

CONCLUSION

Robinson Crusoe *Sails on the European Market*

I do hereby give notice to all booksellers and translators whatsoever, that the word “memoir” is French for a novel.

—“ISAAC BICKERSTAFF,” writing from the Grecian Coffee-house, *The Tatler* 84
(October 22, 1709)

Engellands *delicater* Bücher=Geschmack kan bey andern *Nationen* schon voraus eine gute Meynung von diesem Buche erwecken.

England's delicate taste in books may be enough to inspire in other nations a positive opinion about this book.

—Publisher's preface (probably by Moritz Georg Weidmann the Younger) to the fifth German edition of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Leipzig, 1720)

In 1723, Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–1776) enumerated a list of thirty-five must-have titles to stock a lady's library. The Swiss Bodmer and Breitinger, famous figures of the German Enlightenment, wrote from Zurich under the pseudonyms Dürer and Holbein. Their curriculum occupied the fifteenth issue in part 4 of the journal *Die Discourse der Mahlern* (Discourses of the Painters), which “the painters” had begun editing a few years earlier. The list, signed by Dürer, answered a question posed in a letter to the editor authored by *die Mahlerinnen* (the lady painters). They asked a question that in 1723 was everywhere on everyone's mind: What books should a lady own?

By 1723, a new chapter in the history of the European novel had just begun, concluding the long French chapter in the genre's history. Of course, in 1723, many things remained remarkably the same. Writers chose authorial pseudonyms; publishers faked their names and places of publication. Print novelties—novel, journal, and engravings—were still harnessed together. The work of translators continued to be essential, and often unacknowledged. Everyone sought to target female consumers and women readers, often by attributing authorship of a publication to a female author. Thus, in 1723, the European novel looked a lot like it had in 1696

or even in 1688. But two crucial changes, still modest in 1723, proved within brief decades to be dramatic. French fashion and French novelties were out. English fashion and anti-novel novelties were in. The difference mattered.

In conclusion, I sketch how fashion again shook the borders of the literary field and dramatically changed the geography of the European novel. I capture that change at a still early stage. In 1723, cracks were visible in French hegemony, but French models retained their power. The cracks were forced by the sudden emergence of England as a rival cultural power. French and English imperial contests are more usually studied in colonial North America and in the theater of war. But the battle for preeminence among the moderns involved culture wars as well. Germans, who had both resisted French influence and then sought to poach from it, saw an ally in English culture.

Bodmer and Breitinger's 1723 list provides an early example of those links that began to tie the German and English book ever more tightly together over the course of the eighteenth century. England's stature as tastemaker only grew after 1723. By the middle of the century, English influence, not French, held the promise for German cultural renewal. Already by 1723 Englishness had become fashionable. The ties between the German and the English book have long been recognized. They are exemplified, for instance, in Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's reading of Samuel Richardson, and Gellert's authorship of a German novel, *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (The Life of the Swedish Countess of G***) (1747–48), whose English influence has long been emphasized. The English were imitated to still greater German critical and popular acclaim by Sophie von La Roche in *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (The Tale of the Fräulein of Sternheim) (1771). The importance of the discovery of England by eighteenth-century German men and women of letters has, of course, long been underscored by literary historians such as Fabian—and for good reason. Not only Gellert and La Roche, but the young Goethe, Schiller, and others famously recognized in Shakespeare a genius who spoke their language. As essential as this discovery of England proved for *Weltliteratur*, we should not imagine that it occurred in a vacuum.

Bodmer and Breitinger Make a List

The question posed by Zurich's "painters" in 1723—how to stock a lady's library—was one many worried over in the decades following 1700. It was, of course, not an entirely new question. The question of what a woman should read had, for example, occupied François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) in an essay translated, cited, and discussed across Europe, *De l'éducation des filles* (1688, German translation 1698, English translation 1699). In it, Fénelon worried about girls, their minds too disturbed by their books to attend to their chores. We hear the French pedagogue's concerns via the German translation (for which no less than

August Hermann Francke [1663–1727] supplied a foreword), and then via the contemporaneous anonymous English translation:

Ein armes durch dergleichen Lesung bezaubertes Frauenzimmer verwundert sich/ das sie keine diesen Helden gleich seyende Leute in der Welt findet. Sie wolte gern wie die eingebildeten Prinzeßinnen leben/ welche in denen Liebes=Geschichten allzeit liebreich/ angebetet/ und über alles erhaben sind. Was vor Verdruß/ sich von den Heldenthume zu den geringsten Dingen der Hauswirtschaft zu erniedrigen? Etlicher ihr Vorwitz gehet noch weiter/ und untersteht sich von Religion=Sachen zu urtheilen/ da sie doch nicht geschickt zu sind. (*Von der Erziehung der Töchter* 11–13)

A poor girl filled with the tender and the surprising strains which have Charmed her in her Reading, is astonished not to see in the World real Persons, who resemble these Heroes: She would live like these imaginary Princesses who are in the Romances, always Charming, always Adored, always above all kinds of Wants: What a disgust must it be to her to descend from this Heroical State to the meanest parts of House-Wifery.

Some carry their Curiosity yet much farther, and set themselves to the deciding matters of Religion. (*The Education of Young Gentlewomen* 9–10)

Believing themselves qualified to rule over men, like the princesses and heroines of their books, Fénelon's female readers sought to extend their control to matters of the church. While he had made a name with his pedagogical essay, the abbé gained additional, probably unwanted, fame across Europe for his anti-romance romance *Télémaque* (1699).

