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JOHANN JOACHIM CHRISTOPH BODE

AS A TRANSLATOR OF

TRISTRAM SHANDY

by Maria von Katte

Dissertation submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

St. Hugh's College Oxford

Michaelmas 1969 [ie 1970]TM

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PREFACE

Sterne's literary influence in Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been well established by H.W. Thayer, P. Michelsen and B. Brandi-Dohrn. But it is only in relation to the sentimental movement that his strong impact on German language and style has been critically studied and evaluated. And here it was mainly A Sentimental Journey (1768) that contributed.

The present thesis was planned originally as a study of the linguistic influence of Tristram Shandy (1759-67). It soon became apparent that the medium through which first and pre-eminently that influence had been exerted was the translation by J.J.C. Bode published in 1774 under the title of Tristram Schandis Leben und Meynungen.

This study will analyse the innovations in Tristram Schandi and their derivation from the English of Sterne and, indirectly, from Sterne's predecessors in the tradition of humorous writing. The analysis is limited to the vocabulary and a few significant stylistic features. Syntactic innovations are excluded; they well deserve a special study. The strong impact of Bode's innovations on the German language of the time will be established mainly by citation from dictionaries. The consultation of literary sources lies outside the scope of my research. The originality

It is not known which edition of Tristram Shandy Bode used for his translation. I have quoted throughout from the World's Classics edition, checking it against those of the Shakespeare Head Press and J.A.Work. Both of these are based on the first and some other early editions. Such differences as exist between the three editions are confined to details of orthography or typography, which would not have affected the translation. Quotations from Tristram Schandi follow the first edition of 1774.

and competence of Bode's translation, controversial in intention but ~~far-reaching~~ in effect, will also be discussed.

~~It is not known which of the many editions of~~ Tristram ~~Shandy Bode may have used. I have therefore chosen the World's Classics edition, checked, whenever necessary, against that of J.A. Work. Bode's translation has been quoted from the first edition of 1774.~~

I wish to thank Dr. Peter F. Ganz for his ready and generous advice to which I owe more than I can easily say, and Miss Margaret Jacobs for much help and encouragement. I also want to thank many friends who patiently helped to guide my way through the verbal jungle. Finally I should like to thank the librarians and custodians of the following institutions who have kindly helped me to locate existing Bode manuscripts: The Deutsche Staatsbibliothek and the Literatur-Archiv in East Berlin, the Staatsbibliothek in West Berlin, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek and the Stadtarchiv in Dresden, the Goethemuseum in Frankfort, the Gleimhaus in Halberstadt, the Staatsarchiv and the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg, the Universitätsbibliothek in Kiel, the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig, the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Universitätsbibliothek in Münster, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, the Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASF - Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae

ADB - Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie

Allg. Dt. Bibl. - Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek

Allg. Lit. Zeitg. - Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung

Bibl. d.sch. Wiss.- Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste

Frankfurter Gel. Anz. - Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen

l.f. - loan formation

l.t. - loan translation

l.w. - loan word

MLQ - Modern Language Quarterly

NDB - Neue Deutsche Biographie

s.l. - sense-loan

ZfdW - Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung

I

BODE'S RÔLE AS MAN OF LETTERS AND MUSICIAN.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Johann Joachim Christoph Bode, who lived from 1730 to 1793, was one of the greatest German translators at a time when German literature was still largely dependent on foreign models. During the 1770's Bode also became an influential publisher and brought out a number of books which heralded the Sturm und Drang. He became, too, a leading Freemason of his time. Bode loved music, referring to it as "die einzige schöne Kunst wovon ich ein bisschen weiss",[1] and until the end of his life was player, composer and conductor. He translated from the English, French, Italian and Spanish; but it was with the English humorous novel that his name became most closely connected. In the opening stages of his career as a translator he was among the first to introduce contemporary English drama to Germany and a decade later, in the 1770's, his decision to translate novels by

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[1] Unpublished letter to W. von Gerstenberg, 16 February, 1769, in possession of the Literatur-Archiv of the Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg.

Smollett, Sterne and Goldsmith was both fortunate and momentous. His work in this field greatly influenced the development of German literary taste and style. In the third and final stage of his career Bode devoted himself to the translation of moral weeklies and of sixteenth-century French prose.

Bode's professional career was very successful but his private life was not altogether happy. After considerable hardship during his early years, he later attained an influential position in Hamburg. In many ways he was a self-made man. Had it not been for his considerable talents and perseverance, and for the friends who helped him, he would not have had much of an education. The main reason for Bode's success lay in his personality. His specific talents for music and language, his general interest in literature and the dynamism which drove him on, made him professionally competent in a variety of activities. His qualities of character - generosity, loyalty, honesty and, above all, a robust sense of humour made him an ideal friend and won him many friends in return. He was an active-minded and straightforward man, and anyone who did not know him well, or misinterpreted his simple manner, might have been taken aback by his outspokenness and joviality which sometimes bordered on the

tactless. This must have been particularly noticeable in Weimar's polite social circles where Bode spent the last years of his life. Goethe once referred to the "Ehrlichkeit die ihn manchmal Ausfälle thun lässt".[1]

It is a pity that Bode never wrote his autobiography although he was often encouraged to do so. In writing his obituary Herder records how Bode once explained to him with tact and modesty the reason why he did not undertake it: "Von meiner Seite würde es anmaassend scheinen; andre würde es compromittiren. Ich will in Friede schlafen."[2] C.A. Böttiger (1760-1835), the well-known philologist, archaeologist and author of Sabina oder Morgenszenen im Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin (1803), who was nicknamed "Magister Ubique", became Bode's friend in his last years at Weimar. After Bode's death he wrote a short biography which was included in the last volume of Bode's translation of Montaigne.[3] The emphasis in

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[1] Goethe's Tagebücher 1775-1787, entry for 12 August, 1779, in: Werke, Weimar edition, p. 95.

[2] Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität, 4 (1794), in: Sämmtliche Werke, ed. B. Suphan, XVII, p. 252.

[3] "J.J.C. Bode's literarisches Leben", in: Michael Montaigne's Gedanken und Meinungen über allerley Gegenstände, Berlin 1793-95, VI, pp. I-CXLIV. There is a review in Neue Bibl. d. sch. Wiss., LVIII, 1 (1796), pp. 93-102. An offprint of Böttiger's essay was published in 1796 by Lagarde in Berlin. ~~In the following~~, Reference will be made to an edition published in Vienna/Prague 1797-81.

this essay is placed on Bode's activities as a translator and in it Böttiger[1] mentions a more comprehensive biography which was planned by Bode's friends but never written. Böttiger's sketch, therefore, provides the basis for most subsequent studies of Bode's life. Other early but less detailed accounts of his life and works were included in J.G. Meusel's, K.H. Jördens's and H. Schröder's dictionaries.[2] An account of Bode's masonic activities was published in 1795[3] and was expanded a few years later in Schlichtegroll's Nekrolog.[4] Besides the recent and more general introductions of K. Goedeke[5] and K. Schreinert[6] there are two specialized studies of him as translator by J. Wihan[7] and H. Krieg[8] and two excellent

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[1] Op. cit., p. 21, note.

[2] J.G. Meusel, Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller, Leipzig 1802-16, I, pp. 443-46; K.H. Jördens, Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, Leipzig 1806-11, I, pp. 108-19, and VI, p. 570; H. Schröder, Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart, Hamburg 1851-83, I.

[3] Fragmente zur Biographie des verstorbenen Geheimen Raths Bode in Weimar mit zuverlässigen Urkunden, [Marburg] 1795.

[4] F. von Schlichtegroll, Supplement-Band des Nekrologs für die Jahre 1790-93, Gotha 1798, pp. 350-418.

[5] Grundriss, IV, 1, 1916, pp. 585-87.

[6] NDB., II, 1955, pp. 348 f.

[7] J.J.C. Bode als Vermittler englischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland, (Prager deutsche Studien, III), Prague 1906.

[8] J.J.Chr. Bode als Übersetzer des Tom Jones von H. Fielding, doctoral dissertation, Greifswald 1909.

accounts of Bode as printer and publisher by E.A. Greeven[1] and L. Sickmann.[2]

Both Böttiger's and Schlichtegroll's studies are based on diaries and letters which now appear to have been lost. It has been impossible to trace any of the manuscript material relating to the period of Bode's life before 1759 which these two authors refer to so extensively. For the present introduction to Bode's life the only new evidence which could be found was from unpublished manuscripts relating to the period of his life after 1759.[3]

Bode was born on 12 January, 1730 in Brunswick. His father was Johan Jürgen Bode or Bote, farmer, soldier and, finally, bricklayer. Nothing is known about his mother. Bode had two sisters whom he supported in later life.[4] As

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[1] "Johann Joachim Christoph Bode. Ein Hamburger Übersetzer, Verleger und Drucker", in: Imprimatur, VIII (1938), pp. 113-27.

[2] "Klopstock und seine Verleger Hemmerde und Bode", in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, III, 10 (1961), cols. 1474-1610.

[3] In the course of the search for existing manuscripts a revision of W. Frels, Deutsche Dichterhandschriften von 1400 bis 1900, Leipzig 1934, was made which, together with some additions, is given in ~~IX~~ VIII.

[4] Bode's sisters are not mentioned elsewhere. This information was taken from unpublished notes by C.A. Böttiger, "Anecdoten, auf der Reise gesammelt über Bode", p. 2. These were made during a journey to North Germany in 1793. The manuscript is in the possession of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden (shelfmark: Mscr. Dresd. h 37, Vermischtes VIII, Nr. 12a).

a small boy he was physically delicate and showed little talent for practical work, so his parents decided to send him to live with his uncle in Bahrum near Brunswick. His life on his uncle's farm as a shepherd boy was hardly earth-shaking. Dreaming of his beloved music among the flocks he was soon dubbed "der dumme Christoph", a nickname which he never shook off. Later, indeed, he actually changed his Christian names from Conrad Urban to Joachim Christoph. At fifteen Bode's pastoral life came to an end and he was apprenticed to Herr Kroll, the Brunswick city musician. During the years of his apprenticeship from 1745 to 1749 Bode learnt to play many wind and string instruments. It is recorded too that he read voraciously and that his favourite book at that time was Simplicissimus.[1]

When he left Kroll Bode entered the military band of the Brunswick Regiment von Weihe as oboist and on 24 July, 1749, he married an exceptionally beautiful girl of sixteen, Marie Louvise Reinecke, the daughter of an instrument maker. But the marriage was embarked upon in haste and ended in unhappiness. In the course of six years Bode lost his wife and their three children. In an unpublished collection of anecdotes Böttiger records that he continued to support

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[1] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 12, and Jördens, op. cit., pp. 108 f.

the in-laws of his first marriage until his death.[1] In 1750 Bode asked for leave from his regimental duties in Brunswick to go to Helmstedt to receive further musical training under the chamber musician Stolze. He not only wanted to improve his playing but was also interested in composition, at which he had already tried his hand.[2] He financed his own studies by himself taking music pupils.

It was not until he came to Helmstedt at the age of twenty that Bode received any formal education. At that time there existed in Helmstedt the Deutsche Gesellschaft, the founder and president of which, Magister J.C. Stockhausen, was to become Bode's most generous patron and friend. During the next seven years Bode gained so much from this friendship that in later life he looked back on the academy as "die Säugamme seines Geistes",[3] and never ceased to be grateful for Stockhausen's guidance and friendship.[4]

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[1] Cf. "Anecdoten, auf der Reise gesammelt über Bode", p. 1, (Mscr. Dresd. h 37, Vermischtes VIII, Nr. 12a).

[2] "...worin er schon seine Kräfte einigemahl nicht unglücklich versucht hatte ...". Böttiger, op. cit., p. 14, gives no further details.

[3] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 16.

[4] Cf. Bode's tribute to Stockhausen after his death in: Leben Herrn Johann Christoph Stockhausens by G.F. Götz, Hanau 1784, p. 58. There is a copy in the British Museum.

J.C. Stockhausen (1725-84), sometime clergyman and pedagogue, was best known for his two collections of model letters, the Grundsätze wohleingerichteter Briefe (1751),[1] which was regarded favourably by Gellert,[2] and the Sammlung vermischter Briefe (1752).[3] Stockhausen had lived in Helmstedt since 1747 when he began to give lectures there on the fine arts. It was he who first taught Bode English. This was not, however, the only foreign language which Bode learnt at that time. One of his music pupils, a young man called Schlubeck, taught him French and they both studied Italian together while Bode tried to teach himself Latin.

After three years Bode left Helmstedt to become oboist to the Regiment Freudemann in Celle, and the year before, in 1752, Stockhausen had accepted a position as schoolmaster at the Johanneum in Lüneburg. The friendship between him and Bode was continued by correspondence and it was here that Bode found the first opportunity to practise his German style. Böttiger,[4] to whom these

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[1] There is no copy in the British Museum.

[2] C.F. Gellert, Sämmtliche Schriften, Leipzig 1784, IV, p. 41, note.

[3] A copy of the fourth edition (Helmstedt 1762-66) is in the British Museum.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 21 f.

letters to Stockhausen were still accessible, writes:

> (Bode) ... gab sich bey seinen Briefen an ihn die ersinnlichste Mühe, schöne Perioden zu ründen, feilte und verbesserte das sorgfältig entworfene Concept mit der gewissenhaftesten Strenge, und erhielt dadurch früh jene glückliche Geschmeidigkeit und Vielseitigkeit im Ausdruck, die verbunden mit der ihm eigenthümlichen ächt Yorickschen Originalität und jener herzergreifenden, aus der treuherzigen platt teutschen Sprache hergenommenen Traulichkeit, allen seinen Freunden und Freundinnen seine Briefe zu einer nie versiegenden Quelle des frohesten Lebensgenusses, ... gemacht haben.[1]

The year 1754 saw Bode's first publications, both literary and musical. It was a watershed in his literary career, marked by the publication of two translations of contemporary English plays, entitled: Neueste Proben der englischen Schaubühne, oder D. Benjamin Hoadly's Lustspiel, der argwöhnische Ehemann, und Edward Moore's Trauerspiel, der Spieler, im Deutschen dargestellt.[2] Bode's treatment of the plays, Hoadly's comedy especially, followed a new

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[1] Loc. cit.; Böttiger also suggests that in a future, more detailed biography, excerpts from these letters should be given.

[2] Hamburg bey Herold, 1754. There is no copy in the British Museum. The originals are: ③ The Gamester (1753) and ② ④ The Suspicious Husband (1747). For a discussion of Bode's translations see J.N. Beam, Die ersten deutschen Übersetzungen englischer Lustspiele im 18. Jahrhundert, Hamburg/Leipzig 1906, pp. 54-58, and Wihan, op. cit., pp. 12-25. In the case of each translation Wihan indicates the German libraries which possessed a copy in 1905. His is the latest survey of existing copies of Bode's translations from the English.

line which was opposed to the rules laid down by Gottsched in his preface to the translation of Saint-Evremond's comedy Les Operas.[1] Gottsched had demanded a complete transposition of content and setting; Bode preserved the authenticity of both.

Bode had already set to music poems and "oratorios" of Stockhausen's,[2] none of which were published. From 1754 onwards the Zärtliche und schertzhafte Lieder mit ihren Melodien appeared.[3] For the first volume of the collection Stockhausen selected the poems, but for the second Bode was to make a significant choice for himself, reflecting his own literary tastes. Böttiger writes:

> Wahrscheinlich war er mit der Auswahl für den ersten [Band] selbst nicht recht zufrieden. Sein Genius mochte ihm etwas von wässerigten Reimereyen ins Ohr geflüstert haben. Denn dass er die Gottschedische Wasserpoesie schon damahls nicht nach seinem Geschmacke gefunden, beweisst die unbegrenzte Bewunderung, womit er dem Messias von Klopfstock huldigte, ... Er suchte sich für den

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[1] Die Opern, in: Die deutsche Schaubühne nach den Regeln und Exempeln der alten Griechen und Römer eingerichtet, II, Leipzig 1741, pp. 33-37.

[2] "Stockhausen dichtete Lieder und Oratorien. Bode componirte sie." Cf. Böttiger, op. cit., p. 19.

[3] Leipzig 1754 and 1757. There is no copy in the British Museum. For existing copies in Germany up to 1897 see R. Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, Graz 1959. The title was given by Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 25 f., Scherz-und ernsthafte Oden und Lieder, Leipzig 1754 and 1756, could not be traced in the major bibliographies.

zweyten Theil aus schon gedruckten Sammlungen Lieder von [K.C.] Gärtner, [J.A.] Schlegel, [K.A.] Schmidt, [F.W.] Zachariä u.s.w. aus, eine Auswahl, die für die Richtigkeit seines Geschmackes besser, als irgend ein anderes Zeugniss, bürgt.[1]

It is doubtful if a volume of poetry, Versuche in angenehmen und ernsthaften Gedichten, which was published in 1756,[2] can really be attributed to Bode, as Goedeke is the only one to include it in the list of his works.[3] Bode did write poetry during these years, but it may be assumed that none of it was ever published. Böttiger, to whom the manuscripts were still available, mentions Bode's "dichterische Versuche aus dieser Zeit, die bey allen Härten des Reims doch an Gediegenheit und gedrungener Gedankenfülle seinem Zeitgeschmacke weit vorauseilten."[4] It appears that Bode also tried his hand at prose, and a contemporary of his Celle days later wrote to Böttiger:

> Ich bewahre noch jetzt einige Fabeln von ihm auf, die den Lessingischen an Schärfe des Ausdrucks beykommen, und ein paar interessante Briefe, die an munterer Jovialität und belebender Darstellungsgabe den bessern Smollettschen im Humphry Klinker an die Seite gesetzt werden könnten.[5]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 26.

[2] Halle/Helmstedt. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[3] IV, 1, 1916, p. 586.

[4] Op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 24.

At the age of twenty-six Bode was already a well-known figure in the literary and musical circles of Brunswick, Helmstedt, Lüneburg, Celle and Göttingen and he also wrote regularly for the Braunschweiger Intelligenzblatt.[1] When in 1756 he found himself free from any family ties he left his regiment in Celle to spend six months with Stockhausen in Lüneburg, during which time he made plans for the future. Another spell of service with some regiment would not have done justice to his musical and literary qualifications, and he had to decide which of these two fields to choose for his career. Another problem was where to settle down; none of the places where he had been living previously could afford him the opportunities he needed.

It is not clear why Bode decided to make his career in Hamburg. There was probably a variety of reasons but none of his biographers appear to have been interested in this question. Bode's choice might just as well have fallen on any of the other intellectual centres of the time, Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Halle or Zurich. But his attitudes of mind were North German and always remained so, and it may therefore have seemed natural to him to

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[1] There is no copy in Great Britain.

regard Hamburg as the best centre.[1] Hamburg was to suit Bode very well indeed, and here he was to find what he learnt to value most in literature: an unbroken tradition in which the use of dialect was still important.[2] Hamburg was never subjected to Gottsched's rule, and, as has already been indicated, Bode was not one of his followers. In contrast to his friend and teacher Stockhausen, Bode expressed a liking for Klopstock and the contributors to the Bremer Beyträge.[3] From a financial point of view he was almost certainly influenced by the fact that Hamburg offered opportunities to a translator. Its connections with England had been very close since the beginning of the century. There existed at the time a lively theatre[4] under the direction of J.F. Schönemann (1756-58) who was an enthusiastic producer of modern English plays and who, in 1756, had staged Bode's translation of The Gamester by

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[1] There is no recent study on the cultural life in Hamburg during that period. E. Schmidt, Lessing, Berlin 1899, I, pp. 552-678 is still relevant. See also J. Schmidt, Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland von Leibniz bis auf Lessing's Tod 1681-1781, Leipzig 1862.

[2] For Hamburg and the Low German dialect see K.T. Gaedertz, Das niederdeutsche Schauspiel. Zum Kulturleben Hamburgs, Berlin 1894.

[3] Neue Beyträge zum Vernügen des Verstandes und Witzes, Bremen 1744-57. Among the contributors were J.A. Cramer, J.A. Ebert, K.C. Gärtner, C.F. Gellert, G.W. Rabener, and F.W. Zachariä.

[4] See J.F. Schütze, Hamburgische Theatergeschichte, Hamburg 1794; B. Litzmann, F.L. Schröder, Hamburg/Leipzig 1890-94; F. Heitmüller, Hamburgische Dramatiker zur Zeit Gottscheds und ihre Beziehungen zu ihm, Dresden/Leipzig 1891.

Edward Moore.[1] Finally, Hamburg was a wealthy city and here, rather than in a university town, Bode could hope to be paid an adequate fee for his excellent music lessons,[2] until such time as he should have established a literary position for himself.

In the spring of 1757, with little more than a ruck-sack for luggage, Bode set off for Hamburg. Stockhausen had given him two letters of introduction which proved to be useful. One was to J.G. Alberti and the other to J.H. Olde, both influential citizens. Alberti was a theologian, Olde a physician. The latter had been a friend of F. von Hagedorn's, and was a devout Freemason, very musical, and connected with the contributors to the Bremer Beyträge. Olde and Alberti introduced Bode to the most interesting families in Hamburg.

Bode found no difficulty in earning his living teaching French and music in private houses. He was a stimulating music master who, for family celebrations of

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[1] There were two performances, on November 18 and 24. Cf. Schütze, op. cit., p. 293, and H. Devrient, Johann Friedrich Schönemann und seine Schauspielergesellschaft, (Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, XI), Hamburg/Leipzig 1895, p. 266.

[2] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 29, writes: "Bode hatte schon in Celle für sechzehn Lehrstunden in der Musik mehrmals einen Dukaten erhalten, ein für den damaligen Maassstab ungewöhnlich hohes Stundengeld. Nur in Hamburg konnte er für seinen Musikunterricht einen ähnlichen, oder noch ansehnlichern Ehrenpfennig erwarten."

various kinds, used to write anacreontic plays for the children to perform, much to their delight. None of these has survived, but Böttiger describes one, a dramatic dialogue with the title Semma und Zalob: "Es liegt dabey eine rührende orientalische Geschichte zum Grunde. Die Charaktere sind mit so feinen Zügen angedeutet, und die Dialogen so fliessend, dass sie selbst einem geübtern Dichter keine Schande machen würden."[1]

Bode's teaching of music and French was, however, no more than a means to an end; it enabled him to pursue his career as a translator on a solid financial basis. Bode now proceeded to learn Spanish. This was a curious step to take at a time when there was little demand for Spanish literature.[2] As late as the 1770's Nicolai wrote: "Einen Uebersetzer aus dem spanischen .../findet man fast gar nicht".[3] Interest in the Spanish stage had, however, been increasing gradually owing to the publications of J.F. von Cronegk and J.A. Dieze.[4] Bode did not

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[1] Op. cit., p. 31.

[2] Cf. H. Tiemann, Das spanische Schrifttum in Deutschland von der Renaissance bis zur Romantik, (Ibero-Amerikanische Studien, VI), Hamburg 1936, especially pp. 98-130.

[3] Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker, Berlin/Stettin 1774-76, I, p. 96.

[4] See Cronegk's essay "Die spanische Bühne" (1758), in: Schriften, Leipzig 1760, I, pp. 387-92, and Dieze's translation Geschichte der Spanischen Dichtkunst von Don Luis Joseph Velazquez, Göttingen 1769.

in fact translate from the Spanish before 1781 but his decision to learn the language so early points to a remarkably opportune literary awareness. Böttiger[1] argues that it was Bode who prompted Lessing to translate Augustino de Montiano y Luyando's Virginia, sections of which were included in the first part of the Theatralische Bibliothek. This appeared in 1754, and if Böttiger's argument is correct, Bode and Lessing must have been in contact before the hitherto accepted year of 1766.[2]

It took Bode ten years to establish a position for himself in Hamburg, to which the teaching of music and languages had been merely a preliminary. During those years a shift of emphasis in his activities took place. He was soon able to live on his income as a writer and translator, and music became merely a hobby. Through J.H. Olde, who was associated with the Bremer Beyträge, Bode came into contact with J.M. Dreyer, a local writer who from 1754 to 1755 had been editor of the fifth and sixth volumes. From March 1759 until October of the

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 32 f., note.

[2] See below p. 21 and note.

same year Dreyer published the Staats-und Gelehrte Zeitung[1] of Altona. Bode wrote a number of articles for Dreyer[2] which provided him with enough journalistic experience to accept the editorship of the Hamburgischer Unpartheyischer Correspondent from 1762 to 1763.[3] This journal, with its traditional anti-Gottsched line and its considerable literary influence, suited Bode down to the ground.

At this time Bode's main interest as a translator was in the theatre. The then director H.G. Koch (1758-63) asked him to translate contemporary plays from the English, French and Italian. It was through these translations that Bode first gave weight to the impact which English drama was to have on the German stage. Bode's most accomplished translation dating from this period is his version of George Colman's The Jealous Wife (1761) of 1762.[4]

The plays which Bode translated for Koch were immediately performed, like the Caffeehaus after Le Café

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[1] There is no copy in Great Britain.

[2] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 37, refers to these as "gelehrt".

[3] Staats-und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten, 1731-1868. There is no copy in Great Britain.

[4] Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau, Hamburg. 1760. A second edition appeared in 1764, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. For details of Bode's treatment of the play see Wihan, op. cit., pp. 25-33.

(1760)
ou l'Écossaise/by Voltaire,[1] which was a great success on the Hamburg stage and ran for ten years.[2] Böttiger[3] mentions three other plays translated from the French and Italian; Koch never produced them, nor were they ever published, and I was unable to identify the originals. Their German titles are given as Die türkische Witwe, Die Weinlese and Die gebesserte Coquette.

Bode did not work exclusively for Koch. In 1759 two of his prose translations were published. One, from the French, was entitled Briefe des Pater Alphonso an seinen General, of which the original could not be identified.[4] Böttiger, whose study was based on a list of works drawn up by Bode himself, is the only one to

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[1] The first edition of the translation was entitled: Das Caffeehaus, ein rührendes Lustspiel aus dem Französischen, Hamburg 1760. A second edition, Das Caffee-Haus oder die Schottländerinn, Berlin/Stettin/Leipzig 1761, is in the British Museum.

