3

1688: The *Roman* Becomes Both Poetical and Popular

> Tout le monde s'attribuë la license de juger de la Poësie & des Romans; tous les pilliers de la grande Salle du Palais, & toutes les ruelles s'érigent en tribunaux, où l'on decide souverainement du merite des grands ouvrages.... Un sentiment tendre y fait la fortune d'un Roman; & une expression un peu forcée, ou un mot suranné le décrie.
>
> —Pierre Daniel Huet, *Traité de l'origine des romans* (Paris, 1670)

> Every one assumes to themselves the license to judge and censure Poesie and Romance; the sumptuous Palaces and the common Streets are made Tribunals, where the merits of greatest works is Soveraignly decided. There every one shoots his bolt, and ... one happy thought or tender sentiment makes there the fortune of a Romance, and one expression a little forc't, or one superannuated word destroys it.
>
> —Pierre Daniel Huet, *A Treatise of Romances and their Original,* trans. anon. (London, 1672)

> Alle Welt nimbt die freyheit zu urtheilen von den Gedichten und von den Romanen.... Ein *Subtiles* Urtheil machet einen Roman unglücklich/ und eine Außdrückung/ die ein wenig hart/ oder ein veraltetes Wort machet schon/ daß sie verschändet sind.
>
> —Pierre Daniel Huet, *Traité de l'origine des romans,* trans. Eberhard Werner Happel (Hamburg, 1682)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The events of 1688 foregrounded here reveal that money was to be made from the novel. In fact, *Monthly Conversations*' initial publisher, Moritz Georg Weidmann the Elder (d. 1693) in Leipzig, had already recognized a possible market for *nouvelles* in 1684 when he published two *nouvelles* in German translation. Weidmann was a man with a keen nose for book market trends. Correctly anticipating the decline of the Frankfurt book fair—for centuries center of the continental book trade—he had moved shop from Frankfurt to Leipzig in 1682.[3] With the journal, he could build further demand for the short new French fictions. In a classic example of cross-promotion, Weidmann inserted a notice just inside the 1688 journal's title page advertising that the Leipzig book dealer "sich bearbeiten wolle/ die darinnen referiten und angeführten Bücher in seinem Buchladen bereit zu haben" (intended to make every effort to stock the refereed and mentioned books in his shop) (advertisement in the January and February issues of 1688 and included in the 1690 book reprint). The *Roman* in its short, newsy form became a hot commodity.

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

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

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

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

The *Roman* Becomes Poetical

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

Rotth was not the first to include the genre as part of German poetics. Earlier that decade, polyhistor and professor in Kiel, Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691), had magisterially surveyed the theory and practice of the *Roman* in his *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (Instruction on the German Language and Poetry), first published in 1682.[4] It was a source from which Rotth (and many others) cribbed. In Morhof's authoritative pages, the *Roman* (or *Romain,* as it was consistently spelled in the *Instruction*) was considered a subgenre of epic, since they differed "als nur bloß in dem *metro*" (merely in the meter), a classification justified by Aristotle's pronouncement "daß auch ein *Poema* ohne *Metro* seyn könne" (that a poem need not have meter) (330). In his brief excursion on this form of poetic prose, Morhof gleaned his remarks from various sources, but nowhere more widely than from Huet's *Traité de l'origine des romans,* where the same passage from Aristotle was invoked.[5] Morhof's discussion of Huet's *Traité* was, in a sense, itself pathbreaking; beginning in 1682, Huet's treatise began its dominance of German theoretical discussions of the nascent genre.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Diese nun zum Voraus gesetzt/ kan eine *Romaine* etwann auff folgende Art beschrieben werden/ daß es ein solches Gedichte sey/ in welchem ein sinnreicher Kopff eine feine anmuthige und lobwürdige Liebes=Geschichte/ sie sey nun warhafftig geschehen oder nur erdichtet/ mit allerhand anmuthigen Erfindungen (*Episodiis*) zur Vollkommenheit zu bringen und auff Poetische Manier in anständiger Ordnung vorzutragen trachtet/ zu dem Ende/ daß er durch Anlaß dieser anumthigen Geschichte etwas nützliches lehre und liebe zur Tugend erwecke. (350–51)
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> With this stipulation made, a *Romaine* can be described in the following way: that it is a kind of poem in which an inventive mind endeavors to discourse in a poetic manner and in a decorous order on a very charming and laudable love story—whether it really took place or is merely invented—filled with all sorts of charming inventions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Covvattiar, his shipmates, and the reader discover from Huet's text via Mandorel's words that the *Roman* had its ancient origin in Asia and later, after the Dark Ages in Europe, had been first brought to bloom by the French. And so—in a move that both de- and remystified, historicized and reified, Asian exoticism—Covvattiar's preference for the *Roman* was explained and essentialized. By providing him *Romane,* Mandorel had chosen precisely the form that any Asian would "naturally" appreciate and that would provide the perfect vehicle for his European acculturation. The history of the *Roman* was also the history of cultures' rise and fall. As the seventeenth-century English translator of Huet's *Traité* opined in a preface to the reader, "As our Manner and People are refin'd, Romances also hold pace with us, and by the same degrees arrive to perfection" (A3*r*). Like the *Roman,* Covvattiar had embarked on the geographical and historical trajectory on which culture and power were translated across times and places: *translatio imperii.* The ancient splendor of the East, captured *in nuce* in the *roman,* was experiencing a renaissance in contemporary Europe.