A treacherous *copiste* had fed Fénelon's manuscript of his up-to-date sequel to *The Odyssey* to a printer. Between 1699 and 1717, when the first authorized edition of *Télémaque* appeared, more than thirty French-language "unofficial" editions were brought into print (Coulet 297). Fénelon was tutor to the French dauphin, and he had written the book, he often claimed, to provide his princely student with a wholesome alternative to *romans*. Louis XIV interpreted Fénelon's pedagogical tool as yet another attack on French royal and religious politics. The incident was discussed widely across Europe and guaranteed the anti-romance romance's fame. It was translated by famous German *romancier* Talander in 1700.¹

The question of what books a woman should own was posed again, this time in London. In issue 37 (April 12, 1711) of *The Spectator* (1711–1714), it had busied the pen of "C." The periodical, launched only the previous month, was edited and

1. In a letter written ten years after the events occurred, Fénelon claimed: "Tout le monde sait qu'il ne m'a échappé que par l'infidélité d'un copiste" (qtd. in Coulet 297). (Everyone knows that it escaped my hands because of the treachery of a copyist.)

Fénelon's essay on girls' education was read by Pietist reformer August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), for example, who prefaced its 1698 German translation with an interesting foreword.

written—under pseudonyms, of course—by Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729), famous figures of the English Enlightenment. In this issue, C related a recent visit he had paid to “the Lady Leonora.” Her library was lovely, C reported, so “suitable both to the Lady and the Scholar” that it was newsworthy. Her books, arranged by format, were displayed with other, up-to-date novelties. She held her folios upright with “great Jars of *China*” (1). She carefully separated the quartos from the octavos, the latter “bounded by Tea Dishes of all Shapes Colours and Sizes.” C jotted down some of Leonora’s titles in his “Pocket-Book” (2).²

C admired Lady Leonora’s collection of novelties, her Asian curiosities, and her fine books. He noted with emphasis that she had lived alone since the death of her first husband. Leonora, C told the paper’s readers, “being unfortunate in her first Marriage, has taken the Resolution never to venture upon a second” (2). Addison invented Leonora for his London journal. Fonder of her books and her independence than of any man, she could also easily have featured as the heroine of a novel published in London—or Amsterdam, The Hague, Brussels, Leipzig, Dresden, or even notorious “Cölln.” Art imitated life—or was life imitating art?

Issue 37 of *The Spectator* drew connections between women, their books and learning, their novels and novelties, and their refusal to marry. These links reflected the same vibrant economy that had been invented by French novelists and their translators, vernacular imitators and adapters, publishers, and booksellers across Europe decades earlier. While conventional in this regard, Addison and Steele’s journals as well as the many imitations they spawned truly marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the European novel. Their biweekly paper, *The Tatler*, like *The Spectator*, which began a few years later, spurred competitors in England and across the continent to keep pace.

Isaac Bickerstaff, pseudonymous and querulous editor of *The Tatler*, had imitators, some of whom he must have hated. “Mrs. Crackenthorpe,” for example, edited *The Female Tatler* of 1709–1710, a publication in which famous playwright, novelist, and Tory publicist “Mrs. Manley” (Delarivier Manley) may have had a hand. Addison and Steele’s papers went into multiple editions and subsequent reprints, available for purchase in shops well into the eighteenth century. They were also rapidly translated into French and German.

So great was their fame on the continent that the success of publishers there, such as Moritz Georg Weidmann (the Younger, 1686–1743) in Leipzig, may have rested on it. The younger Weidmann was son of publisher Weidmann (the Elder, 1658–1693) and stepson of Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (1663–1741). Perhaps the younger Weidmann had first seen Addison and Steele’s papers in the originals while in London, a stage in the *Wanderjahre* planned for him by his stepfather. Weidmann took over the firm’s leadership from Gleditsch in 1717–1718 (Brauer 38). When Weidmann’s portrait was done several years later by Nuremberg engraver Johann Leonhard

2. For a sensitive account of the aesthetic pleasures that chinoiserie afforded English consumers, particularly women, see Porter.

Blank (active 1710–1725), the artist made sure to make the title of the book on which the publisher rested his right hand clearly legible on the book's embossed spine (fig. 14). The understated ruffle on Weidmann's sleeve revealed the book: *Spectateur*. The medals on his chest documented the reputation and accomplishments of the Leipzig publisher as royal councillor to the Saxon and Polish courts; the volume under his hand announced his leading position in the book world.

The portrait headed the collection gathered by Blank in his *51 Bildnisse berühmter Künstler, Buchhändler, Buchdrucker und anderer Männer, welche sich sowohl in- und außerhalb Deutschlands verdient gemacht* (1725) (51 Likenesses of Notable Artists, Publishers, Printers, and Other Men Who Have Made Themselves Valuable Both in and beyond Germany) (Brauer 39). A title originally published in England provided the perfect accessory to underline Weidmann's prominence in the German book world. Weidmann, the choice of book hinted, was the German Richard Steele. As we shall see, by 1725, when his engraved portrait appeared, Weidmann had already made it his business to provide English books to German readers.

It may seem odd that Weidmann allowed Blank to portray him with what seems like a French translation rather than with the original English *Spectator*, or at least with a German translation that sounded German. Although it made the English sound French, German translations of the London paper initially entitled it *Der Spectateur oder vernünftige Betrachtungen über die verderbten Sitten der heutigen Welt* (literally: The *Spectateur*, or Reasonable Observations on the Corrupt Customs of the World Today). First translated for and published in Leipzig by Christoph Riegel in 1719, the preface claimed that the translation had been done from the original English. Like any up-to-date publication, the German *Spectateur* was illustrated, outfitted with an engraved portrait of the famous London author Richard Steele. The translator's knowledge about London life and letters suggested that he was up to rendering the original English.³ But it is equally likely that he worked with French intermediaries. A French translation of *The Spectator* had first appeared with the title *Le Spectateur* in 1714 in Amsterdam.

