



# Cultural Transfer through Translation

The Circulation of Enlightened  
Thought in Europe by  
Means of Translation

Edited by Stefan Stockhorst

***Cultural Transfer  
through Translation***

131

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Internationale Forschungen zur  
Allgemeinen und  
Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft

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***Cultural Transfer  
through Translation  
The Circulation of Enlightened  
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Stefanie Stockhorst***



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Novissima totius EUROPÆ in suas principaliores Status accuratè divisæ Repræsentatio. In: Johann David Köhler: Schül= und Reisen=ATLAS Aller Zu Erlernung der Alten / Mittlern und Neuen GEOGRAPHIE dienlichen UNIVERSAL- und PARTICULAR-Charten [...]. Nürnberg 1719, plate 4. HAB, classmark: Cb 2° 17. Reproduction courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

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STEFANIE STOCKHORST

## Introduction

### Cultural transfer through translation: a current perspective in Enlightenment studies

#### I. Enlightened interactions as cultural transfer *avant la lettre*

In recent times, replacing the traditional, merely comparative approach, the cultural dynamics between both national and Europe-wide discourse systems has increasingly engaged the attention of scholars working on the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Interest in such interactions seems all the more justified, given that the notion of a discursive community based on networking and reciprocal stimulation constitutes the very self-image of the Enlightenment. Thus the contemporary Italian theologian, writer and translator Melchiorre Cesarotti coined the catchword *una gran famiglia* – one big family – for the Enlightened republic of letters. As a pan-European movement genuinely striving to create and further discursive relations, the Enlightenment purposefully overrode not only social but also national and language boundaries. Guided by cosmopolitan and universalist interests, it inherently possessed a dimension of transfer. Therefore, the model of ‘cultural transfer’ as designed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, which, of course, originates from a critical review of out-dated methodology in comparative literature and history, also very accurately characterises the situation of intellectual life in the eighteenth century.

The fact that transfer always entails transformation is rarely more evident than in the field of the Enlightened translation business. In the Baroque period, translations were meant to prove the linguistic richness of the vernacular languages, to surpass the adjacent national literatures and to train the transla-

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1. Cf. for instance Fania Oz-Salzberger, ‘The Enlightenment in translation: regional and European aspects’, p. 385-409, and Carla Hesse, ‘Towards a new topography of Enlightenment’, p. 499-508, both in: *European review of history/Revue européenne d’histoire* 13.3 (2006) [special issue *Enlightenment and communication: regional experiences and global consequences – Les lumières et la communication: expériences régionales et conséquences globales*]; as well as the still valuable contributions in Paul J. Korshin, *The Widening circle: essays on the circulation of literature in eighteenth-century Europe* (Philadelphia 1976).



tors' own stylistic versatility. From the late seventeenth century onwards, their functions broadened considerably: as a means of transcultural exchange, they became more and more important by the middle of the eighteenth century, since neo-Latin as a language, the former *lingua franca* of European intellectuals, had rapidly lost its relevance in fictional literature, as well as in scholarly writing. In the formation of the Enlightened movement throughout Europe, the medium of translation served as a 'crucial vehicle of diffusion'.<sup>2</sup> This central role of translations emerged not so much because scholars had felt exposed to a new Babel-like confusion due to the decline of Latin as their universal language, or because they had been incapable of reading the writings of their foreign counterparts in the original, but because the growing inclination to publish in the vernacular instead of Latin, and to make works written in foreign languages accessible to one's compatriots through translations was caused, rather, by absolutely fundamental considerations. On the one hand, the respective national languages and literatures experienced a competitive upward revaluation in the context of modern nation-building as core elements of cultural identity. Translations of foreign texts could therefore demonstrate that the translators' mother tongue allowed equal or even greater literary achievements than the respective original language.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the aim of popularising intellectual discourses represented an essential part of the self-image of the Enlightenment. Such task rendered it necessary to produce translations into the vernacular so that a wider audience not educated in foreign languages could profit from works written in neighbouring countries. As a result, in large part, the exchange of Enlightened thought between different language-areas took place by means of translation.<sup>4</sup>

Yet it is striking how little we still know about the cultural side of translation processes in the Enlightenment, that is, about how texts were not just linguistically but also culturally transformed during their travels through Europe. Against this background, the main focus of the present volume lies on the transcultural circulation of Enlightened thought in Europe by means of translation and, in particular, on how the adaptation of meaning took place in different cultural contexts. The book seeks to explore both how translations contributed to the transnational standardisation of certain key concepts, values and texts, and how they reflected national specifications of Enlightened

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2. Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Translation', in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors et al. (Oxford 2003), IV.181-188 (p. 181).

3. Cf. Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1999), esp. p. 67-81.

4. Cf. Oz-Salzberger, 'Translation', p. 182.

discourses<sup>5</sup> by re-interpreting and enhancing the original text. This double perspective of standardisation and specification arises from the observation that the lively cultural exchange of the Enlightenment not only promoted universalist but also particularist tendencies.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, the present volume endeavours to contribute to Enlightenment studies, at least as much as to historical translation studies.

## II. The (In)significance of the original text in eighteenth-century translation concepts

Ever since Antiquity, the trade-off between a literal translation faithful to the original text, and a rendering that *mutatis mutandis* allows for the cultural conditions of the target culture, has been the central issue for translation theory. More often than not, translators opted for the latter approach in order to make the texts more comprehensible for the new recipients. Thus, Cicero discloses in *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 BC) that in his own translations he did not proceed ‘ut interpres’, like an interpreter who represents the text word by word, but ‘ut orator’, like a speaker who only conveys the content and meaning of the words: ‘In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi.’<sup>7</sup> In a similar vein, Horace declares in *De arte poetica* (14 BC): ‘nec uerbo uerbum curabis reddere fidus interpres’.<sup>8</sup> So it is with good reason that Samuel Johnson draws on the history of translation from Greek antiquity down to his own day in one of his weekly essays for *The Idler*, in order to illustrate the supremacy of the elegant paraphrase over the *ad verbatim* translation.<sup>9</sup>

Yet the seemingly clear-cut guideline of moderate adaptation to the target culture did not end the difficulties a translator had to deal with – on the con-

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5. Cf. the seminal studies in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, *The Enlightenment in national context* (Cambridge 1981).

6. Cf. Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth-century Germany* (Oxford 1995), p. 316.

7. Cicero, ‘De optimo genere oratorum’, in *De inventione: de optimo genere oratorum: topica*, with an English translation by H[arry] M[ortimer] Hubbell (Cambridge [Mass.], London 1949), p. 354-373 (p. 364 [5.14]).

8. Horace, ‘The Epistle to the Pisones’ [the so-called *Ars poetica*], in *Epistles, book II, and epistle to the Pisones ('Ars poetica')*, ed. Niall Rudd (Cambridge et al. 1989), p. 58-74 (p. 62 [5.133-134]).

9. Cf. Samuel Johnson, ‘History of translation’, in *The Works of Samuel Johnson: literary club edition from type in sixteen volumes* (New York 1903), V.320-327 [originally in *The Idler* 68/69 (1759), August 4<sup>th</sup> and August 11<sup>th</sup>].

trary, the perennial quest for the ultimately appropriate expression in one's own language entailed further, and possibly even more intricate, challenges. Accordingly, the cultural 'if at all'<sup>10</sup> was at least as topical as the linguistic 'how'<sup>11</sup> for the translation debates of the eighteenth century. In addition, historical translation studies have to grapple with the fact that there is no such thing as one homogenous Enlightenment concept of translation. The picture is appreciably more complicated than that, the complexity of which is due to a) nationally different tendencies and traditions which were subject to historical change over the eighteenth century, and b) a remarkable gap between theory and practice.

The different national tendencies and traditions can be illustrated by comparing France and Germany. In France, many theorists from René Descartes to Nicolas Beauzée had assumed that every language could be translated into any other language, either because they took language as a universal, or at least, because they traced all European languages to a shared historical origin. For example, severe doubt was cast on this point of view by the French encyclopedist Jean le Rond d'Alembert in his *Observations sur l'art de traduire en général* (1759). In particular, he highlighted the varieties and idiosyncrasies of individual languages that could not be readily reproduced in other languages. Yet incongruities between the original text and the translation were not only caused by culture-specific denotations and resulting limitations to transferability. The set of possible deviations from the original was not limited to the choice between literal translations (aiming at formal equivalence of source and target text) and paraphrastic translations (aiming at functional equivalence of source and target text). Rather, other characteristics of the text could be modified also – especially in France, where it was mainly writers and poets who acted as translators, and where it had been customary since the seventeenth century not to follow the ideal of literal accuracy but of beauty in a sense inherent in the *doctrine classique*. This manner gained translators like Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, to name but one example, and many others the somewhat dubious attribution, 'les belles infidèles',<sup>12</sup> since the properties of the original text did not seem to have a particularly sacred

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10. Cf. Lieven d'Hulst, 'The Conflict of translational models in France (end of 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century)', *Dispositio* 7.19/20 (1982), p. 41-52 (p. 42-46); and the account of basic positions in translation theory in André Leclerc, 'Le problème de la traduction au siècle des Lumières: obstacles pratiques et limites théoriques', *Traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 1 (1988), p. 41-62 (p. 46-52).

11. Cf. for linguistic aspects of eighteenth-century translation concepts in France, England, and Germany Franziska Münzberg, *Die Darstellungsfunktion der Übersetzung: zur Rekonstruktion von Übersetzungsmodellen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main et al. 2003).

12. Cf. Roger Zuber, *Les 'Belles infidèles' et la formation du goût classique* (Paris 1968).

character for them: ‘All aspects of the original – length and structure, verse and meter, terminology and metaphor, ideas and opinions – were fair objects for transformation.’<sup>13</sup> Only very few theorists like Pierre-Daniel Huet, Ezéchiel Spanheim, or Anne Marie Dacier would argue in favour of faithful translations, sustaining the ancient party’s position in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*.<sup>14</sup> The French ‘infidelity’ for the benefit of beauty deserves special attention since it advanced to be an influential translation model for the European Enlightenment as a whole.

A change in taste from ‘infidelity’ to accuracy did not occur until the 1760s, when even former exponents of the *belles infidèles* started to stand up for the new exactitude in translation theory. In this context, Denis Diderot, Voltaire, Louis Stanislas Fréron, and especially François-René Chateaubriand deserve a particular mention. The last-named would dedicate no less than three decades’ work to a new translation of *Paradise Lost* which eventually appeared in 1834, claiming to represent the original as scrupulously as possible.

In the German-speaking countries, by contrast, a philological ethic of accuracy had always prevailed – at least in theory – forbidding redrafts, embellishments and abridgements, as well as interferences regarding metrics or content. Thus, Wilhelm Christhelf Sigmund Mylius – not to be confused with Lessing’s cousin Christlob Mylius who also acted as a translator – declares in the preface to the second edition of his translation of Voltaire’s *Candide* (1759) that faithfulness was his ‘religious creed as a translator’ (‘Glaubensbekenntnis als Uebersetzer’).<sup>15</sup> He unequivocally states: ‘Mir dünkt’s nie ein Kompliment für eine Uebersetzung, wenn es heist, sie läss’t sich völlig wie ein Original lesen; es ist dies ein sicherer Beweis, daß alle Nationaleigenheiten des Autors daraus glatt weggewischt sind.’<sup>16</sup> Even though the translation concept prevalent in Germany is expressed here, the faithful treatment of the original never ceased to be a somewhat precarious affair in practice.

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13. Oz-Salzberger, ‘Translation’, p. 182. For an exemplary case study see Jürgen von Stackelberg, ‘Voltaire traducteur: les “belles infidèles” dans les *Lettres philosophiques*’, in *Le siècle de Voltaire: hommage à René Pomeau*, ed. Christiane Mervaud and Sylvain Menant (Oxford 1987), p. 881-892 (p. 885); see also Jürgen von Stackelberg, *Literarische Rezeptionsformen: Übersetzung – Supplement – Parodie* (Frankfurt/Main 1972), p. 65ff.

14. Cf. R[ichard] W[illiam] Ladborough, ‘Translation from the Ancients in seventeenth-century France’, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938), p. 85-104.

15. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

16. ‘I never find it flattering for a translation if it is said to read like an original; rather, this gives certain proof that all the national characteristics of the author have been neatly wiped out.’ Wilhelm Christhelf Sigmund Mylius, ‘Vorrede der zweiten Auflage’, in *Kandide, oder die beste Welt* [transl. by W. C. S. M.], 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Berlin 1782), p. V-XXII (p. XVII-XVIII).

Related controversies were, for instance, sparked between Johann Christoph Gottsched on one side and Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger on the other, on the occasion of Bodmer's German translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), published in 1732.<sup>17</sup> While Gottsched advocates a meticulous, yet merely paraphrastic translation, in order to facilitate the access to foreign texts, the Swiss assigned a downright sacrosanct status to the original text. An increasingly reverential attitude towards the original<sup>18</sup> was subsequently proposed by translation theorists like Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Johann Gottfried Herder.<sup>19</sup>

When the adaptation of translations to the specific conditions of the target culture was rejected in theory, however, translators had to face serious problems in putting this claim into practice. In the field of drama translation, this soon became obvious, when, for example, Johann Elias Schlegel warned as early as 1747 against the all-too faithful translation of French plays. He observes that these works fail to achieve their actual aesthetic effect if the spectators are confronted with too many unfamiliar circumstances: 'Wenn der Zuschauer zu viel von fremden Sitten erlernen muß, ehe er den Zusammenhang der Verwirrung einsieht, so verliert er die Geduld, und das schönste Stück mißfällt.'<sup>20</sup> Linguistically, French dramatic art may well have been convertible, but the transfer of the moral content seems to have been constrained by various cultural differences. This observation applies not only to dramatic li-

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17. Cf. Thomas Huber, *Studien zur Theorie des Übersetzens im Zeitalter der deutschen Aufklärung 1730-1770*, Deutsche Studien 7 (Meisenheim 1968).

18. Cf. Andreas Poltermann, 'Die Erfindung des Originals: zur Geschichte der Übersetzungskonzeptionen in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Die literarische Übersetzung: Fallstudien zur ihrer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Brigitte Schultze, Göttinger Beiträge zur internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 1 (Berlin 1987), p. 14-52.

19. Cf. Katherine Arens, 'Translators who are not traitors: Herder's and Lessing's Enlightenments', *Herder-Jahrbuch* 5 (2000), p. 91-109; and Friedemar Apel, *Sprachbewegung: eine historisch-poetologische Untersuchung zum Problem des Übersetzens*, Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 3.52 (Heidelberg 1982), p. 84-89; see for the following tendency towards mass production of translations in the 1820s and related difficulties Norbert Bachleitner, "'Übersetzungsfabriken": das deutsche Übersetzungswesen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *IASL* 14.1 (1989), p. 1-49, esp. p. 19-23.

20. 'If the spectator has to learn too much about foreign customs to grasp the context of the plot, he loses his patience and the most beautiful play will displease.' Johann Elias Schlegel, 'Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters' (1764), in *Dramaturgische Schriften des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Klaus Hammer, Geschichte des deutschen Theaters, section B: documents 1 (Berlin 1968), p. 86-111 (p. 104).

terature (of which the larger part consisted of translations during the first half of the century)<sup>21</sup> but to the book market in general.

Ever-increasing literacy led to a rising demand for reading material, a demand that could only be satisfied by supplying the market with significant numbers of translations. An overview of German book fair catalogues shows that about one third of the titles on offer were translations.<sup>22</sup> But if one wished to attract readers and buyers for translations, the text had to suit the taste of the audience. As a result, the translators' most demanding task lay in the adaptation of original texts, both linguistic and cultural, or as the *Encyclopédie* entry on 'traduction' has it: '[L]a *traduction* est plus occupée du fond des pensées, plus attentive à les présenter sous la forme qui peut leur convenir dans la langue nouvelle, & plus assujettie dans ses expressions aux tours & aux idiotismes de cette langue.'<sup>23</sup> And, in practice, theoretical commitments to faithfulness played only a minor role even in Germany, while omissions, amendments and modifications were the real order of the day.<sup>24</sup>

In individual cases, the reasons for the reconfiguration of the formal composition or of the cultural semantics of the originals could be diverse. In the first place, alterations were carried out in order to reduce elements of cultural alterity. As a result, the sometimes striking incongruencies between original texts and translations affect the *verba* as well as the *res* denoted by them. Hence, Gottsched's remarks on his annotations to his translation of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire* can equally be assigned to translation practice in general. To begin with, he had intervened to rectify certain judgements on the Ancients, excessive praise of French writers, and metaphysically, morally or politically doubtful passages. Moreover, he had wished to adapt the French writer's wisdom and thoughts to the state of affairs in Germany, or in his own words:

Endlich habe ich auch bey solchen Gelegenheiten etwas hinzugesetzt, wo ich zwar des Verfassers Gedanken nicht missbilligte; aber doch einige Vergleichung derselben mit unserem

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21. Cf. the synopsis in Reinhart Meyer, *Das deutsche Trauerspiel des 18. Jahrhunderts: eine Bibliographie* (Munich 1977).

22. Cf. Reinhard Wittmann, *Buchmarkt und Lektüre im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 6 (Tübingen 1982), p. 119.

23. 'Traduction', in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers: nouvelle impression en facsimilé de la première édition de 1751-1780*, vol. XXVI: *Te-Venerie* (Bad Cannstatt 1967), p. 510-512, (p. 510).

24. This observation was already made by Helmut Knufmann; cf. *idem*, 'Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer- und Herausgeberreden', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 9 (1969), col. 491-572, esp. col. 529-541.

Auslande machen, und dasjenige auf Deutschland deuten konnte, was er insgemein, oder von Frankreich insbesondere gesagt hatte.<sup>25</sup>

Beyond that, Kenneth E. Carpenter identified two other crucial factors that help to explain Gottsched's nonchalance when it came to making changes to the original texts and the extent of such changes. On the one hand, the cultural competition between nations had fuelled the translators' urge to signal by means of modifications and annotations that they were intellectually at least on a par with the original authors, if not indeed in a position to out rival them. On the other hand, many translators had been reluctant to be associated with the dubious translation business, which often spawned pirated editions and illegal reprints, and so tried to make their translations look like original works by generously modifying the text.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, in some cases, censorship or even plain incompetence on the part of the translators may have accounted for certain less than faithful renderings. All in all, the deviations between the original text and the translation not only shed light on the linguistic potential and the aesthetic preferences of the target culture, but also on the history of mentalities.<sup>27</sup>

### III. Transmission routes in the translation business of the Enlightenment

For a large part of the eighteenth century, France proved to be the most important linguistic hub for written products of the Enlightenment.<sup>28</sup> This predominance can be attributed to the fact that the French language had advanced to be the most important modern language both among the nobility and among the educated bourgeois elite. Almost anything ever written in the era

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25. 'Eventually I have made additions in cases where I did not disapprove of the author's thought but could draw comparisons with the foreign country and apply to Germany what he had said in general or with particular respect to France.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, 'Vorrede des Herausgebers' [8 pages, n.p.], in *Herrn Peter Baylens [...] Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch, nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche übersetzt; auch mit einer Vorrede und verschiedenen Anmerckungen sonderlich bey anstößigen Stellen versehen [...]. Erster Theil. A und B* (Leipzig 1741), p. [7-8].

26. Cf. Kenneth E. Carpenter, *Dialogue in political economy: translations from and into German in the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, Kress Library Publications 23 (Boston 1977), p. 22-23.

27. Cf. Doris Bachmann-Medick, 'Meanings of translation in cultural anthropology', in *Translating others*, ed. Theo Hermans (Manchester 2006), 1.33-42, esp. p. 35.

28. Cf. Jürgen von Stackelberg, 'Translation', in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Gwenn Wells (Chicago, London 2001), II.1359-1363 (p. 1360).

of the Enlightenment was being translated from the several vernacular languages first into French, and from there further on into other foreign languages.<sup>29</sup> In particular, this applies to the Continental reception of Anglophone authors.<sup>30</sup> In statistical terms, almost 500 English texts appeared in French in the course of the eighteenth century, and 135 of them were passed on as secondary translations into German.<sup>31</sup> That is to say that the writings by Isaac Newton or Shaftesbury and moral philosophy in its entirety, foundation charters of the Enlightenment like John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) or Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733/1734), influential weekly magazines like *The Spectator* (1711/1712), *The Guardian* (1713) or *The Tatler* (1709-1711), and novelists like Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Richardson or Henry Fielding<sup>32</sup> were initially made known on the Continent in French translation. This route of transmission has proved quite unreliable, as the translation practice of the *belles infidèles* led to sometimes extreme deformations of both the content and the form of the original texts, which were compounded in secondary translations. The translation business was notorious for contorting effects just like the children's game of Chinese Whispers: 'Thus, from translation to translation, the distance from the original text increased.'<sup>33</sup>

In the field of fictional literature, the transmission of Anglophone texts via French translations mainly took place between 1720 and 1775. During

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29. Cf. fundamentally Marce Blassneck, *Frankreich als Vermittler englisch-deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Kölner anglistische Arbeiten 20 (Leipzig 1934; reprint 1966) and the necessary corrections, completions and historical resp. genre-specific differentiations in Wilhelm Graeber and Geneviève Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung: eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Tübingen 1988).

30. Cf. the bibliographical studies by Graham Gargett and Geraldine Sheridan, *Ireland and the French Enlightenment, 1700-1800* (New York 1999); Bernhard Fabian, *The English book in eighteenth-century Germany* (London 1992); and Bernhard Fabian, *Selecta Anglicana: buchgeschichtliche Studien zur Aufnahme der englischen Literatur in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Leipziger Arbeitskreises zur Geschichte des Buchwesens; Schriften und Zeugnisse zur Buchgeschichte 6 (Wiesbaden 1994).

31. Cf. the bibliographical inventory in Graeber and Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung*; as well as Charles Alfred Rochedieu, *Bibliography of French translations of English works, 1700-1800* (Chicago 1948).

32. Cf. the bibliographical studies by Harold Wade Streeter, *The Eighteenth century English novel in French translation: a bibliographical study* (New York 1970); and James Raven, 'Cheap and cheerless: English novels in German translations and German novels in English translation, 1770-1799', in *The Corvey Library and Anglo-German cultural exchanges, 1770-1837*, ed. Werner Huber, Corvey-Studien 8 (Munich 2004), p. 1-33.

33. Stackelberg, 'Translation', p. 1361.



this period, some French authors would even pretend that their novels were actually translated from English since the Anglo-Saxon provenance corresponded to the usual expectations of the audience.<sup>34</sup> The Europe-wide reception of English texts via French translations extended well into the nineteenth century in the areas of theology, philosophy, and travel literature,<sup>35</sup> secondary translations of fictional literature became less important from the 1760s on. This has to do with the suggestions Edward Young made in his *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) and their reception especially in the German-speaking part. Young inspired a fondness for reading original sources in his followers and caused a wave of translations directly from English into German. Thus, German translations functioned as a vital interface for secondary translations, especially into Eastern European languages, during the last third of the century.<sup>36</sup> Translations between other languages, taking place to any noteworthy extent only between Italian and Spanish, were quantitatively of minor importance.

In translating secondary translations even further into a third language like Portuguese, Russian, Polish, Swedish or Hungarian, translators sometimes feigned a direct recourse to the original text in order to make their own texts appear more authentic. And it was by no means unusual to model so-called 'mixed' or 'eclectic' translations<sup>37</sup> after two versions of a text in different languages. Typically, Italian or German translators claimed to have drawn chiefly on the English original with only occasional comparisons of their own version with an earlier French translation. This statement was usually backed up by interspersed quotations from the English original. Comparative analyses of all three versions of such texts show, however, that the translators hardly worked with the original at all, but almost exclusively with the French

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34. Josephine Grieder counts no less than 46 titles of that kind. Cf. Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France 1740-1789: fact, fiction, and political discourse* (Geneva 1985), p. 151-162.

35. Cf. Geneviève Roche, 'The Persistence of French mediation in nonfiction prose', in *Interculturality and the historical study of literary translations*, ed. Harald Kittel and Armin Paul Frank, Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 4 (Berlin 1991), p. 17-24; see also the bibliographical studies by Mary Bell Price and Lawrence Marsden Price, *The Publication of English humaniora in Germany in the eighteenth century*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology 44 (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1955); and with particular attention to book history Fabian, *Selecta Anglicana*.

36. Carpenter, *Dialogue in political economy*, p. 6.

37. Cf. Jürgen von Stackelberg, 'Eklektisches Übersetzen, 1: erläutert am Beispiel einer italienischen Übersetzung von Salomon Geßners *Idyllen*', in *Die literarische Übersetzung: Fallstudien zur ihrer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Brigitte Schultze, Göttinger Beiträge zur internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 1 (Berlin 1987), p. 53-62.

version,<sup>38</sup> which probably has to do with the contemporary significance of French translations in general.

From time to time, such texts were even produced against better judgment – out of routine or lack of the original – as the example of Louise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched illustrates. In her preface to *Der Zuschauer* (1739), her German edition of *The Spectator*, she unequivocally advocated the faithful reproduction of the meaning and form of the original. Yet she demonstrably failed to live up to her theoretical claim in several cases. For example, she did not translate Joseph Addison's comedy *The Drummer* (1716) from the English original, but from the French version *Le tambour nocturne* (1736) by Philippe Néricault Destouches.<sup>39</sup> For her translation of Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1712-1714), she similarly did not consult the English original but a French translation. However, she at least tries to legitimise this *faux-pas* in her preface by pointing out that she did not have access to the original. At the same time, she complains that someone in Dresden had published a prose version of the text, claiming to have made it directly from the English original but in reality having copied her translation from the French version including all her mistakes.<sup>40</sup> When she was eventually in a position to examine the English text, she made the somewhat disturbing discovery that the French version had little or nothing in common with the original:

Aber wie erstaunete ich nicht! und wie sehr reueten mich meine Zeit und Mühe, als ich sah, wie weit wir von dieses großen Dichters Feuer, Scharfsinnigkeit, kurzen nachdrücklichen Satiren, und edlen poetischen Beschreibungen entfernet waren! Das war nichts minder als Popens Lockenraub!<sup>41</sup>

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38. Cf. fundamentally Jürgen von Stackelberg, *Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand: Rezeptionsvorgänge in der europäischen Literatur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, New York 1984).

39. Cf. the detailed reconstruction of the translation path in von Stackelberg, *Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand*, p. 125-143. – Jeffrey Freedman observes equally severe phenomena of transformation in the context of the Suisse Société typographique de Neuchâtel (1769-1789). Cf. Jeffrey Freedman, 'Traduction et édition à l'époque des lumières', *Dix-huitième siècle* 25 (1993), p. 79-100.

40. Cf. *Herrn Alexander Popens Lockenraub. Ein scherzhaftes Heldengedicht. Aus dem Englischen in Deutsche Verse übersetzt von Luisen Adelgunden Victorien Gottschedinn* (Leipzig 1772; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1744), p. VIII.

41. 'But how was I astounded! And how much did I lament my time and effort when I saw how distant we were from the ardour, wits, clear-cut satires and dignified poetic descriptions of this great writer! This came nowhere near Pope's Rape of the Lock!' Gottsched, *Popens Lockenraub*, p. VIII.

In addition to translations between the vernaculars in the manner outlined above, there were also quite a number of translations of scholarly treatises from the original Latin into the native languages of their authors and further on into third party languages, especially into French, Spanish, English, and German. While in Italy Latin lasted far into the eighteenth century as the main academic language, in other countries fundamental new publications originally written in Latin were disseminated in the respective modern languages from the early Enlightenment on. One example of this is Samuel Pufendorf's *De iure naturae et gentium libri octo* (1672), published in French in 1706 as *Le droit de la nature et des gens*, in German in 1711 as *Acht Bücher vom Natur- und Völkerrecht*, and in English in 1717 as *Of the Law of Nature and Nations. Eight Books*. The first systematic approach to the commonest manners and methods of the Enlightenment translation business was provided by the Prussian publicist Friedrich Nicolai. According to the current status of research, the satirical typology he drafts in his novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebalduß Nothanker* (1773-1776) contains far more than just a grain of truth:

Ein Uebersetzer aus dem engländischen ist vornehmer, als ein Uebersetzer aus dem französischen, weil er seltener ist. Ein Uebersetzer aus dem italiänischen läßt sich schon bitten, ehe er zu arbeiten anfängt, und läßt sich nicht allemal den Tag vorschreiben, an dem er abliefern soll. Einen Uebersetzer aus dem spanischen aber, findet man fast gar nicht, daher kömmt es auch, daß zuweilen Leute aus dieser Sprache übersetzen, wenn sie sie gleich nicht verstehen. Uebersetzer aus dem lateinischen und griechischen sind häufig, werden aber gar nicht gesucht: daher bieten sie sich mehrentheils selbst an. Außerdem giebt es auch [...] Vornehme Uebersetzer, diese begleiten ihre Uebersetzungen mit einer Vorrede, und versichern die Welt, daß das Original sehr gut sey; Gelehrte Uebersetzer, diese verbessern ihre Uebersetzungen, begleiten sie mit Anmerkungen und versichern, daß es sehr schlecht sey, daß sie es aber doch leidlich gemacht hätten; Uebersetzer, die durch Uebersetzungen Originalschreiber werden, diese nehmen ein französisches oder engländisches Buch, lassen Anfang und Ende weg, ändern und verbessern das übrige nach Gutdünken, setzen ihren Namen keck auf den Titel, und geben das Buch für ihre eigene Arbeit aus. Endlich giebt es Uebersetzer, die ihre Uebersetzungen selbst machen, und solche, die sie von andern machen lassen.<sup>42</sup>

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42. 'A translator from English is more distinguished than one from French because he is rarer. A translator from Italian has to be implored to get started with his work and will not always agree on a definite date for submission. A translator from Spanish is hard to be found at all, and that is why people every so often translate from this language even though they do not understand it. Translators from Latin and Greek are fairly common yet not at all sought after: Therefore, they put themselves on offer for the most part. Besides, there are also distinguished translators, these escort their translations with a preface and assure the world that the original was very good; scholarly translators, these amend their translations, annotate them and assure that it is bad but that they have made it sufferable; translators who become original authors by means of translations, these take an English or French book, leave out the beginning and ending, alter and amend the remnants at their discretion, daringly put their

#### IV. Method and criticism of ‘transfer’ studies

The concept of ‘cultural transfer’ has been continuously developed by Espagne and Werner at the CNRS *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands de la période prérévolutionnaire à la première guerre mondiale* in Paris since the 1980s, where Franco-German cultural relations served as the starting point due to the design of the overarching research project.<sup>43</sup> They sought to overcome the methodological shortcomings of comparative studies in history and literary criticism. On the one hand, those earlier approaches had assumed clear-cut national cultures in distinct exchange relations; on the other hand, they had assisted at the emergence of an international perspective, but one which tended to focus on similarities and differences while grey areas of transcultural contamination usually went unnoticed. Transfer studies, by contrast, are based on the insight gained in postcolonial studies<sup>44</sup> that ‘nations’ or ‘cultural areas’ cannot be modelled as ‘autonomous’ or ‘hermetic’ entities, but rather as dynamically interrelated systems. Furthermore, the paradigm of European national cultures and their independent origins appears no longer sustainable in the light of the manifold interrelations in politics, economics, science, philosophy, religion, and literature which constitute the ensemble of European history: what is alleged to be a genuine part of the ‘own’ culture, on closer inspection often turns out to be imported, and *vice versa*. In order to integrate the cultural dynamics of both the original and the target cultures and

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name on the front page and pass the book off as their own work. Eventually, there are translators who carry out their translations by themselves and ones who have them done by others.’ Friedrich Nicolai, *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebalduß Nothanker* (1773), ed. Bernd Witte (Stuttgart 1991), p. 73.

43. Cf. for instance Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, ‘Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS’, *Francia* 13 (1985), p. 502-510; Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, ‘La construction d’une référence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750-1914)’, *Annales ESC* 4 (1987), p. 969-992; Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris 1999); Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbbruch: Frankreich – Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek 9.1/2 (Leipzig 1997); Katharina Middell and Matthias Middell, ‘Forschungen zum Kulturtransfer: Frankreich und Deutschland’, *Grenzgänge* 1 (1994), p. 107-122; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, ‘Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung: der Ansatz der “histoire croisée” und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28.4 (2002), p. 607-636.
44. Cf. the groundbreaking studies by Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of culture* (London 1994); and Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization* (Minneapolis 1996).

of the very transmission process into one theoretical concept, Espagne pleaded for a methodological shift from comparison to transfer:

De la sorte on pourrait

- ne pas perdre de vue la continuité historique d'où résulte un contact ponctuel entre deux cultures
- analyser les différences comme des pratiques contextualisées
- confronter les attentes caractéristiques des deux termes
- tenir compte de la détermination complexe de la conjoncture dans le contexte français qui accueille par exemple un bien culturel ou un groupe social allemand.<sup>45</sup>

It is the thorough consideration of the complexity, processuality, and reciprocity of intercultural exchange relations which characterises the transfer approach. The first axiom is a permeable notion of the boundaries marked out by nationally, culturally or linguistically defined communities.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, the integral analysis of selection, reception, and acculturation together with the corresponding transformation processes is intended to replace the one-sided perception of reception and influence studies.<sup>47</sup> Thirdly, transfer studies employ a comprehensive concept of culture which includes both objects no matter what the category, and immaterial artefacts such as thoughts and discourses.<sup>48</sup>

A number of criticisms have been levelled against the transfer model of cultural exchange, however.<sup>49</sup> One objection is that taking 'cultures' rather than 'nations' as the starting point for further enquiries did not offer a solution to the original problem, but simply shifted it to a different level, as this approach merely replaced established entities, that were to a certain extent

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45. Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*, p. 38.

46. Cf. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 'Kulturtransfer: neuere Forschungsansätze zu einem interdisziplinären Problemfeld der Kulturwissenschaften', in *Ent-grenzte Räume: kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*, ed. Helga Mitterbauer and Katharina Scherke, Studien zur Moderne 22 (Vienna 2005), p. 23-41, esp. p. 27.

47. Cf. Bernd Kortländer, 'Begrenzung – Entgrenzung: Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa', in *Nationale Grenzen und internationaler Austausch: Studien zum Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa*, ed. Bernd Kortländer and Lothar Jordan, Communicatio 10 (Tübingen 1995), p. 1-19; Lüsebrink, 'Kulturtransfer', p. 28; and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 'De l'analyse de la réception littéraire à l'étude des transferts culturels', *Discours social/ Social Discourse* 7.3/4 (1995), p. 39-46.

48. Cf. Gregor Kokorz and Helga Mitterbauer, 'Einleitung', in *Übergänge und Verflechtungen: kulturelle Transfers in Europa*, Wechselwirkungen: Österreichische Literatur im internationalen Kontext 7 (Bern 2004), p. 7-20 (p. 9).

49. Cf. Joseph Jurt, 'Das wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers', in *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im 'Ancien Régime'*, ed. Günter Berger and Franziska Sick, Cahiers lendemains 3 (Tübingen 2002), p. 15-38, esp. p. 30-33.

valid, by new ones. But then, the existence of nations is in no way denied by the transfer model. The feeling of national togetherness in the sense of an *imagined community* (Benedict Anderson)<sup>50</sup> that is based on a common language, culture, and past should not be underestimated as a leading concept, even as early as the dawn of the era of the formation of modern nations during the eighteenth century. Yet the transfer model puts the self-sufficiency usually claimed by nations into perspective by calling attention to the large share of foreign cultural import in each of the ostensibly self-contained national cultures. In order to clarify the methodologically different potential of the transfer concept, Armin Paul Frank and Harald Kittel notably suggested that we should refer to ‘communicative communities’ rather than to ‘cultures’ as these seem too close to ‘nations’.<sup>51</sup>

Another specification may be useful here, as transfer studies tend implicitly to operate with a double concept of culture, for lack of a suitable terminological alternative. On the one hand, ‘culture’ (c<sub>1</sub>) – as in ‘national cultures’ – serves as a contextual framework, while on the other hand, ‘culture’ (c<sub>2</sub>) stands for material and ideal artefacts generated within this framework. Thus, in the process of cultural transfer, certain specimens of ‘culture’ (c<sub>2</sub>) are being conveyed from one ‘culture’ (c<sub>1</sub>) to another ‘culture’ (c<sub>1</sub>'), where agents of (c<sub>1</sub>') as, for instance, translators, adapt the transferred good (c<sub>2</sub>) to the new context, so that a slightly or sometimes even substantially different cultural product (c<sub>2</sub>') emerges.

Furthermore, the bilaterality of the approach, as well as the restriction of the subject matter to written source materials were queried. Both shortcomings, however, do not result from a deficiency in the method, but are effects of its earliest applications. As a good deal of laborious pioneer work had to be done in the first place, early transfer studies began with bilateral investigations. Meanwhile, advances have been made in exploring trilateral or triangular exchange processes.<sup>52</sup> For Enlightenment translation studies, this en-

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50. Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London 1983).

51. Cf. Armin Paul Frank and Harald Kittel, ‘Der Transferansatz in der Übersetzungsforschung’, in *Die literarische Übersetzung in Deutschland: Studien zu ihrer Kulturgeschichte in der Neuzeit*, ed. Armin Paul Frank and Horst Turk, Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 18 (Berlin 2004), p. 3-67 (p. 9-10).

52. Cf. Katia Dimitrieva and Michel Espagne, *Transferts culturels triangulaires France – Allemagne – Russie*, Philologiques 4 (Paris 1996); Michel Espagne, ‘Transferts culturels triangulaires à l’époque des Lumières: Paris – Berlin – Saint-Petersbourg’, in *Französische Kultur – Aufklärung in Preußen*, ed. Martin Fontius and Jean Mondot (Berlin 2001), p. 55-68; Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘Trilateraler Kulturtransfer: zur Rolle französischer Übersetzungen bei der Vermittlung von Lateinamerikawissen im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts’, in

hancement of the perspective seems nothing less than vital for the sake of secondary translations. In addition, an extension of the theoretical model to include even the multilateral circulation of cultural goods is conceivable within the framework of the transfer model. As far as the subject matter of transfer studies is concerned, it is in fact true that previous work has shown a decided preference for study of the transfer of textual documents, but as this was not out of any methodological necessity, a tendency to widen the source corpora is beginning to become apparent as the transfer model is received into the different philological and historical fields of research.<sup>53</sup>

## V. The Transfer approach in historical translation studies

Historical investigations into the theory and practice of translation have only been carried out since the 1980s.<sup>54</sup> At first, the main emphasis was laid on linguistic and hermeneutic challenges in the field of applied translation studies, while at the time of writing the intercultural dynamics of translation processes have come strongly to the fore.<sup>55</sup> During its infancy, the subject matter of historical translation studies was organised along national linguistic lines, where the perception and effects of translated texts in the target culture were the centre of interest.<sup>56</sup> Since the beginning of the 1990s, the transfer di-

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*Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im 'Ancien Régime'*, ed. Günter Berger and Franziska Sick, Cahiers lëndemains 3 (Tübingen 2002), p. 81-97; and Sandra Pott and Sebastian Neumeister, *Triangular transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800*, special issue of *Gemanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 56 (Heidelberg 2006).

53. Cf. for the diversification of transfer studies the recent volumes by Kokorz and Mitterbauer, *Übergänge und Verflechtungen*; Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp, Uwe Steiner, and Bunhilde Wehinger, *Europäischer Kulturtransfer im 18. Jahrhundert: Literaturen in Europa – Europäische Literatur?*, Aufklärung und Europa 13 (Berlin 2003); Federico Celestini and Helga Mitterbauer, *Ver-rückte Kulturen: zur Dynamik kultureller Transfers*, Stauffenburg Discussion 22 (Tübingen 2003); and Wolfgang Schmale, *Kulturtransfer: kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 2 (Innsbruck 2003).
54. Cf. Antoine Berman, *L'épreuve de l'étranger: culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique: Herder, Goethe, Schlegel, Novalis, Humboldt, Schleiermacher, Hölderlin* (Paris 1984), p. 12; and Elisabeth Arend, 'Übersetzungsforschung und Rezeptionsforschung: Frauen der Theorie und Praxis am Beispiel der übersetzerischen Rezeption italienischer Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum von 1750 bis 1850', in *'Italien in Germanien': deutsche Italien-Rezeption von 1750-1850: Akten des Symposiums der Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, 24.-26. März 1994*, ed. Frank-Rutger Hausmann (Tübingen 1996), p. 185-214 (p. 186-187).
55. Cf. Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, 'Where are we in translation studies?', in *Constructing cultures: essays on literary translation*, Topics in translation 11 (Clevedon, Philadelphia, Toronto 1998), p. 1-11.
56. Cf. Arend, 'Übersetzungsforschung und Rezeptionsforschung', p. 189.

mension of translation processes has evolved into a key issue both with respect to intercultural communication<sup>57</sup> and to the constitution and shift of meaning in cultural exchange. This happened to such an extent that quite justifiably a ‘cultural turn’ in translation studies was proclaimed. In the course of this, questions such as the following became relevant: which individuals (scholars, publishers, sovereigns, etc.) or institutions (academies, publishing houses, universities, etc.) decided that certain texts should be made accessible in their own language, and what were the underlying interests (academic, educational, political, commercial, etc.)? To which translational concepts and techniques did the translators refer? How were the respective texts received in the target culture?<sup>58</sup> Lieven d’Hulst among others drew attention to the usually underestimated role translations, and the transformations they involved, play in the reciprocal determination of cultural identity and alterity in European history:

[L]’importance de la traduction en tant que médiatrice entre les cultures se manifeste de manière exemplaire dans les échanges entre les langues et les littératures, dans les transferts de modèles et de savoirs littéraires, religieux, scientifiques et autres; bref, la traduction est, à travers les âges, un document-clef sur la façon dont l’étranger – ou l’étrange – est défini, assimilé ou repoussé.<sup>59</sup>

Apart from the etymological observation that ‘transfer’ and ‘translation’ are, in effect, the same word, the transfer model was explicitly designed for translations as a transfer route right from the start. Thus, Espagne states: ‘L’histoire des traductions, aussi bien au sens figuré, est donc un élément important des enquêtes sur les passages entre cultures.’<sup>60</sup> In translation, texts do not just change their language, but first and foremost their cultural frame of reference. Thus, significant transformations inevitably occur in the course of their de- and re-contextualisation, be it through the material or structural changes that go with the linguistic border-crossing, or through semantic shifts due to a different interpretative access. For this reason it seems not only legi-

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57. Cf. Gisela Thome, Claudia Giehl, and Heidrun Gerzymisch-Arbogast, *Kultur und Übersetzung: methodologische Probleme des Kulturtransfers*, Jahrbuch Übersetzen und Dolmetschen 2 (Tübingen 2002).

58. Cf. esp. Armin Paul Frank and Horst Turk, *Die literarische Übersetzung in Deutschland: Studien zu ihrer Kulturgeschichte in der Neuzeit*, Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 18 (Berlin 2004); and Susan Bassnett, ‘The Translation turn in cultural studies’, in *Translation translation*, ed. Susan Petrilli, Approaches to translation studies 21 (Amsterdam, New York 2003), p. 433-449.

59. Lieven d’Hulst, *Cent ans de théorie française de la traduction: de Batteux à Littré (1748-1847)* (Lille 1990), p. 7.

60. Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*, p. 8.



time but virtually indispensable to conceive of textual transfer through translation as a subset of cultural transfer. The transfer model is suited to provide insights into the histories of mentality and meaning that could not possibly be gained from the traditional perspective of historical translation studies alone.

During the final stage of the Collaborative Research Centre *Die literarische Übersetzung* (1985-1996) in Göttingen, the transfer model was programmatically applied to translation studies. In doing so, Frank and Kittel proposed the following, methodologically plausible, analytical steps: firstly, a critical inventory of the differences between the original text and the translation should be drawn up, secondly an attempt should be made to name the individual and cultural reasons for these differences, and thirdly the semantic effects resulting from the differences in question should be identified. Based on these preliminary analyses, further considerations about the impact of the translation on translation practice in general, or on the target culture, may be carried out.<sup>61</sup> With the reception of the transfer model, the focus of the Collaborative Research Centre, which originally had been limited to literary translation, was widened to non-fictional texts from the fields of philology, history and philosophy, but also from jurisprudence, as well as the social sciences and economics. Yet the period investigated by transfer studies published according to this paradigm began only with the late eighteenth century, at the earliest.<sup>62</sup>

The case studies united in the present volume rely heavily on the groundbreaking output of some three decades of historical translation studies. At the same time, they aim to go further by pursuing a specific methodological approach with particular respect to the Enlightenment era: firstly, the transfer model is expanded to the eighteenth century, where the characteristic intercultural dynamics of the Enlightenment, as a movement located between the demands of national cultures and cosmopolitanism, become manifest in the transformation processes between the original and target cultures, be it by way of acculturation, creative enhancement, or misunderstanding. The resulting shifts of meaning offer a key not just to contemporary translation practice, but to the discursive network of the European Enlightenment in general. In this regard, it is of particular interest to inquire into the processes of adoption and rejection of foreign texts and ideas, i.e. into the amalgamation

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61. Frank and Kittel, 'Der Transferansatz in der Übersetzungsforschung', p. 46.

62. Cf. the groundbreaking collection of studies in Armin Paul Frank, Kurt-Jürgen Maaß, Fritz Paul, and Horst Turk, *Übersetzen, verstehen, Brücken bauen: Geisteswissenschaftliches und literarisches Übersetzen im internationalen Kulturaustausch*, 2 vols, Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 8.1/2 (Berlin 1993).

and differentiation of national Enlightenment cultures because, as Espagne and Werner pointed out very early, 'le couple légitimation – subversion livre en général la clef d'une interprétation des transferts sous l'angle d'une théorie des conjonctures'.<sup>63</sup> Secondly, cultural transfer processes appear at first glance on the macro-level as material or ideal transitions between nations or cultures. Nevertheless, the significant processes, especially in the field of translation, are always carried out and formed by individuals. Thus, it is the intention of this volume to trace singular transfers as well, where they mirror tendencies and structures (e.g. private and public paths of communication, prevailing conditions of publishing and the book market, developments in popular taste or mentalities), the relevance of which reaches beyond the individual case, and where they allow us to grasp more general patterns of Enlightened transfer processes. Thirdly, although Britain, France and Germany stand at the core of the examination, not least because of their central position for Enlightened translation – which becomes apparent in the sheer number of translations – the inquiry also extends to lesser-known interchange phenomena with Italy, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia as relatively peripheral regions that still deserve scholarly awareness both in their interconnection with the mainstream of Enlightenment discourse and in their specific developments. Fourthly, the scope of the analysis covers both fictional and non-fictional texts. For topical issues of the Enlightenment (such as rationalism, sensualism, deontology, natural law, deism, natural and universal history, scientific discoveries, literary fashions and even, last but not least, reflections on the origin of language and on translation theory) are spread, predominantly, through textual sources. While fictional texts generically differ from non-fictional texts with respective consequences for their diffusion, the dissemination of ideas across language boundaries in both cases requires translation. With this approach, the present volume attempts to offer specific insights into the transfer processes of the translation business during the era of the Enlightenment. It thus purports to analyse to what extent translations on the one hand have contributed to the emergence of a pan-European tradition of thought, and on the other hand have made apparent the persistence and even further development of national idiosyncrasies.

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63. Espagne and Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande', p. 979.

American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS), who kindly hosted a preliminary panel on ‘Cultural Transfer Through Translation’ at their annual conference in 2007,<sup>64</sup> and the Voltaire Foundation. I am particularly indebted to Jonathan Mallinson for his encouragement and advice during the preparation of this volume. For painstaking reading and valuable comments sincere thanks are due to Elodie Devergie, Felix Evert, John Eyck, Roland Ismer, Malcolm H. Jones, Jacoba Kanne, David Marquiss, Alison E. Martin, and Christina Oberstebrink, who have graciously devoted their time and effort. My greatest debt of gratitude is to Ida Henze for her endless and meticulous editorial endeavour – without her support this book would not have been possible. I would also like to pay tribute to Norbert Bachleitner’s skill and professionalism, and last but not least, I wish to thank the editors of *Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft* (IFAVL) for including this volume in their series.

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64. Cf. for conference minutes Stefanie Stockhorst, ‘Tagungsbericht zum Panel “Cultural Transfer through Translation” im Rahmen des 38. Jahrestreffens der American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS) in Atlanta, GA (USA) vom 22. bis 25. März 2007’, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 31 (2007), p. 8-9.

## A. Translation and transfer in theoretical discourse



AVI S. LIFSCHITZ

Translation in theory and practice:  
the case of Johann David Michaelis's prize essay on  
language and opinions (1759)\*

Translators have traditionally been both inclined and well-placed to reflect about the attempt to convey in one language a sense moulded in another. Various eighteenth-century translations, from biblical versions to literary works, contain such reflections in the translator's preface, where dilemmas are explained and strategies justified. But these professional introductions were seldom rendered into other languages, even in translations at second hand, for translators faced unique problems in different target languages. A translation of reflections on language and translation must have been a challenging act, especially if its author was a polyglot specialist in philology and hermeneutics. This was, however, the task confronted by the translators of Johann David Michaelis's (1717-1791) treatise on the reciprocal influence of language and opinions. The essay, written in German and honoured in 1759 by the Berlin Academy with its annual prize, contained several references to the art of translation, further developed in other publications by Michaelis. The renowned Göttingen orientalist, whose main project was an original reinterpretation of the cultures of the ancient Near East, translated and annotated works composed in various languages – from English and French to Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew. Works by Michaelis were themselves translated into several European vernaculars, endowing him with what Umberto Eco recently called 'active and passive' experience in the field: both translating and being translated.<sup>1</sup> The case of Michaelis's prize essay is particularly telling: not only was it rendered into other languages, but the process of translation differed substantially between French and English. From voluntary academic teamwork closely supervised by the author to a pirated second-hand transla-

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\* This article was written during a research sojourn at the Clark Library and the Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies at UCLA; I am grateful to the Center's director, Peter Reill, and his team for their hospitality.

1. Umberto Eco, *Mouse or rat? Translation as negotiation* (London 2003), p. 1-8.

tion, the foreign editions of the essay may provide an insight into the theory and practice of translation in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

## I. Theory: language, opinions, and translation

In 1757, the Berlin Academy announced the topic of its annual essay competition for 1759: the reciprocal influence of language on opinions and of opinions on language.<sup>3</sup> This was the first of four contests the Academy dedicated in the second half of the eighteenth century to the philosophy of language and the comparison between European vernaculars (the most famous among them was arguably the 1771 competition on the origin of language, won by Johann Gottfried Herder). In 1757, two parallel philosophical strands led the class of speculative philosophy at the Academy (rather than its class of *belles lettres*) to choose the reciprocal influence of language and opinions as its prize topic. The first was the impact of French inquiries into the joint origins of society, language, and the human mind, as carried out by Etienne Bonnot de Condillac in his *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines* (1746), in Denis Diderot's *Lettre sur les aveugles* and *Lettre sur les sourds et muets* (1749, 1751), and in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754-1755). These were all conjectural histories of the emergence of higher mental operations alongside the arts and social institutions, in which the use of conventional signs was deemed indispensable for human mastery over the indistinguishable mass of sensations. Language was also seen as a prerequisite for the evolution of social ties, the development of the sciences, and the acquisition of a self-conscious historical perspective on the development of the individual and society as a whole.

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2. The prize essay was also translated into Dutch as *Prysverhandeling over den wederkeerigen invloed van de aangenoomen begrippen onder een volk op de nationaale taal, en van de taal op de nationaale wyze van denken*, transl. by Cornelius van Engelen (Harlingen, Volkert van der Plaats junior, 1771). Unlike the cases detailed below, I have not found in Michaelis's *Nachlaß* any references to the translation itself or correspondence with the translator. This article is therefore limited to the French and English editions of the prize essay.
  3. 'Quelle est l'influence réciproque des opinions du peuple sur le langage et du langage sur les opinions? [...] Après avoir rendu sensible comment un tour d'esprit produit une Langue, laquelle Langue donne ensuite à l'esprit un tour plus ou moins favorable aux idées vraies, on pourroit rechercher les moyens les plus praticables de remédier aux inconvéniens des Langues.' Carl Gustav Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin 1900), II.306.

Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, the French president of the Berlin Academy, had written in 1748 an essay titled *Réflexions philosophiques sur l'origine des langues et la signification des mots*, published for the first time in 1752; in 1756 he delivered at the Academy his *Dissertation sur les différents moyens dont les hommes se sont servis pour exprimer leurs idées*.<sup>4</sup> Maupertuis roughly followed Condillac's account of the mutual emergence of language and the human mind, but Rousseau's *Discours sur l'inégalité* of 1755 problematised this line of argumentation. Rousseau presented his readers with two conundrums: language must have been indispensable for the establishment of society, while social ties were necessary for the use of conventional signs; and whereas signs were needed for the expression of general terms, such terms could not have emerged without language. Perplexed by these vicious circles, Rousseau doubted whether language could have emerged exclusively by human means.<sup>5</sup> Rousseau's doubts were immediately appropriated by defenders of the divine origin of language, such as Johann Peter Süßmilch. Süßmilch, a pastor and pioneer of modern statistics who sought divine patterns in different sets of demographic data, publicly attacked Maupertuis in two papers he read at the Academy in 1756.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, Rousseau's challenges were tackled by thinkers who espoused the naturalist account of the emergence of language and society, even if not in Condillac's vein. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing frequently discussed the matter with his friend Moses Mendelssohn, who addressed the issue of the origins of language in a postscript to his translation (1756) of Rousseau's *Discours sur l'inégalité*.

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4. For the *Dissertation*, see *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences et belles lettres, année 1754* (Berlin, Haude & Spener, 1756), p. 349-364; the *Réflexions* is available in *Sur l'origine du langage*, ed. Ronald Grimsley (Geneva 1971), p. 27-46. On the debate between Maupertuis and Turgot on the origin of language, see Avi S. Lifschitz, 'Language as the key to the epistemological labyrinth: Turgot's changing view of human perception', *Historiographia linguistica* 31 (2004), p. 345-365.

5. 'Quant à moi, effrayé des difficultés qui se multiplient, et convaincu de l'impossibilité presque démontrée que les langues aient pu naître et s'établir par des moyens purement humains, je laisse à qui voudra l'entreprendre la discussion de ce difficile problème, lequel a été le plus nécessaire, de la société déjà liée, à l'institution des signes, ou des langues déjà inventées, à l'établissement de la société.' Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes', in *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes; Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, ed. Jacques Roger (Paris 1992), p. 208-209.

6. Süßmilch's lectures were published a decade later as *Versuch eines Beweises, daß die erste Sprache ihren Ursprung nicht vom Menschen, sondern allein vom Schöpfer erhalten habe* (Berlin, Buchladen der Realschule, 1766).



The second line of inquiry leading to the prize question on language and opinions was the contemporary fascination with the question of the ‘genius of language’ – the relations between the particular qualities of different languages and their speakers’ cultural achievements. This time-honoured *topos* became especially poignant in Berlin of the 1750s, where a young generation of intellectuals was trying to apply the German language to relatively new literary forms (bourgeois drama and novels), while further developing Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten’s aesthetics to justify a break with neo-classical French standards. This endeavour was laden with problematic ramifications in a kingdom whose monarch was an avowed Francophile, where French was the official language of the local Academy, and whose intellectual life was substantially enriched by a large Huguenot colony and by visiting or asylum-seeking *philosophes*. A French member of the Academy, André Pierre le Guay de Prémontval, was particularly interested in the supposedly incommensurable differences between Latin, German, and French. Prémontval’s lectures at the Academy merged with the wider debates over language and mind in France and Germany, leading the class of speculative philosophy to adopt his suggestion to conduct the 1759 prize contest on the reciprocal influence of language and opinions.

The 1759 competition was therefore largely modeled after what Hans Aarsleff termed ‘the tradition of Condillac’, essays on the mutual development of mind and language in the French manner.<sup>7</sup> The crowned author was, however, a German orientalist of a Pietist and Wolffian background, who offered the Academy a treatise inspired to a large extent by Leibniz, Haller, Lowth, and the Baumgarten brothers (Alexander Gottlieb and his elder brother, the theologian Siegmund Jacob).<sup>8</sup> What might have endeared Michaelis’s essay to the Berlin jurors was his decisively naturalist account of the emergence of language. Michaelis had developed this perspective through a rejection of some of the ideas of earlier philologists and biblical scholars, in-

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7. Hans Aarsleff, ‘The Tradition of Condillac: the problem of the origin of language in the eighteenth century and the debate in the Berlin Academy before Herder’, in *From Locke to Saussure: essays on the study of language and intellectual history* (London 1982), p. 146-209.

8. For Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten’s influence on the young Michaelis, see Johann David Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefaßt*, ed. Johann Matthäus Hassencamp (Leipzig, Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1793), p. 3-9. On Baumgarten, see Martin Schloemann, *Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten: System und Geschichte in der Theologie des Übergangs zum Neuprottestantismus* (Göttingen 1974) and David Sorkin, ‘Reclaiming theology for the Enlightenment: the case of Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706-1757)’, *Central European history* 36 (2003), p. 503-530.

cluding his own ancestors.<sup>9</sup> Denying that Hebrew was the original language of mankind, Michaelis also ruled out any search for a language reflecting real essences. These convictions made him resort to naturalist arguments about the regular development of Hebrew and the natural emergence of language in general.

Michaelis's treatise stood out among other essays submitted for the contest, since most authors predictably tied the question of the reciprocal influence of language and mind to the contemporary debate over their origins. Michaelis acknowledged the close relationship between these two topics, but recommended that another contest be dedicated to the origin of language (his proposal bore striking similarity to the question eventually set for the 1771 contest).<sup>10</sup> The prize essay included the popular notion of historical linguistics as a cognitive history of the human mind, but Michaelis did not limit his appreciation of language solely to its mental functions. He focused on a synchronic view of language as an ongoing project of a living community of speakers, an enterprise in constant flux. His principled objection to artificial scientific idioms and his espousal of the common use of the vernacular had strong republican overtones, which Michaelis did not conceal. Emphasising the link between science and literature (especially in the works of his Göttingen mentor Albrecht von Haller), Michaelis also proposed practical means for a cultural revival in German; in his prize essay, he applied French conjectural insights to domains hitherto external to the philosophical discussions of language.

Throughout the prize essay, Michaelis referred several times to the theory of translation and its practice in France and Germany. Having translated parts of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* into German in 1748, Michaelis knew the difficult choices faced by a translator.<sup>11</sup> His call in the prize essay for the teaching of botany and other sciences in German might have stemmed not only from his experience as a translator, but also from a frustrating attempt to write in French. In 1758, Michaelis annotated a French treatise on the biblical

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9. Johann David's father, Christian Benedict Michaelis (1680-1764), and his great uncle, Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1668-1738), were both biblical scholars and specialists in oriental languages at Halle.

10. 'En supposant les hommes abandonés à leurs facultés naturelles, sont-ils en état d'inventer le langage? Et par quels moyens parviendront-ils d'eux-mêmes à cette invention? On demanderoit une hypothèse qui expliquât la chose clairement, et qui satisfît à toutes les difficultés.' Harnack, *Geschichte*, II.307.

11. On Michaelis's translation of *Clarissa*, see Wilhelm Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne: zwei Jahrhunderte Buchhändler in einer Universitätsstadt* (Göttingen 1935), p. 48-49; Thomas O. Beebee, *Clarissa on the Continent: translation and seduction* (University Park [PA] 1990).

account of the crossing of the Red Sea, where he apologised for writing in a foreign language.

J'en demande pardon aux lecteurs, particulièrement si faute de connoissance de la langue je n'ai pu donner à mes expressions toute la politesse que je devois à l'auteur. [...] Je sais bien quelle est la délicatesse du stile François, & combien je dois paroître à mon des-avantage: mais je crois mon lecteur trop généreux, pour rire au dépens d'un homme, qui pour l'amour de la vérité publie ses remarques en mauvais François, & fait des notes trop courtes pour le pouvoir ennuyer.<sup>12</sup>

Though never mentioning his personal experience in the prize essay, Michaelis emphasised the importance of translations and criticised German publishers for producing flawed versions of French and English books. Conforming to contemporary views, Michaelis saw most German translations as 'scholastic' while accusing French translators of taking excessive liberties with their source texts.<sup>13</sup> Requiring translators to have an 'original spirit' in remoulding their source text, Michaelis also warned in his essay against domestication, a complete adaptation of the text to the conventions of the target language. One of the translator's most difficult dilemmas, Michaelis noted, was how to convey the accessory ideas accompanying words alongside their principal meanings. Here Michaelis placed a premium on the source language, recommending a somewhat forceful mutation of the host medium.

Les bonnes traductions corrigent souvent ce défaut de la langue en hazardant d'attacher aux mots de nouvelles significations, auxquelles le lecteur s'accoutume peu à peu. Il est vrai que dans les commencemens la traduction paroitra obscure & peu fidèle dans ces endroits; c'est un inconvénient inévitable; mais qui est racheté par un plus grand bien.<sup>14</sup>

Michaelis's tendency to challenge the reader by endowing translations with seemingly strange and foreign-sounding expressions became a hallmark of his later theory of translation, particularly in his version of the Old Testament. In the introduction to the first volume of this project (the *Book of Job*, 1769), Michaelis seemed to adopt the common early modern method of trans-

12. Editor's preface in Pierre Hardy, *Essai physique sur l'heure des marées dans la mer rouge, comparée avec l'heure du passage des hébreux*, ed. Johann David Michaelis (Göttingen, Pockwitz & Bartheimer, 1758), p. 3.

13. '[...] Il faudroit qu'elles [les traductions] fussent & moins scholastiques que celles que nous voyons paroître en Allemagne, & plus fideles que celles que la France produit.' Johann David Michaelis, *De l'influence des opinions sur le langage et du langage sur les opinions*, transl. by Jean Bernard Merian and André Pierre le Guay de Prémontval (Bremen, George Louis Förster, 1762), p. 153. I am using the extended and authorised French version of the prize essay; for its history, see below.

14. Michaelis, *De l'influence*, p. 99.

lating ‘sense for sense’ rather than ‘word for word’, denouncing literal translation as ‘slavish’.<sup>15</sup> But his preference for the source text was manifest in his comparison of the ‘germanisation’ of oriental poetry to a bust of Cicero clad in the latest eighteenth-century fashion.<sup>16</sup> It would be ridiculous, Michaelis claimed, to purge biblical poetry of its distinctive features for the sake of clear and explanatory prose. The original style should appear through the cloak of translation, and if this required an effort on the readers’ part, they simply had to endure the challenge. Michaelis admitted that readers’ pleasure was not his first priority.

Es müßte nicht mein Stilus seyn, sondern der Stilus des Concipienten, oder der müßte doch einiger maßen durchscheinen, sonst würde es jedem vernünftigen Leser Verdacht erwecken: selbst wenn einer, um eine Probe von Geschmack der Orientalischen Dichtkunst zu haben ein Arabisches Gedicht übersetzt verlangte, würde ich es nicht zum deutschen Original machen, denn sonst wäre ja sein ganzer Zweck vereitelt.<sup>17</sup>

Retaining the oriental features of the text, or making modern German sound like ancient poetry, was not too difficult a task in Michaelis’s eyes. He saw several affinities between contemporary German and biblical Hebrew. German – like English – paralleled Hebrew in its original turns of phrase, boldness of expression, and freedom of usage, whereas French suffered under artificial rules and over-sensitivity to social norms: Haller and Klopstock knew how to ‘poetise orientally’ (‘orientalisch dichten’) in German.<sup>18</sup>

Michaelis’s introductions to his biblical translations re-emphasised his inclination, already evident in the 1759 prize essay, to prefer the method of foreignising a translated text to familiarising or simplifying it. The additional effort required of the readers would alert them to the unique traits of the source text and its cultural contexts. This aversion to over-familiarisation and in-

15. On the paradigms of early modern translation, see Fania Oz-Salzberger, ‘Translation’, in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford 2003), IV.181-188; Lawrence Venuti, ‘Introduction’, in *The Translation studies reader* (London 2000), p. 11-20.

16. Johann David Michaelis, ‘Vorrede der ersten Ausgabe’ (1769), in *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte. Der erste Theil, welcher das Buch Hiobs enthält* (Göttingen and Gotha, Johann Christian Dieterich, 1773), p. xix-xxi. On Michaelis’s translation of the Old Testament, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: translation, scholarship, culture* (Princeton 2005), p. 182-220.

17. ‘It should not be my style, but the style of the conceiver; or his style should anyhow be discernible through the text – otherwise it would raise suspicion in any reasonable reader. Even if I were asked to translate an Arabic poem in order to sample the art of oriental poetry, I would not have turned it into a German original, for this would have missed the whole point.’ Michaelis, ‘Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe’, *Deutsche Uebersetzung*, p. lvii. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

18. Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebersetzung*, p. lviii-lx.

sistence on a critical distance overshadowed Michaelis's more conforming gestures towards a middle way between 'slavish loyalty' and 'germanisation' in translation. For Michaelis, the translator's originality consisted in conveying in German the foreignness of the source, not in making it sound as if it had initially been a German composition.<sup>19</sup> This notion was accompanied in Michaelis's works with a qualitative assessment of European vernaculars. In this scheme, the budding literary idiom of Germany resembled biblical Hebrew, both languages as yet unencumbered by formal rules and stifling norms of usage.

## II. Praxis: translations into French and English

The widespread fascination with Michaelis's theoretical perspective was demonstrated by the heated debate his prize essay stimulated. The perpetual secretary of the Berlin Academy, Jean Henri Samuel Formey, responded by admitting no speculations, only facts concerning the relations between language and mind; Moses Mendelssohn and Johann Georg Hamann argued that man was too immersed in language to inquire into its origins and mental functions. Herder, who shared Michaelis's general aim of a cultural revival in the vernacular, inconsistently criticised the prize essay for being both too general and minutely detailed.<sup>20</sup> Prémontval took up Michaelis's endorsement of German in a vehement attack on what he called *Gallicomanie*, the excessive vogue in Berlin for anything Parisian, which allegedly corrupted the local French dialect while thwarting the attempts to cultivate German literature.<sup>21</sup>

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19. This tendency may be perceived in most of Michaelis's scientific projects of the 1750s and 1760s, especially in his instructions to the experts sent by the Danish king to explore the Arabian peninsula: Johann David Michaelis, *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer, die auf Befehl Ihrer Majestät des Königes von Dänemark nach Arabien reisen* (Frankfurt/Main, Johann Gottlieb Garbe, 1762).

20. Jean Henri Samuel Formey, 'Réunion des principaux moyens employés pour découvrir l'origine du langage, des idées & des connoissances des hommes', *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences et belles lettres, année 1759* (Berlin, Haude & Spener, 1766), p. 367-377; Moses Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften – Jubiläumsausgabe*, ed. Eva J. Engel (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1991), vol. V.1, p. 105-118; Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Über die neuere deutsche Literatur – Fragmente', in *Frühe Schriften 1764-1772*, ed. Ulrich Gaier (Frankfurt/Main 1985), p. 563-564.

21. Prémontval's campaign against the Huguenots' language was carried out in his periodical *Préservatif contre la Corruption de la Langue Française, en France, & dans les Pays où elle est le plus en usage, tels que l'Allemagne, la Suisse, & la Hollande* (Berlin, Georg Ludwig Winter and Grynäus & Decker, 1759-1761). On the lengthy affair caused by this publication, see Avi S. Lifschitz, 'From the corruption of French to the cultural distinctiveness of

But as the lively debate over language and mind was reinvigorated and further problematised by Michaelis's prize essay, many readers in Berlin – including French members of the Academy – had access only to a short French abstract of the essay, printed with the German prize essay in 1760. Michaelis was thus only too glad to cooperate with Prémontval and Jean-Bernard Merian, the Academy's deputy secretary, when they suggested undertaking a full French translation.

Having maintained close contact with Prémontval since the early 1750s, Michaelis trusted his Berlin correspondent, who was to revise Merian's translation. Merian soon learned that Michaelis believed translation not only required an effort on the reader's part, but also much trouble on the translator's behalf. From 1759 until 1762 Michaelis and Merian frequently exchanged drafts, revisions, and proofs, testifying to a remarkable level of collaboration between an author and his translator. Michaelis, wishing to remain in control of the end-product, addressed Merian with various remarks and requests, always doubting whether his translators had conveyed the precise sense of his arguments. Versed in oriental, classical, and modern European languages, Michaelis was well aware of idiomatic peculiarities. But he had such a difficulty in acquiescing to the translators' changes that Merian repeatedly had to remind him of the stylistic differences between German and French. 'Pour faire goûter votre livre en françois, il faut l'accommoder au génie de cette langue', Merian wrote to Michaelis in late 1759, to no avail. In the next year Merian found himself explaining again to Michaelis the predicament of a translator from German into French, apologising for the idiosyncrasies of the target language.

Vous verrez, Monsieur, que nous nous sommes conformés à vos idées par-tout où le génie de la langue françoise l'a permis. Cette langue est une grande gêne pour un traducteur. [...] Ce fréquent usage des particules, toutes les superfluités, le trop de développement, les périodes trop allongées par des propositions incidentes, et le manque d'harmonie sur-tout sont des défauts insupportables dans cette Langue, et capable de décrier les ouvrages les plus excellens pour le fonds.<sup>22</sup>

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German: the controversy over Prémontval's *Préservatif*, in *Enlightenment and tradition: women's studies*; Montesquieu, ed. Jonathan Mallinson et al. (Oxford 2007), p. 265-290.

22. Undated letter (sent in 1760), Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Codex Michaelis 324, p. 51r-v. The translation of the prize essay so exhausted Merian, that he made further collaboration with Michaelis conditional on higher remuneration and the employment of a copyist: Merian to Michaelis, 17 Nov 1761, Codex Michaelis 324, p. 68r-69r.

The arduous work and difficult interaction finally justified the efforts on both sides. Michaelis extended the original essay with several appendices, Merian proved a submissive though astute translator, and Prémontval took care of some stylistic revisions. In his autobiography Michaelis noted that the prize essay would not have been a landmark in his career, were it not for the excellent French translation by Merian and Prémontval.<sup>23</sup> The French edition was selectively distributed in Paris by Michaelis's friend Thierry, regent of the local faculty of medicine, who expressed his admiration for the new views introduced by Michaelis to the language debate and demanded more copies for local scholars.<sup>24</sup> One of the copies reached Jean le Rond d'Alembert, who consulted Frederick II frequently on academic matters following Maupertuis's death (1759). As part of the king's attempts to reinvigorate the Academy after the Seven Years War, d'Alembert was invited to spend summer 1763 in Berlin, where he attended several meetings of the Academy.<sup>25</sup> Following d'Alembert's enthusiastic response to the French version of the prize essay, Michaelis was offered a well-salaried post in Berlin.

Denn weil er [d'Alembert] das Französische der Preißschrift *sur l'influence du langage* für mein eigenes ansah, hielt er mich für einen sehr guten französischen Schriftsteller, und machte mir, als ich in einem französischen Briefe wegen meiner Schreibart um Vergebung bat, dieß unverdiente Compliment: die schönen Geister in Paris würden sehr vergnügt seyn, wenn sie so gut französisch schreiben könnten, wie die Schrift *sur l'influence* geschrieben wäre.<sup>26</sup>

Michaelis corrected d'Alembert's mistake, paying Merian and Prémontval their due, but this comedy of errors shed some light on the mechanism of aca-

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23. Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 57-58.

24. 'Je ne puis même vous cacher que si vous maniéz notre Langue avec tant de facilité, de force et d'elegance, il vous seroit peut-etre preferable de lui donner la preference dans la plupart de vos ouvrages qui ne seront pas destines a votre Academie. J'ai fait lire votre dissertation. a 5 ou 6 de nos savans de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Ils m'ont tous temoigné en etre fort satisfaits. Elle court actuellement de mains en mains, et je compte aussi la faire lire a nos gens du monde.' Thierry to Michaelis, 12 May 1762, Codex Michaelis 329, p. 273r-v.

25. Harnack, *Geschichte*, vol. I.1, p. 354-363; Eduard Winter, *Die Registres der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1746-1766: Dokumente für das Wirken Leonhard Eulers in Berlin* (Berlin 1957), p. 70-74 and p. 288.

26. 'Because d'Alembert assumed the French of the prize essay was my own, he took me for a very good French author. When I apologised for my style in a French letter, he made the following compliment: the *bels esprits* in Paris would have liked to write in such good French as that of the essay *Sur l'influence*.' Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 59. Michaelis declined the offer from Berlin due to his gratefulness to the Hanoverian authorities, but in the 1770s he felt that his loyalty had not been rewarded and tried to regain Frederick II's favour through d'Alembert.

demic appointments in Berlin. The Prussian king was apparently willing to acquire only a German scholar recommended by a Parisian *philosophe* on the basis of his elegant French.

In stark contrast to the good fortunes of the French translation, the English version of the prize essay conformed to the norms of the eighteenth-century book market. It was a pirated translation at second hand, made anonymously from the French edition. Michaelis, who had been a freelance translator, should not have been surprised: contemporary publishers-booksellers (*libraires*) usually wished to maximise profits by abridging and mutilating the original text in various ways. Outside England, where the Statute of Anne (1710) partially protected the rights of authors and publishers, piracy was the rule rather than the exception – especially concerning translations. In most cases there was no contact whatsoever between authors and their translators (with a few notable exceptions, such as Edward Young and Johann Arnold Ebert).<sup>27</sup> Michaelis, however, had a different experience of translating and being translated. His early translation of *Clarissa* notwithstanding, he fostered close relationships with the authors he translated or edited.

The fruitful exchange with his voluntary French translators was mirrored in Michaelis's correspondence as an editor with Robert Lowth, professor of poetry at Oxford and later Bishop of Oxford and London, whose *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry* he published in Göttingen.<sup>28</sup> A similar liaison emerged between Michaelis and one of the readers of his edition of Lowth's *Lectures*, Robert Wood. Lowth and Michaelis considerably inspired Wood's accounts of his archaeological travels to Greece and the Near East in the 1750s, in which he stressed the significance of environmental and cultural background for the proper understanding of classical poetry.<sup>29</sup> Having read Michaelis's annotations and his instructions to the Arabian expedition, Wood sent to Göttingen in 1769 one of the seven pre-printed copies of his *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*. The *Essay* was enthusiastically received in Michaelis's circle, praised by Christian Gottlob Heyne in the *Göttingische Anzeigen*, and translated into German by Michaelis's nineteen year-old son, Christian Friedrich, even before its publication in English.<sup>30</sup> The close link

27. Robert Darnton, 'The Science of piracy: a crucial ingredient in eighteenth-century publishing', in *History of the book; translation; history of ideas*; Paul et Virginie; varia, ed. Robert Darnton et al. (Oxford 2003), p. 3-29.

28. Robert Lowth, *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones academicae Oxonii habitae*, ed. Johann David Michaelis, 2 vols (Göttingen, Pockwiz & Barmeier, 1758 and 1761).

29. Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor in the Desert* (London 1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* (London 1757).

30. Wood died in 1771; his *Essay* was posthumously published in England in 1775. The German edition is *Robert Woods Versuch über das Originalgenie des Homers* (Frankfurt/Main, An-



with British orientalist, first forged by Michaelis in his English sojourn of 1741-1742, proved long-lasting and fruitful both in Germany and in Britain.

It was thus evidently disturbing for Michaelis to discover the pirated translation of his prize essay, published in London by Owen and Bingley in 1769.<sup>31</sup> This edition included an English version of the French translators' preface, where Merian and Prémontval praised their collaboration with the author and assured the readers that all changes had been made with Michaelis's full consent. *The Critical Review*, quoting this preface, announced to the British audience that '[t]he translation, which is now presented to the public, was revised by Mr. Michaelis himself'.<sup>32</sup> The enraged Michaelis immediately saw himself obliged to disavow the pirated version publicly. Robert Lowth, influential and well-connected in the political and intellectual scenes, became the natural address for Michaelis's grievances. Lowth acted quickly, placing a letter in the *Critical Review* of January 1770 as an attempt to denounce the publication. The anonymous letter (signed by '\* \*') strongly argued that the pirated translation deceived the public and did injustice to the author, who – according to the translated French preface – supposedly approved all the inaccuracies and grave mistakes the English edition contained. Lowth presented his letter as relating the complaints of 'a learned foreigner (than whom no one can be supposed to be a better judge in this matter, or to enter more readily and intimately into the meaning of the author)'; he further explained that the French translation had indeed been closely supervised by Michaelis, who, however, never communicated with any English translator. This renunciation might have sufficed as a public disavowal, but Michaelis asked Lowth to describe in detail how the authorised translation had been carried out.

The French language differs very greatly from the idiom of the German: and not only so, but it is tied up to such strict rules, it has so many niceties and delicacies, with regard to the turn of the expression, and the form of the period, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a very close, and at the same time an elegant translation, from almost any language into French. [...] They [the translators] were therefore obliged to take considerable liberties

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dreäische Buchhandlung, 1773). See Hans Hecht, 'Robert Wood und J. D. Michaelis', in *T. Percy, R. Wood und J. D. Michaelis: ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Genieperiode* (Stuttgart 1933), p. 19-31.

31. Johann David Michaelis, *A Dissertation on the Influence of Opinions on Language and of Language on Opinions, which Gained the Prussian Royal Academy's Prize on that Subject* (London, W. Owen and W. Bingley, 1769).

32. *The Critical Review*, July 1769, p. 60.

with the original, in regard to the expression and composition, in order to make the discourse appear graceful and agreeable in their own language.<sup>33</sup>

Michaelis's contemporary critique of the French language may be readily identified in Lowth's letter to the editors of the *Critical Review*. Lowth ended, at Michaelis's request, with a philosophical defence of direct translation and an explanation why the pirated version truly violated the original text.

A close translation, made at second hand from a free one, must carry with it a strong tincture of the medium through which it has passed; at the same time that it has no chance of recovering any thing that may have been lost of the native and genuine colour of the first composition: in this case especially, where the French language, equally discordant from the German and the English, stands in the way between both, and intercepts the natural communication of those two sister languages; which would have run immediately one into the other, with great facility and exactness, and with very little alteration of the form, or diminution of the spirit, of the original.<sup>34</sup>

Michaelis presented in this letter, through Lowth's agency, a noteworthy hypothesis: historically related languages (such as English and German) allowed for a literal or plain translation, whereas those pertaining to different families (Germanic and Romance) required a much freer rendition, closer to a paraphrase. Michaelis/Lowth did not further elucidate this argument, which apparently considered neither the large portion of English vocabulary influenced by Latin, Norman, and French nor the syntactic and lexical differences between English and German. Rather than documenting linguistic realities, the emphasis on a 'natural communication' of German and English and their alleged tendency to 'run immediately one into the other' in the face of a 'discordant' French seems to have reflected the intellectual climate in Germany of the time.

From a marginal idiom at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the second half of the century English rose to prominence as a source language in the German book market, sometimes overtaking French (as in the cases of

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33. *The Critical Review*, January 1770, p. 79-80. Lowth reported back to Michaelis about this letter: 'I found it would be of little purpose to make known your just complaint in a private way; & to spread it as occasion should offer, through the small circle of my acquaintance. The case seemed to me to require that it should be laid in some proper manner before the public. [...] I have studiously inserted such particular circumstances from your Letter, as will easily induce the intelligent reader to believe that the Anonymous Letter-Writer speaks from the best authority.' Lowth to Michaelis, 3 Feb 1770, Codex Michaelis 325, p. 402r-403r.

34. *The Critical Review*, January 1770, p. 80.

imaginative literature and aesthetic theory).<sup>35</sup> The deliberate circumnavigating of France and the French language was expressed not only in Michaelis's intellectual trajectory and his close alliance with British scholars. Contemporary works by some of Michaelis's correspondents (Mendelssohn, Lessing, Prémontval) expressed the similar conviction that a German cultural revival would be possible only through divorcing French influence – at the courts, in science, as aesthetic criteria – and by searching for alternative models such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann's ancient Greece, Johann Gottfried Herder's Shakespeare, or the aesthetics of Edmund Burke and Thomas Young.

### III. Conclusion

The turn of the nineteenth century has traditionally been identified as a watershed in the transition towards a modern notion of translation. Friedrich Schleiermacher's call to 'leave the author in peace' and his source-oriented approach have particularly been singled out as a departure from the allegedly erratic eighteenth-century practice of paraphrasing, abridging, and domesticating texts in translation.<sup>36</sup> This view coincided with Michel Foucault's identification of an epistemic shift around 1800 from the viewpoints of the *âge classique* to modern conceptions of language, nature, and society.<sup>37</sup> However, like many other Enlightenment ideas, Johann David Michaelis's theory of translation undermines such a dichotomous distinction between the early modern and the modern outlooks, as do his attempts to implement his principles in practice.

The 1759 prize essay on the reciprocal influence of language and opinions further demonstrates that a synchronic view of language as a changing product of a living community, coupled with an acute awareness of historical change, was not an exclusively nineteenth-century view. Just as the origins of Historicism may be traced deep within the eighteenth century, the sources of the Romantic method of translation should be sought among Enlightenment thinkers.<sup>38</sup> Michaelis's criticism of French linguistic domination or French

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35. Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'The Enlightenment in translation: regional and European aspects', *European review of history* 13.3 (2006), p. 385-409 (p. 397-398).

36. See, most recently, Peter Burke, 'Cultures of translation in early modern Europe', in *Cultural translation in early modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge 2007), p. 7-38 (p. 35). For the famous statement, see Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'On the different methods of translating', transl. by Susan Bernofsky, in *The Translation studies reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London 2000), p. 43-63.

37. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris 1966).

38. Peter H. Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the rise of Historicism* (Berkeley 1975).

mediation between German and English was not a rejection of Enlightenment values: like similar comments by Diderot and Herder, it was part and parcel of the Enlightenment's positive appraisal of diversity and change in human affairs. The prize essay exemplified Michaelis's project in many of his subsequent works: the creation of a critical distance between travellers and explored regions, historians and past cultures, readers and translated texts, or more generally between interpreters and the language in which they are inevitably immersed. The different translations of the essay proved that while attempts could be made to realise such a vision, it remained a rare practice in a publishing industry governed by economic concerns.



CHRISTINA OBERSTEBRINK

Plagiarism and originality in painting:  
Joshua Reynolds's concept of imitation and  
Enlightenment translation theory

It is by no means original to write on imitation in art, it is even less original to write on its application in English art theory of the eighteenth century and on Sir Joshua Reynolds's explication of the concept.<sup>1</sup> However, this paper intends to investigate a certain aspect of imitation in the pictorial arts: its structural resemblance to notions of different translation methods current in this period, especially of the one specified as 'imitation'. The paradox is that imitation in both cases, in translation and art theory, is conceived as the means of producing a poetic creation and not a copy of some preceding original, even though the term, first and foremost, meant to copy, as Samuel Johnson's dictionary reads in correspondence to dictionaries of the present.<sup>2</sup> In maintaining that 'imitation is the means [...] of art' and that it is, in the end, the only way of being original in art, Reynolds understood imitation as essentially constituting the greater part of representation and of producing new artworks that could justifiably be termed as such.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with neoclassical theory, a contemporaneous concept in the literary field maintained that an original creation could be achieved in the art of translating. This paper seeks to trace the similarities between, on the one hand, the concept of neoclassical imita-

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1. Of the many publications on this subject I will mention but a few of the more recent and which provide points of reference for this paper. Further literature on the reception of imitation or *mimesis* since antiquity will be given at the appropriate places. Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino affair: novelty, imitation, and theft in seventeenth-century Rome* (New Haven, London 2005); Maria H. Loh, 'New and improved: repetition as originality in Italian baroque practice and theory', *Art bulletin* 86 (2004), p. 477-504; James S. Ackerman, *Origins, imitation, conventions: representation in the visual arts* (Cambridge [Mass.], London 2002); John L. Mahoney, 'Reynolds' discourses on art: the delicate balance of neoclassic aesthetics', *The British journal of aesthetics* 18.2 (1978), p. 126-136.
  2. 'Imitation: The act of copying; attempt to resemble. That which is offered as a copy [...].' Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English language*, ed. Alexander Chalmers (London 1994; 1<sup>st</sup> published 1843), n.p.
  3. Joshua Reynolds, 'Discourses', in Joshua Reynolds: *the Works*, ed. Edmond Malone (London, Cadell and Davies, 1797; reprint Hildesheim, New York 1971), I.1-346 (p. 204).

tion as the means of neoclassical pictorial representation, encompassing originality, genius and inspiration, and, on the other, the notion of creation as was expounded in a certain method of contemporaneous translation that was termed identically. By doing so, I wish to investigate neoclassical notions of representation, that is, what constituted a new, original work of art within such an art-theoretical framework.

Neoclassical art values and translation were inextricably linked to the artistic productions of the past, ultimately with those of antiquity. Sir Joshua Reynolds, true to this position in art theory, propagated the notion of modern art as a continuation of the tradition of the ancients, which essentially comprised the concept of imitation. At this late stage in the development of academic art, he was under great pressure to defend his views against the critique of plagiarism and also to uphold the assertion that originality was possible only by the imitation of preceding art. Robert Burton, in viewing a similar situation in the previous century, acknowledged the fact that, under the weight of the ancients, the modern poet or scholar had no choice but to copy others and had forfeited the option of being original.<sup>4</sup> However, Reynolds was holding on to a waning tradition that was losing ground whilst the Royal Academy was in the very act of trying to establish neoclassical values in English art. The anachronism inherent in this attempt is clearly illustrated in the influential work of Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, which was first published in 1759, nine years before the Royal Academy was established, and renounced aesthetic concepts based on rules and the authority of the ancients.<sup>5</sup>

At the time Reynolds was writing and delivering his *Discourses* as president of the Royal Academy from 1769 until 1792, theories of translation were concerned with the question of latitude between the poles of servile copying and licence, and had long been preoccupied with similar problems to those confronting neoclassical art values.<sup>6</sup> As the above-mentioned remarks of Robert Burton revealed, this problem had been central to poetics already in the previous century. Obvious parallels exist between Reynolds's concept of imitation and theory of translation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the latter likewise saw its objective to be situated between the two poles of copying and poetic creativity. As his description of translation was

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4. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford 1632), p. 6: 'No news here, that which I have is stolen from others [...].' Cf. Christina Oberstebrink, *Karikatur und Poetik: James Gillray 1756-1815* (Berlin 2005), p. 184ff. and p. 195ff.

5. Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition: In a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison* (Dublin 1759; facsimile New York 1970).

6. With a brief interruption in 1790.

widely popularized, John Dryden's remarks offer an apt point of reference to trace the congruencies between the art of translation and art theory as prescribed in the *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

### I. *Ut pictura poesis* and imitation

The concept of imitation to be discussed in reference to Reynolds and Dryden ultimately goes back to antique poetological writings, which also asserted an espousal of the arts. Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Aristotle's *Poetics* were fundamental sources for Enlightenment poetological patterns and had a decisive impact on early modern art theory, not to mention the role played therein by ancient rhetoric.

The *Discourses* delivered by the first Royal Academy president reflect the impact of numerous art-theoretical and poetological writings, many in English translation, in circulation during his lifetime. For example, Reynolds drew from Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, which he also annotated in William Mason's translation, as well as from leading British scholars and prominent thinkers of the century such as his friend Samuel Johnson, James Beattie, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury.<sup>7</sup> The fact that Dryden also translated Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* and added a prefix dating back to 1695 clearly illustrates a neoclassical interest in common with Reynolds, encompassing simplicity of style and 'chaste models of antiquity' for the art of painting.<sup>8</sup> Dryden verified the emulative relationship between the arts propounded by the poetics of the time in the title he chose for his prefix, *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting*.<sup>9</sup> But the affinity between Dryden's and Reynolds's theories did not end with these issues, but extended to their understanding of imitation within a hierarchical concept of the arts, albeit from the different viewpoints of the artist-art critic and poet-translator.

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7. Roger de Piles's *De Arte Graphica* was first published in 1668.

8. Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy, 'Preface to the art of painting', in Joshua Reynolds: *the Works*, ed. Edmond Malone (London, Cadell and Davies, 1797; reprint Hildesheim, New York 1971), II.131-136 (p. 131). Dryden's translation was first published in 1717.

9. John Dryden, 'Parallel of poetry and painting', in John Dryden: *the works*, ed. W[illiam] P[aton] Ker (Oxford 1900), II.115-153 (p. 122).



## II. Reynolds's concept of imitation

The idea of imitation was crucial to ancient poetic concepts connecting the arts. In his *Discourses* Reynolds acknowledged two sources for imitation that correspond with the then prevalent interpretation of ancient writings. There was the option of the imitation of nature as a source of mimetic learning for the artist, a tradition stemming from the Renaissance reception of Aristotle, drawing on a statement taken from his *Physics*.<sup>10</sup> The Academy president also strongly drew upon Aristotle's more specifically poetological definition of imitation, which became widespread in the aftermath of the publication of Paccius's Latin version of the *Poetics*: Imitation, in the eyes of Aristotle's commentators, can be summed up as the characteristic quality of the poet 'who imitates by fabricating idealized representations of human beings in action'.<sup>11</sup> As a history and academic portrait painter, Reynolds was programmatically interested in producing idealized representations of human beings in action. But his conception of imitation took another turn, typical of how it was understood since the Renaissance, that is, of incorporating antecedent art as the source for idealized forms, or adopting pictorial elements used by other artists that could be potentially idealized or brought to perfection.<sup>12</sup> In this way even the work of less perfect masters could be copied with a view to improving upon them.<sup>13</sup> The single creative act is, in this way, compounded within a whole, it is a part of or link in a historical development, of a cultural and artistic progression, partaking in the continual improvement of the arts in their aim of attaining perfection. As the imitation of nature is only of interest in its potential to be idealized or to reveal its innate rules, it is no longer the main focus of interest for the modern artist – he is more concerned with the works of other artists, which, in the outstanding examples, were considered to represent a concretisation of the rules discovered in nature.

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10. This was following the lines of 'ars imitatur naturam' from Aristotle's *Physics* 199 1 15-17. See an excellent and detailed analysis of Aristotle's understanding of art as the imitation of nature in Arbogast Schmitt, 'Mimesis bei Aristoteles und in den Poetikkommentaren der Renaissance', in *Mimesis und Simulation*, ed. Andreas Kablitz and Gerhard Neumann (Freiburg im Breisgau 1998), p. 17-54 *et passim*. Cf. also Hans Blumenberg, "'Nachahmung der Natur": zur Vorgeschichte der Idee des schöpferischen Menschen', in *Wirklichkeiten, in denen wir leben* (Stuttgart 1981), p. 55-103.

11. Marvin T. Herrick, *Comic theory in the sixteenth century* (Urbana 1950), p. 22.

12. The concept of *mimesis* or *imitatio* in the post-classical epoch was, especially in rhetorics, understood as the imitation of classical models. See Hermann Koller, 'Mimesis', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer (Basle, Darmstadt 1980), vol. V, col. 1396-1398 (col. 1398).

13. Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 117.

Dryden and Reynolds acknowledged the imitation of nature as the intrinsic methodical approach demanded of both artist and poet, for the artistic imagination could not extend beyond the field of human experience, 'a picture being the representation of a human action [...] 'tis impossible to express that with the hand, which never entered into the imagination'.<sup>14</sup> But the imitation of nature in the literal sense ends there, for proponents of neoclassical ideals sought to represent general nature. By the process of selection, by 'choosing the most elegant natural beauties', artists and painters could 'perfectionate the idea' and thereby even 'advance their art above nature itself'.<sup>15</sup> Reynolds adhered to the essentially neoclassical concept of imitation being governed by rules of taste, gained by an acquired proficiency in selection, in contrast to the random, minute servile copying of nature displayed by the Dutch painters – in his eyes, the copying of nature that produced an inartistic representation. He basically saw art divided into these two classically antagonistic goals.<sup>16</sup> The hierarchical position asserted by academic art demanded that it maintain a conscious distance to servile imitation. Although acknowledging the importance of studying nature, Reynolds sought to be more specific in his comprehension of the maxim to 'imitate nature' – thus he warned that objects are not to be represented as they appear in nature. Indeed, he maintained further, 'if the excellency of a painter consisted in only this kind of imitation, painting must lose its rank, and be no longer considered as a liberal art, and sister to poetry; this imitation being merely mechanical, in which the slowest intellect is always sure to succeed best [...]'.<sup>17</sup> The real artistic value of an artwork in advanced societies was, therefore, decidedly based on its art-referentiality, and not on its ability to mirror nature in Reynolds's eyes. He explicated his concept of history painting further in compliance with traditional concepts of the 'grand style of painting': minute attention to detail had to be avoided, it was only by departing from it that the artist could attain 'beauty of a superior kind'. In particular, the 'sublime style' of Michelangelo had, according to Reynolds, 'the least of common nature', it even demanded the 'unnatural, in the confined sense of the word'.<sup>18</sup> In the course of time art had, by the eighteenth century, become a medium that was a highly artificial construct, demanding erudition from both the artist and the viewer. Reynolds's views

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14. Dryden, 'Parallel', p. 122.

15. Ibid.

16. Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 35 and p. 137.

17. Joshua Reynolds, 'To the *Idler*, No. 79, October 20, 1759', in Joshua Reynolds: *the Works*, ed. Edmond Malone (London, Cadell and Davies, 1797; reprint Hildesheim, New York 1971), 1.349-362 (p. 353).

18. Ibid., p. 354-355.

on imitation of nature as discussed up to this point correspond with those of Dryden in his *Parallel on Poetry and Painting*. However, in order to comprehend what Reynolds terms as ‘unnaturalness’ in ideal painting more closely, his concept of imitation in the ‘narrow sense’, and how he expanded it into the concept of citing and borrowing elements from other artworks must be scrutinized.<sup>19</sup>

### III. The Poet and the artist versus the servile copyist

Although Reynolds explicated his art-theoretical description of imitation in more detail than Dryden did in his *Parallel on Poetry and Painting*, one finds a corresponding pattern of thought in the Augustan author’s reflections on translation in *Preface to Sylvae*. Reynolds’s notion of imitation in the pictorial arts bears a strong resemblance to the method of translation with utmost licence termed ‘imitation’, which was popularized in the eighteenth century by Dryden’s description.<sup>20</sup> This method had become established during the period of French exile after the civil war of the Caroline era. There, court translators practised a freer form of translation in the French tradition, which was established in England during the Restoration.<sup>21</sup> It had political implications and a social function, asserting Royalist sympathies and indicating aristocratic affiliations through poetic licence in opposition to the exact translations of vulgar scholars and grammarians.<sup>22</sup>

Dryden’s writings disclose that translation theory and art theory are inextricably intertwined in neoclassical thought. He slid with ease, when discussing art theory, to the topic of translation and vice versa, and imitation played a central role in both fields in his remarks. In *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, Dryden, at one point, used the word imitation synonymous with copying and translating.<sup>23</sup> He stated that ‘without invention, a painter is but a copier, and a poet but a plagiary of others. Both are allowed sometimes to copy, and translate; but, as our author [i.e. Du Fresnoy] tells you, that is not the best

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19. The ‘narrow sense’ is used here as an opposing term to Reynolds’s formulation of ‘largest sense’. Cf. Joshua Reynolds, ‘Discourses’, p. 98.

20. The concept of translation allowing all licence goes back to antiquity. Cf. Mona Baker (ed.), *Routledge encyclopaedia of translation studies* (London, New York 1998), p. 87 and p. 111-112.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

22. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s invisibility: a history of translation* (London, New York 1995), p. 44-62.

23. Dryden, ‘Parallel’, p. 138.

part of their reputation'.<sup>24</sup> Dryden, within this context, regarded copying as a mode of learning, but it was only in connection with invention that the imitator could rise to the status of an artist or a poet, leaving the realms of, as he cites Du Fresnoy, 'a servile kind of cattle'.<sup>25</sup>

In his earlier writings, however, Dryden comprehended imitation as the form of translating that also incorporated invention. In his *Preface to Sylvae* and his *Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles*, Dryden discussed methods of translation and compared them to 'drawing after life'.<sup>26</sup> He noted that 'there is a double sort of likeness, a good one and a bad', thereby differentiating between a common, lowly form of imitation and an idealizing one, '[...] 'tis one thing to draw the outlines true, the features like, the proportions exact, the colouring itself perhaps tolerable; and another thing to make all these graceful, by the posture, the shadowings, and, chiefly, by the spirit which animates the whole'.<sup>27</sup> Here Dryden adopted, for the art of translating, a *topos* that was widespread within academic art theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, separating high art from low, where the latter supposedly comprised no more than servile copying of nature. The constructs of his thought for pictorial art and translation are clearly related. Servile imitation is in both cases a sign of poetic or artistic deficiency in the agent. This is the artist without genius or invention, as we will see below in Reynolds's case, or, in the case of neoclassical concepts of translation, the 'common' scholar in opposition to the 'courtly' poet.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV. Progression in art and imitation

Reynolds's concept of imitation expounded in his *Discourses* was likewise by no means for the vulgar, indeed, he considered it a life-long pursuit of refining taste and art – the academic student and artist were to imitate the art of earlier artists, from the ancients or the more immediate past: 'By imitation I do not mean imitation in its largest sense, but simply the following of other

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

25. *Ibid.*

26. John Dryden, 'Preface to *Sylvae*: or, the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies', in John Dryden: *the works*, ed. W[illiam] P[atton] Ker (Oxford 1900), I.251-269 (p. 252).

