go on to claim that Eve, right before she ate from the forbidden tree, had read a *Roman*—or a *histoire galante* given to her by that no good snake.) It seemed, Gundling hinted, that "der Mann... hat vielleicht keine andere *Romans* gelesen/ als etliche *Histoires Galantes, Amours Secrettes*, worüber kluge Frantzosen selbst lachen" (58). (The man might not have read any other *Romans* than various *Histoires Galantes, Amours Secrettes* that are ridiculed by clever Frenchmen themselves.) But what were they? And which ones? Unlike Heidegger's censorious judgment, these books have been quite forgotten.

Traditional literary histories are not much help in approaching the origins of Heidegger's wrath, for several reasons. Firstly, the *Histoires Galantes* and *Amours Secrettes* that Gundling fingered as the censor's model *Romans* are often considered *unliterary*—even, until more recent decades, in French literary history. In his foundational study of the French novel before the Revolution, Henri Coulet echoed Heidegger's opinions of the *histoires* and *nouvelles* that Coulet identified as dominating the market for prose fiction from 1690 to 1715 (289–95). Such texts, critics in

both the eighteenth and twentieth centuries judged, were popular with all sorts of readers, not just with those of more highbrow tastes. Many even smacked of pornography. In any case, they were not *literature*. Secondly, beyond French literary history, these “French” texts fall outside the frames with which national literary histories fence their borders. Only recently have English-language critics, such as Catherine Gallagher and William Warner, insisted on recuperating the French origins of the English novel. Thirdly, the decades around 1700 have, for reasons closely connected to the first two, not traditionally sustained the attention of literary or cultural historians. This neglect is particularly true of German literary history.² These decades could thus be quickly summed up in the nineteenth century by Karl Goedeke, one of the field’s fathers: “Man übersetzte” (One translated) (3: 244).

The time for an intervention is ripe. The tasks of translators have never seemed more urgent, the cultural labor that is translation recognized anew. Emily Apter captures the widely shared sense that “the traditional pedagogical organization of the humanities according to national languages and literatures has exceeded its expiration date” (581). Fitfully feeling our way toward organizations appropriate to and sustainable in the brave new world of globalism, we scrutinize prenational political formations with more than antiquarian interest. Historical models of empire and power (*imperium*) appear oddly contemporary. Translation, we realize, provides both the vehicle to project that power across space and time as well as the site to renegotiate it on local terms.

As the following pages document, many early novels were cosmopolitan books, “strangers nowhere in the world”—or, at least, strangers nowhere in Europe.³ Between roughly 1680 and 1730, the early novel’s passport was French. With its French papers, the fledgling genre traveled far and wide. Readers across the continent voraciously consumed “little French books.” And as they snapped up new titles, they domesticated the new genre. This intense reception of French fictions spawned the European novel. Across borders, the novel lent readers everywhere a suggestion of sophistication, a familiarity with circumstances beyond their local ken.

But the genre’s border crossings did not proceed without local opposition. The routes the cosmopolitan genre traveled were lined by circumstances in which the novel’s French origins long mattered. Into the eighteenth century, the modern German novel (*Roman*) was thus not German at all; like the contemporaneous English novel, it was French. By the early eighteenth century, Germans’ usage of the loanword *Roman* appears, at first glance, strikingly like our own, stretching to cover

2. Olaf Simons has represented the lack of attention to the decades around 1700 in graph form. The only period less represented in the standard reference work, Frenzels’ *Daten deutscher Dichtung*, are the decades leading into the Catholic Reformation, roughly 1545–1570. Simons’s graphic depiction has been widely reproduced on the many wiki sites he coauthors. See, for example, <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Literatur> (10 March 2010).

3. In the 1751 entry in the *Encyclopédie*, Diderot defined *cosmopolitan* in this way (cf. Jacob, *Strangers*).

a wide variety of forms for which latter-day critics have invented countless sub-genres: pastoral romance-novels, war and travel chronicles, heroic novels, courtly novels, as well as the *nouvelles*, *amours secrets*, and *histoires galantes* and *scandaleuses* that spread with the Huguenot diaspora after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (Edict of Fontainebleau) in 1685.⁴ And yet, in German and across Europe, the *Roman* at 1700 differed in one absolutely crucial aspect: it was coded as French.

This French chapter in the novel's history is the subject of *Novel Translations*. As my conclusions suggest, this long and long-neglected chapter began gradually to draw to a close only in the 1720s, more than sixty years after the term first migrated into German. The *Roman* in German remained laden with baggage from its "French" origins even into the nineteenth century. By the 1720s, English fictions—many themselves indebted to French *nouvelles* and *histoires*—began to be translated directly into German. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, translated into German and French within a year of its initial publication in English in 1719, marked the beginning of the end of French hegemony over the German novel.⁵ As English models increasingly dominated the now well-established European market for fiction, the French chapter in the genre's always transnational history drew slowly to a close.

The *Roman* in German, like the novel across Europe, gradually lost its French accent. Nonetheless, repressed memories of the genre's fashionably French origins long haunted the book world, subtending diagnoses of the illnesses suffered by later readers. The widely discussed *Lesewut* (reading rage) and *Lesesucht* (addiction to books) thought to plague eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers of *Trivialliteratur* (popular materials), for example, were in large part simply subsequent strains of the seventeenth century's *Modesucht* (fashion rage or addiction), similarly contagious to women and youths.

The use of quotation marks to enclose "French" is crucial. For "French" texts themselves often turn out to have borrowed from other models. In addition, a text written in French in these years, and especially after 1685, hardly signaled support for French royal politics. In her sweeping *World Republic of Letters* (published originally in French in 1999), Pascale Casanova has shown that the language's "cosmopolitan character," already evident by the 1660s, accompanied a "curious 'denationalization' of French" (68). French had become the international language of letters, a medium whose plasticity allowed its use by France's champions as well as its most scathing critics. The adoption of French signaled the seismic shifts occurring in the literary field. Indeed, Casanova persuasively sketches how French became

4. Historians of the novel will note immediately that I have not included any of the subgenres that critics assign to the so-called low *Roman*. While picaresque and satirical fictions are obviously essential parts of the rich fictional tradition later texts drew upon, they were not usually, if ever, labeled around 1700 as *Romane*.

5. The year 1719 was, arguably, also when French hegemony of the English market for novels was radically curbed. The histories of the English and German novels, like the histories of English and German gallantry, are truly *croisées*, to use the term advocated by Werner and Zimmermann.

the medium that enabled the creation of the modern category “literature,” a project with which the history of the novel is intimately entangled and which I take up in chapter 1. Margaret Jacob makes a similar point, specifically for eighteenth-century philosophy: “French was as much the *lingua franca* of Huguenot refugees, business travelers, and the non-French elites, particularly in The Netherlands and the German speaking lands, as it was in France” (“Clandestine Universe” 9). Publication of French-language titles was of course an everyday occurrence in the Netherlands and the area just outside the reach of French censors called by Robert Darnton the “fertile crescent” (*Forbidden Bestsellers*). English printers, too, set French texts, even producing bilingual editions of famed titles, such as the *Lettres portugaises* (1669).⁶ German publishers also printed French texts, eager to trade in the *lingua franca* whose cosmopolitanism made it so fashionable far beyond Paris. And in addition to publishing in French, English and German publishers alike rushed out “French” titles in their respective vernaculars—some, actual translations from the French; others, more or less successful knockoffs of French models; and still others that treated “French” topics from love to war.

As we unsettle the borders of national literary histories, we begin to see the marketplace’s transnational spaces connected, for example, by the production of the fake printer Pierre Marteau of Cologne. As book historian Karl Klaus Walther has recognized, the Marteau imprint is an emblem of a “market that turned the word into a ware.”⁷ The whiff of scandal, promise of notoriety, and hints of sexual and political outrage emanating from the Marteau brand draw us in no less than they attracted readers in the decades around 1700. They also remind us of the ill repute that so long attended the early novel, described in German literary history even recently as “insipid, trivial, or even distasteful.”⁸ Product of an industry that always needs to skirt the censor, the Marteau imprint epitomizes the speed with which *Romane* were translated, printed, and brought into circulation on the European market. They were the hottest of hot book commodities: both spicy and stolen. While the commercial success of Marteau titles might not have been enjoyed by all *Romane*, they undoubtably set the gold standard to which others aspired; while other *Romane* failed to deal with it as frankly as Marteau titles, sex sold.

6. I have consulted the 1702 printing of this bilingual edition, which appeared in London. The title pages—one English, one French—proclaim the 1702 printing to be the “second” or “dernière” edition. English and French pages alternate in this edition, which is paginated continuously across languages.

7. Walther’s painstaking examination of German-language Marteau titles disproves assumptions (by Jacob [“Clandestine Universe”] and others) that Marteau was the private property of the Dutch house Elzevier. The imprint, and others much like it, were used by various printers.

8. The quote is from McCarthy. His important article picked up on the slim—and equally moralizing—volume by Herbert Singer, *Der galante Roman*. While in some ways Singer’s sociohistorical work is akin to Richetti’s seminal study of “normal literature” and the early English novel, Richetti’s work launched a wave of feminist scholarship that sought, in part, to rehabilitate the reputations of women novel writers, such as Aphra Behn and Delariviere Manley (see, for example, Ballaster’s *Seductive Forms*). In doing so, this feminist work categorically challenged the morality that had long formed the basis of discussion of the early novel.

The continental geography charted in *Novel Translations* provides a thick description of what is today the "core of Europe." The genre's fortunes on the European market—indeed its role in creating that market—are most legible from a vantage point well beyond Paris or London. By 1700, Leipzig had eclipsed Frankfurt as the center of the German publishing industry. The city's publishing houses cultivated commercial ties to Amsterdam, Paris, and London and extended their activities well to the east. The scope of this geography shaped the burgeoning genre's commercial and critical fortunes with singular force. It encompasses a space far larger than the maps demarcated by national literary histories.

The space traversed by the European novel is more expansive still than the cross-Channel space proposed by Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever that helped draw sustained attention to the novel's hybrid origins. It is now generally accepted that what came to be called the modern novel emerged in a geographical "core" (Moretti) or "zone" (Cohen and Dever) dominated by France and England, while Holland played a supporting role. Rather than narrate the "rise of the novel" (Watt), be it English or French, recent literary historians working in those national literatures have explored the novel's hybrid origins, origins that may in fact stretch back to Greek antiquity (Doody). One might locate the origins of the modern novel in Heliodorus, Cervantes, Lafayette, or Defoe, to name a few frequently mentioned candidates. But, by 1700, French prose output dominated European markets.⁹ William Warner describes the dominance of French-language productions on the English market: "During the seventeenth century, France functions for England as a kind of Hollywood for prose fiction. It sets the standards for taste, develops the new subgenres, advances the theoretical debates, and dominates novel publication with sheer numbers" (48).¹⁰ The same relationship was true in large part for the German market by 1688. From a perch in Leipzig, we can more easily assess the magnitude of the transformations in the novel's transnational geography and usefully complicate accounts of its core geography.

As we attend to the European dimensions of the novel, our story must change and become *croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann). The view from Leipzig, the Saxon *klein Paris*, reveals more accurately the scope of the novel's transnationalism. It also shows how different the geography of the novel's core or zone appears when considered in terms not of authorial supply but readers' demand. Already by the 1680s,

9. DeJean similarly notes: "From 1660 to 1750, the prose fiction created both in England and France was massively 'French'; from 1750 on, it became increasingly English" ("Transnationalism" 38).

10. Warner includes a note documenting the dominance of French models. He relies on Salzman's *English Prose Fiction, 1558–1700: A Critical History* for the following figures: "Of 450 new works [of prose fiction] published in England during the seventeenth century, 213 were translations, and 164 of these were originally French. When one considers that some of the English nontranslations were patent rip-offs of French novels, the magnitude of the influence of French models becomes impressive, and after 1660 is only increasing" (48 n. 2). As helpful as Warner's Hollywood analogy is, however, it also misleads. French-language publication could—and did—occur well beyond the "Hollywood" of Paris. No consideration of French production in German has been undertaken to date.

the same novels were read from London to Leipzig and beyond—and read at the same time, ready in translations for readers of French, English, German, and other languages. The novel had become European.

My focus on the French-German dyad provides crucial detail to sketches that render Europe or the continent with the broad strokes of cartoon.¹¹ It marks, of course, an area far more modest in size than the continent's complex cultural and literary geography. But tracing the routes along which the genre wandered across Spain, Italy, Poland, the Nordic countries, and beyond must be left to scholars more proficient in local languages and histories. Here, however, I can suggest some of the questions to be asked and the measurements to be taken in pursuit of transnational histories of the novel and the global, planetary literary history of which they are a part.

The transnational history of the novel might approximate what Mieke Bal has called a “preposterous history,” a way of doing history that underlines the past's production by the present. As Bal paraphrases Derrida in *Limited Inc.*, the word (or the past) cannot return “where it has been before it was quoted . . . without the burden of the excursion through the quotation” (11). The past, we realize, is always translated by the present. Early novels thus ineluctably work like fun-house mirrors. In them, we may glimpse startling resemblances of our postnational, postmodern lives, knowing all too well that our gaze melts all that is solid into air. These shifting similarities, preposterous history recalls, may all too easily collapse the alterity that is the past. Lest Nemesis come to assist its Echo, the transnational history of the novel must not fall into the enchantment of its own image.

Nonetheless, where critics like Goedeke sneered that “one translated,” we see something else. Our recognition of the significance of the novel's cultural translations, like Minerva's owl, flies only at dusk. For only now can we read the genre's investment in an overarching project of cultural translation or mobility. It is one not unlike the *translatio studii et imperii* with which early moderns such as Huet and Heidegger were so familiar.¹² It is more commonly discussed through examples such as classicist Anne Dacier's (1654–1720) French prose translations of

11. Even *The Novel*, the two-volume survey edited by Moretti, omits discussion of the German-speaking world and the novel.

12. Affinities between theories of *translatio studii et imperii* and cultural translation exist—despite our noble hopes that the latter is not doomed to repeat the former's hierarchical chauvinism. Do we not also promise ourselves cultural renewal from the hybrid practices constitutive of cultural translation? In accounts of his Cardenio project, for example, Stephen Greenblatt emphasizes that his search for Shakespeare's lost adaptation of Cervantes's story is also a search for a model of cultural mobility attuned to present political needs. Foregrounding the unexpected, contingent slips and shifts in meaning produced by translation, Greenblatt's account of cultural mobility is explicitly intended to counteract the chauvinism of early modern concepts of *translatio imperii* while also borrowing from them. This discussion of Greenblatt's account of cultural mobility draws from a lecture delivered in Philadelphia on 26 February 2009 and revisited in his introductory essay to the edited collection of essays *Cultural Mobility*.

the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or Alexander Pope's (1688–1744) Englishing of the *Iliad*, famously rendering him "indebted to no prince or peer alive." Partisans of ancient and modern, of Dacier, Pope, and others, quarreled over who had best translated Homer. They also fought over claims to cultural inheritance. Translation, as Walter Benjamin later proposed, was then as now the afterlife—of a canonical work as well as of the golden age that produced it. And in German literary history too, Martin Opitz (1597–1639) cajoled would-be poets to follow his example and compose poetry in the vernacular with promises that such endeavors would engender a renaissance of the arts and sciences in Germany. The beauty of their poetic blossoms would rival the earlier brilliance of the Pléiades in France, he argued, a poetic constellation itself a well-considered *imitatio* of Dante Alighieri's and Petrarch's earlier promotion of an Italian poetic vernacular via projects intimately, even genealogically, connected with the Latin *auctores* (Brownlee). Then as now, the stakes of such translations were high, especially if one got the translation wrong.

Novel Translations charts just one of the paths by which newness—in its avatars as fashion, novelties, and the novel—entered the European world in the decades around 1700. Newness, as Homi Bhabha reminds us, is the unstable precipitate of cultural translation. It is essentially related to the foreignness (*Fremdheit*) between and of languages, what Benjamin famously called the untranslatable nucleus of the original, a hard kernel of difference glossed by Bhabha as "the *element of resistance* in the process of transformation, 'that element in a translation which does not lend itself to translation'" (*Location of Culture* 224).¹³ Newness's affinities with translation are thus not elected but ontogenetic.

My title *Novel Translations* intends to recall how these critical terms, *newness* and *translation*, are joined at the hip. Both title and subtitle also designate a specific chapter in the history of newness and the work of cultural translation. They should also signal the importance of transnational space and place to this history, recalling that translation is of course never singular, always *unheimlich*. The *Translations* of the title thus marks a location in flux, one perched on "the borderline negotiations of cultural translation," a locus in-between, Bhabha's "interstitial place" (*Location of Culture* 227). They inhabit a place touched by the nations whose territories they traverse while not essentially of them. Long unseen by historians of the nation, novel translations—far less celebrated than those of a Dacier or a Homer—and the space that they created emerge anew, transformed by their detour through twentieth-century theory. Only now do we see in them a space of "an empowering condition of hybridity; an emergence that turns 'return' into reinscription or redescription" (Bhabha, *Location of Culture* 227).

13. Bhabha is quoting from Benjamin's seminal essay "The Task of the Translator." On the untranslatable, see also Apter.

The cultural historical moment around 1700, long so tersely described, looks quite different from our present place, dotted with posts signing a collective loss of faith in grand narratives: not only the nation, but also reason, progress, originality, art, to name only a few. In the last decade, several important German-language studies of these neglected years have begun the work of revision and translation.¹⁴ Our ears are open to a time lived under the sign of crisis.¹⁵ In years once considered by literary histories as epigonal (after *l'âge classique*, the English Renaissance, the German *Barock*), as premature (rococo, *frühe Aufklärung*), or as monstrously hybrid, something speaks to us anew. The present book thus attends to the voices drowned out by critic-censors whose shrillness at times recalls Heidegger; many of these voices, it turns out, have interesting things to say. To elicit these voices, we must change our questions.

From a different vantage point, we can begin to counteract the disciplinary effects of narratives that tell the novel's national rise. A pre-post-national view provides a needed antidote to Lessing's consequential *laudatio* of *Agathon* as the first German novel suitable for a thinking mind—and the subsequent assignment of novels before Wieland to history's garbage dump. With resolute eclecticism, the following chapters draw from approaches that make common cause against older disciplinary formations: new historicism, new intellectual history, and the new book history or the history of material texts. Heterodoxy is always dangerous, and yet at this still early (but always preposterous) stage of writing transnational histories of the novel it must be the principle of first resort.

German commentators in the decades around 1700 often read the imitation of French culture as the arrival of an unruly woman. Novel readers were always effeminate, and they threatened to turn the world topsy-turvy. Later scholarship too squeezed novels' disorders into a restrictive corset that condemned imitation as derivative and the early novel as insufficiently national. It is precisely this disorderly figure I wish to recover, in forms foregrounded as always fragmentary, provisional, and contingent. To loosen the stays, we must borrow widely and eclectically. Synthetic approaches such as the "distant reading" proposed by Franco Moretti have

14. See, for example, Mulsov's *Moderne aus dem Untergrund*, Borgstedt and Solbach's introduction to *Der galante Diskurs*, and Simons's *Marteaus Europa*. Simons's invaluable study, for all its merits, considers only cursorily what it meant that Londoners and Leipzigers were simultaneously reading the same *French* prose fictions both in the original and in translations. In his attempted reconstruction of the "discursive landscape" in which English and German novels developed, Simons credits Delarivier Manley's scandalous histories with considerable ripple effects. Certainly within the English-novel landscape for the decade Simons considers, Manley's importance was enormous. But Manley too was responding to shifts in the market for novels that had already occurred when she (or someone else) anonymously published *The New Atalantis*. In addition to its extensive sections on Manley's *Atalantis*, *Marteaus Europa* devotes a short section to other female authors of the early eighteenth century (639–46), including there two French writers, Aulnoy and DuNoyer. Aulnoy seems to have been Manley's explicit model for *Queen Zarah* (1705) (see Ballaster). While recognizing Aulnoy's popularity in early eighteenth-century London, Simons radically understates the importance of French innovations in the market for novels.

15. Hazard's 1935 *Crise de la conscience européenne* retains much of its currency.

their place here.¹⁶ But to imagine the aesthetic pleasures readers found in these novels, to reconceive the seminal labor of fashion, we must ask still other questions. I have drawn them from diverse methodological traditions united, perhaps exclusively, by their attention to the relations of power figured in and by discourse.

The wealth of unknown materials that emerge in these explorations of heterodox questions helps to dispel the lingering assumption that the German discussion of letters and the book was moribund in the decades around 1700.¹⁷ Because they have long been censored, I present them here in fulsome detail. Longer excerpts attest to the diversity of voices that discoursed on Germans' love for new fashions (poetic fashions and reading fads included), their imitation of the French (or their damning of them) in new and various forms, and their pursuit of worldliness in the pages of novels. The disorderliness documented in *Novel Translations*—skirmishes along the shifting lines fencing the *res publica litteraria* and the world of commerce, rampant piracy, and the blurring of national borders—was part and parcel of the *Roman* between 1680 and 1730. To write its history requires another order than that of traditional literary history.

Novel Translations tells a story of Parisian fashion on the European margins. More importantly, it documents the history of how the periphery refashioned the metropolitan. On the margins, the novel popularized reading and commodified the book, launching a daring assault on the borders of the world of letters and transforming the literary field (Bourdieu). Fashion makes the man, we know; it also invents new literary practices. Literary novelties abounded in the seventeenth century, the genre of the vernacular poetic handbook (*Regelpoetik*) among them.

16. In his widely read article, "Conjectures on World Literature," published in 2000, Moretti makes the case for "distant reading," anticipating the figures and tools he subsequently explores in the essays collected in *Graphs, Maps, Trees*. "Conjectures" compares distant reading to the day of synthesis requiring years of analysis (Moretti quotes Bloch), illustrated by Wallerstein's synthesis of others' analyses into system. Analysis, or "close reading," Moretti emphasizes, remains in literary history finally a "theological exercise—whereas what we really need" to produce world literary history "is a little pact with the devil" (57). This Faustian global literary history, Moretti suggests, can proceed only in abstractions, far removed from any particular object of analysis or subject of close readings: "the more ambitious the project, the greater the distance" (57). Dimock's work on genre sustains a productive dialogue with Moretti, proposing methods drawn from geology and astronomy to account for the detail lost by Moretti's abandonment of close reading. Signaling her allegiance to Spivak's call for planetarity in *Death of a Discipline*, Dimock alleges that "the loss of detail" that Moretti readily concedes "is almost always unwarranted" ("Genre as World System" 90). Spivak's reply to Dimock critiques both Moretti's and Dimock's reliance on kinship models of genre, proposing instead the model of creolity or "the delexicalization of the foreign" ("World Systems" 106), a process not unlike Benjamin's suggestion that the translator must make German Chinese.

17. This assumption remains more widely held by Germanists working in North America than in Germany, despite the obvious productivity of an expanded concept of literature (*Literaturbegriff*). Nowhere is the assumption more obvious than in the curricula followed by numerous American German departments, which fail to train students, even at the graduate level, in premodern traditions. While medieval and early modern studies have experienced brilliant renaissances in English, romance, and comparative literature departments, German limps behind, crippled by institutional insistence that literature before 1750 is simply not important enough to be studied.

When Opitz launched the genre in 1624 he also bitterly complained, as chapter 1 discusses, that poetry had become a fashionable commodity. The complaint, hypocritically enough, echoed loudly in the scores of subsequent handbooks compiled in imitation of Opitz's slim volume.

In the long and uneven history of consumption, the decades around 1700 appear particularly lumpy as ever more participants elbowed their way onto an increasingly vernacular and crowded literary field. Newness and novelties, including many in print, became ever more tightly braided with German's articulation of Frenchness. Across Europe by the 1680s, the hottest fashion was gallantry, a form of the "French imitation" that Thomasius famously theorized at the end of that decade, also subject of chapter 2. Both novelty (newness) and Frenchness were, for many, equally problematic for the latitude they gave to female readers and writers. While some—Thomasius, and before him Opitz—imitated properly (*imitatio, Nachahmung*), others poached (Certeau), none more problematically than gallant Woman.

While the first two chapters stand under the sign of my title's *Novel*, the second two turn squarely to *Translations*. Processes of transculturation touched on in the book's first half come to the fore in the second. Narratives driven by events from 1688 in chapter 3 and from 1696 in chapter 4 help me create the plural history, *Novel Translations*. Plucked from the countless historical traces held by the libraries and archives I have mined, they allow me to sketch two key moments in the genre's transnational history: its initial import and its subsequent domestication. As is so often the case for work that reads culture as text, no hard and fast rules of selection apply. My choice of events, or what Ezra Pound famously called "luminous details," can be born out only by "the actual practice of teaching and writing" (Gallagher and Greenblatt 15)—in other words, by the stories these chapters offer.¹⁸

This event-driven narrative technique permits the *disorderliness* needed to recover the repressed disorder of the early novel. It is not simply messy. Rather, the juxtaposition of diverse events works to produce "an effect of heterogeneity" and to disrupt "the traditional orderliness of most histories of literature" (Hollier et al. xix).¹⁹ In 1688, as the new novel was imported into German, the *Roman* became simultaneously poetical and popular. *Literati* such as Albrecht Christian

18. In their anti-programme programmatic essay in *Practicing New Historicism*, Gallagher and Greenblatt linger over the ineluctability of the historian's choice, reminding us of the interpretative freedom accompanying the responsibility of the choice. They write: "We ask ourselves how we can identify, out of the vast array of textual choices in a culture, which are the significant ones, either for us or for them, the ones most worth pursuing. Again it proves impossible to provide a theoretical answer, an answer that would work reliably in advance of plunging ahead to see what resulted. We have embarked upon what Ezra Pound in an early essay calls 'the method of Luminous Detail' whereby we attempt to isolate significant or 'interpreting detail' from the mass of traces that have survived in the archive, but we can only be certain that the detail is indeed luminous, that it possesses what William Carlos Williams terms 'the strange phosphorous of life,' in the actual practice of teaching and writing" (15).

19. This principle of heterogeneity practiced by Hollier and the authors of *A New History of French Literature* was carried on in *A New History of German Literature* by Wellberry et al.

Roth increasingly found themselves crossed by writers and publishers who recognized the *Roman*'s profit potential in the pages, for example, of Thomasius's newsy journal *Monthly Conversations*. In 1696, one man, August Bohse, sought to bring the proliferation of *Roman* production in German under the authorial control promised by his chosen pseudonym, Talander. Plagiarized, robbed, and allegedly cheated, Bohse attempted to direct the massive production that passed under Talander's name. While literary history has neglected most gallant writers, the literary marketplace rewarded them in their day. Translators like Talander inhabit the terra incognita of transnational literary history.

The genre's steady encroachment on the hallowed ground of poetry and letters was not uncontested, its trespasses unforgiven. Its opponents, men of letters such as French academician and ancient partisan Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711), famously sought to consign it to the waters of Lethe. Beyond France, critics such as Johann Mencke (1674–1732), editor of the *Acta eruditorum*, joined Boileau in the quixotic attempt to rout the allegedly effeminizing *Roman* from the literary field and to wipe its last trace from historical memory. Our Swiss critic of the *Roman* placed its readers beyond the pale of civilization, such was their delight in execrable stories. Borrowing from Plutarch's "On Garrulousness" in the *Moralia*, Heidegger pronounced the harshest of judgments on novel readers:

Nemlich ihre Ohren (Augen) sind den Schrepf=Köpfen oder *Ventosen* nicht gar ungleich/ dann wie diese das fälste und ungesundste Geblüt abzapfen/ also nemmen jenne nur das schlimmste und schändlichste zubehalten auf: und/ besser zu reden/ wie die wolangeordnete Stätte einige unehrliche Porten zuhaben pflegen/ dadurch man die *Maleficanten*/ oder auch den Ohnrath der Sprach=Häuser f.h. außführet/ nichts ehrliches/ aber da auß= oder eingehet/ also passiert durch die Ohren vorwitziger Leuth nichts fast ehrliches/ sonder allein lose garstige Erzehlungen/ und Stanckwerck. (138)

Their ears and eyes are not unlike chamber pots: these collect the most poisoned and unhealthy fluids, and so novel readers' eyes and ears gather up also the most bad and damaging things. To speak more clearly, well-regulated places typically have dishonorable gates through which *Maleficanten* are taken out or the waste from houses of ease, but nothing honest either enters or exits through them. So too nothing but corrupted stories and putrefaction passes through the ears of such meddling people other than only lewd, foul stories and stinking stuff.

While Heidegger's specters of pollution may have been extreme, they were visions widely shared. Scores of critics saw tracts into print designed to stem the novel's rise. "The German Patriot," whom we will encounter in chapter 2, militated against the genre as a French ruse. It was, he and his brothers in arms across Europe trumpeted in alarm, a Trojan horse of French design. This fashionable reading material encouraged loose morals among untutored readers, and it infected

the body politic with the “French disease,” syphilis, rendering it impotent to withstand Gallic pretensions to “universal hegemony.” Early modern cultural translation often entailed infection, decline, and decay. Figures of disease inhabit the dark side of renaissance. They also comment—problematically, interestingly—on our own celebration of hybridity and the productive work of translation.

The view from Leipzig, then, reveals how the European geography of the novel was transformed in the decades between 1680 and 1730. Core and periphery were on the move. By 1680, Paris and its culture makers exercised a magnetic pull on the genre’s European geography. The capital of French fashion was at the symbolic (if not always the actual) center of prose production. On the map of the early novel, all roads led to Paris. By the 1720s, however, the genre’s topography was shifting fast. By the end of that decade, as I discuss in the conclusion, London, not Paris, had become the novel’s new metropole, both the novel’s origin and its destination. From Leipzig, we clearly see how readers on the periphery shaped the metropole’s very location.

The early, “French” chapter in the genre’s international history is crucial. It is my hope that historians with the necessary competencies will continue the work of fleshing out a more precise geography of the European novel in this phase. Just how far did Paris’s metropolitan influence extend? What became of those Spanish and Italian examples so quickly elided by Huet? But for all its importance, this particular chapter in the genre’s history is not the whole story. Borrowing again from Moretti, this project suggests that the French chapter is one among many shifts in the genre’s apparently cyclical meanderings. It came to an end when the novel’s aura of Frenchness had worn off. With the growing popularity of English novels on the European market, a commercial success marked most visibly by the *succès de scandale* that *Robinson Crusoe* fast became, a new chapter in the genre’s history began.²⁰

The *roman*’s initial popularity stemmed from the religious, cultural, political, and military turbulence that shook the continent in the decades around 1700, rattling from England in the northwest to the Ottoman Empire in the southeast. The genre was a product of a shrinking world, and it proliferated across often hostile borders. In the communication and trade networks that knit the continent ever more tightly together, the novel appealed to and created a broad readership eager for news and accounts of the contemporary, cosmopolitan world, a readership whose members extended well beyond the exclusive purview of the *litterati*, the learned men to whom we now turn.

20. In *Graphs*, Moretti postulates the cycle of generations as providing the structure of the novel’s history. His stress on the cycles of the novel—of normal literature and its generational time span (twenty-five to thirty years)—seeks to correct histories of the (English) novel, which mistake another cycle for a singular shift (William Warner’s “elevation of the novel” in the early eighteenth century or April Alliston’s “great gender shift” at midcentury) (26). All great theories of the novel, Moretti observes in the conclusion to his essay, “have precisely reduced the novel to one basic form only (realism, the dialogic, romance, meta-novels . . .); and if the reduction has given them their elegance and power, it has also erased nine tenths of literary history. Too much” (30).

FASHION RESTRUCTURES THE LITERARY FIELD

Bücher=menge.

Deß Bücherschreibens ist so viel/ man schreibet sie mit hauffen;
Niemand wird Bücher schreiben mehr/ so niemand wird sie kauffen.

Crowd of Books

Of writing books there is so much, they are written by the heap;
No one would write more books, if no one would buy them.

—FRIEDRICH VON LOGAU, *Three Thousand German Epigrams* (Breslau, 1654)

In 1654, poet Friedrich von Logau (1605–1655) briefly commented on an age-old problem: the willy-nilly proliferation of books. Unlike Logau, others had already spilled quantities of ink on such ubiquity. Gutenberg’s invention had, they groused, made a bad problem worse. Every fool believed his scribblings to merit wider circulation, Erasmus—and many subsequently—had noted.¹ The cleverness of Logau’s quick formulation lies in its divergence from the biblical verse “Of making books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh” (Ecclesiastes 12:12). Many, Logau hints, bemoan the unfettered spread of letters—every Tom,

1. Calls abound in the vernaculars that the “presses be oppressed” across early modern literature. In Erasmus’s *Encomium moriae*, for example, Folly opines: “But how much happier is this my writer’s dotage who never studies for anything but puts in writing whatever he pleases or what comes first in his head, though it be but his dreams; and all this with small waste of paper, as well knowing that the vainer those trifles are, the higher esteem they will have with the greater number, that is to say all the fools and unlearned. And what matter is it to slight those few learned if yet they ever read them? Or of what authority will the censure of so few wise men be against so great a cloud of gainsayers?” (56). Burton writes in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*: “’Tis most true, tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoethes, and ‘there is no end of writing of books’, as the wise man found of old, in this scribbling age especially, wherein the ‘number of books is without number’ (as a worthy man saith), ‘presses be oppressed’” (qtd. in Köppenfels 209). Ann Blair cites additional examples in her investigations of strategies cultivated by early modern scholars to manage information.

Dick, and Harry's (or worse, Jane's) wish to see their lines gathered in a book. Yet those who grumble have only themselves to blame, for these very complainers belong to the book-buying public, and "No one would write more books, if no one would buy them."

Logau dashed off the epigram "Crowd of Books"—one of his *Deutscher Sinn-Getichte drey-tausend* (Three Thousand German Epigrams) (Breslau, 1654)—in response to profound changes in the European book world. Like other *literati* in the seventeenth century, Logau bore witness to upheavals in the field of power in which early modern letters were embedded. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Logau reacted to these changes with good humor, tongue firmly in cheek. Well into the seventeenth century, this world remained small, its inhabitants highly educated and overwhelmingly male. Criteria for membership in this elite were rigorously upheld and consisted, with precious few exceptions, of university training and a thorough acquaintance with past masters, from Homer and Aristotle to Ronsard and Scaliger. The most esteemed among them became elected members of academic societies. But, in spite of the best efforts of *literati* to police their field's borders, by century's end their world had been overrun.

Logau's "Crowd of Books" provided the perfect synecdoche for the influx of new participants into the world of letters. By the seventeenth century, the book had become the *sine qua non* of academic life and letters. It was a medium, however, over which academics were rapidly losing control. While bemoaning writing's proliferation on the pages of far too many books, Logau's quip acknowledged that the book also belonged to a world whose values ran counter to timeless ideals of truth and beauty. No longer exclusively the domain of the learned, the book by the middle of the seventeenth century had become part and parcel of the world of commerce. Its value could thus be determined like any other commodity; its price was set by the contingent and mercurial preferences of the marketplace.

This marketplace, as Logau's anonymous "crowd" and nameless "heap" indicate, teemed with participants: men and even some women, whose levels of literacy often fell short of the erudition possessed by men such as Logau. Nowhere was this marketplace more fractious—the collision of erudition and commerce more jarring—than in the case of poetry. Everyone, the *literati* alleged, attempted his or her hand at verse. Some even had the audacity to see their efforts into print. In Walter Benjamin's rich terms, these early modern intellectuals considered poetry's aura tarnished, if not already lost, by its ceaseless proliferation and reproduction. Beyond the small world of the erudite elite, poetry was being transformed into a workaday item of no certain value, a commodity available to anyone of sufficient means. Intellectuals questioned others' abilities to cull the wheat from the chaff, fine verse from maculature. The boundaries that had tightly circumscribed the academic arena of poetry's production and distribution had grown distressingly porous. Members of poetry's traditional elite were eager to shore up the lines of demarcation—and their own status—in a landscape whose terrain shifted under their feet.

This transformation of the early modern literary field of power is particularly legible in the pages of the poetic handbooks written and published over the course of the century. As a genre in the vernacular, “rule poetics” (*Regelpoetik*) first flourished and then rapidly multiplied in German after the unprecedented, surprise success of Martin Opitz’s *Buch der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624).² Alight with patriotic fervor, Opitz (1597–1639) had urged fellow Germans to cultivate their native tongue, refining its lyric capacity. German, Opitz argued, countering strong opinions to the contrary, was no less a poetic language than the French for which Ronsard had labored so tirelessly in the previous century to promote as a language equal to Petrarch’s Italian or even Latin. Like the French, Germans must learn to imitate classical poetic models, importing them into the vernacular.

But the vernacularization of poetry preached by Opitzian acolytes brought mixed blessings. When it was mixed with the black arts of the printer, vernacular poetry easily escaped the rarified circles of the highly literate and slid into the fractious pell-mell of the marketplace. Handbooks, of which Opitz’s remains by far the best-known German example, had to navigate a perilous course. Seeking to elevate the status of vernacular poetry, these vade mecums claimed that it was a divine gift, equal in stature to Latinate, Greek, or even Hebrew poetry.³ At the same time, these guides laid bare the rules for its creation, rendering its composition increasingly transparent and accessible. Such handbooks aimed to tutor a wide range of would-be poets, some more divinely inspired than others. Examples of these handbooks encompassed full-blown prosodies and sophisticated meditations on the nature of verse versus prose; others included comparative histories of poetry in the various vernaculars; some introduced poetic forms and the niceties of scansion; still others contented themselves with providing handy rhyming dictionaries. As a genre, the *Regelpoetik* captures the inherent paradoxes of the seventeenth-century literary field: it promoted vernacular poetry while ridiculing vernacular poets; it took inspiration from models in other vernaculars while resenting foreign superiority.

The proliferation of this new, internally conflicted genre also suggests a surge in demand for poetry. Verse—and versifiers—had become fashionable. It was the insurgence of fashion into the literary field, this chapter explains, that first transformed poetry from a learned pursuit to one enjoyed by men and women beyond the ivory tower and the academic societies. And the alchemy worked by fashion on poetry caused additional metamorphoses. As poetry won new writers and readers, poetic forms too—including some in prose—proliferated. Fashion, at first enjoyed by a small elite, soon bred popularity. With popularity came, of course, contempt.

2. As Nicola Kaminski notes, “How the birth of [Opitz’s] *Deutschen Poeterey* from the spirit of such a modest text could have happened in 1624, written by a still largely unknown author not yet twenty-seven-years-old, remains today one of the unfathomable facts in literary history” (16).

3. In the complex world of seventeenth-century language politics and the hierarchy of the vernaculars, German-language theorists were eager to increase their vernacular’s stature. To do so, some, including Enoch Hanmann (1621–1680), argued that German derived from Hebrew.

From Opitz in Silesia to Thomas Browne (1605–1682) in Leiden and Oxford, scholars across Europe decried the popularization of poetry. In his *Religio medici*, for example, Browne wished “to condemne to the fire those swarms and millions of *Rhapsodies*, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgements of Scholars, and to maintaine the Trade and Mystery of Typographers” (qtd. in Köppenfels 209). Poetry and letters, these men recognized, had become commodified. Writers active across Europe in the decades around 1700 were only too well aware that they brought goods to market. In a typically unconcerned remark, philosopher Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) congratulated himself that “die Buchführer kommen und überbiethen immer einer den anderen/ und geben mir noch die besten Worte dazu/ daß ich ihnen für andern mein Werckgen in Verlag geben wolle” (qtd. in Wittman 103). (Publishers approach me and outbid one another, saying the nicest things if I will only reward them with my next little work.) Less well-known and financially less-successful writers also approached the book market as a place to earn quick money, whether honoraria paid by publishers in exchange for speedy translations or compilations, or commissions to celebrate memorable occasions. Grub Street proliferated in publishing centers across Europe, from London to Leipzig.

While university students in particular won infamy for their willingness to oblige any segment of market demand, more established academics were similarly loath to miss out on money to be made, a fact captured in Johann Burckhard Mencke’s (1674–1732) *De charlataneria eruditorum* (1715), translated into German as *Die Marcktschreyerey der Gelehrten* (Intellectuals Hawking Their Wares at Market).⁴ Selimantes (Christoph Gottlieb Wend), most famous today as Telemann’s librettist, chose in 1729 to call his latest lyric collection simply *Poetische Waaren* (Poetical Wares). While literary history long relegated the lustre of lucre to its margins, we increasingly insist on considering money’s role in the creation of the institutions necessary for the invention of modern literature. Financial concerns stood squarely in the middle of the century’s writerly activities—despite most men’s unwillingness to display the candor of Thomasius.⁵

Guesses about numbers of seventeenth-century readers differ radically.⁶ Alberto Martino influentially estimated the reading public for what is today called

4. Mencke, also editor of the famed *Acta eruditorum*, fittingly enjoyed market success with the *Charlataneria*. It appeared quickly in Latin editions printed in Leipzig and Amsterdam as well as in rapid German (1716) and French (1721) translations. The translated German edition printed in Leipzig makes repeated mention of an earlier Halle edition of the same year and also in German that I have been unable to locate.

5. For all his excoriations of Grub Street, Alexander Pope, as Kernan shows, masterfully invented new ways to earn handsomely from his writerly activities. The significance of occasional poetry (*Kasualpoesie* or *Gelegenheitsgedichte*) in the German context is no longer underestimated (Stockinger). Given the sheer number of sheets men such as poet Simon Dach, for example, produced for specific occasions, we can no longer regard such production as a product of “spare time” (*Nebenstunden*) (see Wittmann, *Geschichte* 101).

6. The best current survey of the literature about reading publics is Schön, “Lesestoffe.”

German baroque literature to be at century's end a mere five thousand people. Martin Welke, one of the few experts on the early modern newspaper, has argued for a considerably larger number of German readers who skimmed the monthly, weekly, or daily news, arriving at a figure of 250,000 buyers for the fifty to sixty German newspapers that appeared regularly by the last third of the century.⁷ Each purchaser presumably passed his or her paper on to ten or more other readers—all in all a far higher figure than we are accustomed to estimate for the German-language market.⁸ Disputing the view that the seventeenth century's violent tumult curbed the growth of the book market, Johannes Weber has amplified Welke's call to reconsider the size of the German reading public, insisting that we understand the long war not only as a hindrance to publishing but also as a "mentor" to the print industry, helping news sheets to "bloom in every corner and quickly mature." The war created demand for news, or, as Weber states, "Europe became small at this time, or better: it drew dangerously close together" ("Deutsche Presse" 144).

The creation of this market for print novelties—fashionable poetic forms in verse and prose, newspapers and journals—ended the exclusive reign of the *literati* over the book in the decades around 1700. Subsequently, the book would no longer be a curiosity intended only for an elite few. Rendered fashionable commodities, poetry and the world of the book grew in demand. Baptized a thing of fashion, the book's popularization gained momentum over the eighteenth century with the spread of new forms, the novel chief among them. As the book slipped its academic confines, the market for letters finally segmented into high and low with the eventual creation of the thoroughly modern, Romantic category of literature.

This chapter traces the polemics about poetry and fashion that raged throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century and profoundly shaped the literary field. It foregrounds one novel, fashionable genre: the internally conflicted vernacular poetic handbook. The vitriol on display there is unmistakable. From our vantage point, removed from the battlefield by more than three centuries, the jabs and pokes are often quite funny. Those directly stung by the barbs must have found it somewhat harder to laugh. This chapter surveys only some of the poisoned

7. The first news daily began in 1605 in Strasbourg. Selected parts of the 2005 exhibition curated by Welke at the Gutenberg Museum commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the newspaper, including pictures of Johann Carolus's petition to Strasbourg's council to grant him a monopoly for his printed paper, remain available online: <http://www.mainz.de/WGAPublisher/online/html/de/fault/mkuz-6bthj9.de.html> (9 March 2010).

8. Conventionally, the creation of a more sizable German reading public, and subsequently a German public sphere, is thought to have lagged behind France and England, in large part a result of the devastation wrought by the Thirty Years' War. See, for example, Berghahn.

In a series of articles taking on Engelsing's influential model of a reading revolution whereby masses of readers abandoned traditional practices of intensive reading for extensive at the end of the eighteenth century, Welke spiritedly argues that the early and continuous growth of printed news media throughout the seventeenth century belies any argument for a revolutionary change in the early modern reading public. Engelsing's model has most famously been critiqued by Reinhard Wittmann, who, like Welke, disputes any abrupt change in reading habits, arguing for a "reading evolution." See also Blair (13).

darted from the 1620s to the beginning of the next century, roughly from Opitz to Magnus Daniel Omeis (1646–1708), the last notable *Präsident* (President) of Nuremberg's influential poetic society, the Pegnesischer Blumenorden (Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz). But before discussing these men and the parvenus they decry, we first turn briefly to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the literary field to adapt it for the early modern world of letters. An excursus into the birth of fashion, commodity culture, and the world of goods then provides a bridge to the exploration of seventeenth-century poetic handbooks, fashion's arrival in the world of letters, and educated Germans' allegations that not all who imitated were poets.

The World of Letters and the Literary Field

In the afterglow of successive category crises, literature stands revealed as a modern invention. Today, its historical moment may or may not have passed. But in the seventeenth century, literature did not exist. Alvin Kernan has nicely explained its absence in his book on Samuel Johnson and eighteenth-century English print culture:

'Literature' is the correct historical term for the print-based romantic literary system centering on the individual creative self, that extended from the late eighteenth century to the present, passing through a succession of modes such as high romanticism, symbolism, modernism, and now, we are frequently told, a last 'deconstructive' phase that is said to mark the death of literature, though not, presumably, the end of some kind of social system of letters. (7)

Kernan captures here the historical specificity of literature, although we must be vigilant to avoid universalizing English history.⁹ To the conditions he lists as necessary for literature's invention at the dawn of the nineteenth century, we might add others: the journals, reference works, academic disciplines, various types of libraries, as well as other agents such as censorship and, later, copyright, all of which have come, in historical processes reaching across decades and centuries, to enshrine literature as a particular cultural institution.¹⁰

9. Literature as Kernan defines it arguably came into existence in France earlier than in England, and in Spain perhaps earlier still. German "literature" is typically viewed as developing still later than it did in England, despite the thorny issue that German Romanticism preceded English Romanticism. A transnational focus on translation, publishing, and reading, I argue, belies the purported "belatedness" of German literary culture, or for that matter, English.

10. Against this view of literature's invention at the turn of the eighteenth century described by Kernan and others, Reiss has interestingly argued that literature was already invented across European vernaculars some two centuries earlier. He explains: "What we have called 'literature' is part of an environment in which we are able so to name it. . . . That environment developed out of a moment of fairly abrupt discursive transformation occurring in Western Europe during some of the years traditionally known as the Renaissance, between roughly the mid-sixteenth century and the early seventeenth. The

To speak of literature of the German baroque, of *l'âge classique*, or of the Restoration is thus, it is now widely agreed, anachronistic. Retroactively applying the literary label to texts generated before literature also seriously misleads. Assigning early modern texts to literature misrepresents the specific textual economy in which they were embedded. They (and their constitutive intellectual, social, and financial capital) circulated over rather different routes than the newer paths worn by literature. Should we read Logau's epigram, for example, in an anthology of German baroque literature, we would fail to understand the dynamic field of forces in which it circulated. Exploring the establishment of another modern invention, art, Larry Shiner cautions: "Viewing Renaissance paintings in isolation, like reading Shakespeare's plays out of literary anthologies or listening to Bach passions in a symphony hall, reinforces the false impression that the people of the past shared our notion of art as a realm of autonomous works meant for aesthetic contemplation" (4). Like Bach's passions, early modern poetry was decidedly not meant to be contemplated in splendid isolation. Instead, it was put to work on any number of occasions: to celebrate a birth or a wedding, to dedicate a book, or to mourn a death, among many others.¹¹

But could we not simply substitute the term *poetry* for *literature*? Early modern poetry, after all, seems to encompass many of those same texts often considered literary. The answer, unsurprisingly, must be no, for poetry fails to encompass the larger system of letters of which it comprised only a part, albeit an important one.¹²

transformation was consolidated by the turn of the latter century, or at least by the end of the first two decades of the eighteenth. This is not to deny further development, but to claim that there were no more immediate fundamental changes of assumption. By and large the discursive class by then dominant (what I call the analytico-referential) stayed so at least to the end of the nineteenth century. Despite increasing unease, it may be thought largely to be so still" (3).

Literature, in Reiss's study, was born as a powerful antidote to the "cultural dismay" pervading the old continent in the sixteenth century. The dismay diagnosed by Reiss is in many ways akin to the culture of crisis at the end of the seventeenth century analyzed by Paul Hazard. Designed to counter a loss of faith in language's ability to signify, the entity that Reiss calls literature was born of a new "mode of conceptualization" (79), one confident of language's ability to order and express the world. It was an entity that, Reiss elaborates, bore all the hallmarks of power, often instrumental to the legitimization of political rule. Despite its considerable explanatory value, Reiss's "literature" is not the same modern institution we have in mind here.

11. See Stockinger's essay on "Kasuallyrik" in *Hansers Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 2.

12. Simons observes: "You often read that before 1730 poetry was that which today is literature. . . . The completely different range of genres [should] scare us away from the apparently straightforward substitution of terms" ("Kulturelle Orientierung" 52). Early modernists and their medieval counterparts working in German have, like their colleagues working in English, widely recognized the anachronicity of the literary moniker. Jan-Dirk Müller, for example, has noted the amusement with which scholars active in historically distant fields have observed heated German discussions in the 1990s over whether "literary studies has misplaced its object of study," a debate that raged, for example, over several issues of the *Jahrbuch der Schillergesellschaft* that posed this very question. Krohn has also foregrounded the fact that literature's "alleged autonomy is a romantic fiction" (199). Nevertheless, both medievalists, Müller and Krohn, like many of their early modern counterparts, retain the term *literature* to discuss texts before literature's invention. Stöckmann, for example, writing the lead article for a special issue on the literary baroque of the semipopular journal *Text + Kritik*, rightly insists on the alterity of seventeenth-century texts, which is also the topic of his published dissertation *Vor der Literatur: Eine Evolutionstheorie*

Letters, then, is the term I employ to designate both *litterae* (letters) and *litteraturae* (writings) as well as the enormous changes wrought by their increasing popularity. Bailiwick of a small, learned world at the outset of the seventeenth century, letters were taken up by increasing numbers of social groups, especially those in urban centers. Most importantly, the system of letters by century's end also included literate women, particularly in their roles as recipients of occasional poetry, as consumers of new print genres such as the journal and the novel, and, in some cases, as arbiters of taste.¹³ Indeed, in the cultural rivalry that pitted one vernacular against the other in the world of letters, writerly women provided the jewel in the cultural crown.¹⁴

To conceptualize this transformation of the seventeenth-century world of letters, its textual economy, and the often hostile reactions these changes elicited, Bourdieu's model of the literary field proves helpful. It is a tool that also helps us understand why many of the texts considered in *Novel Translations* have been neglected by literary historians, deemed somehow "unliterary." When the early modern system of letters was finally supplanted by the modern literary system, texts such as the occasional poems, pamphlets, and single-page prints discussed in this chapter, as well as many of the novels in later chapters, grew increasingly obscure, their ephemeral nature standing in ever sharper contrast to the supposedly timeless qualities attributed to more "literary" counterparts. I thus deploy Bourdieu's vocabulary as a heuristic tool throughout, attracted by the concept's capaciousness: its ability to encompass historical nuance.¹⁵

der Poetik Alteuropas. Still, these radically other texts are subsumed under the category "literature." See Stöckmann ("Enttäuberungen") for further references to the older literature on baroque literature and poetics. This consistent retention of the term would seem to void literature of the very historical specificity on which we must insist. For a treatment of literature as a suprahistorical idea, see Marino's *Biography of "The Idea of Literature."*

13. Schön writes: "This new public—which for belles lettres was overwhelmingly female—becomes visible in the demand for new literature. In the early eighteenth century this demand was initially met by literary production that could not fulfill it, neither intellectually nor materially" ("Lesestoffe" 81). The importance of women's growing numbers in the marketplace for books is similarly stressed by Becker-Cantarino in, most recently, her introduction to *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century: The Enlightenment and Sensibility*, vol. 5 of the *Camden House History of German Literature*. Simons ("Kulturelle Orientierung") and Bogner similarly identify the decades at century's end as particularly important in the transformation of the world of letters.

14. See Goodman, Woods and Fürstenwald, and Gössmann.

15. Early modern German literary and intellectual historians have in the past decade recognized the utility of Bourdieu's concept of the literary field and of his notion of habitus despite their situation within Bourdieu's thought in relation to Flaubert and the latter half of the nineteenth century. See, for example, the essays gathered in Beetz and Jaumann, *Thomasius im literarischen Feld: Neue Beiträge zur Erforschung seines Werkes im historischen Kontext*. Jaumann's introductory essay there provides further references to the growing German literature on Bourdieu. The wide reception by early modern German historians of Bourdieu's habitus concept, as sketched in the chapter "Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus" in his *Field of Cultural Production*, is clear from its inclusion on the excellent pedagogical Web site maintained by the Lehrstuhl for Early Modern History at the University of Münster and edited by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger: <http://www.uni-muenster.de/FNZ-Online/Welcome.html> (9 March 2010).

Bourdieu defines the literary field as “a *field of forces*.” This force field “is also a *field of struggles* tending to transform or conserve this field of forces” (30). Its contours—its size and shape, its highs and lows—are determined by specific historical agents at different times. Changes in the field’s geography do not occur smoothly. Claims to the social prestige contained in the field are neither made nor maintained without recourse to struggles often violent, only sometimes symbolically. Bourdieu’s model of the literary field also illuminates how new forms of writing, what he calls “literary possibles,” result from “the change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions” (32). New forms, in other words, are unthinkable without structural changes slicing across the whole of the field. At the end of the seventeenth century, in our example, the modern novel emerged from fissures in the field. It was a product of the seismic forces that had cracked hallowed ground. The appearance of this new genre, in other words, indicated changes elsewhere in the field. It allows us to view the genre as a nexus where newness and novelty, fashionability and foreignness, art and commerce, intersected. Indeed, the novel’s success at the end of the century is understandable only if we account for the changing power dynamics that allowed for its emergence.

Key to these changes in the early modern system of letters were the seventeenth century’s dirty fights over the status of poet, over who might legitimately don the literary mantle. The tug-of-war over authorial status is, Bourdieu reminds us, *the* central issue shaping the literary field: “What is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer and therefore to delimit the population of those entitled to take part in the struggle to define the writer” (42). The epithet *Poet à la mode*, for example, was meant to consign would-be poets to the winds of whim and fancy. What its use reveals to us, however, is a caste of academicians whose dominance of the literary field was threatened by a “throng of books” penned by a faceless crowd of writers. As Bourdieu summarizes, “In short, the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy, i.e., *inter alia*, . . . the monopoly of the power to consecrate producers or products” (42). The novel’s long battle for literary legitimacy was, we shall see, preceded by a series of nasty skirmishes over the qualifications of a “true poet” and the status of printed news media, including the novel itself.

In choosing Bourdieu’s model of the literary field to articulate the changes in the *res publica litteraria*, I have purposely steered away from the Habermasian model of the structural transformation of the public sphere. This influential model, first articulated in Habermas’s 1962 *Habilitationsschrift*, famously describes how an older form of the public (*Öffentlichkeit*), a representative sphere defined by absolute authority, was displaced by a critical, reasoning, bourgeois public sphere.¹⁶ Whatever one’s quarrels with Habermas’s historical and geographic situation of

16. Habermas provides an interesting account of his book’s critical fortunes, especially its late but intense reception in the United States after its appearance in English translation in 1989, in his foreword to the new German edition of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, published in 1990 (11–50).

the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in eighteenth-century London, the model possesses enormous explanatory value.¹⁷ Many of the changes that I describe can in fact be related to an early stage in Habermas's model of structural transformation, the emergence of a literary public given to critical reasoning.

But to adapt the Habermasian model relegates the changes this book describes to the status of *Vorspiel*, precursor to the crucial event: the emergence of a bourgeois public sphere in the later eighteenth century. Yet the events I describe in this book are of great significance in their own right, not merely as forerunners. They deserve the sustained attention one reserves for the main act, not just the mild curiosity with which we greet the opener. Continued reliance on the Habermasian model, I believe, would continue to marginalize the decades around the turn of the seventeenth century, the least understood in German literary history. To continue our disregard is to remain ignorant of the significant shifts in the literary field that allowed for the emergence of a book market extending from London to Leipzig that made reading fashionable: entertainment not only for the erudite. Unlike the Habermasian model, Bourdieu's concept of the literary field is not narrowly bound to a single historical time and place. My job here is to make it work in a historically sensitive way.¹⁸

Fashion and Early Modern Commodity Culture

An illustrated broadsheet printed about 1630 depicts "*Allmodo*, vnnd seiner Daemen Leich begengnuß mit beygefügetem Traurigem Grabgesange" (The funeral procession of *Allmodo* and his lady accompanied by a mournful dirge) (fig. 1). The dirge, written for three voices, forms a textual box around which the pictured mourners wind a processional path leading from the deceased's home toward a skeleton hung in effigy and bedecked with the departed's insignia. Instead of the heraldry normally held aloft in funereal processions, here fashionable items indicate who is being buried.¹⁹ At the engraving's lower left, we see the deceased, *Der Ala modo* (Mr. Fashion), his body carried by six pallbearers. Even in death, his wide-brimmed hat, its extravagantly fashionable feather, and his pointed beard are immediately visible. In front of the body, a mourner pipes the *Fama* already dissipating on the breeze.

17. In the context of the history of the novel, the most important revision of Habermas's location of the emergence of the public sphere remains DeJean's *Ancients against Moderns* and her research there into Donneau de Visé's *Mercure galant* and its letters addressing Lafayette's *Princesse de Clèves* and the princess's controversial decision to tell her husband about her nonaffair.

18. Many of the issues I discuss in this chapter, particularly those relating to the rapid growth and proliferation of newspapers and journals, also bear directly on Engelsing's model of a "Leserevolution," mentioned above. Changing reading practices certainly play a role in the story this chapter tells of the transformation of the literary field. But whether they may be related to a "revolution" in reading practices or identified as part of a continuous process visible only in the *longue durée* is not my primary concern.

19. Lüttenberg and Prieuer comment on a similar French illustration's satirization of funereal practices of men of rank (62).

Others hoist fashionable items: a lace collar, long gloves, boots with elaborate cuffs, and a beard. A goat, labeled as the departed's favorite mount, also makes the round and "beweint sein. Herrn" (weeps for his master). Fifteen additional mourners labeled with their trades are included in the retinue. Depicted at the sheet's visual center, these men, dressed in the livery of Alamo, immediately attract our attention. In their wake, female standard bearers hold various women's fashions aloft; Alamo's wife, also deceased, follows, her body likewise trailed by servants and tradeswomen who exit through the doors of the couple's residence. Through the opening above the door, we see a small child lying comfortably in a cradle. *Sic transit gloria mundi*, the engraving prominently confirms; but, it also shows us, fashion lives on. Despite the untimely death of the parents, their *Junger Al modo* (Little Boy Fashion) "ist noch wohlauf in der Wiegen" (still fares well in his cradle).

This illustrated broadsheet was one drop in a flood of images and texts devoted to the vagaries of fashion that washed over textual consumers across Europe, both readers and viewers, in the 1630s.²⁰ This particular example sketches fashion's accoutrements in meticulous detail. Returning to the men at the broadsheet's center, we see a *Krämer* (chandler), an *Alamo leib Schneider* (fashionable tailor), and a *Kauffman* (merchant). That such tradespeople comprise fashion's retinue comes as no surprise. But in the very next row step a *Maler* (painter) and a *Poet* (poet), while hard on their heels follow a *Buchtrucker* (printer) and *Kupfferstecher* (engraver). Their presence at Mr. Fashion's burial is noted laconically in the verses

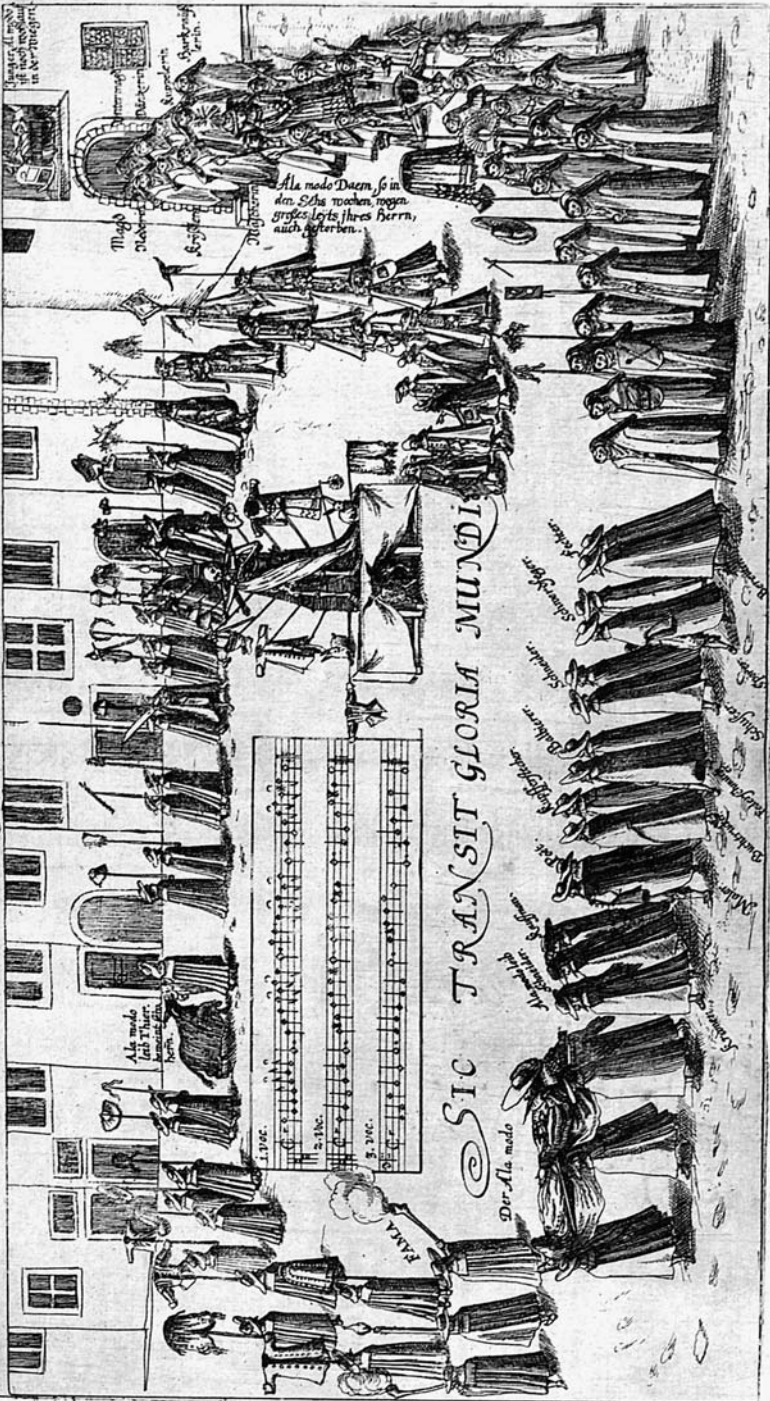
Kramer und Handwercks Leut/
Dieser plötzliche Fall/
Bringet euch thewre Zeit/
Drumb trawret allzumal.

You chandler and tradespeople
This sudden fall
Will cause you hard times
Thus mourn together all.

While the verses mention merely "tradespeople," the engraving documents fashionable trades in far greater detail, fixing the poet and his companions front and center. Constitutive to Mr. Alamo's self-fashioning, in other words, were the poet and painter. Clothed in fashion's livery, they have hit upon a wealthy patron. Yet, while lucrative, this patron-client relationship is unstable. To remain new, fashion

20. Similar broadsheets depicting fashion's funeral procession were made for French- and English-speaking audiences. They are reproduced and discussed by Lüttenberg and Prierer. For further reproductions of illustrated broadsheets depicting fashion, see also the exhibition catalogue *Frau Hoeffart & Monsieur Alamo: Modekritik auf illustrierten Flugblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*.

All modo, vnd seiner Daemen Reich begengnuß mit böygefügem Daurigem Strabefang.



*Alla modo Ditem, so in
den 28ta Wochen, wegen
großes Leids ihres Herrn,
auch gestorben.*

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2. Voc.

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SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

Der Alla modo

*Massen, die noch
in Verfassung
sind.*

*Orgel
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Sänger
Missa
Messen
Kantor
Sänger
Missa
Messen*

*Orgel
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Missa
Messen*

*Alla modo
Auf dem
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Figure 1. The Funeral Procession of Allmodo and His Lady Accompanied by a Mournful Dirge. Broadsheet (c. 1630). Fashion's death also heralds his successor's birth. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

reinvents itself ever anew. Thus the artist who remains faithful to an old master, the broadsheet's verses caution, will suffer "hard times."

The notion that poets were for hire, ready to sell their wares to the highest bidder was, of course, hardly new to the seventeenth century.²¹ New was the status of anonymous Fashion, not a noble prince, as a poet's patron. The fashionable poet marched to the orders of an impersonal master: the anonymous market force comprised by society's demand for fashion. Like the commodities born aloft by Mr. Fashion's mourners, the poet's verses were for sale to consumers ranging from the lord of the manor to his housemaid. Fashion was, however, no less a taskmaster than now, and it drove a hard bargain: The work of the poet (and the painter) could not alone fulfill the dictates of fashion. Instead, as the broadsheet's engraving details, verses had to be reproduced en masse to meet fashion's demands. Thus the poet in thrall to fashion required the assistance of the printer, who, in our broadsheet, follows closely in his footsteps. Only the printer's reproductions allowed the poet's verses to be consumed beyond the closed circle of original production. Thus, while fashion elevated poetry, heightening its allure, it simultaneously paved the way for its popularization—and, we shall see, its possible degradation.

Fashion's significance in remaking the early modern system of letters has only occasionally been recognized. It remains a topic in urgent need of further exploration and theorization, particularly in early modern studies. In a brief albeit insightful essay, Wilhelm Kühlmann identified fashion and its critique as the engine that modernized an array of key critical discourses, including in his lengthy list linguistic, stylistic, moral, political, legal, theological, economic, cultural, and historical discourses. Fashion and its critique, in other words, provided the world of letters the stuff to hash out the experience of modernization. In the period's terminology, to be *à la mode* was to be *modern*. Stated another way, to be modern was to be new—and so necessarily different than before. As the very language—*Mr. Allmodo* and *à la mode*—indicates, it was also intrinsically foreign. This difference and change—"processes of disconcerting disorientation and uncertainty for many" (89)²²—was

21. Around 1470, for example, singer-poet Michel Beheim, active at courts throughout central Europe, famously recorded his willingness to sing for his supper:

Der furst mich hett in knechtes miet,
ich ass sin brot vnd sang sin liet.
ob ich zu einem andern kum,
ich ticht im auch, tet er mir drum,
ich sag lob sinem namen. (qtd. in Seibert, 13)

The prince employed me as his man
I ate his bread and sang his song
If I find another
I'll make verses for him too if he rewards me for them
I'll say praises in his name.

