

1696: BRINGING THE *ROMAN* TO MARKET

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Talander Poaches Fruits from the French

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frontispieces to different editions of the *The Gallant Lady’s Cabinet of Love* amply illustrate that this new heroine did not shy from picking up her pen. Writing, as the engraving in figure 10 captures, was a central part of her existence. Perhaps, the viewer guessed, she was the author of her own story, maybe the one readers held in their hands. A woman of letters, the European novel’s heroine was immediately implicated in the long-running *querelle des femmes*, a controversy about women’s intellectual capabilities kicked off by Christine de Pisan at the beginning of the fifteenth century when she published letters attacking the misogyny of the *Roman de la rose*.¹¹ The *querelle* subsequently raged across early modern Europe. In mid-seventeenth-century Germany, the debate had flared up again.¹² The writerly and intellectual woman was a locus of controversy no less hot than the novel. By century’s end, in fact, the two topics, learned women and the novel, were hopelessly knotted together.

10. See Lynn (76) for more details on the real-life French woman on whom Préchac’s character was based; for accounts of other early modern historical women who cross-dressed for extended periods of time, see Dekker and Van de Pol. Baumgärtel and Neysters present a collection of seventeenth-century *femmes fortes* drawn from art-historical sources. See Baader in the collection edited by Baumgärtel and Neysters, on the strong woman in French literary history.

Préchac’s *L’héroïne mousquetaire* was translated into Dutch as *De musket-draagende heldin* (Amst, 1680) and went into multiple editions, into English as *The Heroine Musqueteer; or, The Female Warrior* (London, 1678) also in multiple editions, into German as *Der Helden=mässigen Carbinen=Reuterin warhafftigen Begebnisß* (Nuremberg, 1679), and into Italian as *L’eroina moschettiera* (Venice, 1681). The British Library alone has five different editions of the original French printed before 1723.

11. See the critical anthology of texts that responded to Christine de Pisan, edited by McWebb.

12. See the German contributions to the *querelle* edited by Gössmann, and Carrdus’s microhistorical reconstruction of the *querelle* in the provincial center of Altenburg (47–55), in her edition of the poems of the Margaretha Susanna von Kuntsch (1651–1717) circle.



Figure 10. Frontispiece to Talander's (August Bohse's) *The Gallant Lady's Cabinet of Love*, from the authorized edition published by Friedrich Groschuff in Leipzig (1694). The gallant lady, assisted by love, puts pen to paper. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

The novels digested in Talander's *Monthly Fruits*, like many *nouvelles* of the 1690s, figured marital ties as slavery's bonds. The February 1696 issue presented Pierre de Lesconvel's (c. 1650–1722) *Les effets de la jalousie, ou La Comtesse de Chateaubriand* (The Effects of Jealousy, or The Countess of Chateau-Briant) (1695). The novel's eponymous heroine was enslaved to an unreasonable master. Although

she pleaded repeatedly with her husband—"Ich will gehorsamen/ mein Herr" (I want to obey, my lord) (155)—the unreasonable demands of "diesem wunderlichen Kopffe" (this strange mind) made them impossible to fulfill. The heroine's brother pronounced her husband "einem so tollen Menschen/ der wohl verdienete/ daß man ihn an Ketten legete" (an insane person who really deserves to be thrown in chains) (160). He treated her "als ein Tyrann" (as would a tyrant) (163). Captive to a cruel master, the enslaved countess revolted against a cruel institution.

Critiques of marital power transcended the confines of the home. Novels' disparagements of men's regulation of the domestic sphere extended to reflections on the royal abuse of power in the public sphere. Indictments of marriage, in other words, also figured revolt. The personal was absolutely political. Henri de Juvenel's *Edouard Histoire d'Angleterre* (1696), in November's *Monthly Fruits*, offers a case in point. Caught in a disastrous marriage, the novel's heroine, the Countess of Salysbery, takes a lover. Her decision, remarkably, leaves no stain on her honor, for her virtue is equaled only by the injustice of her husband's rule. So great is her reputation that it draws the historical King Edward III to woo her. But her heart has already been given to another, the Count of Artois, and she cannot return the affection of her royal suitor. The king's hapless pursuit provides narrative occasion for long soliloquies on the limits of royal authority. Unlike the countess's husband, the English king proves no tyrant. He nobly refuses to claim her heart by royal prerogative: "Ich will euch nicht sagen/ daß ich König bin/ daß mein Stand und meine Macht wohl von euch einige Gefälligkeit verdieneten" (995). (I do not wish to tell you that I am the king, that my position and my power would thus be due particular consideration from you.) Instead, he wishes only to prove himself a true friend and—in an act of "großmüthige Überwindung" (generous renunciation) (999) marveled at by the entire court—Edward removes all impediments for a marriage to the countess's beloved Artois: "Ihr habt meinen Zorn gefürchtet/ und euch vor meiner Rache gescheuet/ welche ich auszuführen mächtig genug bin. Aber ihr kennet noch nicht *Eduarden*" (998). (You have feared my wrath and dreaded the revenge that I am powerful enough to carry out on you. But you do not yet know Edward.)

Talander's German digest of Juvenel's French novel with an English setting suggested that Edward's justice typified English rule. That happy nation was wedded to a most liberal lord. As translated in *Monthly Fruits*, the inherent critique of royal power gained even more momentum than Lesconvel's novel had possessed in the original. In the German journal, other *nouvelles* (news items) encased Lesconvel's *nouvelle* (novel). The context rubbed off. Edward's liberality appeared in sharp contrast, against a background of French tyranny. The previous month of the journal had featured the essay "Défense du parlement d'Angleterre dans la cause de Jacques II" (Defense of the English Parliament in the Matter of James II), whose subtitle promised an investigation of "la puissance des rois" (the power of kings). This "Defense" of English liberties was written in 1692 by an author who claimed

to have felt the abuse of royal power firsthand. His actual name was less important than information tying him to exiled Huguenots.¹³ His paean to the English parliament's bucking of royal power was dedicated to the "General States of Holland," where he had allegedly found asylum. Despite the differences dividing the rival English and Dutch trading nations, and their history of protracted war, the "Defense" presciently suggested that both Holland and England provided the antidote to French abuses of royal power. Juvenel's novel had depicted the plight of a much earlier French exile, the Count of Artois, the historical Robert of Artois, cousin to French king Philip VI. Although the novel did not set the historical stage in detail, the reader versed in history knew that Philip VI had confiscated the duchy of Aquitaine then held by Edward III to avenge the safe haven that the English monarch had provided Robert of Artois. Aquitaine's seizure had ignited the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). Reading the "Defense" together with Juvenel's novel makes England the historical bulwark curbing French royal abuse and providing succor to French refugees since time immemorial.

Another novel included in *Monthly Fruits* wove the abuses of husbands still more skillfully together with the tyranny of kings, the domestic with the public: La Force's *Histoire Secrète de Henry IV* (Paris, 1695), also published more descriptively as *Histoire Secrète des Amours de Henri IV, roi de Castille, surnommé l'Impuissant* (The Hague, 1695). Talander alerted his readers that "nach Vorgaben des Verlegers" (according to the publishers) (410), this novel was written by a woman (Dame). La Force's *histoire* told the tale of the failed marriage between Henry IV, king of Castille, and Johanna of Portugal. At the story's outset, Henry's childless marriage to Blanca of Navarre had just been annulled by Pope Nicholas V; rumors swirled that the king was impotent. To dispel his epithet *Impuissant* or *Unvermögende* (Incapable or Impotent), and to solidify his rule, Henry desperately needed a successor. His court's many factions talked only of his impotence while laying plots to end his rule. To quell a nascent revolt, the king tried to trick his new queen, Johanna, into a liaison with another man, the king's favorite (433–34), hoping she might thereby produce an heir on Henry's behalf. Johanna, naturally, should not discover the abusive ruse.

Unfortunately for Henry, his plan goes awry. Johanna is neither a fool nor a woman long to suffer his corrupt rule. Instead of the king's favorite, another man, Alphonso, is mistakenly admitted to her bedchamber. Upon discovering her bedfellow's identity and her husband's perfidy, she rebels. She implores the besotted Alphonso to leave the deed undone but to find a way to rescue her from her prison: "Machet euch fort/ saget sie endlich/ und so ihr mich liebet/ so dencket auf nichts als auf Mittel/ mich von einem Hofe hinweg zu bringen/ woran meine Ehre und mein Gewissen mir nicht länger zu bleiben verstaten will" (446). (Leave me, she finally said, and, if you love me, think on nothing but a means to spirit me away

13. The text may have been by LaCombe de Vigny.

from a court where my honor and my conscience no longer permit me to remain.) La Force's *histoire* paints the sexual disorder in the bedroom and a wife's rebellion against her husband in miniature, certain harbingers of the revolt against the king that surely and swiftly followed.