[2] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 36, also compares it favourably with a previous rendering: "Von den Schottländerinnen war zwar auch schon eine frühere Übersetzung vorhanden, aber wegen ihrer Steifheit und Pedanterey der Gottschedischen Schule, die sich auch an diesem Stücke versündigt hatte, ganz ungeniessbar. Desto mehr Glück machte die geschmackvollere Umarbeitung von Bode, die noch nach zehn Jahren bey der Ackermannischen Theaterunternehmung zu den stehenden, das Haus nie leer lassenden Stücken gerechnet wurde." The translation of 1761 referred to above can be found in Neue Sammlungen von Schauspielen, I, Vienna 1764.

[3] Op. cit., p. 37.

[4] H. Fromm, Bibliographie deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen 1700-1948, Baden-Baden 1950-53, does not mention it among Bode's translations.

mention it.[1] The other was an extremely popular collection of proverbial epigrams in the oriental manner by Lord Chesterfield called The Oeconomy of Human Life.[2] As Die Weisheit an die Menschen durch einen begeisterten Braminen. Aus einer alten Handschrift it became very popular[3] and, according to Böttiger, presented "ein Muster für die spätern Bearbeitungen ähnlicher Maximensammlungen" because of the "nachdruckvolle Kürze und die gefällige Ründung" of its style.[4] Bode's version was partly from the English and partly a re-translation from the French by D. Lescallier.[5]

Bode's literary position and musical activities - he was sometime director of the city orchestra in which he also played and conducted himself - contributed greatly to his social status in Hamburg. He soon acquired a

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[1] Op. cit., p. 33; the place of publication is not given.

[2] P.D. Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, The Oeconomy of Human Life. Translated from an Indian manuscript written by an ancient Brahmin, London 1751.

[3] Hamburg 1759. Other editions were: Hamburg 1772, Leipzig 1787, Carlsruhe 1787 (reprint). There is no copy in the British Museum.

[4] Op. cit., p. 35; see also Wihan, op. cit., pp. 171-79.

[5] Le Bramine inspiré, Berlin 1751.

large circle of friends and acquaintances and on 22 March 1765 he noted in his diary "bin ich Bürger worden".[1] On the same day, and not, as has been hither assumed, on 22 April, Bode married Simonetta Tamm, the twenty-year-old daughter of the late Senator Tamm.[2] Their marriage had been opposed at first by the whole of Simonetta's family who rejected Bode because of his lack of financial stability and social standing. His unpublished diary of the period shows how much misery he suffered on this account.[3] This, his second marriage, was very happy. But, alas, it only lasted a few months. In January 1766 Simonetta Bode was killed in a riding accident and Bode, at the age of thirty-six was again a widower, but this time a very rich one.

The next ten years were outwardly the most successful of Bode's life. He gained great influence as a publisher and translator and in both capacities contributed much to the intellectual trends of the period.

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[1] Quoted from an unpublished diary, (1 March to 23 March, 1765) which is in the possession of the Goethemuseum at Frankfurt (shelfmark: II-1442).

[2] The date is given in the same diary, where Bode simply notes: "Ringe gewechselt." The hitherto accepted date of 22 April, 1765 (see Greeven, op. cit., p. 118) was thus corrected.

[3] This same diary, which covers the months of Bode's courtship, gives a moving picture of the situation.

Towards the end of 1766 Bode bought a printing press on the Holzdamm and in the same year the so-called "Seylersche Theaterentreprise" started under the leadership of the merchant A. Seyler, who hired the theatre from the director K.E. Ackermann (1764-66). The undertaking had wide support and it was hoped that it would lead to the foundation of a national theatre to be opened by Easter 1767.[1] It was ambitiously planned and was to have a "theatralische Akademie" attached to it. J.F. Löwen, the writer who had conceived the plan, was to become artistic director of the theatre. Everything connected with it, such as plays, programmes and leaflets of all kinds, was to be printed by Bode's press. The position of resident playwright was offered to Lessing, who accepted but altered the post into that of official critic to the theatre. In December 1766 Lessing visited Hamburg for preliminary talks about his position as critic, and decided to become Bode's partner.[2]

This step marked the beginning of an important phase

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[1] See Schütze, op. cit., pp. 336 ff.; Schmidt, Lessing, I, pp. 557 f.

[2] The year 1766 is generally believed to be the one in which Lessing and Bode first met. It is possible, however, that the two men were in contact as early as 1754 (see p. 16).

in the history of publishing.[1] Apart from sharing the press Lessing and Bode had a further plan. They intended to found a publishing firm, called "Buchhandlung der Gelehrten", to protect authors from parasitic booksellers. Bode and Lessing had long cherished this plan similar to Wieland's contemplated projects and Gleim's "typographische Gesellschaft".[2] The basic idea was that of a group of authors who would organize and share their own publishing firm. Bode and Lessing planned to edit a quarterly called Deutsches Museum in which would appear collectively the works of the best authors of the time.

Manuscripts for the first edition of the Deutsches Museum were soon coming in, among them Klopstock's Hermanns Schlacht, Oden, Fragmente vom Sylbenmasse, Gerstenberg's Ugolino and a comedy by Zachariä.[3] But no edition of the Deutsches Museum ever appeared.[4] Neither Lessing nor Bode

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[1] For the following details I am indebted to Kapp-Goldfriedrich, Geschichte des deutschen Buchandels, III, Leipzig 1909, pp. 131 ff.; Greeven, op. cit.; Sickmann, op. cit.; G. Berg, "Die Selbstverlagsidee bei deutschen Autoren im 18. Jahrhundert", in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, VI, 5 (1965), cols. 1371-95.

[2] See Schmidt, Lessing, I, pp. 675 ff.; Berg, op. cit.

[3] Cf. Lessing's letter to Nicolai of 2 February, 1768, in: Sämtliche Schriften, XVII, p. 243.

[4] The name was adopted in 1776 by H.C. Boie and C.W. von Dohm.

had any previous publishing experience or practical training in financial matters. In their enthusiasm both had planned far too extravagantly for the press to make any profit, and both absolutely refused to listen to the warnings of experienced booksellers and publishers. Nicolai added this marginal note to a letter by Lessing of 2 February, 1768:

> Bode war ein vortrefflicher Mann, hatte aber die Buchdruckerey nicht gelernt, und also von der Art, wie man sie mit Vortheile betreiben muss, nicht ganz richtige Begriffe. Auch vom Buchhandel, sowohl von der Art, wie er zu betreiben wäre, als von dem Vortheile, den er abwerfen könnte, hatte er ebenfalls viele unrichtige Ideen. Beydes hat er mir nachher, als er durch Erfahrung war belehret worden, selbst gestanden. Lessing war auch ein vortrefflicher Mann, machte sich aber vom Buchhandel ebenfalls ganz unrichtige Vorstellungen, auf die er mit seinem gewohnten Scharfsinne ein System davon aufbauen wollte. Darüber hatte ich zuweilen mit ihm mündlich, halb in Scherz, halb in Ernst, gestritten; ... Obgleich Lessing sich von mir nicht überzeugen liess, so hatte er doch durch unsern Streit soviel eingesehen, dass bey jeder Unternehmung eines Buchhandels ein Risiko vorhanden ist, dessen Umfang man ohne lange Erfahrung nicht wohl voraussehen, und dem man oft, bey aller Vorsicht, nicht entgehen kann.[1]

Lessing's career as a publisher in Hamburg was a failure and as a critic to the national theatre he met only with disappointment. The "Seylersche Entreprise" was an "unconscionable time dying" and he left the city

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[1] Cf. Sämmtliche Schriften, ed. K. Lachmann, XII, p. 224, note.

in the summer of 1769, poorer than when he had arrived at Easter 1767. But for Bode things turned out differently in spite of Nicolai's verdict. His press soon proved to be of high quality and attracted printing commissions from Nicolai and C.F. Voss in Berlin and from P.E. Reich of Leipzig.[1] Besides, on 1 November, 1768 Bode married Metta Maria Bohn, daughter of the Hamburg bookseller and publisher. The marriage register of 1768 referred to Bode as "Bürger und lebt seine Mittel";[2] but if Bode's firm was successful until he sold up and left the city in 1778, it was largely due to the business experience of his third wife.

Although Lessing and Bode did not succeed in their plans for a "Buchhandlung der Gelehrten", they nevertheless managed to publish separately some of the items which were meant to have been included in the first edition of the Deutsches Museum. These were Gerstenberg's Ugolino (1768) and Klopstock's Hermanns Schlacht, ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne (1769).

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[1] Briefe, antiquarischen Inhalts, 1768, from Nicolai. Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet, 1769 from Voss. Humphry Klinkers Reisen, 1772, from Reich.

[2] See Greeven, op. cit., p. 120.

That was as far as the fulfilment of Lessing's and Bode's original plans went. The other joint publications during the time of their partnership were the Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767-69), J.L. Schlosser's Neue Lustspiele (1768) and four translations by Bode: Sara Th. ... eine Erzählung für Leserinnen auf dem Lande (1768),[1] Yoricks empfindsame Reise (1768/69), Briefe über die Tanzkunst und über die Ballette (1769),[2] and Über die Landwirtschaft, oder verschiedene physikalische Versuche zum Nutzen der menschlichen Gesellschaft (1769).[3]

During the years 1767 to 1769 every book which was printed by Lessing and Bode bore the imprint "in Commission bey J.H. Cramer in Bremen" or "Hamburg und Bremen, bey Johann Hinrich Cramer". The reason for this has never been satisfactorily established.[4] Only after Lessing's separation from Bode (which, however, never affected their friendship) did Bode's name appear. The first part of

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[1] The English original could not be identified. No copy of Bode's translation was available to Böttiger and there is none in the British Museum. The Allg. Dt. Bibl., X,1(1769), p. 267, says about the text: "Eine artige kleine Geschichte mit ökonomischen Gemählden ...".

[2] J.G. Noverre, Lettres sur la dance, et sur les ballets, Lyon 1760. A copy of Bode's translation is in the British Museum.

[3] Béardé de l'Abbaye, Essais d'agriculture ou diverses tentatives phisiques proposées pour l'avantage de la societé, Brême 1763 (?) or 1769 (?). There is no copy of Bode's translation in the British Museum.

[4] In Schlichtegroll, op. cit., p. 369, the connection between the two firms is described as "eine Art von Gesellschaftshandel". Greeven, op. cit., p. 120, says: "Aus praktischen Gründen".

Klopstock's Hermanns Schlacht (1769) still bore Cramer's imprint, the second, of the same year, had on the title page: "Hamburg und Bremen, bey Bode".

Even after Lessing had ceased to be his partner, Bode still followed the line of taste in literature which they both shared. During the 1770's he published Gerstenberg's, Klopstock's and Herder's works. It was Bode who put into Gerstenberg's mind the idea of producing a continuation of Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur which was published by him in 1770.[1] In 1771 Klopstock's Oden followed, David in 1772 and the Gelehrten-republik in 1774, in which he put into practice some of his and Lessing's original ideas on the reform of publishing.[2] Other prominent authors were Daniel Schiebeler with Auserlesene Gedichte in 1773, Gleim with Halladat oder das rothe Buch in 1774, and Herder. For the last named, Bode published in 1773 Von deutscher Art und Kunst, in which Goethe's essay "Von deutscher Baukunst" was printed for the second time after the Frankfort first edition of the same year. Besides those highlights which show the

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[1] The relevant letter to Gerstenberg of 16 February, 1769, which has not been published, is in the possession of the Literatur-Archiv of the Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg.

[2] For further details about Bode's publishing of Klopstock's works see the study by L. Sickmann.

literary impact of his tastes, Bode published J.G. Alberti's sermon Von der Pflicht der Christen, wenn ihr Nächster gelästert wird (1770) and J.M. Goetze's Auszüge aus seinen Sontags-Fest-und verschiedenen Wochen-Predigten des 1762 Jahres (1772). In a number of instances Bode acted both as publisher and editor, as in the case of Der Wandsbecker Bothe for which he joined forces with Claudius. The journal appeared serially first from 1 January, 1771 until 28 October, 1775 and again in 1775, as a collection in two parts, with the title Asmus omnia sua secum portans.[1] Bode also published a Theatralisches Wochenblatt during the years 1774/75, and in 1775 he founded, edited and published a moral weekly, Der Gesellschafter, to which he himself was the most prolific contributor.[2]

The literary contacts which Bode gained during his time in Hamburg through translating, publishing and editing, have never been fully appreciated. From 1759 his life appears well documented and his many letters and diaries could with advantage be used to throw more light

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[1] The other parts to follow were: III, Breslau 1778; IV, Breslau 1783; V, Hamburg 1790; VI, Hamburg 1798; VII, Hamburg 1803; VIII, Hamburg 1812.

[2] There is no copy in Great Britain. A review can be found in the Allg. Dt. Bibl. XXIX, 1 (1776), pp. 181f.; "Ein angenehmer feiner Gesellschafter bey dem niemanden die Zeit lange währen wird. Er unterhält uns in wöchentlichen Abhandlungen auf eine Art, die einen mit den Wochenschriften wieder aussöhnen kann. ... Die Ankündigung ist das launigste Stück in ihrer Art."

on his important friendships with H.C. Boie, J.A. Ebert, W. von Gerstenberg, L. Gleim, Herder, Klopstock, Nicolai and P.E. Reich.[1] No letters have survived to Bode's other close friends, J.B. Basedow, M. Claudius, F.L. Schröder and F.W. Zachariä.

Bode's connection with the theatre remained just as close as it had been during the period up to 1766 in which J.L. Schönemann, H.G. Koch and K.E. Ackermann had reigned supreme. Between 1767 and 1770, however, Bode did no translating of plays but acted as a printer, first for the "Seylersche Theaterentreprise" and then for Ackermann who had taken the theatre over again in 1769. Bode had always been a friend to the much younger F.L. Schröder who, in 1771, became director of the theatre, and he played an important rôle in his private literary society. This circle, to which Claudius also belonged, met regularly in Schröder's house between 1770 and 1774 and fulfilled the idea of a "theatralische Akademie" as originally conceived by the "Seylersche Theaterentreprise". Here they discussed plays to be produced and their subsequent performance. The literary taste expressed by all members of the group was distinctly <u>avant garde</u> and

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[1] Cf. the list of existing manuscripts ~~(IX)~~ (VIII).

belonged to the Sturm und Drang.[1] Bode's taste and advice were highly respected in that circle. He must be credited with the idea of setting up a prize for the best play, adaptation or translation, which was announced on 28 February, 1775. F.M. Klinger's Die Zwillinge won the contest in competition with J.A. Leisewitz' Julius von Tarent. Bode published Klinger's drama in 1776 in the first volume of Hamburgisches Theater. Schröder, who edited the collection, referred to Bode in the introduction, stating that the venture arose "auf Anrathen des Hrn. Bode, der uns den patriotischen Gedanken zuerst eingab".[2] At the time when he was publishing for Herder and Klopstock, Bode was also collaborating closely with Schröder in other publishing ventures. Two days before the first night of Götz von Berlichingen in Hamburg,[3] Bode printed Schröder's introduction to the play, Auszug und Inhalt der Auftritte des Schauspiels Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand, vom Herrn D. Göthe in fünf Aufzügen. Wie es auf dem Hamburgischen Theater aufgeführt wird, zum leichteren Verständnisse der Zuschauer.[4]

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[1] Discussions were held, for instance, on J.M.R. Lenz' Hofmeister (1774). Cf. Litzmann, op. cit., II, pp. 54 ff.

[2] I, pp. iii f.

[3] The première had taken place under H.G. Koch, then in Berlin, on 12 April, 1774.

[4] Hamburg 1774.

In 1772 Bode produced for Schröder his most successful translation for the stage, Richard Cumberland's Der Westindier[1] and in the previous year he had translated William Whitehead's The School for Lovers (1762)[2] also for Schröder. Schröder held that the former play together with Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau (1762) were Bode's best works for the theatre. Freedom of treatment was what he valued most in Bode's approach to these plays. In the case of Der Westindier this amounted to a complete adaptation of content and setting to their German equivalents, for Bode's best translations for the theatre were also the most independent. Before 1762 his renderings had been markedly close to their originals.[3] From that year on Bode showed an increasing tendency to adopt the tradition of the Low German comedy and to use its linguistic resources. But however successful Bode's translations may have been with

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[1] Hamburg bey Bode. A second edition came out in 1775. The title of the original is The West Indian (1771). For a discussion of the work see Wihan, op. cit., pp. 39-46. There is a review in Frankfurter Gel. Anz., no. 40, 19 May, 1772 (Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts, no.7, pp. 265 f.). A copy of the first edition is in the British Museum.

[2] Die Schule der Liebhaber, Hamburg bey Bohn. There is a copy in the British Museum. There are reviews in Frankfurter Gel. Anz., no.57, 17 July, 1772 (Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts, no.8, p. 378) and in Allg. Dt. Bibl., XXI, 1 (1774), pp. 186 f. For another discussion of the work see Wihan, op. cit., pp. 33-39.

[3] See above pp. 9 f.

the audience, they nevertheless presented difficulties for the actors. Schröder, himself an experienced actor, confirmed a lack of smoothness: "Zur Ehre der Wahreit muss ich bekennen, dass Bode doch nicht der besste Theaterarbeiter war. Sein Dialog ist äusserst schwer zu lernen, weil er gar nicht fliessend ist. Auch waren diese Arbeiten s eine übereiltesten".[1]

While Lessing was in Hamburg he gave Bode critical advice about his translations. On first coming to the city in 1766 Lessing had spoken against the publication of some hastily manufactured translations for the "Seylersche Theaterentreprise", plays by Marivaux, Goldoni and Voltaire.[2] There is no indication that they were ever performed and indeed, the only one printed, in 1782, on Schröder's special recommendation, was Voltaire's tragedy Tancred (1760).[3]

In 1768, while Lessing was still in Hamburg, Bode hit on the author with whom he was to have his greatest

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[1] Quoted from Böttiger, op. cit., p. 72.

[2] The titles are given by Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 42 f.

[3] Published in Vienna. There is no copy in the British Museum. Cf. also Böttiger, op. cit., p. 43.

success as a translator of novels - and in the course of eight years he translated most of Sterne's writings. His translations at once became immensely popular and they were soon regarded as German originals and gave rise to the wave of enthusiasm which swept Germany during the 1770's.[1] Through the translations of A Sentimental Journey (1768) and of Tristram Shandy (1774) Bode's name became inextricably connected with that of Sterne and after his death Bode was still referred to as "our Sterne".[2]

Personally Bode felt Yorick's humour to be more congenial than his sentiment, and he was far from sentimental in the sense understood by some fashionable literary circles of the time;[3] as, for instance, the "Darmstädter Kreis" to which J.H. Merck, F.M. Leuchsenring, Luise von Ziegler, Caroline Flachsland, Herder and Goethe belonged.[4] Another

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[1] The best general accounts can be found in Herder's "Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität", 4 (1794), in: Sämmtliche Werke, XVII, pp. 249 f., in F. von Matthisson's Erinnerungen, Zurich 1810-16, I, pp. 403 f., and Jean Paul's Vorschule der Aesthetik, (1804), in: Sämtliche Werke, XI, chapters 7 and 8 especially. For further details see H.W. Thayer, Laurence Sterne in Germany, New York 1905, pp. 55 ff.

[2] See Thayer, op. cit., p. 60.

[3] Cf. E. Erämetsä, "Sentimental-Sentimentalisch-Empfindsam", in: AASF, LXXXIV, 31 (1954), pp. 659-66.

[4] See V. Tornius, Schöne Seelen, Leipzig 1920; L. Rahn-Bechmann, Der Darmstädter Freundeskreis, doctoral dissertation, Erlangen 1934.

such circle was formed by Sophie von Laroche when she held a sentimental house party in castle Ehrenbreitstein in 1772.[1] The only truly Sternian among these circles was the "order of Lorenzo" founded by J.G. Jacobi.[2] Bode knew many of these literary figures but was in no danger of conversion to their sentimental way of life. He used to make fun of the craze by telling a favourite story of his about a sentimental lady and her even more sentimental servant. She had once told him to take a naughty fly out of the room and to set it free so that the small creature might fly up into the blue sky. But the man had returned and released the prisoner under the eyes of his mistress. "What are you doing, Johann," her Ladyship enquired. "Madam," replied the servant, "it is raining outside."[3]

There is no evidence that Lessing had suggested to Bode the translation of A Sentimental Journey. Bode had known Tristram Shandy for some years before he undertook

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[1] See Dichtung und Wahrheit, Books 13.

[2] See J.W. Appell, Werther und seine Zeit, Oldenburg 1896, p.246ff.; J. Longo, Laurence Sterne und Johann Georg Jacobi, Vienna/Leipzig 1898, pp. 39-44 and bibliography; also Thayer, op. cit., pp. 84-89; and Erämetsä, "Englische Lehnprägungen in der deutschen Empfindsamkeit des 18. Jahrhunderts", in: AASF, XCVIII,1(1955), pp. 7-11 especially.

[3] Recorded by Böttiger, op. cit., p. 68, note.

this translation[1] and his preface to Yoricks empfindsame Reise shows that he appreciated and understood the essential qualities of Sterne's earlier novel.[2] In the choice of his texts Bode usually followed his inclination and he could afford to choose what he felt suited him best.[3] Lessing did, however, give Bode advice on the translation: "Es kömmt darauf an, Wort durch Wort zu übersetzen; nicht eines durch mehrere zu umschreiben."[4] In the same letter written during the summer of 1768 Lessing suggested to Bode the use of empfindsam for sentimental.[5] Apart from these two instances nothing is known about the help and advice for which Bode thanked Lessing and Ebert in his preface to the second edition of 1769; but it is likely

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[1] Probably since 1762-63. For details see chapter II, p. 61.

[2] This preface and its relevance for Bode's interpretation of Tristram Shandy will be discussed in chapter II, IV and V, pp. 61 f.; 100 f.; 116 ff.

[3] Böttiger, op. cit., p. 113: "... da er eigentlich nie aus Lohnsucht, immer aus Herzensbedürfniss übersetzte, so wählte er mit grossem Verstand nur solche Urschriften, zu welchen er die Grundzüge schon in seiner eigenen Seele geschrieben fand."

[4] Letter written in the summer of 1768, in: Sämtliche Schriften, XVII, p. 256.

[5] On the use of empfindsam in German see ZfdW, VI (1904/5), pp. 306-15; also Erämetsä, "Sentimental-Sentimentalisch-Empfindsam", in: AASF, LXXXIV, 31 (1954), pp. 659-66. When he wrote this letter Lessing erroneously assumed that he had coined a new expression but the word had already been used by Frau Gottsched in a letter of 1757 (see P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, p. 67, note).

that he politely exaggerated the share of his friends which was, in fact, no more than advice given in conversation.

The success of the Empfindsame Reise has already been enlarged upon in some detail.[1] It was published by Bode in 1768, still bearing Cramer's imprint, and during the 1770's went through five editions.[2] Bode had followed Lessing's advice and kept close to the original text. Gerstenberg called him "ein Mann von Einsicht"[3] and another reviewer praised the strength and originality of his style.[4] Sterne's friend John Hall-Stevenson[5] published a continuation of the novel under the title of Yorick's Sentimental Journey, continued by Eugenius[6] and Bode's translation of this crude imitation of Sterne was paid similar tribute by the critics.[7] He printed and

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[1] By Thayer, op. cit., pp. 35-58; Wihan, op. cit., pp. 54-74; Michelsen, op. cit., pp. 67 ff.

[2] Hamburg 1770; 1771 (copy in the British Museum); 1772; 1776; 1777.

[3] Hamburgische Neue Zeitung, no.183, for 17 November, 1768 (Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts, no. 128, p. 137).

[4] Hamburgischer Unpartheyischer Correspondent, no.174, 1768. There is no copy in Great Britain and I am quoting from Michelsen, op. cit., p. 69.

[5] DNB, LIV, pp.238 ff.

[6] London 1769.

[7] See Allg. Dt. Bibl., supplement to vols. I-XII, 2, pp. 899-901.

published it himself in 1769 together with the second edition of parts one and two.[1] Bode's substantial alterations and insertions were, without exception, all for the better and they were so much in line with the humorous and sentimental tone of the first two original parts that, for some time, the original author was held to have been Sterne himself.[2]

Bode's next translation, Humphry Klinkers Reisen, he printed himself in 1772, but it was published by Reich in Leipzig.[3] Böttiger[4] records that Reich had approached Bode as the most competent translator for this task and that he had paid the unprecedented fee of three ducats per page. Bode thought very highly of this translation with which he was hoping to raise the professional status of translators.[5] One reviewer in the

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[1] Hamburg bey Cramer.

[2] The extent and nature of Bode's deliberate divergence from the original text has been discussed by Thayer, op. cit., pp. 48-54; Wihan, op. cit., pp. 70-74; Michelsen, op. cit., pp. 102-107; and Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 50-54.

[3] There is no copy in the British Museum. A second edition appeared in 1775, and a third in 1785.

[4] Op. cit., p. 59, note.

[5] Bode defends the general purpose in translation: "...das Übersetzen ist eine sehr nützliche Sache, und da, wo über breite Flüsse keine Brücken sind, höchst nöthig." ("Vorrede", pp. vii f.). I am quoting from H. Knufmann, "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer - und Herausgeber ſ vorreden," in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, IX, 2 (1968), col. 517.

Teutscher Merkur[1] called the rendering a model for the successful adaptation of a most difficult original; and J.A. Ebert, who knew both the original and the translation well, wrote to Bode: "...ich würde allen, die verfassungsmässig in unsere Zunft aufgenommen werden wollen, täglich einige Seiten aus dem englischen Klinker übersetzen, und dann bey Ihnen in die Schule gehen lassen."[2]

In this translation of a novel Bode pursued a line which had so far only been noticeable in his renderings of English plays. In Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau (1762) he had, for the first time, shown a tendency to use idioms and employ a picturesque language. He also, with humorous intention, distorted foreign words and employed dialect forms.[3] This tendency was carried further in Der Westindier of 1772.[4] Wihan[5] has supplied evidence that, when Bode translated The Jealous Wife, he modelled

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[1] II, 3 (1773), p. 205. There is another review in Frankfurter Gel. Anz., no. 96, 1 December, 1772 (Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts, no.8, pp. 636 f.).

[2] Cf. Böttiger, op. cit., p. 63.