Seibert reads these verses in the context of an exploration of models of authorship on the eve of the German Reformation.

22. "Vorgänge einer für viele offenbar bestürzenden Desorientierung und Unsicherheit."

part and parcel of the cultural pluralization that is the hallmark of the early modern period as a whole.²³ Thus, to echo Kühlmann, I read the expansive discussions of fashion (and its nefarious effects) as “a cultural-anthropological discourse of brilliant explanatory power specific to the period” (82).²⁴ The “Alamode” discourse, I argue, provides a seismograph with which we can measure the tremendous upheavals and related anxieties that mark early modern culture as a whole and the world of letters in particular. In rich work on the history of early modern reading and the reading public, Erich Schön also touches on the seminal significance of fashion. Changes in reading preferences, he writes, forced a recognition “that literature should orient itself according to contemporary, relative taste instead of to classical, absolute standards” (“Lesestoffe” 97).²⁵ Throughout the early modern archive, *alamode* registers upheaval. In diverse traces, such as the poetry and handbooks I emphasize here, but also in pamphlets arguing confessional politics and in theories devoted to statecraft, *alamode* reverberates, echoing with uncertainty the awareness, painful at times, of change.

As the word *Mode* itself became fashionable, it was affixed to an increasing number of objects, habits, and uses of language as well as to music, politics, and values (including religious belief).²⁶ Johann Ludwig Hartmann (1640–1684), for example, in *Alamode-Teuffel* (The Fashionable Devil) of 1675 railed against fashionable clothing, to be certain, but he also made sure to extend his analysis of fashion’s dangers to encompass “Geschmeiden/ Gebäuen/ Gastereyen/ Tractamenten und dergleichen” (jewelry, buildings, parties, social gatherings, and the like) (1), further pointing out that fashion has built “herrlichen Häusern/ kostbaren Gärten und Gebäuen” (magnificent homes, expensive gardens, and buildings) and turned men into monkeys who ape others’ “Gebärden” (gestures) (18). A broadsheet warning against fashionable cakes took on the widely discussed topic of new kinds of food and beverages.²⁷ The use of tobacco provided another favorite venue to debate fashion.²⁸

23. Work on the process of early modern cultural “pluralization” has been led by historian Winfried Schulze. Despite the productivity of this concept, very little of Schulze’s work or the work of members of the research team affiliated with SFB 573 (Center for Excellence 573) is available in English.

24. “einen epochenspezifischen Diskurs der Kulturanthropologie von überragendem Indizwert”.

25. “daß sich Literatur statt an zeitlos-absoluten Vorbildern am zeitgenössisch-relativen Geschmack zu orientieren habe.” See also Schön’s essay on the reading public and the novel, “Publikum und Roman im 18. Jahrhundert,” for a treatment of the specifically German situation.

26. Long the turf of costume historians, clothing cultures and their study have been reinvented by more recent investigations, many inflected by the attention they bring to questions of gender, sex, and the body. Across national disciplines and time periods, Marjorie Garber’s work on clothing and transvestism has been pathbreaking. In German, much fine work on early modern clothing exists. See particularly Dinges, and Wolter. Roche’s magisterial reading of clothing in ancien régime France has had similarly rejuvenating effects. For a brilliant account of clothing and material texts in early modern England and Italy, see Jones and Stallybrass.

27. Unless otherwise noted, the broadsheets discussed here have all been reproduced in the collections edited by Harms et al.

28. See, for example, the broadsheet “Von deß Tabacs Nutzen und Schaden auff Alamodisch durch das A B C gezogen” (Tobacco’s Benefits and Harms Fashionably Treated in an A B C) from 1629.

Throughout the century, fashion also served as a code for talking politics. The presence of a fashionable tailor in a broadsheet published shortly after the defeat of imperial troops under Tilly at Magdeburg, a crucial battle of the Thirty Years' War, for example, sufficed to explain the outcome.²⁹ The text accompanying this engraving briefly explains that Tilly's much-anticipated wedding to his intended, the city of Magdeburg, will not take place. The general's circumstances have been so reduced that he is not even able to pay the tailor for the fashionable suits that had been rather prematurely ordered for the planned festivities; fashion had emasculated the general. Fashion also colonized the tongue. Poet and newsman Georg Greflinger (c. 1620–1677) compiled *Etlicher Alamodischer Damen Sprichwörter* (Sayings of Various Fashionable Ladies) (Hamburg, 1647), which was appended to his *Complementier-Büchlein* (Handbooks of Compliments) and expanded for subsequent editions in 1658 and 1660. For his readers interested in such fashionable things, Greflinger also added a list of *itzt üblichen Reyhme* (rhymes now accepted) to the later editions.³⁰

Given the wide swath that fashion cut through early modern life, we would do well to take its emergence onto the literary field seriously. We need to account for the havoc it wrought in the system of letters. Fashion's early modern contemporaries were well aware of the metamorphoses of which fashion was capable, and they spent considerable time and energy in documenting and understanding them. Across Europe, fashion acquired its modern meanings on the bridge from the late medieval to the early modern period. Robert's *Dictionnaire historique* cites an early use of *mode* in French (derived from the Latin *modus*, "manner") to designate something specifically *new* as early as 1482. The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the earliest usage of the English word *fashion* to mean a *new* and changing style to 1568. Critiques of extravagant finery were, of course, millenia old, but the idea of fashion as something *new* is a relatively recent invention (Jones and Stallybrass 1). The term's earliest usage in German seems to date to the term's dissemination across Europe in the 1630s.

Across the early modern discourse on fashion, captured in word and image on any number of textual artifacts, fashion inevitably stimulated the body, tickling

29. The use of "fashionable" epithets to bank political capital extended across vernaculars. To cite a sole English example, see "The Character of a Modern Whig, or, An Alamode True Loyal Protestant" (1681), a single-page print that promises to reveal Presbyterians' anti-monarchical designs for whose accomplishment they have worked to further Jesuit plots.

30. In one of the earliest entries on fashion in a reference work, Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*, the term "fashion" (*Mode*) is defined in this very broad manner. The lengthy entry, published in 1739, defines the term to include "Die gewöhnliche oder gebräuchliche Tracht und Manier in Kleidungen, Meublen, Kutschen und Zimmern, Gebäuden, Manufacturen, Schreib- und Red-Arten, Complimenten, Ceremonien, und anderm Gepränge, Gastereyen, und übrigen Lebens=Arten" (vol. 21, col. 700). (The habitual or typical costume and manner in clothing, furniture, coaches and room interiors, buildings, manufactured goods, styles of writing and speaking, compliments, ceremonies, and other festivities, parties, and other styles of life.)

its desires for food, drink, rest, and sex beyond all seemly, “straight” proportion.³¹ Thus, in the broadsheet depicting Mr. Fashion’s funeral, not a horse but a goat trailed the body. The animal’s libidinal reputation made him Fashion’s “favorite mount.” Similarly, in the string of mourners following Lady Fashion, the ranks of a *Harkräußlerin* (hairdresser), a *Magd* (housemaid), and an *Untermagd* (assistant housemaid) were swollen with a *Kupplerin* (procuress). Lady Fashion’s sexual appetites exceeded a single partner; her husband did not suffice.

In an early investigation of fashion’s stimulations, the unusually good-humored Johann Ellinger (1594–1631) played up fashion’s sensual amplifications. His “fashionable devil” did not travel alone but came with a retinue of seven other devils, all relations to the seven cardinal or deadly sins (lust, gluttony, greed, sloth, wrath, envy, pride). Ellinger’s devils were a nasty bunch: “der müßiggehende/ pflastertretende Spatzierteuffel” (the walk-about devil who loiters on the street), “der leichtfertige/ uppige/ springende und hippende Tantzteuffel/ welcher deß Spatzierteuffels naher Syießesell [*sic*] ist” (the frivolous, voluptuous, hopping, and skipping dance devil who is an intimate comrade of the walk-about devil), “der Hurenteuffel” (the whoring devil), “der unersättige Fraßteuffel und der Schlemmerige Sauff=Teuffel” (the insatiable gluttonous devil and the feasting boozing devil), as well as “der Rauberische Diebische Mordteuffel und der Mörderische Diebsteuffel” (the robbing, thieving murderous devil and the murderous thieving devil”) (23–26). Fine clothing’s long association with *vanitas*, already timeworn by the seventeenth century, yoked the fashionable devil to the proud peacock. But as fashion’s rule extended beyond the sartorial, so too were its sins more numerous. Fashion’s compatriots, embodied by Ellinger’s comically named devils, committed them all.³²

As Jessica Munns and Penny Richards note, clothes frequently wear their owners. The master is ruled by his clothes; fashion calls the tune. Before the birth of fashion, this fluid dynamic between clothes and the body had been perfectly, unproblematically conceptualized in the medieval German notion of *êre*. A Middle High German word related to one’s honor (*Ehre*), *êre* is most often translated as “appearance” (*Aussehen*). In the thirteenth-century world of Gottfried von Strass-

31. One popular satire, *Renovirte und mercklich vermehrte alamodische Hobel-Banck* (The Renovated and Notably Expanded Fashionable Planing Bench), published sometime after 1668, literally promised to flatten or “plane” the always aroused, fashionable body. This edition of the *Planing Bench* was based on at least two earlier texts, one printed by Andreas Aeperger in Augsburg in 1630, *Alamodische Hobel-Banck* (The Fashionable Planing Bench), and another with the same title but printed anonymously “durch eine Liebhaber der freyen Künste” (by a lover of the liberal arts) in 1668.

32. The fashionable devil became a fixed element in reviews of devils. Johann Ludwig Hartmann’s *Fashionable Devil* from 1675, for example, was joined by his *Läster-Teuffel* (The Blasphemous Back-Biting Devil) and *Privat-Interesse Eigennutzigen Teuffels, Natur, Censur und Cur* (The Nature, Censure, and Cure of the Privately Interested Selfish Devil) in 1679, and the *Eheteuffel* (Marriage Devil) in 1680, among other *Devils* authored just by Hartmann. Brauner provides a helpful discussion of the genre of the devil reviews.

burg, for example, Tristan's noble birth was reflected in his fine clothing; his costly garments also helped establish his social rank. Both aspects of clothing's functions were encompassed by Tristan's *être*. But in a world of rapidly changing fashions, this seamless relationship—between interior (*Ehre*) and exterior (*Aussehen*), essence (*Sein*) and appearance (*Schein*)—has come unstitched. Sumptuary laws were, of course, supposed to guarantee that fashionable finery corresponded to wearers' quality—that is, their rank. But such laws were, naturally, notoriously difficult to enforce.³³ A handsome coat might now be donned by any one; any scribbling hack could be mistaken for a true poet. Accompanying fashion's arrival on the literary field were a number of sins, only some of them literary. Linked inextricably with the sexed body, fashion was yoked to the feminine. A fashionable man, such as the poet *alamode*, was therefore always an effeminate man; his bad poetry further emphasized his unmanly habitus. Unable to withstand its siren song, he had been un-manned by fashion.

Any precise answer to the question of *why* fashion was born across Europe around 1600 will remain elusive. Costume historians have posited the importance of French occupation during the Thirty Years' War for the new word's introduction into German. And while fashion and the *Sprachmengerei* (lumping together of various languages) so characteristic of *alamode* behavior were often associated with soldiers—famously in texts such as Gryphius's comedy *Horribilicribrifax teutsch* (1663), for example—fashion across times and places betrays affinities more generally with instability, rupture, and even crisis. Paraphrasing Georg Simmel's classic essay "Philosophy of Fashion," Silvia Bovenschen has observed: "In periods of rupture, of a loss of orientation, crises of perception, a vanishing faith in historical progress and in the future generally, fashion becomes fashionable. Fashion is a topic of crisis" (12–13).³⁴ The trauma and dislocation unleashed by the long war certainly offer part of the explanation for fashion's virulence. But to postulate a direct causal relationship between the war and the fashion for fashion clouds our recognition that the *alamode* discourse more generally marks the cultural and intellectual pluralization of the century, as well as the disorientation and perceptions of crisis it unleashed.

33. In a warning promulgated by the city council of Rothenburg ob der Taube, for example, and included as a preface to Hartmann's *Fashionable Devil*, council fathers lamented their inability to curb inhabitants' appetites for fancy dress. They thus directed judicial employees ("Statt- und Richtersknechten") to report any violations of the dress code spotted on the street to the imperial city's court offices ("Reichs-Richter=Ampt"). The council must have been at a loss, however, for they took this measure in 1675, they reported, already having issued laws and warnings against the fashionable devil in 1654, 1659, and 1670. For further examples of the difficulty with which sumptuary laws were enforced, see the still excellent study by Eisenbart.

34. "In Zeiten des Umbruchs, der orientierungsverluste, der Sinnkrisen, des schwindenden vertrauens in den geschichtlichen Fortschritt und in die Zukunft generell kommt die Mode in Mode. Mode ist ein Krisenthema."

Nonetheless, I do not wish to understate the material cognate to this intellectual disorientation. Simmel nicely captured the ways in which the emergent money economy fueled fashion's spread from elite to popular status:

In many cases it is observable that as social groups grow increasingly proximate, those below pursue imitation as doggedly as those above pursue novelty; the permeation of the money economy materially accelerates this process and makes it visible because the objects of fashion—the exteriorities of life—are particularly accessible to pure financial capital. Equality with the upper social stratum is for this reason easier to produce with such objects than in all other areas that require a pardon not for purchase with money. (14)³⁵

Stated otherwise, fashion emerged hand in hand with the consumer society that dawned, historians now widely recognize, in the early modern period.³⁶ Jardine has located “the seeds of our own...bravura consumerism” in *cinquecento* Italy (34).³⁷ John Brewer, among those historians associated with the argument for late eighteenth-century England as the birthplace of a revolutionary consumerism, has more recently brilliantly analyzed the commodification of culture in the seventeenth century.³⁸ Chandra Mukerji's now classic study of print and the early modern commercial revolution moves the date of cultural commodification back

35. “Vielfach kann man gerade bemerken, daß, je näher die Kreise aneinandergerückt sind, desto toller die Jagd des Nachmachens von unten und die Flucht zum Neuen von oben ist; die durchdringende Geldwirtschaft muß diesen Prozeß erheblich beschleunigen und sichtbar machen, weil die Gegenstände der Mode, als die Aeußerlichkeiten des Lebens ganz besonders dem bloßen Geldbesitz zugänglich sind, und in ihnen deshalb die Gleichheit mit der oberen Schicht leichter herzustellen ist als auf allen Gebieten, die eine individuelle, nicht mit Geld abkaufbare Bewährung fordern.”

36. Sarti explains: “Although, some years ago, a few historians were arguing that the first ‘consumer revolution’ occurred in late eighteenth-century England, today most scholars are convinced that consumption and the availability of consumer goods grew in a gradual, albeit uneven, manner over a long period” (4).

37. The literature on early modern European consumer society and the commodification of culture is now enormous. See especially Schama's *Embarrassment of Riches* and Roche's magisterial *La culture des apparences*. The literature on German consumerism and consumption patterns remains somewhat thin. See, however, Schivelbusch, and North. For Germany in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Wurst's *Fabricating Pleasure*, and Erlin.

38. In a tour de force essay, Brewer illuminates both sides of the public sphere's Janus-face, emphasizing “the degree to which it was recognized that the formation of a public cultural sphere [in eighteenth-century England]—the emergence of reading, theatrical and musical publics—was heavily compromised by but dependent upon two forces that undercut its impartiality, namely pecuniary gain—acquisitiveness—and sexual passion” (345). Of course, both, that is libidinal and pecuniary desire, intersect in fashion. Brewer, however, discusses commodification without regard to the discourse on fashion. He notes: “In every field of cultural endeavour culture was for sale: paintings, books, and prints passed through the auction houses and into the hands of specialized dealers.... The marketing of culture became a trade separate from its production: theatrical and opera impresarios, picture-, print- and booksellers, became the new capitalists of cultural enterprise, peddling culture in almost every medium and art.... These impresarios were responsible for the dissemination of new literary and aesthetic forms that emerged in the eighteenth century: the novel, the periodical essay, the conversation piece, the ballad opera, comic history painting and a variety of pastiche” (346).

further still.³⁹ The emergence of the money economy, consumerism, the commercial revolution—without them fashion was unthinkable. Together they were responsible for “the dissemination of new literary and aesthetic forms” (Brewer 346), such as vernacular poetic handbooks and, a few decades later, the novel. Indeed, both genres owed their rise, invention, and birth to the mercurial predilections of fashion.

The Poet *Alamode*

Across German literary histories, Opitz marks the origin of poetry in the modern High German vernacular. His canonical position rests on an apparently unshakable paternity claim: Opitz fathered German poetry.⁴⁰ The 1624 publication of his handbook, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Book of German Poetry), is widely regarded as the spark that ignited a long overdue renaissance in German-language letters. Opitz’s immediate contemporaries likewise credited his slim volume with an enormous impact.⁴¹ German poetry, it often seems, sprang fully formed from this second Zeus’s head. Before Opitz, the logic of such rhetoric suggests, German poetry did not exist; it appears that the Silesian statesman created it *ex nihilo*. Yet the Father of German Poetry himself already emphasized poetry’s entanglement with fashion in his 1624 *Book*. To his consternation, Opitz was forced to note fashion’s infiltration of what he termed “verborgene Theologie” (hidden theology) (14).⁴² Fashion, at least according to Opitz, was present at the birth of modern German poetry. If Opitz was its father, should we consider fashion its mother?

Opitz bemoaned the fact that poetry was being dragged through the mud; at that moment so widely regarded as its origin, German poetry’s reputation was already in tatters. Vernacular verse was marked by the stain of illegitimacy, Opitz

39. Mukerji’s book, first published in 1983, remains an illuminating discussion of print cultures and commodification, particularly of engraved prints as commodities: “But print’s importance was not limited to its role as a carrier of intellectual ideas or cognitive styles; it was part of the new material culture, an element in the growth of manufacture and trade itself. Printed work spread through the trading system as commodities, bringing with it ideas and tastes that created bonds among Europeans from a variety of geographical regions and social strata. In this way, printing helped to fashion cultural ties that paralleled the new economic ones, making, for instance, the material culture throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries more cosmopolitan at the same time that the economic system was becoming more international (and also linking this culture more closely to social class as the economy became more capitalistic). Printing, then, contributed in a unique way to, but did not in itself create, the communications revolution that the commercial revolution engendered” (12).

40. In his entry on Opitz in Harald Steinhagen and Benno von Wiese’s *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Klaus Garber, for example, comments: “Opitz has entered history as the ‘Father of German Poetry.’ No one would question this canonized view” (116).

41. It has been postulated that Opitz’s supposed irenicism, his religious toleration, generated the modest book’s mysterious success. For a recent discussion of Opitz’s complex religious allegiances, see Nicola Kaminski (69–80). Unlike Garber, a proponent of Opitz’s irenicism, Kaminski identifies the Opitzian project as “crypto-Calvinist” (78).

42. “Die Poeterey ist anfangs nichts anders gewesen als eine verborgene Theologie” (14).

claimed. It was a commercial enterprise, he lamented, and poets themselves had been willing collaborators in its commodification:

Es wird kein buch/ keine hochzeit/ kein begräbnüß ohn uns gemacht; und gleichsam als niemand köndte alleine sterben/ gehen unsere gedichte zugleich mit ihnen unter. Man wil uns auff allen Schüsseln und kannen haben/ wir stehen an wänden und steinen/ und wann einer ein Hauß ich weiß nicht wie an sich gebracht hat/ so sollen wir es mit unsern Versen wieder redlich machen. Dieser begehret ein Lied auff eines andern Weib/ jenem hat von des nachbaren Magdt getrewmet/ einen andern hat die vermeinte Bulschafft ein mal freundlich angelacht/ oder/ wie dieser Leute gebrauch ist/ viel mehr außgelacht; ja deß närrischen ansuchens ist kein ende. (18)

No book, no wedding, no funeral can go forward without us; and, as if no one could be left to die alone, our poems go under with them [the deceased]. We are wanted on all bowls and pitchers, we are found on walls and stones, and when someone has acquired a house in whatever dubious manner, we are supposed to legitimize it. This man desires a song to another's wife, that one dreams of the neighbor's maid, while still another believes he has been rewarded with a friendly laugh from his beloved, or, as is customary for such people, with her ridicule; indeed the foolish requests know no end.

Poetry, Opitz insisted, should not be composed in answer to "foolish requests" for lines to commemorate an endless list of morally questionable occasions. To produce a poem on the occasion of an erotic dream about the neighbor's maid, for example, clearly crossed the line and flirted dangerously with sacrilege. At its purported origin, modern German poetry already marched in step with Mr. Fashion's retinue. We would thus do well to recast the terms with which we frame our discussion of Opitz. His role was not to birth German poetry but to discipline it.⁴³ Imitation (*imitatio*, *Nachahmung*), of course, needed to play by the rules.

43. My questions regarding the construction of Opitz's status as the "Father of German Poetry" must remain merely suggestive. See, however, two provocative essays in Forster's *Kleine Schriften*. In "Das deutsche Sonett des Melissus," he points to Melissus's (Paul Schede [1539–1602]) facility with the sonnet and Alexandrine verse generally to conjecture that well before Opitz's handbook German-language poets were familiar with the very forms with whose introduction Opitz is credited (79). Still more pointedly, in the essay "German Alexandrines on Dutch Broadsheets before Opitz," Forster examines broadsheets replete with "pre-Opitzian Alexandrines." His remarks on producers of verse willing and able to churn out decent Alexandrines on demand for keen businessmen deserve more attention than they have received. These Dutch-German broadsheets stocked with ready-made German Alexandrines, Forster notes, "were produced by keen business men, who knew their market. If the new-fangled verses had an adverse effect on sales they would have been abandoned in short order. But they went on being used; so presumably the sales situation was good. We remember at this point that some of the broadsheets on the Battle of Breitenfeld in 1631 are in pre-Opitzian Alexandrines.... Here we have writers in Germany itself who appear not to have heard of Opitz, but who are prepared to turn out fifty or sixty Alexandrines to order at short notice. Perhaps the various forerunners of Opitz had

Beginning in the 1640s, the figure of the fashionable poet pops up time and again in the lines of more established poets, members of Germany's leading language and poetic societies. They would gladly have confined this jack-in-the-box to the margins of their own pages or, better, have erased him from the world of letters entirely. But the fashionable poet's prolific "poetizing" and "versifying" made it impossible to ignore him; his verses proliferated across too many printed pages.⁴⁴ He was everywhere, and the verses he produced on all sorts of occasions were too easily confused with their own celebratory or commemorative efforts.

"True" poets, as these men styled themselves, labored to fortify their poetic authority, deploying a two-pronged strategy. Because vernacular poetry, as Opitz had hinted, was the product of mixed parentage, an upstanding father (Opitz) and a slatternly mother (fashion), true poets emphasized their paternal heritage. They were, they tirelessly asserted, Opitz's true followers; they imitated him correctly. Their lyric efforts, we might say, knew no mother; they were Opitz's brainchildren. Other poets, however, were their mother's children, illegitimate offspring whose verses, labeled *alamode*, could thus be used to delegitimize authorial claims. The "true" poetic mantle, members of language societies never wearied of insisting, was decidedly *unfashionable*. Its cut and styling did not change anew according to the latest fashion; the poet's coat was made according to the timeless rules set forth by the good father, Opitz. More significant than some fashionable frippery, the battle over the status of poet is, as Bourdieu has reminded us, "the fundamental stake in literary struggles." This struggle for the title of "true poet" is among the first signals that the borders of the early modern literary field were increasingly being trespassed. It was hardly the last.

Before diving into the trenches, I briefly sketch the battlefield. Opitz presented poetry's defilement as a particularly German problem six years into the horrors of what became known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The French, he maintained, could claim Ronsard, the Dutch Heinsius, the Italians Petrarch, and the English Barclay.⁴⁵ How then, he asked, have "sonderlich wir Deutschen so lange gedult können tragen/ und das edele Papir mit ihren ungerimten reimen beflecken" (18) (Why have we Germans in particular so long shown patience for those who sully noble paper with their unmeasured verses?) In the eyes of his contemporaries, Opitz was the German answer to Ronsard—and to French doubts about the German language's lyricism. He had taken the lead, guiding vernacular poetry back to its putative original purity. A mark of his disciplinary project's ultimate success, Opitz became the unsullied origin for which he longed.

a wider influence than we know of. Opitz at any rate did not stand alone, though he spoke the magic 'Open Sesame'" (140).

44. I am considering only poets who appeared in print, not those who either chose or were forced to leave their verse in manuscript.

45. Interestingly, Opitz makes no cultural comparison to the Spanish or to any single Spanish poet.

Even before Opitz's untimely demise of the plague in 1639 while on a diplomatic peace mission in Danzig, contemporaries flocked to his call to cultivate German poetry according to the rules for rhyme and meter that he had adapted for German.⁴⁶ Everyone with aspirations to the title of poet contributed verses to the patriotic poetic project, eager to catch up to the French, Italians, Dutch, and English. Volunteers to promote German glory within the European world of letters were not lacking. In a typically clever epigram, "About Opitz," Logau surveyed the scene roughly a decade after Opitz had passed: "Im Latein sind viel Poeten/ immer aber ein Virgil: [/] Deutsche haben einen Opitz/ Tichter sonsten eben viel" (qtd. in Maché and Meid 146). (In Latin there are many poets, but always one Virgil: Germans have one Opitz, of other poets more than a handful.) Regardless of Logau's opinion of their abilities, many German poets shared the view that the vernacular had too long been left uncultivated. While Opitz might have become their Ronsard, he had arrived a century after the founding of the *Pléiades*, only then to be cut down in his prime by the pestilence spread by war.

Broad swaths of territory, including Opitz's own Silesia, had been devastated by marauding troops and the diseases that raged in their wake. In addition to the rivers choked with blood that Gryphius lamented in "Thränen des Vaterlands" (Tears of the Fatherland), many also deplored the war's linguistic scars: loanwords on the tips of Germans' tongues. *Alamodo* was hardly the least. German speakers, Gryphius's *Horribilicribrifax* joked in a lighter vein, found any non-German word preferable even when nonsensical. Characters such as the ridiculous Sempronius babbled an olla podrida of languages in order, perhaps, to seem more learned, but certainly also to seem more fashionable. Fashion, we have seen, was always foreign. The converse also usually held true: the foreign was also fashionable.

Three short years after Opitz's untimely demise, poet and publicist Johann Rist (1607–1667) offered a notable, and often-quoted, portrait of a *Poet alamode*. Rist—inducted in 1647 into the leading language society, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (Fruit-Bearing Society)—assessed the principal danger to "die edle teütsche Hauptsprache" (the noble German language) to be "alamodesirende Auffschneider" (alamodista braggarts).⁴⁷ They were painted with elaborate brushwork

46. As is well known, Opitz's rules for poetry were not "original"—nor were they meant to be. Opitz's project entailed inserting German into the living tradition of classical poetry. Invention was a result of correct imitation (*imitatio*), not originality. Far from desiring to create new rules for poetry, Opitz strove to adapt the existing rules as they had already been elaborated, borrowing liberally from, for example, Justus Scaliger. On Scaliger's neo-Latinate poetics, see Marsh.

47. Two years prior to Rist's acceptance into the Fruit-Bearing Society, he had been made a member of the Nuremberg language society founded in 1644 by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658) and Johann Klaj (1616–1656): the Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz (Pegnesischer Blumenorden). As a member of the Fruit-Bearing Society—the most prestigious and the most suprarregional of the German societies, founded in 1617 by Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen and long a bastion of noble princes—Rist was known as "The Hale or Hearty One" (Der Rüstige). In 1660, Rist founded a North German regional language society, the Order of the Elbian Swans (Elbschwanenorden), where his leading role was recognized in his societal name, Palatin.

in Rist's widely read *Rettung der edlen teütschen Hauptsprache, wider alle deroselben muhtwillige Verderber und alamodesirende Auffschneider* (Rescue of the Noble German Language from All of Those Capricious Spoilers and Alamodista Braggarts). These blowhards were, in Rist's self-assured opinion, all too eager to see their literary efforts in print. They possessed no knowledge of the German language or of letters more generally—in fact, they were barely able to copy. But their ignorance, just a hair shy of complete illiteracy, provided no brook against the pursuit of fashion. Printing one's poetry had become a credential necessary to any fashionable person, Rist ridiculed. It was a mandatory entry in the early modern fashionista's curriculum vitae:

Es ist ja leider mehr zu beklagen alß zu verbessern/ daß wir eine solche verdrißliche Zeit erlebet haben/ inn welcher fast ein jeglicher/ der nur die teutsche Buchstaben kan nachmahlen/ oder wie die kleine Schulknaben daher lesen/ mit einer so dick-geschwollenen Einbildung sich anfüllet/ daß er sich auch nit schewet allhand teutsche Bücher durch öffentlichen Druck in die Welt zu sprengen/ gerade als gehörte ein mehrers nicht dazu als nur die blosse Wissenschaft etlicher offt halb-teutscher Wörter und unverständlicher reden. (77)

Unfortunately, it is more to be complained than corrected that we have lived through such a terrible time in which anyone who can only just manage to copy a German letter or read like the little schoolboys is filled with conceit swollen so large that he does not shy away from launching into public print all manner of German books into the world exactly as if nothing more was called for than merely knowing a few half-German words and incomprehensible phrases.

Rist's on-again off-again protégé, Philip von Zesen (1619–1689), a particularly zealous language reformer, went so far as to dub Vulcan—not Apollo—god of German poetry.⁴⁸ The crippled, deformed god ruled over a post-Opitzian generation of poetasters and “verse smiths,” Zesen sneered. These poetasters bore no relation to Apollo, his father, Zeus, or the Olympian's German incarnation, Opitz. They hammered away at the conventions Opitz had set for German poetry, brutalizing the language with their indiscriminate use of foreign words. But, worst of all, their poetry, adorned with fashionably foreign phrasings, was often preferred by the book-buying public, “rabble” in Zesen's eyes: “Der Pöbel/ ja auch offt gelehrte leute (wo sie dißfals gelehrt zu achten) Ihm andere Lotterbuben und unzeitige Wortversteller vorziehen/ derer Schutzherr vielmehr der hincgende/ lahme Vulcan/ als der Musen Vater Apollo seyn soll” (Philippi Caesii *Deutscher Helicon*, n.p.). (The

48. The lengths Zesen advocated to purify German of loanwords remained the subject of jest among many of his contemporaries, including apparently Rist. For Zesen's advocacy of, for example, *Tagesleuchter* instead of *Fenster* (window) and other Germanic neologisms see the collection edited by William Jervis Jones.

rabble and sometimes even learned people [at least those who regard themselves as learned] prefer these rogues and inopportune manglers of words whose guardian is properly the limping, lame Vulcan rather than Apollo, father of the muses.) In the two short decades since Opitz's *Book*, Zesen reported that vernacular verse had reached its glorious pinnacle. But the bloom was already off the rose; German poetry had gone into a steep decline.

Alsatian poet and satirist Johann Michael Moscherosch (1601–1669), member of the renowned Fruit-Bearing Society since 1645 as well as Strasbourg's Aufrichtige Tannengesellschaft (Society of Upstanding Fir Trees), also worried about the wild proliferation of unlearned rhymes. In a dedicatory poem composed for the elaborate paratext of Justus Georg Schottelius's (1612–1676) *Teutscher Vers= oder Reimkunst* (Art of German Verse or Rhyme) (1641), the satirist celebrated the arrival of Schottelius's learned prosody. It came, Moscherosch sighed his relief, just in time to prevent countless versifiers from establishing a new Babel founded on the shifting sands of fantastical rhymes:

Komm es ist die höchste Zeit/
 Mein Freund! Dan fast jeder schreibt
 Jetzund Reime lang und breit/
 Ungesuchet/ wie ihn treibet
 Der Sturmvolle Grillen Geist:
 Keiner wil sich weisen lassen
 Jeder wil sich das anmassen/
 Das Er weder kan noch weist.

Come, it's high time,
 my friend! Almost everyone now
 writes rhymes far and wide,
 at random, however
 the stormy fantast's spirit drives him:
 No one can be taught a thing.
 Everyone presumes that
 of which he neither is able nor knows how to do.

Critiques of *alamode* language and poetasters were also launched by lettered men beyond the influential circles of the German language and poetic societies.⁴⁹ High German was not the only language that Germans had available to them to mock the inroads made by fashion. Satirist Johann Lauremberg, for example, sketched

49. Jacob Balde, SJ (1604–1668) took aim at fashionable men in Latin in his ode “*Exteri mores in Germanium illati, contra insulsum hominum genus, Al' Modo dictum*” (“On Those Foreign Customs Imported into Germany, against That Kind of Stupid Man, called Al' Modo”). Kühlmann provides a brief discussion of Balde's ode.

the woes of a poet who refused to submit to fashion in the fourth of his *Veer olde beröhmede Schertz-Gedichte* (Four Good Old [Low German] Satires): “Van Alamodischer Poësie, und Rimen” (On Alamode Poetry and Rhymes) (1652).

Johann Peter Titz (1619–1689)—“Tityrus” in the Königsberger Dichterkreis (Königsberg [Kaliningrad] Poets’ Circle)—added his voice to the mounting war cries against unlearned, braggart poets. In his *Zwey Bücher von der Kunst Hochdeutsche Verse und Lieder zu machen* (Two Books on the Art of High German Verse and Songs) (1642), Titz included an adaptation of an episode taken from Traiano Boccalini’s (1556–1613) *De’ ragguagli di Parnaso* (Relations from Parnassus) with the German title “Newe Zeitung aus dem Parnaß” (New News from Parnassus).⁵⁰ There, perched on Parnassus’s heights, a poet appeals to Apollo to shore up the literary field’s defenses against an onslaught of the unlettered:

Die/ welche für dein Volck gehalten werden wollen/
 Und die wir deine Freund’ und Söhne heissen sollen/
 Die die sinds/ derer schar die Musen itzt verdringt/
 Und deinem Helicon das grösses’ unheil bringt.
 Ich kan es nicht umbgehn die Warheit zu bekennen.
 Die meisten lassen sich viel lieber Weise nennen/
 Als daß sie Weise sind. Sie suchen blossen Schein/
 Und wollen für Gelehrt nur angesehen seyn.
 Dann kommt die böse Sucht/ daß dieses Volck durch Schrifften
 Auch offtmals einen Ruhm und Nahmen ihm will stifften
 Und sich für seelig helt/ wenn es erlangen kann/
 Daß auch der Pöfel spricht/ Sieh/ sieh/ da geht der Mann/
 Der solche Weisheit hat/ und Bücher weiß zu machen.
 Ich muß der Thorheit nur in meinem Hertzen lachen.
 Wer Hände hat/ der schreibt/ und machet sich bekandt/
 Da Schweigen besser ist/ durch Eitelkeit und Tand. (n.p.)

Those who want to be regarded as your people
 And who we are supposed to call your friends and sons
 Are those whose gangle now thrusts the Muses aside
 And brings the worst calamity to your Helicon.
 I cannot avoid confessing the truth.
 Most prefer to let themselves be called sages
 Instead of actually being sages. They seek merely the appearance

50. The German adaptation included by Titz may have been taken from a translation that seems first to have appeared in 1617 in Frankfurt under the title *Relation auss Parnasso, oder, Politische und moralische Discurs: wie dieselbe von allerley Welthündeln darinnen ergehen/ erstlich Italianisch beschrieben von Trajano Boccalini*. Boccalini’s *De’ ragguagli* was translated several times into English in the seventeenth century under different titles, first in 1626.

And want to be regarded as learned.
 Then follows the evil habit that this people often desires to establish
 With writings a reputation and a name
 And regards itself blessed when it can manage
 That even the rabble says, see, see, there goes the man
 Who possesses such wisdom and knows how to make books.
 I have to laugh in my heart at the idiocy.
 He who has hands, he writes and makes himself known
 By his vanity and baubles while silence is better.

Titz himself was a prolific occasional poet. Presumably it was his established position—first as *Konrektor* (deputy head of school) of Danzig's Marienschule and then, after completion of his doctorate in Leiden, as professor of ancient languages, poetry, and rhetoric in Danzig—which distinguished his poems from "Eitelkeit und Tand" (vanity and baubles). Poems by those who merely sought the "Schein" (appearance) of learning were geegaws, wares for sale by poetasters from whom ruffraff bought their amusing things.

Leading members of Nuremberg's Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz composed one of the funniest sketches of a fashionable poet, often cited at length in subsequent prosodies. In the continuation of the *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* (Pegnitzian Pastoral) (1645), the character Hylas has abandoned city life for a pastoral existence, having exchanged his "townsman's coat" for a "shepherd's cloak." Hylas, alas, has been overwhelmed by the fashionable cloak he so recently donned. Literally every third word of his "German" love poem is foreign. In the love letters he hides in a tree and addresses to "Madamoiselle," Hylas mixes barbarisms—incorrect French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and even a little English for good measure. Another "shepherd" explains that Hylas's exceptionally bizarre behavior stems from his inability to distinguish poetic convention from real life. Insufficiently educated to be a poetizing shepherd, Hylas reads far too literally. And when he turns his hand to poetry, a pursuit necessary to woo a fashionable mistress, the results are predictably deplorable:

So hat sich dieser (der ein Schäfer ist) vor der Zeit in Städten verhalten/ ist aber gar
 neulich aus dem Burgerrock in die Hirtenjuppe gekrochen nur darum/ weil er unsren
 Stand von so vielen hochsinnigen Schriftsabfasseren lobpreislichst beschreiben und
 herausstreichen hören/ sowol auch gelesen. Sonsten weil der abenteuerliche Mensch
 sich von Kindsbeinen auf in Liebs= und Poetischen Büchern mit überflüssigen Fleiß
 umgesehen/ und dabey seine eigenen Verstand und Vernunftmaß/ in Auslegung
 solcher Lehr= und Lustgedichte/ (welche alle sich doch gemeiniglich auf etwas an-
 ders gründen/ und oft wohl gar das Gegenspiel wollen verstanden haben) nachgan-
 gen/ als gläubet er von allen den Lügenfänden der alten Dichtere/ als wann sie den
 Wortverstand nach zu fassen/ ja die natürliche Warheit selbst wären. Gebrauchet
 sich derhalben so seltsamer und Rhodomontischer Redarten in Beschreibung seiner

Liebepossen und anderer Sachen/ daß einem die Ohren darüber schwitzen möchten/ und könde man mit seinen Schwänken zur Noht einer Kröten vergeben. (87)

Formerly, this one (who is a shepherd) [Hylas] passed his time in cities, but recently he has crawled out of the townsman's coat into the shepherd's cloak only because he has heard and read the praise heaped on our estate by many distinguished writers. Furthermore, because the foolhardy man has skimmed books of love poetry since he was a little boy with undue diligence, following all the while only his own understanding and standards of reasonableness to interpret these didactic and entertaining poems (which in fact all typically are based on something else and often seek to have exactly the opposite understood), he believes all the made-up inventions of the old poets as if, according to their literal meaning, they were natural reality itself. For this reason he uses such strange and Rodomontic phrases to describe his love affairs and other things enough to make one's ears sweat.

These and many other satirical weapons were launched in an effort to shore up the carefully circumscribed world of letters against barbarians who had left the gates long behind them. Hylas, like Quixote or Sorel's Extravagant Shepherd before him, provided grist for the satiric mill, one among the throng of the untutored in thrall to their books, their imitations all too literal. They were new players on the literary field, and they remained woefully ignorant of the rules of the game. Hylas, for example, was victim to the fashion for pastoral poetry. His poor education, marked by his bad French and Latin as well as his naïve readings of love poetry, had made him easy prey. This relative illiteracy was common to the many novices whom Rist called "alamodista braggarts" and Zesen "rabble." We will encounter them again in the next chapter. Fashion had drawn the mis-educated, such as Hylas, to poetry and led them into the world of letters. There, the poetic attempts necessary to establish their fashionability were read by more established poets as sad documentation of the dissolution that fashion had worked, encouraging improper *imitatio* (*Nachahmung*). Fashion was not merely a coat that Hylas could put on and take off at will. Instead, its influence was far more pervasive. Inspired by fashion, Hylas's poetic imagination was limited to the corporeal, particularly the erotic. He and many like him failed to transcend the level of the letter and remained confined to the material level of the text. Fashion drew them to poetry while arousing their sensual appetites. They composed verse as a means of sensual and sexual gratification.

As fashion got under their skin, it also rendered Hylas and his brethren un-German, bastard mongrels who babbled a barbaric mixture of languages. The *Sprachpflege* (language care) and *Spracharbeit* (language work) promoted by all seventeenth-century German-language societies were meant to form a bulwark against fashion's incursions into the nascent German world of letters. As Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658), coauthor of the *Pegnitzian Pastoral* and

prominent member of the Fruit-Bearing Society, explained, “Diese Spracharbeit ist die schuldige Danknemung so wir unserem lieben Vatterland mit unsterblichem Nachruhm zu leisten verpflichtet sind/ damit es der täglich eingemischten fremden Wörter=Schande entnommen/ und daß das Teutsche in Teutschland vernemlich und verständlich erhalten werde” (“Erinnerung” [Reminder], *Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele* [Ladies’ Conversational Games] 42). (This language work is a debt of gratitude that we are duty bound to pay our beloved homeland, winning eternal fame by erasing its daily disgrace from the foreign words that barge in and by preserving a clear and comprehensible German in Germany.)⁵¹ To the regret of Opitz and his self-styled followers, Germans had remained overly patient with bad verse. They had left the vernacular uncultivated too long, allowing it to be easily infiltrated by foreign words and expressions. In other words, fashion had marched in, meeting little resistance. Good patriots, members of the language societies, would not allow German’s abuse to continue. Opitz had labored to renovate poetry. *Sprachpatrioten* (language patriots) sought to reform the language as a whole.⁵² It was, they wrote, a minefield pitted with foreign influence, and it desperately needed a clean sweep.

Poetic Handbooks

Nowhere, it would seem at first glance, was the goal to cleanse the language and its poetry of fashion’s influence furthered more effectively than in Balthasar Kindermann’s *Der Deutsche Poët* (The German Poet) of 1664. It was one of many poetic guidebooks, a genre of how-to guides that only grew in popularity as the century progressed. Kindermann’s German poet, illustrated in the frontispiece, was an unyielding censor, scorching poets *à la mode* and burning their deplorable scribbles (fig. 2). In the center of the engraving, the German poet stands stern and tall. In the background, above his right shoulder, we see a female figure, possibly his muse or Poetry herself. Her hair stands on end, singed by the force of the divine inspiration falling from the thick clouds swirling above. At the German poet’s feet, reclining in the near foreground, a merry figure raises his can of drink and his tobacco pipes. His hair too has been singed; he too has apparently received poetic inspiration. Unlike the German poet (who does not deign even to glance at him), this louche fellow has used his inspiration for financial gain. Clearly visible in his right hand is a money pouch, still stuffed quite full considering his obvious affinity for cards and dice. Among the many gaming objects surrounding him lie printed sheets of poetry—“BühlerLieder” (courting songs) and “Schmähschriefften” (defamations)—for which he has received a handsome sum. The German poet, wearing the crown of laurel, holds his own pages in his hand, carefully labeled “Der Deutsche Poet

51. The “Erinnerung” prefaces the fourth part of the *Gesprächsspiele* (1644).

52. William Jervis Jones has collected a wealth of materials about *Sprachpflege* (language care).



Figure 2. Frontispiece to Balthasar Kindermann's *The German Poet* (1664). The German poet will not be enflamed by "love songs." Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

durch Kurandorn" (The German Poet by Kurandor). (Kurandor was Kindermann's pen name since his acceptance into Rist's Elbschwanenorden [Order of the Elbian Swans] in 1659.) An unusually aggressive participant in the Opitzian project to purify poetry, Kurandor torches his nemesis's pages. Inscriptions in the engraving justify this inquisitorial act: in the cloud, "Von oben her entzündet" (Lit from above); on the table at the left, "auff Sprach und Kunst gegründet" (based on language and art); and at the right, "solch Ehr und freyheit findet" (finds such honor and freedom).

Should any reader fail to understand this anonymous engraving, Kindermann also included his own "Explanation of the Frontispiece":

Erklärung des Kupffer=Blats.
 Der Mißbrauch/ der bißher im Schreiben eingerissen/
 Der Liegt itzund gar recht zu unser Dichter Füßen:
 Die Schrifften/ womit man das keusche Volck verführt/
 Und manchem einen Fleck verwegem angeschmirt;
 Die werden dem Vulcan zum Opffer übergeben.
 Warum? Es ziemt sich nicht/ daß so ein Verß sol leben/
 Der Gott und Tugend nicht zun [*sic*] Zweck und Grunde hat.
 Sol das ein Dichter seyn/ der darum nur sein Blat Mit Versen
 überdeckt/ damit Er Geld/ zu sauffen/
 Zu spielen/ oder ja im Land herum zu lauffen
 Dafür bekommen mög; O eben weit gefehlt!
 Ein solcher Lumpenhund/ der unsre Kunst so quält/
 Der wer' in wahrheit wehrt/ daß man bey seinem Leben/
 Ihm eitel Heu und Stroh zu fressen möchte geben/
 Wie? oder/ solt auch wol ein solch versoffnes Schwein
 Des Lorbeers/ und was sonst dem anhängt/ fähig seyn?
 Uns Edel/ Reich und Groß und zun Poeten machen
 Das sind solche Sachen/
 Die nicht ein ieder bald/ wan Er nur reimt/ geneust;
 Nein/ sondern nur ein Geist
 Von oben her entzündet/
 Auf Sprach und Kunst gegründet/
 Solch Ehr und Freiheit findet.

The abuse that formerly tore through writing
 Lies now appropriately at our poet's feet:
 Those writings that were used to seduce the chaste
 Or over-boldly to besmirch another
 Will be handed over in offering to Vulcan.
 Why? It is unseemly that such a verse should live

Whose purpose and reason is not God and virtue.
 Is he supposed to be a poet who covers his page with verse
 only for money to booze, to gamble,
 or even to run wild around the country?
 Oh, how far from the mark!
 The dirty dog who so tortures our art
 Deserves in truth to eat
 nothing but hay and straw his life long.
 What? Or should such a drunken sow
 Be capable of laurel and all that which accompanies it?
 What makes us noble, rich, and great and poets,
 Yes, these are such things
 Not enjoyed by everyone who rhymes;
 No! Only a spirit
 Inspired from above,
 Grounded in language and art,
 Finds such honor and freedom.

The verses insist that not “everyone who rhymes” enjoys those things that make “us noble, rich, and great and poets”—a sentiment emphasized in Kindermann/Kurandor’s entire first chapter, “In which it is taught that nature as well as practice and art make a good poet.” Here Kindermann, like other ardent language and poetic reformers, echoed Opitz’s *Book* and its insistence that a true poet must first be blessed by birth and then trained by study and practice. As Opitz had written, “Das ich es für eine verlorene arbeit halte/ im fall sich jemand an unsere deutsche Poeterey machen wolte/ der/ nebenst dem das er ein Poete von natur sein muß/ in den griechischen und Lateinischen büchern nicht wol durchtrieben ist/ und von ihnen den rechten grieff erlernt hat” (25). (I regard it as wasted labor if someone wanted to attempt our German poetry who, in addition to being a poet from nature, was not thoroughly familiar with the Greek and Latin books and knew from them the right approach.)

But in this handbook’s repeated insistence that not everyone could be a poet, that a true poet was born not made, lay an unresolved (and unresolvable) tension. It was truly an intractable problem, and the tension structured the field of letters into the eighteenth century. It was a fault line that had coursed through Opitz’s *Book* and had grown only more pressing in Kindermann’s *German Poet*, for Kindermann’s (and many others’) adamantness that a true poet was a singular creature ran head-on against his book’s explicit aim to teach its readers to compose verse—an aim advertised for all and sundry to read on the title page:

Der Deutsche Poët/ Darinnen gantz deutlich und ausführlich gelehret wird/ welcher gestalt ein zierliches Gedicht/ auf allerley Begebenheit/ auf Hochzeiten/ Kindtauffen/ Gebuhrts= und Namens=Tagen/ Begräbnisse/ Empfah= und Glückwünschungen/ u.s.f. So wohl hohen als niederen Standes=Personen/ in gar kurtzer Zeit/ kan

wol erfunden und ausgeputzet werden/ Mit sattsahmen/ und aus den vornehmsten Poeten hergenommenen Gedichten beleuchtet/ und also eingerichtet/ daß den Liebhaber der Göttlichen Poesie dieser an statt aller geschriebenen Prosodien und Poetischen Schrifften zur Nohtdurfft dienen kan.

The German Poet, in which it is very clearly and thoroughly taught how an elegant poem for any occasion can be invented and ornamented in no time at all, for weddings, christenings, birth- and name days, funerals, and in congratulations, etc., for people of high as well as low condition. Illuminated with many poems taken from the finest poets and accordingly arranged so that it may serve the lover of divine poetry as a handy replacement for all written prosodies and poetical writings.

The German poet might be accused of hypocrisy. Although he censored fashionably occasional verses with the torch, his book sought to capitalize on their popularity. Should any aspiring poet be short of cash, the title page proclaims, she or he might dispense with all other “written prosodies and poetical writings.” *The German Poet* was “a handy replacement” for an expensive library tricked out with the many handbooks and prosodies on the market. Kindermann’s book promised to provide all the materials anyone could possibly need to invent and ornament a poem “in no time at all.” *The German Poet* was in a double bind, one in which the entire genre was caught.

The pages of Andreas Tscherning’s *Unvorgreiffliches Bedencken über etliche Miszbräuche in der deutschen Schreib- und Sprach-Kunst* (Unanticipated Concern about Various Abuses in the Arts of German Writing and Language) (1659) were laced with the same problematic. Tscherning (1611–1659), professor of poetry at Rostock, had included a florilegium of the nicest bits “aus den fürtrefflichsten deutschen Poëten als Opitz und Flemmingen” (from the superior German poets such as Opitz and Flemming) (n.p.). But no doubt the abuse of his own collection, so conveniently alphabetized by topic, concerned the professor. Did it not make poetic composition a little too easy? In a short poem immediately preceding his helpful list, Tscherning exhorted readers that any “common man” may bind words with verse, but knowledge of classical antiquity alone makes the poet:

Hier liesest du Athen/ hier hastu Rom zu finden/
 Nicht reime nur allein. Mit worten worte binden/
 Kan auch ein schlechter Mann.
 Wer nicht genau versteht/
 Was Rom war und Athen/ heißt nicht ein Poet. (n.p.)

Here you read of Athens, here Rome may be found,
 Not only rhymes. Words with words can be bound
 By any common man.
 He who does not really understand
 What Rome was and Athens, is no poet.

While handbooks such as Kindermann's and Tscherning's sought to exterminate bad poetry and warned that "any common man" was "no poet," they simultaneously lowered the barriers of entry to the field of letters. Their handy little guides were, naturally, available to anyone who could purchase them.

Outfitted with handbooks, occasional poets sprang up like mushrooms on the literary field. Their verse has been preserved in thousands of examples, likely only the tip, changing metaphors, of what Gerhard Dünnhaupt called the "baroque iceberg." They were, as Opitz had alleged, undertaken on any number of occasions, and were part of an economy at cross-purposes to poetry's original function as hidden theology. All true poetry continued to flow from this divine source, but, as Opitz had indicated, its waters were polluted. Those who composed verses on demand took their inspiration from this muddied source, demeaning poetry and the poet, reducing one of the *artes liberales* to mechanical status.⁵³ In fact, as Opitz had made clear in a line quoted tirelessly by his acolytes, such men were not true poets at all: "Denn ein Poete kan nicht schreiben wenn er wil/ sondern wenn er kan/ und ihn die re- gung des Geistes welches Ovidius unnd andere vom Himmel her zue kommen ver- meinen/ treibet" (19). (Because a poet cannot write when he chooses, but only when he is able, led by the spirit that Ovid and others believe to emanate from heaven.)

Those who turned to their handbooks were moved by a different "spirit" than the *furor poeticus*. Members of Mr. Fashion's retinue, such poets' inspiration did not "emanate from heaven" but was stirred by parts below. Fashion, as we have seen, never failed to arouse the body. And fashionable poets proved no exception. In their excessive lust, they had made poetry their whore. Poetry was supposed to be a virgin, but she was now a harlot. Harsdörffer coined a much-repeated opinion: "Gewießlich es ist zu betrauren/ daß die edle Poetery so verächtlich gehalten wird. Sie ist eine keusche Jungefrau/ welche alle Unreinigkeit hasset/ und Anfangs sonderlich zu dem Gottesdienst gewidmet gewesen/ auch von denen Völckeren/ welche sonsten aller andern Wissenschaften und Künste unwissend gewesen. Nun wird sie/ als eine gemeine Metzze/ zur Wollust und Uppigkeit gezogen" (*Ladies' Conversational Games*, pt. 4, 55–56). (Certainly it is lamentable that noble poetry has been so abased. She is a chaste virgin who detests all impurity and initially was particularly devoted to holy worship even among those peoples who otherwise knew nothing of the sciences and arts. Now she is taught lust and luxury like a common strumpet.)⁵⁴ Harsdörffer diagnosed poetry as a fallen woman brought low

53. For an overview of the development of poetry as one of the liberal arts in Alteuropa, see Stöckmann, *Vor der Literatur* (41).

54. Harsdörffer's stylization of contemporary poetry as a fallen woman was quoted directly by Schottel, for example: "2. Nicht daß diese angedeutete Wissenschaft oder Anleitung/ an sich einen Poeten machen/ und demselben die Kunst eintröpfeln könne...Giebt demnach die Verskunst richtige Anweisung und Unterricht/ wie jedes Poetisches Gedicht recht und wol zu ordnen/ machet aber an sich keine Poeten/ eben wie die Baukunst an sich keinen Werckmeister machet/ sondern jedes Gebäw gleichrichtig/ wölfügend und festständig anzurichten/ anweisung thut. In dem CLI. Gesprächspiele Herrn Harsdorffers wird folgendes von wolerwehnten Autore vermeldet: Die Edle Poetery/ spricht

by a confusion of the *furor poeticus* with a *furor sexualis*. His assessment drew on a long tradition of critiques of anacreontic poetry and its allegedly epicurean, even atheistic, practitioners. New was the charge that poetry was a thing of fashion, made a strumpet by a crowd of poor imitators.

Polemics against poetry's whorishness did nothing to curb its circulation, of course. Poetic handbooks abounded; poetry got around. Harsdörffer himself penned what is today the most famous example of the new genre, *Poetischer Trichter* (Poetic Funnel) (1647–1653). These guides appealed to a new market segment—one that included female readers, to whom the doors of higher education and its training in the conventions of classical rhetoric and poetry remained firmly closed. Nothing if not a savvy businessman, Harsdörffer wrote *the* book that at midcentury appealed most explicitly to this growing market segment: *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Ladies' Conversational Games) (1641–1649), a work in eight installments, estimated by Petra Dollinger to have been one of the century's bestsellers.⁵⁵

A veritable cottage industry of poetic guidebooks sprang up in the vacuum after Opitz's early death. Claiming Opitz's legacy, as we have seen, provided legitimacy to a "true poet." It also sold books. Frankfurt publisher Christian Klein (1612–1661), for example, knew to profit from the demand for guides to vernacular poetry. He published Enoch Hanmann's continuation of Opitz's *Book* again and again: *Enoch Hanmanns Anmerkungen In die Teutsche Prosodie/ Darinnen daßjenige Was etwan Herr Opitz übergangen oder damals nicht erfunden gewesen/ kürztlich dargestellt wird* (Enoch Hanmann's Notes on German Prosody in Which That Is Briefly Shown Which Mr. Opitz Ignored or Which in His Time Had Not Been Invented). Hanmann's sequel to Opitz, 250 pages in octavo replete with Hanmann's own poetic efforts, must have been quite lucrative for Klein. By 1658, it went into what was at least the eighth printing of the second, expanded edition. Others followed. Hanmann claimed in the preface to this second edition: "Und ob es ferner zudrucken jemahls würdig gewesen/ habe ich allezeit mit Nein beantwortet; Der Herr Verleger aber hat solches zum andernmahl begehret" (106). (I always answered the question whether it [his sequel] was worthy ever to be reprinted with no; the gentleman

er/ ist eine keusche Jungfrau/ welche alle Unreinigkeit hasset/ und anfangs sonderlich zu dem Gottesdienste gewiedmet gewesen/ auch von denen Völkern/ welche sonsten aller Wissenschaftt und Künsten unwisend gewesen. Nun wird zu zum öfftern/ als eine gemeine Metze/ zur Wollust und uppigkeit gezogen" (3–4). (2. Not that this aforementioned science or introduction can make a poet per se and spoon-feed that art. . . . Thus the art of verse can provide correct advice and instruction in how every kind of poetical poem may be correctly and nicely ordered, but it cannot make poets, much like architecture cannot make master builders but instead provides instruction on how to make every kind of structure in a correct, pleasing, and stable manner. In Mr. Harsdörffer's *Conversational Game* CLI the aforementioned author pronounces: Noble Poetry, he says, is a chaste virgin who detests all impurity and initially was particularly devoted to holy worship even among those peoples who otherwise knew nothing of the sciences and arts. Now she is more often taught lust and luxury like a common strumpet.)

55. Harsdörffer is sometimes nominated for the title of first "modern German author," a writer who was able to earn his income from his pen.

publisher, however, wished to do it again.) Whether or not one believes Hanmann's modest protest, his continuation of Opitz's *Book* made money.

Hanmann's *Notes* was, as we have seen, hardly the only post-Opitzian guide to poetry; Rist's "fashionable braggart" could have stocked an entire bookshelf with do-it-yourself guides. Should he need a quick rhyme with the sound "affen," for example, he need merely consult the table included in Titz's *Two Books*, where a variety of solutions were offered: "schlaffen (*dormire*) straffen/ Schaffen/ die waffen (*arma*)" as well as "die Affen/ Pffaffen" and "gaffen/ schlaffen (*laxum esse*)" (n.p.). Or if a line was needed on a certain topic, Tscherning's index of topics with lines culled from "superior German poets" was just the thing. If the aspiring poet was short of funds to stock his shelves with all the available titles, Kindermann's *German Poet* promised everything in a single volume. Despite their ubiquity by the 1670s, the demand for reference guides only increased into the eighteenth century.

Gottfried Wilhelm Sacer (1635–1699), probably the author of the popular satire *Reime dich/ oder ich fresse dich* (Compose Yourself, or I'll Gobble You Up) (1673), advised his would-be poet, harlequin's German cousin Hans Wurst, that actual study of any of these prosodies was quite unnecessary.⁵⁶ Required of a "poet" was only the ability to pronounce his opinion:

Es stehet dir frey Hanß Wurst/ ob du dich ein klein wenig auch/ ehe du dich völlig zum Reimen und Schreiben rütest in einer *Prosodie* umbsehen wilt: kanst dir des *Cæsii Helicon*, oder **Schottels** Vers= und Reim=Kunst/ oder **Harsdorffers** Poetischen Trichter/ oder **Sacers** Erinnerungen wegen der Deutschen *Poëten* oder nim sonsten einen der hievon etwas in Druck gehen lassen. Du darffst dich nicht zu Tode darinnen *studiren*/ viel Nachsinnen und alles nach der Schnur beobachten/ hüpfet nur darüber hin wie der Hahn über die glüende Kohle. Ließ solche Bücher nicht gelehrter daraus zu werden und dich nach den vorgeschriebenen Regulen und Lehrsätzen zu richten: Nein/ sondern nur dein hochverständiges Urtheil davon zu fällen/ und daß du gleichwohl sagen kanst du habest *prosodien* gelesen und wütest wo sie hiezählten/ damit man dich nicht vor einem unwissenden Tölpel ansehen möchte darumb ist es nur zu thun. Die jenigen so da vermeinen daß ein *Poët* nothwendig müsse *Prosodien* verstehen/ irren sehr weit. (59–60)

It's up to you, Hans Wurst, if you too want to sneak a peek at a prosody before arming yourself to rhyme and write. You could glance at Zesen's *Helicon*, Schottel's *Vers- and*

56. Sacer is commonly identified as the author of the satire. Interestingly, Morhof, always exceedingly well informed, believed its author to be the same as the author of the *Lustige Rhetorica Oder Kurtzweiliger Redner* (Laughable Rhetoric or Amusing Speaker), another anonymously published work, usually attributed to Johannes Riemer (1648–1714). Morhof states: "Es ist ohne Zeiffel derselbe Autor, der den kurtzweiligen Redner neulich geschriebene/ worinnen viel aus diesem Buche wiederholet wird/ der sonst aus andern Schrifften wohl bekandt" (*Unterricht* 396–97). (Without a doubt, it is the same author who recently wrote the *Amusing Speaker*, in which many things are repeated from this book that are also well known from other sources.)

Rhyme-Art, or Harsdörffer's *Poetic Funnel*, or Sacer's *Notes on German Poets*, or just take anyone who has published on the topic. There's no need to plague yourself with long reflection or to observe every detail. Just skip right along like a rooster over hot coals. Don't read such books to become better educated or to orient yourself according to the accepted rule and maxims: No! Read them instead to pronounce your highly intelligent judgment and so that you too can say you have read prosodies and know their point so that you are not regarded as an ignorant baboon. Those who believe that a poet must necessarily understand prosodies are very wrong.

These handbooks were flush with examples of various genres. All stood ripe for the plucking. As *Compose Yourself* further advised the would-be poet,

Allezeit wenn du ein geschicktes und gespicktes *carmen elaboriren* wilt/ und andere Poeten abzustecken/ nim **Tschernings Poetisch Schatzkammer/ Harsdörffers Poetischen Trichter/ Treuers neulich heraus gegebenen *Daedalum*, Bergmanns *Aerarium poëticum & c*** zur Hand. Lege diese Bücher rings umb dich herüm/ nebenst den **Opitz/ den Flemming/ Risten/ Schirmern/ Albinen/ Neumarcken/ Homburgen/ Siebern/ Clajum/ Francken/ Helden & c.** Nim aus jeden was dir Wunders werth vorkömmt.

Whenever you want to make off with a delicate and elegant *carmen* and to rip off other poets, take Tscherning's *Poetic Treasury*, Harsdörffer's *Poetic Funnel*, Treuer's newly released *Daedalum*, Bergmann's *Poetic Aeries*, and the like to hand. Position these books in a circle around you, next to Opitz, Flemming, Rist, Schirmer, Albinen, Neumarck, Homburg, Siebern, Claj, Francke, Held, and so forth. Just pluck from each what seems admirable to you!

Because such famous poets would probably be recognized, Sacer recommended to Hans Wurst: "Du kanst auch wol Gelegenheit ersehen/ und eines bessern *Poëten* denn du bist/ noch nicht heraus gegebene Arbeit heimlich entwenden/ oder aber ein ferne gedrucktes Gedicht/ und eines welches ohne *Autori* Nahmen ausgefertigt worden/ dir zueignen/ und fein ordentlich von Wort zu Wort in deinem Nahmen drucken lassen/ nur daß du vorn eine Zeile oder Blat änderst oder nach deiner Art hinzu fügest" (24). (You can easily spy out an opportunity to pocket the unpublished work of some better poet than yourself, or seize upon a poem published in some far-off place. Better still, claim something published anonymously as yours, and have it beautifully published verbatim, in your name; just attach a few lines or maybe a page preceding it.) Sacer did not fail to detail those fashionable poetic forms that Hans Wurst should be ready to claim as his own: "Alles was du rülpest/ muß eine Überschrift seyn/ alles was du reusperst/ muß ein Schulfüchsisches *Acrosticon* oder *Eteostichon* seyn/ alles was du auswirffst muß ein *Anagramma* seyn/ alles was du niesest/ muß ein *Cabalistisches* Sonnet seyn" (50). (Everything that you

burp must be a caption, you'll have to clear your throat with a pedantic acrosticon or eteostichon, you must toss off an anagram, and you may sneeze only a Caballistic sonnet.) Stolen, burped, and sneezed out, his poetry, of course, hardly merited the name.

As quickly as the *alamode* critique had swelled, by the 1660s it was on its way out. As it receded, a new fashionable vocabulary rolled in. While it might appear paradoxical, the ebb of the *alamode* discourse signaled fashion's victory on the literary battlefield, neither to be routed nor to be burned with the German poet's torch. True to the logic of fashion sketched in the broadsheet depicting the funeral procession of *Allmodo*, one fashion's death was now followed by another's birth. Nascent fashion always lay safe in its cradle. In other words, as the *alamode* discourse receded, a new literary fashion swept the field, one outfitted with a new vocabulary. Christian Weise (1642–1708) sent up the language purism promulgated by the language societies as a fad that had spread even to the feeble-minded, in his *Anhang eines neuen Lust=Spieles von einer zweyfachen Poeten=Zunft* (Appended Comedy about a Twofold Society of Poets) (1680). Yet Weise unwittingly unleashed the short-lived fashion for all things *politisch* with the success of titles such as *Der politische Redner* (The Political Speaker) (1677).⁵⁷

Beginning in the 1680s and then with gathering momentum in the 1690s, another new fashion swept through the world of letters: gallantry. The increasing fashionability of letters in German throughout the seventeenth century had attracted new players onto the literary field. The fashion for gallantry would attract still more. Imported from France and no less influential in England than in Germany, gallantry and its printed articulations created a reading public across Europe molded in various places in the same fashion.

Those who critiqued successive fashions—*alamode*, *politisch*, *galant*—repackaged wine in new casks, pouring and repouring their anxiety over the commodification of letters and the feminization of the literary field. Cries deploring fashion's rule hardly disappeared, of course. Yet, with increasing numbers by the 1690s, some *literati* seemed to have viewed fashion as inevitable, an ineluctable result of the increasing number of participants in the world of letters. Poet Christian Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau (1616–1679) merely noted “itziger Schreibsucht” (today's rage for writing) in the preface to his *Deutsche Übersetzungen und Getichte* (German Translations and Poems) (2r). Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), famed polyhistor and poetry professor in Rostock and then Kiel, simply stated in his important *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (Instruction in German Language and Poetry) (1682/1700): “Es fehlet wenig daß die Tichtererey nicht gar den Handwerkerkern unter die Fäuste gerät” (396). (Poetizing has practically been taken over by manual laborers.)

57. Wicke has thoroughly examined the “political” discourse, exploring those titles that sought to capitalize on Weise's popularity.