La Force's braid of marital with royal abuse, of conjugal confusion with political disorder, stimulated notable interest among readers of Talander's journal. A complete translation of the *Histoire Secrète de Henry IV* soon appeared, published not by Gleditsch in Leipzig, but by Martin Scherpentier in Jena. Talander provided the foreword for this German translation, which was undertaken by the otherwise unknown "Charizedo."¹⁴ Signed in Jena on October 8, 1696, Talander's foreword explained the new translation's genesis:

Nachdem ich von gegenwärtiger Liebes=Geschichte/ wegen ihrer ungemeinen *intriguen* in den *Majo* meiner Frantzösischen Monat=Früchte/ einen kleinen Auszug heraus gegeben/ das Wercklein aber so beliebt worden/ daß einige *curieuse* Gemüther solches gantz und gar übersetzt zu lesen wünschten hat man mich freundlich ersuchet/ solche Arbeit vorzunehmen. Allein da andere Verrichtungen mir so viel Zeit vor diß mahl nicht gelassen/ und ich doch deren/ welche mich gebethen/ ihr Verlangen gerne vergnügen wollen/ habe ich einen guten Freund/ welcher der Frantzösischen Sprache auch gar wohl kundig/ dahin vermocht/ daß er sich über das Tractätlein gemacht/ und selbiges mit einer teutschen Kleidung versehen. Die Historie an sich ist so anmuthig und voller Liebes=Verwirrungen/ daß einen *galanten* Leser/ die wenigen Stunden nicht dauren werden/ die er auf deren Durchlesung wendet. (2r-v)

After I had published a small excerpt from the present love story in May in my *French Monthly Fruits* because of its uncommon *intrigues*, the little work was so beloved that several *curieuse* spirits wished it translated in its entirety; I was asked in a friendly fashion to undertake the job. However, other duties did not allow me to do so at the time, and because I was eager to satisfy the desire of those who had asked me, I encouraged a good friend, who is also very versant in French, to set himself to the little tract and provide the same with German clothing. The story is in itself so charming and full of amorous confusions that a gallant reader will not regret the few hours he applies to reading it.

Purveying tales of marital slavery, Talander's name was a brand that created demand. Charizedo and Scherpentier stepped in to fill it. With novels such as those

14. Weller's *Lexicon pseudonymorum* (1886) attributes one other title, another translation, to Charizedo (or Charizedus): *Liebes-Irrgarten des Englischen Hofes* (Love's Labyrinth of the English Court) (1697). I have been unable to find any further trace of this title; the text for which Weller lists Charizedo as translator could have been any number of novels then on the market. Several featured an English setting.

by Lesconvel and Juvenel, *Monthly Fruits* had translated critiques of marriage and discussions of just rule, topics explored also by La Force's novel. But it may have been particularly "beloved" among Talander's reading public for two additional, related reasons.

In addition to its up-to-date meditations on the prison house of marriage, La Force's *Henry IV* featured a Spanish setting. Stories of Spain were particularly *en vogue* after the publication of Aulnoy's widely translated *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691). Aulnoy herself was one of the most famous authors in the 1690s and into the next century. By 1696, she was a name to be reckoned with in the European market. Her fame stemmed in part from the fact that, like Madeleine de Scudéry before her, so talented an author was a woman. She composed novels, travel literature, and fairy tales, the last of which garnered her lasting fame. Anonymously published novels, such as Murat's *Mémoires*, quoted at this chapter's outset, were attributed to the famous woman author by Dutch publishers of French-language knockoffs and by both German and English translators.

Talander—and many others involved in the novel's domestication—often employed female authorship as a marketing device. The author of *Henry IV* was, of course, also a woman, a fact that Talander had not forgotten to advertise to his readers. As early as 1689, in fact, he had translated Louise-Geneviève Gomès de Vasconcellos Gillot de Beaucour's *Le Mary jaloux, nouvelle* (1688). In his foreword to this story, another unhappy marriage, Talander underlined its authorship: "Gegenwärtiges Tractätlein/ dessen Inhalt in einer wahrhaftigen französischen Liebes Geschichte bestehet/ ist von einer Dame verfertigt worden" (2r). (The present short work, whose content is comprised of a truthful French love story, was composed by a lady.)

Roughly a third of French narrative fiction in prose published between 1687 and 1699 was written by women. During the early 1690s, the percentage was higher still.¹⁵ These novels were "graphic in their condemnation of the abuses of women both past and present" (DeJean, *Tender Geographies* 128). Perhaps writers like La Force and Aulnoy won devoted readers in the European market because they provided the best stories of husbands' misrule. Perhaps readers also demanded their titles because the figure of the intellectual, writerly woman was itself fashionable, a fact recognized by Talander's *oeuvre*. But a novel (itself a fashionable book) that wove a fashionable anti-marriage plot, was set in Spain, and was known to have been written by a woman could hardly have been more up-to-date.

By 1696, fashion's formulas had become the trademark of a genre born of creative talent and critical sophistication. Foregrounding women's marital "chains," the novel blurred lines between writers and their characters, between fact and fiction. The genre also revealed how history was determined by the politics of

15. DeJean (*Tender Geographies* 128) estimates the statistic based on the titles listed in Lever's bibliography of seventeenth-century fiction, the most reliable guide to this tricky terrain.

representation. Truth, novels of the 1690s such as those digested in Talander's *Monthly Fruits* suggested, was as much a matter of negotiation as marital contracts were. In both, women both real and fictional demanded representation. And readers demanded their "true" histories.

In 1696, Aulnoy's fame across Europe accrued primarily from her artfully embroidered travel narrative, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691), a series of long letters purporting to provide an eyewitness account of the author's journey to Spain for her aunt. In 1695, it had been published in translation in Leipzig as *Reise durch Spanien* (Journey through Spain) by Weidmann-Gleditsch's rival, Thomas Fritsch.¹⁶ Unusually, Aulnoy's translator was named: Leipzig city councillor, Johann Job. The translation also contained an engraved portrait of the famous author, which served as the volume's frontispiece, and a series of illustrations signed by artist A. Schoonsbeck.¹⁷ In the 1690s, novels usually featured illustrations of their characters. But Aulnoy was no less famous than the notable people she wrote about. The famous author's portrait was set at the front of her book. Pictures of her characters were not enough in the case of an author who was also the story. When publisher Fritsch reissued Aulnoy's *Reise* (*Relation*) the following year, he advertised her name even more effectively, including it in the title, *Der Gräfin d'Aunoy Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien mit Figuren* (The Countess d'Aunoy's Account of Her Voyage to Spain, with Illustrations).¹⁸

Thomas Fritsch must have needed the success promised by an Aulnoy title. In 1694, his stepfather—Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, husband of Catharina Margaretha (née Götz and widow of Johann Fritsch) and older brother to fellow publisher Johann Ludwig Gleditsch—had founded a rival publishing firm, leaving Fritsch

16. One Aulnoy title was translated into English as *Memoires of the Court of Spain* (1692); the title page attributed its authorship to "an ingenious French lady." That same year another Aulnoy title appeared in English, *Memoires of the Court of France... By Madam L. M. D', Author of the Voyage into Spain*.

The VD17 catalog attributes the German translation of the *Voyage* to Johann (or Johannes) Job (c. 1664–c. 1736), who, after studies in Strasbourg and then Leipzig, held various official posts in Leipzig and later became a city councillor (*Ratsherr*) there. I have been unable to find an earlier edition (1693) of this translation listed in Bautz's *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*.

17. Schoonsbeck was probably part of the Dutch Schoonsbeck family, which included an engraver Schoonsbeck who accompanied Tsar Peter the Great back to Russia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. I have been unable to verify whether the Schoonsbeck in question is the one who went to Russia.

18. Aulnoy's *Relation* was the first of this title's two parts; the second was another Aulnoy title, her slightly earlier *Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne* (1690), a more conventional account of politics at the Spanish court during the reign of Charles II than the letters that the author innovatively stirred into a factual-fictional mix. Publisher Thomas Fritsch further sought to capitalize on her titles with a 1697 title, *Curioser Geschichts-Calender Ihrer Catholischen Majestät von Spanien Caroli II* (Curious Historical Calendar of His Catholic Majesty of Spain, Charles II), which appeared in two different editions that year. Aulnoy's titles remained a source of profit for Fritsch for nearly a decade. In 1703, he updated *Der Gräfin Aunoy's Reisebeschreibung* yet again to include a third part. I have not been able to verify whether this was a translation of her *Nouvelles espagnoles* (1692).

and taking many of his house's authors (Brauer 24).¹⁹ Hoping for a best seller, Fritsch added to the appeal of Aulnoy's *Relation* by including seven engraved portraits of important actors at the Spanish court in Madrid. No previous French edition had possessed these illustrations. The German "translation" was absolutely original. Fritsch assured his readers that they could trust the accuracy of the illustrations:

Es werden vielleicht einige derjenigen/ so gegenwärtigen andern Theil der Reise-Beschreibung in Frantzös. Sprache gelesen/ die dieser Übersetzung beygefügte Kupffer aber dabey nicht gefunden haben/ auf die Gedancken gerathen/ ob möchten etwa solche Kupffer verdächtig und eine eigene Erfindung seyn; allein ich kan versichern/ daß diese insgesamt/ ohne ansehung der dazu erfordernden vieler Unkosten/ von solchen Orten erhalten/ wo man die allerbesten Originalien finden können. ("Des Verlegers Bericht an den Leser" [Publisher's Notice to the Reader] n.p.)