The *Roman* Lines the Path of Empire

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> estant tombée sous le pouvoir des Empereurs, & à leur exemple s'estant abandonnée au luxe & aux plaisirs, elle fut sensible ceux que les Roman donnent à l'esprit. (Huet, *Traité* 61)[14]
>
> If the *Roman* Republick disdeigned not the reading of these Fables then, while it yet retained an austere Discipline and rigid manners; 'tis no wonder if being fallen under the power of the Emperours, and after their example being abandoned to luxury and pleasures, it was likewise toucht with those which Romances gave the mind. (Huet, *Treatise* 68)

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

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

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

15. Happel has no translation for Huet's *ragout:* "Und gleich wie wir beym Uberfluß/ umb unsern *Appetit* zu stillen/ offtmahlen das Brodt und andere gewöhnliche Speisen verlassen/ und etwas anders/ unsern Lusten und Appetit zu erwecken/ suchen" (618).

16. "zu selbiger Zeit hatten die auß der *Provence* mehr gebrauch der Wissenschafften und *Poesi*/ alß die übrigen Frantzosen" (Happel 611).

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

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

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

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

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und natürlich Sprach eines jeden Landes/ es sei die Franckische/ oder die Gaulische (*Celti*sche oder die *Aquitani*sche) oder auch die *Belgi*sche" (Happel 612).

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

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

"Wenn es wahr ist/ wie Er [Giraldi] selber erkennet/ daß ein Roman gleich sein müsse einem wohl gemachten Cörper und zusammen gesetzet auß verschiedenen unter einem eintzigen Haupt geebneten Theilen/ so folget darauß/ daß die vornehmste That oder Handelung/ welche gleichsam das Haupt des Romans ist/ eintzig/ und in Vergleichung der andern. Durchleuchtig muß seyn/ und das die

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

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

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

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unterhörige Thaten oder Handelungen/ so gleichsam die Glieder sind/ sich nach diesem Haupt richten demselben in schönheit und würidgkeit weichen/ es zieren/ sich ihme unterwerffen und mit aller zubehör dasselbe vergesellschafften mussen/ sonsten würde es ein Leichnamb von vielen Hauptern/ ein Monstrum und garstig sein.…Die Italianische Romans schöne Dinge haben/ und anderes Lob verdienen/ daß sie aber gleichwohl nicht nach der rechten Regul gemacht sind" (Happel 598).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Roman* Becomes Popular

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> gebraucht wird, die Frantzösische aber gantz gemein und fast naturalisiret worden, dennoch die Teutsche als Landes-Sprache durchgehends geredet wird, und wäre solcher Gestalt also unsere Frage nicht von denen in andern Sprachen verfertigten Büchern zu verstehen, sondern bloß dahin zu richten; *was man wohl in teutscher Sprache für Bücher schreiben solle, die wegen ihres Nutzes und Belustigung anderen den Vorzug streitig machen könten?* (107)
>
> No doubt now exists that in Germany—although Latin is widely used by learned men, as well as Greek, if somewhat more sparingly—French has become completely common and nearly naturalized. Nevertheless, German is everywhere spoken as the native tongue, and so our question should not aim to comprehend books written in other languages but should simply be, *which books should be written in German whose utility and enjoyment might rival foreign ones?*