The commodification of poetry remained, of course, a source of weak jokes like that Morhof makes about Marculus: “Der Tichter Huren-Sohn/ Mißt sein liederlich Getichte/ Nicht nach Würden und gewichte/ Sondern nach der Füsse Zahl” (*Unterricht* 459). (Bastard son of poets/ measures his slatternly poems/ not according to their dignity and weight/ but to the number of their feet.) Similarly, Christian Hölmann (1677–1744), editor of the fourth and fifth parts of the *Neukirchische Sammlung* (Neukirch Collection), lightheartedly foresaw a literary field overrun: “Es wird die gantze Welt bald ein Parnassus seyn;/ Denn aller orten pflegt es verse her zu schnein” (302). (Soon the whole world will be a Parnassus/ Because verses blow like snow from every corner.) But Hölmann, like Morhof, is no longer really concerned.

A precise explanation for this audible shift in tone is no easier to come by than pinpointing an exact reason why the *alamode* discourse began precisely when it did. But certainly this more relaxed attitude about fashion and its novelties went hand in hand with the German reception of gallantry. It became a lifestyle for Germans, one we shall see them at pains to imitate “in the right way” (see chapter 2). Most importantly, gallantry required the participation of women and sought to introduce them to the world of letters. Thus, while fashion was always marked as feminine, the fashion for gallantry was feminine in quite another way. At midcentury, Harsdörffer had kept Angelica, Julia, and Cassandra in *Ladies’ Conversational Games* under the strict tutelage of their male interlocutors (Reymund, Vespasian, and Degenwert), who acted more often than not as their preceptors. Gallantry, on the other hand, offered women far more latitude.

By century’s end, fashion, gallantry, and women’s literary activities were inextricably bound together—to the alarm of some and the delight of others. Perhaps nowhere is the new attitude toward the participation of women in the world of letters more evident than in the work of Magnus Daniel Omeis (1646–1708). Omeis’s sanguine disposition is all the more striking on account of his position as a well-established poet and president (*Präses*) of Nuremberg’s Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz from 1697 until his death. Omeis, or Dafnis as he was known in the society, could have been a staunch defender of poetry’s “pure” Opitzian origins. His predecessor as president, Harsdörffer, had, we have seen, decried poetry’s prostitution. But Omeis saw things differently. In the foreword to his poetic handbook, *Gründliche Anleitung zur teutschen accuraten Reim- und Dicht-Kunst* (Fundamental Introduction to the German Correct Arts of Rhyme and Verse), of 1704, Omeis explained his project:

Habe mich derowegen/ aus einiger Patronen und geliebter Freunde Ansuchen/ mit Gott entschlossen/ eine gründliche Anleitung zur T. Poësie (wie sich diese ietziger Zeit im schönsten Flor befindet) ihren beiden Theilen/ als der Reim= und Dicht= Kunst/ nach/ in ein von bewährten Lehr-Sätzen und reinen kurzen Exempeln bestehendes *Systema* oder richtige Lehr-Ordnung zu bringen; worüber von mir ferner

hin/ so Gott will/ mehrere *Collegia Poëtica* können gehalten/ und dadurch zugleich so wol bei dem *galanten* Frauenzimmer/ deßen nicht geringer Theil heut zu Tage große Neigung zur Teutschen Poësie träget/ als auch bei der Löbl. Pegnesischen Blumen-Gesellschaft einigen theils gegenwärtig= theils künftigen Mitgliedern/ wol-ersprißliches Nutzen und Ergetzen möge geschaffet werden. (4v-r)

At the request of several patrons and dear friends, I decided with God to compose a basic introduction to German poetry (which at present blooms most brilliant) according to both its parts, the arts of rhyme and verse, brought into an established *Systema* or a correct lesson plan composed of proven maxims and pure short examples. On this topic, God willing, I may in the future give several poetical courses and in this way provide salutary benefit and enjoyment to gallant ladies—who in no small number today bear great affection for German poetry—as well as to present and future members of the esteemed Pegnitzian Society of Flowers.

Professor and twice rector at the University of Altdorf, Omeis dangled a tantalizing vision in front of Nuremberg's women's eyes: the possibility of "several poetical courses" that they might attend. Unfortunately, I do not know whether Omeis made good on his promise; nor can I guess what precisely his courses might have entailed. But, he tells us, his prospective students might have been drawn from the ranks of the Pegnitzian Flowers.

Omeis authored a hefty history of German poetry and included it as the first part of the *Fundamental Introduction*. He followed the periodization of poetry used by Morhof and, influentially, Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau before him, dividing German poetry into three eras. Opitz, of course, provided the origin of the third age of German poetry, the period still current in 1704. Omeis stresses the work of the language societies, particularly his own Pegnitzians. The Nuremberg society, he explains, is the only one to admit women: "Sich auch nicht zuwider seyn laßen/ edle/ keusche und gelehrte *Dames* und Weibes-Personen einzunehmen: indeme ja die Natur dieses Geschlecht von der Tugend= und Kunst=Fähigkeit mit nichten ausschließet." (It has also not opposed admitting noble, chaste, and educated *Dames* and women because nature has certainly not excluded the sex from the capacity for virtue and for art in any way.) Why shouldn't it, he demands, when "Gott und die Ewigkeit [machen] zwischen ihnen und den Manns-Personen keinen Unterschied" (God and eternity do not differentiate between them and men)? He continues:

Zu geschweigen/ daß das kluge Alterthum der Pallas und den neun Musen/ als Schutz-Göttinnen/ die Poësie und andre freue Künste untergeben. Ich will/ von diesen unsren Ordens-Nymfen und Dichterinnen/ nur zweyer allhier in Ehren gedenken/ als der seel. Mornille/ d.i. Fr. D. Müllerin/ derer best-verdientes Lob bei Herrn Morhof im Unterricht p. 443.444. anzutreffen; wie auch der Ruhm-seel. Dafne/ von derer noch einige T. Gedichte vorhanden/ die warhafftige den besten Poëten in ungemeine Verwunderung zu setzen vermögen. (47–48)

Never mind that wise antiquity made Pallas and the nine Muses the patron goddesses of poetry and the other liberal arts. From the ranks of our Order's nymphs and female poets, I will mention only two here with honor: blessed Mornille, that is, Frau. D. Müller, whose well-earned praise may also be read in Herr Morhof's *Instruction*, pp. 443–44, as well as praise-blessed Dafne, from whom several mourning poems may still be found and which are truly able to provide the best poets a source of uncommon wonder.

Omeis's casual mention of Dafne's poems that "may still be found" leads one directly to ask how many were already lost. Such was the nature of occasional poetry. Much of it has not come down to us. How much occasional poetry was written by women we cannot know.⁵⁸ But at the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, even well-established poets, such as Omeis, welcomed women and sought to assist them in gaining a foothold in the changing topography of the field of letters. Women poets offered, in fact, proof that the third age of literary history was the most excellent. We have traveled a long distance since Opitz and his acolytes in the 1640s decried the effeminization of the German language and poetry.

Omeis's gallantry is not announced anywhere in the text of his title page. Unlike so many books published around 1700, his book's allegiances were not prominently advertised with the inclusion of *galant* in the title. Nonetheless, Omeis's fashionable stance is given away by the frontispiece illustrating his *Fundamental Introduction* (fig. 3). Dressed in the shepherd's garb of the Nuremberg society, Damon stands at the engraving's lower left, resting at the foot of a path leading to more lofty heights. In the background, the nine Muses are perched on the hill. Damon's way to their lofty company passes directly by Poetry, the woman seated at the lower right. She takes her inspiration from the Muses and fixes her gaze on Parnassus, manuscript pages in her lap and quill in her extended right hand. Damon, dressed in the Peggintzian shepherd's garb, has eyes only for Poetry.

But this depiction of Poetry is unusual: her breasts are bare. Pamphlets written at the beginning of the eighteenth century tirelessly criticized women who exposed their chests.⁵⁹ There, women's bare breasts drew all the conventional fashionable devils as to a peep show. Damon/Omeis, on the other hand, betrays no anxiety

58. For the best recent exploration of a group of women writing occasional poetry at the end of the seventeenth century in Altenburg, see the collection *Das "weiblich Werk"*, edited by Carrdus. In her introduction, Carrdus documents how the German reception of egalitarian ideas worked out in the long-running *quevelle des femmes* was crucial in insuring that some of the Altenburg circle's poetic work got into print.

59. See, for example, the 1689 pamphlet by "Ernestus Gottlieb" (literally, "Ernest Loved-by-God"), *Der Gedoppelte Blas-Balg Der Uppigen Wollust: Nemlich Die Erhöhte Fontange Und Die Blosser Brust/ Mit welchen das Alamodische und die Eitelkeit liebende Frauenzimmer in ihren eigenen/ und vieler unvorsichtigen Manns-Persohnen sich darin vergaffenden Hertzen ein Feuer der verbotenen Liebes-Brunst anzündet* (The Twofold Bellows of Voluptuous Lust: That Is the Elevated Fontange and the Bared Breast with Which the Alamode Lady Devoted to Vanity Sets Forbidden Fire to Her Own Heart as well as to Those of the Many Foolhardy Men Who Gawk).



Figure 3. Frontispiece to Magnus Daniel Omeis's *Fundamental Introduction to the German Correct Art of Rhyme and Verse* (1704). The fashionable poet-shepherd consults with Poetry. Her exposed breasts fail to leave her fashionable advice to the imagination. Reproduced courtesy of the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha.

about poetry's fashionability. Baring Poetry's breast, Omeis's book reveals itself as a guide specifically to fashionable poetry. The title page spells out some of the genres to which Omeis devotes particular attention. Among the fashionable forms the title page promises to elucidate—"Symbolis Heroicis oder Devisen; Emblematibus; Rebus de Picardie; Romanen, Schau-Spielen, der Bilder-Kunst/ Teutschen Stein=Schreib=Art u.a. curieuses Materien" (*Symbolis Heroicis or Devices; Emblematibus; Rebus de Picardie; Romans*, plays, image poems, runes, and other kinds of *curieus* materials)—we find, of course, the signature of the gallant discourse, the novel (*Roman*).

* * *

Despite these vigorous debates about poetry's fashionability, verse composition certainly did not become an everyday practice for a broad segment of the German-speaking populace. Many remained illiterate into the nineteenth century, especially in more rural locales. But Opitzian labors to renew the vernacular as a poetic language spread the use of poetry well beyond the academic elite to mark countless occasions. In the opinion of some *literati*, poetry's fashionability and its mounting popularity caused extensive collateral damage. To be sure, members of language societies were confident that their patriotic efforts to till the vernacular and cultivate its use yielded sophisticated poetry on a par with other European poetic vernaculars. Simultaneously, their handbooks distilling the rules of *imitatio* rendered classical and neo-Latin models accessible to the unlettered. Such poets were not capable of the felicitous *imitatio* for which Opitz had garnered such fame. Instead, they were judged incapable of correct imitation and purportedly mimicked the conventions taught by *Regelpoetik* (poetry by the rules), rhyming mechanically and aping (*nachaffen*) handbooks' models—or, as *The German Poet* alleged, they simply stole unpublished work of "better poets" and called it their own.⁶⁰

The authors of increasingly popular poetic handbooks were caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, they sought to burnish poetry's diminished aura and insisted on its hallowed status among the liberal arts. Perched on Helicon's peak, poetry was theoretically a pursuit inaccessible to "handworkers." Yet it was this "handworker" or "common man," not the born poet, who really needed the many rhyming dictionaries and florilegia. Thus we see the strange phenomenon of prefaces insulting their book's intended audience rather than wooing potential buyers. While handbook authors never tired of bemoaning poetry's commodification, they also well understood how to make money from it. Hanmann, we have seen, had modestly claimed that his publisher had pressed him for a second, expanded edition of his continuation of Opitz's *Book*. But his publisher could have brought out a second edition without him. Hanmann's "reluctant" capitulation,

60. For other examples of theft, fraud, and dishonesty in the world of letters, see the articles by Gierl, and Füssel.

stated in the preface he took care to pen for the new edition, made money. Fashion sold, and poetic handbooks were a fashionable genre.

Fashion popularized poetry in print to a previously unknown degree. It also demanded poetic innovation. The poetic forms that Hans Wurst was supposed to “burp and sneeze” to establish his credibility as an up-to-date poet, for example, did not remain forever fashionable. Forms came and went in a ceaseless round. Formerly up-to-date forms were swept away—as was the *alamode* discourse itself. The anxiety about illegitimate players on the literary field anything but disappeared. But the terms used to assess their presence changed and were themselves exchanged as new discourses gained currency. While poetasters and other unauthorized participants were vilified beginning in the 1630s as *alamode*, by the 1680s they would be decried as *politisch* and, soon thereafter, as *gallant*—that fashion identified across Europe with French influence.

When fashion invaded the early modern world of letters, it did not confine itself to infiltrating poetry, of course. If fashion was the illicit mother of poetry—or, as Hardsörffer alleged, fashion had “prostituted” a “noble virgin”—it also birthed other print forms. With its tireless demand for novelty, fashion hatched generic innovations, “novel genres.” This term points too to the beginnings of the modern novel; the novel genres spawned by fashion were many. They were all part of what Lennard Davis, writing about the origins of the English novel, so influentially called the “news-novel” discourse, “factual fictions.” Davis plainly asserted that in England “the novel and journalism are intricately interconnected, perhaps more interconnected than the novel and romance” (xii). This fact is equally true for the German-language novel, although it is less commonly recognized in the German scholarship than in the English.⁶¹

Omeis included the novel (*Roman*) among the poetic forms taught by his handbook from 1704, a guide so fashionable that it explicitly included women among its other, implied readers. By the 1680s, the novel began to be regularly included in German poetics. And while theorizations of the novel as a poetic genre were crucial, the new genre’s embeddedness in the news of the day was no less so. Indeed, generic differences between journals and *nouvelles* in the 1680s were systematically blurred. Novel genres and newsy forms were parts of a whole. All depended more or less on a writer’s inventive powers. The novelties unleashed by fashion were good for the book business, a fact that did not elude contemporaries. Many groused that news was often invented by publishers and printers to sell new titles. In his short poem “Auff die Zeitung-Schreiber/ die ihre Zeitungen mit den Luft-Gesichtern anfüllen” (On News Writers Who Fill Their Newspapers with Airy Visions), Morhof wryly noted:

Man holt die Zeitung über Meer/
Von allen Orten/ Ecken her.

61. Simons’s *Marteaus Europa* and Tatlock provide notable exceptions.

Man bringet alles an das Licht/
 Es decke noch so tieffe Grufft/
 Und hat mans von dem Lande nicht:
 So greiff mans endlich auß der Lufft. (Maché and Meid 261)

News is brought across the sea
 From every place and every corner.
 Everything is brought to light
 No matter how deep the vault in which it lies.
 And if you can't get it from the land
 Just pull it from the air.

German literary historians remain unaccustomed to thinking of the readership of newsy forms now assigned to journalism as overlapping with that for newsy forms now assigned to literature. It is perhaps for this reason that estimates of the reading public at the end of the seventeenth century vary so wildly.

As historians of the German press have demonstrated, German-language *Zeitung*en (newspapers), both occasional and periodical, were among the earliest, if not first, print texts in Europe devoted to the news *qua* news. Welke has described “a sizable turn” to newspapers occurring “particularly early in Germany,” a new form whose spread “continuously intensified” after 1600 and developed there “with greater diversity and more strongly than in other places on the continent” (“Gemeinsame Lektüre” 29).⁶² By 1620, regularly published newspapers appeared in Berlin, Danzig, Frankfurt (Main), Güstrow, Halberstadt, Hamburg, Hildesheim, Köln, Stuttgart, and Wolfenbüttel as well as in a number of other cities and towns. By 1650, the first daily began to appear in Leipzig (Weber, “Deutsche Presse” 141). News outlets were not the property of the *Gelehrtenrepublik*. They “enjoyed a wide readership which extended from the ‘literati’ (academically educated men trained in Latin) to the ‘common man’ all the way into the lower social strata” (139).

While we remain unaccustomed to connecting the audience for baroque poetry with that for news, we must bring them into closer proximity if we are to understand the phenomenon that the European novel became. Weber estimates that

62. This development, Welke explains, was fostered by trade. Located at the crossroads of ancient trade routes, merchants doing business in Germany needed news. Germans’ use of newspapers continued so steadily, Welke remarks, “that this event can hardly be called ‘revolutionary.’” He continues: “More helped than hindered by the political divisions and confessional divide, and promoted particularly by its geographical location at the crossroads of the arteries of European trade, the newspaper developed in its German country of origin after 1600 with greater variety and more strongly than in other parts of the continent” (“Gemeinsame Lektüre” 29).

The proliferation of German newsy forms has been painstakingly documented by Weber in particular, who has been remarkably successful in unearthing news pages more often read to shreds. In addition to single-page news sheets, broadsides, and political pamphlets, Weber documents late sixteenth-century periodical annuals (*Jahreschroniken*), media that flagged their newsy contents with titles such as *The Post Rider* (*Postreuter*). Market fair news began to appear regularly in German beginning in 1583, monthly political journals in 1597 (Weber, “Deutsche Presse” 139–40).

political newspapers (*politische Zeitungen*) reached up to 25 percent of those able to read, “a circle extending far beyond the *Gelehrtenrepublik* and the group of city councilors, civil servants, or military officers who engaged with the news professionally” (“Deutsche Presse” 142). Welke emphasizes that already by the end of the seventeenth century, all social strata and classes demanded newspapers, with the exception of those on the very bottom (“Gemeinsame Lektüre” 42). News periodicals played a crucial role in satisfying what Weber correctly assesses as a pent-up demand for all things new. This desire to “read something new from the great wide world” was intimately related to the rage for fashion (Weber, “Deutsche Presse” 142). The allure of the foreign, fashionable world could now be purchased and carried home.

The ways in which fashion, poetry, and the news intersected is nowhere more visible than in a 1704 publication, *Reales Staats- und Zeitungs-Lexicon* (Encyclopedia of Civil Affairs and the News), compiled by none other than Johann Hübner, author of a poetic handbook (1696) that lamented a new fashion for poetry without rhyme. Hübner knew his audience well, and he addressed them directly in the preface to his *Encyclopedia*, using the numbered sentences he so preferred:

Geneigter Leser. I. Was die Lesung der Zeitungen vor einen vielfältigen Nutzen hat, das wird unnöthig zu erinnern seyn, nachdem solches allbereit vor 28. Jahren der vortreffliche Hr. Christian Weise, mein treugewesener Lehrmeister, in einer curieusen Schrifft weitläufftig ausgeführet hat.

II. Es haben sich auch nach diesem die Liebhaber solcher Nouvelles dergestalt vermehret, daß auch die Einwohner auff dem Lande hin und wieder nicht ungeschickt sind, einen Staats-Discours nach ihrer Art, mit einander zu führen.

III. Nun trägt sich gleichwohl gar offte zu, daß ein Gelehrter und gereister Mann, eine und die andre passage aus den Zeitungen nicht verstehet, und wenn das am grünen Holtze geschicht, was will am dürren werden? Ich will so viel sagen: Wenn die, so studiret, nicht allemahl wissen, was sie lesen, was vor Zweiffels-Knoten müssen denjenigen allererst vorkommen, die mit den Musen keine sonderliche Bekantschafft haben. (n.p.)

Gentle Reader. I. The fact that reading the newspaper has broad benefits will be unnecessary to demonstrate, since it has already been copiously explicated 28 years ago in a *curieus* text by my beloved former teacher Mr. Christian Weise.

II. Since then, readers devoted to such *nouvelles* have multiplied to such an extent that even those who live in the countryside are now and again in their own way able to conduct a conversation about affairs of state.

III. Now it nonetheless often happens that even an educated and well-traveled man cannot understand one or more passages from the newspapers, and when this occurs among new wood what will be the result with dry wood? By this I mean: When even those who have been at university do not always know what they are

reading, what kind of thorny tangles must this material present to those who lack any special acquaintance with the Muses?

Texts such as Hübner's *Encyclopedia* have in the past decade received considerable attention from historians of *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (history of arts and sciences), who have read it and other reference works like it as signals of profound shifts in the world of letters. New intellectual histories written by Martin Mulsow, Helmut Zedelmaier, and others have read these reference works as responses to the need, perceived as increasingly urgent by the end of the seventeenth century, to reorder knowledge. Current research explores how such tomes reflect the increased demand for specialization that the proliferation of the New Science required of intellectuals.⁶³ The importance of this work should truly be emphasized. Nonetheless, it has at times failed adequately to tackle the popular dimensions of changes in the world of letters that such reference works also mark.

Hübner, for example, foregrounded in his preface to this *Encyclopedia* that even those who "live in the countryside" were "in their own way" now able "to conduct a conversation about affairs of state." Indeed, his book, like the poetic handbook he had published eight years earlier, must have been especially helpful to those readers who lived outside town and who had correspondingly fewer opportunities to patronize academies of the "poor man's college," the coffeehouses that began popping up in cities and towns everywhere by the end of the century.⁶⁴ In urban settings, patrons might ask fellow coffee drinkers what a newspaper's word or phrase meant. Those in the country could turn to Hübner's *Encyclopedia*. The boundaries circumscribing the world of letters had indeed grown porous; lines meant to separate the educated and the semieducated were blurred.

Those who turned to Hübner's *Encyclopedia* were the same people he described in his handbook. In the preface to the *Encyclopedia* he calls them "dry wood." They are the same greenhorn poets he describes in the poetic handbook as having deserted rhyme—whether from a lack of formal training or from sheer laziness. Hübner's readers, regardless of their qualifications, nonetheless wanted to be able to compose a poem to commemorate the many occasions Opitz had already enumerated in 1624 in *The Book of German Poetry*. Poetry in the seventeenth century was definitely *in*. Like the news, it belonged to the novel genres born of fashion. Poetic handbooks, no less than Hübner's *Encyclopedia*, are visible signs of the reorganization of the world of letters. They reflect profound changes there, including, not least, fashion's commodification of the book.

63. Füßel provides full bibliographical details for this important, growing body of research.

64. See Albrecht; Wiggin, "Politics of Coffee Consumption."

CURING THE FRENCH DISEASE

A *Town-Gallant* is a Bundle of *Vanity*, composed of *Ignorance*, and *Pride*, *Folly*, and *Debauchery*; a silly *Huffing* thing, three parts *Fop*, and the rest *Hector*: A kind of *Walking Mercers shop*, that shews one *Stuff* to day, and another to morrow, and is valuable just according to the price of his *Suit*, and the merits of his *Taylor*. . . . He seems a Kinsman to the *Man in the Moon*, for every Moneth he's in a *New mode*, and instead of true *Galantry* (which once dwelt in the Breasts of *Englishmen*) he is made up of *Complements*, *Cringes*, *Rants*, *Fancies*, *Perfumes* and a thousand *French Apish Tricks*, which render him only fit to be set on a *Farmers Hovel* to scare away *Crows*. . . . His whole *Library* consists of the *Academy of Complements*, *Venus undress'd*, *Westminster Drollery*, half a dozen *Plays*, and a Bundle of *Bawdy Songs* in *Manuscript*, yet he's a shrew'd *Linguist*. . . . To shew his *Judgment* [at the *Playhouse*], and prove himself at once a *Wit* and a *Critick*, he starts up, and with a *Tragical Face*, *Damns the Play*, though he have not *heard* (at least *understood*) two *Lines* of it. However, when tis done, he picks up a *Miss*, and pinching her fingers in a soft *Tone*, and looks most abominably *Languishing*, he *Whispers*, *Damn me, Madam! If you were but sensible, and all that of the passion I have for you, and the Flames which your irresistible Charms, and all that have kindled in my Breast, you would be merciful and Honour me with your Angelical Company, to take a Draught of Love Posset at next Tavern.*

—“The Character of a town-gallant” (London, 1675)

Aber ad propos was ist galant und ein galanter Mensch? dieses dürffte uns in Warheit mehr zuthun machen als alles vorige/ zumahlen da dieses Wort bey uns Teutschen so gemein und so sehr gemißbraucht worden/ daß es von Hund und Katzen/ von Pantoffeln/ von Tisch und Bäncken/ von Feder und Dinten/ und ich weiß endlich nicht/ ob nicht auch von Aepffel und Birn zum öfftern gesagt wird.

But *ad propos* what is gallant and a gallant person? This might in truth cause us more trouble than anything preceding, since this word has become so common and been so widely abused by us Germans that it has been said of dogs and cats, slippers, tables and benches, pens and ink, and I hardly know whether it's even been said frequently of apples and pears.

—CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Über die Nachahmung der Frantzosen* (Leipzig, 1688)

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, fashion turned up in a new French ensemble: gallantry. “The Character of a town-gallant” appeared in 1675 in London; but it might just as well have been published in a number of other cities or even towns where fashion now reigned. The gallant had become a stock character, strutting and preening his way across English, Dutch, French, and German pages. In his introductory remarks to the famous lecture *On the Imitation of the French* (and source of this chapter’s second epigraph), philosopher, lawyer, publicist, and man-about-town Christian Thomasius snickered that gallant labels were affixed to even the most mundane goods. Gallantry had clearly proven its value as a marketing tool.

While sartorial finery advertised its wearer’s gallantry, so too did fashionable language. The gallant thus spoke in the “Complements, *Cringes, Rants, Fancies*” that stocked “his whole Library.” His critics alleged that he mistook fashion for learning, confused style with substance, and substituted appearance (*Schein*) for essence (*Sein*). His forays into the world of letters were made, they charged, only to keep up appearances. The gallant, and gallantry more generally, both epigraphs suggest, conflated the world of goods with the world of letters—a category confusion similarly decried by later critics. In fact, the fashionable discourse allowed no separation of the two. Like it or not, the book, emblem of the world of learning, had become a fashionable commodity. Fashion, its followers knew, had not merely infiltrated the world of letters; in its gallant costume, it occupied the field completely.

We need to probe the circulation of gallantry beyond France, from the city into the country. Outside Paris, it was not merely derivative. Disputing this assumption, which is traditional to both German and English literary histories, this chapter discusses gallantry’s innovative work beyond the metropole, pointing to its role in the articulation of national identity and, more interestingly, in the creation of a transnational market trading in books and other commodities subject to the supply and demands of fashion. The many fashions connected by French “gallantry” provided the crucial rhetorical foil against which national identities were articulated in strict counterpoint. Both German and English critics of gallantry toiled to invent an identity presented always as the antithesis of Frenchness. They urged a return to allegedly timeless values; only the resurrection of supposedly age-old Englishmen or Germans could redeem fashion’s sins. And yet, as we shall see, these “ancient” national constructions were truly stitched in counterpoint, Germanness and Englishness firmly knotted to underlying layers of Frenchness. Indeed, these emergent national identities could no more be unstitched than we can disarticulate them now. At the threshold of modernity, German-ness, like Englishness, made sense only when articulated against a French background.

Thomasius’s lecture, *On the Imitation of the French*, intervened in typically radical fashion. The choice of the German vernacular surely raised the hackles

of orthodox Leipzig academics and Saxon church officials already none too well disposed toward their fashionable young colleague. But Thomasius's advocacy of *French* imitation—his praise for the “right kind of gallantry”—must have been utterly infuriating.¹ Many German satires brutalized insufficiently patriotic gallants. Nonetheless, gallant texts could also be used to decry French politics.² And none of these gallant anti-French critiques were more stinging than those marked by the fake imprint invented expressly to amplify gallantry's oppositional politics: that of Pierre Marteau, a fictional printer purported to do business in Cologne but really an advertisement for illicit publications produced by a number of actually existing French, Dutch, and German printer-publishers.

This chapter turns first to gallantry as articulated in Paris and then moves to the unfashionable German hinterland. Many days' travel beyond the French metropole, gallantry became a form of transculturation akin to Michel de Certeau's concept of poaching: the unauthorized, often illicit, capture of elite quarry. Crucially, young German gallants, women and men, are portrayed as readers of *Romane* or *Romaine*—that term whose confused spellings hint at the difficulty with which it was translated, and the array of meanings assigned to the French *roman*, from romance to *nouvelle* to novel to perhaps simply a *French* book. Gallantry, as Thomasius well knew, was a fashionable practice that imperiled his male students. The dangers it presented to the sex preternaturally disposed to its sensual delights more than doubled. While fashion was always alleged to exercise an unhealthy influence over women in particular, gallantry was the first fashion designed to appeal explicitly to them. French, English, Dutch, and German women's answers to gallant fashion's demand for participation in the world of letters—as producers and as consumers, as authors and as readers—spawned the transnational modern book and print market.

Gallantry as Poaching

While gallantry colonized every last corner of Europe, it was not everywhere the same. The new fashion ensconced Paris as the continent's cultural capital, relegating the British Isles and the rest of the continent to provincial status: loci of unfashionability more or less hopelessly behind the times and out-of-date. Gallantry

1. The lecture is famous in the history of German letters; it was the first university lecture to be held in German rather than the traditional language of the German university, Latin. The ire it elicited from Thomasius's colleagues, especially those on the theological faculty, is part of a well-known story, in which the young lawyer and lecturer ultimately had to beat a hasty retreat from his native Saxon Leipzig to find shelter in nearby Brandenburg's Halle—and so avoid persecution by Saxon censors. In Halle, Thomasius went on to play an essential role in the Great Elector's foundation of the university there, another of the events contributing to Thomasius's popular epithet, Vater der deutschen Aufklärung (Father of the German Enlightenment).

2. The language of gallantry evolved entangled and twinned with the language of *préciosité*. Given the latter's (c)overt anti-royalist politics and its invention in the painful aftermath of the Fronde, the former's stance in opposition to the French court is hardly surprising.

necessarily meant something different on the periphery than it did in the metropole. Its re-locations across places, its trans-lations, introduced seminal differences.

The newly fashionable discourse had been invented in the famous *chambre bleue* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet where the marquise de Rambouillet (née Catherine de Vivonne de Savelli, 1588–1665) presided over her famous blue room beginning around 1610. In this space, which she had created as a more refined alternative to the “rustic” court of Henry IV, the Italian-born marquise presided over discussions that “were free-ranging, touching on the latest mode, whether linguistic, sartorial, or literary” (DeJean, “1654” 298). This first salon gave birth to *préciosité*, a social movement whose emotional geography was influentially charted by Madeleine de Scudéry on “La carte de Tendre,” the famous map of the land of Tenderness included in the first volume of her sprawling romance *Clélie, histoire romaine* (1654). Integral to the new *précieux* landscape was women’s participation: one woman first carved it out, and another provided its best map. “Learning,” Thomas Kaminski summarizes, “was esteemed [in *précieux* circles] in women as well as men, so long as it remained well-bred and devoid of pedantry” (20). In the Parisian circles where *préciosité* held sway, pedantic men were no less ridiculous than the women famously sent up by Molière in *Les précieuses ridicules* (1659).

The mixed-sex terrain of *préciosité* had necessitated a new map, a guide to the new behavioral code between the sexes, a chart that many men of “rustic” habits sorely needed. This was the map that Scudéry had provided: “As the novel’s heroine teaches her audience how to read it, the map is revealed to be a course in gallantry, giving men the woman’s perspective” on how to win or lose her heart (DeJean, “1654” 301). Gallantry as charted by the *précieuses* sought to alter existing sexual relations, pushing them in a direction reminiscent of the medieval reign of the unattainable *Dame*. Like *høhe Minne*, the impossibly ethereal but only possible form for a knight to serve his lady, “high” gallantry pledged to transcend the sexual, to purge male-female interactions of any corporeality. On this lofty level, gallantry’s alchemy transformed men and women’s interactions into elegant conversation and brilliant wit.

Of course, the language of love that the *précieuses* sought to distill remained available to achieve less polite, more corporeal ends. As members of *précieux* society were well aware, “love was one thing in the *chambre bleue* and quite another in one’s private quarters” (Thomas Kaminski 21). In a backhanded homage to Scudéry’s map, some fifteen imitations and parodies appeared within ten years. In the same year that saw publication of “La carte de Tendre,” the *Relation de la Royaume de la Coquetterie* of François Hédelin, abbé d’Aubignac (1604–1676), appeared, for example. It was a far less ethereal take on gallantry than was Scudéry’s, and reminds us that the *précieux* project was ironized from the outset.³ In his weighty

3. D’Aubignac’s short work was translated from the French into German by Clajus von der Ill and published in Heidelberg in 1659 as *Le Royaume de la Coquetterie oder Beschreibung des neuentdeckten*

study *Amour précieux, amour galant*, Jean Michel Pelous emphasizes the libertine challenge presented by the Royaume de la Coquetterie to the Royaume de Tendre. Some citizens of Tenderness, Pelous stresses, “were rather inclined to let themselves be won over by heretical gallantry.” So great was Coquetterie’s pull that “the border between the two kingdoms remains often indeterminate, and in reality, it is often hard to clearly delineate one from the other.” So slippery was the language of love that “it would be more precise to say that the interior of the empire of love is shot through with various subversive strands” (26). The very vocabulary of *préciosité* insured that even the most refined discourse was worked in strands that could always be turned another way. Everything depended on the moral character of the speaker and addressee. The language of love might have been secure in well-fortified *précieuses* bastions, but “in its usage by a much larger public, gallantry suggests a far less ethereal image of love” (22).

This larger public extended by 1680 beyond the marquise de Rambouillet’s blue room, beyond Paris, and far outside France. While *préciosité* and gallantry were laced with subversive tendencies from their beginnings in France, outside France they were faced with open revolt. Not only was gallantry satirized for its amorous language, but it was also frequently viewed as a French trick: a ruse to ensnare unwitting foreigners and bring them into orbit around *le roi soleil*. Outside France, many late seventeenth-century voices bemoaned gallantry’s import. In fact, their chorus of objections echoed long into the eighteenth and even on into the twentieth century: gallantry was French, and it corrupted vulnerable minds and bodies.⁴ German gallants were merely imitative apes (*Nachaffer*). Nineteenth-century German literary historians such as Goedeke whose bibliographic labors retain their influence today reserved the adjective *schlüpfrig* for gallantry—“slippery,” and “salacious.” In the twentieth century, even those who devoted books to German gallant letters were embarrassed by their racy subject.⁵ But already by the 1653 edition of John Bulwer’s *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed*, French influence was recognized as paramount. Bulwer (1606–1656), an English medical authority,

Schäblerlands: in welchem der heutigen Jugentlauf Sinnreich abgebildet wirt/ Anfängl. in franz. Sprach beschr. u. ins Teutsche übers. This Clajus von der Ill was most probably Isaac Clauss (1613–c. 1664), also the translator of George de Scudéry’s *Discours Politiques des Rois*. Alexander has considered the many ways in which the German translation amplified the French original’s critique of fashionable Parisian society and “out-moralizes the judgmental d’Aubignac” (90). I have been unable to identify an English translation of d’Aubignac’s satire.

4. On the contentious nature of French imports into the German literary market, particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, see Quester.

5. In the book that long remained the last word on the subject, Singer’s *Der galante Roman*, the author explained his initial hope that “the novel of the early eighteenth century, even if negligible along aesthetic criteria, would provide an arsenal of socio-cultural documents of immeasurable value” (12). He concluded, however, that this example of “*Trivialliteratur* of bygone times” can reveal nothing much of sociological value. As logical as his cultural method had seemed, he lamented, “it has been difficult to make good on its promise” (59). McCarthy, one of the few critics after Singer to investigate the gallant *roman*, similarly complained of the many “insipid, trivial, or even distasteful” novels he had been forced to read (202).

reported that, like the English, “the *Germans* . . . rejoice in adventitious and new formes of Vestments, especially, the Italian and French Garbe. The men, who a few yeares ago wore obtuse shoes . . . wore them snouted as we now do. And indeed, we both had this from the French” (549).

Literary criticism has more recently urged a break with the long tradition censoring and censoring gallantry. A conference in Dresden in 1999 borrowed Conrad Wiedemann’s periodization of German gallantry, dating it from 1680 to 1730. Unlike Wiedemann’s 1969 anthology, however, the conference conveners proposed considering gallantry not as a “style” but as discourse. In their foreword to the conference papers, Thomas Borgstedt and Andreas Solbach lament gallantry’s undertheorization, explaining their recourse to a hazy concept of discourse as a way to bind together the diversity connected by gallantry: “It is far from clear in literary history what position the phenomenon should be accorded nor on which theoretical level it should be investigated. We accommodate its unclear classification—as a literary movement, societal fashion, stylistic ideal or epochal phenomenon—with the concept of gallant discourse” (10). More precise explanations of the discourse’s structures were left to future scholars.

Given gallantry’s imbrication in the world of fashion and commodification, theories of consumption can help to unlock its appeal as well as comprehend the horror it elicited.⁶ Michel de Certeau in particular has recognized the creative work inherent to consumption. Consumers, including readers, he reminds us, find themselves on the weak side of a persistent ideological hierarchy privileging production. Although relegated to second-class status, consumers nonetheless appropriate goods, including texts, to put to their own uses. In de Certeau’s terms, they poach. His reader

takes neither the position of the author nor an author’s position. He invents in texts something different from what they “intended.” He detaches them from their (lost or accessory) origin. He combines their fragments and creates something unknown in the space organized by their capacity for allowing an indefinite plurality of meanings. (169)

Game reserved for an elite is made the reader’s own: appropriated, refashioned, and finally rendered unrecognizable at a now lost origin.

Beyond Paris, everyone poached gallantry, selecting and recombining fragments in their local environments. Outside Paris, it must be emphasized, gallantry could

6. As Erlin has noted, the German context has been relatively ignored in the proliferation of scholarship on commodity culture as well as in Neil McKendrick’s book on the consumer revolution experienced by eighteenth-century England (discussed in chapter 1). Erlin’s own work, building on that by Schulte-Sasse on *Trivalliteratur* and by Daniel Purdy on German fashion magazines, concentrates on Joachim Heinrich Campe’s late eighteenth-century attempt to rewrite the novel that embodied consumer culture, Defoe’s *Crusoe*.

only be poached. After all, only in fashion's now undisputed capital could one truly and legitimately be fashionable. Distance from this center thus already deauthorized gallantry, delegitimizing the fashionability on which it traded. On the other hand, gallantry's necessary difference upon its removal from the metropole also opened the space for its tremendously productive reception across Europe. Everywhere reader-consumers made it their own.

Gallantry names the first pan-European fashion to extend to a nonelite readership. Its translations across borders happened fast. Everyone everywhere could read the same thing at the same time. At home, whether in Germany, in England, or elsewhere, the crowds of poachers swelled. Among them, some were more licensed to poach than others. Well-established poets such as Christian Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau (1616–1679) might quite easily be forgiven gallant poems excused as “youthful indiscretions” intended for manuscript circulation only among friends.⁷ These men, after all, certainly knew the rules of *imitatio* as first laid down by Opitz. Others—including all women—were in no ways licensed to pursue such potentially dangerous prey.⁸

Within local contexts, distinctive gallant accents were audible, even voluble. German critics of gallantry's unauthorized poachers—and critics were legion—tirelessly evoked images of French-occupied Strasbourg, for example; their English counterparts—no less obstreperous than their German contemporaries—ceaselessly alleged French support of Catholics plotting to retake the throne. Despite these differences, English and German discussions of gallantry shared a constitutive resentment of the French. Both were convinced that gallantry had corrupted venerable, innate habits. As “The Character of the town-gallant” stated, “Instead of true *Galantry* (which once dwelt in the Breasts of *Englishmen*) he is made up of Complements, *Cringes*, *Rants*, *Fancies*, *Perfumes* and a thousand *French* Apish Tricks.” Beginning in the 1670s until shortly after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, common

7. Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau himself makes this claim in his introduction to the posthumously published *Deutsche Übersetzungen und Gedichte*. In this collection, which he began to gather shortly before his death, the celebrated Silesian poet lamented that so many of his “children” had mysteriously found their way into print that he found himself necessitated to supervise an authorized edition. A decade later, when the first volume of an anthology appeared, known today by the editor's name, Benjamin Neukirch (1665–1729), Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau's famous name was used in the title, although far from all the poems were his. Recent scholarship has explored the scandal around the Neukirch Collection in some depth. See, for example, Arnold, Borgstedt and Solbach, and Zymner.

8. In a remarkable article on exoticism and the eighteenth-century fashion for chinoiserie as articulated in Britain, Porter teases excoriations of allegedly mindless female consumption against the grain to recover an aesthetics of exotic consumption. His remarks on the paucity of scholarship on British chinoiserie collections can be grafted with few qualifications to describe the relatively little attention paid to gallantry beyond France: “But the lack of interest stems also, I suspect, from a traditional resistance to the serious historical study of consumer culture on the grounds both of its seeming triviality and its awkward associations with bad taste, crass materialism, and other less than noble impulses of human nature. Whether or not such associations are justified on moral or aesthetic grounds, they invariably obscure the generative processes at work within the world of goods, the elaborate networks of social ritual and private fantasy through which material objects participate in the construction of cultural meanings” (397).

English and German *ressentiment* shaped the new fashion in both countries. French gallant exports—from coats to dresses to perfumes to gallant little books—were consumed in a context engulfed by often rabid anti-French sentiment. This anxiety about French influence centrally determined gallantry's various appropriations.

From the outset, debates over the implications of fashion in general and gallantry in particular partook in the long struggle over the legacy of classical Rome and the cultural and political legitimacy that that legacy promised to bestow on its rightful inheritor. Arguments over gallantry stood in oblique relationship to more famous battles in the war for Rome's inheritance, *translatio imperii*, such as the *querelle des anciens contre les modernes* or the battle of the books.⁹ Unlike these well-known episodes, tussles over gallantry did not pit ancient against modern partisans. Instead, debates about the desirability of gallantry were fought between various European moderns, each claiming Rome's mantle of authority. At stake was nothing less than first place among the moderns. Gallantry was loaded with French baggage, and in both England and Germany it seemed to presage a dreaded Gallic victory. It was a crucial step, critics warned, in a concerted French plan to vanquish all other moderns and establish a "universal monarchy."

Like *Mode* before it, gallantry's infiltration of the fabric of everyday life was figured as viral. It was a "pox," a "rage," or a "Sucht," an addiction or an infection to which the fashionable body was especially prone. One person's gallant habits were another's case of the "French disease" (*die frantzösische Kranckheit*), syphilis, also known in English as the "gentleman's disease." Certain people were more susceptible to the fashionable disease than others; women and the young were especially vulnerable. In Germany, critics decried the offhanded manner with which contemporaries purportedly regarded their infection: a necessary hazard in the pursuit of *la mode*, just another "Galanterie." Similarly, an English broadsheet published about 1680 bid "A Farewel to the Pockifi'd Town Miss" since the arrival of "The Country Miss new come in Fashion." Now in fashion herself, the "Country Miss" would, of course, not long remain disease-free. She, of course, was emblematic of gallant Woman's double poaching. She not only wrested gallantry from its "legitimate" French context but appropriated it to step out onto the overwhelmingly male terrain of the literary field.

De Certeau's poaching offers us the lens we need to conceive and remember the creative work of reading, which is otherwise so difficult to recover from the historical record. It helps us to recognize the ways that gallantry and gallant books, particularly in the provinces, opened up spaces of imaginative freedom—even in the often dreary, narrow confines of everyday lives. While remaining seated at the margins, a gallant reader could travel in her mind's eye to the center and recognize,

9. On the *querelle* in France, see DeJean, *Ancients*; on its German reception, Kapitzka; and on the related English battle, Levine.

perhaps for the first time, the possibilities of Elsewhere. This and nothing less was the work that gallantry accomplished.

Anti-French *Ressentiment*

While gallantry may have figured freedom for some, for others it tolled French tyranny. Its reception in German was long centrally determined by successive waves of anti-French sentiment beginning in the 1670s. Accounts of French, gallant doings, in fact, garnered many new readers, remaking the world of letters, flooding it with new media. They provide us the background we need to understand gallantry's innovative translations in German.

Pens as well as swords fought the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678/79), a conflict in which Louis XIV's determination to secure French borders became painfully clear to France's neighbors. In 1677, an anonymous pen sallied forth with a pamphlet entitled *Der Frantzösischen Tyrannei/ Anderer Theil* (The French Tyranny, Part 2). The subtitle launched the attack: *Das ist: Aufrichtige und warhafftige Erzählung der abscheulichen Grausamkeiten/ welche die Frantzosen an unterschiedlichen Orten Teutschlandes/ sonderlich im Chur=Trierischen/ in Chur=Pfalz.Elsaß unnn anderswo/ eine geraume Zeit herol/ bis auf gegenwärtige Stunde/ mit Morden/ Plündern/ Sengen und Brennen unmenschlich ausgeübet* (That Is: Honest and Truthful Relation of the Terrible Cruelties Practiced by the French in Various Places in Germany, Especially in Electoral Trier, the Palatinate, Elsass, and Elsewhere up to the Present Hour, Done with Inhuman Murdering, Plundering, Torching, and Burning). The compilation was a single salvo in the prolonged succession of media wars accompanying the internecine warfare of the seventeenth century, just one voice in a chorus decrying French cruelty. In addition to its typical portrayal of the French, *The French Tyranny* also provides a lens for viewing the swiftly developing market for printed novelties in action. In a very real sense, French tyranny spawned new news media.

The French Tyranny advertised itself as a sequel, *Part 2*, the latest installment in a series of French atrocities. One hardly need be familiar with the original to grasp the horrors involved. Truly, one needed only look at the pictures. *Part 2*, the title page advertised, was outfitted with a series of engravings, including the graphic frontispiece by Sigmund Gabriel Hipschman (fl. 1670), an engraver active in Nuremberg (fig. 4). Europe, on the left, carries the martyr's palm, her distress at the scene behind her made obvious by her clasped hands and streaming hair. On the right, Mercury trumpets the eponymous news inscribed on his unfurled scroll. The messenger god's snakes—one of his most common iconographical attributes, usually portrayed peacefully entwined around his caduceus—writhe in anger on his head, perhaps suggesting that the scene is equal in horror to the sight of the Gorgon Medusa.

Chaos reigns. In the background we see a string of atrocities. Severed heads and limbs roll on the ground, separated from torsos that gush blood. In the engraving's



Figure 4. Frontispiece to *The French Tyranny, Part 2* (1677). Mercury trumpets the news of Europe's martyrdom by French forces. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

center, a small child is stabbed through the back just as he approaches a loved one who has been emboweled. Hipschman's engraving catches a French soldier shoving a burning torch into the mouth of a prostrate victim, while another soldier, mounted on horseback, bears his torch back toward cities and towns aflame or already ruined in the background. Now as then one can only wonder what was left to burn.

The first installment of *The French Tyranny*, or *Part 1*, had appeared three years earlier, in 1674. This publication exposed French cruelties in the Netherlands and was appended with reports of French crimes committed in Brabant and Flanders by "well-known and credible people from the conquered towns" (title page). When it appeared in German, *Part 1* of *The French Tyranny* had been translated, literally

from “Low German,” Dutch. And the Dutch version was itself a translation, *uit het Frans vertaelt*, of the *Avis fidelle aux veritables Hollandois* of 1673. To deliver the message of French tyranny, Mercury—and the news—needed to speak at least three languages.

A contemporaneous news source, the usually well-informed periodical *Diarii Europaei*, alerted its readers to the parallel editions of *The French Tyranny*. The journal also attributed authorship of the first part to Abraham van Wicquefort (c. 1600–1682), book agent for Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, also a diplomat in the service of Brandenburg, and then appointed historian of the Dutch Republic by Johan de Witt. Wicquefort’s involvement in the publication of the militantly anti-French pamphlet helps us trace the paths along which increasingly popular print novelties circulated. These paths obviously wove their way across languages—in this case French, Dutch, and German.¹⁰ They also sometimes went underground.

Wicquefort is among the earliest names we can tie to the prominent, and prominently fake, imprint of Pierre Marteau, a fake printer’s name whose use grew by leaps and bounds with the spread of the Huguenot diaspora after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.¹¹ Pierre Marteau was the slogan adopted by publishers working in French, Dutch, and German to accomplish two crucial goals: (1) to avoid run-ins with the censor and (2) to advertise their controversial materials for prospective readers. As many historians of forbidden books have documented, censorship often increases a book’s readership. Marteau got the news out. Different editions of what may be the first Marteau imprint, *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics, par L. M. P.*, had first appeared on the market in 1676.¹² The pseudonym L.M.P. was easily decoded as “le ministre prisonnier” and was soon identified with Wicquefort. The title, like so many Marteau imprints after it, apparently sold well, the censor be damned.¹³ As Margaret Jacob has commented about Marteau, “Sometimes crime pays.”

Karl Walther has identified the Marteau name as a kind of *Verlagsprogramm* (publisher’s manifesto) in his seminal investigation of the fake imprint. Into the

10. Textual translation could also proceed along the path between languages in a different order—Wicquefort, for example, translated Olearius’s and Mandelsloh’s German narratives of their travels through Russia to Persia into French. But, as Thomasius pointed out, texts originally in French were more often demanded in other vernaculars than vice versa.

11. Jacob (“Clandestine Universe”) provides a concise history of Marteau’s earliest imprints and the name’s importance for the more radical Enlightenment.

12. The virtual imprint Pierre Marteau, launched on the Web by Olaf Simons and Martin Mulsow in 2001, has now been transformed into a wiki. The reliable and well-researched Wikipedia article on Pierre Marteau discusses an initial, primarily Dutch phase of Marteau imprints beginning in the 1660s, and a second phase beginning “in the late 1680s when German-language titles first assumed the curious imprint.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Marteau (9 March 2010).

13. Willems’s *Les Elsevier* attributes various 1676 “Marteau” editions to the Elzeviers, to J. and D. Steucker in The Hague, and to a Brussels printer (see p. 512, no. 1902). A Marteau imprint from 1677 was brought out, again according to Willems, by Lambert Marchand in Brussels.

nineteenth century, Marteau was used to signal a stance that purported to speak truth to power. First and foremost, Marteau was created to sell the newest news and the most inflammatory news. And, already by 1676, the hot news of the day across Europe was of French tyranny. Just how true Marteau publications actually were remained, naturally, quite another matter. The Marteau imprint, here in its infancy, became essential in marketing the news and *nouvelles*, gallant media whose questionable veracity was so crucial to the development of the modern book market and the modern novel. By the 1680s and into the 1690s and beyond, “Marteau” would become the leading publisher for gallant fictions, many designed expressly to reveal the most intimate gallantries of French royals.

In the meantime, German media continued to pound a relentless anti-French drumbeat. The fifteenth issue of *Diarii Europaei*, from 1683, featured a voluminous appendix collecting a variety of documents devoted to French violations of the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678/79), which had ended the Franco-Dutch War. German pens asserted a host of grievous violations in the gusher of broadsheets, pamphlets, and journal articles after the French occupation of Strasbourg in 1681. Since the Peace of Westphalia had ended the Thirty Years’ War in 1648, the border city had been designated a *Reichsstadt* (free imperial German city). The many texts collected in the appendix to the *Diarii* were devoted to the peace talks still under way in Frankfurt two years after French occupation. The appendix’s intended audience must have been relatively well educated, not only interested in political rumor but also able to read the Latin and French as well as the German of the documents. Interest in European politics was in no short supply, satirists loved to quip in the decades around 1700, but knowledge of the continent’s various languages rather less so.

Two of the German-language texts from the appendix typify representations of the French expressed across various media and to different audiences. Contemporaneous fictional satires traded in simpler content and language to appeal to a much wider audience than could the appendix of the *Diarii*. Yet these more learned examples employed the same representational strategies as did more popular materials intent on warning against gallant imitation. German depictions of the French were remarkably uniform across social and intellectual milieux. Everywhere, Germans were urged to resist French influence. Conversely, all Germans, no matter how educated, were alleged unable to withstand the allure of all things French. Women, of course, were thought to be easy prey for French snares. Fashions, and fashion itself, were forms of soft power, such representation elaborated. Gallant fashions were wolves in sheep costumes—a particularly dangerous, because attractively packaged, form of French tyranny. Absolute influence corrupted absolutely; anyone and everyone might become French fashion’s fool. Until Thomasius’s lecture, all German-language media insisted that French influence must be categorically repulsed.

The 1683 pamphlet entitled “Eines auffrichtigen Patriotens Einfälthige Gedancken” (An Honest Patriot’s Simple Thoughts) included in the *Diarii* charged that the French, despite their presence at the negotiating table, were busily laying

plans for a lasting war. A war without end was the only logical result of French aspirations to universal rule: “An statt des *universal*-Friedens einen *universal* Unfrieden Krieg/ und Land=Verderbnüs (dann ohne dergleichen schöne Gaben/ kan die *universal* Monarchie nicht gestiftet werden) zur Welt gebahren/ dafür uns Gott behüten wolle” (248). (Instead of a universal peace, [empty French promises will] usher into the world a universal shortage of peace, war, and the country’s vitiation [for without such nice gifts the universal monarchy cannot be erected], from which God preserve us.) If one lent credence to the French monarch’s protestations that he desired peace, this “Patriot” remarked, one might just as well believe the world poised on the threshold of true Christianity’s new dawning, “gleich als ob nun erst dermahleinst aus Frantzösischer Gnad jedes fabelhafte güldene Alter der Welt/ über Teutschland auffgehen/ oder nach dem Versprechen Isaiæ/ das Lamb neben dem Wolff ruhig wohnen/ das Kalb nabem dem Bären sicher weiden würde” (just as if now finally that fabulous golden age would dawn over Germany by French grace, or as if, according to Isaiah’s promise, the lamb could dwell easy next to the wolf and the calf might graze safe next to the bear) (242).

But the French, according to the “Honest Patriot,” were no Christian force.¹⁴ Instead, they were intimately allied with Christianity’s much feared *Erb-Feind* (archenemy), the Ottomans. As the sultan’s armies neared Vienna, “die gantze Christenheit [geriet] in Gefahr” (all of Christianity was endangered). But, the “Patriot” explained, the threat from the East was actually a *French* stratagem; Ottoman military strength was in fact the brainchild of French foreign policy. If French incursions into Alsace and Lorraine had failed to expose their true intentions, support and encouragement of the Ottomans should reveal the devilish reality behind His Most Christian Majesty’s protestations: “Noch weniger würde er solche Türcken und ihren Anhang mehr ermelten seinen Nachbarn selbst anstifften und auffhetzen mit Raht und That/ fürnemlich mit Geld stärken und steiffen” (243). (Still less would he fire up those Turks and their followers and spur them on in word and deed, primarily by fortifying and stiffening their resolve with money.)

Linking the French to “the Turk” conveniently bridged German confessional differences and neatly excluded the French from all of Christendom, removing them far beyond the moral pale.¹⁵ As such, the French figured as the Germans’

14. It may be possible to read this pamphlet—as well as the two others I discuss here—as anti-Catholic propaganda. However, the pamphlet’s support of the German emperor, Leopold I, as a Christian ruler makes this suggestion hard to uphold. Any specific mention of Catholicism—French or otherwise—is absent. Obviously, in the eyes of militant Protestants (Lutherans and Reformed alike), the difference between French Catholicism and French non-Christianity involved splitting hairs.

15. A pamphlet penned by Pollidore de Warmond—the perennially popular pseudonym Warmond is chosen for its resemblance to *wahrer Mund*, “true mouth”—took even greater care than the “Honest Patriot” to prove a long-standing affinity between the French and the Ottoman court. Warmond’s pamphlet must have been in wide circulation, for I have uncovered two different German printings of it as well as two French versions. In the pamphlet’s first and fourth sections, Warmond traced French foreign policy from the regency of Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) to the reign of Louis XIV.

antithetical Other, fully foreign and utterly disruptive to the Christian order, which, by implication, was neatly rendered a German order. Here aligned with forces of evil, in news sources from the later 1680s, the French were endowed with still more dark powers—notably, as we shall see, with the seductive wiles of women.¹⁶

A second text in the same appendix, “Literae Amici ad Amicum,” located the source of French power not in an unholy alliance with the Turk, but in the German demand for French consumer goods. Germans liked to shop, one “Friend” explained to another: “Die Abundantz von Geld in Frankreich kommet her von den Teutschen/ und andern Nationen Schwachheit/ welche alle Wahren und Moden aus Franckreich haben wollen” (229). (The abundance of money in France stems from the weakness of the Germans as well as other nations who want to have all their wares and fashions from France.) Unable to withstand the temptations presented by useless fashionable baubles, Germans and other nations had forked over the coin with which French war chests now overflowed. This weakness could be corrected, however, by the introduction of the same system of mercantilist production that Colbert had so successfully introduced in France: “Wann hingegen die Frantzös. Wahren verboten/ und die Manufacturen in Teuschland eingeführet werden solten/ so würden die Abundantz des Geldes in Franckr. bald abnehmen” (229–30). (If, on the other hand, French wares were prohibited and their manufacture were introduced in Germany, the abundance of money in France would soon abate.) Despite

This crafty princess, the pamphlet alleged, sent an emissary to the Ottoman court so that the French might learn from Ottoman military and political successes. After spending twelve years there, the ambassador purportedly returned to France and transmitted the secrets of Ottoman “Staats=Maximen” (maxims of state), which the French subsequently adopted and continued to practice. Sometime in the late seventeenth century one version of this pamphlet, entitled “Der wahre Ursprung/ gegenwertiger Frantzösischen Macht und Gewalt” (The True Origin of French Power and Might Today), was bound together with three other texts, the “Frantzösischer Staats=Spiegel” (Mirror of the French State) and two works of fictional prose: *Die ehrgeitzige Grenaderin* (The Ambitious Lady from Grenada), a translation of a French *histoire* by Jean de Préchac; and *Das teutsche Gespenst* (The German Ghost), a collection of episodic tales of a young traveler. In the Blankenburg collection at the Herzog August Bibliothek fictional and nonfictional texts were commonly bound together if they possessed a shared set of concerns. Préchac’s *histoire* was apparently seen to be as informative regarding current French concerns as texts such as “The True Origin of French Power and Might Today” and “Mirror of the French State.” *The German Ghost* similarly provides an exposé of the corrupt French character. In its second chapter, the eponymous ghost appears to explain that he has been sentenced to haunt a German inn until he can persuade a guest to bury his body in exchange for good advice about the wily ways of the world. Born in France to French parents, the ghost, like so many other Parisian *filous*, had spent his youth robbing Germans. He later traveled to Germany, where being French was enough to get him a very lucrative position as a *Commerdiener* (court valet). Thus four texts that seem to our eyes to belong to very different textual genres were bound together because they were united by their representations of French moral corruption and French efforts to dupe Germans. Exposés of “true” French plans might be regarded as a discrete category within the late seventeenth-century order of knowledge.

16. The feminization of the French and the Turk, as well as the careful association of the two by propagandists after 1681, was a common rhetorical and representational strategy. In her study of German sumptuary laws (*Kleiderordnung*), Eisenbart has discussed the perception that French clothing—more closely fitting than the Spanish style typical of the sixteenth century—was effeminizing (102–3). Colvin, in her study of seventeenth-century German drama, has shown how images of the Turk on the stage were consistently feminized throughout the century.

this argument's up-to-dateness—its appeal to economic rationality and its provision of detailed tables precisely calculating trade deficits—the “Letter” remained deeply indebted to timeworn tropes figuring the fleeting nature of appearance. Germans, like other nations, were all too easily fooled by the outward beauty of French goods and fashions. Only a return to their essential natures, their supposedly timeless and true Christianity and ur-Germanness, could correct such weakness. Only a return to these putative origins could halt the cycles unleashed by fashion.

Already latent with sexual imagery, characterizations of French power and German weakness took a decidedly erotic turn in the hundred quarto pages of the pamphlet “Das von Franckreich verführte Teutschland” (Germany Seduced by France), printed by Christian Weidmann in Frankfurt as well as in a pirate copy in 1686. Uninterested in peace negotiations, this pamphlet widened the scope of analysis to demonstrate how French expansion had been funded by the “Teutsche Nation.” The pamphlet's full title pulled no punches:

Das von Franckreich verführte Teutschland/ Worinnen klärlich vorgestellt wird/ Wie Franckreich bißhero Auswärtige Nationen, Sonderlich aber die Teutschen/ durch allerhand Ankörnungen/ Galanterien, und andere ersinnliche Staats=Streiche/ an sich gelocket/ nachgehends verführet/ und nicht nur um das Geld/ sondern auch zum Theil um ihre Ländern und Freyheit endlich gebracht/ dagegen aber seine Monarchische Herrschafft erweitert hat.

Germany Seduced by France in Which It Is Clearly Demonstrated How France to Date Has Lured Foreign Nations, and in Particular the Germans, by All Manner of Morsels, Gallantries, and Other Contrived Tricks of State Afterwards to Seduce Them Not Only to Give Up Their Money but To Dispose in Part Their Territory and Freedom All the While Expanding Her Own Monarchical Dominion.

This pamphlet, like the “Letters,” credited Colbert's mercantilist policies with France's enormous strength. Foreign nations had been tricked to “give up their money” for shiny new goods only then to see their lands and freedom stolen by French hands. And like the 1683 pamphlets, “Germany Seduced by France” also alleged French proximity to the heathen Turk. But, above all, the pamphlet proclaimed, French deceit could only truly be explained by the substantial role French *women* played in public life and letters. These latter-day Venuses emasculated their German worshippers.

The pamphlet was repeatedly reprinted in the 1680s. Its humorless critique of French gallant women underscores the latitude that gallantry afforded female participants. Like several more popular—and, arguably, more humorous—satirical fictions to which we soon turn, this pamphlet proves itself thoroughly conversant in the debates about what constituted *esprit* (*Geist*, wit). French strength, paradoxically, is grounded in women who have laid their own claim to *esprit*. These latter-day

Eves, German texts argued, had effeminized French culture. And, in typically paradoxical fashion, this supposedly effeminized force was rapidly proving strong enough to unman Germans too.

To begin, the pamphlet drew a parallel between the crippled state of the German Empire and late Rome.¹⁷ Just as the greatness of the Roman Empire had been transferred to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, so too would the German Empire share late Roman decadence. In the account of the fall of Rome offered here, the empire was brought to its knees by its former colonies, not by barbaric Germanic invaders. Far from putting an end to Roman glory, Teutschland had long burnished Rome's achievements by adding its own.¹⁸

Among ancient Rome's many colonies, the Greeks had glimpsed the means to regain their freedom by overthrowing their imperial masters. They managed to

17. In contrast to the radical separation of the ancient Germans from Latinate (*welsche*) peoples drawn since the Renaissance by such patriotic German pens as Wimpheling when depicting hazy German origins, this pamphlet styled the German Empire as the natural continuation, even the elevation, of the Roman.

18. The logic of this comparison implies that France is rightfully a colony of Germany, as Greece had been of Rome. This equation—confusing as it is—can be unraveled when understood within the discussion of the true heirs to the Frankish Empire, a debate vehemently argued in order to claim control over Alsace and Lorraine. “Wahres Franckreich/ oder Bericht von dem Königreich Germanien” (The True France, or a Report on the Kingdom of Germania), a pamphlet from 1682, for example, set out to prove that the Holy Roman Empire was the true inheritor of the famous Frankish kingdom: “Dasjenige Königreich Germanien/ so von den Zeiten Maximiliani I. Des theuren Heldens/ unter denen Königlichen Tituln eines Teutsch=Römischen Käysers den Ehren=Ort bekleidet/ nichts anders sey/ als das uralte eigentliche und einige Königreich der berühmten Francken” (6). (The very kingdom of Germania that has held pride of place among the princely titles of the German-Roman emperor since the times of the noble hero Maximilian I is none other than the ancient actual and very same kingdom of the famous Franks.) This claim that the Holy Roman emperor was Charlemagne's true heir was particularly important in contradicting territorial claims by French kings who similarly claimed the Frankish legacy as their own.

The mutual exclusivity of French and German claims added fuel to the fires of war. Anticipating charges of war-mongering, the pamphlet “True France” asserted: “Auch kan solches mit keinem Schein Rechters für eine Mordspende Kriegs=Fackel angesehen werden; sintemalen uns gegen diejenige/ so zu grossem Uberlast und Vernachtheiligung unser und vieler andern/ sich der Person des alten Frankischen Königreichs widerrechtlich anmasse/ zuverwahren kein näheres Mittel seyn wil/ als die Abziehung solcher betrüglischen Kappen/ und die Erörterung der Frag/ Wo dann endlich solches Königreich hingerathen/ und noch jetzund zufinden sey?” (8) (With no appearance of right can such an argument be seen as a death-spewing war torch, particularly since no other means is available to us against those who unlawfully accrue to themselves the ancient Frankish kingdom with outsized force and to our disadvantage as well as to others than to pull off such deceitful caps and investigate the question, where then has this kingdom finally gotten to, and where is it now to be found?)

Having revealed the falsity of such arguments—promoted in “so oft wiederholten Druck/ vermittelst eines Cassan, Arroy, des Autors des affaires de France & d'Autriche, Aubery und dergleichen als angemaster trefflicher Fürfechter Fransösischer Nation, und zwar jedesmal unter Königlichen Schutz und Freyheit” (writings so often reprinted by the likes of a Cassan, Arroy, the *Autors des affaires de France & d'Autriche*, Aubery and other presumed excellent warriors for the French nation who of course stand at all times under royal protection and are granted royal freedom) (9)—the pamphlet then made the case that much of France, formerly part of the Frankish Empire, should rightfully be ruled by the Holy Roman emperor. France thus stood revealed as a kind of colony of the German Empire, albeit one that had rebelled long ago.

reduce mighty Romans to simpering women, softening formerly virile bodies with luxurious temptations. The Greeks knew how to appeal

denen verschwenderischen und lüsternen Römern mit allerhand ersinnlichen Reizungen/ fremdben Speisen/ *delicaten* Geträncken/ kostbaren Gebäuen/ unterschiedenen Kleidungen/ und andern *luxuriösen* Dingen/ welche sie [die Griechen]/ als *ingeniöse* und listige Völcker erdachten/ die Augen so wohl als die Gemüther einnahmen/ biß sie [die Römer] dadurch gantz verblendet/ in aller Uppigkeit und Verzärtelung vertieffet/ und darüber weichmüthig/ ja endlich fast gar zu Weiber wurden. (7)

to the extravagant and lascivious Romans with all manner of conceivable stimulants, foreign foods, *delicate* beverages, precious constructions, different clothing, and other *luxurious* things that they [the Greeks], being an *ingenious* and cunning people, dreamt up to take in the eyes as well as the minds, until they [the Romans] had been completely blinded and were sunk in utter opulence and pampering, weakening their character until finally they nearly turned into women.

The charge that *alamode* luxuries stimulated and, worse, effeminized the body is one we have heard before.¹⁹ But in “Germany Seduced by France,” as in so many contemporaneous publications, fashion was not brought by one of the seven devils who had accompanied *Mr. Allmodo* in the 1630s. Five decades later, the fashionable devil is unmistakably French. France had mastered fashion’s diabolical tricks to stimulate and to confuse German senses so that France might then infiltrate and finally colonize German territory. The old order of colonizer/colonized was dangerously reversed. Like their Roman antecedents, Germans bore some blame for succumbing to temptation. But their responsibility was mitigated by a specifically French skill that this pamphlet never tired of asserting: deceit. The good Christian German, naturally so *auffrichtig* (upstanding), had been sideswiped by tricks and deceptions utterly foreign to his very nature.