Several of those who have read this second part of the travel account in French, but did not find there the engravings accompanying this translation, may hit upon the idea that some of the engravings might be false and an invention; but I can guarantee that all of them—with no consideration of the great expenses involved—have been obtained from those places where one can find the very best originals.

The portrait of Philip IV, for example, "ist von dem berühmten *van Dyk* gemalet und mit Fleiß nachgestochen" (was copied from a painting by the famous van Dyck with great care), and the engraving of Charles II "ist nach einem *Original* gemacht/ vor welchen S. Maj. Selbst gesessen" (was copied from an original for which His Majesty himself sat) ("Publisher's Notice").

I do not know what the true expense of these or similar engravings was.²⁰ But in 1696 Fritsch's firm had a stable of engravers in its employ. In 1689, the Fritsch house, then under the leadership of Johann Friedrich Gleditsch (Johann Ludwig's brother), had begun publication of the journal *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annehmlichen Geschichten* (Monthly Conversations of Several Good Friends about Diverse Books and Other Charming Histories). The title recalled Thomasius's more famous journal on purpose. Edited by Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1659–1707), the Fritsch-Gleditsch journal explicitly rivaled Weidmann-Gleditsch's and Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations*.

19. Johann Friedrich Gleditsch began working for the Fritsch firm sometime in 1681. Johann Fritsch had died the previous year while attending the Frankfurt fair, leaving behind a wife and son, Thomas Fritsch; his widow married her employee, Gleditsch, on November 21, 1681.

20. A notice inserted in the second volume of the 1690 reprint of Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations* (between this volume's "Erklärung des Kupfferblats" [Explanation of the Engraved Frontispiece] and the frontispiece and title page for July 1688) advertises that each monthly issue of that journal may be purchased for "2. gute Groschen" (2. good pennies).

The imitation was innovative in one way, even Thomasius conceded: it was illustrated. In this aspect alone, it was up-to-date. Thomasius and his publishers soon recognized that illustrations were essential to indicate a title's fashionable currency, whether that title be a journal or novel.²¹ Leipzig publisher Fritsch, who had managed to retain Tentzel's journal after his stepfather's and former partner's departure, may have employed the same engravers to illustrate the Aulnoy translations.

While illustrations are not today usually considered integral to the novel—save in the case of the graphic novel—they were an essential feature of the many titles, both novels and journals, that traded on novelties. They further document the vibrancy of the market for novel translations. Each issue of Talander's *Monthly Fruits*, for example, like the reissue of Thomasius's journal *Monthly Conversations*, was fronted by an engraved frontispiece. All Talander novels had engravings. The market for print novelties was competitive. Illustrations sold copies. For such small-format volumes, the creation and use of engraved plates was simply not as costly as typically presumed. Consumers could purchase a copy with or without engravings. They only needed be tipped into the purchased text.²² A consumer of Talander's 1703 translation *Der Marquisin von Fresne Seltzame Liebes-und Lebens-Geschichte* (The Strange Love Story and Memoirs of the Marchioness of Fresne) by Courtitz de Sandras, for example, could purchase a copy with only an engraved frontispiece. A true devotee of fashion, however, would have found the money to buy a copy

21. Thomasius called Tentzel his *Simia* (monkey), a play on the German *nachaffen* (to imitate, or literally, to act like a monkey). When all twenty-four issues of Thomasius's *Monthly Conversations* from 1688 and 1689 were reissued by printer-publisher Christoph Salfeld in 1690 in Halle, they were retroactively outfitted with engravings illustrating each month's discussion topic. In his "Erklärung des Kupfer-Titels" (Explanation of the Engraved Frontispiece), prefixed to this edition, Thomasius not only explained the decision to commission the engravings but took the opportunity to take a potshot at those in the Tentzel-Fritsch journal, many of which depicted a geometrical figure or an anatomical drawing: "Die Leute sind durch diejenigen/ so bißhero in unterschiedenen Sprachen monatlich etwas heraus gegeben/ so verwehnet worden/ daß es ihnen wunderlich vorkommet/ etwas dergleichen in unserer teutschen Sprache zu sehen/ darbey kein Kuppferstücke anzutreffen. Ich habe mich solcher Gestalt nicht gewundert/ als ich gehört/ daß unterschiedene mir in meinen Monat Gesprächen diesen *Defect* gezogen. Die Menschen bildern doch durchgehends gerne. Also habe ich mich beflissen/ diesen *Defect* noch *re integrâ* zu *suppliren*/ und zu einen ieden Monat ein Kupfer noch beystechen zu lassen. Was solte ich aber machen? Mit Triangeln/ Würmern/ Müntzen und dergleichen Sachen sind andere Schrifften schon angefüllt/ und handeln auch meine Gespräche von solchen tieffsinnigen Materien nicht; ja ich zweiffelte/ ob diejenigen/ zu derer *Zeit=verkürzung* ich diese Gespräche zu schreiben mein Absehen gehabt/ Ihre Belustigung an dergleichen *Inventionen* finden würden" ("Erklärung" 3r-4r). (People are so spoiled by the monthlies published in various languages that it amazes them to see one in our German language in which no engravings are to be met. I thus hardly wondered when I heard that various people had faulted me for this defect in my *Monthly Conversations*. People certainly want to illustrate everything. So, I have dedicated myself to retroactively overcoming this defect and had a plate engraved for every month. But with what material? Triangles, worms, coins, and similar stuff already fill the pages of other papers, and my *Conversations* hardly deal with such deep matters. Actually, I doubted that those for whose entertainment I aimed to write would find any amusement in such inventions.)

22. The engravings could not be printed on the same letterpress that the text required. Engravings and text were printed in separate processes on two different presses. Their separation made it easy for texts to be sold with or without the illustrations.

that included nine plates showing the marchioness to advantage, in stunning outfits ranging from a casual look for the home to robes *à la turque*.²³

Fashionable consumers demanded engravings. With its many engravings, the European novel reached fashion's heights. When the translation of Aulnoy's *Relation* was reprinted in 1696, for example, Fritsch also outfitted it with a newly engraved author's portrait. Had the cost of such engravings been higher, the publisher surely would have simply had the plate used in the previous year's edition recut. The newer image must have been worth the expense. It depicted Aulnoy in a much more up-to-date fashion. The earlier author's portrait had her hair in a *Fontange*, a style popularized by Louis XIV's former official mistress, Madame de Fontanges (Marie Angélique de Scoraille de Roussille, duchesse de Fontanges, 1661–1681) (fig. 11). But by 1695, the high hairdo was no longer at the very peak of fashion.²⁴ Thus the 1696 author's portrait depicted a young woman with hair of a height more appropriate to accompany a title that traded on being *au courant*.²⁵

Talander's *Monthly Fruits* translated and digested radical critiques of male rule, or the law of husbands and kings. Women writers, none more so than Aulnoy, were famous for their sophisticated exposés of men's abuses. Talander productions, as we have seen, popularized the anti-marriage plot and picked up on the demand for stories by women. Novel translations created a lively domestic market. Yet, as the work of cultural translation proceeded, the novel's often radical heroines and their indictments of the rule of men were softened. As often as Talander translated such "disorderly women," he also sought to soften their stunning critiques.²⁶ Women writers and their heroines, critics loved to claim, threatened to undo all order. Some Talander titles sought to shore it up. As the work of novel translation proceeded into the new century, the French novel and its sometimes radical heroines began to be domesticated.

23. It is quite likely that prints from these plates could also have been purchased without the text.

24. In 1689 and 1690, two different satirical German texts appeared warning against the dangers of this hairdo: *Der gedoppelte Blas-Balg Der Uppigen Wollust: Nemlich Die Erhöhte Fontange Und Die Blosse Brust/ Mit welchen das Alamodische Frauenzimmer in ihren eigenen und vieler unvorsichtigen Manns-Persohnen sich darin vergaffenden Hertzen ein Feuer des verbotenen Liebes-Brunst anzündet. . . . Durch Ernestus Gottlieb/ bürtig von Veron* and *Die mit lebendigen Farben abgemahlte und mit der verführischen bloßen Brust vergesellschaftete eitele Fontange des heutigen Frauenzimmers. . . . durch Waremunten von Frauenstadt*. The latter is likely a translation or adaptation of Jacques Boileau's *L'Abus du nudité de gorge* (1675), translated into English as *A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders* (1678). In German the *Fontange* was viewed as an "omen" of beguiling French influence (see Polydorus Wärmund). Like the later *Fischbeinrock* (a skirt supported by whalebones, making it very wide at the hips), sent up by Luise Adelgunde Kulmus Gottsched's 1736 *Die Pietisterei im Fischbeinrock* (Pietism in Petticoats), the *Fontange* became an emblem of fashion's supposedly perfidious influence, particularly upon women. As late as 1715, Amaranthes included an entry on the hairdo in the *Frauenzimmer Lexicon* (Lady's Lexicon).

25. I have been unable to identify a pictorial source for either of these engravings.

26. See, still, Natalie Davis's essay on the trope of the "disorderly woman" and the cultural labor it performed across early modern Europe. It reminds us that readers, of course, engaged in an interpretive diversity that the historian can access only imaginatively. One reader's disorderly hussy was another's freedom fighter.