27. Dryden, 'Preface to *Sylvae*', p. 252-253.

28. Denham already differentiated methods of translation in 'class terms', between a vulgar, scholarly and a courtly form of poetry. The practice of freer translation method became more prevalent after 1620, but already began in England as early as 1558. See Venuti, *Invisibility*, p. 45-46.

masters, and the advantage to be drawn from the study of their works.’<sup>29</sup> This heuristic comprehension of imitation fits in with the neoclassical concept of achieving the ideal form in several ways: by copying other artists’ pictorial or sculptural elements, styles were studied and adapted. In this way imitation provides the bridge between nature and the innate rules of beauty hidden within it – earlier artists and especially those of antiquity had already extracted something of nature’s essence, singled out part of its inherent rules, of general truth. This complied with the neoclassical idea of progress and perfection of the arts, a *topos* dating back to antiquity, as Aristotle’s brief description of ancient tragedy’s development in the *Poetics* reveals.<sup>30</sup> In defending the concept of artistic imitation against the critique of plagiarism or copying, Reynolds regarded imitation of other artworks as essential to the idea of progression of the arts, otherwise, if the artist eternally started from nature ignoring antecedent art, art would remain in an ‘infant state’.<sup>31</sup> As he saw it, the infant state of simply imitating nature pleased viewers of a culture in its very early stages or the common, unrefined people of his time:

When the arts were in their infancy, the power of merely drawing the likeness of any object, was considered as one of its greatest efforts. The common people, ignorant of the principles of art, talk the same language, even to this day. But when it was found that every man could be taught to do this, and a great deal more, merely by the observance of certain precepts, the name of Genius then shifted its application, and was given only to him who added the peculiar character of the object he represented; to him who had invention, expression, grace, or dignity; in short, those qualities, or excellencies, the power of producing which, could not then be taught by any known and promulgated rules.<sup>32</sup>

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29. Reynolds, ‘Discourses’, p. 98. ‘[...] a painter must not only be of necessity an imitator of the works of nature, which alone is sufficient to dispel this phantom of inspiration, but he must be as necessarily an imitator of the works of other painters: this appears more humiliating, but is equally true; and no man can be an artist, whatever he may suppose, upon any other terms.’ *Ibid.*, p. 100.
30. ‘Both Tragedy, then, and Comedy, having originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner – the first from the *Dithyrambic* hymns, the other from those *Phallic* songs, which, in many cities, remain still in use – each advanced gradually towards perfection, by such successive improvements as were most obvious. TRAGEDY, after various changes, reposed at length in the completion of its proper form.’ Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. and transl. by Thomas Twining (London 1789), part I.VII, p. 72-73.
31. ‘We cannot suppose that any one can really mean to exclude all imitation of others. A position so wild would scarce deserve a serious answer; for it is apparent, if we were forbid to make use of the advantages which our predecessors afford us, the art would be always to begin, and consequently remain always in its infant state; and it is a common observation, that no art was ever invented and carried to perfection at the same time.’ Reynolds, ‘Discourses’, p. 100.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

True genius, invention and imagination therefore grew with the progression of art and were thereby inevitably bound together in Reynolds's concept of imitation: 'I am [...] persuaded, that by imitation only, variety, and even originality of invention, is produced. I will go further; even genius, at least what generally so is called, is the child of imitation.'<sup>33</sup> Artists who ignored the work of their predecessors had no chance of advancing their art. In the wake of the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics* and the impact of its commentators, by the middle of the sixteenth century 'imitatio, fictio, and fabula were corollary terms often used synonymous'.<sup>34</sup> The parity existing between genius, imitation, invention and imagination in Reynolds's art theory stands wholly within this tradition: imitation does not seek to replicate nature, but to construct a fiction. His defence of borrowing against the critique of plagiarism, however, makes it apparent that imitation considered as synonymous with invention was being increasingly questioned. Thus the reigning position of academic art based on imitation, rather than the creative and imaginative faculties of the artist, was in the process of being seriously challenged. Edward Young, representing an opposing, anti-classical attitude, distinctly separated imitation from genius and originality, granting the former a decidedly lower status: 'Imitators' of other artists 'only give us a sort of duplicates [!] of what we had, possibly much better before [...]'.<sup>35</sup> The notion of imitation as the means of creating an independent artwork was in dire need of justification in the years Reynolds delivered his *Discourses*, and the definition of imitation as slavish copying was, slowly but surely, pushing into the foreground.<sup>36</sup> In the course of the seventeenth century, translation theory took it to have the exact opposite meaning, and Reynolds maintained the same for art and art theory.<sup>37</sup> The fact that the president of the Royal Academy took such pains to differentiate between imitation and plagiarism underlines, in effect, the climate of change he was facing and the challenge to established aesthetic notions.

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33. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

34. Herrick, *Comic*, p. 22.

35. Young, *Conjectures*, p. 7-8.

36. Cf. Ernst Hans Gombrich, 'Reynolds's theory and practice of imitation', in *Norm and form: studies in the art of the Renaissance* (Oxford 1985), p. 129-134 (p. 133).

37. Baker, *Translation studies*, p. 111.

## V. Dryden on translation

In the *Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles* Dryden outlines the three types of translation: 1) the metaphrase, 'or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another', 2) the paraphrase, or 'translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered', and 3) imitation.<sup>38</sup> In the brief definition of the metaphrase and paraphrase one finds the modern understanding of the term translation. The third possibility, however, comprises the notion of an original work 'where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the groundwork, as he pleases'.<sup>39</sup> It represents the opposite pole of 'servile, literal translation', and in the wording finds its parallel in art criticism of the servile copyist of either nature or other works of art.<sup>40</sup> By questioning the specification of 'translator' and by granting him poetic freedom, Dryden inferred that the imitator-translator transgressed the boundaries of translation and advanced into a realm of artistic creation that was only structurally, stylistically or thematically related to the ancient original, but in fact itself an independent and new poetic presentation. He viewed imitation as the method of 'translation' that assimilated the styles and structures of ancient literature and adapted it to modern times, as his definition reveals: 'I take imitation of an author, in their sense, to be an endeavour of a later poet to write like one who has written before him, on the same subject; that is, not to translate his words, or be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write, as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country.'<sup>41</sup> The ancient authors thereby only serve as models for subject matter, structure and style. The concept of imitation in Reynolds's lifetime was caught between being understood as meaning a copy and the opposite, the means of achieving an original work of art. This paradox can already be found in the term and its Greek pendant in antiquity: Göran Sörbom interprets the Greek term for imitation, *mimesis*, and related words to have ranged in their meaning from 're-

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38. John Dryden, 'Preface to the Translation of Ovid's *Epistles*', in John Dryden: *the works*, ed. William P[aton] Ker (Oxford 1900), 1.230-243 (p. 237).

39. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

presenting artistically' and 'to copy'.<sup>42</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, the term was in the process of being excluded from the one area, that of artistic creation, to the other of merely copying.

## VI. Imitation and infusion of method: Dryden and Reynolds

Similar to Dryden's comprehension of ancient texts as the source of structural and stylistic patterns for the moderns, Reynolds, at the end of his sixth *Discourse*, recommended the study of the ancients and early moderns as models for imitation, from which order, manner and principles of art were to be learnt.<sup>43</sup> He recommended the student to consult his portfolio of studies 'not only for the sake of borrowing', but also in order to 'invent other figures in a similar style'.<sup>44</sup>

Both Reynolds and Dryden underlined the necessity for the artist or, respectively, the poet to deeply delve into the works of his predecessors in order to comprehensively understand the processes of artistic creation. Dryden required that the translator of poetry be a poet who understands both his author's language and his own, the author's particular turn of thoughts and expression, to comprehend what differentiates him from other authors, by inter-

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42. Sörbom states on the lines 1460 b 32-33 of Aristotle's *Poetics*: 'In these passages the tendency towards an aesthetic sense of "mimesis" is unmistakable; the word denotes likeness-making in the artistic media of colour, shape, and sound. [...] this usage is very common in the *Poetics*; in fact, of the numerous occurrences of words belonging to the *mimeisthai*-group only a very few may be regarded as belonging to the general sense. The famous saying that "art imitates nature" [*Physics* 194 a 21 and 199 a 15] belongs to the general sense. The "art" mentioned is *τεχνη* in general, and the particular form *μιμητικη τεχνη* is not considered in these passages. All art, even *mimetike*, then, imitates nature in its capacity of producing phenomena, but *mimetike* is a very particular form of it; it does not produce "real things" but likenesses of "real things" in the artistic media of colour, shape, and sound. Thus artistic *mimesis* is doubly mimetic: it imitates (in the general sense) nature's productive capacity, as all the other arts do, but it also represents (in the aesthetic sense of *mimesis*) in the artistic media.' For his analysis of these interpretations in Aristotle's *Poetics* see Göran Sörbom, *Mimesis and art: studies in the origin and early development of an aesthetic vocabulary* (Uppsala 1966), p. 176-208 (p. 179).

43. 'Study therefore the great works of the great masters, for ever. Study as nearly as you can, in the order, in the manner, and on the principles, on which they studied. Study nature attentively, but always with those masters in your company; consider them as models which you are to imitate, and at the same time rivals with whom you are to contend.' Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 123.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 253.



nalizing his genius, as it were.<sup>45</sup> Adopting an analogous pattern of reasoning, Reynolds demanded of artists to enter ‘into the contrivance of the composition’, to learn from the works of others by internalizing the essence of their art and making it their own.<sup>46</sup> The parts of a painting to be copied were to be carefully selected, which did not mean to borrow details, but to adapt the artifices and ideas of the artist: ‘instead of copying the touches of those great masters, copy only their conceptions [...], labour to invent on their general principles [and] possess yourself with their spirit’.<sup>47</sup> Dryden likewise steered the translator away from copying particulars, and incited him instead to maintain the essential character of the author. In selecting from their works he had to distinguish between good and bad writers, between proper and corrupt styles, between what is pure and vicious in an author.<sup>48</sup>

## VII. The Contest between ancients and moderns in translation and art

Dryden did not hold imitation to be an adequate form of translating as the intent of the original author was lost: ‘To state it fairly; imitation of an author is the most advantageous way for a translator to show himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead.’<sup>49</sup> But,

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45. ‘No man is capable of translating poetry, who, besides a genius to that art, is not a master both of his author’s language, and of his own; nor must we understand the language only of the poet, but his particular turn of thoughts and expression, which are the characters that distinguish, and as it were individuate him from all other writers. When we are come thus far, ’tis time to look into ourselves, to conform our genius to his, to give his thought either the same turn, if our tongue will bear it, or, if not, to vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance. The like care must be taken of the more outward ornaments, the words. When they appear [...] literally graceful, it were an injury to the author that they should be changed.’ Dryden, ‘Ovid’s *Epistles*’, p. 241.

46. ‘The sagacious imitator does not content himself with merely remarking what distinguishes the different manner or genius of each master; he enters into the contrivance in the composition, how the masses of lights are disposed, the means by which the effect is produced, how artfully some parts are lost in the ground, others boldly relieved, and how all these are mutually altered and interchanged according to the reason and scheme of the work. He admires not the harmony of the colouring alone, – but examines by what artifice one colour is a foil to its neighbour. He looks close into the tints, examines of what colours they are composed, till he has formed clear and distinct ideas, and has learnt to see in what harmony and good colouring consists. What is learned in this manner from the works of others becomes really our own, sinks deep, and is never forgotten [...].’ Reynolds, ‘Discourses’, p. 109.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

48. Dryden, ‘Preface to *Sylvæ*’, p. 253-254.

49. Dryden, ‘Ovid’s *Epistles*’, p. 240.

on the other hand, he acknowledged that imitation allowed the translator to enter into a sort of competition with the original, creating a new work of art in its own right: 'By this way, 'tis true, somewhat that is excellent may be invented, perhaps more excellent than the first design.'<sup>50</sup> Reynolds, who was seeking to maintain a unique position of the modern artist in his *Discourses*, also applied to such a view despite the fact that his models of imitation dated back to antiquity and the early modern times. He did not perceive modern artists to be independent of their predecessors; rather, by the process of imitation, the moderns partook in a general progression, learning from them, and, where applicable, competing with them by recognizing their defects amid their abilities and improving those parts in need of it. Thus Reynolds could uphold the continuity of the moderns in their relationship to the ancients and also defend the modern artist against the critique of being a plagiarist: 'But an artist should not be content with this [borrowing from the ancients and the early moderns] only; he should enter into a competition with his original, and endeavour to improve what he is appropriating to his own work. Such imitation is so far from having anything in it of the servility of plagiarism, that it is a perpetual exercise of the mind, a continual invention.'<sup>51</sup>

## VIII. Conclusion

Regardless of ancient or early modern sources, dependency on preceding models and simultaneously extricating contemporaneous work from the critique of plagiarism is common to Reynolds's and Dryden's views. Contemporaneous work is embedded in tradition, but in the neoclassical viewpoint this was not comprehended as continual repetition – of Burton's constant pouring from one vessel into another – but a further step forward in the process of development.<sup>52</sup> Dryden implicitly acknowledged that imitation brought forth a poetic creation that was decidedly independent of the original text. By transposing this to art theory, Reynolds propounded a closely related concept fulfilling neoclassical notions of originality: imitation was the means of producing art that could be justifiably called so and the means of linking the art of the moderns to that of the ancients as a progressive continuity. By improving upon it and by appropriate selection, Reynolds upheld the idea of achieving perfection in the arts.

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50. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

51. Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 116.

52. Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 7.

Both Reynolds and Dryden sought a form of artistic creation connected to previous art and poetry via imitation. Reynolds acknowledged originality in authorship in the very dependence of the artist on the art of the past. In a similar vein, Dryden's brief outline of imitation in his *Preface to Ovid's Epistles* refers rather to the making of a new and independent creation – intrinsically tied up with the models of antiquity – than to a method of translation. This interpretation is substantiated by his questioning whether imitation could be considered a form of translation at all.<sup>53</sup> It was undeniably a flattering method for the translator – he was no longer a servile copier – raising him to the status of a poet. The dividing line between an independent artwork and translation in Dryden's brief survey does not possess definite contours. One can justly conclude that, according to neoclassical theory, an independent artwork fulfilling neoclassical theoretical demands was, indeed, but a form of translation – a progressive translation of antecedent models that did not break with the past.

The affinities displayed by Reynolds's art theory and Dryden's remarks on translation seem paradoxical: it seems warrantable, in post-Romantic times, to expect their respective theoretical fields to be understood as different spheres and unrelated. Indeed, from the post-Romantic viewpoint the affinity existing in the two theories appears to be an outright contradiction to the later comprehension of art and its alleged intrinsic originality. But in the wake of Romanticism originality was not yet considered an auto-generative result of artistic genius. Rather, from the neoclassical viewpoint, originality formed a triad together with invention and imitation.<sup>54</sup> Originality in pictorial representation was therefore, in the neoclassical context, acknowledged as artistic in the area of adaptation and indeed, only there. Artistic creation was not really art if severed from previous art; art was a cultural language that was continually being further developed and regarded, in academic theory, as *the* language to be used by artists. It was the 'unnatural' in art, the cultivated abstraction of artistic forms moving away from the simple imitation of natu-

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53. Dryden, 'Ovid's *Epistles*', p. 237.

54. Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 101. The non-neoclassical view of originality is not the subject of this paper. In such a context it was conceived in terms of a negation of classicistic principles, such as forms reminding of Horace's monster. Cf. Christina Oberstebrink, 'A Sick man's dream? Imagination in der englischen Kunsttheorie und Kunstkritik des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Geschichte und Aesthetik: Festschrift für Werner Busch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Margit Kern, Thomas Kirchner, and Hubertus Kohle (Berlin, Munich 2004), p. 178-190; Christina Oberstebrink, 'Imagination zwischen Tradition und Innovation: Ambivalenzen eines Begriffs an der Schwelle zur Moderne', in *Imagination, Repräsentation und das Neue*, ed. Horst Bredekamp and Pablo Schneider (publication forthcoming, Fink Verlag, Berlin).

re, that made art according to Reynolds.<sup>55</sup> It was only consequent in this pattern of thought that, especially if translation was not considered as a mode of transfer constrained to be true to the original or preceding text, it could aspire to originality. Both the poetics of representation in neoclassical thought and the translation concept of imitation understand creation as a reinterpretation, reapplication and transformation of existing models.

Reynolds not only maintained that imitation was the means of art, if not the aim, but also that it was the only means of the artist. If the artist did not copy other art, he inevitably copied and repeated himself. The president of the Royal Academy categorically denied that art could be produced by an autonomous artist independent of the rules.<sup>56</sup> If art was a product of the artist's mind alone it 'rarely [has] any thing that has in the least the air of originality: their compositions are generally common-place; uninteresting, without character or expression [...]'.<sup>57</sup> Also, the artist who took nature alone as his model hardly qualified as an artist in a culturally refined society: If he only copied nature, his art remained in a primitive state. At one point Reynolds was more specific when discussing a particular work of his own: Master Crewe. In this case he described the method of representation as a form of parody. As this example reveals, imitation in the form of a portrait of a boy dressed and posing as Holbein's Henry VIII had become a highly complex language of art; art was understood as explicitly self-referential – a challenge to the store of art knowledge of both the artist and the viewer.<sup>58</sup>

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55. See above and Reynolds, 'To the *Idler*', p. 354-355.

56. Reynolds, 'Discourses', p. 265. Reynolds questions the artistic value of creations which are completely autonomous – for him perfect freedom means not being able to perceive and judge disfigurement.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

58. This has been very thoroughly researched in art history. Cf. Gombrich, 'Reynolds's theory', p. 132-133. Gombrich describes Reynolds's imitation in practice as the 'deliberate display of the "quotation" rather than the practical use of traditional types and formulae'. He also words Reynolds's method of 'imitation' of a classical motif as an adaptation (p. 134), borrowed attitudes are adapted into living gestures (p. 132) producing polite *tableaux vivants* (p. 132 and p. 134). See also Werner Busch, *Nachahmung als bürgerliches Kunstprinzip* (Hildesheim, New York 1977), p. 25-81; Werner Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild: die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der Moderne* (Munich 1993); and Edgar Wind, 'Borrowed attitudes in Hogarth and Reynolds', *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938/39), p. 182-185; *et alia*.



## B. Individual texts and their cultural impact through translation



MONIKA BAÁR

From general history to national history:  
the transformations of William Guthrie's  
and John Gray's  
*A General History of the World* (1736-1765)  
in Continental Europe

In this study I attempt to tell a twofold story of intellectual exchanges by proposing to delve into the translations and transformations of an Enlightenment venture, William Guthrie's and John Gray's *A General History of the World*, from English into German and then from German into further languages. The process of the prolific interactions between British and German scholarship has been addressed in recent ground-breaking studies. The prominent role of Göttingen academic community as a mediator in this intellectual traffic is common knowledge, as is the fact that Britain had a greater influence on Germany than vice versa.<sup>1</sup> Göttingen's role as a major gateway for the exploration of the history of Eastern and Northern Europe and its significant impact on local scholarship in those regions has likewise been acknowledged.<sup>2</sup> My aim here is to establish a link between these two directions of interchange by tracing the route which *A General History of the World* followed from Britain to Göttingen and from there to Eastern Europe, a route whose end product showed scant affinity with the original. Moreover, I am concerned not only with textual transformations, but also seek to shed light on the transmutations of the genre. In that context I argue for the continuity, rather than incompatibility of the varieties of universal, regional and national history.

An exploration of the strategies which were employed to translate, imitate, summarize and domesticate *A General History of the World* in national

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1. Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth century Germany* (Oxford 1995), p. 56.

2. Manfred Hildermeier, 'Von der Nordischen Geschichte zur Ostgeschichte: Osteuropa im Göttinger Horizont', in *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Hermann Wellenreuter (Göttingen 1987), p. 102-121; Helmut Neubauer, 'August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809) und die Geschichte Osteuropas', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 18 (1970), p. 205-230.



contexts necessitates a very supple approach to translation, even allowing for its very flexible Enlightenment standards. This is because such translations not only included substantial changes, but, in the course of their domestication completely new parts were added to the original scheme, following the structure of the early volumes but endowing them with new content. Moreover, the already intricate story of transmission is further complicated by the fact that *A General History of the World* was itself an adaptation, the abridged version of a monumental account entitled *Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present*.

## I. Universal history in Britain

Launched in the late 1720s and published between 1736 and 1765, the *Universal History* was the first large-scale historiographical enterprise in the field of universal history, a genre that was until that time an almost exclusive domain of theological history.<sup>3</sup> With notable exceptions, such as the eminent Tobias Smollett, its authors were mercenary writers and their motivations were as much commercial as scholarly. The fifty-four volumes were distributed in monthly instalments by public subscription and, because they satisfied a significant demand, the venture proved successful, despite its numerous inaccuracies. The authors still adhered to a biblical chronology: the Genesis provided the source for the explanation of the origins of mankind and sacred texts served as a foundation for the study of the ancient period.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the origins of the modern world, as described by the Scottish writer John Campbell, adopted the mainstream commercial narrative of the Scottish Enlightenment, eulogizing commerce as a vehicle for progress and liberty.<sup>5</sup> Several editions of the work were published, including unauthorized versions and it was also appropriated in various national contexts, in Holland, France, Italy, Germany, Sweden and Russia amongst others. Such transmissions often resulted in the authentic adaptation of the content to the political, national and patriotic imperatives of individual situations. Thus, rather than representing a cosmopolitan, Enlightenment venture, the *Universal History* pro-

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3. Guido Abbattista, 'The English *Universal History*: publishing, authorship and historiography in an European project (1736-1790)', *Storia della storiografia* 39 (2001), p. 103-108 (p. 103).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

vided a highly adaptable mould which could be stretched to suit the most diverse national circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

Guthrie's and Gray's *A General History of the World*, which appeared in London (1764-1767), provided an *extract* from this monumental venture. Such abridgement was deemed necessary in order to render the original endeavour more accessible to the general public. Like most contributors to *A Universal History*, John Guthrie and William Gray and their collaborators did not belong to the ranks of the era's supreme geniuses and were motivated by commercial incentives. Only John Guthrie (1708-1770), descendant of an ancient Scottish family, merited an entry in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, which describes his career as a political journalist, historical and miscellaneous writer, who earned acclaim for managing to bring considerable journalistic flair to the contemporary popularization of historiography. However, his accounts were generally perceived as deficient in scholarly accuracy. In James Boswell's *The Life of Johnson*, Guthrie's talents are related in the following way: 'He is a man of parts. He has no great regular fund of knowledge; but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a great deal.'<sup>7</sup> Guthrie's *History of England* was noted for its unprecedented use of parliamentary papers, but his ten-volume *General History of Scotland* (1767) was considered by John Pinkerton as an inaccurate and hasty work, produced for financial gain.<sup>8</sup> As a translator he became a paragon of extreme domestication, in a translation of *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (1741), he famously naturalized the Latin text by casting Cicero as a member of the Parliament.<sup>9</sup>

More successful was Guthrie's *Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar* (1770), which sought to convey 'knowledge of the world and of its inhabitants'.<sup>10</sup> Within forty years of publication it numbered twenty-one editions as well as four editions in French translation. Guthrie's success was to a large extent due to his ability to simplify, and thus render more comprehensible, the sophisticated historical and political analysis which informed the writings of Scottish Enlightenment scholars.<sup>11</sup> His unwavering faith in progress, the ultimate triumph of commerce, toleration, and liberty in contem-

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

7. James Boswell, *Boswell's life of Johnson* (Oxford 1901), II.52.

8. David Allan, 'Guthrie, William', in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, ed. Henry C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford 2004), III.321.

9. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's invisibility: a history of translation* (London, New York 2005), p. 67.

10. William Guthrie, *Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar* (London 1770), p. 4. Cited in Allan, 'Guthrie, William', p. 321.

11. *Ibid.*.

porary Britain was echoed in the narrative which celebrated the recent eradication of illiberal prejudices that had hindered the advancement of society.<sup>12</sup>

Guthrie's and Gray's collaborative venture, *A General History of the World, from the creation to the present time*, earned acclaim in the *Critical Review*, because: 'no authors, ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions.'<sup>13</sup> In the preface Guthrie and his collaborators expressed their conviction that:

Of all histories, however, that, which not confined to any particular reign or country, but which extends to the transactions of all mankind, is the most useful and entertaining. As in geography, we can have no just idea of the situation of one country without knowing that of others, so in history, it is in some measure necessary to be acquainted with the whole, to comprehend a part.<sup>14</sup>

They also accounted for the divergences between their version and the lengthier original, a manifestation of which was the substitution of the word 'universal' with the word 'general' in the title. Unlike the authors of the *Universal History*, Guthrie and Gray restricted the discussion of 'modern' history to the European territories. They also admitted that, in devising their project, intending to avoid unnecessary displays of erudition, they had recourse to the work of earlier historians. They posited the scope of their work between the single-volume accounts of universal history, such as those of Samuel Pufendorf and Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, and the gargantuan *Universal History*. In that context, they proudly claimed to have represented a golden middle way:

But as the former are found fatiguing from their prolixity, so the latter are unsatisfactory from the necessary brevity to which they were confined. It has been therefore our endeavour to give every fact its full scope; but at the same time to retrench all disgusting superfluity, to give every object the due proportion it ought to maintain in the general picture of mankind without crowding the canvas; such an history should, in one respect, resemble a well formed dictionary of arts and sciences; both should serve as a complete library of science or history to every man, except in his own profession, in which more particular tracts or explanations may be wanted.<sup>15</sup>

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12. Guthrie, *Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar*, p. 3. Cited in Allan, 'Guthrie, William', p. 321.

13. <[http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/guthrie\\_william1.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/guthrie_william1.htm)>.

14. William Guthrie and John Gray, *A General History of the World* (London 1764), I.III (preface).

15. *Ibid.*, I.XI-XII.

Whilst acknowledging their debt to their predecessors, the authors also indicated the ways in which their account differed from the *Universal History*. They believed themselves to have improved the earlier version by 'proscribing all such foreign matter as tended to lead the reader away from the principal subject' and by avoiding 'the gothic practice of using a multiplicity of notes'.<sup>16</sup> As a result, they triumphantly claimed to have produced:

An History of the World to the present time, at once satisfactory and succinct, calculated rather for use than curiosity, to be read rather than consulted, seeking applause from the reader's feelings, not from his ignorance of learning, or affectation of being thought learned; an history that may be purchased at an easy expense, yet that omits nothing material, delivered in a style correct yet familiar, was wanting in our language; and though sensible of our own insufficiency, this defect we attempted to supply.<sup>17</sup>

## II. The Transformation of *Universalhistorie* into *Reichsgeschichte* in Göttingen

In a survey of German scholarship of his time, undertaken in 1772, the eminent historian Johann Christian Gatterer famously declared that there had never been any other nation as enthusiastic about learning foreign languages as Germany and that, consequently, Germans were invariably better acquainted with the literature produced by other countries than vice versa. Gatterer added a note of caution, observing that a negative side-effect of this assiduous learning was the German tendency to translate more than was necessary or desirable.<sup>18</sup> Such a statement on the proliferation of German translations is especially applicable to the intellectual milieu of eighteenth-century Göttingen, which became the point of entry for the widespread reception of historical models from abroad. In particular, Göttingen historians were thoroughly influenced by British, especially Scottish, scholars and transmitted their ideals throughout Continental Europe.

Founded in 1734 under the auspices of the Elector of Hanover, who was then George II of England, the university of Göttingen specifically benefited from the personal link with Britain. This connection was evident in the rapid translation of English books, though the speed could be attributed to the publishers' intention to be first on the market, rather than to any intellectual fer-

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16. *Ibid.*, I.XII-XIII.

17. *Ibid.*, I.XV-XVI.

18. Johann Christian Gatterer, 'Allgemeine übersicht der ganzen teutschen Litteratur in den letzten 3 Jahren', *Historisches Journal* (1772), I.274.

vous on the part of the reading public.<sup>19</sup> However, receptivity to foreign ideals and models was by no means purely imitative, but led to a critical and creative rethinking of foreign schemata and instigated new directions in scholarship.<sup>20</sup> As a result, despite such influences, the evolution of historical science followed a different trajectory in Germany than in Britain. The impact of the great works of the historians of the Scottish Enlightenment was widely appreciated, but did not stimulate German historians to follow their incentives. German scholars remained celebrated more for their attempts at scholarly precision than their eloquence and pleasing prose style.<sup>21</sup>

Eighteenth-century Göttingen was a focal point of German scholarship, and a group of talented scholars, often referred to as the 'Göttingen school', initiated new avenues of historical enquiry. In addition to the above mentioned Johann Christian Gatterer (1729-1799); August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), Christian Gottlieb Heyne (1729-1812) and Arnold Heeren (1740-1840) belonged to the many outstanding figures of that era. Although diversities among these scholars were significant, they were linked by their essentially historical approach to human phenomena and a critical perception in the examination of the past. They also endeavoured to establish a firm factual basis for their analysis. Besides, their writings succeeded in integrating several distinct trains of thought in eighteenth-century scholarship.<sup>22</sup>

A crucial ambition of the Göttingen scholars resided in laying the foundations for a new type of history that they called 'Universalhistorie'. The desiderata of such history, as advocated, albeit not fulfilled by Gatterer, included an innovative approach which did not simply reduce historical writing to the narration of events and unrelated summary of national histories. World history was to be endowed with a philosophical framework and the historian was expected to pay due attention to cause and effect, as well as relate his narrative to the broad areas of social and economic life.<sup>23</sup>

In the absence of a German world history, scholars made recourse to translation and thus embarked on the transplantation of *A Universal history from the earliest account of time to the present compiled from original authors* to the German soil. The German version was edited initially by Sieg-

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19. Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, p. 60.

20. Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Translation', in *Encyclopedia of Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors *et al.* (Oxford 2003), IV.183.

21. Notker Hammerstein, *Jus und Historie: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des historischen Denkens an deutschen Universitäten im späten 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 1972), p. 377.

22. Georg G. Iggers, 'The University of Göttingen 1760-1800 and the transformation of historical scholarship', *Storia della storiografia* 2 (1982), p. 11-37 (p. 18).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

mund Jacob Baumgarten under the title *Übersetzung der allgemeinen Welthistorie, die in England durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten ausgefertigt worden*, and first appeared in Halle. Nevertheless, the English original soon became the target of fierce criticism by Schlözer and Gatterer, the latter famously disparaging it for its lack of a unifying principle. Gatterer perceived this project as a tedious compilation, a mere aggregate of individual national narratives from which cultural and social aspects were entirely absent.<sup>24</sup> He maintained that, due to the wealth of material it encompassed, the venture could still prove useful, but as a reference book or general historical 'archive', in response to the demands of the reading public.<sup>25</sup> Thus, paradoxically, Gatterer's verdict represented a complete reversal of Guthrie's and Gray's complacent declaration that their work was one to be read rather than consulted.

So much annotation and amendment was deemed necessary to improve the English version that from 1771 onwards the German production was re-designed under the direction of Gatterer and Schlözer and began to appear under the title *Fortsetzung der allgemeinen Welthistorie, durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten in Teutschland und England ausgefertigt*. Such an alteration revealed that the self-confident erudition of German scholars provided a critical filter for transfers, in which the aspirations of nascent German historicism were manifest.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the *Universal History*, Guthrie's and Gray's *A General History* also found its transmitters in Göttingen. This project was managed by Christian Gottlieb Heyne, who is principally remembered as a philologist and editor of classical Greek and Latin texts, although he also undertook studies in ancient history, archaeology and art history. The young Heyne translated and revised the first seven volumes on ancient history, although he was first primarily driven by the need to earn money.<sup>27</sup> The seventeen parts (in twenty-nine volumes) appeared between 1765 and 1808 in Leipzig, a town which was not only a flourishing centre for translations and a stronghold of translation theory, but was also renowned as a cultural trend setter. In addition to

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24. Hermann Wesendonck, *Die Begründung der neueren Geschichtsschreibung durch Gatterer und Schlözer* (Leipzig 1876), p. 44.

25. Hammerstein, *Jus und Historie*, p. 367.

26. Benedikt Stuchey and Peter Wende, 'Introduction: towards a comparative history of Anglo-American historiographical traditions and transfers', in *British and German historiography 1750-1950: traditions, perceptions, transfers* (Oxford 2000), p. 8.

27. Horst Walter Blanke, 'Die Kritik der Alexanderhistoriker bei Heyne, Heeren, Niebuhr und Droysen', *Storia della storiografia* 13 (1988), p. 106-127 (p. 110).

German, publications and translations appeared in several languages, including French and even the nascent modern Greek.<sup>28</sup>

Heyne's reasons for undertaking the German version of *A General History* are explained in a biography produced by his talented colleague and son-in-law, Arnold Heeren. According to this, Heyne was originally approached by a publisher inviting him to compose his own *Weltgeschichte*, an offer he declined. He was later asked to proofread the German translation of a volume belonging to the Guthrie-Gray *A General History*, which had appeared slightly earlier. He found the result so unsatisfactory that he decided to take the venture of translation into his own hands.<sup>29</sup> Afterwards Heyne modestly claimed that the sole achievement of his work, an enormously onerous one, was that he succeeded in endowing the imperfect original version with a degree of fection.<sup>30</sup>

In the foreword to the first volume of the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte ausgefertigt von Guthrie, Gray und anderen in diesen Theilen der Wissenschaften berühmten Gelehrten aus dem englischen übersetzt*, Johann August Ernesti, one of the contributors, acknowledged the accomplishments of the English original, but also highlighted its plentiful mistakes, misunderstandings and overall unreliability.<sup>31</sup> Occasionally, he thought, the British authors crowded their story with unnecessary minutiae, assumptions and geographical descriptions, forgetting that they were writing history, rather than geography, chronology or philology. On other occasions, however, their account remained devoid of the essential details and hence rudimentary and unsatisfactory.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, Ernesti maintained that the German version had resulted in a significant improvement, because the addition of numerous notes, appendices and clarifications made it more accurate and also more accessible to readers. Nevertheless, as Heyne stated in the foreword to the second volume, if all mistakes had been addressed, the whole project would have collapsed.<sup>33</sup>

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28. Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Enlightenment in translation: regional and national aspects', *European review of history* 13.3 (2006), p. 385-409 (p. 393).

29. Arnold Heeren, 'Christian Gottlob Heyne biografisch dargestellt', in *Historische Werke* (Göttingen 1823), VI.1-430 (p. 86).

30. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

31. Johann August Ernesti, 'Vorrede', in *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte ausgefertigt von Guthrie, Gray und anderen in diesen Theilen der Wissenschaften berühmten Gelehrten* (Leipzig 1765), I.III-XIV (p. VIII-IX).

32. *Ibid.*, p. VIII-IX.

33. Christian Gottlieb Heyne, 'Vorrede', in *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte ausgefertigt von Guthrie, Gray und anderen in diesen Theilen der Wissenschaften berühmten Gelehrten* (Leipzig 1766), II.III-XXXII (p. X).

The degree of intervention in the text was usually indicated in the title. Some volumes included a new chronology and various annotations, but otherwise followed the original, and thus were subtitled ‘translation’. Other tomes were more substantially revised and earned the subtitle ‘written on the basis of the work of original writers, endowed with substantial revisions throughout’, or ‘translated from the English original, retaining the scheme of Guthrie-Gray, with substantial revisions’. Sometimes, entirely new volumes would be adjoined to the original ones, in order to encompass the history of regions that had been neglected in the English original. Accordingly, these were no longer deemed to be translations, but original accounts, nevertheless ‘following the scheme of Guthrie-Gray’ (‘nach dem Plan Guthrie-Gray’).<sup>34</sup>

An insight into the authorial intervention on the part of Heyne is offered in Heeren’s above mentioned biography. Heeren tended to view Heyne’s enterprise as a makeshift work which did not do justice to his talents as a critical scholar and philologist.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, he commended the revisions which Heyne introduced in the volumes on ancient history, claiming that such alternations ‘ennobled’ the original work:

Die neue Lage von Heyne brachte mit sich, daß er als Schriftsteller sich auszeichnete. Die erste Frucht davon war freilich zunächst nur eine Übersetzung; aber eine sehr veredelte Übersetzung; nämlich die der ersten sieben Theile der Weltgeschichte von Guthrie und Gray aus dem Englischen [...] Man braucht die Deutsche Übersetzung mit dem Englischen Original nur flüchtig zu vergleichen, um den Ausspruch eines Freundes wahr zu finden, daß Heine sie mit Recht *seine* Weltgeschichte hätte nennen können.<sup>36</sup>

Heeren then proceeded to address the changes in more detail:

Das Englische Original ward nicht bloß übertragen, sondern auch streng revidirt. Das Unrichtige entweder stillschweigend verbessert, aber auch in den Anmerkungen angezeigt. Die Beweisstellen werden mit großer Genauigkeit unter dem Text angegeben; und – was den Gebrauch des Werks so sehr erleichtert – die Zeitrechnung am Rande beigesetzt. Auf diese Weise haben die Theile dieses Werks eine *Brauchbarkeit* erhalten, (höher muß man bei

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34. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

35. Heeren, ‘Christian Gottlob Heyne biografisch dargestellt’, p. 87.

36. ‘In his new situation Heyne’s talents as a writer were revealed. The first result of this was admittedly only a translation, but a dignified translation of the first seven parts of the Guthrie-Gray *General History* from English. A thorough comparison of the German translation with the English original is not necessary in order to approve a friend’s verdict that Heyne would have been justified to call it *his* General history.’ *Ibid.*, p. 86 (Heeren’s emphasis).



einer Übersetzung seine Forderungen nicht spannen,) die nicht leicht von einem spätem übertroffen ist.<sup>37</sup>

Johann Christian Gatterer was extremely critical of the English universal and general histories.<sup>38</sup> The Guthrie-Gray version fared slightly better because it was less ponderous than the lengthier original. Nevertheless, he believed that it was still excessive, failing to fulfil the expectations of a universal history and, due to its unbearable monotony and unnaturally refined style, it was in danger of sending readers to sleep. Consequently, the German translations of these cumbersome works failed to fill the gap in German scholarship, being unable to offer a solution for the absence of an adequate universal history and making no contribution to the refining of historical tastes. Gatterer concluded that it would not have been necessary for Guthrie to write a history in the first place but, given this had already happened, it was certainly unnecessary for the Germans to translate it.<sup>39</sup> Yet, he noted that Heyne's and his collaborators' substantial revisions succeeded in creating a German version which was far more valuable than the English original. Gatterer especially praised Heyne's effort to convince talented young scholars to contribute to the series. Although a miracle could not be achieved, by eliminating a myriad of mistakes, improving the chronology, and adding new volumes, the work gained in significance and the reading public was offered a more reliable account.<sup>40</sup>

In 1774 the *Historisches Journal* offered (anonymously) a more detailed assessment of the German domestication of the Guthrie-Gray venture, also illuminating the alterations which were introduced into the German version.<sup>41</sup> Regarding the ancient period, Heyne applied a wholly new approach when

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37. 'The English original was not only translated but substantially revised. The flaws were either tacitly corrected or they were revealed in the annotations. The sources of evidence were more precisely indicated in the text, rendering the use of the work much easier, and the calendar was moved to the margins. In this way the work gained in *usefulness* (more should not be expected from a translation) which set a high standard for its successors.' *Ibid.*, p. 87 (Heeren's emphasis).

38. An extensive treatment of Gatterer's attitude is given in Johan van der Zande, 'August Ludwig Schlözer and the English universal history', in *Historikerdialoge: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch*, ed. Stefan Berger et al. (Göttingen 2005), p. 135-153.

39. Johann Christian Gatterer, 'Vom historischen Plan' (1767), in *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie*, ed. Horst Walter Blanke and Dirk Fleischer (Stuttgart 1990), II.621-662 (p. 650).

40. *Ibid.*, p. 650.

41. [Anon.], 'Guthrie u. Gray allgemeine Weltgeschichte', *Historisches Journal* 3 (1774), p. 255-282 (p. 256). Naturally, the review only covered the volumes which were published by that stage.

addressing the history of Greece and he also extended the focus of investigation to the history of the Orient. The domestication of the volume on German history was understandably undertaken by the addition of new sources, and the accommodation of the history of England presented an especially remarkable intervention in the original scheme. Here the translator, Johann Matthias Schroeckh, found it necessary to observe the demands of the German reading public and, instead of adapting the relevant tome (XIII) of the Guthrie-Gray *History*, he settled on an entirely different book, Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of England* (London 1771). This was not an independent account, but an extract from David Hume's *History of England*, a popular choice of the reading public in Britain.<sup>42</sup>

Other volumes on the modern period were translated, re-written and composed independently, mostly by Heyne's colleagues and students. Some of these scholars also contributed to the German revision of the *Universal History*, the *Fortsetzung der allgemeinen Welthistoire*. This, together with the existence of several unofficial and shortened editions of the various parts, can make it practically impossible to establish the relationship of individual volumes to these two projects. For example, the Swiss scholar's, Johannes von Müller's history of Switzerland formed part of both the *Fortsetzung* and the Guthrie-Gray *Allgemeine Geschichte*. Nevertheless, those new additions only loosely related to the original scheme and through the extension of the project to hitherto uncovered regions the consistency of the original work was lost. In the absence of a unifying principle, the independent parts of the *Allgemeine Geschichte* came to represent self-contained, individual regional histories. Moreover, the intentions of these new authors diverged from those of the initiators of the volume. Müller joined the two projects on Schlözer's invitation. Although his initial aspiration was to become a universal historian (*Universalhistoriker*), the new task of producing a history of Switzerland reminded him of the importance of the history of the *Vaterland*: 'the thought of becoming a historian of his nation enthused him, awakened a zeal in him'.<sup>43</sup> Because of its geographical location, Switzerland invariably shared the fate of the surrounding states and therefore, writing the history of the country necessitated an intimate knowledge of all those histories. Müller's intention was not purely scholarly, however, his five-part *Geschichten der Schweitzer*, which offered an account of the fatherland (although it only reached the medieval period) served an ideological-political purpose. Müller believed that an

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42. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

43. Arnold Heeren, *Historische Werke* (Göttingen 1823), VI.481-482 and VI.492.

extensive coverage of the early conditions in which the Swiss people lived would help to counter what he considered unjust Austrian claims.<sup>44</sup>

Both the *Universal History* and the Guthrie-Gray *A General History* were seen as inadequate in their treatment of the history of Eastern and Northern regions of Europe. It became evident that, in the absence of reliable sources on which an account of the European ‘peripheries’ could be based, these remained uncharted territory for British historians. No place in Europe other than Göttingen would have been more suitable to address that shortcoming, as here historians showed fascination with those lesser-known regions. Much of this curiosity arose from the generally inquisitive spirit of the Enlightenment, although the German scholars’ motivation was not merely intellectual. The history of these regions was also perceived as constituent of the history of the German *Reich* and the German-speaking inhabitants of Eastern and Northern Europe provided a justification for claiming some legitimacy in those territories. As we shall see, some authors of the Guthrie-Gray *Allgemeine Geschichte* offered a historical justification to those colonizing tendencies.

Göttingen’s prominent journals and magazines revealed a keen interest in Northern and Eastern European, especially Slavonic, history and culture.<sup>45</sup> For example, it was in the journal *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* that the first descriptions of the Tsar’s empire were published. As early as the 1740s, at the university, lectures were offered on Russian and Polish history. Connections with the Eastern and Northern parts of Europe were established also through the considerable number of students from those regions.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, Heyne, who acted as director of the university library, made every effort to ensure that the library stocked the most significant publications on the history of Eastern and Northern Europe.

As the title of Schlözer’s famous account of the history of the Slavs, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, illustrates, Russia and Poland and in general most of the territories inhabited by Slavic people, were considered to belong to Northern Europe in this period.<sup>47</sup> Such an attitude rested on the distinction

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44. Johannes von Müller, *Geschichten der Schweitzer* (Leipzig 1824), I.3; Heeren, *Historische Werke*, VI.490.

45. Hildermeier, ‘Von der Nordischen Geschichte zur Ostgeschichte’, p. 115.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 115; Ulrich Schindel, ‘Christian Gottlieb Heyne und Göttingen als Mittler europäischer Aufklärung in Ungarn’, *Ural-altaistische Jahrbücher* 10 (1991), p. 53-70.

47. For a study of this shift, which appeared before Larry Wolff’s famous *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford 1994), see Hans Lemberg, ‘Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert: vom “Norden” zum “Osten” Europas’, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 33 (1985), p. 48-91. Schlözer’s *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* became part 31 of the *Fortsetzung der allgemeinen Welthistorie*.

between the former lands of the Roman Empire north of the Mediterranean region (*Alteuropa*) and those lands which were brought into contact with the European 'core' in the ninth and tenth centuries by the adoption of Christianity (*Neueuropa*).<sup>48</sup> Of this latter region, the Guthrie-Gray *Allgemeine Geschichte* inaugurated the history of Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Lithuania, Prussia, and also Norway and Denmark. All these regions were covered by Ludwig August Gebhardi, a professor at Lüneburg and member of the Historical Institute in Göttingen. In 1779 Heyne published an appreciative review on Gebhardi's *Geschichte des Reichs Ungarn* in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, acknowledging that the author used the best available sources and thus managed to achieve a balanced account.<sup>49</sup>

### III. From *Reichshistorie* to national history

The German version of the Guthrie-Gray venture, the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, enjoyed considerable popularity in Eastern and Northern Europe, rapidly finding its way into the libraries of educational institutions and noble families. The volumes were also frequently consulted by local historians for reference purposes, in the course of which foreign ideas infiltrated into the native intellectual milieu. In addition to such usage of the German venture, single parts of the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* were translated into local languages, such as Greek, Serbian, Hungarian and Danish. Nevertheless, these translations served an entirely different purpose from the English original and also diverged in their approach from the German adaptations. The translators had no intention of producing a universal history; such a colossal project would have been unfeasible for representatives of small cultures lacking the necessary institutional framework to undertake long-term collaborative enterprises. Nor were those scholars motivated by mirroring the ideological mindset of German *Reichshistorie*. Instead, their intentions were specific and particularistic. They typically picked the volumes of the *Allgemeine Geschichte* which addressed the history of their countries and, through the judicious use of alternations and amendments, turned those accounts into trail-blazers for the genre of national history. To that end, Gebhardi's history of Denmark was translated into Danish by Johann Ernst Heilmann, who dedicated his work to the king.<sup>50</sup> As we shall see below, Gebhardi's volume on the Hungarian Empire and its related lands found Hungarian and Serbian transmitters.

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48. Lemberg, 'Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert', p. 60.

49. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 41.33 (18 Mar 1779), p. 261-264 (p. 261).

50. Johann Ernst Heilmann, *Konigerne Danmarks og Norges*, 10 vols (Odense 1776-1784).

The typical objective of such translations lay in addressing the history of the nation. The authors usually admitted that the translation of a foreign work involved a compromise on their part. The ultimate aim should have been to produce an independent history in the national language, but until that happened, such translations served as aids in the formation of national culture. Thus, by altering the context that they evoked, foreign cultural values were incorporated into the native soil through the medium of translation.<sup>51</sup>

The process of such expropriation for the purposes of national scholarship can be observed in a Hungarian and Serbian adaptation of Gebhardi's *Geschichte des Reichs Hungarn und der damit verbundenen Staaten* (Leipzig 1778) which formed part xv of the Guthrie-Gray *Weltgeschichte*. The first two of Gebhardi's four volumes concentrated on the history of the Hungarian Empire, whilst the third one discussed the history of Transylvania, Galicia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia and the fourth dealt with the history of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Wallachia and Moldavia.

The Hungarian version was disseminated by Istvan Kultsár (1760-1828), the Serbian by Jovan Rajić (1726-1801). There are striking similarities between these scholars' lifework: both were members of the clergy – Kultsár a Benedictine monk, Rajić an Orthodox cleric – and both played a leading role in their respective national revivals by initiating a study of the national language, history and folklore. Kultsár organized a prize contest on the history of the Hungarian language, edited journals, published important historical documents and was one of the founders of the Hungarian National Theatre.<sup>52</sup> Rajić was an educator in the spirit of the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II in the Habsburg Empire; he taught in theological seminars, and also devised plans for the establishment of important educational institutions. In addition, he also authored textbooks and catechisms in a language that was a mixture of Church Slavonic and Russian. Despite being a pious Orthodox theologian, Rajić's ideals diverged from the principle of Divine Right, which informed the Serbian medieval chronicles. He accepted the theory of the social contract, and wrote of monarchies and republics arising 'out of a free and naturally independent right emanating from the condition of man'.<sup>53</sup> Under the influence of John Locke, he developed an interest in English parliamenta-

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51. Vladimír Macura, 'Problems and paradoxes of the national revival', in *Bohemia in context*, ed. Mikulas Teich (Cambridge 1998), p. 182-197 (p. 190).

52. Gyula Alapi, *Kulcsár István 1760-1828* (Komárom 1911), p. 28.

53. Michael B. Petrovich, 'The Rise of modern Serbian historiography', *Journal of Central European affairs* 1.1 (1956), p. 1-24 (p. 22).

ry institutions, which led him to claim that medieval Serbia enjoyed a bicameral legislature.<sup>54</sup>

Although he acknowledged that the history of the nation should, ideally, be written in the mother tongue, Kultsár also knew that writing such a history was not always an immediately realistic possibility, and thus he embarked on the translation of the first two volumes of Gebhardi's work. In addition to the original Leipzig edition, those volumes were also published in Vienna (1792), probably in a pirated version, and the third and fourth part also appeared in Pest and Brno. Such unauthorized publications were extremely common in the eighteenth century; both originals and translations appeared in the form of illicit reprints. In fact, pirated translations represented the norm rather than the exception in contemporary Europe.<sup>55</sup>

Kultsár's *Magyar Ország Históriája*, ('History of Hungary' [Pest 1803]) was dedicated to Count Festetich, a Hungarian magnate noted for his sponsorship of patriotic incentives. Kultsár acted as tutor to the Count's family and probably received his financial support for this enterprise. On the whole, the Hungarian translation followed Gebhardi's text but some changes were deemed necessary in the domestication. These included a sequel to Gebhardi's history, narrating Hungarian history from 1777 to 1803, with the intention of bridging the gap between the publication of the original and the Hungarian version. Kultsár's chronological divides followed the traditional concept of dynastic history and the narrative revolved around three heroes of Hungarian history: Prince Árpád who, in the ninth century, led the Hungarians from their ancestral homeland in Asia to their new home in the heart of Europe; the Renaissance King Matthias Corvinus and, somewhat ironically, the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I. Kultsár's adulation of the Emperor, who was responsible for suspending the Hungarian constitution, dissolving the Hungarian army and sending Protestant pastors into galley slavery, was often disapproved of by his successors. It was assumed that such a dubious concession on Kultsár's part was necessary to ensure that the book would pass censorship.<sup>56</sup>

Latin, in which the majority of earlier accounts of Hungarian history had been composed, served as Hungary's official language until as late as 1844 and was, according to Kultsár, 'almost a mother tongue'.<sup>57</sup> Kultsár's explicit aim in the book was to offer a history in the Hungarian language:

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54. Petrovich, 'The Rise of modern Serbian historiography', p. 22.

55. Oz-Salzberger, 'Enlightenment in translation', p. 400.

56. Alapi, *Kultsár István 1760-1828*, p. 12.

57. István Kultsár, *Magyarország históriája* (Pest 1803), I.XII.

Having considered the decline of Hungarian historical books, and the necessity of such books, both to maintain our national character and to educate our youth, and deeming it appropriate to familiarize the nation with the ways in which foreigners approach our history, I made a decision to publish this book and in order to improve its value, I continued its story from 1777 to the present day.<sup>58</sup>

Kultsár then went on to explain his amendments to the text. These included new subdivisions and an index of subjects, with the intention of making it easier for the reader to navigate. Some alterations were made to the introduction and new footnotes were added to rectify Gebhardi's mistakes; these were distinguished with special characters from the footnotes in the German original.<sup>59</sup> Despite this, it was not the author's intention to produce his own account:

However, I refrained from altering everything that would have been necessary [...] as I did not want to inflate the work, increase its price or write a new history instead of publishing someone else's. Hopefully a new, original Hungarian history will soon be completed by a Hungarian patriot, one which is more complete and correct than earlier ones. Until then, gentle reader, I have supplied you with this book, which I borrowed from a nation whose properties were often ravaged by our ancestors in the course of the military adventures in our early history.<sup>60</sup>

In common with the editors of the English and German versions of *A General History*, the Hungarian translator tried to disseminate the book by public subscription. According to the subscription advertisement, his aim was: 'to provide the reader with the history of a glorious nation in the national language [...] to offer a book which is neither a flattering biography, nor a dry chronicle, but the source of popular content'.<sup>61</sup>

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58. 'És megfontolván a Hazában a Magyar Históriás Könyveknek elritkúlását, és ugyan a históriának szükséges voltát mind a Nemzet tulajdonságainak föntartására, mind a hazafiúság nevelésére. Azt is illendőnek tartván, hogy tudja a Nemzet maga magáról, amit az idegenek róla tudhatnak; kiadását magamban eltökéltem, és hogy betség annál inkább növeljem, 1777-től fogva a most folyó esztendőig a legújabb történeteket Folytatásképp magam hozzá adtam.' Ibid., I.XIV.

59. Ibid., I.XV.

60. 'Némelly megjegyzéseket a könyvnek folytatában tettem hozzá... De ide sem tettem mind azt, amit kívántam volna, ne hogy az egész munkát fölöttebb megnagyobbítsam, megdrágítsam, vagy új Históriát írni, nem pedig másét kiadni láttassam. Talán nem sokára valamely nagy lelkű hazafiak segedelmeik által készülhet egy olly eredeti Magyar História, melly eddig valóknál bővebb, és fontosabb legyen. Addig is szeléd Olvasó élj azon Nemettől költsönzött könyvvel, mellyet fegyveres Eleink javaikból gyakorta kiforgattak.' Ibid., I.XVI.

61. That is: 'Azért örömmel fogadhatja ezen könyveket, melly nem hízelkedő Biográfiát, vagy száraz Chronicát; hanem a köz Boldogságának kútforrásait, és eszközeit nyomozó Históriát foglal magában'. István Kultsár, *Híradás: Előfizetők gyűjtése* (Pest n.d.), p. 8.

Kultsár's indicative comment on Gebhardi's work reveals the differences between the purposes of the two authors. Gebhardi's subject matter was based on a territorial concept, the 'Hungarian realm' ('das Reich Ungarn'). He inaugurated the first volume by stating that this land had been, from the earliest times, a meeting point of the most variegated peoples of Europe as well as of those of Western Asia. In addition to the dominant Hungarians, other peoples included the Poles, Bohemians, Wallachians, Germans, Greeks, Jews etc.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, Kultsár demonstrated more interest in the history of the *Hungarian people* rather than the Hungarian realm which hosted various peoples. To Gebhardi's opening words he added a footnote according to which:

People who are born in Hungary and possess the command of the language should be considered Hungarian. Thankfully, recent laws [...] propagating the cultivation of our language have borne fruits [...] we are confident that the Hungarians are the most numerous people in the country [...] but precise numbers are unknown, so a census should be initiated [...].<sup>63</sup>

Whilst Kultsár left the task of writing a major history of Hungary to others, the Serbian translator Rajić succeeded in producing a four-volume history, *Istoriia slavenskikh narodov, naipache Bolgar, Khorvatov i Serbov* ('The History of various Slavic peoples, especially the Bulgars, Croats and the Serbs' [Vienna 1794-1795]). This was the first significant history of the Serbs to be published, and also the first history of either the Bulgars or the Croats published in any Slavic language. Accordingly, the book earned him the title of the father of modern Serbian historiography. As the title reveals, Rajić located the history of the Serbs within the context of the Slavic 'family' and argued for the consanguinity of these on linguistic grounds.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, unlike Kultsár, who translated Gebhardi's work into the Hungarian vernacular, the language Rajić employed was not yet the language of the 'common people'. Instead, he used a mixture of Church Slavonic and Russian, although he also incorporated numerous words from the Serbian vernacular. The first historical account in Serbian was left to his successor.<sup>65</sup>

62. Ludwig August Gebhardi, *Geschichte des Reichs Ungarn* (Leipzig 1778), I.1.

63. 'De mivel mind azokat, kik az országban születtek, és magyarul beszélnek Magyaroknak köll tartani... és mivel 12 esztendőök alatt szembetűnő foganatját láthattuk a Nyelv terjeszkedéséről szóló törvényeknek; azonfelül tudjuk, hogy a legnépesebb helyek egészen Magyarok, az Országbéli Nemzeti Magyarok számát öt milliommál kevesebbre nem tehetjük. Azonban mind az Egyházi, mind Világi Elöljárók hazafíui figyelmét megérdemelné, hogy minden Magyar Nyelven értő lakosok számbavétessenek.' Kultsár, *Magyarország históriája*, I.2.

64. Petrovich, 'The Rise of modern Serbian historiography', p. 17.

65. This was Dositej Obradović (1740-1811).



Two translations of the fourth part of his work were published in Romanian and there was also an edition in Church Slavonic, rendering it accessible to members of the Slavonic *res publica litteraria*.

In comparison to this monumental account of two thousand pages, Rajić's translation of a volume of the Guthrie-Gray project, condensed in some two hundred and fifty pages, may appear insignificant. Nevertheless, the impact of his *Kratka istorija srpska* ('Short history of Serbia', based on volume LV of Guthrie-Gray) is not to be underestimated. The two works had a different focus and some regions, for example Bosnia, received more extensive coverage in the short translation than in the lengthy original work. Like Kultsár's translation, Rajić's version was not associated with the tradition of *Reichsgeschichte* and thus the lands of the Hungarian realm. Instead, he explicitly focused on the history of Serbia.

On the whole, Rajić translated Gebhardi's text carefully but he omitted whole chapters and the entire bibliographical material and commentaries.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, he added new annotations in order to contradict or comment on the translated text. He did so in the passages where Serbian rulers were criticized in the original and when he believed that the papal influence was magnified by the German author.<sup>67</sup> Rajić also provided chronological additions and corrected forms of personal and geographical names. The *Kratka istorija srpska* was translated into Serbian vernacular and printed in Belgrade in 1847, at the state printing office.

#### IV. Conclusion

Unsurprisingly, Guthrie's and Gray's project is largely overlooked today. With hindsight, their endeavour appears to be somewhat idiosyncratic, especially as it is dwarfed by the magnitude of the histories of foremost Scottish Enlightenment historians, such as David Hume and William Robertson. Yet, the numerous translations and, in broader terms, the huge contemporary impact of *A General History of the World* invites a study of its significance. As we have seen, the English original was principally a commercial enterprise, and in that capacity a successful one. In keeping with the cosmopolitan spirit of the Enlightenment, its authors believed that the most valuable sort of history was not confined to any particular reign or country, but extended to the transactions of all mankind. However, as the weaknesses of the project de-

66. Sima Ćirković, 'Rad Jovana Rajića na istoriji Bosne', in *Jovan Rajić: život i delo*, ed. Marta Frajnd (Belgrade 1997), p. 29-37 (p. 31).

67. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

monstrate, the universalizing tendencies of these scholars meant in reality universalizing their own particularism. The European 'periphery', the regions of Eastern and Northern Europe, was largely underrepresented or absent from their survey, a situation which later German scholars managed to rectify.

The German scholars' motivations to translate it were more closely connected with scholarly ambitions, which helps to explain why they were unable to find what they were looking for in the Guthrie-Gray venture. Yet, it appears that the English version played a crucial role in the German scholars' aims, because it provided a framework which helped them inaugurate their own project. It was the inconsistency of the English original which gave impetus to German historians to improve their own standards. As a result, they succeeded in emancipating themselves from the foreign model, enabling them to adopt an independent stance.<sup>68</sup> It follows that translation was not the ultimate *goal* of German historians, but a *tool* that they utilized in their effort to enhance scholarship. Therefore, in this case, the categories 'understanding' and 'misreading' may not be applicable, because the German historians' explicit aim was to critically rethink the British project.

Taking into consideration the norms of translation, some parts of the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* were in accordance with its Enlightenment standards: making the foreign text more accessible, it was deemed not only acceptable but also necessary to transform it, by the insertion of prefaces, notes and appendices and omitting certain chapters. We have observed, however, that the German translator of the volume focusing on the history of England took the liberty of translating an entirely different book. Furthermore, the new volumes, written by German scholars, also retained the Guthrie-Gray label. Naturally, in this case we can only speak about translation in a metaphorical sense. This may be somewhat surprising at first glance, given the 'piratical spirit' of Enlightenment translations, which viewed it as legitimate for the translator to suppress the name of the true author or even to substitute the translator's signature for the author's name. After all, the Guthrie-Gray 'label' carried some symbolic capital and the accommodation of new books within the Guthrie-Gray enterprise probably increased not just the popularity of those books but also boosted their sale.

Whilst in the German enterprise *Weltgeschichte* became fragmented and conceded ground to individual regional histories with little coherence, in the Serbian and Hungarian translations, individual parts of the German version became predecessors to the genre of national history. As we have seen, translation provided the simplest way to stimulate the formation of national cultu-

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68. Franz Xaver von Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Munich 1885), p. 784.

re at those outposts of Europe. However, such a transformation of the genre may also be connected with the change in historical vogue in European scholarship: world history experienced an overall decline in the nineteenth century, due to the discovery of the relativity of historical knowledge and the acknowledgement of the variety of mankind, divided into different nations, languages and civilizations.<sup>69</sup>

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69. Michael Harbsmeier, 'World histories before domestication: the writing of universal histories, histories of mankind and world histories in late eighteenth century Germany', *Culture and history* 5 (1989), p. 93-131 (p. 127).

SASKIA S. WIEDNER

Melchiorre Cesarotti *Il Fanatismo ossia Maometto profeta: tragedia di Voltaire* (1742) – la traduction italienne de la tragédie voltairienne *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* (1741)

I. Le transfert culturel

L'idée du transfert culturel telle qu'elle est soutenue et développée dans les années 1980 par Michel Espagne et Michael Werner pour les relations franco-allemandes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>1</sup> se concentre sur les voies de la médiation et de la réception de l'œuvre littéraire dans la culture étrangère.<sup>2</sup> Selon les auteurs, le fonctionnement du transfert ne se limite pas à 'l'élargissement des savoirs et des connaissances'<sup>3</sup> sinon que l'œuvre transmise doit remplir un certain rôle dans le système idéologique de la culture d'accueil. Bien que la question de la médiation des biens culturels se situe au centre de la recherche, il est évident que le contenu transféré constitue un aspect important dans un procès de communication interculturelle de manière qu'il représente un instrument idéologique qui vise une certaine réalité politique et sociale. Espagne et Werner soulignent l'importance du rôle de la traduction pour le transfert culturel. Pour eux, l'acte de la traduction dans une certaine constellation idéologique devient plus important que le contenu de l'œuvre traduite.<sup>4</sup> Cet aspect met en jeu l'acteur culturel comme traducteur du texte littéraire. Se référant à Michel Espagne et Michael Werner, le romaniste

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1. Cf. Michel Espagne et Michael Werner, 'Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.', *Francia* 13 (1985), p. 502-510.
  2. Cf. Michel Espagne et Michael Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750-1914)', *Annales E.S.C.* 42 (juillet-août 1987), p. 969-992 (p. 970); cf. aussi Joseph Jurt, 'Das wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers', dans *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im 'Ancien Régime'*, sous la direction de Günter Berger et Franziska Sick (Tübingen 2002), p. 22-26.
  3. M. Espagne et M. Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France', p. 970.
  4. J. Jurt, 'Das wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers', p. 23.

suisse Joseph Jurt souligne la fonction de l'acteur culturel qui, en disposant des biens culturels d'une culture étrangère, renforce la position interne dans son champ culturel originel ce qui correspond à un positionnement dans le champ d'une discursivité culturelle. La signification du transfert culturel peut donc être examinée en étudiant la position de l'acteur culturel les différents discours de son temps.

Le processus du transfert culturel demande l'analyse de deux aspects différents: d'abord l'analyse du rôle que l'œuvre traduite joue dans la culture originelle et son système idéologique, voire socio-politique, puis son rôle dans la culture d'accueil et les conséquences de l'acte du transfert – à préciser de la traduction – pour l'acteur culturel, acte qui vise fortement le contenu de l'œuvre traduite et à travers cela définit la position de l'acteur dans le champ culturel. Étant donné que le champ culturel et ses discours dépendent de plusieurs conditions et situations – dont surtout des conditions politiques et religieuses – et pour cela ne représentent jamais des champs autonomes et homogènes, l'analyse de ces conditions est indispensable pour gagner une certaine connaissance de la structure et des mécanismes des champs culturels étudiés. Comme l'acte du transfert signifie toujours un rapprochement, voire un contact des deux champs culturels provoqué par des motifs différents, l'assimilation des biens culturels est dirigée par les intérêts spécifiques de l'acteur. En étudiant la traduction des tragédies voltairiennes par Melchiorre Cesarotti, il faut donc se concentrer sur la question du pourquoi Cesarotti s'était-il décidé à traduire les drames de Voltaire et bien particulièrement celle de *Mahomet le prophète* en 1762 et comment ces traductions peuvent-elles être considérées comme l'instrument d'un changement du champ culturel italien par certains traits spécifiques de la culture française déductibles de la tragédie voltairienne.

## II. La tragédie de Voltaire et ses origines dans la tragédie cornélienne

Dans la tragédie *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète*,<sup>5</sup> Voltaire renoue avec un sujet bien important pour la compréhension de l'état absolutiste français et pour cette raison, un sujet cher aux écrivains français du siècle classique. Un grand nombre de tragédies classiques – surtout celles de Racine et de Corneille – traitent l'antagonisme entre individu et le pouvoir absolu du

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5. Bien qu'elle ait été écrite en 1739, la pièce a été représentée pour la première fois à Lille en 1741, puis en 1742 à Paris.

souverain, la légitimation du pouvoir étatique qui, dans la phase de sa consolidation doit se maintenir contre toute forme de résistance pour enfin se légitimer de manière évidente comme sanction divine.<sup>6</sup> Cet antagonisme, cet acte de consolidation et de légitimation constitue le centre du développement de la conscience de l'état moderne. Telle la tragédie de Pierre Corneille, *Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste*, qui a été écrite en 1642, à l'époque de la consolidation de l'absolutisme français. Dans cette tragédie Corneille montre Auguste, l'empereur de Rome, qui se maîtrise dans un acte de l'éducation de soi-même envers les conspirateurs, parmi lesquels se trouve le noble Cinna. Dans la maîtrise de soi, dans l'acte de clémence, Auguste s'affirme en tant que souverain absolu. La clémence d'Auguste envers Cinna se manifeste comme mise en scène de la *clementia* de Sénèque.<sup>7</sup> Dans la terminologie littéraire du drame du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Auguste démontre dans l'acte de clémence sa générosité qui affirme en même temps sa gloire et le montre comme roi de droit divin. Ainsi, l'idée de la clémence et de la générosité se manifeste surtout dans la rhétorique d'Auguste. L'application des formules pathétiques, telle par exemple la démonstration de sa toute-puissance: 'Je suis maître de moi comme de l'Univers. / Je le suis, je veux l'être.' (vv.1696-1697) souligne la signification de l'acte de clémence comme acte de création d'Auguste en tant que souverain absolu. La langue littéraire de la tragédie classique contient deux aspects idéologiques différents sur le fond d'une rhétorique qui se réfère aux principes de la doctrine classique. Un aspect décrit l'accomplissement du pouvoir absolu dans l'état et en même temps l'accomplissement de la raison d'état,<sup>8</sup> l'autre vise vers une anthropologie qui s'effectue par une rhétorique qui – pour être vraiment efficace – implique l'auditoire comme témoin, comme écrit Paul Bénichou: 'Ainsi, la tragédie cornélienne est doublement un spectacle, puisque les grandeurs qu'elle représente sont déjà spectacle dans la vie, avant de le devenir au second degré sur la scène. Le public est à la fois des deux fêtes, l'une sociale, l'autre littéraire.'<sup>9</sup> C'est par cette double idéolo-

6. Cf. Rudolf Behrens, 'Cinna', dans *17. Jahrhundert: Theater*, sous la direction de Henning Krauß, Till R. Kuhnle, Hanspeter Plocher (Tübingen 2003), p. 71-104.

7. Cf. Sénèque, *De clementia/Über die Güte*, éd. Karl Büchner (Stuttgart 1977).

8. Surtout les études les plus récentes sur les drames de Pierre Corneille montrent une orientation vers le rôle de la rhétorique notamment dans *Cinna* où la disposition regagnée de la force rhétorique par Auguste constitue la nouvelle souveraineté. Cf. R. Behrens, 'Cinna', p. 86; Georges Forestier, 'Le miracle de *Cinna*, ou l'instauration de la royauté littéraire', dans *Hommage à Jean-Pierre Collinet*, sous la direction de Jean Foyard et Gérard Taverdet (Dijon 1992), p. 129-139; Timothy J. Reiss, 'La voix royale: de la violence étatique ou du privé à la souveraineté dans *Cinna*', dans *Pierre Corneille, ambiguïtés*, sous la direction de Michel L. Bateau (Edmonton [Alberta] 1989), p. 41-54.

9. Paul Bénichou, *Morales du grand siècle* (Paris 1948), p. 26-27.

gie sur la base de la rhétorique que le théâtre classique et surtout celui de Pierre Corneille fait voir les valeurs d'une image idéale de l'homme, ici du souverain. Ainsi la langue dramatique devient médiatrice d'une idée de souveraineté se basant sur les impératifs de la raison d'état.

En travaillant sur les tragédies de Pierre Corneille,<sup>10</sup> Voltaire dans son drame *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* se montre parfait disciple de l'auteur dramatique français. Comme Corneille, Voltaire favorise la conception d'un souverain absolu avec la seule différence qu'il souligne pour devoir d'un absolutisme éclairé l'importance de la raison humaine comme principe suprême de la politique et en même temps nie le droit divin comme instrument de la légitimation du pouvoir souverain.<sup>11</sup> Pour instaurer un ordre social qui correspond aux idées des Lumières, l'idéal d'un monarque éclairé, Voltaire se réfère dans son drame sur l'image cornélienne du souverain, image devenue dans tous les sens classique et qui témoigne d'une perception de l'état absolutiste. Comme dans les drames de Corneille, cette perception de l'état est transmise par la langue littéraire de la tragédie. Ainsi, Voltaire reconstitue dans le personnage de Mahomet le procès de l'instauration du souverain absolu, montrant le prophète en train d'établir son règne – processus qui, d'ailleurs, permet le crime<sup>12</sup> – et son intronisation par l'emploi de la langue littéraire, langue qui dans ce contexte doit être comprise comme langue pathétique.

Ce n'est qu'à la fin du drame que Mahomet est à la hauteur, atteint le niveau du souverain absolu et que tous ses crimes n'ont plus de poids. Cette péripétie morale, péripétie qui définit en même temps la fondation de l'état absolutiste, se trouve aussi dans *Cinna* de Pierre Corneille. Dans le drame cornélien Livie explique à Emile, qui veut venger la mort de son père assassiné par Octave devenu l'empereur Auguste, la transformation d'Octave en empereur romain: 'Sa mort, dont la mémoire alluma ta fureur / Fut un crime d'Octave, et non d'Empereur.'<sup>13</sup> Voltaire nous présente Mahomet dans la phase de

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10. Voltaire, *Commentaires sur Corneille*, dans *Les œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, t. I-III, éd. The Voltaire Foundation Thorpe Mandeville House (Banbury [Oxfordshire] 1974), ici t. II.

11. Il ne traite donc pas une conception radicale de l'image du souverain telle qu'elle est soutenue par les jansénistes.

12. C'est Carl Schmitt qui, dans son étude sur la théologie politique, désigne comme 'Ausnahmestand' ('état d'urgence') une situation politique qui ne peut être maîtrisée que par le souverain. Cf. Carl Schmitt, *Politische Theologie* (Berlin 1979), p. 11sq. Sauf indication contraire, toutes traductions sont de l'auteur.

13. Pierre Corneille, 'Cinna', dans *Théâtre complet*, texte préfacé et annoté par Pierre Lièvre, édition complétée par Roger Caillois (Paris 1966), 1.847-907 (p. 902). Cf. Till R. Kuhnle, 'Pierre Corneille, *Tite et Bérénice*/Jean Racine, *Bérénice*', dans *17. Jahrhundert: Theater*,

consolidation du pouvoir étatique. Il le montre comme un héros monstrueux dont il avoue dans sa correspondance (cf. D2386, 20 décembre 1740 et D4597 29 octobre 1751) d'avoir exagéré les traits. Mais à part le personnage de Mahomet, même dans l'époque des Lumières, Voltaire dans son drame *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* fonde la compréhension du souverain et de l'ordre social en tant que suprématie de la raison d'état sur des idées classiques. En plus, il faut constater que la conception de la raison d'état représente la base pour la compréhension de la raison (humaine), notion philosophique essentielle pour les Lumières.

Cet aspect nous renvoie à l'influence importante du siècle classique sur des cultures et littératures européennes ultérieures, phénomène qui a été souligné par Ernst Robert Curtius: 'Die französische Klassik ist nicht künstliche Nachahmung antiker Vorbilder [...], sondern Ausprägung eigenen nationalen Gehaltes, in dem der rationale Grundzug des französischen Geistes vorherrscht.'<sup>14</sup> Et Curtius continue à confirmer l'actualité du système classique français qui ne peut pas être dévié.<sup>15</sup>

Dans la tragédie *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète*, Voltaire reprend les idées-clés de la pensée classique, idées qui considèrent la raison comme l'instrument le plus important de l'esprit humain. Dans une lettre à l'abbé Dubos, lettre qui d'ailleurs introduit l'œuvre historique de Voltaire *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, Voltaire définit le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle comme *le siècle de l'esprit humain*: 'Ce n'est point simplement la vie de ce prince que j'écris, ce ne sont point les annales de son règne; c'est plutôt l'histoire de l'esprit humain, puisée dans le siècle le plus glorieux à l'esprit humain.'<sup>16</sup> Selon Corneille et Voltaire, la hiérarchie et l'ordre social sont maintenus par le souverain en tant que souverain absolu qui également représente la raison d'état. C'est donc la raison, principe universel et pour cela classique, qui structure, dès le siècle classique, la littérature et surtout le drame français sur le plan éthique et sur le plan esthétique. Dans ces structures, Voltaire se montre comme héritier de la pensée classique. Tout ce qui pourrait basculer cet ordre classique, ordre soutenu et reconnu par la raison humaine, est désigné comme monstrueux, irrationnel et inhumain. C'est surtout la religion qui est confrontée au reproche

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sous la direction de Henning Krauß, Till R. Kuhnle, Hanspeter Plocher (Tübingen 2003), p. 199-244 (p. 217).

14. 'La littérature française de l'âge classique n'est pas une copie artificielle des modèles antiques [...], mais l'empreinte de ses propres valeurs/idées nationales où prédomine le caractère principal et rationnel de l'esprit français.' Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, Munich 1978), p. 270.

15. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, p. 271.

16. Voltaire, *Œuvres historiques*, texte établi, annoté et présenté par René Pomeau (Paris 1957), p. 605.



d'avoir travaillé contre un ordre raisonnable de l'humanité. Face à l'hypocrisie des mouvements religieux de son temps – telle par exemple la célèbre affaire des convulsionnaires de Saint-Ménard et les miracles sur la tombe du diacre François de Paris qui plus tard ont été considérés comme la déchéance de jansénisme – Voltaire, dans la tragédie *Mahomet* et aussi dans sa tragédie *La Mort de César*, s'oppose à toute forme de règne aveugle et arbitraire, forme du pouvoir qui est reflétée par la compréhension janséniste d'un Dieu caché et tout puissant.<sup>17</sup> Dès le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les questions de la vie religieuse et surtout la lutte entre jansénistes et jésuites influencent et déterminent la politique française. Ainsi les controverses religieuses se manifestent dans le discours politique reflété par la littérature. Après la tentative de Louis XIV de réconcilier les religions catholiques pour établir un absolutisme religieux, la politique du régent Philippe d'Orléans est marquée par la tentative de rompre avec cette politique de réconciliation pour soutenir les jansénistes, religion qui se fonde sur la doctrine de prédestination et qui pour cette raison nie la raison. Un des paradoxes de la tragédie de Voltaire est que le fanatisme aveugle, provoqué par des doctrines religieuses et par l'obsession du pouvoir, est en même temps compris comme partie constituante de la consolidation du pouvoir absolu. La conversion du héros tyrannique n'est pourtant indiquée qu'à la fin du drame. Mahomet a tué toute forme de contre-pouvoir, afin de rester le seul sur scène. Il est le souverain absolu qui, après la perte de la femme qu'il aimait, connaît la douleur et la tristesse, des sentiments qui doivent être endurés et vaincus par le héros pour qu'il puisse devenir un souverain éclairé agissant selon les lois de la raison d'état.<sup>18</sup> Le sujet du drame de Voltaire n'est donc pas en premier lieu de la religion de l'Islam mais de la question de l'intronisation du souverain comme monarque absolu. Dans sa tragédie, Voltaire démontre que tout processus de l'humanisation et surtout le développement du monarque idéal sur la base de la raison d'état du siècle classique correspond aussi aux exigences de la conception de l'homme dans la philosophie des Lumières. Bien que Voltaire soit considéré comme philosophe des Lumières, l'âge classique forme l'arrière-plan de son œuvre dramatique et ainsi contribue à son caractère universel.

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17. Deux vers de l'édition de 1742 qui ont été supprimés dans l'édition suivante font allusion à la doctrine janséniste: 'Omar: Dieu, maître de son choix, ne doit rien à personne; / Il éclaire, il aveugle, il condamne, il pardonne.'

18. Ainsi Corneille dénoue l'action dramatique dans *Bérénice* en instaurant la suprématie de la raison d'état avant la sphère privée de l'amour. Ce n'est qu'après la perte de la vie privée que le souverain absolu apparaît dans l'unité de son corps politique et son corps naturel.

### III. Culture française – culture italienne: la traduction comme forme du contact culturel

Durant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la France revendique l'universalité de sa culture et montre le chemin aux différentes cultures européennes; elle est vue comme culture dirigeante.

Molti indizi permettono di collocare intorno alla metà del XVII sec. l'inizio di un intenso *rayonnement* della civiltà e cultura francese in tutta Europa. [...] In realtà, la decadenza del prestigio spagnolo in Italia e l'ascesa di quello della Francia iniziano poco dopo la metà del secolo, in concomitanza con un riavvio della vita intellettuale, per il quale si può assumere come data simbolica il 1657, anno di fondazione dell'Accademia del Cimento.<sup>19</sup>

Beaucoup d'indicateurs permettent de fixer au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle le commencement d'un *rayonnement* intense de la civilisation et de la culture française dans toute l'Europe. En réalité, la descente du prestige de l'espagnol en Italie et l'ascension du prestige du français commencent juste après la première moitié du siècle comme phénomène qui était accompagné par une revivification de la vie intellectuelle qui peut être fixée à la date symbolique de 1657, l'an de fondation de l'Accademia del Cimento.

Surtout les idées de la philosophie des Lumières qui, au nom de la raison, se prononcent en faveur des valeurs universelles, dépassent rapidement les frontières nationales de la France. C'est pourquoi au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle nous trouvons maintes traductions des philosophes français dans tous les pays européens dont en particulier les écrits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau et de Voltaire. Les œuvres du dernier sont surtout traduites dans la région de Venise comme l'indique l'étude de Franco Piva sur la distribution des œuvres littéraires françaises:

[...] nell'insieme la vasta produzione voltairiana nel Veneto della seconda metà del secolo decimottavo fosse considerata, anche se qua e là un po' esagerata nelle idee et nella lingua,

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19. 'Beaucoup d'indicateurs permettent de fixer au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle le commencement d'un *rayonnement* intense de la civilisation et de la culture française dans toute l'Europe. En réalité, la descente du prestige de l'espagnol en Italie et l'ascension du prestige du français commençaient juste après la première moitié du siècle comme phénomène qui était accompagné par une revivification de la vie intellectuelle qui peut être fixé à la date symbolique de 1657, l'an de fondation de l'Accademia del Cimento.' Andrea Dardi, *Dalla Provincia all'Europa: l'influsso del francese sull'italiano tra il 1650 e il 1715* (Florence 1992), p. 3 (accentuation de Dardi).

complessivamente accettabile. La conferma più probante sembra venire dal grande numero di traduzioni che molte delle opera di Voltaire ebbero in quegli anni a Venezia.<sup>20</sup>

Un des acteurs culturels responsables de la diffusion et du succès de l'œuvre de Voltaire en traduction italienne est Melchiorre Cesarotti, qui dès 1768 est professeur à l'université de Padoue. Étant donné que l'initiative du 'transfert culturel correspond à une tentative de réinterprétation'<sup>21</sup> de l'œuvre littéraire, les traductions des tragédies voltairiennes par Cesarotti représentent une 'ré-interpretation' de la tragédie de Voltaire en vue d'un nouveau contexte culturel. Ces traductions ne sont que l'ouverture d'une occupation intense avec cette forme du transfert culturel. Elles sont flanquées par des travaux théoriques sur la poésie et sur la linguistique comme par exemple son traité sur la philosophie des langues, le *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue applicato alla lingua italiana* (1785).<sup>22</sup>

Voltaire et Cesarotti ont été des contemporains et c'est pour cela qu'ils se montrent aussi en matière de la théorie de la traduction comme représentants d'une même époque. Voltaire comme traducteur de l'œuvre shakespearienne se voit dans la tradition des *belles infidèles*: 'Ne croyez pas que j'ai rendu ici l'anglais mot pour mot; malheur aux faiseurs de traductions littérales, qui, en traduisant chaque parole, énervent le sens. C'est bien là qu'on peut dire que la lettre tue et que l'esprit vivifie.'<sup>23</sup> Tout en suivant le modèle de la traduction de Voltaire – 'Quanto a me, ho seguito costantemente lo stesso metodo di tradurre, cioè d'esser piu fedele allo spirito che alla lettera del mio originale, e di studiar mi di tener un personaggio di mezzo fra il traduttore e l'autore.'<sup>24</sup> – Cesarotti favorise une méthode de traduction qui se concentre plutôt

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20. '[...] tout ensemble, la vaste production voltairienne dans la région de Venise (Veneto) durant la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle a été considérée un peu exagérée en ce qui concerne les idées et la langue, mais quand même acceptable. Il semble que la preuve la plus convaincante se fait voir dans le grand nombre de traductions que beaucoup d'œuvres de Voltaire ont subi durant ces années à Venise.' Franco Piva, 'Cultura francese e censura a Venezia nel secondo Settecento', *Memorie: classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 36.3 (1973), p. 1-221 (p. 69).
21. M. Espagne et M. Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France', p. 972.
22. Melchiorre Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue applicato alla lingua italiana', dans *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti: critici e storici della poesia e delle arti nel secondo settecento*, sous la direction d'Emilio Bigi (Milan 1954), p. 304-456.
23. Voltaire, 'Sur la tragédie', dans Voltaire: *Mélanges*, texte établi et annoté par Jacques van den Heuvel (Paris 1981), p. 81-84 (p. 83).
24. 'En ce qui me concerne, j'ai toujours suivi la même méthode de traduire, ça veut dire d'être plus fidèle à l'idée qu'à la lettre de mon original, en me comprenant comme une personne entre l'homme qui traduit et l'auteur.' Melchiorre Cesarotti, 'Dalle Poesie di Ossian antico poeta celtico: discorso premesso alla seconda edizione di Padova del 1772', dans *Dal Mura-*

sur le sens du contenu du texte que sur une traduction littérale. Une telle compréhension de l'art de traduire n'est pas tout à fait nouvelle. En effet trouve-t-on dans le *Discours de la traduction* du Miraimon de Port-Royal un passage qui souligne le fait que c'est le sens du texte qui devrait se trouver au centre de l'acte de traduire et dont le transfert exact d'une langue à l'autre représente le critère le plus important de la traduction.

Mais, outre cela, celui qui traduit a encore l'avantage de comprendre les pensées de son auteur, et de les retenir bien mieux qu'en ne faisant que lire: car le desir qu'il a de les bien mettre en sa langue fait qu'il s'applique bien d'avantage à en penetrer le sens; il tourne ces parolles de cent façons, il en cherche tous les mots et sur les moindres particules, pour entrer s'il peut jusques dans l'esprit de son auteur, et pour y voir tout ce qu'on y peut voir.<sup>25</sup>

Comme l'a déjà constaté Luigi de Nardis dans son étude sur le débat de Port-Royal de la bonne manière de traduire, les théories sur la traduction se concentrent sur la question de la 'bellezza' et de la 'fedeltà' de la traduction.<sup>26</sup> Ces deux notions forment les valeurs fondamentales pour la traduction au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cesarotti les reprit en postulant le *genio grammaticale* et le *genio rettorico* dans son *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue*. Le *genio grammaticale* signifie la norme linguistique, son essence matérielle qui se reflète dans sa forme grammaticale, forme qui ne peut point être changée. Le *genio grammaticale* obéit donc à la catégorie de la *fedeltà*. Contrairement au *genio grammaticale* ou *genio logico*, le *genio rettorico* représente une catégorie variable qui par sa souplesse rend possible d'exprimer à travers sa couleur, sa structure métrique et rythmique le caractère national d'une langue. Elle exprime ce que de Nardis définit comme *bellezza* de la traduction.

Ma il genio rettorico, derivando da principii diversi, non può aver come l'altro una rigidità immutabile. Esso è, non v'ha dubbio, il risultato del modo generale di concepire, di giudicar, di sentire che domina presso i vari popoli, quindi il genio della lingua è propriamente l'espressione del genio nazionale. Tutto ciò dunque che cangia o modifica il secondo genio, dee necessariamente portar tosto o tardi anche nel primo una alterazione corrispondente. Ora chi non conosce le vicissitudini morali e politiche delle nazioni, e la loro influenza mal contrastata dal clima, influenza che trasforma un popolo d'eroi in una greggia di schiavi, e al

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*tori al Cesarotti: critici e storici della poesia e delle arti nel secondo Settecento*, sous la direction d'Emilio Bigi (Milan 1960), p. 90.

25. Aignan de Beauharnais, sieur de Miramion, 'Discours de la traduction, De son utilité et des règles pour la bien faire', dans *Regole della traduzione: testi inediti di Port-Royal e del 'Cercle' di Miramion*, sous la direction de Luigi de Nardis (Naples 1991), p. 129-139 (p. 131).
26. Luigi de Nardis, *Regole della traduzione: testi inediti di Port-Royal e del 'Cercle' di Miramion* (Naples 1991), introduzione, p. 9-18 (p. 11).

rozze e libero linguaggio della schiettezza repubblicana sostituisce la politezza lusinghiera e l'ingegnosa urbanità della corte?<sup>27</sup>

Le génie de la langue et le génie de la rhétorique contiennent une catégorie qui exprime tout ce qui constitue une nation. Il est le reflet vivant d'une formation de la nation. Ainsi la rhétorique de la tragédie *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* et de ce fait la traduction de la tragédie reflètent non seulement l'esprit politique français à la recherche d'une forme de la souveraineté qui se base sur la notion dérivée de la conception classique de la raison d'état et qui en même temps garantit l'ordre de celui-ci, mais aussi l'identité de la nation française par voie de sa langue littéraire. L'idéologie politique qui représente aussi la morale d'une nation, son identité qui se fonde sur une conception éthique dérivée des œuvres littéraires, devient donc un idéal rhétorique. La traduction de Cesarotti démontre l'égalité de la langue italienne comme langue littéraire. En essayant de transférer le *genio grammaticale* et le *genio rettorico* de l'original français à la langue italienne, Cesarotti enrichit sa propre langue en lui incorporant le son et le rythme de la langue française qui dans son étude *Sul francesismo* est décrite comme disposant d'un '[...] frasario metafisico incorporandolo nella lingua e introducendolo in tutti i soggetti, e anche nelle opere di spirito e di società'.<sup>28</sup> Comme il l'écrit dans une lettre à Michael van Goens, Cesarotti ne s'intéresse pas du tout au contenu philosophique ni éthique de la tragédie de Voltaire. Son intérêt se porte vers un programme d'enrichissement et d'illustration de la langue italienne comme langue littéraire par voie des langues européennes qui sont considérées comme expression d'une identité nationale et culturelle. Ainsi écrit-il dans son *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue*:

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27. 'Mais le génie rhétorique qui naît de principes différentes, n'a pas comme l'autre [le génie grammaticale] une rigidité immuable. Il est, sans aucun doute, le résultat d'une manière générale de comprendre, de juger, de sentir, manière qui domine la perception chez les différents peuples; donc le génie de la langue est justement l'expression du génie national. Tout cela donc qui change ou modifie la deuxième forme du génie doit nécessairement provoquer tôt ou tard un changement équivalent de la première forme du génie. Qui donc ne connaît pas les infortunes morales et politiques des nations et leur influence qui n'est qu'insuffisamment contrariée par le climat? Cette influence peut changer une nation des héros en esclaves brutes et remplace le langage grossier et libre de la sincérité républicaine par la politesse flatteuse et l'urbanité raffinée de la cour.' Cf. M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 393sq.

28. En français: '[...] vocabulaire métaphysique qui est introduit dans la langue [par l'individu] et ainsi coule dans tous les sujets, dans les œuvres de l'esprit et ceux de la société'. M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 450.

Niuna lingua à ricca abbastanza, né può assegnarsi alcun tempo in cui ella non abbia bisogno di nuove ricchezze. Le arti, le scienze, il commercio presentano ad ogni momento oggetti nuovi, che domandano d'esser fissati con nuovi termini. Lo spirito reso più sagace e plus riflessivo raggira le sue idee sotto mille aspetti diversi, le suddivide, ne forma nuove classi, nuovi generi, ed aumenta l'erario intellettuale. Come lavorarci sopra senza vocaboli aggiustati che si prestino alle operazioni dell'intelletto? Allora solo la lingua potrà cessar d'arricchirsi, quando lo spirito non avrà plus nulla da scoprire né da riflettere. È dunque un operar direttamente contro l'oggetto e' l' fine della lingua il pretender di toglierle con un rigor musulmano il germe della sua intrinseca fecondità.<sup>29</sup>

Dans ce programme linguistique, Cesarotti s'incline donc pour une langue italienne ouverte aux influences fécondes des langues et cultures européennes. La langue littéraire représente et démontre, en exprimant et en copiant d'autres langues européennes, l'égalité culturelle d'une nation, voire une certaine supériorité de la propre culture sur la culture étrangère dont les contenus culturels par voie de la langue littéraire deviennent une partie intégrative du propre système culturel. La théorie linguistique de Cesarotti suit le chemin qui avant lui a déjà pris Joachim Du Bellay dans son illustre traité sur la *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue françoise* de 1549. Mais Cesarotti va encore plus loin. C'est dans son traité sur la philosophie de la langue italienne où il constate cette interdépendence des actions intellectuelles ('operazioni dell'intelletto')<sup>30</sup> et de la langue. Il introduit donc le plan de la parole, l'individu comme acteur culturel. La langue est le résultat de l'activité intellectuelle, de la parole, qui en même temps est l' 'espressione del genio nazionale'.<sup>31</sup> Dans la mesure où la langue s'enrichit, l'intellect s'enrichit aussi – ou bien le génie national – et la manière de penser et de comprendre le monde. La langue, et plus exactement la traduction, représente donc une sorte d'instrument d'appropriation des génies nationaux étrangers.

Dans son *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue* dont le chapitre sur les mots d'emprunt de la langue française – *Sul francesismo*<sup>32</sup> – il dévoile la stratégie

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29. 'Aucune langue n'est suffisamment riche, ni peut-on trouver aucune époque dans laquelle elle n'a pas besoin d'un nouvel enrichissement. Les arts, les sciences, le commerce présentent à chaque moment des objets nouveaux qui réclament d'être exprimés par des termes nouveaux. L'esprit, devenu plus subtil et plus reflété, atteint ses idées sous mille aspects divers, les partage, forme des classes et des genres nouveaux et ainsi augmente le trésor intellectuel. Comment peut-on donc travailler avec ce trésor sans vocabulaire convenable qui est qualifié aux opérations de l'intellect? C'est donc seulement la langue qui peut finir de s'enrichir quand l'esprit n'a plus rien à dévoiler ni à refléter. L'hypothèse, qu'il faut se libérer de la germe féconde inhérente à une langue avec une rigueur musulmane est donc un projet qui s'oppose à son objet et sa fin.' M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 310.

30. M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 310.

31. Ibid., p. 394.

32. Ibid., p. 447-456.

d'une défense et revalorisation de la langue italienne en tant que langue littéraire et philosophique. Cesarotti établit le contact philologique avec la langue française. Ses considérations reflètent le résultat d'une préoccupation intense quant à la langue française dont la traduction des deux tragédies voltairiennes *La Morte di Cesare* (1762)/*La Mort de César* (1736) et *Maometto profeta* (1762)/*Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* (1741) forment le champ d'expérience. Cesarotti y approfondit ses réflexions de la traduction et le besoin de créer de la langue italienne une langue universelle scientifique et rhétorique.

No, non dee credersi d'aver il vocabolo quando non si ha che un termine solo per un oggetto di molte facce; non dee credersi d'aver nella nostra un equivalente della straniera, quando l'idea dell'una è più ristretta o più estesa; quando la nostra non presenta che un'approssimazione, un' analogia vaga e generale, quando coll'idea principale non si conserva l'accessoria, o quando l'uso fra noi ve ne ammetta un'altra diversa, e talora opposta di lode o di biasimo, di nobiltà o di bassezza. Se mai i filosofi e gli scrittori eminenti si uniranno tra loro a formar due vocabolari comparativi di tutte le lingue, l'uno scientifico, e l'altro rettorico, solo allora potrà conoscersi la vera ricchezza o la povertà rispettiva di ciascuna lingua, non meno per gli usi della ragione che per quelli dell'eloquenza [...].<sup>33</sup>

Cesarotti demande un inventaire de vocabulaire scientifique et rhétorique commun à toutes les langues et qui permet d'analyser la valeur d'une langue. Le vocabulaire scientifique et le vocabulaire rhétorique doivent donc représenter un instrument de langue transnational et universel – une langue parfaite comme elle est décrite dans l'œuvre d'Umberto Eco<sup>34</sup> – et qui, sur le plan de la linguistique, se manifeste dans la constatation de la suprématie des langues anciennes sur les langues modernes.<sup>35</sup> C'est ainsi que Cesarotti considère toutes les langues comme comparables et similaires. Néanmoins, Cesarotti constate que chaque langue a ses traits et ses qualités spécifiques et il af-

33. 'On ne doit pas croire d'avoir trouvé le mot quand on n'a trouvé qu'un terme pour un objet qui possède plusieurs facettes; on ne doit pas croire que dans notre langue on possède un équivalent de la langue étrangère quand l'idée de l'une est plus étroite ou plus large que celle de l'autre; si notre langue ne représente qu'un rapprochement, une analogie vague et générale, quand l'idée principale ne représente pas aussi une autre idée secondaire ou quand le notre usage y associe une autre idée, parfois contraire soit qu'elle comporte une louange, soit qu'elle exprime une critique. Si jamais les philosophes et les écrivains connus s'unissent pour élaborer deux vocabulaires qui seront comparables à toutes les langues – un vocabulaire scientifique et un vocabulaire rhétorique – il sera possible de connaître la vraie richesse ou la vraie pauvreté de chaque langue, non seulement quand elle est utilisée par la raison mais aussi quand elle sert à des fins de persuasion [...].' M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 448.

34. Cf. Umberto Eco, *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea* (Rome, Bari 1993).

35. Georges Mounin, *Teoria e storia della traduzione* (Turin 1965), p. 46.

firme que la langue française représente la meilleure forme d'expression pour des sujets philosophiques. Son but est d'«[...] affermare che il *genio filosofico, la cultura delle scienze e il francesismo sono inseparabili in Italia* [...]».<sup>36</sup>

#### IV. Les paratextes de la tragédie voltairienne

Homme de science, Cesarotti accomplit les prétentions de l'objectivité scientifique non seulement en suivant le sens de l'original et en essayant de rendre la couleur, le son, le rythme et la métrique de l'original français, mais en donnant aussi le contexte historique de l'œuvre ce qui implique pour la tragédie voltairienne l'explication de sa situation spécifique sous la forme du commentaire. Ainsi Cesarotti joint à la traduction de la tragédie tous les textes qui se manifestent aux alentours du drame: les avertissements de l'éditeur, les lettres, les anecdotes qui accompagnent l'original et les commentaires. Bref, ces textes s'entendent comme conseil de lecture et en même temps reflètent une belle partie du contexte historique du drame voltairien. De tels textes, tous des textes au second degré selon la terminologie de Gérard Genette,<sup>37</sup> représentent non seulement une amplification des différentes lectures mais aussi montrent la trace d'un contexte culturel et historique dans lequel l'original s'inscrit. Grâce à Cesarotti, le lecteur italien peut donc saisir la tragédie dans la lumière de sa situation historique. L'acte de traduction en tant que processus herméneutique inclut donc la réflexion sur l'interprétation future du texte et son fonctionnement dans le contexte culturel contemporain.

Dans la culture d'accueil, le nom de l'auteur est souvent étroitement associé au nom du traducteur de son œuvre. Ainsi en Italie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le nom de Voltaire se joint à celui de Melchiorre Cesarotti, traducteur de ses tragédies *La Mort de César/La morte di Cesare* et *Le Fanatismo ou Mahomet/Il Fanatismo ossia Maometto profeta*, qui ont été traduites par Cesarotti en 1762, et *Sémiramis* (1748). Les lettres dans l'environnement de la tragédie, également traduites par Cesarotti, indiquent l'histoire de la réception du drame voltairien. Comme le montre l'édition de Riccardo Campi,<sup>38</sup> la traduction de la tragédie voltairienne est accompagnée par la traduction de plusieurs

36. C'est-à-dire: «[...] d'affirmer que le *génie philosophique, la culture des sciences et le françaisisme sont inséparables en Italie* [...]». M. Cesarotti, 'Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue', p. 451 (accentuation de Cesarotti).

37. Cf. Gérard Genette, *Paratexte: das Buch zum Beiwerk des Buches* (Francfort-sur-le-Main 2001), p. 355-357.

38. Melchiorre Cesarotti, *Il Fanatismo ossia Maometto profeta: tragedia di Voltaire*, texte préfacé par Riccardo Campi (Modène 1995); désormais décrit comme 'MP'.



paratextes: telles la lettre de Voltaire au roi des Prusses, son ami Frédéric II,<sup>39</sup> la traduction d'une lettre de l'auteur du *Mahomet* au pape Benoît XIV, écrit en 1745,<sup>40</sup> et sa réponse.<sup>41</sup> En plus, Cesarotti traduit la lettre de remerciement au pape de la part de Voltaire,<sup>42</sup> puis l'avertissement de l'éditeur<sup>43</sup> suivi par le jugement et diverses anecdotes sur la pièce rassemblées par Voltaire.<sup>44</sup> Après le texte de la tragédie en version traduite, le livre se clôt sur un texte très important par rapport à un point de vue éthique de la tragédie: le *Ragionamento del traduttore*,<sup>45</sup> aussi connu par la correspondance de Cesarotti comme *Ragionamento sopra il Maometto* dans lequel Cesarotti explique les traits éthiques fondamentaux de la tragédie comme 'scuola della vita civile'.<sup>46</sup> Tous ces textes représentent, en quelque sorte, le champ culturel français des années 1740<sup>47</sup> où la tragédie de Voltaire se situe et qui est considéré bien important par Cesarotti de manière qu'il joint ces textes à la traduction de la pièce. Ils témoignent donc de la 'Querelle de *Mahomet*', qui traite les problèmes d'une réception de la pièce en tant que réception critique envers les autorités religieuses et séculières qui évoque la querelle de *Tartuffe*. Alors que ces textes retracent la situation historique concrète de la pièce, la pièce elle-même garde son caractère de *pièce philosophique* et la transhistoricité de ses valeurs. La traduction de Cesarotti met en relation le contenu philosophique de la pièce et sa situation historique des années de sa naissance, 1736 à 1742.

## V. Le contexte historique

Les paratextes de l'original français qui ont été mentionnés antérieurement témoignent d'un contexte historique de la tragédie, contexte qui dans la réflexion de Cesarotti sur la tragédie n'est pas mentionné. L'importance de la pièce traduite se constitue donc dans l'interdépendance du contenu et de la situation historique dans laquelle la pièce a été écrite. C'est par sa relation avec

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39. *MP*, p. III-XII.

40. *MP*, p. XIII-XIV, écrit par Voltaire en langue italienne.

41. *MP*, p. XV-XVII.

42. *MP*, p. XVIII-XX, écrit en langue italienne.

43. *MP*, p. XXI.

44. *MP*, p. XXII-XXXI.

45. *MP*, p. 117-125.