Rather than critique the fool for fashion, “Germany Seduced by France” condemned French treachery. Like the Greeks before them, “*ingeniöse* und listige Völcker” (*ingenious* and cunning people), the French were Bacchae leading Germans on a merry, yet ultimately ruinous chase:

Allhier *praesentiret* sich nun abermal ein Bild/ welches dem *Baccho* nicht gar ungleich siehet; Dieses hat in der einen Hand einen Becher mit Frantzweine/ in der andern aber ein Glas mit Brandwein; Damit ja auch die Ausländer/ sonderlich Teutsche/ dißfalls um ihr Geld gebracht und truncken gemacht werde/ um dasselbe desto verschwenderischer an Franckreich zu bringen/ welches jährlich ein Grosses austräget. (46)

19. Berry provides an excellent discussion of the historically antecedent classical critiques of luxury’s corruptions.

And here a picture presents itself that bears no little resemblance to Bacchus, holding in one hand a cup of French wine but in the other a glass of spirits so that the foreigners too, and particularly the Germans, will be robbed of their money and made drunk so that they will give still more of their money to France, which annually books an enormous profit.

French Bacchae promoted alcoholic debauchery by serving up their own French wine and then further befuddling German senses by appropriating traditional German “Brandwein” (spirits). Venus too added to the debaucherous mix in this French pleasure garden. Indeed, the false French heart was inscribed with the “Venus=Bild” (image of Venus) that every French lady presented. Promises made by French “Dames”—*vanitas* incarnate—were simply irresistible to German men.

At the foul heart of the matter stood French women. Germans had been confused by their beautiful appearance, but the pamphlet knew to reveal these women’s considerable shortcomings. While French women prided themselves on their *esprit*, it was here revealed as a terrible deficit: “Es ist freylich zwar ein nothiges und nütliches Stücke an einem Weibs=Bilde/ wenn es von gutem natürlichen Verstand ist; Alleine/ wenn derselbige gar zu hochsteigen/ und nur lauter Frantzösischer *Esprit* daraus werden wil/ . . . ziehet es mehr Schade und Verdruß als Vortheil/ nach sich” (85) (Naturally it’s useful in a woman when she possesses a good natural understanding; but if it climbs too high, only noisy French *esprit* will result, . . . which is all the more the pity, as it brings with it more annoyance than advantage.)

The French and their German *Nachaffer* (imitators) allegedly held *esprit*—especially in women—in high regard. But just what constituted this trendy term? In the previous quotation, *esprit* was carefully separated from “a good natural understanding,” a faculty deemed both necessary and useful in a woman. Yet a woman could become too smart for anyone’s good. And when her “natural” understanding became “gar zu hochsteigen” (too elevated), she became unforgivably uppity, “nur lauter Frantzösischer *Esprit* daraus werden wil” (only noisy French *esprit* will be the result). This noisy, yet empty French *esprit* was of a light and mercurial nature, and it often led to marital infidelity. However ineffable *esprit* remained, it was the polar opposite of German *Aufrichtigkeit* (sincerity and earnestness).²⁰

20. The gendered stereotyping of French and German characters possessed considerable longevity and was used, for example, throughout the later Enlightenment. To give just one example, consider Kant’s essay “Über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen” (On the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime), in which he notes: “Das Frauenzimmer gibt in Frankreich allen Gesellschaften und allem Umgange den Ton. Nun ist wohl nicht zu leugnen, daß die Gesellschaften ohne das schöne Geschlecht ziemlich schmacklos und langweilig sein; allein wenn die Dame darin den schönen Ton an gibt, so sollte der Mann seiner Seits den edlen angeben. Widrigenfalls wird der Umgang eben so wohl langweilig, aber aus einem entgegengesetzten Grunde; weil nichts so sehr vereckelt als lauter Süßigkeit. Nach dem französischen Geschmacke heißt es nicht: ist der Herr zu Hause, sondern: ist Madame zu Hause?” (872–73). (“In France, woman gives the tone to all companies and all society. Now of course it cannot be denied that gatherings without the fair sex are rather tasteless and boring; but

In a move shared with countless German and English newsy texts of the time, the pamphlet expanded its humoral understanding of the body to encompass whole nations. French men as well as French women allegedly possessed an inconstant character, but women's *esprit* bore the brunt of the blame for leading men into love affairs. Of French men the pamphlet remarked:

Diese pflegen in gemein/ wegen ihrer grossen Hitze und *Mercurialischen* Geistes sich in ihre *Dames*, welche ihnen dißfalls sehr gleich kommen/ leichlich zu verlieben/ wenn sie nur von *Esprit* und feurigem Gemüthe seyn/ unbetrachtet/ was sie ferner von denen übrigen Stücken/ als Schönheit und Vermögen/ haben.

Wenn aber die unbesonnene Hitze und Begierde gestillet/ so dann werden sie des Dinges satt/ sicher was neues/ oder gar von der Geheyratheten zu kommen; Massen ihre hitzige und hefftige *Amour* selten bey einer Person alleine aushält; Dieses nun seyn wohl die meisten Ursachen/ warum bey denen Frantzosen so viel Ehebruch/ sonder grosses Bedencken/ getrieben/ ja auch manche nachgehends von ihrem Ehegatten gar verlassen wird. (85–86)

Because of their enormous heat and *mercurial* spirit, they typically fall easily in love with their *Dames*, who closely match them in this regard so long as they are possessed with *esprit* and a fiery temperament, disregarding whether they possess other qualities, such as beauty and a fortune.

But when their reckless heat and desire have been stilled, then they have had enough of the thing and are on to something new, even to a married woman; such are the principal reasons why adultery is so often carried on among the French with no great care; indeed some are even left by their spouses.

The French national character was not only prone to falling rapidly in and out of love, but French women in particular were preternaturally given to treachery: “Der *Esprit* bey denen Frantzösischen *Damen* vielmahl zu einer betrüglichen Arglistigkeit und lasterhaftten Beginnen mißbrauchet werde; Dahero soll man an einem Frauen= Volcke dergleichen nicht zu viel verlangen; Weiln es doch in gemein zu Stoltz/ listigen Berückungen/ Ehebruch und andern verderblichen Wesen gereicht” (86). (French women commonly abuse their *esprit* with deceitful acts of malice and vicious plans; for this reason one shouldn't require too much of it in a woman, since it commonly brings only pride, cunning tricks, adultery, and other destructive things.) As if French women's excessive *esprit* had not been bad enough, the pamphlet continued, the situation had become dire since *esprit* had become fashionable among German women.

if the lady gives the beautiful tone, so should on his side the man give the noble. Failing that, the society becomes just as boring, but from an opposite reason, for nothing so disgusts so much as excessive sweetness. In the French taste it is not worded, ‘Is the gentleman at home?’ but ‘Is Madame at home?’” (Goldthwait 102.)

Not only had German women's imitation of this intellectual fashion lured them into extramarital activities, the pamphlet continued, but *esprit* caused their transgressions into the world of letters, a privileged male preserve. *Esprit* led them to believe themselves competent, indeed highly qualified, to judge matters pertaining to the arts and sciences. Such a claim to authority in matters so clearly foreign to Woman, however, was excoriated as a dangerous trespass of female folly:

Dahero sie auf solchen Stoltz und Wahnwitz gerathen/ daß sie vermeinen/ sie könnten wohl von denen *qualificirtesten* Leuten/ welche viel Jahr lang in Kunsten und Wissenschaften zubracht/*judiciren*, ob es schon/ wenn man es bey dem Lichte besiehet/ mit alle ihren Thun auf eine Geckerey und *Galanterie*-Tendel hinaus lauffet.

Inzwischen aber hat sie doch die Einbildung und Hochmuth wegen ihres vermeynten *Esprits* und Klugheit dermassen eingenommen und verwöhnet/ daß sie zuweilen nicht wissen/ wo sie hinaus wollen/ und öffters bey ihrer *Super*-Klugheit betrogen oder zum Narren werden; Denn allzuklug ist halbtörricht/ welches bey dem Weibes=Volcke/ wegen ihres schwachen und unbeständigen Gemüths/ gar leicht eintreffen kan; Wo ihnen die freye Hand und Eigenwille gelassen wird. (86–87)

Thus [French women] have arrived at such pride and folly that they believe they can well *judiciren* [judge] the most *qualificirte* people who have spent long years in the arts and sciences, although when seen in the light of day, despite what they make of it, it only amounts to a lot of clucking and *galanterie*.

In the meantime, however, they have been so taken in and spoiled by the illusion and arrogance of their imagined *esprit* and wisdom that they no longer know which way is up, and for all their *super*-wisdom are very often deceived and made fools of; for overly clever is half-stupid, something which in the case of the women folk can easily occur, given their weak and inconstant nature when they are given free rein and their own will.

Thus, the pamphlet recommended, to prevent German women from revealing their allegedly half-idiotic opinions on matters pertaining to the arts and sciences, they must not be left to their own devices.²¹

Because their desires (*Begierde*) had already been stimulated by luxurious French wares, young Germans were made easy prey for French hunters' snares. Lured by the illusory picture of French women's beauty, German men who traveled to

21. The idea that French women were usurping male authority to determine what comprised good taste was, of course, also hotly debated among the French themselves; and I will return to this topic at several points in subsequent chapters. In such (in)famous texts as Boileau's satire "Dialogue sur les Romains" (1688), female writers and readers of novels are blamed for the corruption (and feminization) of illustrious ancient (masculine) culture. In the German discourse, the French as a whole are "weibisch" (effeminate). French women are then doubly so.

France found themselves hopelessly wrapped up in “verzuckerte Liebes=Netze” (sugary love nets):

Diese schöne und arglistige Kuplerin hat so viel Mittel und Kunst=Griffe derer Fremdbden/ sonderlich der Teutschen Gemüther zu reitzen und an sich zu locken/ daß auch wohl die Klügsten und Kaltsinnigen sich nicht gnugsam davor hüten können/ geschweige denn junge/ hitzige und unerfahrene Leute/ welche gleich denen unachtsamen und begierigen Vögeln einfallen/ nachmals aber in solchen betrieglichen Fall=Netzen stecken bleiben. (78)

This beautiful and deceitful procuress has so many means and artful tricks to stimulate foreign, and particularly German, natures and attract them to her that even the most clever and cold cannot protect themselves enough—never mind the young, hot, and inexperienced people who resemble careless and eager birds who then remain stuck in these deceptive snares.

Their entanglement did not end merely in financial destitution. Its consequences were still more dire. Disaster had struck, attacking Germans at their core. Their age-old, naturally healthy, and upstanding constitution was being ruined.

Turned into women by their luxury consumption, Germans—particularly the increasing numbers of young men traveling to France supposedly to polish their education and manners—became infected ultimately with syphilis, “die frantzösischen Böcken” (the French pox). The strength of the Empire was thus eroded not only from French assaults on its borders. More menacingly, its very core was sapped of strength, infected with the French disease:

Man bringet solche schöne Früchte/ welche man in gedachtem Zauber=Garten gesammelt/ gleichsam zur Ausbeute mehr davor trägt; Dahero ist es gar nichts seltsames und ungewöhnliches/ daß solch ansteckendes Gifft nunmehr in Teutschen Geblüte dermassen fortgepflanzt wird/ daß man es vor eine *Galanterie* halten wil/ ungeachtete so wohl der Leib und Geblüte/ als das Gemüthe dadurch vergiffet und verderbet wird; Wie solches die tägliche Erfahrung gnugsam bezeuget. (80)

Such are the beautiful fruits gathered and carried off as the crop from this garden of delights; thus it is hardly uncommon or unusual that so much of this contagious poison has now been transplanted into German blood that it is considered a *galanterie*, never mind that the body and the blood as well as the nature are poisoned and decayed by it, as our daily experience sufficiently proves.

Turned first into women, Germans were finally made “French.” Although many allegedly tried to pass off the disease as yet another trendy *galanterie*, its consequences were too serious for such light treatment. Not only were their *Gemüthe* (characters) ruined, but the disease’s poisons were passed on, “transplanted into German

blood." Blood contaminated by "solch ansteckendes Gifft" (this contagious poison) was no longer German: "Die jenigen nun/ welche so schöne Ausbeute in Franckreich gehohlet/ können wohl zwiefach vor Frantzosen *passiren*, weiln sie dieselben nicht nur im Gemüthe/ Sitten/ Sprache und Kleidung/ sondern auch an ihrem Fleisch und Blute sitzen haben" (81). (Those people who have fetched such a beautiful crop from France can pass doubly for Frenchmen, because they not only resemble them in their nature, habits, language, and clothing but have them in their very flesh and blood.) These "Teutsch=Frantzosen" (German-Frenchmen) were the ultimate cause of German weakness. They made German blood run French. The Empire was being devoured by its own children.

The figure of the German-Frenchman—a stock figure known also as a *Fröntzling* or a *Frantzmann*, roughly a German "Frenchy"—had become something of a fashionable trope by the 1680s. Like the *Poet à la mode* before him, the *Fröntzling* embodied the man of fashion whose poor imitations rendered him its slave. His poaching brought only ruin, not prized game. The satirical *Der Teutsche-Frantzotz* (The German Frenchman) (1682) and *Der politische und lustige Passagier* (The Political and Comic Passagier) (1684) further flesh out the trope. They also propose startling radical cures for the highly infectious "French disease" carried by *Frantzmänner*. They echo the more learned critiques of French pretensions to global hegemony via various gallant stratagems launched by pamphlets such as the *Literae amici*; and, like "Germany Seduced by France," these fictions foreground the troubling intellectual freedom that gallantry accorded women, a freedom many women further consolidated by both reading and writing *Romaine*, that most gallant of genres.

Relatively sophisticated critiques are here poured into more popular forms. Satirical travel narratives had long provided a vehicle to expose the unending vice of the world. Regardless where one traveled, popular works since Brant's *Ship of Fools* asserted, the world remained the same; the traveler was a fool to think he would find a better way through earthly affairs.²² Both episodic tales send their anti-heroes on fool's errands to France, promising to reveal the true nature of the *Cavallierstour* allegedly now in vogue even among common folk whose sons' travels robbed their families of their last penny—plunging them, and the nation as a whole, into destitution. Soon after these satires were published, Thomasius would propose to reform French imitation. His students were undoubtedly familiar with the figure of the *Fröntzling*. Before we can understand the correct imitation Thomasius proposed, it helps to explore how imitation was figured to go awry. Things proceed from bad

22. Better-known examples of fake travel narratives were also modeled on Grimmelshausen's famous picaresque tale, *Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668); they include Christian Weise's *Die drey ärgsten Ertz-Narren* (The Three Worst Archfools) (1672) and Weise's amanuensis Johannes Riemer's *Politischen Maul=Affen* (Political Parrot) (1679). (Whether Riemer authored *The Political and Comic Passagier* is disputed in the literature.)

to worse for Parmenius, the young anti-hero of *The German Frenchman*, published five years before Thomasius's lecture (see fig. 5). At the outset of this satirical prose fiction, Parmenius is a young and foolish man too fond of modish practices; at the conclusion he is penniless, unable to find a wife, infected with syphilis, and finally executed. The fiction's elaborate foreword—a dialogue between several Roman gods and goddesses about the rise and fall of empires—recalls a golden era when fate smiled more kindly on the Germans, a people said to be held in special favor by Juno.²³ Befuddled by her favorites' strange behavior, Juno requests that Pallas explain the growing wave of German effeminacy. Recalling Roman decadence following careless interaction with the Greeks and other "asiatische Völcker" (Asian peoples), the goddess of wisdom reports that a people with a serious character (the Germans) eventually becomes frivolous given the proximity of a treacherous neighbor (the French). Pleased with Pallas's insights into French efforts to render Germans "nicht wohl bestand" (impotent), Juno requests a mortal be commissioned to tell a tale intended to return the Germans to their formerly illustrious ways.

Parmenius's initial attempts to persuade his good father, Germanicus, to allow him to travel to France prove fruitless. He is unable to recognize his father's wise refusal for the blessing it is; he, like all German *Frantzmänner*, is under the thumb of a woman, in this case his wily sister, Agrippina, who hopes to inherit the whole of the family fortune.²⁴ The satire's frontispiece depicts her luring her unwitting brother toward his certain ruin (fig. 5). Agrippina's murderous deceit has been carefully learned from her reading material: "Sie dann solchen Giff auß denen *Romainen* und andern verführerischen Frantzösischen Schrifften/ worauff sie täglich mehr Zeit/ als auff Arnds wahres Christenthumb wendete/ von Jugend auff gleichsam in sich gesogen hatte" (3). (She had sucked this poison since her youth from

23. The idea that Juno, wife of Jupiter, favored the Germans has several possible explanations. Jane Gardner postulates that the Roman goddess—whose functions are fairly similar to the Greek goddess of women, Hera—may originally have been associated with young warriors (17). In addition, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Juno is portrayed as working tirelessly to prevent Aeneas from reaching Rome, which he has been fated to found, causing him, among other things, to fall in love with Dido, queen of Carthage. Aeneas leaves Dido only when reminded by Jupiter of his duty, after which, in Virgil's account of the story, Dido commits suicide. Virgil also portrays Juno as favoring the Carthaginians, against whom the Romans waged the Punic Wars. Juno's hatred of the Trojans, and later the Romans, may stem from the fact that Paris, son of the king of the Trojans, had proclaimed Aeneas's mother, the goddess Venus, to be the most beautiful of the goddesses, deeply offending Juno (Gardner 36–37). In *The German Frenchman*, Juno aligns herself against Rome again, in her support of the Germans.

24. The characters' names invoke imperial Roman history. Empress Agrippina the Younger (15–59 c.e.)—notorious for her political intrigues—was the eldest daughter of Agrippina the Elder and Germanicus. Accompanied by his wife, Germanicus led military campaigns in Roman colonies, including those along the Rhine. His daughter, Agrippina the Younger, was for a time banished by her brother, the equally notorious Emperor Caligula, but after his demise she returned to Rome, where she eventually managed to establish her son Nero as Roman emperor. Because of her constant intrigues and interference in state affairs, Nero ordered her murdered in 59. The name Parmenius may possibly be an allusion to the historical Arminius (c. 18 b.c.e.–17 c.e.), mentioned above, who led a revolt against the Romans and was later defeated by Germanicus in the year 16. One year later, Arminius was killed by a pro-Roman German tribesman.



Figure 5. Frontispiece to *The German Frenchman* (1682). *Caveat emptor*. French vendors, in league with German women, can sell anything to the fool for gallant fashion. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

the *Romainen* and other seductive French writings to which she daily devoted more time than to Arndt's *True Christianity*.)²⁵ Such seductive reading material, the reader is informed, is particularly poisonous to women, for their more delicate (*zarte*) natures predispose them to blasphemous morals and so to their own ruin: "Worauß zu sehen/ wie zarte Gemüther/ sonderlich neugieriger Weibsbilder auff ganz verkehrte und unchristliche Reguln/ sowol durch *Conversation*, als dergleichen bücher gar leicht verleitet werden können/ welche so sie einwurzeln/ viel Laster/ und endlich ihr selbst eigenes Verderben nach sich ziehen" (4–5). (From which you can see how delicate natures, particularly curious women, can be quite easily misled by *conversation* as well as such books into wrong and unchristian maxims. As soon as they take root, many vices and ultimately their very own ruin follow.)

Parmenius's desire to travel to France—without paternal consent, if need be—is figured as the rebellion of one generation against the next, of new and fashionable Germans against their old and honorable forefathers. The flames of this family romance are fanned assiduously by women, all in league with Agrippina and her mother. Germanicus is well aware of the dubious influence that women supposedly bring to bear on the common good. The narrator laments: "Alleine es ist leyder dahin kommen/ daß öftters grosse Leuthe/ in Sachen welche das *Publicum* angehen/ sich nach der Weiber unbedachtsamen Begierden/ und schmeichelhaften Phantasie leiten und regieren lassen; *Haut enim mulier capax maturi in publicis consiliis*" (51). (Affairs have unfortunately reached the point where important people frequently allow themselves to be led and ruled by women's imprudent desires and flattering fantasy in matters that concern the *Publicum*; *Haut enim mulier capax maturi in publicis consiliis*.) A high price will be paid for this Oedipal rebellion. In Paris, Parmenius's tutor encourages him to pursue a course of studies that anticipates Thomasius's translation of true gallantry. The virtuous tutor, although thwarted at every turn, labors to convince Parmenius to contribute to the good of the public:

So hör ich nun wohl/ daß ihr nur Thürme und Häuser zu sehen/ oder sonst an andern *Vanitäten* euch zu belustigen/ in Franckreich gezogen sey; dieses wissen reisende Schuster= und Schneiders=Gesellen gleichfals/ dürffen doch dabey so viel Geld nicht verzehren; ein höher Gemüth aber/ welches mit der Zeit seinem Vatterlande/ oder anderswo rechtschaffen dienen will/ muß gar einen andern Zweck seiner *Peregrination* anzielen: sonderlich/ wie ein Königreich oder *Republic* angeordnet/ und regieret werde/ was derselben Staats=*Interesse*, wie groß deren Macht und Gewalt sey/ was deren Einkommen/ *Commerciens*/ und Nahrung/ wie viel *Revolutiones* und Veränderung sie

25. The book referenced here is Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (Four Books of True Christianity) (1605–1610), whose popularity is immediately obvious from the frequent reprints well into the latter half of the eighteenth century and from its translations into English. Maurer asserts that over the course of the seventeenth century in Germany Arndt's works "verdrängten sowohl die Schriften Luthers als auch teilweise die Hl. Schrift selbst" (displaced not only Luther's writings but to an extent the Bible itself) (55).

außgestanden; was sie vor Nachbarn und Feinde habe; wie weit sich deroselben Macht erstrecke; besonders/ wer ihre Regenten/ was sie vor Gewalt/ *absolut* oder eingeschränckt; ingleichen auch deß Volcks und der Unterthanen Gemüther/ Sitten/ und wozu sie meist geneigt seyn. (158–59)

So I see now that you have traveled to France only to see towers and buildings or to amuse yourself with other *vanitates*; traveling cobblers' and tailors' apprentices also know of these things, although they don't eat up so much money on their way; but a person of noble character who intends in time to serve his fatherland or another place in an upright manner needs to take aim at another target with his *peregrination*: in particular, how a kingdom or a *republic* is ordered and governed, what are its state *interesses*, how sizable its power and might, its revenues, *commerces*, and food supply, how many *revolutiones* and changes it has withstood, which neighbors and enemies, how far its power extends, and especially who are its rulers and what kind of power [they wield], *absolut* or limited; and similarly what are the people's and subjects' natures, customs, and those things to which they are most inclined.

But a serious study of French political and economic structures for the good of his fatherland is not at all what Parmenius has in mind. He informs his tutor, Cleobulus, that such an extensive study would take years to accomplish and is furthermore completely unnecessary for his goal of learning how to present himself as a courtier (*Hof=Mann*). Everyone today knows, Parmenius tells poor Cleobolus, that a courtier requires knowledge of dancing, fencing, riding, and rudimentary command of French as well as familiarity with entertaining women. Such skills, Parmenius repeats, more than adequately satisfy his goals.²⁶

The narrative deals the beknighted Parmenius one brutal blow after the next. He gambles away his fortune, contracts syphilis, and is blinded in one eye. Decrepit, he attempts a reconciliation with his good father, Germanicus. But his homecoming

26. A critique of the frivolous sensuality of "political" courtesans and of courtly life is a commonplace that can be witnessed, for example, in Riemer's *Der Politische Maul=Affe* (The Political Parrot) (1680). Still, some forty years later, the frivolous character of "politische Leute" (political people) continued to be underscored, for example in Nicolas Hieronymus Gundling's review of François de Callière's *De la science du monde; et des connoissances utiles a la conduite de la vie* (1717). In the twentieth edition of his eponymous journal, *Gundlingiana* (1715–1721), Gundling opined that Callière's work would appeal to even the lazy, "politische Leute/ welche fast gar nichts mit Fleiß lernen wollen" (political people who care to learn almost nothing with diligence) (413). I am indebted to Andrea Wicke for this reference. For more on Gundling, a student of Thomasius, and his conceptions of *politisch* and *galant*, see Wicke's "Politisches und galantes Verhaltensideal im frühen 18. Jahrhundert: Überschneidungen und Differenzen."

The hotbeds of German "political" behavior, the empire's many princely courts, were viewed by many as a particularly worrisome conduit of French influence. The *Literae amici*, discussed above, for example, asserted that German territories had been unable to form an anti-French federation after the rupture of the Peace of Nijmegen (1679) "auß corruption ihrer *Ministororum*, so von Franckreich *dependiren*" (due to the corruption of their ministers, who are financially dependent on France) (227). The "politico," like the gallant, was frequently accused of treasonous behavior, as I discuss in my reading of *The Political and Comic Passagier*.

is hardly that of the prodigal son. His father refuses to give him any money and soon dies, leaving his son penniless. Unable to convince even a German tailor's daughter to marry him, Parmenius finally is left no other choice than to join the army, where he can afford only to enlist as a common foot soldier. At the first sign of battle, he attempts desertion, is promptly caught, and finally sentenced by his officers to be executed by a firing squad as an example to others. Having given himself over to an unbridled desire to pursue French fashion—a desire craftily fueled by French books, especially *Romaine*, and by French (and Frenchified) women—Parmenius has received his just rewards. His unhappy fate is, however, certainly not his alone.

The misadventures of Tribell and Alvaretto in *The Political and Comic Pas-sagier*, another satirical travel narrative, appeared in 1684, advertising its author solely with the initials “M. J. R.,” possibly although not probably Johannes Riemer (c. 1648–c. 1714). The ancient Germans—illustrious and warlike—are here likewise invoked and contrasted sharply with fashionably effeminate young Germans, depicted by the satire's frontispiece as travelling in droves to their own demise: “Exotica corrumpunt Germanos” (fig. 6). Long episodes in which Alvaretto courts and eventually marries a French tailor's daughter provide material for the vilification of French women, represented as hungry for money and a title. No ruse to satiate their clutching money hunger is too low. Mothers pimp for their daughters, and daughters prostitute themselves to excite such lust in young Germans that they are unable to refuse any request, including marriage to a tailor's daughter.²⁷ All too eager for love's final favors, Alvaretto is soon entangled in French women's “Garn Gewinst-süchtiger Liebe” (yarns of profit-seeking love) (205).

Like Parmenius's German sister, Agrippina, Amalie, a Parisian tailor's daughter, reads *Romains*, romances and novels. From the *dames* of Paris to Parisian tailors' and provincial Germans' daughters, women across Europe learned their “deceit and well-practiced art of love” from latter-day Ovidian volumes: *Romains*. From this most gallant of reading material, women like Amalie learn—like the London gallant with whom this chapter began—to imitate Scudérian heroic speeches. While their rhetoric might sound innocent even to a clever listener (certainly not Alvaretto), it is only a decorative cover for “dieses verwelckte Blumens=Garten” (this wilted flower

27. Disparagement of French-German marriages was also used to expose the dangers of French influence in the popular pamphlet penned by “Pollidore de Warmond” entitled “Der wahre Ursprung/ Gegenwertiger Frantzösischen Macht und Gewalt” (The True Source of French Power) (1683). There French influence is shown to have pervaded the heart of the Empire by sneaking in through the bedroom door. Such marriages—always portrayed as occurring between a relatively lower-class French woman and a higher-class German man—also figure prominently in the dystopic vision promulgated in the “Frantzösischen Staats=Spiegel” (Mirror of the French State) (1683) of a fully corrupted Teutschland beholden to French masters. In this pamphlet, the children of such marriages, as well as their French mothers, are described as pieces of a larger French plot to colonize German lands. In such a context, the controversy arising some twenty years later surrounding Menantes's (Christian Friedrich Hunold's) *Die lebenswürdige Adalie*, an adaptation of Préchac's *La belle Parisienne*—in which the marriage of a French *Bürgerstochter* to a German prince is portrayed positively—becomes more understandable.



Figure 6. Frontispiece to *The Political and Comic Passagier* (1684). Foreign travels only corrupt. Galantry cripples, rendering Germans impotent. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

garden) (208). Amalie is nothing more than a common whore. Nor does Alvaretto's return to Germany afford relief. This Frenchified German is left with no alternative but to go to war, where he is soon captured and enslaved by the Turks.

In a similarly brutal manner, "Franciscus Veronettus" and "M. J. R." correct the errant wanderings of gallant German travelers. Their travels ruined the health of the empire, and they were severely punished for it: one shot, the other enslaved. Their violent ends are meant to demonstrate the logical consequences of a fashionable *Cavallierstour*. Intended as terrifying moral examples, these anti-heroes were killed off to prevent them from infecting more Germans. Nothing less than the health of the Empire was at stake. The Empire's already monstrous body had been castrated by the French, itself an effeminate nation whose affairs were guided by women. Decadence and disease are the true fruits of imitating the French. Only by preventing the further spread of the French disease could the Empire's wasted body be cured and returned to its formerly virile, "natural" state. Only with the return of "upright" German virtue would the many categories confused by gallantry be clarified and the topsy-turvy world set aright.

These preceding texts—and countless other anonymously and pseudonymously authored examples, which appeared more or less illicitly in various European languages—introduce us to a world turned dangerously topsy-turvy by French stratagems, gallant fashions chief among them. Across their pages, reversals multiplied, cascading across categories of nation, sex, and social standing. Even the French themselves have been turned into Turks. Historically antecedent, the Romans too had been Orientalized, turned "voluptuous" and "effeminate" by colonies in revolt. Critics from Marjorie Garber to Barbara Fuchs have noted how category crisis ineluctably proliferates, one category's disruption irresistibly drawing other categories into confusion.²⁸ Orientalized Romans prefigure Frenchified Germans, and Frenchified men soon reveal themselves to be women. Frenchified women, conversely, grasp for the pants to poach game from the world of letters, pronouncing on matters of "arts and sciences." Fools thus preside over learning, while erudition is transfigured into "a lot of clucking and galanterie." Reversals are the rule. Of course, as Natalie Davis seminally instructed, fears of Woman on top—master trope among so many figuring the world in reverse—likely document historical practices that enabled the skirting of gendered norms. Feminist historians will do well to read excoriations of gallantry against the grain. Central to gallantry's many reversals was its sincere advocacy that women needed to expand their spheres of activity and enter into, among other places, the world of letters.²⁹

28. Garber's work on transvestism, *Vested Interests*, was pathbreaking. Like the work of Judith Butler, Garber has directly sparked considerations of how gender's performative reversals also cut across categories of nation, race, and class.

29. In this regard, I cannot agree with those critiques, such as that of Howard Bloch, that read the elevation of Woman by *précieuses* as ultimately another example of medieval misogyny, a reduction of women to Woman. On this topic, see also Wiggin, "Gallant Women Students."

Thomasius's "True Gallantry"

But a German golden age did not, at least according to the gallant Thomasius, lie irrevocably lost in the irretrievable past. Although he proposed allowing the ancient Germans to rest peacefully in their graves, Thomasius promised to restore upright values and fortify his effeminized students. Contemporary French culture was indeed a Scylla and Charybdis, which he promised to navigate, pulling his students safely in tow. Gallantry's cliffs consisted of its arousal of always emasculating corporeal desires. Enabled first to recognize and then to resist its temptations, young Germans' moral fiber might be fortified. Their stiffened fiber might then provide the stuff to reweave Europe's social fabric. So fortified, young Germans would surpass those who had previously topped them. Then, and only then, would Germans reach Parnassus's peak to become first among moderns. In the two travel narratives discussed above, the sexual appetites stimulated by French imitation were stilled in acts of extreme narrative violence. I hardly wish to imply that such brutal suppression is advocated by Thomasius in his lecture. While the tradition disavowing any French imitation waged its struggle directly on Germans' bodies, Thomasius's strategy was all brain. He meant to clean up the excesses of French imitation by reforming the vocabulary used to discuss it.

In light of the fundamental disorderings allegedly worked by French influence, Thomasius's lecture—held only one year after the publication of "Germany Seduced by France"—is amazingly open-minded. Like Opitz and his project to cultivate German as a literary language capable of seizing the glories conferred by the assumption of Rome's mantle, Thomasius founded his decision to promote the vernacular upon patriotism. Both reformers proceeded from canny insights into translation's deep links to rebirth; both sought to reform poor imitations with a program of translation. The French, both wrote, had benefited tremendously from the cultivation of their native tongue by translating all the best works. Germans too could initiate a renaissance, this time led by a thirty-two-year-old gallant from Leipzig.³⁰ Thomasius himself would mark the beginning of the right kind of French imitation.

30. Despite sharing many concerns with the linguistic program of the Fruit-Bearing Society, Thomasius held its work in low regard. His disregard for German-language theorists before him conveniently burnished his own image as the lone voice of clarity in a sea awash with mediocrity, typified in his account of Justus Georg Schottel, whose *Teutscher Vers= oder Reimkunst* (The Art of German Verse or Rhyme) (1641) we encountered in chapter 1. Thomasius explained to his students that Schottel's work could not hold a candle to French-language theorists: "Zum wenigsten würde es mir und meines gleichen als ein unzeitiger Eyfer ausgedeutet werden/ wenn ich meine Herren von dem Frantzösi[s]chen Sprachmeister an des Schottelii teutsche Sprachen Schul/ von dem Dantzmeister auff die Kirmessen/ von unsern Mode Schneidern an einen Dorffstörer/ oder von denen Köchen/ so die Speisen wohl zurichten wissen auff die altväterischen Sudelköche/ die einen guten Hirsenbrey mit Biere und meines gleichen Lekkerbißlein aus denen alten Kochbüchern anrichten können/ verweisen wolte" (11). (At the very least it would be seen as zealotry if I sought to refer you gentlemen away from the French-language theorists to Schottel's German-language school, from the dancing masters to regional fairs or from our fashionable tailors to a village stitcher or from chefs who know how to prepare food well to

Thomasius's claim, less than ten years after the French occupation of Strasbourg, that correct French imitation and "true gallantry" would lead to German glory was shocking indeed. In a vitriolically anti-French climate, he insisted that gallantry must also be considered in a positive fashion, as "a virtuous concept" ("in guten Verstande"). Of course, Thomasius could no more prevent *galanterie* from sliding between its most refined register and realms "far less ethereal," from metamorphosing from "a virtuous concept" into an "evil" one ("in bösen Verstande"), than had Scudéry before him. After all, it was the constant double entendre of gallant language that likely recommended it to many, perhaps most, readers. Only some, Thomasius would argue, could be licensed to make gallantry their own.

In his lecture, Thomasius styled himself with brio as the lone voice of reason able to cut through the tangled thicket of words that gallantry had spawned in German. He was not the first German, however, to wrestle with how correctly to translate *préciosité* into German. Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689), for example, had translated Madeleine de Scudéry's *Ibrahim, ou L'illustre Bassa* (1641) beginning in 1645. Zesen, like Ferdinand Adam von Pernauer (1660–1731), a subsequent German translator of the same title, attributed *Ibrahim* to Scudéry's brother Georges (1601–1667) in accordance with the French edition's title page. Scudéry's heroic speeches, *Les femmes illustres, ou Les harangues héroïques* (1642), had also appeared in German translation (1654/59). Like Zesen and Pernauer, Paris von dem Werder (c. 1623–c. 1674), the German translator of Scudéry's *Zwanzig Heroische Hochdeutsche Frauen=Reden* (Twenty Heroick Harangues), was a member of the prestigious Fruit-Bearing Society. And like them, he similarly followed the French title page's attribution of authorship of the work to Mr. de Scudéry.

Georg Philip Harsdörffer (1607–1658), the prolific leader of Nuremberg's literary society, the Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz, invented what has often been called a "literary salon" in the pages of his *Ladies' Conversational Games* (1641–1649), a "blue room" in print.³¹ In imitation of Parisian *précieux* models, Harsdörffer opened his printed salon to both sexes, specifically addressing the Order of Flowers' female members in the many paratexts he provided to *Ladies' Conversational Games*.³² But unlike in the Hôtel de Rambouillet, across the pages of Harsdörffer's printed salon

the old-fashioned slapdash cooks who know how to prepare a millet mash with beer and other similar delicacies from the pages of old cookbooks.)

31. See, for example, Dollinger who reads *Ladies' Conversational Games* as Germany's first salon, albeit one in print (10). Wurst reads the *Conversational Games* as providing kinesthetic, interactive materials for the acculturation of what she simply calls "foreign" knowledge, setting up the *Conversational Games* as a *Raritätenkabinett* in book form ("Utility" 288). The diversity of conversational topics, which move pell-mell from one topic to the next, lends itself to such a comparison. The emphasis placed on the art of conversation in mixed-sex company, however, is borrowed from French *précieux* models. See also Zeller's *Spiel und Konversation im Barock*.

32. On the membership of the Nuremberg society from its beginnings into the eighteenth century, see Jürgensen's *Utile cum Dulci*, as well as the exhaustive bio-bibliographical documentation she provides in *Melos conspirant singuli in unum*.

no woman presided over the rules of decorum. Instead, Harsdörffer took care to leave his salon's male interlocutors—Vespasian, Reymund, and Degenwert—in charge, German men on a par with Mr. (not Mlle) de Scudéry.³³

Nonetheless, Madeleine de Scudéry provided an important literary model, adopted, famously in German literary history, by Duke Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig and Lüneburg (1633–1714). On his grand tour, the duke had visited her in Paris and may have initiated the correspondence between Scudéry and his sister, Sibylle Ursula (1629–1671).³⁴ The sprawling romances, *Die durchleuchtige Syrerinn Aramena* (The Illustrious Syrian Woman Aramena, 1669–1673) and the never-completed *Römische Octavia* (The Roman Octavia; its first volume appeared in 1677), are among the most famous works of what literary history calls the German baroque. So famous have these romances become among Germanists, in fact, that recent critics seem largely unaware of their French models. The copies, as it were, outshine the originals. Yet these originals delivered more than solely formal, generic models for the German *Romane*. Like the many volumes printed under the signature “Mr. de Scudéry,” both *Aramena* and *Octavia* are marked by practices of collaborative authorship, an endeavor theorized by Joan DeJean as “salon writing.” Rather than remain puzzled by Anton Ulrich's willingness to surrender “authorial control,” we might recognize “Anton Ulrich” as a signature like “Mr. de Scudéry”—managed by the duke but collaborated on by others, including Sibylle Ursula, Sigmund von Birken, Christian Flemmer, and Gottfried Alberti.³⁵

By 1687, the year of Thomasius's lecture series on the topic, gallantry was at the height of fashion across much of Europe. In England, Edmund Waller (1606–1687) had begun to translate *précieus* imagery and metaphor into English poetry by the 1630s. His efforts to “bring English verse closer to a continental standard of wit and sophistication” embodied by French poets such as Vincent Voiture (1597–1648)

33. In his “Schutzschrift für Die Teutsch Spracharbeit und Derselben Beflissene” (A Defense of German Language Work and Those Devoted to It), appended to the 1644 edition of the *Conversational Games*, Harsdörffer reacted explicitly to “those who dislike the *Conversational Games* because women have been introduced to them” (390). He defended introducing German women to his many riddles and intellectual conundrums by appealing to his contemporaries' patriotism: “Viel haben mit ewigem Nachruhm den Königlichen Scepter gefuhret/ warüm [*sic*] solte ihnen nicht auch der Spielstab geziehen/ der in der Frantzösinnen und Italiänerinnen Händen die Geister gleichsam erwecken/ und wundersam leiten kan” (390). (Many [women] have held the royal scepter. Why should they not be allowed the game baton, which in the hands of Italian and French women can both excite the spirits and marvelously direct them.)

34. When her younger brother set out, leaving her behind, Sibylle Ursula began her extensive engagement with then-current French romance, in an attempt perhaps to follow him in spirit if not on foot, “to follow him, at least in her studies.” Thus she began her translations of *La Calprenède*. See Ute Brandes, “Baroque Women Writers in the Public Sphere.”

35. Kraft has emphasized the many hands at work on Anton Ulrich's *Octavia*, uncovering manuscripts that, intriguingly, show the famous Aurora von Königsmark (1662–1728) as an authorized collaborator on later unpublished portions of the *Roman*. Kraft seems unaware, however, that Anton Ulrich likely directed the authorial name “Anton Ulrich” in conscious imitation of Scudéry's salon collaborations under the name “Mr. de Scudéry.”

made Waller what Thomas Kaminski calls “the first, and perhaps the only, English *précieux* poet” (20). While English *précieux* poets may have remained few, the language of gallantry enjoyed a prolific career in English—notably, as in German, in the hands of wags who delighted in scolding “French” ways. Yet, in English too, we should not understate how widely gallantry’s artistry was recognized; Waller, as Kaminski has reminded us, was accorded a prominent place in the English poetic pantheon well into the eighteenth century.

When appropriated by the right hands—by Waller’s erudite pen, by the circle of collaborators headed by Anton Ulrich, by Harsdörffer or by Hoffman von Hoffmannswaldau, for example—French gallantry could be rendered perfectly respectable both in its own time and in today’s criticism. Learned men might take Scudéry’s texts as models for licensed, creative *imitatio*. Far more often, however, gallantry was poached by hands in no way authorized to make it their own. These were the male and, more troublingly, female gallants who threatened to make England and Germany “French.” And these were the French imitators whom Thomasius promised to set straight, curing the French disease that threatened to turn into an epidemic.

On the Imitation of the French described both the fashionability with which *galant* was employed as well as the fashionability that it signified. The term’s ubiquity among Germans—always on the tip of everyone’s tongue—had robbed it of any precise meaning: “This word has become so common among us Germans and has been so severely abused that dogs and cats, slippers, tables” and everything else could be called gallant. To be fashionably *galant* meant, Thomasius explained, to be French—or at least as French as a young German with shaky linguistic abilities could be. Young German noblemen no longer traveled first to Italy but to France.³⁶ French clothing was allegedly worn by everyone with (or without) the means to buy it. One needed to display French manners, read French books, and, of course, speak as much French as possible to seem gallant. But the pursuit of gallant fashion had grown dogged, and so Thomasius made it the topic of his lecture, seeking to delineate a more useful and seemly kind of imitation. This was to be located in the practice of what he called “wahrhaftige Galanterie” (true gallantry), and was based on his readings of French theoreticians of *le galant homme* and *la vraie galanterie*, including Nicolas Faret (1596–1646) and, more centrally, Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701)—whom Thomasius did not confuse with her brother.

By arming his students with a theory of true gallantry, Thomasius sought to enable them to scale elusive peaks of learning and *politesse*. He attributed their previous failure to conquer these heights to academics’ pedantry and to the young people’s own misguided imitation of the French. As he explained, when German

36. On the changing itinerary of the grand tour and the changing social composition of those who undertook it, see Stannek, and Leibetseder.

students traveled to Paris, they were derided by those they so assiduously sought to emulate:

Denn wie kommts doch/ daß wan von uns Teutschen iemand in Franckreich reiset/ ohnerachtet er propre gekleidet ist/ und sehr geschickt von einen Frantzösischen Braten oder fricasée raisonniren kan/ auch perfekt parliret und seinen Reverentz so gut als ein leibhafftiger Frantzotz zumachen weiß/ er dennoch gemeiniglich als ein einfältiges Schaff ausgelachtet wird/ da hingegen die Frantzosen/ so zu uns herausser kommen durchgehends Liebe und Verwunderung an sich ziehen? Es kan nicht fehlen/ wir müssen mit unserer Nachahmung das rechte pflöckgen nicht getroffen haben. (*Über die Nachahmung* 13)

For indeed how else can it be explained that when one of us Germans travels in France—never mind that he is dressed *propre* and can not only discourse quite elegantly on a French roast or a *fricasée* but *parlirs* perfectly and knows how to make his *reverences* as well as a born Frenchman—he nevertheless is ridiculed as a dumb sheep, while, conversely, the French who come our way attract only love and amazement? It's undeniable, our imitation must have missed the heart of the matter.

By identifying and explaining the source of French cultural preeminence, the “virtuous concept” embodied by “true gallantry,” Thomasius sought to spare young German men further humiliation. By promoting a new educational ideal of “galante erudition,” he sought nothing less than a new future: one in which Germans could stake a claim to preeminence among the moderns on Parnassus’s majestic peak. The French had already attained Parnassus’s peak: “Was aber die Gelehrsamkeit betrifft/ so ist wohl kein Zweiffel/ daß es heut zu tage unter denen Frantzosen mit denen Gelehrten auff das höchste kommen” (20). (Regarding scholarship, there is no doubt that French scholars today are at the very top.) They were the most clever nation: “Sie sind doch heut zu tage die geschicktesten Leute/ und wissen allen Sachen ein recht Leben zugeben” (12). (Today they are clearly the most able of people and know how to liven up everything.)

Unlike those who called for a return to values embodied by “den guten alten Teutschen” (the good old Germans), Thomasius proposed that Germans would attain great heights only if they located the quintessence of French greatness; to date, German imitators had consistently missed it.³⁷ Firstly, Thomasius makes clear, better German translations of French letters offered the only way to understand, emulate, and then rival Gallic brilliance. Thomasius’s own investigations were designed to translate “true gallantry,” a project “ist dannenhero hoch nöthig/

37. Writers in the decades prior to Thomasius’s lecture tirelessly invoked the good old days of “the good old Germans.” Johann Michael Moscherosch’s (1601–1669) successful *Wunderliche und wahrhaffige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald* (The Amazing and Truthful Visions of Philander von Sittewald) (1642/50) was particularly influential in reanimating “the good old Germans.”

wenn wir ihnen hinter die Künste kommen wollen/ wodurch sie [die Frantzen] alle Welt ihnen Ehrerbietung zu bezeigen anlocken” (highly necessary, if we seek to discover the arts with which they [the French] have attracted the whole world) (13). Translations of the best contemporary scholarship into German offered the only hope, he explained, to relocate Parnassus from French turf and translate it onto German soil. Only with the right translations might Germans establish a base from which to launch a claim to preeminence among the moderns.

Thomasius located the misunderstood kernel of French superiority in the *true* meaning of the phrases “d’un honnête homme, d’un homme scavant, d’un bel esprit, d’un homme de bon goust, et d’un homme galant,” which Germans quoted fondly without understanding their substance. He thus proposed to flesh out this empty ideal. It consisted, he argued, of an individual useful to society, “un homme sâge oder ein vollkommener weiser Mann, den man in der Welt zu klugen und wichtigen Dingen brauchen kan” (un homme sâge or a perfectly wise man who can also be of use in the world for intelligent and important things) (45). Such an *homme sâge* won his competence to manage worldly affairs from his study of a curriculum founded upon contemporary French texts—the same scholarship Thomasius wanted translated into German. In translation, Thomasius propounded, these modern texts should replace the outdated Latin scholarship of German academics, which caused German students only to lose interest in exploring the arts and sciences: they would form the foundation of “le bon gout und die warhafftige galanterie” (le bon gout and true gallantry) (43).

Throughout the lecture, Thomasius portrayed himself as a cool head among heated condemnations of the French and of French imitation *a priori*, the sole interpreter able to comprehend and translate the niceties of French scholarship and culture more generally.³⁸ In a media landscape abounding with depictions of French tyranny and wily French seduction, Thomasius’s lecture was truly innovative. No doubt it did more than just irritate those colleagues he hardly shied from provoking.

But all this intended provocation—his willful advocacy for French imitation and his celebration of all things new and novel, including fashion—should not blind us to Thomasius’s own traditionalism. Not only did his program of cultural renewal proceed as had Opitz’s, on good translation and correct imitation. But the methods Thomasius proposed for gallantry’s correct translation into German ultimately relied on the same creaky stereotypes that informed the rabid anti-French texts discussed above. Thomasius certainly mocked those who refused to allow

38. More popular scholarship on Thomasius has adopted wholesale the philosopher’s self-fashioning as David versus Goliath. While I want to underscore the radicality of Thomasius’s recommendation to imitate the French, I do not want to lose sight of Thomasius’s own labors to construct a radical image of himself, one that has occasionally taken on mythic proportions. See, for example, Ernst Bloch’s *Christian Thomasius: Ein deutscher Gelehrter ohne Misere* and Beertz’s critique of reading Thomasius as a proto-Marxist (216).

“guten alten Teutschen in ihren Gräbern ebenmäßig [zu] ruhen” (the good old German to rest quietly in their graves) (9), and those who would try to ban French fashion. It is impossible to imagine him a sympathetic reader of “Germany Seduced by France,” for example.³⁹ Nonetheless, his lecture remained as dependent on a highly sexualized construct of French women, female gallantry, and Woman as had Scudéry’s many satirists.

The right kind of French imitation, Thomasius’s “true gallantry,” it turns out, could be correctly translated only if gallantry could be unloaded of its more weighty feminine baggage. Woman needed to be stripped from gallantry. Of course, this was no easy task given Thomasius’s preferred gallant theorist. But Scudéry was apparently the exception who proved the rule, for only by rescuing his schoolboys from gallant Woman could Thomasius keep them on the straight and narrow path of correct imitation. No deviation from the prescribed route was allowed. Beyond its borders, French imitation was incorrect, unauthorized—beyond the limits dictated by Thomasius, it remained dangerous poaching.

In his exegesis “D’un honnête homme,” Thomasius recommended Nicolas Faret’s *L’honneste homme, ou l’Art de plaire à la court* of 1630. But in the lecture he immediately qualified his praise: “wie wohl jener Frantzose meinte/ dieses wäre ein honnête homme der zugleich eine Maitreße/ einen verwirrten Proceß/ und eine querelle hätte/ und sich bey allen dreyen wohl betrüge” (for this Frenchman was of the opinion that an *honnête homme* was he who simultaneously had a mistress, a complicated lawsuit, and a dispute and conducted himself well in each) (14). While *honnété* and the maintenance of a mistress might not have been incompatible for the Frenchman, they were far less so for Thomasius. And as he then proceeds to define the key term *galant*, troubling connections to female sexuality continue to spring up. He seeks, for example, to distinguish “ein galantes und liebreitzendes Frauenzimmer” (a gallant and charming lady) from “eine alberne und närrische coquette” (a fatuous and foolish coquette). Rather than outline their differences, however, he races away from his question, shifting to an apparently safer tack: “Aber ad propos was ist galant und ein galanter Mensch?” (18). (But à propos what is gallant and a gallant person?) For the gallant exegete, however, there were no safe waters.

It is no accident that the lecture’s first mention of *galant* occurs in connection with women. Not only was Thomasius’s preferred theorist of the subject not Faret but Scudéry—Madeleine, not George. But *Galanterie*, as I have stated, demanded male-female interaction. And precisely because of its insistence on mixed-sex company, it consistently threatened at any moment to slide from the register of *politesse*—where Thomasius sought to confine it—into far less polite talk. Indeed, the possible shifts in register could be used to dizzying effect, for the language of

39. Indeed, in the book reviews embedded in his journal *Monthly Conversations*, Thomasius often delighted in the ridicule of German anti-French chauvinism.

gallantry extended from drawing-room conversation to ribald tales to naming even the sexual act itself.

Thomasius, of course, overtly stressed gallantry's polite registers: "Ja ich meine/ daß ich nicht irren werde/ wenn ich sage/ daß bey denen Frantzosen die Galanterie und la Politesse eines sey" (19). (Yes, I believe I will not be wrong when I say that, among the French, gallantry and *la politesse* are one and the same.) His substitution promised to elide the aspects of French *Galanterie* that so disturbed him. With *politesse* filling out the meaning of *wahrhaftige Galanterie* (true gallantry), gallantry's troubling sexual connotations might be excised, as in no way part of the concept's truth. Gallantry's sexual innuendo was thus neatly deemed false and corrupt. Sexualized gallantry, Thomasius's concept insisted, could not deliver an imitation of the French with which to reinvigorate German letters.

Unfortunately for Thomasius, as he quickly acknowledged, even after a student turned to his books, bodily aspects of *Galanterie* were not so easily repressed. He joked to his all-male audience: "Bald/ wenn man studiren oder was nöthigers thun soll/ verliebt man sich sterblich/ und zwar zum öfftern in ein gut einfältig Buttes-Mägdgen/ aus deren Augen man gleich sehen kan/ daß eine Seele ohne Geist den Leib bewohne. Was gehen nun da für galanterien vor?" (44). (But soon, when you should be learning or doing some other necessary thing, you fall hopelessly in love and, more times than not, with a good, simple scullery maid in whose eyes anyone can see that a soul without spirit inhabits the body. And what gallantries do we have then?) Precisely this type of gallantry, that is, an erotic adventure "ohne Geist" (without spirit [*esprit*]), had no place in Thomasius's definition of true gallantry as *politesse*.⁴⁰

Gallantry's disruptive sexuality shone not only in the eyes of a "simple scullery maid," however. It consumed all "the ladies":

Jedoch es mangelt bey dem Frauenzimmer auch nicht an vielfältig affectirter Galanterey? Wie manche—Aber/ Meine Herren/ hier hält meine Feder billig inne/ und erinnert sich des Respects/ welches man diesem artigen Geschlecht schuldig ist. Man kan ihre Fehler wohl dencken und wissen/ aber man muß sie nicht sagen/ vielweniger davon schreiben; Denn dadurch würde man die Gräntzen der Höflichkeit überschreiten/ und die Hochachtung/ mit der man ihnen allezeit begegnen soll/ höchlich beleidigen. Discret seyn ist ein nothwendiges Stücke der galanterie, und was würden

40. In his reading of Thomasius's lecture, Emanuel Peter has emphasized Thomasius's replacement of a learned version of *Galanterie* for one "ohne Geist": "Die Bindung der Galanterie an die Gelehrsamkeit wird zur Grundlage seiner Kritik an einer oberflächlichen, 'affectirten Galanterey', die vom inneren Ethos, von Vernunft und Bildung abgelöst erscheint" (50). (The yoke of gallantry to learning becomes the basis of his critique of a superficial "affected gallantry" that has been cut off from any inner ethos, from reason and education.) Peter's argument opposes Thomasius's scholarly version of *Galanterie* with one lacking reason and education, a characterization that he accepts wholesale from Thomasius's own assessment. Instead of demonstrating how Thomasius fills an otherwise superficial, empty category with erudition, I seek to show how Thomasius strives to strip *Galanterie* of its overtly sexual aspects in a fashion similar to that which *la Reine du Tendre* and her imitators, such as Anton Ulrich, had pursued.

wir also für Vortheil haben/ wenn wir ihnen gleich in denen Stücken/ worinnen sie wider die Regeln der Galanterie anstossen/ die Wahrheit sagten/ und doch eben in selbigem Augenblicke wider dieselbigen Gesetze sündigten. Wir müssen uns vielmehr befeißigen/ die uns anklebende vielfältige Mängel zu bessern/ um Sie dadurch mit guter Art zu erinnern/ auch an die änderung der ihrigen zu gedencken. (45)

But is diversely affected gallantry in any less short supply among the ladies? Like some—But, gentlemen, my pen must here rightly pause and remember the respect that this charming sex is due. You can rightly think about and know their mistakes, but you must not say them much less write about them; for otherwise you would trespass on the border of courtesy and offend against the regard with which you should always treat them. Discretion is an essential part of gallantry; and what advantage would we have if we told them the truth precisely in those matters in which they bend the rules of gallantry, thereby in the very same moment committing the same transgressions ourselves. Instead, we must commit ourselves to improve the many deficiencies in ourselves so that we may in a good manner remind them also to consider changing their own.

Thomasius held his tongue on the specifics of “vielfältig affectirter Galanterey” (diversely affected gallantry) at the last second, “—”. Desired and desiring women could not be allowed to overflow the ellipsis so carefully reproduced in the printed text, engulfing his words with their excess. The “affected gallantry” of ladies must be quickly invoked to demonstrate its necessary suppression. The pregnant silence should enact “true gallantry,” stopping short at the “border of courtesy.” The “true gallant,” Thomasius’s performance demonstrates, shall not trespass over this border to poach the game found beyond the edge of *politesse*. But, despite all “respect” and “discretion,” the gallant body and its diverse affects could not be confined to the space of a dash and exiled beyond the register of polite speech with no hope of return. Thomasius’s “true gallantry” in fact depended on gallantry’s excess.

Thomasius could pause only because of his confidence that his students were well informed on the body matter of gallantry. They would have been perfectly able to fill in the lacuna of his lecture with the many spicy tales of the seductive wiles of French (and Frenchified) women supplied by texts such as “Germany Seduced by France” or *The German Frenchman*. Instead of offering the implied risqué tales, Thomasius declared to his young listeners that “discretion is an essential part of gallantry.” In this move, true gallantry pivoted between winking its acknowledgment of the body and denying its presence. The oscillation was constitutive.

Thomasius’s true gallantry emphasized the role that fashionable sociability, particularly conversation, played in propagating his ideas.⁴¹ In the decorous

41. Sauder discusses the central role that conversation is accorded in much of Thomasius’s early work, such as the *Affektenlehre*. There, as in the *Discours*, the truly learned scholar seeks contact with the

conversation between the sexes that was Thomasian sociability, one was not permitted “wider die Regeln der Galanterie anstossen” (to collide against the rules of gallantry) with recitations of “vielfältig affectirter Galanterey” (affected gallantry). True gallantry was policed by the rules of decorum; its borders were secured only by an authoritative presence, someone like Thomasius, who reminded participants of the rules.

The satirical *German Frenchman* and *Political and Comic Passagier*, as well as the pamphlet “Germany Seduced by France,” had invoked the specter of the gallant Woman. She haunted these texts—another avatar of the Woman on top who figured in so much of early modern culture, always threatening emasculation. To invoke her presence was simultaneously to urge imperial reform, reform that promised to return *Teutschland* to its “naturally” virile state. Similarly, in order to produce a man “who can be of use in the world for intelligent and important matters,” Thomasius postulated a man neither clever nor important, doomed by his penchant for “a good, simple scullery maid” whose sexuality shone from her eyes. Here again, the frightening specter of Woman’s desire returns. Only the emasculating threat she embodies allows the construction of “truly gallant” subjectivity.

Thomasius’s lecture, and the spectrum of anti-French media surveyed earlier, document how both French customs and French imported goods were signified by the word *galant*. For Thomasius, the two adjectives, *French* and *galant*, are easily interchangeable. Imitating the French properly is a matter of adopting the right kind of *Galanterie*. Gallant manners were learned by Germans in a number of ways: in some cases in travels to France, at German courts where the French language increasingly dominated, or through reading material.

Handbooks for aspiring courtiers sometimes recommended reading *Romaine* as an effective way to polish one’s manners. In other places, such as in the two satires of German Frenchmen, this same reading material, *Romaine*, corrupted manners. In *Romaine* themselves, romance and novel readers are shown repeating speeches—like those proclaimed by the English gallant with whom this chapter began—memorized by rote from the pages of still other out-of-date romances and novels. Whether such books would be used for positive or negative ends remained unclear. The reader’s self-discipline alone determined the uses and abuses of these *Historien* in their lives. Thomasius’s students might read *nouvelles galantes* and other types of early novels with relatively little danger of breaking the rules of

world and converses with students; in later social gatherings his students will further disseminate his ideas: “Dieser hohe Anspruch [den Menschen durch die Regelung der Liebe zu heilen] erklärt noch einmal, warum Thomasius der ‘Privat-Person’ nahelagt, nach Möglichkeit mit den ‘allgelehrtesten Männern zu conversiren’—durch die hoffentlich schon Aufgeklärten soll die Aufklärung als fortschreitende Wiederherstellung vernünftiger Liebe erscheinen” (Sauder 243). (This lofty ambition [to cure people by regulating love] again explains why the “private individual” Thomasius is concerned whenever possible to “converse with the most erudite men”—for it is through those men, hopefully already Enlightened, that the Enlightenment should appear as the progressive restoration of rational love.)

decorum—provided those rules had been sufficiently internalized. But of course any reader, not just Thomasius's properly trained apprentices, could potentially gain access to these stories.

Curing Gallant Woman

The problem posed by the female gallant was one long left unsolved, even by Thomasius. She, more so still than the male *Fröntzling*, embodied the perils that French fashions posed to Germans. Women readers of *Romaine*, some of them aspiring writers, remained suspect, long after Thomasius's important intervention. Gallantry, as I have argued, truly accorded women considerable intellectual latitude. But their freedom of movement was continuously contested. By way of concluding this chapter on the French disease, I explore how one final satirical fiction sought to cure gallant women of what ailed them.

Molière's comedy *Les précieuses ridicules*, first performed in 1659, derided the poetic and intellectual aspirations of Madeleine de Scudéry's less-gifted female contemporaries as empty pretensions. The later *Les femmes savantes*, first performed in 1672, turned on the same premise. Both plays were referred to in passing in German journals such as Thomasius's *Monatsgespräche* (Monthly Conversations) as if all readers were already acquainted with the plays' joke: "educated" women's rejections of marriage in favor of intellectual pursuits were tout court ridiculous. In *Les femmes savantes*, for example, Armande lectures her younger sister Henriette to escape the bondage of marriage and elect philosophy as a more worthy spouse: "Loin d'être aux lois d'un homme en esclave asservie / Mariez-vous, ma sœur à la philosophie" (1.1.43–44). Advocating the freedom of philosophy over the servitude of heterosexual marriage, such sisterly advice is soon revealed as the dangerous fantasy of a foolish girl under the sway of an equally foolish mother. Equally familiar to many German readers was Nicolas Boileau's *Satire X: Dialogue des héros de roman*, which viciously consigned the hero of Scudéry's novel *Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus* (1649–1653) to oblivion. Artamène was to be drowned in Lethe, the river of forgetting, for having allowed himself to be effeminized.⁴²

Women's intellectual aspirations were derided either as laughable or as rendering women even more lascivious than their already inherently libidinal nature decreed. *The Female Wits*—a London comedy written in conscious imitation of the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal* and whose success on the stage merited a 1704 print edition—mocked the work of Mary de la Rivière Manley (1663–1724), Mary

42. Not published until 1688, Boileau's dialogue had been composed several decades earlier and had apparently circulated quite widely in manuscript in Paris. Scudéry's *Artamène* was translated apparently for the second time into German by Ferdinand Adam von Pernauer with the title *Artamenes, oder der grosse Cyrus in einer anmutigen Liebs- und Helden-Geschicht/ vorgestellt durch die ruhm-bekanntte Feder des tieffsinnigen Mr. De Scudery*.

Pix (1666–1720), and Catherine Trotter (1679–1749), characterizing them as “Gentlewomen that have made no small struggle in the World to get into Print; and who are now in such a State of Wedlock to Pen and Ink, that it will be very difficult for ’em to get out of it” (A2r). Female intellectual activity was figured as something foreign, intruding from beyond to shake the foundation upon which a well-ordered society was grounded: marriage. *Esprit*, in a woman, always threatened to transgress acceptable limits.

Das politische Hofmädgen (The Political Lady-in-Waiting) (1685), pseudonymously authored by one Pamphilio Castimonio, portrayed the societal disorder caused by the unruly constellation *gallant*, *gelehrt*, and *geil* (gallant, erudite, and lascivious). Its conclusion restored order to the reversed world.⁴³ In many ways, this satire can be seen as a female companion piece to the heavy-handed *Political and Comic Passagier* and *German Frenchman*. As we have seen, the “political” behavior of the anti-heroes (a too ardent embrace of French *savoir-vivre*) received its just rewards at the end of a German soldier’s gun barrel. Similarly, Pamphilio Castimonio, the pseudonym employed here, insisted that the tale’s anti-heroine, Cyrilis, get her comeuppance. She was not, however, to be executed, as were Parmenius, Tribell, and Alvaretto. To restore order to the world upset by this female courtier, she must be married. Having detailed her moral decay, Castimonio’s pen finally washes away Cyrilis’s sins to return her to the pure and chaste state (*castimonio*) signified by the authorial pseudonym. Unlike the *teutsche Frantzotzen* who rebelled against their worthy fathers, Cyrilis had been misused by her mother. Although the daughter would be thoroughly chastised for her complicity, it was ultimately for her mother, Damalia, a poet, that the narrative reserved its wrath.

The Political Lady-in-Waiting parodied contemporary French *nouvelles*, which often appeared with the famous Marteau imprint and featured noble heroines such as the Duchess of B*** or the Lady of M***. But the secrets locked up in those tales—as proffered by Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, for example, and adapted in English by Aphra Behn and in German by Talander, among others—were easily undone with a key revealing the real people under the thin disguise. No code will reveal Cyrilis, on the other hand, as any specific German courtier. Instead, she was the lady at court *an sich*: a creature so infected by the French disease that her name rhymes with it. In the foreground of the frontispiece to *The Political Lady-in-Waiting*, a couple holding hands is seated at a table (fig. 7). To their left stands a shrunken old woman holding a candle in one hand to illuminate the lovers. In her other hand she clasps a small banner featuring the clearly written script “Connivendo peccant” (By my connivance, they sin). The putto so common to French novels’ title pages as the embodiment of love has been replaced here by a wizened shrew. The typical text of the putto’s banner has likewise been transformed. Instead

43. On the relationship between the discourse of gallantry and that of being *politisch*, see Wicke.



Figure 7. Frontispiece to *The Political Lady-in-Waiting* (1685). Gallantry's procuresses cast lovely nets to entrap unsuspecting German men. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

of announcing the title page, this banner alleges that desire's flames are fanned by a maternal procuress. Her collusion enables her daughter to trap unwitting men in her nets of sensuous desire. At the back of the room a young woman has indeed cast her net, in which three men are ensnared.

To insure that the reader cannot possibly miss the point, the title page is accompanied by an explanation of the engraving:

Die Jugend fänget man wie Vogel in dem Netze;
 Die Jugend stellet oft der grünen Jugend nach:
 Die Buhlschaft ist das Garn; ein falsches Lust=Geschwätze
 Lockt mehr als meisterlich zur Liebe Ungemach.
 Der Fang geht richtig an/ das Netz schlägt knap zusammen/
 Besonders weil das Liecht die gute Mutter hält.
 So kömt ein Liebes=Feur bald zu erwünschten Flammen/
 Wofern der Mutter selbst der Tochter Brunst gefäl!

Youth are caught like birds in a net;
 Youth is often in pursuit of naïve youth:
 Courting is the thread; false chatter of love
 Lures them all too masterfully into love's ills.
 The catch proceeds along, the net snaps tight together,
 For the good mother holds the light.
 The fire of love soon bursts into desired flames
 When the daughter's heat pleases even her mother!

In *The Political Lady-in-Waiting*, the mother's story nearly engulfs the daughter's, for this mother-madame is held responsible for her daughter's transformation into a "politische Hure" (political whore) (foreword, n.p.).

This gallant mother—it will come as no surprise—is in fact devoted to poetry: "*Damalia* welche von Jugend auff die vortrefligsten Poeten gelesen/ und stets ein sonderlich Belieben an Versen gehabt/ beantwortete *Andradii* poetische Einfälle im Namen ihrer Tochter" (134). (Damalia—who had read the most excellent poets since her youth and always taken special pleasure in verse—answered Adradius's poetic vagaries in her daughter's name.) Damalia's political gallantry and penchant for all things French go hand in glove with her penchant for poetry. "The most excellent poets," in fact, are partially responsible for her "political" education. But Damalia puts her knowledge to ill use, repeatedly composing verses to woo a lover for her daughter or to lead a young man to her own bed, unbeknownst to her often-cuckolded husband. Only poetry anchored firmly in right religion is safeguarded from the encroachment of fashion's many sins. Damalia's verse, of course, possesses no anchor but is adrift on the changing winds of fashion. She is a fashionable poet, the female embodiment of the *Poet à la mode*. If composing right verse was problematic for a man, for a woman like Damalia it was impossible.