As was so often the case with regard to German-language translations of English texts until well into the eighteenth century, the *Spectateur* upon which Moritz Georg Weidmann leaned was a linguistic hybrid that involved a third language: French. On the one hand, the "English" title marked him as an up-to-date, forward-thinking man, perfectly qualified to lead the German book. On the other hand, it revealed that the German book trade was still reliant on French-language intermediaries procured via Holland. The German book trade did not, as a rule, possess direct contacts with English firms. Nor did German translators whose English was sufficient to translate from the original exist in any number. When Manley's *Queen Zarah* (1705) was translated into German in 1712, the French *Reine Zarah* from 1708 was used. Both appeared in Holland.

3. A subsequent translation by Louise Adelgunde Victorie (née Kulmus) Gottsched (1713–1762) chose a more German title, *Der Zuschauer*, and was published in multiple editions by Breitkopf.



Figure 14. Portrait of Moritz Georg Weidmann (published in 1725). Wearing the medal and chains of his position as royal Polish and electoral Saxon councillor, the famous publisher rests his right hand on a handsomely bound copy of *The Spectator* in translation.

In his rich history of the novel Olaf Simons emphasizes the importance of Manley's reception in German, suggesting that it marks a key shift in the market for fiction. But it is essential to remember that Manley's novels—like the European novel everywhere into the 1720s—were centrally determined by French influence. As is now well known, Manley “adapted” various French-language sources, integrating them seamlessly (and without acknowledgment) into her originals.⁴ She also modeled her fictions directly on titles by Aulnoy.⁵ In fact, the two women authors,

4. See the brief notes by Carnell and Herman on Manley's “borrowings,” as well as the longer article by Sutton.

5. See Lorenzo-Modia.

Aulnoy and Manley, were explicitly related in the contemporaneous English imagination.⁶ As the preface to the reader in *Zarah* stated, the English author had turned to French “little histories” for her model:

The Romances in *France* have for a long Time been Diversion and Amusement of the whole World; the People both in the City and at Court have given themselves over to this Vice, and all Sorts of People have read these Works with a most surprising Greediness, but that Fury is very much abated, and they are all fallen off from this Distraction: The Little *Histories* of this Kind have taken Place of *Romances*, whose Prodigious Number of Volumes were sufficient to tire and satiate such whose Heads were most fill’d with those Notions.

These little Pieces which have banish’d *Romances* are much more agreeable to the Brisk and Impetuous Humour of the *English*, who have naturally no Taste for long-winded Performances, for they have no sooner begin a Book but they desire to see the end of it. (A2r-A3v)

In fact, Manley so mastered the requisite dance of veils with which novels revealed some identities while concealing others that her authorship of *Queen Zarah* is still in question.⁷ More than a real person, “Manley” was a market brand, which, like “Aulnoy,” signaled a French style. The translation of her “English” novels into German does not mark a new chapter in the history of the European novel. That chapter began in the 1720s.

Viewed from the continent the truly transnational dimensions of Addison and Steele’s success are clearly recognizable—even though *The Spectator* remained known in German by a French-sounding title until 1739. It was a critical and commercial success that the publisher Weidmann used to multiply both his financial and social capital when he had his portrait done with *Le Spectateur*. In addition to the many English-language papers Addison and Steele inspired, as well as the translations of both *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* into French and German, their papers also provided a model that scores of papers in other languages adapted for local markets. French, German, and Dutch translators, writers, and publishers continued their liberal borrowing practices, translating, as ever, sometimes faithfully, sometimes freely, Addison and Steele’s influential papers.

Bodmer and Breitinger’s Swiss journal was one among dozens of German papers started up beginning around 1720 that adapted the often satirical English essay form popularized by *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. German literary history refers to papers like Bodmer’s and Breitinger’s as moral weeklies (*moralische*

6. An edition of Manley’s *Unknown Lady’s Pacquet of Letters*, for example, was advertised with a two-volume English translation of Aulnoy’s *Memoires of the Court of England* (1707). The former, while advertised, may never have actually appeared.

7. See, for example, the article by Downie.

Wochenschriften), a generic label that unfortunately obscures the often jaunty tone, witty quips, and occasionally mordant satire of their pseudonymous editors: “painters,” as well as *Patriot* (the patriot), *Biedermann* (Mr. Upright), *vernünftige Tadlerinnen* (sensible scolds), and others.⁸ German literary historians have recognized these papers’ debt to innovative English models and their important role in transmitting the values of the early Enlightenment. They purveyed what Wolfgang Martens called *Die Botschaft der Tugend* (The Message of Virtue) in that seminal book.

But this message of virtue, critics working within national traditions have missed, was itself a response. Long read as announcing the beginning of the Enlightenment in Germany, the call to virtue was also an answer. While it marked a beginning, it also provided the conclusion to the European novel’s French chapter. The call, of course, responded to a vibrant multilingual market where truths were traded for fictions, factual-fictional critiques of husbands slid into indictments of the rule of men, and women readers allegedly plotted their lives to imitate the novels they read.

Since the beginnings of the new novel in the 1680s, the periodical press had provided a crucial link in this lively European economy, spawned by the desire to imitate French fashions. News reports in periodicals offered grist for novelists’ mills; novels provided journal editors content for entire issues. Before the change that swept in on the tide of Addison and Steele and the rafts of their imitators, print novelties—journal, novel, and fashion plate—had constantly promoted one another. In the 1680s and 1690s, editors such as Christian Thomasius and August Bohse, working under fashionable pseudonyms and fictional veils, blurred the lines among fashionable novelties: novels, journals, and engravings.