[3] Details are given by Wihan, op. cit., pp. 25-33.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Op. cit., p. 28; pp. 43 ff.

the humorous speech of his characters on Fielding under the influence of Tom Jones which he was then reading and that his translation of The West Indian was influenced in a similar way by Humphry Clinker. This was Bode's first translation of a novel showing throughout some of the humorous features which before he had used only very sparingly in the Empfindsame Reise and which re-appeared later in Tristram Schandi[1] and Thomas Jones.[2] Böttiger praises the frequent occurrence of Low German dialect forms and idioms as contributing especially to the humour of the novel:

> (Bode) ist in Küche und Keller, beym Schottischen Haberkuchen und beym Londoner Schildkrötenschmause, beym Apotheker und Gärtner zu Hause, und hat überall den Leuten aufs Maul gesehn, um ihnen ihre eigenthümlichen Kunstausdrucke abzuhorchen. Natürlich musste er hierbey oft zu der ihn zunächst umschallenden Mundart seine Zuflucht nehmen, und vielen niedersächsischen Provinzialausdrücken das Bürgerrecht in der teutschen Schriftsprache ertheilen, weil er nur dadurch das drollige, mahlerische und niedrigkomische seines Originals erreichbar machen konnte.[3]

Böttiger continues by saying that in this translation Bode had enriched the German language and that as a result Adelung's Wörterbuch (1774-86) might be enlarged by more than 400 provincialisms which had since become

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[1] These features will be discussed in chapters V and VI.

[2] See below pp. 51 f.

[3] Op. cit., p. 61 f.

indispensable.[1] He also refers to some "upper Saxonian purist" who had attacked the liberties taken by Bode, whereas a linguistic tribunal à la Leibniz would certainly have bestowed on him the greatest honours.[2] I have been unable to identify this critic. On the whole, public opinion was very much in favour of the linguistic material which Bode had employed. J.H. Voss wrote in a letter dated 24 February, 1773:

> Ich habe Humphry Klinkers Reisen, aus dem Englischen in Hamburg übersezt, gelesen; ein vortreflicher und lehrreicher Roman, ... Der Übersezer muss ein herlicher Mann sein; man glaubt ein Original zu lesen; und doch bringt er aus dem Hamburgischen Sprachgebrauch eine ganze Menge kräftiger Wörter an. Unter vorsichtigen Händen müsste hiebei eine Sprache ungemein gewinnen.[3]

Wihan,[4] in his analysis of Humphry Klinker, has shown that Bode, in spite of seeming extravagance, in fact kept close to the original text, whose humour made it necessary for him to borrow from every possible linguistic source.

Between his translations of Humphry Clinker in 1771 and Tristram Shandy in 1774 Bode translated the second and

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 62 f., note.

[2] Op. cit., p. 63.

[3] To Brückner, in: Briefe, Halberstadt 1829-33, I, p. 131.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 106-120.

third volumes of Charles Burney's The Present State of Music (1773), entitled The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces and published it in 1773.[1] The year before he had already published the first volume Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise durch Frankreich und Italien, translated by K.D. Ebeling. Copious notes which Bode added to the translations reveal his profound musical knowledge.[2]

In the following year, 1774, Bode published his translation of Tristram Shandy, the circumstances and details of which will be discussed in the following chapters. It was an even greater success than the Empfindsame Reise.[3] The year 1775 saw three translations of letters by, or addressed to, Sterne. Bode's father-in-law Bohn published Yoricks Briefe an Elisa,[4] the forged collection of Briefe von Eliza an Yorick[5] was published by Bode, and Briefe von Sterne an seine Freunde. Nebst seiner

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[1] Carl Burney's, der Musik Doktors, Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[2] He added, for instance, a list of the best-known builders of pianos and organs.

[3] For details see chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

[4] There is a copy in the British Museum. The title of the original is: Letters from Yorick to Eliza, London 1775.

[5] There is a copy in the British Museum. For details of the translation see Thayer, op. cit., p. 67; Wihan, op. cit., pp. 95 ff. The title of the original is: Letters from Eliza to Yorick, London 1775.

Geschichte eines Überrocks[1] again by Bohn.

The last author that Bode translated during his final years in Hamburg was Oliver Goldsmith. In 1776 his translation Der Dorfprediger von Wakefield was published by Reich.[2] This never became very popular although it appeared in several editions.[3] Both Herder and Goethe for example preferred to read the earlier rendering by J.G. Gellius which had been published in 1767.[4] This novel differed in character from those which so far had provided Bode with his most successful translation material. Bode's deep absorption in Smollett's and Sterne's manner of writing had unfitted him for Goldsmith's quieter humour. The moralizing streak of The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) - reminiscent of Richardson - and its humorous realism - similar to Fielding's - both presented fresh problems to the translator.

The year 1778 brought an important change in Bode's life. He decided to become agent for the estate of the

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[1] There is no copy in the British Museum. The title of the original is: Sterne's Letters to his Friends on Various Occasions, to which is added his History of a Watch Coat, with explanatory notes, London 1775.

[2] The first and other editions of Bode's translation of The Vicar of Wakefield ~~(1766)~~ are in the British Museum.

[3] Leipzig 1777; Frankfort/Höchst 1777 (reprint); Bamberg (1780); Tübingen 1781; Leipzig 1796.

[4] Der Landprediger von Wakefield, ein Märchen, das er selbst soll geschrieben haben. For details see Wihan, op. cit., pp. 121 ff.

widow of the well-known Danish minister Count J.H. Bernstorff, who wished to leave her estate at Borstel near Hamburg and settle with a niece in Weimar. Bode, whose third wife and three children had all died, decided to accompany her. He had met the family some years before through H.C. Boie. So, after twenty-two successful years as printer, publisher, musician and translator Bode, at the age of forty-eight, left Hamburg. Shortly before he left the city he was awarded the title Herzoglich-Sachsen-Meiningischer Hofrath for his literary achievements. Bode sold his press at a very low price to one of his employees, while his collection of books went to the publisher G.J. Göschen in Leipzig. His large collection of engravings and pictures was sold in Hamburg.

Weimar was to offer Bode a more limited range of activities. He never again embarked on work as a publisher nor did he form any such close contact with the theatre as he had had in Hamburg. Three times widowed Bode settled down to a quieter way of living. Nevertheless, until the very end of his life, his untiring energy kept him busily active - as agent to the Countess Bernstorff, as translator and musician and as a leading figure in the masonic movement. During those years he was made Herzoglich-Sachsen-Gothaischer Legationsrath (1782) and Hessen-Darmstädtischer Geheimerath (1791).

Bode did not settle down so well in Weimar as he had done in Hamburg. It was against the background of a small court that Goethe noticed the characteristic mixture of boisterous good humour and outspokenness in his manner.[1] But he took an active part in the life of the court and became a leading member of the chamber music society of the Duchess Anna Amalia at Ettersburg. Not since his early days in Hamburg had Bode so devotedly followed his musical interests. Evidence for this is to be found only in the major dictionaries of music since, unfortunately, none of Bode's biographers gives an account of it. Apart from playing in the orchestra he edited and himself wrote instrumental music[2] some of which was also published, for example the Concerto per il Violoncello

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[1] See p. 3. Goethe met Bode frequently in Weimar and there are numerous references to him in the diaries of 1775-87 (cf. Weimar edition, pp. 13; 95; 96; 97; 105; 136), expressing both Goethe's amusement at and respect for Bode.

[2] Cf. H. Riemann, Musiklexikon, Berlin 1929, p. 191; "[Er] hat viele Instrumentalkompositionen geschrieben und herausgegeben (Sinfonien, Fagottkonzerte, Cellokonzerte, Violinkonzerte, Soli für Viola d'amour, Lieder...)." E.L. Gerber, Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler, Leipzig 1790, p. 175: "Um 1780 folgten seine 6 Sinfonien für 10 Instrument [sic]. Op. 2. Auch hat man noch ein Violinkonzert, 6 Violintrios und andere Sachen mehr im Mspt. von ihm."

Concertato[1] and the Partia [!] a Viola d'Amore.[2] Bode's musical career, which reached its culmination during this period of his life in Weimar, might well deserve a special study.

When Bode came to Weimar he found Wieland, Herder, Goethe, F.J. Bertuch, J.K.A. Musäus, F.H. von Einsiedel and K.L. von Knebel all living there. One must assume that he was in friendly contact with each of them, but no records have survived to show that his rôle among them was of more than masonic or merely personal significance.[3]

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[1] Leipzig 1780. There is no copy in the British Museum. According to E.L. Gerber, Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler, Leipzig 1812-14 (reprint Graz 1966) copies of the work were still on the market in 1811.

[2] Vienna by J. Traeg. No date of publication is given by Gerber, op. cit., and there is no copy in the British Museum.

[3] W. Wachsmuth, Weimars Musenhof in den Jahren 1772 bis 1807, Berlin 1844, makes only passing mention of Bode, so does W.H. Bruford, Culture and Society in Classical Weimar 1775-1806, Cambridge 1962. Goethe's diaries of the years 1775-87 give a picture of Bode's masonic importance in that circle (cf. Weimar edition, pp. 13; 95; 96; 97; 105; 136). A letter from Milan to the Duke Carl August of 23 May, 1788, illustrates Bode's reputation within the Weimar circle: "Dass nur Bode nichts davon erfährt, ..., besonders wenn er wissen sollte, dass ich meine grösste Spekulation darauf richte: ein Madonnen-Bild zu malen, das noch bei meinen Lebzeiten in Rom Wunder tun soll." Goethe's Briefe, II, Hamburg 1962, p. 93.

There were many possible reasons for Bode joining the movement. Its general humanitarian principle would doubtless appeal to a man of his character. Being a mason at that time also conferred a certain social standing. Contemporary prominent members of the Lodge included M. Claudius, the brothers C. and F.L. von Stolberg, and J.H. Voss.[3] Among these Bode established for himself a respectable position. It was he whom Lessing approached for introduction to this Lodge.[4] At some time Bode became "Meister vom Stuhl" and he remained a member of the "Absalom Lodge" after leaving Hamburg. With music playing an important rôle in masonic ritual and social gatherings[5] Bode probably felt all the more attracted. Although masonic music had not yet acquired the depth that Mozart was to give it, specially written songs and chambermusic had always been performed at masonic meetings.[6] It is no surprise to find some of his own songs among Bode's numerous masonic publications,[7] which also included speeches for various occasions, and almanacks.[8] Bode also showed a lively interest in religious mysticism generally.

Bode had become a Freemason in Hamburg, on 11 February, 1761.[1] One of his many acquaintances, perhaps J.H. Olde, who was a prominent Freemason, introduced him to the "Absalom Lodge". This was the oldest Masonic Lodge in Germany and had been founded in 1737.[2] ~~At the time of his entry other prominent members were M. Claudius, the brothers C. and F.L. von Stolberg, and J.H. Voss.[3] It was Bode whom Lessing approached for the introduction to this Lodge.[4] He became at some time "Meister vom Stuhl" and remained a member of the "Absalom Lodge" after he had left Hamburg.~~

~~Bode's masonic publications are numerous. They consist mostly of speeches for various occasions, collections of songs (many of which he himself had composed), and almanacks.~~[5] It is recorded that he possessed an extraordinarily large collection, comprising 800 volumes, of rare books on subjects connected with the origins and ideas of Freemasonry and other secret orders in which he

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[1] See Schröder, op. cit., p. 292; Schlichtegroll, op. cit., p. 363.

[2] See F. Runkel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, Berlin 1932, I, pp. 103 ff.

[3] H. Schneider, Quest for Mysteries. The masonic background for literature in eighteenth-century Germany, Ithaca N.Y. 1947, p. 113.

[4] Cf. Runkel, op. cit., II, pp. 148 f.

~~The mo~~ [5] See Paul Nettl, Musik und Freimaurerei, Esslingen, 1956, ~~by A. ... III, p~~ pp. 43 ff.

[6] A comprehensive bibliography of the masonic music before Mozart is still lacking as A. Wolfstieg's list in Bibliographie der freimaurerischen Literatur, Leipzig 1923, II, pp. 453 ff. shows.

[7] The most complete list of Bode's masonic publications is given by Wolfstieg, op.cit., III, p.54 and supplement, Leipzig 1926.

[8] Only one of these is available in the British Museum.

showed an intense interest.[1] The results of his researches were more than once displayed in speeches he made at larger meetings.[2] Bode's rôle as a Freemason was, however, practical rather than spiritual. In 1766 he travelled through many German provinces in the capacity of "Procurator generalis Oekonomiae" to the head office then situated in Görlitz.[3] Towards the end of his life he embarked on a campaign to federate all German lodges which hitherto had been led from London. He directed this campaign in 1790 from the Gotha Lodge "Ernst zum Kompass" which worked in close collaboration with him. But in spite of his great capacity for work of this kind his plan remained unrealized and died with him.

In the early 1780's Bode became a member of the short-lived order of the Illuminati which had been founded in Ingolstadt in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt (1748-1830). As a prominent and experienced Freemason Bode shared the leadership and was in close contact with Adam Weishaupt himself. Together with Adolf von Knigge, who had originally won him for the Illuminati, Bode worked for the amalgamation of the two orders, and this resulted in the eclectic federation of

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[1] Schlichtegroll, op. cit., p. 375.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Schlichtegroll, op. cit., pp. 366 f.

Frankfort and Wetzlar in 1783. Bode won prominent men for the Illuminati: Ernst II, Duke of Saxe-Gothe and Altenburg, Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Goethe, and Karl Landgrave of Hesse.[1] Bode was never a great traveller and most of his contacts were kept up by a large correspondence; but in the case of his masonic correspondence very little has ever come to light let alone been printed.[2]

None of Bode's later translations produced the impact of his Sterne and Smollett. He now translated fewer books and these were of a different kind, less likely to arouse

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[1] Runkel, op. cit., II, p. 53.

[2] K. Schreinert, NDB., II (1955), p. 349, mentions only one instance in Bode's printed correspondence. After Bode's death his masonic papers were bought by Ernst II of Saxe-Gothe and Altenburg. Until 1936 these papers were kept at the archives of the Freemason Lodge "Ernst zum Kompass" at Gotha, all of which were confiscated by the Weimar Gestapo on 20 March. (See Michelsen, op. cit., pp. 65 f. Michelsem erroneously assumes that among the papers which Ernst II bought there had been Bode's notes for a "Real-und Verbal-lexicon über Tristram Schandi". See chapter IV, pp. 98 f.). My enquiry as to the fate of these archives elicited from the Bundesarchiv at Koblenz the following information: "Das Schicksal der Gothaer Loge nachzuverfolgen ist uns nicht möglich. Nachweisbar ist lediglich, dass die beschlagnahmten Logenakten vom Sicherheitsdienst in Berlin gesammelt und teil-weise 1944 nach Schlesiersee, Kreis Glogau, ausgelagert wurden. Was danach mit den Akten geschah, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Reste der Schlesierseer Bestände befinden sich heute angeblich im Deutschen Zentralarchiv in Potsdam." The Zentralarchiv at Potsdam did not respond to my enquiry, and the Goethe-und Schillerarchiv at Weimar confirmed: "(The archives of the Gotha Lodge) befinden sich zur Zeit nicht mehr in Weimar oder Gotha. Unseres Wissens sind sie im Zusammenhang mit den Aktenumlagerungen nach 1945 über verschiedene Stationen in das Deutsche Zentralarchiv in Potsdam gelangt. Nach Auskünften von dort sind die Bestände zur Zeit nicht benutzbar."

public interest. He tended to choose older and more established works of literature, often with a moral tone. The majority of these later texts had already been translated, and only a few of them were English.

Some time earlier Bode had translated his first moral weekly. This was a selection from The Adventurer (1753/54) which was at first incorporated into Bode's Gesellschafter of 1775[1] and then in the following year published separately.[2] It can be regarded as a prelude to the translation of moral weeklies produced by Bode in Weimar. The first of these was Die Welt, published from 1779 to 1780[3] and generally thought to be Bode's best translation of that type.[4] It was followed by a rendering

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[1] See above p. 27.

[2] By Himburg in Berlin. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[3] The full title is: Die Welt, eine Wochenschrift von Adam Fitz-Adam, Altenburg. There is no copy in the British Museum. The World appeared in London from 4 January, 1753 until 30 December, 1756.

[4] A contemporary review is in the Allg. Dt. Bibl., L, 2 (1782), p. 609: "Diese vortrefliche Wochenschrift ist bekannt genug; und wir können mit Freude versichern, dass die Uebersetzung ganz ausserordentlich gut verfertigt ist. Jeder Zug von Wiz, Laune, Munterkeit, jede verschiedne Art des Styls und des Ausdrucks ist aufs glücklichste übertragen. Wir kennen, ausser den Bodenschen Uebersetzungen, keine andere, die wir dieser gleichstellen könnten; und unsre Vermutung ist gewiss nicht ungegründet, dass sie von dem nemlichen B. ist." See also Wihan, op. cit., pp. 185-91; Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 80-86.

of Clavijo's El Pensador (1762-67) with the title Der Denker, parts of which first appeared in F.J. Bertuch's Magazin der Spanischen und Portugiesischen Literatur[1] (1780-82) and were later published separately in 1781.[2] Böttiger[3] records how Bode translated both magazines on alternate mornings with extraordinary ease. Der Denker was Bode's first and only translation from Spanish, a language which he had begun to learn when he came to Hamburg in 1757.[4]

Bode's translation of J.F. Marmontel's historical novel Les Incas, où la déstruction de l'empire du Pérou (1777) was published in 1783.[5] Sophie von Laroche had suggested the translation of this work.[6] During his

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[1] ~~Weimar 1780, Dessau 1782~~. For Bode's translation see I, pp. 35-96.

[2] By Cramer in Bremen. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[3] Op. cit., p. 90.

[4] See above, pp. 15 f.

[5] Frankfort/Leipzig. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[6] Cf. Böttiger, op. cit., p. 91.

Weimar period she was a close friend of Bode's and he had edited and written an introduction to her novel Rosaliens Briefe (1779-81). His translation Die Inkas, oder die Zerstörung Perus was very well received by the critics.[1] Böttiger[2] writes of the suppleness of style which came through fully in the translation. In this work Bode was entering a new field, in which he was to achieve perfection later in his Michael Montaigne's Gedanken und Meinungen über allerley Gegenstände published in Berlin in 1793-95. He took unusually great care over this translation and completed the difficult task within the short period of thirteen months.[3] It has remained a standard translation of Montaigne until the present day.[4]

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[1] Cf. Allg. Dt. Bibl., LXXI, 1 (1787), p. 128 ff. "Dem Vernehmen nach hat Hr. Hofrath Bode in Weimar die Gefälligkeit für den Verleger und zugleich fürs Publikum gehabt, dieser neuen Bearbeitung sich zu unterziehen, und er hat sich um die Inkas gewiss eben so verdient gemacht, als vormals um den launigen Tristram Shandy. So verschieden auch in beyden Büchern der Ton ist; so homogen hat der Verf. seine Schreibart dem einen wie dem andern anzupassen gewusst, und so wenig man bey dem Tristram eine Uebersetzung ahndet; so wenig merkt man sie auch hier bey der [!] Inkas, man glaubt ein ursprünglich deutsch geschriebenes Buch zu lesen." (p. 128).

[2] Op. cit., pp. 91 f.

[3] See Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 104 ff. There are contemporary reviews in Allg. Lit. Zeitg., nos. 95, 96 for March, and no. 289 for September 1794. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[4] For the large number of modern editions see H. Fromm, op. cit., nos. 18259-18283.

Bode's translations from the English during these years at Weimar were noticeably inferior to those produced in Hamburg. His preference at the time was for sixteenth-century French literature and in his few translations from the English he did not reach the high standard of his renderings of Cumberland, Smollett and Sterne. The choice of Tom Jones[1] for translations was as unlucky as that of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield.[2] Tom Jones had already been rendered into German three times and none of the previous translations was bad.[3] Circumstances had forced him to produce it in a great hurry, and Bode was far from

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[1]The original appeared in 1749. Bode's translation: Geschichte des Thomas Jones, eines Findelkindes, was published in Leipzig 1786-88 and reprinted in Carlsruhe in 1787. A copy of the first edition is in the British Museum.

[2]See above p. 41.

[3]The first was by M.A. Wodarch, Historie des menschlichen Herzens, nach den Abwechslungen der Tugenden und Laster in den sonderbaren Begebenheiten Thomas Jones, eines Findlings, Hamburg 1750/51, and reprinted there in 1758/59. The second by C.A. Wichmann, Geschichte des Thomas Jones, eines Findlings, Hamburg/Leipzig 1771; and the third by F. Schmitt, Geschichte des Tom Jones, eines Findlings, Nuremberg 1780.

satisfied with the result.[1] The work, dedicated to Elisa von der Recke, was criticized by contemporaries for its display of an inordinately Sternian humour[2] incompatible with Fielding's style; and later critics who made much deeper analyses of the work agreed with their

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[1]Bode himself, as quoted by Böttiger, op. cit., p. 98, offers an excuse for the quality of the work: "Ich war bis zu den [!] dritten Band gekommen, als ich krank ward, und fast binnen fünf Wochen nichts thun und denken konnte. In dieser gefährlichen Zeit war mein unangenehmster Gedanke, dass ich kein Monument meiner Verehrung für Elisa [von der Recke] der Welt hinterlassen sollte. Als ich wieder arbeiten konnte, war mir dieser Gedanke Sporn. Und da ich wieder eine Anwandlung bekam, als der Buchhändler mit dem Druck des zweyten Bandes hatte anfangen lassen, kam noch der hinzu, dass der Mann grossen Schaden haben würde, wenn ich vor der Vollendung der Übersetzung stürbe. Sie können denken, dass diese beyden Betrachtungen ... mich an meinen Schreibtisch ketten mussten. Ich ward wirklich den 31. März - den 22. October 85 fing ich an - mit allen sechs Bänden fertig, ..."

[2]In Allg. Dt. Bibl., suppl. to vols. LIII-LXXXVI, V, 1 (1791), p. 2611: "Uns dünkt also, der Uebersetzer des Tristram Shandy habe im Ganzen etwas zu viel von der Yorickschen Laune, die er sich zu eigen gemacht hat, zur Verdeutschung des Thomas Jones mitgebracht." Böttiger, op. cit., p. 95, says about this review: "Eine Rezension von der Hand des Meisters!" [?] Another review is in Allg. Lit. Zeitg., no. 16 for January 1787.

predecessors.[1] Bode's translation of Congreve's The Way of the World (1698) was published in Leipzig in 1787.[2] The rendering did not reach the standard of Der Westindier of 1771 and had little success on the stage.[3] The play had already been translated in 1757.[4] It had been a favourite of Lessing's and influenced his Miss Sarah Sampson (1755),[5] a fact which may have led to Bode's choice.

In the same year Bode went abroad for the first and only time in his life. He accompanied the Hanoverian Major von dem Bussche to Paris, where they stayed for several months. This was probably a masonic mission of some sort, and may also have been connected with the Illuminati. The two men were members of both orders and visited a large number of French Freemasons, such as le Sage, de la Longes, d'Aubremesuil, Lavalette, and de Bondy. Recent political events were causing much apprehension at the time, and the journey was soon brought

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[1] Cf. Krieg, op. cit., and Wihan, op. cit., pp. 131-62.

[2] Der Lauf der Welt, bey Göschen. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[3] For details see Wihan, op. cit., pp. 46-54.

[4] Der Lauf der Welt, Rostock/Wismar. The translator is not known. For a discussion see Beam, op. cit., pp. 70-73.

[5] Cf. Schmidt, Lessing, I, pp. 273; 280.

into discredit by those who thought that the Illuminati were the founders of Jacobinism.[1]

Bode positively disliked Paris and wrote:

> Mir vergeht hier sogar meine gute Laune, und ganz Paris hat gewiss nichts, mir solche wiederzugeben. Alles ist hier auf Stelzen. Nichts ist hier auf gut bieder Teutsch gut, oder schön, alles merveilleusement beau ... Man sieht hier fast kaum das Gesicht eines Dienstmädchens, wie es Gott geschaffen hat, und Sie wissen, wie scheusslich mir Gesichts - und Herzensschminke sind. Alles ist hier bemahlt und beklext. Nur das Theater nehme ich aus. Die Musik in der grossen Oper ist brav, die Tänzer vortrefflich ... [p.102] Wahrlich Paris würde der letzte Ort seyn, nachdem ich ihn kenne, den ich zu meinem Aufenthalte wählen möchte, obgleich hier die Künste sehr floriren. Aber was sind alle Künste gegen die gute, ungekünstelte Natur, die hier seit langer Zeit nicht mehr Mode ist.[2]

In spite of these basic reservations against Parisian life in general, he took an intense interest in what was going on intellectually and he was soon carried away by the then fashionable and somewhat occult theories of A. Mesmer, which he took to studying seriously.[3] Apart

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[1] There are two accounts of the story, by Schlichtegroll, op. cit., pp. 385 ff., and by H. Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin 1961, I, p. 582.

[2] Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 101 f. The addressee of the letter is not given, and it does not appear to have survived.

[3] Records of these are kept in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg. The collection there has so far not been included in any published list of manuscripts. Bode's diary of the whole journey to Paris is kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden (shelfmark: Mscr. Dresd. h 37. 2° Bd. 3). It has not been published.

from these interests Bode showed a perceptive eye for social and political conditions. When he came across the short account of J.H. Masers de Latude's imprisonment he immediately began to translate this moving story.[1] Under the title Geschichte einer neun-und dreyssig jährigen Gefangenschaft in französischen Staatsgefängnissen. Geschrieben von dem Gefangenen selbst. Aus dem Französischen, welches den 8. August dieses Jahrs in Paris zu verkaufen oder zu lesen scharf verbothen war, it was published by Göschen in Leipzig in 1787.[2]

In the late summer of 1793, after the exhausting work on Montaigne was finished, Bode set out on a long holiday with his friends G. Hufeland and Böttiger. They travelled through North Germany visiting Halle, Halberstadt, Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick, Helmstedt and Celle and enjoying once again the meeting with old friends, and familiar places.[3] But unknown to Bode this was a series of farewells. On his

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[1] Histoire d'une détention de trente-neuf ans, dans les prisons d'état. Écrite par le prisonier lui-même, [ed. A.B.F. Beaupoil de Sainte-Aulaire], 1781.