The eroticization of women's poetic endeavors had long been a standard response to women's literary activities. With the rise of gallantry, however, it took on new momentum. Woman's alleged incapacity to put poetry to divinely sanctioned use was, in the decades around 1700, often illustrated with an invocation of "Aloisia Sigea." The historical Sigea was a Portuguese woman who lived in the sixteenth century and was famed for her humanist education. Sigea's name was later made to stand in as the author of the most famous work of seventeenth-century pornography, *Satyra Sotadica de Arcanis Amoris et Veneris*, or, as it was more widely known in the French translation, *L'Académie des Dames* (The School for Ladies, 1660). Any *School for Ladies* was always a school for scandal. The assignment of authorship to "Sigea" was easily credited. The erudite (*gelehrte*) Sigea would have "naturally" used her humanist training and mastery of the most elegant Latin for sexually illicit (*geile*) ends. Such an end was simply, as Pamphilio Castimonio argued, the natural result of educating Woman. The French title of the *Satyra Sotadica* unmistakably reduces the entire project of female education to schooling in the erotic arts. Despite almost certain knowledge by the 1690s in some circles that the text had been penned by a man, Nicolas Chorier (1612–c. 1692), the myth of female authorship stubbornly persisted in some places for nearly another hundred years. *The School for Ladies*, as James Turner has pointed out, owed its popularity at the end of the seventeenth century to the titillating fact that it was supposedly composed by a woman.

The Political Lady-in-Waiting resolves the unsettling erotics of female authorship: Cyrilis, having engaged in increasingly sordid liaisons, repents and turns to God. Her Damascus Road experience is paid for, however, by her mother. Her daughter abandons her completely. Before finding God, Cyrilis had raced from one "gallantry" to the next, abandoning her initial lover, Andradius, for the favors of a Mons. Gallando. He, in turn, is soon exchanged for a Mons. Aretin. Cyrilis's descent into vice shows the porous boundary between sensuous gallantry and explicitly sexual practices. It was the same border that Thomasius tried to shore up for his students. Barely contained in Thomasius's "—," it proved no barrier to Woman's sexual appetite. Cyrilis crashes right through it. Gallant practices serve only to whet carnal desire, and women's gallantry merely masks the insatiable desires emblemized by the humanist Pietro Aretino, whose brilliant and obscene works provide one origin of modern pornography.⁴⁴

The Political Lady-in-Waiting is framed by righteous beginnings and ends. The title page and its explanation clearly warn parents against the dangers of a "political" education. The end features Cyrilis's conversion, induced by torture and guaranteed by marriage. But what about the very long middle? The obscene, quasi-pornographic elements of the text hardly limit themselves to a brief mention of a lover named after Aretino. The many scenes in which keyhole-peeping characters excitedly report what they see behind the closed door—a hallmark of

44. See Goulemot, Kendrick, Hunt, and DeJean, "Politics of Pornography."

pornographic literature from *L'Académie des Dames* and *Vénus dans le Cloître* to *Fanny Hill* and beyond—cannot be overlooked. Despite the narrator's protestations that "political" behavior must be represented in all its sinfulness to warn adequately against sexual profligacy, Pamphilio Castimonio was not perhaps as chaste as his pseudonym suggested. The strict division between divinely or devilishly inspired language, between sacred and profane, begins to sway. Whether such a text might be safely consumed remained dependent on how a reader poached.

* * *

Pamphilio Castimonio's *Political Lady-in-Waiting* helps illustrate another of gallantry's many paradoxes. The satirical novel was overtly intended to curb fashionable gallantry's dangerous influence, allegedly nowhere more pernicious than in the minds of women who believed their poetic efforts displayed their gallant *esprit*. Gallantry and its rhetorical companions, *gelehrt* (educated) and *geil* (lascivious), would be replaced by a chaste marriage, the bedrock on which imperial reform could be founded. Yet fashion's influence was not so easily contained.

As fashion cycled again in the following decades, the fashion for French gallantry in the German book market was within decades dethroned by a new fashion for English books. The new fashion's song proved as irresistible as had gallantry before it. The success of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* on the German market after 1719 allowed even now-tired tales like *The Political Lady-in-Waiting* to find new readers when outfitted with a new title, *Die Jungfer Robinsonade* (The Maiden Robinson). In a fashionable new outfit—one that now demanded the crucial English word—the very same satire could be remarketed. Whether fashion provided the means to sell old stock or whether the demand for new titles necessitated reprinting an old chestnut in new clothes is unclear. In any case, there was no way that Pamphilio Castimonio could cleanse the book of fashion's influence.

The fashion for all things French—from Thomasius's slippers to apples and pears to *Romaines*—had spawned the creation of a market for letters. The book was no longer restricted to an educated elite. New arrivals on this scene, and all women, were viewed by more established players as illegitimate. Their much-vaunted *esprit* was merely a fashionably decorative veil for sexual desire. And their forays into the world of letters were acts of poaching deserving the most severe punishment any writer can receive: historical oblivion.

Far from derivative, gallantry and the diverse forms in which it was poached across Europe in the decades leading up to 1700 mark the irreversible creation of a market for the book and for letters. The French fashion was both embodied and disseminated by new gallant media: satires, lectures, and broadsheets. Most important in our project to rewrite the history of the novel within a transnational geography, gallantry traveled on the coattails of the journals and *nouvelles* that were themselves increasingly fashionable and that reported the news of alarming French politics in various languages.

1688: THE *ROMAN* BECOMES BOTH POETICAL AND POPULAR

Tout le monde s'attribuë la license de juger de la Poësie & des Romans; tous les pilliers de la grande Salle du Palais, & toutes les ruelles s'érigent en tribunaux, où l'on decide souverainement du merite des grands ouvrages.... Un sentiment tendre y fait la fortune d'un Roman; & une expression un peu forcée, ou un mot suranné le décrie.

—PIERRE DANIEL HUET, *Traité de l'origine des romans* (Paris, 1670)

Every one assumes to themselves the license to judge and censure Poesie and Romance; the sumptuous Palaces and the common Streets are made Tribunals, where the merits of greatest works is Sovereignly decided. There every one shoots his bolt, and... one happy thought or tender sentiment makes there the fortune of a Romance, and one expression a little forc't, or one superannuated word destroys it.

—PIERRE DANIEL HUET, *A Treatise of Romances and their Original*,
trans. anon. (London, 1672)

Alle Welt nimbt die freyheit zu urtheilen von den Gedichten und von den Romanen.... Ein *Subtiles* Urtheil machet einen Roman unglücklich/ und eine Außdrückung/ die ein wenig hart/ oder ein veraltetes Wort machet schon/ daß sie verschändet sind.

—PIERRE DANIEL HUET, *Traité de l'origine des romans*, trans.
Eberhard Werner Happel (Hamburg, 1682)

In 1688, Albrecht Christian Rotth (1651–1701) enshrined the *Roman* as the highest form of German poetry in his *Vollständige Deutsche Poesie* (Complete German Poetry). The work was a compendious survey spanning two volumes, intended perhaps for students such as those Rotth knew at the Gymnasium in Halle that he directed. Rotth's treatment of the *Roman*, like many other discussions of the genre then percolating across Europe, drew extensively on Pierre Daniel Huet's *Traité de l'origine des romans*, from which this chapter's epigraphs are drawn. Huet's

original French was speedily rendered into English by an anonymous translator who paid homage to Huet's erudition. When Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690) translated the *Traité* into German he didn't bother to credit his source.¹

Again in 1688, this time on the other side of the border between Brandenburg and Saxony, about twenty-five miles from Halle, in Leipzig, lawyer and *galant homme* Christian Thomasius began the journal *Monatsgespräche* (Monthly Conversations). Its witty book reviews frequently devoted themselves to *Romane*, some written originally in German, most originally in French. A lively European market for the *Roman* had suddenly come into existence; the genre had become popular. As the influential Huet and his English and German translators noted, "Tout le monde s'attribuë la license de juger de la Poësie & des Romans" ("Every one assumes to themselves the license to judge and censure Poesie and Romance"; "Alle Welt nimbt die freyheit zu urtheilen von den Gedichten und von den Romanen").

Thomasius's reviews also reveal something more: the *Roman* favorably reviewed in the journal and bought and sold across European borders was significantly different from the *Roman* enshrined by Rotth and theorized by Huet. The theorists devoted themselves to romances, while the market had abandoned them for novels. Nonetheless, despite the pronounced formal differences from romance, the newer form was known in German by the same name: *Roman* (romance and novel). In French, the novelty was most often labeled a *nouvelle*, and it was one more French fashion adopted by consumers across the continent, the British Isles, and Scandinavia. The *nouvelle*, as its name indicates, was closely related to the news and the countless periodical publications that went forth and multiplied in the seventeenth century. Indeed, as this chapter's exploration of *Monthly Conversations* reveals, the nascent novel and journals such as Thomasius's existed in perfect symbiosis, one often merging seamlessly with the other. In 1688, this chapter argues, at precisely the same moment when the older *Roman* found poetic legitimacy in German, it was popularized in new and newsy forms, snapped up by a growing reading public eager for entertainment and news of the world.

Around 1660, those in Paris who had written and read *romans* began instead to produce and consume *nouvelles* and *histoires*. The tipping point in this shift was marked by the cross-media success of Lafayette's 1678 *nouvelle*, *La Princesse de Clèves*. In English, the historical shift from romance was, as in French, later marked by a new word: *novel*. But in German, no new word was coined for the change embodied by the *nouvelle*. Of course, no new word was necessary in German. Despite differences in form, content, and style, the *roman* and *nouvelle* were yoked firmly in German by a key characteristic: they were French.

The *nouvelle* differed radically from the *roman* in both its structure and its length. It was far shorter, paring down the *roman*'s many couples to focus on one

1. The German translation of Huet's *Traité* was included without acknowledgment of this source in Happel's *Der Insulanische Mandorell* (Mandorel the Islander).

love story only. In the case of another *nouvelle* by Lafayette, *La Princesse de Montpensier* (1666, German translation 1680), the heroine's ill-fated love affair with the Count de Guise is boiled down to seventy tight pages in octavo in the German translation. The *Roman* held on high by Rotth and others, Andreas Buchholtz's *Herkules* (1659/60), ran in the first volume alone to 960 pages in quarto.

In 1688, the German reading public who demanded news of these shorter *Romane* and who purchased translations of the French *nouvelles* was sketched in miniature in Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations*. The journal's initial issue featured four sometimes unwilling interlocutors. Herr Christoph, a merchant and ardent reader of "erdichtete Historien" (fictional histories) "so man *Romains* zu nennen pfliget" (commonly called *Romains*), was drawn with the most sympathy. Time being money, Christoph daringly pronounced his favorite books "absonderlich die kleinen Frantzösischen, als wozu man nicht so viel Kopffbrechens gebraucht und Zeit anwenden darff" (in particular the small French ones for which readers needn't wrack their brains or devote so much time) (23).² The ensuing discussion documents the wide extent to which the relatively new forms of the *nouvelle* and the *histoire* had already captured the imagination of German readers.

The events of 1688 foregrounded here reveal that money was to be made from the novel. In fact, *Monthly Conversations*' initial publisher, Moritz Georg Weidmann the Elder (d. 1693) in Leipzig, had already recognized a possible market for *nouvelles* in 1684 when he published two *nouvelles* in German translation. Weidmann was a man with a keen nose for book market trends. Correctly anticipating the decline of the Frankfurt book fair—for centuries center of the continental book trade—he had moved shop from Frankfurt to Leipzig in 1682.³ With the journal, he could build further demand for the short new French fictions. In a classic example of cross-promotion, Weidmann inserted a notice just inside the 1688 journal's title page advertising that the Leipzig book dealer "sich bearbeiten wolle/ die darinnen referiten und angeführten Bücher in seinem Buchladen bereit zu haben" (intended to make every effort to stock the refereed and mentioned books in his shop) (advertisement in the January and February issues of 1688 and included in the 1690 book reprint). The *Roman* in its short, newsy form became a hot commodity.

Four months later—having fled Saxon censors for the nearby haven of Brandenburg Halle—Thomasius's journal, now published there by Christoph Salfeld, began still more innovative explorations of the synergies between both newsy forms, journal and novel. April and May's 1688 issues ruminated on the many possible *Romane* one might pen about the life of Aristotle to make serious money: a

2. All quotes from *Monatsgespräche* are taken from the edition printed by Christoph Salfeld in Halle in 1690 that gathered issues, outfitting each month with an engraved illustration. It is worth noting that Salfeld's reprints retain the advertisements for the availability of reviewed titles in Weidmann's well-stocked Leipzig shop, although more precise terms of the commercial agreement between Salfeld and Weidmann remain unclear.

3. For a history of the house of Weidmann, see Brauer (here p. 11).

Roman with old-fashioned rhetoric would charm old-fashioned readers who prefer romances; a *Roman* revealing the philosopher's true loves would attract readers who followed current book fashions. The plans for the various *Romane* stretched to such length that these issues of the journal became indistinguishable from the forms upon which they proposed enterprising writers might capitalize. For all intents and purposes, the May 1688 journal issue *is* a novel.

The *Roman* Becomes Poetical

Albrecht Christian Roth's *Complete German Poetry* can claim one significant innovation: it devoted an entire chapter to the *Roman*. Chapter 7 was the final chapter in Roth's guide and the culmination of his poetic system. Beginners should clearly not attempt the superlative form. Situating the *Roman* at the end of his book, Roth emphasized that the genre's formal demands and its complex content required artistic mastery and sweeping erudition. In one stroke, he elevated the *Roman* to the peak of poetic perfection.

Roth was not the first to include the genre as part of German poetics. Earlier that decade, polyhistor and professor in Kiel, Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), had magisterially surveyed the theory and practice of the *Roman* in his *Unterricht von der deutschen Sprache und Poesie* (Instruction on the German Language and Poetry), first published in 1682.⁴ It was a source from which Roth (and many others) cribbed. In Morhof's authoritative pages, the *Roman* (or *Romain*, as it was consistently spelled in the *Instruction*) was considered a subgenre of epic, since they differed "als nur bloß in dem *metro*" (merely in the meter), a classification justified by Aristotle's pronouncement "daß auch ein *Poema* ohne *Metro* seyn könne" (that a poem need not have meter) (330). In his brief excursion on this form of poetic prose, Morhof gleaned his remarks from various sources, but nowhere more widely than from Huet's *Traité de l'origine des romans*, where the same passage from Aristotle was invoked.⁵ Morhof's discussion of Huet's *Traité* was, in a sense, itself pathbreaking; beginning in 1682, Huet's treatise began its dominance of German theoretical discussions of the nascent genre.

Huet had claimed the *roman* for France, quarreling with Spanish and Italian historians over the origins and progress of the *roman* in Europe. Morhof, on the

4. Morhof's *Instruction* was posthumously edited by his heirs and reissued in 1700. I quote from the reprint of the 1700 edition.

5. In addition to his evaluation of Huet's *Traité*, Morhof pronounces a range of opinions on writing about the *Roman*, passing judgment on Rudbeck's claims regarding its Nordic origins in the *Edda* (Morhof indicates Rudbeck exaggerates), disputing Verdier's theory on the Norman origins of the novel, and aligning himself on some points with Huet by contesting Salmesius's theory that the origins of the novel in Europe lay in Arabic Spain. Morhof cites Sorel's *Bibliothèque Francoise* as a source for "eine große Menge solcher Schrifften" (a huge quantity of such texts) and states that Sorel's *De la connoissance des bons livres* "weitläufftig von deren Einrichtung gehandelt/ auch von einigen sein Urtheil gefällt" (treats their composition at length and evaluates several)—information upon which Morhof "will not delay" (womit wir uns nicht auffzuhalten haben) (331–32).

other hand, was certain about the foreign provenance of the German *Roman*: “In Teutschland hat man sich erstlich nur/ mit den Übersetzungen der frembden *Romainen*/ vergnüget” (332). (In Germany, we were first satisfied with the translations of foreign *Romainen*.) Nonetheless, he continues, several German examples had recently appeared “welche den Außländern nichts nachgeben” (which rival the foreigners): Buchholtz’s *Teutscher Hercules* and Anton Ulrich’s *Aramena und Octavia* (332). Unlike Rotth, Morhof did not place these so-called *Romains* at poetry’s pinnacle, despite such notable German examples.⁶ His evaluation of the form also diverged from Huet’s, differing not only in the classification of the *Roman* as a subgenre of epic.

Steeped in opinions emanating from all corners of Europe, Morhof’s pages convey a typical ambivalence about the *Roman*. He sought a conciliatory position between its supporters and detractors: “Ich wolte sie [*Romane*] so gar sehr nicht tadeln/ wenn nur Masse darinnen gehalten wird” (332). (I would not criticize them [*Romans*] so sharply if only some limits were observed.) Among examples of erudite men who advocated reading romances, Morhof lists Grotius: “Man saget/ daß *Hugo Grotius* ein sonderlicher Liebhaber derselben gewesen/ und deren keine ungelesen gelassen.” (It is said that Hugo Grotius was their particular lover and left none unread.) He also cites Philippe Fortin de la Houquette. In his *Conseils fideles*, Fortin “hat... die Lesung derselben Bücher nicht widerrathen/ und viel Ursachen beygebracht/ daß dieselben auch in vielen Dingen nützlich seyn können” (did not advise reading such books and compiled many reasons showing their diverse uses) (332). But Morhof concluded his consideration of the *Roman* with a warning. Fortin, he noted, had later reversed his earlier stance on the romance and had added “ein *Corollarium*... / worinnen er diese Schreibart *nostris seculi morbum* nennet/ und bereut/ daß er mit dergleichen Eitelkeit behaftet gewesen” (a *Corollarium* in which he calls this form of writing *nostris seculi morbum* and regrets that he had

6. It is noteworthy that Morhof did not cite Johann Rist’s *Die alleredelste Zeit-Verkürzung* (The Most Noble Pastime) (1668), in which Buchholtz’s *Hercules* is similarly praised (383). The prolific Rist was also a knowledgeable *Roman* critic—whatever his contemporaries may have thought of the prolific founder of the North German language society, The Order of Swans on the Elbe. In dialogue form, Rist reviews *Roman* production, dividing works since Barclay’s *Argenis* sharply from predecessors, particularly *Amadis di Gaule*, which in times past ladies “viel schönere inbinden [*sic*]/ als ihre Bibel und Gebetbücher” (had done in bindings more pretty than their Bibles and prayer books) (377). *Amadis* has, in Rist’s portrayal, completely disappeared from the book market. As the discussant Kleodor quips, “Wer den *Amadis* mit solchen guten Gewinn kan verhandeln/ der mag noch wohl zu frieden seyn” (Anyone who can sell the *Amadis* for such a good profit should be satisfied) (378). Although Huet’s *Traité* appeared two years after Rist’s dialogue, Rist already in 1668 foregrounded the non-German, foreign origins of the *Roman*. The discussion began: “Was hält doch mein Herr Kleodor von den wahrscheinlichen Geschichten/ oder Fabelhaften Historien/ die man ins gemein *Romans* nennet/ und von den Außländischen Völkern erstlich ihren Ursprung haben?” (376). (What, pray, does Herr Kleodor think of the probable stories or the fablelike stories typically called *Romans*, which have their origin in foreign nations?) Although *Amadis* may no longer have sold well in 1668, its “foreignness” and its foreign corruption of “German” customs still left its mark. Rist’s remark provides further evidence of an earlier, Spanish chapter in the history of the European novel, a chapter that Huet concertedly censored.

been tainted by such vanity) (333). Morhof was apparently eager to avoid a similar stain on his honor from “our century’s disease” and broke off his discussion of the *Roman* there.

Unlike Morhof, Rotth showed no doubt that the *Roman* was a legitimate part of poetry. It was, he wrote, distinct from epic, more elevated still. While he was not entirely sanguine about the foreign genre’s salubrious effects on Germans, he feared its alleged pollution far less than Morhof, Fortin, or countless others. Like any form of poetry, Rotth suggested, the *Roman* could be employed for morally questionable, unchristian ends. Despite the form’s possible appropriation by naughty pens, Rotth remained remarkably optimistic about its practitioners’ high moral purpose. Like Morhof, Rotth’s thoughts on the *Roman* are deeply influenced by Huet; as we shall see, the *Complete German Poetry* reprinted nearly the entirety of the French *Traité* in German translation.

But first, before turning to Huet’s *Traité* via its German translator, what did Rotth understand by the term *Roman*? As he uses the term—spelling it, like Morhof, *Romaine*—Rotth did not have what we consider the modern novel in his sights. Rather, he adumbrated the romance, exemplified by Sidney’s *Arcadia* (1590), Barclay’s *Argenis* (1621), Buchholtz’s *Hercules*, and Anton Ulrich’s *Aramena* and *Oc-tavia* (350–51).⁷ The *Roman*, for Rotth, was not short. Indeed, its length was simultaneously its greatest strength and weakness. Echoing Horace’s dictum *aut prodesse aut delectare*, Rotth zeroed in on the form’s usefulness: “Der Endzweck solcher *Romaine* ist/ daß man dem Leser mit der Lust zugleich allerhand nützliche Sachen beybringe” (350). (The final aim of such a *Romaine* is the reader’s pleasant instruction in all sorts of useful things.) He clarified:

Diese nun zum Voraus gesetzt/ kan eine *Romaine* etwann auff folgende Art beschrieben werden/ daß es ein solches Gedichte sey/ in welchem ein sinnreicher Kopff eine feine anmuthige und lobwürdige Liebes=Geschichte/ sie sey nun warhafftig geschehen oder nur erdichtet/ mit allerhand anmuthigen Erfindungen (*Episodiis*) zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen und auff Poetische Manier in anständiger Ordnung vorzutragen trachtet/ zu dem Ende/ daß er durch Anlaß dieser anmuthigen Geschichte etwas nützliches lehre und liebe zur Tugend erwecke. (350–51)

With this stipulation made, a *Romaine* can be described in the following way: that it is a kind of poem in which an inventive mind endeavors to discourse in a poetic manner and in a decorous order on a very charming and laudable love story—whether it really took place or is merely invented—filled with all sorts of charming inventions

7. In addition to these titles (also cited by Morhof), Rotth adds that “weiter sind der Europæische *Toroan*, die Asiatische *Onogambo*, und der Insulanische *Mandorel* nicht undienliche Bücher demjenigen/ der in *Geographicis* sich denckt zu üben” (*The European Toroan*, *The Asian Onogambo*, and the *Islander Mandorel* will not be useless books for those planning to practice their geography) (351). The proximity of Happel’s *Roman* to early modern encyclopedias has been explored by Tatlock.

(*Episodiis*) to bring it to perfection, with the goal of teaching something useful by means of this charming story and awakening a love for virtue.

The many inserted “charming inventions” or *Episodiis* necessary to “something useful” required the *Romaine* be long.

But in its length, Rotth also detected a problem that must have plagued his students (*Gymnasiasten*): “Ich möchte aber wünschen/ daß die Schrifft nicht so weitläufig were/ damit sie der studirenden Jugend nicht so viel Zeit wegnehme” (352). (I should wish that the text were not so sweeping so that it might not cost young students so much time.) Given the time it required, the *Romaine* might, the pedagogue concluded, best be read by those with ample time to spare. But he too, he admitted, had been charmed by *Hercules* while still a student: “Massen ich selbst manchmal/ als ich meinen jüngern Jahren es einmahl/ durch gelesen/ nicht ohne Erregung heiliger Andacht auch manchmal nicht ohne Tränen das Buch gelesen” (352). (I too in my younger years sometimes read it with no little elation and pious devotion and could sometimes not hold back my tears.)⁸ Despite Rotth’s emotional candor and mature expertise about the *Romaine*, he deferred final judgment on the genre to Huet, reserving for him, via his German translator, Eberhard Werner Happel (1618–1690), the last word, which, Rotth explains, he chose “von Wort zu Wort hierher [zu] setzen” (to set here verbatim) (354). Huet’s “Frantzösisch[e] *Dissertation* oder *Discours*” (French dissertation or discourse) (352) had been featured as an “episode” in Happel’s lengthy *Mandorel the Islander* (1682), included there as one of the “charming inventions” or *Episodiis* intended to delight and instruct romance readers.

Happel, like Rotth, quoted the *Traité* in *Mandorel* nearly lock, stock, and barrel. Its authoritative status went undisputed (and, in places, unacknowledged). The year after the polyhistor Morhof had taken it up and Happel had liberally borrowed from it for his *Roman*, Huet’s *Traité* appeared in a Latin translation by Professor Wilhelm (or Gulielmus) Pyrrhus in Leipzig.⁹ In the 1680s, the *Traité*, it is clear, was widely read and discussed by German readers—whether of the French, German, or Latin version. Although Happel’s translation has frequently been criticized, its inclusion in *Mandorel*, a romance closely akin to a chronicle and subtitled *eine Geographische Historische und Politische Beschreibung aller und jeden Insulen auff dem gantzen Erd=Boden/ Vorgestellet In einer anmühtigen und wohlerfundenen Liebes= Und Helden=Geschichte* (A Geographical, Historical, and Political Description of Each and Every Island in the Whole World, Presented in a Charming and

8. Rotth claims that Buchholtz’s *Hercules* was “der erste Christliche Roman” (the first Christian Roman) (350).

9. The Latin title is *Petri Danielis Huetii Liber de origine fabularum romanensium, as Joannem Renaldum Segræsium* (1683). A Latin edition of the *Traité* also appeared in The Hague in 1683 included in *Petri Danielis Huetii de interpretatione libri duo* (1683).

Inventive Love and Heroic Story), possessed an undeniable logic. Decoding that logic helps decode the *Roman* in German.

The *Traité* was inserted wholesale in Happel's romance when the eponymous hero set sail for America, departing from the East Indies. An Asian prince, Covvattiar, accompanied the English-born hero on this voyage, which was undertaken "weil er ihm vorgenommen hatte/ seine Melancholy durch eine grosse Weltreysse umb die gantze Kugel zu vertreiben" (because he intended to dispel his melancholy by making a huge world trip around the entire globe). The two men, Mandorel and Covvattiar, enjoyed one another's company: "Die Zeit dieser Fahrt vertrieb er [Mandorel] bey guten Wetter mehrentheils mit dem Tugendhafften Printzen Covvattiar." ([Mandorel] passed most of his time when the weather was good with the virtuous prince Covvattiar.) The prince had "sich verbunden.../ mit [Mandorel] in Europa zu gehen" (committed himself to accompany [Mandorel] to Europe)—a laudible goal apparently meant to hint at Covvattiar's good sense and possibly at an innate disposition to Christianity. To prepare the Asian prince for the still distant arrival in that still faraway continent, "derselbe ward von *Mandorel* in vielen Sprachen unterwiesen" (he was instructed by Mandorel in various languages). The virtuous Asian prince proved such an eager learner "daß er sich in lesung der Europäischen Bücher/ sonderlich der schönen Romanen täglich übete" (that daily he practiced reading European books and delighted particularly in the beautiful *Romane*). These charmed Covvattiar, "so forschete er einsmahls bey *Mandorell* nach dem Ursprung der Romanen" (so that he asked to be instructed about the origin of *Romane*) (573). His question aroused the interest of his shipmates, "etliche gelehrte Holländer und Frantzosen" (several erudite Dutch and Frenchmen) (574), who pricked up their ears. Mandorel thus launched into one of the "episodes" that Roth later deemed one of the genre's formal properties.

Covvattiar, his shipmates, and the reader discover from Huet's text via Mandorel's words that the *Roman* had its ancient origin in Asia and later, after the Dark Ages in Europe, had been first brought to bloom by the French. And so—in a move that both de- and remystified, historicized and reified, Asian exoticism—Covvattiar's preference for the *Roman* was explained and essentialized. By providing him *Romane*, Mandorel had chosen precisely the form that any Asian would "naturally" appreciate and that would provide the perfect vehicle for his European acculturation. The history of the *Roman* was also the history of cultures' rise and fall. As the seventeenth-century English translator of Huet's *Traité* opined in a preface to the reader, "As our Manner and People are refin'd, Romances also hold pace with us, and by the same degrees arrive to perfection" (A3r). Like the *Roman*, Covvattiar had embarked on the geographical and historical trajectory on which culture and power were translated across times and places: *translatio imperii*. The ancient splendor of the East, captured *in nuce* in the *roman*, was experiencing a renaissance in contemporary Europe.

The *Roman* Lines the Path of Empire

Twelve years before Huet's *Traité* embarked upon its influential German career, it had first been published as a prefatory letter to Lafayette's *Zaïde: histoire espagnole* (1670). In it, Huet had located the genre's ancient origins before the Christian era in the perennially exotic East and also implicitly theorized its subsequent transmission. His theory of the novel's transmission, its cultural mobility, was as influential as the history with which he outfitted it, and I linger over them at some length. The routes that the *roman* traveled as it passed from one culture and epoch to the next were not plotted accidentally.

Across time and space, Huet argued, the genre's translations marked the rise and fall of empires. The *roman*, cloaking love stories in charming fictions (or lies), emerged in new times and places as a result of cultural contact—most frequently, although not exclusively, agonistically toned. Its antiquity preceded the Romans and even the Greeks: “L'invention en est deuë aux Orientaux; je veux dire aux Egyptiens, aux Arabes, aux Perses, & aux Syriens” (11). (“Their invention is due to the Orientals, I mean to the Egyptians, the Arabians, Persians, and Syrians”; Huet, *Treatise* 10).¹⁰ The ancient form reached its predestined apogee among the moderns, Huet theorized. More precisely, it had found its culmination among the French. The path Huet traced between the ancients and moderns was littered with the classical learning that made so many critics eager to dispute him, for to dispute Huet was also to dispute French claims to modern cultural supremacy.

In its infancy, the *roman* was pure. But novelties, like fashions, always come in bunches, many born from the lusty lap of luxury. In the dust kicked up by Cyrus's armies, the pristine form was sullied by the Ionians, “la plus voluptueuse nation du monde” (Huet, *Traité* 26) (“the most Voluptuous people in the World”; Huet, *Treatise* 27), infamous for their sensuous food, linens, tapestries, and a particularly lascivious dance.¹¹ Although it had been tarnished in this translation zone, Greek writers later applied “les règles de l'Épopée, & joignant en un corps parfait les diverses parties sans ordre & sans rapport qui composoient les Romains avant eux” (56) (“the rules of the *Epopée*, and joyning in one complete body the diverse parts,

10. Happel translates Huet: “daß diese Schreib arth in *Orient* zum erstenmahl erfunden worden: Ich mein damit die *Egypter*, die *Syrer* und die *Persianer*” (577).

All English translations of the *Traité* are from the 1672 translation *A Treatise of Romances and their Original*. In the preface the anonymous translator, like Morhof in his *Instruction* ten years later, slyly pokes fun at Huet's French patriotism. “The Translator to the Reader” concludes with an assertion that the first romances had appeared in Britain: “[I] shall therefore onely entreat that thou mayst not impeach our Author for making *Melkin* and *Thaliessin* English: seeing that Foreiners think themselves not bound to take notice when this Isle was called *Albion*, when *Britain*, when *England*; besides that, writing in *French*, if he had call'd them *Britains*, they might have passed with some for *French Britains*, and thereby our Nation have lost the honour of having given Birth to the first Romances in *Europe*” (n.p.).

11. “daß aller wollustigste Volck von der Welt” (Happel 586).

which without order or harmony composed the Romances of former times"; 62).¹² Nonetheless, the older "irregular" romances were not forgotten; they were greedily devoured, for example, by Roman soldiers unmanned by their reading material:

Cét ouvrage estoit plein de beaucoup d'obsceitez, & fist pourtant depuis les delices des Romains. De sorte que le Surenas, ou Lieutenant general de l'Estat des Parthes, qui défist l'armée Romaine commandée par Crassus, les ayant trouvées dans l'équipage de Roscius, prist de là occasion d'insulter devant le Senat de Seleucie à la mollesse des Romains, qui mesme pendant la guerre ne pouvoient se priver de semblables divertissemens. (31–32)¹³

This work was full of obscenities, and thereby gave great delight to the *Romans*, so that *Surenas*, or Lieutenant General of the *Parthian* Estate, who defeated the *Roman* army under *Crassus* his Command, having found these among the Baggage of *Roscious*, took occasion thereupon before the Senate of *Seleucia*, to insult over and rail at the weakness and effeminate disposition of the *Romans*, who even during the War could not be without such like diversions. (32)

The wrong kind of *roman* was a sure harbinger of imperial decline across times and places.

Before the age of imperial Rome, during the Roman Republic, Huet continued, the *roman* was appreciated but not widely cultivated. The Republic, after all, was a time of virile masculinity, a golden age of literature and culture diametrically opposed to the "mollesse" (weak effeminacy) of Roman imperial armies diagnosed by Surenas. While imperial Romans read romances, barbarians closed in on the gates. Amply supplied with bread, the Romans devoted all their attention to romantic circuses:

Si la Republique Romaine ne dédaigna pas la lecture de ces fables, lors qu'elle re-tenoit encore une discipline austere, & des meurs rigides, il ne faut pas s'étonner si

12. "Die Griechen/ welche den meisten theil der Wissenschaften und Künsten so glücklich zu ihrer Vollkommenheit gebracht haben/ daß man sie vor Erfindern derselben gehalten/ haben auch die Roman=Kunst auß einem rauchen plumpen übelgeschaffenen Wesen/ wie sie bey den Orientalischen Völkern war/ zu einer feinen Gestalt gebracht/ indem sie dieselbe ein gewisse Regeln eines Helden gedichts beschlossen/ und einen vollkommern [*sic*] Leib machten auß den Theilen/ welche bey den alten ohne einzige Ordnung und uber einkunfft gesetzt waren" (Happel 604).

Huet lists the Greek writers most proficient at sculpting diverse material into a "perfect body" as "*Antonius, Diogenes, Lucian, Athenagoras, Iamblicus, Heliodorus, Achilles Tattius, Eustathius*, and *Theodorus Prodrumus*" (Huet, *Treatise* 62).

13. "Dieses Werck ware voll von garstiger und unzüchtiger Dinge/ und gleichwohl war es beliebt als ein *Roman*, dannenhero auch *Surenas*, der Parther-General/ nachdem er das Römische Heerlager/ welches Crassus führete/ auß dem Feld geschlagen/ und dieses Buch damahl gefunden/ gelegenheit nahme/ vor dem Rath zu *Seleucia* der Römer=weibische Arth zu lastern/ alß welche auch mitten im Kriege sich solcher dingen nicht enthalten können" (Happel 589).

estant tombée sous le pouvoir des Empereurs, & à leur exemple s'estant abandonnée au luxe & aux plaisirs, elle fut sensible ceux que les Roman donnent à l'esprit. (Huet, *Traité* 61)¹⁴

If the *Roman* Republick disdeigned not the reading of these Fables then, while it yet retained an austere Discipline and rigid manners; 'tis no wonder if being fallen under the power of the Emperours, and after their example being abandoned to luxury and pleasures, it was likewise toucht with those which Romances gave the mind. (Huet, *Treatise* 68)

It is a universal law, Huet tells us: the *roman* is beloved in times of luxury. Cultures already in decline hasten their own fall, too enthralled by “the pleasures” in the pages of the *Roman* to recognize their perilous situation.

The “barbarian invasions” mark an extended hiatus in Huet’s accounts of the genre’s translations from East to West, from its origins to the present. His story did not resume for well over half a millenium. Living conditions first needed to improve, he suggested, before the *roman* could again be cultivated. It was a complex form, incomparable with simple bread, roots, and vegetables; it was, in his culinary simile, a “Ragoust,” “dans l’abondance, pour satisfaire à nostre plaisir” (Huet, *Traité* 81) (“a delicate dish only possible in times of plenty”; Huet, *Treatise* 91).¹⁵ After the fall of the Roman Empire, a dish of this complexity could only first have been cooked up by the Provençals, who “avoient plus d’usage des lettres & de la Poësie que tout le reste des François” (70) (“had more of Learning and Poesie among them, then all *France* besides”; 78).¹⁶ The poetic genius of Provence was founded upon its new language, “a *Roman* Tongue” (78). Like the poetic form to which it soon lent its name, the vernacular of Provence was a complex ragout, “quelque chose de mixte, où le Romain pourtant tenoit le dessus, & qui pour cela s’appeloit toûjours Roman, pour le distinguer du langage particulier & naturel de chaque païs, soit le Franc, soit le Gaulois ou Celtique, soit l’Aquitaine, soit le Belgique” (70) (“a certain medley of all, wherein *Latin* however was predominant, . . . which for that reason was always called the *Roman*, to distinguish it from the particular and natural Language of each Countrey, as the *French*, *Gaulish* or *Celtique*, *Aquitannique*, *Belgique*”; 78).¹⁷ Thus it was Provence and its hybrid language that first gave France (and

14. “Wan nun die Römische Republicq das lesen der Fabeln nicht verschmähete/ da sie noch eine sehr strenge Zucht unterhietel/ so draff man sich nicht verwundern/ daß/ da sie nuter [*sic*] die Gewalt der Römischen Käysern verfiel/ und sich nach dem Vorbilde derselben denen Wollusten ergeben/ sie viel von denen gehalten/ die ihren Sinn auff das Romanschreiben richteten” (Happel 607).

15. Happel has no translation for Huet’s *ragout*: “Und gleich wie wir bey dem Überfluß/ umb unsern *Appetit* zu stillen/ offtmahlen das Brodt und andere gewöhnliche Speisen verlassen/ und etwas anders/ unsern Lusten und *Appetit* zu erwecken/ suchen” (618).

16. “zu selbiger Zeit hatten die auß der *Provence* mehr gebrauch der Wissenschaften und *Poesi*/ alb die übrigen *Frantzosen*” (Happel 611).

17. “ein solch Misch-Masch/ wobey doch die Römische Sprache die Oberhand behalten/ dannenhero sie auch allezeit die Romanische genennet worden/ umb sie zu unterscheiden von der absonderlichen

Spain and Italy) the romance: “Et de là nous sont venus tant & tant de vieux Romans, dont une partie est imprimée, une autre pourrit dans les Bibliothèques, & le reste a esté consumé par la longueur des années. L’Espagne mesme qui a esté si fertile en Romans, & l’Italie tiennent de nous l’art de les composer” (71). (“And from thence come so very many of old Romances, whereof some part are Printed, other are rotting in Libraries, the rest consumed by the length of time. *Spain* it self, which has been so fruitful in Romances, and *Italy* too, have from us received the art of composing them”; 80).¹⁸

Moving ever closer to a present fraught with French imperial politics, Huet—as his English and German critics did not fail to note—ceased his rehearsal of the rise and fall of romance and empire. Any talk of French decline had to be resolutely avoided; no further displacement of imperial might could be countenanced. Unlike the sumptuous foods displayed on groaning banquet tables of seventeenth-century still life, the present *ragout* must not remind us of decay, *memento mori*.

According to Huet, the legitimacy of French power and culture, its absolute rightness, is legible from the pages of French classical *romans* composed according to Huet’s principles of unity.¹⁹ Surpassing even the Greeks in the art of romance

und natürlich Sprach eines jeden Landes/ es sei die Franckische/ oder die Gaulische (*Celtische* oder die *Aquitanische*) oder auch die *Belgische*” (Happel 612).

18. “Und von dannen sind uns so viel alte *Romanen* kommen/ wovon etliche gedruckt/ andere in den *Bibliotheken* veraltet/ und noch andere durch die lange Zeit gar sind umbgekommen. Spanien selbst/ welches doch so Fruchtbar in *Romanen* ist/ und Italien haben diese Kunst von den Franzosen her” (Happel 612).

19. Huet refutes at great length opinions claiming Italian, Spanish, or even Arab origins of the *Roman*, attacking particularly Giovambattista Giraldi Cinzio and his *Discorso dei romanzi* as well as Giambattista B. Pigna’s *I Romanzi*, both works appearing in Italy in the 1550s. The Italian debates about romance were vibrant and controversial. Everson provides references on the rivalries between Giraldi, Pigna, and others (271 n. 1). Despite the disagreements between the two Italians, Huet charged that both had utterly misapprehended the *Roman*’s correct form. While everyone, Huet complains, proffered theories of the form, almost no one before him had discerned its classical, correct shape. Giraldi had certainly mistaken it, according to Huet: “S’il est vray, comme il le reconnoist luy-mesme, que le Roman doit ressembler à un corps parfait, & estre composé de plusieurs parties différentes & proportionnées sous un seul chef; il s’ensuit que l’action principale, qui est comme le chef du Roman, doit estre unique & illustre en comparaison desautres; & que les action subordonnées, qui sont comme les membres, doivent se rapporter à ce chef, luy ceder en beauté & en dignité, l’orner, le soutenir, & l’accompagner avec dépendance: autrement ce sera un corps à plusieurs testes, monstreux & difforme. . . . Les Romans Italiens ont de tres-belles choses, & meritent beaucoup d’autres loüanges, mais non pas celle de la regularité, de l’ordonnance, ny de la justesse du dessein” (*Traité* 44–47). (“If it be true, which himself acknowledges that a Romance should resemble a perfect Body, and consist of many different parts and proportions [*sic*], all under one head; it follows then that the principle action which is as it were, the head of a Romance should only be one, and illustrious above the rest; and that the subordinate actions, which are as it were members, ought to have relation to this head, yield to it in dignity and beauty, adorn, sustain and attend it with dependance; otherwise it would be a Body with many Heads, monstrous and deformed. . . . *Italian* Romances have many very pretty things in them, and deserve many other commendations, but not that of regularity, contrivance, nor justness of design”; Huet, *Treatise* 50–51.)

“Wenn es wahr ist/ wie Er [Giraldi] selber erkennet/ daß ein Roman gleich sein müsse einem wohl gemachten Körper und zusammen gesetzt auß verschiedenen unter einem einzigen Haupt geordneten Theilen/ so folget darauß/ daß die vornehmste That oder Handlung/ welche gleichsam das Haupt des Romans ist/ einzig/ und in Vergleichung der andern. Durchleuchtig muß seyn/ und das die

was Honoré d'Urfé (1568–1625), who “fut le premier qui les [Romans] tira de la barbarie, & les remist dans les regles en son incomparable Astrée, l'ouvrage le plus ingenieux & le plus poly, qui eust jamais paru en ce genre, & qui a terny la gloire que la Grece, l'Italie & l'Espagne s'y estoient acquise” (Huet, *Traité* 96) (“was the first who retrived them from Barbarity, and brought them to rules, in his incomparable *Astrea*; the most ingenious and most polite work, which ever appeared in this kind, and which has Eclisped the glory which *Greece, Italy, and Spain* had acquired”; Huet, *Treatise* 109).²⁰ And excelling even d'Urfé was Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), whose *romans* have finally rehabilitated the form even “contre les censeurs scrupuleux” (110) (“against scrupulous censours”; 97).²¹ Her contributions to French glory—Huet lists her *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa* (1641), *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (1649–1653), and *Clélie, histoire romaine* (1654–1660)—must be viewed with amazement:

L'on n'y vit pas sans étonnement ceux qu'une fille autant illustre par sa modestie, que par son merite, avoit mis au jour sous un nom emprunté se privant si genereusement de la gloire qui luy estoit deuë, & ne cherchant sa recompense que dans sa vertu: comme si, lors qu'elle travailloit ainsi à la gloire de nostre nation, elle eût voulu épargner cette honte à nostre sexe. Mais enfin le temps luy a rendu la justice qu'elle s'étoit refusée. (96–97)²²

None can without astonishment look upon those which a Maid, as illustrious by her Modesty, as by her merit, has published under a borrowed Name, depriving her self so generously of that glory which was her due, and not seeking for a reward but in her vertue: as if while she travailed thus for the honour of our Nation, she would spare that shame to our sex. But at the length, time has done her that Justice which she denied herself. (109–10)

unterhörige Thaten oder Handlungen/ so gleichsam die Glieder sind/ sich nach diesem Haupt richten demselben in schönheit und würdigkeit weichen/ es zieren/ sich ihme unterwerffen und mit aller zuehör dasselbe vergesellschaftens müssen/ sonstn würde es ein Leichnam von vielen Hauptern/ ein Monstrum und garstig sein.... Die Italianische Romans schöne Dinge haben/ und anderes Lob verdienen/ daß sie aber gleichwohl nicht nach der rechten Regul gemacht sind” (Happel 598).

20. “Der Herrn von *Urfé* [*sic*], ein kluger Frantzmann/ war der erste/ der die Romanen auß ihrer wüsten Arth herauß zog/ und in seiner unvergleichlichen *Astrea* unter gewissen Regeln brachte/ dieser Roman ist wohl das vernunftigste und best gesetzte Werck von allen/ die von dieser Arth jemahlen an den Tag sind kommen/ und welches den Ruhm/ den Griechenland/ Italien und Spanien in den Romanen bekommen hatten/ gänzlich wieder vernichtet und außgewischet hat” (Happel 628).

21. Happel omits the “censors” whose scruples have been overcome by Scudéry's *Romans*.

22. “Man sahe nicht ohne entsetzen den Romanen/ den eine Jungfrau/ welche so Durchleuchtig wegen ihres herkommens als guten Sitten war/ unter einem frembden und angenommenen Nahmen herauß gegeben/ darbey sie mit löblicher Edelmühtigkeit sich selber der Ehre/ die ihr zukam/ beraubete/ und ihre Vergeltung nirgends/ alß in ihrer eigenen Tugend suchte/ gleich als wann sie/ in dem sie sur Ehre ihrer Lands Leute (sie war aber eine Frantzösische Dame) arbeitete/ selber nicht hat wöllen bekandt sein. Aber endlich hat ihr die die [*sic*] Zeit ihr Recht/ das sie sich selber gewegert [*sic*] hatte/ gegeben/ und uns zu wissen gethan/ daß der Durchleuchtige *Bessa* [*sic*], der grosse *Cyrus* und die *Clelie* Wercke sind der berühmten *Dame de Scudery*” (Happel 629).

In Scudéry's hands, the romance had found far more than an able practitioner. This "Maid," illustrious in her "Modesty" and "vertue," also provided the means for Huet to escape the otherwise irreversible logic of *translatio imperii*. Scudéry's virtue, her sexual body (or lack thereof), anchored French glory at its pinnacle.²³ Her unblemished and untaintable virtue, the only "reward" she sought, prevented any slippage of French culture and power, now perched at its apex. The nation's might rested on the strength of Scudéry, and of the sexual and moral hygiene of all French women. And in their purity, Huet allowed for no doubt:

Je crois que nous devons cét avantage à la politesse de nôtre galanterie, qui vient, à mon avis, de la grande liberté dans laquelle les hommes vivent en France avec les femmes. Elles sont presque, recluses en Italie & en Espagne, & sont separées des hommes par tant d'obstacles, qu'on les voit peu, & qu'on ne leur parle presque jamais. De sorte que l'on a negligé l'art de les cajoler agreablement, parce que les occasions en estoient rares. L'on s'applique seulement à surmonter les difficultés de les aborder, & cela fait, on profite du temps sans s'amuser aux formes. Mais en France les Dames vivant sur leur bonne foy, & n'ayant point d'autres défenses que leur propre cœur, elles s'en font fait un rampart plus fort & plus seur que toutes les clefs, que toutes les grilles. (*Traité* 91–92)²⁴

We owe I believe this advantage to the refinement and politness of our Galantry; which proceeds (in my opinion) from the great liberty in which the Men in *France* live with the Women: these are in a manner recluses in *Italy* and *Spain*, and are seperated from Men by so many obstacles, that they are scarce to be seen, and not be spoken

23. Scudéry's virtue was extolled across Europe. Her modesty, intellectual acumen, historical erudition, and literary talent were, contemporaries discussed, on most prominent display in her *Harangues héroïques* (1642), a widely translated collection of speeches by women throughout all of time announcing their heroism. The female virtue exhibited in the speeches was the same virtue that critics—such as Huet in France and Christian Thomasius in Germany—praised in Scudéry. The authority of her authorship was thus founded upon a reputation both for erudition and for a character simultaneously chaste and heroic. So singular were her achievements, comparable to those of the women whose speeches she wrote, that Scudéry was perhaps the *only* woman in whose hands the *roman* could find proper expression. And only in her care was the *roman* safe from the moral and sexual deviance that marked extended chapters in its history, a deviance that so often had developed into a contagion carried to countless readers.

24. "Ich glaube/ daß wir der Beschafenheit unserer eigenen Liebesgeschichten dieses Vortheils zu dancken haben. Zumahlen wan ich von den Frantzosen und unsern Landes Leuten rede/ alß da das Frauen=Zimmer in mehrer freyheit mit den Manns leuten umgêhet/ als bey andern *Nationen*. In Italien und Spanien ist es bey nahe verschlossen/ und durch so viel Siegel von den Mannsleuten abgesondert/ daß man es sehr selten siehet/ und fast niemahlen zu sprechen bekommet: Das man dannhero die Kunst/ den Frauen Zimmer anmüthig lieb zu kosen/ verwahrloset hat/ weil man so selten gelegenheit hat/ mit ihm zu reden. Vielmehr ist man allein dahin bedacht/ wie man zu ihm kommen möge/ und wann dan endlich ein Weg hierzu gefunden worden/ bedienet man sich der guten Gelegenheit/ ohne fernere Redens pracht.

"Aber weil die *Dames* hergegen in Franckreich und Engelland auff guten Glauben leben/ und keinen andern Beschützer haben/ alß ihr eigen Hertz/ so haben sie ihnen davon ein Bollwerck gemacht/ welches starcker und sicherer ist/ alß alle Schlüssel/ als alles Gatter=werck/ ja als Mauer und Thüren" (Happel 625–26).

with at all. Wheretofore Men have there neglected the art of cajoling them agreeably, because the occasions for it are so rare. All the study and business there is to surmount the difficulties of access; and this being effected, they make use of the time without amusing themselves with forms. But in *France* the Dames go at large upon their Parole; and being under no custody, but that of their own heart, make thereof a Fort more strong and sure then all the Keys and Grates. (*Treatise* 103–4)

The German schoolmaster Rotth, like Morhof before him, did not allow Huet's proclamations of French superiority to reign unchallenged.²⁵ Rotth concluded his remarks on the *Roman* asking "ob aber der *Huetius* darinnen seiner *Nation* nicht lieb kose" (whether *Huetius* might not flatter his country) (414). And he purports to claim neutrality in these matters of national preeminence, advising his readers to consult other sources: "Lasse ich andere urtheilen die der alten Schrifften zu untersuchen bessere Zeit und Gelegenheit haben" (414–15). (I leave others to judge who have more time and opportunity to investigate the old texts.) But Rotth nevertheless did not fail to point readers to another section of his own survey, the fourth paragraph of the "Bericht vom Ursprung und Fortgang der Deutschen Poesie" (Report on the Origin and Progress of German Poetry). There, Rotth had already asserted his own claim for *German* origins, having demonstrated, as he says in conclusion, "daß die Frantzen vielmehr von den Deutschen einige Anleitung da zu bekommen haben mögen/ wiewohl sie hernach diese Art so ausgeübet/ daß sie Meister darinne worden" (that the French may very well have taken some hints from the Germans, even though they have subsequently practiced this form and become its masters) (415).

Huet's singularly influential *Traité* had placed the romance on the top of the poetic pile. The most sophisticated and complex of genres, its recent origins, according to Huet, were obviously French. The Italians and Spanish had, *pace* Huet, appropriated Provençal originals. English and German critics agreed with Huet that the demands of the romance's content and form, both its substance and style, deserved

25. Happel's translation, to this point mostly faithful to the French original, here makes a significant and telling departure from Huet's *Traité* and its national-sexual politics. In *Mandorel*, not only French women are accredited with the incomparable chastity born of free commerce between the sexes, but English women too share French women's untarnishable virtue. Happel's *Mandorel* is, after all, English; and so he patriotically stakes a claim for England in the high-stakes game of national rivalries played out in discussions of the *Roman*. *Mandorel* also reminds his shipboard audience that he is English with his choice of his favorite *Roman*. He sets Sidney's *Arcadia* still higher than any novel by Scudéry, ending his discourse rather differently than Huet's *Traité*. Before concluding this topic, *Mandorel* says: "[I] freely confess that in my most severe melancholy I find no better means to pass the time and rein in my sorrow that the well-composed *Arcadie*, which I always carry with me, in part because it was composed by one of my most-famed countrymen, in part because there is so much material in it applicable to my own condition that I would swear it had been written about *Mandorel* if I did not know that this *Roman* had been written a good time ago, before I ended up a pilgrim" (629).

Patriotic German readers would have taken no umbrage at *Mandorel*'s advocacy of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. In 1638, Martin Opitz had published a German translation to great acclaim.

an encomium. Furthermore, all agreed it was a genre produced and transmitted by cultural contact. The history of the *roman* was resolutely hybrid, Huet's English and German translators agreed. Unsurprisingly, they did not agree that modern romance had both its alpha and omega, origin and fruition, in France. They made their own proprietary claims: Huet's English translator insisted upon romance's British origins; his German translators pointed to German sources.

The *Roman* Becomes Popular

While many critics—in London, Paris, Hamburg, Halle, Leipzig, Amsterdam, and beyond—argued about who first invented romance and then carried it to its most lofty heights, Christian Thomasius (and his publisher Weidmann) got down to business. A new kind of *roman* had come onto the market since Scudéry's *Artamène*. While it was also written in French, this novel form hardly documented French glory. It promised instead to tell the “true story” behind French power, and it darted and wove across borders, unstitching older orders with its transgressions. The transmission of the *roman* caused many rifts in the social fabric. In its wake, erudite poetry became a popular commodity; German and English readers were often alleged to have turned French; men were effeminized, women masculinized.

In January 1688, the inaugural issue of *Monthly Conversations*, Christian Thomasius's celebrated journal, appeared.²⁶ His periodical provides eloquent proof that a significant German reading public for the *Roman* already existed. The protean genre enjoyed a sizable public across Europe, although historians working within national literary and cultural traditions have often missed the genre's rise. As Olaf Simons has correctly pronounced, “The rise of the novel [was] a 17th-century achievement.”²⁷ The genre's public both delighted in and was sometimes scandalized by the *Roman*. These readers did not primarily demand the multivolume romances that Roth had located at the summit of poetic forms. Nor could most have afforded the time or money to read them. Instead they thirsted for the short French *nouvelles* that Thomasius's journal reviewed. At the same time that the romance (*Roman*) was granted a place in poetics, the novel (*Roman*) became popular.

In the pages of the journal, we can glimpse this shift of meanings in the use of the German loanword *Roman*. As discussed by Thomasius, the term *Roman* no longer designated solely romance. Furthermore, it had very little to do with poetics. In *Monthly Conversations*, the German *Roman* began to include what we today

26. The journal appeared with the title *Freythüige und Lustige und Ernsthaftige ideoch Vernunft- und Gesetz=Mässige Gedancken Oder Monats=Gespräche/ über allerhand/ fürnehmlich aber Neue Bücher* (Daring and Funny and Serious Yet Reasonable and Lawful Thoughts or Monthly Conversations about All Kinds but Particularly New Books) in the 1690 reprint by Salfeld. In the scholarship, the title of Thomasius's journal is most often shortened to *Monthly Conversations* (*Monatsgespräche*).

27. See, for example, Simons's quick summary of the novel's “rise” at <http://www.pierre-marteau.com/resources/novels/market/market-3.htm> (10 March 2010).

consider to be the modern novel: the short prose fiction form embodied by the French *nouvelle*. This newer form's allegiances were not primarily with poetics; instead, in Thomasius's pages the *nouvelle* was closely aligned with the periodical—and often highly political—news press.²⁸ From 1688, the *Roman* was equal parts poetry and commodity.

Many fruitful symbioses between newspapers and journals and the modern novel have been widely recognized. The success of the anonymously published *Princesse de Clèves*, for example, was due in great part to the synergistic energies unleashed by the novel's pairing with Jean Donneau de Vizé's (1638–1710) journal, *Le Mercure galant*. Donneau de Vizé both advertised the novel and provided a forum for readers across France to write letters to the editor on the topic of the princess's confession (DeJean, *Ancients* 59–66). As Joan DeJean has demonstrated, the reading public created by this marketing juggernaut was far from negligible; its numbers, in fact, demand that we reconsider Habermas's location of the first critical reading public in eighteenth-century England (DeJean, *Ancients* 37–38). The tight weave of novels and newspapers has also been scrutinized for late seventeenth-century London. *Factual Fictions*, Lennard Davis's pathbreaking study of the “news-novel discourse,” renewed interest in the multifold connections between the English periodical press and prose fictions.²⁹ William Warner, for example, has revealed the importance of popular news accounts of a criminal suit brought against the alleged kidnapper of Henrietta Berkeley in 1682 for Aphra Behn's composition of her *nouvelle Love Letters* (1684) and its sequels, *Adventures* (1685) and *Amours* (1687) (62–64).

In January 1688, Moritz Georg Weidmann began to publish Thomasius's monthly journal. Books, including the latest *Romane*, were advertised in the monthly for purchase at Weidmann's shop in Leipzig in the Grimmaische Gasse. Some of the books reviewed in Thomasius's journal were, naturally, also published by Weidmann. By 1688, Weidmann had already published several *Romane* translated

28. My understanding of the always protean modern novel is related to the concise definition offered by Warner: “The novel is short in length (compared with romance), it is written in prose rather than poetry, it usually takes sex and/or love as its topic, and it quite frequently tells a story of contemporary life, rather than of some earlier, ancient or legendary era” (47).

29. Margaret Spufford's *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* remains an important source in evaluating the nascent novel's connections to inexpensive printed materials in England during the seventeenth century. Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* helpfully reconstructs an earlier seventeenth-century chapter in prose fiction's origins in chapbooks, often of a devotional nature. Olaf Simons aptly summarizes the “dornenreiches Unterfangen” (thorny task) of assessing the German production of cheap early modern German print materials: “As long as the German-speaking territories possess no tool such as the *ESTC* [*English Short Title Catalog*], allowing us to take chronological cross-slices of the market, it will be impossible to determine what cheap materials were available in the early eighteenth century” (*Marteaus Europa* 511). Simons provides references to the slim body of scholarship that has pursued this “thorny task” (510 n. 109). The retroactively produced German book catalogues, VD16 and VD17 (*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*) (Catalogue of Printed Publications of the German Linguistic Area for the 16th/17th Century), provide powerful research tools to assist historians of the book and material culture diagnose early modern market conditions.

from the French; after 1688, the firm began to publish *Romane* written originally in German and modeled on those reviewed in the journal's pages. With their overlap of interests, the borders between Thomasius's journal and the *Romane* it helped Weidmann to launch bled into one another. Not only did the journal review *Romane*. It also exploited novelistic narrative strategies, sometimes turning itself into a satirical *Roman* for issues at a time. This purposeful blending of the "news-novel discourse" sold books in Leipzig, Halle, Dresden, Hamburg, and farther afield in the German-speaking world—just as it did in Paris, London, and Amsterdam. Across many national borders, the news-novel discourse was a constitutive element of the European novel.

Thomasius, his career at the University of Leipzig buffeted from its beginning by controversy, masterfully stirred up still more scandal with the journal's inaugural issue. He had set the fire burning by announcing university lectures to be held in German on *The Imitation of the French* just the previous year.³⁰ With his choice of topic for the journal's inaugural edition, the young academic fanned the flames.³¹ He began with a question that always aroused some controversy: which books constituted the most valuable, because instructive and delightful, reading material? But it was the answer the journal offered that so provoked Leipzig's theologians and set the censors in motion. Thomasius's well-known tolerance, his religious irenicism, maddened orthodox thinkers of all confessional stripes.³² By March, the journal had to be speedily relocated, to Halle, where the presses of Christoph Salfeld enjoyed the relative leniency of Brandenburg's censorship regime (Brandsch et al. 58–59). The publicity surrounding the case only added to the

30. Thomasius recalled the controversy stirred up by the advertisement for his German lectures at the university in Leipzig: "Als ich für ohngefähr dreißig Jahren ein teutsch Programma in Leipzig an das schwartze Bret schlug... was ware da nicht für ein entsetzliches lamentiren! Denckt doch, ein teutsch Programma an das lateinische schwartze Bret der löbl. Universität. Ein solcher Greuel ist nicht erhöret worden, weil die Universität gestanden. Ich mußte damahls in Gefahr stehen, daß man nicht gar solenni procesione das löbliche schwartze Bret mit Weyhwasser besprengte" (qtd. in Brandsch et al. 58). (Some thirty years ago, when I posted my intention to hold German lectures in Leipzig on the university's main notice board... what awful lamentations were heard! Just imagine, a German lecture series on the Latin notice board of the eminent university. Such outrage was unheard-of since the university had existed. I then ran the danger that it would be deemed necessary to sprinkle the eminent notice board, complete with a *solemni procesione*, with holy water.)

31. Thomasius added insult to injury with his choice of the first engraving for and the dedication of the 1690 reprint of the previous two years' collected issues. The first preface appealed to his new Prussian sponsor, while the second attacked his old Leipzig adversaries; the first extolled the just and lenient rule of Thomasius's and the University of Halle's patron, the new elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich III, who was to crown himself king of Prussia in 1701, while the second, which was an explanation of the frontispiece done especially for this 1690 edition, addressed "Messieurs Tarbon et Monsieur Bartuffe," hypocrites borrowed from Molière and the French stage. These names were aimed at men closer to home, including Leipzig theology professor Valentin Alberti (1635–1697), one of the prime movers in the move to censor and censure Thomasius.

32. Essays in a volume edited by Lück discuss Thomasius's anti-confessional thought with an emphasis on his juridical and legal writings. See there especially the essay by de Waal entitled "Staat und Staatskirche als Garanten der Toleranz."

journal's popularity. Since its beginnings, the novel owed much of its success to the censor's hapless efforts. Any publicity was good publicity.

Thomasius invented four unlikely conversationalists to debate the perennially spicy topic. *Monthly Conversations* began as a fictional debate between four characters confined to a post carriage on its way to Leipzig, where "die Leipziger Neu-Jahrs-Messe begunte nunmehr herbeyzunahen" (the New Year's Fair rapidly approached) (71). Borrowing a technique from recently popular *romans à clef*, Thomasius drew his four discussants from real life. Readers, Thomasius reported in a lengthy foreword to the March issue, had become convinced they knew the actual identities of the journal's four narrators. Like any good novelist, Thomasius claimed any resemblance to real people had occurred purely by chance.³³ Fiction was the best defense.³⁴

The most widely read of Thomasius's four conversationalists, Herr Christoph and Herr Augustin, marshaled an array of titles in their prosecution of the most valuable reading materials. Christoph, "ein Handels-Herr und darneben vom lustigen humeur" (a merchant who coincidentally had a good sense of humor) (71), argued the part of *Romane*. His choice for the best books, Christoph knew, was controversial and sure to land him in hot water with his conversants; but, he explained, he was sure to win the argument, "wenn ich sie selbst in einander hetze" (if I stir them up against one another) (89). It was a choice also surely meant to stir up men of the cloth, particularly those in the service of the Lutheran Church, which was increasingly orthodox in its response both to growing Pietist influence and to a more religiously tolerant politics.³⁵ Thomasius, of course, had already riled orthodox readers with the unflattering portraits he drew of his other two conversationalists, Herr Benedict and Herr David, a professor of theology and a small-town Lutheran pastor.

Augustin, a courtier and cultured man of the world on his way to the Saxon court in Dresden, argued against Christoph's choice of the *Roman*, advocating instead that political journals were the most useful "books." But, as rapidly becomes clear over the course of the issue's 115 pages in octavo, Christoph and Augustin—and their choice of the most valuable reading materials—had a tremendous amount in common. The French *nouvelles* (novels) chosen by the merchant Christoph and the political *nouvelles* (periodicals) advocated by the courtier Augustin overlap to such an extent that the fictional tales become indistinguishable from the historical

33. Beginning in March, he in fact dropped the provocative technique.

34. See Gallagher's discussion in chapter 2 of *Nobody's Story* in which she shows how novelist and Tory publicist Delarivier Manley defended herself in early eighteenth-century London against libel charges by claiming her book's *fictional* status.

35. Deppermann's account of Pietism and the tolerance movement (*Toleranzgedanke*), particularly after the 1685 Potsdam Edict of Toleration (Potsdamer Toleranzedikt), which welcomed French Huguenots and other dissident groups to Brandenburg, remains useful in connecting juridical and religiously motivated versions of tolerance.

truths. The *Roman*, as will become clear, emerged hand in hand with periodicals as a potent vehicle for political news and critique. Many lamented the news reported in the periodical press as unreliable. The news reported in novels was still more so. Nonetheless, as Kaspar Stieler (1632–1707) noted in his sweeping Horatian defense of the newspaper, *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz* (The Entertainment and Use of the News) (Hamburg, 1695), both novels and newspapers were often labeled *Novellen*: “Daß sie [Zeitungen] aber auch Novellen benamet werden; geschehet darum/ weil sie von neuen Sachen/ so da kürzlich vorgangen/ handeln. Wes halber sie auch bey uns mit dem Beysatz wort Neuezeitungen ausgedrückt werden” (25). (But that they [newspapers] are also called *Novellen* happens because they trade in new things that have recently taken place. And for this reason, here at home they are often printed with the additional label *new news*.)³⁶ Distinguishing history from

36. Stieler emphasized the variety of names that cloaked news, including, in the subtitle to *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz*, both *Novellen* and *Zeitungen* (*nouvelles* and newspapers). Against news sheets’ many detractors, Stieler (known as *Der Spate* in the prominent language society, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft [Fruit-Bearing Society]) argued for their entertainment and instruction of readers. In addition to an erudite theory and history of the news, he also provided readers with reading guides, such as the appended glossary that translated into German the many foreign words routinely used in newspapers. In the following decades, news readers wanted still more help with their reading. Following Stieler, other reference works, such as the *Reales Staats-Zeitung und Conversations-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1709) and Spanantius’s *Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1720) met market demand. Stieler was the earliest writer to parse the many forms and names of the news systematically. The following quotation reviews the German terms *Zeitungen* (newspapers) and *Avisen* (business notices), the French *gazettes*, and Latin *courantes* and *relations* and turns finally to the problematic *Novellen*:

Das Wort: Zeitungen: kommet von der Zeit/ darinnen man lebet/ her/ und kan beschrieben werden/ daß sie Benachrichtigung seyn/ von den Händeln/ welche zu unserer gegenwärtigen Zeit in der Welt vorgehen/ dahero sie auch Avisen/ als gleichsam Anweisungen genennet werden: Denn das Wort Avisen bedeutet anweisen/ anzeigen/ oder berichten/ was bey uns oder anderswo sich begibt: Immassen insonderheit die Avis-Briefe anders nichts seyn/ als Benachrichtigungen von Abschickung von Wahren/ so zu Lande und Wasser gesendet werden: Ingleichen betreffen sie die Wechsel und Auszahlung/ so ein Kaufmann auf den andern ziehet/ und übermachtet. Wiewol die Avis-Briefe auch nicht selten bloss Bericht-Schreiben von ein und dem andern Vorgange seyn/ und also auch den Statsleuten und gemeinen Personen zukommen. Auf Französisch werden sie auch Gazetten genennet/ entweder von den schriftlichen Gesprächen und Unterredungen/ oder schimpfweise von Klappern und waschen/ als wie etwa die Vögel und Krähen ein Gewäsch machen. Aus dem Lateinischen entspringet das Wort Couranten/ welches von denen Courirs seine Abstammung hat/ als welche laufende Boten seyn/ so von Potentaten/ Städten/ Kaufleuten und Bürgern in ihren Angelegenheiten von einem Ort zum andern verschickt werden/ mündliche oder schriftliche Post zu übertragen/ und daraus Antwort zu rück zu bringen. Insonderheit heisset man sie auf Lateinisch Relations/ das ist: Nachricht/ Erzehlung/ Benachrichtigung. Ist alles einerley. Daß sie aber auch Novellen benamet werden; geschehet darum/ weil sie von neuen Sachen/ so da kürzlich vorgangen/ handeln. Wes halber sie auch bey uns mit dem Beysatz wort Neuezeitungen ausgedrückt werden. (25)

The word *Zeitungen* [newspapers] comes from the time [Zeit] in which we live, and may be described as reports about the events that take place in our present time in the world. Thus they [the *Zeitungen*, the newspapers] are also termed *Avisen* or alternatively *instructions* because the word *Avisen* means “to instruct, to demonstrate, or to report what takes place at home or elsewhere.” *Avis*-letters in particular are nothing other than the reports on the shipment of goods sent by land or water, and they also designate the letters of credit and the payments that one trader draws on or pays out to another, although the *Avis*-letters are not infrequently simply written reports about this or the other event and can also come from persons of state and common people. In French they are called *Gazetten*, a term that comes either from written conversations and interviews or in jest from chattering and cawing in the sense that birds and crows make a racket. The word *Couranten* stems from Latin, deriving from the couriers or foot messengers sent on business by rulers, cities, merchants, and citizens

fiction was (then as now) no easy matter, as Stieler's etymology indicates. True or false, both "trade in new things."