46. C'est-à-dire: 'école de la vie civile'. *MP*, p. 117.

47. La pièce de Voltaire a été présentée pour la première fois au printemps 1741 à Lille où elle a été interdite par le jugement sévère du censeur, qui était Crébillon père. Cf. *Théâtre du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, textes choisis, établis, présentés et annotés par Jacques Truchet (Paris 1974), p. 1419.

le cadre historique que l'œuvre littéraire ainsi que la traduction s'inscrivent dans le réseau des discours de son temps qui, en niant toute autorité anti-rationaliste et tout abus de pouvoir, indiquent l'état de 'passage de l'idéologie des Lumières à la Révolution [et par cela] l'inadéquation entre la morale et la structure sociale'.<sup>48</sup> Bien que le contenu selon les écrits de Werner et Espagne ne soit pas important pour le concept du transfert culturel, il est évident que la traduction de *Mahomet* par Cesarotti gagne un aspect fortement idéologique et critique dans l'Italie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'acte du transfert est à la base d'un nouvel aspect de l'interprétation de la tragédie voltairienne dans le cadre culturel et historique italien.

Bien que Cesarotti prétende dans sa lettre à Van Goens, lettre qui date de l'an 1767, de ne pas s'intéresser au contenu de la tragédie de Voltaire – là, il prétend n'avoir traduit les tragédies de Voltaire que pour publier le *Ragionamento sopra il Maometto* – la traduction de *Mahomet* obtient une certaine signification pour la situation historico-culturelle de Venise de 1762. Cette situation constitue le fond historique et culturel sur lequel la pièce doit être étudiée. C'est par sa traduction que Cesarotti familiarise les lecteurs italiens avec les idées-clés du philosophe français et ainsi s'inscrit dans le discours intellectuel et philosophique de son temps. Sur le plan politique, ce discours s'occupe de la consolidation de la nation par la définition de sa position parmi les nations européennes. Le discours culturel est entrelacé au discours politique. Sur le plan culturel, les acteurs du champ culturel cherchent à donner des arguments qui détachent la nation d'autres nations européennes en révélant la suprématie de la culture nationale. Par ses travaux linguistiques qui ont pour but de montrer l'égalité et la comparabilité des langues européennes modernes et antiques, Cesarotti joue un rôle important dans la culture italienne du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Étant professeur de grec et d'hébreu, il travaille contre le déclin de la philosophie et de la littérature italienne fortement plaint par des intellectuels italiens comme Pietro Verri,<sup>49</sup> fondateur du périodique *Il Caffè*

48. M. Espagne et M. Werner, 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France', p. 974.

49. Cf. Verri, cité dans: Giuliano Procacci, *Geschichte Italiens und der Italiener* (Munich 1989), p. 220: 'Die französischen Ideen dienen den anderen Völkern zum Vorbild... was aber wird mit Italien geschehen? Wir sind unreif und noch nicht würdig, im Reich der Tugend zu leben. [...] wir sind der Auswurf Europas, dessen Lehrmeister wir einst gewesen sind.' – 'Les idées françaises servent de modèle pour les autres nations... mais qu'est-ce qui arrivera à l'Italie? Il nous manque encore de maturité, nous ne sommes pas encore dignes de vivre à l'empire de la vertu [...] ce sont nous le crachat de l'Europe dont nous étions jadis les maîtres.' Cette plainte résume la situation de la littérature et de la philosophie italienne durant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: face à l'hégémonie philosophique – et surtout politique – les intellectuels de même que les souverains italiens souffrent d'un complexe de minorité lequel les force

(1764) dont les contributeurs travaillent pour la diffusion des idées philosophiques et socio-économiques des Lumières en Italie, entre autres, la théorie de la physiocratie et les idées du philosophe et économiste écossais Adam Smith. La préoccupation constante de maints intellectuels italiens avec les nouvelles théories économiques et gouvernementales des rationalistes français et anglais – dont François Quesnay, Jean-Claude Marie Vincent de Gournay, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Adam Smith et David Hume – et particulièrement celle de la physiocratie, représente un large champ du transfert culturel dans lequel Cesarotti s’inscrit également par la question sur l’instruction de l’homme à sa majorité à travers de la tragédie parfaite. Bien que son œuvre soit la preuve d’une vie vouée à la critique littéraire, à la traduction et à sa théorisation,<sup>50</sup> c’est justement par ce travail de traduction qu’entrent des idées sur la puissance souveraine dans la culture italienne, une culture qui est fortement connue pour sa notion machiavéliste de la souveraineté. Contrairement à l’image du prince, tel qu’elle est représentée dans l’étude de Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe* (écrit en 1513, publié en 1532), la pièce de Voltaire évoque une image du souverain qui est caractérisée par sa position antagoniste, position qui se trouve aussi dans les écrits de la théorie physiocrate.

Les travaux de Cesarotti sur la théorie de la tragédie parfaite, dont l’exemple est la tragédie voltairienne, peuvent être regardés comme tentative d’esquisser un idéal éthique à partir d’une esthétique (le *genio rettorico*) de la tragédie qui dans le contexte de son temps – et peut-être contre la volonté de son auteur – devient fortement politique et idéologique. Contrairement au tyran, l’esthétique de la tragédie évoque l’idéal du souverain éclairé, qui en gouvernant prend le rôle du ‘suzerain’ de manière qu’il doit garantir la liberté du commerce et la formation et l’émancipation de ses sujets, soit le ‘[...] *droit naturel* des hommes, *l’ordre naturel* de la Société, et les *loix naturelles* les plus avantageuses possibles aux *hommes réunis en société*’.<sup>51</sup> Mais dans une Europe secouée par de nombreuses guerres qui menacent l’équilibre politique instable, l’idée des ‘règles naturelles de justice et même de bienfaisance

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à s’adapter aux idées philosophiques et gouvernementales de la France et à les critiquer pour garder leur identité.

50. Cf. aussi Paola Ranzini, ‘Dalla traduzione alla critica e alla poetica: l’importanza del dibattito sulla tragedia nell’opera di Cesarotti’, dans *Aspetti dell’opera e della fortuna di Melchiorre Cesarotti*, sous la direction de Gennaro Barbarisi et Giulio Carnazzi (Milan 2002), p. 403-435 (p. 410).

51. François Quesnay, *Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain* (Paris, Merlin, 1767/1768), cité d’après l’édition en fac-similé de Wolfram Engels et al., *Klassiker der Nationalökonomie* (Francfort-sur-le-Main, Düsseldorf 1987), p. ij.

réciproque',<sup>52</sup> d'un 'droit de faire ce qui [...] est avantageux'<sup>53</sup> aux hommes de même que l'idéal d'un souverain éclairé s'oppose à la réalité. Surtout les années de 1740 à 1748 mènent à une nouvelle hégémonie de la France sous Louis XV, hégémonie qui menace l'équilibre politique en Europe et dont la Prusse et l'Angleterre sont des antagonistes politiques. En dépit de cette instabilité politique européenne, l'Italie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est marquée par des réformes économiques et administratives à travers lesquelles les souverains italiens cherchent à imiter le modèle gouvernemental français de l'absolutisme.<sup>54</sup> Tel Victor Amédée II (1666-1732), duc du Savoie et prince du Piémont, roi de Sicile (1713-1720), puis roi de Sardaigne (1720-1730), et son fils Carl-Émmanuel III de Savoie qui gouverne de 1730 à 1773. Les buts principaux de cette illustre dynastie montrent des stratégies d'une consolidation de leur pouvoir envers les grandes dynasties européennes, les Bourbons et les Habsbourg. Mais tous les essais d'instaurer un souverain autonome sont en vain. La dépendance des états italiens des grandes nations de l'Europe ne peut pas être vaincue; l'Italie reste une nation politique de deuxième ordre. Une telle autonomie nationale qu'exige le philosophe et théoricien Jean Bodin pour base de sa notion de la souveraineté, notion qui est marquée par son décisionisme et selon laquelle le souverain a la puissance d'agir même contre ses promesses, n'a jamais été atteinte. Forcé par le besoin de gagner une position favorable parmi la noblesse européenne, le mariage de Victor Amédée II avec la nièce de Louis XIV, Anne d'Orléans, en 1684 fait partie d'une stratégie politique, dont le but est l'amplification et le renforcement de l'empire. Certes, cette politique ne mène point à une hégémonie en Italie mais elle soutient l'équilibre fondé par la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle en 1748. Toutes tentatives de réformer l'état, de soutenir les relations économiques pour arriver à une économie nationale sont détruites par les troubles politiques qui s'approchent d'une France prérévolutionnaire. En 1796, Cesarotti se plaint fortement d'une situation politique menaçante qui indique les troubles de la Révolution française ainsi que la campagne de Napoléon I: 'Vorrei dormire sempre per risvegliarmi tranquillo o non risvegliarmi mai più. Intanto vi [Costantino Zacco] prego a non mi scriver più nulla di cose politiche d'alcuna specie, e a

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52. Ibid., p. x.

53. Ibid., p. iv.

54. Cf. G. Procacci, *Geschichte Italiens und der Italiener*, p. 220. Surtout dans la Lombardie autrichienne, le Piémont, Parme, la Toscane et dans le royaume de Naples se montrent les limites des réformes économiques et fiscales. Les prétentions d'imiter la cour française, d'assurer la richesse de la région, voire de l'amplifier, ne répondent pas aux moyens financiers des villes italiennes lesquelles sont déjà fortement exploitées par la Guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1701-1714), la Guerre de Succession de Pologne (1733-1735) et la Guerre de Sept Ans (1756-1763).

non aspettarne da me.<sup>55</sup> Répugné par un tel développement politique, Cesarotti se retire.

Le travail sur la traduction de la tragédie ne se limite pas à la pure traduction; Cesarotti la prend comme point de départ pour des considérations sur le genre tragique en citant et en critiquant les autorités les plus importantes de son temps. Il s'occupe des *Réflexions sur la poétique* (1685) de Bernard Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, des *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture* (1719) de Jean-Baptiste Dubos et des réflexions poétiques *Of tragedy* (1757) de David Hume apparemment sous forme de la traduction française de Johann Bernhard Merian avec le titre *Dissertation sur les passions, sur la tragédie, sur la règle du goût* (1759).<sup>56</sup> Le *Ragionamento sopra il diletto della tragedia* (1762) est une brève considération à la base de la traduction des tragédies voltairiennes où Cesarotti développe quelques traits d'une esthétique de la tragédie qui mène à une compréhension de la tragédie plutôt traditionnelle dont il formule l'essence dans l'aphorisme du théâtre comme école de la vie.<sup>57</sup>

## VI. Conclusion

Bien que la tragédie comme genre majeur du siècle classique représente une forme littéraire traditionnelle, l'esthétique de la *perfetta tragedia* de Cesarotti rappelle déjà l'esthétique du drame romantique<sup>58</sup> tout en se détachant des autorités littéraires et philosophiques des Lumières européennes: Dubos, Fontenelle et Hume. Ainsi, dans une lettre de 1761 adressée à l'abbé Giuseppe Toaldo, Cesarotti explique sa stratégie de traduire la tragédie de Voltaire et

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55. 'Je veux dormir pour m'éveiller tranquillement ou ne m'éveiller plus jamais. C'est pour cela que je vous [Costantino Zacco] prie de ne plus m'écrire sur des événements politiques de tout ordre et de ne pas attendre que je vous en communique.' *Dal Muratori al Cesarotti. Critici e storici della poesia e delle arti nel secondo Settecento*, t. IV, édité par Emilio Bigi, dans *La Letteratura italiana. Storia e testi*, sous la direction de Raffaele Mattioli, Pietro Pancrazi et Alfredo Schiaffini (Milan, Naples, Verona 1954), p. 531.

56. Désormais, la tragédie voltairienne en Italie fut nouée au nom de son traducteur Melchiorre Cesarotti. C'est à Venise qu'on trouve le plus grand nombre de publications rationalistes. Cf. G. Procacci, *Geschichte Italiens und der Italiener*, p. 101.

57. Melchiorre Cesarotti, 'Ragionamento del traduttore', dans *Il Fanatismo ossia Maometto profeta, tragedia di Voltaire* (Modène 1995), p. 117-125.

58. C'est Paula Ranzini qui, dans l'introduction de sa thèse, présente l'esthétique de Cesarotti comme ancêtre d'un Romantisme italien. Cf. Paula Ranzini, *Verso la poetica del sublime: l'estetica 'tragica' di Melchiorre Cesarotti* (Pisa 1998), p. 7.

afin de dépasser le contenu sociologique du drame voltairien par la théorie et la critique littéraire de ses *ragionamenti*:

Ho già compito il discorso sopra il *Cesare*, ed ora son dietro a quello di *Maometto*. Ho gran desiderio e bisogno che siano letti ed esaminati da voi, specialmente quest'ultimo il quale contiene una dissertazione formale sopra la compassione, il terrore e l'orrore contro l'opinion del Dubos, del Fontenelle e dell'Hume. Vedete che nomi! Bisogna ch'io mi trovi un buon padrino per questi competitori; ed io non saprei immaginarmi il migliore di voi; ma non so come fare a spedirvi questi discorsi perché la mole non è tanto indifferente, sicché suggeritemi qualche mezzo se ne avete, ch'io certo non voglio stamparli senza il vostro *Imprimatur* [...].<sup>59</sup>

Avec la traduction d'une des œuvres les plus connues de l'antiquité, l'*Ilias* de Homer, Cesarotti prouve l'égalité de la langue italienne à l'ancien grec et, dans la tradition de la *translatio studii*, montre l'Italie comme héritière d'un patrimoine culturel classique. Il en va de plus avec la traduction de l'*Ossian*,<sup>60</sup> autre preuve pour la qualité de la langue italienne comme langue littéraire qui permet aussi la traduction des sujets émotionnels, voire romantiques et pour cela irrationnels. La traduction d'*Ilias*, la traduction de l'épisode de la mort d'Hector (*La morte di Ettore*, 1795) et d'*Ossian* (1763 et 1772) – deux œuvres importantes – permettent de légitimer la tradition d'une culture aristocratique et la tradition d'une culture populaire et originale dans le développement de la nationalité italienne. L'enrichissement de la littérature et de la langue littéraire italienne peut être compris au sens du terme rhétorique et classique de l'*aemulatio*. Dans la traduction, l'*aemulatio* des sujets culturels nationaux va de pair avec une *aemulatio* du style rhétorique de la langue nationale littéraire. L'échec de la nationalisation de l'Italie sur le plan politique durant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est compensé par la nationalisation sur le plan culturel de la littérature et de la linguistique. Un argument important de la théorie du transfert culturel s'occupe du caractère prématuré de la politique qui guide les développements dans le champ culturel. L'exemple de la traduction de

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59. 'J'ai déjà composé le discours sur le *César*, et maintenant je suis tourné vers celui sur le *Maometto*. Je voudrais bien et j'ai grand besoin qu'ils sont lus et examinés par vous, surtout ce dernier qui contient une étude formelle sur la compassion, la terreur et l'horreur qui est contre l'opinion de Dubos, de Fontenelle et de Hume. Voyez quels noms! Il me faut trouver un bon protecteur face à ces compagnons de lutte et je ne peux m'imaginer aucun protecteur meilleur que vous. Mais je ne sais pas, comment je puisse vous envoyer ces discours parce que leur dimension n'est pas négligeable; ainsi conseillez-moi comment vous les envoyer, parce que je ne les publierai certainement sans avoir reçu votre *Imprimatur* [...]' Cf. P. Ranzini, *Verso la poetica del sublime*, p. 114 et p. 125.

60. On verra qu'il est évident que Cesarotti ne s'intéresse pas au sujet d'*Ossian* mais au style de la poésie celtique lequel il imite dans la traduction italienne.

Cesarotti comme partie de son œuvre qui représente l'essai de former une identité culturelle de l'Italie à travers sa langue (littéraire), esquisse la possibilité d'une direction de la culture dans les processus politiques de la nationalisation de l'Italie.

ASTRID KRAKE

‘Translating to the moment’ – marketing and  
Anglomania:  
the first German translation of Richardson’s *Clarissa*  
(1747/1748)\*

The history of German literature in the eighteenth century is largely the history of English literature in German translation. Any evaluation of German literature in this period should take into consideration the influence English authors had on their German counterparts. Due to the number of publications involved in the transmission and reception of English literature in Germany,<sup>1</sup> focus on individual case studies is needed. The choice of Samuel Richardson and his works to serve as an illustration of Anglo-German cultural transmission and reception comes as no surprise: not only does Richardson belong to the canon of influential authors of the age, but his fame also spread rapidly all over Europe.<sup>2</sup> The publication of *Pamela* (1741),<sup>3</sup>

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1. See, among others, Bernhard Fabian, ‘The Beginnings of English language publishing in Germany in the eighteenth century’, in *Books and society in history*, ed. Kenneth E. Carpenter (New York, London 1983), p. 115-143; Bernhard Fabian, ‘Englisch als neue Fremdsprache des 18. Jahrhunderts’, in *Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. Dieter Kimpel (Hamburg 1985), p. 178-196 as well as his *The English book in eighteenth-century Germany* (London 1992) and ‘English books and their eighteenth-century German readers’, in *The Widening circle: essays on the circulation of literature in eighteenth-century Europe*, ed. Paul Korshin (Philadelphia 1976), p. 119-196; Mary Bell Price and Lawrence Marsden Price, *English literature in Germany in the eighteenth century* (Berkeley 1953) give a first introduction to the topic; Horst Oppel, *Englisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen*, 2 vols, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1971); Gerhard Kaiser, *Aufklärung, Empfindsamkeit, Sturm und Drang* (Munich 1976); Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Göttingen, Zurich 1987) are more recent accounts.
2. See the outlines in Wilhelm Graeber, *Der englische Roman in Frankreich, 1741-1763: Übersetzungsgeschichte als Beitrag zur französischen Literaturgeschichte* (Heidelberg 1995), p. 46-49, p. 68-70, p. 174-182 and p. 223-225; T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: a biography* (Oxford 1971), p. 119-153, p. 285-321 and p. 401-418.



*Clarissa* (1747-1748),<sup>4</sup> and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753-1754)<sup>5</sup> won him the reputation of ‘father of the novel’, a genre that was to become popular within the second half of the eighteenth century. Moreover, the epistolary form Richardson chose was to become influential in the genesis and history of the German epistolary novel as represented by writers such as Gellert, Goethe, Hermes, Musäus, Wieland, and La Roche, all of them productive in the latter part of the century. Thus reconstructing the transmission process of Richardson’s works can deepen our understanding of this European phenomenon.

## I. Anglo-German relations in the eighteenth century

The eighteenth century is of special significance in the history of Anglo-German literary and cultural exchange. Its beginnings lie in the last decades of the seventeenth and continue until the beginning of the nineteenth century and comprise all walks of life. Within this period, Germany readily assimilated English literature to an extent that has few parallels. At the turn of the eighteenth century, French influence had been surpassed by English, and an ever-growing number of Anglophiles worshipped anything English, whether landscape gardening, proportionate representation, political thought as represented by Hobbes and Locke, Newton’s studies on astronomy and optics, Harvey’s research on blood circulation, Bacon’s pioneering work in establishing an inductive-empirical approach to science, or Halley’s success in astronomy, to name but a few areas of science and thought.

In England, the advancement of science culminated in the foundation of the Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge (1660).<sup>6</sup> Two years

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3. [Samuel Richardson], *Pamela: or, Virtue rewarded. In a Series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel to her Parents. Now first Published in Order to Cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes*, 2 vols (London 1741 [1740]).
  4. [Samuel Richardson], *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady, Comprehending the Most Important Concerns of Private Life, and Particularly Shewing the Distresses that May Attend the Misconduct both of Parents and of Children, in Relation to Marriage. Published by the Editor of Pamela*, 7 vols (London 1748 [1747-1748]). See William Merritt Sale, *Samuel Richardson: a biographical record of his literary career with historical notes* (New Haven 1936), p. 45-51. The first edition has been republished as *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross (Harmondsworth 1985).
  5. [Samuel Richardson], *The History of Sir Charles Grandison: In a Series of Letters Published from the Originals by the Editor of Pamela and Clarissa*, 7 vols (London 1754 [1753-1754]).
  6. See Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge*, ed. Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore (St. Louis 1959 [1667]).

later, the Society was endowed with royal charters and gained international reputation as the epitome of modern science. From 1665 on, the Royal Society published its findings in its *Philosophical Transactions* and thus made them available to an international audience of scientifically minded people.

French, the language at courts and of polite society, was gradually being replaced by English, and the number of speakers and readers of English increased substantially. Various geographical, political, and religious reasons led to a varying distribution of Anglophilia in Germany; all in all, a North-South divide predominates. The Northern states, with their international trade centres and former members of the Hanseatic League, such as Hamburg and Bremen, had come into contact with England at an early stage. The close dynastic ties between the English throne and the Electorate of Braunschweig-Lunenbourg became even closer when the House of Hanover, in the person of George I, ascended the English throne in 1714. The predominantly Protestant populations of the free towns and those of the former Hanseatic League found the liberty granted to the English middle class and their ideal of freedom very appealing.

Anglophilia gained supporters in centres of thinking such as Göttingen, where the former Elector of Hanover, King George II of England, had founded a university in 1734. Alongside Hamburg and Braunschweig, Göttingen soon became a major centre of Anglophilia. Modern languages were regarded as important assets for students' careers, and language teachers such as John Tomson, the first professor of English, taught them the relevant language skills.<sup>7</sup>

German travellers increasingly regarded England as a country worth visiting. London, Oxford, and Cambridge were the most prominent places on their itineraries. Drawing on their experiences, written down and published, they commented on a variety of phenomena in British literature and culture, economy and politics, as well as on the English character and customs of the nation.<sup>8</sup>

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7. From 1734, Tomson was a teacher of English at Göttingen University. He was appointed associate professor of English, before being granted full professorship in 1762. As a textbook for his lessons, Tomson published an anthology of English literature entitled *English miscellanies* which was soon to become a popular source for language teaching. See Fabian, 'Fremdsprache', p. 183-184. Tomson's biography is outlined in Thomas Finkenstaedt, 'Auf der Suche nach dem Göttinger Ordinarius des Englischen, John Tompson (1696-1768)', in *Fremdsprachenunterricht, 1500-1800*, ed. Konrad Schröder (Wiesbaden 1992), p. 57-74. The spelling of his surname varies from source to source.

8. William Douglas Robson-Scott, *German travellers in England, 1400-1800* (Oxford 1953); Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland*. Well-known travellers include Voltaire, whose *Lettres philosophiques* largely introduced the German reading public to Eng-

## II. Translating and translations in the eighteenth century

There were several channels through which the German reading public could gain access to English fiction and non-fiction alike: first, the English original; second, a direct translation from English into German; third, a translation into another foreign language such as Latin or French; and, finally, the translation of the English original into a third language that was subsequently translated into German.<sup>9</sup> More often than not, translators used the original but also relied on existing translations in a language they knew well. This combination of source texts was to result in 'eclectic translations'.<sup>10</sup>

Growing command of English within the century led to a change in the reception of English texts: until the 1750s, English literature was largely known through French translations imported from France or undertaken by Huguenots living in the Low Countries. Many German translators of the first four decades still had rather limited language proficiency and therefore preferred to translate from the French or worked eclectically. After 1740, direct translations gradually came to predominate and would become the rule in the latter half of the century:

Leaving aside possible intermediate stages [...] one can say that direct translations constitute the largest part of the texts of British authorship that were at the disposal of the German reader. If an author was made available in another way, for example in a translation into French or Latin, this translation was frequently, but by no means invariably, in addition to the translation into German.<sup>11</sup>

However, throughout the century, the dearth of skilled translators made direct translations difficult as a rule. As late as the end of the century, the Leipzig author and bookseller Friedrich Nicolai stated: 'Ein Übersetzer aus dem Englischen ist vornehmer als ein Übersetzer aus dem Französischen, weil er sel-

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land, Albrecht von Haller (1727), Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1770), Carl Philipp Moritz (1782), Sophie von La Roche (1785), and Georg Forster (1790). Maurer gives a wide selection of travel accounts in his *O Britannia, von deiner Freiheit einen Hut voll: deutsche Reiseberichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1992).

9. See Price and Price, *English literature in Germany*; Lawrence Marsden Price, *The Publication of English humaniora in Germany in the eighteenth century* (Berkeley 1955).

10. The phrase was coined by Jürgen von Stackelberg. See Jürgen von Stackelberg, 'Eklektisches Übersetzen 1: erläutert am Beispiel einer italienischen Übersetzung von Salomon Geßners *Idyllen*', in *Die literarische Übersetzung: Fallstudien zu ihrer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Brigitte Schultze (Berlin 1987), p. 53-62.

11. Fabian, 'English books', p. 121.

tener ist.<sup>12</sup> Those wishing to learn English and unable to travel to England had to turn to private tuition<sup>13</sup> or learn on their own with the help of a text in the English original<sup>14</sup> or a bilingual edition.<sup>15</sup> To facilitate such endeavours, a number of publications on English grammar<sup>16</sup> as well as German/English dictionaries<sup>17</sup> were made available in the course of the century.

Translations into German from French or Latin versions of the English text involve at least two translators and are therefore all the more prone to error. The quality of the work produced by the first translator is bound to have an impact on the quality of his successor's version, and at its worst can result in a text that retains little of the original. The use of French translations as a blueprint is a case in point. Classicist ideals of *bon goût* and *bienséance* govern the endeavours of French translators and often generate changes in the text that lead to changes of meaning.<sup>18</sup> Reconstructing the history of eclectic translations, then, calls for a meticulous comparison of all transla-

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12. 'A translator from the English is more distinguished than a translator from the French because it is rarer to find one.' Friedrich Nicolai, *Sebaldus Nothanker*, ed. Bernd Witte (Stuttgart 1991), p. 73. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
  13. Goethe's family employed a tutor for a period of four weeks. This tutor introduced them to the general rules of English, thus enabling them to continue their studies independently. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, 'Dichtung und Wahrheit 1', in *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zurich 1947-1977), XX.137.
  14. See Eva Maria Inbar, 'Zum Englischstudium im Deutschland des XVIII. Jahrhunderts', *Arcadia* 15 (1985), p. 14-28, here p. 16; James Boyd, *Goethe's knowledge of English literature* (Oxford 1932), p. ix.
  15. The bilingual edition of Alexander Pope's *Essay on man* allowed for a direct comparison of mother tongue and target language. See Fabian, 'The Beginnings of English-language publishing', p. 121.
  16. The most widely distributed outlines of English grammar are Theodor Arnold, *New English grammar* (Hanover 1718); Johann Elias Greiffenhahn, *Wohleingerichtete englische Grammatica literatorum* (Jena 1706); and Johann König's *Compleat English Guide for High-Germans [...]. Ein vollkommener Englischer Wegweiser für Hoch-Teutsche [...]* (London 1706). This title became so popular that it was then printed in Leipzig and went through eleven editions. M. Christian Ludwig's *Gründliche Anleitung zur englischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1717) was also widely known.
  17. Well-known dictionaries are Christian Ludwig, *A Dictionary English and German and French* (Leipzig 1706), Nathan Bailey, *A Compleat [!] English and German and German-English Dictionary* (Leipzig, Züllichau 1736), and Theodor Arnold, *A Compleat [!] Vocabulary, English and German* (Leipzig 1757). Further titles are listed in Robin C. Alston, *A Bibliography of the English language from the invention of printing to the year 1800*, vol. I: *English grammars and dictionaries* (Leeds 1965) and Robin C. Alston, *A Bibliography of the English language from the invention of printing to the year 1800*, vol. II: *Polyglot dictionaries and grammars* (Leeds 1967).
  18. Wilhelm Graeber uses the translations of *Pamela* as an example. See 'Richardson: *Paméla*; ou la vertu récompensée', in *Der englische Roman in Frankreich*, p. 46-70.

tions available at the time in order to determine the translator's source text(s) and outline the changes she/he incorporated.

English texts were available in Germany in three forms: original editions, Continental reprints, and bilingual editions. While reprints were available at reasonable prices, the average reader could not afford an English text imported via the Low Countries.<sup>19</sup> The first Continental English bookshop, in Hamburg, did not open until 1787,<sup>20</sup> and so most English texts were read in the form of reprints. With regard to *belles lettres*, German readers were offered reprints of Addison, Fielding, Gay, Goldsmith, Johnson, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Ossian, Pope, Prior, Richardson, Sterne, Swift, Thomson and Young.<sup>21</sup>

### III. *Clarissa* in England

In order to identify a translator's sources, a close look at the editions and translations available when she/he set about their task is called for. During Richardson's lifetime, *Clarissa* underwent four editions, each differing significantly as regards length and content of the letters. During the publication process, Richardson was at pains to alter the text in order to emphasize his moral intention. Thus changes occur in numerous letters, especially in those written by Lovelace, with a view to blackening his character.<sup>22</sup>

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19. See Fabian, 'Englisch als Fremdsprache', p. 186; Lawrence Marsden Price, 'Holland as a mediator of English-German literary influences in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Modern language quarterly* 2 (1941), p. 115-122, here p. 118-119.

20. See Bernhard Fabian, 'Die erste englische Buchhandlung auf dem Kontinent', in *Festschrift für Rainer Gruenter* (Heidelberg 1988), p. 122-144.

21. See Fabian, 'English books', p. 122.

22. Differences between the individual editions have resulted in a number of case studies. William Merrit Sale, *Samuel Richardson: master printer* (Ithaca 1950); M[ark] Kinkead-Weekes, 'Clarissa restored?', *Review of English studies* 10 (1959), p. 156-171; Frederick W. Hilles, 'The Plan of *Clarissa*', *Philological quarterly* 45 (1966), p. 236-248; T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, 'The Composition of *Clarissa* and its revisions before publication', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 83 (1968), p. 416-428; John Carroll, 'Richardson at work: revisions, allusions, and quotations in *Clarissa*', in *Studies in the eighteenth century*, ed. Robert Francis Brissenden (Canberra 1973), II.53-71; Shirley van Marter, 'Richardson's revisions of *Clarissa* in the second edition', *Studies in bibliography* 26 (1973), p. 107-132; Shirley van Marter, 'Richardson's revisions of *Clarissa* in the third and fourth editions', *Studies in bibliography* 28 (1975), p. 119-152; Margaret Anne Doody and Florian Stuber, 'Clarissa censored', *Modern language studies* 18 (1988), p. 74-88; and Tom Keymer, 'Clarissa's death, *Clarissa*'s sale, and the text of the second edition', *Review of English studies* 45 (1994), p. 389-396.

The first edition was published in three instalments. Although the date in the first volumes is 1748, volumes I and II came out on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1747, with volumes III and IV to follow nearly five months later, on 28 April 1748. Volumes V-VII were finally published on 6 December 1748.

Six months later, in 1749, Richardson published a second edition comprising volumes I-IV only. The year 1751 saw the publication of a third edition in duodecimo<sup>23</sup> alongside a fourth luxury edition in octavo.<sup>24</sup> Richardson also published a volume of *Letters and Passages Restored*,<sup>25</sup> which consisted of changes made for the third edition. The volume was made available for readers who had purchased the first two editions. Eight years later, the fourth duodecimo edition<sup>26</sup> was the last to be published during Richardson's lifetime. By then, his extensive rewriting of selected passages had increased the length of *Clarissa* by one volume.

#### IV. *Clarissa* in Germany

The transmission of Richardson's second novel is unparalleled, and in its singularity offers valuable insights into translating practices in the eighteenth century. The translation was undertaken in the late 1740s, at a time, that is, when the lack of linguistic expertise sent translators to French or Latin translations of the work they endeavoured to render into German. Furthermore, fiction was frowned upon and novels considered equivalent to romances. It therefore comes as no surprise that references to translators' names are scarce during this period.

The first German translation of *Clarissa* is atypical in all these respects. For one thing, it was translated straight from the original and published well before the first French translation of 1751-1752; for another, the scholars involved in it were academics of good repute who persuaded an academic publisher to commission and print the work. Finally, a contract between the

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23. [Samuel Richardson], *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady [...] The Third Edition. In Which Many Passages and some Letters are Restored from the Original Manuscripts. And to which is Added, An Ample Collection of Such of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments [...] Contained in the History, as are Presumed to Be of General Use and Service* (London 1751). See Sale, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 55-58.

24. [Samuel Richardson], *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (in octavo), 7 vols (London 1751). See Sale, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 58-61.

25. [Samuel Richardson], *Letters and Passages Restored From the Original Manuscripts of the History of Clarissa* (London 1751). See Sale, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 55-58.

26. [Samuel Richardson], *Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (in duodecimo), 8 vols (London 1759). See Sale, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 61-63.

translator and the publisher is extant, as is the translator's invoice. Such documents are conducive to a better understanding of the translation process, its duration, and the impact it had.

By the late 1740s, the young university of Göttingen was developing into a major centre of learning with close relations to Britain. The university library, which was well stocked with English texts thanks to its close ties with the House of Hanover, soon evolved into a research library with a remarkable focus on British publications.<sup>27</sup> Fruitful diplomatic relations between Britain and the Electorate helped to provide Göttingen with recent publications. Delivery presumably began in 1740; eight years later hardly a month would go by without the arrival of imports from England or the Low Countries.<sup>28</sup> In the sixties and seventies of the century, the counsellor to the legation resident in London, Best, practically acted as the library's 'field representative'.<sup>29</sup> Best had close connections with London booksellers. In his extensive correspondence with the Göttingen university librarian, Christian Gottlob Heyne, Best supplied information about the most recent publications. He also forwarded Heyne's book orders.<sup>30</sup>

Professors of international renown, such as Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and August Ludwig Schlözer, the biblical scholar and orientalist Johann David Michaelis and the polyhistor Albrecht von Haller added to the appeal of studying at Göttingen. After returning to Germany in September 1742 from a year of travelling in England,<sup>31</sup> followed by a brief interval at the uni-

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27. See Bernhard Fabian, 'Göttingen als Forschungsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Plädoyer für eine neue Bibliotheksgeschichte', in *Öffentliche und private Bibliotheken im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Raritätenkammern, Forschungsinstrumente oder Bildungsstätten?*, ed. Paul Raabe (Bremen, Wolfenbüttel 1977), p. 209-239. The Göttingen book collection and the criteria for acquisition are outlined in Bernhard Fabian, 'An Eighteenth-century research collection: English books at Göttingen university library', *The Library* 6.1 (1979), p. 209-224.

28. See Fabian, 'An Eighteenth-century research collection', p. 212. Fabian refers to written accounts made by a contemporary.

29. Fabian, 'Göttingen als Forschungsbibliothek', p. 217-218.

30. The correspondence is in the archives of the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. See Fabian, 'Göttingen als Forschungsbibliothek', p. 216-218. Fabian gives examples of the content and scope of deliveries from England in his 'An Eighteenth-century research collection', p. 212-214.

31. According to Michaelis, the main purpose of his travels was to learn English: 'Die Reise verfolgte hauptsächlich nur den [Zweck], daß ich die Sprache fast so gut als Muttersprache sprechen lernte [...] Doch geschah dieß nicht in London, denn da sind zu viele Deutsche, sondern in Oxford, wo ich einen Monat lang blieb, und blos unter Engländern war.' – 'Above all, my travels served the purpose of learning to speak the language nearly as proficiently as native speakers do [...] Since too many Germans are around there, this did not happen in London, but in Oxford, where I stayed for a month and was entirely among

versity of Halle, Michaelis moved to Göttingen in 1745. A year later, he was appointed associate professor of philosophy, before being granted full professorship in 1750. By the time Michaelis became emeritus professor in 1791, he was one of Göttingen's most renowned academics and a member of numerous royal societies abroad. Over the years and amidst other honours, he was appointed director of the department of philology, and head of the university library. In addition, he was editor of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,<sup>32</sup> one of the most influential periodicals of the century.

The years spent in Göttingen were significant not only in terms of Michaelis's academic achievements but also had a formative influence on his personal development. Michaelis writes:

Die ersten Jahre meines Aufenthaltes waren mir nicht angenehm, doch bekam ich bald einen sehr warmen Freund, den ich gar nicht suchte, und von dem mir noch dazu einige andere frühere göttingische Freunde, die mit ihm aber sehr gespannt waren, äusserst widrige Begriffe beygebracht hatten; der hingegen wirklich mich suchte, und nachher einen grossen, mir vortheilhaften Einfluß in das Schicksal meines Lebens gehabt hat: den sel. Haller.<sup>33</sup>

Albrecht von Haller was one of the most formidable men of his time: physician, botanist, poet, a member – like Michaelis – of many royal societies throughout Europe, since 1736 professor of pharmacology, anatomy and botany in Göttingen, since 1746 sole publisher and – even after returning to his native Switzerland – tireless review editor of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, in short, a universal scholar.<sup>34</sup> His extensive studies at various European universities had introduced Haller to the most recent developments in his field and ensured that his students received an education which reflected these developments. To this end, he had an anatomy theatre built, a midwifery school established, and a botanical garden created. During the seventeen years Haller spent in Göttingen, he published no fewer than 86

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English people.' Johann David Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefaßt*, ed. Johann Matthäus Hassencamp (Leipzig, Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1793), p. 28-29.

32. The *Göttingische Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen* were printed from 1739. In 1753, they were renamed *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen unter der Aufsicht der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*. Since the journal is commonly known as *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, this title is used here.

33. 'The first years of my stay were not pleasant, but then I made a very dear friend whom I was not looking for, about whom some other former friends in Göttingen, who were not on good terms with him, had told me extremely unflattering stories. He, however, really sought me out and subsequently had a profound, advantageous influence on my destiny: it was the late Haller.' Michaelis, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 41.

34. Haller's contributions to *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* are outlined in Karl S. Guthke, *Hallers Literaturkritik* (Tübingen 1970).



papers on anatomy, botany, and medicine: 'There can be no doubt that it was Albrecht Haller, above all, who lay the foundations for the international reputation of Georgia Augusta.'<sup>35</sup>

## V. The Translation: its genesis

Unlike the majority of eighteenth-century translations into German (including the translation of *Pamela*<sup>36</sup> as well as later translations of *Clarissa*), the sources of the Göttingen *Clarissa* are not difficult to determine: it was the first Continental translation of the novel and therefore a direct translation. *Clarissa, Die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers, von demjenigen herausgegeben, welcher die Geschichte der Pamela geliefert hat: und nunmehr aus dem Englischen in das Deutsche übersetzt* was published in eight volumes by Abram Vandenhoeck in Göttingen from 1748 to 1753. The work benefited from royal privileges ('Mit Königl-Pohln. und Churf. Sächs. allergnädigsten Privilegio') meant to protect the publisher from piracies.<sup>37</sup> Volumes I and II bear the publication date 1748, the next two were published in 1749, volumes V and VI followed in 1750, and the volume entitled 'seventh and final part' ('siebenter und letzter Theil') in 1751. Three years later, Michaelis translated the *Letters and Passages Restored*, thus completing his translation of *Clarissa*.

The *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, like other periodicals such as the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen*, showed interest in the progress Michaelis made with his translation and regularly reported on its status. Even before the first volume had been published, the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* announced: 'Wir tragen [...] kein Bedenken einen neuen vermuthlichen Roman

35. 'Es kann gar kein Zweifel sein, daß Albrecht Haller in erster Linie den internationalen Ruhm der Georgia Augusta begründet hat.' Götz von Selle, *Die Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen, 1737-1937* (Göttingen 1937), p. 20-21.

36. See Wilhelm Graeber, 'German translations of English fiction and their French mediators', in *Interculturality and the historical study of literary translations*, ed. Armin Paul Frank and Horst Kittel (Berlin 1999), p. 5-16, here p. 7.

37. Vandenhoeck seems to have had every reason to suspect piracies of so promising a title as *Clarissa*. In fact, in 1749, the popularity of *Clarissa* led to a pirated edition the sale of which Vandenhoeck attempted to stop, making enquiries amongst the booksellers of Leipzig. His source, however, did not find any copies of a reprint, and reported back to him. The letter concerning potential piracies is dated 25 January 1749 and can be found in the Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht archives. I would like to thank the publishing house for allowing me to consult these documents. On this subject, see also *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11.26 (13 Mar 1749).

zu berühren, der in London [...] im vorigen Jahre herauszukommen angefangen. Die zwey ersten Theile sind für den Buchh. Richardson auf 312. und 310 Duodezseiten abgedruckt, und zwey andre sollen nachfolgen.<sup>38</sup>

*Clarissa* was judged favourably, even though its reviewer, Albrecht von Haller, showed himself aware of the weakness by which the claim to authenticity undermined the epistolary novel as a genre:

Es bleibt [...] eben der Vorwurf gegen die *Clarissa*, den man wieder die *Pamela* gemacht, wie nemlich bey einer beständigen Aufsicht ihrer Verfolger das Frauenzimmer das Herz gehabt, und die Zeit gefunden, so viele, und so lange Briefe zu schreiben. Doch der Verfasser hat kein ander Mittel gewußt, die vielen besondern kleinen Begebenheiten und Unterredungen lebhaft und umständlich abzuschildern, welches freylich ganz unwahrscheinlich wäre, wann sie nicht unmittelbar zu Papier gebracht würden [...] Dieses angenehme Buch wird hier von Personen, die der Englischen Sprache vollkommen mächtig sind, übersetzt, und in Vandenhoe[c]ks Verlag auf die nächste Messe an Tag kommen.<sup>39</sup>

Even before publication, Haller defended the plausibility of the plot in order to refute accusations against it as a work of fiction. The reference to the excellent translators<sup>40</sup> at work supplements his effort to distance the novel from the disreputable genre of romances.<sup>41</sup> The publication process itself was

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38. 'We [...] have no second thoughts about presenting a new so-called novel whose publication began in London last year. The first two parts are printed for the bookseller Richardson on 312 and 310 pages of duodecimo format, two further ones are to follow.' *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 10.35 (28 Mar 1748), p. 274.

39. 'The reproach aimed at *Pamela* is still invoked with regard to *Clarissa*, namely how the woman found the heart and the time to write so many and such long letters while under constant supervision by her pursuers. The writer, however, has known of no other means of depicting all the little occurrences and dialogues which would seem unrealistic if not put down on paper immediately [...] This pleasant book is being translated by people who are proficient in the English language, and will be published by Vandenhoe[c]k's publishing house in time for next Easter's fair.' *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 10.35 (28 Mar 1748), p. 274-275.

40. It is not known whether Michaelis translated all eight volumes of the novel himself. If he had someone to help him, this fact would underscore Vandenhoeck's business sense and his willingness to use every possible means in order to speed up the publication of *Clarissa*.

41. The *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen* comment thus: 'Von dieser letzteren [*Clarissa*] liefert uns der UniversitätsBuchdrucker in Göttingen, Abram Vandenhöck zwey Theile unter dem Titel: "Clarissa, die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers, von demjenigen herausgegeben, welcher die Geschichte der *Pamela* geliefert hat: und nunmehr aus dem Englischen in das Deutsche übersetzt. 1748. 8. Mit Königl. Pohn. und Churs. Sächsl. allergnädigst. Privilegio." Wir sind bis ietzo mit dem Übersetzer [!] darinnen nicht einig, daß die *Clarissa* der Geschichte der *Pamela* vorzuziehen sey [...] Was die Übersetzung [!] betrifft: so scheint sie sehr wohl gerathen zu seyn; weil der Verfasser beyder Sprachen mächtig gewesen ist.' – 'Of *Clarissa* the university printer in Göttingen, Abram Vandenhöck, delivers two parts entitled: "Clarissa, die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers, von demjenigen herausgegeben,

noted with interest. On 13 March 1749, the following announcement appeared: ‘Der dritte Theil der übersetzten Clarissa ist bey Vandenhoeck neulich fertigworden, [...] und die Englische Urkunde ist uns nunmehr vollständig in sieben Bänden zu Handen gekommen.’<sup>42</sup> A few months later, the readers of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* were informed:

Der vierte Theil der Clarissa, die von der gleichen beliebten Hand übersezt, und auf Ostern herausgekommen ist, beläuft sich auf 398 S. und die übrigen drey werden mit nächstem nachfolgen. Sonst ist in Engelland eine neue Auflage dieses vortreflichen Buches fertig worden, worinn man eine Tabelle findet, auf welcher unter gewissen algemeinen Titeln alle die merkwürdigen Sittenlehren und Lebensregeln angezeigt sind [...] Diese Tabelle wird bey dem letzten Theil der Deutschen Übersetzung gleichfalls anzutreffen sein.<sup>43</sup>

In July 1750, finally, the reviewer announced the imminent completion of the project,<sup>44</sup> which was achieved in November of that year: ‘Der siebende und letzte Theil der Clarissa ist auf der Herbstmesse herausgekommen, und hiermit ist dieses angenehme und nützliche Werk zu Ende gebracht worden. Er ist 908 S. stark.’<sup>45</sup>

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welcher die Geschichte der Pamela geliefert hat: und nunmehr aus dem Englischen in das Deutsche übersetzt. 1748. 8. Mit Königl. Pohnl. und Churs. Sächsl. allergnädigst. Privilegio.” So far, we do agree with the translator that the history of Clarissa is to be preferred to that of Pamela. As far as the translation is concerned, one can say that it is very well done because the writer is competent in both languages.’ *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen* 1.16 (26 Feb 1749), p. 127-128.

42. ‘The third volume of the translated Clarissa has recently been completed by Vandenhoeck [...] and with seven volumes the complete English version is now in our hands.’ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11.26. (3 Mar 1749), p. 201.
43. ‘The fourth volume of Clarissa, translated by the same popular hand and published at Easter, comprises 398 pages, and the other three will follow next [Easter]. Apart from that, a new edition of this superb book containing a table with all the moral teachings and rules for the conduct of life has been printed in England. This table will be found in the last volume of the German translation.’ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11.72 (11 Jun 1749), p. 570.
44. ‘Von der übersezten Clarissa ist diese Ostermesse der fünfte Theil auf 878. und der sechste auf 838 S. abgedruckt worden. Dieser und der letzte Theil (der auf die nächste Messe nachfolgen wird,) sind lebhafter und stärker an Gedanken, Ausdruck und Mahlerey als die vier ersten.’ – ‘Of the translated Clarissa volume five has been printed on 878 pages and volume six on 838 pages for this year’s Easter Fair. The latter one and the last volume (which is to follow for next year’s Fair) are stronger with regard to thoughts, expression and depiction than the first four ones.’ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 12.77 (30 Jul 1750), p. 610.
45. ‘The seventh and last part of Clarissa was published in time for the Autumn Fair. This pleasant and edifying work has thus been brought to an end. It comprises 908 pages.’ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 12.113 (9 Nov 1750), p. 898. A similar account is given in the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen* 3.9 (30 Jan 1751), p. 79: ‘Vandenhoe[c]k’s Witwe hat geliefert: Clarissa, die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers, aus dem englischen übersetzt, siebender und letzter Theil, 8. 2Alph. 11. Bog.’ – ‘Vandenhoe[c]k’s widow has produced:

The *Letters and Passages Restored*, Richardson's supplement for those who had bought the first two editions of *Clarissa*, featuring the numerous alterations of the second and in particular the third editions, was published in 1753 as 'volume eight which contains the supplements' ('achter Theil welcher die Zusätze enthält').<sup>46</sup> The translator of this last volume considered it necessary to draw his readers' attention to the subsequent peculiarity in his preface:

Gegenwärtiger achter Theil der Geschichte der Clarissa liefert die Zusätze und Verbesserungen, welche in der dritten und vierten Ausgabe dieses vortreflichen Werks hinzugekommen sind. Es erschienen dieselben in Engelland nach einander, nach dem unsre Übersetzung, die man aus der ersten Ausgabe verfertigt, schon vollendet war.<sup>47</sup>

## VI. Criticism

To undertake the translation and publication of *Clarissa* immediately after the appearance of volumes I and II of the English original, without any assurance of its success, the number of volumes it would amount to, or the time span of the publication, was unheard of in the 1740s. Such a project was made possible only because of a number of factors in its favour: first, close ties to England and close attention afforded to new literary works; second, a copy or copies of the text quickly being available in Göttingen; third, a publisher endowed with business sense and willingness to take risks; fourth, a distinguished scholar as patron to the project; and, last but not least, a well-qualified and speedy translator. Göttingen supplied all of this, and it was the dedication of three learned men that allowed for its completion:

Haller persuaded Michaelis to translate the novel (or at least part of it), and both obviously persuaded Abram Vandenhoeck, Göttingen's university printer, to take on the book [...] It appeared with the Vandenhoeck imprint, and it was among the first English novels to be

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Clarissa, die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers, aus dem englischen übersetzt, siebender und letzter Theil, 8. 2Alph. 11. Bog.'

46. 'Bey Vandenhoecks Witwe ist nun auch der 8te Theil der teutschen Übersetzung der so beliebten Clarisse auf 1. Alph. in 8. abgedruckt zum Vorschein gekommen.' – 'By Vandenhoeck's widow the eighth volume of the German translation of the popular Clarissa has been published in 1. Alph. in 8.' *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen* 4.89 (15 Nov 1752), p. 708.

47. 'This eighth volume of Clarissa contains the additions and alterations which are contained in the third and fourth editions of this superb work. In England, they were published subsequently after our translation, which was made from the first edition, had already been completed.' [Richardson], *Die Geschichte der Clarissa*, vol. VIII, n.p. ('Vorrede des Übersetzers').

brought out by a well-respected German publisher. This no doubt helped to establish the novel in Germany as serious literature.<sup>48</sup>

In the light of the volumes' publication dates, Michaelis must have had immediate access to the English original: his preface to the first volume is dated 20 September 1748, and as Haller points out in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, work on the translation was already on the way by March 1748, three months after the English publication date. By 13 March 1749, volume III of the German *Clarissa* was published, and all seven English volumes had made their way to Göttingen.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, volume IV was brought out in time for the Easter Fair, 1749. The following Easter Fair saw the publication of volumes V and VI, and volume VII, though announced for Easter 1751, was already available in November 1750.

Obviously, Vandenhoeck was at pains to publish a bestseller, and was hoping to ride the wave of *Pamela's* success. Given the reputation of the novel as a genre, he seems to have been utterly certain of *Clarissa's* future success before accepting the manuscript. Advance notice of the publication indicates this conviction: 'Vandenhoeck läßt iezo drucken, und wird auf die Leipziger Messe liefern: Die Geschichte der Fräulein Clarissa Harlowe, aus dem Englischen übersetzt 2 Theile. / Es ist dieses Buch, so im Englischen 40 Bogen in 8° beträgt, von eben demjenigen verfertigt, welcher durch Herausgebung der Pamela sich um das Vergnügen und Tugend des Frauenzimmers so viel verdient gemacht hat, und einen so allgemeinen Beifall ten.'<sup>50</sup>

The preface to the first volume of *Clarissa* reiterates this argument. In it, Michaelis provides insight into the genesis of the novel. He justifies his choice of text and explains Vandenhoeck's reasons for publication:

Es sind die Geschichte der Clarissa dem Verleger dieser deutschen Übersetzung, so bald sie in England heraus kamen, von solchen Männern angepriesen und ihm angeraten worden eine deutsche Übersetzung davon zu besorgen, auf deren Urtheil er sich völlig verlassen konnte,

48. Fabian, *The English book in eighteenth-century Germany*, p. 84-85.

49. See *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11.26 (13 Mar 1749), p. 201.

50. 'Vandenhoeck has currently printed, and will deliver at the Leipzig Fair: Die Geschichte der Fräulein Clarissa Harlowe, aus dem Englischen übersetzt 2 Theile. This book, which comprises 40 sheets in octavo in the original, was produced by the same person who received such general praise for publishing *Pamela* and rendered outstanding services to the entertainment and virtue of the female sex.' The original copy can be found in the archives of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. See also Wilhelm Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne: zwei Jahrhunderte Buchhändler in einer deutschen Universitätsstadt* (Göttingen 1935), p. 48, n. 3.

und deren Nahmen, wenn es nöthig wäre sie bekannt zu machen, ihm und der von ihm herausgegebenen Übersetzung an statt einer Schutz=Schrift dienen könnten.<sup>51</sup>

Given the reputation of the advisors – one of them is characterized as the 'greatest critic of our times' whose own publications are governed by 'the strictest principles of virtue and religion', Michaelis continues, the publisher could only be delighted to have been the first to be offered *Clarissa*.<sup>52</sup> It may reasonably be suspected that Albrecht von Haller, who was critically observing the European book world in his *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, was this 'greatest critic of [the] times'. With regard to the choice of translator, Vandenhoeck explains:

Es wird nicht nöthig seyn ausführlicher zu melden, daß sich der Verleger in Ausfindung eines solchen Übersetzers Mühe gegeben, und des Rathes desjenigen Mannes dabey insonderheit bedienet hat, der ihm die *Clarissa* als Meisterstück eines wohl geschriebenen Englischen Buches angepriesen hatte. Derselbige den er endlich ersucht hat, die Übersetzung des ganzen Buchs zu übernehmen, hat sich selbst eine geraume Zeit in England aufgehalten, und hoffet deswegen, daß sich der Leser auf seine Übersetzung werde verlassen können.<sup>53</sup>

However, Vandenhoeck appears to have had some difficulty in persuading the translator he had set his hopes on at the outset. Michaelis kept stressing that he did not take on the task for the sake of pleasure but rather exclusively as an act of 'service to mankind'.<sup>54</sup> The translation of *Clarissa*, or so it appears, was in reality 'minor work' for Michaelis, work which he felt 'forced' by his sense of moral duty and linguistic competence to undertake. It is no longer possible to distinguish the extent of truth behind what may be little more than an example of the modesty *topos*. Nevertheless, it is worth

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51. 'Immediately following its publication in England, the history of *Clarissa* was praised to the publisher of this translation, and he was advised to supply a German translation. This was undertaken by such men whose judgment he could rely on. If it were necessary to publicise their names, they would serve as protection for this translation.' [Richardson], *Die Geschichte der Clarissa*, vol. I, n.p. ('Vorrede des Übersetzers').

52. See [Richardson], *Die Geschichte der Clarissa*, vol. I, n.p. ('Vorrede des Übersetzers').

53. 'It will not be necessary to point out that the publisher has taken great pains to find the appropriate translator and has placed particular emphasis on the advice given by the man who had praised *Clarissa* as a masterpiece of well-phrased English. The man who has been asked to translate the whole book has spent some time in England. Therefore, the publisher hopes to be able to count on his translation.' [Richardson], *Die Geschichte der Clarissa*, vol. I, n.p. ('Vorrede des Übersetzers').

54. '[...] wenn er nicht in der Übersetzung dieses Buches der Welt einen wahrhaften Dienst zu leisten geglaubt hätte.' – '[...] if he had not believed that in translating the book he would render a service to the world.' [Richardson], *Die Geschichte der Clarissa*, vol. I, n.p. ('Vorrede des Übersetzers').

noting the description of the publisher's and translator's involvement in the publication of *Clarissa*.

'Minor work' or not, Michaelis was commissioned to do the translation while he was associate professor at Göttingen and simultaneously preoccupied with the duties inherent in this academic position. Consequently, his command of English had to be firm and proficient since the ambitious publication schedule cannot have left him much time for the translation.<sup>55</sup> A contract between publisher and translator about translating volume II has survived in the Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht archives. It offers valuable insight into the terms and conditions for a task which was to be completed in the shortest possible time: the honorarium for a translation of this length amounted to 39 Reichstaler in addition to two copies of volumes I and II of the German *Clarissa*. By comparing this amount with the average annual income of citizens of Göttingen – some 20 years later, around 1765, the mayor had an annual income of 700 Reichstaler, a senator some 300 to 500 Reichstaler, and a casual labourer or odd-job man in regular employment up to approximately 60 Reichstaler without meals and lodging<sup>56</sup> – the honorarium can be better appreciated. Michaelis was therefore rewarded for speed. He promised to deliver one sheet of octavo format per week; and the translation of volume II was scheduled to be undertaken between 7 March and 27 April 1748. In order to accelerate the publication process, Vandenhoeck took on the task of publication, while entrusting the typesetting itself to a printer.<sup>57</sup>

The sheer length of the German text makes the reader surmise that little was omitted from the translation. The German translation is every inch the equal of the English *Clarissa* in terms of the number of pages: volumes I to III of the duodecimo edition comprise between 398 and 566 pages, the following three volumes from the years 1750 and 1751 are 754 pages long on

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55. In a later publication he states: 'I never found it impossible, or even very difficult to translate English pieces into German, or to concentrate the substance of them in extracts, abridging the thoughts, yet preserving all their perspicuity, and this without borrowing a single foreign word.' Johann David Michaelis, *A Dissertation on the Influence of Opinions on Language and of Language on Opinions, Which Gained the Prussian Royal Academy's Prize on that Subject: Containing Many Curious Particulars in Philology, Natural History, and the Scriptural Phraseology. Together with an Enquiry into the Advantages and Practicability of an Universal Learned Language* (London 1759).

56. See Hans-Jürgen Gerhard, 'Geld und Geldwert im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Göttingen im 18. Jahrhundert: eine Stadt verändert ihr Gesicht: Texte und Materialien zur Ausstellung im Städtischen Museum und im Stadtarchiv Göttingen, 26. April-30. August 1987* (Göttingen 1987), p. 25-29, here p. 29.

57. Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne*, p. 48 quotes a letter from Gesner to Mosheim as well as Gesner's *Promemoria* of 1749. The wording 'läßt iezo druken' used in the advance notice (see above) underlines this.

average. Comparison of the texts confirms this supposition: the German translation contains all of the letters in the English version; the first three volumes each end after letters 45, 93 and 173, respectively<sup>58</sup> and thereafter in the same places as the English original. Volumes IV and V of the original are separated in a different place in the German (after letter 218 instead of letter 231 as in the original), but together they still have the same text content as the English version. By contrast, volumes VI and VII are again true to their English counterparts: volume VI ends with letter 418, and the seventh volume also contains the 10-year printing privilege accorded by Emperor Franz to Vandenhoeck on 11 February 1749.

The supplementary eighth volume is indicative of Richardson's unceasing efforts to emphasize the didactic nature of his novel. Today, it cannot be known whether Michaelis considered his own didactic motives to be of equal importance to Richardson's moral message. At any rate, identity, or proximity of intentions, is suggested by the fact that the translation is everywhere as close to the original as possible. On all counts, Michaelis's version may be deemed faithful to his source. *Clarissa: die Geschichte eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers* (1748-1753) was an academic approach seeking to maintain as much of the English complexity as his native tongue permitted. In this case, cultural transfer helped pave the way for overcoming the well-established classicist French models by setting forth unprecedented ways of writing.

Like its English counterpart, the Göttingen *Clarissa* became an instantaneous success. The combined forces of the literary Haller, who took great pains to introduce this masterpiece to a large audience of readers while influencing the nascent German literature of his age, the business-minded Vandenhoeck, who by engaging a translator with excellent language skills and outsourcing the printing process ensured immediate publication, and the faithful Michaelis, who regarded Richardson's means of individualizing characters by different styles both as an intellectual challenge and a service to his nation, helped develop the literary genre as well as the taste of the nation. The publication of the German *Clarissa* shows to what extent any English product was being observed in Germany and how readily one was prepared to take risks by experimenting with new literary forms.

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58. The illustration follows the first English edition as edited by Angus Ross.





ANDREAS DITTRICH

Traduire la pensée utopique:  
le transfert des paradigmes de *L'An 2440* et  
*Der goldne Spiegel*

Les récits utopiques de Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814), *L'An 2440* (1770/1771), et de Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), *Der goldne Spiegel* (1772), répondent à deux stratégies clairement distinctes: d'une part, l'anticipation d'un Paris futur utopique sous la forme du rêve imaginaire, et d'autre part la restitution rétrospective d'une chronique qui contient deux esquisses utopiques (l'enclave idyllique des 'enfants de la nature' et l'État idéalisé du roi Tifan).<sup>1</sup> Ces deux utopies comptent parmi les textes fondateurs du genre, *L'An 2440* étant le prototype de l'uchronie anticipative et *Der goldne Spiegel* le prototype du roman utopique satirique. Et c'est bien parce que l'utopisme littéraire et la perfection imaginaire peuvent être regardés comme des idées-clés des Lumières dans toute l'Europe que ces deux textes permettent d'élucider un cas révélateur du transfert culturel par voie de traduction. Une analyse préliminaire mettra en relief les points d'intersection chronologiques entre les nombreuses éditions et rééditions de *L'An 2440* et de *Der goldne Spiegel* en vue de classer les influences réciproques (I.). Ensuite, une confrontation des nombreuses imitations, adaptations et versions servira à illustrer la diffusion et la transformation des nouvelles pensées utopiques en Europe (II.). Enfin, on se penchera sur quelques croisements intertextuels entre ces deux récits utopiques (III.). La notion de 'traduction' employée ici sera toujours celle du véhicule de transfert culturel, qui inclut les versions ainsi que les adaptations, imitations et contrefaçons d'un contenu ou d'un schéma narratif.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Andreas Dittrich, 'Utopien als denkbare mögliche Welten: Bausteine für ein textanalytisches Utopie-Modell anhand paradigmatischer Fallstudien zu Merciers *L'An 2440* (1770/71) und Wielands *Der goldne Spiegel* (1772)', *Recherches germaniques* 34 (2004), p. 31-80.
  2. Cf. Sandra Pott, 'Triangulärer Transfer', *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 56.1 (2006), p. 1-9.

## I. Création, publication, éditions: les traductions d'une idée

Il est malaisé de fixer chronologiquement la genèse et la publication de *L'An 2440*. Quoique les reflets dans l'œuvre de Mercier s'avèrent ambigus ou même contradictoires dans ce domaine, il est néanmoins envisageable de délimiter un laps de temps pendant lequel le texte a pu être produit et publié. Une note autoréflexive de *L'An 2440* fournit des informations internes sur sa création: 'Cet ouvrage a été commencé en 1768.'<sup>3</sup> On trouve confirmation de cette datation rétrospective dans une lettre du 22 juin 1768 à Antoine-Léonard Thomas, où Mercier écrit: 'Je travaille au long rêve de l'An deux mille quatre cent quarante. J'ai déjà mis à profit plusieurs de vos idées et je ne manquerai pas de vous remettre l'ouvrage pour en recevoir d'autres qui m'enflamment d'un feu nouveau.'<sup>4</sup>

Quant à l'achèvement et l'impression, par contre, les dates oscillent incessamment sous la plume de Mercier entre 1770 et 1771, dates figurant en page de titre de l'édition originale. Dans *De Jean-Jacques Rousseau, considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution* (1791), Mercier constate: 'je l'avois conçue en idée cette révolution, dans mon an 2440, et dix-neuf années avant qu'elle n'arrivât',<sup>5</sup> ce qui impliquerait l'année 1770, ainsi que le confirmeraient *l'Avis de l'Auteur* de la réédition de *L'An 2440* en 1786 ('j'ai publié la première édition de cet Ouvrage en 1770')<sup>6</sup> et la répétition de cette assertion dans les *Fictions morales* (1792): 'je placerai à la tête mon prophétique *Rêve de l'an 2440*, qui a fait, je puis m'en féliciter, une assez belle fortune; aussi me donnerai-je le singulier plaisir de rapprocher de plusieurs pages de ce *Songe* (imprimé sous mes yeux à Amsterdam en 1770)'.<sup>7</sup>

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3. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An 2440: Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, textes choisis et préfacés par Christine Marcandier-Colard et Christophe Cave (Paris 1999), p. 36. Toute référence à cette édition qui reproduit le texte de 1771 sera marquée par le sigle 'M'.
  4. Lettre citée d'après Everett C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*: its publishing history during the author's lifetime', première partie, *Harvard library bulletin* 32.1 (1984), p. 5-35 (p. 10).
  5. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *De J. J. Rousseau, considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution* (Paris 1791), II.207-208.
  6. La datation se répète par la suite du texte: 'Je désavoue pleinement & entièrement les éditions, ou plutôt les contrefaçons qui ont paru depuis 1770 jusqu'à ce jour. [...] Depuis l'apparition de mon livre, plusieurs auteurs en ont copié de pages & des fragments considérables dans leurs compilations; c'est une marque d'estime, mais j'ai droit de réclamer ce que j'imprimois bien avant eux en 1770; époque de la première édition.' [Louis-Sébastien Mercier], *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante: Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, nouv. éd. (Paris 1786), p. v-vij.
  7. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Fictions morales* (Paris 1792), I.xij.

Le *Nouveau discours préliminaire* de la réédition de *L'An 2440* en 1799, réimpression autorisée par Mercier, mentionne une date ultérieure: 'La première édition date de 1771, sous le règne du chancelier Maupeou.'<sup>8</sup> Cette date est réitérée dans une liste des œuvres de Mercier, dressée en appendice du troisième volume de cette édition (M99, p. 343-349).<sup>9</sup> Abstraction faite de ces incertitudes dans les dates données par Mercier lui-même, l'écho de la critique littéraire se fait entendre assez tardivement. D'après les études les plus récentes, le premier à mentionner *L'An 2440* dans un ouvrage imprimé semble avoir été Louis Petit de Bachaumont, qui consigne dans ses *Mémoires* en date du 16 août 1771: 'Il paroît un nouveau Livre sous le titre baroque de *L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quarante, Rêve s'il en fût jamais*.'<sup>10</sup> Bien plus tard, Frédéric-Melchior Grimm ne lui dévoilera sa *Correspondance littéraire* que le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1771.<sup>11</sup>

Quoique la corrélation temporelle 1770 – 2440 semble être plus souple,<sup>12</sup> les indications intrinsèques, intertextuelles et critiques poussent la frontière plus loin vers l'année 1771. Néanmoins, la critique littéraire hésite entre 1770 et 1771, tout d'abord à cause des indices fournis par Mercier qui ne s'accordent pas entre eux. Raymond Trousson en conclut: 'Finalement, quoique daté de 1771, il est possible que le livre ait paru en 1770, mais à l'extrême fin de l'année, ce qui expliquerait l'indécision de Mercier.'<sup>13</sup> Everett C. Wilkie jr., par contre, situe l'édition initiale durant l'été 1771, en vue de mettre un terme au 'fantôme bibliographique' d'une parution dès 1770.<sup>14</sup> Aldo Maffey remet en cause cette datation et plaide pour une impression de *L'An 2440* dès le

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8. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante*, Nouveau discours préliminaire (Genève 1979), p. i. Cette réédition du texte de l'An VII (1799) sera, par la suite, citée sous le sigle 'M99'.

9. Voir la datation de la page de titre de la première édition (anonyme): 'A Londres [en réalité à Amsterdam], Chez E. van Harrevelt. MDCCLXXI.'

10. Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, cité selon E. C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*', première partie, p. 9.

11. *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique* (1753-1793), par Frédéric-Melchior Grimm, Denis Diderot, Guillaume-Thomas François Raynal, Jacques-Henri Meister *et al.* (Paris 1879), IX.395-396.

12. Certaines imitations varient le titre: Ernst Graf von Dyhrn, *Beilage zu dem Jahre 2240* (1781); Père Enfantin, *Les Mémoires d'un industriel de l'an 2240* (rédigé vers 1838). Voir Paul K. Alkon, *Origins of futuristic fiction* (Athens [GA], Londres 1987), p. 122.

13. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante: Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, sous la direction de Raymond Trousson (Bordeaux 1971), p. 34. Cf. M, p. 22 (note sur l'édition).

14. Everett C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*: its publishing history during the author's lifetime', deuxième partie, *Harvard library bulletin* 32.4 (1984), p. 348-400 (p. 359).

milieu d'août 1770.<sup>15</sup> En prenant en compte les références chronologiques internes dans l'utopie de Mercier et les échos du monde littéraire à l'extérieur, on peut finalement en conclure que la genèse de l'œuvre s'étend de la première moitié de 1768 jusqu'à l'hiver 1770/1771, et que la publication a lieu entre l'hiver 1770/1771 et l'été 1771 au plus tard.

La réaction de Christoph Martin Wieland au roman de Mercier peut fournir des arguments supplémentaires pour une période plus restreinte. Dans un compte rendu de l'*Erfurtische gelehrte Zeitung* du 16 mars 1772, l'auteur (vraisemblablement Wieland) se déclare favorable à l'utopie.<sup>16</sup> Wieland a donc parcouru le roman dès 1771, et l'a recommandé à Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi qui note dans une lettre à Sophie von La Roche, datée 'Dusseldorf ce 18. Janv. 1772': 'je vous dirai que je possède depuis six mois l'an 2440 [...]. Cependant j'ai commencé, sur les sollicitations réitérées de notre cher Wieland, la lecture de l'an 2440, et je ne saurois vous exprimer, ma chère amie, à quel point cet ouvrage m'enchanté'.<sup>17</sup> Wieland, lui-même sur le point d'achever son *Goldner Spiegel*, mentionne *L'An 2440* plus tôt dans une lettre à Sophie von la Roche, 'à Erfort ce 6 janvier 1772': 'Je travaille à la suite de mes rois de Scheschian, ouvrage en quatre parties qui paroitra à la foire prochaine des Paques, et qui, si je ne me trompe, fera un peu parler de son éditeur. [...] L'année 2440 est un livre excellent qui mérite des statues, et qui méritera à son auteur une place à Bicêtre, s'il est découvert'.<sup>18</sup> Wieland n'hésite pas à louer hautement l'ouvrage de Mercier dans son propre roman: 'dans un livre merveilleux récemment mis au jour, qui peut-être attribuera à son auteur plus d'honneur en l'année 2440 qu'il lui sera utile en l'année 1772'.<sup>19</sup> Ces faits tendent à confirmer que *L'An 2440* ne se serait diffusé que vers l'été de 1771.

15. Aldo Maffey, 'Per un'edizione critica de *L'an 2440* di L.-S. Mercier', *Studi francesi* 37.1 (1993), p. 57-64.

16. *Erfurtische gelehrte Zeitung* 4.22 (16 mars 1772), p. 169-171. La recension utilise le champ lexical du miroir ('Spiegel'), métaphore primaire de *Der goldne Spiegel*: 'même au cas où l'approche d'un âge tellement désirable ne s'accélérait pas, peut-être l'an 2440 pourra-t-il un jour se comparer avec ce miroir' (p. 170).

17. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, *Briefwechsel*, sous la direction de Michael Brüggem et Siegfried Sudhof (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1981), lettre 237 (écrite en français), I.149-150.

18. *Wielands Briefwechsel*, éd. l'Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Hans Werner Seiffert (Berlin 1979), lettre [430]/\*431 (écrite en français), IV.444-445.

19. C'est-à-dire: 'in einem vor kurzem ans Licht getretenen wunderbaren Buche, welches seinem Verfasser vielleicht im Jahre 2440 mehr Ehre, als im Jahre 1772 Nutzen bringen wird'. Dans un ajout de l'édition de 1794, Wieland rappelle l'historicité du texte original: 'Der Leser beliebe nie zu vergessen, daß diese Anmerkung, so wie dieses ganze Werk, im Jahre 1771 und 72 geschrieben ist.' – 'Que le lecteur n'oublie jamais, que cette note, comme cet ouvrage tout entier, fut écrite dans les années 1771 et 1772.' Christoph Martin Wieland, *Der goldne Spiegel oder Die Könige von Scheschian: Eine wahre Geschichte aus*

Concernant le cas de *Der goldne Spiegel*, la chronologie est plus facile à établir. Un ajout dans une note de l'édition augmentée de 1794 se réfère à la genèse de l'ouvrage dans sa forme originale 'dans les années 1771 et 1772' (W94, p. 195). Il est hors de doute que le *Goldner Spiegel* a été composé entre le début de 1771 et le milieu de 1772. Ayant terminé les deux premières parties manuscrites, Wieland propose son ouvrage (*Der goldne Spiegel, oder, die Könige von Scheschian, eine wahre Geschichte aus dem Scheschianischen übersetzt*) à son éditeur Weidmanns Erben & Reich en le présentant dans une lettre du 9 mars 1771 comme 'le meilleur que j'ai jamais écrit en prose'.<sup>20</sup> L'écriture de la suite du roman se prolonge de plus en plus; une lettre à Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim du 6 juillet 1771 en témoigne: 'En plus, imaginez-vous que je dois écrire [...] la troisième et la quatrième partie des Rois de Scheschian, et tout cela pendant un temps fixé, et sous mille distractions.'<sup>21</sup> Le 4 mai 1772, Gleim a déjà lu les deux premières parties alors que les volumes III et IV, qui sont évidemment en cours d'impression, lui sont annoncés par Wieland: 'Vous recevrez les deux dernières parties du *goldner Spiegel*, cher Gleim, dès que je les aurai moi-même.'<sup>22</sup> L'édition initiale paraît en juin 1772 chez Weidmanns Erben & Reich, comme l'annonce une mention vraisemblablement rédigée par Wieland lui-même dans l'*Erfurtische gelehrte Zeitung für das Jahr 1772*: '*Erfurt. Der goldne Spiegel, oder die Könige von Scheschian, eine wahre Geschichte, aus dem Scheschianischen übersetzt*'.<sup>23</sup> En somme, la chronologie serait la suivante: création entre le printemps 1771 et fin avril 1772; composition des troisième et quatrième volumes (qui contiennent les deux références explicites à *L'An 2440*) à partir de l'été 1771; enfin publication en juin 1772.

La synopsis chronologique exclut donc une véritable coïncidence temporelle entre la composition de *L'An 2440*, qui se termine en 1770/1771 (bien que la publication originale puisse s'être fait attendre jusqu'à l'été 1771) et celle du *Goldner Spiegel*, qui a lieu entre le printemps 1771 et la fin avril

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*dem Scheschianischen übersetzt*, éd. Herbert Jaumann (Munich 1979), p. 5-329 (p. 195); par la suite sous le sigle 'W94'. Sauf indication contraire, toutes traductions sont de l'auteur.

20. C'est-à-dire: 'das Beste was ich noch in Prosa geschrieben habe'. *Wielands Briefwechsel*, lettres 33-38, IV.271.

21. 'Ueberdies stellen Sie sich vor, daß ich [...] den dritten und vierten Theil der Könige von Scheschian schreiben soll, und alles dies binnen einer bestimmten Zeit, und unter tausend Zerstreungen.' *Ausgewählte Briefe von C. M. Wieland an verschiedene Freunde* (Zürich 1815), lettre 201, III.63.

22. 'Die beyden letzten Theile des goldnen Spiegels sollen Sie von mir bekommen, liebster Gleim, sobald ich sie selbst habe.' *Ausgewählte Briefe*, lettre 216, III.122-123.

23. *Erfurtische gelehrte Zeitung für das Jahr 1772* 45 (4 juin 1772), p. 371-372.

1772. On ne saurait donc, pour des raisons chronologiques, présumer une influence de l'œuvre de Wieland sur celle de Mercier; cependant la réception en sens inverse, particulièrement dans la troisième et la quatrième partie du *Goldner Spiegel*, est prouvée par les références intertextuelles – bien qu'on ne puisse pas prouver que Wieland ait connu l'œuvre de Mercier avant janvier 1772. *Der goldne Spiegel* n'est donc ni adaptation ni imitation, mais s'enrichit de certains détails de *L'An 2440*, en particulier pour l'élaboration du récit utopique dans la deuxième moitié. Néanmoins, les idées directrices des deux ouvrages ne sont pas entièrement dissociables, et ne restent pas exemptes de corrélation ultérieure à travers la suite de rééditions, de révisions et de traductions qu'elles connaissent.

Par conséquent, il est indispensable de retracer brièvement les métamorphoses que traversent ces textes constamment en cours de réécriture et de traduction. Wilkie présente un recensement méticuleux des 46 éditions de *L'An 2440* (jusqu'à la mort de Mercier en 1814) répertoriées dans des bibliothèques du monde entier.<sup>24</sup> Parmi les éditions de 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775 et 1776, seule la version initiale de 1771 est apparemment sortie avec l'autorisation et le consentement de l'auteur, qui se cache derrière l'anonymat.<sup>25</sup> Les éditions de 1774 et 1776 portent des ajouts que Mercier ne renie pas expressément – quoiqu'ils semblent en effet n'être pas de lui, puisqu'il s'agit d'un long éloge de Voltaire intercalé dans le chapitre 'La bibliothèque du roi' qui bouleverse complètement le jugement original. Une nouvelle édition pirate, 'exactement corrigée et augmentée d'un volume', dont le tome premier reproduit l'état textuel de 1771 en ajoutant un deuxième volume avec un choix assez arbitraire de morceaux du songe *Mon bonnet de nuit* (1784-1786), voit le jour en 1785. Dans l'*Avis de l'Auteur* au début de la version augmentée de 1786, 'Signé, L'Auteur de l'An 2440. // Paris, le 8 juin 1786.', Mercier conteste ouvertement les éditions sorties entre 1770/1771 et 1786:

J'ai publié la première édition de cet Ouvrage en 1770; Je le fis imprimer à Amsterdam chez feu Van-Harrevelt, je n'y ai pas retouché depuis. Je le réimprime, cette présente année 1786, en trois volumes, avec de nouveaux chapitres & notes. Je désavoue pleinement & entièrement les éditions, ou plutôt les contrefaçons qui ont paru depuis 1770 jusqu'à ce jour. On y a joint des additions fautive qui ne sont pas de moi. / Les contrefacteurs de Neuchâtel en Suisse se sont avisés tout récemment d'un brigandage nouveau. Ce n'est pas seulement une contrefaçon défectueuse, informe; c'est une falsification faite avec la plus grande impudence, car ce n'est qu'un pillage indécent de plusieurs chapitres de mes autres

24. Voir les entrées répertoriées dans la section bibliographique d'E. C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*', deuxième partie, p. 348-400. Cf. A. Maffey, 'Per un'edizione critica de *L'an 2440*', p. 61.

25. Quant à l'anonymat, voir L.-S. Mercier, *De J.-J. Rousseau*, II.179.

ouvrages; ils ont eu la hardiesse de donner cette rapsodie sous le faux titre de nouvelle édition de *l'an 2440*. Je désavoue cette falsification, délit tout neuf de ces libraires-pirates.<sup>26</sup>

L'édition de 1786, rédigée sous les yeux de Mercier, sans indication de lieu, et complétée par le songe de *L'homme de fer* (1786), paraît en trois volumes et 82 chapitres (au lieu de 44 pour l'édition initiale). Il s'agit de la modification la plus massive, qui double l'épaisseur des volumes. Finalement, Mercier établit une dernière édition, qui est livrée au public en l'an VII (1799).<sup>27</sup> Dans son *Avis* de l'édition de 1786, puis dans son *Nouveau discours préliminaire* de celle de 1799, Mercier lui-même présente comme seuls textes authentiques ceux de 1770/1771, 1786 et 1799, publiés par ses soins: 'P. S. Comme la malice et la malveillance pourroient insinuer que j'ai glissé dans cet ouvrage plusieurs phrases nouvelles, et que j'aurois fait ainsi la prédiction après l'événement, j'atteste que j'ai réimprimé ces *trois volumes* sans en retrancher un seul mot, sans déranger une virgule, tels enfin qu'ils ont paru en mars 1786' (M99, p. xxvii). Par conséquent, les éditions textuellement significatives et indubitablement authentiques se limitent à celles de 1771, 1786 ('Avis de l'Auteur' + texte de 1771 + ajouts importants) et 1799 ('Nouveau discours préliminaire' + texte de 1786). Les autres éditions et contrefaçons illustrent la fortune de l'idée mercierienne qui se traduit incessamment en transformant son contenu ou son cadre narratif.

Dans le cas de *Der goldne Spiegel*, il n'existe que deux versions textuellement fort distinctes, toutes les deux rédigées et autorisées par Wieland lui-même: celle de 1772<sup>28</sup> et celle de 1794<sup>29</sup> – mises à part les variantes minimales dans diverses double-impressions.<sup>30</sup> La plupart des modifications, ajouts et réductions ne sont que marginaux, mais expriment souvent une focalisation variée. Les paragraphes importants au début de W72 III, attribuables à l'édi-

26. L.-S. Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante* (1786), p. v-vij.

27. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante: Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, nouv. éd. (Paris, Brosson et Carteret Libraires, 1799).

28. [Christoph Martin Wieland], *Der Goldne Spiegel, oder die Könige von Scheschian, eine wahre Geschichte: Aus dem Scheschianischen übersetzt* (Leipzig, M. G. Weidmanns Erben & Reich, 1772); dans cet article cité sous le sigle 'W72'; reprises par la suite: Biel 1773-1774, Beuttligen 1774, Karlsruhe 1777, ainsi que dans la série *Sammlung poetischer und prosaischer Schriften der schönen Geister in Teutschland*, t. LII-LV (1786).

29. Christoph Martin Wielands *sämmtliche Werke*, t. VI: *Der goldne Spiegel oder Die Könige von Scheschian: Eine wahre Geschichte aus dem Scheschianischen übersetzt* (Leipzig, Georg Joachim Göschen, 1794). La réédition la plus récente est W94. Le texte intégral est également accessible dans Christoph Martin Wieland, *Gesammelte Schriften*, éd. la Deutsche Kommission der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, réimpression, t. IX et t. XI (Hildesheim 1986-1987). J'emploierai le sigle 'AA'.

30. Voir les notes sur l'édition critique par Wilhelm Kurrelmeyer: AA, XI.5-55.



teur fictif du texte ('Der Herausgeber an den Leser', AA, IX.2-7),<sup>31</sup> manquent complètement dans l'édition de 1794. La deuxième modulation cruciale est l'ajout d'un passage final qui se substitue au paragraphe W72 IV, p. 231-232, et décrit sur une trentaine de pages la chute inéluctable du royaume de Schemschian. La coïncidence relative des publications de *L'An 2440* (1771) et de *Der goldne Spiegel* (1772), et des rééditions multiples avant et après la Révolution française, permet une perspective comparatiste fondée sur la stratification entrecroisée des états textuels, qui montre le succès intellectuel et commercial de ces modèles novateurs créés par Mercier et par Wieland.

## II. Imitations, adaptations et versions: un aperçu comparatiste

*L'An 2440* et *Der goldne Spiegel* sont d'abord publiés sous l'anonymat; ce n'est qu'après la Révolution française qu'une signature en désigne l'auteur: en 1791 ou 1799 (édition autorisée) pour le cas de Mercier, en 1794 pour celui de Wieland. Alors que *Der goldene Spiegel*, dès le mois d'août 1772, passe les censures de Vienne et de Prague sans difficultés cruciales,<sup>32</sup> *L'An 2440* est immédiatement interdit en France, mis à l'index en 1773 pour 'raillerie blasphématoire', et proscrit par l'Inquisition et la censure royale espagnoles en 1778.<sup>33</sup> Jusqu'à la Révolution, l'ouvrage de Mercier ne peut être importé et distribué en France que clandestinement.<sup>34</sup> Mais malgré les barrières, ou du moins les freins, qui s'opposent à leur diffusion, les titres magiques de ces deux ouvrages font fortune. Jusqu'au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, une multitude de titres plus ou moins allusifs veulent les imiter: *Der goldene Spiegel, ein moralisches Lesebuch für Söhne und Töchter. Von Johann Sigmund Stoy* (Nuremberg 1778-1781), *Der rote Spiegel für die schönsten Geschöpfe der Erde* (Halle 1782), *Goldener Spiegel, ein Geschenk für Mädchen, die in Dienst treten wollen. Von F. M. Vierthaler* (Salzbourg 1794), *Der goldene Spiegel für Fürsten* (Hambourg vers 1790), *Goldener Spiegel für Prediger* (Francfort-sur-le-Main 1799), *Goldener Spiegel für Regenten und Schriftsteller. Ein Allmenach auf das Jahr 1801* (Mayence), *Der Silberne Spiegel oder Schäfer-Erzählungen aus denen Thälern am Fuße der Allgewer-Gebürge*

31. C'est-à-dire: 'L'éditeur au lecteur'.

32. *Christoph Martin Wielands Briefe an Sophie von La Roche*, sous la direction de Franz Horn (Berlin 1820), lettre 70 (à Erfurt, le 7 août 1772), p. 165-166.

33. Voir la *Real cedula de S. M. y señores del consejo, por la qual se prohibe la introducción de un libro intitulado Año 2440* (Marín 1778), dans Oskar Zollinger, 'Eine Utopie des 18. Jahrhunderts vor der spanischen Inquisition', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur* 19.1 (1897), p. 305-308.

34. E. C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*', première partie, p. 16-17.

(1774).<sup>35</sup> Comme plusieurs des adaptations, la parodie de Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Ala Lama oder der König unter den Schläfern: Auch ein goldner Spiegel* (Francfort-sur-le-Main, Leipzig 1790), reprend en termes satiriques la conception de l'œuvre de Wieland.

Pour le cas de Mercier, les allusions plus ou moins superficielles à la date 2440 seront pléthoriques jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus tard.<sup>36</sup> Vient s'y joindre également une production abondante d'imitations, d'adaptations, de compilations et de parodies, qui profitent du renom alléchant de ce livre interdit. Mercier dénonce ces pratiques dans son *Avis de l'Auteur* de l'édition de 1786: 'Depuis l'apparition de mon livre, plusieurs Auteurs en ont copié de pages & des fragmens considérables dans leurs compilations; c'est une marque d'estime, mais j'ai droit de réclamer ce que j'imprimois bien avant eux en 1770; époque de la première édition.'<sup>37</sup> En outre, parmi les utopistes qui mentionnent Mercier à partir de 1774 environ, plusieurs représentent une ligne idéologique contraire ou fortement distincte. Un auteur anonyme, indéniablement catholique et conservateur, produira *Das Jahr 1850, oder Gedanken über die Armenanstalten, den öffentlichen Gottesdienst, den Huldigungs-eid eines schweizerischen Kantons* (Francfort-sur-le-Main, Leipzig 1777) – comme la *Lettera a Soffia intorno alle setta dominante del nostro tempo* (Foligno 1790) d'Alfonso Muzzarelli, qui est axée en grande partie sur une réfutation catholique de *L'An 2440*. De même, le jésuite P. S. Casseda dénoncera le caractère subversif de *L'An 2440* dans sa *Realtà del progetto filosofico: Anarchia e deismo. Pubblicato da Monsieur Mercier nel sogno profetico intitolato Anno 2440. Interpretato ora da un altro sogno* (Assise 1791) et lui opposera un anti-rêve théologique.

Les catholiques ne sont pas seuls. Ainsi un ouvrage maçonnique, *Che importa ai preti: Christianopoli* (1798) donne sous forme de pamphlet une brève parodie de *L'An 2440* intitulée *Dal Paese dell'Eldorado: Settembre 2440*. On pourrait ajouter bien d'autres titres: Pierre-Marc-Gaston duc de Lévis, *Les voyages de Kang-Hi, ou Nouvelles lettres chinoises* (Paris 1765), Félix

35. Cité et augmenté d'après H. Jaumann: W94, p. 726-727.

36. Par exemple: M. de Semivol, *L'Année deux mille quatre cents quarante, ou tout à sa place: consolations aux quarante* (Lyon 1772); Ernst Graf von Dyhrn, *Beilage zu dem Jahre 2440* (1781); Johan Hermann Wessel, *Anno 7603* (1785); Rétif de la Bretonne, *L'An 2000, ou la Régénération: comédie héroïque, mêlée d'ariettes* (1790); Arend Fokke Simonsz, *Het toekomend Jaar 3000* (1792); Alphonse Rabbe, *L'An 2075* (1825); Prosper Enfantin, *Les Mémoires d'un industriel de l'an 2240* (1838); Paolo Mantegazza, *Anno 3000* (1897); et al. Cf. Hinrich Hudde, 'L'influence de Mercier sur l'évolution du roman d'anticipation', dans *De l'utopie à l'uchronie*, sous la direction d'Hinrich Hudde et Peter Kuon (Tübingen 1988), p. 109-121 (p. 120-121).

37. L.-S. Mercier, *L'An 2440* (1786), p. v-vij.

Bodin, *Le roman de l'avenir* (Paris 1834), Victor Fournel, *Paris nouveau et Paris futur* (Paris 1865), Charles Richet, *Dans cent ans* (Paris 1892), Camille Mauclair, *L'Orient vierge: Roman épique de l'an 2000* (Paris 1897), et ainsi de suite. Cette liste non exhaustive illustre l'immense variété des adaptations du paradigme utopique de *L'An 2440*. Les procédés sont divers. A part l'incorporation satirique, la stratégie prédominante est celle de l'imitation du cadre narratif (rêve anticipatif).<sup>38</sup> A cet égard, la réception concerne donc moins le contenu de *L'An 2440* que la forme.

Malgré les contrefaçons, pastiches et plagiats, *L'An 2440*, qui crée donc un paradigme utopique, demeure extrêmement populaire et se répand tout en faisant face aux barrages officiels. Si l'on part du principe qu'une presse typographique pouvait donner une reproduction de 1.500 exemplaires, le tirage total se monte à 18.000 en trois langues jusqu'à la fin 1772, puis à 30.000 mis sous presse dans l'Europe entière jusqu'à la fin 1782. La plupart des impressions s'effectuent avec des caractères neufs, de façon à optimiser le nombre d'exemplaires véritablement lisibles. En additionnant toutes les éditions connues, le nombre total de copies tirées jusqu'à la mort de Mercier s'élève à plus de 63.000 exemplaires.<sup>39</sup> Les archives de la Société typographique de Neuchâtel (STN) permettent des estimations assez valides sur l'intégralité du marché littéraire francophone de l'époque – et particulièrement sur le commerce clandestin.<sup>40</sup> *L'An 2440* arrive en tête du palmarès des meilleures ventes (y compris celles des livres prohibés), dressé par Robert Darnton<sup>41</sup> sur la base des archives de la STN, du *Catalogue des clandestins*, et des listes des saisies par la police et la douane, avec 1394 exemplaires. Même succès dans

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38. Par exemple: Anselmus Rabiosus [= Wilhelm Ludwig Wekherlin], *Reise durch Ober-Deutschland* (Salzbourg, Leipzig 1778); [Karl Heinrich Wachsmut], *Das Jahr Zweitausend vierhundert und vierzig: zum zweitemal geträumt* (Leipzig 1783); Daniel Gottlieb Gebhard Mehring, *Das Jahr 2550, oder der Traum Abradi's: aus einer arabischen Handschrift des sechszenten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1794/1795); Julius von Voss, *Ini, ein Roman aus dem 21. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1810); Antoine-François-Marius Rey-Dusseuil, *Le monde nouveau* (Paris 1831); Jules Verne, *Une ville idéale* (Amiens 1875); Edward Bellamy, *Looking backward: 2000-1887* (Harmondsworth 1888); William Morris, *News from nowhere or an epoch of rest* (Boston 1890); Herbert G. Wells, *The Time machine: an invention* (Londres 1985).

39. Calcul d'après E. C. Wilkie jr., 'Mercier's *L'An 2440*', première partie, p. 16. Cf. Nina R. Gelbart, "'Frondeur" journalism in the 1770s: theater criticism and radical politics in the prerevolutionary French press', *Eighteenth-century studies* 17.4 (1984), p. 493-514.

40. Voir l'analyse de Robert Darnton, 'Sounding the literary market in prerevolutionary France', *Eighteenth-century studies* 17.4 (1984), p. 477-492, qui compte le *Tableau de Paris et L'An 2440* de Mercier parmi les 'best-sellers' du marché littéraire (p. 490).

41. Robert Darnton, *Édition et sédition: l'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1991), p. 165-166 et p. 188-199.

le classement des auteurs selon le nombre total d'exemplaires, qui confirme la position dominante de Mercier (2.199 exemplaires), qui se positionne à la quatrième place après Voltaire (3.545), Paul Thiry Baron d'Holbach et collaborateurs (2.903), et Pidansat de Mairobert et collaborateurs (2.425).<sup>42</sup>

*L'An 2440* fascine donc un public considérable à son époque, et Mercier n'hésite pas à exploiter cette veine en remaniant constamment le texte et en réagissant aux demandes du lectorat attiré. Mais ce succès énorme est aussi dû à l'essor général de l'utopie française. Une analyse statistique et bibliographique réalisée par Hans-Günter Funke recense, de 1700 à 1799, 324 (ré)éditions utopiques en langue française, dont 83 éditions originales. Durant la deuxième moitié du siècle, le nombre d'éditions originales a doublé par rapport à la première moitié, alors que celui des éditions, rééditions, éditions pirates a presque triplé.<sup>43</sup> La production progresse donc considérablement – signe que le public du siècle des Lumières réclame de plus en plus ce genre de textes. Les pics de la courbe de production se situent entre 1750 et 1770, 1780 et 1790, c'est-à-dire presque en coïncidence avec les sommets de la (re)production de *L'An 2440* et de *Der goldne Spiegel*. Il en va de même pour l'accueil des textes utopiques dans les principaux périodiques littéraires de la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la *Correspondance littéraire*, le *Journal encyclopédique*, les *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps* et *L'Année littéraire*: 30 des 49 textes utopiques publiés entre 1750 et 1789 font l'objet d'annonces, de comptes rendus et d'articles dans ces périodiques.<sup>44</sup> Et quoique les journalistes ignorent l'importance paradigmatique de l'utopie anticipative de Mercier, *L'An 2440* est – en dépit de l'interdiction et du bannissement – l'une des plus couronnées de succès au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>45</sup>

Quant au *Goldner Spiegel*, bien qu'il passe par les canaux institutionnalisés sans se voir interdire l'accès aux foires et l'admission aux principaux journaux, son succès serait loin d'être acquis sans la mode porteuse du genre utopique sur le marché littéraire allemand. Malgré la différence considérable à l'époque entre le bénéfice financier de l'éditeur et les honoraires de l'au-

42. R. Darnton, *Édition et sédition*, p. 169. Cf. aussi l'Annexe II: profil du commerce clandestin chez douze libraires de province, p. 225-233.

43. D'Après Hans-Günter Funke, 'Aspekte und Probleme der neueren Utopiediskussion in der französischen Literaturwissenschaft', dans *Utopie-Forschung: interdisziplinäre Studien zur neuzeitlichen Utopie*, sous la direction de Wilhelm Voßkamp (Stuttgart 1982), 1.192-220 (p. 199). En version élaborée: Hans-Günter Funke, *Studien zur Reiseutopie der Frühaufklärung* (Heidelberg 1982), p. 134-151 et p. 563-609.

44. Résumé de l'étude statistique de Hans-Günter Funke, 'Utopierezeption und Utopiekritik in literarischen Zeitschriften der französischen Spätaufklärung (1750-1789)', *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 7.1/2 (1983), p. 89-112.

45. Cf. H.-G. Funke, *Studien zur Reiseutopie der Frühaufklärung*, p. 604.

teur, ainsi que les nombreuses coquilles, et en dépit des incertitudes inhérentes aux usages éditoriaux contemporains en matière de droits de l'auteur, de procédés de diffusion et de reproduction, Wieland semble être dans une position excellente. Pour *Der goldne Spiegel*, l'éditeur Weidmanns Erben & Reich lui a versé un honoraire de 100 Carolins (= 633 Reichstaler, 8 Groschen), soit l'équivalent de ses traitements annuels de professeur à l'université d'Erfurt (500 Reichstaler d'après le décret de 1769).<sup>46</sup> Le lien entre Wieland et son éditeur est stable – pour s'en persuader, notons que ce dernier le paye à la feuille – pour *Der goldne Spiegel* même 10 Reichstaler, 12 Groschen.<sup>47</sup> Avec un tirage qui se situe entre 1.500 et 2.750 exemplaires, Wieland est un auteur prolifique, qui écrit largement plus que la moyenne de ses confrères littérateurs.<sup>48</sup> Homme de lettres, certes, mais aussi homme de finances conscient de sa valeur commerciale, il formule à l'égard de ses éditeurs des revendications précises pour exiger une présentation typographique adéquate, une impression correcte et de haute tenue, une rétribution pour des éditions ultérieures, la protection de sa propriété artistique et une participation aux bénéfices.

La librairie des Lumières est un commerce en expansion, qui abandonne à partir de 1760 les formes surannées telles que la vente en foires fixes au profit d'un commerce à la commission. Dans ce contexte, la question des droits d'usage et de propriété est tout aussi cruciale que celle des demandes et désirs d'un public littéraire grandissant. D'après les analyses statistiques des catalogues de la foire de Pâques, qui se tient annuellement à Leipzig, et d'une multitude de registres commerciaux, la production totale d'imprimés en langue allemande entre 1700 et 1800 pourrait s'élever à 175.000 titres environ, dont près des deux tiers après 1760.<sup>49</sup> Johann Goldfriedrich précise ces chiffres: en moyenne, les catalogues de la foire font état de 1.587 titres pour les années 1610-1694, puis ce chiffre monte à 1.127 pour le début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1695-1745), et jusqu'à 1.347 pour 1746-1756;<sup>50</sup> pour les années 1740-1804, la production augmente de 265 articles entre 1721 et 1763, et de 2.821 art-

46. Chiffres d'après Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, 'Christoph Martin Wieland und das Verlagswesen seiner Zeit: Studien zur Entstehung des freien Schriftstellertums in Deutschland', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 14 (1974), col. 1211-1534 et col. 1399-1435.

47. W. v. Ungern-Sternberg, 'Wieland und das Verlagswesen seiner Zeit', col. 1413.

48. *Ibid.*, col. 1414.

49. Helmuth Kiesel et Paul Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert: Voraussetzungen und Entstehung des literarischen Marktes in Deutschland* (Munich 1977), p. 181.

50. Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig 1908), II.180.

icles entre 1763 et 1805 (qu'elle décuple par rapport à la première moitié).<sup>51</sup> Parallèlement, les hommes de lettres, auteurs et critiques en activité sont de plus en plus nombreux: *Das gelehrte Teutschland oder Lexikon der jetzt lebenden teutschen Schriftsteller* de Johann Georg Meusel en enregistre plus de 3.000 en 1771, presque 6.200 en 1788, et 10.650 en 1800.<sup>52</sup>

On ne peut bien cerner la situation de Wieland en tant que romancier du *Goldner Spiegel*, qu'en jetant un coup d'œil sur la fortune des matières spécifiques. A en juger par l'évolution très représentative de la foire de Leipzig, la tendance du marché des livres pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est à la redistribution des secteurs selon les domaines thématiques.<sup>53</sup> Le segment 'beaux-arts et sciences' devient de plus en plus important, alors que l'équilibre des genres prose/roman, drame et poésie est constamment en cours de repositionnement.<sup>54</sup> Wieland profite de cette conjoncture avantageuse pour les beaux-arts et le roman. Un regard sur la fortune des traductions et des éditions étrangères sur le marché allemand permet d'esquisser brièvement les relations quantitatives dans le cadre desquelles interagissent *L'An 2440* et *Der goldne Spiegel*. Selon les catalogues de la foire de Leipzig en 1765, 64% des ouvrages proposés (668 titres) sont des ouvrages en langue allemande originale; cette proportion passe à 68% (1.056 titres) en 1775, puis à 78% (1.581 titres) en 1785. Inversement, la proportion des imprimés en langues vivantes étrangères passe de 11% (116 titres) en 1765 à 5% (102 titres) en 1785, la chute étant particulièrement prononcée à partir de 1775 (10%, 158 titres). Quant à la proportion des traductions allemandes à partir des langues vivantes (dont la plupart du français), elle est plutôt stable (6% ou 62 titres en 1765, 7% ou 111 titres en 1775 et 7% ou 137 titres en 1785).<sup>55</sup> L'influence prédominante de la littérature française démontre une pratique de l'échange de la production littéraire qui véhicule les innovations ainsi qu'une diffusion sélectionnée en fonction de l'attente du débit et des restrictions officielles.