Figure 11. Frontispiece to the 1695 German translation of Aulnoy's *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691). Note the author's fashionable hairdo, the *Fontange*. This celebrated author *was* the story. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

Marrying Off Amazons

We turn now to the second event featuring Talander in 1696. His 1696 “love story” *Amazons from the Cloister* helps to locate the beginning of the process that tamed the radical heroines of the novel. The invention of the European novel also marked the

French novel's domestication across the continent. And this development entailed a long good-bye. Everywhere writers and readers made French fictions their own, translating them into the various vernaculars. Their novel translations also domesticated the French genre by marrying off its heroines. As the eighteenth century continued, traces of the genre's Frenchness grew ever fainter. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the French woman of wit and independence so common to the genre in 1680 was gone from the novel's pages. That character, who (critics from Pierre Daniel Huet to Christian Thomasius to "a German patriot" agreed, with varying degrees of enthusiasm) embodied Frenchness, was replaced. Fashion cycled tirelessly forward. English domesticity gradually supplanted French condemnations of women's enslavement in the European novel market.

The reinvention of femininity was, as Silvia Bovenschen so influentially argued, a long process. The novel's domestication was similarly long, and it was also uneven. Periods of rapid innovation in the European market were followed by years of imitation. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)—so widely read and imitated everywhere—marked one moment of acceleration. Samuel Richardson's beloved and satirized family romances of the middle of the century another. *Pamela* (1740), for example, sold very well beyond England. On the continent, the celebrated English author won such notable acolytes as Leipzig literature professor and novelist Christian Furchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). Gellert's canonical novel, *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (The Life of the Swedish Countess of G***) (1747–48), retained many of the conventions common to the novel in 1700. It purported, for example, to be the "true" life story of a "real" woman. And it was a story that Gellert allowed his heroine to narrate herself. Yet while allowed to tell her tale, this countess—unlike countless French heroines before her—was not allowed to contest the rule of men. Instead, she began her memoir by piously invoking the paternal proclamation made upon her. Although she was now grown, she still obediently followed the duty laid down to her: "Sie soll nur klug und gar nicht gelehrt werden. Reich ist sie nicht, also wird sie niemand als ein vernünftiger Mann nehmen. Und wenn sie diesem gefallen und das Leben leichtmachen helfen soll, so muß sie klug, gesittet und geschickt werden" (5). (She should only become clever and in no way well educated. She isn't rich, so only a sensible man will take her. And if she is to please such a man and help make his life easy, she must be clever, well mannered, and capable.) Hardly contesting the law of the father, Gellert's heroine strove only to follow the direction he had prescribed for her. By 1750, the novel, via English influence, was fully domesticated. It was no longer French, nor was it a tale critiquing the rule of men.

Talander's 1696 *Amazons* provides an early example of how local writers helped the novel everywhere go native. At first glance, Talander's title must have seemed to promise consumers further exploits of *femmes fortes*. And some passages do echo the rhetoric of marriage's enslavement of women. Yet the similarities to novels such as those French originals digested in *Monthly Fruits* prove only superficial.

Unlike other heroines of the day, Talander's Amazons ultimately did not finally reject a partnership with men or prefer the company of other women. Despite the assertion that they were Amazons, these heroines bowed gracefully to male rule.²⁷

The novel's de rigueur frontispiece depicts a cavalry company in the lower left foreground, on horseback with lances raised, charging toward a group of foot soldiers in the right middle foreground who wield bows and arrows—some already aloft and fast approaching the Amazons (fig. 12). Despite these women warriors' masculine posture, their identity as women is unmistakable; despite their symbolic appropriation of pants, they remain clothed in skirts, carefully feminized. Their clearly visible faces appear all the whiter in contrast to the inky darkness of the foot soldiers. Individual faces are lost in this group of warriors, their blackness punctuated only by their short white skirts and the feathers they wear on their head. A military encampment in the middle background, replete with tents and wagons, attests to the organization of an Amazonian army. Rows of tents wind back from left to right and remain just visible behind the plateau upon which a large building perches. This building is presumably the cloister that the women have exited. Behind the black warriors, the cloister is no longer under Amazonian control. The Amazons, whose tents surround the building on several sides, are intent on retaking it.

Thus prepared by this fashionable engraving for a tale of Amazonian military exploits, the reader must plow through more than 150 pages to witness the appearance of an Amazon. Featuring a tangle of thwarted love stories set at the Castilian court, a thicket of narratives from which Amazonian heroines barely emerge, Talander's hybrid romance-novel at length removed its heroines to a cloister.²⁸ When it was overrun by invading Moors, the lovesick women, under Princess Hermione's leadership, decided to give battle and contribute their forces to the gathered Castilian army. The language rendering their decision recalls women warriors, such as Hildegard or *L'heroïne mousquetaire*: "Weil sie nun von Jugend auff in denen Uebungen der Jagd auffgezogen/ und also Schwerdt und Lantze zuführen nicht ungewohnt/ so war ihr einmüthiger Entschluß/ die Waffen zu ergreifen/ und durch tapfferes Entgegengehen wider die Feinde sehen zu lassen" (152). (Because they had been raised since youth in the ways of the hunt, and so were not unaccustomed

27. Obviously, Talander's choice of title also attests to the popularity of the cloister setting, a popular mark of protopornographic tales, such as *Vénus dans le Cloître*. This title, known more widely as *L'Ecole des filles*, was famously believed to have been written by a woman, Aloisa Sigea, but was actually by the learned Nicolas Chorier. See Turner. Simply the word *cloister* in a title was sufficient lure for a reader familiar with lurid tales of "monastic" life, such as *Le Capucin demasqué* (Cologne, 1682), translated into German probably in the 1680s as *Der entlarvte Capuciner* (Cölln, n.d.)

28. The many tales of thwarted love—much more typical of romance than the novel—include the hero Friolardo for the heroine Hermione; Hermione for Friolardo; the Neapolitan prince Moldaschio for Hermione; Friolardo for Stellandra; the princess Olympie and the *Cavallier* Altamire; the Moorish prince Amafil for both Hermione and her sister Herophile; Moldaschio for Herophile; Eriadne for Friolardo; Negroponto for Eriadne; and another Moorish prince, Suitilla, as well as his son, Lisuart, for Hermione.



Figure 12. Frontispiece to Talander's novel *Amazons from the Cloister* (1696). Talander's Amazons are missing neither breasts nor skirts. They give battle to Moors but bow to Spanish husbands. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

to bearing sword and lance, they unanimously seized upon the valiant decision to take up weapons and let their enemies know them by their brave resistance.) Like other Amazonian heroines popular in contemporaneous novels, these women were born sword in hand.

Talander's women warriors, however, presented little threat to traditional hierarchies of sex and gender. The frontispiece did not depict them in skirts by accident; these Amazons truly failed to appropriate pants. Their decision to go to war received a warm welcome from Don Francesco, commander of Spanish troops. They guaranteed that his men would fight bravely. The Amazons would be their cheerleaders. Don Francesco had

wol urtheilend/ daß diese Schönheiten/ ob sie schon durch eigen Faust wenig grosse Thaten verrichten würden/ dennoch denen Rittern eine mächtige Reitzung seyn könnten/ sich durch tapfferes Fechten bey ihnen beliebt zu machen. Denn derselbe müste mit einer allzu schimfflichen Zaghafftigkeit versehen seyn/ welcher in Gegenwart so vornehmer und schöner Fräulein nicht solte dahin streben/ durch Ueberwindung seines Feindes den Ruhm der Tapfferkeit zu erwerben. (151–52)

judged wisely that these beauties, although they would perform few extraordinary feats with their own hands, could nonetheless provide powerful incentive to his knights to ingratiate themselves by means of their valiant battle. He who did not seek to garner the fame of bravery in the presence of so many distinguished and beautiful maidens must have been born with a cowardice beneath contempt.

Far from contesting the soldiers' heroism, the embodiment of the rule of men, Talander's "Amazons" and "incomparable heroines" (*unvergleichliche Heldinnen*) only served it, making the men twice as manly as they would otherwise have been.²⁹

In addition to distorting Amazonian heroism, Talander also deployed the rhetoric of love's slavery and marital bondage but emptied it of its critical, political thrust. Herophile, for example, claimed to be unwilling to give up her freedom for the bonds of marriage. She told her suitor that "sie hätte ihre Freyheit annoch zu lieb/ als daß sie sich in die Dienstbarkeit des Liebens bey so früher Jugend einlassen solte" (186). (She still loved her liberty too much to enter into the servitude of love still in her youth.) But her response to his marriage proposal was only *pro forma*.³⁰

29. The Moors are portrayed as belonging to another order of being than the Europeans. Their otherness—marked by the blackness of the frontispiece—is also built into the plot structure of the *Amazons*. Of all the love stories, only those of the Moors are left unresolved. Most strikingly, the Moorish prince, Lisuart, unaccountably disappears from the tale's end. Several Moorish princes desire to marry Hermione, but she rejects their proposals in language typical of the text's ascription of insatiable desires to the Moor: "Zum wenigsten habe ich nicht Willens/ mich eines verliebten Mohren seinen Lüsternen Begierden aufzuopfern" (172). (Least of all do I wish to offer myself up to the salacious desires of an enamoured Moor.) Unlike the other Moorish princes, Lisuart is said to possess considerable virtue. Considering Lisuart's actions, Friolardo observes "daß auch die Tugend in der Barbarey zu Hause/ und dieser Printz eines großmüthigen Geistes seyn müste" (that virtue can also be at home in Barbary and that this prince must be a valiant soul) (288). Despite Lisuart's exemplarity, any resolution of his love for Hermione is apparently not worthy of account. While all the Spanish characters eventually find a suitable marriage partner, Lisuart simply vanishes from the narrative.