Thomasius's character Christoph launched into his praise of novels with an argument familiar to us from Rotth's poetics and included in Stieler's defense of many newsy forms. While Rotth had read the *Roman* as the ultimate fulfillment of Horace's dictum to delight and to instruct, Christoph more provocatively read for delight alone. "Eine geziemende Belustigung" (Seemingly entertainment) (89) is an integral part of earthly happiness, he argued, and nowhere was good fun to be met more often than in the pages of *Historien*, both true and invented. Although most people prefer true stories, because they "mehr Nutzen schaffen" (provide greater benefit), Christoph preferred "die erdichteten, so man Romainen zu nennen pfliget" (those invented ones, commonly called *Romainen*) (90). For those who wanted true *Historien*, Christoph recommended Donneau de Vizé's *Mercur galant*: "Oder wenn man ja an was wahrhaftiges sich belustigen will, so delectiret mich der bekandte *Mercur galant* über die massen" (90). (Or if one wants to be amused by something true, I find the *Mercur galant* extremely delightful.) In fact, Christoph emphasized, there was often little distance between true and invented stories. Donneau de Vizé's journal was just such a case in point: "Ja es werden mehrentheils etliche kurtze Historien von artigen inventionen auf Art der Romainen mit beygefüget" (90). (Indeed, most issues include several short *Historien* with pleasing inventions in the style of *Romainen*.) The difference between the journal and the novel, Christoph implied, was only a matter of degree.

Journal and novel, true and invented histories, grew still more indistinguishable in the case of Christoph's preferred kind of *Roman*, "die kleinen Frantzösischen, als wozu man nicht so viel Kopffbrechens gebraucht und Zeit anwenden darff" (the small French ones that don't require their readers to wrack their brains and spend so much time on them) (90). In his preference for these shorter French *Romane*, Christoph showed himself acutely aware of trends in the book market. He could easily argue for the *Roman* by citing famous romances to support his case, as Rotth had that same year in his survey. Christoph argued: "Nun könnte ich wegen dieses Puncts viel zu Marckt bringen, wenn ich von allen und jeden bey uns bekanten Romanen absonderlich reden wolte" (108). (I could bring much to market if I chose to speak in particular about those *Romanen* [i.e., romances] that we all know well.) But, he continued, his case for the *Roman* would be all the more convincing if he proved the utility of "diejenigen, so kurtz gefasst sind und auf wenigen Bogen die Liebes-Historie eines eintzigen Paares vorstellen, wie insgemein die kleinen

from one place to another to deliver a spoken or written message [*Post*] and to bring back an answer. Specifically, in Latin they are called *Relationes*, which means "an announcement, a tale, a report." It's all the same. But that they are also called *Novellen* happens because they trade in new things that have recently taken place. And for this reason, here at home they are often printed with the additional label *new news*.

Frantzösischen Werckgen sind” (those kind of *Romanen* [i.e., *nouvelles* or novels] that are succinctly composed and represent the love story of a single couple within the space of a few printer’s sheets, as do the little French volumes) (108). He proceeded therefore: “Ich will itzo *den teutschen Hercules und Herculiscus* nicht anführen” (110). (I will not now cite *The German Herkules and Herculiscus*.) Nor would he bother to elaborate on the merits of any celebrated romance: not La Calprenède’s voluminous *Pharamond*, *Cassandra*, or *Cleopatra*; neither Barclay’s *Argenis* nor Desmaret des Saint Sorlin’s *Ariana*. Although Christoph paused to emphasize that the German romances by Anton Ulrich merited special praise, they were not the type of *Roman* he had in his sights (110–11).

Where, Christoph asked, was the sport in resting a case for the *Roman* on romances when even the beknighted and befuddled Benedict found them praiseworthy? Benedict had admitted: “Denn ob ich gleich sonst zu Lesung derer Romans nicht inclinire, so hat mich doch die *Octavia* dergestalt afficiret, daß ich nicht unterlassen können, um die grosse Kunst, so darinnen verborgen ist, desto besser zu admiriren, obgemeldte Römische Historicos wieder zu durchlesen, und mit der *Octavia* zu conferiren” (112). (Although I don’t otherwise normally tend to read *Romans*, *Octavia* touched me to such a degree that I couldn’t refrain from rereading the aforementioned Roman historians and comparing them with the great artistry concealed within *Octavia* so that I might better admire it.)³⁷ Christoph was not arguing for this kind of *Roman*—the same poetic *Roman* advocated by Rotth, as the identical titles listed by Christoph precisely document.

But which examples of the short *Roman* did Christoph draw from to prosecute his case? The first title chosen to illustrate the French *nouvelle*, *L’heureux page* (1687), may strike us today as obscure. Yet it was the perfect choice to illustrate the short form for four related reasons. First, as is the case with many French *nouvelles* from the late seventeenth century, its authorship remains unsettled today.³⁸ Second, both

37. While he might claim no great inclination toward the *Roman*, Benedict wonders why Christoph has failed to include “*die Clelie des Herrn Scudery*” (Mr. Scudery’s *Clelie*) among the French *Romane* he will not discuss (113). Christoph, always ready to expose schoolmen’s ignorance, admits that he had thoughtlessly failed to include it in his romance canon. But, obliquely calling Benedict’s erudition into question, Christoph slyly adds that *Clelie* is “desto mehr für lobens-würdig, weil viel Gelehrte der Meynung sind, daß ihn nicht der Bruder sondern die Schwester *Mademoiselle Scuderi* verfertigt” (yet more praiseworthy because many erudite people are of the opinion that it was not written by the brother but by the sister *Mademoiselle Scuderi*). *Mademoiselle de Scudéry* had chosen to conceal her name, Christoph continues, “zum Muster einer sonderlich und raren modestie” (as an unusual and rare display of modesty) otherwise unheard-of among learned people, for whom “da hingegen sonst unter den Gelehrten nichts gemeiners ist als daß man Lob und Ruhm zu erwerben, andern Leuten ihre kluge Gedancken gleichsam absteilet und für die seinigen ausgiebet” (nothing is more common in the acquisition of praise and fame than the theft of others’ clever thoughts and publication as their own) (113).

38. Lever’s bibliography, *La fiction narrative en prose au XVIIème siècle*, the most authoritative source for questions of authorship, lists the *L’Heureux page* with no author. The Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue contains two records for the title, neither with an author. In a telling mistake, the catalogues of both the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Herzog August Bibliothek attribute the *nouvelle* to Bussy-Rabutin.

existing prints of the title, from 1687 and 1691, were issued by the famous fake imprint of Marteau in Cologne.³⁹ Third, the book's content was so tightly bound up in contemporary affairs that its fiction could not be separated from fact. As Christoph relates, "der Autor [hat] vielleicht auf eine wahrhaftige Geschichte gezeiet, massen bekandt ist, daß für einem Jahre in denen Zeitungen gemeldet wurde, daß eine vornehme Dame hohen Standes einen Cammerdiener geheyrahet habe" (92). (The author may have been taking aim at a true story, given that a year ago newspapers reported that an elegant lady of high rank married a valet.) And finally, in a point intimately related to the last, the *nouvelle* was often inextricably entwined with newspapers and journals.

By 1688, a market for German translations of *nouvelles* already existed. Assessing it is, however, no easy task. The multilayered veils of anonymity and pseudonymity under which *nouvelles* so frequently appeared constituted an integral part of the genre. Guessing at riddles of authorship and decoding frequently invented publishers and places where *nouvelles* supposedly appeared were puzzles for which well-informed seventeenth-century readers knew the rules, if not always the answers.⁴⁰ But today, while we recognize their rules, many riddles' answers remain lost to us. The circumspection of these titles, their refusal to identify themselves clearly, has led to frequent cataloguing mistakes and misidentifications.⁴¹ These titles are masters of the "vanishing acts" Catherine Gallagher has identified as central to the creation of a market for fiction in England. We can safely assume that more titles existed than those I present here.

As early as 1668, Roger de Bussy-Rabutin's notorious (and wildly popular) *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (1665), a collection of stories depicting French nobles' erotic encounters under rather flimsy pseudonymic veils, was rendered into German. The year of publication is the only relatively certain information we possess about the translation. The translator identifies him- or herself solely as "Der Vorwitzige" (The Meddler); publisher and place of publication are given on the

39. The title page of the 1691 edition actually gives "Marteneau" as the publisher.

40. For a brilliant study of the uses of pseudonyms, see North. See also Kord for a discussion of German pseudonyms and female authorship, particularly for the later eighteenth into the nineteenth century.

41. Delarivier Manley (1663 or c. 1670–1724) offers a perfect, although slightly later, English example of the difficulties of assigning authorship in a world in which both censorship regimes (including libel laws) and the market's demand elicited anonymous or pseudonymous texts. Manley is probably author of the English *Queen Zarah* (1704). Many other novels and newspapers with tortured authorship claims, such as *The New Atalantis* (1709) and *The Female Tatler* (1709), are also sometimes attributed to Manley, along with the plays and letters that bear the name "Mrs. Manley" on their title pages. Arrested in 1709 for the seditious libel of *The New Atalantis*, Manley was a prolific Tory publicist and famous (or infamous) person in her day. (See Gallagher's chapter on Manley in *Nobody's Story*.) In *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714), credited to Manley by its subtitle, *The History of the Author of the Atalantis*, and identified by its twentieth-century editor as Manley's partially true autobiography, it is noted of Rivella that "it would have been a *fault in her, not to have been faulty*" (114). Indeed, Manley's reputed "faults" were hardly "faulty" in the marketplace. Her name—regardless of who actually stood behind it—was a market success, selling all publications that could be linked, no matter how flimsy the tie, to her name.

title page: “in Verlegung deß Herrn Interrisirten” (published for a concerned gentleman) in “Utopia.” From 1680, when both Lafayette’s *Princesse de Montpensier* (1662) and Villedieu’s *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière* (1671) appeared anonymously in translation, to 1688, I have been able to document a translation of a *nouvelle* into German every year. In 1684, there were four. The *nouvelles* of Jean de Préchac (1647?–1720) may have enjoyed particular popularity; at least one new title by the prolific Préchac was translated every year between 1680 and 1682, and in 1684, 1685, and 1687. Préchac’s popularity with German readers may appear initially as strange to us as did Christoph’s choice of *L’Heureux page*. Préchac is largely forgotten by literary historians today. But his *nouvelles*, such as *La Belle Parisienne, histoire galante et véritable* (French 1679, German 1680), contained exactly the heady cocktail of fact and fiction, newspaper story and *nouvelle*, that so recommended the form to Christoph.⁴²

Another explanation of Préchac’s apparent popularity is possible. It may result from an “author effect.” Unlike many other *nouvelles* on the market, Préchac’s French works usually named their author on the title page. German printers capitalized on Préchac’s name, famous in the 1680s, reprinting it on the title pages of translations. Not only did his name apparently sell books, but it has also made his works much more easily identifiable today than the great bulk of contemporaneous *nouvelles* and *histoires*, and thus correspondingly easier to locate in library catalogs. Perhaps Préchac’s titles really were that popular with German readers; but perhaps they appear to us as such because their authorial signature makes them more readily identifiable today.

While German publishers of translations might have used Préchac’s name to market *nouvelles*, they far more frequently published them under obviously fake (and often funny) names. The mystery of many anonymously or pseudonymously published titles was further heightened by the use of clandestine imprints. None moved stock more effectively than Pierre Marteau of Cologne. Frequently, simply the place-name Cologne was a sufficient signal to readers interested in more or less illicit materials. It is impossible to determine exactly why certain novels were published in secrecy. Sometimes the use of a fake imprint is frankly mystifying. Nevertheless, a few very modest generalizations are possible. German writers and translators, publishers, and printers may have felt it more prudent to keep the publishing details of more racy, sexed-up *nouvelles* under wraps, fearing seizure of stock and other assets by censorship authorities on moral grounds.⁴³

42. We know rather more about this title by Préchac and the events it drew upon perhaps because one influential German literary historian, Herbert Singer, made the French text a German “first.” Préchac’s *nouvelle* was wordlessly appropriated by German novelist, satirist, and opera librettist Christian Friedrich Hunold (1680–1721) in *Die schöne Adalie* (1702), a title dubbed without irony by Singer’s introduction to *Adalie*’s reprint as “der erste deutsche Roman” (the first German novel).

43. While titillating, the sexual dalliances of nobles also provided a vehicle for taking aim at the decadence of the French upper nobility. It is unlikely that such a critique of the French royal house would

While worries about censorship certainly explain why publication of some *nouvelles* and their translations had to be exiled to “Cologne,” another set of issues might lend more explanatory weight. By the 1680s, when the *nouvelle* exploded into the discourse of German *Romane*, anonymous publication was already a firmly entrenched generic convention.⁴⁴ Adding patently faked publication information may, in some cases, have been a clever way to add another level of complexity to a title’s riddles. The use of false imprints was, in any case, a savvy business strategy, advertising racy content while protecting its publisher.

Among the *nouvelles* Christoph singled out in his support of the *Roman*, none received higher praise than *Les Conquestes du Marquis de Grana dans les Pays Bas*, which “im vorigen Jahr heraus kommen ist” (was published last year). It is a deliciously racy story, Christoph explains, and portrays a lovely young marchioness whose husband’s insufferable jealousy and “übeles comportement” (intolerable comportment) led her “durch ihren innerlichen Trieb dem Rhein-Grafen Gegen-Liebe zu erweisen” (by an inner desire to reciprocate the passion of a young Count Palatine). Furthermore, “ei[n] eingemischte[r] Umstand” (an interpolated episode) in the story is “gar artig vorgestellt” (artfully related) to document that “die Begierden derer Nonnen” (the desires of nuns) rival those of “the fleshpots of Egypt” (nach denen Fleischtöpfen Aegypti). The story is “mit grosser Kunst abgebildet” (represented with great artistry), and it “vortrefflich vergnüget” (pleased him extremely) (115). This *nouvelle*, as Christoph mentions, had appeared a little more than a year before it was reviewed in Thomasius’s journal, in 1686, printed by the same fictitious printer who had done *L’Heureux page*.

Today we know with certainty that *Les Conquestes du Marquis de Grana* was penned by Gatien Courtilz de Sandras, an impoverished member of the minor French nobility who lived periodically in The Hague and whose career was punctuated by

have much disturbed state or church authorities in Brandenburg, Saxony, or Hamburg; too much sex, on the other hand, would have been a problem. In *Forbidden Bestsellers*, Darnton denies the political critique of texts such as Bussy-Rabutin’s *La France galante*. Bussy’s biography and years of forced exile belie this argument. Portrayals of sexual peccadilloes and infidelities are always also political. The intertwined origins of the modern European novel and pornography have been widely documented. Since Foxon’s seminal *Libertine Literature in England, 1660–1745*, the literature has steadily expanded. Findlen’s essay in the important collection edited by Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography*, explores humanist pornography in Renaissance Italy. Many Italian texts remained long popular. See also DeJean’s article in the same volume for the confluence between the origins of French pornography and the novel. To my knowledge, no extended analysis of the early modern German market for pornography exists despite the revival of interest in clandestine printing and the philosophical writings of the radical, early Enlightenment, which circulated quite widely in manuscript. See particularly Mulsov’s *Moderne aus dem Untergrund: radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland, 1680–1720*. Hayn and Gotendorf’s bibliography *Bibliotheca Germanorum erotica & curiosa: Verzeichnis der gesamten deutschen erotischen Literatur mit Einschluss der Übersetzungen, nebst Befügung der Originale* remains the best source to identify older erotic texts.

44. Some French authors, women such as Lafayette, for example, consistently chose anonymity, perhaps as a way to insulate their personal lives from possible attacks on their public reputations (see DeJean’s chapter “What Is an Author?” in *Tender Geographies*).

two periods of incarceration in the Bastille.⁴⁵ Courtilz de Sandras's highly political output was still more prolific than Préchac's; German readers apparently thirsted for his sometimes salacious stories. In 1684, he had—anonously, of course—published a *nouvelle* with a similar title, *Les Conquistes amoureuses du Grand Alcandre dans les Pays-Bas*, but a more illustrious subject: Louis XIV himself. The love lives of Louis XIV as narrated by Bussy-Rabutin had already proven popular with German readers. Courtilz de Sandras's use of Bussy's formula—including the use of a false imprint, P. Bernard of Cologne—sold books. The French 1684 edition of *Les Conquistes amoureuses* was translated into German and printed in the same year; in 1685 it was retranslated into German in a supposedly new edition, printed this time “in Europa.”⁴⁶ Some of Thomasius's readers were thus already well acquainted with titles we now attribute to Courtilz de Sandras. A market for *nouvelles* printed clandestinely had come into existence.

While Courtilz de Sandras's personal politics remain ambiguous,⁴⁷ his titles were snapped up by a market across Europe eager for materials critical of French royal politics. One title after the next was churned out for a public hungry for the latest news of the menacingly fabulous and fabulously sexy French king.⁴⁸ After 1685, French nobles' sexual aggression increasingly figured the bellicosity of

45. The anonymity and false imprints cloaking titles now attributed to Courtilz de Sandras apparently preserved his safety only to a degree, for he was twice imprisoned in Paris. Had he not riled the more lenient Dutch authorities, he might have escaped legal persecution. Runge has documented that Courtilz de Sandras remained in Holland until 1688, and states that the publicist/novelist was forced to leave by Dutch authorities angered by a pro-French pamphlet he wrote. His politics swayed in the wind. Upon his return to France, Courtilz de Sandras was apparently jailed and released, only to be jailed again. He died shortly after his final release from the Bastille in 1712. For a full-length study of Courtilz de Sandras, see Lombard's *Courtilz de Sandras et la crise du roman*.

46. The 1684 edition translated the title as *Der über die in denen Niederlanden bekriegte und besiegte Liebes-Festungen Siegrangende Grosse Alcandre: Zusamt Denen an dessen Hofe vorgegangenen seltsamen Händeln und Begebenheiten, Dem Neuigkeiten-begierigen Leser zu sonderem Gefallen und ergetzendem Nachricht, aus dem Frantzösischen in das Hochteutsche übersetzt, und als ein zu wissen hochverlangtes, auch von selbstem recht artiges Wercklein herausgegeben*. The 1685 German edition, possibly a reprint with a new title page, was advertised as *Des Grossen Alkanders Eroberter Liebes-Genuß in den Niederlanden: Deme beygefügt, Was vor seltsame Liebes-Regungen und Begebenheiten, an seinen Hoff sich dazumahl zugetragen haben; Von Neuen in annehmlichere teutsche Redart, aus dem Französischen übersetzt und zum andernmahl heraus gegeben*. I have been unable to compare the 1684 and 1685 translations. The 1685 title page advertises itself to be “von neuen in annehmlichere teutsche Redart, aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzt und zum andernmahl heraus gegeben” (newly translated from the French in a more pleasing style of German, published for the second time). Without checking the translations, it is impossible to take title pages' claims at face value.

47. Courtilz de Sandras published an anti-French political pamphlet in 1683: *Conduite de la France depuis la paix de Nimègue*. Yet in the same year he apparently published a pro-French pamphlet, *Réponse au livre intitulé Conduite . . .*, according to Runge, “wahrscheinlich materiellen Gewinnes halber” (probably for material gain) (13). Pierre Bayle, who is the most reliable witness for Courtilz de Sandras, wrote of him: “On croit que par complaisance pour les Libraires il prenoit quelque fois la plume contre la France, mais que son inclination le portoit ensuite à refuter ce qu'il avoit dit” (*Réponses aux questions d'un provincial*, 1: chap. 27, qtd. in Runge 13 n. 1). (It is believed that as a favor to booksellers he sometimes wielded his pen against France, but that his true feeling then led him to refute what he had said.)

48. As Walther has documented, in the early years of the 1680s, three German-language Marteau texts had been issued; in 1688, the year Thomasius began his journal, Marteau published seven German

French foreign policies and intolerant domestic religious politics. The sexual peccadilloes of French noblewomen in particular, as well as the reputed homosexuality of the king's brother, were explored in minute detail as telltale signs pointing to the inner decay of the *grande nation* (see fig. 8).⁴⁹ Adamantly anti-French texts, often couched as *nouvelles*, were translated into German and other European languages and rushed to press; astonishingly enough, many translations were issued in the same year as the originals.

Readers' desires to locate "impartial" (i.e., anti-French) political reading material are mirrored in Christoph and Augustin's ruminations on the most useful books. When Christoph had recommended Donneau de Vizé's *Mercur galante*, Augustin had interjected a preference for another French-language periodical. Augustin reminded Christoph: "Doch sind die Gelehrten wegen Lobung des *Mercur Galant* nicht einig." (But learned men do not unanimously praise the *Mercur galant*.) The well-read courtier continued: "Zum wenigsten recommendiret ihn der Autor des *Mercur Historique et Politique* sehr schlecht" (100). (At least the author of the *Mercur Historique et Politique* recommends it very poorly in his preface.) Quoting from the actual preface to the *Mercur historique et politique*, Augustin proceeded: "Er vorgiebet, daß ihn fürnehmlich zu Verfertigung seines *Wercks der Mercur Galant bewogen*, weiln, so viel die darinnen enthaltenen *Historien* angehe, die den Frantzösischen Staat betreffen, so gar parteyisch." (He alleges that the *Mercur Galant* has prompted the creation of his own work because at least in regard to its [the *Mercur Galant*'s] many included stories concerning the French state, it is completely partisan.) Augustin carried on in his recapitulation of the rival journal's preface: "Auch nichts darinnen [im *Mercur galante*] enthalten wären, daß, wenn man nicht selbigen noch wegen der neuen Liedergeren und anderer geringen Anmuthigkeiten durchblätterte, man nicht einmahl sich die Mühe nehmen würde ihn anzusehen" (100). (Nothing is said to be contained [in the *Mercur galant*] except continuous

titles; and in 1689, German-language production spiked at fourteen, a high surpassed only once in the imprint's history, in 1704.

49. One such tale went under the German title *Der Madam de la Valliere Merckwürdige Lieb- und Lebens-Geschicht, so sich zwischen Ihr und König Ludwigen den XIV. In Franckreich eigentlich zugetragen; Kurtz, und ohne Weitläufftigkeit, doch außführlich beschrieben, samt allen darbey vorgehenden Begebenheiten* (Madame de la Vallière's Remarkable Love and Life Story, Which Truly Occurred between Her and King Louis XIV of France; Described Briefly and without Digressions, yet in Detail with All Relevant Events). This story is not a Marteau title. Its title page gives only the year of publication, 1684. It was reprinted in 1685. The extant copy from 1685 also includes an engraving, supposedly of the royal mistress. I have been unable to find the pictorial source that the engraving probably copied. The work, issued in both 1684 and 1685 with its own title page, is taken from the collection *Amours des dames illustres de nostre siècle* attributed by Lever to both Bussy-Rabutin and Courtilz de Sandras. According to Lever, this title was first published in "Cologne" in 1680; it was reprinted in 1681 (not listed by Lever) and again in 1682. All three prints include "Le Palais Royal ou les Amours de Madame La Valière" as their second story. An earlier French version must have preceded that from 1680, because the same story of LaVallière's life and love had been translated into German in 1668, along with other tales from Bussy-Rabutin's *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, under the title *Etlicher Hoher Stands-Personen Liebes-Geschichten . . .* by "The Meddler," who is mentioned above.



Figure 8. Frontispiece to a “true”-to-life story of one of Louis XIV’s mistresses, in *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules, oder kurzweilige Liebs-Geschichten fürnehmer Standspersonen am königlichen Hoff*, just one of the imprints that included the story, supposedly published in “Lüttich” (Liège) likely in the 1690s. The story is a German translation of one of the tales originally included in *Amours des dames illustres de nostre siècle* (1680), by either Roger de Bussy-Rabutin or possibly Gatien Courtilz de Sandras. This Eve and her apple depict yet another sign of France’s imminent fall. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

flatteries so tedious to people of good understanding that they would hardly make the effort to look at it were it not for its new ditties and other minor charms.)

Augustin refers here to a journal begun in 1686 and authored initially by none other than Courtilz de Sandras. Like his *nouvelles*, the journal was published in Holland, occasionally under a fake publisher's name—"A Parme, chez Juan Batanar"—and occasionally under the real publisher's name—"A la Haye, chez van Bulderen." The journal, whose supposedly impartial stance was prominently announced in its inaugural issue as its guiding policy, sold widely. Like many of Courtilz de Sandras's titles, it was translated into several languages. A Spanish-language version existed with the title *Mercurio histórico y político*, and an English version initially appeared as *The Present State of Europe*.⁵⁰ A German version was also available no later than 1687, published—it will come as no surprise—in "Cologne."⁵¹

When Christoph asked Augustin why the courtier did not read this German version, the courtier replies with a long list of alleged mistranslations (131–32). Yet Christoph was not to be outdone on current *nouvelles* and suggested that the *Mercurie Historique et Politique* was not as impartial as Augustin claimed. Christoph sighed: "Wenn nur auch darinnen eine teutsche Aufrichtigkeit anzutreffen wäre" (136). (If only German sincerity were also to be found in it.) Disputing Augustin's continued protests of the journal's impartiality, Christoph related a report "daß der Autor sich zu Haag aufhalte, und alsbald bey dem andern Monate von dem daselbst befindlichen Frantzösis. Residenten sey bestochen worden" (that the author resides in The Hague and already by the journal's second month had been bribed by the French *Residente* who lives in the very same place) (137).

But no matter how one came down on the question of Courtilz de Sandras's impartiality, titles that critiqued French politics sold well. Such critiques might appear in the pages of journals, but they were also contained in many fictional *nouvelles*. These prose forms were often indistinguishable, a fact to which contemporaries reacted with varying degrees of alarm. But the blur of fact and fiction, news and novels, seems to have troubled neither Augustin nor Christoph particularly. Augustin, who preferred "kurtz und sehr nervos" (short and very lively) reading material above all else, naturally also proved to be a well-informed reader of the more or less fictional *nouvelles* advocated by Christoph. Their frequently political content, in addition to their lively style, made them congenial to a courtier whose métier demanded mastery of French politics.

50. *The Present State of Europe* was printed by W. and J. Wilde for Henry Rhodes and John Harris perhaps even earlier than 1688. The publication was continued in English in the early 1690s under the title *The General History of Europe*, a shift possibly mirroring the change in the original French-language Dutch periodical after Courtilz de Sandras left both the periodical and Holland.

51. The earliest German copy I have been able to locate includes translations beginning with the November 1686 issue through December 1687. Other extant issues that I have located to date are from 1691 to 1693. Thomasius's character Christoph refers to a German translation from "this year" (131)—1688. I have been unable to locate any copies from that year.

Augustin particularly appreciated *Le Comte de Soissons* “wegen der Kunst und artigen Inventionen” (for its artistry and delightful inventions) (115). He was riveted, he reports, that “der Autor der Geschichte denselben [Character] in der *Person des Weltbekanntten grossen Staats-Minister, des Cardinals Richelieu*, entwirfft” (the author of the story creates a character in the *person of the world-renowned minister of state, Cardinal Richelieu*) (116). Christoph, who had not known the title, had to thank Augustin for his recommendation, promising “auf der Leipziger Messe mich darnach um[zu]thun” (to look around for it at the Leipzig fair) (117).

In 1688, this title was available only in French. It had been published in 1687, in “Cologne” by Marteau. Yet Christoph knew full well he could find it at the Leipzig fair. Although German literary historians have paid little attention to them, French publications such as *Le Comte de Soissons, nouvelle galante* were readily available in Leipzig for readers anxious to stay abreast of French foreign and domestic politics.⁵² As we proceed to write the histories of reading and the book market, we must take such titles into full account.

Le Comte de Soissons is most often attributed to Isaac Claude (b. 1653), a Huguenot theologian who died in The Hague in 1695. No other such title has ever been attributed to Claude. Not one of the French imprints of the title—republished in 1690, 1693, 1699, and 1706—bears his name. But it does not matter whether Isaac Claude wrote *Le Comte de Soissons*. The association of his name, that of a known Huguenot propagandist, with this work was enough to convey a message critical of France. Claude’s father, Jean, was a well-known and widely published Huguenot pastor, who had, unlike his son Isaac, chosen to remain in France until he was no longer welcome.⁵³

The fact that Thomasius’s conversationalists, all Germans, overwhelmingly cite French books in their debate about the most useful reading materials is an irony not lost on them. Benedict tries to direct the discussion toward German books:

Nun ist kein Zweifel, daß in Teutschland, ob gleich die Lateinische Sprache unter denen Gelehrten in Schwange ist, auch die Griechisch, wiewohl etwas sparsamer

52. Kiesel and Münch remind us that we have not taken foreign-language titles into sufficient account in our studies of the book market, which have been based primarily on fair catalogues’ German and Latin titles: “Der Anteil ausländischer Bücher am deutschen Buchmarkt ist vermutlich nicht einmal feststellbar, da die Distributionswege über Buchhandlungen, Speditionen und Privatpersonen außerordentlich vielfältig waren” (193). (The fraction of foreign books on the German book market is likely not possible to determine because the distribution routes were so unusually diverse and included bookshops, freight shipments, and private individuals.)

53. An early biographer, Niceron, writing between 1729 and 1745, relates of Jean Claude: “Enfin l’Edit de *Nantes* ayant été revoqué en 1685, il reçût le 22. Octobre, jour auquel l’Edit de Revocation fut enrigstré au Parlement, ordre de sortir du Royaume, & de partir avec un Valet-de-pied du Roy, qui devoit le conduire jusqu’aux frontières de France, & qui exécutant fidèlement sa commission, ne laissa pas d’en user honnêtement avec lui.

M. Claude prit le parti de passer en Hollande, où son fils demeuroit, & alla établir son séjour à la Haye. Le Prince d’Orange lui témoigna beaucoup d’estime & de consideration, & lui donna une pension, dont il ne jouït pas longtemps; car il mourut le 12. Janvier 1687. dans la 68e année de son âge” (qtd. in *Dictionnaire biographique*, 251–52).

gebraucht wird, die Frantzösische aber gantz gemein und fast naturalisiret worden, dennoch die Teutsche als Landes-Sprache durchgehends geredet wird, und wäre solcher Gestalt also unsere Frage nicht von denen in andern Sprachen verfertigten Büchern zu verstehen, sondern bloß dahin zu richten; *was man wohl in teutscher Sprache für Bücher schreiben solle, die wegen ihres Nutzes und Belustigung anderen den Vorzug streitig machen könnten?* (107)

No doubt now exists that in Germany—although Latin is widely used by learned men, as well as Greek, if somewhat more sparingly—French has become completely common and nearly naturalized. Nevertheless, German is everywhere spoken as the native tongue, and so our question should not aim to comprehend books written in other languages but should simply be, *which books should be written in German whose utility and enjoyment might rival foreign ones?*

A year earlier, in his *On the Imitation of the French*, Thomasius had addressed the urgent question of how German letters might be raised to more lofty heights. Despite the ire generated by that text, Thomasius pushed his advocacy of “the right kind of French imitation” necessary to reform German letters in the first issue of *Monthly Conversations* to new heights. Christoph, in his answer to the theologian Benedict’s question, refused to be diverted from his tribute to the *Roman*. Like Thomasius a year before him, Christoph was a believer in the benefits of French imitation. If Germans wanted to write books whose “utility and enjoyment might rival foreign ones,” he opined, they must write romances/novels: “So werden die Herrn jetzo nichts neues von mir hören, sondern ich halte dafür *das man nichts nützlichers und zugleich anmuthigers schreiben könne, als wenn man in teutscher Sprache ehrliche Liebes-Geschichten nach dem Muster etlicher dißfals berühmten Romane beschriebe*” (108). (The gentlemen will hear nothing new from me. On the contrary, I believe that *one cannot write something more useful and simultaneously charming than composing honest love stories in German along the model of those famous Romane discussed here.*)

Two years after *Le Comte de Soissons* received its glowing review in Thomasius’s *Monthly Conversations*, a German translation appeared, in “Cologne,” probably in conjunction with a reissue in French from the Marteau presses.⁵⁴ It is tempting to

54. Citing Gay-Lemonnyer, the catalogue record in VD17 (as in note 29) for this translation, under the title *Liebes-Geschicht Des Cardinals von Richelieu und Grafens von Soissons Mit der Hertzogin von Elboeuff/ Aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzt*, attributes the French original to Catherine Bédacier, a well-known author who often published under her maiden name, Durand. Bédacier/Durand was the author of a similar title, *Les Amours du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Cologne, 1687), reissued, according to Lever, under the title *Histoire des Amours de Grégoire VII, du Cardinal de Richelieu, de la Princesse de Condé et de la Marquise d’Urfé; Par Mademoiselle D**** (Cologne, 1700). For a complete bibliography of Bédacier/Durand, see DeJean’s *Tender Geographies* (203). Courtlitz de Sandras also authored a novel purporting to tell the real story of Richelieu’s loves and losses: *Mémoires de Mr. L. C. D. R.* An English translation of *Le Comte de Soissons* also appeared. To date, searches in EEBO, ECCO, and the British Library online catalog have turned up only a second edition, translated by James Seguin: *The Amours of the Count de Soissons, a Prince of the House of Bourbon in a . . . relation of the gallantries of persons of distinction . . . during*

see Thomasius's—or at least Moritz George Weidmann's—hand at work.⁵⁵ Without more definitive evidence, we cannot say who published the German translation of “Isaac Claude's” *Le Comte de Soissons*. But we can say that Weidmann would have had in it a popular story sure to appeal to his readers' developing appetite for the news-novel discourse.

The year 1688 truly represents a watershed for the German *Roman*. While translations of French *nouvelles* had been published throughout the 1680s, after 1688, they would be undertaken in ever greater numbers. Thomasius, his *Monthly Conversations*, and Moritz Georg Weidmann played a significant role in this shift. In January, Christoph argued for the importance of translations. In April and May, the journal—now ensconced in Halle—returned to the hot topic. To Christoph's earlier plea for novels in German, these months added the sparkling allure of financial gain.

“Book merchants will come and constantly outbid one another”

The April and May issues of *Monthly Conversations* feature discussions between two brothers, Cyllenius and Cardenio, one a university philosopher and the other a lawyer, both residents of “a certain Saxon city” (449). Cardenio (a name that nods to the character in *Don Quixote*), weary of his profession, sought “sein Vergnügen in Lesung eines Historien-Buches/ und konte die kleinen Frantzösischen *Romane* wohl leiden” (his enjoyment in the pages of a historical book and tolerated the small French novels pretty well) (449). In contrast to the German names—Christoph, Augustin, Benedict, and David—used in the January and February issues, Cardenio and Cyllenius might very well have been culled from amatory fictions with a decidedly un-German provenance.

Narrated by characters meant to recall more or less satirical romances, the journal's April and May issues consist of a series of proposals for still further romantic tales. Over the course of the two months, the brothers' hatch one amatory plot after the next to frame book news, outfitting their stories with characters who debate, among other questions, the rules for composing a romance and a novel. Their discussions range across fictional forms, from the heroic romance to the satirical

the ministry of Cardinal Richlieu... Translated from the French (London, 1731). It is attributed to Isaac Claude.

55. The Weidmann firm sometimes published under pseudonyms, such as Fridericus Sincerus, a pseudonym reminiscent of the popular “Cologne” publisher, Louis Le Sincere. Weidmann used the Sincerus pseudonym, for example, to publish the pamphlet “Curieuser Staats-Mercurius: Welcher Der vornehmsten Staate in Europa weit-aussehende Maximen/ Und insonderheit Den gefährlichen Zustand Des H. Römischen Reichs/ Allen Teutsch-gesinneten Patrioten/ zu reiffern Nachsinnen/ eilfertigst entdecket” (The Curious State Mercury Who Speedily Discovers the Expansive Maxims of the Grandest State in Europe and Especially the Dangerous Condition of the Holy Roman Empire for All German Patriots' Further Reflections). It was reprinted several times in 1684 and in 1685.

romance/novel, and finally, in May, they turn to a specific French novel on whose translation Cardenio claims to be at work. Each brother's eagerness to top the other's fictional inventions results in a dizzying *mise en abîme*. The journal's pages are in fact so filled with fictional inventions that generic differences between a journal and fictional prose become hopelessly, and quite purposely, illegible. While we have previously discussed the importance of the news-novel discourse, in these issues the proximity of the novel to Thomasius's journal could not be any closer. As we shall see, for all practical purposes, the journal itself is, in its May 1688 issue, also a novel.

Cyllenius, having discovered Cardenio at home "ohnlängsten" (a short time ago), was appalled to find his brother not content merely to read, but "even translating such a French love story" (daß er gar eine solche Frantzös Liebeshistorie *vertirte*) (April 1688, 449). Cyllenius upbraids his brother: "Schämest Du dich nicht/ so ein alter Kerl/ Der Weib und Kind hat/ geräth in seinen männlichen Jahren auff die Thorheit/ die Zeit in *vertirung* solcher bagatellen zu verderben" (450). (Are you, an old fellow with a wife and child, not embarrassed that at your age you have hit upon the foolishness of wasting your time with the translation of such nonsense.) He warns Cardenio sternly: "Wenn du aber fortfährest/ so machst du übers Jahr selbst solche schöne Werckgen/ u. *prostituïrest* dich und unser gantzes Geschlechte mit" (450). (If you keep at it, within a year you will yourself make such pretty little works and prostitute yourself and our whole family along the way.) But Cardenio is not to be dissuaded. In the novel, he has espied an emerging market that he hopes to enter to his profit.

Cardenio in fact contemplates trading his profession, the law, for his hobby, novels. He insists he could earn more money with novels, and with far less trouble. He argues with Cyllenius:

Wenn ich aber einen *Roman vertire*/ oder einen selbst mache/ da habe ich gantz keine Verdrießlichkeit dabey/ sondern belustige mich in der grösten Ruhe. Die Buchführer kommen und überbieten immer einer den andern/ und geben mir noch die besten Wort dazu/ daß ich ihnen für andern mein Werckgen in Verlag geben wolle/ und also mag ich leichte in Monats=Frist ein Bogen oder 12. bey müßigen Stunden in lauter Zeitvertreib verfertiget haben/ so bekomme ich zum wenigsten ein Dutzend Thaler dafür. Zwey Dutzend muß mir noch darzu die *Dedication* einbringen/ wenn ich solches etlichen reichen Leuten *dedicire* (denn dieses ist heut zu Tage die rechte Kunst reich zu werden) und also siehest du/ daß ich auff solche Arth viel eher 36. Thaler verdienen kan/ als mit meinen ordentlichen Verrichtungen zehen/ und du vielleicht mit deinen *Collegiis Philosophicis* künfte. (451–52)

If, however, I translate a novel or write one myself [instead of practicing law], then I won't experience any tediousness but will amuse myself in perfect peace. Book merchants will come and constantly outbid one another so that I will give my little

work to them and no other to be published. And so in a month's time, I can—simply by amusing myself—easily have some pages finished that should bring in at least a dozen *Thaler*. The dedication should earn me two dozen more if I dedicate it to some rich folks (today this is the true art of getting rich). So you see how in this way I can far more easily make thirty-six *Thaler* than the ten I earn from my regular job and perhaps still more than you could make with your philosophy lessons.

Cardenio is eager to cash in on the new fashion for French novels. Moritz Georg Weidmann, no longer the publisher for *Monthly Conversations* after Thomasius's precipitous move to Halle, would certainly have been one of several book publishers and merchants willing to pay the brothers a going rate for their inventions.⁵⁶

Cyllenius disapproves of more than just the material that he tried to stop Cardenio from translating. He tells his younger brother: "Übersetzen ist für Leute/ die nicht geschickt sind selbstn etwas so artiges oder nützlichs zu machen/ als dasjenige ist/ so sie *vertiren*" (452). (Translating is for people incapable of making something as artful or useful as that which they translate.) He believes Cardenio capable of original composition: "Ich dächte aber/ du hättest schon so ein gut *ingenium*, daß du von selbstn etwas aussinnen könntest/ das so viel Vergnügen erweckte/ als mancher abgeschmackter Frantzösischer *Roman*" (452–53). (I had thought, however, that you had sufficient genius to hatch something that might provide just as much pleasure as some tasteless French *Roman*.) Cyllenius thus proposes to demonstrate the ease with which one might compose an original *Roman*, and pitches an idea for a romance retelling the lives and loves of the emperor Justinian, the empress Theodora, and her long-lost secret lover, Tribonius (454–55).

Cardenio is, however, unimpressed, noting that his brother's treatment of the love story set in Roman antiquity is too satirical for a romance; it should rightly be called a "burlesque" in the manner of Scarron's *Virgile travesti* (1651). More suitable for a romance, Cardenio argues, is "eine bessere Erfindung.../ die mir diese Woche eingefallen/ und der ich dir zu Ehren ein wenig genauer nachgedacht/ von des *Aristotelis* seinen *Courtesien*" (an invention that occurred to me this week and that, in your honor, I have thought over a little more carefully, on the *Courtesies of Aristotle*) (458). But Cyllenius responds with incredulity. Aristotle could not possibly have found time for love: "Der arme Mann hat so viel Arbeit in Verfertigung seiner Bücher angewendet/ daß ihm das *courtesiren* darüber vergangen" (459). (The

56. In 1685, Weidmann first published a novel by Talander (August Bohse), *Liebes-Cabinet der Damen* (The Ladies' Cabinet of Love). Talander is, as chapter 4 discusses in ample detail, among the first German writers to translate formal elements of the French novel into German. In 1684, Bohse had given his novel *Der Liebe Irrgarten* (Love's Labyrinth) to a different Leipzig publisher, Johann Caspar Meyer. Already by 1685, when Weidmann published *The Ladies' Cabinet*, Talander's name was sufficiently popular to merit its prominent inclusion on the title page of novels. One can easily imagine various publishers in a bidding war for Talander's manuscripts. Before 1685, Weidmann had published satirical fiction by Weise, Beer, and Riemer. Titles by both Beer and Riemer were ridiculed in the January 1688 issue of *Monthly Conversations* by Augustin, who found them absurd rather than instructive.

poor man devoted too much work to writing his books to have time for courtesies.) Cardenio, however, is better versed in French romances and novels than his brother and well knows that any history—like any contemporary event—can be rewritten in an amorous key.

Expecting to hear a plan for a *Roman heroïque* (heroic romance) based on the life of the great philosopher (496), Cyllenius realizes that Aristotle has been chosen better to ridicule the philosopher's chief advocates, Leipzig's rigid Scholastics, among whose numbers Cyllenius himself might be included. Cardenio dresses Aristotle in the height of 1680s fashion, replete with "ein bunt Kleid/ nebst einen Halstuche von *point d'Athen* oder *de Sparte*" (a colorful jacket and a collar made of *point d'Athen* or *de Sparte* [lace of Athens or Sparta]). This fashionable appearance is readily understood, Cardenio explains, if one remembers: "Denn es schreiben die *Historici*, daß *Aristoteles* damahlen angefangen ein wenig der *Pedanterey* des *Platons* überdrüßig zuwerden/ und also mit aller Gewalt ein *galant homme* seyn wollen" (462). (Historians write that at this time Aristotle had begun to grow a bit weary of Plato's pedantry and so mightily wished to be a *galant homme*.)

For a time, Cyllenius good-naturedly plays along with Cardenio's satirical inventions. He tests his brother's ingenuity, asking how Cardenio might compose a romance about Pythias, Aristotle's wife. Cardenio remains undaunted, although no less satirical, and invents the story of Pythias in a hybrid form, composed, he explains, of a mixture of Quevedo Villegas's satirical *Buscon* (which Thomasius probably knew in the 1633 French translation by La Geneste) and Marini's heroic *Le Gare de diperati* (translated into German by Stubenberg in 1663) (469). This long form, Cardenio continued, would permit him to discourse on up-to-date questions such as whether "Aristotles habe *Thee* getruncken" (Aristotle drank tea) (471–72) and to profile his familiarity with writers such as Cornelis Bontekoe, "the tea doctor," who had discoursed on the fashionable drink's medicinal properties.

Despite repeated assurances that a second part of Aristotle's life will be a true heroic romance, Cardenio, true to his name, can only satirize the out-of-date form, having Pythias kidnapped by giants, for example (481). Following Christoph's lead in the journal's inaugural issue, Cardenio locates romance in a moment that has already passed. Despite the older form's merits, its project can no longer be taken seriously. Cardenio's Aristotle shared the fate of Don Quixote and Subligny's *false Clélie*, only able to interpret even the most tragic events (Pythias's death in childbirth), through the distorting lens of romance. His Aristotle, for example, views his wife's death as a sacrifice to the goddess Ceres (487).

Cardenio's preference for the kind of French novel that he had been translating at the outset of April's issue thus hardly stems from any lack of ingenuity. In the April issue alone, he invents three outlines for more or less satirical romances. When Cyllenius warns him "daß du wenig Danck bey denen *Scholasticis* mit deinem *Roman* verdienen würdest" (that you will earn yourself little thanks from the schoolmen with this *Roman*) (499), Cardenio fires back. His inventive abilities

and the novel's flexibility apparently know no limits; he is quite able to create a fiction to suit even their poor taste:

Für diese/ beantwortete *Cardenio*, ist auch meine *invention* nicht angefangen/ sondern für verständige Leute. Wenn ich nach derer Herren *Scholasticorum* ihren Geschmack des *Aristotelis* Leben in eine *Roman* bringen wolte/ müst ich gantz andere Erfindungen brauchen/ sie zu bedienen. Jedoch dächte ich/ es solte sich solches auch wohl thun lassen/ ohne die zuerst erzehlte Haupt=Umstände des Lebens *Aristotelis* zu verändern. Denn es müste ein einfältiger Kerl seyn/ der eine Sache nicht auff zweyereley Art erzehlen könnte. (499–500)

My invention is not intended for them, answered Cardenio, rather it is for knowledgeable people. If I intended to bring Aristotle's life into the form of a romance to the taste of the gentlemen *Scholasticorum*, I would need completely different fabrications to satisfy them. Nevertheless, I do believe that it might be accomplished without changing the chief circumstances in the life of Aristotle as I have already laid them out, for anyone who can't tell the thing in more than one way must be a very simple fellow.

His triumph against his older brother's allegation of inadequate ingenuity is complete.

Cardenio concludes April's issue by returning to his translation: "Ich wolte dir gerne nach unserm getriebenen Schertz etwas Kluges aus meinem *vertirten Roman* vorlesen" (584). (And now, after all this fun, I'd like to read you something clever from the *Roman* I've translated.) Good schoolman that he is, Cyllenius avers: "Etwas Kluges aus einem *Roman*, versetzte *Cyllenio*, da wäre was sonderliches" (584). (Something clever from a *Roman*, Cyllenius replied, would truly be something unusual.) But Cardenio remains undeterred: "Ey der Herr verzeihe mir, widerredete *Cardenio*, es steckt hin und wieder viel kluges in denen *Romanen*" (585). (The gentleman will excuse me, Cardenio contradicted, every now and then something clever is hidden in *Romanen*.)

In May, the brothers finally turn to Cardenio's translation project, the French novel with "something clever" in its pages. His chosen title shares much with the *Romane* we saw Christoph and Augustin advocating in the January issue of *Monthly Conversations*. It too was supposedly printed in Cologne: "Du must zuförderst wissen," Cardenio begins, "daß dieser mein *Roman*. An.1684 zu Cöln heraus kommen und bey *Pierre Marteau* gedruckt ist/ auch in 8. Theilen bestehet. Der Titul ist *L'Amour raisonnable & galant*" (629). (You should first know that my novel appeared in the year 1684 in Cologne and was printed by Pierre Marteau in eight parts. The title is *L'Amour raisonnable & galant*.) The similarities do not end with the famous fake printer. Additionally, the brevity of Cardenio's translation allows its inclusion within a single issue of *Monthly Conversations*, again reminding us of early novels'

close relationship with periodicals, both journals and newspapers. Furthermore, and most importantly, as in the case of Christoph's *L'Heureux page* or Augustin's *Le Comte de Soissons*, the authorship of Cardenio's "original" is anything but certain.

In fact, Cardenio's "original" itself might have been an elaborate hoax. I have been unable to locate the title in any library, catalog, or bibliography. Perhaps it has been lost; more likely, it never really existed. Nevertheless, Thomasius, and Cardenio, took considerable pains to establish an original French text. Cardenio requested that his brother, "der Frantzösischen Sprache gar mächtig" (quite proficient in the French language), "nimm das gedruckte *Exemplar* zur Hand/ und gib ein wenig mit Achtung/ ob ich es in meiner *version* recht getroffen haben/ massen ich mich beflissen/ nicht so wohl die Worte/ als den Verstand zu beobachten/ und die *idiotismos* der Frantzösischen Sprache mit denen Teutschen Redens=Arten zu verwechseln" (take up the printed copy and pay some attention to whether I have got it right in my version in light of my effort to observe not just the words but the sense and not to confuse false cognates in the French language with German phrases) (629). Yet, despite repeated references to the original French that Cyllenius should check, in other places, Cardenio seems freely to invent this "reasonable and gallant" love story.

For all its similarities with the novels preferred by Christoph and Augustin—its use of the Marteau imprint, its brevity, its links to periodical publications, and its uncertain authorship—*L'Amour raisonnable et galant* contains a significant difference. Unlike *Le Comte de Soissons*, for example, Cardenio's translation tells the story of private, otherwise unknown individuals. Its heroine is simply "Caliste eine *Dame in Provence*" (Caliste, a lady in Provence) (629). No critique of specific men in government, *L'Amour raisonnable et galant* assesses male governance in general within the institution of marriage.

In this choice of heroine, an Everywoman, Cardenio again proves himself an astute observer of market trends. Precisely at the moment when Cardenio contemplates leaving his profession, French *nouvelles* and *histoires* increasingly explore new models of femininity and harshly critique men's treatment of their wives; some, particularly after 1690, treat "the marriage plot," a device we might also term "the divorce plot."⁵⁷ The undesirability of marriage for a woman had been a topic explored in nuanced detail by Madeleine de Scudéry and, in her wake, by a growing number of French writers: famously by Marie Catherine Hortense Desjardins de Villedieu (about 1640–1683) in *Les Aventures, ou Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière* (1671–1674), and confusingly in a novel written by Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, comtesse de Murat (1670–1716), whose *Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse de M**** (1697) contemporaries often attributed to another, still more famous countess and writer, Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy (d. 1705).

57. DeJean coins the term "the marriage plot" in *Tender Geographies* (127–34).

Marriage was an institution whose unhappy demands might potentially be felt by any woman. But these demands were represented time and again by a host of French writers, such as Villedieu, Murat, and Aulnoy, as particularly pernicious to well-read (some even hyperliterate) women. Both real and fictive marital woes became a favored point of departure for many novels after 1688. Original German novels wrestled in particular with the problem of heroines who did not want to marry in the first place.

The only information the reader of Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations* learns about Cardenio's heroine, Caliste, was that she preferred books to marriage. Cardenio's "translation," in fact, tightly binds his heroine's two salient traits. A distaste for marriage went hand in glove with a woman's appreciation of good books:

Jedoch weil sie mit ihrer Liebe bey ihrem Manne so unglücklich gewesen/ trauete sie als eine kluge Dame/ denen Mannsbildern nicht mehr/ und wüste dannenhero ihren *affect* dergestalt zu *dissumuliren*/ daß sie männiglich um so viel destomehr von aller Liebe entfernt hielte/ weil sie in ihren übrigen Thun sehr aufrichtig ware/ und etliche Partheyen zu heyrathen/ die von andern für Vortheilhaftig gehalten worden/ ausgeschlagen/ auch allezeit die Entschuldigung gebraucht hatte/ daß sie nicht wieder heyrathen wolte. Dieweil aber in Franckreich nicht seltsam ist/ daß die Dames der artigen Gelahrtheit ergeben sind; also vertrieb auch *Caliste* ihre Zeit nebst *honneter conversation* mit Cavallieren und Frauenzimmer von ihren Stande mit vielfältiger Lesung guter Historien und anderer nützlichen Bücher. (639–40)

Because she had been so unhappy in her love to her husband, she, an intelligent lady, no longer trusted men, though she was perfectly able to dissimulate her true feelings. Because she was extremely honest in all other regards, she kept her distance from love, excluding the possibility of marrying several persons generally regarded as advantageous matches, always using the excuse that she did not wish to remarry. And since it is far from strange in France that ladies are devoted to learning, so Caliste, too, apart from polite conversation with cavaliers and ladies of her quality, spent her time reading widely in good histories and other useful books.

The notion that French women were particularly "devoted to learning" was widely discussed by German writers of various political and religious stripes. In 1687, Thomasius, for example, identified Madeleine de Scudéry as the preeminent theorist of erudite gallantry. Other writers, such as the anonymous author of the popular 1686 pamphlet *Das Verführte Teutschland* (Germany Seduced), diagnosed French decadence, even moral depravity, as stemming from French women's wit (*Esprit*), a quality for which that German writer could not muster enough contempt (85). Cardenio's sketch of Caliste and her unhappy marital experiences and subsequent disavowal of an institution she judged most cruel, we may safely assume, was

interpreted with varying degrees of sympathy. But whatever the opinion readers held of Cardenio's heroine, women with an intellectual inclination—and coupled at times with literary talent—who interrogated the desirability of marriage captivated their audience's imagination. In the pages of countless fictions, these women drove popular plotlines. Their popularity truly might have allowed Cardenio to cash in on his hobby and quit the law.

* * *

By 1688, the modern *Roman* had fully emerged in German. Not only, as we have seen, was the older romance form theorized by Huet via Happel's German translation and enshrined as a legitimate poetic form in the pages of Roth's poetic handbook. But the *Roman*, as debated in the pages of Thomasius's journal, *Monthly Conversations*, was endowed with four new traits, each characteristic of the new novel form. First, like the older romance, the *Roman* continued to be understood as a French import. Second, it was formally different from the romance. The older *Roman*'s thousands of pages were condensed to hundreds or even fewer; interlocking love affairs of many couples were replaced by one main love story. The term *Roman* stretched to encompass those "little French works" that Christoph pronounced the most worthwhile books. Third, the *Roman*'s new brevity made it ideal for inclusion in periodicals, themselves at times indistinguishable from novels. Both traded on news, providing the space and form in which current events became more or less fictional subjects. And, finally, even when a novel's subject was private—one Provençal woman's decision to avoid marriage, for example—and had nothing to do with any public person a fake printer, usually Marteau of Cologne, presided over its title page. By 1688 the new *Roman* had a deliciously sexy, vaguely scandalous appeal.

Before we move on to 1696—and to a moment in the history of the European novel filled by revisions of the family romance, some really written by, and others attributed to, women—we should return briefly to May 1688 to ask an important question: what does it mean that Cardenio's alleged translation might actually be an original composition? Despite requests that his brother compare the original with his translation, Cardenio repeatedly departs on his own flights of fancy. Immediately after explaining his heroine's aversion to marriage, for example, he ruminates on what should follow: "Wenn ich mich nach denen gemeinen Regeln der *Roman*-Schreiber richten wolte/ würde ich hier nothwendig die Gestalt der *Caliste* beschreiben müssen/ ob sie lange oder kurtz gewesen/ ob Sie schwartze/ blaue oder graue Augen gehabt/ eine grosse oder kleine Nase/ wie der Mund/ die Zähne/ die Wangen/ die Haare/ der Halß/ der Busen/ u.s.w. Gestalt gewesen" (630). (If I conducted myself according to the common rules of novel-writers, I would necessarily have to describe Caliste's figure, whether she was short or tall, whether she had black, blue, or gray eyes, a big nose or a small one, how her mouth, teeth, cheeks,

hair, neck, breast, etc. were shaped.)⁵⁸ Cardenio has no intention, however, of following the “common rules,” and no such detailed portrait of Caliste was drawn. His translation—if it was one—must have taken considerable liberties with the “original” his brother supposedly checked.

But why bother with such an elaborate fiction? The answer, I believe, is twofold. On one level, the fake translation allows Cardenio slyly to revenge his brother’s low estimation of the work of translation. Cardenio is anything but lacking in the ingenuity needed to invent his own stories. Rather than considering his German version of *L’Amour raisonnable et galant* as a translation of any specific novel, we might instead consider it as a translation of the new form into German. Its contents are Cardenio’s own. On another level, the fake translation also allows Thomasius to point to the kind of translation, or imitation (*Nachahmung*), he hoped German intellectuals would undertake. This productive imitation entails a quasi-authorized poaching. German imitation of the French had therefore, Thomasius had famously lectured, to cease its slavish devotion so that the true root of French learning might be identified. Germans needed to be both more and less faithful to the original if they were to identify the true wellspring of French cultural glory. Having assessed it, Germans might then adopt this source as their own, making it the ground from which a new flowering of German letters might blossom. Thomasius’s advocacy of the translation of “little French works” continued his project to poach the spoils of French culture and power. Prospective German novel writers should not translate imported *nouvelles* and *histoires* with pedantic exactitude *à la lettre*. Instead, Thomasius suggested, they might adapt the form for their own purposes. Cardenio’s joke at his brother’s expense shows them the method.

These hints implicitly recommended by Thomasius for making the novel German found willing German takers. In the following decade, none responded with more titles than translator/author August Bohse. By 1696, heroines who rebelled against the constraints of heterosexual marriage dominated Bohse’s many fictions.

58. Cardenio continues that he is unwilling to provide such a portrait: “Vor ietzo habe ich nicht in willen meiner *Caliste* ihr *portrait* im geringsten zumachen” (634–35). (For now I do not in the least intend to make a portrait of my Caliste.) “Sondern es wird der geneigste Leser zufrieden seyn/” he adds, “wenn ich nochmahlen wiederhole/ daß sie schön und liebreitzend gewesen” (635). (The gentle reader will be content if I again repeat that she was beautiful and charming.) Establishing a heroine’s beauty, “*Ariona, Cassandra, Leonilda*, or whatever the lady’s name is” (oder wie die Dame sonsten heist) (635), is finally the novelist’s chief objective; Cardenio proposes it might be best achieved by allowing each reader to draw on his or her own personal “idea” of a beautiful woman (635).

1696: BRINGING THE *ROMAN* TO MARKET

Les Memoires de ma Vie feront connoître qu'il n'est pas toujours sûr de juger sur les apparences.

—*Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse D**** (Amsterdam, 1698); unauthorized reprint of the anonymously published *Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse M**** (Paris, 1697), a novel attributed today to Henriette-Julie de Castelnau, comtesse de Murat

Die *Memoires* und Verzeichnüsse meines Lebens/ werden an den Tag legen/ daß es nicht allezeit sicher sey nach dem Aussenschein ein Urtheil zu fällen.

—*Lebens- und Liebes-Beschreibung der Gräfin D****, trans. anon. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1697); German translation of Murat's *Comtesse M**** based on the unauthorized Dutch copy

The Memoirs of my Life will make it Evident, that 'tis not always safe to judge by outward Appearances.'

—*The Memoirs of the Countess of Dunois*, trans. J. H. (London, 1699); English translation explicitly attributing the French original to the famous Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy

By 1696, August Bohse (1661–1742) had made a name for himself: Talander. It was a pseudonym designed to evoke romance. With pride of place on title pages printed in Leipzig, Frankfurt, Dresden, or “Cologne,” many printers’ favorite fake place of publication, the name Talander summoned up visions of gallant French fictions. Perhaps, readers were meant to guess, the name originated in the volumes of a Scudérian romance. Or maybe Talander was a code name for a real person, such as Alcandre, the character so obviously Louis XIV in the *nouvelle* by prolific scribbler, later Bastille prisoner, Gatien Courtilz de Sandras. Like scores of *romans*, *nouvelles*, *histoires*, and *mémoires* published at this time, the name Talander exposed how fact migrated into fiction and returned forever changed. Like the fictions from which the name was born, Talander traded upon truth’s fluidity. Fake names were

the rule of the game. As the “Countess of Dunois” stated in “her” memoirs cited above, it was “not always safe to judge by outward Appearances.”

This chapter pivots around the pseudonymic authorial signature Talander and a series of events tied to that name all drawn from 1696. That year was laced with novel events, typical of a decade when the French novel, liberal translations, loose adaptations, and creative imitations were stock-in-trade in a market for fiction that extended across the continent. In the 1670s, multilingual novel translations (Dutch, English, German) had appeared at a syncopated, unpredictable pace. By the following decade, publishers from Amsterdam to Leipzig brought novels to market at a steady clip. By the 1690s, original novels and their vernacular translations created a lively market for fiction. From London to Leipzig, readers across Europe could pick up the same popular titles at the same time. In 1696 the European novel was alive and kicking, born in translation, a child of the transnational commerce of the book. Across state lines, the wide world shrank to fit the new genre’s covers.

The novel genre and the market it created thrived on disorder. This chapter’s focus, Talander in 1696, parses the hurly-burly of novel events around 1700 to highlight two crucial developments. It shows how a French genre, the *roman*, flourished in foreign markets, creating a market for the novel that spanned the continent. Translators, writers, editors, and publishers begged, borrowed, and stole to keep their titles up-to-date and ahead of the competition. To distinguish a novel in a crowded field, illustrations helped. Fashionable books needed fashion plates. Writers also struggled for years to brand authorial signatures that others copied in an instant. Translators wooed readers, promising and sometimes delivering novels written “by a Lady.” French women writers had become famous in the European market for their wit (*esprit*) as well as for their fashionable heroines, who supposedly resembled their authors. While rumors swirled about the authors’ morals, their heroines indicted marriage.

This concentrated focus on Talander in 1696 also allows us to explore how novel translations domesticated the genre in two interrelated ways: they rendered the fashionable short form in the vernacular for domestic markets and, sometimes, tamed its unruly French women. In some cases, Talander faithfully translated French novels, some by French women writers. The short, new form also inspired Talander’s originals. His titles domesticated both the novel’s form and its content. By 1696, the romance (*Roman*) had a respectability and poetic legitimacy that the novel (*Roman*) did not. Talander’s *Romane* crossed the new form of the novel with older romance conventions. His hybrids made him famous. And he added to his titles’ formal respectability by domesticating his heroines. Like heroines of the French novel of the late seventeenth century, Talander’s female characters often claimed to disdain marriage. But even his Amazons, heroines of a 1696 title, tied the knot in the end.

Thus, by 1696, novel translations had created a lively domestic market for novels and novelties. They also began to soften the radical gendered critique of power for which the French originals were famous. This second kind of domestication, what we might call the taming of the novel, initiated a long process. The taming of

the novel was connected to the similarly long process that William Warner studied in England: “licensing entertainment.” By the middle of the eighteenth century, as critics such as Nancy Armstrong and Ruth Perry have influentially noted, a genre that once traded on the fashionability of its independent heroines instead extolled the virtues of marriage and the family romance.

I concentrate on four related events from 1696 to glimpse how translations doubly domesticated the novel. First, that year witnessed the initial issue of a journal edited by Talander and published by Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (1663–1717). Each month brought more novels poached from the French to the German-language market. I linger over some of them in detail. Second, in 1696, Talander published the novel *Die Amazoninnen aus dem Kloster* (Amazons from the Cloister), a title that sought to capitalize on the fashionable, sometimes scandalous appeal of both the strong Woman (*la femme forte*) and the erotically charged, cloistered setting. Its title page listed Gleditsch’s prominent Leipzig firm as publisher, but the book also claimed to have been published in “Cologne.” Talander and his publishers flirted with impropriety. Indeed, at least a suggestion of wrongdoing was a generic convention. Third, that year Talander also wrote a preface to still another novel, *The Faithful Slave Doris* (1696), to warn readers that titles attributed to the pseudonym “T.” were not his. And fourth, in 1696, one of Gleditsch’s Leipzig rivals, publisher Thomas Fritsch, brought out a second and improved edition of yet another Talander title, *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst* (The Gallant Lady’s Secretarial Art). In fact, by 1696, at least six publishers traded in stock branded with the name Talander. The name moved stock.

The Talander brand name sold well with German readers. Other subsidiary markets had their own local brands. “Mrs. Manley” soon embarked upon her English career. “Menantes” (Christian Friedrich Hunold, 1681–1721) would soon begin to compete with Talander for the most up-to-date readers. Another brand, “Madame d’Aulnoy”—also rendered as “Aunoy,” “Anois,” or “Dunois,” the form given by the English translation cited above as a chapter epigraph—sold well across Europe at the turn of the century. Nominally referring to French writer Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d’Aulnoy (d. 1705), the author’s name, as this chapter’s epigraphs document, was easily knocked off. Titles attributed to women, accurately or not, sold well; a title assigned a famous woman author even better.

In the century’s final decade, French women writers such as Villedieu, Aulnoy, and Murat launched devastating assaults on the bedrock of social order: marriage. Other French writers, both men and women, helped make the anti-marriage plot a staple of the new *nouvelle*. These powerful critiques of private misrule also provided sophisticated vehicles for reflection on public misrule. A husband’s tyranny, we shall see, was royal tyranny writ small. The attack on the legitimacy of official representations of the public sphere, royalty’s canvas, was unmistakable.¹

1. My contention that their critiques were highly political disputes Darnton’s claim regarding gallant novels’ apolitical nature.