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51. J. Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, III.248. Cf. Martin Fontius, 'Zur literarhistorischen Bedeutung der Messkataloge im 18. Jahrhundert', *Weimarer Beiträge* 7 (1961), p. 607-616.

52. D'Après H. Kiesel et P. Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 90.

53. Cf. l'analyse et les tableaux statistiques de Rudolf Jentzsch, *Der deutsch-lateinische Büchermarkt nach den Leipziger Ostermeßkatalogen von 1740, 1770 und 1800 in seiner Gliederung und Wandlung* (Leipzig 1912).

54. Selon Reinhard Wittmann, 'Die frühen Buchhändlerzeitschriften als Spiegel des literarischen Lebens', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1973), col. 613-932 (col. 842).

55. D'Après J. Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, III.305. Voir aussi les traductions offertes à la foire de Leipzig (p. 656): du français: 31 (dont 7 romans) en 1765, 59 (dont 7 romans) en 1775, 70 (dont 7 romans) en 1785; de l'anglais: 23 en 1765, 41 en 1775, 38 en 1785; de l'italien: 1 en 1765, 2 en 1775, 10 en 1785.

La première traduction allemande de *L'An 2440* par Christian Felix Weiße est déjà disponible à partir de 1772: *Das Jahr Zwey tausend vier hundert und vierzig: Ein Traum aller Träume* (Londres 1772). La même année, une traduction anglaise est publiée: *Memoirs Of The Year Two Thousand Five [!] Hundred. Translated from the French By W. Hooper, M. D.* (Londres 1772). En 1792, il y a une traduction néerlandaise: *Het Jaar Twee Duizend Vier Honderd En Veertig: Een Droom* (Haarlem 1792) par Jan Davin Pasteur d'après l'édition de Londres de 1787. En outre, une traduction italienne paraît en 1798: *L'Anno Due Mila Quattrocento Quaranta: Sogno di cui non vi fu l'eguale* (Gênes 1798). Dans l'autre sens, la première traduction majeure de *Der goldne Spiegel* en français (*Le miroir d'or, ou les rois du Chéchan: Histoire véritable* [Francfort-sur-le-Main 1773]) est publiée en Allemagne. Wieland s'en plaint d'ailleurs à Sophie von La Roche le 21 mai 1773: '*Der goldene Spiegel* fut horriblement traduit en français à Erfurt.'<sup>56</sup> Une seconde traduction française est parue sous le titre: *Le miroir d'or, ou les rois du Chéchan: Histoire véritable* (Neuchâtel, Berne 1774). En anglais, il n'y a que des traductions partielles à l'époque: *The good king: A moral tale* (Édimbourg 1791) ou *The golden mirror or, the kings of Scheschian* (Londres 1798). L'effet accrocheur des titres *L'An 2440* et *Der goldne Spiegel* sur le public littéraire en Allemagne devient très manifeste dès lors que d'autres auteurs s'y réfèrent comme si de rien n'était – ainsi l'introduction à la satire de Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Ala Lama oder der König unter den Schäfern: Auch ein goldner Spiegel* (1790):

Dieses Buch ist nicht aus dem französischen, nicht aus dem englischen, nicht aus dem spanischen, nicht aus dem italienischen – nun? – auch nicht aus dem arabischen, türkischen, äthiopischen – übersetzt, sondern – aus dem Deutschen. / Das klingt sonderbar, werden die Leser sagen. Ja freilich und noch sonderbarer wird es ihnen vorkommen, wenn ich sie versichern muß, daß ich dieses Räthsel nicht eher, als im Jahre 2442, werde lösen können. [...] / Übrigens will ich hiermit meinem lieben *Wieland* öffentliche Abbitte gethan haben, wegen der Dreistigkeit, einen seiner Titelausdrücke gebraucht, und mein Buch *auch einen goldnen Spiegel* genent zu haben. [...] Und ich will ihm zum Zeichen meiner wahren Busfertigkeit das Geständnis thun, daß ich jene Titelworte bloß meines Verlegers wegen gewählt habe, der durch sie vielleicht seine Käufer um ein paar hundert vermehren wird.<sup>57</sup>

56. 'Der goldene Spiegel ist zu Erfurt abscheulich ins Französische übersetzt worden.' *Wielands Briefwechsel*, lettre \*143, V.118.

57. 'Ce livre ne fut pas traduit du français, ni de l'anglais, ni de l'espagnol, ni de l'italien – donc? – pas non plus de l'arabe, turc, éthiopien –, mais – de l'allemand. Cela sonne bizarre, diront les lecteurs. Bien sûr, et il leur semblera encore plus bizarre, que je ne puisse pas deviner cette énigme que dans l'an 2442. [...] Par ailleurs, je voudrai avec cela demander pardon au cher *Wieland* de l'effronterie d'avoir employé l'une de ses formules de titre en ayant nommé mon livre *aussi un goldner Spiegel*. [...] Et je veux, comme signe de ma vraie repentance, lui confesser que j'ai choisi ces mots de titre seulement à cause de mon éditeur,

### III. Mercier et Wieland: le transfert en traduction

Autant qu'on puisse le vérifier à l'heure actuelle, les points d'intersection, qu'ils soient intertextuels ou biographiques, ne sont ni nombreux ni intenses. Quoiqu'il en soit, Mercier est, jusqu'à un certain point, lecteur de Wieland, et Wieland lit avec avidité les textes originaux de Mercier. Alors que ce dernier ne mentionne Wieland en aucun lieu,<sup>58</sup> l'auteur du *Goldner Spiegel* fait en revanche plusieurs fois de suite référence à l'utopiste de *L'An 2440*. Une note du *Goldner Spiegel*, augmentée dans l'édition postrévolutionnaire de 1794, explique une allusion à *L'An 2440*:

Im Jahre 2440 soll (wenn Merciers patriotischer Traum noch in Erfüllung ginge) eine ähnliche Einrichtung in Frankreich zu sehen sein. Vielleicht hat die Revolution, welche sich der Träumer wohl nicht so nahe vorstellte, die 645 Jahre, die bis dahin noch hätten verfließen sollen, beträchtlich abgekürzt. (W94, p. 271)<sup>59</sup>

Dans l'autre note qui mentionne *L'An 2440*, l'extrémisme emphatique est au contraire à l'opposé du ton ludique, dialogique et apparemment aléatoire de l'historiographie satirique de *Der goldne Spiegel*. Ce qui est remarquable, c'est que Wieland renonce à réhabiliter tardivement le prophétisme mercierien dans l'édition de 1794, se contentant d'éclaircir les rapports chronologiques et d'ajouter quelques remarques apaisantes:

Wir finden den nämlichen Gedanken unter dem nämlichen Bilden in einem vor kurzem ans Licht getretenen wunderbaren Buche, welches seinem Verfasser vielleicht im Jahre 2440 mehr Ehre, als im Jahre 1772 Nutzen bringen wird. [...] Der ehrliche Träumer, dessen wir erwähnten, mag wohl ein wenig mehr schwarze Galle in seinem Blute haben, als ein Mann, dem seine Ruhe lieb ist, sich wünschen soll. Aber es ist doch immer schwer, einem Men-

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pour lequel ils augmentent peut-être le nombre des acheteurs de quelques centaines.' Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Ala Lama oder der König unter den Schäfern: auch ein goldner Spiegel* (Francfort-sur-le-Main, Leipzig 1790), Li-iii ('Vorrede').

58. Cf. Hermann Hofer, 'Mercier admirateur de l'Allemagne et ses reflets dans le préclassicisme et le classicisme allemands', dans *Louis-Sébastien Mercier: précurseur et sa fortune*, sous la direction de Hermann Hofer (Munich 1977), p. 73-116.

59. 'Dans l'année 2440, on devrait (si le rêve patriotique de Mercier s'accomplissait encore) voir une institution semblable en France. Peut-être la Révolution, que le rêveur ne s'est probablement pas imaginée si proche, a-t-elle raccourci considérablement les 645 ans, qui auraient encore dû s'écouler jusque-là.' La dernière phrase de la note manque certainement dans l'édition de 1772: 'si le rêve d'un anonyme s'accomplissait' (W72, p. 131). Allusion est faite au chapitre XXXIX ('Les impôts') de l'utopie de Mercier.



schen nicht gut zu sein, der seine Mitgeschöpfe so lieb hat, daß ihn weder Bastille noch Bicêtre abhalten kann, alles heraus zu sagen was er auf dem Herzen hat. (W94, p. 195)<sup>60</sup>

En général, pour procéder à une comparaison thématique du *Goldner Spiegel* et de *L'An 2440*, on se fonde sur les chapitres XVII ('Pas si éloigné qu'on le pense'), XXXVI ('Forme du gouvernement'), XXXVII ('De l'héritier du trône') et XXXIX ('Les impôts') de *L'An 2440* et sur la deuxième partie (W72 III et IV) du *Goldner Spiegel*, qui décrit un État idéal basé sur le modèle de Mercier. Dans les deux cas, l'organisation de l'État, ayant pour origine la révolte d'un chef charismatique, est l'image inversée du régime despotique antérieur. Il y a dans les deux cas une élite vertueuse et des lois rédigées scrupuleusement dans une langue claire et compréhensible de tous, qui sont deux des éléments essentiels de l'éducation publique. La capitale n'a plus de prépondérance par rapport aux provinces, les impôts sont conservés dans des coffres publics. Une importance primordiale est accordée à l'éducation du monarque, qui ignore son origine et sa destinée, se marie avec une compatriote de rang modeste et fait de nombreux voyages afin de créer des liens affectifs basés sur l'expérience personnelle,<sup>61</sup> avant d'être initié à sa fonction (le 'bon roi père') dans une scène mélodramatique. Ces détails identiques ou légèrement variés prouvent que, dans sa deuxième partie, le *Goldner Spiegel* s'inspire finalement expressément de la construction utopique de *L'An 2440*.

L'écho exceptionnel du titre de *L'An 2440*, qui acquiert en Allemagne la valeur d'une locution proverbiale,<sup>62</sup> s'amplifie essentiellement à travers l'usage courant qu'en fait Wieland. Dans une lettre à Gleim (Erfurt, 21 janvier 1772), pour faire l'éloge du ton littéraire du destinataire, il prédit que ce dernier 'enchantera encore en l'année 2440 chaque âme sensible d'une postérité meilleure'.<sup>63</sup> L'expression apparaît également – avec une implication critique – dans le *Versuch über das deutsche Singspiel und einige dahin ein-*

60. 'Nous trouvons la même idée sous les mêmes images dans un livre merveilleux récemment mis au jour, qui peut-être attribuera à son auteur plus d'honneur en l'année 2440 qu'il lui sera utile en l'année 1772. [...] Le rêveur honnête, que nous avons mentionné, a peut-être un peu plus de bile noire dans son sang qu'un homme qui tient à son calme doit désirer. Mais il est toujours difficile de ne pas aimer un homme qui aime les créatures autour de soi tellement, que ni Bastille, ni Bicêtre ne peuvent l'empêcher de dire tout ce qu'il a sur le cœur.'

61. Cf. Gabriela Hofmann La Torre, 'Vision et construction: Louis-Sébastien Mercier *L'An 2440* – Christoph Martin Wieland *Le Miroir d'or*', dans *De l'utopie à l'uchronie*, sous la direction de Hinrich Hudde et Peter Kuon (Tübingen 1988), p. 99-108.

62. Oskar Zollinger, 'Louis-Sébastien Mercier's Beziehungen zur deutschen Litteratur', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur* 25.1 (1903), p. 87-121 (p. 93).

63. C'est-à-dire: 'noch im Jahre 2440. jede gefühlvolle Seele einer bessern Nachwelt bezaubern wird'. *Wielands Briefwechsel*, lettres [444]/445, IV.453.

*schlagende Gegenstände* (1775): ‘L’an 2440 fera tout bien. – Ainsi soit-il alors! Vive celui qui assistera au retour de l’âge d’or – ce grand effet sans cause!’ (AA, XIV.75);<sup>64</sup> et avec un accent sur la chronologie imaginaire dans le *Sendschreiben an Herrn Professor Ehlers in Kiel. Zusatz* (1792): ‘de contribuer quelque chose à cette révolution désirable, même si elle ne pouvait se réaliser que dans l’an 2000 ou 2400’ (AA, XV.452).<sup>65</sup> Mais dans son essai *Über den freyen Gebrauch der Vernunft in Glaubenssachen* (1788), il manifeste une certaine réserve à l’égard d’une date trop distante et fataliste, qui empêche l’actionnisme et l’engagement actuels:

Das Schicksal kann freylich mit der Zeit große Revolutionen herbey führen, wodurch der gegenwärtige Zustand der Welt eine gewaltige Veränderung erleiden würde: aber wenn die Weltverbesserung, auf die ein menschenfreundlicher Träumer unsre Nachkommen auf das Jahr 2440 vertröstet, bloß durch Aufklärung bewirkt werden sollte, so ist sehr zu besorgen, daß er ihre Epoche noch um einige Jahrhunderte zu früh gestellt hat. (AA, XV.136)<sup>66</sup>

Jacobi cite, dans une lettre à Sophie von La Roche du 18 janvier 1772, l’approbation de Wieland à la démarche ouvertement réformiste de *L’An 2440*: ‘Wieland, en parlant de l’an 2440, me dit: ce livre est un bien singulier phénomène, ein wahres Zeichen vom jüngsten Tage der französischen Verfassung. Vous trouverez comme moi, que notre ami a raison.’<sup>67</sup> Néanmoins, le seul indice d’un échange épistolaire entre Wieland et Mercier est une lettre de ce dernier au premier en qualité d’éditeur du journal *Der Teutsche Merkur* (1784), que Wieland reproduit d’une façon impartiale en traduction allemande en introduisant Mercier avec les mots: ‘à l’auteur célèbre de *L’An 2440* et du *Tableau de Paris*’.<sup>68</sup> Wieland est un lecteur aigu du *Tableau de Paris* (1782-1788) et du *Nouveau Paris* (1797-1800), et il connaît bien les écrits politiques de Mercier (voir AA, XV.583 et XV.743). Mais le *Goldne Spiegel* n’est pas le seul ouvrage à présenter des réminiscences mercieriennes, bien

64. ‘Das Jahr 2440 wird alles gut machen. – So sey es denn! Heil dem, der diese wundervolle Wiederkunft des goldnen Alters – diese große Wirkung ohne Ursache – erleben wird!’

65. C’est-à-dire: ‘etwas zu Beförderung dieser wünschenswürdigen Revolution beyzutragen, sollte sie auch erst mit dem Jahr 2000 oder 2400 zur Wirklichkeit kommen können’.

66. ‘Le destin peut assurément amener avec le temps de grandes révolutions, par lesquelles l’état du monde subirait une altération prodigieuse: mais si l’amélioration du monde, qu’un rêveur philanthropique fait espérer à nos descendants pour l’an 2440, ne se réalisait qu’à travers les lumières, il est fortement à craindre qu’il ait fixé son époque encore quelques siècles trop tôt.’

67. F. H. Jacobi, *Briefwechsel*, lettre 237 (écrite en français), I.150.

68. *Der Teutsche Merkur vom Jahre 1784. Drittes Vierteljahr* (Weimar 1784), p. 277-282 (p. 277), ‘Auszug aus einem Schreiben des Hrn. Mercier an den Herausgeber des T. M. einen Artickel in No. 4 des Grauen Ungeheuers betreffend’. Il s’agit de la seule lettre de sa correspondance française publiée par Wieland dans son journal entre 1773 et 1798.

que sous une forme originale propre. En effet, d'autres auteurs du *Sturm und Drang* sont amplement redevables à leur précurseur français (et surtout à ses avancées dans la pratique et la théorie du drame).<sup>69</sup> Quoique la littérature allemande soit encore complètement absente de la bibliothèque de *L'An 2440* (XXVIII: 'La bibliothèque du roi'), la production littéraire allemande a fourni à Mercier de nombreux sujets, notamment dans son roman *Jezennemours, roman dramatique* (1776), qui est une imitation libre de la *Geschichte des Agathon* de Wieland (1766-1767; première traduction française 1774). La critique littéraire en France se moque d'ailleurs de la 'gloire tudesque' du polygraphe Mercier,<sup>70</sup> mais la presse et le public allemands suivent attentivement sa féconde production artistique, comme l'illustre le résumé bienveillant de Carl Friedrich Flögel dans sa *Geschichte der komischen Litteratur* (1784-1785).<sup>71</sup>

*L'An 2440* ainsi que *Der goldne Spiegel* se positionnent d'une manière ambiguë dans ce monde littéraire. Les deux textes fonctionnent comme des creusets de citations, de commentaires et de renvois réels et fictifs. Le caractère lacunaire et fragmentaire du *Goldner Spiegel* initie un jeu entre les instances de tradition fictives et les états textuels superposés (voir W94, p. 290-291). Les techniques de l'abréviation et de l'abrégé transforment le récit en interprétation tendancieuse et leur authentification, ainsi que leur interprétation (voir W94, p. 67-68) tiennent une place capitale dans la spéculation rétrospective du récit utopique. À la fin de l'édition de 1794, l'éditeur fictif ajoute même un chapitre sur le destin du royaume de Scheschian, qui est la traduction d'un résumé du traducteur latin (W94, p. 324). Par contre, le savoir utopique de *L'An 2440*, qui culmine dans l'effort de créer un 'Abrégé de l'Univers', où les choses sont 'aperçues d'un coup d'œil' (M, p. 193-194), et une nouvelle 'Encyclopédie', où on embrasse 'd'un coup d'œil' chaque art en entier' (M, p. 176), est la conséquence d'un universalisme normatif: 'l'homme est un abrégé de l'univers' (M, p. 268). Contrairement à la multiplication des points de vue du récit dialogique de *Der goldne Spiegel*, *L'An 2440* disperse une interprétation unique en une multitude de formes littéraires.

69. William Webb Pusey, *Louis-Sébastien Mercier in Germany: his vogue and influence in the eighteenth century* (New York 1966); Andreas Pfersmann, 'Une "Gloire Tudesque"', dans *Louis Sébastien [!] Mercier (1740-1814): un hérétique en littérature*, sous la direction de Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris 1995), p. 417-436.

70. *Mercure de France* (Paris 1814), LIX.340-342. Voir aussi Albert Fuchs, *Les apports français dans l'œuvre de Wieland: de 1772 à 1789* (Paris 1934).

71. Carl Friedrich Flögel, *Geschichte der komischen Litteratur* (Legnica, Leipzig 1784), I.638. Cf. la *Correspondance littéraire*, 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1771: 'C'est une rêverie perpétuelle que cet ouvrage; rêverie si rêverie, qu'on n'a pas la consolation d'espérer qu'aucune de ces belles institutions puisse jamais se réaliser' (p. 396).

Dans cet esprit, c'est le concept d'une traduction en tant que transfert interprétatif des idées et des modes d'expression qui fait la différence la plus aiguë entre *L'An 2440* et *Der goldne Spiegel*. En préface de la traduction allemande de 1772, Christian Felix Weiße exprime d'une façon typique cette différence entre les discours utopiques allemands et français – le style mercierien serait d'une force et d'une franchise extraordinaires, et les images d'une couleur fraîche, mais les plaintes resteraient néanmoins exagérées et les propositions irréalisables:

Es ist eine über die Grenzen gehende Einbildungskraft. / Bei alledem bleiben die Träume des Verfassers immer vortreffliche philosophische Träume, denen man größtenteils schon die Wirklichkeit zum Besten des menschlichen Geschlechts wünschen könnte. Was Wahrheit ist oder doch sein könnte, läßt sich leicht von dem, was Traum ist und es immer zu sein verdient, unterscheiden.<sup>72</sup>

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72. 'C'est une imagination qui dépasse les limites. Dans tout cela, les rêves de l'auteur restent toujours des songes philosophiques excellents, dont on pourrait pour la plupart déjà désirer la réalisation pour le mieux de l'espèce humaine. Ce qui existe en vérité ou pourrait être, est facile à distinguer de ce qui est un rêve et le restera toujours.' Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Das Jahr 2440: ein Traum aller Träume. Deutsch von Christian Felix Weiße*, éd. Herbert Jauermann (Francfort-sur-le-Main 1989), p. 12.



BARRY MURNANE

Uncanny translations, uncanny productivity:  
Walpole, Schiller and Kahlert

‘Die Übersetzung meines Geistersehers liest sich gut, bis auf einige Stellen, die der gute Freund nicht verstanden hat.’<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Schiller’s comments on an unofficial French translation of his *Schauerroman* (Gothic novel) *Der Geisterseher* (1786-1789) not only provide a telling commentary on the complicated transmission routes and patterns of cultural transfer sketched out in this collection; they also point towards the difficulties in conducting a structural analysis of these cross-border processes at the close of the Enlightenment. As one of the first forms of genuinely popular and mass-produced literature, Gothic writing suffered more than most from the lack of established copyright laws and was prone to unofficial imprints and translations whose origins are – now – almost impossible to trace. Yet Schiller’s words also point to another side of these opaque transfer patterns that highlight precisely what Michel Espagne has identified as the inescapable change of semantic contextualisation that goes hand in hand with translation:<sup>2</sup> whether through not understanding the source text sufficiently (as Schiller obviously believes) or not, Baron de Brock’s French translation has quite obviously involved some form of uncanny shift of semantic content with which Schiller is uncomfortable. Such transformations of text prove highly productive in Gothic writing, as I wish to outline in the following comments: for if translation always includes an element of transformation, then this turns out to be an integral part of the wave of uncanny texts that arise as part of a ‘spi-

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1. ‘The translation of my *Geisterseher* reads well – apart from those passages which our good friend did not understand.’ Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe*, ed. Julius Petersen and Hermann Schneider, vol. XVI: *Erzählungen*, ed. Hans Heinrich Borchardt (Weimar 1954), p. 424. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.
  2. Here are Michel Espagne’s writings which I have drawn on for this essay: ‘Jenseits der Komparatistik: zur Methode der Erforschung von Kulturtransfers’, in *Europäische Kulturzeitschriften als Medien transnationaler und transdisziplinärer Wahrnehmung*, ed. Ulrich Mölk (Göttingen 2006), p. 13-32; *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1999); Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, ‘Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert’, *Franca* 13 (1985), p. 502-510.

rited exchange' between Britain, France and Germany from the late 1760s onwards.<sup>3</sup>

I wish to focus on three such examples of this productive and popular path of cultural transfer and will suggest that the Gothic novel – as a literary mode which developed within late-Enlightenment poetological and aesthetic debates – can go some way to explaining the construction of national identities within a distinctly transnational field. I will focus firstly on the translation history of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) in Germany; secondly I will look at the role Friedrich Schiller's *Der Geisterseher* and its translations play in the development of British and German national stereotyping and national taste; and finally I will turn my attention to Lorenz Flammenberg's [i.e. Friedrich Kahlert's] *Der Geisterbanner* (1792/1799) which reveals how these national tastes had become the mainstay of literary production in the Gothic mode.<sup>4</sup>

## I. The 'Spirited exchange' of eighteenth century Gothic

Whether marketed under the moniker of Gothic novel, *Schauerroman* or *roman terrifiant*,<sup>5</sup> a literary mode developed towards the end of the European Enlightenment which held readers in its thralls across most of Western Europe. Although primarily considered a development within British literature which then spread to Continental Europe,<sup>6</sup> the role of intensive interactions between different national literatures has been commonly accepted and well-documented.<sup>7</sup> A steady stream of translations of German and French works

3. Avril Horner, *European Gothic: a spirited exchange 1760-1960* (Manchester 2002).

4. Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto: a Gothic story* (Oxford 1982); Friedrich Schiller, 'Der Geisterseher', in *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.145-184; Karl Friedrich Kahlert, *Der Geisterbanner. Eine Wundergeschichte aus mündlichen und schriftlichen Traditionen* (Vienna 1792), and Karl Friedrich Kahlert, *Der Geisterbanner. Eine Geschichte aus den Papieren eines Dänen gesammelt von Lorenz Flammenberg*, 2<sup>nd</sup> expanded ed. (Breslau 1799).

5. In the following remarks I will use the term Gothic novel as a synonym for both of these other terms. Although I admit that this involves a foreshortening of national idiosyncrasies in both emerging national literary traditions, but even if only for pragmatic reasons I prefer to use the English term here. On the potentially homogenizing effects of this pragmatism see my own 'Importing home-grown horrors? The English reception of the *Schauerroman* and Schiller's *Der Geisterseher*', *Angermion* 1 (2008), p. 51-81.

6. On the political and nationalist context of the Gothic see Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic* (London 1995), p. 11-14; Toni Wein, *British identities, heroic nationalisms and the Gothic novel 1704-1824* (Basingstoke 2002), p. 1-20.

7. The recent monograph by Daniel Hall, *French and German Gothic fiction in the late eighteenth century* (Oxford, Bern, Berlin 2005), deals with the German side of the equation

enjoyed massive popularity in Britain; likewise the popularity of English works in Germany and France and their importance in shaping home-grown traditions of the Gothic, visible for example in the well-known intertextual links between E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels* and Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*<sup>8</sup> to name only one obvious, albeit Romantic example, point towards a European sensibility for all things Gothicized. Looking back on some fifty or so years of the British reception of German literature, Thomas Carlyle highlights a significant stereotyping of German writing in Britain as being loaded with 'vulgar horrors, and all sorts of showy exaggeration' and 'is thought to dwell with peculiar complacency among wizards and ruined towers, with mailed knights, secret tribunals, monks, spectres, and banditti'.<sup>9</sup> That which was considered German from the late-Enlightenment onwards has become, it seems, a historical reference for Carlyle and his contemporaries in the nineteenth century, nevertheless these 'shilling shockers' were by far the most thriving source of literary translations from Germany until well into the 1800s.

The Gothic novel can be seen as a provocative intensification and self-questioning of Enlightened concepts of reason, rational understanding of the natural world and man's social organisation as well as the more obvious links to discourses on fear, superstition and the body.<sup>10</sup> The unique – and indeed

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in quite some depth. Older, and little more than an initial *Standortbestimmung*, is Michael Hadley, *The Undiscovered genre: a search for the German Gothic novel* (Frankfurt/Main, Bern 1978). Other older though still important studies which have focussed on such links between German and English literature are Frank Woodyer Stokoe, *German influence in the English Romantic period 1788-1818* (Cambridge 1926); Violet Stockley, *German literature as known in England: 1750-1830* (London 1929).

8. Matthew G. Lewis, *The Monk* (Harmondsworth 1998).

9. Thomas Carlyle, 'The State of German literature', *The Edinburgh review* 46 (1827), p. 304-351 (p. 313).

10. Research into the German *Schauerroman* has begun to take note of this context. Whereas Carsten Zelle and Christian Begemann's standard works on fear, the sublime and horror in the Enlightenment have previously stopped short of tracing the central links to Enlightenment aesthetics; see Carsten Zelle, '*Angenehmes Grauen*': *literaturhistorische Beiträge zur Ästhetik des Schrecklichen im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 1987); Christian Begemann, *Furcht und Angst im Prozess der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt/Main 1987). More recent studies by Hans von Trotha and Silke Arnold-de Simine have begun to situate the Gothic novel in late-Enlightenment anthropological discourse; see Hans von Trotha, *Angenehme Empfindungen: Medien einer populären Wirkungsästhetik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1999); Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Leichen im Keller: zu Fragen des Gender in Angstinszenierungen der Schauer- und Kriminalliteratur (1790-1830)* (St. Ingbert 2000). In Anglophone research this has been more readily accounted for; see for example Terry Castle, *The Female thermometer: eighteenth-century culture and the invention of the uncanny* (New York, Oxford 1995); Emma J. Clery, *The Rise of supernatural fiction, 1762-1800* (Cambridge 1995).



thoroughly novel – achievement of Gothic writing was to translate these discourses from the realm of aesthetics into a literary form which at once feeds off such aesthetic debates of ‘angenehmes Grauen’ (‘pleasing horror’) and the sublime as a form of second-degree discourse, yet it also develops a singularly autonomous literary narrative form which begins to move beyond earlier Enlightened principles of *prodesse-et-delectare*. Whereas Horace Walpole’s use of the Middle-Ages adhered to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s (and others’) principles justifying the use of the supernatural through showing it to be existent in earlier, superstitious epochs,<sup>11</sup> and whereas Schiller’s *Der Geisterseher* could still claim to be employing spectral apparitions, secret societies and intrigue in order to fulfil the rationalizing ‘Beitrag zur Geschichte des Betrugs und der Verirrung des menschlichen Geistes’ (‘a contribution to the history of the deception and aberrations of the human intellect’) of the fragment’s subtitle, by the 1790s (and Karl Friedrich Kahler’s *Der Geisterbanner*) this seems to no longer be the case. As a ‘Literatur der Angst’ (‘literature of terror’, to employ Richard Alewyn’s by now widespread phrase) the Gothic novel is most certainly indebted to and inseparable from late-Enlightenment discourses of emotions, fear and the dangers of imagination.<sup>12</sup> This Enlightenment context would have been easily identifiable for example to most of Schiller’s readers: as Stefan Andriopoulos has convincingly shown, Schiller’s subtitle draws on Johann Christoph Adelung’s widespread *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit*,<sup>13</sup> and the debates on ghosts in the novel draw considerably – and obviously – on Immanuel Kant’s *Träume eines Geistersehers*.<sup>14</sup> The reviewer in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* comments, ‘man würde sich aber sehr irren, wenn man den Eindruck, den die Erzählung macht, blos von der Erweckung der Neugierde, blos von der genannten Erwartung herleiten wollte’.<sup>15</sup> Instead, it is asserted, the true aim of the fragment is the rational explanation of supposed ‘dunklen Wirkungen’ (‘dark effects’) of the story. As such the *AdB* can declare the story a ‘klassische Schreibart’ (‘classical style’) which is ‘so lebendig und kraeftig’ (‘so lively and strong’), ‘unendlich einfacher, ungeschminckter’ (‘infinitely simp-

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11. See further below.

12. Richard Alewyn, ‘Die Lust an der Angst’, in *Probleme und Gestalten: Essays*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Frankfurt/Main 1974), p. 24-43.

13. Johann Christoph Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit, oder, Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Schwarzkünstler [...] und anderer philosophischer Unholden* (Leipzig 1785-1789).

14. See Stefan Andriopoulos, ‘Occult conspiracies: spirits and secret societies in Schiller’s *Ghost Seer*’, *New German Critique* 35.1 (2008), p. 65-81 (p. 67 and p. 70-71).

15. That is: ‘one would be highly mistaken to deduce the story’s impact as merely arising through exciting the reader’s curiosity or through mere suspense’.

ler and less ornate') than Schiller's previous works which were troubled by 'poetischen Schnörkeln' ('poetic adornments').<sup>16</sup>

Yet having pointed towards this Enlightenment context, it is of importance to note that the Gothic novel increasingly represents a testing out of these principles under the conditions of an emergent modern society in the threshold period (Reinhart Koselleck's *Sattelzeit*). If the Gothic novel was so successful across Western Europe, this was because it articulated a growing scepticism towards Enlightenment principles – the 'Selbstaufklärung der Aufklärung' ('self-Enlightenment of the Enlightenment itself') – which emerged in the second half of the century and was only intensified in the (especially: German) Gothic novel's pre-occupation with secret societies as a thoroughly natural expression of the contingency of knowledge in the social realm.<sup>17</sup> German and British Gothic novels alike focus intensively on the individual's inability to interpret forms of manipulation within the social sphere.<sup>18</sup> Another novelty of the Gothic novel is its position as the first genuinely mass-(re)produced, mass-distributed and hence *popular* literary form. As Ernst Fischer, Wilhelm Haefs and York-Gothart Mix have shown, popular previously meant a style of writing or speaking which was easily understandable amongst the uneducated masses or *Volk*.<sup>19</sup> Viewed thus the Gothic novel can be seen as the apogee of those processes of cultural transfer and translations viewed thus far in this collection, insofar as it attained a previously unrivalled distribution and reception and was situated on the borders of canonical 'Culture' or mass-culture and 'Literature' (with a capital L) or popular literature. The Gothic mode as such becomes a test-case for the patterns of cultural transfer and transnational<sup>20</sup> literary relations articulated thus

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16. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 109 (1792), p. 147-149.

17. The term is – at least since the research carried out at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Enlightenment Studies (IZEA) in Halle – by now commonplace. In terms of late-Enlightenment theories and aesthetics of fear, superstition and horror see Begemann, *Furcht und Angst*, p. 257-278. On the role of imagination in these terms see Gabriela Dürbeck, *Einbildungskraft und Aufklärung* (Tübingen 1998). For the Anglophone context see Terry Castle, *Thermometer, passim* and Dennis Todd, *Imagining monsters: miscreations of the self in eighteenth-century England* (Chicago, London 1995).

18. Two central examples are Carl Grosse's *Der Genius* (1791-1795) and William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1795).

19. Ernst Fischer, Wilhelm Haefs and York-Gothart Mix, 'Einleitung: Aufklärung, Öffentlichkeit und Medienkultur in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Von Almanach bis Zeitung: ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700-1800* (Munich 1999), p. 9-23.

20. By transnational is meant 'multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states'; importantly these ties 'certainly preceded the nation' and thus the term seems more fitting for the historical period addressed here. See Steven Vertovec, 'Conceiving and researching transnationalism', *Ethnic and racial studies* 22.2 (1999),

far. Owing to the often-confusing and less than transparent routes and modes of cultural transfer involved at these international and 'high'/'low' cultural borders, the Gothic is a cultural field that is very difficult to map out.<sup>21</sup> As Terry Hale and more recently Dan Hall have shown, these 'horrid', 'terrifying' and uncanny texts are the result of a furious process of translation and cultural exchange dominated by ideological motivations, readings and misrepresentations that challenge attempts to draw distinct borders between national literatures<sup>22</sup> and destabilise attempts to define authorship in any meaningful manner. The cultural practices involved in this exchange prove to be highly dubious: novels purporting to be translations turn out to be original works; and supposedly original novels turn out to be adaptations, unauthorized translations or simply acts of unashamed plagiarism.

If contemporary criticism and commentary is a reliable yardstick, then German literature seems to have enjoyed a privileged position within the spirited exchange of translations, intertextual borrowings, plagiarism and – above all – Gothic productivity at the close of the eighteenth century. When Jane Austen completed *Northanger Abbey* in 1798, her parody of Gothic novels contained not only Kahlert's *The Necromancer* and Karl Grosse's *Horrid Mysteries* (original titles: *Der Geisterbanner* and *Der Genius*);<sup>23</sup> her list of 'horrid novels' extended to English works obviously hoping to profit from

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p. 447-462 (p. 448). There was not, as yet, one German nation-state which could maintain international institutions with Britain (or the rest of Europe) and as such the cross-border processes of social movement, social networks, public spaces and cultural output cannot be suitably accounted for within the tight political and legal framework of the 'international'. For a survey of the transnational contexts of German literature see Hartmut Böhme, *Topographien der Literatur: deutsche Literatur im transnationalen Kontext* (Stuttgart, Weimar 2005) and Konrad Ehlich, *Germanistik in/und/für Europa: Faszination – Wissen* (Bielefeld 2006).

21. The paths of translation between Continental Europe and Britain are now well researched for most of the eighteenth century. See for example James Raven, 'Cheap and cheerless: English novels in German translations and German novels in English translations 1770-1799', in *The Corvey Library and Anglo-German cultural exchanges, 1770-1837*, ed. Werner Huber, Corvey-Studien 8 (Munich 2004), p. 1-33; Wilhelm Graeber and Geneviève Roche, *Englische Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in französischer Übersetzung und deutscher Weiterübersetzung: eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Tübingen 1988).
22. Terry Hale, 'Translation in distress: cultural misappropriation and the construction of the Gothic', in *European Gothic: a spirited exchange 1760-1960*, ed. Avril Horner (Manchester 2002), p. 17-38.
23. Karl Grosse, *Der Genius* [1791-1795] (Frankfurt/Main 1982), transl. by Joseph Trapp under the title *The Genius; or the Mysterious Adventures of Don Carlos de Grandez* (London 1796) and Peter Will under the title *Horrid Mysteries. A Story* (London 1796); Lorenz Flammenberg [Karl Friedrich Kahlert], *Der Geisterbanner* (1792), transl. by Peter Teuthold under the title *The Necromancer* [1792] (London 1989).

the German influx: Francis Lathom's supposed 'German story Founded on Incidents of Real Life', *The Midnight Bell*; Eliza Parson's 'German Story' *Castle of Wolfenbach* and her 'German Tale', *The Mysterious Warning*.<sup>24</sup> For this reason, and also for pragmatic reasons of the limited space allowed here, I will narrow the scope of this essay to Anglo-German relations, and refer only in passing to paths of transfer through France. Rather than adhering to any meaningful systematisation of cultural transfer which would allow solid differentiation between German and English works, the international nature of these literary relations can be highly confusing. To provide a particularly instructive example – albeit from the close of the eighteenth century and hence not directly related to the Enlightenment context sketched out thus far – Johann Heinrich Zschokke's bandit-novel *Abällino der große Bandit* (1794) was translated for the British stage almost immediately by Matthew Lewis. Besides this obvious link a play going by the title *Abellino; or, The Robber's Bride* claiming to be a dramatic version of Lewis's translation was given at the Coburg Theatre in London; Lewis's own adaptation, *Rugantino; or, The Bravo of Venice, A Grand Romantic Melodrama* was performed in the Covent Garden Theatre in 1805. Meanwhile a romance going by the title of *The Venetian Outlaw*, which claimed to be an original work, only to emerge as an adaptation of a French stage-adaptation of Zschokke's novel, was unfavourably discussed in the *Critical Review* of July 1805.<sup>25</sup> Such 'borrowings' are no less visible in the opposite direction. As becomes clear in the case of *The Venetian Outlaw*, purportedly German or English works often turn out to be inseparable from each other. As a result, it becomes difficult to distinguish any one single origin of that which has come to be known, at least in the English speaking world, as 'the Gothic' and these relations illustrate what Stefanie Stockhorst in her introduction playfully termed the '(in)significance of the original text' in a very potent manner, as I now wish to illustrate with an example of some importance: Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, the first Gothic novel at all.

## II. When is a 'Gothic story' a Gothic story?

Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) is seen by many as the first Gothic novel, although it would take over ten years until other (British or German)

24. See Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (Ware 1993), p. 21 *et passim*.

25. Karl S. Guthke, *Englische Vorromantik und deutscher Sturm und Drang: M. G. Lewis' Stellung in der Geschichte der deutsch-englischen Literaturbeziehungen* (Göttingen 1958), p. 201-203.

authors would follow his lead. *Otranto*, set in mediaeval Italy and featuring the haunted castle, secret underground labyrinths and dark monasteries that would become the *loci classici* of the Gothic was an overnight success in Britain. Walpole's story of the regent Manfred being haunted by ghosts as portents of fateful misfortune surrounding his efforts to control dynastic legacy obviously struck a chord among readers schooled in Graveyard Poetry, Shakespeare and Thomas Percy's *Reliques*. It has often been overlooked within literary histories that view the Gothic as intuitively irrational and anti-canonical that Walpole's literary Gothic is actually an inherently *Enlightened* text. Certainly Walpole flirts with a belief in the supernatural and portrays the servant classes in particular as being subsumed by the superstitions that Immanuel Kant and Moses Mendelssohn sought to banish from the 1760s onwards: 'Man helle die Gegend auf, so verschwinden die Gespenster.'<sup>26</sup> Such irrationality is clear from the following passage:

The spectre marched sedately, but dejected, to the end of the gallery, and turned into a chamber on the right hand. Manfred accompanied him at a little distance, full of anxiety and horror, but resolved. As he would have entered the chamber, the door was clapped-to with violence by an invisible hand.<sup>27</sup>

And yet for Walpole such ghostly happenings are only permissible under specifically *Enlightened* terms: in the preface to the first edition 1754 Walpole claims that the story is a manuscript printed in 'Naples in the black [i.e. Gothic] letter, in the year 1529' and employs an editorial fallacy to distance himself from the 'visions, necromancy, dreams and other preternatural events' therein which were 'faithful to the manner of the times' but which in the *Enlightened* eighteenth century are 'at present a matter of entertainment' and something to be 'exploded'.<sup>28</sup> The irrational is part of an 'engine' of terror in the narrative,<sup>29</sup> yet the relocation to the Middle-Ages serves the purpose of re-naturalising the supernatural by employing an authentication strategy familiar in *Enlightenment* aesthetics at least since Johann Jakob Bodmer and Lessing.<sup>30</sup> The presence of the supernatural in Walpole's text is

26. 'Once you light up the countryside the ghosts disappear.' Moses Mendelssohn, 'Soll man der einreißenden Schwärmerei durch Satyre oder durch äußerliche Verbindung entgegenarbeiten?', *Berlinsche Monatsschrift*, February 1785, p. 135.

27. Walpole, *Otranto*, p. 24.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

30. I think in particular of Bodmer's treatises on Milton in his *Critische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie und dessen Verbindungen mit dem Wahrscheinlichen* (Zürich 1740). Lessing's defence of the use of ghosts on the stage in the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> sections of his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, expanding on the defence of Shakespeare against the cri-

rationaly justified as part of an authentic document including the belief 'in every kind of prodigy [that] was so established in those dark ages, that an author would not be faithful to the manner of the times who should omit all mention of them. He is not bound to believe them himself, but he must represent his actors as believing them.'<sup>31</sup> Viewed thus, Walpole's text certainly invites the Enlightened reader to submit to the 'Terror' as the motor of the narrative, but also suggests that such terror can easily be reflected and diminished by virtue of the reader identifying the 'naïveté and simplicity', 'the womanish terror and foibles' at the heart of the plot.<sup>32</sup> That Walpole should use the Middle-Ages as an authentication-strategy is thoroughly in keeping with Enlightenment poetics and provides the author with a mode of writing which is both realistic *and* can include the supernatural.<sup>33</sup>

Without dwelling further on the novel's contents, it is of interest that this founding text of European Gothic writing was singularly unsuccessful when it came to be translated into German as the *Seltsame Begebenheiten in dem Schlosse Otranto* in 1768, a text which Michael Hadley mentions as a 'forgotten edition'.<sup>34</sup> I suggest there are two contexts of cultural transfer that become visible in this translation and which point towards why this initial German translation sank without trace. Firstly the introduction of 'seltsame Begebenheiten' ('strange events') into the German title (the English simply reads 'A Story', from the second edition: 'A Gothic Story') may be motivated by the events within the narrative, yet in a Germany of the late 1760s still discussing the tenability of ghosts within literary narratives *in principle*, the anonymous translator's adaptation of the title elides the obviously mediaeval framing narrative in the English original. That the translation should appear anonymously is also notable, bearing in mind that since the second edition of 1765 it was common knowledge that Walpole was the

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ticism of Johann Christoph Gottsched and his Leipzig School of aesthetics and literary criticism in the 17<sup>th</sup> letter of the 'Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend' (Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 12 vols, vol. IV: *Werke 1758-1759*, ed. Gunter E. Grimm [Frankfurt/Main 1997], p. 500-501), is quite explicit in this context. See Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, 12 vols, vol. VI: *Werke 1767-69*, ed. Klaus Bohnen (Frankfurt/Main 1985), p. 231-242.

31. Walpole, *Otranto*, p. 4.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

33. On the importance of this admixture for late-eighteenth century poetics, and the Gothic novel in particular, see Michael Voges, *Aufklärung und Geheimnis: Untersuchungen zur Vermittlung von Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Aneignung des Geheimbundmaterials im Roman des späten 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1987).

34. Michael Hadley, *The Undiscovered genre: a search for the German Gothic novel* (Bern 1978), p. 112; *Seltsame Begebenheiten in dem Schlosse Otranto, eine gothische [!] Geschichte aus dem englischen M. Horace Walpole übersetzt* (Leipzig 1768).

author, and owing to his illustrious family (his father Robert was Prime Minister until 1742), which ensured not only high sales of the work but also vouches for its seriousness of content.

In focusing solely on the 'seltsame Begebenheiten' the German version automatically reduces the claim for literary seriousness and orientates the translation more towards the lower end of the Enlightenment publishing market of moral weeklies and calendars. After all such tales of 'strange events' were the stock components of the didactic pamphlets and calendars designed to educate the masses out of their unenlightened superstitions. The negative response of the *AdB* seems to underline this, writing that Walpole's work is 'nichts als ein unendliches Gewirr übel zusammenhängender Träume [...], die anstatt die Einbildungskraft zu belustigen, solche nur ermüden'.<sup>35</sup> In translation and the reception thereof, the focus shifts to the *wonderful* (*das Wunderbare*) nature of these events – which was at least an established but controversial mode of Enlightenment aesthetics – and thereby changes the mode of aesthetic reference that Walpole's text had in its English context.<sup>36</sup> The translation becomes not so much a 'gotische Geschichte' ('Gothic story') as a 'wunderbare Geschichte' ('fabulous story') of strange happenings. As suggested, Walpole had not abandoned wholesale the mode of realism as is suggested in this German context, rather it was located firmly in an Enlightenment discourse which rediscovered the Middle Ages and non-classical sources: Walpole links his novel explicitly with his own fake Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill by claiming in a letter to William Cole that the novel was the result of a dream of his own home:

Shall I even confess to you what was the origin of this romance? I waked one morning in the beginning of last June from a dream, of which all I could recover was, that I had thought myself in an ancient castle (a very natural dream for a head filled like mine with a Gothic story) and on the uppermost banister of a great staircase I saw a gigantic hand in armour. In

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35. That is: 'nothing more than an infinite mess of awful interconnected dreams [...] which instead of pleasing the imagination prove only to be tiresome'. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 12.1 (1770), p. 363.

36. It is commonplace within theories on fantastic literature since Tzvetan Todorov that there is a categorical difference between supernatural events in fairy-tales and sagas as forms of the *Wunderbare* and those in literary texts that locate the supposedly supernatural in a realistically drawn world. See Neil Cornwell, *The Literary fantastic* (Hemel Hempstead 1990), p. 12 and p. 35; Tzvetan Todorov, *Einführung in die fantastische Literatur* (Munich 1972), p. 26; Renate Lachmann, 'Exkurs: Anmerkungen zur Phantastik', in *Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Milos Pechlivanos et al. (Stuttgart, Weimar 1995), p. 224-229.

the evening I sat down and began to write, without knowing in the least what I intended to say or relate.<sup>37</sup>

Such a fantastic ‘birth’ of the Gothic is quite obviously inseparable from the development of English landscape gardens by William Kent, the landscape paintings of Salvator Rosa, Giambattista Piranesi’s prison-paintings or Gothic Revival palaces at Esher Place or John Vanbrugh’s Blenheim Castle.<sup>38</sup> This Gothic Revival assured Walpole critical appreciation at home, but when it came to the German literary market the translation was declared by the *ADB* to be ‘höchst ekelhaft’ (‘disgusting in the extreme’), pointing towards the inability of Enlightened German writers to account for Walpole’s text within their literary model of *prodesse-et-delectare*.<sup>39</sup> This I believe is a better indicator of the local conditions into which Walpole’s text was being introduced. It is here not so much the micro-level of differences between translations that point towards individual national or (in Germany) proto-national taste that is of interest in this initial act of Gothic cultural transfer, it is much rather the manner in which Walpole’s novel seemingly vanished almost immediately in the German context.

By the early 1790s this is quite clearly no longer the case. In 1794 Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer published a new translation entitled *Die Burg von Otranto: eine gotische Geschichte* and by 1797 at least two other unofficial translations have been identified.<sup>40</sup> This renewed act of cultural transfer refers, I believe, to a different process of Anglo-German cultural transfer in the eighteenth century. Traceable back to the earliest phases of the late 1760s (specifically Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, and later to Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz and the Göttinger Hainbund) a renewed interest in Gothic architecture, the Middle Ages and its art and literature can be identified as a key impetus in Germany too. Writing in his essay *Von deutscher Baukunst* Goethe prioritises Gothic architecture as a harmonious and natural form which is thoroughly organic and primordial (he speaks metaphorically of ‘Blumen, Blüten, Blätter, auch wohl dürres Gras

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37. Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London 1906), IV.328.

38. See Richard Davenport-Hines, *Gothic: 400 years of excess* (London 1998); Norbert Miller, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole und die Ästhetik der schönen Unregelmäßigkeit* (Munich 1986).

39. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 12.1, p. 363.

40. See Michael Hadley, *Romanverzeichnis: Bibliographie der deutschen Erstausgaben 1751-1800* (Bern 1977). I will return to one such example below.



und Moos').<sup>41</sup> This cultural imagination is unthinkable without the Anglophone foil of Shakespeare, Percy's *Reliques* and the Graveyard Poetry and most tellingly James Macpherson's *Ossian*-fakes, thus showing a truly transnational component to the German Gothic Revival.<sup>42</sup> The translation processes here point towards a dialectical process at the heart of every transnational process of cultural transfer, insofar as a bi-focal moment of an establishment of regional (or national) idiosyncrasy occurs owing to the complex conditions of supra-regional (or supra-national) networks. When Mike Featherstone defines the transnational as 'heaps, congeries, and aggregates of cultural particularities juxtaposed on the same field [...] in which the fact that they are different and do not fit together, or want to fit together, becomes noticeable', then the Europe-wide formation of Gothic writing certainly seems to fit this description.<sup>43</sup> Arjun Appadurai has likewise suggested that transnational cultural relations by no means lead to a de-territorialised mass of images,<sup>44</sup> media and the like, but much rather open up possibilities of agency and transformation<sup>45</sup> that 'may start out as extremely global and end up as very local'.<sup>46</sup> The transnational thus includes the component of national idiosyncrasy which is simultaneously supra-national.<sup>47</sup> Acts of cultural transfer must thus be viewed equally bi-focally: firstly as acts of border-crossing and secondly in terms of their local amendments and manipulations which serve purely local – even (proto-)national aims.

If the Gothic functions as a cultural mode which allows the formation of a German identity, then by the early 1780s this German discourse had also caught up with its English counterpart. Germany seems to have developed its own taste for the Gothic *Schauerroman* and was willing to engage with Walpole's novel. This would go some way to explaining the re-introduction of Walpole's prefaces and also the widespread reception of the novel in general at the close of the eighteenth century (Goethe and Schiller even considered

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41. That is: 'flowers, blossoms, leaves as well as thinned out grass and moss too'. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Von deutscher Baukunst', in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*, ed. Johann Gottfried Herder (Hamburg 1773; reprint 1999), p. 93-104 (p. 96).

42. As part of the 'Global Gothic' research network at the university of Stirling I am involved in tracing the local and transregional contexts of the Gothic revival in Germany and its connections to the *Schauerroman* at the close of the century. See my position paper 'German Gothic and transnational contexts', <[www.stirling.ac.uk/globalgothic](http://www.stirling.ac.uk/globalgothic)>.

43. Mike Featherstone, 'Localism, globalism, and cultural identity', in *Global/local: cultural production and the transnational imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (Durham, London 1996), p. 46-77 (p. 62-63).

44. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at large* (Minneapolis 1998), p. 38.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 7, p. 15, and p. 44.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

writing their own versions).<sup>48</sup> Now both of Walpole's prefaces (from the first and second editions) are re-printed alongside Meyer's own introductory preface which also makes the most of Walpole as a man of some European repute. This is of some interest as it goes to show that the German Gothic novel was by no means the purely anti-Enlightenment shocker-narrative form for which it has long been held:<sup>49</sup> even in the mid 1790s Walpole's Enlightened aesthetical authentication-strategies for the spectral and supernatural were culturally relevant. Acknowledging all this, it is of interest – and also of some confusion – that Meyer's relatively faithful translation was only one text beside at least two unofficial translations, one of which stands quite at odds with Walpole's and Meyer's versions. The anonymous *Der bezauberte Helm*<sup>50</sup> may be a plagiaristic copy of Meyer's work minus the forewords, but it frequently departs from both the original texts. 'Otranto' becomes the Germanic 'Rotheneck'; 'Manfred' becomes 'Heinrich', the ghost 'Alfonse der Gute' becomes 'Ludwig der Gute'. The author also includes various passages which explain the events even before they occur, thus making them not so much 'seltsame Begebenheiten' as thoroughly explained events. Furthermore the author makes individual additions to passages in order to heighten the sense of horror (which, however, often minimise the effect!). If Meyer writes 'Isabelle wuste nicht, wo sie ihre Schritte wenden sollte, oder auf was Art der Gewaltthätigkeit des Fürsten entkommen',<sup>51</sup> in *Der bezauberte Helm* this becomes 'Bertha wuste nicht, wo sie ihre Schritte wenden sollte, oder auf was Art der Gewaltthätigkeit des Fürsten entkommen. Das Erheben der Federn auf dem Helme, und der tiefe Seufzer, welche sie gehört hatte, ohne zu

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48. See Bernhard Suphan, Karl A. H. Burkhardt and Eduard von der Hellen, *Goethes Werke, III. Abtheilung: Goethes Tagebücher*, vol. II: 1790-1800 (Weimar 1888), p. 223-224: 19 November 1798: 'Abends zu Schiller [...] über die Burg von Otranto.'; 21 November 1798: 'Abends bei Hofr. Schiller, über die Burg von Otranto [...]'; 23 November 1798: 'Weiterer Plan über das Schloß von Otranto' – 'To Schiller this evening [...] spoke about the Castle of Otranto'; 'At Comm. Schiller's house in the evening, spoke of the Castle of Otranto [...]'; 'yet another plan for the Castle of Otranto'.

49. See Devendra P. Varma, *The Gothic flame* (London 1987), p. 31-34 and on 'Horror' p. 103-133. David Punter's otherwise highly reflected and thoroughly informed study *The Literature of terror* (London 1980) maintains this shortcoming (e.g. p. 65-67); Robert Miles, *Ann Radcliffe: the great enchantress* (Manchester, New York 1995) makes this misreading a criterion for ruling out the inclusion of German literature within Ann Radcliffe's works; more recently Darryl Jones's *Horror: a thematic history in fiction and film* (London 2002) repeats this trend in connection with Matthew Lewis's works (p. 12-16).

50. [Anon.], *Der bezauberte Helm, oder der Ritter vom Riesensäbel: eine Geschichte aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Altona 1797). See Hall, *French and German Gothic*, p. 50-52.

51. Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Burg von Otranto: eine gotische Geschichte* (Berlin, Himbürg, 1794), p. 47.

wissen, woher er kam, beengten ihre Seele, und sie mußte auch befürchten, daß auch über ihrem Haupte Gefahr schwebte'.<sup>52</sup> The novel thus seeks to 'Germanify' Walpole's text to locate it within the German Middle-Ages made popular by Goethe and Herder; it also seeks to intensify the horror of the text – and it is notable that this transformation of Walpole's/Meyer's texts no longer explains or authenticates the supernatural. If *Seltsame Begebenheiten* was *not really* a Gothic novel, then *Der bezauberte Helm* attempts to be *more* Gothic than Walpole or Meyer. It is worth enquiring what frame of Gothic reference in the 1780s and early 1790s allows this to occur.

### III. Uncanny translations, uncanny productivity: producing the Gothic

This particularly murky example of cultural transfer points towards a moment of uncanny productivity in the field of late-Enlightenment popular writing. I say uncanny, as it seems as though the Gothic productivity here is inseparable from the opaque procedures of transfer and translation I have sketched thus far. The model of translation here seems to be rather that which Walter Benjamin has proposed in his essay *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers* ('The Task of the translator').<sup>53</sup> As Benjamin suggests, the traces of the original are still present in the translation as a ghostly, de-familiarising presence, a trace of foreignness. The translation is much rather an uncanny 'Fortleben' ('after-life') of the original, a further development and unfolding of the text,<sup>54</sup> made relevant to, and adapted by, the translator. The gap that is opened up between any two languages and any two works must be bridged, but this bridging can never be complete, as Homi K. Bhabha has observed. Developing on Benjamin's suggestion that every text is 'haunted' by the traces of another text, Bhabha proffers that there remains a hybrid space of mimicry and mockery, of assimilation, fear and rejection, a space in which the translated material becomes strange, *disturbed* and *disturbing*.<sup>55</sup> Each translation retains a trace

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52. That is: 'Isabelle knew not where she should run nor with which means she could escape the prince's powers'; 'Bertha knew not where she should turn to nor with which means she could escape the prince's powers. Her spirit was confined by the movement of the plumes on the helmet and by the deep sigh she had heard without being able to detect from whence it came, and she was afraid that she herself must also be in danger'. *Der bezauberte Helm*, p. 37.

53. Walter Benjamin, 'Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. IV.1, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schwepenhäuser (Frankfurt/Main 1991), p. 9-21.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

55. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of culture* (London, New York 1999), p. 162-164.

of foreignness, an uncanny doubling, yet this is a trace which is also highly productive. I would suggest that this disturbing productivity emerging at the close of the eighteenth century is a new form of Gothic writing which has broken with the didactic and rational principles of Enlightenment aesthetics and that the misappropriations of the other's literature is a projection of home-grown horrors onto the others' literary tradition.

Turning briefly to a rather different text published two years before Meyer's *Otranto*-translation, it becomes clear that the local idiosyncrasies within the field of transnational cultural transfer are not limited to such macro-levels of general aesthetic debates as have been commented on thus far, but that the acts of translation involved in cultural transfer also produce micro-forms of cultural appropriation in individual texts themselves. In 1792 Kahlert published *Der Geisterbanner* in Vienna under the pseudonym of Lorenz Flammenberg. The novel tells the story of a brutal and felonious secret society based in a haunted castle in the Black Forest. The novel consists of a confusing mix of various narrative strands containing seemingly supernatural events which are, by the novel's close, suitably and rationally explained away. Kahlert's original novel, although from the 1790s, thus adheres to the earlier Enlightenment principles of rational explanation and authentication of the supernatural as became clear in Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*. A work going by the title of *The Necromancer* and claiming to be a translation of Kahlert's novel appeared in London in 1794 and was published by Minerva Press, a publishing house which by the mid-nineties had become synonymous with popular literature and 'shilling-shockers' in particular. I say *claiming* to be a translation because, as Alan Menhennet has previously shown, the translator has rather adapted the German original for what he considers to be the English taste.<sup>56</sup> The *Analytical Review* and the *British Critic* point towards some inaccuracies in translation: 'Errors of ignorance or of the press occur perpetually, such as affect for effect, adjectives used for adverbs &c. &c', and the 'translation, though not without some of those inaccuracies to which foreigners commonly fall in speaking or writing the english [!] language, is sufficiently correct to read with pleasure.'<sup>57</sup> This seems to support

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56. Alan Menhennet, 'Schiller and the Germanico-terrific romance', *Publications of the English Goethe Society* 51 (1980-1981), p. 22-57. The following remarks are heavily indebted to Menhennet's short study. Dan Hall's broader study (*French and German Gothic*) also pays attention to Teuthold's amendments (p. 22-24).

57. Quoted in John Boening, *The Reception of classical German literature in England, 1760-1860: a documentary history from contemporary periodicals*, 10 vols (New York, London 1977), I.309 and I.308 respectively.

the theory that Peter Teuthold (a German lawyer who was currently residing in England) was indeed responsible for translating Kahlert's text.<sup>58</sup>

What Teuthold considers to be the English taste is of some interest as it points towards an obvious change in literary production over the twenty years following publication of Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*: rather than adhering to the previous model of rationalised Gothic horrors, Teuthold does his utmost to exaggerate the terror in Kahlert's original text. Whereas the German source text focused on the narrator's reactions to the criminal manipulation (by the anti-hero and supposed necromancer Volkert) within the secret society in the first volume and thereby aimed to create a psychological narrative mode drawing on the individual's reaction to mystery and the supernatural, only then to ultimately explain the manipulative ghostly activities (rather tediously) in the final volume, Teuthold's eccentric and hyperbolic amendments to Kahlert's work serve to de-centre this specifically Enlightened focus. It is not so much on the level of content that these changes become visible (the ghosts in the original and in the translation are still the products of a magic-lantern and hence thoroughly reasonable). Teuthold rather aims to heighten the horror of the events by depicting the narrator's reaction to such pseudo-supernatural events in even more extravagant terms, thereby remaining faithful to the original intent but actually diminishing its horrors into incredulity. If in Kahlert's text one reads 'Furchtbar schwebte der Geist meiner Mutter einher; – meine Sinne verließen mich',<sup>59</sup> Teuthold writes 'The ghost of my mother hovered before my eyes with a grim, ghastly look; a chilly sweat bedewed my face and my senses forsook me'.<sup>60</sup> The English text is littered with such examples: 'Himmel, wie ward mir'<sup>61</sup> ('what in heaven was happening me') becomes 'Merciful heaven! How I was chilled with horror'.<sup>62</sup> I shall provide only several examples of such hyperbole: 'thrilled with chilly terror', 'gloomy thoughts', 'abode of horror', 'made my blood run chill with an awful dread'. It is clear that the 'English taste' for which Teuthold wishes to cater here is one that revels in the bizarre, shocking

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58. Very little is known about Teuthold or about the concrete material conditions surrounding the translation and transfer of Kahlert's work from Vienna and Germany in general. Varma originally traced Teuthold's text, previously most famous of one of the German School of Gothic mentioned in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, to Kahlert in his landmark study. See Devendra P. Varma, 'Introduction', in *The Necromancer transl. by Peter Teuthold from the German of Lorenz Flammenberg* (London 1968), n.p.

59. 'The ghost of my mother hovered before me; – my senses forsook me.' Kahlert, *Der Geisterbanner* (1792), p. 34.

60. Teuthold, *The Necromancer*, p. 15.

61. Kahlert, *Der Geisterbanner* (1792), p. 20.

62. Teuthold, *The Necromancer*, p. 16.

and distasteful. This becomes even more apparent when Teuthold's major addition to Kahlert's work is considered: Teuthold fuses sections of Schiller's *Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre* onto the end of Kahlert's necromantic narrative. But if Schiller's semi-didactic, psychological study of criminality may suggest the extension of late-Enlightenment prose into the English text, Teuthold has significantly omitted the initial intention which claimed '[a]n seinen Gedanken liegt uns mehr als an seinen Taten'.<sup>63</sup> Had Schiller's text focused on the psychological reasons behind crime ('Es erquickte mich im voraus, meine Feinde durch meinen plötzlichen Anblick in Schrecken zu setzen'),<sup>64</sup> then Teuthold is only interested in the actual violence: 'anticipating the pleasure it would afford me to strike my enemies with terror by my sudden appearance and to feast my eyes on the pangs of the devoted victims of my vengeance'.<sup>65</sup> When a bolt of lightning strikes down Volkert during his final confession, Schiller's psychological narrative has been completely abandoned in order to revel in a horrific aesthetic of the sublime.

Perhaps the most curious moment in this instance of Anglo-German cultural transfer is that when Kahlert came to publish a second German edition of *Der Geisterbanner* in 1799 he re-translated Teuthold's English novel back into German. Thus when it comes to translating Gothic novels in the late-Enlightenment, translation – here in a very real manner – seems to deny any standard assumption of authorship: Kahlert's own text becomes somehow estranged from his authority as writer by re-translating and incorporating most of Teuthold's amendments. He omits Teuthold's more explicitly sexual sections but remains in general faithful to the English text. In his commentary Kahlert remarks that 'unverkennbar ist aber auch, welche Schwierigkeiten und Widersprüche ein solches Unternehmen mit sich führe, und wie sehr der deutsche Geschmack von dem Englischen unterschieden sei'.<sup>66</sup> Both Teuthold and Kahlert are thus convinced that there are varying national idiosyncrasies of taste that both link and separate German writing from its English counterpart: English writing is seen by both to be more explicitly horrific and brutal than its German equivalent. This may seem surprising, given the importance of the Enlightened aesthetics at the core of Walpole's *Otranto*, and it suggests a change in taste in matters Gothic since the 1770s. While this

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63. That is: 'we are concerned more with his thoughts than his deeds'. Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.9.

64. 'I was energized in advance by the thought of horrifying my enemies through my sudden appearance.' Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.13.

65. Teuthold, *The Necromancer*, p. 138.

66. That is: 'it is impossible to ignore the difficulties and contradictions that such an undertaking involves and to see furthermore just how different indeed both German and English tastes are'. Kahlert, *Der Geisterbanner* (1799), III.272.

conclusion is reasonable for Kahlert who, in 1799, was writing after the publication of Lewis's brutal *The Monk* (1795), it is undeniable that English writing in 1794 had not yet produced any literature as fantastic and horrific as Teuthold's translation – indeed the more timid and distinctly rational 'terror' of Ann Radcliffe's explained supernatural was the dominant mode of Gothic writing prior to Teuthold's translation. Indeed it is of some significance that Lewis's novel was almost immediately associated with the 'German School' of fiction in contemporary reviews, thus suggesting that – for the English at least – Kahlert's and Teuthold's 'English taste' was in fact a 'German taste'. This theory is supported by English responses to Gothic texts from the 1780s: *The British Critic* remarked: 'We should be sorry to see an English original so full of absurdities' as *The Necromancer*,<sup>67</sup> and the *Analytical Review* accuses Germans of 'giving unbounded licence to [...] imagination' and of being 'extravagant'.<sup>68</sup> Precisely those elements which were identified by Teuthold as belonging to English taste are thus identified by the English reviewers to be German in origin. In terms of the cultural transfer between England and Germany, the term *Schauerroman* soon became the subject of a negative appropriation of the German term,<sup>69</sup> being negatively associated with a horrific school of the Gothic novel following Lewis.

Walpole's and Kahlert's novels provide telling examples in this field of cultural transfer; yet in order to understand the extent of these processes of translation and transformation it is worthwhile looking at what happens to the first example of a genuinely German Gothic novel, Friedrich Schiller's *Der Geisterseher* (1786-1789), when it is introduced into the British context. If the Gothic has thus far emerged as a borderline entity, crossing borders and languages to the point of conclusion, then the form of Schiller's fragmentary novel reflects these textual relays. Little more than an uncanny skeleton of a novel consisting of reports, letters and oral stories, *Der Geisterseher* not only narrates events from a journey to Venice, rather also consists of communiqués between Italy and Germany. Schiller's interest in borderline cases furthermore touches on themes of madness, superstition, spectrality and modern technology and exists on the cusp of modern mass-publication. On a superficial level, Schiller's fragment is an important source of characters and themes for English writers: not only does the shady figure of the Armenian resurface

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67. *The British Critic* 4 (1794), p. 194, quoted in Boening, *Reception*, p. 309.

68. Boening, *Reception*, p. 315.

69. This is a commonplace particularly in English based studies on the Gothic. Initial seeds for such a misunderstanding were certainly sown in the reception of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* but this is a trend that has continued into contemporary research in equal measures, as can be seen (to name just one such relevant example) in Miles, *Ann Radcliffe*.

in Lewis's *The Monk* in the shape of the 'Wandering Jew', the figure of the scheming monk actually becomes a standard ingredient of the Gothic novel, as evidenced by Schedoni and Nicola in Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* and Ambrosio in *The Monk*, to name but a few examples. The network of letters, reports and stories that make up the fragment tells the story of how the Prince of<sup>xx</sup> falls prey to a seemingly Jesuit plot to gain control of his Protestant principality in Germany by convincing him to convert to Catholicism and encouraging him to plot against his brother, the rightful heir to the throne. In broad brush-strokes providing little more than vague hints as to the true nature of events it is reported how the Prince, having been drawn in by a curious prophecy delivered by a figure in an Armenian mask on St. Mark's Square in Venice detects an intrigue against him, only to finally fall prey to the Jesuit secret society of which the Armenian is the uncanny, ever-shifting public face. In telegram-style, Schiller's Count of O<sup>xx</sup> relates the Prince's downfall: having amassed debts to the Cardinal and attempted to murder his nephew, his only escape seems to be through pledging his allegiance to the Armenian and hence to the Catholic Church: 'In seinen Armen finden Sie den Prinzen, der seit fünf Tagen – die erste Messe hörte.'<sup>70</sup>

Concrete evidence of a concerted process of cultural transfer surrounding the *Geisterseher* can be gained in the various translations published in London, Dublin and even New York during the 1790s. Rather than focus in detail on these translations, it is of more interest to look at the transformations to be found in the sections of Lewis's *The Monk* in which he 'borrowed' from Schiller's novel, specifically his adaptations of the most enigmatic and memorable character in Schiller's work, the Armenian. If Schiller's text combines urban legends of conspiracy with necromancy and magic with debates on the limits of rational thinking, then the protean figure of the Armenian is the screen onto which all these debates are projected.<sup>71</sup> As the central figure guiding and goading the Prince into the arms of the Catholic Church, the Armenian is curiously absent throughout the text, ghosting around behind the scenes, rarely revealing himself to the other characters. The first episode involving him is particularly significant, in that it constructs him as a mysterious entity in the text:

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70. 'In his arms you will find the prince, who five days since attended mass for the first time.' Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.59.

71. See Matthias Hurst, *Im Spannungsfeld der Aufklärung: von Schillers Geisterseher bis zur TV-Serie The X-Files: Rationalismus und Irrationalismus in Literatur, Film und Fernsehen 1786-1999* (Heidelberg 2001), p. 153.



Eines Abends, als wir nach Gewohnheit in tiefer Maske und abgesondert auf dem St. Markusplatz spazieren gingen [...] bemerkte der Prinz, daß eine Maske uns überall folgte. Die Maske war Armenier und ging allein. [...] Wir setzten uns auf eine steinerne Bank und erwarteten, daß die Maske vorübergehen sollte. Sie kam gerade auf uns zu und nahm ihren Platz direkt an der Seite des Prinzen. [...] ‘Neun Uhr’, wiederholte sie in eben der Sprache nachdrücklich und langsam. ‘Wünschen Sie sich Glück Prinz’ (indem er ihn bei seinem wahren Namen nannte). ‘Um neun Uhr ist er gestorben.’ – Damit stand er auf und ging. [...] Wir durchkrochen alle Winkel des Markusplatzes – die Maske war nicht mehr zu finden.<sup>72</sup>

The figure’s identity is never fixed; indeed that he is even called the ‘Armenian’ is the result of the mask he wears, thus making issues of appearance and artifice from the very beginning highly problematic. That he should gain the supernatural appearance of a ‘Wundermann’ (‘miracle man’)<sup>73</sup> is due in no small part to the fact that this mysterious prophecy (which is so general that it can easily be referred to almost any death) is instantly fulfilled: the Prince’s cousin has indeed died.<sup>74</sup> That his next orchestrated appearance at the Sicilian’s séance in the guise of a Russian soldier should encourage ‘Schrecken und Überraschung’ (‘horror and surprise’) is the result of his carefully orchestrated plot to reveal the Sicilian as a hoax and thus make himself appear omnipotent and supernatural. Central to this supernatural *Strahlkraft* are his eyes that ‘uns mit einem Blicke stiller Gewalt und Größe durchschaute’.<sup>75</sup> The Armenian appears constantly disguised and the only real description we receive of him comes in the Sicilian’s dubious story in which his carefully orchestrated supernatural appearance is supposed to be underlined. In short, however, the Armenian’s fantastic appearance owes more to the Sicilian’s unreliable narration and to the blind-spots and missing information between the amalgam of letters of which the novel is formed than to any truly supernatural abilities or events. Ultimately Schiller’s text can rationally explain away the ghostly apparitions and manipulations in order to uphold the thoroughly Enlightened goal of his novel which was to trace how intrigue can lead a rationally thinking individual back into the supposedly unen-

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72. ‘One evening we were, as usual, walking by ourselves, well masked in the square of St. Mark [...] when the prince observed a mask which followed us everywhere. This mask was an Armenian, and walked alone. [...] We sat down upon a stone bench, and expected the mask would have passed by. He came directly up to us, and took his seat by the side of the prince. [...] “Nine!” repeated the latter in the same language, in a slow and expressive voice, “Congratulate yourself, my prince” (calling him by his real name). “He died at nine.” – In saying this, he rose and went away. We crawled through every corner of the square of St. Mark – the mask was nowhere to be found.’ Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.46-47.

73. Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.74.

74. *Ibid.*, XVI.48.

75. That is: ‘casting a glance of sublime power on us all’. Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.62.

lightened arms of superstition. In a brief prologue to the tale of conspiracy the Count of O<sup>xx</sup> provides a brief psychological profile suggesting the Prince's susceptibility to the Armenian's machinations were the result of his Protestant, ascetic upbringing: 'eine vernachlässigte Erziehung und frühe Kriegsdienste hatten seinen Geist nicht zur Reife kommen lassen. Alle Kenntnisse, die er nachher schöpfte, vermehrten nur die Verwirrung seiner Begriffe, weil sie auf keinen festen Grund gebauet waren' making him prone to melancholy and religious *Schwärmertum*.<sup>76</sup>

The intertextual relays between *The Monk* and *Der Geisterseher* are slightly more complicated than at first seems likely, with Lewis's demonical appropriation of Schiller's Armenian in the figure of the Wandering Jew arising through contamination with other German pretexts, most notably Johann Karl August Musäus's *Die Entführung* and Kahlert's *Der Geisterbanner*.<sup>77</sup> Apart from the intertextual links between Lewis's Wandering Jew and Schiller's Armenian, the oral delivery of both events – in Lewis's novel the Jew, also known as an Arabian astrologer, as the Great Mogul incognito and even as Faust,<sup>78</sup> is part of Don Raymond's history – seems to underline the affinity with Schiller's fragment at a conceptual level, where the most telling description of the Armenian is positioned within the Sicilian's story. Evoking the strange prophecy with which the Armenian first appears, Lewis's Jew announces himself with the prophecy 'my hand alone can dry up the blood. Bid your master wish for me when the clock strikes one'.<sup>79</sup> Schiller's Armenian is described in detail as the 'Unergründlich[er]' ('the Incomprehensible'):

Wer er sei? Woher er gekommen? Wohin er gehe? weiß niemand. Daß er lang in Ägypten gewesen, wie viele behaupten, und dort aus einer Pyramide seine verborgene Weisheit geholt habe, will ich weder bejahen noch verneinen. Bei uns kennt man ihn nur unter dem Namen des *Unergründlichen*. [...] Es gibt glaubwürdige Leute, die sich erinnern, ihn in verschiedenen Weltgegenden zu gleicher Zeit gesehen zu haben. Keines Degens Spitze kann ihn durchbohren, kein Gift kann ihm etwas anhaben, kein Feuer sengt ihn, kein Schiff geht unter, worauf er sich befindet. Die Zeit selbst scheint an ihm ihre Macht zu verlieren, die

76. That is: 'as his education had been neglected, and, as he had early entered the career of arms, his understanding had never been fully matured. Hence the knowledge he afterwards acquired served but to increase the chaos of his ideas, because it was built on an unstable foundation'. Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.46. On this concept in terms of Gothic fiction and the late-Enlightenment see Jürgen Viering, *Schwärmerische Erwartungen bei Wieland, im trivialen Geheimnisroman und bei Jean Paul* (Cologne 1976).

77. Guthke, *Englische Vorromantik*, p. 176-184. On *Der Geisterbanner* see Hall, *French and German Gothic*, p. 197-201 and p. 231-232.

78. Lewis, *The Monk*, p. 145-146.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Jahre trocknen seine Säfte nicht aus, und das Alter kann seine Haare nicht bleichen [...] von allen Stunden des Tages weiß man nur eine einzige, über die er nicht Herr ist, in welcher niemand ihn gesehen, in welcher er kein irdisches Geschäft verrichtet hat. [...] Sobald die Glocke den zwölften Schlag tut, gehört er den Lebendigen nicht mehr. Wo er auch sein mag, er muß fort, welches Geschäft er auch verrichtet, er muß es abbrechen. [...] Niemand wagt es, ihn darum zu befragen, noch weniger ihm zu folgen; denn seine Gesichtszüge ziehen sich auf einmal, sobald diese gefürchtete Stunde schlägt, in einen so finstren und schreckhaften Ernst zusammen, daß jedem der Mut entfällt, ihm ins Gesicht zu blicken oder ihn anzureden. [...] Ein einziges Mal, sagt man, überschritt er den Termin. [...] Als die gesetzte Stunde da war, verstummte er plötzlich und wurde starr, alle seine Gliedmaßen verharteten in derselben Richtung, worin dieser Zufall sie überraschte, seine Augen standen, sein Puls schlug nicht mehr, alle Mittel, die man anwendete, ihn wieder zu erwecken, waren fruchtlos [...].<sup>80</sup>

The Sicilian underlines this terror-inducing description, speaking of him appearing in the guise of a Franciscan monk and staring at him hypnotically 'auf eine so grelle Art' that it 'ließ einen unauslöschlichen Eindruck in meiner Seele zurück'.<sup>81</sup> And yet the Armenian is by no means as fantastic as at first seems, the unreliable Sicilian's portrait, having already been revealed as a liar, appears to be little more than a mystification that actually constructs an appearance of the *supernatural* around what is little more than a thoroughly *natural* schemer and political realist.

Read in this manner, it is of some interest that the adaptation/translation of this passage in Lewis's *The Monk* should highlight precisely those superstitious and mysterious elements of Schiller's fragment that the novel ultima-

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80. 'No person knows who he is, whence he comes, or whither he goes. That he has been for a long time in Egypt, as many pretend, and that he has brought from thence, out of a catacomb, his, occult sciences, I will neither affirm nor deny. Here we only know him by the name of the *Incomprehensible*. [...] There are several credible persons who remember having seen him, each, at the same time, in different parts of the globe. No sword can wound, no poison can hurt, no fire can burn him; no vessel in which he embarks can be wrecked. Time itself seems to lose its power over him. Years do not affect his constitution, nor age whiten his hair. [...] Of the twenty-four hours in the day there is only one which he cannot command; during which no person ever saw him, and during which he never was employed in any terrestrial occupation. [...] When the clock strikes twelve at midnight he ceases to belong to the living. In whatever place he is he must immediately be gone; whatever business he is engaged in he must instantly leave it. [...] No person ventures to interrogate, still less to follow him. His features, at this dreadful hour, assume a sternness of expression so gloomy and terrifying that no person has courage sufficient to look him in the face, or to speak a word to him. [...] Once only, it is said, he missed the appointed time. [...] When the stated hour arrived he suddenly became silent and motionless; his limbs continued in the position in which this instant had arrested them; his eyes were fixed; his pulse ceased to beat. All the means employed to awake him proved fruitless [...].' Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.74-75 (Schiller's emphasis).

81. That is: 'such a brilliant manner' that it 'left an inerasable impression in my soul'. Schiller, *Nationalausgabe*, XVI.87.

tely attempts to rationally explain away. In the depiction of the Wandering Jew, one of the central horror-inducing events of the Don Raymond/Bleeding Nun passage of the novel set in the forests of German-speaking Alsace, Lewis blatantly plagiarised Schiller's description of the Armenian:

Some supposed him to be an Arabian astrologer, others to be a travelling mountebank, and many declared that he was Doctor Faustus, whom the devil had sent back to Germany. The Landlord, however, told me that he had the best reasons to believe him to be the Great Mogul incognito. [...] He was a man of majestic presence; his countenance was strongly marked, and his eyes were large, black, and sparkling: yet there was a something in his look, which, the moment that I saw him, inspired me with a secret awe, not to say horror. [...] He named people who had ceased to exist for centuries, and yet with whom he appeared to have been personally acquainted. I could not mention a country, however distant, which he had not visited. [...] Fate obliges me to be constantly in movement; I am not permitted to pass more than a fortnight in the same place. I have no friend in the world, and, from the restlessness of my destiny, I never can acquire one. Fain would I lay down my miserable life, for I envy those who enjoy the quiet of the grave: but death eludes me, and flies from my embrace. In vain do I throw myself in the way of danger. I plunge the ocean; the waves throw me back with abhorrence upon the shore: I rush into fire; the flames recoil at my approach: I oppose myself to the fury of the banditti; their swords become blunted, and break against my breast.<sup>82</sup>

Yet whereas Schiller places his description in the mouth of a swindler who had already been discovered to have staged the conjuring up of ghosts, Lewis does nothing to diminish or rationally explain the fantastic nature of the Wandering Jew. In fact, through fusing Schiller's Armenian with elements of Müsäu's *Die Entführung*, the acknowledged source of the Bleeding Nun episode, and *Der Geisterbanner*, Lewis creates a truly fantastic, mythological figure from the bare bones of a successful schemer:

In spite of his injunctions to the contrary, curiosity would not suffer me to keep my eyes off his face: I raised them, and beheld a burning cross impressed upon his brow. [...] My senses left me for some moments: a mysterious dread overcame my courage; and had not the exorciser caught my hand, I should have fallen out of the circle.<sup>83</sup>

By relocating this narrative into a new context, Lewis elides the difference between the outright marvellous nature of the fairy-tale and the realistic conventions of the novel, thus producing a fantastic moment of hesitancy. In grafting these events on to the realistic figure of the Armenian, Lewis thus changes and re-appropriates Schiller's figure in order to heighten the supernatural effects within his own text. It is telling that Lewis's text was imme-

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82. Lewis, *The Monk*, p. 146-148.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

diately assumed to belong to the supposed German school of writing already commented on above. If Teuthold suggested that his amendments to Kahlerlert's German text were a concession to English taste, the English critics and writers looked at here suggest the diametric opposite of this conclusion: the extravagance and hyperbole of Teuthold and Lewis's *The Monk* are considered to be 'a glaring depravity of taste' and 'exotic poison from the envenomed crucibles of the literary and political alchemists of the new German school'.<sup>84</sup> So who is to blame: the Germans or the British?

#### IV. Strange productivity: cultural transfer and Gothic tastes

A definitive answer as to whether Gothic horrors were of English or German taste cannot ultimately be provided. Instead the Gothic novel becomes not so much an example for the permeable notions of borders that cultural transfer reveals,<sup>85</sup> as an example of a genuinely transnational taste which is subsequently tied into local and proto-national discourses of taste, culture and national superiority. The processes of translation and transformation thus may be inherently transnational, but they serve distinctly local, proto-national aims: Gothic writing allows both English and German critics and writers to develop a distinctly national literary identity and Gothic tastes. Perhaps the Gothic contexts of translation and transfer do more than just provide a telling insight into the creation of national literary traditions on a transnational basis, however. If one reads the processes of translation, adaptation and transformation involved in these acts of transfer as producing *strangely* productive moments in both English and German Gothic literature which lead not only to changed forms of Gothic writing in general (as was the case with Lewis's novel) but also to a thoroughly uncanny doubling of the original text (Kahlerlert's second edition incorporates the supposedly English taste of Teuthold's English-language *Doppelgänger*), then translation itself becomes an infinitely strange, almost *Gothic* process of its own right, introducing foreign traces that unsettle almost any concept of originality, authority over texts, oeuvre and national origins traditionally the mainstay of literary traditions and literary studies itself. At the close of the Enlightenment this step is still highly uncertain and seemingly disconcerting. In this field of complex and uncanny translations and transformations, translation itself ultimately serves as a motor for innovation which will move these novels beyond Enlightenment

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84. Boening, *Reception*, p. 342.

85. See Helga Mitterbauer and Katharina Scherke, *Ent-grenzte Räume: kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart* (Vienna 2000) and Appardurai, *Modernity at large*.

poetics. Thus if the Enlightenment has been seen as cultural transfer *avant la lettre* in the present volume, then the Gothic mode can be seen as testing ground of these processes under the changing conditions on the threshold of modernization. What emerges may indeed no longer be so easily claimed to belong to the Enlightenment, but the patterns of cultural transfer set out here in the thirty years between 1764 and 1794 shall, I would suggest, remain remarkably similar.



JOHN R. J. EYCK

Where Werther went:  
what happens when a ‘minor’ literature  
transposes a ‘major’ character\*

The protagonist Werther hardly counts among the lesser known characters from the corpus of eighteenth-century German literature. Indeed, as literary history would write him, the eponymous protagonist from *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) – the major narrative breakthrough for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) – unleashed a storm of strongly similar *Wertheriades* that swept across most all of Europe. In its wake, such *Wertherism* inundated eighteenth-century literatures with virtually countless other *empfindsame*, erratic, melancholy outcasts. Born(e) arguably by this Sentimentalist wave from the Enlightenment, they conceivably if not conceptually became the first modern anti-heroes, bedecked in blue frock coats and yellow breeches, irretrievably love-lost to society at large, and hopelessly destined for a tragic end. Yet the essay at hand proposes to present another type of Werther, one whose ultimate redemption has rendered him less resident in prevailing literary histories. Namely, this inquiry finds its case in point in the seemingly subaltern literature of the Low Countries. ‘Re-written’<sup>1</sup> instead into a minor literature, so-called, this translated Werther marks a curious cultural crossing from the poetics by which Goethe and his epigones supposedly dominated late eighteenth-century writing.

Given the strength of Goethe’s newly-gained authority, even literary arbiters in the staid socio-cultural climate of the Netherlands could not withstand the tearful flood of Werther’s sorrows. Translations of his *Leiden* into Dutch appeared as early as 1776, though the literary public had likely read earlier French renditions already.<sup>2</sup> In short order there followed a stage version of

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\* For Matthew E. Oles, *il miglior amico*.

1. This notion of translation as ‘re-writing’ issues notably from the work that André Lefevere advanced for translation studies. See e.g. André Lefevere, *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame* (London 1992).
2. The following details for publications derive from the standard work on the reception of *Werther* in the Netherlands, i.e. Joost Kloek, *Over Werther geschreven – Nederlandse reac-*



Goethe's story in 1776, as well as a translation of Friedrich Nicolai's parody (*Die Freuden des jungen Werthers* [1775]) in 1777. During the next decade, at least 75 works of various genres were published with references to Goethe's *Werther*. By the 1790s a series of Dutch *Wertheriades* had appeared, popular enough to be called best-sellers in their day, though frequently unsympathetic. Evidently, the stolid sensibilities of the Dutch bourgeoisie would hardly suffer the passionate 'Storm and Stress' of their Continental cousins for long.

What follows in this both cursory and precursory investigation into where *Werther* went, consequently, hopes to provide an outline for the fate of Sentimentalism in Dutch literature: first, by tracing the work of its one, singular, and unmistakably marked Sentimentalist *par excellence*, Rhijnvis Feith (1753-1824), Goethe's clear contemporary; next, by observing the results of that authorial enterprise in one piece in particular, Feith's *Julia* (1783),<sup>3</sup> and, finally, by examining the historical-cultural circumstances that may account for the rather different outcomes when *Werther* went Dutch. In addition, as an inaugural foray, it needs be noted from the outset that this preliminary sketch admittedly remains largely descriptive and pre-analytical at this point, and in some points outright speculative. However, the movement known in the Netherlands as *sentimentalisme* arises in a period pivotal to distinguishing Modernity from the Enlightenment it succeeded, and, as such, even its initial findings can contribute to comprehending a contest *en-gender*-ed – in at least two senses of that word – at that time.

That is, as a socio-cultural phenomenon during the 'Age of Reason', Sentimentalism instigated an alternative to the ostensibly hegemonic discourse of that age. It interjected instead the importance for both genders, for men and women alike, to express emotion as well, to explore the extents to which they can feel, the level at which the passion of their hearts may match the purpose of their heads. Correspondingly, *emotio* became as essential as *ratio* for a movement known by any/many other names, be they sensibility, *sensibilité*, *Empfindsamkeit* – not to mention the markedly more masculine variant called *Sturm und Drang*. Thus seeking a balance between head and heart, Sentimentalism came to counter the Rationalism seemingly dominating its eighteenth century.

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*ties op Goethes Werther, 1775-1800: Proeve van historisch receptie-onderzoek* (Utrecht 1985). See especially p. 116-121.

3. Rhijnvis Feith, 'Julia', in his collected *Dicht- en prozaische werken* (Rotterdam 1834), V.1-62. This essay owes a great debt as well to the twentieth-century edition, particularly to its introduction. See *Julia*, ed. Joost Kloek and Bert Paasman (The Hague 1982).

Granted, such Sentimentalism would scarcely seem possible in a country more suited for cows, cheese, and *klompen*. While a Latin Don Quixote may have gone tilting at windmills, dreaming the impossible dream hardly fits the behaviour stereotyping the sober Dutch burgher in Northern Europe. Yet the case of Sentimentalism did prove contentious to contemporaneous circumstances in the eighteenth-century Netherlands as well, seen here in the following two versified variations given by the home-grown Dutch press, which, to be sure, in their recipe format could not better express the drift of the debate with the character of its Dutch domesticity:

*Recipe for preparing something sentimental*

Take equal portions of  
 Dashes and Exclamation-points,  
 Euphonious women's names,  
 and pure, heavenly, eternal Love:  
 Spread over this some spicy potpourri,  
 consisting of  
 souls melting, sighs, swooning,  
 hearts throbbing, spirits writhing,  
 final farewells, last kisses –  
 hands clasping, sobs,  
 death, the grave, ashes, eternal night,  
 bottomless sea of eternity, etc.  
 Mix all this together well,  
 Then pour on a sauce of  
 still, soft tears made burning hot;  
 Will turn out fine.

*Counter-recipe for something sentimental*

Aye, tell me: what is better,  
 To nurture in Germany,  
 With Klopstock and with Wieland  
 And even here with Van Alphen,  
 With Feith and other men,  
 The tender sentiments,  
 Given me by nature,  
 Or to plague such tender feeling  
 with deliberation –

Both these formulations<sup>4</sup> were published anonymously in the belletristic review *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen* ('General patriotic litera-

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4. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author. The Dutch originals here read as follows: '*Recept om iets sentimenteels toe te maaken*. Neem eene gelyke portie van / Streepen en Uitroeps-tekenen, / welluidende Vrouwen-namen, / en reine, hemelsche, eeuwige Liefde: / Strooi hier over eenig Rommelkruid, / bestaande uit / ziels-wegsmeltingen, zuch-

ry practice'), a scant two years after Rhijnvis Feith stormed onto the literary scene in 1783, with the publication of his epistolary novel *Julia*. Sentimentally *sine qua non*, Feith's story related the plight of two lovers made unhappy when bound within the constraints set by late eighteenth-century society. In *Julia*, as the counter-recipe would suggest, Feith creatively intermingles Sentimentalist strains from France with those from Germany. He makes his adaptation immediately manifest by adopting the title to name his own piece from Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* – first known as the *Lettres entre deux amants* (1761) – much as Feith also appropriates the title figure from Goethe's *Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) to elaborate his version of their Sentimentalist narratives – a configuration which will require extended examination presently.

At the time of its publication, Dutch critics lauded Feith's hybrid as 'an effective love-story *par excellence* [...] which brings to our eye pure Love [...] in such a way that an emotional heart has to be most sensitively affected by it. The entire arrangement of this writing, the manner of execution, and the style used therein make it into a masterpiece of its kind'.<sup>5</sup> Feith's own Dutch reading public reverberated that praise for the novel, as it went through five different editions in the ten years following its original publication. Furthermore, Feith's work achieved recognition even outside domestic Dutch audiences: *Julia* was translated into international European languages, including several editions (not to mention reprints) in French, German, and even Russian<sup>6</sup> – certainly no small achievement for an author writing in such

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ten, neêrzyging, / hartkloppingen, ziels-opkrimpigen, / jongste vaarwellen, laatste kusschen – / handdrukkingen, snikken, / dood, graf, assche, eeuwigen nacht, / grondelooze zee der eeuwigheid, enz. / Meng dit alles wel onder één, / Giet 'er dan een Saus van / stille, zagte, gloeiend heet gemaakte traanen op; / Zal goed zyn. – *Tegenrecept om iets sentimenteels*. Ai zegt mij: wat is beter, / De teedre sentimenten, / mij door natuur gegeven, / In Duitschland op te queeken, / Bij Klopstock en bij Wieland / En zelf hier bij Van Alphen / Bij Feith en and're mannen, / Of zulk een teêr gevoelen / Met moedwil te verpesten –' *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen* (1785), VII.601.

5. 'eene by uitstek treffende liefdesgeschiedenis [...] die ons de reine Liefde [...] zo onder 't oog [brengt] dat een aandoenlijk hart 'er ten gevoeligste door getroffen moet worden. De geheele inrigting van dit geschrift, de manier van uitvoering, en de styl daarin gebruikt, maa-ken het tot een Meesterwerk in zyne soort.' *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen* (1784), VI.128.
6. See especially Maarten Gillis Fraanje, 'Een Nederlandse sentimentalist in Europees perspectief: Rhijnvis Feith in Franse en Russische vertalingen', in *Typisch Nederlands': de Nederlandse identiteit in de letterkunde*, ed. Karl Enenkel, Sjaak Onderdelinden, and Paul J. Smith (Voorthuizen 1999), p. 135-147. Cf. as well *Julia*, ed. Kloek and Paasman, p. 57-59.

a minor language as Dutch. In fact, only one other Dutch novel from the era can be said to rival the success of Feith's *Julia* abroad.<sup>7</sup>

Rhijnvis Feith was born in 1753 in the provincial capital of Zwolle, dying there a good seventy years later in 1824. From all accounts, he would appear to represent what the era itself considered an archetype of the Enlightenment scholar and gentleman – a man with a seemingly charmed professional and personal life which included not only tribute to the muses but also service to the local body politic. As servant to the muses, Feith practiced all manner of versification and wrote prose on topics as diverse as aesthetic theory and biblical translation. By the end of the eighteenth century, nearly all his duties to poetry, drama and prose were completed, as was his career in public affairs. Retiring to his country estate in the company of an adoring family, Feith piously meted out the greater part of his remaining literary days by translating psalms. Little in the literary history and scholarship since Feith's death recalls why a person who had such an exemplary Enlightenment career would above all else come to be identified ostensibly as the Dutch spokesperson for something seen as sententious as Sentimentalism.

Yet Feith himself seemed to anticipate the ambivalence of his critical reception. Already in the dedication to his first novel, Feith commented on the causes for his re-writing, ruefully noting how at a party given by his dedicatee he fell

into a friendly disagreement about Love. I had nearly everyone against me; you alone, gracious Sophie! chose my side. On whatever edge the truth would be found, this is certain, we thought more sublimely over Love, than our opponents. [...] On top of this, I preach a Love that does not exist without virtue. Oh! this last ruins everything! People will laugh and I will be finished.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, in the preface to the second edition of *Julia* he wrote, 'I could easily know beforehand that the pure, artless language of feeling would have to appear *outré* to less sensitive hearts, and fully illogical [lit.: "unrhymed"] to those without feeling'.<sup>9</sup> Despite positive popular reviews and tangible public

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7. I.e. Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1782). See *Julia*, ed. Kloek and Paasman, p. 59.

8. 'in een vriendelijk verschil over de Liefde. Ik had bijna elk tegen mij; gij alleen, bevallige Sophie! koost mijne zijde. Aan welken kant zich de waarheid ook bevond, dit is zeker, wij dachten meer verheven over de Liefde, dan onze tegenstrijders. [...] Voeg hier bij, dat ik eene Liefde predike, die zonder de deugd niet bestaat. Ach! dit laatste bederft alles! Men zal lagchen en het zal met mij gedaan zijn.' Feith, *Werken*, V.3-4.

9. 'Ik kon toch gemaklijk vooraf weten, dat de zuivere kunsteloze taal van 't gevoel aan minder gevoelige harten geoutreerd, en aan gevoelloozen volstrekt ongerijmd voor moest komen.' *Julia*, ed. Kloek and Paasman, p. 52.

appeal, his prophecy did indeed fulfil itself: as a *literator* Feith was subsequently lambasted in a number of negative critiques for what one commentator among the intelligentsia called his ‘Romanesque, false feeling’.<sup>10</sup> Not only those recipes cited above – published curiously enough in the same journal that had originally praised his writing – took issue with the Dutch *sentimentalisme* Feith helped concoct. Feith was moreover subjected to a virtual jeremiad by poetical elders from an earlier generation, foremost among them Willem de Perponcher (1741-1819). In 1786, De Perponcher anonymously published a protracted diatribe against Feith and his followers entitled *Gedagten over het sentimenteele van deezen tyd* (‘Thoughts about the sentimental of these times’). Extending the charges of falseness and artifice, De Perponcher found that their cultivation of tender feeling was a dangerously fashionable trend, which encouraged emotional and social isolation, and, as a result, ultimately undermined the society it purported to improve through refining emotion.

Feith therefore found himself obligated to uphold his entire Sentimentalist enterprise. His *Brieven over verscheide onderwerpen* (‘Letters over various subjects’), begun in 1784 as a reappraisal of French Neo-Classical poetics, would eventually turn into an organ for expounding his ideas on the new, burgeoning German *Geniekult* of his times. In Feith’s very first letter, he took on his detractors and their ‘superficial contestations’.<sup>11</sup> Deeply engaged in aesthetic determinations of his day as well as their far-reaching repercussions, Feith thus fires the first salvo against the superficiality of his foremost opponent:

The knowledgable writer of the same [i.e. the ‘Thoughts’], who hides himself beneath the motto: *Tendimus ad coelestum Patriam* [‘We strive for the heavenly Fatherland’], is the first who outlines and handles this subject broadly. And while he views it primarily from the moral edge, I want to confess to you that his ideas appeared weighty enough to me, not only once to be perused with precision, but also to be pondered deeply and to be weighed over with the greatest impartiality.<sup>12</sup>

10. That is: ‘Romanesk, valsche gevoel’. Ibid., p. 55.

11. In Dutch: ‘oppervlakkige tegenschriften’. Feith, *Werken*, III.4. Appropriately, Feith dismisses the most trivial of these aesthetic offensives, that is, the ‘Recipes’ from the *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letter-Oefeningen*, in a footnote to his first missive. See Feith, *Werken*, III.28.

12. ‘De kundige schrijver van dezelve [i.e. de *Gedagten*], die zich onder de zinspreuk: *Tendimus ad coelestum Patriam*, verbergt, is de eerste, die dit onderwerp bepaalt en breedvoerig behandelt. En dewijl hij het voornamelijk van den zedelijken kant beschouwt, wil ik u wel belijden, dat zijne gedachten mij gewigtig genoeg voorkwamen, om niet slechts meer dan eens met een nauwkeurigheid doorgelezen, maar ook om diep nagedacht en met de grootste onpartijdigheid overwogen te worden.’ Ibid., III.4.

Upon directly addressing the prime accusations presented in De Perponcher's *Gedagten*, Feith declares:

His proofs therefore only demonstrate that sensitivity can be bastardized; that the sentimental can be misused; that one can indeed become more imperfect through pursuing an imagined perfection; – all cases which no healthy intellect will deny, but which at the same time do not put an end to my feelings over the sentimental.<sup>13</sup>

To further his 'feelings', in his next epistle, *Iets over het Sentimenteele* ('Something about the sentimental'), Feith provided a partial defence of what the Sentimentalist position was and how it sought to better society. In order to limit the growing debate, Feith found it necessary to define precisely what sentimental meant:

I would not know to translate sentimental any better than by *sensitive* [lit.: 'becoming aware'] and in that manner by *sentimental writings* I understand such in which one's own sensations are expressed and through a style which speaks more to the heart and the power of imagination than to reason, expressed such that they go over into the soul of the Reader and awaken a tender, similar sensitivity there.<sup>14</sup>

Significantly, what Feith proffers here is a translation of the Latin derivative, 'sentimental', into a more Germanic term – a translation prompted, in point of fact, by questions raised during a discussion over the purpose of the Englishman Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768).