30. Herophile's freedom proclamation was really only playing hard to get. Her regret at the success of her own game is depicted at length. Her beloved believes her eschewal of marriage and abruptly

Talander's *Amazons*, including Herophile, soon made their way to the altar. Talander couched love in metaphors of chains and bondage—and so enslaved his heroines in a servitude for which they longed.

Despite its fashionable language, up-to-date Spanish setting, necessary frontispiece, and characters who spoke of marriage's slavery, Talander's *Amazons* ultimately questioned the desirability of marriage for a woman in only the very faintest of tones. Even the Amazons' "queen," Hermione, had pined for love after her retreat to the cloister and worried that only death awaited her there. She questioned herself: "Ach unvergnügte Hermione; solst du deine Sehnsucht in ein Kloster verbergen/ und sollen diese zarten Glieder zwischen diesen leblosen Steinen vermodern?" (136). (Oh unsatisfied Hermione; should you conceal your longing in a cloister? Should you allow your delicate body to rot among these lifeless stones?) At night, she dreamed only of the caresses she had sacrificed:

Schlieff sie/ so kame ihr Friolarden Bildnüß allezeit im Traume vor/ derselbe mocht nun gut oder böse sein/ so war er doch allezeit eine Reitzung zu neuer Schwermuth. Denn wann sie dünckete/ als ob sie mit diesem Herrn in die süssesten Liebes=Geschäfte sich eingelassen/ so seuffzte/ wann sie erwachete/ daß auf dieses Schatten=Werck kein wirklicher Genuß erfolgte. (136–37)

When she slept, images of Friolardo appeared constantly in her dreams. He might be good or evil, but he always prompted her spirit to fall. For although it seemed as if she had entered into the sweetest of love's commerce with this gentleman, when she awoke she lamented that no real pleasure resulted from the play of shadows.

Talander's heroines' lusty heterosexual desire evacuated any trace of the famous Amazonian preference for all-female sociability.³¹ Instead, his Amazons devoted their energies solely to the pursuit of love and marriage. Hermione finally wed Friolardo, allowing the conclusion, "und/ wo es noch dem Heydenthum gewesen/ würde sie so viele Anbether/ vor sich Fußfällig gesehen haben/ als Personen auff dem Königlichen Saale waren; denn sie ohne Zweifel vor die Venus wäre gehalten worden" (317–18). (And if it had still been in heathen times, she would have had as many worshipers at her feet as were people in the royal chamber; for she was without doubt beholden as Venus.) The Amazon had really been the goddess of love all

departs. She remonstrates herself for his keenly felt loss: "Wozu habe ich dich gebracht/ geliebtester Printz/ du fliehst umb meiner Willen.... Muß ich nun erst durch deinen Abzug lernen/ daß man die Gegengunst nicht über die Zeit bergen sol?" (188). (What have I brought you to, beloved prince, you have fled according to my will.... Must I learn from your retreat that you shouldn't conceal the return of affection for too long?)

31. Talander's depiction of convent life and his suggestion that the celibate life created all manner of perversion, not devotion, was of course informed by Luther's critiques of convents, monastic life, and the reformer's insistence on clerical marriage.

along. Rendering Hermione another Venus, Talander sought to stabilize any possible disorder stirred up by his heroine.

As it turned out, Talander's heroines understood only fashion's letter, not its spirit. His hybrid novels instantiate an early, critical moment in the long process by which the novel was domesticated for a European market. Talander's *Amazons* returned *unheimliche* French heroines to hearth and home, having appropriated the French form for local purposes.

One Talander Production Disavows Another

In 1696 Talander not only digested French fruits and wrote "love stories" ending in wedded bliss, powerful documents of the ongoing German domestication of the French novel. That year, he also slipped from August Bohse's grasp. Bohse's loss of control of the pseudonym further attests that the domestic market for novels was competitive. But Talander's escape from Bohse also reveals something about how novelistic fictions were produced. Many hands, it turns out, wrote a *Roman*. Bohse was probably the lead author of most Talander productions. Only in the cases where his leadership was contested can we recover the work of other hands.

Authorial collaboration, it turns out, was a process so regular and so unremarkable that it was only acknowledged when the rules were broken. Collaboration was the rule, not the exception. But if we shake our modern expectations of authors as individuals (of more or less genius) hunched alone over their papers, we become sensitive to the widespread use of corporate authorship. We know that various kinds of collectives authored the most famous French *romans* and *nouvelles* written in the seventeenth century.³² We should perhaps not be so surprised to find collaborations behind names and novels that are so clearly poached from French models. Behind Talander, it turns out, stood a woman. While Bohse domesticated heroines, women writers turn up behind his fugitive pseudonym. Such was the disorder that ruled the novel in 1700.

Bohse's ultimate inability to secure "Talander" solely for his own use attests, perhaps, to the unscrupulous, at times illegal, business practices then common to the publishing industry and the book trade. But in a world where the concept of copyright was unknown and notions of intellectual property rights had little legal traction, the pseudonym's proliferation can tell us very little about theft. Some pseudonyms, of course, were chosen to help writers and publishers break laws regulating libel and treason. Yet Talander, as Bohse's repeated efforts to claim the name attest, was not a name coined to avoid the censor. Rather than theft, the pseudonym instead attests to the importance of branding among a glut of titles. By

32. DeJean discusses the different kinds of collaborations engaged in by Scudéry and then by Lafayette (*Tender Geographies*).

1696, “Talander” was a marquee brand on the subsidiary German market, a brand that distinguished its titles among many fashionable commodities.

By 1696 the Talander brand was carried by no fewer than six publishers—Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Weidmann’s heirs, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, Thomas Fritsch, Johann Kaspar Meyer, and Friedrich Groschuff in Leipzig as well as Johann Theodor Boetius in Dresden—all of whom published (or republished) a Talander title in 1695–1696 alone. They did not always do so with Bohse’s permission. Bohse had recognized the capital that his name represented, lending it, as we have seen, to translator Charizado and publisher Martin Scherpentier in Jena. He had, in fact, done something similar two years earlier. In the preface to *Die Durchlauchtigste Olorena/ Oder Warhafftige Staats- und Liebes-Geschichte dieser Zeit* (The Most Illustrious Olorena, or A True State and Love History of Our Times), published by Moritz Georg Weidmann in 1694, Talander explained that a “renowned” author had left a manuscript unfinished.³³ He, Talander, revised it to make the first four parts of *Olorena*, inventing only that novel’s final fifth section for publication.³⁴

But by 1696 Bohse had also become a victim of Talander’s success. The famous name circulated beyond Bohse’s control. By this date, a slightly modified form of the pseudonym had already been put to work on others’ title pages several times. This use of the authorial signature represented a loss against which Bohse sought hedges. In the preface to the 1696 love story *Die getreue Slavyn Doris* (The Faithful Slave Doris), Talander sought to stem his losses and to “remind the reader of one other thing”:

Es werden einige Romanen/ wie auch andere Schrifften/ so bißhero herausgekommen/ und denen nicht der völlige Nahme Talander/ sondern nur ein blosses T. vorstehet/ oder da sonst des Verfassers angenommener Nahme meinem angebohrnen Zunahmen etwas nachartet vor die meinigen ausgeben/ und als meine Arbeit verkaufft/ auch so gar von einem Verleger unter dem Nahmen Talanders in die *Catalogos* gesetzt; indem ich aber die Herren *Autores* solcher Schrifften nicht gerne der Ehre ihrer Bemühung berauben will/ so sie etwan daraus möchten zu gewarten haben/ so bitte nichts vor das meinige zu halten/ als wo der ausdrückliche Nahme Talander bey dem Titul des *Tractats* steht. Denn ich nicht so ehrgeitzig/ daß ich mich mit andrer Leute Ruhme bereichern will/ auch nicht so hochmüthig/ daß ich/ wo selbige geirret/frembde Schwachheit vertheidigen wolte/ indem ich mit der meinigen genug zu thun habe. (n.p.)

33. Dünnhaupt lists the author of the manuscript that Talander reworked as Ernst Jacob von Autorff (1: 727).

34. Over the next two decades, Bohse continued to lend the Talander name, presumably for a tidy profit, to other publications for which he provided a preface. Talander is often misidentified, for example, as the first German translator of Antoin Galland’s *Mille et une nuits*, including most recently in the Pléiades edition of Galland’s text (2005). The title page of this translation lists only Talander’s name (he supplied a foreword) but does not, as is so often the case, list the actual translators. The first of this translation’s twelve volumes appeared under the title *Die Tausend und eine Nacht* in 1710, issued by Gleditsch and Weidmann in Leipzig.