[2] There is no copy in the British Museum.

[3] An unpublished diary of the journey by Böttiger is kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden: "1793. Tagebuch der Reise mit Bode nach Halle, Halberstadt, Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig", and there is also a short collection of "Anecdoten, auf der Reise gesammelt über Bode" (shelfmarks: Mscr. Dresd. h 37, Vermischtes VIII, Nr. 8, and Mscr. Dresd. h 37, Vermischtes VIII, Nr. 12 a).

return he made elaborate preparations to translate Rabelais' Gargantua. This might well have proved to be the apogee of his literary career. From Böttiger[1] we know that Bode read Luther's Table Talk and Hans Sachs to acquire a deeper feeling for the language of the period. Already in his translation of The World (1779/80) Bode had effectively employed sixteenth-century German language as it was used in Augsburg.[2] So the foundations were laid for a translation which would use all the linguistic techniques that he had spent a lifetime developing. But only a few weeks after his return from the North German tour - deeply engrossed in his preparations for a major new translation - Bode died suddenly on 13 December, 1793, at the age of sixty-three.

He was buried in the churchyard at Weimar in a place of honour between Lucas Cranach and K.A. Musäus. F.J. Bertuch gave the obelisk grave stone. On it is depicted Psyche flying upwards in the shape of a butterfly, and the Genius of Immortality pouring fruit and flowers from a cornucopia. The inscription reads: "HIER RUHT/ J.J.C. BODE / RASTLOS UND MUTHIG / BEFÖRDERTE ER WAHRHEIT, /

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[1] Op. cit., p. 109.

[2] The passages can be found in part IV, pp. 12-19, and p. 429. As there is no copy in the British Museum they could not be checked (Cf. Böttiger, op. cit., p. 83, note).

AUFKLÄRUNG UND MENSCHENWOHL. / FREUNDE SETZEN IHM / DIESS DENKMAL / DEM LESER ZUR ERINNERUNG. / FÜR SIE BEDURFTE ES / KEINES. / MDCCLXXXXIII.

On the anniversary of his birthday, 12 January 1794, Bode's Weimar friends held a memorial celebration at which Herder and Wieland both delivered speeches.[1] For the same occasion Böttiger published a memorial lecture entitled Denkschrift auf Bode. Dem Freunde von Freunden gewidmet.[2] The speeches were never published and no manuscripts seem to have survived. Unfortunately Böttiger's lecture was not accessible to me. However, Herder in his obituary of Bode, does provide us with a full appreciation of the richness and strength of Bode's personality. It was published in Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität,[3] and makes some discriminating statements about Bode's merits, creating a vivid picture of his personality as well as being powerfully evocative of the genius saeculi. Herder pays tribute to Bode not only as

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[1] Cf. Schlichtegroll, op. cit., p. 417.

[2] ~~Mit der Abbildung von Bode's Grabmal~~, Weimar: Industrie-Comtoir 96, pp. 15. There is no copy in the British Museum.

[3] 4 (1794), in Sämmtliche Werke, XVII, pp. 251 f.

a translator. He was more than that. Herder points out that he applied the same high principles which guided him in life, to his literary work. He calls Bode "ein stiller Wohlthäter der Menschheit," and continues: "Er ... wollte nie ein Sprachverderber, wohl aber mit Urtheil und Prüfung ein Erweiterer der Sprache werden."[1] Herder's obituary seems to have passed unnoticed for generations and well deserves to be quoted here:

> ... ein Theil seines Geistes, und seine redliche Mühe wird, hoffe ich, in unsrer Sprache noch fortleben, so wie sein Andenken im Herzen seiner Freunde.
>
> Bode war mehr als Uebersetzer; er war ein selbstdenkender, ein im Urtheil geprüfter Mann, ein redlicher Freund, im Umgange ein geistiger, froher Gesellschafter. Und doch war sein Charakter noch schätzbarer, als sein Geist; seine biedern Grundsätze waren mir immer noch werther, als die sinnreichsten Einfälle seines muntern Umganges. Er hatte viel erlebt, viel erfahren; in seinen mannichfaltigen Verbindungen hatte er Menschen aus allen Ständen von Seiten kennen gelernt, von denen wenige andre sie kennen lernen, und wusste sie zu schätzen und zu ordnen.
>
> Die Schwärmerei hassete er in jeder Maske, und war ein Freund so wie der gemeinen Wohlfahrt, so auch des wahren Menschenverstandes. Der betrügenden Heuchelei entgegenzutreten war ihm keine Mühe verdriesslich; gern opferte er diesem Geschäfte Zeit, Kosten und Seelenkräfte auf, die er sonst abwechselnder, vielleicht auch einträglicher hätte anwenden mögen. ... Grossmuth war der Grund seines

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 251 f.

Charakters, den er in einzelnen Fällen mehrmals erwiesen; nach solchem nahm er sich insonderheit der Verlassenen, junger Leute, vergessener Armen, der Gekränkten, der Irrenden an, und war, fast über seine Kräfte, ein stiller Wohlthäter der Menschheit.

Auch seine Uebersetzungen hatten diesen Zweck, und sein Fleiss dabei war unermüdet. Er bewarb sich bei ihnen sowohl um die Eigenthümlichkeit des Gedankens, als des Ausdrucks; mithin arbeitete er in beiden Sprachen. Er, ..., wollte nie ein Sprachverderber, wohl aber mit Urtheil und Prüfung ein Erweiterer der Sprache werden. Die falschen Nachahmungen in seiner Manier hassete er eben sowohl als die Nachäffungen der Charaktere, die er dem Deutschen Publikum verständlich machte; er übersah und übersetzte sein Buch als ein Mann von gesundem Verstande.

II

BACKGROUND TO THE TRANSLATION AND PUBLICATION OF TRISTRAM SCHANDI, AND ITS RECEPTION BY THE CRITICS

When Bode decided to translate Tristram Shandy he was one of the best-known translators of his day. The translations of A Sentimental Journey (1768) and of Humphry Clinker (1772) especially had firmly established his reputation. He had published most of his translations himself, and was by now a successful printer and publisher. His name was connected with such works as Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767/69), Gerstenberg's Ugolino (1768) and the continuation of Über Merkwürdigkeiten der Litteratur (1770), Klopstock's Hermanns Schlacht (1769), his Oden (1771) and David, ein Trauerspiel (1772), Herder's Von deutscher Art und Kunst (1773), Schiebeler's Auserlesene Gedichte (1773) and the Gelehrtenrepublik (1774). Since 1771 Bode had also been co-editor and publisher of Der Wandsbecker Bothe.

Early in 1773 Bode finished translating the second and third volumes of Charles Burney's The Present State of Music and published them under the title: Carl Burney's,

der Musik Doctors, Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise.

In April 1773 Wieland announced in Der Teutsche Merkur that Bode was already at work on the translation of Tristram Shandy.[1] During this and the following year Bode concentrated exclusively on his work as a publisher and in 1774 there appeared Pyramus und Thisbe, ein musikalisches Trauerspiel by M. Coltellini with music by J.A. Hasse, Halladat oder das rothe Buch by Gleim, and Klopstock's Gelehrtenrepublik.

The reason which led Bode to translate Tristram Shandy is not known. He was probably among the first literary men in Germany to become acquainted with the novel,[2] and in the preface to the Empfindsame Reise (1768) he describes Tristram Shandy, showing his profound appreciation of its essential qualities:

> Das Buch [Tristram Shandy] ist auch in Deutschland von vielen gelesen worden. Wie viele es verstanden haben? das ist eine andere Frage; man wird Leute finden, die es als das unsinnigste Gewäsch verachten,

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[1] II, 3, pp. 228-30.

[2] This is assuming that the review in the Hamburgischer Unpartheyischer Correspondent for 4 January, 1764 was really by Bode, who was editor of the journal during the years 1762/63. There is no copy available in Great Britain, and for details about this review of J.F. Zückert's translation of Tristram Shandy see H.W. Thayer, Laurence Sterne in Germany, New York 1905, pp. 15 ff.

> und nicht begreifen können, wie andre, denen sie doch viel Verstand, Witz und Gelehrsamkeit zuschreiben müssen, ganz anders davon denken, und wenn sie einen Band davon in die Hände bekommen, ihn selten wieder weglegen, bis sie ihn, sollte es auch zum fünften oder sechstenmale seyn, ganz durchgelesen haben ... Wer mit den Thorheiten der Welt, vorzüglich mit den Thorheiten der Pedanten, und ganz besonders mit den Thorheiten der Nation, für welche eigentlich Sterne schrieb, bekannt ist, wer ungefehr nicht viel weniger gelesen hat als er, der wird grade an vielen von den Stellen Züge eines Originalgenies finden, wo ein weniger wissender Leser ... ausrufen mag: "Das hat er im hitzigen Fieber geschrieben."[1]

Two points are especially interesting in this passage: first that Bode thought the novel could be appreciated best in its English context, and secondly, that he was aware of a literary tradition behind it. Both these ideas deeply influenced his approach to the translation of the book.[2]

It was in this preface to the Empfindsame Reise that Bode for the first time quoted his own translation of a passage from Tristram Shandy. This was taken from Book 1, chapter 11, containing a sketch of Yorick's character, with which he intended to illustrate Sterne's own.[3]

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[1] Yoricks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien, Hamburg/Bremen 1771, I, pp. ix f.

[2] See chapters IV and V below, pp. 100f., 116 ff.

[3] The passage was later incorporated, with only minor alterations, into the translation of 1774, I, pp. 58-64

The assumption among contemporaries that Wieland had suggested to Bode that he should translate the novel was clearly based on a misunderstanding.[1] Wieland had merely encouraged Bode as soon as the intention had become known to him. In an extremely flattering preview in the issue of Der Deutsche Merkur for April 1773 he set the tone for the reception of Bode's translation:

> Dem Publico kan es nicht anders als angenehm seyn zu vernehmen, dass der Verfasser [Bode] dieser sehr guten Uebersetzung [Humphry Klinker] eines sehr schweren launevollen Originals an einer ganz neuen Uebersetzung von Tristram Shandys Leben und Meynungen arbeitet, einem Werke, welches, ungeachtet wir bereits eine sogenannte Uebersetzung und sogar eine verbesserte Auflage derselben haben, mit bestem Fug als noch unübersetzt angesehen werden kan. Beynahe möchte ich auch unübersetzlich sagen, wenn man nicht Ursache hätte dem Uebersetzer von Klinkers Reisen zuzutrauen, dass er Mittel finden werde, Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden, welche für einen gewöhnlichen Uebersetzungs-Fabrikanten (Sieh Leben und Meynungen des M. Sebaldus Nothanker I Th. S.98-107)[2] unersteiglich wären, oder vielmehr über welche ein solcher ohne Bedenken muthig hinwegsetzen würde, unbekümmert wieviel der fremde Autor, den er mishandelte, und das Publicum, das er hintergienge, dabey zu verliehren haben möchte. Von Herrn Bode kan man versichert seyn, dass er mit seynem Lieblingsautor vertraut ist, und dass er ihm um alles in der Welt wissentlich nicht die kleinste Schönheit rauben wird.[3]

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[1] The Frankfurter Gel. Anz., 21 April, 1775, p. 267 (no copy available in Great Britain) credited Wieland with having urged Bode to translate Tristram Shandy; similarly the Neue critische Nachrichten, Greifswald, IX, p. 279 (no copy available in Great Britain). See Thayer, op. cit., p. 42, note.

[2] The relevant passage is quoted in chapter III, pp. 79 f.

[3] Der Teutsche Merkur, II, 3 (1773), pp. 228 f.

In spite of such considerable encouragement Bode was not completely free to go ahead with translating the novel. Wieland emphasizes the fact that Tristram Shandy should still be regarded as untranslated despite the existence of a previous rendering, since this was in his view of inferior quality. This was an indirect way of referring to a publishing law of the time which did not allow the re-translation of a book as long as any copies of a previous translation were still on the market. Any new translation, which had been produced under these circumstances, was considered to be as illegal as a reprint.[1] The force of this convention can be shown by the attempt of the publisher Lange to prevent Bode from translating Tristram Shandy.

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[1] This rigid attitude was widely assumed by publishers during the second half of the eighteenth century. J.A.H. Reimarus, Der Bücherverlag in Betrachtung der Schriftsteller, der Buchhändler und des Publikums erwogen, Hamburg 1773, pp. 24 f., wrote: "Ueberhaupt, wie weit sollten die Grenzen der Herrschaft in allem Umfange sich erstrecken? Einige haben es schon so weit ausdehnen wollen, dass, wenn sie eine Uebersetzung in Verlag gehabt, nicht allein diese, sondern auch die Urschrift selbst als ihr beständiges Eigenthum angesehen werden, und keinem erlaubt seyn sollte, eine bessere Uebersetzung zu liefern. Nützliche Gesetze für das Publikum! Wie weit soll ferner das Gebiet in Ansehung der Entfernungen von Zeit und Ort gehen?" Neither Kapp-Goldfriedrich, Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, III, Leipzig 1909, nor H. Widmann, Geschichte des Buchhandels, Wiesbaden 1952, and Der deutsche Buchhandel in Urkunden und Quellen, Hamburg 1965, mention this "unwritten law".

The previous rendering which made Wieland praise so highly Bode's plan to translate Tristram Shandy was by Johann Friedrich Zückert, and was published by G.A. Lange in 1763-67.[1] Zückert was a physician, and because of his total disregard for the stylistic qualities of the English text his translation was not a success.[2] Knowledge of Tristram Shandy does not appear to have been widespread among the general reading public during the sixties, although the novel was well known to a number of authors who had become acquainted with the text as early as 1763/64. Among them were Wieland, Lessing, Mendelssohn, Herder, Hamann, Goethe, F.J. Riedel, Julie von Bondeli and Bode. They expressed a profound appreciation of the book which can only have been the result of knowing the original text and not of reading Zückert's version.[3] A more general interest in the novel arose

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[1] Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy, Berlin/Stralsund. A copy of Zückert's translation is in the British Museum. For details see chapter III, p. 87.

[2] This translation will be discussed in chapter III, pp. 86-91, and chapter V, pp. 123 ff.

[3] For Wieland see P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, pp. 181 ff.; for Lessing and Mendelssohn see Thayer, op. cit., pp. 24 ff.; for Hamann and Herder see Thayer, op. cit., p. 28; for Goethe see Michelsen, op. cit., p. 63, and Thayer pp. 97 ff.; for J.A. Riedel see Thayer, pp. 29 f.; for J. von Bondeli see Thayer, op. cit., pp. 30 f.

suddenly after the publication of Bode's Empfindsame Reise in 1768, as a result of which Lange published a second edition of Zückert's translation of Tristram Shandy in 1769.[1]

As soon as Wieland had announced Bode's plan to translate the new book - in April 1773 - Lange hastily issued a third edition of Zückert's translation to intimidate Bode.[2] In order to increase the attraction of this edition Lange put on the titlepage: "Auf Anrathen des Hofraths Wielands verfasst", shamelessly claiming for Zückert's translation the encouragement Wieland had meant for Bode. Wieland was indignant at the misuse of his name and repudiated all connection with this new edition.[3]

However, Lange did not succeed in intimidating Bode. As the shortcomings of Zückert's translation were obvious the stage was set for a new translator. As soon as it became known that Bode (acknowledged since the Empfindsame Reise to be one of Germany's best translators) was at work on Tristram Shandy, ~~then the most popular novel of the day~~,

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[1] Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy. Nach einer neuen Übersetzung, Berlin/Stralsund.

[2] Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt, Berlin 1773. On the title page: 1774.

[3] Der Teutsche Merkur, V, 3 (1774), pp. 345 ff. When Wieland learnt, however, that the misuse of his name was neither Zückert's fault nor his responsibility, Wieland apologized for his former indignation in Der Teutsche Merkur, VI, 3 (1774), pp. 363 ff.

the immediate reaction was one of enthusiasm. Wieland's preview in Der Teutsche Merkur and a singularly impressive list of subscribers,[1] compiled by Bode, give eloquent proof of the widespread enthusiasm with which the German reading public was prepared to support his undertaking.

The list of subscribers contains 657 names from a hundred different places, including nine countries outside the Holy Roman Empire. Among the subscribers the most distinguished names can be found: C.P.E. Bach, F.J. Bertuch, H.C. Boie, M. Claudius, J.A. Cramer, K. Eckhof, A.W. von Gerstenberg, J.W.L. Gleim, Fräulein von Göchhausen, Goethe, J.G. Hamann, J.G.Herder, T.G. von Hippel, C.C.L. Hirschfeld, F.H. Jacobi, F.G. Klopstock, J.C. Lavater, J.G. Meusel, C. Mylius, H.S. Reimarus, J.E. Schlegel, G.F.E. Schönborn, F.L. Schröder, J.G. Schummel, A. Seiler, C.M. Wieland.[2] Seven of the subscribers remained anonymous and among these may have been

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[1] Printed after Bode's preface in volume I of the first edition on 32 unnumbered pages.

[2] Michelsen, op. cit., p. 52 erroneously includes F.L. von Stolberg in this list of subscribers. The Stolberg in question, however, calls himself Stolberg-Wernigerode while the poets F.L. and C. von Stolberg belonged to a branch of the family called Stolberg-Stolberg.

G.E. Lessing, G.C. Lichtenberg, F. Nicolai, and J.A. Ebert, whose names do not otherwise appear. Members of ruling houses are also included in the list: the Grandduke and Duchess of Russia, (probably Paul, son of Peter III and Katharina II, whose wife became Sophie Dorothea Auguste, princess of Württemberg), and Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Besides the names of individuals all kinds of societies appear, mainly musical or masonic, as well as libraries, publishing firms and booksellers; among the latter is William Eaton from England.[1]

The widespread interest in Tristram Shandy and in Bode's endeavour can also be shown by looking at the numbers of subscribers in different towns and countries: Hamburg (127), Kurland (town unspecified) (54), Mitau (Kurland) (35), St. Petersburg (28), Altona (28), Göttingen (25), Stuttgart (19), Weimar (18), Leipzig (16), ~~Königsberg~~ Kaliningrad (15), Breslau, Kassel, Magdeburg, Schleswig (11), Itzehoe (10), Brunswick, Hanover, Riga, Zelle (9), Copenhagen, Hadersleven, Liefland (town unspecified) (7), Sagan, Württemberg (town unspecified) (6), Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfort, Oldenburg (5), Glücksburg, Kiel, Lübeck,

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[1] Identified in H.R. Plomer, et al., A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775, London 1932.

Tübingen (4), Bremen, Dresden, Eisenach, Erfurt, Hanau, Stade, Stralsund, Vienna, Wolffenbüttel (3), Augustenborg, Pomerania (town unspecified), Russia (place unspecified), Warsaw, Zurich (2), Forty-six towns appear with only one subscriber andamong these are: Erlangen, Giessen, Halberstadt, Hameln, Heilbronn, Lauffen, Lemgo, London, Lüneburg, Mannheim, Nüremberg, Rostock, Rügen, Stockholm, Wernigerode, Wetzlar, Zweibrücken. The nine different countries outside the Holy Roman Empire, which are represented on the list, are: Algeria, Denmark, England, France, Courland, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland. The subscribers from these countries all bear German names with the exception of William Eaton.

But interest in Tristram Shandy was not only widespread in a geographical sense. One hundred and eight different professions are represented, including politicians, diplomats, civil servants, academics, business men and artists (musicians, actors and sculptors), - and even school boys! The largest number of subscribers was found among civil servants (135),[1] business men (83),[2]

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[1]Registered as 'Minister', 'Kanzler', 'Landmarschall', 'Regierungspräsident', 'Etats-Rath', 'Hofrath', Kriegsrath', 'Kanzleirath'.

[2]Registered as 'Kaufleute'.

students (48),[1] clergymen (31)[2] and doctors (19).

Bode spent at least sixteen months on the translation. His preface to the novel is dated "Ende August", and the book must have been published during September or early in October 1774, since the first review by M. Claudius appeared in the issue of Der Wandsbecker Bothe for 28 October, 1774.[3]

The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy was first published in nine volumes, containing nine books, between 1760 and 1767. The title of Bode's translation was Tristram Shandis Leben und Meynungen. It came out in three volumes containing three books each.[4] The frontispieces to Books 1 and 3 each show an engraving by Ravenet after Hogarth (Trim reading the sermon; Tristram's christening); they are the same as appeared for the first time in volumes I and III of the second and first editions of Tristram Shandy respectively. In the 1770's Bode's

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[1]Registered as 'Studiosus' and 'Candidat'.

[2]Registered as 'Superintendent', 'Probst', 'Prediger', 'Pastor', 'Lizenziat', 'Domherr'.

[3]There is no copy available in Great Britain.

[4]Copies of the first and second editions are in the British Museum.

translation saw four editions and three reprints[1] and, despite occasional criticism, it has remained the basis for most later translations of the novel to the present day as linguistic comparison proves.[2] The last edition of Bode's translation appeared in 1948.[3]

On 10 November, 1774 Bode wrote to F. Nicolai:

> Sagen Sie mir doch, wie man Sie bestechen kann, dass Sie einen armen Übersetzer einem nachsichtsvollen Rezensenten in die Hande spielen? Wenn ich ein Mittel dazu wüsste: so thäte ichs gern. Sonst bitte ich nur, ...: Seid nicht allzu gerecht![4]

But there was no real need for Bode to fear his critics, for his translation was given a most enthusiastic reception

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[1] Editions: Hamburg 1774; 1776; 1777; 1778. Reprints: Hanau/Höchst 1776/77; Berlin 1776; Frankfort/Leipzig 1776/77.

[2] The most widely-read renderings which are based on Bode's translation are: Tristram Shandy's Leben und Meinungen, von neuem verdeutscht, [by J.L. Benzler], Leipzig 1801; Leben und Meinungen des Tristram Shandy von Sterne - neu übertragen [by W.H.], Magdeburg 1831 (I was unable to identify the translator); Tristram Shandy's Leben und Meinungen, aus dem Englischen, [by Dr. G.N. Bärmann], Berlin 1856; Tristram Shandy's Leben und Meinungen, aus dem Englischen übersetzt, [by F.A. Gelbcke], Leipzig 1879; Leben und Meinungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy, [translated by Bruno Wolfgang], Berlin 1939. ʎ

[3] Tristram Shandys Leben und Meinungen, Wedel in Holstein: Alster-Verlag 1948.

[4] Quoted from an unpublished letter in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (shelfmark: Nachlass Nicolai, vol. VI).

ʎ In these translations special words used by Bode occur as, for example Kracke (v. word list p. 201). The celebrated translation by Rudolf Kassner shows no such influence.

by contemporaries,[1] most of whom knew the original text and were able to judge critically. Lichtenberg wrote:

> ... Hr. Bode hatte bei seinen Übersetzungen einen edlern Zweck, der übersetzte auch für die Leute, die das Englische vollkommen verstehen, und der Ruhm dieses vortrefflichen Mannes gründet sich eigentlich nur auf das Vergnügen, das er Leuten gewährt hat, die die Originale längst gelesen und gefühlt hatten, aber seine Übersetzung mit erneutem Vergnügen lasen.[2]

On 9 March, 1775 Lessing wrote to Bode: "Genug, dass ich sehr unbillig seyn würde, wenn ich Ihnen nicht sagte, dass ich im Ganzen so sehr damit zufrieden bin, als ich mit einem deutschen Tristram nimmermehr zu seyn hoffen durfte."[3] The most detailed and specific appreciation, however, can be found in Wieland's review in Der Teutsche Merkur for December, 1774. It began by saying that by this time the translation was in everybody's hands and continues:

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[1] Further reviews, apart from the ones which will be quoted, are in: Der Wandsbecker Bothe, 28 October, 1774; Frankfurter Gel. Anz., 21 April, 1775 (no copy available in Great Britain) cf. Michelsen, op. cit., p. 64, note; Deutsches Museum, II (1780), pp. 273-84; Berlinische Monatsschrift XXV (1795), pp. 140 ff. This last article by Nicolai in the Berlinische Monatsschrift is the most detailed and interesting in that it confirms the accurate mood of Bode's translation which was praised particularly by contemporaries: "(Bode's Verdolmetschung) ist meisterhaft; vielleicht die beste seiner Arbeiten, und sicherlich eine der allervorzüglischsten Übersetzungen welche unsre Sprache aufzuweisen hat ... nur ändere der Verbesserer ja nichts am Tone des Ganzen. Diesen hat Bode unverbesserlich getroffen; der Geist des Originals ist völlig dargestellt, nur hin und wieder ein Wort nicht ganz treu nachgesprochen."

[2] "Über die Pronunciation der Schöpse", (1781), in: Vermischte Schriften, IV, Göttingen 1844, pp. 258 f.

[3] Sämtliche Schriften, XVIII, p. 131.

pp. 249 ff.: " Nun, nachdem ich so viel Gutes von Herrn Bodens Uebersetzung gesagt habe, sollte ich wohl auch etwas von ihren Fehlern und menschlichen Schwachheiten sagen; aber - ich kanns nicht über mein Herz bringen. Freylich in einem meiner fünf Exemplare, das ich ausdrücklich dazu bestimmte, sind eine ziemliche Menge sogenannter Eselohren - in meiner Provinz nennt man sie so - welche, aufrichtig zu reden, nicht viel Gutes bedeuten. Aber, wie gesagt, wenn ich bedenke, welch eine Arbeit es war, den Tristram zu übersetzen, - wie oft auch ich gefehlt haben würde, wenn ich an Bodens Platz gewesen wäre - wie oft und mannichfaltig wir alle fehlen - und wie unendlichmal leichter es ist, Fehler zu suchen und zusammen zu klauben, als selbst was Gutes zu machen: so kann ich mich nicht überwinden, einen Catalogus von Erraten an den Rücken eines Buches zu heften, das im Ganzen und in der Hauptsache so vortreflich ist. Hingegen soll mich nichts hindern, Hrn. Boden zu bitten, dass er, nach dem Beyspiele des gelehrten und würdigen Uebersetzers der Youngischen Werke, nicht aufhöre, an seiner Uebersetzung zu bessern, bis er im Stande seyn wird, uns in einem Paar Jahren eine durchaus gefeilte, von den allzuhäufigen Druckfehlern dieser ersten Ausgabe gereinigte, mit seinen versprochenen Commentarien bereicherte neue Ausgabe zu liefern; - auf welchen Fall ihm alle Eselohren meines Exemplars von Herzen zu Diensten stehen. Damit inzwischen gleichwohl nicht irgend ein Nasutulus uns vorrücke, als hätten wir uns hier nur airs geben wollen, als ob wir viel tadeln könnten, da wir doch nichts zu tadeln wüssten, - so will ich nur etwas weniges zur Probe anführen.