As mentioned above, Feith was no stranger to foreign adaptation. He proves particularly adept at adapting varied and various Sentimentalist tropes and *topoi*, from the interjectory and elliptical to the melancholy and sepulchral. And one of the most salient instances of such re-writing occurs in his *Julia*, when he inserts none other than Goethe's Werther into his Dutch story of two lovers estranged by a father who refuses to sanction their troth. Sent forth on a sojourn to prove the purity of his love for Julia, the forlorn Eduard

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13. 'Zijne bewijzen betoogen dus alleen, dat de teêrvoeligheid verbasteren kan; dat het sentimenteele misbruikt kan worden; dat men door eene ingebeelde volmaaktheid na te jagen inderdaad onvolmaakter worden kan; – alle stukken, die geen gezond verstand ontkennen zal, maar die tevens niet tegen mijn gevoelens over het sentimenteele afdoen.' *Ibid.*, III.5.

14. '[Sentimenteel] zou ik niet beter dan door *gewaarwoordelijk* weten over te brengen, en dan versta ik door *sentimenteele schriften* dezulken, in welke eigen gewaarwoordingen uitgedrukt en door eenen stijl die meer tot het hart en tot de verbeeldingskracht dan tot het verstand spreekt, zodaanig uitgedrukt worden, dat ze in de ziel van den Lezer overgaan en daar eene tedere, soortgelijke gevoeligheid verwekken.' *Ibid.*, III.32 (Feith's emphasis).

comes upon a soul even more wretched than he, that is, Werther. He describes their meeting almost as if it were kismet:

At first sight we fell for each other, and we needed no assurances to both be convinced that we were friends. o! Whoever can pour out his overfull heart into the lap of a true, sympathetic friend, who feels just as finely as we ourselves, he is but half as unhappy in the greatest of disasters. I am such a friend for Werther.<sup>15</sup>

After Werther relates the sad story of his lost beloved, Eduard renders him sympathetic praise for the severity of his destiny:

o Julia! tender Julia! how deeply shall you lament my Friend! With such a feeling heart, that no little worm can see suffer, that every being should want to make happy, itself to be so un-speakably happy! What a world is ours! So many miserable all around, who all should have blessed Providence for their lot, who all should have become excellent people, had no invisible force kept them from the circle to which they belonged, in which their true happiness and grandeur soar! Imponderably happy he, my Julia! who has enough in God!<sup>16</sup>

Werther's sufferings last only a little longer for Feith. Yet their alleviation acquires the customary bitter-sweet, seemingly contradictory combination of Sentimentalist release:

Rejoice, my Julia! but rejoice with tears; Werther has been delivered from all his misery: he is no more! His death robs me of a tender-hearted fellow-in-fate, who was everything to me in your absence, to whom I could always lose my talks about you, and yet I rejoice over his death. Death was the only means that could tear him from his suffering.<sup>17</sup>

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15. 'Op het eerste gezigt bevielen wij elkander, en wij hadden geene verzekeringen noodig, om beide overtuigd te zijn, dat wij vrienden waren. o! Die zijn overkroopt harte in den schoot van een' waar' deelneemend Vriend, die even fijn als wij zelven gevoelt, uit kan storten, is in de grootste rampen slechts half ongelukkig. Zulk een vriend ben ik voor Werther.' *Ibid.*, V.32.
  16. 'o Julia! teedere Julia! hoe diep zult gij mijnen Vriend beklagen! Met zulk een gevoelig hart, dat geen wormpje kan zien lijden, dat elk wezen gelukkig zou willen maken, zelf zoo onuitsprekelijk gelukkig te zijn! Welk een wereld is de onze! Zoo velen ellendigen alom, die allen de Voorzienigheid voor hun lot zouden gezegend hebben, die allen voortreffelijken menschen zouden geworden zijn, indien geen onzichtbaar geweld hen uit de kring geweerd had, daar ze in behoorden, daar hun waar geluk en grootheid in rond zweefden! Onnadenkelijk gelukkig hij, mijne Julia! die hier aan God genoeg heeft!' *Ibid.*, V.35.
  17. 'Verheug u, mijne Julia! maar verheug u met tranen; Werther is van al zijn ellende verlost: hij is niet meer! Zijn dood berooft mij van eenen tederhartigen lotgenoot, die mij in uw afzijn alles was; daar ik mijne gesprekken over u altijd aan kon kwijt raken, en echter verheug ik mij over denzelven. De dood was het eenigste middel, dat hem aan zijn lijden ontrukken kon.' *Ibid.*, V.36.

With Werther having soon met his fatal, fated demise, Julia perceives the admonitory example his disastrous life has given her and Eduard:

Believe me, my dearest Eduard! One day we will surely offer Providence the most ardent acknowledgment for the same separation that now befalls us so painfully. The more we near that destiny, the nearer we come to our true happiness, and the purer our love becomes. Outside this pure love there is no eternal love!<sup>18</sup>

Though the lovers' end thus turns unambiguously moral, it will become, true to Sentimentalist form, as unhappy as Werther's. After Julia's father finally concedes their betrothal by virtue of their clearly unadulterated love, Eduard hurries home only to find his beloved in the procession carrying her to her tomb. Eduard lives on to spend the rest of his days crying at the graveside of his too dearly departed, awaiting their reunion in the afterlife.

As a Dutch double, Eduard's lot thus falls in with Werther, even while (re-)writing another Sentimentalist tale told of lovers torn between individual desires and social standards. Across Europe and throughout the eighteenth century, despite its varying literary-historical monikers of *sensible*, sentimental, *empfindsam*, or *sentimenteel*, Sentimentalism's invocation of the love story came to represent a virtual manifesto against the Rationalism seemingly dominating the Enlightenment. As Feith's twofold translation exemplifies, these Sentimentalist narratives featured at least one figure in common, subsequently symbolized with Henry Mackenzie's protagonist Harley from his 1771 novel, entitled, appropriately enough, *The Man of Feeling*. Certainly, falling in love, infatuation, provides these works their most impassioned cases in point, the most exaggerated examples of emotion, whether masculine or feminine. Their *homo sensibilis*, in contrast to his Rationalist stoic counterpart, found no shame in sympathizing, sobbing, swooning, or fainting dead away. Flirting with the fine line of effeminacy, the 'man of feeling' thereby offered a model diverging from the classical patriarch. Indeed, his seemingly otherwise feminine traits were taken to be superior attributes, heroic virtues portrayed by a sensitive male, a man who could ultimately, needless to say, upend criteria for masculinity, not to mention bases for authority in his alterity. It would appear, then, that even on Feith's terms, the social structure of Enlightened Dutch culture had little to no room for the evidently radical alternative offered by the *homo sensibilis*, the 'man of feeling' – whether a Werther or an Eduard.

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18. 'Geloof mij, mijn dierbaarste Eduard! Eens zullen wij zeker de Voorzienigheid voor die zelfde scheiding, die ons nu zoo smartelijk valt, de vurigste erkenntnisse toebrengen. Hoe meer wij er hiertoe genaken, hoe nader wij aan ons waar geluk komen, en hoe zuiverder onze liefde wordt. Buiten deze reine liefde is er geen eeuwige liefde!' Ibid., V.40.



In discussing the contextual implications of Goethe's original Werther for gender and Modernity, Inger Brodey<sup>19</sup> has convincingly argued for the revolutionary impact of Sentimentalism's fellow-feeling – marked above in the encounter between Werther and Eduard – on society: It en-gender-s, so to say, 'not simply a revolution in the concept of masculinity, but rather a growing conflict between two standards of masculinity'.<sup>20</sup> In the debate transpiring over where to predicate authority in a new kind of civilized, Enlightened society, the emotional, seen as traditionally feminine, came to take a position of power equal to the rational, seen as traditionally masculine. Viewed in this regard, Werther rejects the conventional logic of prevailing binary oppositions,<sup>21</sup> becoming, as a 'man of feeling', 'fundamentally opposed to society and its regulations'.<sup>22</sup> He draws his authority instead from what he feels to be natural, rather than from what mankind (not *humankind*, *nota bene*) has imposed through a supposedly higher, supernatural moral order. Yet the wilful individualization in Werther's code of ethics would itself fail to accord with natural law. As Brodey concludes, Werther's 'third way' – a "'feminized" version of the [older] masculine ideal' – implies '[a] sterility [that] arguably assists in the rather speedy demise of the new hero of *Empfindsamkeit*'.<sup>23</sup> The incongruous notion of a feminine leading man succeeded inexorably in the repudiation of its unnatural, as it were, character.

Musicologists have likewise observed this sort of backlash, say, for the music composed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788) and his circle in Berlin. Son of the illustrious Johann Sebastian, Carl Philipp Emanuel took his work on a decidedly different turn away from the point-counterpoint logic of his father's more magisterial pieces. Chamber harpsichordist for thirty-odd years to the Prussian court at Potsdam, Carl Philipp Emanuel had long known to bow to the dictates of fashion. His music thus placed its emphasis on affect, on the cathartic experience of the audience, made possible by dynamic changes in mood for melody and harmony alike. Yet by the second half of the eighteenth century a shift had begun to resound in that public's tastes. Already in 1752, as editor of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Art of the Fugue*, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg complained:

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19. Inger Sigrun Brodey. 'Masculinity, sensibility, and the "man of feeling": the gendered ethics of Goethe's *Werther*', *Papers on language and literature: a journal for scholars and critics of language and literature* 35.2 (spring 1999), p. 115-140.

20. Brodey, 'Masculinity, sensibility, and the "man of feeling"', p. 116.

21. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 124.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The composer today, who considers the fugue born of unimaginative Antiquity, provides the music-maker no opportunity for making the listener sensitive to the charms of a fugue. For then the manly essence, which ought to rule in music, stays totally out of the same [...] such that that same musical compositor [...] then will come up against the disruptive dawdling of effeminate song.<sup>24</sup>

Subsequent North German critics took as great an exception to the new prevailing compositional practice. In 1766, according to the critic Johann Adam Hiller, the *empfindsame* sound popularized by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach lends to the symphony ‘a foppish appearance, hindering the manly impression that the uninterrupted sequence of three related, serious movements together makes’.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the minuet, rondo and polonaise all came to be critically perceived as undesirable styles of Italian and French *galanterie*, inappropriate to what ought to be masculine, North German music-making.<sup>26</sup> As gender-bound, interestingly enough, as their Sentimentalist literary analogues, the younger Bach’s later musical works would become more ‘masculinized’, with movements re-written, in fact, such that their symphonies would no longer appear to have something as effeminate as ‘beauty spots on the face of a man’.<sup>27</sup> Again, Sentimentalism’s affinity for gender-bending rule-breaking lost the natural ground in its pursuit of authority.

Literary historian Simon Richter has documented a similar reactionary move, evidenced toward the poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803) and his fellow intimates in Prussian epistolary culture.<sup>28</sup> Known as ‘Vater Gleim’, the older author gathered a number of younger ambitious admirers to his home of Halberstadt, where Gleim had consecrated a ‘Musen- und Freundschaftstempel’ (‘Temple to the muses and friendship’) for their assembly. Here, up-and-coming writers like Johann Jacobi, Jean Paul, and Karl Philipp Moritz, among numerous protégés, came together to share in

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24. ‘Der zeitige Componist, der die Fuge für eine Geburt des aberwitzigen Alterthums hält, giebt dem Mechanisten keine Gelegenheit, die Reitze einer Fuge dem Zuhörer empfindlich zu machen. Da bleibt denn das männliche Wesen, das in der Musik herrschen soll, aus derselben gänzlich weg [...] daß derjenige musikalische Setzer [...] sich dadurch der einreißenden Trödeley eines weibschens Gesanges entgegen setzen wird.’ Matthew Head, ‘“Like beauty spots on the face of a man”: gender in 18<sup>th</sup>-century North-German discourse on genre’, *The Journal of musicology* 13.2 (spring 1995), p. 143-167 (p. 146, n. 13).

25. That is: ‘ein stutzerhaftes Ansehen, und verhindern den männlichen Eindruck, den die ununterbrochene Folge drey aufeinander sich beziehender ernsthaften Sätze allemal macht’. As translated in Head, ‘“Like beauty spots on the face of a man”’, p. 144, n. 3.

26. Cf. Head, ‘“Like beauty spots on the face of a man”’, p. 145-146.

27. That is: ‘Schminkpflästerchen auf dem Angesichte einer Mannsperson’. Head, ‘“Like beauty spots on the face of a man”’, p. 144, n. 3.

28. Cf. Simon Richter, ‘The Ins and outs of intimacy: gender, epistolary culture, and the public sphere’, *The German quarterly* 69.2 (spring 1996), p. 111-124 (p. 122, n. 13).

their and others' work, not to mention read the letters of absent friends. Plainly a cultural component contributing to the development of German Sentimentalism in general, Gleim's correspondent circle reached so far and wide that Johann Gottfried Herder remarked from Weimar: 'Wherever one turns in Germany, little love-letters from Halberstadt are flying.'<sup>29</sup> Perceived as a more feminine discourse (since supposedly private, personal, dialogic conversation), the love letter played an essential role for Sentimentalism. Not for nothing, obviously, the bulk of break-through Sentimentalist prose (Rousseau's *Julie*, Goethe's *Werther*, as well as Feith's *Julia*) employed letter-writing as a key literary device. And that artful apparatus in the epistolary mode reflected the missive's mission in society as well: 'The cultural practice of the *Gleimkreis* [...] recalls a public sphere where public and private, masculine and feminine were gaily flaunted and transgressed.'<sup>30</sup>

Small wonder, as Richter also points out, that *Empfindsamkeit*, though consonant in its recurrent homo-social characteristics with an earlier 'tradition and culture of male intimacy', soon underwent a 'resolutely heterosexist critique'.<sup>31</sup> Local detractors of Gleim, with equally widespread influence, complained from Halberstadt how 'sentimental philosophy, refined sensibility, novel-reading, lyric poets and sentimental writers [have] in the last half of our [i.e. eighteenth] century contributed more than a little to spreading the vice of sexual transgressions'.<sup>32</sup> As Richter observes, these critics of Gleim and his circle thus aimed to 'stabilize the gender categories in a manner that would lead to the pathologization of [Gleim and his familiars'] excess'.<sup>33</sup> Subsequent Romanticism recoiled from these mixed, ambiguous identities, fuelled by such latent homophobia and nascent nationalism. Gleim and his friends of the sentimental muses were evicted from their homophilic sphere and relegated to what would become an exclusive homosexual space in nineteenth-century society. Here, too, the cultural practice of Sentimentalism, in its campaign to blur the boundaries between masculine and feminine, came under purgatorial fire for its potential to destabilize society, culture and in the end, as will presently be portrayed, even nation.

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29. 'Wohin man sich in Deutschland wendet, fliegen halberstädtische Liebesbrieflein.' Richter, 'The Ins and outs of intimacy', p. 115.

30. Richter, 'The Ins and outs of intimacy', p. 121.

31. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 118.

32. That is: 'die sentimentalische Philosophie, die verfeinerte Empfindsamkeit, das Romanlesen, die Musendichter und empfindsamen Schriftsteller [haben] in der letzten Hälfte unsers [i.e. 18.] Jahrhunderts nicht wenig beigetragen [...] die Laster der Unzucht auszubreiten'. Richter, 'The Ins and outs of intimacy', p. 118.

33. Richter, 'The Ins and outs of intimacy', p. 118.

Witness in this regard the treatment given the 'man of feeling' in Dutch literature. Particularly in the telling retelling described above from Feith's *Julia*, Dutch culture appears to fall into accordance with these other retrogressive socio-cultural responses in Northern Europe. Should this hostile response indeed be the case for Sentimentalism in the Dutch context, former, strictly textual interpretations provide inadequate treatment. To maintain, for example, that Feith's re-written Werther merely corresponds, say, with its new author's personal beliefs in providence<sup>34</sup> fails to incorporate *Julia's* larger historical setting. Instead, as this inquiry would now rather posit – and this last line of thought admittedly marks the more speculative end of the present investigation – the general Dutch response to such Sentimentalist effeminacy, called forth by Feith in his invocation of Werther, actually presupposes that reaction of its Protestant neighbours. Yet to assert such a claim requires a delineation of eighteenth-century Dutch history not quite in keeping with its otherwise Enlightened reputation – a history most Dutch *dix-huitièmistes* would rather forget.

To wit, the year 1730 saw one of the first waves of persecution, not simply fearful of, but undeniably hateful toward homophilia in modern Europe and in, of all places, the Netherlands. According to archival records researched by Leo Boon, between 1730 and 1732, this '[p]ersecution claimed more than 300 victims (some 100 death sentences and at least 200 judgments by default) [...] in a country reputed at that time for its tolerance'<sup>35</sup> both in the cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Haarlem, and Delft as well as in rural towns. Of these, the small village of Faan, outside Groningen, remained infamous for its intolerance even through to the gay liberation movement of the 1970s. There a purge comparable to the Massachusetts witch-hunts of the late seventeenth century resulted in simultaneous burnings at the stake for 24 men found guilty.<sup>36</sup>

Further surges of such hatred occurred again in 1764 and 1776 in the Netherlands. In point of fact, as Theo van der Meer has documented, between 1795 and 1811, more trials against suspected homophiles 'were held in Amsterdam than in the preceding sixty-five years'.<sup>37</sup> None too surprisingly, perhaps, given the status we have seen of Sentimentalism, one of the suppo-

34. Cf. *Julia*, ed. Kloek and Paasman, p. 49.

35. L[eo] J. Boon, 'Those damned sodomites: public images of sodomy in the eighteenth century Netherlands', in *The Pursuit of sodomy: male homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York 1989), p. 237-248 (p. 239).

36. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 244.

37. Theo van der Meer, 'The Persecutions of sodomites in eighteenth century Amsterdam', in *The Pursuit of sodomy: male homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York 1989), p. 263-310 (p. 277).

sed proofs against defendants cited by prosecution witnesses became ‘effeminacy’.<sup>38</sup> After this period, as Dutch scholars Leo Boon, Arend Huussen, and Gert Hekma have chronicled, the image of man-to-man relationships changed significantly in the Netherlands. Homo-social subculture became increasingly homosexual – that is, identified itself through significations which would be perceived as gender-specific sexual practice only decades later elsewhere (as noted above in the case of the *Gleimkreis*).

Worse still, broadsheets inflamed public opinion and stoked the degree of these early modern hate-crimes. Concomitantly as well grew charges for ‘a stricter moral climate, voiced by “spectatorial”, theological, and other writers in which a radical new view on sodomites and on the sin/crime of sodomy was [thereby] promulgated’.<sup>39</sup> Ensuing homophobia toward alleged depravity of body and mind increasingly became correlated with xenophobia toward foreign influences. ‘From contemporary reactions and literature about the notorious mass persecutions [...] in [the provinces of] Holland and Utrecht in 1730 and 1731 [...] [e]xplanations given [...] varied widely but stressed effeminate French cultural influences and general relaxation of morality.’<sup>40</sup>

Not least among these spectatorial instigations came from the pen of no less an Enlightenment than Justus van Effen (1684-1735). In an issue of his *Hollandsche Spectator*, notably from 1732, Van Effen published a supposedly anonymous rhyme, including the verses

For after the arrival of French refugees  
A strange style of living was imported here,  
And the strict obedience of Olden times was finished.

Simplicity has long since been driven away,  
Pride increases at the decrease of power,  
At best, freedom, honour, and all that should be given away  
As fodder for political self-interest and pomp [...].<sup>41</sup>

38. Van der Meer, ‘The Persecutions of sodomites in eighteenth century Amsterdam’, p. 292.

39. Arend H. Huussen Jr., ‘Sodomy in the Dutch Republic during the eighteenth century’, in *Hidden from history: reclaiming the gay and lesbian past*, ed. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey Jr. (New York 1989), p. 141-149 (p. 147).

40. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

41. ‘Want na de komst der Fransche vlugtelingen / Is hier een vreemde trant van leven ingevoerd, / En met de strenge tucht des Ouden tyds geboerd. // ’t Eenvoudig is reeds lang verdreven, / De hovaerdy groeit aen op ’t mindren van de macht, / Men zou de vryheid, eer, ja ’t al ten beste geeven / Tot voedzel van staetzucht als van pracht [...].’ *Hollandsche Spectator* 84 (1732), p. 195.

Only a couple of years later, Van Effen's *Spectator* voiced further vehemence against this strange new lifestyle. Making an example of a typical Dutch Narcissus, Van Effen archetypically describes his manner as one of '[a] foppish dandy who in all his action inclines more to a woman than to a man'.<sup>42</sup> Cast as such a type, according to Van Effen, these 'hermaphrodites of the soul'<sup>43</sup> proved the extent of not simply insipid imitation taken from foreign nations, but also the degree of moral degradation arrived from abroad in the eighteenth-century Netherlands. As Enlightened as Dutch culture may have appeared at the time, the persecutions of men who would later be labelled homosexual, as well as the excoriation of their effeminacy in the journalistic presses, no doubt continued to inform the public sphere through to the nineteenth century. In short, it is at the very least circumstantially (though not immediately causally) significant that these conditions all existed no more than one generation before Rhijnvis Feith embraced, in a manner of speaking, the Sentimentalist style of neighbouring cultures.

As coeval of Goethe, the Dutch author Rhijnvis Feith fully recognized how his 're-writing' of Werther would have to accommodate a different local *mentalité*, were he likewise successfully to become a poster child, and not whipping boy, for such Sentimentalism. In his *Julia*, Feith therefore tells the tale of two star-crossed lovers, Eduard and Julia, by emphasizing not their fate in this cruel world, but rather the clearly predestined fulfilment awaiting them beyond the grave. Doing so, Feith delicately balances the implications of Goethe's more modern psychological explorations of emotion with more traditional moral exhortations to virtue. Thus domesticating Goethe's wilder Sentimentalist poetics, Feith's adaptation sought to create a more congenial, composite character for his more homespun audience.

Feith's 'translation' of Goethe's famous love story stands in sharp contrast then to other major literary discourses. To be sure, it employs the same (lugubrious, funereal) eschatological tropes and (elegiac, exclamatory) poetological devices, but in its transfer uses these means to very different ends. In fact, when Werther does literally enter into Feith's *Julia*, he does so only as a minor character, a roadside wretch whose misery instead demonstrates to Eduard the more righteous, moral path both he and his beloved Julia must follow. Propagating a clearly divergent yet parallel discourse on sentimental love in the Enlightenment, Rhijnvis Feith's *Julia* could transplant the *homo sensibilis* to his native ground. However, in its comparably early turn from

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42. That is: '[een] laffen pronker, die in al zyn handel meer zweemde naar een vrouw dan naar een man'. L[eo] J. Boon, *Dien godlosen hoop van menschen: vervolging van homoseksuelen in de Republiek in de jaren dertig van de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1997), p. 375, n. 14.

43. In Dutch: 'hermaphrodiëten naar de ziel'. Cf. Boon, *Hoop*, p. 220.

homo-social to homosexual, from homophilic to homophobic, that Dutch turf has revealed several subterranean layers when refurrowed here by Feith. Finally, although nearly unknown to other world literatures now, Feith's re-writing attests to processes of acculturation that invariably occur, when virtually any transfer transpires between varying socio-cultural contexts.

In sum, with this preliminary essay on what happened to Werther when he went Dutch, the foregoing sketch has sought to outline another perspective for one new-fashioned instantiation of masculinity at Modernity's onset, albeit not any absolute masculinity *per se*, yet rather one born from its perceived lack. Specifically, the dearth and, in more cases than not, death of the 'man of feeling' in Sentimentalist Dutch literature point to imposed cultural constraints and constructs that would subsequently serve to define and limit modern social roles of men and women. Conventions in the contemporary twenty-first-century Netherlands notwithstanding, a more critical scrutiny of something as seemingly contradictory as Dutch Sentimentalism can, at bottom, help us attend to the vagaries of masculinity and femininity, if not account for the ambiguous 'nature' of gender – even today.

## C. The dissemination of genres and ideas as cultural transfer





## PIERRE DEGOTT

### Early English translations of Italian opera (1711-1750)

The importance of Italian opera as a vector of cultural transfer – in the sense developed in the 1980s by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner – hardly needs to be pointed out in the context of the present volume. It would almost be a truism to say that among the many cultural sectors that flourished in the eighteenth century, Italian opera was naturally one of those that could be – and indeed was – most easily exported, not only on account of the direct emotional impact it could wield on the many and various publics it targeted but also in that such an art form remained relatively unaffected by language-barriers, the music and scenery on which it depended being of course universal media likely to move and touch viewers and listeners of all nationalities, ranks and leanings. However, opera also being what was later to be termed a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, an art form dependent on ingredients of several kinds, the issue of language in such a wide-ranging process of migration, circulation, and propagation must not be overlooked, least of all in an investigation destined to show how the introduction of a specific artistic genre into a given milieu is bound to be affected by the contextual elements inherent in whatever target-culture is placed under consideration. As with any type of cultural transfer, the reception of the operatic artwork and the construction of the musical artefact in the receptive culture very much depend on the emotional and cultural expectations, both individually and collectively, of the publics thus targeted.

The hazards and difficulties linked to the implantation of Italian opera into Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century have been widely studied and documented. Although it is not the purpose of the present study to deal with the highly conflicting reception of Italian opera in Britain in the early decades of the eighteenth century, one cannot but remember the strong hostility evinced by a wide section of the public, largely led by Joseph Addison in *The Spectator*, towards an artistic medium that was generally judged not only ‘exotic and irrational’<sup>1</sup> – to use the oft-cited, slightly anachronistic and usually de-contextualised quotation by Samuel Johnson – but also purely

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1. See Samuel Johnson, *Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the works of the English poets*, 10 vols (London 1779-1781), IV.4 (‘Hughes’).

hedonistic and devoid of meaning. Naturally, such a (mis-)conception was partly fuelled by the systematic use, from the early 1710s onwards, of the Italian language, the musical *lingua franca* of the time that remained, for all its alleged superiority in terms of musicality and beauty of sound, a medium incomprehensible to large sections of the public.<sup>2</sup> Another moot-point in the early criticism of Italian opera was the fact that the new art form, believed to ‘effeminate’ the public by its indulgence in what was then regarded as purely a-semantic sound, was supposed to turn the young representatives of the nobility away from their duties to the nation.<sup>3</sup>

In such a context, one can easily agree that the practice of providing the opera-going public with a printed translation of most opera librettos stands as proof that not only the subject matter – usually of an edifying nature – but also the literary and aesthetic aspects of the works thus represented were to some interest and import for the audiences of the time. In an article basically devoted to the norms and conventions of operatic translation in Germany, Klaus Kaindl adequately indicates to what extent the urge to translate opera was a direct consequence of the ideas of the Enlightenment:

Le fait qu’au cours des premières années les traductions n’étaient pas considérées comme nécessaires peut s’expliquer seulement *partiellement* par un public (aristocratique) qui comprenait l’italien. Comme l’a noté un contemporain dans un commentaire sur l’opéra en 1733 [...], les spectateurs s’amusaient souvent sans comprendre un mot d’italien en se réjouissant simplement des effets visuels et des mises en scène spectaculaires et en adorant la virtuosité des chanteurs. Pour les nombreux critiques de l’opéra ce genre de plaisir était une confirmation de l’irrationalité du genre lyrique. Ils s’en sont pris surtout au fait que ces spectacles avaient été seulement créés pour toucher le cœur et pour inciter à la luxure. Ce rejet – et les conséquences qui en ont découlé pour la traduction – avaient leur origine dans une des idées centrales de l’*Aufklärung* selon laquelle la valeur d’un texte résidait dans sa clarté et son contenu tandis que sa forme n’était pas porteuse de sens et pouvait être considérée comme secondaire. D’après les adversaires de l’opéra, les textes pour musique donnant la priorité à l’expression, à la forme et aux sonorités de la langue et ne faisaient que camoufler l’essentiel du contenu. Ces idées ont eu des répercussions sur le travail des traducteurs.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps it is a mere coincidence that Johann Heinrich Faber, one of the first theoreticians of the translating process (see his *Anfangsgründe der Schönen*

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2. In this respect, see Xavier Cervantes, ‘“Unintelligible Sing-song”: l’intrusion de la langue italienne sur la scène lyrique anglaise’, *Musicorum* 2002 (2003), p. 101-117.

3. See for instance the poem by Henry Carey, ‘A Satyr on the luxury and effeminacy of the age’, in *Poems on several occasions* (London 1729), p. 28-37.

4. Klaus Kaindl, ‘Normes et conventions dans la traduction des livrets d’opéra’, in *La traduction des livrets: aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques*, ed. Gottfried R. Marschall (Paris 2004), p. 46-47 (Kaindl’s emphasis).

*Wissenschaften*),<sup>5</sup> whose ideas are very much rooted in Enlightenment values in the sense that content, thought and clarity of meaning should prevail over the niceties of form, also translated some thirty-odd comic operas into German. Faber's distinction between two types of translation, a 'free' translation and a 'strict', or 'faithful' translation, is also very much linked to the major problematic aspects of cultural transfer through translation.

It is precisely the purpose of the present article to show that the translations made accessible to the English public when Italian opera settled in London were not only intended to allow the audience to follow and understand the dramatic development of the works performed before their eyes, and therefore to contradict the preconceived assumption that opera was deficient in content and dramatic construction but also to provide a means of passing comment on the social, political or aesthetic issues that were implicitly or explicitly raised by the works in question. As we shall see, 'englishing' the text, to use contemporary parlance, was also a way of 'anglicising' a type of repertory often found exogenous and extraneous to the consideration of the British public. In other words, it is the contention of this article that the translations offered to the English public could be a means to far exceed what the supposedly 'unintelligible' Italian words were able to convey; the latter being more often than not the adaptation of previously written texts revised in order to conform to the metrical and prosodic patterns required by musical composition, while the English translation was paradoxically the more direct way of establishing a genuine communication with the audience, as befits the ideas of the Enlightenment.

This article will thus briefly concentrate on practical aspects of libretto-reading before examining some of the formal, political and artistic issues raised by selected texts that have been chosen as relevant representatives of a huge corpus that, as we are here reminded by Curtis Price, Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, has been hitherto widely neglected by scholars:

To understand the plots of Italian operas, most members of the King's Theatre audience had to rely on the parallel English translations printed in all London librettos of the period. [...] Opera historians have paid little attention to these translations (except to comment on their general awfulness as poetry), but the dual librettos were vital to the reception and production of Italian opera in London. Whether literal, poetic, or simply inaccurate, the English translations helped shape attitudes towards the alien art form. Intended as texts to be studied

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5. See Johann Heinrich Faber, *Erste Grundsätze der Deutschen Sprachkunst als ein Auszug aus Dessen Anfangsgründen der schönen Wissenschaften Zu dem Gebrauche Seiner akademischen Vorlesungen* (Mainz 1768).

outside the theatre and quite independently of the music, they were the chief means by which critics could judge the dramatic merit of the works in question.<sup>6</sup>

As implied by the preceding quotation, and considering the aesthetic debate that raged around the import of the new musical form, examination of the ‘anglicised’ versions of operas presented to the British public can indeed be an innovative way of assessing the reception of those musical works, if only by drawing to attention the potential participation of the translation in shaping or warping attitudes towards the new, alien form. Translations, after all, could also serve as new and sharper weapons in the aesthetic struggle then ongoing, perhaps even as an efficient vehicle for a form of propaganda. Even though the translations provided for the occasion were not, as a rule, meant to be performed – the issue of opera sung in English is indeed another story – their status as literary novelty, at least for the period under consideration, makes them worthy of examination. Not only do the translated texts provoke some comment as far as their visual presentation is concerned but also, as is occasionally the case, the slight distortions that can occasionally be found in the translated versions may actually enrich our perception of those works, and shed new light on the early reception of some of the Italian operas specially composed for the London stage.

## I. Practical considerations

For nearly all Italian opera performances given in London, a bilingual libretto was made available to members of the public, either in the theatre on the day of the performance, or from the issuing printer or bookseller a few days before the first night. This fact seems to prove that the dual libretto was intended as a text to be read and studied, both in and outside the theatre; numerous testimonies hint at the fact that opera-librettos were actually read within the confines of the home well before the performance of a given opera.<sup>7</sup> Besides, despite the abundance of anecdotes regarding the poor attention usually paid by Italian audiences to what was happening onstage, it would be fallacious to assume that English audiences were not generally interested in the dramatic aspects of the operas they were watching. The following account from *The Prompter* makes clear that the attitudes towards the performance

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6. Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *Italian opera in late eighteenth-century London*, vol. I: *The King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778-1791* (Oxford 1995), p. 34.

7. See for instance Henry Fielding, *The Grub-Street Opera, 1731* (London 1969), p. 16 and p. 20.

were extremely variable – even among the better-behaved members of the audience –, ranging from that displayed by the author of the passage, who seems to be eagerly anticipating the following aria, to that of those few *cognoscenti* whose fanatic enthusiasm was such that they even relished the usually abhorred *secco* recitatives. The quotation well exemplifies the public's ambiguous attitude towards 'sense':

I had my Book, and my little Wax-Candle, according to the Method practised in the Middle-Regions there; but the only Use I made of either, was, to look when there was a Prospect of a Song, and to wait with Impatience till then. I never once turn'd the Leaves over, to see into the Conduct of the Piece; nor did my Eyes, from the Representation, give me any considerable Insight into what was doing; and I think I observ'd my Neighbours on all Sides, round me, pretty much in the same Case, a few Connoisseurs excepted, who paid due Plaudits when the Recitativo was properly made, with respect to the *Musick* of it but never enter'd into the Sense *couch'd* in it, which seems generally given up even by the most loud Advocates for Operas.<sup>8</sup>

Also, it is common knowledge that for most performances the number of listeners who were also readers was such that the commotion at the moment when the page had to be turned elicited shouts and calls for silence from the 'non-reading' portion of the audience. Writing on such theatrical uproars, Price, Milhous and Hume also point out in their comprehensive study of the King's Theatre in the 1780s, that '[t]he auditorium was lighted specially for this purpose, and [that] loud complaints were heard when it was too dark to read'.<sup>9</sup> This says much about the general public's eagerness to fully understand the intellectual implications of the works they were witnessing and belies those received assumptions that the general public did not care much for the dramatic and intellectual contexts of the operatic performances they had paid a considerable price to attend.

## II. Stylistic considerations

As suggested by the above-cited quotation from Kaindl's article, simplification, clarity and rationalisation seem to have been the hall-mark of most operatic translations of the time, which often privileged clarity of understanding over semantic equivalence, notably by deliberately blurring and smoothing out passages deemed improbable from a dramatic stand-point; such occurrences thus tend to be made less 'absurd' in the translation than in

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8. [Aaron Hill], *The Prompter* 7 (4 Dec 1734), p. 1-2 (Hill's emphasis).

9. Price, Milhous, and Hume, *The King's Theatre*, p. 34.

the original. As such, the translations of early eighteenth-century operas, works produced at a transition period somehow straddling the aesthetic proliferation of the late baroque and the neo-classical *ratio* characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment, seem to draw the first London Italian operas towards a more rational presentation of the vagaries of the human mind. The example noted by Xavier Cervantes in his most pertinent study of the language of George Frederic Handel's Italian opera librettos,<sup>10</sup> in which the word 'favella' (literally 'speech', but also, in Italian, 'language')<sup>11</sup> is deliberately, and quite logically, rendered as 'accent' in the English translation of 'Sotto Latine spoglie / Straniera è la favella',<sup>12</sup> appears as a modification obviously made for the sake of dramatic verisimilitude, and perhaps for those readers and auditors somehow reluctant to 'suspend their disbelief'. As no doubt all spectators of the scene would agree, the character in question, who expresses himself in Italian like all the other characters, can hardly have been noted to be conversing in another 'language'.

Another similar example is provided by a passage from Act 1 scene 4 of Handel's *Giulio Cesare*, in which Curio's profession to stop loving Cornelia is replaced by his promise not to importune her any more:

CURIO  
Cornelia: se m'abborri,  
M'involerò al tuo Aspetto;  
Sol per non molestarti,  
Giurerà questo cor di non amarti.

CURIUS  
But, cruel Cornelia, if your obdurate Heart  
reject my Suit, I'll fly your Sight, and to  
prevent all further Uneasiness, will ever  
forbear a Declaration of my Passion.<sup>13</sup>

Any rational reader will agree that it is far easier to define a line of conduct than to command one's feelings.

In most cases, privileging the understanding of the plot is achieved at the expense of attention to formal contingencies, often sacrificed in the various translators' efforts to domesticate the rhetorical and syntactic exuberance of the original Italian librettos, most of which were actually rewritings of late

10. See Xavier Cervantes, "'The Universal entertainment of the polite part of the world': l'opéra italien et le public anglais, 1705-45", doctoral thesis, University Le Mirail (Toulouse 1995), p. 363-389. It is from this study that I have drawn some of my illustrations.

11. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

12. [Paolo Antonio Rolli], *Scipione, drama: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Hay-Market, per la reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1726), p. 18-19.

13. [Nicola Francesco Haym], *Giulio Cesare in Egitto, drama: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Haymarket, per la reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1724), p. 8-9.

seventeenth-century texts still under the influence of baroque aesthetics.<sup>14</sup> Especially in the translation of the *secco* recitatives, one does indeed notice the loss of the poetic dimension, somewhat sacrificed for the principle of semantic equivalence. In 1734, the general attitude had been made explicit by an anonymous translator, apparently keen on remaining as close as possible to 'the sense of the Author' while professing to show little 'Regard to the Stile':

I am very sensible, that the Beauties of this Poem suffer greatly by the Translation; and that what has Life and Spirit in the Italian, will appear dry and languid in the English: But the Design of this Version being to give the Sense of the Author [Paolo Rolli] in, as near as possible, his very Words; I cou'd not have any Regard to the Stile. The Delicacy of every Language lies in its Idioms; and they being different in different Languages, it follows of Course that a literal Translation can never affect; and that what moves the Passions in the Original, will in such a Version tire the Patience of a Reader. I say not this to excuse myself, who am unknown, and can lose no Reputation by the Work being exploded; but to prevent the Censure of those who are not acquainted with the Italian, and judging of the Poem by the Figure it makes in our Language, may impute an unavoidable Insipidness to the Author. / If any ask why I did not adapt the English to the Italian Idioms, I answer, That this was thought a better Method for such as frequent the Opera, and not understand the Italian; as they come more for the Harmony of the Musick, than for the Beauty of the Diction. Beside, they will by it, be better acquainted with what passes upon the Stage, than they have hitherto been by former nominal Translations, more elegantly dress'd out, but which has no Regard to the Meaning of the Italian. Adieu.<sup>15</sup>

Besides, a quick look at a few eighteenth-century English versions of Handel's operas actually betrays to what extent most English translations ignore many of the stylistic and rhetorical devices of the original librettos, notably with the loss of figures of speech and the disappearance of figurative language.

A first characteristic of libretto translation thus seems to be the treatment of metonymy, a figure of speech which, by working towards a certain compression of the language, is often characteristic of the opera libretto, a literary genre very much based on the notion of linguistic condensation. One cannot but notice in the contemporary translation of Handel's operas a tendency to expand and literalize the metonymy by making its meaning more explicit to the reader/spectator. This is how, for instance, the phrase 'mentitor pennello'

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14. An appropriate illustration of this phenomenon is provided by Nicola Haym's libretto to Handel's *Giulio Cesare* (1724), as studied in Craig Monson, 'Giulio Cesare in Egitto: from Sartorio (1677) to Handel (1724)', *Music and Letters* 76 (1985), p. 313-343.

15. [Paolo Antonio] Rolli, *Ariadne in Naxos: an Opera. By Paul Rolli, F.R.S. Composed by Nicholas Porpora, for the English Nobility* (London, Aris, 1734), p. 7 ('The Translator to the Reader').



(1.3) from Handel's *Ottone* (1723) – meaning literally ‘lying brush’ – is quite pragmatically, but no less efficiently, translated as ‘flattering painter’ in the contemporary English version.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the segment ‘tenerezze ingegnose’ (2.6) from the same composer's *Poro* (1731) is paraphrased as ‘O skilful excellence of tender souls’,<sup>17</sup> a translation that makes more sense, admittedly, than the more literal ‘ingenious tenderness’ would have done. In the opera *Teseo* (1713), the original metonymy is again lost in the translation of ‘Guidi Lui Solo il nostro piè’ (2.4), prosaically rendered as ‘Let him alone be our Guide’,<sup>18</sup> whereas Cornelia's ‘viscere mie’ (1.4) in *Giulio Cesare* (1724) is fortunately and efficiently translated as ‘my son’.<sup>19</sup> Needless to say, other examples can be found in abundance.

In a similar vein, one also notices that oxymora, those figures of speech which, by combining antithetical terms into a short, single phrase, are also typical of the baroque movement – an art form which can be defined as an exercise in equilibrium, based as it is on the vertiginous confrontation of opposites – are also usually, if not systematically, avoided. The translator of the libretto for *Ariodante* (1734) thus ignores the phrase ‘tacita favella’ (1.3; ‘silent speech’),<sup>20</sup> while the segment ‘bel soffrire’ in *Rodelinda* (1725) is slightly toned down by its English rendition, ‘gallant Woe’,<sup>21</sup> which, even if oxymoronic by nature, does not point to the typically baroque notion that ‘suffering’, paradoxically, is also akin to aesthetic pangs that can actually be enjoyed.

Such remarks also go for the puns and other polysemic devices of the original librettos, which most translators deliberately choose to ignore, preferring practical efficiency to dramatic ambivalence. Aaron Hill thus prefers to under-translate the polysemy of the sentence ‘Ecco le Palme, / Che spuntano nel Campo’ (*Rinaldo* 3.8; ‘These are the laurels which arise on the

16. [Nicola Francesco Haym], *Ottone, Re di Germania, drama: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro d'Hay-Market, per la reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1723), p. 8-9.

17. [After Antonio Pietro Metastasio], *Poro, re dell' Indie: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Haymarke. Done into English by Mr. Humphreys* (London 1731), p. 40-41.

18. [Nicola Francesco Haym], *Teseo, dramma tragico: da rappresentarsi nel reggio teatro d'Hay-Market. Posto in musica dal' Sig. G. F. Hendel, Maestro di Capella di S.A.E. di Hannover./Theseus, an Opera: perform'd at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market. The Musick Compos'd by Mr. Hendel* (London 1713), p. 20-21.

19. [Haym], *Giulio Cesare*, p. 10-11.

20. [Antonio Salvi], *Ariodante, an Opera: as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden* (London 1734), p. 6-7. True, the translation of ‘aria’ texts is more prone to departure from the meaning of the original version.

21. [Nicola Francesco Haym, after Antonio Salvi], *Rodelinda, Regina de' Longobardi, drama: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Haymarket, per la reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1725), p. 76-77.

field'). Here, a more faithful translation would have given both the literal and the figurative meanings of the Italian words, mingling down-to-earth reality with the metaphorical plane. Hill's expansive choice, with its insistence on the purely factual elements ('took Root', 'shoots high', 'branches'), apparently minimises the symbolic dimension suggested by the polysemy of the words 'palme' and 'campo', which can either refer to the palm-trees growing on the field, or to the military rewards earned in battle: 'Behold! The laurel which long since took Root, / This glorious day shoots high, and branches o'er us.'<sup>22</sup> Xavier Cervantes also points out the omission of the translation of the phrase 'femminil costume' (2.8) in a passage drawn from the second Act of *Deidamia* (1741):<sup>23</sup>

ULISSE

Spirto maggior del femminil costume, Scor-  
go in te.

ULYSSES

In thee I find a soul above thy sex.<sup>24</sup>

The ambivalent 'femminil costume', by evoking in the original libretto not only the disguise worn in Scyros by Achilles but also his unaccountable 'behaviour' – the other meaning of the Italian word –, i.e. the rather 'feminine' admiration felt by Achilles for Ulysses's warlike (but also physical) attributes at the beginning of the act, is totally eliminated in the English version. Here, the linguistic simplification so typical of the neo-classical stance towards language – see notably the neo-classicists' notorious distrust of puns – also goes together with a more pragmatic attitude towards certain facts of life. Needless to say, the English translation obfuscates all those aspects of the initial libretto to which might have been deemed too risqué in some quarters.

Other major modifications in the translations involve syntactic alternatives, which also work towards simplifying, regularising and 'classicising' the language. One of the major devices aimed at making the meaning more clear is of course the avoidance of the redundancies or accumulative repetition so often characteristic of the Italian librettos of the period. In some cases, the translator also feels obliged to somehow reconstruct the discourse, both by suppressing interjections and other emotional marks and by slightly 'padding' some of the verbal segments, as is the case in the following example from Act 3 scene 4 of Handel's *Arminio* (1737):

22. [Giacomo Rossi and Aaron Hill], *Rinaldo, opera: da rappresentarsi nel Reggio Teatro a Londra/Rinaldo, an Opera: as it is perform'd at the Queen's Theatre in London* (London 1711), p. 56-57. Further references to this edition will appear within parentheses.

23. See Cervantes, "The Universal entertainment of the polite part of the world", p. 359.

24. [Paolo Antonio Rolli], *Deidamia. Melodrama di P[aolo] R[olli] F.R.S.* (London 1741), p. 36-37.

SIGISMONDO

Fermate. O Padre! o Amore!

Oh! sangue! oh! *Arminio!* oh! oh! sorte!Oh! *Ramisa!* Oh! Sorella oh! affetti! oh!  
morte!

SIGISMOND

Hold, hold, oh Heavens! How is my soul  
perplex'd!Oh Love! Oh Duty! Oh my Friend and  
Father!Hapless *Ramisa*, and most hapless Sister!The various Thought's too great, then ease  
me, Death!<sup>25</sup>

Here, one can see how the translator reorganises the fragmented, dislocated sentence of the original, which is thereby deprived of the chaotic character produced by the expression of a demented mind. The following example is of a case displaying not only the disappearance of punning on the metonymy (see the use of the term 'lingua'), but also a case in which the use of the double negative ('non mendace', i.e. the negation of a 'negative' quality) is replaced by a plain statement of fact: 'Io se pur deggio, / Con Lingua non mendace. – // If I might speak the truth. –'<sup>26</sup> The allusion to the fact that either 'tongues', i.e. people, or languages, i.e. the instrument of communication used by those people, can be deceitful and inefficient in conveying the truth, is flatly replaced by a mere precautionary modal phrase. However, if some translators tend to trim the natural exuberance of the Italian librettos, at least in cases where the level of implicitness can go so far as to jeopardise the actual understanding of the average hearer, others actually do the opposite by dilating and diluting the meaning of the text in their English versions.

Directly opposed to the linguistic devices aimed at pruning the verbal profusion of the Italian libretto, the process consisting in expanding the translation by filling up the infinite voids left by the mysteries of implicitness is another characteristic of many a translation. In Act 2 scene 6 of Handel's *Siroe*, the curt 'Dirò–' of Emira's cue, in which the long dash visually stands for the seemingly endless silence that precedes the long-awaited, and impossible, revelations, is thus paraphrased in the English version: 'I will tell you all–'.<sup>27</sup> A similar device is used in *Riccardo Primo*, where the three syllables

25. [Antonio Salvi], *Arminius, an Opera: as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden. Composed by Mr. Handel* (London 1737), p. 34-35.

26. [Nicola Francesco Haym], *Flavio, Re de' Longobardi, drama: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Haymarket, per la reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1723), p. 16-17.

27. [Nicola Francesco Haym, after Metastasio], *Siroe, re di Persia, drama per musica: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Haymarket* (London 1728), p. 48-49.

of the sequence ‘Sol dimmi’ are translated by the following sentence: ‘Then only say these few dear Words.’<sup>28</sup>

Amplificatory devices also include the loss of purely nominal sentences, the syntax of which thus becomes, so to speak, normalised or standardised. To give just one example, the segment ‘Quai tronche voci’ (*Giulio Cesare* 3.4) is found translated in the contemporary version as ‘What interrupted accents strike my Ears’, an amplification of the Italian original also meant, presumably, to provide the reader with the expected decasyllable. The following example, extracted from *Rodelinda*, shows even more efficiently the translator’s concern for filling up the blanks left by the implicit meanings of the original, based on a simple process of paratactic juxtaposition entirely lost in the translation, intent on reconstructing the original meaning by syntactic means:

GRIMOALDO  
 Agitato è il Cor mio; muove il pensiero  
 Or sospetto, or amore,  
 Or speranza, or timore,  
 Or bella Gloria, or gelosia d’Impero.

GRIMOALDO  
 A thousand Conflicts shake my wav’ring  
 Heart;  
 Now sad Suspicions sway my restless Soul;  
 Now Love, now Hope, now Fear, all com-  
 bate there.  
 And Glory next, and Jealousy of Empire.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the translator’s effort to cast the original meaning of the Italian libretto into an English verse form, one cannot but admit that the character’s mental confusion in the original, rendered by the mere accumulation of contradictory emotions, does not come out as strongly in the blank verse of the translation. Here, the English sentence seems to have shaped and reorganised the somewhat chaotic utterance of the Italian original, the translator’s choices being also, no doubt, motivated by his concern to provide the English reader with his usual fare of decasyllables.

There are also cases, quite frequent in the corpus of Handel’s London operas, in which linguistic expansion occurs in order to make a strong specific point. Such seems to be the case for passages involving moral and political aspects, which seem to be somehow extended in the various English translations. For some reason, paragons of virtue are usually given more prominence in their English versions, as in the following example from Handel’s *Giustino* (1737). Here, Ariadne’s profession ‘E sarò di constanza eterno

28. [Paolo Antonio Rolli], *Riccardo Primo, Re d’Inghilterra, melodrama per la Reale Accademia di Musica* (London 1727), p. 52-53. Further references to this edition will appear within parentheses.

29. [Haym, after Salvi], *Rodelinda*, p. 58-59.

esempio' (1.11) is somewhat unnecessarily expanded into a far lengthier statement: 'My constancy shall live to after Times, / And be a Pattern of unspotted Love'.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the translation also uncharacteristically dilates the two words 'nobili sembianti' in the following example devoted to the moral fortitude and nobility of heart displayed by Berenice's royal features in Handel's *Scipione*:

SCIPIONE  
I nobili sembianti  
Spiran grandezza.

SCIPIONE  
[...] those noble Features,  
That Air, that Mien, all speak you greatly  
born.<sup>31</sup>

As appears evident from the previous example, translators feel no qualms when it comes to inflating the moral message of a particular passage, in opting for redundancy, as achieved here by the use of the ternary rhythm, so often neglected in other instances of translation.

In most cases, translators also magnify aspects devoted to the praise of a sovereign. Several critics have shown how, following on the tradition initiated in the last decades of the seventeenth century, opera was often used as a way of reasserting faith in the much debated power of the monarchy, and many Handel operas have thus been read as staunch declarations of allegiance to the Hanoverian dynasty.<sup>32</sup> Among such operas, *Riccardo Primo* (1727) is particularly noteworthy, as the following paragraphs, devoted to the contemporary English translation of the opera, will attempt to show.

### III. Political allegory

Despite the fact that the opera was completed while George I was still alive, most commentators have formed the opinion that Handel's opera *Riccardo Primo*; *Rè d'Inghilterra*, premiered a few weeks after the coronation of George II, was meant as an operatic compliment to the new monarch.<sup>33</sup> Not only

30. [After Nicolo Beregani], *Justin, an opera: as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden. Composed by Mr. Handel* (London 1737), p. 16-17.

31. [Rolli], *Scipione*, p. 26-27.

32. The issue remains controversial however, and occasional Jacobite readings have also been made.

33. See for instance Winton Dean, 'Handel's *Riccardo Primo*', *Musical Times* 105 (1964), p. 498-500; John Merrill Knapp, 'The Autograph of Handel's *Riccardo Primo*', in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque music in honor of Arthur Mendel*, ed. Robert L. Marshall (Kassel 1974), p. 333-334; Elizabeth Gibson, in *The Royal Academy of Music, 1719-1728: the*

does the librettist's dedicatory sonnet – not, incidentally, printed in an English translation in the original word-book of the opera – openly address the new king while making explicit parallels between the hero of the opera and the dedicatee of the libretto, but there are also elements in the hastily revised version of the musical score, notably in the orchestration, which underline the occasional nature of this highly patriotic opera.<sup>34</sup> Many British spectators, in the course of the 1727 season, would no doubt have felt stirred on hearing the following words, even though, ironically, the only member of the public not to have been born 'on the banks of Thames' might well have been the honoured sovereign himself:

RICCARDO

O voi che meco del Tamigi in riva  
Patria di Libertà Virtù Valore,  
Nati sieti all'Imprese  
Di Giustizia e d'Onore,  
Seguite il vostro Re.

RICHARD

O you, who with me, on the Banks of  
*Thames*,  
Where Virtue, Liberty and Courage reigns,  
Were born to Acts of Justice, and of Honour,  
Follow your King. (56-57)

Overall, the English version of the opera ranks among the highly faithful and literal translations, occasionally offering a word for word rendering – no doubt meant to fulfil the translator's desire to versify the recitative – which often results in a mere 'padding' that is occasionally on the verge of what is syntactically acceptable. The following sentence, an awkward paraphrase of the considerably more condensed 'L'amabile diletto / Di corriposto affetto / Vedrai brillare in me' (1.2), cannot be said to be particularly elegant, even if it evinces the translator's concern to stick as closely as possible to the general meaning of the original: 'All the Delight, that Love can have / For one, that has a mutual Passion, / You shall behold shine forth in me' (15).

Among the few very slight departures from the original, most seem to have been made in order to highlight the compliment to the new king, whose valour and courage are systematically reinforced, notably by the accumulation of adjectives and other qualifiers:

RICCARDO

Ed ei con le accampate genti

RICHARD

And then valiant Richard

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*institution and its directors* (New York 1989), maintains that the appropriateness of the new libretto for the new king was merely fortuitous (p. 260-261), while Reinhard Strohm tries to prove that the opera had been intended as a compliment to George II when the latter was still Prince of Wales. See Reinhard Strohm, 'Handel and his opera texts', in *Essays on Handel and Italian opera* (Cambridge 1985), p. 55-56.

34. See Dean, 'Handel's *Riccardo Primo*'.

Partirà immantinente  
All'Impresa che tenta.

With his arm'd Troops encamp'd upon your  
Coasts,  
Will with all Haste depart, to the great Enterprize,  
That now takes up his Thoughts. (24-25)

Needless to say, the 'padding' thus achieved is again conditioned by the translator's self-imposed decision to provide a certain degree of versification. Similarly, in Act 3 scene 7, the adjective in 'vincitor pietoso' is expanded into a far lengthier segment: 'a most compassionate, gen'rous conqueror' (68-69) while in Act 2 scene 6, the adjective 'benigno' (literally 'benevolent', 'well-meaning') is somehow surprisingly translated as 'gracious' (42-43), an adjective that was soon to be associated with the successive representatives of the House of Hanover. Only a few weeks before the first performance of *Riccardo Primo*, Westminster Abbey had resounded with the following words from Handel's *Coronation Anthems*: 'God save the King, long live the king.'<sup>35</sup> Also, probably in order to make the identification of the new king with the eponymous hero of the opera more explicit, the English version of the libretto goes so far as to introduce an English paraphrase of Richard I's French nickname, Cœur-de-Lion, into the text:

ORONTE  
Che mai pensa tentar l'Alma guerriera?  
Ma non senza ragione  
Fama lo suol chiamar, Cuor di Leone.

ORONTES  
Or, What means this mighty warrior's  
Soul t'attempt?  
Not without Reason, Fame is used to call  
him  
Cœur de Lion: for h' has a Lion's Heart.  
(42-43)

The translation of Pulcheria's Act 2 scene 8 aria, in another effort to make things especially explicit to the spectator – here the idea contained in the *simile aria* associating King Richard's 'renown'd Forefathers' with the 'haughty Eagle' –, also slightly inflates the original meaning, notably by referring to the 'realm' over which the bird of prey, 'endued with a full Power', apparently watches as the undisputed ruler:

PULCHERIA  
D'Aquila altera  
Conosci I Figli,

PULCHERIA  
The haughty Eagle  
Knows her Sons,

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35. For a discussion on the origins and connotations of the present national anthem, see Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837, 1992* (London 2003), p. 43-44, p. 48, and p. 209.

Se in faccia al Sole  
Osan guardar:  
E credi allora  
Pronti a'Perigli  
Che posson quelli  
Degli altr'augelli  
Pur trionfar.

If on the Sun's illustrious Face  
They dare, with Eyes undazzled, gaze:  
Then, then she thinks fit for Rule,  
Ready and fit to meet the greatest Dangers;  
And that they are endued with a full Power  
To triumph o'er the feather'd Realm of  
Birds. (50-51)

However, for all its fawning sweet-talk, the translation of the libretto also contains a subtle note of warning which is not to be found in the original Italian. In Act 3 scene 7, Pulcheria's asseveration 'Vincitor pietoso sarai' is indeed rather surprisingly rendered by the interrogative 'Now will you be, Great Sir, / A most Compassionate gen'rous Conqueror?' (68-69), a rhetorical question which seems to express, beyond the surface flattery possibly expressed towards the recently enthroned king, the anxious expectations of a whole nation.

Concerning the representation of the nation, only the English version makes use of the pronoun 'we', establishing, far more than in the original, a link of mutual trust and assistance between the monarch and his people, who are thus both bound and united in a common, dutiful effort towards the nation. While the Riccardo of the original haughtily gives orders meant to satisfy his own personal needs and desires ('Acquistatemi', 'Vendicatemi'), the anglicised Richard shows more awareness of what a jointly-won victory is supposed to be:

RICCARDO  
Usate prove de *Britanni* sono  
Debellare i superbi,  
E concedere altrui pace o perdono.  
Tosto la bianca Siriana insegna  
Vedrem cola: s'assalti il muro allora.  
Acquistatemi un Regno,  
Vendicatemi. Unite  
Sono nostre lodi. Il vostro Re seguite.

RICHARD  
It is the constant Practice of the *Britons*  
To make the haughty bend,  
And grant to all beside full Peace or Pardon.  
Soon as we there see the white Syrian En-  
sign,  
We'll straight assault the Walls, we'll gain  
the Kingdom,  
And so revenge ourselves; – All share the  
glory –  
Follow your King. (56-57)

Similarly, in the following aria, the rather impersonal infinitive in the sentence 'Del combattere la Gloria / Non è in man della fortuna' is rendered by a – presumably – non-royal 'we' in the English version: 'The Glory we in Battles gain / Is not in Fortune's Pow'r to give' (3.1.56-57).

One point of criticism addressed to the Italian opera of Handel's day often lay in its focus on the individual destinies of solipsistic, self-engrossed heroes and in that respect the advent of the English oratorio in the 1730s and 1740s,



a musical genre more concerned with the collective destinies of a whole nation, mainly through its extensive use of the chorus, which has often been seen as a welcome corrective. In such a generic context, which balances two artistic forms, one can see that a close look at some of the English translations of the long disparaged Italian operas of the 1720s and 1730s does alleviate, and indeed qualify, some of the usual attacks made against Italian opera. In the special case of *Riccardo Primo*, the translated version, by containing, beyond the unconditional compliment to the new British monarch, not only a veiled warning but also the expression of the king's ineradicable bond with the nation, points towards some of the later oratorio librettos, usually meant as the celebration of collective, national forces. Here, it does appear that the libretto in translation serves, more than the original text, as a vehicle to express the anxieties of the nation.

The observations made about Handel's *Riccardo Primo*, the composer's only work staging a historical English king, can of course be transferred to many of Handel's Italian operas written for London, notably *Giulio Cesare*, a work whose initial Venetian libretto of 1677 was incidentally meant, as Craig Monson has pointed out, as a declaration of faith in the Restoration of the English monarchy.<sup>36</sup> Once again, one cannot fail to notice that the English translation of Nicola Haym's Italian words, in its unrelenting condemnation of the pitiless usurper Ptolemy, also deals with the theme of what an Enlightened sovereign should be like:

CESARE

Empio, dirò, tu sei,  
Togliti a gli occhi miei,  
Sei tutto crudeltà.  
Non è di Re quel core,  
Che donasi al rigore,  
Che in sen hon hà pietà.

CÆSAR

There I'll reproach the barbarous Act,  
And bid him fly my Sight:  
The Prince, whose Soul is void of Pity and  
Compassion,  
Deserves not to hold the Reins of Empire.<sup>37</sup>

Present criticism is now re-discovering the strong moral and ethical content of the Italian operas of the first half of the eighteenth century, especially with regard to their function in shaping attitudes towards the nation.<sup>38</sup> Having access to the contemporary translation of those works clearly shows that the edifying nature of Italian opera far outweighed its alleged potential dangers,

36. See Monson, 'Giulio Cesare in Egitto', p. 314-316.

37. [Haym], *Giulio Cesare*, p. 8-9.

38. See for instance Thomas McGeary, 'Opera and British nationalism, 1700-1711', *La revue LISA/LISA e-journal* 4.2 (2006), p. 5-19 and his 'Virtue and liberty: Italian opera and Roman self-imagining in Britain, 1720-1742', *La revue LISA/LISA e-journal* 6.2 (2008), p. 36-60.

and the general hostility with which it was usually met by intellectual classes is sometimes difficult to understand.

In the case of Handel's *Rinaldo* (1711), the composer's first Italian opera written for the London stage, the English translation by Hill – who was later to become a staunch enemy of the genre – can actually, and paradoxically, be read as an allegorical warning against the attractive lure of the dangerous sirens of Italian opera.

#### IV. Operatic allegory

One can indeed imagine that in adapting the story from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and in staging a young hero torn between the delights of reprehensible love and the just call to glory, the authors of the libretto to Handel's *Rinaldo* were trying to find a metaphorical representation of the situation of the English nobility of the day, equally torn between its duty to the nation and its attraction to the fine arts, of which Italian opera was of course the arch representative. The belief that opera had a negative influence on the young members of the nobility, which is traceable to the very early days of Italian opera in London and was at the core of opera criticism in the 1720s and 1730s, was actually shared by Hill, not only the translator of Giacomo Rossi's Italian libretto but also the designer of the main lines of the plot. In number 106 of *The Prompter*, Hill deplored the disastrous consequences of the craze for Italian opera within the English nation, going so far as to suggest the complete eradication of the artistic form:

England has ever been so famous for breeding Men of strong Sense, and masculine Passions; yet sensible of other Pains, and prone to relieve them – To uncharacterize them, and sink them into Effeminacy and Softness, is the natural Consequence of encouraging Operas, to such a Degree as we have seen them of late. If it could be demonstrated, that Operas could produce any one single Good, that they cou'd be look'd upon as producing any thing but Pleasure merely, something might be urg'd in favour of them; but, when no one Good can be placed to their Account, and numberless Evils must flow from their Continuance, I think the Nation wou'd be better'd by their Fall.<sup>39</sup>

Hill's conflict between 'strong Sense' and 'Pleasure', as shown in *Rinaldo*, takes the form of the opposition between the ideas voiced in the opera by the two warriors Goffredo and Eustazio on the one hand, and the deceitful charms of the sorceress Armida, whose ensnaring power is mainly represented through the metaphor of the voice, on the other. In such a context, the

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39. [Aaron Hill], *The Prompter* 106 (14 Nov 1735), two pages altogether, p. 2.

‘sound/sense’ dichotomy, on which the reception of Italian opera was articulated, becomes a thematic issue through its very actualisation within the opera.

The hero’s temptation occurs during two scenes in which the human voice is used as a decoy intended to entrap the valiant knight who, far less heroic than one might initially have thought,<sup>40</sup> falls in both cases. The first failure takes place during the scene of the sirens (2.3), whose singing soon overcomes the hero’s weak resistance, despite the joined efforts of Goffredo and Eustazio to redeem the young hero. It is probably no coincidence that the young *petits maîtres*’ passion for opera was often compared to the debilitating effect of sirens’ songs, as shown by the following extract from an anonymous pamphlet published in 1749: ‘since the Introduction of Italian Opera’s here, our Men are grown insensibly more and more Effeminate; [...] they sit indolently and supine at an Opera, and suffer their Souls to be sung away by the Voices of Italian Syrens’.<sup>41</sup> Let us also quote Hill himself, in an article from *The Plain-Dealer*: ‘the Martial Spirit of our Nation, is effeminated, and gradually relax’d, by the Influence of this softening *Syren*’.<sup>42</sup> In the case of Handel, Rossi and Hill’s version of the opera, the confrontation of the Italian and English stage directions displays a major difference in perspective that can actually be related to the thematic issue of the dangerous power of song:

Entra nella Barca con Furia, et la Donna subito s’allarga in alto Mare; le Sirene cantano, e saltano fin’ a tanto che la Barca si vede, ma perduta di vista, si sommergono nel Mare. (2.3.26)

He breaks violently from [Goffredo and Eustacio’s] Hold, and enters the Boat; which immediately steers out into the open Sea, and Sails out of Sight. Then the Mermaids leave Singing and disappear. (2.3.27)

Where Rossi clearly indicates that the sirens resume their singing and dancing after Rinaldo’s leap into the two warriors’ boat, Hill’s indications in the translation imply that they stop singing (‘the Mermaids leave singing’), thus emphasising the deceitful and manipulative intent of their singing.

40. ‘[A] cocksure though ultimately ineffectual hired hero’; ‘Rinaldo is foolish, indecisive, vain, an incompetent lover and warrior and never in fact heroic in the conventional sense.’ Curtis Price, ‘English traditions in Handel’s *Rinaldo*’, in *Handel tercentenary collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London, Basingstoke 1987), p. 120-137 (p. 123 and p. 127).

41. [Anon.], *Satan’s Harvest Home: Or, the Present State of [...] Sodomy [...] And Other Satanic Works, Daily Propagated in This Good Protestant Kingdom* (London 1749), p. 30 (chapter 3 [written in 1720]: ‘The Italian Operas, and Corruption of the English Stage, and Other Publick Diversions’).

42. [Aaron Hill], *The Plain-Dealer* 94 (12 Feb 1725), two pages altogether, p. 1 (Hill’s emphasis).

Besides, the illusion that Rinaldo is a victim is also more strongly marked in the English version:

EUSTAZIO  
*Signor, strano ardimento!*  
*Sù i Vortici dell' Onde,*  
*All' Aure di lusinghe,*  
*Fidar la propria Gloria! (2.3.26)*

EUSTAZIO  
 Never was Courage thus misled before!  
 To trust these faithless Waves, and vain  
 Illusions,  
 With all his Load of Glory! (2.3.27)

The human voice is also at the core of the scene in which Armida tries to seduce Rinaldo, and once again the English translation underlines the use of artifice. First of all, the mere noun 'l'Augello' (2.6.32; 'the bird') is slightly expanded into the noun-group 'The warbling Birds' (2.6.33), no doubt in order to remind the public that singing is indeed a powerful instrument in the ways of love and seduction. Also, the short sentence with which Rinaldo rejects Armida (2.6.32; 'Io ti disprezzo', literally 'I despise you') also evokes, in the English version, the victory of the young hero over the power of song: 'But I am deaf' (2.6.33). Finally, Handel's annotations in the autograph score specify that at the moment when Armida is supposed to transform into Almirena, the singer in charge of the virtuous young woman, hidden behind a backcloth, should actually lend her voice to Armida for the sake of verisimilitude.<sup>43</sup> At this juncture, the English version ironically makes Rinaldo, who has just realised that he has been the victim of an illusion, utter the words 'by strange delusive Magick, led', i.e. just at the point when he is about to fall into a new – vocal – trap. The Italian version does not underline the power of the illusion:

RINALDO  
 Nò, cara, che tù sei  
 La sospirata Meta; e in questo Loco  
 Sol d'Armida crudel viddi il sembiante.  
 (2.7.34)

RINALDO  
 Alas! My Heart is bound so firmly to thee,  
 That ev'n Inconstancy wants Strength to  
 loose it;  
 But I, by strange delusive Magick, led,  
 Mistook thee, lovely Creature, for Armida.  
 (2.7.35)

Even if Rinaldo eventually triumphs over Armida's charms and traps, he still deserves the blame for being '[c]ontaminato da [...] *molli Amori* / Stain'd with the Guilt of soft and untim'd Love' (3.4.50-51), his sensitiveness to the power of song having several times endangered his mission. Hill's translation overstates Rinaldo's guilt to an extent that becomes barely understandable –

43. See Dean, 'Handel's *Riccardo Primo*' and Knapp, 'The Autograph of Handel's *Riccardo Primo*', p. 173.

after all, Rinaldo's behaviour has remained spotless – if one does not have the 'meta-operatic' reading in mind:

GOFFREDO  
E tù Rinaldo dei  
Contaminato da' tuoi molli Amori,  
Col sangue dè Rubel purgar la Spada.  
(3.4.50)

GOFFREDO  
And you *Rinaldo!*  
Stain'd with the Guilt of soft and untim'd  
Love,  
Strive with the Blood of our unfaithful Foe,  
To wash your Bosom to its native Snow.  
(3.4.51)

The guilty Armida also has her share in the general blame (3.6.52-53; 'Và, e non tentar d'effeminar gli Heroi / Woman begone. [...] Thy Sex but serve to soften Men to Cowards') and again the deceitful enchantress, guilty of leading young heroes away from the duty to their nation, appears as the very incarnation of the dangerous charms of the controversial musical genre. The presence of the term 'incantatrice' (xii), with its Latin root 'cantare', reinforces the analogy between the magician and the singer. *Rinaldo* does portray the singing of Italian opera as an artifice which charms and 'castrates' potential heroes, not unlike the rather castrating figure of Armida, self-styled 'virile in petto' (3.6.52; 'masculine in my breast'), and which the 1711 list of the *dramatis personae* strangely presents as 'A Queen of the Amazons' (xiii), again a fairly inadequate translation for the Italian 'Regina di Damaso' (xii).

With his translation of *Rinaldo*, Hill manages the considerable exploit of presenting the London public of 1711 with a supposedly 'English' Italian opera, whose English translation is itself a warning against the potential dangers of the new musical form. Paradoxically, Hill's views at the time of the first production of *Rinaldo* – he professes himself an ardent defender of opera in his dedication to Queen Ann – were indeed inconsistent with the antagonistic opinions he was to develop later in his literary career. However, in the same dedication, he also clearly, and somewhat puzzlingly, establishes the distinction between 'English' and 'Italian' opera, the former genre being apparently intended to replace the latter before long:

Madam [Queen Ann],

This OPERA is a Native of your Majesty's Dominions, and was consequently born your Subject: 'Tis thence that it presumes to come, a dutiful Entreater of your Royal Favour and Protection'; a Blessing, which having once obtain'd, it cannot miss the Clemency of every Air it may hereafter breathe in. Nor shall I then be longer doubtful of succeeding in my Endeavour, to see the *English* OPERA more splendid than her MOTHER, the *Italian*. (v)<sup>44</sup>

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44. Hill's emphasis.

Whatever Hill's contradictions may have been, one cannot but see in his translation of libretto to *Rinaldo* the germs of his later polemical attitude towards an art form he was to find obsolete, un-conducive to valour, honour and virtue, and antagonistic, through its reliance on a linguistic medium supposedly detached from sense and reason, to the values of the Enlightenment. Another extract from the article in *The Plain-Dealer*, in which Hill nostalgically evokes the semi-operas of the time of Henry Purcell, clearly associates the use of the Italian language with the loss of 'reason', 'dignity' and 'heart':

We had once a Species of Opera, call'd Dramatic, in which the Dignity of *Reason* was not sacrific'd, as it is now, to the Dissoluteness of *Sound*, but the Force of *Words* and *Meaning*, was increas'd by *Musick*, and *Decoration*, and impress'd upon the Soul, by the Mediation of the Senses. [...] [Given this union of sound with sense] our emasculating present Taste, of the Italian *Luxury*, and *Wantonness* of *Musick*, will give way to a more *Passionate*, and animated Kind of *Opera*, where not only the *Eye* and *Ear* may expect to be *charm'd*, but the *Heart* to be touch'd and transported.<sup>45</sup>

In a letter to Handel on 5 December 1732, Hill addressed a similar plea requiring that the composer should set English words to music in order to get rid of the senseless Italian, again supposedly devoid of 'reason' and 'dignity':

Having this occasion of troubling you with a letter, I cannot forbear to tell you the earnestness of my wishes, that, as you have made such considerable steps toward it, already, you would let us owe to your inimitable genius, the establishment of *musick*, upon a foundation of good poetry; where the excellence of the *sound* should no longer be dishonour'd, by the poorness of the sense it is chain'd to.

My meaning is, that you would be resolute enough, to deliver us from our *Italian bondage*; and demonstrate, that *English* is soft enough for Opera, when compos'd by poets, who know how to distinguish the *sweetness* of our tongue, from the *strength* of it, where the last is less necessary.

I am of opinion that [...] a species of dramatic Opera might be invented, that, by reconciling reason and dignity, with musick and fine machinery, would charm the *ear*, and hold fast the *heart*, together.<sup>46</sup>

As is well-known, Handel's indirect response to Hill's letter was his increasing production of English-language oratorios, a musical genre often seen, by its thematic and aesthetic character, as the true musical child of the English Enlightenment.<sup>47</sup>

45. [Aaron Hill], *The Plain-Dealer*, p. 1 (Hill's emphasis).

46. Letter quoted in Otto E. Deutsch, *Handel: a documentary biography* (London 1955), p. 299 (Hill's emphasis).

47. See for instance Ruth Smith, *Handel's oratorios and eighteenth-century thought* (Cambridge 1995).

## V. Conclusion

Although no exhaustive examination of operatic translation in eighteenth-century England has been conducted so far, it seems that the scope of the English versions of Italian opera-librettos clearly emerges as invaluable, and not only inasmuch as such documents, as once suggested by Price, Milhous and Hume, give us useful indications as to how certain operas were produced and performed.<sup>48</sup> The two examples provided in this article do indeed show the historical and aesthetic implications of operatic translation in the promotion of Enlightenment values, and in view of the samples that have been examined, I would find it hard to agree with the following words by Horace Walpole, in which the writer irrevocably dismisses the text of David Garrick's opera *The Fairies* (1755) by using operatic translation as a paradigm of nonsense and stupidity: 'and to regale with sense, it is Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is forty times more nonsensical than the worst translation of any Italian opera books'.<sup>49</sup>

If operatic translations can unarguably be un-poetical, they are hardly ever nonsensical, even if plodding through their heavily metaphorical style – often an improvement on the original, though – can occasionally prove a little frustrating. As we have seen, delving into their apparently obscure subtexts can occasionally be rewarding and illuminating, the juxtaposition of the original and the English versions displaying subtle forms of otherness highly illuminating regarding the collective expectations of the target-culture.

It would be difficult, in a discussion on the type of works performed in London during that period, to speak in terms of acculturation. Formally speaking, the London Italian operas of the first half of the second century are still very much Italian operas, and as yet do not show any observably typical English traits and features, even though the 'Venetian' origins of some of those works might point to a Shakespearian character. An extension of that study would look to early nineteenth-century experiments, when intercultural generic hybrids began to flourish, and soon became the norm.

However, it still remains that the supposedly literal translations offered to the London audiences of the time evince a strong tendency to conform to the local ethos, principally in the rejection of stylistic characteristics clearly associated with a bygone age and replaced by less rhetorical formulations. On the thematic level, one can also pinpoint slight ideological departures from the source, apparently considered necessary so as to make the new product ac-

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48. See Price, Milhous, and Hume, *The King's Theatre*, p. 36.

49. Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Paget Toynbee, 16 vols (Oxford 1903-1905), III.288 (letter to Richard Bentley, 23 Feb 1755).

ceptable to the receptive culture. All in all, translations into English give a more rational, clear-cut and enlightening vision than most of their sources, and as such must be taken into account as a representative corpus of the ideas and ideals of the English Enlightenment. Needless to say, the observations made on a rather restricted corpus, at a time when operatic ventures in London were merely tentative, take further relevance when applied to works not only performed in the English language but produced with a clear view to 'correct' the ideological contents found in the originals. In this respect, the examination of, say, the several English translations of Niccolò Piccinni's comic opera *La Cecchina; ossia la buona Figliuola*, the Italian adaptation of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, proves particularly illuminating.<sup>50</sup>

In order to fully appreciate the contribution of libretto-translation to the understanding and reception of eighteenth-century Italian opera in England, notably in view of a full-length account of how a transplanted art form could convey some of the values of the Enlightenment, a systematic and fully exhaustive assessment of all English operatic translations is more than something to be wished for: it is a dire necessity.

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50. See my article "'Procurerò di ritornar inglese': périple transgénérique et interculturel d'une œuvre maîtresse de la littérature anglaise", *Musicorum* 4 (2007), p. 205-221.





ANDREAS ÖNNERFORS

Translating discourses of the Enlightenment:  
transcultural language skills and cross-references  
in Swedish and German  
eighteenth-century learned journals

När ljuset tändas skall, och spridas i ett land  
Ger Himlen faklan först uti Regentens hand.<sup>1</sup>

I. *Hallo's felicitous evening*: transforming society  
through reading

In the weekly journal *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* of the year 1783 (issue 49) we find a review of a 'political and economical novel' with the rather odd title of *Hallo's felicitous evening*.<sup>2</sup> Since 1743, the critical journal had been edited in the German university town of Greifswald, situated within Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic shore under Swedish dominion. According to the reviewer, the novel presented 'valuable insights into governmental and agricultural issues'. The subsequent three pages summarize the novel, revealing a plan of comprehensive societal reform in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The aging statesman Hallo is philosophical and paternal consultant to the new sovereign Prince Gustaf. Hallo refuses all insignia of honour and lives on estates close to the royal residence, where he delves into clandestine works aiming at a reform of the living-conditions of his local subjects. He evolves into 'the father and friend of his peasants, he abolishes service at the estate, transforms [serving] peasants into taxpayers, grants them more land for their fields [...]', and so on. With 'rational arguments' he convinces the peasants to surmount their prejudices and superstition. A church is established in the

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1. 'When light is lit and spreads throughout a country / Heaven first puts the torch in the hands of its sovereign.' *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* 1.12 (1775). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

2. That is: 'eine Art von politischem und ökonomischem Roman'. *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* 9.49 (1783).

village; its priest, physicist and midwife care for the physical and spiritual well-being of its inhabitants.

From time to time, Prince Gustaf visits Hallo's estates to seek advice on governmental affairs. As a result, the death penalty is abolished, schools are improved and the 'incomes of the idle' at court are done away with. The underlying motto of these changes is that 'wherever a sovereign is competent and his subjects virtuous, crime is diminished and, as a consequence, also punishment'. An educational reform of the clergy is carried out in accordance with 'the religious science, as our Lord Christ himself taught and preached it'. Government officials are paid wages that cover the cost of living. Workers' wages are appropriate, insurance companies established, 'likewise, there is the call for free trade and all custom-houses are to be abolished', and well-organized medical care is introduced. The critic summarizes the main ambitions of the work as follows: 'Our Hallo reverently and constantly conveys these rules of good government to Gustaf, in whom he finds a ready follower and listener, to the latter's eternal honour'. The novel followed the tradition of the so-called 'Hausväterliteratur', a literary genre in which the psychological development of the protagonist is of minor interest. The stereotype figure *Hausvater* (*pater familias*) is perhaps best translated as the 'patriarch' of a home or estate, who takes care of his family, servants, peasants, efficiently plans work in the fields and constantly strives to improve the conditions within his own realm. *Hausväterliteratur* is related to the *Staatsroman* (state novel), a similar genre which was established by Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777). The state novel treated the topic of wise statesmanship and efforts for improving a country in the same stereotypical manner. These fictional tales of good government concealed moral messages, with the target of functioning as practical reform programmes.<sup>3</sup>

Hallo performs within his microcosm, within the framework of existing political order, bringing about profound changes and improving conditions for the people under his responsibility. The pattern for the state sovereign is obvious: society will improve if he follows Hallo's plan. Thus, the novel is self-affirmative: the aged, wise man advises the young prince and things change for the better. The author of the novel, Christian Friedrich Sintenis (1750-1820), can be counted among a group of Enlightenment writers who advocated a moderate reform 'from above' as the preferable model for trans-

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3. Reiner Schulze, *Policey und Gesetzgebungslehre im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1982), p. 64, investigates the concept of the *Hausvater* and its function. On p. 218, he explicates the 'idea of a planned society ruled by bureaucrats', oscillating between 'concreteness and utopia', that is presented in this genre. I consider this a valid characterisation of *Hausväterliteratur*.

forming society. By reading edifying literature in the *Hausväter*-tradition, it was believed that change could be promoted.

More than two years later we find a review of *Hallo's felicitous evening* in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, the flagship of German Enlightenment press.<sup>4</sup> The critic states that the novel contains a 'well-meant reform plan of the state for everyone's benefit. These reform proposals were for the political, ecclesiastical and economical administration of an ideal state'. It treated 'all the favourite subjects of recent politics and state economy, from feeding livestock, abolishment of service on estates and fenced grazing, to the improvement of court benches and liturgical issues'.<sup>5</sup> But these suggestions for betterment, promised by a 'heated fantasy' to a 'cosmopolitan', were not embraced by the critic. Perhaps the proposed maxims could be implemented in fiction, but 'in real life they often had contrary effects',<sup>6</sup> he concluded resolutely.

However, Sintenis's novel found an avid supporter living at the northern fringe of Enlightenment journalism. Only three weeks after its publication in the *Neueste Critische Nachrichten*, the review was translated into Swedish in the journal *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* ('News from the Educational Society'), which was edited in Stockholm.<sup>7</sup> Hence, at the end of 1783, the news had crossed the Baltic Sea from the port town Stralsund to that of Ystad. It was probably transported the more than six hundred kilometres on horseback or coach – at this time of year a sledge was more likely – overland on Swedish soil. This was the ordinary postal connection between Swedish Pomerania and Sweden. It is likewise possible that a shipmaster took a box with books and journals on board and transported it directly to the port of central Stockholm, Skeppsbrokajen, where the editor of *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* fetched his post at the office of the government censor, who superintended foreign book imports. We cannot reconstruct this today. But we do know that the post between Greifswald and Stockholm, with ideal summertime conditions, took a minimum of ten days and, by sea, between a fortnight and three weeks. Between November and March of the following year, the postal boat travelling between Stralsund and Ystad (which it had al-

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4. 'Rezension des Romans *Hallos glücklicher Abend*, 1er und 2er Theil', *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 69.1 (1786), p. 109-111.

5. That is: 'einen wohlgemeinten Plan zu einer gemeinnützigen Staatsreform, Vorschläge zur Verbesserung in der politischen, kirchlichen und ökonomischen Verwaltung eines idealischen Landes'. It treated 'alle Lieblingsthemen der neuern Politik und Staatsökonomie, von der Stallfütterung, Abschaffung der Herrendienste und der Koppelweide an, bis zur Verbesserung der Gerichtsbänke und der Kirchenliturgie'.

6. That is: 'im gemeinen Leben hingegen oft einen ganz entgegen gesetzten Erfolg'.

7. *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* 4.1 (1784).

ready been doing regularly during the 1680s) was often cancelled, often remaining so for long periods. At best it operated very irregularly due to ice formation and drift-ice, which was typical for the Baltic Sea in general. In light of all this, the review of *Hallo's felicitous evening* reached the Swedish reading public surprisingly quickly. How was this possible? This article will scrutinize the cross-connections between the German and Swedish press during the Enlightenment and how certain topics relevant to its intellectual history were communicated. The development of the press and the book-market during the eighteenth century contributed to the formation of an all-European public sphere, where information could be shared mutually. One central prerequisite in this process was the ability to translate information from one language into another, irrelevant of whether it comprised brief political news reports, exhaustive scientific and historical works, or travel literature. Our knowledge of the practical organisation of this translation machinery, which was so crucial for the success of Enlightenment, is rather limited. Sweden's Continental connections to the German-speaking sphere were one of the most important channels that enabled the country to partake in the European exchange of ideas. Swedish news, articles, and works were translated into German and, vice versa, German equivalents translated into Swedish. It is within the hubs and nodes of a large network of European intellectuals of the time that we find people skilled in translating from one language to another, sometimes at amazing speed. In view of this we must question the established scholarly concepts of centre and periphery.<sup>8</sup>

## II. The Formation of a Swedish-German public sphere

Since 1648, the province of Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic shore belonged to the Swedish crown by way of compensation for Swedish participation in the Protestant coalition during the Thirty Years' War. Swedish possessions on German ground, however, were constantly being diminished, primarily due to competition with the neighbouring and expanding state of Branden-

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8. This article is based mainly on the author's PhD thesis, *Svenska Pommern: kulturmöten och identification 1720-1815* (Lund 2003), available online at <[www.lub.lu.se/luft/diss/hum\\_250/hum\\_250\\_transit.html](http://www.lub.lu.se/luft/diss/hum_250/hum_250_transit.html)>, wherein the sources are quoted. The episode on *Hallos glücklicher Abend* is also treated in the: Andreas Önnersfors, 'Die Nutzbarmachung der Natur als Thema der schwedischen aufgeklärten Presse', in *Landschaften agrarisch-ökonomischen Wissens: regionale Fallstudien zu landwirtschaftlichen und gewerblichen Themen in Zeitschriften und Sozietäten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Marcus Popplow [Münster 2009, in print].

burg-Prussia. During the last century of Swedish sovereignty lasting from 1720 to 1815, Sweden's political importance as one of the signatory powers of the Peace of Westphalia had declined dramatically. The political and juridical structures of Swedish dominion on German ground were complicated. When Sweden was granted compensation during the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Swedish monarch did not simply take over German land. Instead, the rank of the Duke of Pomerania was added to his titles, and it was in this capacity that he governed this realm. Therefore, Pomerania did not face 'Swedification', as was the case with the provinces conquered from Denmark during the seventeenth century (Scania, Halland and Blekinge). German was retained as the official language and jurisdiction as well as the political order remained unchanged.

Under the given conditions, it is surprising that a process of cultural identification took place, which encouraged a decidedly privileged group of individuals to acquire a dual cultural competence and which allowed them to benefit from Swedish Pomerania's intermediary position within German and Swedish zones of interests, which made it a genuinely transcultural region. For some groups in society this position was very obvious. This was the case for shipbrokers, shipmasters and merchants in general. Another group was the nobility. They maintained German and Swedish business enterprises during Swedish dominion, acquiring estates or establishing offices on both sides of the Baltic Sea. It was, of course, also in the interest of the state to raise a class of loyal state officials who were not only able to speak both languages but also to travel between two cultures. The Swedish king could indirectly influence the religious development of the province by having 'intercession day bills' (in Swedish 'Bönedagsplakat') published, which were translated from Swedish into German from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. The bills had to be read from the pulpits throughout the country and nailed onto the church doors. Their content was of a religious nature, conveying theological values which changed over time and which can be read as comments on the current political development in the Swedish realm. Thus, they contributed to establishing the first public space and *imagined community*<sup>9</sup> of a larger 'Swedish' collective.<sup>10</sup> The same applied for bills issued on the occasion of royal births or deaths. The closest connection

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9. In the sense of Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London 1983).

10. See Joachim Östlund, *Lyckolandet: maktens legitimering i officiell retorik från stormaktstid till demokratins genombrott* (Lund 2007). The dissertation also contains an English summary with the title 'The Land of bliss: the legitimisation of power in public rhetoric from Sweden's period as a great power to the full emergence of democracy'.

between material communication and communication of cultural competence was, however, established via the route travelled by the postal boat, between the port town of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania and Ystad in Southern Sweden during the 1680s. Postal boats travelled along this route up to three times a week, depending on weather and wind conditions and the aforementioned winter break. These boats were not only utilized for the administration of the province but also for the transport of people, goods and prints. The hub of communication was the post-office in Stralsund, where people had to register to travel to Sweden: it was the gateway to the province for incoming post, goods and travellers. It was most likely in the circles surrounding the post-office that Pomerania saw its first newspaper, the *Stralsundischer Relations-Courier*, which was published at least within the two periods of 1689-1702 and 1747-1754.<sup>11</sup> The main content of the paper during the first period included news from and rumours about European courts, the state of warfare throughout the Continent, various physical abnormalities, epidemics, catastrophes and brutal crimes, all largely interpreted as results of God's revenge and punishment. We can likewise discern not only an increasing tendency to present news from Sweden on a regular basis, but also that this featured prominently in the newspaper. Somebody must have obtained the articles from Sweden and then translated them, and it is clear that the Swedish crown saw the publication as a means of spreading counter-propaganda to news published in the hostile press of Hamburg and Altona (the latter belonged to Sweden's arch-enemy Denmark). In 1703, the post-officer of Stralsund, Daniel Joachim Vatky, edited a combined Swedish-German travel guide, a phrase-book and a currency converter, the *Schwedischer und Teutscher Wegweiser*.<sup>12</sup> The publication testifies to a profound knowledge of both cultures, and it is also most likely that Vatky was one of the intellects behind the first newspaper in Swedish Pomerania. This early development of a public sphere through the press lasted for the rest of the Swedish dominion. The access to Swedish and Scandinavian political and economical news was essential to merchants and governmental officials that inhabited Stralsund, the new capital of Swedish Pomerania after Stettin was lost in 1720.

The situation was different in the university town of Greifswald. The university printing office largely served the interests of the institution: academic theses – the majority still in Latin – and occasional poetry were its main publications. The first signs of a new era in educated press culture are to be

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11. A press history of Swedish Pomerania with further references to earlier works is presented in Andreas Önnersfors, 'Svenska nyheter på tyska: Svenska Pommerns presshistoria', *Svensk Presshistorisk årsbok* 21 (2004), p. 25-50.

12. See Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 26 and Önnersfors, 'Svenska nyheter på tyska', p. 34.

found at the end of the 1720s, when Christian von Nettelblatt (1696-1775), a professor of law, edited his journal *Schwedische Bibliothec* (1728-1735).<sup>13</sup> Due to the poor quality of the print produced by the university office, Nettelblatt published his periodical, which was issued irregularly in five volumes, in Stockholm and Leipzig (the heart of the German book market). He may also have had other reasons. Nettelblatt wished to prove the excellence of Swedish culture, history and religious tradition. Therefore, he attacked judgements of popular German writers on the intellectual capacity of the Northern peoples (early forms of climate theory questioned that a cold climate could foster intelligence), the development of pietism and the dominance of Roman law in German territories. Nettelblatt also translated Swedish works into German and Latin and thus made them accessible to a – presumably hostile – reading public. His life is paradigmatic for the kind of cultural conveyance we find in the Swedish realm at this period. Nettelblatt's father was a merchant from the German port town of Rostock, who immigrated to Stockholm and established, together with his relatives in German states, one of the largest and most successful import-export businesses operating between Sweden and the Continent. Despite being born in Stockholm, his youngest son Christian never had to learn Swedish. He went to the German school, was a member of the German parish and studied abroad, in the Netherlands and in Leipzig. But when appointed professor of law in Greifswald in 1725, Nettelblatt proved to be a true Swedish patriot who devoted the vast majority of his academic writings to the defence of Swedish traditions in jurisdiction, law history and culture. His *Schwedische Bibliothec* is rather one-sided and as such far removed from the critical deliberation that was the leitmotiv of Enlightenment press. However, Nettelblatt's periodical was the first in the province to discuss learned matters in public. He believed that by publishing original documents the reader could make up his own mind. With the same belief, he translated scholarly news from Swedish into German. These elements unite him with Enlightenment press for the learned, which presented its affiliation to Sweden as a dominating feature from the 1740s onwards.

### III. The Rise of Enlightenment press

In 1739, the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences was established in Stockholm. This event marked a dramatic turn in Sweden's scientific culture be-

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13. See Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 79-84 and other works on Nettelblatt (mainly by Nils Jörn) quoted therein, as well as Önnersfors, 'Svenska nyheter på tyska', p. 39-40.



cause the academy mainly promoted ‘useful’ sciences and published its quarterly proceedings in Swedish. From the middle of the century onwards, the academy held the privilege to edit an official almanac based mainly on astronomical observations from the Stockholm academy observatory. But the almanac also contained several articles that may be characterised as ‘popular Enlightenment’: remedies for diseases in cattle, practical advice on new ploughing techniques, hygiene, clothing, heating, historical accounts with a clear moral message, and so on. Its location in the capital was also a programmatic choice on part of the academy. Science was now at the centre of cultural, political and economical life and did not take place only in the isolation of university towns like Uppsala (north of Stockholm), Åbo (in Finland, that until 1809 was an integrated part of Sweden), and Lund (in Southern Sweden). The situation in the German province was, however, different. In a new generation of university teachers in Greifswald we find initiatives to create educated societies. The earliest, the *Königliche Deutsche Gesellschaft* (KDG), was already inaugurated in September 1739.<sup>14</sup> In a letter to the Swedish king in which the society applied for royal protection and privileges, the KDG identified the Swedish Royal Academy as an exemplary model. It was in the circles of the KDG that the closest connection to the sister institution in Stockholm grew – a connection that provided Greifswald with first-hand information and news on Swedish scientific culture during the decades to come. On the occasion of its inauguration, the chairman of the KDG Augustin von Balthasar formulated the aims of the society: that the sciences are for everyone’s benefit and hence should be communicated in the vernacular language of the country. In accordance with its contemporary German counterparts, one main objective of the society lay in the improvement of the German language. Only a refined language could promote science in the best way possible. In order to discuss related topics, the society founded a journal, the *Critische Versuche zur Aufnahme der deutschen Sprache* (1741-1746). The editor was the KDG secretary Johann Carl Dähnert (1719-1785), one of the key figures in Swedish Pomeranian Enlightenment. Apparently, Dähnert’s ambitions extended further. In 1743, he started the journal *Pommersche Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen* (1743-1748) in a quite inconvenient octavo format which was issued twice-weekly. In the same year, pietistic circles edited the journal *Greifswaldisches Wochenblatt*, with a clearly religious profile, but this was shortly discontinued in the following year. Undoubtedly, the new generation wrote for the *Pommersche Nachrichten*. For example, with regard to views on Baruch de Spinoza, who was reha-

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14. See Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 121-135.

bilitated by scholarly circles in the eighteenth century, one can observe an educated debate with the two journals representing opposing views. But Dähnert also reported on Swedish intellectual life and made this coverage a constituent element of his journal, whose front page was decorated with the Swedish national coat of arms.

#### IV. Swedish science: a key topic of the learned press

During the period often referred to as the Age of Freedom (1720-1772), Sweden underwent a process of transformation and reform. Nearly twenty years of warfare under the rule of Charles XII, who was killed in 1718 in the trenches outside the Norwegian town of Fredrikshald, left the Swedish economy in a desolate state and had disastrous consequences for the inhabitants. The nation lost all its trans-Baltic provinces to Russia, the territory of Finland was reduced, and parts of the German territories were first re-established after lengthy peace negotiations. Roughly a whole generation of Sweden's men had been lost in war and, furthermore, the population was severely diminished due to plague and starvation. The new rulers of the state reduced the power of the king to a minimum; a council and a parliamentary assembly representing the four estates of the realm governed Sweden. During the 1730s, political life in Sweden changed as two political parties emerged: the 'caps' and 'hats'. The 'caps' promoted an agricultural basis for the economy and sought to regain lost territories. The 'hat' party, by contrast, launched a programme based on manufacture and commerce. In foreign policy they advocated a strong alliance to – or rather complete dependence on – France. In the parliamentary assembly of 1738, the 'hats' nearly gained the absolute majority in the parliamentary committees and dominated the political climate in Sweden for the next three decades. The establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences was part of the 'hat' reform plan. Science, in particular the applied sciences, were to be utilised to restructure the country's economy and boost its productivity. At the time, Swedish science reached its heyday with the botanist Carl von Linné and the nowadays almost forgotten mathematician Christopher Polhem, the mineralogist Johann Gottschalk Wallerius, the astronomers Anders Celsius and Pehr Wilhelm Wargentin, and the chemist Carl Wilhelm Scheele. These names were well known among the European reading public.

Swedish science could serve as a paradigm based on its achievements and was combined with the concept of good governance that had long been attributed to the Swedish state. Dähnert wrote as early as 1744 in his *Pommersche Nachrichten* on the Swedish Academy of Science (hereafter referred to

as KVA). During the following six decades, no other topic was covered as extensively in the Swedish-Pomeranian educated press.<sup>15</sup> Approximately ten percent of the total news coverage during this period dealt with Swedish topics, the vast majority of them on the KVA or Swedish science in general.<sup>16</sup> Dähnert made reports on the KVA a cornerstone of the coverage in his newly established *Critische Nachrichten* in 1750. His journal and its successors would contribute to the spread of accounts in German and translations of the academy proceedings and lectures. The journal published mainly summaries of the quarterly transactions in German and, thus, the *Critische Nachrichten* became a major channel of communication with the educated German-speaking world. Of all German states, the transactions reached Swedish Pomerania first (they were subscribed to by the university library, where Dähnert was employed as a librarian in 1748, and by individual professors). Sometimes with a delay of several years after the date of publication, Professor Abraham Gotthelf Kaestner in Göttingen (which belonged to the British crown via the house of Hanover) translated the transactions into German between 1749 and 1792, yet the translations were criticized by Dähnert for their poor quality. In the German version, the publication had, according to Dähnert, lost much of its ‘beauty’. And those who were proficient in the various sciences covered by the transactions had even more reason to be critical. One did not need to be Swedish to reveal ‘errors and errors in the smallest details’, as he wrote in the *Critische Nachrichten*.<sup>17</sup> It was only in Greifswald that the German reader could find the first and most reliable notes on the achievements of Swedish science, he concluded. Descriptions and reviews of the lectures and publications of the academy also contained programmatic values that mirror Dähnert’s affection for Sweden. The connection between natural history and political reform projects in Sweden were well known in

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15. The journal *Hamburgische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Gelehrten Historie und der Wissenschaften* pioneered reports on the KVA. Already the first edition of 1740 described the establishment of the academy. The *Pommersche Nachrichten* has not yet been studied in this regard, although it commenced with reporting on KVA three years prior to the *Götttingische Zeitungen*. See also Arne Holmberg, *Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens äldre skrifter i utländska översättningar och referat*, Kungliga Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens årsbok för år 1939, Bilaga (Uppsala 1939), p. 1-20. On the relationship between Sweden and the press in Göttingen, see Mattias Persson, *Det nära främmande: svensk lärdom och politik i en tysk tidning 1753-1792* (Uppsala 2009).

16. For a quantitative approach see Önnerfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 226. A qualitative approach based upon an as yet unpublished database with 750 notices exceeding 15 lines requires further refinement.

17. *Critische Nachrichten* 2.10 (1751).

Swedish Pomerania. In the February of 1750,<sup>18</sup> we can read in the preface to a review of a mineralogical work by Wallerius:

The educated of the North have (mainly during the last ten years) dealt with natural sciences so successfully that they now share the attention that previously was only paid to France and England. Without a doubt, science is the scholarly discipline from which one can expect a continuous increase, a continuous improvement and a continuous extension, because no other science is equal in its capacity to improve the state. Sweden is very much in the position to experience this, and it is a special honour for the realm that men of high birth are united with the educated and with artisans in order to open up new prospects for the fatherland, making them useful for the same.