Several novels and other works have previously come out prefaced not by the full name Talander, but with a plain T., or with a name appropriated by the writer that resembles my given name. These have been presented as mine, sold as my work, and even been listed by one publisher in [his] *Catalogos* under the name Talander. Because I hardly want to rob the gentlemen *Autores* of the honor of their efforts, I request you not believe anything to be mine unless the full name Talander appears with the title of the *Tractat*. For I am not so ambitious that I seek to enrich myself with other people's glory and not so arrogant that I seek to defend others' errant weaknesses, seeing that I have enough of my own to deal with.

Beginning in 1691, a serially published anthology, *Das Durchlauchtige Archiv* (The Illustrious Archive), containing statesmen's speeches, letters, and treatises, had been brought out by Johann Theodor Boetius and Johann Heinrich Georg in Dresden. A stylish frontispiece graced its cover. All the materials collected, the title page advertises, were "vorgestellet von T." (presented by T.).

Had this adaptation of the Talander name not sufficed to rile Bohse, in 1696, as we have noted, a title by "the constant T." was published in Frankfurt: *Die versteckte Liebe im Kloster* (Love Concealed in the Cloister). In addition to making use of the Talander pseudonym without remunerating Bohse, its use connected the title to Bohse's *Amazons* and to still other racy titles set in monasteries and convents. In comparison to other titles authored by Talander, including the *Amazons*, with the considerable libidinal energies of its heroines, *Love Concealed* is more sexually explicit. It features many of the hallmarks of erotic or pornographic fiction, including a common narrative technique: the peeping Tom who spotted monks and nuns in flagrante through every keyhole he spied.³⁵ Bohse may have feared "the constant T." would adversely affect the Talander name, staining it with scandal. Perhaps he was right. But scandal sold, and two years later "the constant T." struck again. His new title teasingly promised a reader possibly familiar with his previous publication more of the same: *Die Albanische Sulma: in einer wohlständigen und reinen Liebes-Geschichte samt andern mit einlauffenden artigen Begebenheiten und beygefüigten Brieffen* (Sulma of Albania: A Well-Composed and Pure Love Story Joined by Intervening Charming Events and Accompanying Letters). In case the whiff of sex from the title was not strong enough, the title page claimed "Marteau of Cölln" as its publisher.³⁶

Perhaps such titles' delight in sexual excess represented the "errant weakness" that Bohse was anxious not to "defend" with the name Talander. Whatever the case, Bohse's erstwhile publishers, Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Moritz Georg Weidmann's heirs, seem to have had no such scruples. When they brought out Talander's *Amazons* in 1696, they claimed its place of publication to be the notorious

35. See Goulemot.

36. *Sulma of Albania* was published at least one more time, in 1713.

“Cölln.”³⁷ And they repeated this same advertisement of racy content in a 1698 edition of the same title. The publisher’s well-known real names on the title pages surely alerted prospective buyers that *Amazons* was not really from Cologne. Instead, the use of “Cölln” strengthened the suggestion of scandal that the title’s *Cloister* already implied. Whether Bohse minded his publisher’s marketing of *Amazons* is unclear. And we do not know whether he believed it to impinge on his reputation.³⁸ The name, however, was clearly not in his hands alone.

In subsequent years, Bohse’s control over the profitable name grew even more flimsy. Disputes over the use of the brand escalated with the publication of *Die liebenswürdige Europäerin Constantine* (The Adorable European Constantine) (1698) by Frankfurt publisher Christoph Hülße. Bohse was nothing less than furious about this title’s use of his name, and he adamantly distanced himself from it. To do so, he appended notices to other Talander publications. In a prefatory note to the “love story” *Ariadne*, for example, he insisted that he had ineluctably been compelled to defend his name, for, he alleged, his name had been stolen:

Indem ich dessen gütigen Urtheil einen neuen *Roman* von der *Toledanischen Kröhn=* Printzeßin *Ariadne* unterwerffe/ so kömmt mir eben eine andere unter meinem bißher geführten Nahmen *Talander* in Druck gegebene Liebes=Geschichte in die Hände/ die **Liebens=würdige *Europærin Constantine*** genannt/ welches Buch gewißlich mich bey der galanten Welt sehr *prostituiren* würde/ wenn ich mich nicht öffentlich allhier entschuldige/ daß nicht die Hälfte von demselben meine Arbeit sey; sondern wider meinen Willen und Vorbewust so viel albern und abgeschmackt Zier durch eine unzeitige Feder und allen Bogen dazwischen geflickt worden/ daß dadurch alles/ was etwan an der Geschichte gutes gewesen/ verdorben. Und ich nicht ohne Aergerniß erfahre/ daß ich eines andern heimlich gesuchten Gewinnst zu befordern meinen Nahmen zu fremden Schmierereyn und Schwachheiten herleihen muß/ Wie es denn dem Verleger der *Constantine* sehr wohl angestanden hätte/ mich erstlich darum zu begrüßen/ ob es mit meiner Genehmigung geschähe/ daß ein anderer zu meinen Schrifften ein hauffen ungereimtes dazu schmaderte/ und mein eigen *concept* mit allerhand wunderlichen Zwischen=Historien und erbärmlichen *inventionibus*, auch unbesonnener Vorrede und angeheffteter *Comædie* schändete/ so/ daß kaum was abgeschmackters von dergleichen Liebes=Geschichten in denen Buchläden liegt/ als eben diese erbarmens=würdige *Constantine*. (4r-5v)

As I [herewith] submit a new novel about the crown princess *Ariadne* of Toledo to the reader’s generous judgment, another love story hot off the press called *The Adorable European Constantine* has just fallen into my hands bearing the name previously

37. Dünnhaupt lists an edition of *Faithful Bellamira* from 1696 that also gives “Cölln” as its place of publication (1: 723).

38. The publishers’ location of Talander’s *Amazons* in “Cölln” must not have done Bohse any lasting harm, for he was eventually appointed professor at the newly founded Ritterakademie in 1708.

worn by me, Talander. Without a public explanation, this book would unquestionably prostitute me to the gallant world; not half of the book is mine. Instead, against my will and a prior agreement, an inopportune pen has tacked on many ridiculous and tasteless flourishes, and so corrupted anything good about the story. And I have discovered with no little irritation that I have had to loan my name to another's scribbles and add to his illicitly sought profit. It might have been suitable for *Constantine's* publisher first to ask me whether I found it agreeable that someone else was spewing a pile of inanity upon my work and defiling my own *concept* with any number of improbable vignettes, pitiful inventions, and a tacked-on comedy such that there is hardly a more tasteless love story available in the bookshops than precisely this pitiable *Constantine*.

The real Talander, the note proclaimed, would never have written such a "pitiable" love story. Bohse made an otherwise unidentifiable "W" responsible for the "pile of inanity" and "improbable vignettes, pitiful inventions, and a tacked-on comedy" that rendered this *Constantine* so "pitiable."

Four years earlier, Bohse elaborated in his prefatory note, sometime in 1694, "W" had approached him: "So ist vor nunmehr vier Jahren ohngefahr der in der anderen Vorrede sich unterschreibende Mann ['W'] in Jena zu mir gekommen/ und hat mir von dieser *Constantine* eigenhändig meist an ihne geschriebene Brieffe bey die dreyßig Stück neben seinen *Concepten* der darnach ertheilten Antworten *communiciret*" (5v). (About four years ago, he who has signed the other preface ["W"] came to me in Jena and communicated personally to me the roughly thirty letters that he had received as well as the drafts of his responses.) Recognizing that such letters provided perfect material for a novel, W spied financial opportunity. Although Bohse may have disparaged W's acumen, W accurately diagnosed that letters had become a popular—and quite fashionable—novelistic narrative technique. The letter had provided the vehicle for Aulnoy's best-selling Spanish travels, for example. Before Aulnoy, the connection between letters and the novel had already been made famous, however, by the *Lettres Portugaises*. These love letters were long thought to be written by a "real" Portuguese nun to her "real" French beloved.³⁹ First published in 1669, they went through countless editions in various countries and languages. Continuations, sequels, and imitations had since proliferated, such as the edition that Talander had digested in both June and July's issues of *Monthly Fruits*. There the nun's letters had been "augmented" not only by her cavalier's answers but also by letters written by another woman writer, Anne de Bellinzani Ferrand, Présidente (1657–1740). Thus, when W initially approached Bohse with his cache, both men knew women's letters made both novels and money.

39. Literary historians largely agree today that the letters were written by Guillerague.

Bohse continued in his note: “Dabey er [W] denn mich sehr gebeten/ dieses alles nach Art meiner bißherigen *Romanen* in eine Liebes=Geschichte zu bringen und ihm vor danckbahre Zahlung das *manuscript* zukommen zu lassen” (5v-r). (He [W] beseeched me to bring all this material into the form of a love story like my earlier novels and to send him the manuscript in exchange for grateful payment.) Bohse then, he reported, set to work shortening the letters written by W by a third, since each of his texts filled up a whole printer’s sheet, roughly sixteen pages of a typical novel in octavo format. His letters were too rambling to keep the novel’s length and price down. After chopping the length of W’s windy epistles, Bohse continued:

Nach dessen Endigung sendete ich es diesem zu; er hat es drey gantzer Jahr zurück gehalten/ und nun kömmt diese schöne Geburth an das Licht/ da er erstlich meine beygefügte gantz kurtze Vorrede nicht ohne seine Noten gelassen/ sondern aus einem Blate derselben drey gemacht/ und allerhand läppische *parentheses* und *phrases* mit eingeschoben; hernach meinen Nahmen lassen darunter setzen. (5r)

After its completion, I sent it to him. He kept it back three whole years; and only now is this beautiful birth seeing the light of day. He could not leave my short foreword without his notes, making three folios from one and sandwiching in all sorts of wishy-washy parentheses and expressions, below which he had my name placed.