By 1723, the terms of the relationship between the journal and the novel began to change dramatically across Europe. After Addison and Steele, journals based on English models sought to bury (French) novels, not to praise them. They had in their sights a genre they believed French, although by 1723 it was flourishing in other European vernaculars, including English. The genre allegedly marched under a French flag; thus editors, writers, and publishers inspired by the famous English newsmen embarked on a campaign to strip the novel—and its readers—of nefarious “French” influences. They wanted, they claimed when it inconvenienced them, truth to be separated from fiction and life to be clearly demarcated from art—or at least from the febrile imaginations of scribblers.

Writing a letter to *The Tatler* dated October 21, 1709, from London’s Grecian Coffee-house, Bickerstaff wagged his finger at “gay people who (as I am informed) will live half a year together in a garret, and write a history of their intrigues in the court of France” (249). A garret was obviously not the court of France, and the

8. Martens’s *Botschaft* remains the most complete account of these German-language periodicals, providing the bibliographic information for the dozens of titles he identified. See also Brandes, particularly her excellent afterword to the reprint of Gottsched’s *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (The Sensible Scolds).

“history” written there obviously not true. Bickerstaff closed his epistle: “The most immediate remedy that I can apply to prevent this growing evil, is, that I do hereby give notice to all booksellers and translators whatsoever, that the word ‘memoir’ is French for a novel; and to require them, that they sell and translate it accordingly.” A novel, that Frenchified form that so often featured heroines gone wild, needed a clear warning label. Better yet, novels’ consumers might be given something else to read: journals and the English anti-novel novels they promoted.

Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen (The Sensible Scolds) (1724–1726) was, like Bodmer and Breitinger’s *Discourses of the Painters*, another German journal inspired by Addison and Steele. This “moral weekly” was edited by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), already in Leipzig and, two years later, in 1726, president of the Deutschübende poetische Gesellschaft (German Poetical Society) there. His journal was published in nearby Halle. In a foreword penned for the 1734 reissue of the *Scolds*, Gottsched noted in retrospect: “Die Absicht/ so die ersten Verfasser derselben hatten/ war auch so neu/ als unsträflich. Sie suchten dem deutschen Frauenzimmer ein Blatt in die Hände zu bringen/ welches ihm zu einer Zeitkürzung dienen, und doch von nützlichem und lehrreichem Inhalt seyn sollte/ als die gewöhnlichen Romane.” (The intention that the first authors of the journal had was as new as it was free from fault. They sought to deliver a paper to German women that would serve them as entertainment and truly provide a more profitable and salutary content than typical novels.) The paper, based on English models, provided a necessary antidote to French fashions, “typical novels.”

But Gottsched’s German *Female Tatlers*—its German title word *Tadelrinnen* so close to the English *Tatler*—like so many German-language productions in the 1720s and 1730s, was very much a hybrid. As much as it represented Englishness, it was still forced to grapple with French influence. Its tenth issue of March 7, 1725, for example, featured exactly the same question that Christian Thomasius had posed so famously in 1687. In his German-language lecture on French imitation held almost three decades earlier in Leipzig, the lawyer, publicist, and later professor had asked: “But *ad propos* what is *gallant* and a *gallant person*?” Gottsched’s pseudonymous editor, “Calliste,” asked three questions in turn. Her questions did not differ in substance from Thomasius’s. It was notable, however, that Gottsched had placed them in the mouth of a woman.

With her usual combination of good humor and understated wit, Calliste devoted the issue to an exploration of three questions whose answers were apparently no less urgent in 1725 than in 1687. Calliste asked her most clever friends, Lisette, Philandra, and Belline, for their opinions. She began:

Es scheint eine schwere Frage zu seyn, was der frantzösische Ausdruck *un galant homme* auf teutsch heisse? Noch schwerer ist die andere, wenn man sich bekümmert, worinnen das eigentliche Wesen eines so genannten *galant homme* bestehe? Am allerschwersten aber würde mir die Entscheidung der dritten fallen: was nemlich von dergleichen Leuten zu halten sey? (73)

It is apparently a difficult question: how should you express the French expression *un galant homme* in German? Still more difficult is another question when you begin to wonder: what makes up the actual essence of this so-called *galant homme*? But for me, deciding on an answer to the third is by far the most difficult: namely, what should you think about this kind of people?

The questions were pure Thomasius. But their discussion by a “Calliste,” “Lisette,” “Philandra,” and “Belline” kept them up-to-date. After three decades of novels featuring women of *esprit* and learning, it was a fiction the German reading public could easily have believed. As much as Gottsched’s journal was inspired by the English model invented by Addison and Steele, it also continued to be very French.

Gottsched’s introduction to the 1734 reprint edition of *The Sensible Scolds* may have ignored Bodmer and Breitinger’s project to engage women readers in the *Painters* on purpose. Famously, they feuded. But, surely the Leipzig literature professor knew, while the Swiss journal had not devoted itself specifically to women readers with its title, they were included among its readers, such as “the lady painters” who had written the letter to the editors that generated the library list.

Dürer’s list specified thirty-five titles that a woman absolutely must have in her library. Of these, he listed twenty-two in French-language editions and thirteen in German. The books’ original languages of publication were slightly different: seventeen in French, seven in German, five in Latin, four in English, and one in Greek. But no matter how you slice it, in 1723, French publications—whether in the original or in translation—continued to dominate German bookshelves.