An early peak of coverage on the KVA occurred between 1751 and 1753. The second volume of the *Critische Nachrichten* was dedicated to the academy. In the preface, Dähnert publicly declared his admiration for the academy's work. It represented perfectly 'science in its relation towards the well-being of the state, the citizen and the human being'.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, it seemed important to remain updated on the development of science in Sweden: '[In] my office [in 1750 he acquired a professorship in literary history] at the Royal Swedish University I am pleased to be able to present a weekly summary of news of the educated world and the current situation of science. These, my papers [...] are a proof of my zeal'. Dähnert asks the KVA, in accordance with 'the desire of my fellow citizens', to continually provide news on 'the successes achieved by the Swedish sciences' that are 'so vital for the world and so advantageous for the state'. He and his readers would then marvel at 'the felicity of a realm in which the sciences, under the auspices of the most perfect sovereign, have the wisest and most righteous promoters'.

At the time, Sweden itself did not have any learned journals. Swedish correspondents sent news to Dähnert, but, due to the loss of his correspondence, we are unfortunately unable to reconstruct his sources. Academic journals ceased publication for a period of about seven years. This coincided with the Seven Years' War, during which Sweden had entered a French anti-Prussian coalition. However, in 1760, in the middle of the war, a new political newspaper, the *Auszug der Neuesten Weltbegebenheiten*, was established in Stralsund. Between 1772 and 1935 the publication of the newspaper continued under the name *Stralsundische Zeitung (SZ)*, and for this reason it will be referred to from its inception as *SZ* in this paper. Issued at least three times a week and with many special editions, the *SZ* was similar to its predecessors by containing mainly diverse political news from different European

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18. *Critische Nachrichten* 1.7 (1750).

19. *Ibid.*

countries; presumably most of this was taken from the Hamburg press. Classified advertising introduced a kind of local journalism announcing events in the Masonic lodge, concerts or theatrical performances. These advertisements reveal much about the diversity of urban everyday life and Swedish-German connections on a micro-historic level. Short news items on runaway servants, stolen watches, new books, wines imported from France, and travellers from Sweden all crowd a very small space. Swedish news in the *SZ* was most likely taken from the *Inrikes-Tidningar*, a newspaper that was likewise established in 1760. Nearly every issue of the *SZ* was introduced with news from Stockholm. The newspaper acquired a semi-official status as it was granted the privilege to publish new bills of the provincial government as well as court judgements. Additionally, it is obvious that the Swedish government used the newspaper to spread counter-propaganda, for instance, during the 1788-1790 Swedish-Russian War or the Napoleonic Wars. As the regency required a loyal channel of communication to the German-speaking public, bilingual and translation competence became a prerequisite for governance.<sup>20</sup>

## V. The Gjørwell network: consolidating connections

The publication of learned journals in Greifswald was resumed in 1763 with the *Urtheile über gelehrte Sachen*. In 1765 Dähnert also edited a translation of a Swedish journal, the *Schwedisches Oeconomisches Wochenblatt*. From 1765 on, the *Urtheile über gelehrte Sachen* was re-edited under its old title *Neue Critische Nachrichten*. Dähnert had apparently handed over his editorship to the newly installed professor of history, Johann Georg Peter Möller (1729-1807). Möller had been a private tutor in a noble and influential Swedish-German family that had lived in Sweden during the war. As a result, Möller had acquired a profound knowledge of the Swedish language and history. His patron's contacts to the 'right circles' in Stockholm paved the way for Möller's position in Greifswald. At the time, Carl Christoffer Gjørwell (1731-1811) was one of the most important figures in Swedish Enlightenment press.

Since the 1750s, Gjørwell dedicated himself to enduring journalistic activity. A recent study on Swedish press history lists a modest selection of Gjørwell's publications between 1754 and 1799, comprising no less than 34

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20. On the Stralsund press see Önnersfors, 'Svenska nyheter på tyska', p. 31-39 and further references quoted therein.

titles.<sup>21</sup> Between 1745 and 1748, Gjørwell had studied in Greifswald, and this was an experience he fondly cherished. According to his own accounts, Dähnert had taught him his journalistic skills. In a marginal annotation on one of the letter drafts to his former teacher Dähnert, Gjørwell stated that his time in Swedish Pomerania had laid ‘the foundation stone for *Mercurius* [Gjørwell’s first paper] and all its children and grandchildren’.<sup>22</sup> The thematic spectrum covered by Gjørwell’s journals and papers ranged from purely political news, review journals, and historical source editions to educational journals for readers with special interests. For example, he first edited journals addressing a female reading public and the youth of his day respectively. Most of those projects were, however, short-lived and Gjørwell worked under the persistent threat of permanent bankruptcy. One of his longest-lived projects was the *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar*, which was published between 1781 and 1788. Its title suggests that it was an edition by a typical eighteenth-century society. However, Gjørwell himself was the initiator, secretary and only member of this ‘society’. A substantial number of subscribers were nevertheless enlisted to his project, among them important representatives of the economical, political and cultural spheres in Sweden. The *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* covered a broad range of topics, including an article on the political organisation of individual countries and parts of the Swedish realm, reviews of academic works, culture and global curiosities: already in its first volume we find references to St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Boston, Mannheim, Munich, Kaiserslautern, Padua, Sorö, Harlem, Batavia and Norway. The register lists the headword ‘gödsel’ (‘dung’) immediately before ‘Goethe’, which illustrates the breadth of the publication in a drastic way.

At the end of the 1760s, when it became clear that Dähnert had given up his active editorship, Gjørwell began his correspondence from Stockholm to Möller in Greifswald:

First I want to tell you with what great pleasure I read *N. Crit. Nachr.*, which now is one of the best learned journals in print. I scrutinized especially closely the cultivation and correctness of all the articles. From your historical reviews, sir, I readily conclude your own skilfulness in putting pen to paper.<sup>23</sup>

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21. See Karl-Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, *Den svenska pressens historia*, vol. I: *I begynnelsen (före 1830)* (Stockholm 2000), p. 112-116.

22. That is: ‘lade Grunden för *Mercurius* med alla dess Barn och Barnbarn’. Gjørwell to Schwarz, 31 Aug 1749, KVA (Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien), *Bergianska brevsamlingen*, I.257-258. Also quoted in Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 214.

23. ‘Först vill jag säga M.H. med hur stort nöje jag läser *N. Crit. Nachr.* som nu äro en af de bästa L. tidn. som på något ställe utkomma. En särdeles god granskning och till smak rätta i alle artiklar. Af MH Histor. Recensioner sluter jag lätt til MH skickelighet att sielf sätta

With these lines, intensive correspondence was initiated between Gjørwell and a German intellectual. For the period between 1776 and 1787, I have found about fifty major cross-references between *Stockholms Lärda Tidningar*, *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* (both edited by Gjørwell) and *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* (edited by Möller).<sup>24</sup> Gjørwell also frequently quoted from the Stralsund press, a connection that has not yet been researched owing to the vastness of the newspaper output. The relations between the journals are evidenced not only in that they frequently mentioned each other in positive terms, but also a rich exchange of news material is observable, filtered through the process of translation. Swedish news was published in German translation in Greifswald and German news in Swedish translation in Stockholm. This contact was intensified when the Swede Jacob Wallenius (1761-1817) arrived in Greifswald in 1785 and became Möller's assistant. Wallenius had made Gjørwell's acquaintance prior to his departure to Swedish Pomerania. He had promised him to communicate current news to Stockholm, which he did with immediate effect. Around a hundred letters from Wallenius to Gjørwell have been preserved, and these resulted in about thirty notices or articles in Gjørwell's publications. Wallenius was also engaged in a project launched by Möller that was of fundamental importance for the exchange of information across language barriers: a Swedish-German dictionary published in three volumes between 1782 and 1790 (and an 1801-1808 second edition initiated by Gjørwell). For a long period Möller's dictionary was the standard source for the translation of Swedish into German and vice versa, and it is without doubt a major contribution to cultural exchange between Sweden and the German-speaking states.<sup>25</sup>

Gjørwell's correspondence, which is kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm, comprises several thousand letters. He maintained several other German contacts aside from those in Greifswald, such as August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735-1809), who edited the important magazine *Stats-Anzeigen* in Göttingen. From various references and sources, we can conclude that Möller, Gjørwell and Schlözer sustained a three-way information exchange that deserves further attention.

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penna på papperet, frågar derföre om M.H. ej har något arbete under händer?' Gjørwell to Möller, 16 Sep 1768, KB (Kungliga Biblioteket), Ep G 8:3. Also quoted in Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 219.

24. Unpublished table of cross-references compiled by the author.

25. Regarding the position of the Swedish language in the province of Swedish Pomerania, see also Andreas Önnersfors, 'Svenska språkets ställning i Östersjöprovinsen Pommern 1648-1815', in *Svenska språkets historia i Östersjöområdet*, ed. Svante Lagman *et al.* (Tartu 2002), p. 81-98.

Gjörwell was approached by newcomers seeking to utilise their cultural competence and to take advantage of his Swedish sources. This was the case with Daniel Heinrich Thomas (1739-1808). Thomas, translator and a secretary in the provincial government of Swedish Pomerania, worked on a weekly journal of predominantly moral intent, the *Stralsundisches Wochenblatt*. It occasionally published edifying episodes of Swedish history. Gjörwell mentioned the journal in his *Stockholms Lärda Tidningar*: ‘Sweden is, of course, described in it from its pleasant side and several of its excellent traits are communicated with a delightful exactness [...]’.<sup>26</sup> There is no doubt that the press in the Pomeranian province contributed to the propagation and dissemination of a positive image of Sweden to a German reading public. In the same year, Gjörwell and Thomas commenced their correspondence. Thomas planned to edit a *Schwedisches Magazin* containing articles on Swedish history, political organisation, art and literature as well as biographies of illustrious Swedes. He asked Gjörwell for permission to use his journals *Samlaren* and *Swenska Mercurius* as sources. It was clearly Thomas’s intention to translate parts of them into German.<sup>27</sup>

## VI. ‘In the centre of Swedish and German literature’: a generation of translators

Within the framework of mutual transfer of culture, Sweden’s possession of Swedish Pomerania promoted the development of a certain language competence. In Stockholm, members of the German parish were translators, among them priests and teachers such as Timotheus Lütkeemann, Johann Erichson, Christoph Wilhelm Lüdecke, Hermann Wilhelm Hachenburg and later the Romantics Karl Lappe and Karl Nernst. Most of them had connections to Swedish Pomerania, as in the example of Ernst Klein, who attempted to establish a German journal in Stockholm that was largely based on translated Swedish material. In the port town of Wismar on German ground, the brethren Kaspar Gabriel and Daniel Gröning translated works related to KVA editions, lectures and memorial speeches, and additionally philological works. A complete group of translators emerged from the academic staff in Greifswald. The German Christian Nettelbladt translated historical works, followed by

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26. ‘Sverige billigtvis i det samma alltid har en behaglig sida och med en glad tillgifvenhet flere lysande drag meddelas [...]’ *Stockholms Lärda Tidningar* 5.47 (1780).

27. Correspondence Thomas to Gjörwell 1780, KB, Ep G 7:7. See also Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 294.



the Swede Johan Benzelstierna. Dähnert expanded the field to law, politics, economy and the press. Möller adopted the same course, but also added travel literature. During his employment as editor of the scholarly journal, dozens of articles and notes were translated from Swedish sources. Having translated a treatise on military history, his assistant Wallenius was – although very much later – even appointed as official translator for the government. Möller, Wallenius and the group responsible for the edition of the Swedish-German dictionary contributed substantially to the facilitation of translation. Friedrich Rühls translated Swedish literature of the Gustavian era by authors like Johan Henrik Kellgren, Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna, Carl Gustaf Leopold and Gustav III himself. The translator of a famous Swedish eighteenth-century cookery book written by Cajsa Warg remains unfortunately unknown. Ernst Moritz Arndt, too, dedicated himself to literary translation and acquired a leading position when Swedish law was translated into German after the dissolution of the Old German Empire in 1806. The law professor Karl von Schildener assisted the undertaking and was one of the first to translate old Germanic law from Nordic sources into German. His colleague Emanuel Friedrich Hagemeister translated Swedish naval jurisdiction. In the fields of science and medicine, Christian Ehrenfried Weigel jr., Alexander Bernhard Kölpin and Carl Asmund Rudolphi translated Swedish contributions reliably. In Stralsund, the headmaster of the local grammar school Christian Heinrich Groskurd as well as his brother Just Ernst specialised in translating Swedish topographic literature, and the aforementioned secretary Thomas turned to literary publications of Swedish drama. He passed control of his office to his son, who also translated Swedish law into German after 1806. On the island of Rügen, a ‘literary’ priest named Ludwig Theobul Kosgarten (1758-1818) translated a Swedish catechism into German, and his colleague Heinrich Gerken translated a topographical work on Stockholm as well as Swedish travel literature.

This list of selected examples could easily be expanded and proves that translation was an important factor of the lively cultural exchange during the Enlightenment. Wallenius thought himself to be living ‘in the epicentre of German and Swedish literature; everyday I am confronted with books and educated people’.<sup>28</sup>

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28. That is: ‘in einem Mittelpuncte teutscher und schwedischer Literatur; täglich verkehre ich mit Büchern und Gelehrten’. Jacob Wallenius, *Einige Begebenheiten meines Lebens* (1761-1800), Kirchenarchiv Bergen/Rügen, III/A3/4, part I, p. 114-115. Also quoted in Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 299.

## VII. Energy versus elegance: a debate on translation

At the end of the Swedish period, cross-cultural competence had grown to such an extent that we find an independent treatment of the Swedish language and the style of its translation. The following example is taken from the popular field of memorial poetry and literature commemorating important occasions.<sup>29</sup> In March 1792, the Swedish King Gustav III was assassinated at the Stockholm opera. This event sparked enormous media coverage in the European press; around one hundred articles in German journals alone were devoted to the murder, the subsequent trial and various conspiracy theories. Already, since 1788, the image of Sweden as a vanguard of Enlightenment had changed. Instead, the media focussed on the disastrous conflict with Russia (lasting until 1790), the uprising of parts of the Finnish army, and Finland's desire to secede from Sweden. Swedish domestic politics also featured frequently in the German newspapers, as the king increasingly lost control over an ardently oppositional nobility. The country was divided into 'Gustavians' and 'Anti-Gustavians'.

The above-mentioned Wallenius, the town commander of Stralsund, Franz Georg Pollett, and his son Carl Georg belonged to the former group. They had become acquainted in a Masonic lodge. Father and son had served in the army during the war and witnessed the rise of the opposition. After the Swedish-Russian war, Carl Georg quit the army to study philosophy and languages in Göttingen but died of an infectious fever only a few months after his enrolment. In deep sorrow, Wallenius wrote a poem entitled *Äreminne öfver framledne majoren CG Pollett* ('Panegyric upon deceased major CG Pollett'), which was reviewed with praise in *Neueste Critische Nachrichten*.<sup>30</sup> Wallenius's text began with a quotation from *The Songs of Ossian*: 'Happy are they who die in youth at the time of their renown.'<sup>31</sup> Pollett's life is described as the life of an innocent and brave hero. He predictably fights with fortitude and never gives up his loyalty to the king; he is the leader who inspires his troops to glory, even if sacrifices are required. Pollett's popularity caused the clergyman and poet Kosegarten in 1794 to publish a German translation.

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29. A slightly different version of the subsequent part is printed in Andreas Önnersfors, 'The Idea and the text: a note on transcultural historical text analysis', in *Perspectives on text and context*, ed. Stig Örjan Ohlsson and Kristel Zilmer (Tartu 2003), p. 145-157. See also Önnersfors, *Svenska Pommern*, p. 410-411.

30. *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* 19.48 (1793).

31. Jakob Wallenius, *Äreminne öfver framledne majoren Carl August Pollett* (Greifswald 1793).

Kosegarten was not only devoted to Enlightenment natural theology but also wrote several narrative and dramatic texts, deeply inspired by the *Sturm und Drang* aesthetics of his time. Besides, he translated English authors such as John Milton and Adam Smith into German. In 1794, Kosegarten published a collection of smaller texts under the title *Rhapsodien*. Here we find the translation of Wallenius's panegyric, with the new title of 'Mnemonion'. Kosegarten claimed in the preface that he had to adapt the text to the 'taste of the German readers'.<sup>32</sup> To reach this goal, he imbued it with more 'energy' and enhanced its 'simplicity'. Kosegarten also claimed that the French 'eloge' or eulogy influenced the Swedish genre of 'Äreminne'. The French Academy used the 'eloge', which was based on antique rhetoric traditions, to commemorate its members or historical persons.

According to Kosegarten, French 'euloges' contained 'many phrases', were 'elegant', and 'shining' but lacked any real message. It was therefore difficult to translate them into the more 'matter-of-fact' and 'rough' German idiom. Kosegarten stated that it was his aim to imbue the text with more life: he achieved a 'disparate totality' by adding some notes, clarifying some passages and 'illustrating' some situations according to his own interpretation. Kosegarten's ambition was to make a clear distinction between the German and the Swedish idioms, which he claimed were influenced by the French. The rejection of the French style in poetry and literature was a general issue in German-speaking countries as early as the 1740s. But under the influence of *Sturm und Drang* and pre-Romantic ideology, this development accelerated. Indirectly, Kosegarten criticized Swedish literature for imitating French patterns.

In the following quotations of two different parts of Wallenius's text, we can follow how Kosegarten creates this sentiment.

Wallenius 1793  
*Äreminne öfver framledne majoren Carl August Pollett* (p. 8)

Min Läsare, hvem Du ock är, stanna några ögonblick inför denna tafla. – Må en röst tränga till dit öra, förgänglighetens son! här föll den raske ynglingen midt uti sitt lopp. Krigsman! här vilar en ung hjelte. Lärde! här ett af de sällan upgående snillen, som tidigt visade sig och tidigt försvann. Medborgare! här, redan här, den redlige undersåten, som alltid tänkte väl, som blottade

Kosegarten 1794  
'Mnemonion' (p. 240 in *Rhapsodien*)

Wer Du auch seyst, o Wanderer, verweile einige stille Augenblicke vor diesem Mahle – Sohn der Vergänglichkeit, hier erlosch ein Jüngling in seinem vollsten Lodern! Krieger, hier fiel ein Held! Weiser, hier ruht ein Liebling Uraniens! Bürger, hier schläft unser Brüder Einer. der treuern, der biedern, der redlichen und tapfern Einer!

32. Ludwig Theobald Kosegarten, *Rhapsodien* (Leipzig 1794).

sitt bröst åt faran och öfvervann hänne, som  
hedrade det ärefulla namn han bar, och i  
alla afseenden öfverträffade sin tid och sina  
år.

In the first part of the text, Wallenius asks the reader to think about the monument erected in honour of Pollett. The ‘son of transience’ – who fell in the prime of his life – will then hear the voice. By emulating Pollett’s life, warriors, scholars and patriots will find a pattern of heroism, acuity and loyalty. In Kosegarten’s translation, the reader is transformed into a wanderer. The youngster did not fall: he was ‘extinguished’ in the midst of his most ardent glow. No scholars are addressed but ‘the wise’, and the ‘righteous subject’ is recast as a ‘brother’.

Another passage deals with the sea battle of Svensksund, interpreted by the Swedes as a victory. A scene is described in which Pollett junior, his brother, their father, and King Gustav III meet shortly after the battle.

Wallenius 1793  
*Äreminne öfver framledne majoren Carl  
August Pollett* (p. 23-24)

Det är GUSTAF DEN TREDJE som så full  
af odödlighetens hopp, med stillhet i sin  
blick, står på förödelsens spira och tänker  
på sitt folks räddning; då var POLLETT  
nalkas denne Konung, alltid stor, men störst  
i olyckan. Närmast vid hans sida en Fält-  
herre prydd med silfverhår. Eller se din like,  
i hvars ansikte ungdomen ännu rodnar! Du  
känner dessa krigsmän kommande ur Vesu-  
ven? Tacka Försynens nåd, känslofulle Son;  
där Din Fader! Var tröstad; Din Broder om-  
famnar dig, och Din Konung skall skära en  
lager åt din hjessa. – Hvem förmår teckna  
detta möte? Hvem har färger att fullborda  
detta?

Kosegarten 1794  
‘Mnemonion’ (p. 254-55 in *Rhapsodien*)

Die Schatten weichen. Der Morgen däm-  
mert. Umgossen von seinen röthlichen Glu-  
then steht Gustav, ruhiggroß, voll Vorge-  
fühls der Unsterblichkeit, entschlossen zum  
Siege oder zum Tode. Zu seiner Rechten  
steht ein grauer Feldherr. Zu seiner Linken  
steht ein frischblühender Jüngling. – Näher wallet  
in des Morgens lindem Hauche eine freund-  
schaftliche Flagge. Sie führet meinen Lieb-  
ling. Er erblickt die drei Krieger. Er erkennt  
sie... erkennt den König... seinen Vater...  
seinen Bruder... und sinkt in ihre Arme!

Gustav III is filled with hope of eternity: he cares about the salvation of his people and is always great, although ‘greatest in misfortune’. Pollett junior approaches the king and, by his side, finds his grey-haired father. The warriors come from the bottom of a volcano, and now embrace each other as brothers and fathers. The king cuts a branch of laurel. Wallenius exclaims: ‘Who is able to depict this meeting? Who possesses the appropriate colours to achieve this?’

In Kosegarten's version it is not a volcano that glows, it is the break of dawn that surrounds the scenery in a burning blaze. Pollet flows in the 'mild breeze of Morning' and bursts out in staccato when he recognizes 'the king... his father... his brother... and falls into their arms!' No rhetorical question is needed to illustrate this dramatic peak.

Did German readers really perceive his translation as more fitting with their own idiom, as Kosegarten claims? The review of *Rhapsodien* in the *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* suggests the contrary.<sup>33</sup> It disagrees with Kosegarten's view that Wallenius had adopted the French style. It criticizes Kosegarten for not having understood the Swedish text properly and for making mistakes in his translation. It seems obvious that his assumptions on 'cultural values' within the Swedish text and his own translation were exaggerated. Although Wallenius's panegyric and Kosegarten's translation do not belong to the sphere of 'high literature', the episode clearly states a great awareness and independent treatment of language, translation and cultural influences.

## VIII. Translating the Enlightenment in transcultural regions

In transcultural regions different cultures transgress borders through mutual influences. They promote an atmosphere for translation and transfer in which these are to be understood as metaphors for the exchange process of ideas, but which can also be studied through concrete examples. In the case of Swedish Pomerania, a transcultural setting was an important ingredient in the spread of typical elements of Enlightenment intellectual culture. Between 1720 and 1815 in Swedish Pomerania, a group of twenty to twenty-five intellectuals participated in the translation process from German to Swedish and vice versa. Through cross-references in newspapers, journals and books, competence in and familiarity with the Swedish language and culture was established. Family and trade relations and educated networks, combined with governmental interest in these matters, supported this development. Careers in Swedish service were attractive for many Pomeranians. Together, all this constituted a rich climate of cultural border-crossings. If we wish to point out its elements, we could isolate at least four:

1) *Instant transfer*. News, reviews, academic and other works were *transferred* from one culture to the other, demanding fast and efficient *means of*

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33. *Neueste Critische Nachrichten* 20.29 (1794).

*translation* and creating an atmosphere of *interrelation*. The efficiency of the transfer was also dependent upon transportation.

2) *Contrastive reasoning*. A permanent contrast was constructed between the two cultures involved. Contrastive reasoning occurs in all kinds of texts: juridical, political, economical, and poetic.

3) *Coexistence as a motif*. Because of the close relationship between different cultures in transcultural regions, the organisation of coexistence was not only a political and economical task, but also emerged as a relevant motif in textual sources of various kinds.

4) *Authors and readers with cross-cultural competence*. Because of the transcultural setting, authors and readers alike developed a multiple cultural competence, which enabled them to both 'write' and 'read' the transcultural connotations of texts.



HUIB J. ZUIDERVAART

Science for the public:  
the translation of popular texts on experimental  
philosophy into the Dutch language  
in mid-eighteenth century

In 1736 a Dutch translation was published of *A Course of Experimental Philosophy* (1735), a textbook on Newtonian physics written by the English mathematician John Theophilus Desaguliers. This solid quarto volume had been translated by an unnamed Dutch translator, who complained in his preface that as most of the featured topics had never before been discussed in the Dutch language, many artificial words had had to be invented.<sup>1</sup> Seen from the perspective of the common Dutch reader, ‘experimental philosophy’ – or perhaps better ‘Newtonian physics’ – was indeed a rather new subject at the time. It was, however, a booming topic. In the 1730s, Newtonian physics was becoming highly fashionable in the Netherlands, even to the extent that it inspired the Dutch scholar Petrus van Musschenbroek to produce his own textbook on physics in Dutch, the *Beginsels der Natuurkunde* (1736; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1739), aimed especially at his ‘fellow compatriots’.<sup>2</sup> A fine illustration of this popular movement in the Netherlands was provided in 1737 by Jan Wagenaar, the Dutch translator of another English book on Newtonian physics. In his preface, he wrote:

[These days] everywhere societies are founded, in which one deliberates about physics and performs experiments. Various extraordinary persons take great pains in collecting many and costly apparatuses; they entertain their friends less at appetizing spices and liquor, than at a series of physical observations. There is a kind of envy among the common people. Every one seeks to become a connoisseur of natural philosophy. The merchant leaves his desk to work with the air pump, and he does not hesitate to work up into a sweat on the composition of some apparatus. The artisan rests from his work to set himself to these things in

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1. ‘Want schoon de schryver zyne gedagten wel op een klare wys teneër stelle, waren de meeste zaken evenwel in onze taal nooit verhandeld, en bygevolg de Kunst-woorden nieuw.’ ‘Berigt van den Vertaler’, in *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Opgemaakt [...] Uit het Engels vertaald door een Liefhebber van de Natuurkunde*, ed. John Theophilus Desaguliers (Amsterdam, Isaac Tirion, 1736), unnumbered page 2. In 1746 and 1751, two other volumes were published.
  2. From the title page: ‘Beschreeven ten dienste der landgenooten’.



which he takes far more pleasure. Yes, if one would believe it, even farmers who one would usually regard as examples of stupidity, are practising mathematics and are becoming natural philosophers.<sup>3</sup>

The sudden outburst of interest in natural philosophy in general, and more specifically in experiments and scientific instruments, generated a strong demand for popular literature on these topics. Dutch publishers tried to fill this gap in the market, printing various Dutch translations of books and articles of foreign origin. In the following decades Dutch translations of works by English scholars such as Baker, Cotes, Derham, Desaguliers, Hauwksbee, Keill, Martin, Newton, Ray, Smith, and others were produced. But Holland, being one of the main centres of European book trade, offered Dutch translations of scientific texts of German and French origin also, including editions of works by Wolff and Winkler, or Colonne, Nollet and Regnault.

In this paper, I will outline the reasons for the emergence of the popular interest in physics. Further, I will outline the role played by Dutch translations of foreign literature in this popularisation. A particular focus of this investigation is on the translation of books on experimental physics: Which books were translated, by whom, and in what way? What do we know about the networks in which the translators operated? How was the process of translating handled? With what kinds of problems were translators confronted? What was their contribution to the noble phenomena of the circulation and transmission of knowledge, a process that touches the essence of Western civilisation? As recent historical research has shown, the processes of formation, spread and use of natural knowledge cannot be regarded as the products of an autonomous universal process but instead as the result of cultural influences, varying in time and place. The microhistory at hand intends to highlight some of the parameters of this process.

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3. 'Men rigt overal gezelschappen op, daar men de Natuurkunde verhandelt, en proeven doet. Verscheide byzondere Persoonen maaken hun werk van het verzamelen van veel en kostbaare Werktuigen, en onthaalen hunne Vrienden minder op smaakelyke spyze en drank, dan op eene reeks van natuurkundige Waarneemingen. Daar heerscht een soort van een' naayver onder 't Gemeen. Elk zoekt een Natuurkenner te worden. De Koopman trekt zyne hand van de Schryftafel, om die aan de Lugtpomp te slaan, en ontziet zig niet daar aan, en zelfs aan het samenstellen van Werktuigen, tot zweetens toe te arbeiden. De Handwerksman verpoost zig van zyn werk, door een ander, daar hy meer vermaak in scheidt. Ja, zou men 't gelooven, Landluiden zelve, die men als voorbeelden van domheid plagt aan te zien, oefenen zig in de Wiskunde, en worden Natuurkenners.' [Jan Wagenaar], 'Voorreden van den Overzetter' ('Introduction by the translator'), in *Filozofische Onderwyzer of Algemeene Schets der Hedendaagsche Ondervindelyke Natuurkunde*, ed. Benjamin Martin (Amsterdam, I. Tirion, 1737; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1744; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. F. Houltuyn, 1765). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

## I. The Rise of Newtonianism in the Dutch Republic

Natural philosophy played an increasingly prominent role in bourgeois culture in eighteenth century Europe. The apparent success of experimental methods in the seventeenth century resulted in the widespread popularisation of 'natural philosophy' or experimental physics in the eighteenth century, with effects in all branches of elite and bourgeois Enlightenment society. Various aspects of this cultural phenomenon have already been highlighted.<sup>4</sup> An important insight of these studies is the finding that the construction of scientific facts and involvement of researchers in scientific activities is to a large extent a result of a complex social process, involving multiple interactions on personal, instrumental, and socio-cultural levels. Broadly speaking, the Netherlands followed this European trend, although with specific accentuations.<sup>5</sup>

The movement towards the popularisation of Newtonian philosophy in the Netherlands began within Dutch academic circles around 1715. The starting point had been the publication in 1713 of a second edition of Newton's *Principia* (1687), of which a pirated edition had been produced in Amsterdam in 1714. This edition had been favourably discussed by two scholarly French-language journals published in the Netherlands (the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne* and the *Journal littéraire* [!]). The reviewer of the latter was probably the young lawyer Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande, one of the editors, who would personally make Newton's acquaintance in 1715 during a Dutch embassy voyage to London. The same year, the influential Leiden professor of medicine, Herman Boerhaave, delivered a lecture in which he recommended Newton's empirical-mathematical approach as the most appropriate for the study of nature. However, the introduction of Newton's ideas

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4. Cf. for instance Jan Golinsky, *Science as public culture: chemistry and the Enlightenment in Britain, 1760-1820* (Cambridge 1992); Simon Schaffer, 'Natural philosophy and public spectacle in the 18<sup>th</sup> century', *History of science* 21 (1983), p. 1-43; Steven Shapin, 'A Scholar and a gentleman: the problematic identity of the scientific practitioner in early modern England', *History of science* 29 (1991), p. 279-327; Larry Stewart, *The Rise of public science: rhetoric, technology, and natural philosophy in Newtonian Britain, 1660-1750* (Cambridge 1992); Geoffrey V. Sutton, *Science for a polite society: gender, culture & the demonstration of Enlightenment* (Colorado 1995); and Alice N. Walters, 'Conversation pieces: science and politeness in eighteenth-century England', *History of science* 35 (1997), p. 121-154.
  5. Cf. Lissa Roberts, 'Going Dutch: situating science in the Dutch Enlightenment', in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*, ed. William Clark, Jan Golinsky, and Simon Schaffer (Chicago, London 1999), p. 350-388; and Henricus A. M. Snelders, 'Professors, amateurs and learned societies: the organisation of the natural sciences', in *The Dutch Republic in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: decline, Enlightenment and revolution*, ed. Margareth Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt (Ithaca 1992), p. 308-323.

into the Leiden University curriculum had to wait until 's-Gravesande's appointment as professor at the institution in 1717. In this position, 's-Gravesande would become one of the most influential Newtonians in Europe.

The demonstration-lecture, in which a practitioner lectured on the physical world and elucidated his words through a variety of physical demonstrations, had emerged in Europe in the early eighteenth century. The first lectures of this kind were most likely given by Pierre Polinière in the French salons of the Louis XIV period. 's-Gravesande had probably attended such a lecture during his trip to London, at that time most likely performed by the Newtonian Desaguliers, who had commenced such lessons around 1713. In any case, 's-Gravesande put this method of instruction at the heart of his pedagogy. His Latin textbook on Newtonian physics, published during the years 1719-1721, offered the first full illustrated transcription of this new style of philosophical teaching. The book, entitled *Physices Elementa Mathematica, Experimentis Confirmata. Sive Introductio Ad Philosophiam Newtonianam* ('Mathematical Principles of Physics, Proved by Experiments, with an Introduction on Newtonian Philosophy'), became very influential. The didactic strategy that 's-Gravesande used in this book for the instruction of Newtonian physics was foremost based on experiments and demonstrations with a wide variety of apparatus. 's-Gravesande had developed these scientific instruments in collaboration with the Leiden instrument maker Jan van Musschenbroek. Their designs became so popular that they were manufactured in abundance for the many cabinets of experimental philosophy that emerged throughout Europe during the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, this convincing and sometimes amusingly playful rhetoric was not the main reason for the growing trend in the Netherlands towards the popularisation of experimental philosophy.

## II. Physico-theology, dissenters and the popularisation of Newtonianism in the Dutch Republic

For many in the Calvinist Netherlands, it was of foremost importance that Newton and his epigons had restored the possibility of a divine providence in their philosophical principles. Providence had been absent in the rational systems of natural philosophy constructed by seventeenth-century philosophers, including René Descartes and Baruch de Spinoza. In reaction to these 'Radical Enlightenment' ideas, a more moderate form of Enlightenment emerged,

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6. Cf. Peter de Clercq, *At the sign of the oriental lamp: the Musschenbroek workshop in Leiden, 1660-1750* (Rotterdam 1997).

in which theology reclaimed priority. According to Newton and his followers, the order and regularity of the universe existed only due to the grace of God; it was solely due to his responsibility towards his creatures that the laws of nature were formed in God's universe. Thus, in addition to studying the Bible, the study of nature was a legitimate way to learn about God's meaning and purposes for the world. Accordingly, investigating nature with an air pump, telescope, microscope, or barometer equated exactly with glorifying the Creator.

This kind of reasoning was advocated by the Dutch burgomaster of Purmerend, the physician Bernard Nieuwentyt, an early adept of Newton. His elaborate book *Het Regt Gebruik der Werelt Beschouwingen, ter Overtuiging van Ongodisten en Ongelovigen Aangetoont*, ('The Right Use of World Views, Demonstrated for the Sake of Convincing Atheists'), published in Amsterdam, in 1715, would become one of the bestselling titles of the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, reaching its seventh edition in 1759. Nieuwentyt introduced a genre of writing in the Netherlands that is termed by Jan Bots as 'physico-theological'.<sup>7</sup> This expression derives from the English book *Physico-theology* by William Derham that was published in London in 1713 and was translated into Dutch in 1728. Both Nieuwentyt and Derham preached the same method of pious glorification of God through the study of nature, in accordance with the principles formulated by Newton.

This divine inspiration was the main reason that the earliest interest in Newton's physics emerging outside scholarly circles was observable in the Dutch Mennonite community. The members of this pious – but dissenting – religious group were excluded from Netherlands governmental offices, but through fortuitous trade and manufacture many of them had become very wealthy. Mennonites led a humble lifestyle by tradition, with a highly personal spiritual perception of their belief. The physico-theological aspect of Newtonianism legitimised the study of nature for this group, who had always been convinced of a divine scheme for mankind. So for Mennonites, the idea that nature is regulated by laws was easily acceptable, as was the notion that nature could be manipulated for the benefit of mankind. It is a small wonder that one of the earliest water-pump factories in the Netherlands was owned by a Mennonite. This was Daniel van Mollem, the same merchant to whom the aforementioned Van Musschenbroek had dedicated his textbook on Newtonian physics. Neither was it a coincidence that, as demonstrated in Bots's pioneering study of Dutch physico-theological literature, a number of translators of texts on natural philosophy were related to the Dutch Mennonite or Remonstrant community. The study of nature offered these dissenters not

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7. Cf. Jan Bots, *Tussen Descartes en Darwin: geloof en natuurwetenschap in de achttiende eeuw in Nederland* (Assen 1972), preface.

only the possibility of spiritual contemplation but also the possibility of economic innovation and social emancipation.<sup>8</sup>

One of the earliest Dutch translations of a Newtonian physico-theological text was a booklet produced in 1716 by the Mennonite scholar Lambert ten Kate Hermanszoon (1674-1731).<sup>9</sup> This was entitled *Den schepper en zyn bestier te kennen in zyne schepselen; volgens het licht der reden en wiskonst* ('The Creator and his governance known through the study of his creatures, following the light of reason and mathematics'). It was a translation of George Cheyne's *Philosophical principles of natural religion*, of which a first edition had been published in London in 1705. Ten Kate wrote a large introduction to the book, in which he praised Newton for having invented a satisfactory method of reasoning in natural philosophy; in Newton's approach, the hand of God clearly could be recognized.<sup>10</sup> The translation itself was presented in a free style, and was based partly on an earlier extract that had been published by Pieter le Clercq in the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, with adaptations and additions made by Ten Kate.<sup>11</sup>

Within the Mennonite community, Lambert ten Kate Hermanszoon was a most interesting and influential figure. A man of many skills, he has been described as 'a curious aesthetician, who apart from being an expert on art and a collector, was a grain merchant by trade and a linguist, theologian, physicist and mathematician by vocation'.<sup>12</sup> He was one of the earliest acquaintances of the Danzig-born instrument maker Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit, who had settled in Amsterdam in 1717. That same year, Ten Kate published an article on Fahrenheit's meteorological instruments, and the representation of

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8. Cf. Ernst Hamm, 'Mennonites, science and progress in the Dutch Enlightenment', in *The Global and the local: the history of science and cultural integration of Europe: [electronic] proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> international conference of the European Society for the History of Science (Cracow, Poland, September 6-9, 2006)*, ed. Michal Kokowski (Cracow 2007), p. 650-657; online edition: <<http://www.2iceshs.cyfronet.pl/proceedings.html>>.

9. Cf. Rienk Vermij, 'The Formation of the Newtonian philosophy', *British journal for the history of science* 36 (2003), p. 183-200. For Ten Kate, see C. L. van Cate, *Lambert ten Kate Hermanszoon (1674-1731), taalgeleerde en kunstminnaar* (Utrecht 1987). For his scientific researches see also my 'Reflecting "popular culture": the introduction, diffusion and construction of the reflecting telescope in the Netherlands', *Annals of science* 61 (2004), p. 407-452 (esp. p. 420-421).

10. Cf. Lambert ten Kate, *Den schepper en zyn bestier te kennen in zyne schepselen; volgens het licht der reden en wiskonst. Tot opbouw van eerbiedigen godsdienst, en vernietiging van alle grondslag van Atheisterij, alsmede tot een regtzinnig gebruik van de Philosophie* (Amsterdam, Pieter Visser, 1716), p. xv-xvi ('voorreden').

11. Cf. *ibid.*, p. xvii, referring to the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, vol. III, part 1.

12. 'Deze merkwaardige aestheticus, die behalve kunstkenner en verzamelaar, van beroep graanhandelaar en van roeping taalgeleerde was [...].' Jan G. van Gelder, 'Lambert ten Kate als kunstverzamelaar', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 21 (1970), p. 139-186.

these in Ten Kate's own cabinet of scientific instruments testifies to their close mutual relationship. So it could well have been Ten Kate who stimulated Fahrenheit to start a series of regular lessons on natural philosophy in 1718 for a group of 'Mennonite enthusiasts'.<sup>13</sup> Experimental demonstrations were at the heart of these gatherings.<sup>14</sup> A surviving manuscript with lecture notes by one of Fahrenheit's students gives evidence of these lessons.<sup>15</sup> From 1721 onward, Fahrenheit used 's-Gravesande's Latin textbook in his physics lessons. These lessons were continued well into the eighteenth century. In 1761, the Mennonite Seminary, in which most Dutch Mennonite preachers were educated, even installed its own cabinet of instruments for experimental philosophy.<sup>16</sup>

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13. That is: 'mennoniste liefhebbers'. Cf. Pieter van der Star, *Fahrenheit's letters to Leibniz and Boerhaave* (Amsterdam 1983), p. 104, n. 11.

14. Cf. Ernst Cohen and Wilhelma A. T. Cohen-De Meester, 'Daniël Gabriel Fahrenheit', *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Natuurkunde (Eerste sectie)* 16.2 (1936); and Van der Star, *Fahrenheit's letters*, p. 80. Two papers by Fahrenheit were published in the physico-theological journal edited by his assistant Willem van Ranouw, *Kabinet der Natuurlyke Historien, Wetenschappen, Konsten en Handwerken*, 9 vols (Amsterdam 1719-1724). This compilation of assorted outlandish literature was published by several Mennonite publishers: Hendrik Strik, 1719-1721; Zacharias Moele and Johannes de Ruiters, 1722; Balthasar Lakeman, 1722-1723. A last part with contributions by Lambert ten Kate on 'Plantgewassen en Muggen' was published in 1727. The series was reprinted twice, in 1732 and in 1758-1759.

15. Jacob Ploos van Amstel Cornelisz, *Natuurkundige lessen van Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit over de Gezicht Doorzicht en Spiegelkunde, alsmede over de Waterweg en Scheijkunde, in onderscheidene bijeenkomsten door hem afgehandeld* (Amsterdam 1718), Univ. Library Leiden, BPL 772. In 1800, this manuscript was bought by Jean Henri van Swinden at the auction sale of the painter Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, the grandson of the author. These lecture notes reveal, on page 114, that Fahrenheit also used the book of Joachim d'Alencé, *Traité des Baromètres, thermomètres et notiomètres ou hygromètres* (Amsterdam, Henri Wetstein, 1688; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paul Marret, 1707). A Dutch translation of this book was published in 1730 at The Hague by Jacobus de Jongh (re-issued 1738 by Gerard Block) but at least two earlier translations in manuscript have been preserved, one of them made by the Mennonite merchant Gerrit Schoenmaker, so it is probable that these handwritten translations originated from the circle of Mennonites around Fahrenheit. Cf. Gerrit Schoenmaker, *Verhandeling van de barometer* (c. 1730), Amsterdam University Library, classmark XI G 22; cf. *De Navorscher* 1 (1851), p. 315 and *De Navorscher* 2 (1852), p. 149. For the other manuscript from the book collection of the author, see the exhibition catalogue *Uit de lucht gegrepen: Geschiedenis van de weerkunde in Nederland* (Leiden, Museum Boerhaave, 2003), p. 15.

16. Cf. Huib J. Zuidervaart, 'Meest alle van best mahoniehout vervaardigd: het kabinet van filosofische instrumenten van de doopsgezinde kweekschool te Amsterdam, 1761-1828', *Gewina: Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Natuurwetenschappen, Wiskunde en Techniek* 29 (2006), p. 81-112; reprinted in *Doopsgezinde bijdragen: nieuwe reeks* 34 (2008), p. 63-104.

### III. The Impact of Desaguliers's tour of the Netherlands

Where the physico-theological component of Newtonianism had made experimental physics respectable in parlours, the real boost in its popularity in the Netherlands was caused by a series of lectures given in the early 1730s in a number of Dutch cities by the English Newtonian John Theophilus Desaguliers. Why Desaguliers decided around 1730 to lecture in the Netherlands is not known. One of Desaguliers's relatives lived in Amsterdam, so contacts with Holland were close.<sup>17</sup> About a decade before his Dutch tour, Desaguliers had made efforts to introduce Dutch books to the English market. In 1718, he had written a laudatory preface to an English edition of the Dutch physico-theological book of Nieuwentyt, and three years later he himself had prepared an English translation of 's-Gravesande's textbook.<sup>18</sup> The two Newtonians knew each other personally, for Desaguliers had met 's-Gravesande during his visit to London in 1715. The demonstration models of the kind described by 's-Gravesande fitted perfectly into Desaguliers's own procedures. Such apparatus offered him an efficient rhetorical framework to convince his public of the validity of Newtonian physics.

Desaguliers's well-organised tour of the Netherlands was supported with a considerable publicity effort; it seemed that for Desaguliers, commercial motives were as important as the Newtonian message. A prospectus of Desaguliers's Rotterdam lessons shows that he performed his lectures in three languages every day: 'in the morning from seven-thirty until nine o'clock in French, from ten o'clock in English, and in the afternoon at four in Latin'.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Desaguliers could also have been invited to the Netherlands as a freemason. In 1731, he initiated, at The Hague, the first Masonic lodge in the Netherlands.

18. Bernard Nieuwentyt, *The Religious Philosopher*, translated from the Dutch by John Chamberlayne, with a prefatory letter by John Theophilus Desaguliers (London 1718-1719); Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande, *The Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy, confirmed by Experiments, or an Introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy*, translated from the Latin by John Theophilus Desaguliers (London 1721).

19. '[...] de lessen in deze voege werden geschikt, dat zy des morgens van half agt tot negen uure in de Fransche taal, des morgens te tien uuren in de Engelsche taal, en des namiddags te vier uuren in het Latyn gegeven werden, alles voor heeren, dames en andere liefhebbers, alle werkdagen, behalve des saterdags.' Quotation from Johan A. van Reijn, 'John Theophilus Desaguliers', *Thoth, tijdschrift voor vrijmetselaren* 34.5 (1983), p. 165-203 (p. 193) after a printed announcement ('Bekentmakinge'), which was coated into a manuscript with notes of Desaguliers's course which until 1940 was present in the then demolished library of the 'Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte' at Rotterdam. For further details cf. Huib J. Zuidervaart, *Van 'Konstgenoten' en Hemelse Fenomenen: Nederlandse Sterrenkunde in de Achttiende Eeuw* (Rotterdam 1999), p. 69-82. See also: Marius J. van Lieburg, 'De Geneeskunde en natuurwetenschappen binnen de Rotterdamse geleerde ge-

Desaguliers amazed his rich lay-audience of more than a thousand listeners – both men and women – with spectacular demonstrations. The ‘show’ element of Desaguliers’s lectures was to be a feature that persisted. With him the so-called *Physique Amusante* made its debut in the Dutch public sphere.

It is therefore not surprising that the first Dutch textbook on Newtonian physics was a short outline of Desaguliers’s lessons, produced by one of his Dutch listeners, written probably in Rotterdam or The Hague. The small, illustrated booklet contains references to some Latin terminology used by Desaguliers, so the author must have attended an afternoon session, and have been capable of understanding Latin. In 1731, the booklet was published in Amsterdam by the young Mennonite publisher Isaac Tirion (1705-1765) and was entitled *Korte inhoud der filosofische lessen, vervattende een kort begrip van de beginselen en gronden der proef-ondervindelijke natuurkunde* (‘Short outline of the philosophical lessons, containing a short understanding of the principles and foundations of experimental physics’). Whether the edition was inspired by the outline of Desaguliers’s lessons given in England in 1717 is unknown.<sup>20</sup> It presented the lectures and the use of several scientific instruments in an amiable and concise way. In 1732, two reprints were already required, to which a separate part, containing a description of Desaguliers’s newly designed demonstration planetarium, was added.<sup>21</sup>

Desaguliers’s zeal and enthusiasm inspired many others. In the preface of his *Beginsels der Natuurkunde*, the Dutch Newtonian Van Musschenbroek stated that the apparent success of Desaguliers’s tour had stimulated him to write a textbook on experimental physics. Appearing in 1736, it was the first of its kind in the Dutch language.<sup>22</sup> Driven by the effect of Desaguliers’s tour,

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nootschappen uit de 18e eeuw’, *Gewina: Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Natuurwetenschappen, Wiskunde en Techniek* 1 (1978), p. 14-22 and p. 124-143.

20. Cf. John Theophilus Desaguliers, *Physico-Mechanical Lectures or an account of what is explained and demonstrated in the course of mechanical and experimental philosophy* (London 1717).
21. *Beschryving van het planetarium, dienende tot een vervolg op den Korten Inhoud der Philosophische Lessen van Dr. J. Th. Desaguliers* (Amsterdam, Isaak Tirion, 1732). As the preface of this tract states that the author did not live to see his work in print, this author could have been Lambert ten Kate who died in December 1731. Perhaps Ten Kate was also ‘the distinguished naturalist’ who, in 1731, had offered the composer of Desaguliers’s *Korten Inhoud der Philosophische Lessen* to check these lecture notes.
22. In 1700, a Dutch book with similar title, *Beginselen der Natuurkunde*, had been published in Amsterdam as a Dutch translation – by the Amsterdam merchant Ameltonck Block – of a textbook on natural philosophy made by Nicolaas Hartsoecker. This book was originally published in French as *Principes de Physique* (Paris 1696). It was completely based on Hartsoecker’s interpretation of speculative Cartesian physics. Hartsoecker was well known, not only as a natural philosopher but also as an instrument maker of several optical devices. He was strongly opposed to Newton’s ideas, as is clear from his last book, *Recueil de plusieurs*



two Mennonite publishers launched their own quarterly journal in order to create a forum in the Dutch language for all kinds of news in the field of the natural sciences.

With the *Uitgeleeze Natuurkundige Verhandelingen* ('Selected physical treatises') the Amsterdam publisher Tirion aimed at two goals. Firstly, he wanted to offer his Dutch readers an opportunity to study valuable texts on natural philosophy, taken from foreign journals, in their own language. Secondly, Tirion invited Dutch scholars to submit original contributions. It seemed that it was Tirion's ambition to create a Dutch equivalent of the *Philosophical Transactions*, the scientific journal edited by the Royal Society of London. Tirion sought to found a platform for the exchange of scientific novelties in the Dutch Republic.<sup>23</sup> According to Tirion, Desaguliers personally supported this initiative. After an enthusiastic start in 1731, the project stagnated almost immediately. The two editors Tirion had assigned – one of them probably Lambert ten Kate – both died unexpectedly.<sup>24</sup> But thanks to the assistance of Jan Wagenaar, a young translator who had attended Desaguliers's Amsterdam lessons, the first volume was completed in 1733.<sup>25</sup> It contained translated articles from the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Mémoires* of the French Académie Royale des Sciences but also presented some original contributions by Dutch experimental philosophers, among them Van Musschenbroek, Boerhaave, and Lulofs. It seemed a promising beginning, yet Tirion's initiative, too, lost momentum. As time went by, only three volumes of the *Uitgeleeze Natuurkundige Verhandelingen* were published and in 1741 the journal ceased to exist.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime, other publishers had entered the market. Between 1732 and 1735, the joint publishers Adriaan Wor and the heirs 'Onder de Linden'

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*pièces de physique, où l'on fait principalement voir l'invalidité du système de Mr. Newton* (Utrecht, Broedelet, 1722).

23. Cf. Piet Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765), Amsterdams uitgever en promotor van de Nederlandse Verlichting – een verkenning', in *Boek & Letter: boekwetenschappelijke bijdragen ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van Prof. Dr. Frans A. Janssen*, ed. Jos Biemans, Lisa Kuiter, and Piet Verkruisje (Amsterdam 2004), p. 467-493.
24. In 1732, Tirion published some poems in commemoration of Ten Kate's death and auctioned Ten Kate's library and cabinet of curiosities and scientific instruments. See Zuidervaart, 'Reflecting "popular culture"', p. 420.
25. In due time, Jan Wagenaar would become Holland's most famous historian but in his youth, he made a living by translating various books and articles, mostly for Isaak Tirion. Strictly speaking, Wagenaar was not a Mennonite but many of his friends were. Cf. Pieter Huizinga Bakker, *Het leven van Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam 1776), p. 13-16; Leonard Hendrik Maria Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden: Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773), een historiografische studie* (The Hague 1997).
26. Cf. Wiep van Bunge *et al.*, *Dictionary of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch philosophers* (Bristol 2003), col. 1002-1003 and col. 1062-1064.

published five octavo volumes with texts on natural philosophy, almost all selected from the *Philosophical Transactions*.<sup>27</sup> These texts were translated by the hodman Pieter le Clercq, a well-known and diligent translator of a range of types of foreign literature.<sup>28</sup> The initiative of the Mennonite bookseller Marten Schagen had even greater impact. Schagen had, in 1732, founded a periodical in which he aimed to present a broad spectrum of translated scholarly work in various fields, mostly written by foreign authors. This quarterly, entitled the *Godgeleerde, historische, philosophische, natuur-, genees- en aerdryks-kundige, poëtische en regtsgeleerde vermakelykheden* ('Theological, historical, philosophical, physical, medical, geographical, poetical and juridical entertainments'), was almost single-handedly edited by Schagen who also personally translated most of the articles.<sup>29</sup> In 1738, when Schagen was appointed as a full-time Mennonite preacher at Alkmaar, the periodical was passed to other publishers, who continued this journal of miscellany – with unknown editors – until 1747.

To meet the still increasing demand for appropriate literature, several Dutch translations of books on physico-theology, natural philosophy or experimental physics were released in the 1730s. In the field of physico-theology, this began in 1728 with a translation by the Mennonite physician Abraham van Loon of Derham's *God-leerende Natuurkunde* ('Theologising physics'), its continuation – Derham's *Godgeleerde Sterrekunde* ('Theological astronomy'), probably translated by the Mennonite Jan Siewertsz Centen – appearing in 1729. Both volumes were produced by the Leiden publisher Isaac Severinus.<sup>30</sup> An intended third volume, a *Zee of Water Godgeleerdheid* ('Sea or

27. These translations by Pieter le Clercq are: *Keurige aanmerkingen over alle deelen der natuurkunde, getrokken uit de beste schryvers* (1732); Edmond Halley, *Miscellanea curiosa, of Keurige verzameling van eenige der voornaamste verschijnsels der natuur* (1734); Steven Hales, *Groeiende weegkunde of bericht van eenige weegkundige ondervindingen over het sap in gewassen dienende tot een bewerp eener natuurlyke historie der groeiingje. Mitsgaders eene proeve van de ontbinding der lucht door eene groote verscheidenheit van scheiweegkundige ondervindingen, welke in verscheide byeenkomsten geleezen zyn voor het Koningklyk Genootschap* (1734); *Natuurkundige Aanmerkingen, Waarneemingen en Ondervindingen van de Koningklyke Sociëteit van London; getrokken uit de Philosophical Transactions* (1735); and Francis Hauwbee [in the English original: Francis Hauksbee], *Natuurkundige en tuigwerkelyke ondervindingen over verscheide onderwerpen* (1735).

28. On the impressive translation work by Pieter le Clercq, see Catharina H. Schoneveld, 'Iets des nazaats waardig: de vertaalwerk van Pieter le Clercq (1693-1759)', *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 24 (1992), p. 217-256.

29. Cf. Piet Visser, 'Redelyke Regtzinnigheid: Prolegomena over de betekenis van Marten Schagen (1700-1770) voor de Nederlandse Verlichting', in *Balanceren op de smalle weg*, ed. Lies Brusse-van der Zee *et al.* (Zoetermeer 2002), p. 216-284.

30. William Derham, *God-leerende natuurkunde; of eene overtuigende betooging van Gods wezen en eigenschappen, uit de beschouwinge van de werken der scheppinge* (Leiden, Isaac Severinus, 1728) and by the same author, *Godgeleerde starrekunde, of eene betooging van*

water theology'), a topic on which Derham had written to Severinus, never appeared in print, probably due to Derham's old age.<sup>31</sup>

Other physico-theological titles to reach publication were Conrad Mel's *Schouw-toneel van Godts wonderen in de werken der natuure, of Nederduytsche physica* ('Theatre of God's miracles in the works of nature, or Dutch physics'), a still Cartesian-inspired book, translated from German by Isaac le Long (1683-1762) and published in 1730 by the Amsterdam publisher Hendrik Vieroot, and John Ray's *Gods wysheid geopenbaard in de werken der schepping* ('Wisdom of God manifested in the works of the creation'), published by Tirion in 1732.<sup>32</sup> Three years later, a monumental fifteen-volume folio edition of Jan Jacob Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra* was prepared under the Dutch title *Geestelyke Natuurkunde* ('Spiritual physics') by a company of Dutch booksellers, led by the Amsterdam publisher Petrus Schenk. This Dutch edition was enlarged with some comments and poetry by the Dutch authors Gijsbert Tysens and Lambertus Paludanus (or in Dutch: Ten Broeke).<sup>33</sup> Slightly outside the genre but still worthy of mention is a theologically inspired book by the grand master Isaac Newton himself, whose chronological and biblical studies were published in 1737 in a Dutch translation by Abraham de Vrijer, a Mennonite preacher at Wormerveer.<sup>34</sup> Astonishingly, despite Newton's fame no other book by his hand was translated into the Dutch language. In itself, this lack of translation of other works written by the originator of Newtonianism can be seen as an indication

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*Gods wezen en eigenschappen uit de beschouwing der hemelen* (Leiden, Isaac Severinus, 1728 [1729, on the last page]). Both works were re-issued – the first with a slightly changed title *Godgeleerde natuurkunde* – Leiden, Isaac Severinus, 1739 and Amsterdam, Jacobus Loveringh, 1742. The translator of the first book, Abraham van Loon, a graduate from Leiden University (1720), had started the translation as a pastime, serving his own interest. When the Leiden publisher Isaac Severinus learned about this fact, he persuaded Van Loon to bring the manuscript to the press. The translator of the second book, Jan Siewertsz Centen, is given without any reference by T. Dekker, 'De popularisering der natuurwetenschap in Nederland in de achttiende eeuw', *Geloof en Wetenschap* 53 (1955), p. 173-188.

31. Letter of William Derham to Isaac Severinus, 18 March 1727, printed in Derham (1728).

32. Cf. Bots, *Tussen Descartes en Darwin*, p. 83 and p. 88-89. On page 85, Bots also mentions John Denne's *De Wysheid Gods in de schepping der aardgewassen*, a translation mentioned in the *Boekzael* of October 1730 but no copy of this edition could be traced.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 64-65.

34. Izaak [!] Newton, *De Histori der Aloude Volkeren Opgeheldert, en in eene naauwkeurige tydorde geplaatst: Benevens eene korte kronyk van de eerste bekende gebeurtenissen in Europe, tot de verovering van Persië door Alexander den Grooten* (Delft, Pieter van der Kloot, 1737; re-issued with an altered title page in 1763). Translation of *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London 1728) and the *Short Chronicle from the First Memory of Things in Europe to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great* (London 1728), both edited by Newton's cousin John Conduit. The Dutch edition was announced in the *Leydsche Courant* of 29 October 1736.

that the Dutch popular interest for natural philosophy was aimed at the theological and social aspects of the study of nature rather than at its profound scientific content.

#### IV. Dutch translations of foreign textbooks on experimental philosophy

How did the Dutch translators deal with their texts? In order to gather some clues about this question, I present a closer look at the first translated textbooks on experimental physics to be produced in response to the growing craze for the subject.

##### *Translations from the English language*

###### a) Desaguliers & Smith, 1731-1753.

The first Dutch translation in this genre was Desaguliers's *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Opgemaakt*, a translation of the 1735 London edition of Desaguliers's *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*. Already in 1731, in the short outline (*Korte Inhoud*) of Desaguliers's Dutch lessons, it was announced that a larger work in the Dutch language was being prepared that would contain the complete content of Desaguliers's philosophical lessons. However, the *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Opgemaakt* was not completed until 1736, just a few months after the publication of Van Musschenbroeks *Beginsels der Natuurkunde*.

The identity of Desaguliers's translator is unknown, although an educated guess can be made. According to the title page, he was a 'Liefhebber van de Natuurkunde', that is, 'a lover of physics'. I propose that this translator can be identified as Jacobus Krighout (1703-1770), a man alleged to have been a translator working for Tirion in a similar case.<sup>35</sup> In 1736, Krighout was a Re-

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35. In the *Oeuvres de Pierre Camper*, vol. III (Paris 1803), p. 401, it is stated as fact that Jacobus Krighout was the Dutch translator of Robert Smith's *Opticks*. This translation was issued in 1753 by the Amsterdam publisher Isaak Tirion as *Volkomen Samenstel der Optica* (see below, note 45). However, this 1753 Dutch translation was made by the Dutch naturalist Martinus Houttuyn, who revealed this fact in his 1778 edition of the Dutch translation of Baker's *Microscope Made Easy* (see below, note 46). But as Tirion presented Smith's *Volkomen Samenstel der Optica* as a continuation of Desaguliers's three-volume textbook on physics, it is highly probable that the above mentioned Petrus Camper, who acted as Krighout's colleague as an Amsterdam professor from 1755 until 1761, has confused both editions. Camper's erroneous identification was followed by the late historian of philosophy Michael J. Petry in his *Frans Hemsterhuis: Waarneming en werkelijkheid* (Baarn 1988),

monstrant minister at the village of Zevenhuizen, where he collaborated as a meteorological observer in the network of the Utrecht professor of natural philosophy Petrus van Musschenbroek.<sup>36</sup> In 1747, after having served the Remonstrant churches of Utrecht and Leiden, Krighout became a professor of theology at the Amsterdam Remonstrant Seminary where he remained in active duty until his retirement in 1767.<sup>37</sup> The catalogue of Krighout's library (auctioned in 1770) has a very impressive section on natural philosophy, listing some 1,400 items, many of these multi-volumes. Krighout possessed the transactions of almost every learned society throughout Europe. From this observation it can be deduced that, although he never published anything under his own name, Krighout must have studied the subject with the intensity of a true 'lover of physics'.

In any case, in a preface, Desaguliers's translator gives account of his intentions and of the procedures he had followed. It seems clear that physico-theological inspiration was one of his main underlying motives to undertake the translation. The usefulness of physics for the study of theology had already been demonstrated by the 'outstanding works of Nieuwentyt, Derham, Ray and others',<sup>38</sup> he stated, so it was unnecessary to sing the praises of natural knowledge. As a person deeply interested in the subject, he was frequently asked by his friends to translate Desaguliers's work. But at first he had refused the task, because 'he had enough work to do with his own [primary] studies, and because he was reluctant to face the difficulties that would come across in such a huge undertaking'.<sup>39</sup> A problem in that respect was that most subjects treated by Desaguliers had never before been discussed in the Dutch language. As a consequence, quite a number of artificial words (*kunst-*

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p. 137. In the auction sale catalogue of Krighout's library, the *Bibliotheca Krighoutiana* (Amsterdam 1770), both the English editions and Dutch translations of Desaguliers's as well as Smith's books are mentioned; both Dutch translations as luxurious copies on 'large paper' ('Groot papier'), nos. Q 1263/64 and Q 1392/93.

36. Petrus van Musschenbroek, *Beginsels der Natuurkunde*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leiden 1739), p. 304 and p. 767.

37. Cf. *Ter inwynging van den heere Jakobus Krighout: toen zyn Hoog-Eerwaarde het ampt van hoogleeraar in de H. Godgeleerdheid onder de remonstranten, plegtig aanvaarde: op den 6. der Sprokkelmaand 1747* (n.pl.; n.d.). Printed poem by Pieter Huizinga Bakker, 9 pages, Leeuwarden Tresoar, classmark Pc 3861. See also: Abraham des Amorie van der Hoeven, *Het tweede eeuwfeest van het seminarium de remonstranten te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1840), p. 183-186.

38. '[...] het voortreffelyke Werk van den Heer Nieuwentyt, en de vertaalde werken van de Heeren Derham, Ray, het uittrekzel van Dr. Cheyne en anderen.' 'Berigt van den vertaler' (the mentioned 'preface'), in *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Opgemaakt*, vol. I (Amsterdam, I. Tirion, 1736), p. i.

39. '[...] omdat ik werks genoeg had aan mijne eigen studie, als om de moeijelykheid die ik in de Vertaling te gemoed zag.' 'Berigt van den vertaler', p. ii.

*woorden*) had to be invented. Older books in Dutch were of little use in these matters because in these earlier works ‘our Dutch mathematicians’,<sup>40</sup> mostly had maintained the original Latin or Greek expressions. In other cases, they had used language that had not adequately represented the subjects these words sought to express. But in due time, the translator had agreed to devote his spare time to Desaguliers’s translation, although he preferred that someone involved in the daily study of physics take up this difficult task.

With regard to his audience, the translator declared that he aimed at enthusiasts who did not possess any training in physics. After all, those with such an education already had easy access to the original English edition. As far as the translation itself was concerned, in those cases where the translator had used *kunstwoorden*, he had maintained the original expressions mixed in the Dutch text in brackets. Thus, in the first chapter, newly invented words like ‘Misloper’ for ‘Asymptoot’,<sup>41</sup> and ‘Bol-deel’ for ‘Segment’<sup>42</sup> are found. These were Dutch-sounding words which in fact never reached the official dictionaries of the Dutch language. In an attempt to find satisfactory names for several of the scientific instruments, the translator had consulted those Dutch ‘artisans and amateurs, who themselves construct such instruments or know how to use them’.<sup>43</sup> In other cases, he was concerned as to whether the invented words reflected the subject matter adequately. Only a few times, he had left some words untranslated because they were already properly defined in the text.

In 1746, a second volume followed. The long delay had not been foreseen. To no small extent, it had been caused by Desaguliers himself who had followed Van Musschenbroek’s advice to suspend the completion of his textbook until the moment that the revised edition of ’s-Gravesande’s physics manual had been published. In his preface, the Dutch translator (Krighout?) complained about the delay. Had he known from the outset that the process of translating would take more than a decade, he would never have undertaken the painstaking task; it had deflected him too much from his primary (theological?) course of study. In 1745, after the publication of Desaguliers’s second English volume, he had expressed reservations over continuing his task. Eventually, the conclusion was formed that a point of no return had been passed; too much work had already been done to abort the translation. This was especially because, he wrote, ‘the enthusiasm for the useful know-

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40. That is: ‘onze Nederlandse wiskunstenars’. ‘Berigt van den vertaler’, p. ii.

41. *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Opgemaakt*, I.31.

42. *Ibid.*, I.43.

43. ‘Om de werktuigen of instrumenten met hare eigen nederduitse namen te noemen, heb ik, indien ze my niet regt bekend waren, dezelve gevraagd aan Kunstenars en Liefhebbers, die de instrumenten zelf maken, of gebruiken.’ ‘Berigt van den vertaler’, p. ii.

ledge of physics is at a very high level these days'.<sup>44</sup> This popularity had inspired the translator to supplement Desaguliers's translation with an additional third volume (one more than the original English edition), in which he planned to include parts of Robert Smith's *A Compleat System of Opticks* (London 1738), as Desaguliers had discussed this subject only briefly.

However, in 1751, upon the publication of this third volume, it appeared that the publisher Isaac Tirion had altered his plans. Instead of translating only parts of Smith's book, Tirion had decided to publish a complete translation, in a similar scheme and design to Desaguliers's textbook. Another Dutch 'Lover of Mathematics and Physics'<sup>45</sup> was already engaged for this project. This was Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1798), a young medical doctor of Mennonite descent who had graduated from Leiden University in 1749. Houttuyn would devote his life to the advancement and dissemination of natural knowledge in the Netherlands. His catalogue of translations and original publications in a range of fields is enormous.<sup>46</sup> In 1753 the two-volume edition of Smith's *Volkomen Samenstel der Optica* was published, being cleverly presented by Tirion as a continuation of Desaguliers's *Natuurkunde*.<sup>47</sup> The book contained a subscription list revealing the names of 176 Dutch 'enthusiasts': various merchant-scientists, instrument makers and other interested parties.<sup>48</sup> Thus, with this change of concept, the third volume of Desa-

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44. 'De Liefhebberij voor de nutte wetenschap van de Natuurkunde, die tegenwoordig in ons land zeer groot is [...].' 'Berigt van den Vertaler', *De Natuurkunde uit Ondervindingen Op-gemaakt*, vol. II (Amsterdam 1746), p. i.

45. That is: 'Vertaald door een Liefhebber der Wisconst en Natuurkunde'. Robert Smith, *Volkomen Samenstel Der Optica of Gezigkunde, Behelzende eene Gemeenzaame, eene Wisconstige, eene Werktuiglyke en eene Natuurkundige Verhandeling: Verrykt met veele Aanmerkingen van den Schryver, als mede met eene Verhandeling van Dr. Jurin over het duidelyk en onduidelyk zien* (Amsterdam, Isaak Tirion, 1753), title page.

46. Martinus Houttuyn revealed his identity as translator of Smith's *A Compleat System of Opticks* (1738) in two footnotes in one of his other translated works (Baker 1778), p. 354 and p. 435 (see below, note 56). Cf. Marinus Boeseman and Wilhelmina de Ligny, *Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1798) and his contributions to the natural sciences, with emphasis on zoology* (Leiden 2004), p. 98-99.

47. The publication was dedicated to Willem Bentinck, Count of Rhoon, a Dutch-English aristocrat and, at that time, one of the most influential politicians in the Dutch Republic. In 1764, the remnant of this edition was re-issued with a new title page by Engelbrecht Boucquet and Company at The Hague. See also Tirion's 1751-prospectus in UB Amsterdam, KVB PPA 645:20.

48. For a discussion of the subscription list in Smith's *Volkomen Samenstel Der Optica* (1751-1753), see Zuidervaart, *Van 'Konstgenoten' en Hemelse Fenomenen*, p. 265-267. For the analysis of the subscription list in the Dutch translation of the four-volume astronomical textbook by Joseph Jérôme de Lalande, *Astronomia of sterrekunde* (Amsterdam, Morterre, 1773-1780), translated from the French by the mathematician Arnoldus Bastiaan Strabbe, see *ibid.*, p. 347-356.

gulers's *Natuurkunde* became a kind of patchwork, filled only with some additions and articles that Desaguliers had published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. An index of the *kunstwoorden* ended this small volume. With its publication, a translating project of some twenty years had been brought to a successful close. To mark the event, Tirion added a preface to the first volume, in which he dedicated the completed translation to the Amsterdam burgomaster and director of the Dutch East India Company, Gerard Arnout Hasselaer, a well known Maecenas of the arts and sciences and a man who privately owned one of the largest cabinets of scientific instruments in the Netherlands.<sup>49</sup>

b) Other translations from the English language, 1737-1756.

Since the early 1730s, Tirion had published several other Dutch translations of English works on experimental philosophy. In 1737, he already had made a Dutch edition of Benjamin Martin's *The Philosophical Grammar*. This book was translated by his regular assistant Jan Wagenaar and was released with the title *De Filozooftische Onderwyzer of Algemeene Schets der Hedendaagsche Ondervindelyke Natuurkunde* ('The Philosophical teacher or general sketch of the present state of experimental physics'). Wagenaar added a 'Voorreden van den Overzetter' ('Preface by the translator'), in which he explained his motives and methods. The translation, he stated, was intended for 'mingeoeffenden' or unpractised persons in physics. The available works in the Dutch language, like Van Musschenbroek's *Beginselen der Natuurkunde*, had been written for 'a more high-minded kind of enthusiast'.<sup>50</sup> Female readers especially would not be reached by this kind of literature. Therefore, he regarded Martin's book as suitable for all social circles in which the study of physics was practised (illustrated to an extent by Wagenaar's statement mentioned in the introduction of this article). Martin's original text was altered or expanded in only a few cases, marked by text in square brackets. Wherever the English author had used Greek expressions unknown to the common Dutch reader, Wagenaar had taken the liberty of choosing his own words. In general, he hoped that his efforts would stimulate reverence for their divine creator in his compatriots.

In 1744, a second edition of the *Filozooftische Onderwyzer* was issued, enlarged with additions on mechanics and optics. As Wagenaar was engaged

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49. Cf. Tiemen Cocquyt, 'The Hasselaer auction of 1776: the transmission of scientific instruments from the public to the academic sphere', *Rittenhouse: the journal of the American Scientific Instrument Enterprise* 22 (2009), p. 70-89.

50. '[...] maar die Heer [Van Musschenbroek] heeft voor een verhevener slag van liefhebbers geschreeven.' Benjamin Martin, *Filozooftische Onderwyzer of Algemeene Schets der Hedendaagsche Ondervindelyke Natuurkunde*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Amsterdam 1744), p. vi.



with another ambitious project at that time, which eventually would make him one of Holland's most important historians of the eighteenth century,<sup>51</sup> this second edition was prepared by the Mennonite physician Joannes Grashuis. He probably also edited the 1765 third edition, at that time published by Frans Houttuyn, who will be discussed later.<sup>52</sup>

In the 1740s and 1750s, Tirion and other Dutch publishers continued to release additional Dutch translations regarding experimental philosophy and the scientific instruments used in its practice.<sup>53</sup> In 1744, for instance, Tirion published Richard Bradley's *Wysgeerige Verhandeling van de Werken der Natuure* ('Philosophical treatise of the works of nature') as well as Henry Baker's *Het Microscop Gemakkelyk Gemaakt* ('The Microscope made easy'). The latter translation was made by 'a learned and linguistic gentleman'.<sup>54</sup> According to a handwritten note on a preserved copy, this was most likely Mattheus Huisinga, a medical doctor who had graduated from Leiden University in 1734.<sup>55</sup> Martinus Houttuyn enlarged this edition in 1756, when it was issued with a changed title. Houttuyn also edited the 1778 edition, both reprints being brought to the market by his Amsterdam cousin, the Mennonite publisher Frans Houttuyn.<sup>56</sup>

c) Journals, mainly with translated articles from Britain.

Essentially, Frans Houttuyn continued the role Tirion had played earlier in disseminating popular Newtonianism. Houttuyn even had a small portrait of Newton included as a symbol in his printer's mark. With his industrious

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51. Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden, inzonderheid die van Holland, van de vroegste tyden af, uit de geloofwaardigste schryvers en egte gedenkstukken samengesteld*, 21 vols (Amsterdam, Isaak Tirion, 1749-1759).

52. The Mennonite physician Joannes Grashuis (1699-1772) from Groningen had graduated from Leiden University in 1722. He lived in Amsterdam from at least 1735 onwards. In the 1750s, Tirion published several medical works of his hand.

53. Cf. Roger Cotes, *Lessen en Proefondervindingen over de Waterweegkunde en Lugt* (Leiden, Jakob van der Kluis, 1740; re-issued Amsterdam, Pieter Spriet, 1752).

54. That is: 'een geleerd en taalkundig heer'. Henry Baker, *Het Microscop Gemakkelyk Gemaakt* (Amsterdam, I. Tirion, 1744), p. i ('Voorbericht van den drukker').

55. Boeseman and De Ligny, *Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1798) and his contributions to the natural sciences*, p. 102.

56. Henry Baker, *Nuttig gebruik van het mikroskoop, of handleiding tot nieuwe waarneemingen omtrent de configuratiën en krystallen der zouten* (Amsterdam, Frans Houttuyn, 1756) and Henry Baker, *Het mikroskoop gemakkelyk gemaakt, of gemeenzaame beschryving, van allerley werktuigen, die men gebruikt om zeer kleine diertjes en andere voorwerpen, klaar en duidelyk, vergroot zynde, te beschouwen; met al het gene daar toe behoort: vervolgd met een berigt van de verbaazende ontdekkingen, die door middel van vergrootglazen gedaan zyn* (Amsterdam, Erven Frans Houttuyn, 1778). Cf. Boeseman and De Ligny, *Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1798) and his contributions to the natural sciences*, p. 99-101.

cousin Martinus Houttuyn, he also revived Tirion's initiative of a scholarly periodical which he presented as the continuation of Tirion's *Uitgeleeze Natuurkundige Verhandelingen*.<sup>57</sup> In 1757, both cousins started the *Uitgezogte Verhandelingen uit de nieuwste werken van de Societeiten der Wetenschappen in Europa en van andere Geleerde Mannen* ('Selected treatises from the newest works of the learned societies of Europe and of other learned men'), a scholarly journal with a mixture of translated and original articles from the scientific field. This important and successful journal would last some nine years, ending in 1765, after having produced ten well edited and illustrated quarto volumes.<sup>58</sup>

Earlier, a similar initiative by the Mennonite publisher Jan Bosch from Haarlem had failed to survive. Bosch, who was a brother-in-law of the Amsterdam publisher and prolific translator Marten Schagen, was an active member of the Haarlem-based 'Natuur- en Sterrekundig Collegie' (a local 'Physics and Astronomical Society').<sup>59</sup> In 1750, he had taken the initiative to start a quarterly, the *Hollands Magazijn*, a periodical inspired by the London *Gentleman's Magazine* that intended to feature scientific news from home and abroad. According to the prospectus of the new journal, Bosch expected the founding of an official learned society by the recently restored Dutch stadholder, Prince William IV of Orange, backed by his government. In anticipation of things to come, Bosch was of the opinion that it was not wise to sit idle. He therefore called for the help of 'all lovers of the useful sciences' to contribute to his journal.<sup>60</sup> Bosch's appeal drew little response. The journal

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57. In 1764, Frans Houttuyn re-issued the remaining stock of Tirion's journal, the *Uitgeleeze Natuurkundige Verhandelingen*, with a new printed title and added a final quire to it. For Houttuyn's work as a publisher see Keith L. Sprunger, 'Frans Houttuyn, Amsterdams boekverkoper: preken, uitgeven en de doopsgezinde Verlichting', *Doopsgezinde bijdragen* 31 (2005), p. 183-204.

58. Boeseman and De Ligny, *Martinus Houttuyn (1720-1798) and his contributions to the natural sciences*, p. 103-114. In 1772, the Amsterdam publisher Albert van der Kroe again picked up the baton with a similar journal, entitled *Natuurkundige verhandelingen, of verzameling van stukken de natuurkunde, geneeskunde, oeconomie, natuurlijke historie enz. betreffende*, bringing translated articles from foreign journals. This periodical lasted until 1777. Cf. Constant Charles Delprat, *De geschiedenis der Nederlandsche geneeskundige tijdschriften* (Amsterdam 1927), p. 28-33.

59. See for the 'Natuur- en Sterrekundig Collegie', operational at Haarlem from 1731 until 1788, Bert C. Sliggers, 'Honderd jaar natuurkundige amateurs in Haarlem', in *Een elektriserend geleerde: Martinus van Marum, 1750-1837*, ed. Anton Wiechmann (Haarlem 1987), p. 67-102.

60. That is: 'alle liefhebbers van de nutte wetenschappen'. Jan Bosch, *Bericht raakende de aangeleg van een nieuw werkje onder den tytel van Hollands Magazyn, het welk J. Bosch te Haarlem, alle liefhebbers van nutte wetenschappen, verzoekt te helpen aanvullen; en waaruit hy nu en dan een stukje in groot octavo hoopt in 't licht te geeven* (Haarlem [n.d., c. 1750]). Prospectus bound in the copy of the *Hollands Magazijn* at the library of Leiden University.

appeared only in some quires from 1750 until 1752, and – irregularly – again from 1756 until 1761.<sup>61</sup> At first Bosch offered articles from foreign journals (in some cases translated by Van Schagen) in the *Hollands Magazijn* as well as the results of some observations and experiments produced within his Haarlem society of physics enthusiasts.<sup>62</sup> A change came in 1752 when the ‘Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen’ was founded in Haarlem as the first official learned society of the Netherlands. Initially, the *Hollands Magazijn* was to be converted into their official journal. However, this did not transpire as planned. After 1754 Bosch printed two separate journals: the first, the *Verhandelingen*, served as the official organ of the ‘Hollandsche Maatschappij’. This journal presented only the results of new scholarly research, whereas the second journal, the *Hollands Magazijn*, would cover only literature written in languages other than Dutch. However, after 1756, Bosch lacked editorial staff, so only a few volumes of the *Hollands Magazijn* would see publication. The *Verhandelingen* of the ‘Hollandsche Maatschappij’, by contrast, were a great success. Bosch would publish and partly reprint these transactions until his death.<sup>63</sup>

Another noteworthy translation project began in 1757. This was the Dutch translation of Benjamin Martin’s popular journal *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences*, originally published in London during the years 1755–1765. The Dutch version, the *Algemeene Oefenschoole van Konsten en Weetenschappen* (‘The General training school for the arts and sciences’) would last decidedly longer, from 1757 until 1782, and with additions it

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61. *Hollands Magazijn, voorzien van aardrijkskundige, historische, philosophische, geneeskundige, regtsgeleerde, godgeleerde, en poëtische aanmerkingen, beschrijvingen, brieven, proeven, schetsen, uittreksels, vragen en waarnemingen*, 3 vols in 6 bindings (Haarlem, Jan Bosch, 1750–1752 and 1756–1761).

62. Cf. *Hollands Magazijn* 1 (1750), p. 394–408.

63. At Haarlem, Jan Bosch (1713–1780) also published some translations in the fields of astronomy, geography and physico-theology, like Johannes Leonardus Rost, *Beginnelsen der waare sterrekunde*, transl. from the German by Van Schagen and Bosch, and checked by ‘a gentleman of fame in the commonwealth of literature’ (1748); Bernhard Varenius, *Volkommen samenstel der aardryks beschryvinge*, transl. from the English edition made by Isaac Newton (1750); Julius Bernard von Rohr, *Godleerende plantkunde; of reden- en schriftmatige proeve uit het ryk der gewassen, ten betooge van de almagt, wysheit, goedheit, en regtvaerdigheid des grooten Scheppers van alle dingen, in combination with J. A. Fabricius, Aenhangsel; bestaende in een schets der godleerende waterkunde; in ’t ontwerp eener godleerende vuurkunde; en in een aenpryzyng van ’t godverheerlykend beschouwen der natuure*, transl. from the German by Van Schagen (1764); Nikolaus Schmid, *De Beschouwing van het Wereldgestel gemakkeelyk gemaakt. Ter verkryginge eener Algemeene kennisse der groote werken van God*, transl. from the German (1774); and Johann Elert Bode, *Handleiding tot de kennis van den sterrenhemel*, transl. from the German (1779).

would expand considerably.<sup>64</sup> The work was published by Pieter Meijer (1718-1781), one of the more influential figures in the Dutch book market, and who focussed on Dutch literature. Friedrich Karl Heinrich Kossmann has suggested that Meijer's enterprise was in fact to a large extent the work of a group of young intellectuals that gathered regularly in Meijer's lodgings. At least, it is known that parts of the work for the *Oefenschoole* were done by Pieter van den Bosch. Born a citizen of Amsterdam, he became a Remonstrant in 1755, to be made a minister soon afterwards.<sup>65</sup>

The *Algemeene Oefenschoole* was divided into six sections: natural philosophy, geometry, literature, mathematics, biography and miscellaneous. Although the bound set has the appearance of a serial publication, the Dutch edition strictly followed the English example, which was published in monthly parts, each copy having text for every section, with continuous pagination for each section.<sup>66</sup> This had the consequence that sometimes the text of an article was stopped in the middle of a sentence. Only after the completion of a volume were separate sections gathered and combined into separately bound section-volumes. During the run of the *Algemeene Oefenschoole*, this happened only three times, in 1763, 1770, and 1782. Millburn has established for the English original that this manufacturing process of gathering and binding at a much later date than the distribution of the separate issues almost always resulted in a loss of maps and engraved plates. He even states: 'such is the variation between extant copies of the General Magazine volumes, that it is practically impossible to say precisely what they ought to contain'.<sup>67</sup> The Dutch imitation seems to suffer from the same deficiencies. As far as the content is concerned, whereas the first five sections did follow the English model quite accurately, most of the miscellaneous section ('mengelwerk van vernuft, konst, geleerdheid') was adapted for the Dutch market. It contained several fabricated letters which always were written under a pen name. The content and form of these letters closely followed the so-called spectatorial genre of publishing that at the time was very popular in the Netherlands. As a consequence, the *Algemeene Oefenschoole* expanded considerably. While the English original stopped in 1764 after 117 instalments with some 6,300 pages

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64. The start of the *Oefenschoole* series can be deduced from some (Dutch) engravings, of which the earliest is dated 1757.

65. Cf. Friedrich K. H. Kossmann, *Opkomst en voortgang van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden: geschiedenis van een initiatief* (Leiden 1966), p. 77, quoting a letter from Van Lelyveld to Van Goens of 11 April 1766.

66. John R. Millburn, 'Martin's magazine: the general magazine of arts and sciences, 1755-65', *The Library, transactions of the bibliographical society*, 5.28 (1973), p. 221-239. See also his biography: John R. Millburn, *Benjamin Martin: author, instrument-maker and 'country showman'* (Leiden 1976).

67. Millburn, *Benjamin Martin*, p. 70.

with more than 200 plates, bound in thirteen volumes, the *Algemeene Oefenschoole* ceased production in 1782 after some 14,500 pages with about 140 plates, bound in thirty volumes. All plates were re-engraved in the Netherlands, with the result that the image has been mirrored in some cases.

d) Children's books.

The first part of the *Algemeene Oefenschoole* contained a translation of Martin's *Young Gentlemans Philosophy*. These three octavo volumes, bound together in 1763, presented to the Dutch public the first book on experimental science especially aimed towards an audience of youngsters.<sup>68</sup> Also targeting this market was the Dutch translation of John Newbery's *Philosophy of Tops and Balls* (1761), a small booklet for 'the first youth', presenting an introduction to the Newtonian philosophy of nature covering basic physics, astronomy, geography, natural history and science, all with his characteristic emphasis on good-humoured enjoyment of the subject. It was published in Middelburg in 1768, with the title *Philosophie der tollen en ballen, of het Newtoniaansche zamenstel van wysbegeerte, geschikt naar de vatbaarheid der eerste jeugd*.<sup>69</sup> The book probably was translated by – or at the instigation of – Johannes Nettis, a Mennonite ophthalmologist, at the time the leader of an informal society of physics enthusiasts in that city.<sup>70</sup>

### *Translations from the German language*

The experimental approach to scientific knowledge was neither exclusively Newtonian nor English in character. The Dutch Republic, as a transit nation for goods and ideas was also influenced by developments from the Continent. In Germany, for instance, philosophers including Wolff and Leibniz had a contrasting perspective on natural science, especially in allowing metaphy-

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68. The Dutch translation was entitled *De wysbegeerte voor jonge heeren en jufferen, of, achter-eenvolgende beschouwingen van de werken der natuur*. Around this period, Pieter Meijer also published a similar work on astronomy, also translated from the English: James Ferguson, *De Starrekunde voor Jonge Heeren en Jufferen, op eene gemeenzaame wyze verhandeld in tien samenspraaken, tusschen Neander en Eudisia* (Amsterdam 1771).

69. The book was published by the local bookseller Christiaan van Bohemer. In 1783, the remnant of the stock was re-issued by the Middelburg bookseller Willem Abrahams.

70. The Dutch translation of Newbery's book has two references to articles produced by Johannes Nettis (1707-1777). In his youth, Nettis had lived at Amsterdam, then being friendly with Lambert ten Kate whose optical studies Nettis published later in life. In 1751, he was appointed 'Oculist' of stadholder Prince William IV of Orange. His pupil Leendert Bomme testified in 1781 that for some years, he had attended the physics society lead by Nettis in Middelburg. Cf. Zuidervaart, *Van 'Konstgenoten' en Hemelse Fenomenen*, p. 392.

sical reasoning a place in their system of scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, they too valued the experimental method as key for the study of nature. In the Netherlands, Wolffianism was also taught at some universities, for instance, those of Groningen and Franeker.

As a result of the craze for experimental physics in the 1730s, the complete philosophical and mathematical works of Christian Wolff were also translated. This project had been started in 1738 by Johann Christoffel von Sprögel, a physician born in Hamburg and trained in Halle.<sup>71</sup> Von Sprögel had settled in Amsterdam in about 1720, where he quickly proved to be a man of erudition and with considerable practical and theoretical skills. In 1722, he obtained a patent for a 'newly invented fire-extinguishing machine'.<sup>72</sup> According to a preserved prospectus, Von Sprögel started, in 1736, a 'collegium' of apothecaries and other enthusiasts, to whom he gave lessons in physics and chemistry. In 1741, he signed a contract as a 'master smelter and separator of minerals and metals' for a mining project in Brazil, financed by one of his Amsterdam acquaintances. In the years 1742-1743, the Amsterdam publisher Janssoons van Waesberge issued Wolff's *Experimentaal-Philosophie* as Von Sprögel's last translation.<sup>73</sup> He had translated the well-illustrated octavo editions in a straightforward and accurate manner, with no additions, comments or added footnotes. Von Sprögel only occasionally referred to key words with their Latin synonyms in brackets. These are absent in the original German editions.

Another German dictionary on the natural and mathematical sciences, the *Volkoomen wiskundig woordenboek*, aimed at a public of 'learned as well as untrained devotees of the mathematical sciences',<sup>74</sup> but giving also an introduction to experimental philosophy, was translated in 1739 by Joan Levinus Stammetz, a law student from Vienna who enrolled at Leiden University in 1730. Four years later, he entered the service of Felix de Klopper, a Leiden

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71. For Von Sprögel's translations, see Michiel R. Wielema, 'Christiaan Wolff in het Nederlands: de achttiende-eeuwse vertalingen van zijn Duits-talig oeuvre (1738-1768)', *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland* 1 (1990), p. 55-72. Reprinted in his thesis *Ketters en Verlichters: de Invloed van het Spinozisme en Wolffianisme op de Verlichting in Gereformeerd Nederland*, Diss. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (1999), p. 116-119. See also Zuidervart, 'Reflecting "popular culture"', p. 422-423.

72. That is: 'nieuw geïnventeerde vuurblusschende machine'. Cf. Gerard Doorman, *Octrooien voor uitvindingen in de Nederlanden uit de 16e-18e eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage 1940), p. 308. Von Sprögel originally applied for a patent together with Zacharias Gryl, who died in 1722.

73. Christiaan Wolff, *Experimentaal-Philosophie of Nuttelyke Proefnemingen, waardoor tot een grondige kennisse der Natuur en Konst de weg gebaant word*, 3 vols (Amsterdam, Janssoons van Waesberge, 1741-1742). Cf. Wielema, 'Christiaan Wolff in het Nederlands', p. 121. Von Sprögel's translating work on the remnant of Wolff's oeuvre was continued by Frederik Marci, a mathematician living at Amersfoort.

74. That is: 'geleerde en ongeleerde liefhebbers der wiskunstige weetenschappen'.

courantier. The book was supervised by Willem La Bordus, a lecturer in (Dutch) mathematics at Leiden University who declared in the preface that a dictionary of the new *kunstwoorden* had become something of a necessity since the publication of the works of Van Musschenbroek, Desaguliers, Derham and others.<sup>75</sup>

Apart from some early works on electricity,<sup>76</sup> these German translations did not attract as much attention as the products of English or French origin. The low profile of German physics seems to be confirmed by the relatively low print run (200 copies) of the Dutch edition of Johann Heinrich Winkler's *Anfangsgründe der Physic* (1753).<sup>77</sup> Its Dutch translation, plainly entitled *Beginselen der Natuurkunde* was issued in 1768 in a collaboration between the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Loveringh and his pupil, the Dordrecht publisher Pieter Blussé. According to Arianne Baggerman, the edition was supervised by Benjamin Bosma, an Amsterdam lecturer in (Wolffian) physics, who had published his own physics textbook *Gronden der Natuurkunde* in 1764.<sup>78</sup> It is remarkable that both publishers had attended Bosma's lessons. It is also interesting that in the 1760s, according to the 'preface of the translator', physico-theological inspiration had still been one of the main motives to translate this physics textbook.<sup>79</sup>

75. *Volkoomen wiskundig woordenboek, daar in alle kunstwoorden en zaaken, welke in de beschouwende, en oeffenende wiskunst voorkoomen, duidelyk verklaart worden; in welk mede verscheide zaaken de historie der wiskunstige weetenschappen raakende vermengt zyn [...]* Tot nut der geleerde en ongeleerde liefhebbers der wiskunstige weetenschappen (Leiden, Coenraad Wishoff & Georg Jacob Wishoff Czn, 1740). The book was re-issued twice with a changed title as *Groot en volledig woordenboek der wiskunde, sterrekunde, meetkunde, rekenkunde, tuigwerkkunde, burger-, scheeps- en krygsbouwkunde, gezichtkunde, water- en vuurwerkkunde, benevens andere nuttige kunsten en wetenschappen* (Amsterdam, Steven van Esveldt, 1758; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Johannes Wessing Willemsz., 1772).

76. Cf. the combined edition of the translation of three German books on electricity in 1745: (1) Johann Heinrich Winkler, *Nieuwe natuurkundige ontdekkingen, aangaande de eigenschappen, werkingen en oorzaken der electriciteit of uitlokkingskracht. benevens eene beschryvinge van verscheide nieuwe electricische werktuigen*; (2) Johann Heinrich Winkler, *De eigenschappen der electricische stoffe, en van het electricische vuur, uit verscheidene nieuwe proeven verklaart*; and (3) Jakob Sigismund von Waitz, *Verhandeling over de Electriciteit, en derzelver oorzaken* (Amsterdam, Hendrik Vieroot, 1745; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. H. Vieroot and D. Sligtenhorst, 1746; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. H. W. van Welbergen, 1751). See also Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein, *Korte verhandeling van de oorzaken der electriciteyt [...], naar den 2den druk uit het Hoogduits vertaalt* (The Hague, Pieter van Cleef, 1745).

77. Johann Heinrich Winkler, *Beginselen der Natuurkunde. Naar den tweeden verbeterden Hoogduitschen druk vertaald* (Amsterdam, Jacobus Loveringh and Dordrecht, Abraham Blussé, 1768). The print run of this book was mentioned in some newspaper advertisements, for instance in the *Middelburgsche Courant* of 12 October 1775.

78. Cf. Arianne Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij: het wel en wee van een uitgeversfamilie [Blussé] in de achttiende eeuw* (The Hague 2001), p. 34.

79. See also the translations from the German published by Jan Bosch, mentioned in note 63.

*Translations from the Latin language*

Popular texts have rarely been written in Latin, and only very few Latin texts on experimental philosophy or Newtonian physics were translated into the Dutch language. The first of this kind was made in 1741 by the Zutphen lawyer Johan Lulofs who presented a translation of John Keill's *Introductio Ad Veram Physicam* (Oxford 1701) and *Introductio ad veram astronomiam* (Oxford 1718) to the Dutch public.<sup>80</sup> These two books were based on a series of experimental lectures on Newtonian natural philosophy that Keill had been giving at Oxford since 1694: the first lectures of this kind. Lulofs based his translation on the Leiden edition that had been prepared in 1725 by 's-Gravesande, an edition including three short texts that had been published elsewhere.<sup>81</sup> The most important of these was a paper Keill had published in 1708 in *Philosophical Transactions* as the first attempt to extend Newton's principle of gravitational attraction to a supposed attraction between smaller particles. Lulofs annotated his *Inleidinge Tot de waare Natuur- en Sterrekunde* ('Introduction to the true physics and astronomy') with scholarly notes and references to more recently published literature. In his preface, Lulofs stated that such a learned work as Keill's could not be translated by 'rented quills', but had to be performed by 'those not untrained in geometry, algebra, physics and astronomy'.<sup>82</sup> He therefore began the project, but was hindered in his translation by the fact that little had been written on this topic 'in his mother tongue'. The invention of *kunstwoorden* had especially posed him with problems in translation on several occasions. In most cases he preferred to coin a hybrid term directly related to a word Keill had used in his Latin edi-

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80. In 1740, Lulofs had already made a Dutch translation of a Latin book on astronomy written by the Danish scholar Petrus Horrebow. This book was published as *De zegepralende Copernicus of eene verhandeling over het verschilzigt des jaarlykschen loopkrings, waar in uit een menigte van sterrekundige waarnemingen de beweginge des aardkloots rondom de zon, betoogt word* (Zutphen, Jan van Hoorn, 1741).

81. John Keill, *Inleidinge Tot de waare Natuur- en Sterrekunde, [...] Waarbij gevoegt zyn dezelfs Verhandelingen over de Platte en Klootsche Driehoeks-Rekening, over de Middelpunts-Kragten en over de Wetten der Aantrekkinge. Uit het Latyn vertaald, en met eenige Aantekeningen en Byvoegsels verrykt door Johan Lulofs* (Leiden, Jan and Hermanus Verbeek, 1741). As late as 1802, this Dutch translation served as the source for a Japanese edition, published by Shizuki Tadao (1760-1806). Cf. T. Hayashi (with notes by J. C. Kluyver), 'A list of some Dutch astronomical works imported into Japan from Holland', *Nieuw archief voor wiskunde* 7 (1907), p. 230-237.

82. '[...] zeer wel wetende, dat de vertalinge van dusdanige werken niet door gehuurde pennen, maar door zodanige moest geschieden, die niet onervaren zyn in de Meet-, Stel-, Natuur- en Sterrekunde.' John Keill, *Inleidinge tot de waare Natuur- en Sterrekunde*, 'Voorreden van den Vertaler'.



tion. His Dutch translation aided Lulofs's path towards an academic chair; in 1742, he was asked to succeed the late 's-Gravesande at Leiden University.

Perhaps inspired by Lulofs's translation, the same Leiden publishers, Jan and Hermanus Verbeek, presented a Dutch translation of 's-Gravesande's renowned textbook in 1743, a third Latin edition of which had been published earlier that year, shortly after 's-Gravesande's death. However, the scholarly tone of this book did not meet with popular demand. Although the book included fine illustrations, the text appears to have proved too difficult for the common Dutch reader. Thus, only the first volume of the translation appeared in print. Evidently, connoisseurs preferred the original Latin edition.<sup>83</sup> 's-Gravesande's work had been translated by Jan Engelman, a physician from Haarlem and a former student of Petrus van Musschenbroek. In his home town, Engelman had been the leader of the 'Natuur- en Sterrekundig Collegie' for a decade.<sup>84</sup> This was a local society devoted to the study of physics and astronomy, a forerunner for the foundation, in 1752, of the 'Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen'.<sup>85</sup>

### *Translations from the French language*

The translation of French books on experimental philosophy commenced somewhat belatedly. D'Alencé's seventeenth-century book on meteorological instruments was published in 1730, and in 1737, Pieter le Clercq began his work on a Dutch translation of Abbé Pluche's multi-volume *Spectacle de la Nature*,<sup>86</sup> but it took until 1749 for a more complete French treatise on natural philosophy to be translated and published in Dutch. This was Noël Regnault's *Godvruchtige en proefkundige beschouwingen van de wetten en wer-*

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83. Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande, *Wiskundige Grondbeginselen der Natuurkunde, door Proefondervindingen gestaafd. Ofte Inleiding tot de Newtoniaansche Wysbegeerte*, vol. I [vol. II was intended, but never published] (Leiden, Johannes Arnoldus Langerak and Jan en Hermanus Verbeek, 1743). Cf. Cornelis de Pater, *Willem Jacob 's Gravesande* [!]: *welzijn, wijsbegeerte en wetenschap* (Baarn 1988), with bibliography.

84. Jan Engelman (1710-1782) published also a physico-theological treatise on snowflakes with the title *Het regt gebruik der natuurbeschouwingen, geschets in eene verhandeling over de sneeuwfiguren* (Haarlem, Izaak van der Vinne, 1747). According to the title, this book was a paraphrase on Nieuwentyt's popular book *Het regt gebruik der wereldbeschouwingen* of 1715. See for him and his circle: Sliggers, 'Honderd jaar natuurkundige amateurs in Haarlem'.

85. That is: the 'Dutch Society of Sciences'.

86. Noël Pluche, *Schouwtooneel der natuur, of samenspraaken over de bysonderheden der natuurlyke histori, die men bequaamst geoordeeld om den jongen lieden leerzucht te boezemen, en hun verstand op te leiden*, 15 vols (The Hague, various publishers, 1737-1749; re-issued in Amsterdam 1776, and again in 1799).