Im I. Theil. S. 164. " Was das Argumentum Tripodium betrifft, welches niemals von einer Frau gegen ihren Mann gebraucht wird " - diess macht die ganze Stelle zu Unsinn. Im Englischen steht - which is never used but by the woman against the man; welches nur die Frau gegen den Mann braucht.

Im III. Theil S. 60. Z.2. "Corregios Correktheit" - Nicht so! the Corregity of Corregio ist nicht seine Correktheit - die war ohnehin nicht, was ihn charakterisiert - es ist seine ihm eigene, unnachahmbare Grazie, oder vielmehr etwas, wofür die Kunst gar keinen Namen hat, wiewohl es alle Kenner in seinen Werken fühlen, und darum nennt es Tristram Corregios Corregioschaft, oder besser Corregität.

2 ctd.

III. S. 115. Z.9. "ihre Reizbarkeit" - wessen? his sensibilities heisst ja seine Empfindlichkeiten.
Eod. S. 197. "Ob es gleich eine Insel giebt, die in der See schwimmt, obwohl nicht völlig so geräumig - not altogether at its ease, heisst wohl: nicht immer so gar gemächlich; - welches der Fall der Engländer, auf die hier angespielt wird, ist; an Raum fehlts ihnen nirgends.
IV. Theil. S.55. ist im Original selbst ein augenscheinlicher Druckfehler, der den Sinn zu Unsinn macht, also eigenen Gewalts vom Uebersetzer verbessert werden darf - nehmlich anstatt "er kann aus zweymal zwey keine fünfe machen" muss es gerade das Gegentheil heissen: er kann aus zweymal zwey fünfe machen; denn dies ist, wie man aus dem Zusammenhang sieht, die leidige Meinung der Nasianer.
ibid. S. 100. Das Obstetricalische Instrument das die Engländer mit seinem Wort, forceps, nennen, nennt man in Teutschland ganz gewöhnlich Zange.
VII. S.22. Zeile 3.4. von unten, hätte, getreuer und humoristischer, so heissen sollen: dass mir der Nordwind weder mein Zelt noch mein Essen bringe - statt zuwehete.
Aber halt! - dies ist mehr als zuviel zur Probe - dass meine Eselohren sehr wenig zu bedeuten haben.

W.

> Indessen wenn wir zu spät kommen, diese Uebersetzung anzukündigen, so ist es doch nicht zu spät, dem Uebersetzer den Dank dafür zu sagen, den er für eine Arbeit verdient, der er vielleicht allein unter allen Teutschen gewachsen war, und deren unendliche Schwierigkeit, nachdem er sie so glücklich überwunden, ihm ein unwidersprechliches Recht an einen grossen Theil des Ruhms giebt, der dem Original gebührt. Diese Bodesche Uebersetzung ist nicht nur eine neue, sie ist würklich die einzige Uebersetzung von Tristram Shandy; sie versöhnt den Schatten des unsterblichen Yorick; oder vielmehr, Sternes Geist ist selbst auf den Boden herabgestiegen, hat ihn mit seiner ganzen Laune erfüllt, ihm das Verständnis der feinsten Schönheiten seines Werkes geöffnet, ihm alles oder doch beynahe alles enthrätselt, was auch eben nicht den unverständigsten Lesern des Originals räthselhaft war, ihm das Geheimnis gelehrt die teutsche Sprache so zu zubereiten, dass er sein ganzes Original, mit dem wenigstmöglichen Verlust, in ihr abdrucken konnte; kurz, ihm alle Schwierigkeiten überwinden geholfen: und so haben wir dadurch nicht nur eine verständliche und getreue Uebersetzung des Tristram, eine Uebersetzung, worinn Sternes Geist lebt und webt, die seine ihm eigene Sprache redt, worinn seine eigene Laune, sein eigenes air, seine ganze Sternheit durchaus herrscht, sondern auch ein Buch, das unsre Sprache ansehnlich bereichert und ausbilden hilft, gewonnen; - [1]

Wieland wrote as a connoisseur of Tristram Shandy, showing his knowledge of the work in a section of the review ~~devoted to the correction of some of Bode's errors~~ [2] Wieland had read the book as early as 1763,[3] when he was

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[1] Der Teutsche Merkur, VIII, 3 (1774), pp. 247 f.

[2] ~~pp. 249 ff.~~ See special sheet.

[3] For a detailed account of Wieland's first reading of Tristram Shandy see Michelsen, op. cit., pp. 181-86, and bibliography.

[2] which he had reluctantly devoted to correcting some minor errors of Bode's.

still working on Agathon and already planning Don Silvio; and in 1768, in a letter to F.J. Riedel, he expressed his own intention to translate it:

> ... (ich bin) sehr tentirt ..., eine neue, und si Diis placet, bessere Übersetzung vom Tristram Shandy zu machen, als die elende, welche zu Berlin herausgekommen ist, in welcher weder der Geist, noch der Geschmack und am aller wenigsten die Originalität dieses unvergleichlichen Mannes kenntlich ist.[1]

There is evidence that Wieland did considerable work on that translation,[2] which G.A. Lange wanted to publish in 1771;[3] but for some reason it was never finished.[4] In his articles on Bode Wieland had repeatedly emphasized the difficulties of translating the book and he may well not himself have felt equal to the task. His statement that Bode might have been the only German able to translate Tristram Shandy gains in significance in the light of his own former plan to translate the work.

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[1] Letter dated 15 December, in: Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe, Vienna 1815, I, p. 232.

[2] See Thayer, op. cit., p. 32.

[3] Cf. Der Teutsche Merkur, I, 3 (1774), p. 346: "... vor drey Jahren (da er [Lange] mich bat, ihm die Uebersetzung des Tristram, mit der ich damals selbst umgieng, in Verlag zu geben)...".

[4] In 1769 Wieland gave up his plan to translate the novel. "Mit Hrn. Langen in Berlin hatte ich diesen Sommer viel zu schaffen; er schien sich ein grosses Geschäfte daraus zu machen, eine neue Uebersetzung von Tristram mit einer Art von Commentar von mir zu bekommen. Endlich machte ich der Sache damit ein Ende, dass ich mich entschloss die vorgehabte Uebersetzung gar aufzugeben." Letter to Reich of November 1769 (cf. M. Belli-Gontard, Meine Reise nach Constantinopel, Frankfort/Main 1846, p. 336).

Bode's rendering obviously fulfilled Wieland's highest expectations. In his view it presented a re-incarnation of Sterne's spirit since the author's humour and originality had been fully conveyed. In calling the translation "ein Buch, das unsre Sprache ansehnlich bereichert und ausbilden hilft ..." (see above) Wieland also realized that the German language had gained through this exercise in becoming richer in vocabulary and more subtle in structure.

III

TRANSLATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSLATING TRISTRAM SHANDY

Eighteenth-century German literature developed successively under the influence of French and of English literature, and most of the books which the public read were translations.[1] The importance of the translator as catalyst in the literary situation of the time must not be underestimated. Quantity in the production of translations did not, however, offer any guarantee of quality; a large number of the current translations, especially during the first half of the century, were weak. They had often been produced by writers and poets who themselves had failed to write any important works. In 1740, E. Mauvillon was the first to attack what he considered to be a deplorable situation:

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[1] See W. Fränzel, Geschichte des Übersetzens im 18. Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1913. Although, otherwise, this is a comprehensive study neither Sterne nor Bode are mentioned; also H. Knufmann, "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer-und Herausgebervorreden", in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, IX, 2 (1968), cols. 491-571.

> Nommez-moi un Esprit créateur sur votre Parnasse; c'est-à-dire, nommez-moi un Poëte Allemand qui ait tiré de son propre fond un Ouvrage de quelque réputation; je vous en défie. Quelqu'un croira peut-être que vos Poëtes s'étant entièrement tournés du côté des Traductions, y ont fait des merveilles. Rien moins que cela; ils ont défiguré les meilleurs Originaux François, Anglois & Italiens. Nos Poëmes Dramatiques en sont une bonne preuve, on ne les reconnoit plus dans votre Langue; ce sont bien les mêmes pensées, mais exprimées de la manière la plus foible du monde.[1]

Mauvillon was referring to the 1730's during which translations were produced under Gottsched's rule. In the 1760's and 1770's, according to Nicolai's testimony in Sebaldus Nothanker,[2] one half of the entire book production still consisted of translations. By this time English literature had succeeded French as the dominating influence in Germany[3] and one third of all the novels published between 1774 and 1778 were translations from the English, while only a seventh of the total number were French.[4]

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[1] Lettres françoises et germaniques, London, 1740, pp. 362 f.

[2] Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker, Berlin/Stettin 1774-76, I, p. 102.

[3] See M.B. and L.M. Price, The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century, Berkeley 1934; also H. Oppel, "Der Einfluss der englischen Literatur auf die deutsche", in: Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, III (1957), cols. 47-143; and L.M. Price, Die Aufnahme der englischen Literatur in Deutschland, Berne 1961.

[4] See C. Heine, Der Roman in Deutschland von 1774 bis 1778, Halle 1892, p. 19.

From the 1760's onwards collections containing shorter prose pieces translated from the English were published regularly, an example being the Abendzeitvertreib, in verschiedenen Erzählungen (Leipzig 1757-77). None of these publications contained a single piece written originally in German.[1] They coincided with the first translations of the most popular English novels:[2] Pamela (1740) 1742; Joseph Andrews (1742) 1746; Clarissa (1748) 1748 ff.; Roderick Random (1748) 1754; Tom Jones (1749) 1750; Peregrine Pickle (1751) 1753; Amelia (1752) 1753; Sir Charles Grandison (1753) 1754; Tristram Shandy (1760 ff.) 1763 ff.; The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) 1767; A Sentimental Journey (1768) 1768. In most cases only a few years elapsed between the publication of the English original and its German translation. The popularity of English novels during the 1760's can be further illustrated by the fact that J.T. Hermes secured the success of his Miss Fanny Wilkes[3] by putting on the title page: "so gut

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[1] See R. Fürst, Die Vorläufer der modernen Novelle im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Halle 1897, pp. 31; 223; also P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, p. 51.

[2] The dates of the English original editions will be given in brackets.

[3] Leipzig 1766.

als aus dem Englischen übersetzt", printing "so gut als" in very small type.

The mass production of translations in the eighteenth century had turned translating into a virtually mechanical process[1] and contemporary references show that the majority of translations produced were not made for interest but for profit. The situation about 1770 was satirized by the publisher, novelist and critic, Friedrich Nicolai in Sebaldus Nothanker. He describes a conversation between the Magister and Sebaldus about the present state of German literature. The former is trying to disillusion Sebaldus who, he thinks, over-idealizes the life of a writer and confronts him with a picture of the modern translation 'factory' with its lack of integrity and unashamed preference for certain languages. Although satirical the passage is full of significant detail:

> 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 allemahl 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 von selbst an. Ausserdem giebt es auch Uebersetzer, die zeitlebens gar nichts anders thun als übersetzen; Uebersetzer, die ihre Uebersetzungen in Nebenstunden zur Erholung machen, wie die Frauenzimmer die Knötchenarbeit, ... Vornehme Uebersetzer: diese

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[1] Cf. for instance G.C. Lichtenberg's "Literärische Bemerkungen", in: Vermischte Schriften, I, Göttingen 1844, p. 274.

> begleiten ihre Uebersetzungen mit einer Vorrede, und versichern die Welt, dass das Original sehr gut sey; Gelehrte Uebersetzer, die verbessern ihre Uebersetzungen, begleiten sie mit Anmerkungen, und versichern, dass ~~das~~ das Original sehr schlecht sey, dass sie es aber doch leidlich gemacht hätten; Uebersetzer, die durch Uebersetzungen Originalschriftsteller werden, diese nehmen ein französisches oder engländisches Buch, lassen Anfang und Ende weg, ändern und verbessern das übrige nach Gutdünken, setzen ihren Namen kek 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.[1]

The prolific output of translations in the eighteenth century was accompanied by a great deal of theory, which has to be seen in close relation to the rationalist philosophy of language.[2] The optimistic notion that anything could be translated into anything had been engendered by the logico-mathematical theory of language propounded by Descartes, Leibniz and Wolff.[3] This provided the basis for Gottsched's approach to ~~words~~ translation: "Alle in einer menschlichen Sprache und von Menschen geschriebene Bücher können auch in andere menschliche, noch lebende Sprachen so übersetzet werden, dass das Original ausgedruckt wird."[4] Breitinger

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 96 f.

[2] Cf. G. Fuchs, Studien zur Übersetzungstheorie und-Praxis des Gottsched-Kreises, Freiburg 1935 [?], pp. 4 ff.; also R. Kloepfer, Die Theorie der literarischen Übersetzung, Munich 1967, p. 44.

[3] Kloepfer, loc. cit.; Fuchs, op. cit., p. 5; and E. Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, I, Berlin 1923, pp. 67 ff.

[4] Critische Beyträge, VI, 22 (1739), p. 406.

adhered in principle to the same idea of the interchangeability of synonyms between different languages when he wrote that,

> in verschiedenen Sprachen würcklich gleichgültige Wörter anzutreffen seyn, also dass ungleiche Sprachen nicht anderst zu achten seyn, als so viele verschiedene Sammlungen vollkommen gleich viel geltender Wörter und Redensarten, welche mit einander können verwechselt werden, und, da sie alleine in Ansehung ihrer äusserlichen Beschaffenheit des Thones und der Figur von einander abweichen, sonst der Bedeutung nach mit einander völlig übereinstimmen.[1]

The main purpose of translation during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was held to be the development of the language, at first from the limited point of view of vocabulary:

> Und wan dan also verteutschet wird/ dass der frömden und Ausländer Geistreiche Erfindungen/ klar und verständig/ nach der Teutschen Sprache Eigenschaft und Vermögen/ verteutschet werden/ damit ist der Teutschen Sprach wol gedienet/ und trit wegen der hohen Ausländischen Erfindungen/ die also bey uns mit echten und rechten Teutschen Worten und Reden zutage kommen/ zu ihrem Reichthum/ Wolwesen und Vollkommenheit eine Staffel hinan.[2]

Translating also proved an effectual means of measuring the variety of expression available: "Der rechte Probier=Stein des Überflusses oder Mangel einer Sprache findet sich beym Übersetzen guter Bücher aus anderen Sprachen. Dann [sic]

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[1] Critische Dichtkunst, Zurich 1740, II, p. 138.

[2] J.G. Schottelius, "Wie man recht verteutschen soll", Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubt Sprache, Brunswick 1663, p. 1233.

da zeiget sich, was fehlet, oder was vorhanden".[1] Under the influence of Gottsched stylistic refinement became the principal aim. Many of the translations by his contemporaries can be seen as part of an educational campaign for the development of a polished style, with clarity and elegance its essential virtues.[2] In practice, however, the underdeveloped medium presented far greater difficulties for the translators than was generally acknowledged by rationalist theory. But Breitinger confessed in 1740: "Nun ist es keine so leichte Sache, den einzeln [the only suitable] Ausdruck allemahl glücklich zu finden, zumahl in einer Sprache, die noch nicht recht ausgebauet ist."[3]

Tristram Shandy, whose character so much depends on the style, differed fundamentally from all the English novels which had previously been published in Germany, and from anything which had been written, up to that time, in German. Sterne's style, in itself a stylistic conglomeration,[4] appeared an innovation at the time. The sentences

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[1] G.W. Leibniz, "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken, betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache", in Critische Beyträge, I, 3 (1732), p. 394.

[2] Cf. Fuchs, op. cit., pp. 15 f.

[3] Breitinger, op. cit., p. 143.

[4] Cf. H. Fluchère, Laurence Sterne: From Tristram to Yorick. An Interpretation of "Tristram Shandy", O.U.P. 1965, pp. 404 ff. especially.

1 ctd.

The following passage may serve as an example:

Ptr..r..ing - twing - twang - prut - trut -'tis a cursed bad fiddle. - Do you know whether my fiddle's in tune or no? - trut..prut.. - They should be fifths. - 'Tis wickedly strung - tr...a.e.i.o.u.-twang. - The bridge is a mile too high, and the sound post absolutly down, - else - trut..prut - hark! 'tis not so bad a tone. - Diddle diddle, diddle diddle, diddle diddle, dum. There is nothing in playing before good judges, - but there's a man there - no - not him with the bundle under his arm - the grave man in black. - 'Sdeath! not the gentleman with the sword on. - Sir, I had rather play a Capriccio to Calliope herself, than draw my bow across my fiddle before that very man; and yet I'll stake my Cremona to a Jew's trump, which is the greatest musical odds that ever were laid, that I will this moment stop three hundred and fifty leagues out of tune upon my fiddle, without punishing one single nerve that belongs to him - Twaddle diddle, tweddle diddle, - twiddle diddle, - twoddle diddle, - twuddle diddle, - prut trut - krish - krash - krush. - I've undone you, Sir, - but you see he's no worse, - and was Apollo to take his fiddle after me, he can make him no better. (p.34o)

3 ctd.

He traces it in prose works continuously from John Eliot, with examples from Gabriel Harvey, Thomas Nashe, Sir John Harington, Francis Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, John Hall, John Phillips, Samuel Butler, Swift, Pope and Smollett, not forgetting Rabelais's translators - Sir Thomas Urquhart, Peter Motteux and John Ozell. He also points out the early influence of Rabelais on poetry and drama.

were "often made up of a string of statements, clauses, phrases, single words, parentheses and exclamations, designed to transcribe the 'pre-grammatical' sequences of free association."[1] Many features of this style could best be understood in connection with the literary tradition to which Sterne adhered, as, for instance, the effective juggling with words.[2] There was in England an unbroken continuity in the literary tradition of indebtedness to Rabelais at the end of which stood Tristram Shandy.[3] Sterne's contemporaries in England and France had immediately recognized Tristram Shandy as belonging to the sixteenth-century humorist tradition. Sterne was frequently referred to as the "English Rabelais"[4] and from early on attention was paid to his borrowings from this author.[5] Throughout Tristram Shandy there are reminders of Sterne's indebtedness

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[1] See I.A. Gordon, The Movement of English Prose, London 1966, p. 151.

[2] For details see Fluchère, op. cit., pp. 167 ff. Unfortunately, only Sterne's rhetoric has been dealt with in previous studies. An inventory of his vocabulary could be most interesting.

[3] H. Brown, Rabelais in English Literature, Cambridge, Mass. 1933, has given a detailed picture of the Rabelaisian tradition in English literature.

[4] This is what Diderot called him (cf. Fluchère, op. cit., p. 175), as did Warburton and Voltaire (cf. H. Brown, op. cit., p. 191, note 1).

[5] First by J. Ferriar, Illustrations of Sterne, London 1798; see also Brown, op. cit., pp. 188-206; and J.M. Stedmond, "Style and Tristram Shandy", in: MLQ, XX (1959), pp. 243-51.

to Rabelais,[1] whom he had read in Ozell's version,[2] a copy of which he used to carry constantly in "his right hand coat pocket".[3] Not only did he borrow from Rabelais quotations and motifs[4] but also stylistic devices, as his formation of words and names,[5] lengthy word-catalogues,

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[1] It is demonstrable that he was indebted to many other authors as well, including Erasmus, Bishop Hall, Cervantes, Burton, Swift, Locke, Arbuthnot, and the French imitators of Rabelais, Béroalde de Verville, ~~Guillaume~~ Jean Bouchet and N. des Lauriers ('Bruscambille'). For the multiplicity of Sterne's sources see Ferriar, op. cit.; W.L. Cross, The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne, New Haven 1929, pp. 138 ff. especially; and Fluchère, op. cit., pp. 165 ff.

[2] ~~The works of F. Rabelais (translated by Sir S. Urquhart) revised, and compared with the ... new edition of M. le du Chat, London 1737.~~

[3] Cross, op. cit., p. 140.

[4] Some of these quotations, taken from Ozell, are to be found on the following pages in the edition of the Oxford University Press, 1961:

Ozell, I, p. cxx.	-	Tristram Shandy, 3, 1, p.142.
Ozell, III, 16, p. 99.	-	Tristram Shandy, 3, 20, p.179.
Ozell, I, 35, pp. 293-96.	-	Tristram Shandy, 5, 29, pp.355 f.

Some of the motifs, which Sterne borrowed, are to be found on the following pages:

Ozell, IV, 9, pp.32-38.	-	Tristram Shandy, 3, 32, p.197.
Ozell, IV, 13, pp.51 ff.	-	Tristram Shandy, 3, 36, p.203.
Ozell, I, 40, p.317 and note.	-	Tristram Shandy, 3, 38, pp.210 f. 3, 41, p.217
Ozell, I, 40, p.317.	-	Tristram Shandy, 4, p.221.
Ozell, IV, 1, pp.1 ff.	-	Tristram Shandy, 4, p.239.
Ozell, III, 31, pp.203 ff.	-	Tristram Shandy, 8, 34, pp.538 ff.
Ozell, I, 25, p.255.	-	Tristram Shandy, 9, 25, p.577.

[5] For example: Phutatorius, 3, "author's preface", p.173 (φυτεύω); Gastripheres, 3, "author's preface", p. 173 (γαστὴρ+φέρω); corregiescity, 3, 12, p.163 [Corregio]; to be tristrammed, 3, 38, p.211; τύπτω -ing, 5, 42, p.369.

[1] The works of Francis Rabelais, M. D. ... Now carefully revised, and compared with the ... new Edition of M. le du Chat, London 1737.

and parallel groupings of words and constructions.[1]

The translation of such a novel was fraught with great difficulties. It was a challenge to the German language of the 1770's, and was bound to induce a clash with the contemporary stylistic ideals of purity and clarity. Even Wieland, who showed such a profound knowledge of Tristram Shandy and appreciation of its eccentricities of style, took a critical view of certain of its aspects. When he heard that Bode was engaged upon the translation Wieland gave him the following advice:

> Aber diess bin ich beynahe gewiss, wenn der neue Uebersetzer (mit Beyziehung einiger Freunde von aufgeklärtem Kopf und zuverlässigem, nicht eigensinnigen, nicht allzueckelm,aber auch nicht allzunachsichtlichem Geschmack)[2] es unternehmen wollte, an Tristram Shandy zu thun was der Autor selbst hätte thun sollen, und wenigstens nur die in den mittlern Theilen ziemlich häufigen Stellen, wo Sterne mit einer Nachlässigkeit, der nichts gleich ist, seine Leser von Parenthese in Parenthese mit sich fortschleppt, ohne dass er am Ende selbst weiss, was er haben wollte, - und hier und da einige Cruditäten seines Witzes, an welchen Leser von Geschmack unmöglich Gefallen finden können - ohne weiters ausliesse: so würden es ihm alle Liebhaber ... grossen Dank wissen, und Tristram Shandy würde durch eine solche Beschneidung im Ganzen unendlich viel gewinnen.[3]

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[1] Cf. for instance: 3, 4, p. 145; 3, 4, p. 146; 7, 8, p. 442. For the information given in the last three notes see also Brown, op. cit., pp. 188-206.

[2] Wieland is probably referring to Lessing who had given Bode some advice on the translation of A Sentimental Journey (see chapter 1, pp. 34 f.).

[3] Der Deutsche Merkur, II, 3 (1773), p. 230.

We shall now look at two translations of Tristram Shandy contemporary with Bode's, of which one is German and the other French. They are strongly influenced by the contemporary theory of translation and illustrate some of the difficulties which a translator of that time would encounter in his attempt to render the novel.

J.F. Zückert (1739-79)[1] was a physician by profession who, later in his life, devoted himself to the study of health foods and diets. Tristram Shandy remained his only translation. The year after he had begun work on it, Zückert published a treatise with the title Medizinische und moralische Abhandlung von den Leidenschaften, which shows the considerable influence of some of Walter Shandy's eccentric ideas.[2] Thus Zückert's interest in the novel was mainly scientific and psychological, and it was the eccentricity of its ideas on physical matters which led him to translate it. This preoccupation was bound to limit his understanding of the novel. His knowledge of English was hardly more than elementary[3] and the unforeseen difficulties

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[1]For Zückert's life see J.G. Meusel, Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller, XV, Leipzig 1816, pp. 472-74; and E.G. Baldinger, Biographien jetztlebender Ärzte und Naturforscher in und ausser Deutschland, Jena 1772, I, 4, pp. 129-42.

[2]Berlin bey Mylius 1764; there is a copy in the British Museum.

[3]A list of Zückert's language mistakes can be found in J. Wihan, Bode als Vermittler englischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland, (Prager deutsche Studien, III), Prague 1906, pp. 199-204.

of the task caused him later to regret that he had undertaken it: "Wenn der Uebersetzer alle die Schwürigkeiten vorausgesehen hätte, die er nachher bey der Uebersetzung häufig gefunden, so würde er sich nie an ein so küzliches Buch gewagt haben."[1]

Zückert nevertheless approached Tristram Shandy with definite ideas on how to translate it, and these are explained in the preface to his rendering, entitled Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy (Berlin 1763-67).[2] In it Zückert criticizes Sterne for the eccentricities of his style, the digressions, the incomplete and involved sentences, the rare and dialect words, the hybrid formations. In view of these faults he expresses the hope that his readers will not expect from him the accuracy that the translator of a classical writer would have to observe.[3] Zückert's aims in translating the novel appear somewhat opposed to his criticism of the original; for while criticizing Sterne's style, he nevertheless wishes to

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[1] Das Leben und die Meynungen des Herrn Tristram Shandy, II, Berlin 1764-67, "Vorrede", pp. 2 f.

[2] A copy of the translation is in the British Museum consisting of two volumes. Vol. I is of the second edition of 1769, containing Books 1-4, vol. II is of the first edition (1764-67) containing Books 5-9). The ninth book is the translation of a spurious English original (cf. also H.W. Thayer, Laurence Sterne in Germany, New York 1905, p. 14, note). Zückert's "Vorrede" precedes Book 7.