Recognizing the “vanishing acts” (Gallagher) mastered by female novelists has proven tricky enough in England and France, where we know literary women such as Lafayette, Villedieu, Aulnoy, Behn, Manley, and others to have been active—all prominent in their time, some canonical today. Discerning the work of women writers in German has proven at times even more frustrating.² Feminist critics and historians working in German have often despaired at the paucity of early modern women novelists in comparison to those discussed by their English and French colleagues.³ But in the systematic disorderings that both produced the novel and were produced by it, I suggest, we can glimpse how German women too participated in writing the European novel.

Novel translations and imitations such as those explored here have long been dismissed as merely derivative. In them, however, we find evidence for a public of considerable critical acumen. These novels enabled writers, translators, publishers, and readers to explore, often in a sophisticated manner, sex and gender and the entrenched gendered conventions that subtended domestic and public rule. These new participants in the literary field recognized the power of representation and fought for its control. Every official story could be retold in a novel, itself another story whose revisions knew no end. The new genre threatened—or promised—to turn agreed truth into fiction and to make fiction come true. It made life into art.

Talander Poaches Fruits from the French

August Bohse has long been the sole person linked to the pseudonym Talander. At first glance, the two seem a perfect match. Many prefaces in volumes published with Talander’s name are signed by “August Bohse or Talander.” August Bohse hardly failed to stake a proprietary claim to the pseudonym. But Bohse’s emphatic signatures evidence that Talander was not in Bohse’s sole possession. Someone else, as Bohse worried in prefaces time and again, had been writing with “his” name. It was obviously a pseudonym worth the fight.

The historical Bohse is identifiable as early as 1679 as a law student in Leipzig. By 1684, Talander had already published a novel in German named by its subtitle a

2. For anthologies of early modern German women writers, see Woods and Fürstenwald, as well as the pioneering studies by Brinker-Gabler, Becker-Cantarino’s *Der lange Weg zur Mündigkeit*, Clasen, Blackwell and Zantop, and Carrdus. For important editions of the German texts that participated in the *querelle des femmes* and the long discussion of women’s intellectual and writerly capacities, see Gössmann.

3. See, for example, Becker-Cantarino’s essay accompanying her edition of *Sophie von Sternheim* (1777), by Sophie von LaRoche, the “first” German woman novelist; or Becker-Cantarino’s assertion in *Der lange Weg* that until late in the eighteenth century, German women wrote religious devotional works and nothing else.

The German Prash wrote a French-language theory of the novel. Feminist and other historians have also detected some women who collaborated in romances’ authoring: Sybille Ursula, sister of Duke Anton Ulrich, sole author acknowledged today of two canonical German baroque romances; and legendary Aurora von Königsmark, another of Anton Ulrich’s authorial collaborators.

Liebes-Geschichte (love story), one of the translations then common for the French word *roman* (romance and novel). By 1690, he had already translated and invented seven such “love stories.”⁴ Almost all went into multiple editions. In 1696 alone, six novels by Talander came onto the market, published in Leipzig and Dresden. If, as critics have always assumed, August Bohse single-handedly wrote six “love stories” in one year, his productivity was enviable. A seventh novel from that year, *Die versteckte Liebe im Kloster* (Love Concealed in the Cloister), published in Frankfurt, obviously banked on Talander’s name recognition, listing its author as “Der Beständige T.” (The constant T.). Not only did “the constant T.” share an initial with “Talander,” but the adjective “constant” also referred to a Talander title: *Der getreuen Bellamira wohlbelohnte Liebes-Probe, oder die triumphierende Beständigkeit* (Faithful Bellamira’s Test of Love, or Constancy Triumphant), published that same year by enterprising Leipzig publisher Johann Ludwig Gleditsch.

In 1696, while working on these novels and translations, Talander teamed up with Gleditsch. The publisher had taken the helm of the pathbreaking Weidmann house in 1694. Together, Gleditsch, Weidmann’s heirs, and Talander created a journal that continued the work of cultural translation performed by an earlier Weidmann imprint, Thomasius’s *Monthly Conversations*. Like the older journal, the newer responded to Thomasius’s 1687 dictum to poach from the French and thereby bring German letters to the lofty peaks of Parnassus. As the title page of the inaugural edition of *Des Französischen Helicons Monat=Früchte* (Monthly Fruits from the French Helicon) announced, it included “allerhand curiöser und auserlesener Französischen Schrifften/ Von Staats=Welt= und Liebes=Händeln/ wie auch andern *Moralischen/ Geographischen* und dergleichen lesenswürdigen Materien” (all manner of curious and exquisite French writings on matters of state, the world, and of love, as well as other moral, geographical, and similar materials worth reading). Its foreword paraphrased Thomasius’s clarion call: “Man hat angemercket/ daß in

4. Talander’s career strikingly mirrors that of “Cardenio,” the lawyer-turned-novelist of the April and May 1688 issues of Thomasius’s journal turned novel, *Monthly Conversations*. *Nomen* is truly *omen* in this case, one of the few times when names signified correctly during this chapter of the novel’s history. Talander truly did not share Cardenio’s Cervantine penchant for satire.

In 1684, Talander’s “love story” *Der Liebe Irregarten* (Love’s Labyrinth) was brought out by Johann Kaspar Meyer in Leipzig. A year later, Christian Weidmann published Talander’s *Liebes-Cabinet der Damen* (The Ladies’ Cabinet of Love). (I have been unable to discover the relationship, if any, between Moritz Georg Weidmann and Christian Weidmann.) In 1687, Christian Weidmann published another “love story,” *Talanders Unglückselige Prinzessin Arisinoë* (Talander’s Unhappy Princess Arsinöë). In 1689, publisher Michael Günther in Dresden came out with Talander’s *Der Durchlauchtigste Alceste aus Persien/ In einer angenehmen Staats- und Liebes-Geschichte* (Her Serene Highness Alceste of Persia, a Charming State- and Love-Story). The same year also witnessed the appearance of Talander’s *Amor an Hofe* (Amor at Court), issued by a different Dresden publisher, Christoph Mathesius, and another “love story,” Talander’s *Die Eifersucht der Verliebten* (The Jealousy of Lovers), published in Leipzig by Friedrich Lanckisch’s heirs. In 1689, another Talander title appeared, published in Dresden by Gottfried Kettner and explicitly designated as a translation of “a French love story,” *Le Mary jaloux/ Oder der Eyffersüchtige Mann* (Le Mary jaloux, or the Jealous Husband) by Louise-Geneviève Gomès de Vasconcellos Gillot de Beaucour. The original had appeared only one year earlier in Paris.

den vornehmsten teutschen Gärten das französische Obst vor das beste gehalten" (2*v*). (It has been noted that in the most distinguished German gardens French fruit is considered the best.) The new Talander journal was absolutely up-to-date, and it promised to make the best French fashions available to everyday consumers.

To make these exquisite "fruits" poached from French gardens available for more widespread German consumption—that is, to lower their price—the journal proposed to cut out the middlemen. Until now, the preface elaborated, French "Bäume mit der größten Mühe und Kosten aus Holland gebracht und in unser Erdreich gesetzt werden" (trees have been brought from Holland with the greatest of effort and expense to be planted in our ground) (2*v*). Taking the fruit straight from the source circumvented the translators, publishers, printers, and booksellers in Holland with whom Weidmann and then Gleditsch are known to have done business. Talander's foreword worried: "Solte ich wohl in meiner Rechnung glücklich seyn/ daß auch diese meine **Monat=Früchte/** welche gewiß von natürlichen Französischen Stämmen/ so die Hand der *Pallas* gepropffet/ frisch gebrochen sind/ denen Teutschen gleichfalls gefallen würden?" (2*v*). (Will I be happy in my calculations that my *Monthly Fruits*, guaranteed freshly plucked from natural French stalks tended by Pallas's own hand, will please Germans just as well?) But fresh fruit straight from the vine tasted better, Talander reminded potential customers.

Talander promised to keep costs low also by making the journal's translations short. The work of cultural translation need not be long, he recognized. In fact, the journal's preface emphasized, a digest required less investment of money and time, "denn solche *Extracte/* die aus wenig Bogen bestehen/ und von ganz geringen Kosten seynd/ tragen mehr bey/ als die mühsame Durchlesung grosser *Folianten/* die sich iedweder anzuschaffen nicht vermag/ auch wegen ihrer Weitläufigkeit öftters sättigen/ ehe man das vierdte Theil davon eingenommen" (because such extracts composed of just a few sheets and of very low cost contribute more to political intelligence than the laborious perusal of large folios that not everyone can afford and whose length often proves filling before one has digested even a quarter) (4*r*). Capitalizing on the elasticity of demand characteristic of fashion now as then, Talander, Gleditsch, and Weidmann's heirs reduced the price of French novelties to win new customers. Simultaneously, they promised to supply their price-sensitive consumers with each title's "ganzten Kern" (quintessence) (3*v*). Talander's digest culled its fruits from various sources: "das beste/ was ich in der **Frantzosen** herausgegebenen **Staats= und Politischen Schrifften/ Reise=Beschreibungen/ Moralischen Tractaten/ Liebes=Geschichten/ Satyren/ Pastorellen/ Briefen/** und sonsten *curieuses* und schmackhaftes finde" (the best writings on politics and matters of state, travel accounts, moral tracts, novels, satires, pastorals, letters, and otherwise *curieuses* and tasteful materials published in French that I can find) (3*r*).

Johann Ludwig Gleditsch had a sizable stake in these market calculations. Two years earlier, in the summer of 1694, shortly before his fall marriage to publisher Moritz Georg Weidmann's widow, Maria (née Sacer), Gleditsch had undertaken a business trip to Holland. Contemporaries later commented that Gleditsch had

managed “gar feine Negotien” (very fine deals) on behalf of the widow Weidmann, no small feat when dealing with Dutch businessmen.⁵ The venture with Talander now allowed the Weidmann-Gleditsch house to short-circuit dealings with Dutch suppliers entirely.⁶

The market-savvy Weidmann-Gleditsch-Talander enterprise digested those *nouvelles* that *au courant* readers demanded. The journal was completely up-to-date, and it showed off its fashionability in four ways. First, it digested more or less fictional *nouvelles*. Second, among the fashionable *nouvelles* it digested, the journal concentrated on those that questioned the desirability of marriage for a woman. Third, it advertised women authors prominently. And fourth, each issue of *Monthly Fruits* was illustrated with an engraved frontispiece—a fashion plate for discerning readers (see fig. 9). Its twelve monthly issues from 1696 distilled the contents of twenty French-language titles. A quarter of these are books we today consider novels. Seven of the twelve issues contain novels (two titles’ translations stretch over two months).⁷ Purchasing November’s issue bought a reader the translation of Henri de Juvenel’s *Edouard Histoire d’Angleterre* (*Eduard Englische Liebes=Geschichte*), published in French only months earlier.⁸ *Monthly Fruits* was really on the cutting edge of novelistic production. With one exception, each novel included featured a heroine unhappy in marriage.⁹

5. This account of Gleditsch’s business savvy is drawn from the lengthy sermon held at Gleditsch’s funeral and then probably reworked for print, an example of the widespread print genre of the *Leichenpredigt* (funeral biography) (qtd. in Brauer 25).

6. Gleditsch and then, after 1713, his stepson and successor in the business, Moritz Georg Weidmann (the Younger), long fought to keep any Dutch publisher/bookseller from opening a branch in Leipzig. Until 1737, when the Leipzig City Council granted the Amsterdam firm Arkstee & Markus permission to open a shop, their efforts were successful. After 1737, the Amsterdam firm “machte nun, besonders mit französischer Literatur, den alteingesessenen Firmen rücksichtslos Konkurrenz” (ruthlessly competed with [Leipzig’s] established firms, particularly with French literature) (Brauer 40).

7. The February issue translated Pierre de Lesconvel’s *Les Effets de la Jalousie, ou la Comtesse de Chateau-Briant* (Paris, 1695). April included the anonymous *Histoire des amours du Duc d’Arione & de la Comtesse Victoria ou l’Amour reciproque* (The Hague, 1694). May provided Charlotte Caumont de la Force’s *Histoire secrète des amours de Henri IV., Roi de Castille, surnommé l’Impuissant* (Paris, 1695; The Hague, 1695). June and July featured continuations of and responses to the *Lettres d’Amour d’une Religieuse Portugaise* in a 1691 edition from The Hague that also included letters by Anne Bellinzani Ferland. Authorial hypotheses continue to swirl around the *Portuguese Letters*, although they are most often attributed to Guillerague. Henri de Juvenel’s *Edouard Histoire d’Angleterre* (Paris, 1696) appeared in both October and November.

8. Remaining copies of the journal bind all twelve months together in continuous pagination, preserving each month’s title page and frontispiece. This journal’s publication history is impossible to tell with any degree of certainty. It clearly began in 1696, but the only other extant issues of the journal are from 1703. In that year, it appeared in a seasonal, not monthly, format under the title *Des Frantzöischen Helicons auserlesene Winter-Früchte* . . . (Selected Winter Fruits from the French Helicon . . .). It is unclear whether the journal was published continuously between 1696 and 1703. Dünnhaupt records a subsequent issue from 1703 as the *Frühlings-Früchte* (Spring Fruits) or *Frühlings-Quartal* (Spring Quarterly) and lists a third and fourth part with similar titles in the summer and fall (1: 744–45). I have been unable to consult any of the issues from 1703, which are held by the university library in Wrocław (Breslau).

9. One novel, the *Portuguese Letters*, which Talander picked for *Monthly Fruits*, did not include a heroine who questioned marriage’s desirability. This nun’s tale was also the one novel included by Talander that was originally published more than two years before its inclusion in the journal. However, the edition of the *Lettres* excerpted and translated in *Monthly Fruits* was a continuation of both the

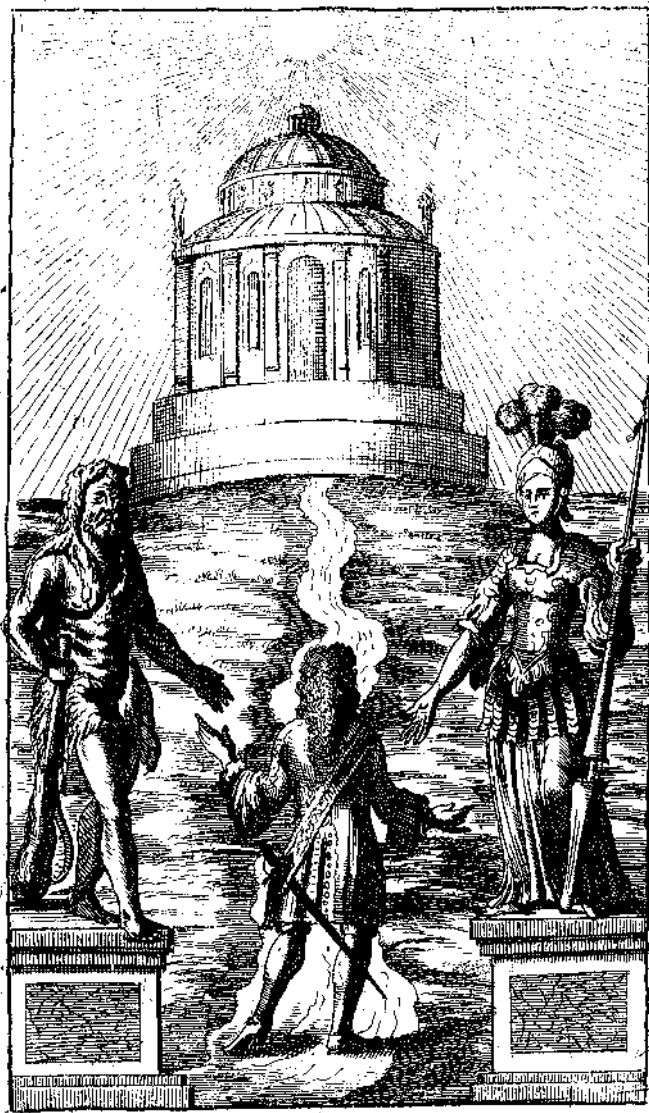


Figure 9. Frontispiece to the inaugural issue of Talander's *Monthly Fruits*, published by Gleditsch and Weidmann's heirs (January 1696). The German gallant's path to the temple of knowledge wound between a Germanic warrior and Rome's Minerva. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

Already by 1694, Talander productions had included female characters with little use for marriage. In the novel *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinett des Galanten Frauenzimmers* (The Gallant Lady's Cabinet of Love Newly Opened), published by Friedrich Groschuff in Leipzig, Talander had given his readers a peep at fashionable women, such as Brescinde, who complained bitterly to her lover about his wish to marry her:

Ihr wisset/ sagte sie zu ihn [*sic*]/ daß ich euch liebe/ warum lasset ihr euch das nicht genug seyn? Denn so ihr mir von der Ehe vorredet/ müsset ihr mich ja hassen/ weil euch bekand/ daß mir solcher Discurs zuwider ist/ und ihr dennoch/ dieses wenig achtend mir immer von neuen damit auffgezogen kommt: Man mag das Heirathen so susse machen als man will/ so verlieret man doch seine Freiheit dadurch/ muß sich eines Mannes Gebothen unterwerffen/ da man vorhero befohlen hat/ und gehet freywillig in ein Gefängnüß/ worinnen man tausend Widerwärtigkeiten antrifft. (613–14)

You know, she told him, that I love you. Why can't that be enough? Every time you speak to me of marriage, it must be out of hate, since you know that such conversation is disagreeable to me. But disregarding my feelings altogether, you start up again. You can make getting married as sweet as you like, but it nonetheless robs you of your freedom. You have to submit yourself to the orders of a man previously at your command and by your own accord enter a prison in which you will encounter a thousand disagreeable things.

Brescinde's aversion to marriage transmitted an idea to German readers widely received among the French reading public. And it did so in multiple editions. Groschuff reissued the title the following year, and a pirate edition of Talander's novel appeared in 1708, for example, claiming to be authored by "Gustav Hobes," an anagram of August Bohse's name, and published in Liebethal (Love's Valley).

At the turn of the century, many readers across Europe encountered the idea that marriage, as Talander had rendered it in German, was "a prison in which you will encounter a thousand disagreeable things." As French author Villedieu's twentieth-century editor, Cuénin, notes of the seminal novel *Les Désordres d'amour* (1675), its readers encountered "cette idee reçue dans le public féminin cultivé, que la possession éteint l'amour et que son pire ennemi est le mariage légal" (an idea established among the cultured feminine public that love is extinguished by possession and that its worst enemy is the legal bond of marriage) (li).

The European novel featured a new heroine. As Sabine Heißler helpfully summarizes, "[She] fights to claim the right to move about freely and the right to education;

Letters and the Responses, from a version allegedly published in The Hague in 1691 to which were appended letters by "la Présidente F," French author Anne Bellinzani Ferrand. While I have been unable to locate any existing 1691 edition, a 1693 edition from The Hague is widely available in reprint.

she demands the right to have a voice in concluding marital contracts—whether about the choice of partner or about the absolutely fundamental question of whether marriage was an institution that a woman could ever find worthy of entering” (361). As in Villedieu’s novels, this heroine might live in the seventeenth-century present. But she might also be a historical figure, allowing women’s dissatisfaction with marriage, as well as their own female fortitude, to stretch back over all time. The heroine of Eustache Le Noble’s *La reine Hildegard* (1694; German translation 1698), a queen culled from medieval Scandinavian history, repeatedly mourns the “beloved freedom” she had mistakenly exchanged for the bonds of marriage. Hildegard’s “medieval” indictment of marriage was paired with a preference for military derring-do. She experienced true happiness on the field of battle, in command of Norwegian armies. Although separated by centuries, Hildegard was next of kin to a heroine drawn from seventeenth-century news reports, Christine de Meyrac, title figure of Préchac’s wildly popular and widely translated “histoire véritable” (true history), *L’heroïne mousquetaire* (1677).¹⁰ Regret, reluctance, or flat refusal to marry marked a woman, in ancient or modern times, as up-to-date. The European novel was well stocked with fashionable heroines who rejected the institution part and parcel, asserting their right to their “beloved freedom” over submission to “the orders of a man.”

Frontispieces to different editions of the *The Gallant Lady’s Cabinet of Love* amply illustrate that this new heroine did not shy from picking up her pen. Writing, as the engraving in figure 10 captures, was a central part of her existence. Perhaps, the viewer guessed, she was the author of her own story, maybe the one readers held in their hands. A woman of letters, the European novel’s heroine was immediately implicated in the long-running *querelle des femmes*, a controversy about women’s intellectual capabilities kicked off by Christine de Pisan at the beginning of the fifteenth century when she published letters attacking the misogyny of the *Roman de la rose*.¹¹ The *querelle* subsequently raged across early modern Europe. In mid-seventeenth-century Germany, the debate had flared up again.¹² The writerly and intellectual woman was a locus of controversy no less hot than the novel. By century’s end, in fact, the two topics, learned women and the novel, were hopelessly knotted together.

10. See Lynn (76) for more details on the real-life French woman on whom Préchac’s character was based; for accounts of other early modern historical women who cross-dressed for extended periods of time, see Dekker and Van de Pol. Baumgärtel and Neysters present a collection of seventeenth-century *femmes fortes* drawn from art-historical sources. See Baader in the collection edited by Baumgärtel and Neysters, on the strong woman in French literary history.

Préchac’s *L’heroïne mousquetaire* was translated into Dutch as *De musket-draagende heldin* (Amst, 1680) and went into multiple editions, into English as *The Heroine Musqueteer; or, The Female Warrior* (London, 1678) also in multiple editions, into German as *Der Helden=mässigen Carbinen=Reuterin warhafftigen Begebniß* (Nuremberg, 1679), and into Italian as *L’heroïna moschettiera* (Venice, 1681). The British Library alone has five different editions of the original French printed before 1723.

11. See the critical anthology of texts that responded to Christine de Pisan, edited by McWebb.

12. See the German contributions to the *querelle* edited by Gössmann, and Carrdus’s microhistorical reconstruction of the *querelle* in the provincial center of Altenburg (47–55), in her edition of the poems of the Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch (1651–1717) circle.



Figure 10. Frontispiece to Talander's (August Bohse's) *The Gallant Lady's Cabinet of Love*, from the authorized edition published by Friedrich Groschuff in Leipzig (1694). The gallant lady, assisted by love, puts pen to paper. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

The novels digested in Talander's *Monthly Fruits*, like many *nouvelles* of the 1690s, figured marital ties as slavery's bonds. The February 1696 issue presented Pierre de Lesconvel's (c. 1650–1722) *Les effets de la jalousie, ou La Comtesse de Chateaubriand* (The Effects of Jealousy, or The Countess of Chateau-Briand) (1695). The novel's eponymous heroine was enslaved to an unreasonable master. Although

she pleaded repeatedly with her husband—"Ich will gehorsamen/ mein Herr" (I want to obey, my lord) (155)—the unreasonable demands of "diesem wunderlichen Kopffe" (this strange mind) made them impossible to fulfill. The heroine's brother pronounced her husband "einem so tollen Menschen/ der wohl verdienete/ daß man ihn an Ketten legete" (an insane person who really deserves to be thrown in chains) (160). He treated her "als ein Tyrann" (as would a tyrant) (163). Captive to a cruel master, the enslaved countess revolted against a cruel institution.

Critiques of marital power transcended the confines of the home. Novels' disparagements of men's regulation of the domestic sphere extended to reflections on the royal abuse of power in the public sphere. Indictments of marriage, in other words, also figured revolt. The personal was absolutely political. Henri de Juvenel's *Edouard Histoire d'Angleterre* (1696), in November's *Monthly Fruits*, offers a case in point. Caught in a disastrous marriage, the novel's heroine, the Countess of Salysbery, takes a lover. Her decision, remarkably, leaves no stain on her honor, for her virtue is equaled only by the injustice of her husband's rule. So great is her reputation that it draws the historical King Edward III to woo her. But her heart has already been given to another, the Count of Artois, and she cannot return the affection of her royal suitor. The king's hapless pursuit provides narrative occasion for long soliloquies on the limits of royal authority. Unlike the countess's husband, the English king proves no tyrant. He nobly refuses to claim her heart by royal prerogative: "Ich will euch nicht sagen/ daß ich König bin/ daß mein Stand und meine Macht wohl von euch einige Gefälligkeit verdieneten" (995). (I do not wish to tell you that I am the king, that my position and my power would thus be due particular consideration from you.) Instead, he wishes only to prove himself a true friend and—in an act of "großmüthige Überwindung" (generous renunciation) (999) marveled at by the entire court—Edward removes all impediments for a marriage to the countess's beloved Artois: "Ihr habt meinen Zorn gefürchtet/ und euch vor meiner Rache gescheuet/ welche ich auszuführen mächtig genug bin. Aber ihr kennet noch nicht *Eduarden*" (998). (You have feared my wrath and dreaded the revenge that I am powerful enough to carry out on you. But you do not yet know Edward.)

Talander's German digest of Juvenel's French novel with an English setting suggested that Edward's justice typified English rule. That happy nation was wedded to a most liberal lord. As translated in *Monthly Fruits*, the inherent critique of royal power gained even more momentum than Lesconvel's novel had possessed in the original. In the German journal, other *nouvelles* (news items) encased Lesconvel's *nouvelle* (novel). The context rubbed off. Edward's liberality appeared in sharp contrast, against a background of French tyranny. The previous month of the journal had featured the essay "Défense du parlement d'Angleterre dans la cause de Jacques II" (Defense of the English Parliament in the Matter of James II), whose subtitle promised an investigation of "la puissance des rois" (the power of kings). This "Defense" of English liberties was written in 1692 by an author who claimed

to have felt the abuse of royal power firsthand. His actual name was less important than information tying him to exiled Huguenots.¹³ His paean to the English parliament's bucking of royal power was dedicated to the "General States of Holland," where he had allegedly found asylum. Despite the differences dividing the rival English and Dutch trading nations, and their history of protracted war, the "Defense" presciently suggested that both Holland and England provided the antidote to French abuses of royal power. Juvenel's novel had depicted the plight of a much earlier French exile, the Count of Artois, the historical Robert of Artois, cousin to French king Philip VI. Although the novel did not set the historical stage in detail, the reader versed in history knew that Philip VI had confiscated the duchy of Aquitaine then held by Edward III to avenge the safe haven that the English monarch had provided Robert of Artois. Aquitaine's seizure had ignited the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). Reading the "Defense" together with Juvenel's novel makes England the historical bulwark curbing French royal abuse and providing succor to French refugees since time immemorial.

Another novel included in *Monthly Fruits* wove the abuses of husbands still more skillfully together with the tyranny of kings, the domestic with the public: La Force's *Histoire Secrète de Henry IV* (Paris, 1695), also published more descriptively as *Histoire Secrète des Amours de Henri IV., roi de Castille, surnommé l'Impuissant* (The Hague, 1695). Talander alerted his readers that "nach Vorgaben des Verlegers" (according to the publishers) (410), this novel was written by a woman (Dame). La Force's *histoire* told the tale of the failed marriage between Henry IV, king of Castille, and Johanna of Portugal. At the story's outset, Henry's childless marriage to Blanca of Navarre had just been annulled by Pope Nicholas V; rumors swirled that the king was impotent. To dispel his epithet *Impuissant* or *Unvermögende* (Incapable or Impotent), and to solidify his rule, Henry desperately needed a successor. His court's many factions talked only of his impotence while laying plots to end his rule. To quell a nascent revolt, the king tried to trick his new queen, Johanna, into a liaison with another man, the king's favorite (433–34), hoping she might thereby produce an heir on Henry's behalf. Johanna, naturally, should not discover the abusive ruse.

Unfortunately for Henry, his plan goes awry. Johanna is neither a fool nor a woman long to suffer his corrupt rule. Instead of the king's favorite, another man, Alphonso, is mistakenly admitted to her bedchamber. Upon discovering her bedfellow's identity and her husband's perfidy, she rebels. She implores the besotted Alphonso to leave the deed undone but to find a way to rescue her from her prison: "Machet euch fort/ saget sie endlich/ und so ihr mich liebet/ so dencket auf nichts als auf Mittel/ mich von einem Hofe hinweg zu bringen/ woran meine Ehre und mein Gewissen mir nicht länger zu bleiben verstaten will" (446). (Leave me, she finally said, and, if you love me, think on nothing but a means to spirit me away

13. The text may have been by LaCombe de Vrigny.

from a court where my honor and my conscience no longer permit me to remain.) La Force's *histoire* paints the sexual disorder in the bedroom and a wife's rebellion against her husband in miniature, certain harbingers of the revolt against the king that surely and swiftly followed.

La Force's braid of marital with royal abuse, of conjugal confusion with political disorder, stimulated notable interest among readers of Talander's journal. A complete translation of the *Histoire Secrète de Henry IV* soon appeared, published not by Gleditsch in Leipzig, but by Martin Scherpentier in Jena. Talander provided the foreword for this German translation, which was undertaken by the otherwise unknown "Charizedo."¹⁴ Signed in Jena on October 8, 1696, Talander's foreword explained the new translation's genesis:

Nachdem ich von gegenwärtiger Liebes=Geschichte/ wegen ihrer ungemeynen *intriguen* in den *Majo* meiner Frantzösischen Monat=Früchte/ einen kleinen Auszug heraus gegeben/ das Wercklein aber so beliebt worden/ daß einige *curieuse* Gemüther solches gantz und gar übersetzt zu lesen wünschten hat man mich freundlich er-suchet/ solche Arbeit vorzunehmen. Allein da andere Verrichtungen mir so viel Zeit vor diß mahl nicht gelassen/ und ich doch deren/ welche mich gebethen/ ihr Verlangen gerne vergnügen wollen/ habe ich einen guten Freund/ welcher der Frantzösischen Sprache auch gar wohl kundig/ dahin vermocht/ daß er sich über das Tractätlein gemacht/ und selbiges mit einer teutschen Kleidung versehen. Die Historie an sich ist so anmuthig und voller Liebes=Verwirrungen/ daß einen *galanten* Leser/ die wenigen Stunden nicht dauern werden/ die er auf deren Durchlesung wendet. (2r-v)

After I had published a small excerpt from the present love story in May in my *French Monthly Fruits* because of its uncommon *intrigues*, the little work was so beloved that several *curieuse* spirits wished it translated in its entirety; I was asked in a friendly fashion to undertake the job. However, other duties did not allow me to do so at the time, and because I was eager to satisfy the desire of those who had asked me, I encouraged a good friend, who is also very versant in French, to set himself to the little tract and provide the same with German clothing. The story is in itself so charming and full of amorous confusions that a gallant reader will not regret the few hours he applies to reading it.

Purveying tales of marital slavery, Talander's name was a brand that created demand. Charizedo and Scherpentier stepped in to fill it. With novels such as those

14. Weller's *Lexicon pseudonymorum* (1886) attributes one other title, another translation, to Charizedo (or Charizedus): *Liebes-Irrgarten des Englischen Hofes* (Love's Labyrinth of the English Court) (1697). I have been unable to find any further trace of this title; the text for which Weller lists Charizedo as translator could have been any number of novels then on the market. Several featured an English setting.

by Lesconvel and Juvenel, *Monthly Fruits* had translated critiques of marriage and discussions of just rule, topics explored also by La Force's novel. But it may have been particularly "beloved" among Talander's reading public for two additional, related reasons.

In addition to its up-to-date meditations on the prison house of marriage, La Force's *Henry IV* featured a Spanish setting. Stories of Spain were particularly *en vogue* after the publication of Aulnoy's widely translated *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691). Aulnoy herself was one of the most famous authors in the 1690s and into the next century. By 1696, she was a name to be reckoned with in the European market. Her fame stemmed in part from the fact that, like Madeleine de Scudéry before her, so talented an author was a woman. She composed novels, travel literature, and fairy tales, the last of which garnered her lasting fame. Anonymously published novels, such as Murat's *Mémoires*, quoted at this chapter's outset, were attributed to the famous woman author by Dutch publishers of French-language knockoffs and by both German and English translators.

Talander—and many others involved in the novel's domestication—often employed female authorship as a marketing device. The author of *Henry IV* was, of course, also a woman, a fact that Talander had not forgotten to advertise to his readers. As early as 1689, in fact, he had translated Louise-Geneviève Gomès de Vasconcellos Gillot de Beaucour's *Le Mary jaloux, nouvelle* (1688). In his foreword to this story, another unhappy marriage, Talander underlined its authorship: "Gewöhnliches Tractätlein/ dessen Inhalt in einer wahrhaftigen französischen Liebes Geschichte bestehet/ ist von einer Dame verfertigt worden" (2r). (The present short work, whose content is comprised of a truthful French love story, was composed by a lady.)

Roughly a third of French narrative fiction in prose published between 1687 and 1699 was written by women. During the early 1690s, the percentage was higher still.¹⁵ These novels were "graphic in their condemnation of the abuses of women both past and present" (DeJean, *Tender Geographies* 128). Perhaps writers like La Force and Aulnoy won devoted readers in the European market because they provided the best stories of husbands' misrule. Perhaps readers also demanded their titles because the figure of the intellectual, writerly woman was itself fashionable, a fact recognized by Talander's *oeuvre*. But a novel (itself a fashionable book) that wove a fashionable anti-marriage plot, was set in Spain, and was known to have been written by a woman could hardly have been more up-to-date.

By 1696, fashion's formulas had become the trademark of a genre born of creative talent and critical sophistication. Foregrounding women's marital "chains," the novel blurred lines between writers and their characters, between fact and fiction. The genre also revealed how history was determined by the politics of

15. DeJean (*Tender Geographies* 128) estimates the statistic based on the titles listed in Lever's bibliography of seventeenth-century fiction, the most reliable guide to this tricky terrain.

representation. Truth, novels of the 1690s such as those digested in Talander's *Monthly Fruits* suggested, was as much a matter of negotiation as marital contracts were. In both, women both real and fictional demanded representation. And readers demanded their "true" histories.

In 1696, Aulnoy's fame across Europe accrued primarily from her artfully embroidered travel narrative, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691), a series of long letters purporting to provide an eyewitness account of the author's journey to Spain for her aunt. In 1695, it had been published in translation in Leipzig as *Reise durch Spanien* (Journey through Spain) by Weidmann-Gleditsch's rival, Thomas Fritsch.¹⁶ Unusually, Aulnoy's translator was named: Leipzig city councillor, Johann Job. The translation also contained an engraved portrait of the famous author, which served as the volume's frontispiece, and a series of illustrations signed by artist A. Schoonsbeck.¹⁷ In the 1690s, novels usually featured illustrations of their characters. But Aulnoy was no less famous than the notable people she wrote about. The famous author's portrait was set at the front of her book. Pictures of her characters were not enough in the case of an author who was also the story. When publisher Fritsch reissued Aulnoy's *Reise* (*Relation*) the following year, he advertised her name even more effectively, including it in the title, *Der Gräfin d'Aunoy Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien mit Figuren* (The Countess d'Aunoy's Account of Her Voyage to Spain, with Illustrations).¹⁸

Thomas Fritsch must have needed the success promised by an Aulnoy title. In 1694, his stepfather—Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, husband of Catharina Margaretha (née Götz and widow of Johann Fritsch) and older brother to fellow publisher Johann Ludwig Gleditsch—had founded a rival publishing firm, leaving Fritsch

16. One Aulnoy title was translated into English as *Memoires of the Court of Spain* (1692); the title page attributed its authorship to "an ingenious French lady." That same year another Aulnoy title appeared in English, *Memoires of the Court of France... By Madam L. M. D., Author of the Voyage into Spain*.

The VD17 catalog attributes the German translation of the *Voyage* to Johann (or Johannes) Job (c. 1664–c. 1736), who, after studies in Strasbourg and then Leipzig, held various official posts in Leipzig and later became a city councillor (*Ratsherr*) there. I have been unable to find an earlier edition (1693) of this translation listed in Bautz's *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*.

17. Schoonsbeck was probably part of the Dutch Schoonsbeck family, which included an engraver Schoonsbeck who accompanied Tsar Peter the Great back to Russia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. I have been unable to verify whether the Schoonsbeck in question is the one who went to Russia.

18. Aulnoy's *Relation* was the first of this title's two parts; the second was another Aulnoy title, her slightly earlier *Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne* (1690), a more conventional account of politics at the Spanish court during the reign of Charles II than the letters that the author innovatively stirred into a factual-fictional mix. Publisher Thomas Fritsch further sought to capitalize on her titles with a 1697 title, *Curiöser Geschichts-Calender Ihrer Catholischen Majestät von Spanien Caroli II* (Curious Historical Calendar of His Catholic Majesty of Spain, Charles II), which appeared in two different editions that year. Aulnoy's titles remained a source of profit for Fritsch for nearly a decade. In 1703, he updated *Der Gräfin Aunoy's Reisebeschreibung* yet again to include a third part. I have not been able to verify whether this was a translation of her *Nouvelles espagnoles* (1692).

and taking many of his house's authors (Brauer 24).¹⁹ Hoping for a best seller, Fritsch added to the appeal of Aulnoy's *Relation* by including seven engraved portraits of important actors at the Spanish court in Madrid. No previous French edition had possessed these illustrations. The German "translation" was absolutely original. Fritsch assured his readers that they could trust the accuracy of the illustrations:

Es werden villeicht einige derjenigen/ so gegenwärtigen andern Theil der Reise-Beschreibung in Frantzös. Sprache gelesen/ die dieser Uebersetzung beygefügte Kupffer aber dabey nicht gefunden haben/ auf die Gedancken gerathen/ ob möchten etwa solche Kupffer verdächtig und eine eigene Erfindung seyn; allein ich kan versichern/ daß diese insgesamt/ ohne ansehung der dazu erfordernten vieler Unkosten/ von solchen Orten erhalten/ wo man die allerbesten Originalien finden können. ("Des Verlegers Bericht an den Leser" [Publisher's Notice to the Reader] n.p.)

Several of those who have read this second part of the travel account in French, but did not find there the engravings accompanying this translation, may hit upon the idea that some of the engravings might be false and an invention; but I can guarantee that all of them—with no consideration of the great expenses involved—have been obtained from those places where one can find the very best originals.

The portrait of Philip IV, for example, "ist von dem berühmten *van Dyk* gemalet und mit Fleiß nachgestochen" (was copied from a painting by the famous van Dyck with great care), and the engraving of Charles II "ist nach einem *Original* gemacht/ vor welchen S. Maj. Selbst gesessen" (was copied from an original for which His Majesty himself sat) ("Publisher's Notice").

I do not know what the true expense of these or similar engravings was.²⁰ But in 1696 Fritsch's firm had a stable of engravers in its employ. In 1689, the Fritsch house, then under the leadership of Johann Friedrich Gleditsch (Johann Ludwig's brother), had begun publication of the journal *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annehmlichen Geschichten* (Monthly Conversations of Several Good Friends about Diverse Books and Other Charming Histories). The title recalled Thomasius's more famous journal on purpose. Edited by Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1659–1707), the Fritsch-Gleditsch journal explicitly rivaled Weidmann-Gleditsch's and Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations*.

19. Johann Friedrich Gleditsch began working for the Fritsch firm sometime in 1681. Johann Fritsch had died the previous year while attending the Frankfurt fair, leaving behind a wife and son, Thomas Fritsch; his widow married her employee, Gleditsch, on November 21, 1681.

20. A notice inserted in the second volume of the 1690 reprint of Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations* (between this volume's "Erklärung des Kupfferblats" [Explanation of the Engraved Frontispiece] and the frontispiece and title page for July 1688) advertises that each monthly issue of that journal may be purchased for "2. gute Groschen" (2. good pennies).

The imitation was innovative in one way, even Thomasius conceded: it was illustrated. In this aspect alone, it was up-to-date. Thomasius and his publishers soon recognized that illustrations were essential to indicate a title's fashionable currency, whether that title be a journal or novel.²¹ Leipzig publisher Fritsch, who had managed to retain Tentzel's journal after his stepfather's and former partner's departure, may have employed the same engravers to illustrate the Aulnoy translations.

While illustrations are not today usually considered integral to the novel—save in the case of the graphic novel—they were an essential feature of the many titles, both novels and journals, that traded on novelties. They further document the vibrancy of the market for novel translations. Each issue of Talander's *Monthly Fruits*, for example, like the reissue of Thomasius's journal *Monthly Conversations*, was fronted by an engraved frontispiece. All Talander novels had engravings. The market for print novelties was competitive. Illustrations sold copies. For such small-format volumes, the creation and use of engraved plates was simply not as costly as typically presumed. Consumers could purchase a copy with or without engravings. They only needed be tipped into the purchased text.²² A consumer of Talander's 1703 translation *Der Marquisin von Fresne Seltzame Liebes-und Lebens-Geschichte* (The Strange Love Story and Memoirs of the Marchioness of Fresne) by Courtlitz de Sandras, for example, could purchase a copy with only an engraved frontispiece. A true devotee of fashion, however, would have found the money to buy a copy

21. Thomasius called Tentzel his *Simia* (monkey), a play on the German *nachaffen* (to imitate, or literally, to act like a monkey). When all twenty-four issues of Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations* from 1688 and 1689 were reissued by printer-publisher Christoph Salfeld in 1690 in Halle, they were retroactively outfitted with engravings illustrating each month's discussion topic. In his "Erklärung des Kupfer-Titels" (Explanation of the Engraved Frontispiece), prefixed to this edition, Thomasius not only explained the decision to commission the engravings but took the opportunity to take a potshot at those in the Tentzel-Fritsch journal, many of which depicted a geometrical figure or an anatomical drawing: "Die Leute sind durch diejenigen/ so bißhero in unterschiedenen Sprachen monatlich etwas heraus gegeben/ so verwehnet worden/ daß es ihnen wunderlich vorkommet/ etwas dergleichen in unserer teutschen Sprache zu sehen/ darbey kein Kuppferstücke anzutreffen. Ich habe mich solcher Gestalt nicht gewundert/ als ich gehöret/ daß unterschiedene mir in meinen Monat Gesprächen diesen *Defect* gezogen. Die Menschen bildern doch durchgehends gerne. Also habe ich mich beflissen/ diesen *Defect* noch *re integrâ* zu *suppliren*/ und zu einen ieden Monat ein Kupfer noch beystechen zu lassen. Was solte ich aber machen? Mit Triangeln/ Würmern/ Müntzen und dergleichen Sachen sind andere Schrifften schon angefüllet/ und handeln auch meine Gespräche von solchen tieffsinnigen Materien nicht; ja ich zweiffelte/ ob diejenigen/ zu derer Zeit=verkürzung ich diese Gespräche zu schreiben mein Absehen gehabt/ Ihre Belustigung an dergleichen *Inventionen* finden würden" ("Erklärung" 3r-4r). (People are so spoiled by the monthlies published in various languages that it amazes them to see one in our German language in which no engravings are to be met. I thus hardly wondered when I heard that various people had faulted me for this defect in my *Monthly Conversations*. People certainly want to illustrate everything. So, I have dedicated myself to retroactively overcoming this defect and had a plate engraved for every month. But with what material? Triangles, worms, coins, and similar stuff already fill the pages of other papers, and my *Conversations* hardly deal with such deep matters. Actually, I doubted that those for whose entertainment I aimed to write would find any amusement in such inventions.)

22. The engravings could not be printed on the same letterpress that the text required. Engravings and text were printed in separate processes on two different presses. Their separation made it easy for texts to be sold with or without the illustrations.

that included nine plates showing the marchioness to advantage, in stunning outfits ranging from a casual look for the home to robes *à la turque*.²³

Fashionable consumers demanded engravings. With its many engravings, the European novel reached fashion's heights. When the translation of Aulnoy's *Relation* was reprinted in 1696, for example, Fritsch also outfitted it with a newly engraved author's portrait. Had the cost of such engravings been higher, the publisher surely would have simply had the plate used in the previous year's edition recut. The newer image must have been worth the expense. It depicted Aulnoy in a much more up-to-date fashion. The earlier author's portrait had her hair in a *Fontange*, a style popularized by Louis XIV's former official mistress, Madame de Fontange (Marie Angélique de Scoraille de Roussille, duchesse de Fontanges, 1661–1681) (fig. 11). But by 1695, the high hairdo was no longer at the very peak of fashion.²⁴ Thus the 1696 author's portrait depicted a young woman with hair of a height more appropriate to accompany a title that traded on being *au courant*.²⁵

Talander's *Monthly Fruits* translated and digested radical critiques of male rule, or the law of husbands and kings. Women writers, none more so than Aulnoy, were famous for their sophisticated exposés of men's abuses. Talander productions, as we have seen, popularized the anti-marriage plot and picked up on the demand for stories by women. Novel translations created a lively domestic market. Yet, as the work of cultural translation proceeded, the novel's often radical heroines and their indictments of the rule of men were softened. As often as Talander translated such "disorderly women," he also sought to soften their stunning critiques.²⁶ Women writers and their heroines, critics loved to claim, threatened to undo all order. Some Talander titles sought to shore it up. As the work of novel translation proceeded into the new century, the French novel and its sometimes radical heroines began to be domesticated.

23. It is quite likely that prints from these plates could also have been purchased without the text.

24. In 1689 and 1690, two different satirical German texts appeared warning against the dangers of this hairdo: *Der gedoppelte Blas-Balg Der Uppigen Wollust: Nemlich Die Erhöhetete Fontange Und Die Blosser Brust/Mit welchen das Alamodische Frauenzimmer in ihre eigenen und vieler unvorsichtigen Manns-Persohnen sich darin vercaffenden Hertzzen ein Feuer des verbothenen Liebes-Brunst anzündet... Durch Ernestus Gottlieb/ bürtig von Veron* and *Die mit lebendigen Farben abgemahlte und mit der verführischen bloßen Brust vergesellschaftete eitele Fontange des heutigen Frauenzimmers... durch Waremunden von Frauenstadt*. The latter is likely a translation or adaptation of Jacques Boileau's *L'Abus du nudités de gorge* (1675), translated into English as *A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders* (1678). In German the *Fontange* was viewed as an "omen" of beguiling French influence (see Polydorus Wahrmund). Like the later *Fischbeinrock* (a skirt supported by whalebones, making it very wide at the hips), sent up by Luise Adelgunde Kulmus Gottsched's 1736 *Die Pietisterey im Fischbeinrock* (Pietism in Petticoats), the *Fontange* became an emblem of fashion's supposedly perfidious influence, particularly upon women. As late as 1715, Amaranthes included an entry on the hairdo in the *Frauenzimmer Lexicon* (Lady's Lexicon).

25. I have been unable to identify a pictorial source for either of these engravings.

26. See, still, Natalie Davis's essay on the trope of the "disorderly woman" and the cultural labor it performed across early modern Europe. It reminds us that readers, of course, engaged in an interpretive diversity that the historian can access only imaginatively. One reader's disorderly hussy was another's freedom fighter.



Figure 11. Frontispiece to the 1695 German translation of Aulnoy's *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691). Note the author's fashionable hairdo, the *Fontange*. This celebrated author *was* the story. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

Marrying Off Amazons

We turn now to the second event featuring Talander in 1696. His 1696 “love story” *Amazons from the Cloister* helps to locate the beginning of the process that tamed the radical heroines of the novel. The invention of the European novel also marked the

French novel's domestication across the continent. And this development entailed a long good-bye. Everywhere writers and readers made French fictions their own, translating them into the various vernaculars. Their novel translations also domesticated the French genre by marrying off its heroines. As the eighteenth century continued, traces of the genre's Frenchness grew ever fainter. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the French woman of wit and independence so common to the genre in 1680 was gone from the novel's pages. That character, who (critics from Pierre Daniel Huet to Christian Thomasius to "a German patriot" agreed, with varying degrees of enthusiasm) embodied Frenchness, was replaced. Fashion cycled tirelessly forward. English domesticity gradually supplanted French condemnations of women's enslavement in the European novel market.

The reinvention of femininity was, as Silvia Bovenschen so influentially argued, a long process. The novel's domestication was similarly long, and it was also uneven. Periods of rapid innovation in the European market were followed by years of imitation. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)—so widely read and imitated everywhere—marked one moment of acceleration. Samuel Richardson's beloved and satirized family romances of the middle of the century another. *Pamela* (1740), for example, sold very well beyond England. On the continent, the celebrated English author won such notable acolytes as Leipzig literature professor and novelist Christian Furchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). Gellert's canonical novel, *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (The Life of the Swedish Countess of G***) (1747–48), retained many of the conventions common to the novel in 1700. It purported, for example, to be the "true" life story of a "real" woman. And it was a story that Gellert allowed his heroine to narrate herself. Yet while allowed to tell her tale, this countess—unlike countless French heroines before her—was not allowed to contest the rule of men. Instead, she began her memoir by piously invoking the paternal proclamation made upon her. Although she was now grown, she still obediently followed the duty laid down to her: "Sie soll nur klug und gar nicht gelehrt werden. Reich ist sie nicht, also wird sie niemand als ein vernünftiger Mann nehmen. Und wenn sie diesem gefallen und das Leben leichtmachen helfen soll, so muß sie klug, gesittet und geschickt werden" (5). (She should only become clever and in no way well educated. She isn't rich, so only a sensible man will take her. And if she is to please such a man and help make his life easy, she must be clever, well mannered, and capable.) Hardly contesting the law of the father, Gellert's heroine strove only to follow the direction he had prescribed for her. By 1750, the novel, via English influence, was fully domesticated. It was no longer French, nor was it a tale critiquing the rule of men.

Talander's 1696 *Amazons* provides an early example of how local writers helped the novel everywhere go native. At first glance, Talander's title must have seemed to promise consumers further exploits of *femmes fortes*. And some passages do echo the rhetoric of marriage's enslavement of women. Yet the similarities to novels such as those French originals digested in *Monthly Fruits* prove only superficial.

Unlike other heroines of the day, Talander's Amazons ultimately did not finally reject a partnership with men or prefer the company of other women. Despite the assertion that they were Amazons, these heroines bowed gracefully to male rule.²⁷

The novel's de rigueur frontispiece depicts a cavalry company in the lower left foreground, on horseback with lances raised, charging toward a group of foot soldiers in the right middle foreground who wield bows and arrows—some already aloft and fast approaching the Amazons (fig. 12). Despite these women warriors' masculine posture, their identity as women is unmistakable; despite their symbolic appropriation of pants, they remain clothed in skirts, carefully feminized. Their clearly visible faces appear all the whiter in contrast to the inky darkness of the foot soldiers. Individual faces are lost in this group of warriors, their blackness punctuated only by their short white skirts and the feathers they wear on their head. A military encampment in the middle background, replete with tents and wagons, attests to the organization of an Amazonian army. Rows of tents wind back from left to right and remain just visible behind the plateau upon which a large building perches. This building is presumably the cloister that the women have exited. Behind the black warriors, the cloister is no longer under Amazonian control. The Amazons, whose tents surround the building on several sides, are intent on retaking it.

Thus prepared by this fashionable engraving for a tale of Amazonian military exploits, the reader must plow through more than 150 pages to witness the appearance of an Amazon. Featuring a tangle of thwarted love stories set at the Castilian court, a thicket of narratives from which Amazonian heroines barely emerge, Talander's hybrid romance-novel at length removed its heroines to a cloister.²⁸ When it was overrun by invading Moors, the lovesick women, under Princess Hermione's leadership, decided to give battle and contribute their forces to the gathered Castilian army. The language rendering their decision recalls women warriors, such as Hildegard or *L'heroïne mousquetaire*: "Weil sie nun von Jugend auff in denen Uebungen der Jagd auffgezogen/ und also Schwerdt und Lantze zuführen nicht ungewohnt/ so war ihr einmüthiger Entschluß/ die Waffen zu ergreifen/ und durch tapfferes Entgegengehen wider die Feinde sehen zu lassen" (152). (Because they had been raised since youth in the ways of the hunt, and so were not unaccustomed

27. Obviously, Talander's choice of title also attests to the popularity of the cloister setting, a popular mark of protopornographic tales, such as *Vénus dans le Cloître*. This title, known more widely as *L'École des filles*, was famously believed to have been written by a woman, Aloisa Sigea, but was actually by the learned Nicolas Chorier. See Turner. Simply the word *cloister* in a title was sufficient lure for a reader familiar with lurid tales of "monastic" life, such as *Le Capucin démasqué* (Cologne, 1682), translated into German probably in the 1680s as *Der entlarvte Capuciner* (Cölln, n.d.)

28. The many tales of thwarted love—much more typical of romance than the novel—include the hero Friolardo for the heroine Hermione; Hermione for Friolardo; the Neapolitan prince Moldaschio for Hermione; Friolardo for Stellandra; the princess Olympie and the *Cavallier* Altamire; the Moorish prince Amafil for both Hermione and her sister Herophile; Moldaschio for Herophile; Eriadne for Friolardo; Negro ponto for Eriadne; and another Moorish prince, Suitilla, as well as his son, Lisuart, for Hermione.



Figure 12. Frontispiece to Talander's novel *Amazons from the Cloister* (1696). Talander's Amazons are missing neither breasts nor skirts. They give battle to Moors but bow to Spanish husbands. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

to bearing sword and lance, they unanimously seized upon the valiant decision to take up weapons and let their enemies know them by their brave resistance.) Like other Amazonian heroines popular in contemporaneous novels, these women were born sword in hand.

Talander's women warriors, however, presented little threat to traditional hierarchies of sex and gender. The frontispiece did not depict them in skirts by accident; these Amazons truly failed to appropriate pants. Their decision to go to war received a warm welcome from Don Francesco, commander of Spanish troops. They guaranteed that his men would fight bravely. The Amazons would be their cheerleaders. Don Francesco had

wol urtheilend/ daß diese Schönheiten/ ob sie schon durch eigen Faust wenig grosse Thaten verrichten würden/ dennoch denen Rittern eine mächtige Reitzung seyn könnten/ sich durch tapfferes Fechten bey ihnen beliebt zu machen. Denn derselbe müste mit einer allzu schimfflichen Zaghafftigkeit versehen seyn/ welcher in Gegenwart so vornehmer und schöner Fräulein nicht solte dahin streben/ durch Ueberwindung seines Feindes den Ruhm der Tapfferkeit zu erwerben. (151–52)

judged wisely that these beauties, although they would perform few extraordinary feats with their own hands, could nonetheless provide powerful incentive to his knights to ingratiate themselves by means of their valiant battle. He who did not seek to garner the fame of bravery in the presence of so many distinguished and beautiful maidens must have been born with a cowardice beneath contempt.

Far from contesting the soldiers' heroism, the embodiment of the rule of men, Talander's "Amazons" and "incomparable heroines" (*unvergleichliche Heldinnen*) only served it, making the men twice as manly as they would otherwise have been.²⁹

In addition to distorting Amazonian heroism, Talander also deployed the rhetoric of love's slavery and marital bondage but emptied it of its critical, political thrust. Herophile, for example, claimed to be unwilling to give up her freedom for the bonds of marriage. She told her suitor that "sie hätte ihre Freyheit annoch zu lieb/ als daß sie sich in die Dienstbarkeit des Liebens bey so früher Jugend einlassen solte" (186). (She still loved her liberty too much to enter into the servitude of love still in her youth.) But her response to his marriage proposal was only pro forma.³⁰

29. The Moors are portrayed as belonging to another order of being than the Europeans. Their otherness—marked by the blackness of the frontispiece—is also built into the plot structure of the *Amazons*. Of all the love stories, only those of the Moors are left unresolved. Most strikingly, the Moorish prince, Lisuart, unaccountably disappears from the tale's end. Several Moorish princes desire to marry Hermione, but she rejects their proposals in language typical of the text's ascription of insatiable desires to the Moor: "Zum wenigsten habe ich nicht Willens/ mich eines verliebten Mohren seinen Lüsterlichen Begierden aufzuoopffern" (172). (Least of all do I wish to offer myself up to the salacious desires of an enamoured Moor.) Unlike the other Moorish princes, Lisuart is said to possess considerable virtue. Considering Lisuart's actions, Friolardo observes "daß auch die Tugend in der Barbarey zu Hause/ und dieser Prinz eines großmüthigen Geistes seyn müste" (that virtue can also be at home in Barbary and that this prince must be a valiant soul) (288). Despite Lisuart's exemplarity, any resolution of his love for Hermione is apparently not worthy of account. While all the Spanish characters eventually find a suitable marriage partner, Lisuart simply vanishes from the narrative.

30. Herophile's freedom proclamation was really only playing hard to get. Her regret at the success of her own game is depicted at length. Her beloved believes her eschewal of marriage and abruptly

Talander's *Amazons*, including Herophile, soon made their way to the altar. Talander couched love in metaphors of chains and bondage—and so enslaved his heroines in a servitude for which they longed.

Despite its fashionable language, up-to-date Spanish setting, necessary frontispiece, and characters who spoke of marriage's slavery, Talander's *Amazons* ultimately questioned the desirability of marriage for a woman in only the very faintest of tones. Even the Amazons' "queen," Hermione, had pined for love after her retreat to the cloister and worried that only death awaited her there. She questioned herself: "Ach unvergnügte Hermione; solst du deine Sehnsucht in ein Kloster verbergen/ und sollen diese zarten Glieder zwischen diesen leblosen Steinen vermodern?" (136). (Oh unsatisfied Hermione; should you conceal your longing in a cloister? Should you allow your delicate body to rot among these lifeless stones?) At night, she dreamed only of the caresses she had sacrificed:

Schlieff sie/ so kame ihr Friolarden Bildnüß allezeit im Traume vor/ derselbe mocht nun gut oder böse sein/ so war er doch allezeit eine Reitzung zu neuer Schwermuth. Denn wann sie dünckete/ als ob sie mit diesem Herrn in die süssesten Liebes=Geschäfte sich eingelassen/ so seuffzte/ wann sie erwachete/ daß auf dieses Schatten=Werck kein wirklicher Genuß erfolgte. (136–37)

When she slept, images of Friolardo appeared constantly in her dreams. He might be good or evil, but he always prompted her spirit to fall. For although it seemed as if she had entered into the sweetest of love's commerce with this gentleman, when she awoke she lamented that no real pleasure resulted from the play of shadows.

Talander's heroines' lusty heterosexual desire evacuated any trace of the famous Amazonian preference for all-female sociability.³¹ Instead, his Amazons devoted their energies solely to the pursuit of love and marriage. Hermione finally wed Friolardo, allowing the conclusion, "und/ wo es noch dem Heydenthum gewesen/ würde sie so viele Anbether/ vor sich Fußfällig gesehen haben/ als Personen auff dem Königlichen Saale waren; denn sie ohne Zweiffel vor die Venus wäre gehalten worden" (317–18). (And if it had still been in heathen times, she would have had as many worshipers at her feet as were people in the royal chamber; for she was without doubt beholden as Venus.) The Amazon had really been the goddess of love all

departs. She remonstrates herself for his keenly felt loss: "Wozu habe ich dich gebracht/ geliebtester Printz/ du fliehst umb meiner Willen... Muß ich nun erst durch deinen Abzug lernen/ daß man die Gegengunst nicht über die Zeit bergen sol?" (188). (What have I brought you to, beloved prince, you have fled according to my will... Must I learn from your retreat that you shouldn't conceal the return of affection for too long?)

31. Talander's depiction of convent life and his suggestion that the celibate life created all manner of perversion, not devotion, was of course informed by Luther's critiques of convents, monastic life, and the reformer's insistence on clerical marriage.

along. Rendering Hermione another Venus, Talander sought to stabilize any possible disorder stirred up by his heroine.

As it turned out, Talander's heroines understood only fashion's letter, not its spirit. His hybrid novels instantiate an early, critical moment in the long process by which the novel was domesticated for a European market. Talander's *Amazons* returned *unheimliche* French heroines to hearth and home, having appropriated the French form for local purposes.

One Talander Production Disavows Another

In 1696 Talander not only digested French fruits and wrote "love stories" ending in wedded bliss, powerful documents of the ongoing German domestication of the French novel. That year, he also slipped from August Bohse's grasp. Bohse's loss of control of the pseudonym further attests that the domestic market for novels was competitive. But Talander's escape from Bohse also reveals something about how novelistic fictions were produced. Many hands, it turns out, wrote a *Roman*. Bohse was probably the lead author of most Talander productions. Only in the cases where his leadership was contested can we recover the work of other hands.

Authorial collaboration, it turns out, was a process so regular and so unremarkable that it was only acknowledged when the rules were broken. Collaboration was the rule, not the exception. But if we shake our modern expectations of authors as individuals (of more or less genius) hunched alone over their papers, we become sensitive to the widespread use of corporate authorship. We know that various kinds of collectives authored the most famous French *romans* and *nouvelles* written in the seventeenth century.³² We should perhaps not be so surprised to find collaborations behind names and novels that are so clearly poached from French models. Behind Talander, it turns out, stood a woman. While Bohse domesticated heroines, women writers turn up behind his fugitive pseudonym. Such was the disorder that ruled the novel in 1700.

Bohse's ultimate inability to secure "Talander" solely for his own use attests, perhaps, to the unscrupulous, at times illegal, business practices then common to the publishing industry and the book trade. But in a world where the concept of copyright was unknown and notions of intellectual property rights had little legal traction, the pseudonym's proliferation can tell us very little about theft. Some pseudonyms, of course, were chosen to help writers and publishers break laws regulating libel and treason. Yet Talander, as Bohse's repeated efforts to claim the name attest, was not a name coined to avoid the censor. Rather than theft, the pseudonym instead attests to the importance of branding among a glut of titles. By

32. DeJean discusses the different kinds of collaborations engaged in by Scudéry and then by Lafayette (*Tender Geographies*).

1696, “Talander” was a marquee brand on the subsidiary German market, a brand that distinguished its titles among many fashionable commodities.

By 1696 the Talander brand was carried by no fewer than six publishers—Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Weidmann’s heirs, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, Thomas Fritsch, Johann Kaspar Meyer, and Friedrich Groschuff in Leipzig as well as Johann Theodor Boetius in Dresden—all of whom published (or republished) a Talander title in 1695–1696 alone. They did not always do so with Bohse’s permission. Bohse had recognized the capital that his name represented, lending it, as we have seen, to translator Charizado and publisher Martin Scherpentier in Jena. He had, in fact, done something similar two years earlier. In the preface to *Die Durchlauchtigste Olorena/ Oder Warhafftige Staats- und Liebes-Geschichte dieser Zeit* (The Most Illustrious Olorena, or A True State and Love History of Our Times), published by Moritz Georg Weidmann in 1694, Talander explained that a “renowned” author had left a manuscript unfinished.³³ He, Talander, revised it to make the first four parts of *Olorena*, inventing only that novel’s final fifth section for publication.³⁴

But by 1696 Bohse had also become a victim of Talander’s success. The famous name circulated beyond Bohse’s control. By this date, a slightly modified form of the pseudonym had already been put to work on others’ title pages several times. This use of the authorial signature represented a loss against which Bohse sought hedges. In the preface to the 1696 love story *Die getreue Slavyn Doris* (The Faithful Slave Doris), Talander sought to stem his losses and to “remind the reader of one other thing”:

Es werden einige Romanen/ wie auch andere Schrifften/ so bißhero herausgekommen/
und denen nicht der völlige Nahme Talander/ sondern nur ein blosses T. vorstehet/
oder da sonst des Verfassers angenommener Nahme meinem angebohrnen Zunahmen
etwas nachartet vor die meinigen ausgeben/ und als meine Arbeit verkaufft/ auch so
gar von einem Verleger unter dem Nahmen Talanders in die *Catalogos* gesetzt; indem
ich aber die Herren *Autores* solcher Schrifften nicht gerne der Ehre ihrer Bemühung
berauben will/ so sie etwan daraus möchten zu gewarten haben/ so bitte nichts vor
das meinige zu halten/ als wo der ausdrückliche Nahme Talander bey dem Titul des
Tractats stehet. Denn ich nicht so ehrgeitzig/ daß ich mich mit andrer Leute Ruhme
bereichern will/ auch nicht so hochmüthig/ daß ich/ wo selbige geirret/ frembde Schwach-
heit vertheidigen wolte/ indem ich mit der meinigen genug zu thun habe. (n.p.)

33. Dünnhaupt lists the author of the manuscript that Talander reworked as Ernst Jacob von Auertoff (1: 727).

34. Over the next two decades, Bohse continued to lend the Talander name, presumably for a tidy profit, to other publications for which he provided a preface. Talander is often misidentified, for example, as the first German translator of Antoin Galland’s *Mille et une nuits*, including most recently in the Pléiades edition of Galland’s text (2005). The title page of this translation lists only Talander’s name (he supplied a foreword) but does not, as is so often the case, list the actual translators. The first of this translation’s twelve volumes appeared under the title *Die Tausend und eine Nacht* in 1710, issued by Gleditsch and Weidmann in Leipzig.

Several novels and other works have previously come out prefaced not by the full name Talander, but with a plain T., or with a name appropriated by the writer that resembles my given name. These have been presented as mine, sold as my work, and even been listed by one publisher in [his] *Catalogos* under the name Talander. Because I hardly want to rob the gentlemen *Autores* of the honor of their efforts, I request you not believe anything to be mine unless the full name Talander appears with the title of the *Tractat*. For I am not so ambitious that I seek to enrich myself with other people's glory and not so arrogant that I seek to defend others' errant weaknesses, seeing that I have enough of my own to deal with.

Beginning in 1691, a serially published anthology, *Das Durchlauchtige Archiv* (The Illustrious Archive), containing statesmen's speeches, letters, and treatises, had been brought out by Johann Theodor Boetius and Johann Heinrich Georg in Dresden. A stylish frontispiece graced its cover. All the materials collected, the title page advertises, were "vorgestellet von T." (presented by T.).

Had this adaptation of the Talander name not sufficed to rile Bohse, in 1696, as we have noted, a title by "the constant T." was published in Frankfurt: *Die versteckte Liebe im Kloster* (Love Concealed in the Cloister). In addition to making use of the Talander pseudonym without remunerating Bohse, its use connected the title to Bohse's *Amazons* and to still other racy titles set in monasteries and convents. In comparison to other titles authored by Talander, including the *Amazons*, with the considerable libidinal energies of its heroines, *Love Concealed* is more sexually explicit. It features many of the hallmarks of erotic or pornographic fiction, including a common narrative technique: the peeping Tom who spotted monks and nuns in flagrante through every keyhole he spied.³⁵ Bohse may have feared "the constant T." would adversely affect the Talander name, staining it with scandal. Perhaps he was right. But scandal sold, and two years later "the constant T." struck again. His new title teasingly promised a reader possibly familiar with his previous publication more of the same: *Die Albanische Sulma: in einer wohlständigen und reinen Liebes-Geschichte samt andern mit einlauffenden artigen Begebenheiten und beygefügeten Brieffen* (Sulma of Albania: A Well-Composed and Pure Love Story Joined by Intervening Charming Events and Accompanying Letters). In case the whiff of sex from the title was not strong enough, the title page claimed "Marteau of Cölln" as its publisher.³⁶

Perhaps such titles' delight in sexual excess represented the "errant weakness" that Bohse was anxious not to "defend" with the name Talander. Whatever the case, Bohse's erstwhile publishers, Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Moritz Georg Weidmann's heirs, seem to have had no such scruples. When they brought out Talander's *Amazons* in 1696, they claimed its place of publication to be the notorious

35. See Goulemot.

36. *Sulma of Albania* was published at least one more time, in 1713.