Although French titles were predominant, first on the list was a German title, the *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (The Lady’s Lexicon) by Amaranthes (Gottlieb Siegmund Corvinus), published by Moritz Georg Weidmann’s rival, his stepfather Johann Ludwig Gleditsch’s brother, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, in Leipzig in 1715. The expansive volume’s 2,176 columns of information gathered all manner of information that a lady reader might need to look up.⁹ Both the second and third titles on the list were attributed to the Swiss Calvinist minister and scholar Gotthard Heidegger. Heidegger’s *Mythoscopia romantica* had originally appeared in 1698 and had aroused some attention in the press. It had received a review in Gündling’s journal, for example, in which the editor raised an eyebrow at the Swiss Calvinist’s indignation about the corrupt morals of readers of novels. The list’s seventh title, the first to have originally appeared in English, was Addison and Steele’s *Spectator*, recommended in a French edition in six volumes. The tenth title was the second English original: *Die Geschichte des Robinson Crusöe*. And here we must pause to ask, how could a single list recommend both Heidegger’s anti-novel polemic and *Robinson Crusoe*, a book Dürer definitely knew by 1723 to be a novel? As it turns out, while the two titles today seem at cross-purposes, in 1723, Heidegger’s

9. For a nuanced reading of the lexicon’s encyclopedic aims and its articulation of femininity, see Goodman 11–39.

“The Ladies’ Library” from Bodmer and Breitingers *Die Discourse der Mahlern*

- Frauenzimmer-Lexicon.
 Acerra Philologica, mit Gotthard Heideggers Anmerckungen.
 Gotthard Heidegger von den Romanen.
 Simler vom Regiment der Schweitzer. Mit Herrn Leuen Anmerkungen.
 Die denckwürdigen Reden des Socrates, von Xenophon beschrieben, und
 von Thomase übersetzt.
 Le Thresor de la Sagesse par Charron.
 Le Spectateur, ou, le Socrate Moderne. en. 6. Volumes.
 Les Lettres de Voiture.
 Fontenelle de la pluralité du Monde; ist in das Deutsche übersetzt unter
 dem Titel: von mehr als einer Welt, Gespräche zwischen einem Gelehrten
 und einem Frauenzimmer.
 Die Geschichte des Robinson Crusöe.
 Die Argenis von Barclay: von der man zwar Übersetzungen hat, von Opitz,
 und von Bohse.
 Die Historie der Severamben.
 Les Caractères de ce siècle, par la Bruyère.
 Les Caractères de Theophraste, traduits par le même.
 Reflexions morales du Duc de la Rochefoucault.
 Locke de l’Education des Enfans.
 Les dialogues des Morts par Fontenelle.
 Les dialogues des Morts par Gaudeville.
 Les œuvres de Lucien traduits par d’Ablancourt.
 Martin Opitzen Wercke.
 Canitzen Neben-Stunden unterschiedener Gedichte.
 Bessers Schrifften.
 Les Aventures de Telemaque par Fenelon; übersetzt von Bohse: Begebenheiten
 des Telemachus.
 Traduction de l’Eneide par Segrais.
 La Pharsale de Brebœuf.
 Les Eclogues de Fontenelle.
 Les œuvres de Molière.
 Le Theatre de Pierre Corneille.
 Les œuvres de Racine.
 Les comédies de Terence, traduites par. Mad. d’Acier.
 Les œuvres d’Horace, traduits par Tarteron.
 Les pœsies de Mad. des Houlières.
 Les œuvres de Boileau Despreaux.
 Les fables choisies de la Fontaine.
 Les fables nouvelles de la Motte.

anti-novel screed and Defoe's novel shared a common purpose. *Crusoe*, in German no less than in English, was an anti-novel novel. Like Heidegger, *Crusoe* parried French influence.

Of course, we consider *Crusoe* a novel today. And while it was briefly believed to be a true story, it was soon known across Europe as a fiction and referred to as a *Roman* (novel). But this novel was very different from the novels that, Heidegger proclaimed, lay in the trough of cultural decline, where they presented another example of the French fashions slavishly followed by consumers. *Crusoe* was far more like the journals modeled after *The Spectator* of Addison and Steele that critics prized for providing alternatives to novels. Like German "moral weeklies," which extolled the virtues of Defoe's yarn, the novel itself provided an English *Ersatz* to a genre indebted to the French.

Famously, *Crusoe* enjoyed not only critical but popular success, launching a wave of imitations authored in many languages onto the European market. Germans called these books *Robinsonaden*; for the French they were *robinsonades*.¹⁰ The continental turn to English models—to anti-novel journals and anti-novel—also marked a turn away from French novelties. English fashion had begun to dictate European market rules. It was, only paradoxically, Robinson's *English* provenance that finally allowed for the always suspect French genre to be finally domesticated in German. By the middle of the century, the fashion for *Crusoe* had passed. In 1754, the most up-to-date Germans judged it "elender Zeitvertreib . . . vor Handwercks-Pursche" (miserable entertainment . . . for uneducated boys) (qtd. in Petzold 42). Yet the demand for English books initially generated by *Crusoe* had only grown.

Robinson Crusoe's German Adventures

The first German edition of Defoe's anti-novel novel appeared in 1720 in Hamburg, published by T. von Wiering's heirs. The translation was probably done by Ludwig Friedrich Vischer; "Vischer" signed the translator's preface and dated it March 26, 1720—only eleven months after the book had first been published by W. Taylor in London. The year 1720 also saw translations of *Crusoe* into French and Dutch. While the exact order in which these editions appeared remains unclear, scholars commonly assume, correctly I believe, that the Amsterdam French edition predated the first German edition in Hamburg, which in turn preceded the Dutch.

The Hamburg edition by Wiering's heirs was immediately pirated in another German edition, perhaps by Jonathan Adam Felßecker, although the title page listed

10. Ullrich's bibliography remains the standard bibliographic source for German *Robinsonaden*. See also Fohrmann.



Figure 15. Frontispiece and title page of the second German edition of *Crusoe* (1720). This second German edition claimed to be from the English, but its frontispiece is the same as the 1720 French translation. Unlike the engraving in the first German edition, this frontispiece, like that in the French

Des
Welt-berühmten Engelländers
ROBINSON CRUSOE

Leben

Und
ganz ungemeine
Begebenheiten,

Insonderheit
Da er acht und zwanzig Jahre lang auf
einer unbewohnten Insul bey dem Einfluß des
grossen Stroms Oroonoko, auf der Americ-
canischen Küste, gelebet hat.