*ken der natuur* ('The Devout and experimental consideration of the laws and works of nature'), a book translated by an unknown 'lover of physics' and published by the Amsterdam book trader Steven van Esveldt.<sup>87</sup> In 1760, the book was enlarged with two additional volumes, composed of texts by other 'learned men', mostly written by 'the honorable Newton and of many members of the Society of Scholars in England; and of the Academy of Sciences in France'. Interestingly, the title page of these two extra volumes states that these additions were translated by 'a company of enthusiasts of physics and astronomy at the state university of Leiden'.<sup>88</sup> This group had also investigated the first volume by 'performing experiments, in order to find out the truth of it all'.<sup>89</sup> It is possible that this group comprised of interested students working under the direction of Professor Johan Lulofs, who is known to have held a 'Monday assembly' on a regular basis.<sup>90</sup> In the preface of the second volume, it is explained that these additions had been delayed for more than a decade as a result of the 'gentleman who had worked on the first volume' having spent a considerable period abroad.<sup>91</sup> The enterprise had been continued because experiments had brought to light several insights 'on which rarely had been published in the Dutch language'. Following Nieuwentyt's example, the present editors intended to use 'the present glorious

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87. Noël Regnault, *Godvruchtige, en proefkundige beschouwingen, van de wetten en werken der natuur, ter betooging van Gods almacht, wysheid en goedheid, uit de werken van veele beroemde mannen, en in 't byzonder uit de natuurkundige zamenspraaken van de geleerden vader Regnault, te zamen gestelt, opgeheldert, en tot verheerlyking van God, en overtuiging der Atheïsten, Deïsten en andere dwaalgeesten aangedrongen, door een liefhebber der natuurkunde* (Amsterdam, Steven van Esveldt, 1749). This volume consisted, for the most part, of a Dutch translation of Noël Regnault, *Les entretiens physiques d'Aristote et d'Eudoxe, ou Physique nouvelle en dialogues* (Paris 1729).

88. 'Een Gezelschap van eenige Liefhebbers der Natuur en Starrekunde, op 's Lands Hooge Schoole te Leiden' (1760).

89. That is: 'door proevnemingen getoetst, en de waarheid van alles nagespoord'. In volumes II and III, however, only very few experiments and observations are specified in a Dutch context. In vol. II (1760), p. 468, an experiment is described with a barometer, done at the 'byzonder Natuur- en Starrekundig College op 's Lands Academie te Leiden'; on p. 522, a new microscopic observation is described, and on p. 529, a reflecting telescope according to Newton's design is mentioned, owned by the 'vernufftige heer Stekhove, bloemist en landmeeter van Rhyndland', who had made a 'buis-verrekyker van Koper', an instrument which was 'wonderbaar'. This must have been one of the first reflecting telescopes built in the Netherlands.

90. Lulofs mentioned this 'Maandags gezelschap' in a letter to Klinkenberg, written on 4 May 1759, Harleem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Archive KNAW, inv. no. 31.

91. In Regnault, *Godvruchtige, en proefkundige beschouwingen*, vol. II (1760), p. 27-28, a long stay is mentioned at the Caribbean Isle of Curaçao where one of the editors had visited the slave-plantation 'Hato' owned by the local governor Faesch.

experimental physics'<sup>92</sup> to clarify the magnificence of God's creation. More precisely, they had selected several foreign scientific texts, especially on electricity, gravitation, optics and astronomy, which were translated from Latin, French, Italian, English and German.

Probably the most popular Dutch translations on experimental physics in the Netherlands were those of the works of the Frenchman Abbé Nollet. This itinerant practitioner had been inspired to study physics while on his travels to England and the Netherlands during the years 1734-1736. He had seen Desaguliers's performances in London and, like his compatriot, the great philosopher Voltaire, he had attended some lectures given by 's-Gravesande at Leiden University. While these lessons had inspired Voltaire to compose his well-known *Elements de la Philosophie de Neuton* [!] (Amsterdam 1736), they had aided Nollet in finding his vocation as a populariser of experimental physics. In his lessons, almost every phenomenon was explained by experiments or demonstrations, and hardly any mathematics was used. In France, Nollet amused many high-placed persons, including the French 'Dauphin' and the Crown Prince of Sardinia. Between the years 1743-1748, he published his six-volume *Leçons de Physique Expérimentale*, a collection that was reprinted several times during the eighteenth century.<sup>93</sup> The Dutch translation of these *Natuurkundige Lessen door Proefneemingen bevestigd* ('Physics lessons confirmed by experiments') was issued over the period 1759-1767 by the Amsterdam publisher Klaas van Tongerloo. This was a richly illustrated book, published in twelve small octavo volumes.<sup>94</sup> In 1772 the Utrecht publisher Samuel de Waal obtained the remaining stock of the translation. At that time he added an index volume, to be followed in the years 1773-1783 by Nollet's three-volume *Brieven over de elektrisiteit* ('Letters on electricity'), translated 'by the same translator of his lessons'.<sup>95</sup> Most likely this anonymous translator was Martinus Houttuyn who would sign his additional remarks in his various translations with the letter 'H'; pre-

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92. That is: 'de hedendaagse zegenpralende proevkundige natuurkunde'.

93. Cf. Lewis Pyenson and Jean-François Gauvin, *The Art of teaching physics: the eighteenth century demonstration apparatus of Jean Antoine Nollet* (Quebec 2002).

94. Jean Antoine Nollet, *Natuurkundige Lessen, door Proefneemingen bevestigd, Tot opheldering van allerley dagelyks voorkomende Zaaken*, 6 vols in 12 bindings (Amsterdam, Klaas van Tongerloo, 1759-1768). See Pyenson and Gauvin, *The Art of teaching physics*, no. V-h.

95. That is: 'door den Vertaaler van Nollet's Natuurkundige Lessen'. Jean Antoine Nollet, *Brieven over de Elektrisiteit. Uit het Fransch vertaald, En met eenige Aantekeningen, en Byvoegsels, meest uit andere Werken, van den zelfden schryver, vermeerderd, door den Vertaaler van Nollet's Natuurkundige Lessen*, 3 vols (Utrecht, S. de Waal and Amsterdam, G. Warnars, 1773-1783). See Pyenson and Gauvin, *The Art of teaching physics*, no. XI-d.

sent in several footnotes in the Dutch edition of Nollet.<sup>96</sup> Compared with Nollet's original French edition, the Dutch edition was considerably enlarged, for instance with a section on windmills and an 'explanation of some phrases coined by mathematicians, which are used in this work'.<sup>97</sup> Besides, various cross-references to relevant literature in the Dutch language were added, including many references to the *Uitgezogte Verhandelingen*, the journal edited by Martinus Houuttuyn. Van Tongerloo, who was a business companion of the publisher Frans Houuttuyn, Martinus Houuttuyn's cousin, dedicated the first volume to the Amsterdam professor Petrus Camper, who had lectured in experimental philosophy during his professorship at Franeker University.

The Dutch edition of Nollet's lessons became very popular in the Netherlands. The book was used in many of the local physics societies that emerged in the last decades of the eighteenth century, for instance in the 'Natuurkundig Genootschap der Dames' ('The Physics Society for Ladies') which was founded in 1785 in the city of Middelburg in the province of Zeeland.<sup>98</sup> In 1777, the series was complemented with a Dutch translation of Nollet's *L'Art des Expériences* (1768-1770), a series of three volumes devoted to a description of the instruments used in his lessons and containing all kinds of instructions on how to construct them. Strangely, this series was presented by a different publisher, the Amsterdam bookdealer Steven Jacobus Baalde. As no 'H' mark can be found in this series, this is likely the work of a different translator. This *Proef-ondervindelyke Natuurkunde ter ophelderinge der natuurkundige lessen en andere Natuurkundige werken door den heer abt Nollet* ('Experimental physics for the elucidation of the physics lessons and other works of physics by Abbé Nollet') is nowadays infrequently found in Dutch libraries, which could be an indication that this last series attracted fewer buyers.<sup>99</sup> In 1785, a final Nollet volume appeared, this time again by De

96. See for instance vol. I, part 1, p. 127-128; vol. III, part 2, p. 154; vol. IV, part 1, p. 105; and vol. VI, part 1, p. 121. Other footnotes containing remarks from a more recent French edition were marked 'Nollet' of 'N'. For Houuttuyn's habit of marking his own pieces with an 'H', see Boeseman and De Ligny, *Martinus Houuttuyn (1720-1798) and his contributions to the natural sciences*, p. 85 and p. 102.

97. 'Verklaaring van eenige meetkonstenaarsbewoordingen die in dit werk gebruikt zyn.' Cf. Nollet, vol. II, part 1, p. 337-450. For the 'Verklaaring van eenige meetkonstenaarsbewoordingen die in dit werk gebruikt zyn', see I.43-64.

98. Cf. Margareth Jacob and Dorothee Sturkenboom, 'A Women's scientific society in the West: the late eighteenth-century assimilation of science', *ISIS: an international review devoted to the history of science and its cultural influences* 94 (2003), p. 217-252 and Henricus A. M. Snelders, 'De beoefening van de natuurkunde door de gegoede burgerij uit de achttiende eeuw', *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 31/32 (1976), p. 3-24.

99. Jean Antoine Nollet, *Proef-ondervindelyke Natuurkunde ter ophelderinge der natuurkundige lessen en andere Natuurkundige werken door den heer abt Nollet, [...] uit het Fransch*

Waal, who re-issued one of Nollet's earliest works on electricity, a translation of his *Essai sur l'électricité des corps* (Paris 1746 and The Hague 1747). This booklet had already been translated into Dutch in 1748 by the Leiden professor in natural philosophy Jean Nicolas Sebastien Allamand, who had supplemented the book with a treatise on the possible nature of the attractive forces concerned.<sup>100</sup>

After Nollet, other popular books and translations on experimental physics were launched but no publication ever equalled Nollet's success. Dutch translations of famous books such as Leonhard Euler's *Lettres à une princesse d'Allemagne sur divers sujets de physique et de philosophie* (Petersburg 1768-1772), published in 1785-1786 in Utrecht as *Brieven over de voor-naamste onderwerpen der natuurkunde en wysbegeerte* ('Letters concerning the major subjects of physics and philosophy'), or Francesco Algarotti's famous Italian tract *Il Newtonianisme per le Dame* (Milan 1737), published (probably) in Dordrecht in 1768 as *Newtoniaansche wysbegeerte voor vrouwen* ('Newtonian physics for ladies') are rarely to be found in modern Dutch libraries, suggesting, again, a rather modest circulation at the time of their release.<sup>101</sup>

## V. Conclusion

In the 1730s, a wave of popularisation of experimental philosophy swamped the Netherlands. Prepared by the physico-theological component of Newtonianism (which, in the 1720s, had replaced previous resistance towards the rational natural philosophy of radical Cartesianism), and stimulated by the appealing physics and astronomy lectures of the English itinerant showman John Theophilus Desaguliers, people from varied social backgrounds became

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*vertaald*, 3 vols (Amsterdam, Steven Jacobus Baalde, 1777). See also Baalde's prospectus (UB Amsterdam, KVB PPA 594:17) and Pyenson and Gauvin, *The Art of teaching physics*, no. XIV-d.

100. Jean Antoine Nollet, *Proeve omtrent de Electriciteit der Ligchaamen* (Utrecht, Samuel de Waal, 1784). See Pyenson and Gauvin, *The Art of teaching physics*, no. VI-f. The earlier translation by Jean Nicolas Sebastien Allamand had been issued with the title *Proeve over de aanlokkige-kracht der lighaamen. Met een verhandeling over de aanlokkige-kracht door J. N. S. Allamand* (Leiden, E. Luzac, 1748) – not mentioned by Pyenson and Gauvin. For Allamand's role as a (French) translator and as a knowledge broker between writers and publishers, see Rietje van Vliet, 'Makelaar in intellect: Johannes Nicolaas Sebastiaan Allamand (1713-1787) als intermediair tussen schrijvers en uitgevers', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 1 (2004), p. 103-122.

101. The Dutch Central Catalogue (NCC) only mentions the second Dutch edition of Francesco Algarotti, *Newtoniaansche wysbegeerte voor vrouwen* (Amsterdam, Harmanus Keyzer and Utrecht, A. Stubbe, 1775).

interested in studying the subject, particularly its experimental aspect. This popularisation persisted throughout the eighteenth-century and triggered a demand for popular scientific literature, a great quantity of which consisted of Dutch translations of foreign publications, mostly from of English provenance but also originating from French, German and even Italian sources.

Remarkably, many of the early translators of this literature were related to dissident theological circles in the Netherlands. In particular, the wealthy Mennonite community contributed to the dissemination of natural science and experimental philosophy. In my survey of both known and speculated translators, as well as publishers in this field, I have encountered the Mennonites Ten Kate, Tirion, Van Loon, Centen, Houttuyn, Van Schagen, De Vrijer, Nettis, Bosch, and Ploos van Amstel, and the Remonstrants Krighout and Van den Bosch. A prolific translator like Jan Wagenaar can also be regarded as strongly influenced by his Mennonite friends. These results confirm the belief forwarded already by Kloek, Mijnhardt, and others that dissenters played a key role in the transmission and dissemination of new ideas.<sup>102</sup>

Many Dutch translators were linked in one way or another with a circle of physics enthusiasts. In Amsterdam, such groups existed around Tirion, Von Sprögel, (Martinus) Houttuyn and Bosma;<sup>103</sup> in Haarlem, translators like Bosch and Engelman were active within the same physics society; in Middelburg, Nettis was at the heart of such a group and De Vrijer was a member of a local physics society at Wormerveer. Thus it seems that in many cases a network of ‘konstgenoten’ (‘fellows of the arts’), as they often referred to themselves, was a stimulus for undertaking a translation.

The content of most translations stayed close to the text of the original authors, reflecting one contemporaneous view, that ‘a translator earns his distinction, when he [...] expresses in a faithful way and in a clear style the same things that the original author has said’.<sup>104</sup> The translator of Winkler’s *Beginselen der Natuurkunde* (1768) even feared that he had stayed so close to the original (German) text, that in some cases a very skilled reader would

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102.Cf. Joost J. Kloek and Wijnandus W. Mijnhardt, *1800: blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague 2001), p. 79; translated into English by Beverley Jackson as *1800: blueprints for a national community* (Assen 2004).

103.The Amsterdam lecturer Jan van den Dam also had produced a translation of a work on astronomy and geography. See Isaac Watts, *Eerste beginselen der Sterre- en Aardrijkskunde. Op een duidelyke wyze voorgesteld door het gebruik van Globen en Kaarten. Na den derden Druk uit het Engelsch vertaalt. door Jan van den Dam. Met eenige bijvoegselen en veranderingen* (Amsterdam, Gerardus Lequien, 1749; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Jacobus Hafman, 1750).

104.‘Een vertaler heeft zijn verdienste, als hij, bij de kennis der onderwerpen, de tael die hij overbrengt, en die waarin hij schrijft, wel verstaet; als hij getrouw vertaelt, en ons in een duidelijke stijl, hetzelfde zegt als de schrijver gezegd heeft.’ Bakker, *Het leven van Jan Wagenaar*, p. 16.

judge his translation as presented in incorrect Dutch and still being too German.<sup>105</sup> However, in a few cases considerable additions and alterations were made, for instance by Houttuyn, who added large expansions with comments in some cases. Concerning the quality of the translations, not everybody was satisfied. Concerning Le Clercq's translations, for instance, it was said that these were 'quick rather than faithful'.<sup>106</sup> Not all translations were completed or printed; translations of books by 's-Gravesande or Joseph Priestley were never finished.<sup>107</sup> Likewise, a Dutch translation of the famous instrument manual by Nicolas Bion was never published.<sup>108</sup> The same applies to a Dutch translation of Lord Mahon's *Principles of Electricity* which was made in the 1780s for the Dutch patrician Van de Perre.<sup>109</sup>

In view of the Dutch translations on experimental philosophy in the Newtonian spirit, it can be stated overall that these presented to the Dutch public a good insight into the relevant popular literature published in broader Europe. As such, the translators and publishers contributed to the transmission, spread and use of foreign natural philosophy in the Netherlands. The physico-theological motive frequently appeared to be a key factor in translation and popularisation efforts. However, through this physico-theological message, the notion of the possibility of a manipulation of nature entered the minds of many enthusiasts of experimental physics. This evidently supported the notion of scientific knowledge as being of some practical significance to society, and, in its own right, this contributed to social acceptance of the methods of science in the Netherlands, where the emphasis on 'usefulness' would become a defining and persistent characteristic of an approach to natural science studies.<sup>110</sup>

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105. Winkler, *Beginselen der Natuurkunde*, preface.

106. That is: 'meer vlug als getrouw'. Bakker, *Het leven van Jan Wagenaar*, p. 54.

107. See note 83 and Joseph Priestley, *Proeven en Waarneemingen op verschillende soorten van Lucht*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, Pieter Hayman, 1778-1781). This translation was made by Jacob Ploos van Amstel Jacobsz (1735-1784), a Mennonite physician who had graduated from Leiden University in 1758. His father left lecture notes, made at the first lessons on experimental physics given by Fahrenheit. See note 15.

108. Nicolas Bion, *Verhandeling van de constructie in de voornaemste gebruiken der mathematische instrumenten [...] in 't Nederduits overgezet door Jacob Grauwers*, never published, manuscript in Museum Boerhaave, Leiden. The translator, Jacob Grauwers (\* Rotterdam [Dutch reformed] 1730), had studied mathematics at Leiden University (matriculation 1753). In 1757, he unsuccessfully applied for the position of lecturer of mathematics (left vacant by the death of his tutor W. La Bordus). His *Vertoog over het nut der wiskunde* ('Exposition of the usefulness of mathematics') is still in the archives of the Dutch Royal Family.

109. Huib J. Zuidervaart, 'Mr. Johan Adriaen van de Perre (1738-1790): portret van een Zeeuws regent, mecenas en liefhebber van nuttige wetenschappen', *Archief: mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (1983), p. 1-169 (p. 104).

110. Bert Theunissen, 'Nut en nog een nut': *wetenschapsbeelden van Nederlandse natuuronderzoekers, 1800-1900* (Hilversum 2000).

JOHN STONE

Translated sociabilities of print  
in eighteenth-century Spain

I. An Anglo-Spanish eighteenth century?

Comparative literary history has long privileged the category of influence as a means of gauging the relative importance of exporting languages and cultures. This was in turn congenial to received images of the Enlightenment as a paradigmatically French-language phenomenon, cosmopolitan only inasmuch as it irradiated from centres of Francophone publishing. Accordingly, Spanish national literary histories regularly plot such phenomena as the rise of the periodical press in Spain as a series of appropriations and imitations of, say, *Le spectateur traduit* or the *Journal des sçavans*, in accord with the treatment of Franco-Hispanic relations as though they alone determined the existence and character of the Spanish Enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> Yet efforts to correct this simple historiographic account of causality and agency by portraying the alleged object of influence as more robust and continuous in its development, while stressing the integration of foreign cultural elements into a native culture, have failed to question the binomial cultural model underwriting it.<sup>2</sup> Simply put, what was neither native (for which read 'Spanish', itself a reification) nor foreign (i.e. French, including all texts mediated by French translation) cannot be factored into the equation, and so must be consigned to the catch-all category of 'other'. 'Otherness', in such a context, lies behind or beyond mediation.

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1. The *locus classicus* of this account is Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid 1880-1882), which often bristles with hostility to the heterodox writers who populate the narrative. Menéndez Pelayo's thesis was disputed by Jean Sarrailh, *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1954), which remains influential.
  2. See Pegerto Saavedra and Hortensia Sobrado, *El siglo de las luces: cultura y vida cotidiana* (Madrid 2004), p. 363-379 for a comprehensive survey of recent Spanish historiography on the Enlightenment. Among the scholars treated, Antonio Mestre, whose vast output has centred almost exclusively on the life, writings, and circle of Gregorio Mayans, may be the most distinguished representative of this historiographic school.



A contrasting case for the heterogeneity of Spanish translation culture and readerships in the eighteenth century may be made by profiling readers of other languages (of whom translators of those languages are a subset) and setting aside the notion of influence in favour of that of cultural transfer. Thus approached, the supposed otherness of unmediated Anglophone culture reveals itself to be as much a by-product of historiographical assumptions as a reflection of the documentary record, bringing to the fore a host of questions concerning both the carriers of transfer processes and print as a border-crossing good. Indeed, the grounds for such studies already exist in, for example, profiles of Hiberno-Spanish immigrants, often undertaken from the perspective of economic history, with a special interest in merchant and banker families which perpetuated a knowledge of English through the generations;<sup>3</sup> and in studies of private libraries catalogued as a part of post-mortem inventories of an individual's assets.<sup>4</sup> The traditional tracing of influence and identification of sources for individual writers, such as José Cadalso<sup>5</sup> or José Clavijo y Fajardo,<sup>6</sup> should thus be supplemented by inquiry into the lives of individual readers, such as Maria Wadding y Asley, who in 1753

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3. See, for example, María José Álvarez Pantojo, 'Irlandeses en Sevilla en el siglo XVIII: White, Plunket y Compañía', in *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo XVIII*, ed. María Begoña Villar García (Málaga 2000), p. 19-40; and Sean Fannin, 'Carew, Langton and Power: an Irish trading house in Cádiz, 1745-1761', in *Los extranjeros en la España moderna*, ed. María Begoña Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (Málaga 2003), 1.347-352.
  4. See, for example, Martine Galland-Seguela, 'Las condiciones materiales de la vida privada de los ingenieros militares en España durante el siglo XVIII', *Scripta nova: revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 8.179 (2004), <<http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-179.htm>>; and María Begoña Villar García, 'Libros y lectores en la Málaga del siglo XVIII', *Baetica* 3 (1980), p. 249-264.
  5. See, for example, Emily Cotton, 'Cadalso and his foreign sources', *Bulletin of Spanish studies* 8.29 (1931), p. 5-19; Ralph Merritt Cox, 'Baretti and Cadalso: a question of influence', *Dieciocho* 5.1 (1982), p. 34-44; Eterio Pajares, 'Sensibilidad y lacrimosidad en Cadalso: sus fuentes extranjeras', *Boletín de la biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 71 (1995), p. 119-135; and Katherine Reding, 'A Study of the influence of Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the world* upon the *Cartas marruecas* of José Cadalso', *Hispanic review* 2.3 (1934), p. 226-234.
  6. As the most prominent eighteenth-century text in histories of the essay and journalism in Spain, Clavijo y Fajardo's *El pensador* affords an instructive example of how mediation has been taken for granted by historians; and how, consequently, what relationship, if any, the mid-eighteenth century Spanish press may have had with its English counterpart has long been approached in terms of appropriations, imitations, and influence on the development of the genre of *costumbrismo*. See, for example, Francisco Sánchez Blanco, *El siglo XVIII, El ensayo español 2* (Barcelona 1997), p. 41 and p. 243; Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Milagros Rodríguez Cáceres, *Manual de literatura española* (Tafalla 1980-2005), II.206; Ángel Valbuena Prat and Antonio Prieto, *Historia de la literatura española* (Barcelona 1981-1983), III.85; and Nigel Glendinning, *The Eighteenth century: a literary history of Spain* (London 1972), p. 57, n. 25.

signed and dated a copy of the *Spectator* in Tonson's 1749 edition,<sup>7</sup> and Francisca Butler, whose library featured Henry Mackenzie's *Man of feeling*,<sup>8</sup> together with the networks and modes of sociability that fostered acquisition of English-language printed matter.

I do not propose to undertake such a socio-historical study of English-literate readerships in eighteenth-century Spain in the present article, but rather to consider one such site of sociability as described in the front matter of *El novelero de los estrados, y tertulias, y Diario universal de las bagatelas*, eight weekly numbers of which appeared in Madrid in the autumn of 1764.<sup>9</sup> A fashionable lady and a distinguished, well-travelled visitor, having discussed the influence of reading on conversation and social conduct, agree to regular meetings with a select group of friends to hear a newly translated fiction read aloud 'que nos sirviera [...] de Prólogo a la conversación'.<sup>10</sup> Agency, motivation, criteria for selection and expected impact on listeners or readers are thus dramatized in and about a medium consisting principally of translations of texts which 'son el recreo de toda la discrecion de Europa, y una Escuela abierta de la buenas costumbres'.<sup>11</sup> The publisher, Francisco Mariano Nipho, was likewise poised between the expansion of the print sphere and increasingly prominent discourses of sociability: 'el proto-periodista con "dedicación plena"'<sup>12</sup> sporadically enjoying official favour if not patronage,<sup>13</sup> Nipho had in 1758 founded Spain's first daily newspaper, the *Diario noticioso, erudito y comercial, público y economico*, and in 1763 had issued a translation/adaptation of Boudier de Villerme's *L'ami des femmes*, concerned

7. Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Laguna, shelf marks Fondo antiguo 4697-4704.

8. The edition is Strahan and Cadell's of 1773, Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz, shelf mark XVIII-8.819.

9. Antonio Ruiz y Minondo, *El novelero de los estrados, y tertulias, y Diario universal de las bagatelas* (Madrid 1764). As there is internal evidence that Ruiz y Minondo is one of Nipho's many pseudonyms, the attribution to Nipho is universally accepted. The *estrados* of the title were raised platforms analogous in function to drawing rooms and defined by period dictionaries as places where ladies received visitors; *tertulias* were (and are) gatherings for the purpose of conversation. On *estrados*, see Carmen Martín Gaité, *Love customs in eighteenth-century Spain*, transl. by Maria G. Tomsich (Berkeley 1991), p. 15-16.

10. That is: 'in order that it might serve [...] as a prologue to the conversation'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. A3r. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

11. In English: 'they are the amusement of all of Europe's wits, and a ready school of good manners'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. A2r.

12. That is: 'the "full-time" proto-journalist'. Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción al siglo XVIII* (Madrid, Oviedo 1991), p. 152.

13. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, 'La ilustración de Francisco Mariano Nifo', *Dieciocho* 29.2 (2006), p. 206-208. The spelling of Nipho's surname is sometimes brought into line with current orthographic norms in Spanish, thus 'Nifo' rather than 'Nipho'.

among other questions with the bearing a woman's reading might have on her conversational agency. Likewise, in his short-lived journal *El duende especulativo sobre la vida civil* (1761) Nipho had attributed to the sociability and shared reading matter of the coffee house the fact that 'nuestras costumbres se moderan mas y mas';<sup>14</sup> accordingly 'se podrán en ellos lograr mejor instrucción sobre el estado de las cosas que en las demás tertulias'<sup>15</sup> where discussion is not coloured by print.

## II. The *Novelero de los estados* translation of *Idler* 102

The former of the two sections in each number, *El Novelero* proper, is given over to narrative fiction short enough to be read at one sitting, pride of place being given to translations of five tales by Jean-François Marmontel.<sup>16</sup> These had appeared in the *Mercure de France*, edited by Marmontel, between 1758 and 1760; a collected edition appeared at The Hague in 1761 under the title *Contes moraux*. In the Spanish context, they are among the first examples of prose fiction populated by middle-class characters for whom the segregation of public and private sociabilities carries with it the risk of moral duplicity.<sup>17</sup> Two other short fictions were taken from *El curial del Parnaso* by Matías de los Reyes (1581-1640) and one from Nipho's own *Diario extrangero* (1763). The ultimate European source of this last piece, 'Lo que es el amor de las viudas por su difunto marido. Historieta bizarra de la China', was doubtless the famous *Recueil des lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1702-1758), though the story of Chuang-tse and his wife was also available in later French and English texts.<sup>18</sup>

14. That is: 'our manners grow increasingly mild'. Juan Antonio Mercadál, *El duende especulativo sobre la vida civil* (Madrid 1761), p. 217. The attribution to Nipho is not universally accepted. See Guinard, *La presse*, p. 165-166 for speculation that the *Duende* may have been the work of the Dutch-born Juan Enrique de Graef, who had written a journal on trade and technology in the 1750s; for a criticism of this attribution, see Sánchez Blanco, *La prosa*, p. 135-136.

15. That is: 'there one may obtain a better intelligence about current events than in other fora for discussion'. Mercadál, *Duende*, p. 286. Note that the coffee house as a social site is classed as a kind of *tertulia*.

16. In order of appearance in the *Novelero*, the texts in question are 'La bonne mère', 'La mauvaise mère', 'La scrupule', 'Tout ou rien', and 'Les deux infortunées'.

17. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, *La novela del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, Gijón 1991), p. 112.

18. See Alda Milner-Barry, 'A Note on the early literary relations of Oliver Goldsmith and Thomas Percy', *Review of English studies* 2.5 (1926), p. 55-60 and T. C. Fan, 'Percy and Du Halde', *Review of English studies* 21.84 (1945), p. 326-329 on English translations of Du

In the consistently briefer *Diario universal de la bagatelas*, Álvarez Barrientos finds plentiful comment on bourgeois life in the capital, echoing the settings and concerns of Marmontel's fictions,<sup>19</sup> while Guinard deems only parodies and pastiches of other Spanish journals worthy of comment.<sup>20</sup> The two are in fact interwoven, as comment on the trials of courtship or the structures of elaborate hairdos are presented under long titles that mock the press as a forum for erudite exchange.<sup>21</sup> Passed over by critics, though to my mind of greater interest, are three examples of non-fiction taken from English-language sources. The first of these, appearing in the fourth number, is a previously unidentified direct translation of *Idler* 102 as first published in *The universal chronicle* for 29 March 1760.<sup>22</sup> The following number features translated extracts from David Hume's *Of refinement in the arts*,<sup>23</sup> which links the growth of commerce to greater ease of sociability and the politeness in men to the company of women, from the French of the *Journal étranger* for May 1754;<sup>24</sup> and the sixth, an epitome, with commentary, of *Rambler* 4

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Halde's *Description de la Chine* and subsequent versions of the story by Thomas Percy and Oliver Goldsmith.

19. Álvarez Barrientos, *La novela*, p. 113.

20. Guinard, *La presse*, p. 158.

21. The tone of the *Diario* is caught nicely by a mock book review appearing under the heading 'Noticias eruditas para gente ociosa' ('Learned news for people of leisure'), of a supposed *Catalogo historico-politico-socratico* and its supplements ([Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 41-42). The *Catalogo* proves to be a biographical dictionary of the illustriously lazy.

22. It is also the earliest known published direct translation from English to Spanish.

23. Hume's *Of refinement of the arts* first appeared under the title 'Of luxury' in the 1752 collection *Political Discourses* and was incorporated into the two-part collection *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary* in 1758. The present title of the essay dates from the 1760 edition of the latter collection.

24. The text is 'Carta escrita al autor de este Diario en defensa de los Nobles bien vestidos y Contra una falsa sátira de los lícitos aseados, representada, con el ridiculo nombre de El Petimetre, en el Coliseo de la Cruz, desde el día 19 de octubre hasta el 19 de noviembre de este año 1764'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 202-219. The text by Hume is on p. 206-213. For the immediate source text in French, see *Journal étranger*, May 1754, p. 219-228. Three other political essays by Hume appeared in French translation in the *Journal étranger* in the early 1760s; see Alfred C. Hunter, *J.-B.-A. Suard: un introducteur de la littérature anglaise en France* (Paris 1925), p. 57. On the *Novelero* retranslation, see María Elósegui and María Dolores Bosch, 'El ensayo de Hume sobre el refinamiento en las artes y su influencia en la ilustración española', *Dieciocho* 19.1 (1996), p. 101-127. Elósegui and Bosch consider neither the question of Nipho's source nor discuss the translation, which they are content to reproduce in abbreviated form. Cf. Elósegui and Bosch, 'El ensayo de Hume', p. 103-109. Nipho would return to the themes of luxury, commerce, and customs in his 1767 translation of Jacob Friedrich von Bielfeld's *Institutions politiques*.

(on the new prose fiction, its 'realism', its audience, and its moral responsibilities), from the June 1754 issue of the same publication.<sup>25</sup>

It is to the *Idler* translation that I now turn, for its concern with the impact of print on the social existence of writers provides a frame of reference for the *Novelero* and its competitors in the first (and, in eighteenth-century terms, greatest) flourishing of the periodical press in Madrid.<sup>26</sup> The *Idler* translation appears under the heading 'AVISO Sobre un asunto de particular importancia para la Literatura'.<sup>27</sup> It is preceded by a short paragraph explaining the provenance of the text, contributed by a correspondent (whether real or a fictional device), and followed by an appeal to 'los Sabios Españoles bien intencionados'<sup>28</sup> to write literary history by producing literary biography, as well as an argument for the *Idler* 102's relevance to a specifically Spanish readership:

El motivo de acordar esta memoria es la justa quexa que tiene el Autor de este aviso, viendo, que á la digna memoria del Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Fr. Geronymo Benito Feijoo, no se ha tributado aquel justo elogio que la han merecido sus preciosos escritos: se ha declarado solicita la codicia para reimprimir sus Obras; pero no ha respirado en sus aplausos la Literatura. Què vergueenza! Què rubor! Què descredito! Què letargo afrentoso!<sup>29</sup>

If Nipho is both the editorial eidolon and a fictional correspondent, he is here using the device to commend himself in the third person. Otherwise, the post-script represents further communication, whether written or oral, which accompanied the translated *Idler*. In either case, topicality is added to the text: news of Feijoo's death on 26 September 1764 was still relatively recent. Thus, 'Para evitar esta, y otros semejantes vergonzosos olvidos, se convida á los Sábios Españoles bien intencionados, se dignen recoger memorias, y noticias de nuestros Sábios difuntos en este Siglo, para formar la Historia de estos Héroes, del juicio, y capacidad: que el sugeto que dà este Aviso ofrece ir formando tomos, imprimirlos á su costa, y mantener siempre viva la me-

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25. *Journal étranger*, June 1754, p. 227-231.

26. At least forty-four other periodicals, many of them short lived, appeared in the 1760s, presenting a range of social, literary, and intellectual content in a manner informed by the wider phenomenon of European journals.

27. 'NOTICE concerning a matter of particular importance for Literature.' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 164.

28. That is: 'well-meaning Spanish savants'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 170.

29. 'The motive for bringing this to mind is the well-founded complaint the author of this notice makes that Geronimo Benito Feijoo's admirable works have not reaped the praise that they deserved. There is greed in those who are impatient to reprint his works, but Literature has not paused to render him tribute. How shameful! How red-faced! How disreputable! What an insulting delay!' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 169-170.

moria de nuestros Literatos'.<sup>30</sup> Are 'el sugeto que dà este Aviso' and 'el Autor de este aviso' one and the same? The introductory material has Nipho's correspondent asking 'encarecidamente que le dè al Público';<sup>31</sup> the coincidence of the verb *dar* certainly suggests that 'el sugeto' is the *Novelero* eidolon. At least formally, the *Idler* translation is tied to a publishing project proposed in the public interest. It should be remembered that this text appeared only three years after Gregorio Mayans's biography of Fray Luis de Leon, and two years before the first volume of Pedro and Rafael Mohedano's *Historia literaria de España* (1766-1791), whose long title at times echoes the *Idler* 102 postscript uncannily;<sup>32</sup> prestigious precedents for a systematic attempt to describe and order literary traditions were available in France (the best known is the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, begun in 1733) and England (e.g. Thomas Warton's 1764 *History of English Poetry*); and a biographical dictionary of 'varones ilustres' ('illustrious men') was among the projects the Real Academia de la Historia had taken upon itself. There was nothing novel, then, in this call for the literary past to be historicised biographically, for which the reader is prepared in the last paragraph of the target text by a significant interpolation. To the *Idler*'s hope that 'the learned will be taught to know their own strength and their value',<sup>33</sup> the translator adds (by way of apposition) 'conocimiento que nos procurará la Historia general de nuestros sabios'.<sup>34</sup> Read as a research programme, the postscript departs significantly from *Idler* 102's appeal to writers to narrate their own lives, though not from the deeper concern with memory and writing that had surfaced elsewhere in the series.<sup>35</sup>

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30. 'To prevent this and other equally shameful cases of neglect, we invite well-meaning Spanish savants to be so kind as to collect what is remembered or recorded about those of our savants who have died in this century, in order to compose the History of these Heroes, of their understanding and their skill. And the subject who conveys this notice offers to compile such memorials, and pay for the printing of the resulting volumes, as a way of keeping the memory of our men of letters alive forever.' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 170.

31. That is: 'insistently that [I] convey this notice to the public'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 164.

32. It promises the reader 'las vidas de los hombres sabios de esta Nacion' ('the lives of this nation's learned men'). The ten-volume *Historia* does not, however, comprehend the eighteenth century, and I find any direct relationship between their project and the *Idler* 102 translation unlikely.

33. Samuel Johnson, *The Idler and the Adventurer*, ed. Walter Jackson Bate, John Marshall Bullitt, and Laurence Fitzroy Powell, The Yale edition of the works of Samuel Johnson 2 (New Haven 1963), p. 313-314. I will use the series title when making further references to this edition.

34. That is: 'which knowledge will furnish us with a general History of our learned men'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 169.

35. I have in mind *Idler* 84, Yale 2, p. 261-264, on biography and autobiography, which explicitly treats the biography-romance comparison which I find implicit in *Idler* 102.

The source text is part of the series's self-reflexiveness, an essay about the possibility of giving a writer's life a narrative shape, and a reflection on the psychological impact on writers of both their works' reception and their origin in economic necessity; it presents writers as workers, only to re-position such figures as the amateur writer or the patron around this new central referent. Samuel Johnson argues from the psychology of dependence on trade in print: need compels writers to do their work 'often [...] against the present inclination', in a state of anxiety lest their work should go unpaid or their assignments dry up.<sup>36</sup> The writer's life and production are juxtaposed with those of what might be termed 'amateur life writers', '[s]tatesmen, courtiers, ladies, generals and seamen' who 'have given to the world their own stories'. Their work fills up the vacuity of leisure; as they do not write for money, they may 'lay down the pen whenever they [are] weary'.<sup>37</sup>

The narrative shape of a writer's life takes up the middle section of the essay; and this Johnson examines in three ways. It is compared to the grand plot of a romance, the episodic minutiae of a novel in the mode of Fielding, and the sentimental novel's emphasis on visible and verbal manifestations of emotions as the stuff of individualization. The analysis here is social: as part of the narrative of publication, the writer is represented by a string of object pronouns ('press round him [...] salute him [...] come thick upon him [...] keep him [...] turn to him [...] serve him')<sup>38</sup> until permitted to draw simple conclusions about the forces shaping events ('he may be sure that his work has been praised by some leader of literary fashions'). The writer's passivity throughout the passage reinforces a sense that publication has changed the authorial, creating self into a published one, a product of reaction and reputation, created by readers. In retrospect, the introductory comparison ('The gradations of a hero's life are from battle to battle, and of an author's from book to book')<sup>39</sup> may seem a lost leader for its own ironic undermining.

The conclusion is a typically Johnsonian zig-zag.<sup>40</sup> Having pessimistically reviewed the writer's lot and emphasized dependence (on publishers, the reading public, and patrons, after which a simplistic plea for a royal pension might have been expected), Mr. Idler instead disrupts the reader's sympathetic identification with writers as a class: 'Thus copious are the materials

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 312-313.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

40. See Isobel Grundy, *Samuel Johnson and the scale of greatness* (Athens 1986), p. 96, for a claim that Johnson is generally unwilling to conclude his *Idler* essays on their harshest notes.

which have been hitherto suffered to lie neglected, while the repositories of every family that has produced a soldier or a minister are ransacked, and libraries are crowded with useless folios of state papers which will never be read, and which contribute nothing to valuable knowledge.<sup>41</sup> Explicitly devaluing one genre (the political or military biography) does not here entail a recommendation of literary biography *per se*. In an essay which only names the literary when tingeing it with irony ('the sons of literature', 'some leader of literary fashions'), Johnson proposes another category, albeit a very traditional one, in which to place all these potential autobiographers: 'I hope the learned will be taught to know their own strength and their value, and instead of devoting their lives to the honour of those who seldom thank them for their labours, resolve at last to do justice to themselves.'<sup>42</sup>

Trumping the statesmen, courtiers, ladies, and generals of the second paragraph, who were free to write precisely because writing was not their livelihood, and undermining (or complementing) the micro-narratives of writers enmeshed in the literary system, a suddenly re-emerging first-person voice both dismisses the source of patronage in the receding literary system and identifies writers in the marketplace not as hacks but as scholars.

As a component of the system, patronage occupies more of the target than of the source text, and this addition constitutes the first substantial departure<sup>43</sup> from the source text to which I turn my attention. Johnson's account of the writer's encounter with a patron runs to over sixty words; it is part of a longer structure, set off by a dry 'to this might be added'. Stylistically, it is marked by a sequence of doublets ('ardour of fondness, vehemence of promise, magnificence of praise, excuse of delay, and lamentation of inability') that dryly sketches and qualifies the 'changes in the countenance of a patron' until 'the last chill look of final dismissal, when the one [the writer] grows weary of solliciting, and the other of hearing sollicitation'.<sup>44</sup> The target text, at more than twice the length, adds new characters, new details, and an editorialising authorial voice to Johnson's narrative:

No seria mucho mas divertido seguir todas las gradaciones en la conducta de un falso Meceñas para con su protegido? Veriamosle al principio, esto es, al poner en sus manos el Libro dedicado, sonreirse de la Dedicatoria, alegrarse con sus adulaciones, y prodigar al Autor las expresiones mas afectuosas, las mas ricas promesas, los elogios mas magnificos, y obsten-

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41. Yale 2, p. 313.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 313-314.

43. My use of 'departure' should not be read as part of an evaluation of the target text using traditional criteria of fidelity, whether to letter or spirit, metaphrase (to use Dryden's terms, central to English accounts of translation in the eighteenth century) or imitation.

44. Yale 2, p. 313.



tosos: despues escusarse de las dilaciones del premio de las restricciones del bolsillo, lamentarse de su imposibilidad de ser generoso, y al mismo tiempo dár la caja de oro, y los 25. ó 50. doblones al Secretario de sus favorecidos placeres, al Bufón, a la Comedienta, y á la Zurcidora; y por ultimo poner sobre el pobre Autor del Libro los ojos con desden, y despedirle de si como á un importuno. Esta si que es pintura preciosa de lo que vale echar el resto en una Dedicatoria.<sup>45</sup>

Humour is promised and satire provided. The object of satire, the patron who has become the 'falso Mecenás', is dramatised in a way more akin, perhaps, to William Hogarth's visual story-telling, as the editorialising of the last sentence suggests. Instead of Johnson's 'flattery', abstracted from the situation, the Spanish text places the book as physical object in the narrative, and with it the dedication as an explicit acknowledgment of writer's, patron's, and work's place in a literary system. Hyperbole is added to the patron's character by the addition of superlatives ('las expresiones mas afectuosas, las mas ricas promesas, los elogios mas magnificos') and the doubling of adjectives ('magnificos y ostentosos'). In a second and entirely new scene, money refused the writer is shown flowing to providers of simpler pleasures ('al Bufón, á la Comedianta, y á la Zurcidora'); in the third, the writer is dismissed with the explication 'como á un importuno'. A further explication, in the penultimate paragraph of the 'Aviso' (and final paragraph of the translation), drives the point home: where Johnson writes of 'those who seldom thank [authors] for their labours',<sup>46</sup> the translator substitutes 'unos Grandes pequeños',<sup>47</sup> for the demonstrative pronoun.

The swollen figure of the patron is a clue to the wholesale adaptation of *Idler* 102 to a distinct literary system, composed of the same social agents and economic mechanisms as that of London, each having more or less power, each present in greater or lesser numbers than its English counterpart. As Nigel Glendinning notes in a comment on late eighteenth-century sub-

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45. 'Would it not be much more fun to follow all the shifts in a false patron's behaviour towards his protégé? We would see him, to begin with, taking up the book dedicated to him, smiling over the dedication, pleased by the adulation, showering the author with the most affectionate expressions, the richest promises, and most magnificent, ostentatious praise; only to make excuses for delays in rewarding the author and complain that he is short of funds, and say how sorry he is that he can not be more generous, while giving the clown, the actress, the seamstress, and the secretary of his favourite pleasures a box of gold and 25 or 50 doubloons, until he again casts his weary eye on the poor author whom he now dismisses from his presence as he would an intruder. What a pretty picture of what can happen to you if you give your all in a dedication!' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 168-169.

46. Yale 2, p. 314.

47. That is: 'some petty Grandees'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 169. The source text expression is bluntly punning and paradoxical.

scription lists, those Spanish writers of the period who could not publish their work at their own expense were dependent on a more hierarchical readership than that obtaining in England.<sup>48</sup> Catering to a much smaller reading public living in smaller cities, and suffering from poorer distribution, the book market obliged writers 'to have a profession, or to have a protector'.<sup>49</sup> Álvarez Barrientos, in a wide-ranging discussion of that obligation, catalogues both writers' tactics when trying to curry favour with patrons, and thus with power, gaining 'authorisation' for their work,<sup>50</sup> and the anxiety with which they contemplated the new, less erudite world of periodicals and reference books.<sup>51</sup> 'El hombre de letras español del siglo XVIII' he observes, 'se encontraba en un momento, fascinante desde nuestra perspectiva histórica, pero complejo y difícil desde su experiencia vital [...] debía relacionarse con los poderosos y asumir, si deseaba medrar en una sociedad donde aún funcionaba el mecenazgo, actitudes, usos y conductas que, por su origen, no siempre le correspondían.'<sup>52</sup> Some, like Gregorio Mayans, withdrew from the world of patronage and wrote from its margins; the translator of *Idler* 102 preferred to vent spleen and denounce the very need to seek the 'aplausos de unos Grandes pequeños, casi siempre incapaces de ser agradecidos'.<sup>53</sup>

*Idler* 102 is confined to the world of print, the world of publications and booksellers that sustained – more often meagrely than magnificently – a body of professional writers and excited considerable debate. The *Novelero* text, operating in the distinct referential world of 1760s Madrid, sometimes shifts or softens its focus. Thus the language of the book-trade as a business ('contracts which they know not how to fulfil')<sup>54</sup> has a vaguer counterpart ('em-

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48. Nigel Glendinning, 'Structure in the *Cartas marruecas* of Cadalso', in *The Varied pattern: studies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, ed. Peter Hughes and David Williams (Toronto 1971), p. 51-76 (p. 75).

49. Glendinning, *The Eighteenth century*, p. 16.

50. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, 'Gregorio Mayans, hombre de letras', in *Congreso internacional sobre Gregorio Mayans*, ed. Antonio Mestre (Valencia, Oliva 1999), p. 239-249 (p. 240-244).

51. *Ibid.*, p. 245-246.

52. 'For Spain's eighteenth-century men of letters it was a time which we find fascinating, but which they must have found complex and difficult to live through [...] they had to get along with those in power and, if they wished to prosper in a society in which patronage continued unabated, they had to assume ways of speaking and behaving, as well as attitudes which were not always those normally expected from men of their backgrounds.' Álvarez Barrientos, 'Gregorio Mayans', p. 249.

53. That is: 'some petty Grandees, from whom gratitude can never be expected'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 169.

54. *Yale* 2, p. 312.

peños que contraen, sin saber si pueden satisfacerlos').<sup>55</sup> But the most important naturalization of Johnson's text to a differently constituted literary system is inclusion of the theatre. This is achieved by interpolations of various degrees of magnitude. Johnson's comparison of the hero's to the writer's life, remarking that the gradations of the latter are 'from book to book',<sup>56</sup> is rendered more generic by the Spanish 'las de un Autor se cuentan ordinariamente por las obras que ha compuesto'.<sup>57</sup> This in turn allows for an interpolation which would have seemed awkward had Johnson's focus on print been maintained: 'Esto se halla mas de bulto en los Escritores para el Theatro, y particularmente de los Sayneteros, que tienen [!], y temen con ruina, y declinacion de sus creditos, que otros salgan al campo'.<sup>58</sup> When tracing the lot of a writer 'of declining reputation', Johnson states simply that 'If the author enters a coffee-house, he has a box to himself'.<sup>59</sup> The corresponding passage is considerably embellished:

Por la publicacion de un Libro puede facilmente un autor juzgar del aprecio que hacen de él en el mundo. Si la chusma de los ociosos le rodéa en los lugares públicos: si le saludan de lexos gentes que nunca ha tratado: si le convidan con instancia á comer: si le solicitan para la Tertulia, y conversacion: si las mugeres se dignan admitir sus obsequios, no obstante presentarse mal vestido: si los criados de una casa se apresuran por servirle, no tiene que dudar, toda la cabala está a su favor; es hombre sábio de moda, y su obra de la perfecta literatura, del uso de sus dias. Una reputacion que declina, tambien es facil de conocer, y caracterizar. El Autor silvado, ó de poco aprecio, entra en una Botilleria, ó en un Café, y todos le dexan solo en uu rincòn: hasta en la Tienda del Librero le vuelven los Aprendices el dorso [...].<sup>60</sup>

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55. That is: 'the obligations they take upon themselves, without knowing how they might fulfil them'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 166.

56. Yale 2, p. 312.

57. That is: 'those in the life of author are generally reckoned by works they have written'. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 166-167.

58. 'This is all the more true of playwrights, and especially of those who write short comedies, who fear that the rise of competitors will lead to their own decline.' *Ibid.*, p. 167.

59. Yale 2, p. 313.

60. 'It is easy for an author to judge the esteem in which the world holds him when he publishes a book. If he is surrounded by a mob of idlers in public places; if people he has never met greet him from afar; if he receives enthusiastic invitations to share a meal; if he is sought out for discussions and conversation; if women are willing to admit him, though he is poorly dressed; if the servants of a house hasten to attend to him, he should be in no doubt that the cabal favours him, he has become fashionable, and his works are taken for perfect literature, the delight of his times. A declining reputation is equally easy to recognize and characterize. An author who is whistled at, or held in low esteem, will enter an ice-house, or a coffee house, and all present will leave him by himself in a corner; even in a bookshop, the apprentices will turn their backs on him.' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 167-168.

Two of the interpolations in the passage – ‘si le solicitan para la Tertulia, y conversacion’ and ‘Autor silvado, ó de poco aprecio’ – place the writer in sites of sociability where critical discourse has the power to embrace or exclude him.

Just as interpolations and additions in the target text play up the humour of the *Idler* 102’s central section, on the content and interest of writers’ lives as narrative, what might be termed the most ponderous elements of the opening and concluding sections are omitted or recast. Johnson’s brief investigation of memory and forgetting in the opening paragraph, in which he argues that what is done from necessity, ‘so often fills the mind with anxiety, that an habitual dislike steals upon us, and we shrink involuntarily from the remembrance of our task’<sup>61</sup> is replaced by a classical commonplace on envious dissatisfaction. Johnson’s simple illustration of ‘the common conditions of humanity’ of which writers partake finds its counterpart in a more dramatic piece of rhetoric in the target text, a series of eight rhetorical questions. Where Johnson had balanced the writer’s social existence (‘he is born and married like another man; he has [...] friends and enemies’) with inner states (‘he has hopes and fears, expectations and disappointments, griefs and joys’),<sup>62</sup> the translator sharpens the thematic focus by reformulating ‘las diferentes condiciones de la humanidad’<sup>63</sup> as ‘la sublevación de las pasiones’.<sup>64</sup> Each subsequent expansion of Johnson’s catalogue is embellished by the language of sensibility: ‘No tiene corazon y caprichos como qualquiera Cortesana, ó Ministro? Es acaso porque su corazon no se vè agitado como el de los demàs hombres de la esperanza, y temor? No prueba tambien un Sábio, por sábio que sea, alternativemente buena y mala fortuna, dolor y alegria? No tiene amigos que le amen, y enemigos que le mortifiquen.’<sup>65</sup> One notes the *reactive* character of this celebration of the richness of the writer’s emotional life, the repeated sequence of stimuli and responses as the writer is overthrown by powerful passions. This is not the cult of sensibility in its advanced, ‘pre-romantic’ form; the target text’s focus is not on a particularly sensitive and so aesthetically gifted individual, but it does situate the writer, as a potential biographical subject, in a new way. Though both source text and target text posit the reader of life-writing as the next link in a reactive chain – ‘I can conceive

61. Yale 2, p. 311-312.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

63. That is: ‘the diversity of the human condition’. [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 165.

64. In English: ‘the revolt of the passions’. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

65. ‘Does he not have a heart, and infatuations, like any lady of the court or minister. Is this not because his heart is wracked by hope and fear, as are those of other men? Does not a learned man, however learned he be, experience good and bad fortune, pain and joy? Has he not friends who love him and enemies who despise him?’ *Ibid.*, p. 165-166.

why [the writer's affairs] should not *excite* curiosity',<sup>66</sup> 'Por què, pues sus memorias no *entretendrán* nuestra curiosidad'<sup>67</sup> – in the latter the reader is positively enjoined to live out the role of spectator, invited to contemplate the tableau of the writer's encounter with his patron, for example, with such words as 'Veriamosle al principio, esto es, al poner en sus manos el Libro dedicado'.<sup>68</sup> Again, the 'pintura preciosa' to which I referred above as satirically Hogarthian if the gaze rests on the figure of the patron, becomes primarily an episode in a narrative of misfortune – one thinks especially of *A Harlot's Progress* – if diverted to the largely passive figure of the writer. In the target text, then, the only emotions attributed to writers are those generated by narrative, by situations, and the very fact they are so displayed may be understood as a use of the trope of sensibility that links suffering to concern for justice.

### III. Writers in the social sphere

In adding or subtracting references to the components of a literary system, the translator is clearly domesticating the source text, and the study of such interpolations and omissions belongs more properly to target cultural than to source cultural history. But in changing the treatment of components already present in the source text, the translator may be furnishing us with an index of what one kind of Spanish reader of 1764, or thereabouts, saw and responded to in an English essay of 1760. I feel it necessary to specify 'one kind' because both text and postscript suggest a writer addressing other writers; and the question of writers' status would seldom have been more topical than in 1764. One year earlier, Carlos III had both changed the regulatory framework of Spanish publishing and, with it, what an author in Spain was. Aguilar Piñal's account of the development of the book trade over the first half of the century is focussed on conflicts between printers and booksellers, on the one hand, and between the holders and violators of royal *privilegios* or exclusive rights to print and sell certain titles, on the other.<sup>69</sup> A royal order issued on 22 March 1763 made authors an important part of the equation: 'de aqui en adelante'. It was commanded, 'no se conceda a nadie privilegio exclusivo para

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66. Yale 2, p. 312 (emphasis added).

67. 'Why, then, will his memoirs not whet our curiosity?' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 166 (emphasis added).

68. *Ibid.*, p. 168. The translation of this passage may be found in note 45.

69. Aguilar Piñal, *Introducción*, p. 129-134.

imprimir ningún libro, sino al mismo autor que lo haya compuesto'.<sup>70</sup> The following year, the text as intellectual property was made transferable by inheritance to the writer's heirs 'por la atención que merecen aquellos literatos que, después de haber ilustrado su Patria, no dejan más patrimonio a sus familias que el honrado caudal de sus propias obras'.<sup>71</sup> In short order, then, writers had gone from a customary relationship with printers in which nothing was guaranteed to one in which the terms of printers' and booksellers' mediation between authors and the market for print were stipulated. Álvarez Barrientos argues that these changes 'debieron tardar en aceptarse y, sobre todo [...] debieron forzar nuevas formas de relación comercial'.<sup>72</sup> By the end of the century, the literary system would be transformed: 'Dès lors, la traditionnelle dédicace au puissant protecteur qui ouvrait toute œuvre littéraire est substituée par celle au lecteur'.<sup>73</sup> This more crowded and chaotic print sphere, more open if not more democratic, could prove disquieting to some, even in the 1760s. Juan José López Seldano, writing in the prologue to his short-lived critical journal *El Belianis literario* in 1765, argued for a disassociation of *sabio* and *escritor* that had long obtained in Anglophone culture: 'Así que los Sabios ya no son los que escriben; pues para la operación de imprimir libros oy, no son menester mas requisitos que el primer furor, tiempo de sobra, mucha paciencia, un petardo á un Amigo, y las licencias necesarias'.<sup>74</sup> It is precisely these two terms that the *Idler* 102 translation uses as synonyms, part of a treatment of the components of the literary system would have been clearly topical in 1764.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the positioning of *Idler* 102 for a Spanish readership by Nipho (or his correspondent) is best understood as one of a series attempts to accommodate to cultural and political conditions obtaining in mid-eighteenth-century Spain discourses of the public sphere, public opinion,

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70. That is: 'henceforth, no one but the author who has written a book will be granted an exclusive privilege to print it'. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

71. In English: 'because of the attention owed to those men of letters who, having Enlightened their country, leave their families no other property than the wealth that can be honestly got from their works'. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

72. That is: 'it must have taken some time for them to be accepted and, above all [...] they must have given rise to new kinds of commercial relationships'. Álvarez Barrientos, *La novela*, p. 100.

73. Elisabel Larriba, *Le public de la presse en Espagne à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1781-1808* (Paris 1998), p. 13.

74. 'Thus *sabio* no longer refers to those who write, as these days in order to set about printing books, the only requisites are a first flush of enthusiasm, time to kill, a great deal of patience, a friend to trouble, and the necessary licences.' Sánchez Blanco, *La prosa*, p. 134.

75. For a very well documented comparison of the terms *erudito*, *sabio*, and *literato* in the middle third of the eighteenth century, see Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, *Palabras e ideas: el léxico de la ilustración temprana en España, 1680-1760* (Madrid 1992), p. 464-470.

and the writer's place in both. In 1761, the *Duende especulativo* had imagined participants in a *tertulia* debating (and denying) an Addisonian bringing of philosophy out closets: 'Los presumidos que llevan comúnmente la voz en las tertulias y estrados' argue that 'el ocuparse en comunicar al Pueblo los bienes intelectuales que cada uno posee es de necios, que cada uno debe conservar su ciencia para sí y para los amigos, que el publicio es desagradecido y no reconoce jamás los favores que recibe'.<sup>76</sup> One recalls that the introduction to the *Diario universal de las bagatelas* had dismissed 'Estrados, y Tertulias, donde residen, como en su propio alcazar la Ociosidad, el Fatuismo, la Murmuracion, el Juego, y la finisima Galanteria'.<sup>77</sup> If the *Novelero* as a whole is an attempt to render conversation more polite by taking its cue from print, the irony of the *Idler* 102 translation surely lies in its re-insertion of the figure of the writer into sites of sociability only to find that the reputation of text and text-producer cannot be separated, and that the public sphere might, Saturn-like, devour its own children.

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76. 'The vain people who normally dominate such gatherings [...] it is foolish to bother to convey to the public those intellectual assets that they have, that learning should be kept to oneself and one's friends, that the public is ungrateful and never acknowledges the favours it receives.' Mercadál, *Duende*, p. 7.

77. 'Conversational gatherings where, as if in their own fortress, Idleness, Conceit, Gossip, Gambling, and the finest Gallantry dwell.' [Nipho], *Novelero*, p. 40-41.

## MLADEN KOZUL

### D'Holbach et les déistes anglais: la construction des 'lumières radicales' à la fin des années 1760

Dans sa monumentale étude sur les lumières radicales, Jonathan Israel n'aborde pratiquement pas la question de la découverte des déistes anglais par le public français au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 'L'anglomanie' du siècle des Lumières, 'la mode quasi universelle des idées, influences et styles anglais', est réduite aux années 1730 et 1740.<sup>1</sup> Or, les textes des trois auteurs auxquels il consacre les développements importants – John Toland, Anthony Collins et Matthew Tindal – paraissent en français dans les années 1760 et 1770 grâce au Baron d'Holbach.<sup>2</sup> Est-ce qu'il fait découvrir ces auteurs au public français? A l'époque où d'Holbach et ses collaborateurs font paraître ces textes, leurs auteurs ne sont pas inconnus du public averti et éduqué, plus ou moins gagné à la cause des philosophes, surtout s'il est capable de lire l'anglais.<sup>3</sup> Il s'agissait de les faire découvrir par un public plus large, cible de la propagande philosophique ou athée orchestrée par d'Holbach et ses amis.<sup>4</sup> La fidélité à la pensée de l'auteur dont le nom figurait sur la page de titre n'avait qu'une importance relative. Le public visé devait adhérer au message produit

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1. Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment* (New York 2001), p. 515 et p. 599-627. Voir Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740-1789: fact, fiction and political discourse* (Genève, Paris 1985).
  2. D'Holbach traduit *Letters to Serena* de John Toland (1695) sous le titre de *Lettres philosophiques* (1768); il utilise les fragments de son *Christianity not mysterious* (1696) pour fabriquer 'De la raison', inclus dans le *Recueil philosophique* (1770). D'Anthony Collins, il traduit, résume et remanie *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (Londres 1724) et *The Scheme of literal prophecy considered* (1727) pour en tirer l'*Examen des prophéties qui servent de fondement à la religion chrétienne* (1768). Il traduit un extrait de *Christianity as old as the creation* de Matthew Tindal (1730) dans le *Recueil philosophique* (1770).
  3. A titre d'exemple, voir les articles consacrés à ces trois auteurs dans l'édition de 1759 du *Grand dictionnaire historique* de Louis Moréri.
  4. Sur les activités clandestines de l'homme de lettres qu'était d'Holbach, voir surtout Alan Charles Kors, *D'Holbach's coterie: an enlightenment in Paris* (Princeton 1976). Sur le public visé par d'Holbach, voir Alain Sandrier, *Le style philosophique du baron d'Holbach* (Paris 2004), p. 73-94.



par le baron et ses collaborateurs, non à une réflexion de Toland ou de Collins. Il devait ‘découvrir’ plutôt des *libertés de penser* toujours nouvelles ou renouvelées que les positions philosophiques ou polémiques de tel ou tel auteur d’outre-manche. Faisant partie du péri-texte du livre français, la mention ‘traduit de l’anglais’, le nom d’auteur sur la page de titre ou son absence, le titre lui-même étaient soumis à l’impératif de persuader.<sup>5</sup> Ensemble, ils valaient une promesse d’audaces hétérodoxes.

Les recherches d’authenticité et d’attribution des dernières décennies concernant les ouvrages clandestins issus de la manufacture ‘holbachique’ dans les années 1760 et 1770 se heurtent à une conception de l’auteur antérieure à l’avènement de cette catégorie fondamentale de la critique qu’est l’unité de l’homme et de l’œuvre, à laquelle Michel Foucault a consacré un influent article.<sup>6</sup> Le péri-texte de quasiment tous ces ouvrages est moins un lieu d’attribution que celui de la production des figures auctoriales fuyantes et souvent démultipliées dont la complexité ne peut être expliquée par la seule pression censoriale. C’est le cas des douze livres contenant les traductions ou les pseudo-traductions de l’anglais fabriquées par le cercle holbachique en l’espace de quatre ans, entre 1767 et 1770. Ils couvrent toute la gamme entre une plus ou moins grande fidélité à l’original, le résumé ou la réécriture du texte-source et l’attribution-écran sous laquelle le baron publie ses propres textes.<sup>7</sup> Si l’on admet que la majeure partie de ces livres témoigne d’une conception de la traduction qui subordonne la fidélité à l’original à l’efficacité persuasive du texte, au moins trois raisons justifient la perspective selon laquelle ces traductions, pseudo-traductions ou simple convocation d’un (prétendu) original anglais sont plutôt assimilables à la construction d’une radicalité philosophique – contestataire, dissidente, athée, en tout cas perçue comme antireligieuse – qu’à une découverte des textes déistes anglais.

La première raison tient au fait que c’est la transposition réelle ou prétendue – mais en tout cas signalée dans l’appareil péri-textuel – du texte anglais vers le contexte français qui, aux yeux du public français, fait surgir une pensée radicale, clandestine, hétérodoxe, venue d’Angleterre. Traduction égale transgression. Tant qu’il n’a pas donné lieu au livre illicite français, le texte anglais, qu’il en soit effectivement le texte-source ou pas, reste libre de toute réprobation.

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5. Nous reprenons le terme ‘péri-texte’ de Gérard Genette qui l’a défini dans *Seuils* (Paris 1987), p. 10.

6. Michel Foucault, ‘Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?’ (1969), dans *Dits et écrits*, édition établie sous la direction de Daniel Defert (Paris 2001), I.820.

7. Sur ces traductions, voir Jerom Verduyck, *Bibliographie descriptive des écrits du Baron d’Holbach* (Paris 1971).

La preuve en est apportée par le catalogue de la bibliothèque privée de d'Holbach comprenant 2956 entrées, rédigé et publié rapidement après sa mort du 21 janvier 1789. La réputation posthume du baron est préservée. Le catalogue ne mentionne aucun ouvrage condamné, interdit ou brûlé, aucun livre clandestin de propagande philosophique, aucun manuscrit hétérodoxe. Mais les originaux anglais dont les traductions étaient traquées, prosrites et lacérées sont bien listés, comme de nombreux ouvrages polémiques anglais qui, s'ils avaient été traduits, auraient attiré les foudres de la police du livre, du clergé, de la Sorbonne et du Parlement.

La rubrique 'Théologie polémique' mentionne *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* d'Anthony Collins (1724), qui a servi de base pour *l'Examen des prophéties qui servent de fondement à la religion chrétienne* (1768). *The Independent Whig* de John Trenchard et Thomas Gordon (1720) a été traduit en partie sous le titre de *L'Esprit du clergé, ou le Christianisme primitif vengé des entreprises et des excès de nos Prêtres modernes* (1767), avant de servir encore pour en tirer *L'intolérance convaincue de crime et de folie* (1769), publié avec la reprise de la traduction de Charles Le Cène de *Vindiciae pro religionis libertate* de Johannes Crellius. Parmi les ouvrages de la 'Théologie hétérodoxe' se trouve *Christianity not mysterious* de Toland (1696), partiellement traduit dans le *Recueil philosophique* (1770).

Dans la rubrique 'Logique et Morale' figurent les *Considerations upon war, upon cruelty in general, and religious cruelty in particular* (1761), traduit sous le titre *De la Cruauté religieuse* (1769). La rubrique fourre-tout des 'Belles-Lettres' accueille *The History of the Man after God's own Heart*, titre incomplet de *The Life of David, or the History of the Man after God's own heart* (1761), traduit sous le titre de *David, ou l'Histoire de l'homme selon le cœur de Dieu* (1768) et *A Cordial for low spirits, being a collection of curious tracts* (1753), édité par Thomas Gordon et largement utilisé dans la fabrication de *De l'Imposture sacerdotale* (1767).<sup>8</sup> Au moins six sources utilisées dans la confection des livres clandestins 'traduits de l'anglais' figurent dans le catalogue, libres de tout blâme. Précisons que la 'traduction' soumet tous ces textes à des procédés plus ou moins prononcés de gommage, de réécriture, de concentration, d'annotation, d'adaptation, de substitution et de remaniement, de sorte que, dans de nombreux cas, il serait plus approprié de parler d'un processus d'acculturation que d'une traduction à proprement parler.

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8. Y figurent les originaux de tous les traités de *L'Imposture sacerdotale* sauf ceux des deux premiers, attribués à Davisson. Voir Paul Thiry Baron d'Holbach, *De l'Imposture sacerdotale ou Recueil de Pièces sur le Clergé* (Londres 1767).

Deuxième raison pour penser que la ‘traduction’ holbachique *construit* une radicalité philosophique alors qu’elle prétend simplement *faire découvrir* la pensée contestataire anglaise: si l’on met de côté les ouvrages relativement fidèles aux sources anglaises – tels *De la nature humaine* de Thomas Hobbes (1772), les *Lettres philosophiques* de Toland (1768) ou l’anonyme *De la cruauté religieuse* (1769) – et si l’on observe le traitement réservé à la paternité du texte dans les liminaires péritextuels, on comprend que le lien entre l’auteur et le texte est souvent le résultat des manœuvres fictionnels largement éprouvés dans le roman contemporain.<sup>9</sup> *La Contagion sacrée ou l’Histoire naturelle de la superstition* (1768) qu’on retrouvera dans la suite de cet article en fournira l’exemple parlant.

Troisièmement, l’efficacité de ces stratégies de construction des figures autoriales est confirmée par la réception. Dès le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, certaines d’entre elles prennent de la consistance d’auteurs ‘réels’ engagés dans la lutte philosophique. C’est le cas de John Davisson, mentionné dans *De l’Imposition sacerdotale ou recueil des pièces sur le clergé* (1767), auquel on reviendra.

Ainsi, d’une part, certaines traductions holbachiques sont suffisamment fidèles à leurs originaux anglais pour qu’on puisse y voir des contributions à la connaissance des auteurs qui jouissaient d’une réception plus ou moins longue en France dans les années 1760. Tels sont les cas de Hobbes ou Toland.<sup>10</sup> Mais plus l’infléchissement du texte dans le processus traductif est accentué, plus le travail de d’Holbach et de ses collaborateurs implique des stratégies de création des figures autoriales dans la fabrication desquelles la fiabilité des références historiques et bio-bibliographiques tend à s’amenuiser. Comme l’ensemble du corpus holbachique, ces ‘traductions’ permettent de saisir la problématique autoriale à l’âge classique à travers la construction des figures d’auteur équivoques et fragmentées. Au lieu d’être les instances qui portent la responsabilité du texte, de telles figures, construites au travers

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9. Il s’agit surtout des préfaces dénégatives qui présentent le texte comme manuscrit trouvé par hasard, testament, fragments d’une correspondance privée, documents divers publiés sans consentement de l’auteur, etc. Voir Alain Sandrier, *Le style philosophique du baron d’Holbach*, p. 62-64 et p. 310; Jan Herman, *Incognito et roman au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: anthologie de préfaces d’auteurs anonymes ou marginaux, 1700-1750* (Nouvelle Orléans 1998); Christian Angelet et Jan Herman, *Recueil de préfaces de romans du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Saint-Etienne, Louvain 1999); Jan Herman et Kris Peeters, ‘La figure d’auteur et la scénographie de la mort’, dans *Fonctions et figures d’auteurs du Moyen Âge à l’époque contemporaine*, sous la direction de Virginie Minet-Mahy, Claude Thiry et Tania Van Hemelryck (Louvain-la-Neuve 2005), p. 141-166; les collectifs *Le topos du manuscrit trouvé* (Leuven, Paris 1999) et *Préfaces romanesques* (Louvain, Paris 2005).

10. Voir A. Sandrier, *Le style philosophique du baron d’Holbach*, p. 298.

des titres, indications génériques, préfaces, dédicaces, notes etc. visent à légitimer le discours, c'est-à-dire à expliquer d'où il vient, quelle est sa source, son autorité, de quel droit et à quel titre il prétend interpeller le lecteur.

Quelles sont les stratégies textuelles et péri-textuelles de création de ces figures autoriales dans les traductions ou pseudo-traductions holbachiques? Par quels mécanismes arrivent-elles à la fois à légitimer le texte hétérodoxe et à donner de la consistance, de l'épaisseur, à un 'personnage' d'auteur en lui attribuant une position philosophique radicale qui sera reconnue comme telle par le public français? Trois sortes de stratégies, dont les caractéristiques générales sont exemplaires de l'ensemble des démarches holbachiques, méritent d'être examinées de près. Nous les rangerons dans un ordre de fictionnalisation croissante de la figure d'auteur. Nous commencerons par les procédés qui privilégient la manipulation textuelle, puis irons vers ceux qui favorisent le péri-texte comme lieu de production de la figure d'auteur.

Le bon exemple d'un texte clandestin français dont la figure autoriale émerge essentiellement grâce à la manipulation traductive est fourni par *l'Examen des prophéties qui servent de fondement à la religion chrétienne, avec un essai de critique sur les prophètes et les prophéties en général. Ouvrages traduits de l'anglais* (Londres 1768). 'L'Avertissement' précise que 'cet ouvrage célèbre est de M. Antoine Collins, auteur du fameux *Discours sur la liberté de penser*. Il parut à Londres en 1724 en un volume in octavo sous le titre de *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*'.<sup>11</sup> Le souci d'informer le public français d'un des livres centraux de la contestation exégétique et idéologique d'outre-manche du premier quart du siècle est évident. *L'Examen des prophéties* s'inscrit dans plus d'un demi-siècle de la réception française des ouvrages d'Anthony Collins (1676-1729). Publié en 1713, traduit en 1714 sous le titre *Discours sur la liberté de penser écrit à l'occasion d'une nouvelle secte d'esprits forts* par Henri Scheurleer et Jean Rousset de Missy, *A discourse of free-thinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a sect called Free-thinkers* connut de nombreuses rééditions au cours du siècle, tant en France qu'en Angleterre.

Les indications bibliographiques de 'l'Avertissement' sont correctes: *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* de Collins parut bien en 1724. En 1768, la réputation de l'auteur en France est bien établie. L'édition de 1740 du *Dictionnaire* de Louis Moréri précise que 'quoiqu'il eût avancé dans ses écrits bien des choses hardies et peu con-

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11. Paul Thiry Baron d'Holbach, *Anthony Collins, Examen des prophéties qui servent de fondement à la religion chrétienne: Avec [!] un Essai de critique sur les Prophètes & les Prophéties en général* (Londres 1768), n.p.

formes aux sentiments reçus il s'était acquis une estime générale par sa pénétration et la justesse d'esprit, aussi bien que par son intégrité et sa probité'. Ami et disciple de John Locke, polémiste infatigable, Collins aurait été d'une générosité intellectuelle qui le poussait jusqu'à prêter les livres de sa richissime bibliothèque et prodiguer ses conseils à ceux qui voulaient le réfuter. Passionnément attaché au bien public, horrifié de 'l'esprit persécuteur du clergé', il était 'porté à croire que, sur le pied qu'elle se trouve aujourd'hui, [la religion était] pernicieuse au genre humain'.<sup>12</sup> Le Collins de Moréri, un sage doux et modéré, sociable et intègre autant qu'hétérodoxe, était déjà tout proche de l'idéal d'athée vertueux, hérité de Pierre Bayle et cher aux philosophes de la coterie holbachique.<sup>13</sup>

Pourtant, l'équivalence que la page de titre et 'l'Avertissement' établissent entre l'ouvrage de Collins et le livre français est problématique. Plus précisément, 'cet ouvrage célèbre' qu'est le livre français produit par d'Holbach n'est pas de Collins: le terme de traduction est clairement inapproprié. Il s'agit d'une compilation à thématique homogène fabriquée à partir de deux livres distincts de l'auteur anglais. De plus, d'Holbach y rajoute un texte qui est très probablement de son propre cru. L'indication de la page de titre selon laquelle le livre français renferme les 'ouvrages traduits de l'anglais' est vraisemblable, mais certainement pas vraie.

La mise en regard de l'ouvrage anglais et de sa version française est instructive. L'édition du *Discourse of the grounds and reasons* utilisée par le baron contient trois textes. Elle est composée de deux parties précédées d'une préface de soixante-deux pages, *Apology for free debate and liberty of writing*. Le baron gomme cette préface et l'épître liminaire de Collins qui présente son *Discours* comme une lettre envoyé à 'un théologien du nord de la Grande Bretagne'.<sup>14</sup> La première partie de Collins propose 'quelques considérations sur les citations de l'ancien Testament dans le nouveau, et particulièrement sur les prophéties citées du premier et qui sont censées s'être accomplies dans le deuxième'.<sup>15</sup> La deuxième contient 'un examen du sché-

12. Article 'Collins (Antoine)', dans *Le Grand dictionnaire historique, ou le Mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, sous la direction de Louis Moréri, 18<sup>e</sup> édition en 4 vols (Amsterdam 1740), III.510, col. a.

13. Pour Jacques-André Naigeon, Collins compte parmi le 'petit nombre de ceux [...] dont les ouvrages [sont] pensés avec cette profondeur sans laquelle on n'éclaircit rien dans aucune science' et qui 'ont été utiles au progrès des lumières et de la vérité'. *Philosophie ancienne et moderne*, 3 vols (Paris, Pancoucke 1791), I.749, col. a.

14. A. Collins, *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian religion*, p. 1.

15. '[The first] containing some consideration on the quotations made from the Old in the New Testament, and particularly on the Prophecies cited from the former and said to be fulfilled

ma proposé par M. Whiston dans son *Essai vers le rétablissement du vrai texte de l'ancien Testament, et en vue de justifier ainsi les citations qui en sont faites dans le nouveau Testament*.<sup>16</sup>

Sur une centaine de pages, la première partie du texte anglais construit une démonstration rigoureuse et solide, structurée de manière syllogistique, citations scripturaires à l'appui. En Angleterre, elle provoqua une véhémente controverse. Plus de trente-cinq ouvrages polémiques furent publiés en trois ans. Une remarque de William Warburton (1698-1779), futur évêque de Gloucester (1760), éditeur de William Shakespeare avant d'être celui de son ami Alexander Pope, explique la virulence du débat. Warburton voyait dans le *Discourse* 'l'une des attaques les plus plausibles jamais portées contre le christianisme'.<sup>17</sup> Mais cette première partie ne constitue qu'un tiers du livre de Collins; la deuxième partie, polémique, occupe le reste. D'Holbach traduit la première avec une assez grande fidélité et résume les deux cents pages de la deuxième en six pages de son petit in octavo. Ce résumé est parfaitement assumé: d'Holbach condense les arguments, précise positions et enjeux. Mais ses commentaires, qui font l'éloge de l'habileté de Collins, rendent complètement inaudible la voix de l'auteur anglais.<sup>18</sup>

La deuxième partie de l'*Examen des prophéties*, dont la table des matières ne fait pas mention, est constituée d'un 'Extrait de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre Examen du système de ceux qui prétendent que les prophéties se sont accomplies à la lettre. *The Scheme of literal prophecy considered*, etc, 1727 in octavo'.<sup>19</sup> Le baron synthétise le gros ouvrage polémique de Collins de 480

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in the latter.' A. Collins, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian religion*, page de titre. Sauf indication contraire, toutes les traductions sont les miennes.

16. '[The second containing] an examination of the scheme advanced by Mr. Whiston in his *Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the Citations thence made in the New Testament*.' A. Collins, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian religion*, page de titre. D'Holbach ne semble pas avoir été renseigné sur William Whiston (1667-1752), contradicteur de Collins, mathématicien, physicien et philosophe, disciple de Newton et son successeur au poste de l'université détenu par celui-ci. Nommé en 1703, il fut renvoyé en 1710 pour avoir publiquement nié la Trinité. D'Holbach parle de lui comme d'un 'savant théologien' (*Examen des prophéties*, p. 111).
17. '[...] one of the most plausible attacks ever made against Christianity', cité dans Stephen Leslie et Sidney Lee, 'Anthony Collins', dans *The Dictionary of national biography*, 84 vols (Londres 1885), III.820.
18. Baron d'Holbach, *Examen des prophéties*, p. 111-117.
19. Anthony Collins, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; in a view of the controversy, occasion'd by a late book, intituled, A Discourse of the grounds and reasons of the Christian Religion* (La Haye [Londres] 1726). D'Holbach utilise la deuxième édition (Londres 1727). Voir Baron d'Holbach, *Examen des prophéties*, p. 118.

pages sur 81 pages de son édition, tout en rajoutant des développements de son propre cru.<sup>20</sup> La condensation élimine toute érudition théologique:

Pour épargner au lecteur le dégoût d'une érudition trop fastidieuse et d'une foule de citations tirées le plus souvent d'une infinité d'ouvrages théologiques totalement inconnus au lecteur français, l'on a cru ne devoir donner qu'un extrait des raisons les plus fortes alléguées par l'auteur pour justifier ses sentiments et pour prouver qu'il avait eu raison de soutenir dans son discours que [...].<sup>21</sup>

Les éléments que d'Holbach juge fonctionnels, c'est-à-dire utiles à sa cause, sont repris; les autres passent à la trappe. La médiation discursive affiche sa distance d'avec le texte original. Une couche rhétorique s'ajoute à l'interprétation de l'ouvrage anglais, alors que cette interprétation même glisse vers la substitution du texte source par le discours contestataire de traditions françaises. Les conclusions des chapitres de Collins sont systématiquement réécrites. Un 'l'auteur en conclut que...' suffit généralement pour infléchir le texte original et parachever le modelage du livre clandestin qui à la fois assimile et absorbe sa source. Ainsi, dans le premier chapitre de *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, Collins présente une étude circonstanciée du statut des personnages messianiques au sein des différentes composantes religieuses et ethniques de la communauté juive sous contrôle romain. Il reporte les notions messianiques aux contextes historiques, culturels et théologiques de ces différents groupes. Il propose des analyses serrées, convoque les documents hébreux, les historiens anciens, les premiers Pères, les théologiens modernes. Puis il conclut:

Quoique les Samaritains se soient révoltés et rebellés plusieurs fois, et même essayé d'élire un roi parmi eux; quoique, étant un peuple oppressé, et habitant tous ensemble un territoire, ils étaient plus à même d'élire un sauveur ou messie que les nations juives dispersées, ils ne me semblent finalement pas avoir été jusqu'ici obsédés par l'idée d'un Messie au point de prendre les armes sous la direction de quelqu'un qui s'arrogerait ce titre. Contrairement aux juifs de Jérusalem, ils n'en ont jamais fait [de l'attente d'un Messie] un article fondamental de leur foi, ce qui pourrait tenir, entre autres choses, au fait qu'ils adhéraient au sens littéral de la partie de l'ancien Testament qu'ils ont adoptée, et rejetaient la méthode allégorique utilisée par les juifs de Jérusalem.<sup>22</sup>

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20. Voir par exemple *ibid.*, p. 201-202 et p. 204.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

22. 'In fine, the Samaritans do not appear to me, to have ever been so far possessed with the notion of a Messiah, as to have taken up arms under the conduct of any one who pretended to that character; though they have upon divers occasions made revolts and insurrections, and even attempted to set up a King among them; and though, by being oppressed people, and living all together in one territory, they were better qualified to set up a deliverer or Messiah, than the dispersed nations of the Jews were. Nor have they, like the Jews of Jerusalem, ever

Ce que d'Holbach remplace par:

De tous ces faits l'auteur conclut que l'attente d'un Messie ne fut rien moins qu'une notion universelle et toujours subsistante dans la nation juive; qu'elle ne fut dans l'origine qu'une illusion enfantée par les malheurs des Juifs et par l'impatience du joug qui leur firent ardemment désirer d'en être délivrés. D'ailleurs les idées qu'ils formèrent de leur Messie ou Libérateur furent, comme on a vu, toujours très éloignées de celles qu'on leur présente de Jésus. Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'ils n'aient pu reconnaître le Sauveur d'Israël dans un juif indigent et dépourvu de puissance qui finit par mourir d'un supplice ignominieux dans la capitale de leur pays.<sup>23</sup>

Le Collins façonné par d'Holbach n'est pas Anthony Collins. A la différence du second, le premier est un polémiste qui ne se préoccupe ni des distinctions entre les Samaritains et les juifs de Jérusalem ni de la différence entre leurs techniques exégétiques. Selon Anthony Collins, ces derniers ont bien fait de l'attente d'une Messie un article fondamental de leur foi; d'après le Collins holbachique, ce n'est pas le cas. On repère facilement, dans le texte de ce dernier, la topique des contestataires français du personnage de Jésus, élaborée dans la suite des textes dont le *Traité des trois imposteurs*, les *Mémoires* du curé Meslier, l'*Examen de la religion* de César Chesneau Du Marsais et le *Christianisme dévoilé* (1768) marquent les temps forts, avant qu'elle ne soit encore une fois reprise dans l'*Histoire critique de Jésus-Christ* (1770).<sup>24</sup> Le Collins holbachique est un philosophe anglais qui parle le langage (et la langue) et porte les idées d'un philosophe français. Il sert de preuve de l'universalité de l'esprit philosophique tel que l'imagine un public éclairé essentiellement parisien. Tout en s'appuyant sur les textes anglais bien réels portés à la connaissance du public français, la figure auctoriale holbachique, greffée sur la référence à Anthony Collins, est construite à des fins argumentatives.

Si le Collins holbachique intègre des références à un auteur réel et à ses ouvrages réellement publiés, il en va autrement de John Davisson, 'l'auteur' façonné par un recours plus important aux stratégies de fabrication fictionnelle de la figure auctoriale. Il apparaît dans le périphrase de *De l'Imposture sacerdotale ou recueil des pièces sur le clergé, traduites de l'anglais*

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made it a fundamental article of their faith, which, among other reasons, may be owing to their adherence to the literal sense of that part of the old testament, which they receive, and to their rejecting the method of allegory used by the Jews of Jerusalem.' A. Collins, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, p. 31-32.

23. Baron d'Holbach, *Examen des prophéties*, p. 133.

24. D'Holbach produit l'*Histoire critique de Jésus-Christ* à partir d'un manuscrit clandestin qui en fournit environ les trois-quarts. Voir A. Sandrier, *Le style philosophique du baron d'Holbach*, p. 355.



(Londres 1767). De sept courts traités qui le composent, l'ouvrage présente d'abord le *Tableau fidèle des papes traduit d'une brochure anglaise de M. Davisson, publié sous le titre de A True picture of popery*, puis *De l'insolence pontificale, ou des prétentions ridicules du pape et des flatteurs de la Cour de Rome. Extrait de la profession de foi du célèbre Giannone, par M. Davisson*. Face à ces indications auctoriales, la réception oscille entre deux positions irréconciliables, fruits de l'ambiguïté inhérente à la 'traduction' du texte antireligieux: la certitude qu'un texte hétérodoxe, du fait de la censure, ne peut pas proposer une attribution fiable, et l'idée selon laquelle le nom d'un auteur anglais 'réel' peut bien être mentionné car celui-ci échappe aux menaces et poursuites des mécanismes censoriaux français.<sup>25</sup> Les *Mémoires secrets* indiquent, dès la parution de l'ouvrage, qu'«on ne sait si malgré ces titres tout ceci est traduction ou l'ouvrage du même traducteur», mais l'identifient quand-même comme 'ouvrage anglais'.<sup>26</sup> Une trentaine d'années plus tard, l'Abbé Nicolas Sylvestre Bergier ne doute pas que c'est bien Davisson, 'protestant fougueux, qui a fait des pontifes romains le portrait le plus infidèle et le plus scandaleux qui fut jamais'.<sup>27</sup> La traduction holbachique finit par faire émerger un auteur hétérodoxe qui ne correspond à aucun personnage réel.<sup>28</sup> Plusieurs processus historiques concourent à cette personnification opérée par la réception au fil du temps: la figure auctoriale se mue en auteur, l'imitable cède au savoir-faire individuel, une culture rhétorique faiblit au profit d'une culture du commentaire, etc.<sup>29</sup>

Reste que de Bergier et Barbier jusqu'à Vercruyse et au-delà, bibliographes, bibliothécaires et chercheurs reprennent l'indication de d'Holbach et

25. Sur la spécificité poétique et culturelle de la traduction dans la France d'Ancien Régime, voir Shelly Yahalom, 'Le système littéraire en état de crise: contacts inter-systémiques et comportement traductionnel', *Poetics today* 2.4 (1981), p. 143-160.

26. Il est vrai, sur des critères stylistiques douteux qui témoignent des lieux communs dans la perception de la littérature anglaise, ou du 'style' anglais dans la France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Voir Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets* (Londres, John Adams, 1784), III.268 ('25 octobre 1767').

27. Abbé Nicolas Sylvestre Bergier, article 'Papauté, pape', dans *Encyclopédie méthodique, ou par ordre de matière* (Paris, Panckoucke, 1790), III.95, col. b-96, col. a.

28. Sur John Davisson, ou Davidson, ses œuvres et son identité, voir John Davisson/Paul Thiry Baron d'Holbach, 'De la monstrosité pontificale, ou Tableau fidèle des Papes' (1767), édition critique, préfacée et annotée par Patrick Graille et Mladen Kozul, dans *History of the book; translation; history of ideas*; Paul et Virginie; *varia*, sous la direction de Robert Darnton et al. (Oxford 2003), p. 33-79.

29. Sur ces mutations culturelles, voir entre autres Steven Bernas, *Archéologie et évolution de la notion d'auteur* (Paris 2001); Michel Charles, *L'arbre et la source* (Paris 1985) et *Introduction à l'étude des textes* (Paris 1995); Paul Bénichou, *Le sacre de l'écrivain* (Paris 1973); Philippe Caron, *Des belles lettres à la littérature* (Louvain, Paris 1992).

accordent à Davisson la paternité d'un texte anglais dont aucune source autre que la 'traduction' de d'Holbach n'a jamais confirmé l'existence.<sup>30</sup> Dans la construction holbachique, trois éléments interagissent pour faire émerger le personnage de l'auteur Davisson: les périclives des deux premiers traités de *De l'Imposture sacerdotale*; leurs incipits; et les figures d'énonciateurs telles qu'elles peuvent être reconstruites à partir des positions idéologiques énoncées dans les textes. Les qualités attachées à ce personnage se font jour en deux temps. Le premier traité en fait l'auteur de *A true picture of popery*; le deuxième le présente comme l'homme de lettres qui fait découvrir au public anglais un texte de Pietro Giannone, philosophe et historien hétérodoxe italien.

La question de savoir si d'Holbach a réellement utilisé et/ou réécrit un texte anglais – ce qui n'est pas exclu – est moins importante pour ce propos que de remarquer l'efficacité avec laquelle Davisson s'est imposé comme figure auctoriale. Pour Bergier, Davisson représente un 'protestant fougueux' et un 'incrédule'.<sup>31</sup> La figure qui se dégage de la lecture du *Tableau fidèle* frappe à la fois par la place accordée à la critique rationaliste de la superstition et des préjugés, signe de ralliement des philosophes français, et par son militantisme protestant. L'incipit place le texte sous le signe de la première:

Quant on réfléchit sans préjugés sur les choses humaines on est émerveillé de voir jusqu'où la superstition peut porter ses excès, et l'on est incertain si l'on doit plus admirer l'aveuglement des peuples ou la hardiesse effrontée de ceux qui les trompent. Nous avons des exemples bien frappants de l'un et de l'autre dans le respect que les catholiques romains montrent à leurs souverains pontifes, que malgré leurs dérèglements souvent abominables et commis à la face de l'univers, ils révèrent comme des hommes très saints, comme des représentants de la divinité, comme des Dieux sur terre.<sup>32</sup>

A mesure que le libelle enchaîne les topoï de l'histoire critique de la papauté, il s'avère que c'est la réforme, tout autant que les progrès de la raison, qui a fait ouvrir les yeux sur les abominations des papes:

Ce ne fut que vers le quinzième siècle que les lettres transportées de la Grèce dans les Républiques d'Italie, et forcées de fuir devant les armes victorieuses des musulmans, vinrent s'établir en Europe. Un de leurs premiers effets fut la Réforme; elle détrompa les souverains et les peuples d'une superstition dont depuis très longtemps ils étaient les esclaves, et elle apprit à une portion de l'Europe ce qu'elle devait penser de ce tyran spirituel, qui depuis près de mille ans exerçait sur eux le despotisme le plus intolérable.<sup>33</sup>

30. Les catalogues de la British Library et de la Library of Congress confirment l'existence de *A true picture of popery* en se fiant au seul périclive holbachique.

31. N. S. Bergier, article 'Papauté, pape', III.96, col. a.

32. Baron d'Holbach, *De l'Imposture sacerdotale*, p. 1.

33. Ibid., p. 5-6.

Troisième élément qui profile l'auteur Davisson, et qui, contrairement aux deux premiers, établit le lien avec le deuxième texte du recueil, est constitué par son rapport aux sources écrites dont il nourrit sa critique des papes. Dans le *Tableau fidèle*, il affirme que 'tous les traits qui vont composer ce tableau abrégé sont tirés de l'histoire ecclésiastique et des écrivains les plus accrédités; les couleurs dont je me servirai pour peindre les papes sont empruntées d'auteurs dont les papistes eux-mêmes ne peuvent récuser le témoignage'.<sup>34</sup> En plus d'être un procédé polémique efficace, ce choix des sources se réfère à l'énorme travail de justification doctrinale et morale du 'schisme' de la Réformation.<sup>35</sup> La même position se lit dans *De l'insolence pontificale*:

Pour justifier tout ce que j'avancerai, je me suis fait une loi de rapporter mot pour mot les passages des Auteurs, qui ont écrit en faveur de la grandeur papale; je ne citerai que des auteurs catholiques romains, de peur qu'on ne m'accuse d'avoir puisé mes autorités dans les livres des protestants, qui pourraient paraître suspects dans la cause dont il s'agit.<sup>36</sup>

Davisson n'est pas seulement auteur de la diatribe antipapale qui ouvre le recueil; le texte suivant en fait l'auteur d'un texte anglais extrait de la *Professione di Fede* de Giannone (1755). *De l'insolence pontificale* présente la version française de ce texte anglais. Son incipit souligne la continuité entre les deux facettes d'une même entreprise critique:

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34. Ibid., p. 8.

35. Le catalogue informatique de la British Library propose 1600 entrées comme réponse à la recherche du mot de titre 'Popery'. Environ un quart de ce nombre sont des textes polémiques datant d'avant 1800. En 1689, Edward Gee fait paraître *A Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery, during the Reign of James II. By the Members of the church of England, and by the Non-conformists. With the names of the authors of them* (London, R. Baldwin, 1689) qui énumère les textes publiés en trois ans, entre 1685 et 1688. L'exemplaire de la bibliothèque de l'université de Leiden (751 B 30) comporte 30 entrées manuscrites supplémentaires. Dans la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle paraissent des textes comme *A Full view of Popery, in a satirical account of the lives of the Popes*, traduit de Cipriano de Valera (1704); *Several Discourses against Popery* de Benjamin Bennet (1714); *The Protestant Family Piece; or a Picture of Popery* de Solomon Lowe (1716); *Sermons against Popery* du révérend John Billingsley (1723); *Popery truly stated, and briefly confuted* de Joseph Trapp (1726); *Popery and Slavery display'd; containing the character of Popery, and a relation of popish cruelties* de Thomas Harris (1745); *A Faithful portrait of Popery* de William Warburton (1745); *The Mysteries of Popery unveiled* d'Anthony Gavin (1746), et al. Parmi eux, nombreux sont ceux qui reprennent les déclarations et les affirmations des théologiens de la cour de Rome ou des conciles.

36. Baron d'Holbach, *De l'Imposture sacerdotale*, p. 37. Pietro Giannone exprime une idée semblable, mais ne mentionne jamais les protestants. Voir Pietro Giannone, 'Professione di fede', dans *Illuministi italiani*, t. I: *Opere di Pietro Giannone*, sous la direction de Sergio Bertelli et Guiseppe Ricuperati (Milan, Naples 1971), p. 473-504 (p. 492).

Nous venons de faire voir quels monstres ont été plusieurs de ces pontifes révévés, qui se sont assis sur le trône de saint Pierre, et qui prétendent à l'infaillibilité. Voyons maintenant jusqu'où a été la flatterie pour ces hommes odieux, que leurs partisans ont voulu diviniser ou ont prétendu faire regarder comme les divinités sur la terre.<sup>37</sup>

*De l'insolence pontificale* n'a que des rapports très lointains avec le texte de Giannone. Ses trois dernières pages achèvent le façonnage de l'auteur anglais hétérodoxe. Elles donnent des informations supplémentaires sur la publication de la *Professione di fede* et présentent un court récit des persécutions subies par son auteur. Davisson conclut en affirmant que 'les protestants auront lieu de s'applaudir d'avoir brûlé les fers d'une superstition hautaine qui a si longtemps asservi, appauvri, dépouillé l'Europe'.<sup>38</sup> Il adopte le même type de discours qu'on a vu tenir par d'Holbach dans sa 'traduction' des ouvrages de Collins. 'Le fougueux protestant' anglais ne se borne pas à écrire des textes contestataires; à l'instar de d'Holbach lui-même, il porte à la connaissance du public les réflexions critiques venues des autres cultures.

La figure auctoriale holbachique qui doit le plus aux mécanismes fictionnelles du péri-texte est celle de Jean Trenchard. Elle surgit dans la série des préfaces de *La Contagion sacrée ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition. Ouvrage traduit de l'anglais* (Londres 1768). Rappelons que, selon l'enquête de Gérard Genette, la fictionnalité de la préface concerne soit l'attribution du texte qu'elle introduit, soit l'attribution de la préface elle-même, soit l'attribution du texte et de la préface.<sup>39</sup> Autrement dit, de telles préfaces, en interaction avec d'autres éléments du péri-texte, *construisent* toujours une figure d'auteur dans la mesure où elles lui 'attribuent' un texte qui est soit le résultat des procédés d'acculturation utilisés dans les traductions holbachiques, soit complètement étranger à la personne historique de l'auteur indiqué sur la page de titre, et souvent les deux, dans des proportions variables. Remarquons que la fictionnalité de tels procédés ne devient manifeste qu'une fois le texte définitivement attribué. Or, les attributions des traductions et pseudo-traductions de d'Holbach sont intervenues longtemps après leur publication, surtout au cours du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Certaines de ces figures autoriales fictives ont eu, et pour longtemps, la vie dure.

*La Contagion sacrée* est pourvu d'un avertissement et d'une préface épistolaire. Le premier est attribuable à un éditeur – une première figure impliquée dans la légitimation du texte. Cet 'Avertissement' fournit les renseignements suivants:

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37. Baron d'Holbach, *De l'Imposture sacerdotale*, p. 36.

38. Ibid., p. 54.

39. Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, p. 168-176.

Cet ouvrage, l'un des plus profonds et des plus forts qui aient été publiés sur la religion parut en Angleterre en 1709 sans nom d'auteur, en un volume in 8°. On crut cependant y reconnaître la touche et les principes de Mr. Jean Trenchard, homme très distingué dans le parti des Whigs, par ses lumières, par sa probité, et surtout par son zèle pour la liberté. Il publia plusieurs écrits conjointement avec le célèbre Thomas Gordon, parmi lesquels les plus connus sont les *Lettres de Caton* en 4 volumes et l'*Independent Whig* en deux volumes in 12°. L'on y trouve au moins une partie des idées contenues dans le présent ouvrage, où l'auteur s'est montré plus à découvert. Au reste tous ses écrits respirent également l'amour du bien public et la haine la plus forte contre la tyrannie religieuse et politique. [...] V. Le *Supplément du Dictionnaire* de Bayle, article Trenchard.<sup>40</sup>

Sur le plan factuel, 'l'éditeur' n'invente rien ou presque: Trenchard était un membre distingué des Whigs, il a en effet publié les ouvrages mentionnés en collaboration avec Gordon; *The Natural History of Superstition* (Oxford, Baldwin, 1709) a été publié anonymement et attribué à Trenchard. Mais celui-ci n'est pas l'auteur de 'cet ouvrage' qu'est *La Contagion sacrée*, ni d'un texte dont celui-ci serait la traduction, puisque sous ce titre, d'Holbach publie son propre texte. Alors que l'*Examen des prophéties* garde un lien effectif avec les livres de Collins, *La Contagion sacrée* n'en garde presque aucun avec les ouvrages de Trenchard. Pourtant, les *Mémoires secrets* identifient le livre comme 'parfaitement anglais'.<sup>41</sup> Dans la liste des best-sellers clandestins dressée par Robert Darnton dans *Edition et sédition* à partir des archives de la *Société typographique* de Neuchâtel, *La Contagion sacrée* arrive en cinquième position, avec 131 demandes parmi les ouvrages qui traitent de la religion.<sup>42</sup> En 1770, c'est le premier des sept ouvrages brûlés sur le réquisitoire du chancelier Séguier selon lequel il s'agit bien d'«une traduction de l'anglais».<sup>43</sup> Pour le public français de 1768 émerge ainsi une figure de penseur radical anglais générée à la fois par la construction préfacielle et la manipulation textuelle. L'appareil péritextuel, créateur de la figure auctoriale, se fonde sur l'attribution fictive du texte et de la préface, tout en la vraisemblabilisant par le recours aux références bio-bibliographiques réelles.<sup>44</sup>

40. Paul Thiry Baron d'Holbach, *La Contagion sacrée ou l'Histoire naturelle de la Superstition* (Londres 1768), p. III-IV.