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

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

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

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

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

"Book merchants will come and constantly outbid one another"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Wenn ich aber einen *Roman vertir*e/ oder einen selbst mache/ da habe ich gantz keine Verdrießligkeit dabey/ sondern belustige mich in der grösten Ruhe. Die Buchführer kommen und überbieten immer einer den andern/ und geben mir noch die besten Wort dazu/ daß ich ihnen für andern mein Werckgen in Verlag geben wolle/ und also mag ich leichte in Monats=Frist ein Bogen oder 12. bey müßigen Stunden in lauter Zeitvertreib verfertiget haben/ so bekomme ich zum wenigsten ein Dutzend Thaler dafür. Zwey Dutzend muß mir noch darzu die *Dedication* einbringen/ wenn ich solches etlichen reichen Leuten *dedici*re (denn dieses ist heut zu Tage die rechte Kunst reich zu werden) und also siehest du/ daß ich auff solche Arth viel eher 36. Thaler verdienen kan/ als mit meinen ordentlichen Verrichtungen zehen/ und du vielleicht mit deinen *Collegiis Philosophicis* künte. (451–52)
>
> If, however, I translate a novel or write one myself [instead of practicing law], then I won't experience any tediousness but will amuse myself in perfect peace. Book merchants will come and constantly outbid one another so that I will give my little

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Für diese/ beantwortete *Cardenio,* ist auch meine *invention* nicht angefangen/ sondern für verständige Leute. Wenn ich nach derer Herren *Scholasticorum* ihren Geschmack des *Aristotelis* Leben in eine *Roman* bringen wolte/ müst ich gantz andere Erfindungen brauchen/ sie zu bedienen. Jedoch dächte ich/ es solte sich solches auch wohl thun lassen/ ohne die zuerst erzehlte Haupt=Umstände des Lebens *Aristotelis* zu verändern. Denn es müste ein einfältiger Kerl seyn/ der eine Sache nicht auff zweyereley Art erzehlen könte. (499–500)
>
> My invention is not intended for them, answered Cardenio, rather it is for knowledgeable people. If I intended to bring Aristotle's life into the form of a romance to the taste of the gentlemen *Scholasticorum,* I would need completely different fabrications to satisfy them. Nevertheless, I do believe that it might be accomplished without changing the chief circumstances in the life of Aristotle as I have already laid them out, for anyone who can't tell the thing in more than one way must be a very simple fellow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Jedoch weil sie mit ihrer Liebe bey ihrem Manne so unglücklich gewesen/ trauete sie als eine kluge Dame/ denen Mannsbildern nicht mehr/ und wüste dannenhero ihren *affect* dergestalt zu *dissumuliren*/ daß sie männiglich um so viel destomehr von aller Liebe entfernet hielte/ weil sie in ihren übrigen Thun sehr auffrichtig ware/ und etliche Partheyen zu heyrathen/ die von andern für Vortheilhafftig gehalten worden/ ausgeschlagen/ auch allezeit die Entschuldigung gebraucht hatte/ daß sie nicht wieder heyrahten wolte. Dieweil aber in Franckreich nicht seltzam ist/ daß die Dames der artigen Gelahrtheit ergeben sind; also vertrieb auch *Caliste* ihre Zeit nebst *honneter conversation* mit Cavallieren und Frauenzimmer von ihren Stande mit vielfältiger Lesung guter Historien und anderer nützlichen Bücher. (639–40)
>
> Because she had been so unhappy in her love to her husband, she, an intelligent lady, no longer trusted men, though she was perfectly able to dissimulate her true feelings. Because she was extremely honest in all other regards, she kept her distance from love, excluding the possibility of marrying several persons generally regarded as advantageous matches, always using the excuse that she did not wish to remarry. And since it is far from strange in France that ladies are devoted to learning, so Caliste, too, apart from polite conversation with cavaliers and ladies of her quality, spent her time reading widely in good histories and other useful books.

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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