Von ihm selbst in Englischer Sprache
beschrieben

Nunmehr aber um seiner Nützlichkeits
willen ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit artigen
Kupffern gezieret.

Franckfurth und Leipzig,

Anno 1710.

translation, showed off the umbrella Crusoe fashioned for himself. Typographical evidence links Felbecker of Nuremberg to this pirate edition. Reproduced courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

only the information “Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1720.”¹¹ The second German edition stole even Vischer’s preface, reprinting it in its entirety and signing it simply “des hochgeneigten Lesers Geflissenster der Übersetzer” (the gentle reader’s most devoted translator). While Vischer purported to rely solely on the English edition for his Hamburg translation, Felßecker’s pirated edition clearly also copied from the French edition published in Amsterdam. While the Hamburg edition featured an engraved frontispiece copied after the original English published by W. Taylor, the frontispiece of the pirated edition copied that in the French translation published by L’Honoré & Chatelain in Amsterdam (fig. 15). Like that edition, the pirated edition was also outfitted with six engravings, which it advertised prominently on its title page. All six were copied after those in the edition that L’Honoré & Chatelain had richly illustrated. Whether French or English, a novelty, after all, needed fashion plates.

By September of 1720, yet another edition appeared. This one advertised itself, in the publisher’s informative preface, as the “fifth” German edition. Within six months then, five different German editions of the English anti-novel novel had appeared.¹² This latest edition gave only the year 1720 and “Frankfurt & Leipzig” on its title page (fig. 16). In all likelihood, it had been undertaken by Moritz Georg Weidmann, whose circumspection here contrasts sharply with the engraved portrait done five years later announcing the publisher’s prominence.¹³

Weidmann’s shop apparently could afford to keep engravers at the ready to illustrate the house’s titles, either by copying or very often by original design, as here. Weidmann’s competitors, Thomas Fritsch and Fritsch’s stepfather (and former business partner) Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, both employed engravers. The competition required that Weidmann do the same. Thus he outfitted his *Crusoe* with twelve plates, six of which I have not been able to locate in any other English, French, or Dutch edition.¹⁴ The lavishly illustrated novelty easily topped the Hamburg edition, whose single engraved frontispiece now looked quite out-of-date. Even Felßecker’s edition with six illustrations stood up poorly to the fashionable riches of the fifth edition. With them, Weidmann appealed to consumers uncertain about which German *Crusoe* to purchase. His foreword explained:

Da man nun diese fünffte Auflage nicht nur von den vorigen groben Druckfehlern befreyet, sonder auch mit noch mehrern Kupffern und einer schönen Land=Charte

11. Typographical evidence suggests that Felßecker was somehow involved. When a translation of the second volume appeared that same year, it used the same large capital letters for *B* and *L* on its title page as had the “pirate” volume 1.

12. Each edition likely had a print run of anywhere between 500 and 1,500 copies.

13. I believe this edition to be Weidmann’s also on the basis of typographical evidence. When volume 2 of *Crusoe* appeared in 1721, Weidmann printed an edition with his name on the title page. That edition used the same large *D*, *L*, and *B* letterforms on its title page as had the so-called fifth edition, whose title page reported only a place, “Frankfurt & Leipzig,” and the year, “1720.”

14. The engravings for the Weidmann edition are not considered, or even mentioned, in Blewett’s otherwise useful book.

von der gantzen Erd= und Wasser= Kugel gezieret hat, worauf alle des *Autoris* Reisen gezeichnet zu sehen, wie sie in diesem ersten Theile sowol als in gemeldtem andern und letzten Theile, der gleichfalls in Teutscher Sprache, mit artigen Kupffern ehens erscheinen wird, beschrieben seyn; Als machet man sich die ungezweifelte Hoffnung, es werde diese *Edition* vor allen andern den Preiß behalten. (n.p.)

Because this fifth edition has been freed from previous serious printing mistakes and especially because it has also been decorated with still more engravings and a beautiful map of the entire globe where all the author's travels have been sketched for you to see—those voyages described in the first part as well as the second and third, which with all due haste will also appear in German with lovely engravings; thus we have the sure hope that this edition will be selected before all others.¹⁵

While Weidmann had not been the first to launch *Crusoe* in the German market, his edition was absolutely, the publisher's preface proclaimed, the most up-to-date. Its many fashionable plates emphasized its novel appeal. Afloat on a sea of German translations, *Crusoe* announced a sea change in the geography shaping the European novel.

In addition to the many editions and translations the story went through in the first half of the eighteenth century, it was, of course, also imitated. Among its most well-known early imitators in German literary history was the 1731 *Wunderliche Fata einiger See=Fahrer, absonderlich Alberti Julii, eines gebohrnen Sachsens* (Miraculous Fate of Several Sailors, Particularly of Albert Julius, a Native of Saxony). Known today as *Insel Felsenburg*, the original title clearly sought to profit from the splash made by the English story the previous decade. The *Miraculous Fate* listed as its author "Gisander," another of the many pseudonyms coined to capitalize on the considerable success of the author Talander (August Bohse). We know Gisander to be Johann Gottfried Schnabel (1692–1752), also author of a novel that both imitated and satirized French fashions, *Der im Irrgarten der Liebe herumtaumelnde Cavalier* (The Cavalier Who Stumbles through Love's Labyrinth) (1738).