[3] pp. 3 f.

introduce the German public to his "strange genius":

> Man bittet den Leser, der der englischen Sprache mächtig ist, diese Übersetzung nach dem Zweck zu beurtheilen, das Publicum zu ergötzen und aufzumuntern, und den Deutschen ein recht wunderliches Genie bekannt zu machen.[1]

The inherent inconsistency in Zückert's attitude reveals the limitations of his own interpretation of the "strange genius". In order to pursue his aim without abandoning his critical position, Zückert handled the text with a great deal of freedom. Whole passages which presented special stylistic difficulties, he left out altogether, others he abbreviated and, in places, simplified the sentence-structure. Frequently, he annotated the text with what he called "Erinnerungen und Erläuterungen", and added a table of contents. The result was a perfectly readable version of Tristram Shandy in which, however, very little of its original character survived.

Through these alterations Zückert did indeed achieve a purity of expression and clarity of meaning which met the demands of a conventional idea of style.[2] All his alterations bore the character of corrections; but none of them

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[1] p. 5.

[2] There is reason to believe that Zückert's personal style was marked by the same qualities. A critic said about one of Zückert's medical books that its style was "fliessend, deutlich und einnehmend" (see Der Teutsche Merkur, I, 3 (1774), p. 328).

indicated any desire to reshape the novel with regard either to its contents or structure in such a manner as he himself might have liked to write it; their sole objective was to achieve clarity in the receiving language. Zückert's concern for the original text did not extend beyond a faithful rendering of its contents and he did not take up the stylistic challenge which a translation of Tristram Shandy presented.

The reasons for this attitude were founded on the stylistic ideals which had led him to criticize Sterne's use of language. Zückert's criticism of the original was partly due to his personal interpretation of the text and his limited competence as a translator, but, above all, it was deeply rooted in the theory of translation which held sway during the first half of the eighteenth century. Zückert's views on style were a late reflection of the ideas put forward by Gottsched and his followers. Their principal aim had been the elimination of all foreign elements in the German language so as to achieve the utmost purity of expression and clarity of sense. In order to achieve these qualities in a translation alterations were inevitable.[1]

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[1] "Bemühe man sich nicht so wohl alle Worte, als vielmehr den rechten Sinn, und die völlige Meynung eines jeden Satzes, den man übersetzet, wohl auszudrücken. Denn ob gleich die Wörter den Verstand bey sich führen, und ich die Gedanken des Scribenten daraus nehmen muss: so lassen sie sich doch in einer andern Sprache so genau nicht geben, dass man ihnen Fuss vor Fuss folgen könnte. Daher drücke man denn III. alles mit solchen Redensarten aus, die in seiner Sprache nicht fremde klingen, sondern derselben

(continued on next page)

It is significant, however, that these were not introduced apologetically but with a certain pride since they bore the character of corrections salutary/alike to the original text and to the receiving language. Georg Venzky, in his essay "Das Bild eines geschickten Uebersetzers"[1] summarized these principles:

> Hat sie [the translation] den Verstand einer ursprünglichen Schrift deutlich und vollständig ausgedrücket: so ist sie so gut, als das Original selbst. Hat man dabey eine verdrüssliche, dunkele oder verworrene Schreibart in eine angenehmere und deutlichere verwandelt; dunkele Wörter durch deutlichere, nachdrücklichere und geschicktere verwechselt: So übertrift sie das Original selbst, und kan so viel Nutzen schaffen, als eine weitläuftigere Umschreibung oder ausführlichere Erklärung, zumal wenn kurzgefasste und gründliche Anmerkungen angehängt werden.[2]

An approach of this kind towards a translation of Tristram Shandy was bound to miss any reflection of Sterne's style. Zückert's rendering was not a success with the German reading public and was mentioned only in a few brief reviews.[3] After the publication of Bode's translation of

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(Footnote continued from previous page)
eigenthümlich sind." J.C. Gottsched, Ausführliche Redekunst, Leipzig 1750; "Von den Uebersetzungen", p. 396.

[1] Critische Beyträge, III, 9 (1734), pp. 59-114.

[2] Cf. pp. 64 f.

[3] Reviews of Zückert's translation, prior to 1768 are: Hamburgischer Unpartheyischer Correspondent, 4 January 1764. (H.W. Thayer, op. cit., pp.15f, suggests that this review may have been written by Bode who was editor of the journal during the years 1762/3. Since there is no copy available in Great Britain I am quoting from Thayer (see also chapter II, p. 61)); Jenaische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen, 1 March 1765 (see Thayer, op. cit., p. 18; there is no copy in Great Britain); Hallische Neue Gelehrte Zeitungen, II, 10 August, 1767, p.500 (see Thayer, op. cit., p. 22; there is no copy available in Great Britain).

A Sentimental Journey (1768), however, Sterne's writings began to be more widely read so that G.A. Lange issued a second edition of Zückert's rendering in 1769.[1] But when Wieland announced in 1773 that Bode was at work on a new translation, it became clear that Zückert's rendering had indeed no future.[2]

In 1776 appeared J.P. Frénais' translation of the first four books of Tristram Shandy.[3] Little is known about his life. He appears to have been a translator by profession who died shortly after the turn of the century.[4] Frénais' approach differed greatly from Zückert's. "La gaieté en est l'âme, et c'est ce qui m'a excité à la traduire..." Frénais said in his preface to the translation.[5] The words indicate that he understood the novel's character. To preserve this gaiety was Frénais' chief aim, but the method he adopted for its realization was of an unexpected kind.

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[1] See also chapter II, pp. 65 f.

[2] See chapter II, p. 63.

[3] La vie et les opinions de Tristram Shandy traduites de l'anglois de Stern, Yorck [sic]/Paris 1776. A copy of the second edition of 1777 is in the British Museum.

[4] Cf. Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises publié sous la direction de Georges Grenté. Le dix-huitième siècle, Paris 1960.

[5] "Avertissement", p. xii.

He called the book "un ouvrage de pûr agrément"[1] and for this reason regarded alterations to be necessary whenever he thought that certain passages and episodes were incompatible with the fastidiousness of his French readers and would consequently spoil their entertainment.[2] Frénais' intentions turned out to be far-reaching in practice. In subordinating all his obligations towards the original text to the amusement of his readers, Frénais was the translator who arrogated to himself the greatest freedom, with the result that no single episode of the novel was translated fully.[3] He both cut the text and added liberally to it. He took pride in replacing with a creation of his own each passage which, for reasons of taste, he had eliminated; and the closer these replacements came to the structure of the rest of the novel, the better was he pleased.[4] But the attempt to reproduce the éccentricities of Sterne's narrative manner only ended in chaos. He also gave each chapter a version heading, and added a table of contents, In short, Frénais'/

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[1] Cf. pp. xiv f.

[2] "Je pourrois même dire, ..., qu'il a fallu que je retranchasse beaucoup de l'original, & suppléer à ce que je retranchois; je ne dirois que la vérité. Les plaisanteries de M. Stern ne m'ont en effet paru toujours fort bonnes." (p. xiv)

[3] See also F.B. Barton, L'Etude sur l'influence de Laurence Sterne en France au dix-huitième siècle, Paris 1911, pp. 11-16; J. Wihan, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.

[4] "Je crois que l'ont peut se permettre cette liberté dans la traduction d'un ouvrage de pûr agrément. Il faut seulement faire son possible pour n'être pas reconnu, & je me trouverai fort heureux si l'on ne m'apperçoit pas." (pp. xiv f.)

had more the character of an imitation than of a translation.

All this would have seemed to any German translator far too cavalier a treatment of the original text, but it conformed to the French theory, which claimed for the translator a greater independence than ever the German did. For the French the main objective of translating was the reader's amusement, and the most liberal alterations were made to match his taste.[1] But in its extreme form independent translation was by no means so easy as it appeared, for the fastidious French reader of that period had to be satisfied.[2]

Frénais' rendering, though in line with most French translations from the English at the time,[3] was received without enthusiasm. One reviewer, in the Journal

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[1] See C.B. West, "La théorie de la traduction au XVIIIe siècle...", in: Revue de la littérature comparée, XII (1932), p. 333: "Il n'est pas du tout question de donner une traduction fidèle, ce qui serait très facile; on fera quelque chose de plus difficile et de plus glorieux: Au lieu de laisser les ouvrages anglais avec tous les vices de leur naissance, il faut les 'accomoder à la française', ce qui consiste à leur 'donner de l'ordre et du goût'. Cela faisant, le traducteur éprouve la joie de se dégager des entraves de son modèle et, en même temps, loin de trahir son auteur, il travaille à sa perfection, et lui rend de 'grands et éminents services'".

[2] Ibid.

[3] See West, op. cit., pp. 333-35; Barton, op. cit., p. 12.

Encyclopédique for 15 August 1786, criticized the liberties he had taken with the text, "Il a taillé, tronqué, supprimeé, substitué de son propre fonds, ... des pages, des chapitres, et tellement grossi, chargé, grimacé, ce qu'il laissait subsister..."[1] In Germany the Deutsches Museum compared Frénais' rendering unfavourably with Bode's:

> ...der Mann [Frénais] scheint sein Original zu begreifen, übersezt manches ziemlich richtig, obgleich so durchwässert, als ob er am Kanale zu Kalais gesessen, und jedes Blat in den Ozean getaucht hätte. Aber da solten Sie doch die allerliebsten Korrekturen sehn, die der Franzmann mit dem Britten vornahm! Nicht genug, dass er immer zwei Theile in einen zusammenlötet, dass er jedes Kapitel mit einer neuerfundenen Ueberschrift beschenkt ... er versichert sogar in der Vorrede, dass er sich was zu gute thun könte, seiner Urschrift mancherlei abgeschnitten und vielerlei von dem Seinigen angeflickt zu haben; ... [p. 276] ... Gleichwol ist das Buch bei alledem für einen französischen Uebersezer und Leser noch leidlich genung gedolmetscht; obgleich für einen Deutschen, der Bodens Tristram kent, wirklich unerträglich. [p. 275][1]

If we go back to Nicolai's classification of translators we find that Zückert fits into the category of the "gelehrter Uebersetzer" ("... diese verbessern ihre Uebersetzungen, begleiten sie mit Anmerkungen, und versichern, das Original dass/ sehr schlecht sey ...") while Frénais belongs to those who became "durch Uebersetz/ungen Originalschriftsteller" (see above, pp. ~~79 f.~~ 80).

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[1] Deutsches Museum, I (1780), pp. 275 f.: "Brief und Beilage, die französische Uebersetzung des Tristram Shandy betreffend."

[1] VI, p. 134.

Contemporary criticism was well aware that in Zückert's and Frénais' translations too little of the authentic Shandean spirit had been conveyed. Neither Zückert nor Frénais had succeeded in recognizing the tradition from which the novel descended, and each, in his rendering, was too subservient to a preconceived principle of translation.

Zückert was content to convey merely the arguments and reflections in the original, for it was in these that he himself was interested. The Gottschedian ideal of purity in expression and clarity of meaning was unsuited to convey Tristram Shandy's verbal exuberance. Breitinger's criticism of the translations of the Gottsched school in general still applies to Zückert's rendering of the novel:

> Wenn ich gewisse neuere Uebersetzungen der Deutschen, von welchen viel Rühmens gemachet wird, bey mir selbst betrachte, so muss ich zwar gestehen, dass ihre Sprache fähig ist, die Gedancken, die in fremden Sprachen vorgetragen worden, ziemlich glücklich vorzustellen; aber ich kan dabey nicht leugnen, dass nicht ihre Uebersetzungen, gegen die Originalien gehalten, überhaupt matt, seicht und plauderhaft aussehen; weil sie in denselben alle Idiotismos, die in der Form der Rede bestehen, mit einer schädlichen Behutsamkeit vermeiden, so dass der Nachdruck der Grundschrift gemeiniglich durch weitläuftige und wortreiche Erklärungen verderbet wird: und daher kömmt, dass man diesen Uebersetzungen weder den Character und die Eigenschaften der deutschen Mundart, noch der fremden Sprache, aus welcher man übersetzet, anmercken kan.[1]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 146.

Frénais, by contrast, showed a more fundamental understanding of the novel's character, for it extended to its structural elements. This is shown by his attempt to imitate Sterne's style in interpolated passages. But subservience to the French theory of translation resulted in a rendering that was almost a parody of Sterne's true style.

Zückert and Frénais did not create stylistically ~~were, in fact, by conviction~~ adequate renderings. ~~independent translators;~~ each went as far as the theory he adhered to permitted. As compared with the German, the French theory of translation allowed for a much greater freedom. But in a novel like Tristram Shandy, so dependent for its effect on peculiarities of style, only the most ~~closest~~ translation could ideally succeed. Such an approach would not come naturally at that time. However, it was advocated by J.G. Gellius[1] as early as 1762:

> Der Werth und die Schwierigkeit einer Übersetzung muss nach dem Mass ihres Abstandes vom Originale geschätzt werden. Es giebt Gattungen davon, die das Skelett des Originals sind. Sie behalten die wesentlichsten Theile; ... in Werken des Geschmacks wäre sie unerträglich. Wiederum giebt es eine Art von Übersetzung, die ich den Leichnam ihres Originals nennen könnte. Sie behält alle die Ausfüllungen und Wendungen, aber auf eine steife, unnatürliche Art, ... Man nennt sie die mittelmässige; ...[2]

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[1] See also chapter I, p. 41.

[2] Anmerkungen zum Gebrauche deutscher Kunstrichter. Nebst einigen andern Wahrheiten, [s.l.], 1762, pp. 12 f. There is no copy available in the British Museum and I am quoting from Knufmann, op. cit., col. 519.

A sensitive and expressive

Gellius also argued that what finally mattered most in translating was not so much theory as the personal competence of the translator:

> Der vornehmste Umstand bey Übersetzungen ist dieser, ob ihr Verfasser ein geschickter Mann ist, oder nicht. Die Freiheyt kann dem schlimmsten helfen, und die Sklaverey dem besten schaden. Bey genommener Freiheyt werden die Schönheiten des guten Übersetzens häufiger seyn, man wird ihnen den Zwang weniger anmerken, sie werden auf ihrem natürlichen Boden erwachsen. Im Gegenfalle wird der beste Skribent unter ein fremdes Joch gedrückt, und ist oft nur ein Sklav, der seine Kette mit sich herumträgt.[1]

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[1] Op. cit., cols. 523 f.

IV

BODE'S APPROACH TO Tristram Shandy

Wieland had spoken of Bode's translation of Tristram Shandy as of a work which embodied Sterne's spirit, spoke his language, and expressed all his humour.[1] His admiring words conveyed the feelings of most critics during the decades which followed.[2] Bode had adopted an approach which differed from both Zückert's and Frénais'. An attempt will be made in this chapter to suggest how he interpreted Tristram Shandy.

Unfortunately Bode's notes for a "Real-und Verballexicon über Tristram Schandi's Leben und Meynungen" which could have provided some external evidence for his interpretation of the novel are lost.[3] It was a feeling of genuine respect for the text which originally prevented Bode from adding these notes to his translation, when it was published in 1774.

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[1] Der Teutsche Merkur, VIII, 3 (1774), pp. 247-51. The relevant passage is quoted in full in chapter II, p. 73.

[2] See also chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

[3] They are not among the manuscripts still in existence (see also ~~IX~~ VIII) and contrary to P. Michelsen's suggestion in Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, p. 65, note 36, it is not likely that these notes still exist. They were not among the papers which Ernst II of Saxe-Gothe and Altenburg bought from the heiress after Bode's death (see also chapter I, p. 47, note). The fact is that Ernst II, who was himself a Freemason, had bought material of mainly masonic interest.

In his preface he wrote:

> Anmerkungen hab' ich freylich für nöthig gehalten, ohne dem Scharfsinn meiner Leser zu nahe zu treten. Allein sie unter den Text zu setzen, dazu konnt' ich mich, aus Hochachtung für den Text - Ja wirklich aus Hochachtung! - und aus väterlicher Liebe für meine Anmerkungen, nicht entschliessen. Sie liegen also, so viel ihrer sind, noch im Pulte, und könnten auf entscheidende Winke, wohl gewaschen und gekämmet werden, und so unter dem beliebten Namen eines 'Real - und Verballexicons über Tristram Schandi's Leben und Meynungen' erscheinen.[1]

Bode never published these notes, although he was later publicly reminded of his original intention to do so.[2] His biographer C.A. Böttiger thought, however, that Bode refrained from publication because the notes contained too many allusions to life in contemporary Hamburg.[3] Whatever the reason for his later decision it is significant that initially it was a feeling of respect for the text which determined Bode not to publish any notes of the kind advocated by the Gottsched School.[4]

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[1] Tristram Schandi's Leben und Meynungen, Hamburg 1774, I, "Nothdürftiges Vorbringen des Uebersetzers", pp. vii f.

[2] Allg. Dt. Bibl., suppl. vol. to vols. LIII-LXXXVI, V, 1 (1791), p. 2614.

[3] "J.J.C. Bode's literarisches Leben", in: Michael Montaigne's Gedanken und Meinungen über allerley Gegenstände, VI, Vienna/Prague 1797, p. 68, note: "...es waren zu viel persönliche Anspielungen darin, die er bey kaltem Blute selbst missbilligte, am wenigsten aber, da er nicht mehr in Hamburg war, seinen lieben Hamburgern noch aus der Entfernung in den Busen geschoben wissen wollte."

[4] See G. Venzky, "Das Bild eines geschickten Uebersetzers", in: Critische Beyträge, III, 9 (1734), pp. 64 f. The relevant passage is quoted in chapter III, p. 90.

With the loss of the notes only three sources remain to give some indication of Bode's interpretation of Tristram Shandy, and these are his preface to the Empfindsame Reise, his preface to Tristram Schandi, and eight footnotes which occur in the translation.

Bode's "Vorbericht" to the Empfindsame Reise (1768) contains his earliest statement about Tristram Shandy. He appears to have known it well by that time[1] and was able to express a few definite ideas about it:

> Wie viele es [Tristram Shandy] verstanden haben? das ist eine andere Frage; ... Wer mit den Thorheiten der Welt, vorzüglich mit den Thorheiten der Pedanten, und ganz besonders mit den Thorheiten der Nation, für welche eigentlich Sterne schrieb, bekannt ist, wer ungefehr nicht viel weniger gelesen hat als er, der wird grade an vielen von den Stellen Züge eines Originalgenies finden, wo ein weniger wissender Leser ... ausrufen mag: "Das hat er im hitzigen Fieber geschrieben."[2]

One may usefully extract from this passage two requirements which Bode thought vital to an adequate interpretation of Tristram Shandy: In his view it was impossible for a reader to understand the novel unless he could enjoy it in its authentic context and, further, be aware of the literary tradition behind the book, so as to recognize the sources

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[1] On Bode's first reading of Tristram Shandy see chapter II, pp. 61 f.

[2] Yoricks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien, Hamburg/Bremen 1771, pp. ix f. The passage is quoted fully in chapter II, pp. 61 f.

from which Sterne had drawn. These two ideas, expressed in the preface to the Empfindsame Reise, show not only literary knowledge on Bode's part but also appreciation and critical judgment, based on a clear notion of English life and character, even if only gained from books.

In his preface to Tristram Schandi (1774) Bode emphasizes one aspect of his earlier interpretation which in the meantime has proved its importance. Not merely as a knowledgeable reader, but as a translator conscious of the implications involved, he says:

> Ich bitte dabey, (ernsthaft) zu bedenken, dass es nicht leicht ist, von einem Autor, wie Sterne oder Rabelais, eine solche Uebersetzung zu machen, wie die, von dem letzten unter dem Titel, Affentheuerliche, Naupengeheuerliche Geschichtsklitterung von Thaten und Rathen, u.s.w. 1594. - Und dennoch - wie wenige lesen solche noch heute zu Tage; und wie noch wenigere können sie lesen?[1]

Here Bode attributes the peculiar difficulties encountered in translating the novel specifically to the Rabelaisian tradition it embodies; thus his awareness of a literary tradition behind the book, though not new, has become more precise and explicit. It sprang from his intimate preoccupation with the text and feeling for its style.

Although Bode's eight footnotes to Tristram Schandi may be regarded as part of the translation itself, they are

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[1] "Nothdürftiges Vorbringen des Uebersetzers", p. iii.

relevant here because they yield some information about his interpretation of the novel and approach as a translator. They contain comments on various points: three of them give literary references, two provide historical comment and explanations, two explain linguistic points and one is a cross-reference of Bode's own. In all three literary references Bode drew his readers' attention to some allusion to Rabelais's Gargantua[1] et Pantagruel The historical comments (3, 1, p. 3 and 6, 32, p. 131) are intended merely to amuse the reader without giving any information. But the two linguistic explanations, on the other hand, were ~~strictly useful~~ seriously intended: one informed the reader of a rare usage (3, 31, p. 151), the other explained why a certain passage from the bible was rendered in Bode's own words rather than words quoted from Luther. (2, 17, pp. 111 f.). In his only cross-reference relating to a very small detail of the text Bode wittily drew attention to an extremely long digression by Sterne. (3, 1, p. 3).

The style of all but the literary footnotes is markedly humorous. One of them is introduced with

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[1] 3, 32, p. 155; 3, 38, p. 189; 4, p. 58. The corresponding passages in the English text can be found in The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy, O.U.P. 1961, pp. 197; 210 f.; 239.

ironical humility as "deh-und wehmüthig" (3, p. 101). It is as if Bode, carried away by sympathy with his author, could not resist the temptation to add a footnote, though he was, in principle, opposed to full-scale commentary. An example of this occurs in Trim's reading of the sermon. The text runs as follows:

> Bey andern Dingen kann uns ein falscher Schein betrügen. Denn, wie der weise Mann klagt: Selten ist es, dass wir uns eine richtige Vorstellung von den Dingen dieser Erde machen; und nur mit Müh' und Arbeit finden wir was vor uns liegt (2, 18, p. 111).

To this passage Bode added the following footnote:

> Nicht um eine Schriftstelle, auch selbst aus einem apocryphischen Buche anders zu übersetzen, so wenig ich auch damit glaubte, der Arbeit eines grossen Mannes zu nahe zu treten; sondern der Harmonie des Tones im Ausdrucke zu gefallen, habe ich aus den Englischen übersetzt, ehe ich diese Stelle im Buche der Weisheit nachschlug; Sie stehet daselbst im 9ten Kapitel im 16ten Verse und heisst: Wir treffen das kaum, so auf Erden ist, und erfinden schwerlich, das unter handen ist. Vielleicht ist diese Anmerkung (ich mache ungerne welche) auch bey dem Texte dieser Predigt passend. Der Uebersetzer. (2, 17, pp. 111 f.)

The title of the sermon, which Trim is reading, is "For we trust we have a good conscience" (Hebrews, XIII, 18). As a kind of apology for offering his own translation of a biblical quotation Bode added Luther's in a footnote, giving his reason for not choosing Luther's version: "... (um) der Harmonie des Tones im Ausdrucke zu gefallen". Obviously he did not wish to spoil the rhythm of the

original prose. The English reads "hardly do we guess aright at the things that are before us" (p. 114). Comparing Bode's "Selten ist es, dass wir uns eine richtige Vorstellung von den Dingen dieser Erde machen; und nur mit Müh' und Arbeit finden wir was vor uns liegt" with Luther's "Wir treffen das kaum, so auf Erden ist, und erfinden schwerlich, das unter handen ist", it is evident that Bode's rendering is rhythmically the more suitable.

There can be no doubt that Bode was right to provide his own translation instead of quoting from Luther. But his adding the footnote shows his conscientious thoroughness as a translator, while the way he puts it shows his own indulgence in a Sterne-like humour. The effect of this approach is apparent in the translation generally and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Bode was the only one among his contemporaries ~~to~~ who commented on ~~realized~~ the connection between Sterne and Rabelais. It was his aim to produce a translation in the manner of Fischart. The full impact of this can only be understood when we consider the rôle played by Rabelais and Fischart in eighteenth-century German literature.

When, in his preface, Bode said of the Geschichtklitterung "wie wenige lesen solche noch heute zu Tage; und wie noch wenigere können sie lesen?" he was stating a fact. Rabelais and Fischart were not among the most popular authors

in Germany at the time, and it was not until the late eighteenth century that any wide interest was aroused in Fischart's style.[1] Yet earlier an occasional reference may be found which throws some light on his status with the critics. Although Gottsched mentioned Fischart briefly in his treatise on the Bienenkorb[2] it was not altogether favourably, and it was not until Bodmer wrote his Character der teutschen Gedichte (1734) that Fischart's language appears to have been at all appreciated.[3]

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[1] See also H.A. Bob, Johann Fischarts Nachleben in der deutschen Literatur, doctoral dissertation, Strassburg 1915; K. Goedecke, Dichtungen von Johann Fischart, Leipzig 1880, introduction. Unfortunately, nothing more extensive has been published on this subject.

[2] Critische Beyträge, V, 18 (1738), pp. 223-40. Gottsched appeared to be aware of the richness of the sixteenth-century German language as a source but he admitted it reluctantly: "Und eben diese Rabelaische Schreibart des Uebersetzers ist auch die Ursache, warum wir dieser Schrift in diesen Beyträgen gedacht haben: ... lächerliche, niedrige, von dem Pöbel entlehnte, oder auch neugemachte, manchmal auch schmutzige Wörter und Redensarten und Sprüchwörter, ..., welche Rabelais auf die höchste Vollkommenheit gebracht hat, [haben] einen grossen Einfluss in die Sprache ..., die sie gemeiniglich [verderben], bisweilen aber doch zufälliger Weise zu bereichern Anlass [geben]." (pp. 236 f.)

[3] In: Critische Beyträge, V, 20 (1738), p. 629. Bodmer regretted the narrowness of Gottsched's appreciation of Das glückhaft Schiff von Zürich, and wrote: "Allein sein [Fischart's] altes Deutsch steht ihm zu sehr im Licht./ Ein sächsisch Auge sieht den schönen Inhalt nicht." On another occasion Bodmer wrote, more explicitly: "[Fischart's] Gedichte sind mit ihrer Sprache weggeworfen und vergessen worden." Cf. "Von der Poesie des sechszehnten Jahrhundert [sic] nach ihrem schönsten Lichte", in: Sammlung critischer, poetischer, und anderer geistvollen Schriften, II, 7, Zurich 1743, pp. 55 f.