41. L. de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, IV.122.

42. Voir Robert Darnton, *Edition et sédition: l'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1991), p. 219.

43. *Réquisitoire de Mr Séguier, Avocat Général au Parlement de Paris, Sur lequel est intervenu l'Arrêt du Parlement du 18 août 1770, qui condamne à être lacérés et brûlés différents livres ou brochures, comme impies, blasphématoires, et séditieux, tendant à détruire toute idée de la divinité, à soulever le peuple contre la religion, et le gouvernement, à renverser tous les principes de la sûreté et le honnêteté publique, et à détourner les sujets de l'obéissance due à leur souverain* (Paris, imprimé par ordre exprès du Roi, 1771), p. 10.

44. Le gros de l'article consacré à Trenchard dans le *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique pour servir de supplément au Dictionnaire historique et critique de M. Pierre Bayle* de

Après avoir été introduit par 'l'éditeur', le Trenchard holbachique prend la parole. La préface dévoile une pensée libérée des contraintes, promise dans 'l'Avertissement'. Elle se présente comme une lettre privée de Trenchard à Mylord Vicomte de\*\*\*, datée de Londres le 10 janvier 1709. Elle évoque la discussion orale entre l'auteur et le destinataire qui a eu lieu quelques mois avant l'envoi de la lettre. Le laps du temps entre cette discussion et la rédaction de la lettre est présenté comme celui de la composition de l'ouvrage qui suit. Le sujet de la missive – de la préface *et* du texte de l'ouvrage – est sensible. Il s'agit de l'utilité morale de la religion, ce qui justifie que les deux restent dans le domaine privé. La lettre préfacielle apprend que le vicomte, son destinataire, avait interrogé 'Trenchard' sur la 'cause de l'antipathie que tant de personnes éclairées montrent aujourd'hui pour la religion':

Vous étiez, disiez-vous, surpris de leur voir tant d'acharnement à détruire un système qui, peu fait pour en imposer aux gens d'esprit, avait au moins l'avantage d'être propre à contenir la multitude, et de régler les passions du peuple grossier. Je me contentais pour lors de vous répondre en général que, pour peu qu'on y fit attention, il était aisé de se convaincre que la religion devait être regardée comme la vraie boîte de Pandore, d'où sont sortis tous le maux dont l'espèce humaine est affligée [...]. Vous parûtes surpris de ma proposition; en conséquence je m'engageai à vous la démontrer. C'est, Mylord, pour remplir mes engagements, que je vous envoie le traité ci-joint [...].<sup>45</sup>

Si le traité accède à la publication, c'est que la discussion privée porte sur un sujet d'intérêt général dont 'l'Avertissement' fait le souci constant de 'l'auteur' Trenchard. La mise en avant d'une intimité qui épaissit la figure auctoriale est la conséquence du fonctionnement culturel de la lettre et de l'ambiguïté du code épistolaire qui le régent. Connotée d'intimité, la lettre est censée ne pas quitter la sphère privée, mais en même temps, la transgression de ce code est une pratique sociale acceptée. Des lettres circulent dans le public, elles ne s'adressent pas uniquement à un seul destinataire, elles sont lues et commentées par plus d'une seule personne, elles fournissent des occasions pour des échanges argumentés, certaines sont effectivement écrites pour être publiées, etc. Dans l'échange épistolaire privé, la parole de l'individu possède une foncière et inaltérable légitimité. Si cette parole est rendue publique ensuite, elle transfère sa légitimité à un discours devenu public. En même temps, et comme le confirme le roman épistolaire, la lettre rend per-

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Jacques Georges de Chauffépied (Amsterdam 1750-1756), t. IV (1756), p. 479-485, est consacré à la polémique entre Trenchard et Dr. Samuel Clarke, résumée dans le *British Journal* du décembre 1722 au février 1723, puis recueillie par Thomas Gordon dans la quatrième édition des *Cato's Lettres* de 1737. Voir le *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron d'Holbach* (Paris 1789), numéro 250.

45. Baron d'Holbach, *La Contagion sacrée*, p. VI.

méable la frontière entre le réel et le fictif. Elle abrite un mécanisme adapté à la construction d'une figure auctoriale fondée sur la référence biographique, mais dont le lien avec le texte préfacé est fictif.

La légitimation d'un discours devenu public par son enclage dans le domaine privé s'appuie sur la personnification du destinataire et du destinataire de la lettre. La construction de cette figure auctoriale se fonde en même temps sur le modèle de l'échange épistolaire entre savants ou philosophes. Grâce à ce modèle, la figure auctoriale – le Trenchard destinataire de la lettre préfacielle – propose un contrat de lecture en mettant en abîme la communication entre le texte préfacé et son lecteur. Ce lecteur idéal de *La Contagion sacrée*, le vicomte à qui la lettre est destinée, lit l'ouvrage qui fait partie d'un échange privé. Le lecteur 'impliqué' que projette la préface est donc le destinataire, par infraction, d'une communication privée entre les savants, exactement comme le lecteur d'un roman épistolaire est le destinataire par infraction des lettres des personnages romanesques. *La Contagion sacrée* rend public un discours qui renforce d'autant plus l'effet de présence de l'énonciateur qu'il s'auto-représente comme doublement caché, à la fois privé et hétérodoxe.

En conclusion, les traductions et pseudo-traductions de d'Holbach comptent sans doute dans la réception des hétérodoxes anglais au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France. Mais les textes que ces livres mettent en circulation ne deviennent des objets de cette réception que façonnés par des enjeux polémiques, idéologiques et philosophiques particuliers. C'est dans ce sens que le penseur contestataire anglais apparaît comme une construction des fictions ou demi-fictions du péri-texte holbachique. Pour des raisons tactiques qui tiennent aux conditions de la lutte philosophique, aux spécificités d'une culture classique tiraillée entre l'originalité et la reprise rhétorique, l'instance à laquelle revient la responsabilité – pénale, philosophique, éditoriale, scripturale – du texte hétérodoxe anglais ou 'anglais' est toujours plurielle, vacillante. Les manipulations discursives ou attributives dont elle dépend ont leurs degrés: tantôt une figure auctoriale fictive se greffe sur la référence à un auteur réel, lu et connu, apprécié des uns, critiqué ou condamné des autres. Tel est le cas d'Anthony Collins; tantôt cette figure devient celle d'un 'auteur' beaucoup plus ambigu, tel John Davisson; tantôt elle est dotée d'une existence privée dont la 'traduction' elle-même fournit la preuve.<sup>46</sup> C'est à dire que, grâce aux mécanismes censoriaux, narratifs et discursifs qui leur donnent de la consistance, ces figures de fiction n'en sont pas moins efficaces dans l'ordre prag-

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46. Dans de nombreux cas, le péri-texte des traductions de d'Holbach indique le titre de l'original sans mentionner l'auteur; l'indication 'traduit de l'anglais' suffit alors pour légitimer le discours qui suit.

matique: leur réception, comme les réactions des autorités en témoignent. Elles sont construites pour légitimer les textes dont l'existence dans l'espace public naissant est injustifiable du point de vue de la doxa religieuse, politique ou philosophique.

Elles peuvent être considérées comme fictives non seulement dans la mesure où elles cautionnent les textes ou les péri-textes qui ne sont pas les 'leurs', mais aussi parce que les péri-textes dont elles sont les pièces maîtresses créent les conditions d'énonciation *fictives* dans lesquelles une parole hétérodoxe peut se faire publique de manière légitime, alors que de telles conditions ne sont pas réunies dans la réalité de la République des lettres des années 1760 et 1770.<sup>47</sup> La fiction d'une parole 'anglaise' se donnant libre cours abrite un discours qui promeut des vérités officiellement inacceptables. Etant Anglais, 'l'auteur' John Davisson peut bien affirmer, en français, que 'dans tous les siècles, les pontifes romains n'ont respiré que la fureur et le carnage'.<sup>48</sup> Tout en tenant un discours affirmatif qui prétend remplacer les connaissances acquises par des connaissances nouvelles et plus fiables, les figures auctoriales qui émergent dans l'espace péri-textuel des traductions holbachiques n'obéissent pas à une logique de vérité, de constatation et d'affirmation factuelles, mais à une logique du vraisemblable. Il est vraisemblable qu'un homme de lettres français traduit un philosophe ou un hétérodoxe anglais, vraisemblable encore que celui-ci, étant donné la renommée de la liberté de parole 'anglaise', se pose en contestataire des tabous religieux et philosophiques, vraisemblable toujours que son discours ressemble à la contestation d'origine française. Plus la fictionnalisation de ces figures auctoriales est subtile et variée, plus elle procède par des séries de petits déplacements et d'habiles rajouts, plus elle est efficace parce qu'elle *fait croire* à l'existence d'une radicalité philosophique tout à la fois française et transnationale.

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47. Sur ces mécanismes de légitimation, voir Jan Herman, 'La fiction légitimante et le tabou du moi', dans *Studies rond de Franse literatuur van de XVIII<sup>e</sup> eeuw: Belgian work in progress*, sous la direction de Jan Herman, Nathalie Kremer et Paul Pelckmans (Bruxelles 2005), p. 59-72; et Jan Herman, 'Justifier l'écriture; justifier la publication: la lettre comme fiction-limite', dans *Les genres littéraires et l'ambition anthropologique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, sous la direction d'Alexandre Duquaire, Antoine Esch et Nathalie Kremer (Louvain, Paris 2005), p. 165-176.

48. Baron d'Holbach, *De l'Imposture sacerdotale*, p. 33.





ALISON E. MARTIN

Paeans to progress:  
Arthur Young's travel accounts  
in German translation

'In travelling through England', noted Daniel Defoe in his *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-1727), 'a luxuriance of objects presents itself to our view. Wherever we come, and which way soever we look, we see something new, something significant, something well worth the traveller's stay'.<sup>1</sup> Defoe's observations constituted something more, though, than an early tourist guide to Britain. They also went further than simply recording recent changes in British life in the first half of the eighteenth century: they were a eulogy to achievements in agriculture and manufacturing, industry and commerce. Progress, the very watchword of Defoe's *Tour*, was also to be found in the verdant, fertile rural landscapes of Britain that further sustained his narrative of diligence, prosperity and confidence. Defoe's account thus articulated a vision of nationhood defined less by tradition and nostalgia than by a spirit of change and improvement. Not everyone, of course, was disposed to view Britain in so positive a light. 'It must be acknowledged', Defoe groused, 'that some foreigners, who have pretended to travel in England [...] have treated us after a very indifferent manner'.<sup>2</sup> In short, he claimed, they had 'carried abroad a very ill report of the land'.<sup>3</sup>

Defoe's assertion would have been untenable some fifty years later. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, England, if not the British Isles as a whole, had become the focal point of interest for intellectuals, politicians, industrialists and agriculturalists Europe-wide. Figures such as John Locke and Edmund Burke had established Britain's reputation as a nation of philosophers. To industrialists, it represented progress in the shape of Matthew Boulton's Soho tool factory, Richard Arkwright's spinning jenny, and the iron foundries captured as near-apocalyptic scenes by Joseph Wright of Derby. The political economist Johann Heinrich Justi described a comparison of

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1. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, ed. Pat Rogers (Middlesex 1978), p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

3. *Ibid.*, *Tour*, p. 46.

English and German farming practices as being like light contrasted with shade.<sup>4</sup> Literary aesthetes revered Britain as the land of William Shakespeare and Alexander Pope, Laurence Sterne and Samuel Richardson. Art connoisseurs found that British Grand Tourists had amassed such impressive collections of classical art that, Johann Jacob Volkmann asserted, it seemed as if half of Italy now decorated their country houses and estates.<sup>5</sup> But perhaps the most astonishing claim came from the notable Anglophile Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz in 1785: 'Großbritannien, diese Königin der Inseln, [...] ist so sehr von allen andern Ländern in Europa unterschieden, als wenn diese sonderbare Insel nicht zu unserm Welttheile, sondern zum Südmeer gehörte.'<sup>6</sup>

Research over the past two decades or so has done much to explore how Anglophilia – if not Anglomania – was articulated in a range of fictional and non-fictional works across European countries. In so doing, it has analysed closely how such texts were central to the dynamics of cultural transfer in this period. Notions of British 'public spirit' and patriotism, civil and national consciousness were objects of close scrutiny for German observers, as Michael Maurer has shown.<sup>7</sup> Travel accounts fed German armchair travellers' curiosity about life in England, especially London, with its proliferation of clubs, societies, coffee-houses, museums and theatres. Indeed travel writing was one of the main genres to engage directly with issues of cultural identity and difference in the eighteenth century. The 1770s and 1780s alone saw the appearance of publications on England by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Karl Philipp Moritz, Gebhard August Friedrich Wendeborn, Johann Christian Fabricius, Johann Georg Büsch and Sophie von La Roche. Little wonder, then, that the ambassadorial secretary Friedrich Wilhelm von Schütz hesitantly noted in his epistolary travelogue of 1792, 'Es scheint gewagt zu

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4. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, *Abhandlungen von der Vollkommenheit der Landwirtschaft und der höchsten Cultur der Länder* (Ulm, Leipzig 1761), p. 3.

5. Johann Jacob Volkmann, *Neueste Reisen durch England, vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Kunstsammlungen, Naturgeschichte, Oekonomie, Manufakturen und Landsitze der Großen: Aus den besten Nachrichten und neuern Schriften zusammengetragen*, 4 vols (Leipzig 1781), vol. I, preface, n.p.

6. 'Great Britain, this queen of islands, differs so greatly from all other countries in Europe, so that it seems as if this curious island does not belong to our part of the world, but to the South Seas.' Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz, *England und Italien*, reprint of the three-volume first edition (Leipzig 1785) and five-volume edition (Leipzig 1787), ed. and notes Michael Maurer, 3 vols (Leipzig 1785/1787; reprint Heidelberg 1993), I.1. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

7. For a detailed account of Anglophilia in Germany, see Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Göttingen, Zurich 1987).

seyn, die Menge der Schriften über England, durch gegenwärtige Briefe noch vermehren zu wollen'.<sup>8</sup>

Translation was also partly responsible for the mass of travelogues which flooded the German book market. Like travel writing, translation points up notions of difference, interpretation and representation that underpin crucial discussions concerning issues of transfer which question the very translatability of one culture and its language(s) into the systems of another. By the late eighteenth century, German booksellers' shelves were so full of works scrutinising life in England, that translations of reports by Britons of journeys through their own country might have seemed superfluous. Yet accounts of internal travel through England such as Arthur Young's national anthem to progress, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England* (1769; transl. 1772) and the *Farmer's Tour through the East of England* (1771; transl. 1775), Richard Sullivan's *Observations made during a Tour through parts of England* (1780; transl. 1781) and William Gilpin's *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (1786; transl. 1805) numbered among those accounts eagerly consumed by the German public.

The reception in Germany of travel writing by Arthur Young (1741-1820) has largely been overlooked both by scholars of translation studies and of travel writing: any attention he has received at all has come from agricultural studies. Yet the originality of his objective – a demonstration of how agriculture could contribute to national prosperity through new farming practices – coupled with descriptions of the country estates he visited, made his accounts strikingly different from those of others travelling both before and long after him. Translations of Young's writing into a range of European languages ensured that he became a figure of international renown in his time. Drawing on Young's *A Six Months Tour through the North of England* and his later *Farmer's Tour through the East of England*, this chapter will focus on how Young's narratives of improvement, modernisation and prosperity in England fared in German translation. It asks in particular which forms of cultural politics were at work in the processes of transfer, transformation and manipulation that underpinned these translations, given that in Young's agricultural tours the viewing of landscape and estates was closely bound up with issues of English national identity (as indeed were Defoe's Whig descriptions of

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8. 'It seems rash to wish to increase further the number of works on England with the present letters.' Friedrich Wilhelm von Schütz, *Briefe über London. Ein Gegenstück zu des Herrn von Archenholz England und Italien* (Hamburg 1792), p. iii.

English rural life some fifty years earlier).<sup>9</sup> The first section of this chapter explores the hybrid content of Young's *Tours* – which reflected his own catholic interests – and their relevance for theories of landscape ideology. An analysis of the German translations of these two travel narratives will then show in the second and third sections the problems of linguistic and cultural transfer with which the translator was confronted and the solutions adopted. Finally, this chapter explores how Young's travel writing was received in Germany and the image thus constructed of him in translation.

### I. '[A]n undertaking, which by some has been branded as *visionary*'

The preface to the *Six Months Tour* is a useful place to start in understanding both the man and the mind behind the wealth of agricultural publications that Young produced in the course of more than half a century. The first purpose of this tour, he noted in the preface, was to record over three thousand experiments being carried out in animal husbandry and crop cultivation throughout Britain.<sup>10</sup> Young's achievement in recording this, he modestly argued, was 'the plodding merit of being *industrious* and *accurate*, to which any one of the most common genius can attain'.<sup>11</sup> But Young's mission was more than to simply record. It became an agricultural crusade against open-field farming which involved unvarying crop rotation, regardless of the differences or capacities of the soil that rarely put land to its best use. This caused poverty and hunger which were brought about, as Young saw it, by ignorance.<sup>12</sup> The second key aspect that characterised this *Tour* was the inclusion of 'descriptions of houses, paintings, ornamented parks, lakes &c.'. <sup>13</sup> He conceded that such descriptions might have precious little to do with the agricultural state of Britain but, he added:

They are a proof, and a very important one, of the richness and happiness of this kingdom: No traveller can here move far, without something to attract his notice, – art or nature will perpetually catch his eye. – An agriculture that even reaches perfection. – Architecture,

9. Alistair M. Duckworth, "'Whig" landscapes in Defoe's *Tour*', *Philological quarterly* 61.4 (1982), p. 453-465.

10. Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 4 vols (London 1770), I.ix.

11. Young, *A Six Months Tour*, I.x (Young's emphasis).

12. Lord [Rowland Edmund Prothero] Ernle, *English farming past and present*, new ed. (London 1941), p. 197-198.

13. Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.xi.

painting, sculpture, and the art of adorning grounds, every where exhibit [!] productions that speak a wealth, a refinement – a taste, which only great and luxurious nations can know.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, Young went on to elaborate, this dual approach to viewing and recording British rural life potentially made his book interesting both to those with an interest in agriculture and those with more cultivated aesthetic tastes.<sup>15</sup>

In many ways this reflected Young's own view of the world, which did not revolve wholly around agricultural pursuits – despite Fanny Burney's reproach that for him they seemed 'the only art worth cultivating',<sup>16</sup> – and he was for many years member of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, which was concerned with fields as diverse as agriculture, chemistry, colonial trade and the polite arts.<sup>17</sup> Nor was he insensitive to the importance of writing well if his work was to be a success on the publishing market. Admittedly he seemed to suggest in the preface to the *Six Months Tour* that style took second place in the composition of his work. He gave his travelogue a clear slant towards the *utile* rather than the *dulce* and argued that it would have been 'extravagant' to unite the concern for utility with an elegantly formulated narrative.<sup>18</sup> Yet it was precisely the pace and style of his narrative which marked out Young's accounts for success. His 'racy, forcible English, his gift of happy phrases' and the wealth of detail, not always relevant, lent his writing an immediacy, individuality and authenticity.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it was one of the paradoxes of Young's life that as a practical farmer he was a failure, while as a writer he had produced four novels and two political pamphlets before he was nineteen and would later go on to make a considerable income from his published works.<sup>20</sup>

Young's assertion that his *Six Months Tour* was 'nothing but [...] a book of facts' downplayed the richness and range of observations that it contained. The forty-one letters written describing his journey from North Mymms (now in the Home Counties, scarcely what passes as the 'north' of England) to farms near cities such as Sheffield, York, Birmingham, Liverpool and Oxford

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14. *Ibid.*, I.xi.

15. *Ibid.*, I.xi-xii.

16. *The Autobiography of Arthur Young*, ed. Matilda Betham-Edwards (New York 1967), p. 216.

17. For a detailed account of Young's contribution to the Society of Arts, see John G. Gazley, 'Arthur Young and the Society of Arts', *The Journal of economic history* 1.2 (1941), p. 129-152.

18. Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.xiii.

19. Ernle, *English farming*, p. 197.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

covered an astonishing range of agricultural issues.<sup>21</sup> Only towards the end of the preface, where he thanked a series of gentleman farmers and landed gentry for their help in garnering agricultural information, did he gesture towards a recognition of his own achievement: 'those gentlemen [...] had the spirit to encourage an undertaking, which has by some been branded as *visionary*'.<sup>22</sup> The 'visionary' nature of Young's *Tour* derived not only from his progressive objective of scientific farming. He viewed the rural landscape with a form of 'double vision' which took in both agricultural development (and with it issues of rural poverty) and the aesthetics of landscape appreciation. In so doing, Young's comprehensive vision of the land tended to blur those boundaries between 'working country' and 'landscape' that Raymond Williams has argued are two more or less separate entities.<sup>23</sup> Landscape, as Denis Cosgrove has demonstrated, is an ideologically charged, complex product which is closely bound up with issues of power and identity, in that it represents how certain classes of people signify themselves and their relationship with nature.<sup>24</sup> Country estates in the eighteenth century were as much a reflection of the territorial, political and social structures of the time as they were an articulation of Palladian landscape improvement. Land-ownership still offered the most reliable way of gaining access to political power and social prestige.<sup>25</sup> Country estates used for hunting or hare-coursing flaunted aristocratic leisure while the galleries of paintings and sculptures in country houses were a further demonstration of conspicuous collection that simultaneously exhibited both affluence and taste. Thus the English countryside was a space of observation and representation encoded with aesthetic, cultural and social meaning.

Young's comprehensive approach was not reserved solely for his agricultural tours through England. As Ina Ferris has argued for his first travelogue outside England, *A Tour in Ireland* (1776-1779; German, 1780; French, 1800), the discourse of improvement was punctuated with discussions about the living conditions of the rural poor, as well as an attack on the exploitative role of the Protestant aristocracy.<sup>26</sup> Young's *Travels in France and Italy During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (1793; German, 1793-1795; French,

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21. Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.xiii.

22. *Ibid.*, I.xv (Young's emphasis).

23. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the city*, 2<sup>nd</sup> impr. (London 1985), p. 120.

24. Denis Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, new ed. (Wisconsin 1998), p. 11 and p. 15.

25. Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Yale 2005), p. 61-62.

26. Ina Ferris, 'The Question of ideological form: Arthur Young, the agricultural tour, and Ireland', in *Ideology and form in eighteenth-century literature*, ed. David H. Richter (Texas 1999), p. 129-145 (p. 135).

1793-1794), which Alexis de Tocqueville declared to be a first-hand authority on rural conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution, showed how Young sympathised with the peasants' efforts to free themselves from the *ancien régime*.<sup>27</sup> But the bloodshed of the French Revolution itself so filled him with dismay and horror that it compelled him to publish *The Example of France, A Warning to Britain* (1793; German, 1793; French, 1793) in which he was fiercely critical of the 'horrible events now passing in France' that arose out of a misplaced enthusiasm for freedom at whatever price.<sup>28</sup>

Young's various agricultural tours, translated almost immediately into a range of different languages, not only fed German armchair travellers' interest in the foreign. They also contributed to the growing corpus of British literature on farming in German translation. Gertrud Schröder-Lembke has shown that English works on agriculture, horticulture and botany were gradually appearing in Germany from the 1750s onwards, despite concerns about the difficulty of applying British methods to German farming traditions.<sup>29</sup> John Mill's *New and Complete System of Practical Husbandry* (1763-1765; German, 1764-1767), Francis Home's *Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation* (1756; German, 1763) and even journals such as the transactions of the London Agricultural Society (transl. Nathanael Gottfried Leske and later Johann Gottfried Geißler) appeared on the German book market.<sup>30</sup> As Hans-Heinrich Müller's survey of English agricultural works translated into German for the period from 1737 to 1807 shows, of the fifty translations recorded, six are of works by Young.<sup>31</sup> These included Christian Jacob Kraus's translation of Young's *Political Arithmetic* (1774; German, 1777; French, 1775) and Samuel Hahnemann's rendering of the *Annals of Agriculture* (1784-1815; German, 1790-1802). Later works were published which drew on extracts from these *Annals* and the *Tours*, including the *Beschreibung zweyer englischer Säemaschinen: Oder Beytrag zu Arthur Young's Annalen des Ackerbaues* (1792) with its focus on machines which improved seed

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27. Ernle, *English farming*, p. 196.

28. Arthur Young, *The Example of France, A Warning to Britain* (Bury St. Edmund's 1793), p. 3.

29. Gertrud Schröder-Lembke, 'Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Gutswirtschaft im 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 12 (1964), p. 29-36. For a detailed account of the reception of British agricultural texts in France, see André-Jean Bourde, *The Influence of England on the French agronomes, 1750-1789* (Cambridge 1953).

30. Schröder-Lembke, 'Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Gutswirtschaft im 18. Jahrhundert', p. 31-32.

31. Appendix to Hans-Heinrich Müller, 'Christopher Brown: an English farmer in Brandenburg-Prussia in the eighteenth century', *Agricultural history review* 17.2 (1969), p. 120-135 (p. 129-135).



sowing and *Über den Möhrenbau in England: Auszug aus Arthur Joungs [!] ökonomischen Reisen* (1816) on the growing of carrots.

## II. Strategic moves: the translator's preface to Young's *Reisen*

Translating Young's *Six Months Tour* and his *Farmer's Tour* was no mean feat. The former, in the second edition (1770-1771) from which the German translation was made, comprised four volumes in English, each with over 400 pages. The latter, also translated from the second edition, represented a similarly formidable task: it was likewise a four-volume work, numbering over 2100 pages in total. Even the most cursory examination of the German translations of these *Tours* makes one thing instantly clear. They were highly condensed versions of the source texts, which halved the length of each of the English accounts, rendering the four English volumes comprising each work in just two German ones. The translated *Tours* were then published together as a set of four works, the first two comprising the *Sechsmonatliche Reise durch die nördlichen Provinzen von England* (Leipzig 1772), the third and fourth being the *Ökonomische Reise durch die östlichen Provinzen von England* (Leipzig 1775). The rationale behind such severe reductions in source text content might have been one of time: what is certain, though, is that the translator modified both texts to ensure that they better met the expectations of a German agricultural reading public and, in terms of layout, better streamlined them to fit normative notions concerning how travel writing should look. But how did these changes affect the way in which the English nation was represented in the German translations of Young's tours?

The translator's preface to both *Tours* is highly instructive in revealing the translation agenda which shaped the German target texts. The shift in alignment of the target text towards the agricultural, which made the references to country houses and estates something of an afterthought, was apparent from the very beginning of the *Sechsmonatliche Reise*. The translator's preface opened with an acknowledgement of the progressive nature of British farming: 'Daß die Englische Landwirthschaft in der Feldbestellung und vornehmlich in der Viehzucht in manchen Stücken vieles von der unsrigen voraus hat, kann niemand läugnen [...].'<sup>32</sup> Young's account, it went on to de-

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32. 'No-one can deny that English agriculture is ahead of ours by quite some way with regard to certain aspects of tilling and particularly cattle breeding.' Arthur Young, *Arthur Youngs Sechsmonatliche Reise durch die nördlichen Provinzen von England, in Absicht auf den Zustand der Landwirthschaft, der Manufakturen, der Malerey und übrigen schönen Künste*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1772), I.ii.

monstrate, should be seen within the tradition both of agricultural writing – here a reference was made to Mill’s *Complete System of Practical Husbandry* – and of scientific travel writing, aligning it notably with Carl Linnaeus’s travels through Sweden and Peer Kalm’s account of North America. There was much, though, the translator continued, that was of little or no interest to the German reader, not least the prices for hiring labourers or purchasing farming equipment.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the translator boldly asserted: ‘Ueberhaupt hat man sich an keine ängstliche wörtliche Uebersetzung gebunden, sondern die Sache bekannt zu machen gesucht, und dabey hauptsächlich Sachsen, und was hier anzuwenden seyn möchte, zum Vorwurfe gemacht.’<sup>34</sup> The translator therefore adopted a ‘free’ approach to the process of translating Young’s works and also conceived of the target audience as quite a different one from that which Young had had in mind for the source texts. The German translations were aimed at a highly regionalised, local readership (that of Saxony), which seemed to gainsay the general utility of Young’s comprehensive English account that claimed nation-wide appeal.

The rationale behind the translator’s decision was a logical one, though. Weights and measures were far from standard across the German-speaking states and agricultural works written in Upper or Lower Saxony, Swabia or Austria used completely different units of measurement.<sup>35</sup> And to make matters worse, even basic terms for root vegetables varied widely. ‘Erdbirnen’ was clearly the translator’s term for the humble potato: as he acknowledged, though, they were also known as ‘Erdtuffeln, Kortuffeln, oder Kartoffeln’ elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> While dialectal variance in English would have produced a similar range of local terms for potatoes and suchlike, Young’s account clearly referred to units of currency, weight and length that were considered standard across England. This in itself further reinforced the notion of the English

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33. Young, *Sechsmontliche Reise*, I.vi.

34. ‘In any case we did not tie ourselves to making a nervous, literal translation, but rather sought to make this thing public, and have principally taken as our subject Saxony, and what could be applicable there. Young, *Sechsmontliche Reise*, I.vi. Compare with the translator of the *Reise durch Ireland* [!], who was concerned to convey the sense of the source text and use agricultural terminology accurately: ‘ich habe aber allen Fleiß angewendet um besonders in den landwirthschaftlichen Nachrichten den Sinn des Verfassers zu treffen und deutsche und englische Landwirthe in meiner Nachbarschaft zu Rath gezogen’ – ‘I have applied the utmost diligence to capturing the author’s meaning with regard to the agricultural information and sought the advice of German and English agriculturalists in my neighbourhood’. Arthur Young, *Reise durch Ireland* [!] *nebst allgemeinen Beobachtungen über den gegenwärtigen Zustand dieses Reichs in den Jahren 1776, 1777 und 1778 bis zu Ende des Jahres 1779*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1780), I.iv.

35. Young, *Sechsmontliche Reise*, I.vii.

36. *Ibid.*, I.xvi.

as a homogenous group, a nation, where the German states were still a complex and competing patchwork of dukedoms and principalities.

The engravings of the parks and waterfalls which had graced the English account were largely missing in the translation for reasons of cost, the translator explained. However, the canal built in the area around Manchester was included, since it had not been described elsewhere and had been financed by the Duke of Bridgwater, both for his own profit and for that most British of Enlightenment ideals – the public good. One final, yet key, aspect to Young's account was given rather short shrift by the translator. Young's descriptions of parks were largely omitted, with just a few retained to give the reader a sense of what constituted 'English taste' in this regard. Although his accounts of the collections of paintings and sculptures in country estates were deemed interesting (not least given that Thomas Martyn's *English Connoisseur* (1767) only comprised two small volumes and focused primarily on London and environs), Young's dabbling in art appreciation often left the real connoisseur uninformed about what had been painted by whom.<sup>37</sup>

The translator's preface to the *Ökonomische Reise*, published as a sequel to the *Sechsmonatliche Reise*, promised a translation in the same vein. It too made clear what had been omitted both in the translation of Young's preface and in the main body of the text, but maintained the epistolary format in its sixty letters. The preface to the source text had included a fierce and feisty rebuttal on Young's part of the partial and opinionated responses of some critics (principally those of the *Monthly Review*) to the *Six Months Tour*: the accusations that he was a 'pretended farmer', that his account was too prolix and that details of country houses and estates did not belong in an agricultural tour as they were 'matters foreign to agriculture'.<sup>38</sup> The German translator considered such criticisms irrelevant for the German edition, given the positive reception it had enjoyed abroad.

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37. *Ibid.*, I.xviii. Note, though, that Young never had any pretensions about his skill as an art critic. Following a visit to Lord Irwin's collections at Temple Newsham, he lamented that his guide had been so uninformed about what he had shown him that he, Young, had little of detail to report. Young consoled himself, though, with the 'certainty that one's remarks are mere feelings, and never the praise or censure which the world attaches to names!' Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.350 (Young's emphasis).

38. Arthur Young, *The Farmer's Tour through the East of England*, 4 vols (London 1771), I.xiii, I.xxii, and I.xxi (Young's emphasis).

### III. Nation and narration: Young's *Tours* in translation

How were the changes intimated in the translator's prefaces put into practice in the main body of text, and to what extent did this reorient the translation towards a different audience in the target language? The most striking alterations in the translation to Young's own preface in the *Six Months Tour* were the omissions. The advertisement which he had posted in many of the London papers informing nobility, gentry, landlords and farmers of his intentions to travel to certain counties and gather information on agricultural practices, repeated verbatim in the preface, had been cut. So too had the long enumeration of names of figures whom he took the trouble to thank for their help in completing his enterprise. This list not only heightened the perceived authenticity, thoroughness and scope of Young's English account. It was in itself illustrative of the range of people, from aristocrats to gentleman farmers and their tenants, who invited Young onto their land to discuss with him their own experiments and farming techniques. The highly inclusive nature of the account, as demonstrated by the list, explicitly drew on national expertise and implicitly lent Young's work a multivocality in which all, regardless of standing, could apparently contribute to agricultural improvement. In the preface to the *Six Months Tour*, over thirty people were thanked by name (in the preface to the *Farmer's Tour*, overwhelmingly, almost one hundred): figures such as 'Mr CUTHBERT CLARKE of *Belford*, for a drawing of his turnip slicer', 'Mr. Parke of *Liverpool* [...] for the account of improving a bog in *Lancashire*' or the Duke of Portland on the effects of black moory soil 'as a preservative from the cock-chaffer grub'.<sup>39</sup> The German translator cut this section completely and added the briefest of footnotes: 'enthält weiter nichts, als eine Danksagung des Verfassers an alle, die ihm Verbesserungen zugeschickt'.<sup>40</sup> While Young's role call of Northern England's farming experimentors, advisors and commentators included names as meaningless to the German reader then as they are to us now, it nevertheless reinforced the notion of one man performing a semi-national undertaking: a key aspect absent from the translation.

The letters themselves that comprised the *Tours* underwent more far-reaching changes in their transformation into German. Young had opted to divide information on the page such that agricultural deliberations belonged to the main body of text, while discussions of the paintings hanging in country houses occupied footnotes that supplemented brief main-body references

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39. Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.xviii and I.xxii.

40. That is: 'includes nothing more than the author's thanks to all those who sent him details of improvements'. Young, *Sechsmoatliche Reise*, I.xxvi.

to the estates. Footnotes in non-fictional works such as travel writing were by no means unusual. Late eighteenth-century scholars such as Edward Gibbon and Alexander Pope made generous use of footnoting to demonstrate that their writing was disinterested and scientific and to add relevant supplementary material.<sup>41</sup> But in Young's work, the footnote did not operate so much as a guarantor of textual credibility and solidity: instead it created a division between information that it was in his professional interest to impart and information that related to more private pursuits. This is not to say that Young's footnotes were minor, unintrusive and brief. Quite the contrary. His footnote to the paintings in Hatfield House ran across seven pages, to Earl Temple's art collection at Stowe across fifteen, and to Burleigh House, seventeen. The footnoted information therefore ran onto pages well beyond the point in the main text to which it pertained and where the subject matter of the main text was quite different. The somewhat eclectic results are strange to modern reading sensibilities: it was possible for the footnotes to be revelling in the picturesque delights of the temple of Bacchus at Stowe, while the main body of text discussed the finer points of hog-fattening; to read at the bottom of the page that Holbein's painting of Henry VIII at Hatfield House 'has some curious attitudes' and at the top, that a cart 'complete with broad wheels' would cost 13 pounds; or that Jacopo Bassano's painting of Christ's praying was 'in the rough stile: the lights thrown remarkably strong' while Stevenage farms 'ploughed four times for wheat, and reaped on average 23 bushels per acre'.<sup>42</sup>

The German translations of the *Tours* dispensed with such footnoting completely. Instead, they offered a much abbreviated account of the estates – Hatfield House passing as a mere mention of 20 lines – in the main text itself, and reduced the list of paintings and sculptures to a bare minimum. This meant that central pieces of British art heritage (notably the anonymous 'Rainbow portrait' of Elizabeth I, that national representation of sovereignty that still hangs at Hatfield House) ceded to Rubens or Raphael in the translator's selection process. Moreover Young's spirited descriptions of some lesser well-known paintings were cut painfully short. Carlo Dolci's *Christ Blessing the Elements*, which hung at Burleigh House, was a piece which would strike all 'from the connoisseur to the clown' with astonishment, he asserted:

Sure never piece was finished in so perfect a manner. The divine resignation, – attention to the moment, – religious complacency of soul; – all is most exquisite. There is not only a picturesque beauty in this piece, but an *ideal* one, and in a noble stile; for the sentiments in the

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41. See Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: a curious history* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1997), esp. ch. 4.

42. See Young, *Farmer's Tour*, I.35; Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.16 and I.18.

countenance of our Saviour, are rather those of an imaginary existence, something superior to humanity, than a representation of what is ever beheld.<sup>43</sup>

The German rendering did not quibble with Young's assessment of Dolci's artistry, but did curb his superlatives: '[...] Christus, der die Elemente segnet, eines der schönsten Bilder, welche Carlo Dolce jemals gemalt hat, und das deswegen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Kenner und Unverständige bewundern es und erstaunen darüber. Alles ist schön; das Gesicht des Heylandes ist ein Ideal, das über die Natur erhaben ist, und mehr als einen Menschen zeigt.'<sup>44</sup> Young's slightly breathless, elliptical sentence structure captured something of the astonishment which he purported to have felt at seeing this painting, while also demonstrating precisely which aspects had moved him. These vibrant (if sometimes openly partial) descriptions with which Young indulged his English readers were dulled in the German version to briefer, more sober observations on the painting. Moreover, the translator's processes of selection largely reduced whole art galleries to an enumeration of canonical painters which gave little house-room to minor, or indeed anonymous works. The euphoric sense that English country houses were *the* great storehouses of European art, culture and history, and that by analogy the English (aristocracy) acted as universal arbiters of taste and style, was therefore dampened in the German versions of Young's work. In the process of streamlining the 'double vision' of the *Tours* into one continuous piece of almost wholly unfootnoted prose, Young's accounts acquired a more conventional layout in translation that located them clearly within the genre of non-fictional 'scientific' travel writing. They did so at a certain price, though: namely the loss of Young's infectious enthusiasm, articulated through his spirited and whimsical prose.

Young's emotionally charged descriptions of the British landscape also met with a cooler reception and took on a slightly different form in the German translations. The countryside around Swinton in North Yorkshire particularly appealed to his senses, as he described in the eleventh letter of the *Six Months Tour*:

Advancing a little further, through a winding walk, you come to a grotto, from which the scene is beautifully picturesque. You look aslant upon a natural cascade, which falls in gra-

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43. Young, *Six Months Tour*, I.70 (Young's emphasis).

44. 'Christ Blessing the Elements, one of the most beautiful pictures which Carlo Dolce ever painted, and which therefore deserves particular attention. Connoisseurs and those ignorant of art will marvel and wonder at it. Everything is beautiful; the saviour's face is an ideal, which is sublime beyond nature, and portrays more than just a human figure.' Young, *Sechsmonatliche Reise*, I.34.

dual sheets above 40 feet, in the midst of hanging wood; it is quite surrounded by the trees, and seems to gush forth by enchantment: The water is clear and transparent and throws a moving lustre to the eye, inexpressably elegant: The motion of it pleases not only from its genuine beauty, but from the peculiar happiness of situation, viewed from a woody retired spot, which contrasts so well the brilliancy of the object.<sup>45</sup>

While the German retained much of the concrete detail in the source text passage (and even succumbed to the idea of ‘enchantment’), it did not seek to reproduce all of Young’s related observations: ‘Weiter hin übersieht man aus einer Grotte eine sehr malerische Scene, nämlich einen von der Natur gemachten Wasserfall; das Wasser fällt in verschiedenen Absätzen vierzig Fuß hoch zwischen hohen Bäumen hervor, und scheint durch eine Zauberkräft hervor gebracht zu seyn.’<sup>46</sup> The spectatorial pleasures associated with viewing the landscape were therefore kept in check by the translator, who, one senses, was concerned to view the English landscape with an eye less partial than Young’s had been.

#### IV. Arthur Young: ‘ein feuriger Freund des Vaterlandes’

Young’s reception in Germany was, paradoxically, launched not in the first instance by the translations of his works, but by the original English texts. Albrecht von Haller, naturalist, poet and chief critic of the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* in the 1770s, had already snapped up Young’s *Essay on the Management of Hogs* (for which Young had won the Society of Arts gold medal in 1769) and reviewed it on 12 January 1771. A fortnight later came Haller’s comments on the first volume of the *Six Months Tour* which had appeared in London in the previous year. It contained much that was specific to England, he remarked, but was also useful reading matter for foreigners and far superior to works such as John Wallis’s *Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland* (1769), which Haller had pilloried in an earlier review for its myopic discussion of English lineage.<sup>47</sup> The patriotic slant to Young’s work did not escape Haller: ‘Hr. Y. ist ein feuriger Freund des Vaterlandes, der Künste und des Ackerbaues’, he enthused.<sup>48</sup> Young’s effusive descrip-

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45. Young, *Six Months Tour*, II.308.

46. ‘Further along one looks down from a grotto upon a most picturesque scene, namely one of a natural waterfall; the water falls in different sections forty feet high between tall trees, and seems to emerge as if by magic.’ Young, *Sechsmönatliche Reise*, I.360.

47. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11 (1771), p. 81-85 (p. 81).

48. ‘Mr Y. is a fervent friend of his country, the arts and agriculture.’ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11, p. 81.

tions of the English landscape, which the German translator would later have reservations about presenting with the same degree of enthusiasm, were tolerated light-heartedly by Haller: 'man muß es ihm deswegen zu gut halten, wann er zuweilen eine wilde Gegend, oder einen in andern Ländern unbedächtlichen Wasserfall wunderschön, und einer Reise von 1000 Meilen würdig findet'.<sup>49</sup> Thus it was clear to Haller through which lens Young had viewed England on his travels. In his review of the second volume, which he praised in the same journal a week later, he relativised Young's pride of the English landscape by locating it within his, Haller's, European experience: 'und wenn er die kleinen Wasserfälle, und die mäßigen wasserlosen Aussichten der Provinz York etwas enthusiastisch anrühmt, so muß man sich erinnern, daß er in einem mehrentheils flachen Lande schreibt, und die kolossische Größe der Alpen nicht gesehen hat'.<sup>50</sup> From March to October 1773, Haller reviewed the volumes of Young's *Farmer's Tour through the East of England* with a similar approval of his undertaking, but steered clear, as the translator would do a couple of years later, of discussing Young's debacles with his English critics.

That Haller read Young's *Tour* in the English version rather than in translation appears not to have been unusual. Above and beyond being the quickest way of discovering what Young had to say, there must have been a reasonably large learned German public who could read him in the original. As the German philosopher and economist, Johann Beckmann, noted in his brief review of the German translation of Young's *Six Months Tour* in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* in 1775, he could refrain from relating verbatim sections from the translation, since the source text was already sufficiently well known. While his review of the *Sechsmonatliche Reise* was generally warm – and certainly complimentary towards the translator for his stalwart efforts in reining in Young's prose – he had two key points of criticism: its insufficiently 'scientific' content and its (misguided) attempt to balance the *utile* with the *dulce*. The criticism of Young's art appreciation largely voiced concerns we have heard elsewhere. With regard to the scientific aspect, Beckmann disagreed with the translator that Young's account could be considered on a par with Linnaeus's travel writing. Indeed, he remarked

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49. That is: 'one must therefore not begrudge him the fact that he sometimes finds a wild landscape or a cascade beautiful which in other countries would not be worthy of consideration, and worth a journey of 1000 miles'. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 11, p. 81.

50. In English: 'and when he praises rather enthusiastically the small waterfalls and the indifferent views of the province of York, where there is no water, one should not forget that he writes in a country that is for the greater part flat and has not seen the colossal size of the Alps'. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 13 (1771), p. 106-109 (p. 107).



sourly, 'wir [wünschen] den deutschen Reisenden etwas mehr Naturkunde'.<sup>51</sup> The emphasis on the word 'deutsch' suggests that Beckmann was pointing towards what he perceived as national differences in travel writing: that English accounts had greater leeway to be more conjectural, conversational and popularistic, while German travellers boasted loftier intellectual aims.

## V. Conclusion

The German translations of Young's *Tours* through England are interesting examples of the many ways in which translation can be fraught with difficulty. Translation, like travel itself, is about an encounter with difference that points up power differentials as well as promotes reconsiderations of self, identity and self-representation. The German interest in Young's work lay primarily in the fact that it had much to say on agricultural improvement: this was presumably the impetus behind the Leipzig publisher's commissioning of the translation in the first place. As a result, the translations 'rewrote' the *Tours* in such a way that Young's discussion of farming was almost totally uncoupled from his larger vision of landscape as a symbol of progress, pride and patriotism. The agricultural theme was thus thrown into sharper relief and the orientation of the *Tours* shifted away from a comprehensive approach to one more specialised. The fine trimming (and sometimes even fierce chopping) of material from the source text suggests too that the translator was resistant to Young's effusive narrative, be it in the discussion of agricultural developments, England's picturesque scenery or the wealth of art on display in English country estates. While Young's accounts locate themselves within the universal Enlightenment discourse of progress and make a clear contribution both in their English and German versions to transnational discussions of agricultural development, they are confronted in translation with the problematic regionality of the German states in that period. The translator – who makes no attempt to don a cloak of invisibility – assumes an overt doubleness, functioning as a linguistic go-between who operates on a national level between language groups, and is yet also a member of a target-language audience conceived of in a highly regionalised fashion.

It is easy to discuss the German translations of Young's *Tours* in terms of omission, loss and inferiority in comparison with the source text (all of which are notions that have plagued the concept of translation for centuries). Indeed

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51. That is: 'we wish the German travellers to know more natural history'. *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 24.2 (1775), p. 520.

it is difficult to do otherwise, given the extent to which the content of Young's accounts was pared down in translation. But perhaps, in the final analysis, it makes sense to try and understand the translator as a figure who was concerned to make of Young's *Tours* works which dovetailed neatly into the existing discourses in Germany on travel, agriculture and life in England in the eighteenth century. This required the reworking of the *Tours*, both stylistically and structurally, to make them correspond more closely with the norms of the established corpus of scientific travel writing in Germany in the period: a corpus which largely defined itself by sober, factual accuracy and by succinctness. Seen from this perspective, the German translations persuasively (re-)constructed for their readership an image of Young as an individual whose visions for the future of agriculture legitimately made him one of the oracles of his time.<sup>52</sup>

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52. *In memoriam* Heiner Engelbertz (1926-2008), former Geschäftsführer des Landwirtschaftlichen Kreisvereins Bentheim, whose interest in my research I always greatly valued.



FANIA OZ-SALZBERGER

Did Adam Ferguson inspire Friedrich Schiller's  
philosophy of play?  
An exercise in tracking the itinerary of an idea

I. The Scottish-German context of the Ferguson-Schiller link

The impact of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers on their German contemporaries has been recognized by recent scholarship as one of the most rewarding intellectual trajectories of the eighteenth century. The sheer volume of Scottish works translated into German tells a powerful bibliographical story of cultural reception.<sup>1</sup> The qualitative effect of Scottish texts on German thought and letters is documented in numerous engagements of German writers with Scottish works, philosophical as well as belletristic. Scotland, a unique part of what many eighteenth-century Germans reverentially and inaccurately called 'England', left particular fingerprints on the high age of German Enlightenment, *Sturm und Drang*, and early Romanticism.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the greatest philosophers of the *Aufklärung*, including Immanuel Kant and Moses Mendelssohn, followed by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, were substantially affected by Scottish sources according to their own testimonials, and in ways far transcending their own testimonials.<sup>3</sup> David Hume most famously, but Thomas Reid no less effectively, were part of a sea

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1. Mary Bell Price and Lawrence Marsden Price, *The Publication of English humaniora in Germany in the eighteenth century* (Berkeley 1934); Bernhard Fabian, 'English books and their eighteenth-century German readers', in *The Widening circle: essays on the circulation of literature in eighteenth-century Europe*, ed. Paul J. Korshin (Philadelphia 1976), p. 119-195; Norbert Wazsek, 'Bibliography of the Scottish Enlightenment in Germany', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century* 230 (1985), p. 283-303.
  2. Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Göttingen 1987); Ian Buruma, *Anglomania: a European love affair* (New York 1999); Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth century Germany* (Oxford 1995), chs. 1-2.
  3. Norbert Wazsek, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Hegel's account of civil society* (Dordrecht, Boston, New York 1988).

change in the history of German philosophy.<sup>4</sup> Adam Smith influenced, not always in ways he himself would have recognized, the modernization of German political economy.<sup>5</sup> Adam Ferguson, William Robertson and John Millar stirred an interest in the new historical science of man and society.<sup>6</sup>

In the thriving milieu of German literature, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Christian Garve were among those who not only read and quoted, but also translated and actively transmitted Scottish works. Thinkers associated with *Sturm und Drang* and the origins of German Romanticism, such as Johann Gottfried von Herder and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, were guided by Scottish thinkers and poets to criticize French Rationalism. Anglophone university professors, such as Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and Christoph Meiners at Göttingen, were fascinated by books and ideas from Scotland.<sup>7</sup>

Between 1750 and 1800, David Hume, closely followed by Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, John Millar, Thomas Reid, and others, made a successful journey in translation (and at times also in the original English) to German philosophical and literary circles, journals and bookshops. The rise of German sentimental literature and philosophies of art and the sublime was informed by the Earl of Shaftesbury and his Scottish proponents, Francis Hutcheson and Henry Home, Lord Kames. Their effect on *Sturm und Drang* sensibilities was complemented by the highly successful translation and reception of the poetic opus presented to the world by James Macpherson as the ancient lyrics of the Scottish bard Ossian.<sup>8</sup>

This fascination was not, up until the early nineteenth century, bilateral. Scottish luminaries were far less aware of the emerging German intellectual scene than vice versa, and knew little of their own role in it. This was partly due to the fact that German authors consciously drew on Scottish models in the process of modernizing German philosophy, literature, and cultural self-

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4. Gunter Gawlick and Lothar Kreimendahl, *Hume in der deutschen Aufklärung* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1987); Manfred Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany* (Montreal 1988).

5. Wilhelm Treue, 'Adam Smith in Deutschland: zum Problem des "Politischen Professors" zwischen 1776 und 1810', in *Deutschland und Europa: historische Studien zur Völker- und Staatenordnung des Abendlandes*, ed. Werner Conze (Düsseldorf 1951), p. 191-233; Keith Tribe, *Governing economy: the reformation of German economic discourse 1750-1840* (Cambridge 1988).

6. Laszlo Kontler, 'William Robertson's *History of Manners* in German, 1770-1795', *Journal of the history of ideas* 58.1 (1997), p. 125-144; Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*.

7. Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, pt. 3.

8. Meyer H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the lamp: Romantic theory and the critical tradition* (Oxford 1953), ch. 8; Howard Gaskill, 'German Ossianism: a reappraisal?', *German life and letters* 42 (1989), p. 329-341.

consciousness. The German Anglophilia of the later eighteenth century was part of a cultural reorientation from an aristocratically-inclined, rationalist French orientation to a bourgeois, sentimental fascination with 'the English'. The famed English authors read and lauded in German centres of learning were often Scottish, and it was the energy of the Scottish Enlightenment and literature that often ignited German minds. In time, several German writers came to recognize the greatness of the Edinburgh Enlightenment and also to appreciate the Scottish, not English, capacity to revive cultural tradition and create an innovative intellectual sphere, far removed from the hubs of London and Paris. Scotland, a proud periphery divested of political sovereignty but strong on national self-awareness, resonated in the minds of German thinkers and writers from Hamburg to Leipzig. Edinburgh, not London, offered them a challenge, a hope and a model.

Friedrich Schiller, playwright, poet, historian and philosopher, was a natural denizen of the Scottish-German field of cultural reception. Schiller imbibed English (including Scottish) texts and ideas since his early youth in the Carlsschule in Württemberg. There, in the tough and formative military academy, he came across Adam Ferguson's *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1769), translated into German by Christian Garve in 1772. According to early biographical descriptions, Ferguson's impact on the young Schiller was profound and long-lasting.

In this essay I would like to expand on previous work, in which I traced Schiller's reading, reception and use of Adam Ferguson's texts and ideas.<sup>9</sup> Here I propose to stray from the safe path of well-documented (yet often vague) 'influence', and take a closer look at one theme on which Ferguson's impact on Schiller is not easy to prove: the concept of play. Did Ferguson's work have a lasting effect on Schiller's development of the philosophical, moral and aesthetic concept of the 'play drive'? The answer is not self-evident, and I propose this as an exercise in the tracking of specific itineraries of particular ideas, across languages and cultures and between writers and their active readers.

Whereas Friedrich Schiller is widely acknowledged as an early theorist of play, Ferguson's use of the concept has received almost no attention. Schiller was recently hailed as the creator of 'the most primordial of modern play theories'.<sup>10</sup> Ferguson, on the other hand, is still to be recognized as an original user of the concept of play in his discussions of human nature, history and politics. While Ferguson's notion of play did not amount to a full-fledged theo-

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9. Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, ch. 12.

10. Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of play* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1997), p. 74.

ry, it has a unique resonance in his works and corresponds powerfully with his understanding of man, society and modernity.

Can Ferguson's demonstrable impact on Schiller on several junctures be expanded to include Schiller's 'play drive'? Did a particular idea – an understanding of the cultural significance of man at play – travel from Scotland to Germany, from Ferguson to Schiller, in the second half of the eighteenth century? How can such an impact be traced and substantiated? Where does Schiller's theory of play diverge from Ferguson's ideas, and does such divergence testify for, or against, the possibility of a direct impact? I will tackle some or all of these questions in what is essentially a border-case exploration of a process of intellectual reception.

## II. Play in the Enlightenment

'Go play, boy, play', says Leontes in the second scene of the first act of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. This scene is strewn with 'play' and its derivatives, which Shakespeare used in several different senses, all still familiar to the modern ear. The boy's play is the semantic centerfield, to which 'thy mother plays', and 'I play too, but so disgrac'd a part', and 'my young playfellow', 'a game play'd home', 'I play'd the fool' – all reside in adjoining semantic spaces, acting out a magnificent piece of intersecting meanings. We shall return to the boy's play in Adam Ferguson. But the Shakespearean wordplay serves our theme as more than a mere adornment; it demonstrates that eighteenth-century English, French, and German readers were well equipped to explore the metaphors of play applicable to a vast landscape of human existence, action, and yearning.

The term play (*jeu, Spiel*) was rife in eighteenth-century thought and literature. It had an entry in the *Encyclopédie* and some significant lines in Kant's third *Critique*. 'Play' often appeared in theatrical context, as well as in social context of the salon brand (these two spaces of usage tended to interplay). The eighteenth century publicly discussed gambling, and modernized the concept of sport, though both these topics were seldom placed in theoretical context.<sup>11</sup> The Enlightenment, one may add, was one of the most playful intellectual movements in history; its cases and arguments were often acted

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11. Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the shadows of chance: the novel and the culture of gambling in eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore, London 1994); John Hughson, David Inglis, and Markus Free, *The Uses of sport: a critical study* (London, New York 2005).

out in the lighthearted discursive setting of the salons, and written in the elegant, amusing and teasing prose of Voltaire and his generic followers.

Yet 'play' did not become a central Enlightenment concept. Few theorists dedicated substantial texts to play (with the exception of gambling and chance-game issues). Accordingly, the eighteenth century is disappointingly absent from Johan Huizinga's classical exploration of the theme in his *Homo ludens*.<sup>12</sup>

Jean le Rond d'Alembert wrote texts on the mathematical aspects of games of chance, but did not wander into the psychology or philosophy of play.<sup>13</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* makes constant mention of play and sports as means of education, but Rousseau's definition of children's play does not suggest theoretical innovation. It is 'the easy and voluntary control of the movements which nature demands of them, the art of varying their games to make them pleasanter, without the least bit of constraint to transform them into work'.<sup>14</sup>

Kant made brief remarks about play and abundant use of the term 'free play' in the final part of his *Critique of Judgement* (1790). Like Rousseau, he treated play as the opposite of work, but did not offer a further exposition of the concept.<sup>15</sup> Of the few eighteenth-century writers who took play seriously and conceptualized it in an innovative way, Friedrich Schiller is arguably the most mature and the best remembered. Adam Ferguson, I suggest, belonged to the same small group.<sup>16</sup>

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12. Johan Huizinga, *Homo ludens: a study of the play-element in culture*, transl. by Richard F. C. Hull (London 1949). Schiller's use of the term is mentioned very briefly on p. 186.

13. D'Alembert wrote the *Encyclopédie* entry 'Croix ou Pile' ('Heads or tails'), on the calculus of probabilities (IV.512). The entry 'Jeu' (VIII.531) was probably penned by Denis Diderot. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

14. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: on education*, transl. by Barbara Foxley (London 2006), p. 158.

15. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement* (1790), section 29 and sections 43-44. I have used the text available online, based on James Creed Meredith's translation (Oxford 1911), <<http://philosophy.eserver.org/kant/critique-of-judgment.txt>>.

16. Schiller and Ferguson are seldom mentioned together in this context. Pat Kane's book and website, 'Play ethic', interestingly assign the theory of play drive or *Spieltrieb* to Schiller and Ferguson together. See Pat Kane, *The Play ethic: a manifesto for a different way of living* (London 2004), and <[www.theplayethic.com](http://www.theplayethic.com)>. See also Christopher Harvie, 'The Case of the Postmodernist's sore thumb, or the moral sentiments of John Rebus', in *Scotland in theory: reflections on culture and literature*, ed. Eleanor Bell and Gavin Miller (Amsterdam, New York 2004), p. 51-68.



### III. Ferguson on play

'The great inventor of the game of human life, knew well how to accommodate the players. The chances are matter of complaint: But if these were removed, the game itself would no longer amuse the parties.' So wrote Adam Ferguson in his most successful book, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767).<sup>17</sup> This passage encapsulates the Fergusonian idea of action as happiness. Not the divine game-maker is central to the argument, but the human gamester.<sup>18</sup>

Ferguson's concept of play is embedded in his idea of history, theory of action in human nature, and modern version of the republican tradition. In contrast to earlier and contemporary 'universal histories' written in Britain and on the Continent Ferguson's history of civil society is not a story of growing harmony and peace. Man is by nature 'too disposed to opposition'.<sup>19</sup> Modern thinkers are wrong to present their readers with a historical model of progress toward peace and calm, trade and domesticity. Men, Ferguson was happy to say, 'will be forever separated into bands, and form a plurality of nations', at least until 'we have reduced mankind to the state of a family'.<sup>20</sup> But Ferguson wanted to hear nothing of familial bliss in the affairs of men: discord, like play, is a space of freedom that mankind must never evacuate.

Animals play too, as well as fight; at least, so do the 'noble' of them, including '[man's] associates, the dog and the horse'.<sup>21</sup> Ferguson thus created what may be dubbed a great chain of playfulness, combativeness and exertion.<sup>22</sup> Beasts belong at its bottom, but the top is occupied by the exclusively human goals of political freedom and personal integrity. These demand the constant support of individual action and fruitful civic strife. 'The trials of ability, which men mutually afford to one another in the collisions of free society, are the lessons of a school which Providence has opened for man-

17. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), edited with an introduction by Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge 1995).

18. Ferguson's contribution to the theory of sport and play has begun to be recognized only recently. See, for example, Grand Jarvie and Joseph McGuire, *Sport and leisure in social thought* (London 1994), p. 1.

19. Jarvie and McGuire, *Sport and leisure in social thought*, p. 21.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 21-22.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 45, cf. also p. 24; Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (London 1792), I.14-15.

22. For Ferguson's activism in the political context, see David Kettler, *The Social and political thought of Adam Ferguson* (Columbus [Ohio] 1965), p. 141, p. 149-150, and p. 164ff. For a comprehensive account, see Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Adam Ferguson's philosophy of action', in *Adam Ferguson: history, progress and human nature*, ed. Eugene Heath and Vincenzo Merolle (London 2007), p. 147-158.

kind.<sup>23</sup> Playful boys, pugnacious savages, and frolicking animals were all part of Ferguson's defence of the active role of individual citizens in civil society.

Civil society itself, Ferguson argued, is not a synonym of modern or 'refined' society. It is historically rooted in the savage phase of human history, also exemplified by contemporary primitive societies, where men combined fighting, hunting and gaming as part of their natural propensity to activity. Ferguson's concern as historian is to trace the continuity of this active trait through the phases of history. His greater concern, as moral philosopher, is to call attention to the threat posed by modernity, luxury and politeness against man's active nature and ensuing public commitment. Modern refinement, he famously argued, is killing men's natural, and also political, *vita activa*. Socially, the rich become idle; economically, the 'separation of professions' replaces well-rounded personalities with merchants and specialists; politically, the public spirit of the citizen-soldier is giving way to private-sphere passivity of the subject.

'Play' was Ferguson's constant byword, and sometimes metaphor, for man's active nature. Historically, play is deeply linked to the most ancient records of social groupings and human pastimes:

Games of hazard are not the invention of polished ages; men of curiosity have looked for their origin, in vain, among the monuments of an obscure antiquity; and it is probable that they belonged to times too remote and too rude even for the conjectures of antiquarians to reach. The very savage brings his furs, his utensils, and his beads, to the hazard-table: he finds here the passions and agitations which the applications of a tedious industry could not excite: and while the throw is depending, he tears his hair, and beats his breast, with a rage which the more accomplished gamester has sometimes learned to repress: he often quits the party naked, and stripped of all his possessions; or where slavery is in use, stakes his freedom to have one chance more to recover his former loss.<sup>24</sup>

Ferguson refers his readers by footnote to 'Tacitus, Lafitau, Charlevoix'. Alongside the reports of chance gaming among ancient Germans and contemporary North Americans, he may well have been influenced by natural law philosopher Jean Barbeyrac, who discussed the perennial fascination of hazard games in his *Treatise on Gambling* of 1709. '[Gambling] is momentary and eternal', Barbeyrac wrote. 'The variety and vicissitudes of its movements forestall disgust while providing it with perpetual sustenance over which time holds no sway.'<sup>25</sup>

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23. Ferguson, *Principles*, II.508-509.

24. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 171.

25. Jean Barbeyrac, *Traité du jeu* (Amsterdam 1709), p. 286-287, translated and quoted in Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the shadows of chance*, p. 61.

Games of chance were immensely popular in the eighteenth century and well represented in its literature; yet Ferguson did not limit his analysis to the mental or mathematical aspects of gambling, as did Barbeyrac and d'Alembert respectively. Like Shakespeare's deployment of 'play' and its derivatives in *The Winter's Tale* I:2, Ferguson configured a broad-based interpretation of play, paying attention to its overlaps with hunt, sport, competition and war, to its theatrical senses, its metaphorical uses, and to its relation to various ages in individual human life and in the history of mankind. Yet Ferguson did not share Shakespeare's tongue-in-cheek, indeed cruel, deployment of 'play'. For Ferguson play belonged to the realm of innocence, even if it was the brutal innocence of Tacitus's Germanic barbarians.

Savages and barbarians played games. They did so often, enthusiastically, unselfconsciously. So did the ancient Greeks and Romans. It is a secret of pleasure known to little boys in every age. The happiness of active exertion, Ferguson wrote, is 'a refinement that was made by Regulus and Cincinnatus before the date of philosophy [...] a refinement, which every boy knows in his play, and every savage confirms'.<sup>26</sup> Only the adult male of modern times, trapped in the fake refinements of the modern and commercial age, may be losing hold of this kernel of human happiness.

Ferguson's playing boy echoes, consciously or not, Shakespeare's 'go play, boy, play', without the sinister streak. It is more likely that Ferguson had in mind Rousseau's *Emile*, where boys' playful nature is acknowledged, though also manipulated to serve Rousseau's idea of good education. Boys, said Rousseau, should be taught to play men's games, especially those that enhance their physical and mental skills: 'To dash from one end of the room to another, to judge the rebound of a ball before it touches the ground, to return it with strength and accuracy, such games are not so much sports fit for a man, as sports fit to make a man out of him.'<sup>27</sup> As far as Ferguson was concerned, boys could be left to their own excellent devices. It was modern men that he worried about, not their young sons.

Play may prepare for life, but it is inertly versatile and whimsical. The player is free inasmuch as he can change the game. Shakespeare's Polixenes spoke of his son's 'varying childness',<sup>28</sup> Rousseau of children's 'art of varying their games to make them pleasanter'.<sup>29</sup>

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26. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 122.

27. Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 145.

28. 'And with his varying childness cures in me / Thoughts that would thicken my blood.' William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino (Cambridge 2007), I:2:170-171.

29. Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 158.

Danger is play's intimate companion. 'People always play carelessly in games where there is no danger', wrote Rousseau.<sup>30</sup> Ferguson too assigned play, in its genuine rough-and-tumble sense, a masculine character. 'Kite-flying is a sport for women', Rousseau wrote with open contempt, 'but every woman will run away from a swift ball [...] But we men are made for strength. Do you think we can attain it without hardship?'<sup>31</sup> Ferguson seldom mentioned women in his historical and philosophical writings. The only women to make meaningful appearance in the *Essay* are the ladies who 'never look abroad', enjoy indoor lives and complain about bored husbands moping about the house on a rainy day. The point was to demonstrate men's natural disposition to outdoor life.<sup>32</sup>

'Looking abroad' is a term of particular interest: it denotes Ferguson's notion of an essential human (that is, male) cognitive activity: in order to enhance his 'improveable capacity', man ought to be accountable to society and 'to look abroad into the general order of things'.<sup>33</sup> Men are in need of 'pursuit'.<sup>34</sup> Pursuit, in Ferguson's civic language, is not limited to the quest for material improvement. It is hunt, war, and games as much as labour, arts, or commerce, which for Ferguson marked the realization of men's true nature: 'business or play may amuse them alike'.<sup>35</sup> Sport or competitive play combines 'friendship' and 'animosity'. It trains minds and maintains the 'national spirit' during times of peace.<sup>36</sup>

Ferguson departed from Rousseau by concentrating, first, on grown men, and second, most importantly, on modern men. This was the point on which play was conceptualized by Ferguson, placed in a semantic and philosophical context that was polemical and innovative. I have said that Ferguson did not openly broach a theory of play; but several places in his works, especially the first part of the *Essay*, resonate with a creative and consistent application of the terminology of play, as part of an analysis of man's nature and modern man's risk of falling short of it.

In his mature work, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792), Ferguson quoted Epictetus's allusion to 'a game of chance or of skill', and pointed at the Stoic school as the philosophical source of his idea of play: 'The Stoics conceived human life under the image of a Game; at which the

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30. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 43.

33. Ferguson, *Principles*, I.5-6.

34. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 42 *et passim*.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

36. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 28-29. Cf. Hughson, Inglis, and Free, *Uses of sport*, p. 134.

entertainment and merit of the players consisted in playing attentively and well, whether the stake was great or small.<sup>37</sup>

In an unusual autobiographical aside, Ferguson recalled his own military past – he had served as chaplain of the Black Watch Highlander regiment – and linked it to his appreciations of the Stoics’ understanding of chance games.

This game the author has had occasion to see played in camps, on board of ships, and in presence of an enemy, with the same or greater ease than is always to be found in the most secure situations: And his thoughts were long employed to account for this appearance, before he adverted to the illustration which is given by Epictetus.<sup>38</sup>

Biographically as well as philosophically, Ferguson linked play to hunt and war: ‘the sportsman and the soldier’ were players to boot. Significantly, the *Essay* mentions the ‘politician, whose sport is the conduct of parties and factions’.<sup>39</sup> What all these pastimes had in common was their non-professionality, their belonging to a pre-commercial and pre-market sphere of human existence. Hunt, war and political action were the most human and least specialized of activities.

Ferguson held both play and competition as the true matrix for human well-being. His account of human psychology focused on the ‘disposition to action’ and the love of adversity familiar to savages and boys. ‘The reason and the heart of man’, he wrote in his textbook *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, ‘are best cultivated in the exercise of social duties, and in the conduct of public affairs’.<sup>40</sup>

Play was about conflict, and conflict, for Ferguson, could be a good thing when embarked upon in the context of healthy human exertion. Then it was neither a necessary evil attendant on social interaction, nor an ingenious dialectic device leading to a higher, harmonic level of existence, but a genuine realization of human nature. Opposition sustains men’s individual fortitude and revitalizes their social bearings. Ferguson described and prescribed it on all levels of human interaction: among individuals through play or hunting,<sup>41</sup> among political parties as an unintended means of securing liberty,<sup>42</sup> and among rival nations: ‘Their wars, and their treaties, their mutual jealousies,

37. Ferguson, *Principles*, I.7-8.

38. *Ibid.*, I.7.

39. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 42-45.

40. Adam Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy: For the Use of Students in the College of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1769), p. 291.

41. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 42-43 and p. 46.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 125 and p. 128.

and the establishments which they devise in view to each other, constitute more than half the occupations of mankind, and furnish materials for their greatest and most improving exertions.<sup>43</sup>

#### IV. Schiller on play

In his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1794), Friedrich Schiller famously stated that 'Man plays only when he is in the full sense of the word a man, and he is only wholly a Man when he is playing'.<sup>44</sup> A recent student of the history of play has called this 'the most primordial of modern play theories'.<sup>45</sup> Another modern work on the theory of play credits Schiller with 'the firm reestablishment of play as a legitimate topic of serious philosophical discourse'.<sup>46</sup>

Human beings are motivated by two forces: the sensuous drive (*Stofftrieb*) 'proceeds from the physical existence of man' and the formal drive (*Formtrieb*) 'proceeds from the absolute existence of man'.<sup>47</sup> These drives are opposing, and not mutually complementing. The sensuous drive 'demands that there shall be change, that time shall have a content'. 'Man in this state is nothing but a unit of quantity, an occupied moment of time – or rather, he is not at all, for his personality is suspended as long as he is ruled by sensation, and swept along by the flux of time.'<sup>48</sup> The formal drive, by contrast, yearns for the abstract, eternal, and absolute.

While the sensuous drive locates man in the material world and in 'the flux of time', the formal drive 'insists on affirming the personality', and 'gives laws' to regulate judgement and will.<sup>49</sup> But it does not touch directly on the material reality of human existence.

As the two drives cannot balance each other, they must converge in a higher drive, which Schiller called the play drive (*Spieltrieb*). Only the play

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43. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

44. Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters*, ed. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and Leonard A. Willoughby (Oxford 1983), p. 107. Hereafter 'AE'.

45. Sutton-Smith, *Ambiguity of play*, p. 75. 'This new and novel idealization of play is first expressed most explicitly in the famous statement by Friedrich Schiller.' *Ibid.*, p. 131.

46. Mihai I. Spariou, *Dionysus reborn: play and the aesthetic dimension in modern philosophical and scientific discourse* (Ithaca, London 1989), p. 53, cf. also p. 30, p. 33 *et passim*.

47. *AE*, p. 79.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

drive can be 'directed towards annulling time *within time*, reconciling becoming with absolute being and change with identity'.<sup>50</sup>

Schiller the historian, like Ferguson, drew a profound, if ambivalent, inspiration from Rousseau's critique of the corrupting power of civilization over the individual. Modern men, Schiller claimed, are fragmented. The ancient Greeks enjoyed a unity of sense and intellect, but history has since placed these two necessary human traits in mutual opposition. In modern times, 'the human species is projected in magnified form into separate individuals – but as fragments'.<sup>51</sup>

Schiller's understanding of the fragmentation of modern personalities was essentially spiritual, but it was nevertheless derived from his reading of Scottish Enlightenment texts, which dealt with specialization from the viewpoint of political economy. The inner split of modern human beings is due to 'the increase of empirical knowledge, and the more exact modes of thought, [that] made sharper divisions between the sciences inevitable, and [...] necessitated a more rigorous separation of ranks and occupations'.<sup>52</sup>

Despite this socio-economic context, which Schiller owed to the Scottish Enlightenment, the framework of the play drive is aesthetic. Schiller made it exclusively directed toward beauty. 'The agreeable, the good, the perfect, with these man is merely in earnest; but with beauty he plays.'<sup>53</sup> Beauty is there to be played with. It 'produces no particular result whatsoever, neither for the understanding nor for the will'.<sup>54</sup> It therefore takes a unique human propensity to play with beauty. That is the play drive.<sup>55</sup>

But despite this aesthetic exclusiveness, Schiller shared with Ferguson a broader understanding of play that goes well beyond the aesthetic, toward what we may call biological and anthropological perspectives. Like Ferguson, Schiller noted that animals play. Nature, he wrote, 'shed a glimmer of freedom even into the darkness of animal life'. But whereas Ferguson hailed the playfulness of man's hunting companions, the horse and the dog, Schiller preferred the lion's kingly example and left the human sportsman out of the picture. 'When the lion is not gnawed by hunger, nor provoked to battle by any beast of prey, his idle strength creates an object for itself: he fills the echoing

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50. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

55. Sutton-Smith writes of Schiller's stance as 'the conflation of art and play' (*Ambiguity of play*, p. 133).

desert with roaring that speaks defiance, and his exuberant energy enjoys its *self* in purposeless display.<sup>56</sup>

In terms similar to Ferguson's, Schiller defined animal play as an overflow of aimless energy. 'An animal may be said *to be at work*, when the stimulus to activity is some lack; it may be said *to be at play*, when the stimulus is sheer plenitude of vitality, when superabundance of life is its own incentive to action.'<sup>57</sup>

Whereas Ferguson insinuated some line of continuity between dog, horse and man – the Highlands officer knew more about hunting than the bourgeois from Württemberg – Schiller drew a strong differential between them. Human play drive is not only more complex than animal playfulness: it has a transcendental dimension that predicates it upon the sublime.

Where did Schiller find inspiration for the play drive? Most scholars agree that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Immanuel Kant exercised a crucial inspiration on the development of Schiller's 'aesthetic state'.<sup>58</sup> In his seminal essay in aesthetics, *Laocoon* (1766), Lessing alluded to the free rein or free play ('freies Spiel') of the imagination; this expression appears twice, as a passing figure of speech, without dwelling on the specificity of play.<sup>59</sup> Kant's influence was probably more direct. His *Critique of Judgement* (1790) distinguished aesthetic judgement from both sensory recognition and reason-driven ethics. He made one significant use of the word 'play' in his discussion of the relation between the mind's moral component and its aesthetic capacity.

As a matter of fact, a feeling for the sublime in nature is hardly thinkable unless in association with an attitude of mind resembling the moral. And though, like that feeling, the immediate pleasure in the beautiful in nature presupposes and cultivates a certain liberality of thought, i.e., makes our delight independent of any mere enjoyment of sense, still it represents freedom *rather as in play* than as exercising a law-ordained function, which is the genuine characteristic of human morality, where reason has to impose its dominion upon sensibility.<sup>60</sup>

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56. *AE*, p. 207 (emphasis added).

57. *Ibid.* (emphasis added).

58. Frederick Beiser, *Schiller as philosopher: a re-examination* (Oxford 2005), p. 142-143, acknowledges both influences and interestingly adds the lesser-known work by Friedrich Wilhelm von Ramdohr, *Charis, oder Ueber das Schöne und die Schönheit in den nachbildenden Künsten* (Leipzig 1793), which Schiller read just before writing *AE*. While Beiser's reference to Ramdohr is useful and suggestive, my present aim is to reexamine the Scottish, and specifically Fergusonian, context of Schiller's idea of play, which Beiser considers implausible (*Schiller as philosopher*, p. 142, n. 44).

59. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: an essay on the limits of painting and poetry*, transl. by Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore 1984), p. 19 and p. 66.

60. Immanuel Kant, 'General Remark upon the Exposition of Aesthetic Reflective Judgements', in section 29 of *Critique of Judgement* (emphasis added).



The words 'as in play' in this particular passage, may have triggered Schiller's invention of the *Spieltrieb*. But it is important to note that Kant's use of 'play', here and elsewhere in the *Critique of Judgement*, was confined to a very general allusion to a human activity associated with freedom, in the context of man's 'feeling for the sublime'. A closer reading, however, may disclose that Kant used play, as a matrix of freedom, only to retreat from absolute freedom even in the context of aesthetic cognition.

Let us briefly examine the waning importance of playful freedom in Kant's argument. Imagination, says Kant, is the mediator between sensory knowledge and formal reasoning. Imagination was close enough to reason to allow the building of hypotheses, enabling empirical science. Imagination enjoyed a freedom unknown to reason. In this context, Kant made several mentions of 'the free play of imagination' in the sections of the third *Critique* dealing with art.

Art is distinguished from craft by being 'free'. Art is done for its own sake, craft for utility. Art can therefore be seen as play, 'agreeable on its own account', while craft is 'disagreeable' though profitable.<sup>61</sup> But how playful is art for Kant?

It is important to observe that as soon as he introduces the terminology of (free) play, Kant sets limits to art's playfulness, and indeed to its freedom. Artistic creation, he says in the same section of the third *Critique*, is not in earnest the opposite of hard work at all.

It is not amiss, however, to remind the reader of this: that in all free arts something of a compulsory character is still required, or, as it is called, a mechanism, without which the soul, which in art must be free, and which alone gives life to the work, would be bodiless and evanescent (e.g., in the poetic art there must be correctness and wealth of language, likewise prosody and metre). For not a few leaders of a newer school believe that the best way to promote a free art is to sweep away all restraint and convert it from labour into mere play.

Art, then, is no play for Kant. Like every other worthy human activity, it is subject to laws, to 'external' rules as well as to the inner legislator residing in the artist's breast. Moreover, play was of no conceptual importance to Kant.

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61. It is worthwhile to consider the whole relevant passage, the third paragraph in section 43, titled 'Art in general', of the *Critique of Judgement*: 'Art is further distinguished from handicraft. The first is called free, the other may be called industrial art. We look on the former as something which could only prove final (be a success) as play, i.e., an occupation which is agreeable on its own account; but on the second as labour, i.e., a business, which on its own account is disagreeable (drudgery), and is only attractive by means of what it results in (e.g., the pay), and which is consequently capable of being a compulsory imposition [...].'

It was the opposite of labour, a state where all restraint is swept away, and as such – ‘mere play’ – a figure of speech that is philosophically uninteresting.

The novelty of Schiller's concept of play stands out in close comparison to Kant's.<sup>62</sup> His approach to ‘true aesthetic freedom’ was significantly different from Kant's. Schiller's play drive was far removed from Kant's ‘mere play’. It was a sphere of creative freedom where humans both employed and transcended their material and intellectual capabilities. Law, restraint and the Kantian ‘compulsory character’ were not inert to Schiller's play drive.

It is interesting to note that recent scholarship on play and sport sees Schiller as the early modern founder of what Brian Sutton-Smith terms ‘the broad view of the play function’. Schiller is seen as an active seeker for ‘a process that would actively unify human feelings, perceptions and passions into a whole worldview’. It comes as a disappointment for such psychological or anthropological-minded scholars to discover that Schiller gave a ‘key role’ to ‘aesthetic intuition as the central moral function, thus neglecting many kinds of play phenomena as irrational or mere play’.<sup>63</sup>

A different reading assigns a political dimension to Schiller's theory of play. In a recent book, *Play and postmodernism*, Thomas S. Henricks analyses the *Aesthetic Education* as ‘an attempt to find a new basis for social and political order’.<sup>64</sup> While this phrasing may assign Schiller an unwarranted revolutionary flavour, Henricks nevertheless calls attention to a pragmatic, this-worldly aspect of Schiller's theory: the claim ‘that aesthetic activity (as the refined expression of play) can be a crucial ingredient of the good society’.<sup>65</sup>

The shift of emphasis from individual to society is a welcome reminder that Schiller's ‘aesthetic education of man’ incorporates a social and political agenda. Societies, even more than individuals, can be corrupted by an inflation of the sense drive, delving in materialistic sensuality, or by overstating the form drive into an ethos of dull, futile moralism. The play drive offers the balancing act and the progressive principle to societies, not just to individual men. In Henricks's words: ‘to “realize” ideals under the terms of material

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62. Beiser's interesting comparison of *AE* with Ramdohr's *Charis* brings out their affinity, but also the essential difference in tenor and depth. Ramdohr coined the term ‘play drive’ and linked it both to freedom and to beauty, but Schiller denounced Ramdohr's ‘empirical aesthetics’; Beiser sees their difference as ‘that between an essentially empirical and transcendental concept of play’ (*Schiller as philosopher*, p. 143).

63. ‘Schiller exults only, we soon discover, about the kind of play that could produce his own poem, the words to Beethoven's chorale “The Ode to Joy”, which, while having its quality of wonder, is a highly idealized kind of play.’ Sutton-Smith, *Ambiguity of play*, p. 131.

64. Thomas S. Henricks, *Play and Postmodernism* (Westport [CT.] 2000), p. 60.

65. Henricks, *Play and Postmodernism*, p. 60.

existence and to “idealize” reality in sophisticated form’.<sup>66</sup> Henricks also suggests that Schiller’s play drive in its social and political context is not located half way between the material-sensual and the formal-intellectual. It is closer to the form drive, drawing toward intellect and creativity rather than wild sensuality. It is a ‘subordination of emotional, visceral experience to the formal impulse’.<sup>67</sup>

The political aspect of Schiller’s idea of aesthetic education is made of several elements: a prognosis of the ills of modern societies; a powerful sense of human alienation in the commercial sphere, where men specialize, ranks are separated and labour divided; and a yearning for a future state in which human personalities will be well-rounded, social relations wholesome, and politics harmonious.

On these political aspects of Schiller’s aesthetic theory, with the exception of the wish for ultimate perfection, Scottish philosophy exercised a strong effect. Within this effect, I will now argue, Ferguson’s idea of play may have had a particular place.

## V. Was there an interplay?

Only one philosophical work has been documented by biographers as read by Schiller during his school years at the Carlsschule military academy: *Adam Ferguson’s Institutes of Moral philosophy*, in the celebrated German translation of the Leipzig man of letters, Christian Garve. A well known and appreciated scholar, Garve added a long appendix to his translation of Ferguson’s work, with a detailed philosophical commentary.<sup>68</sup> It was this Ferguson-Garve opus that the young Schiller read, under the instruction of his teacher Jacob Friedrich Abel. ‘It was even more gratifying for everyone who took an interest in Schiller’, Abel later reminisced, ‘that ethics was of primary importance for him. Ferguson’s *Moral Philosophy* was what attracted him most.’<sup>69</sup> The importance of Ferguson’s *Institutes* for Schiller’s early philosophical

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66. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

67. *Ibid.* – Henricks finds the same theme is central to Huizinga’s *Homo ludens*. If that is the case, Huizinga’s failure to discuss Schiller in his book is all the more surprising.

68. *Adam Ferguson’s Grundsätze der Moralphilosophie, aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen von Christian Garve* (Leipzig 1772). Cf. Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, ch. 5 and ch. 8.

69. ‘He sought especially, with great passion, to entertain himself with the knowledge of mankind [...] In fact, [Ferguson’s] book had effects on the heart which one would not have expected from books written in aphorisms.’ Jacob Friedrich Abel, quoted in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke, Nationalausgabe*, ed. Julius Petersen *et al.* (Weimar 1943), XL.10-11.

education was corroborated by several generations of biographers and scholars.<sup>70</sup>

The *Institutes*, Ferguson's most successful book among German readers, was not necessarily the only book of his that found its way, most likely in German translation, to the Carlsschule library. Ferguson was, as one scholar put it, 'der Lieblingsphilosoph auf der Militär-Akademie',<sup>71</sup> and such fame may have rested on more than one book.

It is not unlikely that *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, where Ferguson's idea of play is more openly laid out, was included in Schiller's reading, or at least in Professor Abel's teaching. The *Essay*'s German translation, by Christoph Friedrich Jünger, came out in Leipzig in 1768 and attracted a distinguished German readership, though less so that Garve's translation of the *Institutes*.<sup>72</sup> Lessing, Isaak Iselin, Moses Mendelssohn and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi are known to have read Ferguson's *Essay* in German translation or in the original English. If Schiller indeed read the *Essay*, either during his school years or at a later stage, he is likely to have read it in Jünger's German rendering.<sup>73</sup>

Whether through the *Essay* or the *Institutes*, Ferguson seems to have played an important part in the *Bildung* of his most famous German reader. Yet after 1780, from the end of Schiller's school years, hard evidence of his reading of Ferguson is not available. As the young playwright set out on the road to Mannheim and to the early fame of *Die Räuber*, Ferguson's name disappears from Schiller's writing and biographical material. What the mature Schiller read of him, one can only hypothesize.

The problem is now as follows: whereas the case for Ferguson's general impact on Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* is arguable on the basis of Schiller's proven reading of the *Institutes*, his specific contribution to the play drive concept must rest on Schiller's supposed reading of the *Essay*. The former reception is gleaned from testimonies of reading, as well as analysis of content. The latter is only based on an analysis of content.

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70. Caroline von Wolzogen, Schiller's sister in law, said that Schiller knew 'Garve's annotations to Ferguson's Moral Philosophy almost by heart'; Caroline von Wolzogen, *Schillers Leben* (Stuttgart, Tübingen 1845), p. 13; Wilhelm Iffert, *Der junge Schiller und das geistige Ringen seiner Zeit* (Halle 1926), p. 41.

71. That is: 'the favourite philosopher at the military academy'. Iffert, *Der junge Schiller*, p. 58.

72. Adam Ferguson, *Versuch über die Geschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, aus dem Englischen übersetzt* [von Christoph Friedrich Jünger] (Leipzig 1768). See Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment*, ch. 5.

73. Schiller's English was evidently not sufficient to read English scholarly works in the original. See Körner's letter to Schiller, 31 Mar 1789; *Werke, Nationalausgabe*, XXXIII.326, mentioning Schiller's need to read Gibbon in translation.

Let us briefly examine how far the *Institutes* went for the mature Schiller. Since Jacob Minor's seminal nineteenth-century study,<sup>74</sup> Ferguson has been seen as a central source for Schiller's fascination with the problem of body and soul, which for him was primarily one of physical determinism and spiritual freedom. The *Institutes*, indeed, posits a Shaftesbury-inspired dichotomy between 'physical laws' and 'moral laws', presenting Schiller with an early and decisive (if not philosophically original) inspiration for the opposing 'sense drive' and 'form drive' in the *Aesthetic Education*.

Calvin Thomas rightly pointed out that Ferguson did not envisage a separate aesthetic sphere in human cognition. In Ferguson's thought, 'no line was drawn between the moral and the aesthetic domain. It was taught that all truth is beauty and that "the most natural beauty in the world is honesty and moral truth"'. Therefore, Thomas claimed, Ferguson is of no importance for the late and innovative Schiller. 'The pre-Kantian stage of Schiller's aesthetic philosophy', dominated by Ferguson's *Institutes*, 'is of quite minor importance'.<sup>75</sup>

Indeed, the *Institutes* repeated the staple theory of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, that 'the rules of art, the canons of beauty and propriety, relating to any subject whatever, are to be classed with moral laws'.<sup>76</sup> Aesthetics is not detachable from ethics, and does not invite a different mode of human cognition and sensibility.

And yet, as the editors of the most important modern English edition of the *Aesthetic Education* spell out, Ferguson and Garve provided Schiller with the initial layout for his notion of the three human drives. A formative question that Schiller gleaned from Garve's commentary on Ferguson was: 'How, without assuming a dual source of knowledge in man, the one natural, the other supernatural, are we to explain his power to determine his own thinking? How, without recourse to innate ideas, ensure his freedom to think and act as he chooses?'<sup>77</sup>

74. Jacob Minor, *Schiller: Sein Leben und Seine Werke* (Berlin 1890), 1.210-212. Subsequent scholars at times presented Ferguson as a representative of Shaftesbury, Reid, or Hobbes: Kenneth Dewhurst and Nigel Reeves, *Friedrich Schiller: medicine, psychology and literature* (Oxford 1978), p. 124-125; William Witte, 'Scottish influence on Schiller', in *Schiller and Burns and other essays* (Oxford, 1959); Reinhardt Buchwald, *Schiller*, vol. I: *Der junge Schiller* (Wiesbaden 1953), p. 213.

75. 'Thoughts of this kind, mixed up with vague ideas of a pre-established harmony, constituted the staple of Schiller's early philosophizing. The identity of the good, the true and the beautiful, was for him the highest of all generalizations, though more a matter of pious emotion than of close thinking.' Calvin Thomas, *The Life and works of Friedrich Schiller* (New York 1901), p. 265.

76. Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, p. 130-131 ('Of Moral Laws and their most general Applications').

77. Wilkinson and Willoughby, 'Introduction', in *AE*, p. xxxii.

Schiller may have gleaned further insights on the question of free will from David Hume (although his documented readings are of Hume's histories, not his philosophical works). Of comparable importance is the idea of common sense, which may have been inspired by Thomas Reid (if Schiller read him); if the source was Ferguson, it is important to note that the term appears in the *Essay*, but not in the *Institutes*. The mediation of Abel was of importance here: like other German thinkers, Abel understood in the pietistic sense of an 'inner light', a *Gemeinsinn* leading men to an understanding that transcends the empirical.<sup>78</sup>

There is another, crucial passage in Ferguson's *Institutes* that preempts Schiller's removal of the aesthetic sphere, or the 'play drive', from the traditional clutches of the moral-intellectual, or the 'form drive'. Ferguson begins by saying that moral or intellectual laws, unlike physical laws, are predicated on man's free volition and can be observed or not at man's will. But then the dichotomy is broken: there is one sphere in which laws depend on volition, and indeed may be broken, in both the intellectual and physical sphere. This unique sphere of freedom is art and the estimation of beauty.

The term *law*, however, has a farther signification, and means a rule of choice, which we desire to have uniformly observed. In this sense it is employed commonly by moralists and civilians. [...] But although the more important laws of this sort relate to the intellectual system, yet there are laws of the same kind relating to the material system. Such are the expressions of what is required to elegance, beauty, or utility, in natural subject; or of what is required to perfection in works of art. In such respects material as well as intellectual subjects, may deviate from the law.<sup>79</sup>

This passage is of crucial importance. Art, for Ferguson, incorporates the freedom to deviate from the law, or, better still, the freedom to choose to observe the law, in both the intellectual and the material realm. It is both art and aesthetic estimation, what we demand from an object having 'elegance, beauty, or utility' that can make the material as well as the intellectual laws answerable to human volition. In other words, Ferguson's *Institutes* could suggest to Schiller that art and beauty transcend the harsh distinction, made by Shaftesbury, between the material and the intellectual. So art, for Ferguson, is not after all a sub-category of morality; it is a space of freedom that crosses the line between the otherwise dichotomous twain, the physical and

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78. On Schiller's acquaintance with Scottish philosophy see Witte, 'Scottish influence on Schiller', p. 35-36. On Abel and common sense, see Wilkinson and Willoughby, 'Introduction', p. xxxi-xxxii.

79. Ferguson, *Institutes*, p. 78-79 (emphasis added).

the moral. As far as I can tell, this highly significant passage has not drawn the attention of scholars looking at Ferguson's impact on Schiller.

The *Essay* placed art more firmly, and in more detail, in the context of human freedom within historical progress. Art, says Ferguson, is natural to man:

We speak of art as distinguished from nature; but art itself is natural to man. He is in some measure the artificer of his own frame, as well as his fortune, and is destined, from the first age of his being, to invent and contrive.<sup>80</sup>

Art is one of 'the occupations of men', which include play, industry, and public pursuits, and 'in every condition, bespeak their freedom of choice, their various opinions, and the multiplicity of wants'.<sup>81</sup> Unlike Schiller, Ferguson did not distinguish between the applied and the 'higher' arts when seeking out their psychological source, which is human restlessness and man's constant need to improve self and surroundings:

He would be always improving on his subject, and he carries this intention where-ever he moves, through the streets of the populous city, or the wilds of the forest. While he appears equally fitted to every condition, he is upon this account unable to settle in any. At once obstinate and fickle, he complains of innovations, and is never sated with novelty. He is perpetually busied in reformations, and is continually wedded to his errors. If he dwell in a cave, he would improve it into a cottage; if he has already built, he would still build to a greater extent.<sup>82</sup>

Schiller took issue with this asserted continuum of nature-art-mankind, in a passage that reflects the *Essay*'s terminology in such a way that it is difficult not to assume Schiller knew Ferguson's book. Savages and barbarians, he said, differ from civilized men in their relation to nature and art. 'The savage despises Civilization, and acknowledges Nature as his sovereign mistress. The barbarian derides and dishonours Nature.' Only the 'man of Culture makes a friend of Nature, and honours her freedom whilst curbing only her caprice'.<sup>83</sup>

While this passage spells a disagreement between Schiller and Ferguson, it is important to note that Schiller's condensed deployment of three terms most closely associated with Ferguson's *Essay* in the late eighteenth century,

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80. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 6.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

83. *AE*, p. 21.

'savages', 'barbarians', and 'civilization', is highly suggestive of a direct acquaintance with Ferguson's book.<sup>84</sup>

Yet Schiller agreed with Ferguson that poetry is one of mankind's earliest forms of art, thriving before and beyond the realm of reason. Here, too, Schiller echoes Ferguson's *Essay* (rather than the *Institutes*), and the similarity is telling. 'It is not surprising', wrote Ferguson,

that poetry should be the first species of composition in every nation, as it is, that a style apparently so difficult, and so far removed from ordinary use, should be almost as universally the first to attain its Maturity [...]. The artless song of the savage, the heroic legend of the bard, have sometimes a magnificent beauty, which no change of language can improve, and no refinements of the critic reform.<sup>85</sup>

And, in Schiller's words, 'Even before Truth's triumphant light can penetrate the recesses of the human heart, the poet's imagination will intercept its rays, and the peaks of humanity will be radiant while the dews of night still linger in the valley.'<sup>86</sup>

These examples should suffice to show that Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* is likely to have benefited from direct reading of Ferguson's *Essay*, or at least from an acquaintance with some of its major themes and terminology.

We must now face the concept of play itself. Ferguson's unique voice, echoing in the *Institutes* as well as the *Essay*, is the voice linking freedom and happiness with action – aimless as well as purposeful action. The *Essay*, rather than the *Institutes*, placed this human propensity to action also in the form of play. But did not Schiller, by contrast, collapse beauty and play into each other, to the exclusion of other human pursuits? 'With beauty man shall *only play*, and it is *with beauty only* that he shall play.'<sup>87</sup> Does this spell an exclusion of Ferguson, who did not link play to art, or at least not to art alone?

The problem is significantly diminished when we consider the scope that Schiller assigned to art and to the artist. The *Aesthetic Education* stipulates a 'statesman-artist', whose realm of creativity is not the same as the individual artist's. 'The statesman-artist must approach his material with a quite different kind of respect from that which the maker of Beauty feigns towards his.'<sup>88</sup> That is because the statesman-artist, like Ferguson's social inventor and con-

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84. See my analysis of the Fergusonian vocabulary and its German reception in *Translating the Enlightenment*, ch. 6.

85. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 165-166.

86. *AE*, p. 57.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 107 (emphasis added).

88. *Ibid.*, p. 21.



triver, must consider civil society as his object. The state, Schiller wrote, 'serves to represent that ideal and objective humanity which exists in the heart of each of its citizens'.<sup>89</sup> In both Ferguson and Schiller, then, man the artist is man the social being, and art is conducted in and upon civil society.

Schiller's statesman-artist, whose art is civil society itself, thus plays in a space not different from Ferguson's citizen-soldier-gamester. There is one significant difference: Schiller's statesman-artist is not Ferguson's citizen; he is a newly ennobled ideal of a political-aesthetic elite.

Ferguson's *Essay* resonates in Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* in yet another major sense: the play drive is conceived in the context of specialization and loss of wholeness in modern man's personality in the imbalanced ambience of the commercial sphere. The 'antagonism of faculties and functions is the great instrument of civilization', Schiller wrote, 'but it is only the instrument; for as long as it persists, we are only on the way to becoming civilized'.<sup>90</sup>

The idea may have been taken from Hume or from Adam Smith, but Ferguson's approach in the *Essay* is, again, significantly close to Schiller's. 'By the separation of arts and professions, the sources of wealth are laid open; every species of material is wrought up to the greatest perfection.'<sup>91</sup> But 'to separate the arts which form the citizen and the statesman, the arts of policy and war, is an attempt to dismember the human character, and to destroy those very arts we mean to improve'.<sup>92</sup>

Ferguson's remedy and Schiller's remedy are not identical, but they certainly overlap. Play, Schiller argued, is an all-human matter and 'an offset to specialization'. Whereas the trades and professions keep men in isolated groupings, play is common to all.<sup>93</sup> Ferguson too placed play on a level higher than sensuality, more elevated than material pleasures, but also more active and rewarding than intellectual solitude. 'Sensuality', he wrote, 'is easily overcome by any of the habits of pursuit which usually engage an active mind.' Play and business are more attractive, more exciting and more human than either scholarly solitude or 'the pleasures of the table'.<sup>94</sup> Like Schiller, Ferguson saw play as an enactment of the best kind of human unity. Unlike him, he applauded conflict (when reasonably measured) and did not hinge his political philosophy on aesthetic approbation alone.

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89. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

91. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 297.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

93. Allen V. Saporita and Elmer D. Mitchell, *The Theory of play and recreation* (New York 1961), p. 467.

94. Ferguson, *Essay*, p. 73.

This brings me to the limit of my analysis: Ferguson's concept of play may well have influenced Schiller, who may well have read the *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Both Ferguson and Schiller stressed the universal validity, as well as the moral value, of a category of harmonious human effort which combines labour, enjoyment, and self-fulfilment. Both traced it to a natural human propensity which precedes civilization, is crucial for its well-being, and may become its victim. Both understood this propensity as a force of full-fledged humanity, the opposite of modern specialization.

If Schiller was indeed directly affected by Ferguson's idea of play as an ultimately free human activity, he certainly did not adopt it wholesale. Ferguson's 'active pursuit' is not a meta-historic concept like Schiller's play drive, its contribution to happiness does not make it an agent of perfection, and its role is to express man's natural competitiveness, perhaps to direct it towards virtuous deeds, but not to lay it to rest. Ferguson's best active pursuits are political, and pertain to every citizen of a free republic; Schiller's play drive is political too, but in a far more transcendent sense, pertaining to men fulfilling their perfectibility in a future aesthetic state, with a statesman-artist, not a republican citizen, at its helm. Ferguson's play, to put it succinctly, happens within history in the flux of individual and social time; Schiller's play drive aims at 'annulling time within time'.<sup>95</sup>

The remedy may be different, but the diagnosis remains strikingly similar: modern man is torn by conflicting elements in this own nature, his energies sequestered, his creative powers corrupted along the rise of commercial civilization. Healing depends on the preservation or the restoration of a profound freedom available to humans alone. This freedom is associated with art and with play.

'There was a pleasant rhetorical shock produced by saying that play, not reason, duty or religion, was the highest fulfilment of humanity', wrote James Engell in his discussion of Schiller's aesthetic philosophy.<sup>96</sup> A similar freshness was encountered by readers of Ferguson's *Essay*, among them, I have argued, Schiller himself.

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95. Cf. note 49 above.

96. James Engell, *The Creative imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1981), p. 236.



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