Gisander, like the French-sounding German translation of the English *Spectator*, lived another hybrid existence. While he turned to fresh English models, his pseudonym also invoked an older fashion that had been launched in German by French imitators in the 1680s and 1690s. Talander had been the first. Many others, including Gisander, had followed. Others active in the early decades of the eighteenth century included Celander, Calandor, Cortelander, Evander, Florander, Gisander, Herolander, Icander, Jasander, Leander, Melander, Menander, Musander, Olander, Pellander, Pheroponander, Polander, Sarcander, and Xamander. Of course, we

15. The second and third parts of *Robinson* were translated with all due speed. By 1721, the third part had already been published in Amsterdam in German.



ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Figure 16. Frontispiece and title page of the “fifth” German edition of *Crusoe*, which appeared six months after the first (1720). The title page distinguishes this edition, advertising “zwölff Kupffern”

Das Leben
und die ganz ungemeine
Begebenheiten
Des
ROBINSON
CRUSOE,

Welcher unter andern auf der Americani-
schen Küste durch Sturm Schiffbruch erlitten,
und bey dem Ausfluß des grossen Strohmis Oroonoko an
eine unbewohnte Insel verschlagen worden, auf welcher
er über acht und zwanzig Jahr, biß zu seiner wunder-
baren Befreyung, gelebet hat.

Von ihm selbst beschrieben, und um seiner
Fürtrefflichkeit willen aus dem Englischen
ins Deutsche übersetzt.

Die fünffte Auflage

Mit zwölf Kupffern nebst einer accuraten Land-Charte,
werauf alle des Autoris Reisen gezeichnet sind, gezieret.

Der erste Theil.

Frankfurth und Leipzig,

1720.

know who many of these authors really were.¹⁶ Their “real” identity was precisely *not* the point. Instead, their authorial pseudonyms signed their allegiance to fashionable production.

Like the word *gallant* so often tied to these fashionable pseudonyms, after 1720 the name Robinson could be used as an advertisement on title pages. It also allowed old wine to be poured into new casks. Fashion’s reign continued—but with an English master. Thus a German reprint of *Gil Blas* appeared in 1726 as *Der Spanische Robinson oder sonderbahre Geschichte des Gil Blas von Santillana* (The Spanish Robinson, or The Strange Tale of Gil Blas of Santillana) (Hamburg, 1726; orig. French 1715). In the 1720s alone, I have identified some twenty titles with the name Robinson in the title.¹⁷

Robinsonaden of the 1720s

Der americanische Robinson (Cologne [Dresden: Zimmermann], 1724).

Der Buch-Händler Robinson (Leipzig: Boetio, 1728).

Der französische Robinson (Liegnitz, 1723) = *Voyages et aventures des François Leguat* (1708).

Geistlicher Robinson (Erfurt, 1723) = Zucchelli, *Relazioni del viaggio e missioni di Congo* (1712).

Der holländische Robinson (Leipzig, 1727) = aus H. Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (1708).

Der italiänische Robinson (Hamburg, 1722) = Beaumarchais, *Avantures de Don Antonio de Buffalis* (1722).

Jungfer Robinsone (Hall in Schwaben, [before 1724]).

Madame Robunse mit ihrer Tochter Jungfer Robinsgen (Adrianopol [Leipzig], 1724) = *Das politische Hofmädgen* (1683).

Der unter der Masque eines Deutschen Poetens raisonnirende Robinson (Liegnitz, 1724).

Paulini, *Der moralische Robinson* (Halberstadt, 1724).

Der niederländische Robinson (Augsburg, 1724) = N. Heinsius, *De vermakelke Avanturier* (1695).

Nieder-Sächsischer Robinson (Frankfurt [Leipzig: Hellwings], 1724).

Der Persianische Robinson (Leipzig, 1723) = Mailly, *Les voyages et les aventures de trois princes de Sarendip* (1719).

16. I have culled these pseudonyms ending in *-nder* from Weber and Mithal’s bibliography of “original German novels.” There are many others. Some, never really meant to permanently conceal a real name, are decoded by Weber and Mithals. Others can be found in Weller’s index of pseudonyms, as well as in the index to erotica by Hayn and Gotendorf.

17. Like the pseudonyms, these titles are culled from Weber and Mithals.

Der Sächsische Robinson (Leipzig: F. Lankischens Erben, 1722) [with a second part from 1723].

Schlesischer Robinson (Breslau and Leipzig: E. Chr. Brachvogel, 1723/1724).

Schwedischer Robinson (Frankfurt and Leipzig: C. F. v. M., 1724).

Schweitzerischer Robinson (Zurich, 1725).

Der teutsche Robinson (Hall in Schwaben: J. F. Galli, [c. 1722]).

Der thüringische Robinson (1725).

Particularly illuminating is a title from the middle of this list, *Madame Robunse mit ihrer Tochter Jungfer Robinsgen* (Madame Robunse with her Daughter Little Miss Robinsgen). Originally published in 1683 as *Das politische Hofmädgen* (The Political Lady-in-Waiting), the title's metamorphosis illustrates fashion's tireless cycles in the book market. In the 1670s and 1680s *politisch* had first been replaced by *galant*. By the 1720s, everything had to be a vaguely English Robinson. The old title simply got a new name. Perhaps the publisher had old stock that could be sold with a more up-to-date title. Perhaps any title advertising a Robinson sold well, and an old fiction could be reset and printed more quickly than a new manuscript could find its way into print. Robinson, for all its change, also literally offered more of the same.