The last edition of the Geschichtklitterung had appeared in 1631.[1] One year after the publication of Tristram Schandi, in 1775, H.G. von Bretschneider announced a new annotated edition of the work.[2] His main reason for wanting to publish it lay in his recognition that Fischart was the greatest comic genius in German literature.[3] But Bretschneider was also aware of the possible enrichment of the language through the revival of some of Fischart's vocabulary[4] and to this end the new edition was ambitiously planned with copious annotations of a linguistic character. Unfortunately, Bretschneider never completed his edition, possibly because he did not get the support necessary for

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[1] See also A. Hauffen, Johann Fischart, Berlin/Leipzig 1921, I, p. 259.

[2] Ankündigung und Probe einer neuen Ausgabe mit Anmerkungen von D.Johann Fischarts Uebersetzung des ersten Buchs von Rabelais Gargantua, so bekannt ist unter dem Tittel: Affentheurliche, Naupengeheurliche Geschicht-klitterung, Nuremberg 1775. It was to be based on the edition of 1608, a choice which was unfortunate from an editorial point of view (cf. Goedeke, op. cit., p. ix).

[3] "Fischart verdient den launigten Schriftstellern anderer Nationen, wie z.B. Rabelais, Buttler [sic], Cervantes u.a.m. die ihren Ruhm Jahrhunderte behauptet haben und nun classisch geworden sind, an die Seite gesetzt zu werden. Er ist ein komisches Genie, desgleichen vor ihm und nach ihm nicht mehr in Deutschland gesehen worden". op. cit., p. 16.

[4] "Der Leser muss sich in die Sitten der damaligen Zeit versetzen, wenn er solche Bücher lisst. Ausserdem wird auch, wie ich glaube der deutschen Sprache kein geringer Dienst geleistet, wenn man die alten kräftigen Worte, die durch Nachlässigkeit oder Affektation unserer Vorfahren, verlohren gegangen sind, wieder aufsucht." Op. cit., p. 17.

this difficult task.[1] The public wanted a new translation of Rabelais' Gargantua rather than another edition of Fischart's translation, whose style was considered vulgar.[2] This demand was satisfied when in 1785 C.L. Sander published a new translation of Gargantua et Pantagruel, which was based on Fischart's, but had been altered beyond recognition.[3] In his epilogue Sander, apparently ignorant of Bretschneider's publication, talked of "the moss he had intended to sweep from Fischart's

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[1] See K.H. Jördens, Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, I, p. 524: "Allein er wurde, wie es scheint, von unberufenen Kritikern abgeschreckt, welche weder ihn, noch seinen ehrlichen Menzer verstanden." See also Goedeke, op. cit., p. ix. However, no evidence is given for this and the opposite view has been put forward, that Bretschneider had a great deal of support, especially from Muncker in Nuremberg. See Reise des Herrn von Bretschneider nach London und Paris nebst Auszügen aus seinen Briefen an Herrn Friedrich Nicolai, ed. by L.F.G. von Göckingk Berlin 1817, p. 44; K.F. Linger, Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des k.k. Hofrathes Heinrich Gottfried von Bretschneider, Vienna/Leipzig 1892, p. 362 f. Bretschneider himself only mentioned the difficulty of the task which had put him off: "Wohl mir! dass ich in Verhältnisse kam, welche die Ausführung des Werks verhinderten; - ich war ihm nicht gewachsen." Letter dated 22 December, 1807, in: Reise des Herrn von Bretschneider..., p. 44.

[2] See J.G. Meusel, Vermischte Nachrichten und Bemerkungen historischen und literarischen Inhalts, Erlangen 1816. Meusel wrote about Fischart's translation in connection with Bretschneider's plan: "Ueberdies ist sie sehr frey, und des Uebersetzers Laune ist sehr ungezogen und unsauber. ... Hätte lieber Br. uns eine neue Uebersetzung gegeben!" (pp. 25 f.)

[3] Eckstein, Dr. pseud. [i.e. C.L. Sander], Gargantua und Pantagruel, Hamburg 1785-87.

grave after more than three centuries of oblivion".[1] But he remained highly critical of Fischart's style which he had deliberately set out to simplify.[2]

To understand the vicissitudes of Fischart's reputation during the eighteenth century it is necessary to keep separately in mind the fluctuations of taste in humour, on the one hand, and contemporary judgments of style on the other. The concept of humour was constantly changing,[3] yet with sophisticated readers neither Rabelais nor Fischart ever quite lost their popularity as humorous writers. However, it was only when Sander in the 1780's published his modernized version of Fischart's Gargantua, and

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[1] "Was mich bewogen hat, das Moos von drittehalb Jahrhunderten von Fischarts Grabe zu fegen, und ihn neu auferstehen zu lassen? Meine Liebe für ihn, und meine Ehrfurcht für seinen Hippocras." ("Nachrede", printed on three unnumbered pages before the first chapter.)

[2] "... Bey allem dem ist es eben so unläugbar, dass mein Fischart von unausstehlichen Fehlern wimmelt. Mit der Sprache geht er so eigenmächtig um, wie unsre Grosstürken und Affen von Goethe und Claudius, nur dass er es mit mehrerm Einsatze thut. Bey jedem Schritte klingeln seine Wortspiele und unbedeutenden Reime: und das Ganze ist wegen seiner und Rabelais übelriechenden Scherze des Augius. Ich habe es nach der Weise des Herkules unternommen, diesem Stall zu reinigen." ("Nachrede")

[3] Herder described such a change: "Selbst das Talent zu scherzen bedarf des Ernstes: denn eben Scherz ist der menschlichen Cultur zarteste Pflanze. Da wir aus Rabelais, geschweige aus Fischarts Zeit ziemlich hinaus sind, so wollen das Lachen und der Jocus gerade die ernsteste Behandlung. Ein scherzhafter Schriftsteller überlebet sich bald, wie so viele Beispiele zeigen; man wird seiner Manier gewohnt und will andre Manieren. War nicht Sterne's unvergleichlicher ~~Humor~~ humour selbst nahe daran, zu ermüden?" Kalligone III (1800) in: Sämmtliche Werke, XXII, 2, pp. 157 f. [Zweiter Theil] Spaced letters marked by dots.

C.H. Flögel a comprehensive account of his life and writings in the Geschichte der komischen Litteratur,[1] that a general interest began to be taken in Fischart as a stylist. It was on the point of style, not that of humour, that the main eighteenth-century controversy on Fischart turned. As already mentioned, it was Bodmer who first advocated its revival. The attempts by Bode and Bretschneider to awaken linguistic interest in Fischart's Geschichtklitterung had been amateurish and were overlooked by contemporaries, so that Flögel, who warmly approved not only of Fischart's merits as a humorous writer but also of his style, saw himself as Bodmer's immediate successor and quoted him at the beginning of his study.[2] Flögel approved of Fischart's style as he did of his humour. In this he was opposed to the majority of eighteenth-century critics, of whose attitude Sander, in rejecting Fischart's style while appreciating Rabelais' humour, was quite representative. Adelung too, in opposition to Flögel, attacked Fischart on purely stylistic grounds, objecting to his use of certain stylistic devices, especially his neologisms. The following quotations taken from the two critics may summarize their respective opinions.

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[1] Liegnitz/Leipzig 1784-87, III, pp. 326-78.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 326 f.; for Bodmer's quotation see above p. 105 and note.

Flögel wrote:

> Ein deutscher Sprachforscher wird in dieser [der Geschichtklitterung] und andern Schriften des Fischarts einen reichen Schatz finden, seine Kenntnisse zu erweitern, und das trefliche Talent desselben in der Erfindung und Bildung neuer Wörter bewundern.[1]

This inventing of new words was precisely what Adelung rejected:

> Unter den ältern sind Rabelais und sein deutscher Affe, Fischart, solche Muster des After-Komischen, deren ganzer komischer Witz grössten Theils in Ausbrütung alberner neuer Wörter, in armseligen Wortspielen und seltsamen Antithesen bestehet, und wenn auch hier und da ein Zug wahrer komischer Laune durchschimmert, so ist er doch in einem solchen Schwalle von nichts bedeutenden Gedanken und Ausdrücken ersäuft, dass er wahrlich nicht die Mühe des Aufsuchens belohnt. ... Und doch hat man erst noch in den neuesten Zeiten den Fischart für ein wahres komisches Genie ausgeben wollen.[2]

The main point in the discussion emerges clearly from these two statements. It concerned not the concept of humour but of style. It is against this background of linguistic discussion, especially on the use of neologisms and of obsolete vocabulary, that the rôle of Fischart's writings in eighteenth-century German literature must be appraised.

Bode was aware of the difficulties arising both for himself and his readers from a translation based on the

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[1] Op. cit., p. 344.

[2] Ueber den Deutschen Styl, II, Berlin 1787, p. 246 f.

recognition of the Rabelaisian tradition behind Tristram Shandy:

> Ich bitte dabey, (ernsthaft) zu bedenken, dass es nicht leicht ist, von einem Autor, wie Sterne oder Rabelais, eine solche Uebersetzung zu machen, wie die, von dem letzten unter dem Titel, Affentheuerliche, Naupengeheuerliche Geschichtsklitterung von Thaten und Rathen ... . [Es] kann auch bey den Worten, welche, (Dank sey es dem ausserordentlich engen Schnürleibe, welches unsre Büchersprache seit einiger Zeit, zur Nachahmung unserer vorahmenden Nachbarinn, beständig Nacht und Tag zu tragen beliebt,) nicht, oder nicht allenthalben bekannt genug seyn möchten, Frisch Teutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch dem Leser gute Dienste leisten, wie es mir bey der Uebersetzung wirklich Beystand geleistet hat.[1]

Bode was fully conscious of the fact that the intended translation of Tristram Shandy meant a tour de force for the German language; yet he was determined to undertake it in order to loosen the "tight corset" that it still wore. The strength of his linguistic commitment, to which he subordinated his obligations towards his readers, is indicated in the second half of the quotation when, rather than sacrifice a rare but suitable expression, he suggests their using Frisch's dictionary.[2] The suggestion was eccentric, but perfectly serious. Its implications will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[1] "Notdürftiges Vorbringen des Uebersetzers", pp. iii/viii.

[2] J.L. Frisch, Teutsch-lateinisches Wörter-Buch, Berlin 1741. It contained a large number of obsolete and technical words and was a favourite among the few dictionaries which Bode used for his work (cf. Böttiger, op. cit., pp. 106 f. and chapter VI, pp. 144 f.).

Bode's concern for style makes it plain that he did not belong to either of Zückert's or Frénais' theoretical camps. Underlying his approach as translator was a general respect for the original text and therefore the determination to adhere to it closely. Breitinger had been the first to demand close adherence in translation. In the Fortsetzung der Critischen Dichtkunst he wrote:

> Von einem Uebersetzer wird erfodert, dass er eben dieselben Begriffe und Gedancken, die er in einem trefflichen Muster vor sich findet, in eben solcher Ordnung, Verbindung, Zusammenhange, und mit gleich so starckem Nachdrucke, mit andern gleichgültigen bey einem Volck angenommenen, gebräuchlichen und bekannten Zeichen ausdrükke, so dass die Vorstellung der Gedanken unter beyderley Zeichen einen gleichen Eindruck auf das Gemüthe des Lesers mache. Die Uebersetzung ist ein Conterfey, das desto mehr Lob verdienet, je ähnlicher es ist. Darum muss ein Uebersetzer sich selber das harte Gesetze vorschreiben, dass er niemahls die Freyheit nehmen wolle, von der Grundschrift, weder in Ansehung der Gedancken noch in der Form und Art derselben, abzuweichen. Diese müssen in einem gleichen Grade des Lichtes und der Stärcke unverändert bleiben, und nur die Zeichen derselben mit gleich viel geltenden verwechselt werden.[1]

The analysis of Tristram Schandi in the following chapters will illustrate Bode's attention to the humorous elements of the novel and their embodiment in its style. It might best be described as an awareness on Bode's part of a "spirit which animates the whole"[2] for it was Bode's

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[1] Critische Dichtkunst, Zurich 1740, II, p. 139.

[2] J. Dryden, Preface to Poems from Sylvae (1685), in: The Poems of John Dryden, Oxford 1958, I, p. 391.

intention to produce not merely the "Conterfey" which Breitinger had asked for but also to re-create the feeling of the original text.

We do not know if Bode explicitly followed any particular school of thought in his ideas on translation. During his years in Hamburg he had become a close friend of J.A. Ebert, the celebrated translator of E. Young's Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality (1754) and we may well assume that an exchange of ideas took place between them.[1] Bode's approach as a translator came close to Ebert's principles:

> Ein Übersetzer ... muss gleichsam unter den Augen seines Originals arbeiten, und mit allen Gedanken und Ausdrücken desselben, als mit fremden Gütern gewissenhaft umgehen, dass er sich, wegen ihres Gebrauchs, vor jenem verantworten könnte, wenn er ihm zur Rechenschaft zöge. Aus dieser Ursache muss er auch eben so wenig zu ängstlich als zu sicher und nachlässig seyn, weil er dadurch alles Feuer der Urschrift auslöschen würde. Er muss mit seinem Originale ringen..., und durch eine Art von Wunderwerk selbst ein Original zu werden, und doch dabey Übersetzer zu bleiben wissen. Mit einem Worte, er muss so übersetzen, wie der Autor, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, sich selbst übersetzen würde, wenn er die andre Sprache so gut, wie seine eigne, verstünde.[2]

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[1] Their correspondence has not been published (see list of manuscripts ~~in the bibliography~~).

[2] Preface to Der nicht fabelhafte Centaur, in: Übersetzungen einiger poetischen und prosaischen Werke der besten englischen Schriftsteller, II, 3, Braunschweig/Hildesheim 1754, pp. 12 f. There is no copy in the British Museum and I am quoting from H. Knufmann, "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer - und Herausgebervorreden", in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, IX, 2 (1968), cols.516 f.

The concept of translation as a creative art had been engendered by the modern philosophy of language, which had brought an increasing understanding of the unique character of individual languages and individual works of art.[1] This concept was ultimately based on Diderot's and Hamann's recognition that no translation can render fully all individual aspects of an original.[2] Herder demanded a "schöpferisches Genie" for the ideal translation, for only he can "seinem Original und seiner Sprache ein gnüge thun."[3]

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[2] D. Diderot, "Lettre sur les sourds et muets" (1751), in: Oeuvres, ed. J.A. Naigeon, Paris 1798, II, pp. 322 f.; J.G. Hamann, "Kreuzzüge des Philologen" (1762), in Sämtliche Werke, ed. J. Nadler, II, p. 199 especially.

[1] Cf. E. Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Berlin 1923, pp. 80 ff. Also R. Kloepfer, op.cit.) pp. 44 ff.

[3] Sämmtliche Werke, I, p. 178.

V

ASPECTS OF BODE'S TRANSLATION OF TRISTRAM SHANDY

Wieland was delighted on hearing that Bode was engaged on a translation of Tristram Shandy, but he gave him the following piece of advice:

> Aber diess bin ich beynahe gewiss, wenn der neue Uebersetzer ... es unternehmen wollte, an Tristram Shandy zu thun was der Autor selbst hätte thun sollen, und wenigstens nur die in den mittlern Theilen ziemlich häufigen Stellen, wo Sterne mit einer Nachlässigkeit, der nichts gleich ist, seine Leser von Parenthese in Parenthese mit sich fortschleppt, ohne dass er am Ende selbst weiss, was er haben wollte, - hier und da einige Cruditäten seines Witzes ... ohne weiters ausliesse: so ... (würde) Tristram Shandy ... durch eine solche Beschneidung im Ganzen unendlich viel gewinnen.[1]

A comparison, however, of the English text with the translation, sentence by sentence, shows that Wieland's suggestion was not taken up. In not a single instance has the text been cut. Bode, unlike Zückert, took pains to render every ~~possible~~ phrase of the original.

With Bode's underlying principle of re-creating the original text in mind, I shall now look at his treatment

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[1] Der Teutsche Merkur, II, 3 (1773), p. 230. The review is quoted more fully in chapter III, p. 85.

of certain elements in Tristram Shandy:[1] firstly its setting, secondly its characterization and lastly its style. In each of these I shall try to show when and why Bode deviated from his English original. Bode's mistakes in language are of small interest here and will not be discussed. Their number is negligible and they were mostly corrected in the second edition of the translation, published by Bohn in 1776.

The importance of the English setting for an understanding of Tristram Shandy had been emphasized by Bode in his "Vorbericht" to the Empfindsame Reise (1768).[2] This faced the translator with an immediate dilemma: how to preserve the English scene without mystifying the German reader. Local colour was essential to the authentic character of the novel and Bode had to decide at every point whether or not his readers would grasp its connotations. To render the atmosphere of the setting and yet be intelligible, Bode's solution was to transpose all allusions or references to English life and culture that a German might fail to understand into their German equivalents.

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[1] Reference will ~~always~~ throughout be made to The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy, O.U.P. 1961, and to Tristram Schandis Leben und Meynungen, Hamburg 1774.

[2] See also chapter II, pp. 61 f. and chapter IV, pp.100.f.

It was the transposition or Germanization of the whole content that Gottsched had called for.[1] Later, however, it was to be sharply criticized by Herder in Briefe, den Charakter der Deutschen Sprache betreffend:

> Diese Verdeutschungsgabe durch eigne Zuthat ist nicht ausgestorben; ... zumal die humoristischen und Theaterschriftsteller der Ausländer haben es entgelten müssen. Verdeutscht mussten sie werden; dann wurden sie als Deutsche Originale gepriesen. Ein deutscher Bauer musste Sancho, der edle Held von Mancha ein Unsinniger werden; jetzt waren sie nationalisiret. So nehmen unsre Nachbarn das Wort nicht, wenn sie vom Francisiren, vom Anglisiren sprechen; und doch ist unsre Sprache und Denkart so biegsam, so gefällig, dass sie sich ohne gewaltsame Verrenkung jeder alten und neuen Sprache, so wie jedem Charakter derselben, fast unübertrefbar anschliesst, sobald nur Hände dasind, die sie anzufügen wissen, und die leichtsinnige Frechheit des deutschen 'Bessermachens' aus dem Spiel bleibet. Fast an allen Nationen haben wir uns, zu eignem Schaden, durch solche Nach-und Ueberstümpereien versündigt.[2]

Bode was not the kind of translator that Herder was criticizing. Normally the first step in Germanization was to translate the names of characters, especially when these had a meaning or illustrated some characteristic trait in their owners. In Tristram Schandi the names of the main characters are unchanged, although Dr. Slop, the most telling of them, could have been translated effectively. The most that Bode did was to give these names a German

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[1] See his introduction to the translation of Saint Evremond's comedy Les Operas, in: Die deutsche Schaubühne nach den Regeln und Exempeln der alten Griechen und Römer eingerichtet, II, Leipzig 1741, pp. 33-37.

[2] Sämmtliche Werke, XXIV, p. 392.

spelling as in Schandi for Shandy, Brigitte for Bridget. Yet he did not force this and the widow Wadman and uncle Toby retained their original form. As with characters so also with places, Bode left individual names unaltered so that to the German reader there could be no doubt about the English setting of the novel. While in that way preserving the basic scene, he took care to replace any allusion or reference to English life and culture which his readers would not have understood. The legends "Valentine and Orson" and "The Seven Champions of England" (p. 420) became "Der gehörnte Siegfried" and "Die sieben Heumonskinder" (6, 32, p. 132). Some ~~topical~~ topographical allusions were also replaced, as "at the market-cross" (p. 396) by "beym grossen Roland aufm Markte" (6, 14, p. 67). Such collective expressions as "Frank and John" (p. 200) or "Dolly" (p. 79) were turned as "Heinz und Kunz" (3, 34, p. 163) or "Trienchen" (2, 2, p. 16), and "Great Folks" (p. 16) as "grosse Hänse" (1, 9, p. 31). Bode's rendering showed a perfect discrimination between the persons and places whose names gave the authentic setting of the novel and had to be retained, and the peripheral or incidental elements that could be replaced, and indeed had to be if the right atmosphere was to be conveyed in German. This was in line with his set purpose as a

translator, to adhere closely to the text while re-creating as much as possible of the spirit and atmosphere of the original.

In the portrayal of character a rather greater independence can sometimes be observed. To reproduce the style of the less educated speakers, Bode employed ~~various~~ three techniques for which no real precedent can be found in the original, but which were particularly apt for reproducing vulgar speech, including typographical devices to simulate colloquial pronunciation, deliberate distortions of foreign words, and a picturesquely turned phraseology.

~~Most~~ The first two of these techniques can be illustrated by one of Trim's speeches in chapter 5 of Book 2 where Trim suggests to uncle Toby that they should move into the country in order to be able to exercise their hobby-horse more freely.

> If I durst presume, continued Trim, to give your Honour my advice, and speak my opinion in this matter. - Thou art welcome, Trim, quoth my uncle Toby - speak, -- speak what thou thinkest upon the subject, man, without fear. Why then, replied Trim, (not hanging his ears and scratching his head like a country-lout, but) stroking his hair back from his forehead, and standing erect as before his division, - I think, quoth Trim, advancing his left, which was his lame leg, a little forwards, - and pointing with his right hand open towards a map of Dunkirk, which was pinned against the hangings, -- I think, quoth Corporal Trim, with humble submission to your Honour's better judgment, - that these

A (not that is, Tristram himself nor the Shandies nor Yorick),

ravelins, bastions, curtins, and hornworks, make but a poor, contemptible, fiddle-faddle piece of work of it here upon paper, compared to what your Honour and I could make of it were we in the country by ourselves, and had but a rood, or a rood and a half of ground to do what we pleased with: As summer is coming on, continued Trim, your Honour might sit out of doors, and give me the nography - (Call it ichnography, quoth my uncle), -- of the town or citadel, your Honour was pleased to sit down before, -- and I will be shot by your Honour upon the glacis of it, if I did not fortify it to your Honour's mind -- I dare say thou would'st, Trim, quoth my uncle. - For if your Honour, continued the Corporal, could but mark me the polygon, with its exact lines and angles - That I could do very well, quoth my uncle. - I would begin with the fossé, and if your Honour could tell me the proper depth and breadth - I can to a hair's breadth, Trim, replied my uncle. - I would throw out the earth upon this hand towards the town for the scarp, - and on that hand towards the campaign for the counterscarp. - Very right, Trim, quoth my uncle Toby: -- And when I had sloped them to your mind, -- an' please your Honour, I would face the glacis, as the finest fortifications are done in Flanders, with sods,-- and as your Honour knows they should be, - and I would make the walls and parapets with sods too. - The best engineers call them gazons, Trim, said my uncle Toby.-- Whether they are gazons or sods, is not much matter, replied Trim; your Honour knows they are ten times beyond a facing either of brick or stone. -- I know they are, Trim, in some respects,-- quoth my uncle Toby, nodding his head; - for a cannon-ball enters into the gazon right onwards, without bringing any rubbish down with it, which might fill the fossé (as was the case at St. Nicolas's gate) and facilitate the passage over it. (pp. 87 f.)

Here is Bode's translation:

Wenn 'ch mich unterstehn dürfte, fuhr Trim fort, 'R Gnaden einen guten Rath zu geben, und meine Meynung zu sagen. - Das darf Er, Trim, sagte mein Oncle Toby; - sprech' Er - sag' Er, was er von der Sache denkt, ohne Furcht, guter Trim. Gut denn, versetzte

Trim (und liess nicht dabey die Ohren hängen, und krauete auch nicht in den Haaren, wie ein Bauerlimmel, sondern) strich sich die Haar von der Stirne zurück, und stand risch, wie vor seinem Rott. - Ich meyne, sagte Korporal Trim, und setzte den linken Fuss, welches der lahme war, ein wenig vorwärts, und zeigte mit der ofnen Hand nach einem Grundrisse von Dünkirchen, der mit Nadeln an der Tapete gesteckt war, - ich meyne, sagte Korporal Trim, ohn' Eur Gnaden ins Commando zu fallen, - dass die Ravalins da, Pasteyen, Cartinen, und Hornwerke nur ein armseeligs, jämmerlichs Stücke Klitterwerk aufn Papiere ist, gegen das, was Eur Gnaden und ich draus machen könnt'n, wenn wir so für uns aufn Lande wär'n und hätten nur ein'n viertel Morgen und ein halb Terreng, darmit wir mach'n könnten was wir wollten. Der Sommer ist vor der Thür, fuhr Trim fort, 'R Gnaden könnten darbey sitzen und geben mir die Nographie - (Ichnographie, muss Er sagen, fiel ihm mein Oncle ein) - von der Stadt oder Citerdell, wofür 'R Gnaden gern sitzen möchten, - und auf der Glazi, die ich selbst gemacht habe, sollen mich'R Gnaden harkebusiern lassen, wenn ichs nicht fortifziere, so gut als's Eur Gnaden wünschen mögen. - O das könnt' Er wohl, sagte mein Oncle. - Denn wenn 'R Gnaden, fuhr der Korporal fort, mir nur das Polygone mit allen Spitzen und Linien angeben können - das kann ich recht gut, sagte mein Oncle - so wollt 'ch mit der Vosseh anfangen, und wenn 'R Gnaden mir die gehörige Tiefe und Breite geben könnten - auf ein Haar kann ich das, sagte mein Oncle - so wollte ich die Erd' nach dieser Hand, gegen die Stadt zu aufwerfen, und machte draus die Scharpe - und nach jener Hand gegens Feld zu, zur Cunterscharpe. - Ganz richtig, Trim, sagte mein Oncle Toby. - Und wenn 'chs ausgetieft hätt, wies seyn sollte, so wollt 'ch mit Eur Gnaden Wohlnehmen, die Glazie überlegen, wie die feinsten Festungen in Flandern, mit Grassoden; wie 'R Gnaden wissen, dass sie seyn sollten, - und die Wälle und Parepetts wollt' ich auch mit Soden machen. - Die besten Ingenieurs nennen es Wasen oder Rasen, Trim, sagte mein Oncle Toby. - Soden, Wasen oder Rasen, das will nicht viel thun, versetzte Trim, 'R Gnaden wiessen, sie sind zehnmal besser dazu, als Sand oder Mauersteine. - Ich weiss es, in gewissen Fällen sind sie's, - sagte mein Oncle Toby, und nickte

mit dem Kopfe; - denn eine Kanonenkugel geht durch die Rasen grade durch, ohne dass sie Kummer mit nimmt wodurch der Graben verschüttet werden kann, (wie es vor dem St. Nicholasthore ging) und man desto leichter überkommen kann. (2, 5, pp. 38 ff.)