W simply did not understand the genre, Bohse alleged. He had used the Talander name to advertise a bad novel. The damage to the brand, on the forefront of novelistic production since Bohse began its management in 1689, could have been severe.

W, Talander fumed, had not comprehended the niceties of the burgeoning genre’s form. Not only was his style too long-winded and the immoderate praise he added of Constantine sure to receive her disapprobation, “when she herself gets it to read” (6v); but W had inserted all sorts of material simply inappropriate for a novel. Not the prose of letters suitable to a new novel, W’s writing was suited only for an old-fashioned sermon. W had extolled the virtues of his acquaintance, Constantine, to the skies, Talander remarked with disdain, and then:

Bald [will er] einen rechten Straff=Prediger abgeben [...] und auf die Sicherheit der Welt/ auff das Lügen/ auff Erkaltung der brüderlichen Liebe/ auff die *processe*, die Atheisterey/ das Sabbathschänden/ den Eigennutz/ das Schwelgen und Prassen/ das *Duelliren*/ die Hoffahrt und auff andere Laster dermassen eyfert/ als ob er eine Buß=Predigt in Druck geben. (n.p.v)

He next wants to act the part of a severe preacher. Thus he denounces worldly complaisance, lies, the cooling of brotherly love, legal suits, atheism, the breaking of the Sabbath, self-interest, feasting and wallowing, dueling, haughty pride and other vices as if he was preparing to have a penitential sermon brought into print.

Worst of all for Talander's leading reputation, W did not know the meaning of the French sprinkled throughout his prose: "So ist auch das untergemischte Frantzöische so albern/ daß man wohl siehet/ wie er seine *ignoranz* in dieser Sprache zu verstehen gegeben" (n.p.). (The mixed-in French is so foolish that anyone can see his ignorance of the language.) Most ridiculous among his many linguistic mistakes, Talander snidely pointed out, was the constant use of the word *Romain* (a Roman) for *Roman* (a novel):

Und damit ich ihm doch nur etwas allhier davon lerne/ so muß er wissen/ daß das Wort/ welches er sonst hin und wieder brauchet: *Romain*, einen Römer bedeutet/ und nicht einen *Roman*. Nun aber schreibe ich keine *Römer* sondern *Romanen*.... Und dieses ist also das gantze Werck von seinem Anfang biß zum Ende/ welches nunmehr zu nichts bessers als zu *Maculatur* zu gebrauchen. (n.p.)

And so that I might teach him something on the subject, he should know that the word that he employs here and there, *Romain*, means a Roman and not a *Roman* [a romance/novel]. Now I don't write Romans; I write novels.... And this is the whole work from its beginning to its end. There is no better use for it than as maculature [blotting paper].

Talander certainly went to considerable lengths in his note to stain W's reputation and to blot out his own responsibility for *Constantine*.⁴⁰

But, we must remember, Talander claimed that there had been no need for him to edit the letters among those given him by W written by Constantine herself: "*Constantinen* ihre noch von ziemlichen Geiste mir geschienen" (I found Constantine's texts of considerable merit) (5r). A woman, it turned out, originally authored Talander's text.

Was this claim that Constantine had written half of the novel's letters another elaborate fiction, one more veil the genre cast over the truth? I find this unlikely, although not impossible. Attribution to a woman author would only have helped advertise *The Adorable European Constantine*, a title that Bohse sought to disown. In his campaign to expose W's misappropriation of the Talander brand, Bohse would have been unlikely to credit "Constantine" with authorship if a woman had not really written the text. But perhaps the entire episode—the bad novel, the disavowal, the stolen name, W, and Constantine—was a hoax, another fictionalization of "real" events. In the novel in 1696, it is impossible to say for sure. Yet, were it all untrue, August Bohse would turn out to be a more ingenious writer than is the author of the fashionably formulaic love stories attributed to Talander.

40. In an ironic twist of fate, when *Constantine* was reissued as a photographic reprint in 1970 by the Minerva Press, the publisher embossed its spine with gold letters spelling out the name Bohse, despite Bohse's efforts to deny his authorship. This title is the sole volume within Talander's *oeuvre* available in a modern reprint.

In any case, at the turn of the century, German-language poetic handbooks and anthologies gathered the names of notable German women writers. Documenting women's intellectual and poetic talents was a central part of the high-stakes game of preeminence among modern nations. Daniel Magnus Omeis, for example, leader of Nuremberg's poetical society, the Order of Flowers on the Pegnitz, eagerly promoted German women's poetry in his *Fundamental Introduction to German Poetry* (1704). In fact, he dedicated his handbook to "dem *galanten* Frauenzimmer/ deßen nicht geringer Theil heut zu Tage große Neigung zur Teutschen Poësie trägt" (gallant women, among whom today no small part is devoted to German poetry) (4r). Other titles that decade by Christian Franz Paullini (1643–1712) and Johann Caspar Eberti (1677–1760) proclaimed that German women writers no longer lagged behind their French rivals.⁴¹ Were the Germans to imitate the French successfully, they also needed women who wrote. Thus Bohse's suggestion that a German woman, Constantine, could write letters as elegantly as Aulnoy, Bellinzani, and other French women was a story—whether real or fictional—that patriotic Germans would have been eager to believe.

The many guides and handbooks to poetry in the vernacular, such as that authored by Omeis, unlocked the mysteries of rhyme and meter to aspiring poets—men and women alike. Epistolary guides similarly promised to help their consumers author letters no less gallant than the fictions they read. Perhaps, and it was entirely possible, Constantine had even consulted one of Talander's own letter-writing manuals.

The Art and Life of the Letter

In 1696, Thomas Fritsch further sought to shore up his firm's unstable position with a title that appealed directly to women interested in writerly activities: an expanded and "improved" edition of Talander's *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst; oder Liebes= und Freundschafts=Briefe Nebst einem nöthigen Titular=Büchlein. Mit vielen neuen Exempeln anietzo verbessert von Talandern* (The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art; or Love and Friendship Letters Including a Necessary Guide to Titles; Improved with Many New Examples by Talander).⁴² Fritsch's stepfather, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, had first published it in 1692.⁴³ Four years later, Fritsch had recognized the profitability in the market for titles aimed explicitly at women readers, also bringing out *Des galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin* (The Gallant Lady's Clever Tutoress), another French translation. Talander, in his

41. See their texts in the editions by Gössman. See also Goodman's chapter on a later Eberti title, *Schlesiens Hoch- und Wohlgelehrtes Frauenzimmer* (Silesia's Highly and Well-Educated Women) (1727).

42. The epistolary guide had first been published in 1692, before Fritsch's stepfather decamped. Fritsch would publish the expanded version of Talander's manual at least one more time, in 1703.

43. In 1692, Talander also published another epistolary guide, *Der allzeitfertige Brieffsteller* (The Ever-Ready Guide to Letter Writing), for sale in Dresden by Boetius.

preface to the letter-writing guide, emphasized that his publisher had requested a change in the guide's original title so that it would appeal directly to female consumers.⁴⁴ Talander's epistolary guide, like other German-language manuals on the market, borrowed as liberally from French models as did his novels.⁴⁵

To find a good model, a letter writer might have consulted a novel, maybe one of those digested in *Monthly Fruits*.⁴⁶ But even if she opened a book that identified itself as a letter-writing manual, the same prose conventions held sway. Seminal in this regard is Jean Puget de La Serre's (1600–1665) epistolary manual, translated into German in 1661.⁴⁷ The German title promised this version of La Serre's guide to be as useful as it was up-to-date: *Herrn de la Serre Vermehrter und Emendirter Politischer Alamodischer Hoff-Stylus. Hievor in Frantzösischer Sprache beschrieben: Jetzt aber Jedermänniglich zum besten in unsere Muttersprach/ als Teutsche Manier verkleidet/ auff vielfältiges anhalten in diesem Format gestellet: und augiret mit einer Titularform/ Wie man Nach heutigem stylo artige Ingressen und Final=clausulen/ und rechtmässig an Hohe und Niderstands=Personen den Titul geben solle* (Mr. de la Serre's Expanded and Emended Political and Fashionable Courtly Stylus. Formerly Written in French, but Now Given for Everyone's Best in Our Native Tongue and Outfitted in the German Manner, Rendered in This Format upon the Wishes of

44. In a foreword included in both the 1692 edition and the 1703 edition of *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art*, Talander elaborated that before it was finished it had been advertised with the title *Galante Mercur*. He apologized to anyone who had gone to "the bookshops" (*Buchläden*) and come away disappointed. Because a "Tractate" had just been published under that very title—perhaps the German translation of Donneau de Visé's *Mercure galante*—Fritsch had asked for a new title. The publisher made sure the title page addressed women, although Talander went to lengths in the foreword to assure men that there were plenty of sample letters in the guide for them too.