“Cölln.”³⁷ And they repeated this same advertisement of racy content in a 1698 edition of the same title. The publisher’s well-known real names on the title pages surely alerted prospective buyers that *Amazons* was not really from Cologne. Instead, the use of “Cölln” strengthened the suggestion of scandal that the title’s *Cloister* already implied. Whether Bohse minded his publisher’s marketing of *Amazons* is unclear. And we do not know whether he believed it to impinge on his reputation.³⁸ The name, however, was clearly not in his hands alone.

In subsequent years, Bohse’s control over the profitable name grew even more flimsy. Disputes over the use of the brand escalated with the publication of *Die liebenswürdige Europäerin Constantine* (The Adorable European Constantine) (1698) by Frankfurt publisher Christoph Hülße. Bohse was nothing less than furious about this title’s use of his name, and he adamantly distanced himself from it. To do so, he appended notices to other Talander publications. In a prefatory note to the “love story” *Ariadne*, for example, he insisted that he had ineluctably been compelled to defend his name, for, he alleged, his name had been stolen:

Indem ich dessen gütigen Urtheil einen neuen *Roman* von der *Toledanischen* Kröhn=Printzeßin *Ariadne* unterwerffe/ so kömmt mir eben eine andere unter meinem bißher geführten Nahmen *Talander* in Druck gegebene Liebes=Geschichte in die Hände/ die **Liebens=würdige *Europäerin Constantine*** genannt/ welches Buch gewißlich mich bey der galanten Welt sehr *prostituiren* würde/ wenn ich mich nicht öffentlich allhier entschuldige/ daß nicht die Hälfte von demselben meine Arbeit sey; sondern wider meinen Willen und Vorbewust so viel albern und abgeschmackt Zier durch eine unzeitige Feder und allen Bogen dazwischen geflickt worden/ daß dadurch alles/ was etwan an der Geschichte gutes gewesen/ verdorben. Und ich nicht ohne Aergerniß erfahre/ daß ich eines andern heimlich gesuchten Gewinnst zu befordern meinen Nahmen zu fremden Schmierereyn und Schwachheiten herleihen muß/ Wie es denn dem Verleger der *Constantine* sehr wohl angestanden hätte/ mich erstlich darum zu begrüßen/ ob es mit meiner Genehmigung geschähe/ daß ein anderer zu meinen Schrifften ein hauffen ungeremtes dazu schmaderte/ und mein eigen *concept* mit allerhand wunderlichen Zwischen=Historien und erbärmlichen *inventionibus*, auch unbesonnener Vorrede und angeheffter *Comædie* schändete/ so/ daß kaum was abgeschmackters von dergleichen Liebes=Geschichten in denen Buchläden liegt/ als eben diese erbarmens=würdige *Constantine*. (4r-5v)

As I [herewith] submit a new novel about the crown princess *Ariadne* of Toledo to the reader’s generous judgment, another love story hot off the press called *The Adorable European Constantine* has just fallen into my hands bearing the name previously

37. Dünnhaupt lists an edition of *Faithful Bellamira* from 1696 that also gives “Cölln” as its place of publication (I: 723).

38. The publishers’ location of Talander’s *Amazons* in “Cölln” must not have done Bohse any lasting harm, for he was eventually appointed professor at the newly founded Ritterakademie in 1708.

worn by me, Talander. Without a public explanation, this book would unquestionably prostitute me to the gallant world; not half of the book is mine. Instead, against my will and a prior agreement, an inopportune pen has tacked on many ridiculous and tasteless flourishes, and so corrupted anything good about the story. And I have discovered with no little irritation that I have had to loan my name to another's scribblings and add to his illicitly sought profit. It might have been suitable for *Constantine's* publisher first to ask me whether I found it agreeable that someone else was spewing a pile of inanity upon my work and defiling my own *concept* with any number of improbable vignettes, pitiful inventions, and a tacked-on comedy such that there is hardly a more tasteless love story available in the bookshops than precisely this pitiable *Constantine*.

The real Talander, the note proclaimed, would never have written such a "pitiable" love story. Bohse made an otherwise unidentifiable "W" responsible for the "pile of inanity" and "improbable vignettes, pitiful inventions, and a tacked-on comedy" that rendered this *Constantine* so "pitiable."

Four years earlier, Bohse elaborated in his prefatory note, sometime in 1694, "W" had approached him: "So ist vor nunmehr vier Jahren ohngefahr der in der anderen Vorrede sich unterschreibende Mann ['W'] in Jena zu mir gekommen/ und hat mir von dieser *Constantine* eigenhändig meist an ihne geschriebene Brieffe bey die dreyßig Stück neben seinen *Concepten* der darnach ertheilten Antworten *communiciret*" (5v). (About four years ago, he who has signed the other preface ["W"] came to me in Jena and communicated personally to me the roughly thirty letters that he had received as well as the drafts of his responses.) Recognizing that such letters provided perfect material for a novel, W spied financial opportunity. Although Bohse may have disparaged W's acumen, W accurately diagnosed that letters had become a popular—and quite fashionable—novelistic narrative technique. The letter had provided the vehicle for Aulnoy's best-selling Spanish travels, for example. Before Aulnoy, the connection between letters and the novel had already been made famous, however, by the *Lettres Portugaises*. These love letters were long thought to be written by a "real" Portuguese nun to her "real" French beloved.³⁹ First published in 1669, they went through countless editions in various countries and languages. Continuations, sequels, and imitations had since proliferated, such as the edition that Talander had digested in both June and July's issues of *Monthly Fruits*. There the nun's letters had been "augmented" not only by her cavalier's answers but also by letters written by another woman writer, Anne de Bellinzani Ferrand, Présidente (1657–1740). Thus, when W initially approached Bohse with his cache, both men knew women's letters made both novels and money.

39. Literary historians largely agree today that the letters were written by Guillerague.

Bohse continued in his note: “Dabey er [W] denn mich sehr gebeten/ dieses alles nach Art meiner bißherigen *Romanen* in eine Liebes=Geschichte zu bringen und ihm vor danckbahre Zahlung das *manuscript* zukommen zu lassen” (5v-r). (He [W] beseeched me to bring all this material into the form of a love story like my earlier novels and to send him the manuscript in exchange for grateful payment.) Bohse then, he reported, set to work shortening the letters written by W by a third, since each of his texts filled up a whole printer’s sheet, roughly sixteen pages of a typical novel in octavo format. His letters were too rambling to keep the novel’s length and price down. After chopping the length of W’s windy epistles, Bohse continued:

Nach dessen Endigung sendete ich es diesem zu; er hat es drey gantzer Jahr zurück gehalten/ und nun kömmt diese schöne Geburth an das Licht/ da er erstlich meine beygefügte gantz kurtze Vorrede nicht ohne seine Noten gelassen/ sondern aus einem Blate derselben drey gemacht/ und allerhand läppische *parentheses* und *phrases* mit eingeschoben; hernach meinen Nahmen lassen darunter setzen. (5r)

After its completion, I sent it to him. He kept it back three whole years; and only now is this beautiful birth seeing the light of day. He could not leave my short foreword without his notes, making three folios from one and sandwiching in all sorts of wishy-washy parentheses and expressions, below which he had my name placed.

W simply did not understand the genre, Bohse alleged. He had used the Talander name to advertise a bad novel. The damage to the brand, on the forefront of novelistic production since Bohse began its management in 1689, could have been severe.

W, Talander fumed, had not comprehended the niceties of the burgeoning genre’s form. Not only was his style too long-winded and the immoderate praise he added of Constantine sure to receive her disapprobation, “when she herself gets it to read” (6v); but W had inserted all sorts of material simply inappropriate for a novel. Not the prose of letters suitable to a new novel, W’s writing was suited only for an old-fashioned sermon. W had extolled the virtues of his acquaintance, Constantine, to the skies, Talander remarked with disdain, and then:

Bald [will er] einen rechten Straff=Prediger abgeben [...]/ und auf die Sicherheit der Welt/ auff das Lügen/ auff Erkaltung der brüderlichen Liebe/ auff die *processe*, die Atheistery/ das Sabbathschänden/ den Eigennutz/ das Schwelgen und Prassen/ das *Duelliren*/ die Hoffahrt und auff andere Laster dermassen eyfert/ als ob er eine Buß=Predigt in Druck geben. (n.p.v)

He next wants to act the part of a severe preacher. Thus he denounces worldly complaisance, lies, the cooling of brotherly love, legal suits, atheism, the breaking of the Sabbath, self-interest, feasting and wallowing, dueling, haughty pride and other vices as if he was preparing to have a penitential sermon brought into print.

Worst of all for Talander's leading reputation, W did not know the meaning of the French sprinkled throughout his prose: "So ist auch das untergemischte Frantzöische so albern/ daß man wohl siehet/ wie er seine *ignoranz* in dieser Sprache zu verstehen gegeben" (n.p.). (The mixed-in French is so foolish that anyone can see his ignorance of the language.) Most ridiculous among his many linguistic mistakes, Talander snidely pointed out, was the constant use of the word *Romain* (a Roman) for *Roman* (a novel):

Und damit ich ihm doch nur etwas allhier davon lerne/ so muß er wissen/ daß das Wort/ welches er sonst hin und wieder brauchet: *Romain*, einen Römer bedeutet/ und nicht einen *Roman*. Nun aber schreibe ich keine **Römer** sondern **Romanen**. . . . Und dieses ist also das gantze Werck von seinem Anfang biß zum Ende/ welches nunmehr zu nichts bessers als zu *Maculatur* zu gebrauchen. (n.p.)

And so that I might teach him something on the subject, he should know that the word that he employs here and there, *Romain*, means a Roman and not a *Roman* [a romance/novel]. Now I don't write Romans; I write novels. . . . And this is the whole work from its beginning to its end. There is no better use for it than as maculature [blotting paper].

Talander certainly went to considerable lengths in his note to stain W's reputation and to blot out his own responsibility for *Constantine*.⁴⁰

But, we must remember, Talander claimed that there had been no need for him to edit the letters among those given him by W written by Constantine herself: "*Constantinen* ihre noch von ziemlichen Geiste mir geschienen" (I found Constantine's texts of considerable merit) (5r). A woman, it turned out, originally authored Talander's text.

Was this claim that Constantine had written half of the novel's letters another elaborate fiction, one more veil the genre cast over the truth? I find this unlikely, although not impossible. Attribution to a woman author would only have helped advertise *The Adorable European Constantine*, a title that Bohse sought to disown. In his campaign to expose W's misappropriation of the Talander brand, Bohse would have been unlikely to credit "Constantine" with authorship if a woman had not really written the text. But perhaps the entire episode—the bad novel, the disavowal, the stolen name, W, and Constantine—was a hoax, another fictionalization of "real" events. In the novel in 1696, it is impossible to say for sure. Yet, were it all untrue, August Bohse would turn out to be a more ingenious writer than is the author of the fashionably formulaic love stories attributed to Talander.

40. In an ironic twist of fate, when *Constantine* was reissued as a photographic reprint in 1970 by the Minerva Press, the publisher embossed its spine with gold letters spelling out the name Bohse, despite Bohse's efforts to deny his authorship. This title is the sole volume within Talander's *oeuvre* available in a modern reprint.

In any case, at the turn of the century, German-language poetic handbooks and anthologies gathered the names of notable German women writers. Documenting women's intellectual and poetic talents was a central part of the high-stakes game of preeminence among modern nations. Daniel Magnus Omeis, for example, leader of Nuremberg's poetical society, the Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz, eagerly promoted German women's poetry in his *Fundamental Introduction to German Poetry* (1704). In fact, he dedicated his handbook to "dem *galanten* Frauenzimmer/ deßen nicht geringer Theil heut zu Tage große Neigung zur Teutschen Poësie träget" (gallant women, among whom today no small part is devoted to German poetry) (4r). Other titles that decade by Christian Franz Paullini (1643–1712) and Johann Caspar Eberti (1677–1760) proclaimed that German women writers no longer lagged behind their French rivals.⁴¹ Were the Germans to imitate the French successfully, they also needed women who wrote. Thus Bohse's suggestion that a German woman, Constantine, could write letters as elegantly as Aulnoy, Bellinzani, and other French women was a story—whether real or fictional—that patriotic Germans would have been eager to believe.

The many guides and handbooks to poetry in the vernacular, such as that authored by Omeis, unlocked the mysteries of rhyme and meter to aspiring poets—men and women alike. Epistolary guides similarly promised to help their consumers author letters no less gallant than the fictions they read. Perhaps, and it was entirely possible, Constantine had even consulted one of Talander's own letter-writing manuals.

The Art and Life of the Letter

In 1696, Thomas Fritsch further sought to shore up his firm's unstable position with a title that appealed directly to women interested in writerly activities: an expanded and "improved" edition of Talander's *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst; oder Liebes- und Freundschafts=Briefe Nebst einem nöthigen Titular=Büchlein. Mit vielen neuen Exempeln anietzo verbessert von Talandern* (The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art; or Love and Friendship Letters Including a Necessary Guide to Titles; Improved with Many New Examples by Talander).⁴² Fritsch's stepfather, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, had first published it in 1692.⁴³ Four years later, Fritsch had recognized the profitability in the market for titles aimed explicitly at women readers, also bringing out *Des galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin* (The Gallant Lady's Clever Tutoress), another French translation. Talander, in his

41. See their texts in the editions by Gössman. See also Goodman's chapter on a later Eberti title, *Schlesiens Hoch- und Wohlgelehrtes Frauenzimmer* (Silesia's Highly and Well-Educated Women) (1727).

42. The epistolary guide had first been published in 1692, before Fritsch's stepfather decamped. Fritsch would publish the expanded version of Talander's manual at least one more time, in 1703.

43. In 1692, Talander also published another epistolary guide, *Der allzeitfertige Brieffsteller* (The Ever-Ready Guide to Letter Writing), for sale in Dresden by Boetius.

preface to the letter-writing guide, emphasized that his publisher had requested a change in the guide's original title so that it would appeal directly to female consumers.⁴⁴ Talander's epistolary guide, like other German-language manuals on the market, borrowed as liberally from French models as did his novels.⁴⁵

To find a good model, a letter writer might have consulted a novel, maybe one of those digested in *Monthly Fruits*.⁴⁶ But even if she opened a book that identified itself as a letter-writing manual, the same prose conventions held sway. Seminal in this regard is Jean Puget de La Serre's (1600–1665) epistolary manual, translated into German in 1661.⁴⁷ The German title promised this version of La Serre's guide to be as useful as it was up-to-date: *Herrn de la Serre Vermehrter und Emendirter Politischer Alamodischer Hoff-Stylus. Hievor in Frantzösischer Sprache beschrieben: Jetzt aber Jedermänniglich zum besten in unsere Muttersprach/ als Teutsche Manier verkleidet/ auff vielfältiges anhalten in diesem Format gestellet: und augiret mit einer Titularform/ Wie man Nach heutigem stylo artige Ingressen und Final=clausulen/ und rechtmässig an Hohe und Niderstands=Personen den Titul geben solle* (Mr. de la Serre's Expanded and Emended Political and Fashionable Courtly Stylus. Formerly Written in French, but Now Given for Everyone's Best in Our Native Tongue and Outfitted in the German Manner, Rendered in This Format upon the Wishes of

44. In a foreword included in both the 1692 edition and the 1703 edition of *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art*, Talander elaborated that before it was finished it had been advertised with the title *Galante Mercur*. He apologized to anyone who had gone to "the bookshops" (*Buchläden*) and come away disappointed. Because a "Tractate" had just been published under that very title—perhaps the German translation of Donneau de Visé's *Mercur galante*—Fritsch had asked for a new title. The publisher made sure the title page addressed women, although Talander went to lengths in the foreword to assure men that there were plenty of sample letters in the guide for them too.

In 1696 Fritsch was the first German publisher of Fontenelle's famous (and frequently translated) *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*. Fritsch's German title page emphasized the book's possible appeal to women readers: *Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten* (Conversations on More Than One World between a Lady and a Philosopher). As is so often the case, Fontenelle's early German translator is unknown. Gottsched translated Fontenelle's *Entretiens* again in 1727.

45. See Erwentraut for other letter-writing manuals popular in the German market at the turn of the eighteenth century.

46. Satirists loved to send up both men and women who pronounced speeches straight out of romances and novels. In the *Gantz Neu=Allmodische Sitten=Schule* (Completely New and Altogether Fashionable School for Manners), for example, a man woos his beloved with outdated speeches from old romances: "Hat einer Damen/ so in ihren besten Jugend-Jahren sind/ vor sich/ bey denen er sich beliebt zu machen gedencket/ so will sich sonderlich gebühren/ fein reinlich nach der neuesten Kleider=Tracht zu halten und aller zierlichen Redens=Arten zu befeißigen/ zu den Ende die Africanische Sophonißbe: Der Adriatische Rosemund: Die Arcadia: Ibrahim's/ des Durchlauchtigen Bassa: Ariana: Diana: Eromena: Lysender und Kalistar Harsdörffers Frauen=Zimmer Gesprächsspiele zum öfftern zu lesen sind" (117–18). (Should a young man find ladies in the prime of youth before him, it is particularly important that he maintain himself properly in the newest clothing costumes and devote himself to the most elegant turns of phrase, to which end: *The African Sophonisbe; The Adriatic Rosemund; Arcadia; The Illustrious Bassa Ibrahim; Ariana; Diana, Eromena; Lysender and Kalistar*; [and] Harsdörffer's *Ladies' Conversational Games* should be read often.)

47. Puget's 1625 *Le Secrétaire à la mode* went through numerous editions. Puget, Gaston d'Orléans's librarian, was also a prolific novelist and historian.

Many: and Supplemented with a Titulary Guide to Address Persons of Both High and Low Quality by Their Right Titles in Both Introductions and Closings). The title indicated the guide's uses for everyday life, providing sought-after information on crucial epistolary conventions, and a mentor through the confusing niceties of how to address all possible correspondents with their correct titles.

But upon closer inspection a guide apparently so practical provided samples for situations presumably not part of most letter writers' quotidian existence. One, for example, gave a model for "Einer Dame Schreiben an einen Printzen/ der sie gegen ihr verlieben in das Gefängnis zu werffen befohlen" (A woman's letter to a prince who had ordered her imprisoned because of love). The letter's author rendered the rhetoric of love's tyranny no less masterfully than did many novelists.⁴⁸ She reminded her tyrannical princely lover: "Auff das wenigste erinnere ich mich/ daß/ als E.G. in mein Gefängnis gerahten/ dero mein Hertz zu einem süßen Kercker gedienet/ von derselben anjetzo gleichmässigen Tractaments zu verhoffen" (144–45). (At the very least I remember that when Your Majesty first fell into my prison, my heart served you as a sweet cell, and thus I remain hopeful that Your Majesty might now treat me in the same manner.)

Talander's guide for women was no different. "Vindician" requests that "Climene" allow him to visit her, although her husband treats her "als eine Gefangene" (like a prisoner) (126) and in a manner "mehr als tyrannisch" (more than tyrannical) (140). Another series of exchanged letters features a correspondence between two girlfriends. One is about to be married, when her friend sends a letter sure to confirm any pre-wedding jitters felt by the bride-to-be: "Die Ermahnung/ ihnen bald zu folgen/ nehme ich zwar mit erkenntlichstem Dancke an/ allein mein Sinn liebet die Freyheit sehr/ und möchte sich nicht leicht zu Aenderung des ledigen Lebens entschliessen können" (685). (I accept with due gratitude the admonition that I should soon follow your lead, but I do so very much appreciate my freedom that I may not easily be able to resolve myself to change my unmarried condition.) By no coincidence did the guide's fashionable frontispiece (fig. 13) closely resemble that of Talander's novel *The Gallant Lady's Cabinet of Love* (see fig. 10). Literary women preside over the title pages of both.⁴⁹ Like novel heroines, the letter writer is seated at her desk, alone in her cabinet save for the winged putto who holds her inkpot at the ready. On the desk in front of her lie writing paper and letters already completed. Books grace the shelves that hang on her cabinet's brocaded walls. This fashionable woman writer had a room of her own centuries *avant la lettre*. She was indisputably master of her own story.

48. See also Griminger who helpfully calls gallant novels "disguised epistolary guides" (658).

49. I have not been able to see the frontispiece to the 1696 edition. My discussion is based on the frontispiece to the 1692 edition. The 1703 edition also included a frontispiece, not substantially different from that from 1692, but with fewer details and of generally lower quality. The quotations below are based on the 1703 edition, whose text follows that of Fritsch's "improved" edition from 1696.



Figure 13. Frontispiece to Talander's *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art* (1694). The gallant lady writes her own story. Books line her study. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

While Bohse may not have liked the disorder of a market that easily allowed his name to be stolen, it was a disorder that created the lively market in which Talander titles abounded. While he sought order, Bohse's readers may have preferred a lack of rules. Perhaps they picked up Talander's *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art* to learn how to write a letter. Were the letters they wrote substantially different from others published as novels?

In 1696, the genre was truly ruled by the lords of misrule. Its disorder destabilized generic conventions no less than it radically undermined the private and public orders of sex and gender. Thus that year saw Talander at work on various projects apparently at cross-purposes. His journal introduced the most up-to-date fictions with the most fashionable heroines. They simply had no desire to enter the bonds of marriage or to enslave themselves to a man. Simultaneously, Talander's Amazonian novel worked to provide strong heroines male tutelage. And all the while August Bohse inadvertently revealed that a woman, Constantine, had really provided the original letters for another novel that, unfortunately for Bohse, bore Talander's name.

The novel's critics bemoaned that life began to imitate art. Two years after Constantine's letters appeared in a Talander novel, Gotthard Heidegger, the novel's enemy in chief, pronounced that all women, "so bald sie die Romans recht gekostet/ fangen sie an sich Romantische Galantereyen zu befeiffen" (as soon as they have tasted of *Romans* [romances and novels] begin to dedicate themselves to romantic gallantries) (116). We might take Heidegger's assertion at face value. Upon reading novels, perhaps German women also began to write them. Constantine certainly had.

CONCLUSION

Robinson Crusoe *Sails on the European Market*

I do hereby give notice to all booksellers and translators whatsoever, that the word “memoir” is French for a novel.

—“ISAAC BICKERSTAFF,” writing from the Grecian Coffee-house, *The Tatler* 84
(October 22, 1709)

Engellands *delicater* Bücher=Geschmack kan bey andern *Nationen* schon voraus eine gute Meynung von diesem Buche erwecken.

England’s delicate taste in books may be enough to inspire in other nations a positive opinion about this book.

—Publisher’s preface (probably by Moritz Georg Weidmann the Younger) to the fifth German edition of Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (Leipzig, 1720)

In 1723, Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–1776) enumerated a list of thirty-five must-have titles to stock a lady’s library. The Swiss Bodmer and Breitinger, famous figures of the German Enlightenment, wrote from Zurich under the pseudonyms Dürer and Holbein. Their curriculum occupied the fifteenth issue in part 4 of the journal *Die Discourse der Mahlern* (Discourses of the Painters), which “the painters” had begun editing a few years earlier. The list, signed by Dürer, answered a question posed in a letter to the editor authored by *die Mahlerinnen* (the lady painters). They asked a question that in 1723 was everywhere on everyone’s mind: What books should a lady own?

By 1723, a new chapter in the history of the European novel had just begun, concluding the long French chapter in the genre’s history. Of course, in 1723, many things remained remarkably the same. Writers chose authorial pseudonyms; publishers faked their names and places of publication. Print novelties—novel, journal, and engravings—were still harnessed together. The work of translators continued to be essential, and often unacknowledged. Everyone sought to target female consumers and women readers, often by attributing authorship of a publication to a female author. Thus, in 1723, the European novel looked a lot like it had in 1696

or even in 1688. But two crucial changes, still modest in 1723, proved within brief decades to be dramatic. French fashion and French novelties were out. English fashion and anti-novel novelties were in. The difference mattered.

In conclusion, I sketch how fashion again shook the borders of the literary field and dramatically changed the geography of the European novel. I capture that change at a still early stage. In 1723, cracks were visible in French hegemony, but French models retained their power. The cracks were forced by the sudden emergence of England as a rival cultural power. French and English imperial contests are more usually studied in colonial North America and in the theater of war. But the battle for preeminence among the moderns involved culture wars as well. Germans, who had both resisted French influence and then sought to poach from it, saw an ally in English culture.

Bodmer and Breitinger's 1723 list provides an early example of those links that began to tie the German and English book ever more tightly together over the course of the eighteenth century. England's stature as tastemaker only grew after 1723. By the middle of the century, English influence, not French, held the promise for German cultural renewal. Already by 1723 Englishness had become fashionable. The ties between the German and the English book have long been recognized. They are exemplified, for instance, in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's reading of Samuel Richardson, and Gellert's authorship of a German novel, *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (The Life of the Swedish Countess of G***) (1747–48), whose English influence has long been emphasized. The English were imitated to still greater German critical and popular acclaim by Sophie von La Roche in *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (The Tale of the Fräulein of Sternheim) (1771). The importance of the discovery of England by eighteenth-century German men and women of letters has, of course, long been underscored by literary historians such as Fabian—and for good reason. Not only Gellert and La Roche, but the young Goethe, Schiller, and others famously recognized in Shakespeare a genius who spoke their language. As essential as this discovery of England proved for *Weltliteratur*, we should not imagine that it occurred in a vacuum.

Bodmer and Breitinger Make a List

The question posed by Zurich's "painters" in 1723—how to stock a lady's library—was one many worried over in the decades following 1700. It was, of course, not an entirely new question. The question of what a woman should read had, for example, occupied François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) in an essay translated, cited, and discussed across Europe, *De l'éducation des filles* (1688, German translation 1698, English translation 1699). In it, Fénelon worried about girls, their minds too disturbed by their books to attend to their chores. We hear the French pedagogue's concerns via the German translation (for which no less than

August Hermann Francke [1663–1727] supplied a foreword), and then via the contemporaneous anonymous English translation:

Ein armes durch dergleichen Lesung bezaubertes Frauenzimmer verwundert sich/ das sie keine diesen Helden gleich seyende Leute in der Welt findet. Sie wolte gern wie die eingebildeten Prinzeßinnen leben/ welche in denen Liebes=Geschichten allzeit liebreich/ angebetet/ und über alles erhaben sind. Was vor Verdruß/ sich von den Heldenthume zu den geringsten Dingen der Hauswirtschafft zu erniedrigen? Etlicher ihr Vorwitz gehet noch weiter/ und unterstehet sich von Religion=Sachen zu urtheilen/ da sie doch nicht geschickt zu sind. (*Von der Erziehung der Töchter* 11–13)

A poor girl filled with the tender and the surprizing strains which have Charmed her in her Reading, is astonished not to see in the World real Persons, who resemble these Heroes: She would live like these imaginary Princesses who are in the Romances, always Charming, always Adored, always above all kinds of Wants: What a disgust must it be to her to descend from this Heroical State to the meanest parts of House-Wifery.

Some carry their Curiosity yet much farther, and set themselves to the deciding matters of Religion. (*The Education of Young Gentlewomen* 9–10)

Believing themselves qualified to rule over men, like the princesses and heroines of their books, Fénelon's female readers sought to extend their control to matters of the church. While he had made a name with his pedagogical essay, the abbé gained additional, probably unwanted, fame across Europe for his anti-romance romance *Télémaque* (1699).

A treacherous *copiste* had fed Fénelon's manuscript of his up-to-date sequel to *The Odyssey* to a printer. Between 1699 and 1717, when the first authorized edition of *Télémaque* appeared, more than thirty French-language "unofficial" editions were brought into print (Coulet 297). Fénelon was tutor to the French dauphin, and he had written the book, he often claimed, to provide his princely student with a wholesome alternative to *romans*. Louis XIV interpreted Fénelon's pedagogical tool as yet another attack on French royal and religious politics. The incident was discussed widely across Europe and guaranteed the anti-romance romance's fame. It was translated by famous German *romancier* Talander in 1700.¹

The question of what books a woman should own was posed again, this time in London. In issue 37 (April 12, 1711) of *The Spectator* (1711–1714), it had busied the pen of "C." The periodical, launched only the previous month, was edited and

1. In a letter written ten years after the events occurred, Fénelon claimed: "Tout le monde sait qu'il ne m'a échappé que par l'infidélité d'un copiste" (qtd. in Coulet 297). (Everyone knows that it escaped my hands because of the treachery of a copyist.)

Fénelon's essay on girls' education was read by Pietist reformer August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), for example, who prefaced its 1698 German translation with an interesting foreword.

written—under pseudonyms, of course—by Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729), famous figures of the English Enlightenment. In this issue, C related a recent visit he had paid to “the Lady Leonora.” Her library was lovely, C reported, so “suitable both to the Lady and the Scholar” that it was newsworthy. Her books, arranged by format, were displayed with other, up-to-date novelties. She held her folios upright with “great Jars of *China*” (1). She carefully separated the quartos from the octavos, the latter “bounded by Tea Dishes of all Shapes Colours and Sizes.” C jotted down some of Leonora’s titles in his “Pocket-Book” (2).²

C admired Lady Leonora’s collection of novelties, her Asian curiosities, and her fine books. He noted with emphasis that she had lived alone since the death of her first husband. Leonora, C told the paper’s readers, “being unfortunate in her first Marriage, has taken the Resolution never to venture upon a second” (2). Addison invented Leonora for his London journal. Fonder of her books and her independence than of any man, she could also easily have featured as the heroine of a novel published in London—or Amsterdam, The Hague, Brussels, Leipzig, Dresden, or even notorious “Cölln.” Art imitated life—or was life imitating art?

Issue 37 of *The Spectator* drew connections between women, their books and learning, their novels and novelties, and their refusal to marry. These links reflected the same vibrant economy that had been invented by French novelists and their translators, vernacular imitators and adapters, publishers, and booksellers across Europe decades earlier. While conventional in this regard, Addison and Steele’s journals as well as the many imitations they spawned truly marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the European novel. Their biweekly paper, *The Tatler*, like *The Spectator*, which began a few years later, spurred competitors in England and across the continent to keep pace.

Isaac Bickerstaff, pseudonymous and querulous editor of *The Tatler*, had imitators, some of whom he must have hated. “Mrs. Crackenthorpe,” for example, edited *The Female Tatler* of 1709–1710, a publication in which famous playwright, novelist, and Tory publicist “Mrs. Manley” (Delarivier Manley) may have had a hand. Addison and Steele’s papers went into multiple editions and subsequent reprints, available for purchase in shops well into the eighteenth century. They were also rapidly translated into French and German.

So great was their fame on the continent that the success of publishers there, such as Moritz Georg Weidmann (the Younger, 1686–1743) in Leipzig, may have rested on it. The younger Weidmann was son of publisher Weidmann (the Elder, 1658–1693) and stepson of Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (1663–1741). Perhaps the younger Weidmann had first seen Addison and Steele’s papers in the originals while in London, a stage in the *Wanderjahre* planned for him by his stepfather. Weidmann took over the firm’s leadership from Gleditsch in 1717–1718 (Brauer 38). When Weidmann’s portrait was done several years later by Nuremberg engraver Johann Leonhard

2. For a sensitive account of the aesthetic pleasures that chinoiserie afforded English consumers, particularly women, see Porter.

Blank (active 1710–1725), the artist made sure to make the title of the book on which the publisher rested his right hand clearly legible on the book's embossed spine (fig. 14). The understated ruffle on Weidmann's sleeve revealed the book: *Spectateur*. The medals on his chest documented the reputation and accomplishments of the Leipzig publisher as royal councillor to the Saxon and Polish courts; the volume under his hand announced his leading position in the book world.

The portrait headed the collection gathered by Blank in his *51 Bildnisse berühmter Künstler, Buchhändler, Buchdrucker und anderer Männer, welche sich sowohl in- und außerhalb Deutschlands verdient gemacht* (1725) (51 Likenesses of Notable Artists, Publishers, Printers, and Other Men Who Have Made Themselves Valuable Both in and beyond Germany) (Brauer 39). A title originally published in England provided the perfect accessory to underline Weidmann's prominence in the German book world. Weidmann, the choice of book hinted, was the German Richard Steele. As we shall see, by 1725, when his engraved portrait appeared, Weidmann had already made it his business to provide English books to German readers.

It may seem odd that Weidmann allowed Blank to portray him with what seems like a French translation rather than with the original English *Spectator*, or at least with a German translation that sounded German. Although it made the English sound French, German translations of the London paper initially entitled it *Der Spectateur oder vernünftige Betrachtungen über die verderbten Sitten der heutigen Welt* (literally: *The Spectateur, or Reasonable Observations on the Corrupt Customs of the World Today*). First translated for and published in Leipzig by Christoph Riegel in 1719, the preface claimed that the translation had been done from the original English. Like any up-to-date publication, the German *Spectateur* was illustrated, outfitted with an engraved portrait of the famous London author Richard Steele. The translator's knowledge about London life and letters suggested that he was up to rendering the original English.³ But it is equally likely that he worked with French intermediaries. A French translation of *The Spectator* had first appeared with the title *Le Spectateur* in 1714 in Amsterdam.

As was so often the case with regard to German-language translations of English texts until well into the eighteenth century, the *Spectateur* upon which Moritz Georg Weidmann leaned was a linguistic hybrid that involved a third language: French. On the one hand, the "English" title marked him as an up-to-date, forward-thinking man, perfectly qualified to lead the German book. On the other hand, it revealed that the German book trade was still reliant on French-language intermediaries procured via Holland. The German book trade did not, as a rule, possess direct contacts with English firms. Nor did German translators whose English was sufficient to translate from the original exist in any number. When Manley's *Queen Zarah* (1705) was translated into German in 1712, the French *Reine Zarah* from 1708 was used. Both appeared in Holland.

3. A subsequent translation by Louise Adelgunde Victorie (née Kulmus) Gottsched (1713–1762) chose a more German title, *Der Zuschauer*, and was published in multiple editions by Breitkopf.



Figure 14. Portrait of Moritz Georg Weidmann (published in 1725). Wearing the medal and chains of his position as royal Polish and electoral Saxon councillor, the famous publisher rests his right hand on a handsomely bound copy of *The Spectator* in translation.

In his rich history of the novel Olaf Simons emphasizes the importance of Manley’s reception in German, suggesting that it marks a key shift in the market for fiction. But it is essential to remember that Manley’s novels—like the European novel everywhere into the 1720s—were centrally determined by French influence. As is now well known, Manley “adapted” various French-language sources, integrating them seamlessly (and without acknowledgment) into her originals.⁴ She also modeled her fictions directly on titles by Aulnoy.⁵ In fact, the two women authors,

4. See the brief notes by Carnell and Herman on Manley’s “borrowings,” as well as the longer article by Sutton.

5. See Lorenzo-Modia.

Aulnoy and Manley, were explicitly related in the contemporaneous English imagination.⁶ As the preface to the reader in *Zarah* stated, the English author had turned to French “little histories” for her model:

The Romances in *France* have for a long Time been Diversion and Amusement of the whole World; the People both in the City and at Court have given themselves over to this Vice, and all Sorts of People have read these Works with a most surprising Greediness, but that Fury is very much abated, and they are all fallen off from this Distraction: The Little *Histories* of this Kind have taken Place of *Romances*, whose Prodigious Number of Volumes were sufficient to tire and satiate such whose Heads were most fill'd with those Notions.

These little Pieces which have banish'd *Romances* are much more agreeable to the Brisk and Impetuous Humour of the *English*, who have naturally no Taste for long-winded Performances, for they have no sooner begin a Book but they desire to see the end of it. (A2r-A3v)

In fact, Manley so mastered the requisite dance of veils with which novels revealed some identities while concealing others that her authorship of *Queen Zarah* is still in question.⁷ More than a real person, “Manley” was a market brand, which, like “Aulnoy,” signaled a French style. The translation of her “English” novels into German does not mark a new chapter in the history of the European novel. That chapter began in the 1720s.

Viewed from the continent the truly transnational dimensions of Addison and Steele's success are clearly recognizable—even though *The Spectator* remained known in German by a French-sounding title until 1739. It was a critical and commercial success that the publisher Weidmann used to multiply both his financial and social capital when he had his portrait done with *Le Spectateur*. In addition to the many English-language papers Addison and Steele inspired, as well as the translations of both *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* into French and German, their papers also provided a model that scores of papers in other languages adapted for local markets. French, German, and Dutch translators, writers, and publishers continued their liberal borrowing practices, translating, as ever, sometimes faithfully, sometimes freely, Addison and Steele's influential papers.

Bodmer and Breitinger's Swiss journal was one among dozens of German papers started up beginning around 1720 that adapted the often satirical English essay form popularized by *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. German literary history refers to papers like Bodmer's and Breitinger's as moral weeklies (*moralische*

6. An edition of Manley's *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*, for example, was advertised with a two-volume English translation of Aulnoy's *Memoires of the Court of England* (1707). The former, while advertised, may never have actually appeared.

7. See, for example, the article by Downie.

Wochenschriften), a generic label that unfortunately obscures the often jaunty tone, witty quips, and occasionally mordant satire of their pseudonymous editors: “painters,” as well as *Patriot* (the patriot), *Biedermann* (Mr. Upright), *vernünftige Tadlerinnen* (sensible scolds), and others.⁸ German literary historians have recognized these papers’ debt to innovative English models and their important role in transmitting the values of the early Enlightenment. They purveyed what Wolfgang Martens called *Die Botschaft der Tugend* (The Message of Virtue) in that seminal book.

But this message of virtue, critics working within national traditions have missed, was itself a response. Long read as announcing the beginning of the Enlightenment in Germany, the call to virtue was also an answer. While it marked a beginning, it also provided the conclusion to the European novel’s French chapter. The call, of course, responded to a vibrant multilingual market where truths were traded for fictions, factual-fictional critiques of husbands slid into indictments of the rule of men, and women readers allegedly plotted their lives to imitate the novels they read.

Since the beginnings of the new novel in the 1680s, the periodical press had provided a crucial link in this lively European economy, spawned by the desire to imitate French fashions. News reports in periodicals offered grist for novelists’ mills; novels provided journal editors content for entire issues. Before the change that swept in on the tide of Addison and Steele and the rafts of their imitators, print novelties—journal, novel, and fashion plate—had constantly promoted one another. In the 1680s and 1690s, editors such as Christian Thomasius and August Bohse, working under fashionable pseudonyms and fictional veils, blurred the lines among fashionable novelties: novels, journals, and engravings.

By 1723, the terms of the relationship between the journal and the novel began to change dramatically across Europe. After Addison and Steele, journals based on English models sought to bury (French) novels, not to praise them. They had in their sights a genre they believed French, although by 1723 it was flourishing in other European vernaculars, including English. The genre allegedly marched under a French flag; thus editors, writers, and publishers inspired by the famous English newsmen embarked on a campaign to strip the novel—and its readers—of nefarious “French” influences. They wanted, they claimed when it inconvenienced them, truth to be separated from fiction and life to be clearly demarcated from art—or at least from the febrile imaginations of scribblers.

Writing a letter to *The Tatler* dated October 21, 1709, from London’s Grecian Coffee-house, Bickerstaff wagged his finger at “gay people who (as I am informed) will live half a year together in a garret, and write a history of their intrigues in the court of France” (249). A garret was obviously not the court of France, and the

8. Martens’s *Botschaft* remains the most complete account of these German-language periodicals, providing the bibliographic information for the dozens of titles he identified. See also Brandes, particularly her excellent afterword to the reprint of Gottsched’s *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (The Sensible Scolds).

“history” written there obviously not true. Bickerstaff closed his epistle: “The most immediate remedy that I can apply to prevent this growing evil, is, that I do hereby give notice to all booksellers and translators whatsoever, that the word ‘memoir’ is French for a novel; and to require them, that they sell and translate it accordingly.” A novel, that Frenchified form that so often featured heroines gone wild, needed a clear warning label. Better yet, novels’ consumers might be given something else to read: journals and the English anti-novel novels they promoted.

Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen (The Sensible Scolds) (1724–1726) was, like Bodmer and Breitinger’s *Discourses of the Painters*, another German journal inspired by Addison and Steele. This “moral weekly” was edited by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), already in Leipzig and, two years later, in 1726, president of the Deutschübende poetische Gesellschaft (German Poetical Society) there. His journal was published in nearby Halle. In a foreword penned for the 1734 reissue of the *Scolds*, Gottsched noted in retrospect: “Die Absicht/ so die ersten Verfasser derselben hatten/ war auch so neu/ als unsträflich. Sie suchten dem deutschen Frauenzimmer ein Blatt in die Hände zu bringen/ welches ihm zu einer Zeitkürzung dienen, und doch von nützlicherm und lehrreicherm Inhalt seyn sollte/ als die gewöhnlichen Romane.” (The intention that the first authors of the journal had was as new as it was free from fault. They sought to deliver a paper to German women that would serve them as entertainment and truly provide a more profitable and salutary content than typical novels.) The paper, based on English models, provided a necessary antidote to French fashions, “typical novels.”

But Gottsched’s German *Female Tatlers*—its German title word *Tadlerinnen* so close to the English *Tatler*—like so many German-language productions in the 1720s and 1730s, was very much a hybrid. As much as it represented Englishness, it was still forced to grapple with French influence. Its tenth issue of March 7, 1725, for example, featured exactly the same question that Christian Thomasius had posed so famously in 1687. In his German-language lecture on French imitation held almost three decades earlier in Leipzig, the lawyer, publicist, and later professor had asked: “But *ad propos* what is *gallant* and a *gallant person*?” Gottsched’s pseudonymous editor, “Calliste,” asked three questions in turn. Her questions did not differ in substance from Thomasius’s. It was notable, however, that Gottsched had placed them in the mouth of a woman.

With her usual combination of good humor and understated wit, Calliste devoted the issue to an exploration of three questions whose answers were apparently no less urgent in 1725 than in 1687. Calliste asked her most clever friends, Lisette, Philandra, and Belline, for their opinions. She began:

Es scheint eine schwere Frage zu seyn, was der frantzösische Ausdruck *un galant homme* auf teutsch heisse? Noch schwerer ist die andere, wenn man sich bekümmert, worinnen das eigentliche Wesen eines so genannten *galant homme* bestehe? Am aller-schwersten aber würde mir die Entscheidung der dritten fallen: was nemlich von dergleichen Leuten zu halten sey? (73)

It is apparently a difficult question: how should you express the French expression *un galant homme* in German? Still more difficult is another question when you begin to wonder: what makes up the actual essence of this so-called *galant homme*? But for me, deciding on an answer to the third is by far the most difficult: namely, what should you think about this kind of people?

The questions were pure Thomasius. But their discussion by a “Calliste,” “Lisette,” “Philandra,” and “Belline” kept them up-to-date. After three decades of novels featuring women of *esprit* and learning, it was a fiction the German reading public could easily have believed. As much as Gottsched’s journal was inspired by the English model invented by Addison and Steele, it also continued to be very French.

Gottsched’s introduction to the 1734 reprint edition of *The Sensible Scolds* may have ignored Bodmer and Breitingner’s project to engage women readers in the *Painters* on purpose. Famously, they feuded. But, surely the Leipzig literature professor knew, while the Swiss journal had not devoted itself specifically to women readers with its title, they were included among its readers, such as “the lady painters” who had written the letter to the editors that generated the library list.

Dürer’s list specified thirty-five titles that a woman absolutely must have in her library. Of these, he listed twenty-two in French-language editions and thirteen in German. The books’ original languages of publication were slightly different: seventeen in French, seven in German, five in Latin, four in English, and one in Greek. But no matter how you slice it, in 1723, French publications—whether in the original or in translation—continued to dominate German bookshelves.

Although French titles were predominant, first on the list was a German title, the *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (The Lady’s Lexicon) by Amaranthes (Gottlieb Siegmund Corvinus), published by Moritz Georg Weidmann’s rival, his stepfather Johann Ludwig Gleditsch’s brother, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, in Leipzig in 1715. The expansive volume’s 2,176 columns of information gathered all manner of information that a lady reader might need to look up.⁹ Both the second and third titles on the list were attributed to the Swiss Calvinist minister and scholar Gotthard Heidegger. Heidegger’s *Mythoscopia romantica* had originally appeared in 1698 and had aroused some attention in the press. It had received a review in Gündling’s journal, for example, in which the editor raised an eyebrow at the Swiss Calvinist’s indignation about the corrupt morals of readers of novels. The list’s seventh title, the first to have originally appeared in English, was Addison and Steele’s *Spectator*, recommended in a French edition in six volumes. The tenth title was the second English original: *Die Geschichte des Robinson Crusöe*. And here we must pause to ask, how could a single list recommend both Heidegger’s anti-novel polemic and *Robinson Crusoe*, a book Dürer definitely knew by 1723 to be a novel? As it turns out, while the two titles today seem at cross-purposes, in 1723, Heidegger’s

9. For a nuanced reading of the lexicon’s encyclopedic aims and its articulation of femininity, see Goodman 11–39.

“The Ladies’ Library” from Bodmer and Breitinger’s *Die Discourse der Mahlern*

- Frauenzimmer-Lexicon.
 Acerra Philologica, mit Gotthard Heideggers Anmerkungen.
 Gotthard Heidegger von den Romanen.
 Simler vom Regiment der Schweitzer. Mit Herrn Leuen Anmerkungen.
 Die denckwürdigen Reden des Socrates, von Xenophon beschrieben, und
 von Thomase übersetzt.
 Le Thresor de la Sagesse par Charron.
 Le Spectateur, ou, le Socrate Moderne. en. 6. Volumes.
 Les Lettres de Voiture.
 Fontenelle de la pluralité du Monde; ist in das Deutsche übersetzt unter
 dem Titel: von mehr als einer Welt, Gespräche zwischen einem Gelehrten
 und einem Frauenzimmer.
 Die Geschichte des Robinson Crusöe.
 Die Argenis von Barclay: von der man zwar Übersetzungen hat, von Opitz,
 und von Bohse.
 Die Historie der Severamben.
 Les Caractères de ce siècle, par la Bruyère.
 Les Caractères de Theophraste, traduits par le même.
 Reflexions morales du Duc de la Rochefoucault.
 Locke de l’Education des Enfans.
 Les dialogues des Morts par Fontenelle.
 Les dialogues des Morts par Gaudeville.
 Les œuvres de Lucien traduits par d’Ablancourt.
 Martin Opitzen Wercke.
 Canitzen Neben-Stunden unterschiedener Gedichte.
 Bessers Schrifften.
 Les Avantures de Telemaque par Fenelon; übersetzt von Bohse: Begebenheiten
 des Telemachus.
 Traduction de l’Eneide par Segrais.
 La Pharsale de Brebœuf.
 Les Eclogues de Fontenelle.
 Les œuvres de Molière.
 Le Theatre de Pierre Corneille.
 Les œuvres de Racine.
 Les comédies de Terence, traduites par. Mad. d’Acier.
 Les œuvres d’Horaçe, traduits par Tarteron.
 Les pœsies de Mad. des Houlières.
 Les œuvres de Boileau Despreaux.
 Les fables choisies de la Fontaine.
 Les fables nouvelles de la Motte.

anti-novel screed and Defoe's novel shared a common purpose. *Crusoe*, in German no less than in English, was an anti-novel novel. Like Heidegger, *Crusoe* parried French influence.

Of course, we consider *Crusoe* a novel today. And while it was briefly believed to be a true story, it was soon known across Europe as a fiction and referred to as a *Roman* (novel). But this novel was very different from the novels that, Heidegger proclaimed, lay in the trough of cultural decline, where they presented another example of the French fashions slavishly followed by consumers. *Crusoe* was far more like the journals modeled after *The Spectator* of Addison and Steele that critics prized for providing alternatives to novels. Like German "moral weeklies," which extolled the virtues of Defoe's yarn, the novel itself provided an English *Ersatz* to a genre indebted to the French.

Famously, *Crusoe* enjoyed not only critical but popular success, launching a wave of imitations authored in many languages onto the European market. Germans called these books *Robinsonaden*; for the French they were *robinsonades*.¹⁰ The continental turn to English models—to anti-novel journals and anti-novel—also marked a turn away from French novelties. English fashion had begun to dictate European market rules. It was, only paradoxically, Robinson's *English* provenance that finally allowed for the always suspect French genre to be finally domesticated in German. By the middle of the century, the fashion for *Crusoe* had passed. In 1754, the most up-to-date Germans judged it "elender Zeitvertreib . . . vor Handwercks-Pursche" (miserable entertainment . . . for uneducated boys) (qtd. in Petzold 42). Yet the demand for English books initially generated by *Crusoe* had only grown.

Robinson Crusoe's German Adventures

The first German edition of Defoe's anti-novel novel appeared in 1720 in Hamburg, published by T. von Wiering's heirs. The translation was probably done by Ludwig Friedrich Vischer; "Vischer" signed the translator's preface and dated it March 26, 1720—only eleven months after the book had first been published by W. Taylor in London. The year 1720 also saw translations of *Crusoe* into French and Dutch. While the exact order in which these editions appeared remains unclear, scholars commonly assume, correctly I believe, that the Amsterdam French edition predated the first German edition in Hamburg, which in turn preceded the Dutch.

The Hamburg edition by Wiering's heirs was immediately pirated in another German edition, perhaps by Jonathan Adam Felbecker, although the title page listed

10. Ullrich's bibliography remains the standard bibliographic source for German *Robinsonaden*. See also Fohrmann.



ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Figure 15. Frontispiece and title page of the second German edition of *Crusoe* (1720). This second German edition claimed to be from the English, but its frontispiece is the same as the 1720 French translation. Unlike the engraving in the first German edition, this frontispiece, like that in the French

Des
Welt-berühmten Engelländers
ROBINSON CRUSOE

Leben

Und
ganz ungemeyne
Begebenheiten,

Insonderheit

Da er acht und zwanzig Jahre lang auf
einer unbewohnten Insel bey dem Einfluß des
grossen Stroms Oroonoko, auf der Americ-
canischen Küste, gelebet hat.

Von ihm selbst in Englischer Sprache
beschrieben

Nunmehr aber um seiner Nützlichkeits
willen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit artigen
Kupffern gezieret.

Francckfurth und Leipzig,

Anno 1710.

translation, showed off the umbrella Crusoe fashioned for himself. Typographical evidence links FelBecker of Nuremberg to this pirate edition. Reproduced courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

only the information “Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1720.”¹¹ The second German edition stole even Vischer’s preface, reprinting it in its entirety and signing it simply “des hochgeneigten Lesers Geflissenster der Übersetzer” (the gentle reader’s most devoted translator). While Vischer purported to rely solely on the English edition for his Hamburg translation, Felbecker’s pirated edition clearly also copied from the French edition published in Amsterdam. While the Hamburg edition featured an engraved frontispiece copied after the original English published by W. Taylor, the frontispiece of the pirated edition copied that in the French translation published by L’Honoré & Chatelain in Amsterdam (fig. 15). Like that edition, the pirated edition was also outfitted with six engravings, which it advertised prominently on its title page. All six were copied after those in the edition that L’Honoré & Chatelain had richly illustrated. Whether French or English, a novelty, after all, needed fashion plates.

By September of 1720, yet another edition appeared. This one advertised itself, in the publisher’s informative preface, as the “fifth” German edition. Within six months then, five different German editions of the English anti-novel novel had appeared.¹² This latest edition gave only the year 1720 and “Frankfurt & Leipzig” on its title page (fig. 16). In all likelihood, it had been undertaken by Moritz Georg Weidmann, whose circumspection here contrasts sharply with the engraved portrait done five years later announcing the publisher’s prominence.¹³

Weidmann’s shop apparently could afford to keep engravers at the ready to illustrate the house’s titles, either by copying or very often by original design, as here. Weidmann’s competitors, Thomas Fritsch and Fritsch’s stepfather (and former business partner) Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, both employed engravers. The competition required that Weidmann do the same. Thus he outfitted his *Crusoe* with twelve plates, six of which I have not been able to locate in any other English, French, or Dutch edition.¹⁴ The lavishly illustrated novelty easily topped the Hamburg edition, whose single engraved frontispiece now looked quite out-of-date. Even Felbecker’s edition with six illustrations stood up poorly to the fashionable riches of the fifth edition. With them, Weidmann appealed to consumers uncertain about which German *Crusoe* to purchase. His foreword explained:

Da man nun diese fünffte Auflage nicht nur von den vorigen groben Druckfehlern befreyet, sonder auch mit noch mehrern Kupffern und einer schönen Land=Charte

11. Typographical evidence suggests that Felbecker was somehow involved. When a translation of the second volume appeared that same year, it used the same large capital letters for *B* and *L* on its title page as had the “pirate” volume 1.

12. Each edition likely had a print run of anywhere between 500 and 1,500 copies.

13. I believe this edition to be Weidmann’s also on the basis of typographical evidence. When volume 2 of *Crusoe* appeared in 1721, Weidmann printed an edition with his name on the title page. That edition used the same large *D*, *L*, and *B* letterforms on its title page as had the so-called fifth edition, whose title page reported only a place, “Frankfurt & Leipzig,” and the year, “1720.”

14. The engravings for the Weidmann edition are not considered, or even mentioned, in Blewett’s otherwise useful book.

von der gantzen Erd= und Wasser= Kugel gezieret hat, worauf alle des *Autoris* Reisen gezeichnet zu sehen, wie sie in diesem ersten Theile sowol als in gemeldtem andern und letzten Theile, der gleichfalls in Teutscher Sprache, mit artigen Kupffern ehestens erscheinen wird, beschrieben seyn; Als machet man sich die ungezweifelte Hoffnung, es werde diese *Edition* vor allen andern den Preiß behalten. (n.p.)

Because this fifth edition has been freed from previous serious printing mistakes and especially because it has also been decorated with still more engravings and a beautiful map of the entire globe where all the author's travels have been sketched for you to see—those voyages described in the first part as well as the second and third, which with all due haste will also appear in German with lovely engravings; thus we have the sure hope that this edition will be selected before all others.¹⁵

While Weidmann had not been the first to launch *Crusoe* in the German market, his edition was absolutely, the publisher's preface proclaimed, the most up-to-date. Its many fashionable plates emphasized its novel appeal. Afloat on a sea of German translations, *Crusoe* announced a sea change in the geography shaping the European novel.

In addition to the many editions and translations the story went through in the first half of the eighteenth century, it was, of course, also imitated. Among its most well-known early imitators in German literary history was the 1731 *Wunderliche Fata einiger See=Fahrer, absonderlich Alberti Julii, eines gebornen Sachsens* (Miraculous Fate of Several Sailors, Particularly of Albert Julius, a Native of Saxony). Known today as *Insel Felsenburg*, the original title clearly sought to profit from the splash made by the English story the previous decade. The *Miraculous Fate* listed as its author "Gisander," another of the many pseudonyms coined to capitalize on the considerable success of the author Talander (August Bohse). We know Gisander to be Johann Gottfried Schnabel (1692–1752), also author of a novel that both imitated and satirized French fashions, *Der im Irrgarten der Liebe herumtaumelnde Cavalier* (The Cavalier Who Stumbles through Love's Labyrinth) (1738).

Gisander, like the French-sounding German translation of the English *Spectator*, lived another hybrid existence. While he turned to fresh English models, his pseudonym also invoked an older fashion that had been launched in German by French imitators in the 1680s and 1690s. Talander had been the first. Many others, including Gisander, had followed. Others active in the early decades of the eighteenth century included Celander, Calander, Cortelander, Evander, Florander, Gisander, Herolander, Icander, Jasander, Leander, Melander, Menander, Musander, Olander, Pellander, Pheroponander, Polander, Sarcander, and Xamander. Of course, we

15. The second and third parts of *Robinson* were translated with all due speed. By 1721, the third part had already been published in Amsterdam in German.



ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Figure 16. Frontispiece and title page of the “fifth” German edition of *Crusoe*, which appeared six months after the first (1720). The title page distinguishes this edition, advertising “zwölf Kupffern”

Das Leben
und die ganz ungemeyne
Begebenheiten
Des
ROBINSON
CRUSOE,

Welcher unter andern auf der Americanis-
schen Küste durch Sturm Schiffbruch erlitten,
und bey dem Ausfluß des grossen Strohmns Oroonoko an
eine unbewohnte Insul verschlagen worden, auf welcher
er über acht und zwanzig Jahr, bis zu seiner wunder-
baren Befreyung, gelebet hat.

Von ihm selbst beschrieben, und um seiner
Fürtrefflichkeit willen aus dem Englischen
ins Deutsche übersezt.

Die fünffte Auflage

Mit zwölff Kupffern nebst einer accuraten Land-Charte,
worauf alle des Autoris Reisen gezeichnet sind, gezieret.

Der erste Theil.

Frankfurth und Leipzig,

1720.

know who many of these authors really were.¹⁶ Their “real” identity was precisely *not* the point. Instead, their authorial pseudonyms signed their allegiance to fashionable production.

Like the word *gallant* so often tied to these fashionable pseudonyms, after 1720 the name Robinson could be used as an advertisement on title pages. It also allowed old wine to be poured into new casks. Fashion’s reign continued—but with an English master. Thus a German reprint of *Gil Blas* appeared in 1726 as *Der Spanische Robinson oder sonderbahre Geschichte des Gil Blas von Santillana* (The Spanish Robinson, or The Strange Tale of Gil Blas of Santillana) (Hamburg, 1726; orig. French 1715). In the 1720s alone, I have identified some twenty titles with the name Robinson in the title.¹⁷

Robinsonaden of the 1720s

- Der americanische Robinson* (Cologne [Dresden: Zimmermann], 1724).
Der Buch-Händler Robinson (Leipzig: Boetio, 1728).
Der französische Robinson (Liegnitz, 1723) = *Voyages et aventures des François Leguat* (1708).
Geistlicher Robinson (Erfurt, 1723) = Zucchelli, *Relazioni del viaggio e missioni di Congo* (1712).
Der holländische Robinson (Leipzig, 1727) = aus H. Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (1708).
Der italiänische Robinson (Hamburg, 1722) = Beaumarchais, *Avantures de Don Antonio de Buffalis* (1722).
Jungfer Robinsone (Hall in Schwaben, [before 1724]).
Madame Robunse mit ihrer Tochter Jungfer Robinsgen (Adrianopel [Leipzig], 1724) = *Das politische Hofmädgen* (1683).
Der unter der Masque eines Deutschen Poetens raisonnirende Robinson (Liegnitz, 1724).
Paulini, *Der moralische Robinson* (Halberstadt, 1724).
Der niederländische Robinson (Augsburg, 1724) = N. Heinsius, *De vermakelke Avanturier* (1695).
Nieder-Sächsischer Robinson (Frankfurt [Leipzig: Hellwings], 1724).
Der Persianische Robinson (Leipzig, 1723) = Mailly, *Les voyages et les aventures de trois princes de Sarendip* (1719).

16. I have culled these pseudonyms ending in *-nder* from Weber and Mithal’s bibliography of “original German novels.” There are many others. Some, never really meant to permanently conceal a real name, are decoded by Weber and Mithals. Others can be found in Weller’s index of pseudonyms, as well as in the index to erotica by Hayn and Gotendorf.

17. Like the pseudonyms, these titles are culled from Weber and Mithals.

Der Sächsische Robinson (Leipzig: F. Lankischens Erben, 1722) [with a second part from 1723].

Schlesischer Robinson (Breslau and Leipzig: E. Chr. Brachvogel, 1723/1724).

Schwedischer Robinson (Frankfurt and Leipzig: C. F. v. M., 1724).

Schweitzerischer Robinson (Zurich, 1725).

Der teutsche Robinson (Hall in Schwaben: J. F. Galli, [c. 1722]).

Der thüringische Robinson (1725).

Particularly illuminating is a title from the middle of this list, *Madame Robunse mit ihrer Tochter Jungfer Robinsgen* (Madame Robunse with her Daughter Little Miss Robinsen). Originally published in 1683 as *Das politische Hofmädgen* (The Political Lady-in-Waiting), the title's metamorphosis illustrates fashion's tireless cycles in the book market. In the 1670s and 1680s *politisch* had first been replaced by *galant*. By the 1720s, everything had to be a vaguely English Robinson. The old title simply got a new name. Perhaps the publisher had old stock that could be sold with a more up-to-date title. Perhaps any title advertising a Robinson sold well, and an old fiction could be reset and printed more quickly than a new manuscript could find its way into print. Robinson, for all its change, also literally offered more of the same.

Thus we must ask, when Bodmer and Breitingen recommended *Crusoe* for a lady's library did it mark the beginning of something new? Why did Bodmer and Breitingen recommend it? The answer to this question is usually sought with a gesture to Max Weber and his long-influential scholarship on Protestantism and work. Robinson's enormous success outside England, and particularly in Germany, is often credited to a shared work ethic. By no coincidence, one might emphasize, Defoe's Crusoe family originally hailed from Germany. DeeAnn DeLuna, for example, foregrounds that Robinson was "of Germanic mercantile origins—his father, a businessman originally named 'Kreutznaer,' and recently emigrated from Bremen." For Defoe, she continues, Crusoe was "one of the godly heroes of the commercial North, that modern gothic beehive that included Scandinavia and was considered by contemporaries to have been originally peopled by the Asiatic Scythians, now known as ancient Germans" (72). Indeed, it was a family heritage that may have helped German readers more easily adopt Robinson as their own. Furthermore, German linguistic historians of the day, protophilologists such as Morhof and others, had already begun to stress English and German's common linguistic past.

But the reasons for Bodmer and Breitingen's advocacy of the book—as well as the reasons for its many imitations—must also be sought in the changing vectors of the European book market. And here, while fashion remained a constant, the fashion itself was new. In 1723, when the Swiss formulated their list, the European

market had embarked on a substantial shift away from originally French-language models to London and English-language texts. In no small part because of the success of Addison and Steele's periodicals—helped along by French translations—the world of letters increasingly deferred to English tastemakers.

Already by 1720, Englishness itself was enough to prove a title's merits. As Moritz Georg Weidmann explained in his preface to the richly illustrated edition of *Crusoe* on whose sales he banked,

So *different* und wider einander lauffend aber bißher die Urthele der Gelehrten von der Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Geschichte gewesen, so unvergleichlich haben sie hingegen darinne überein gestimmt, daß dieselben mit einer ungemeinen Annehmlichkeit zu lesen sind. Fast gantz Europa hat sich bereits vor diese Schrift erklärt, und dieselbe mit allgemeinem Beyfall aufgenommen. Engellands *delicater* Bücher=Geschmack kan bey andern *Nationeen* schon voraus eine gute Meynung von diesem Buche erwecken, als woselbst fast eine unzählige Menge *Exemplarien* in kurtzer Zeit verkauffet worden sind. Es ist auch auf die Fortsetzung dieser Begebenheiten bedacht gewesen, so daß solche auch würcklich schon unter dem Titul: *The farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* zum Vorschein kommen ist. Die Frantzösische und Holländische Übersetzungen haben nicht weniger Liebhaber gefunden, und daß Teutschland seinen Geschmack nicht gantz im Reiche der Todten gelassen habe, bezeuget der ungemeine Abgang der Teutschen Übersetzung dieser vortrefflichen Begebenheiten, indem solche in wenig Wochen viermal gedruckt worden. (4r-5v)

As different and contrary as the judgments of learned men have been on the probable truth of this story, they have nevertheless concurred that reading it is uncommonly pleasant. Almost all of Europe has already declared itself for this text and taken it up with general applause. England's delicate taste in books may in itself awaken a positive opinion about this book, given that a nearly innumerable amount of copies has been sold there in a short period. The continuation of these adventures was anticipated and has come to light with the title *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. The French and Dutch translations have not won fewer admirers; and the unusual sales of the German translation of these outstanding adventures, printed four times in a span of just a few weeks, demonstrates that Germany's taste has not been completely left behind in the Land of the Dead.

In other words, one read *Robinson* in the German provinces for the very same reasons that in 1688 one had read the "little French novels" that had in their day supplanted older romances. In both cases, in 1723 as in 1688, one read to prove that one was up-to-date, fashionable in one's good taste, and not "completely left behind in the Land of the Dead." In 1723, unlike in 1688, *Robinson* signaled that its reader was no longer in thrall to the French.

Simply because it was not French, *Crusoe* paved the road for the novel's domestication in German. The English anti-novel's success had been measurably helped along by the popularity of anti-novel journals modeled after Addison and Steele. In 1723, journals and novels continued their cross-promotions. But both claimed to be anything other than a novel. Unlike that Frenchified genre, the new journals and anti-novel novels sailed under an English flag.

The transformation of the German book market driven by this reception of English letters has traditionally been celebrated in German literary history as if it happened out of thin air. From many standard literary histories, in fact, one might get the impression that Germans simply did not read fiction prior to Defoe. In the 1991 Panizzi Lectures given at the British Library, for example, literary historian and scholar of the book Bernhard Fabian stated:

The German discovery of England stands out as something historically unique. The culture of France and the culture of Italy were fully developed national cultures. They rested on firm foundations. In these circumstances, the discovery of a foreign culture might come as a revelation, as indeed it did, but it could not substantially change the culture of the country. Germany was a different case altogether. It was a backward country, still suffering, in the early part of the eighteenth century, from the aftermath of the Thirty Years War. It was a conglomerate of territories—some larger, some smaller, many tiny, but all sovereign. At best, Germany was a cultural nation in the making. (4)

It is far from my intent to dispute the importance of the reception of English culture in eighteenth-century Germany. Yet Fabian's portrait of "a backward country" fundamentally misrepresents the state of the German book market in the early decades of the eighteenth century. If we are to understand what constituted English appeal to continental readers, we must redraw our literary maps.

The immediate and intense reception of *Crusoe's* adventure story presents us with a seminal chapter in the protracted eighteenth-century German love affair with English literature. After Steele and Addison and then Defoe, English authors—Milton, Shakespeare, Fielding, and Richardson among them—were ever more rapidly introduced into German, hailed sometimes as long-lost brothers. But they were akin to Germans perhaps in no way more closely than in a shared long suspicion of French cultural influence. Within the span of three decades, between 1696 and 1723, the capital of the German book trade had been relocated from Paris to London.

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- clendiglich ertruncken!) auf der Americanischen Küste/ vorn an dem grossen Fluß Oroonoko auf ein unwohntes Eiland gerahen/ Acht=und zwanzig Jahre lang darauf gelebet/ und zuletzt durch See=Räuber wunderbahrer Weise davon befreyet worden. Göttlicher Providentz zum Preise/ und curiöser Gemüther besonderem Vergnügen/ nach der dritten Engelländis. Edition auf vornehmes Begehren ins Teutsche übersetzt. Trans. Ludwig Vischer. Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1720.
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