2

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 irresistable 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 gemißbrauchet 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, *Uber 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 *hôhe 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. Spraach 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* . . . rejoyc[e] 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 censuring 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 *Trivialliteratur* 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 frantzosische 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, Kapitza; 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 Erzehlung der abscheulichen Grausamkeiten/ welche die Frantzosen an unterschiedlichen Orten Teutschlandes/ sonderlich im Chur=Trierischen/ in Chur=Pfalz.Elsaß unn anderswo/ eine geraume Zeit hero/ 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, Elsace, 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 Braband 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 *Advis 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 Elzevier* 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 gestifftet 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 fabelhaffte güldene Alter der Welt/ über Teutschland auffgehen/ oder nach dem Versprechen Isaiæ/ das Lamb neben dem Wolff ruhig wohnen/ das Kalb naben 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* strategem; 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 stärcken 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 verbotten/ und die Manufacturen in Teutschland 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 *Cammerdiener* (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 vorgestellet 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: "Das jenige 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 Rechtens für eine Mordspeyende Kriegs=Fackel angesehen werden; sintemalen uns gegen die jenige/ so zu grossem Uberlast und Vernachtheiligung unser und vieler andern/ sich der Person des alten Frankischen Königreichs widerrechtlich anmasse/ zuverwahren kein nähreres Mittel seyn wil/ als die Abziehung solcher betrüglichen Kappen/ und die Erörterung der Frag/ Wo dann endlich solches Konigreich 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 offt 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* Getränken/ 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 gemachet 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 nützliches Stücke an einem Weibs=Bilde/ wenn es von gutem naturlichen 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 *Auffrichtigkeit* (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 angibt, 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 verekelt 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 lasterhafften 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 könten wohl von denen *qualificirtesten* Leuten/ welche viel Jahr lang in Kunsten und Wissenschafften 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 halbthöricht/ 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 Romans" (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 Frembden/ 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 unerfahrne 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 gesammlet/ gleichsam zur Ausbeute mehr davor träget; Dahero ist es gar nichts seltzames und ungewöhnliches/ daß solch ansteckendes Gifft nunmehro in Teutschen Geblüte dermassen fortgepflantzet wird/ daß man es vor eine *Galanterie* halten wil/ ungeachtete so wohl der Leib und Geblüte/ als das Gemüthe dadurch vergifftet 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 bastand" (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 Gifft 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 einwurtzeln/ 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 öffters grosse Leuthe/ in Sachen welche das *Publicum* angehen/ sich nach der Weiber unbedachtsamen Begierden/ und schmeichelhafften Phantasie leiten und regieren lassen; *Haut enim mulier capax maturi in publicis consilii*" (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 consilii.*) 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 seyd; 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/ *Commercien*/ 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 *Ministrorum,* 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 Passagier,* 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 liebenswürdige 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. Gallantry 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 strategems, 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 zuzurichten wissen auff die altväterischen Sudelköche/ die einen guten Hirsenbrey mit Biere und dergleichen 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 metamorphosizing 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 *précieux* 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 geziemen/ 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 "wahrhafftige 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 ausgelachet 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. (*Uber 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 wahrhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewalt* (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 Frantzosen] 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 honnéte 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 radicalilty 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 *honnêté* 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 *wahrhafftige 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 Höfligkeit 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 befleißigen/ 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-bekannte 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" (A2*r*). 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 proferred 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.

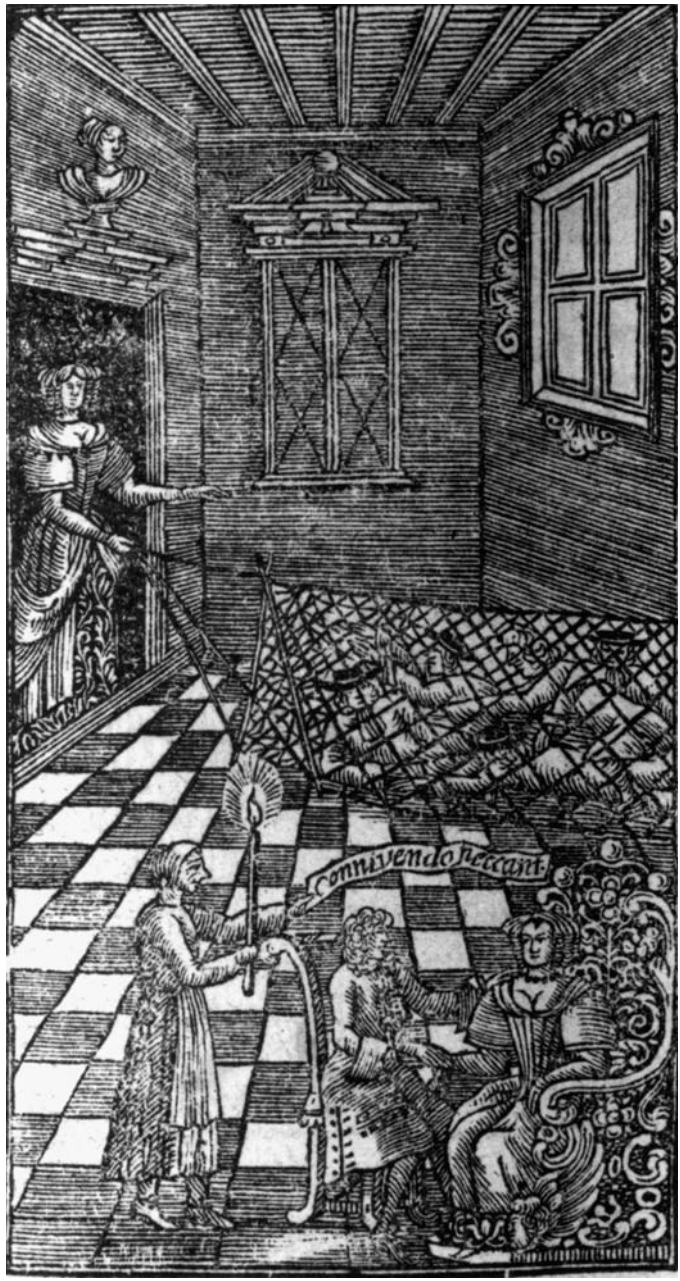

Figure 7. Frontispiece to *The Political Lady-in-Waiting* (1685). Gallantry's procuresses cast lovely nets to entrap unsuspecting German men. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

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 gefält!
>
> 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 emblematized 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.