In 1696 Fritsch was the first German publisher of Fontenelle's famous (and frequently translated) *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*. Fritsch's German title page emphasized the book's possible appeal to women readers: *Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten* (Conversations on More Than One World between a Lady and a Philosopher). As is so often the case, Fontenelle's early German translator is unknown. Gottsched translated Fontenelle's *Entretiens* again in 1727.

45. See Erwentraut for other letter-writing manuals popular in the German market at the turn of the eighteenth century.

46. Satirists loved to send up both men and women who pronounced speeches straight out of romances and novels. In the *Gantz Neu=Allmodische Sitten=Schule* (Completely New and Altogether Fashionable School for Manners), for example, a man woos his beloved with outdated speeches from old romances: "Hat einer Damen/ so in ihren besten Jugend-Jahren sind/ vor sich/ bey denen er sich beliebt zu machen gedencket/ so will sich sonderlich gebühren/ fein reinlich nach der neuesten Kleider=Tracht zu halten und aller zierlichen Redens=Arten zu befeßigen/ zu den Ende die Africanische Sophoniße: Der Adriatische Rosemund: Die Arcadia: Ibrahims/ des Durchlauchtigen Bassa: Ariana: Diana: Eromena: Lysender und Kalistar Harsdörffers Frauen=Zimmer Gesprächsspiele zum öfftern zu lesen sind" (117–18). (Should a young man find ladies in the prime of youth before him, it is particularly important that he maintain himself properly in the newest clothing costumes and devote himself to the most elegant turns of phrase, to which end *The African Sophonisbe; The Adriatic Rosemund; Arcadia; The Illustrious Bassa Ibrahim; Ariana; Diana, Eromena; Lysender and Kalistar*; [and] Harsdörffer's *Ladies' Conversational Games* should be read often.)

47. Puget's 1625 *Le Secrétaire à la mode* went through numerous editions. Puget, Gaston d'Orléans's librarian, was also a prolific novelist and historian.

Many: and Supplemented with a Titulary Guide to Address Persons of Both High and Low Quality by Their Right Titles in Both Introductions and Closings). The title indicated the guide's uses for everyday life, providing sought-after information on crucial epistolary conventions, and a mentor through the confusing niceties of how to address all possible correspondents with their correct titles.

But upon closer inspection a guide apparently so practical provided samples for situations presumably not part of most letter writers' quotidian existence. One, for example, gave a model for "Einer Dame Schreiben an einen Printzen/ der sie gegen ihr verlieben in das Gefängnis zu werffen befohlen" (A woman's letter to a prince who had ordered her imprisoned because of love). The letter's author rendered the rhetoric of love's tyranny no less masterfully than did many novelists.⁴⁸ She reminded her tyrannical princely lover: "Auff das wenigste erinnere ich mich/ daß/ als E.G. in mein Gefängnis gerahten/ dero mein Hertz zu einem süßen Kercker gedienet/ von derselben anjetzo gleichmässigen Tractaments zu verhoffen" (144–45). (At the very least I remember that when Your Majesty first fell into my prison, my heart served you as a sweet cell, and thus I remain hopeful that Your Majesty might now treat me in the same manner.)

Talander's guide for women was no different. "Vindician" requests that "Climene" allow him to visit her, although her husband treats her "als eine Gefangene" (like a prisoner) (126) and in a manner "mehr als tyrannisch" (more than tyrannical) (140). Another series of exchanged letters features a correspondence between two girlfriends. One is about to be married, when her friend sends a letter sure to confirm any pre-wedding jitters felt by the bride-to-be: "Die Ermahnung/ ihnen bald zu folgen/ nehme ich zwar mit erkenntlichstem Dancke an/ allein mein Sinn liebet die Freyheit sehr/ und möchte sich nicht leicht zu Aenderung des ledigen Lebens entschliessen können" (685). (I accept with due gratitude the admonition that I should soon follow your lead, but I do so very much appreciate my freedom that I may not easily be able to resolve myself to change my unmarried condition.) By no coincidence did the guide's fashionable frontispiece (fig. 13) closely resemble that of Talander's novel *The Gallant Lady's Cabinet of Love* (see fig. 10). Literary women preside over the title pages of both.⁴⁹ Like novel heroines, the letter writer is seated at her desk, alone in her cabinet save for the winged putto who holds her inkpot at the ready. On the desk in front of her lie writing paper and letters already completed. Books grace the shelves that hang on her cabinet's brocaded walls. This fashionable woman writer had a room of her own centuries *avant la lettre*. She was indisputably master of her own story.

48. See also Grimminger who helpfully calls gallant novels "disguised epistolary guides" (658).

49. I have not been able to see the frontispiece to the 1696 edition. My discussion is based on the frontispiece to the 1692 edition. The 1703 edition also included a frontispiece, not substantially different from that from 1692, but with fewer details and of generally lower quality. The quotations below are based on the 1703 edition, whose text follows that of Fritsch's "improved" edition from 1696.

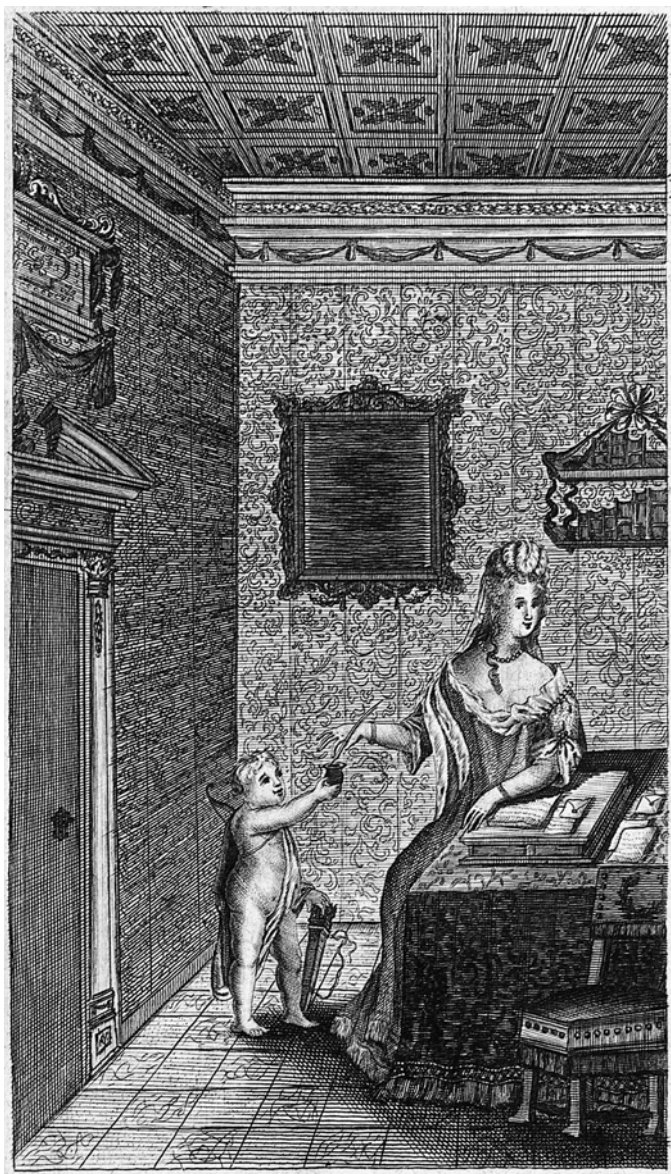


Figure 13. Frontispiece to Talander's *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art* (1694). The gallant lady writes her own story. Books line her study. Reproduced courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek.

While Bohse may not have liked the disorder of a market that easily allowed his name to be stolen, it was a disorder that created the lively market in which Talander titles abounded. While he sought order, Bohse's readers may have preferred a lack of rules. Perhaps they picked up Talander's *The Gallant Lady's Secretarial Art* to learn how to write a letter. Were the letters they wrote substantially different from others published as novels?

In 1696, the genre was truly ruled by the lords of misrule. Its disorder destabilized generic conventions no less than it radically undermined the private and public orders of sex and gender. Thus that year saw Talander at work on various projects apparently at cross-purposes. His journal introduced the most up-to-date fictions with the most fashionable heroines. They simply had no desire to enter the bonds of marriage or to enslave themselves to a man. Simultaneously, Talander's Amazonian novel worked to provide strong heroines male tutelage. And all the while August Bohse inadvertently revealed that a woman, Constantine, had really provided the original letters for another novel that, unfortunately for Bohse, bore Talander's name.

The novel's critics bemoaned that life began to imitate art. Two years after Constantine's letters appeared in a Talander novel, Gotthard Heidegger, the novel's enemy in chief, pronounced that all women, "so bald sie die Romans recht gekostet/ fangen sie an sich Romantische Galantereyen zu befeiffen" (as soon as they have tasted of *Romans* [romances and novels] begin to dedicate themselves to romantic gallantries) (116). We might take Heidegger's assertion at face value. Upon reading novels, perhaps German women also began to write them. Constantine certainly had.