Thus we must ask, when Bodmer and Breitinger recommended *Crusoe* for a lady's library did it mark the beginning of something new? Why did Bodmer and Breitinger recommend it? The answer to this question is usually sought with a gesture to Max Weber and his long-influential scholarship on Protestantism and work. Robinson's enormous success outside England, and particularly in Germany, is often credited to a shared work ethic. By no coincidence, one might emphasize, Defoe's Crusoe family originally hailed from Germany. DeeAnn DeLuna, for example, foregrounds that Robinson was "of Germanic mercantile origins—his father, a businessman originally named 'Kreutznaer,' and recently emigrated from Bremen." For Defoe, she continues, Crusoe was "one of the godly heroes of the commercial North, that modern gothic beehive that included Scandinavia and was considered by contemporaries to have been originally peopled by the Asiatic Scythians, now known as ancient Germans" (72). Indeed, it was a family heritage that may have helped German readers more easily adopt Robinson as their own. Furthermore, German linguistic historians of the day, protophilologists such as Morhof and others, had already begun to stress English and German's common linguistic past.

But the reasons for Bodmer and Breitinger's advocacy of the book—as well as the reasons for its many imitations—must also be sought in the changing vectors of the European book market. And here, while fashion remained a constant, the fashion itself was new. In 1723, when the Swiss formulated their list, the European

market had embarked on a substantial shift away from originally French-language models to London and English-language texts. In no small part because of the success of Addison and Steele's periodicals—helped along by French translations—the world of letters increasingly deferred to English tastemakers.

Already by 1720, Englishness itself was enough to prove a title's merits. As Moritz Georg Weidmann explained in his preface to the richly illustrated edition of *Crusoe* on whose sales he banked,

So *different* und wider einander lauffend aber bißher die Urtheile der Gelehrten von der Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Geschichte gewesen, so unvergleichlich haben sie hingegen darinne überein gestimmt, daß dieselben mit einer ungemeinen Annehmlichkeit zu lesen sind. Fast gantz Europa hat sich bereits vor diese Schrift erklärt, und dieselbe mit allgemeinem Beyfall aufgenommen. Engellands *delicater* Bücher=Geschmack kan bey andern *Nationeen* schon voraus eine gute Meynung von diesem Buche erwecken, als woselbst fast eine unzählige Menge *Exemplarien* in kurtzer Zeit verkauffet worden sind. Es ist auch auf die Fortsetzung dieser Begebenheiten bedacht gewesen, so daß solche auch würcklich schon unter dem Titul: *The farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* zum Vorschein kommen ist. Die Frantzösische und Holländische Übersetzungen haben nicht weniger Liebhaber gefunden, und daß Teutschland seinen Geschmack nicht gantz im Reiche der Todten gelassen habe, bezeuget der ungemeine Abgang der Teutschen Übersetzung dieser vortrefflichen Begebenheiten, indem solche in wenig Wochen viermal gedruckt worden. (4r-5v)

As different and contrary as the judgments of learned men have been on the probable truth of this story, they have nevertheless concurred that reading it is uncommonly pleasant. Almost all of Europe has already declared itself for this text and taken it up with general applause. England's delicate taste in books may in itself awaken a positive opinion about this book, given that a nearly innumerable amount of copies has been sold there in a short period. The continuation of these adventures was anticipated and has come to light with the title *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. The French and Dutch translations have not won fewer admirers; and the unusual sales of the German translation of these outstanding adventures, printed four times in a span of just a few weeks, demonstrates that Germany's taste has not been completely left behind in the Land of the Dead.

In other words, one read *Robinson* in the German provinces for the very same reasons that in 1688 one had read the "little French novels" that had in their day supplanted older romances. In both cases, in 1723 as in 1688, one read to prove that one was up-to-date, fashionable in one's good taste, and not "completely left behind in the Land of the Dead." In 1723, unlike in 1688, *Robinson* signaled that its reader was no longer in thrall to the French.

Simply because it was not French, *Crusoe* paved the road for the novel's domestication in German. The English anti-novel's success had been measurably helped along by the popularity of anti-novel journals modeled after Addison and Steele. In 1723, journals and novels continued their cross-promotions. But both claimed to be anything other than a novel. Unlike that Frenchified genre, the new journals and anti-novel novels sailed under an English flag.

The transformation of the German book market driven by this reception of English letters has traditionally been celebrated in German literary history as if it happened out of thin air. From many standard literary histories, in fact, one might get the impression that Germans simply did not read fiction prior to Defoe. In the 1991 Panizzi Lectures given at the British Library, for example, literary historian and scholar of the book Bernhard Fabian stated:

The German discovery of England stands out as something historically unique. The culture of France and the culture of Italy were fully developed national cultures. They rested on firm foundations. In these circumstances, the discovery of a foreign culture might come as a revelation, as indeed it did, but it could not substantially change the culture of the country. Germany was a different case altogether. It was a backward country, still suffering, in the early part of the eighteenth century, from the aftermath of the Thirty Years War. It was a conglomerate of territories—some larger, some smaller, many tiny, but all sovereign. At best, Germany was a cultural nation in the making. (4)

It is far from my intent to dispute the importance of the reception of English culture in eighteenth-century Germany. Yet Fabian's portrait of "a backward country" fundamentally misrepresents the state of the German book market in the early decades of the eighteenth century. If we are to understand what constituted English appeal to continental readers, we must redraw our literary maps.

The immediate and intense reception of *Crusoe's* adventure story presents us with a seminal chapter in the protracted eighteenth-century German love affair with English literature. After Steele and Addison and then Defoe, English authors—Milton, Shakespeare, Fielding, and Richardson among them—were ever more rapidly introduced into German, hailed sometimes as long-lost brothers. But they were akin to Germans perhaps in no way more closely than in a shared long suspicion of French cultural influence. Within the span of three decades, between 1696 and 1723, the capital of the German book trade had been relocated from Paris to London.