At first sight Bode's translation seems to keep very closely to the text; at a second glance, however, two features spring to the eye which are not present in the original: the typographical devices and the distortions of foreign words. Sterne, apart from one instance when he puts the apocopated "an' please your Honour" (l.39), relies solely on rhythm and choice of word to indicate spoken language. Bode, in the attempt to reproduce the sound of speech, fills his page with apostrophes, apocopes and elisions. Sterne's only hint that the technicalities of fortification might overstrain Trim's vocabulary and pronunciation is to make him refer once to "nography" (l.23). In Bode's rendering, Trim's inability undermines every foreign word that occurs in the passage, - the "Ravalins" [Ravalinen] (l.16), "Pasteyen" [Basteien] (l.17), and "Cartinen" [Kurtinen] (l.17), the "Terreng" [Terrain] (l. 22), "Citerdell" [Zitadelle] (l.26), "Vosseh" [Fosse] (l.35), "Scharpe" [Escarpe] (l.39), and "Kunterscharpe" [Contre-escarpe] (l.40), "Glazie" [Glacis] (l.43), and "Parepetts" [Parapets] (l.46).

Although Bode's version of Trim's speech is basically in keeping with the character as Sterne created it, the effect is different. By simulating Trim's actual pronunciation Bode has in effect dramatized the speech[1] and enhanced its comic impact. He employs the same techniques in reproducing the speech of Susannah, Bridget and Obadiah. Zückert would have made no attempt to vivify such scenes.[2] Bode's rendering of English plays was renowned for his free adaptation of their substance and setting to the German scene and liberal use of the linguistic resources of Low German comedy.[3] It looks as if the stage-like quality of the speeches in Tristram Shandy may have led Bode into

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[1] The device is also used effectively to render the excitement of the Strasbourg crowds after the stranger and his nose have left the town. Sterne indicates this merely by rhythm: "...the city was like a swarm of bees—men, women, and children (the Compline bells tinkling all the time) flying here and there - ... did you see it? did you see it? did you see it? O! did you see it? - who saw it? who did see it? for mercy's sake, who saw it?" (p. 227). Bode's rendering: "Die Stadt glich einem Bienenschwarme - Männer, Weiber und Kinder (die Vesperglocken bimmelten immer fort) flogen hierhin, dorthin ... haben's g'sehn? haben's g'sehn? haben's g'sehn? O! haben's g'sehn? —Wer sah sie? wer that sie sehn? - ums Himmelswillen! that's niemand sehn?" (4, p. 24).

[2] In the rendering of Trim's speech (I, pp. 130-32) neither typographical devices nor corruptions of foreign words occur.

[3] These features are especially noticeable in Die eifersüchtige Ehefrau (1762) and Der Westindier (1772). See also chapter I, pp. 30; 37.

the style he had developed

resuming his attitude as a translator of plays.

The third
~~A last~~ device employed by Bode to achieve a vigorous rendering of character was the use of a picturesque language. Sterne bestowed on Trim a hearty style of speech: in his version Bode sometimes surpasses the original, either drawing on current idiomatic imagery, or coining phrases of his own. Thus, Trim describes "two virtuous lads with hearts as warm in their bodies, and as honest as God could make them" (p. 249); the image is extended in Bode's rendering: "zwey so brave Jungens..., die ein so warm und schön Herz hatten, als sie aus Gotts Backofen kommen können" (4, 4, p. 86). Similarly, Trim's defiant exclamation "we know not/what it is to fear death." (p. 386) is replaced by "so lachen wir dem Tod' in'n Bart hinein!" (5, 40, p. 153). These phrases, newly coined by Bode, have a finely idiomatic flavour. Current idioms also occur in descriptions of Trim's personality. "The fellow loved to advise" (p. 87) becomes: "Der Kerl mochte gerne seinen Senf mit wozu geben" (2, 5, p. 37).

This heightened comedy of the less educated characters by means of dramatization and the use of a picturesque language may be regarded as peculiar to Bode. It seems as if the translator was carried away by an impulse like that which led him, as suggested in chapter IV, to add footnotes

a certain

to Tristram Schandi.[1]

By far the most interesting aspect of Bode's translation is his treatment of Sterne's style. Bode's momentous realization of the Rabelaisian echoes in Tristram Shandy bore fruit in his reproduction of its exuberant verbal catalogues and parallel groupings of words. Realizing that the impact of such passages depended on an overall sound effect rather than on the meaning of individual words, his translations were as free as necessary to achieve a similar result.

> "for what hindrance, hurt, or harm doth the laudable desire of knowledge bring to any man, if even from a sot, a pot, a fool, a stool, a wintermitten, a truckle for a pully, the lid of a goldsmith's crucible, an oil bottle, an old slipper, or a cane chair?" (p. 179)

This catalogue, in fact a quotation from Ozell (III, 6, p. 99),[2] is reproduced as follows:

> "Denn, was für Schaden, Nachtheil oder Hinderniss kann die löbliche Begierde nach Wissen einem Manne bringen, ob hergenommen von einem Narren oder Karren, von einen Gecken oder Hinterflecken,[3] einem Fausthandschuh, einem Windekloben, einem Schmelztiegeldeckel, einer Oelbulle, einem alten Socken, einem geflochtnen Rohrstuhle" (3, pp. 106 f.).

Although neither Karren nor Hinterflecken expresses the meaning of the English, each serves to reproduce the internal

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[1] See pp. 102 f.

[2] See also chapter III, p. 84.

[3] My underlining.

rhyme of the original. Zückert, translating the meaning of each individual word, misses the stylistic effect of this and other such passages:

> ... denn was entstehet jemanden in der löblichen Wissensbegierde vor Hindernis oder Schaden, sogar von einem Dummbart, einem Topf, einem Narren, Stuhl, Winterhandschuh, einem Rollrad, einem Deckel zum Schmeltztiegel, einem Ölkrug, einem alten Pantoffel, oder einem rohrenen Lehnstuhl. (I, pp. 271 f.)

In the case of Sterne's parallel groupings of words Bode also successfully reproduced the jingles. In the following example, which was influenced by Rabelais (cf. Özell, I, 40, p. 317),[1] assonance is rendered by assonance:

> ... which, ..., was the undoing of the child, inasmuch as his nose was so snubbed, so rebuffed, so rebated, and so refrigerated ... (p. 211).

> ... welches, ..., dem Kinde sehr übel bekäme, indem seine Nase dadurch so geschnellt, geprellt, beschnippset und geknippset[2] würde ... (3, 38, pp. 189 f.)

But it was not always possible for Bode to render alliteration by alliteration or assonance by assonance, so that one had to be substituted for the other. One example, also influenced by Rabelais (cf. Ozell, III, pp. viii f.), may serve.

> ... you might have rumpled and crumpled, and doubled and creased, and fretted and fridged the outside of them all (the jerkins) to pieces; ... (p. 145).

> Man möchte das Oberzeug (der Brustwämse) zerknollt und zerknickt, und zerwickelt und zerkrickelt, und zerhudelt und zerprudelt[3] haben; ... (3, 4, p. 13).

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[1] See also chapter III, p. 84.

2 My underlining.

3 My underlining.

Such play with the sound of words came easily to Bode and even plain verbal catalogues were sometimes enlivened by alliteration or assonance. The following, which can also be traced back to Rabelais (cf. Ozell, I, 40, p. 317)[1] is an example:

> ... the nose was comforted, nourished, plumped up, refreshed, refocillated, and set a-growing for ever. (p. 211)
>
> ... die Nase ... (würde) gehegt, gefegt, gestärkt, genährt,[2] gesteifet, gemästet, und zum beständigen Wachsthume gebracht. (3, 38, p. 190)

For the same reason Bode also often adopted assonant or alliterated doublets to represent single verbs, adjectives or adverbs. The following may serve as examples:

A verb:

> ... side way and long way, have they been trimming it (the jerkin) for me ... (p. 146)
>
> ... in die Länge und in die Quere haben sie's (das Brustwams) mir zerreckt und zerfetzt[3] ... (3, 4, p. 14)

An adjective:

> ... I shall not be at all nice in the choice of my words ... (p. 307)
>
> ...ich werde über den Ausdruck gar nicht lange kühren und kiesen.[4] (4, 32, p. 223)

An adverb:

> ... all went on heavily ... (p. 424)
>
> ... es ging damit nur schlaff schläfrig[5] her. (6, 35, p. 145)

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[1] See also chapter III, p. 84.
2 My underlining.
3 My underlining.
4 My underlining.
5 My underlining.

One might have expected Bode to make use of the Geschichtklitterung for those passages which Sterne had taken over directly from Rabelais, but although Bode refers in his preface to the posthumous edition of the Geschichtklitterung of 1794 (see p.lol)[1] there is no evidence that he made use of it. He always chose his own words for the rendering of such passages.[2] But the manner in which he adopted and amplified Sterne's play on words in the tradition of Rabelais shows his debt to Fischart.

[1] A copy of this edition is in the Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek at Göttingen. (Shelfmark: Fab.Rom.III 2671)

[2] See Ozell, I, 35, pp.293-96; I,4o,p.317. Sterne, 355 f.; 211. Fischart (ed. A. Alsleben, in: Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke ..., no.65-71, Halle 1891), 38, pp.363 ff.; 43, p.394. Bode, 5, 29, pp. 117 ff.; 3, 38, pp.189 f. (A look at the glossary to the new edition of the Geschichtklitterung of 1963 by Ute Nyssen shows that there was hardly any direct influence on Bode's choice of words in general, most of his vocabulary being of Low German origin (see word list, pp. 169 ff.). But his deliberate use of an obsolete vocabulary (see pp. 146 ff.) and forming of new words (see pp.161 ff.), is reminiscent of Fischart's style.)

These examples show Bode's extreme competence in imparting a Rabelaisian feeling to his text, quite in keeping with Sterne's own addiction to Rabelaisian modes of expression, which Bode (as shown in the previous chapter) was one of the first to recognize. His renderings of those passages in Tristram Shandy which were derived in one way or another from Rabelais show an easy mastery of the play on words which, in other places, he adopts as a principle of his own.

Bode's abilities were not confined to rendering the comic side of Sterne's style; he was just as successful with the sentimental aspects of the novel. In Book 2 chapter 12 there is a scene which shows uncle Toby too soft-hearted to retaliate upon a fly.

> - Go - says he, one day at dinner, to an overgrown one which had buzzed about his nose, and tormented him cruelly all dinner-time, - and which after infinite attempts, he had caught at last, as it flew by him; - I'll not hurt thee, says my uncle Toby, rising from his chair, and going across the room, with the fly in his hand, -- I'll not hurt a hair of thy head: - Go, says he, lifting up the sash, and opening his hand as he spoke, to let it escape; - go, poor devil, get thee gone, why should I hurt thee? - This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me. (p. 103)

It was this particular scene which supplied Bode's favourite story related in chapter I,[3] ridiculing the sentimental

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[3] p. 33.

movement and illustrating the fact that sentimental indulgence was not to his taste. However, Bode's personal views in no way affected his translation of the scene:

> "Geh" - sagt' er eines Tages beym Essen, zu einer hässlichen grossen Brummfliege, die ihm um der Nase gesummset, die ihn die ganze Mahlzeit über jämmerlich gequälet hatte, und die er endlich im Vorbeyfliegen haschte, - "ich will dir kein Leids thun," sagte mein Oncle Toby, stand von Stule auf und ging mit der Fliege in der Hand durchs Zimmer, - "ich will dir kein Haar kränken; - Geh, sagt' er," indem er das Fenster aufschob, und die Hand öfnete, wie er sprach, um sie fliegen zu lassen; - "Geh, armes Ding, mach' dass du wegkommst, warum sollt' ich dir Leids thun? - diese Welt hat Raum genug für dich und für mich." (2, 12, pp. 82 f.)

Bode's translation of this passage is strikingly readable.

Through the repetition of the relative pronoun <u>die</u> the first sentence is built up to the climax "endlich", after which the humorous impact of Toby's unexpectedly sympathetic words becomes the more effective. The tension of the English text has been preserved in the translation. The picturesque description of the fly, - "an over-grown one which had buzzed about his nose, and tormented him cruelly" is rendered with all its sensuous overtones as "(eine hässliche grosse) Brummfliege, die ihm um der Nase gesummset, die ihn ... jämmerlich gequälet hatte ...". In the rendering of Toby's words an effective independence is observed. "Poor devil" is translated as "armes Ding", and the

simplicity and warmth of Toby's character comes through fully in Bode's words: "Geh, armes Ding, mach' dass du wegkommst, warum sollt' ich dir Leids thun? - diese Welt hat Raum genug für dich und für mich."

This sensitive quality of Bode's translation, which does justice to rhythm, to sound, and to the subtle humour of Toby's words, becomes still more apparent in comparison with Zückert's version:

> Geh, - sagte er einsmals bey der Mahlzeit zu einer grossen Fliege, welche ihm auf der Nase spielte, und ihn während dem Essen mörderlich quälte, - nachdem er sie endlich ergriffen hatte. - Ich will dir nichts zu Leide thun, sagte mein Oncle, indem er von dem Stuhl aufstand, und in der Stube herumgieng, mit der Fliege in der Hand; ich will dir nicht ein Haar auf deinem Kopf kränken: - Geh, sagte er, indem er sie losliess; - Geh, armer Teufel, packe dich fort, warum sollte ich dir was thun? - Die Welt ist ja weit genug, sowohl mich als dich zu fassen. (I, p. 156)

Zückert spoils the climax of the first sentence by the disconnected "nachdem er sie ergriffen hatte". The clumsy impression is continued by the repetition of indem with the verb to render the present participle. Zückert's translation of Toby's words is literal but "armer Teufel" misses the sentimental overtone of the original. His failure shows that to render the passage was not quite so easy as Bode makes it seem. Bode's experience of translating A Sentimental Journey doubtless helped him to develop the suppleness achieved in the sentimental parts of Tristram Schandi.

The last point of style in Tristram Schandi with which I shall deal is its imagery. Bode's tendency to add a concrete imagery of his own, though most apparent in the speech of simple or uneducated characters, is not confined to that but runs right through the book. For instance, when Sterne prays for a pair of donkeys "Heaven be their comforter" (p. 373) his phrase is extended into "Der Himmel bescheer' ihnen Disteln die Fülle!" (6, 1, p. 4)

Bode's concrete imagery has excited extremes of praise and criticism. Credited by J. Wihan with a "packendere Komik" than was present in the original text,[1] he has lately been accused by P. Michelsen of vulgarity and clumsiness.[2] The number of concrete images in Tristram Schandi is indeed striking. But only a small proportion had their origin in the translator's personal humour. A closer analysis reveals two further reasons for ~~ihre~~ their use which have been overlooked by the critics. In both cases Bode was confronted with problems which could only be solved in the particular manner he chose.

The first problem was posed by Sterne's abstract images, impossible to render in German. The description

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[1] Johann Joachim Christoph Bode als Vermittler englischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland, (Prager deutsche Studien, III), Prague 1906, p. 79.

[2] Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, pp. 59 f.

of Dr. Slop's "sesquipedality of belly, which might have done honour to a serjeant ~~of~~ in the horse-guards" (p. 95) contained one of these. Zückert's literal translation "anderthalbfüssiger Bauch" (I, p. 144) is nonsense in German and not funny; it shows that close adherence was the wrong approach. Bode's solution was to replace the abstract image by a concrete one: "(eine) Janitscharentrommel vom Bauche, worauf sich ein Feldwebel unter der Reitergarde nicht wenig hätte einbilden können" (2, 9, p. 62). His new image fitted perfectly into the military context. The original image and its substitute differ in their stylistic effect; but sheer linguistic necessity forced the abstract wit of the English into the concrete humour of the German, and the translation may be regarded as perfect.

The second problem lay in the subtle overtones in Sterne's use of language. Here, it was familiar idiomatic German, with its rich resources of concrete imagery, which provided Bode with the solution he required. Not only did the use of familiar German idioms give his renderings a natural ease, but their connotative range effectively conveyed both the subtler overtones of individual phrases and the sense of the passages in which they occur. "La Rebours and La Fosseuse knew better" (p. 316) is rendered with all the innuendo of the context by the idiom: "La Rebours und

La Fosseuse wussten wo Barthel Most hohlt!" (5, 1, p. 11). The ironical "so many fine heads have been turned and cracked" (p. 170) is translated as "so mancher feine Kopf (ist) vor die Hunde gegangen" (3, 18, p. 79). The humorous interjection "in plain truth" (p. 27) becomes "um das Kind beym rechten Namen zu nennen", (1, 12, p. 62) and, similarly, "the upshot of [something]" (p. 21) "das Ende vom Liede" (1, 10, p. 45).

We have now discussed Bode's treatment of the setting of Tristram Shandy, his characterization, and some features of his style. We have concluded that, as far as setting is concerned, he succeeded in preserving the authentic character of the novel in its essentials and that, if some incidental elements were Germanized, this was all in the attempt, which succeeded, to preserve the atmosphere. It was only in the rendering of character that Bode took some liberties. His differentiation of speech between educated and uneducated characters is more pronounced than Sterne's. In his handling of style, however, Bode again followed his own principle of close translation. Here, the initial aim he announced in the preface to Tristram Schandi, was fulfilled. He recognized the passages indebted to Rabelais' rhetoric and reproduced them accordingly. But his understanding of Sterne's style was not limited to its Rabelaisian aspects:

it embraced the sentimental strain as well. In the rendering of imagery some deviations were forced upon him. He clearly possessed a personal preference for a concrete imagery of his own, most noticeable in the rendering of simpler characters. The main reason for his deviation, however, lay in the stylistic difficulties of the original, its abstract wit and the subtleties of its particular humour. The ease with which Bode succeeded in adapting the vocabulary of concrete imagery to meet these difficulties is indeed surprising. The reason for his success lay in the essentially idiomatic character of so much of that vocabulary. Here, as well as in his effort to reproduce Sterne's elaborate play on words, Bode made a real contribution to the German language of humour.[1]

We may conclude that Bode remained throughout as faithful as was possible to his principles of conservative translation. His perception of the novel's style was matched by the competence with which he conveyed it in German. But the subtleties peculiar to Sterne's language could not all be conveyed in the German of that time. Inevitably, too, the strong personality of the translator infused itself into parts of the text. J.G. Gellius has

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[1] See below chapter VII, pp. 246ff.

aptly described the natural limitations inherent in any translation however faithful in intention or sympathetic in understanding. His words sum up succinctly Bode's Tristram Schandi:

> Die guten Übersetzungen, ... , will ich mit geschickten, aber verlarvten Acteurs vergleichen ... Sie haben ein Leben, sie treffen den Ton und die Stellung; zugleich aber mischen sie ihre eignen Gebärdungen in die Rolle. Zuweilen iedoch wissen sie sich so geschickt zu spielen, dass, wer das Urbild nicht genau kennt, darauf schwören sollte, er sähe es selbst vor sich.[1]

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[1] Anmerkungen zum Gebrauche deutscher Kunstrichter. Nebst einigen andern Wahrheiten, [s.l.], 1762, pp. 12 f. There is no copy in the British Museum and I am quoting from H. Knufmann, "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer-und Herausgebervorreden," in: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, IX, 2 (1968), col. 519.

VI

ASPECTS OF THE VOCABULARY IN BODE'S TRANSLATION OF TRISTRAM SHANDY

1. Analysis

Bode's translation of Tristram Shandy aroused the admiration of his contemporaries both for its refinement and enrichment of the German language as well as for its faithful rendering of the English text;[1] but in 1801 J.L. Benzler published a new translation of the work with the title: Tristram Schandy's Leben und Meinungen, von neuem verdeutscht.[2] In the preface, Bode was accused of a lack of literary taste and sensitivity and of having failed to convey the suppleness of Sterne's style. Benzler argued that a vulgar and jovial tone, resulting from an excessive use of idioms and dialect words, prevailed throughout the translation, regardless of whether or not it corresponded to the style of the original text:

> [Bode] übersetzt ... nicht selten äusserst geschmacklos, so wie er den guten Geschmack fast immer dadurch beleidigt, dass er, statt, wie sein Original, die Farbe des Stils dem jedesmaligen Inhalt und Gegenstande anzupassen,

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[1] See Wieland's panegyric review in Der Teutsche Merkur, VIII, 3 (1774), pp. 247-51, which is quoted in chapter II, p. 73.

[2] Published in Leipzig. There is a copy in the British Museum.

> Allem, oft selbst den ernsthaftesten, edelsten, erhabensten Gedanken und Empfindungen, einen Anstrich von Laune und Komischen zu geben sucht, wodurch der ganze Effekt zerstört wird.[1]

Benzler's criticism, however, did not have the support of the public. The Zeitung für die elegante Welt[2] wrote: "Er [Bode] gab ihn [Tristram Schandi] hochdeutsch uns zu aller Welt Ergötzen;/ will man ihn nun in platt [!] Deutsch übersetzen?" Benzler replied with a witty pun: "Er gab ihn plattdeutsch [!] uns; zu aller Welt Ergetzen/ will man ihn nun in hochdeutsch übersetzen."[3] Other reviews of Benzler's translation[4] were no more favourable, and give eloquent proof of how popular Bode's rendering still was at the time. In 1962 the criticism was taken up again by P. Michelsen who referred to Benzler's attacks as "berechtigt".[5] But Michelsen went further, stating that the reason for the popularity of Bode's translation

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[1] Op. cit., pp. xi f.

[2] No.28 (1801), p. 224. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[3] In: Hamburgischer Unpartheyischer Correspondent, No. 92, 10 June, 1801. There is no copy in the British Museum and I am quoting from P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen, 1962, p. 67.

[4] See Neue Allg. Dt. Bibl., LXXIII, 1 (1802), pp. 75-81; LXXIX, 2 (1803), pp. 371-77; LXXXII, 1 (1803), pp. 199 f.

[5] Op. cit., p. 66.

lay in its vulgarity, because this reflected the common interpretation of Tristram Shandy during the height of the Sturm und Drang period in the 1770's.[1] He argued that the success of Bode's inadequate rendering was due to a nation-wide error of judgment:

> Bode besitzt zweifellos eine sehr eigenwillige sprachliche Ausdruckskraft: der Irrtum der Zeit war es, zu glauben, es sei die gleiche oder jedenfalls eine ähnliche wie die Sternes ... Aber was man für die Eigenart Sternes hielt, war die Bodes, die zwar gewisse Sterne-Züge angenommen hatte, aber dadurch erst recht zu sich selbst gekommen war; sie unterscheidet sich eindeutig von Yoricks Stilhaltung.[2]

In view of Benzler's and Michelsen's criticism it is surprising that the controversial vocabulary of Tristram Schandi has never been analysed. Both critics were subjective in their approach and considered neither Bode's principles of translation and his intentions, nor the linguistic situation of the time.[3] The studies on Bode's other translations by J. Wihan[4] and H. Krieg[5] took

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[1] Op. cit., p. 64.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 54 ff.

[3] Michelsen (p. 59) only very briefly mentions the possibility that the German language may in fact not have been ready to convey the elegance of Sterne's style, but in his analysis he does not draw any conclusions from this: "Mag sein, dass die damalige deutsche Sprache der formvollendeten Transparenz des Sterneschen Englisch überhaupt nicht gewachsen war".

[4] Bode als Vermittler englischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland, (Prager deutsche Studien, III), Prague 1906.

[5] J.J.Chr. Bode als Übersetzer des Tom Jones von H. Fielding, doctoral dissertation, Greifswald 1909.

neither of these aspects into account.[1] It has been shown in the preceding chapters that Bode's interpretation of Tristram Shandy, his principle of close adherence to the original and his competence in reproducing even the subtler effects of Sterne's style were all ideal prerequisites for a rendering of the novel. This invalidates the argument that Bode misunderstood the book. Both Benzler and Michelsen failed to notice Bode's firm intention to set out on a "philological crusade" and to use a rare, old or otherwise unusual vocabulary.[2] His aim was to render fully the original text and at the same time to loosen the "enge Schnürbrust" which still constricted the German language.[3]

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[1] Only Wihan understands the historical situation: "Seine [Bodes] Rücksichtnahme auf die Mundarten bildete einen gesunden Rückschlag gegen Gottscheds Bestrebungen, die reine obersächsische Sprache als allgemeine Schriftsprache einzuführen. Er kann hierin mit Justus Möser verglichen werden ..." (p. 193). But on the whole Wihan's study remains very much on the surface and does not deal with the vocabulary in any detail. He does mention, however, that the translation was full of a "Rabelaisian spirit" (p. 75). Another doctoral dissertation by A. Wood, Einfluss Fieldings auf die deutsche Literatur, Heidelberg 1895, was available neither in England nor in Germany.

[2] See Bode's preface to the translation, the relevant passage being quoted in full in chapter IV, p. 111.

[3] Loc. cit.

The stylistically controversial vocabulary which was used in Bode's translation consists of four main groups:

a) obsolete words and expressions;

b) dialect words, comprising colloquial elements;

c) neologisms, comprising loan translations and loan formations from the English;

d) loan words and ~~semantic~~ sense- loans from the English.

These words and expressions were either unusual or new in 1774 and constituted the stylistic element which was later attacked by L. Benzler and P. Michelsen.

At the time when Tristram Schandi was published strong views were held by the critics concerning the stylistic value of obsolete words, dialect forms and neologisms. In the Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der hochdeutschen Mundart (1774-86) it was one of Adelung's principal aims[1] to fix once and for all the stylistic use of a word and for this purpose words were divided into five categories. Adelung explained his ideas in the preface to his dictionary:

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[1] For a discussion of Adelung's sources and ideas see also M. Müller, Wortkritik und Sprachbereicherung in Adelungs Wörterbuch, Berlin 1903.

> Eines der vornehmsten Bedürfnisse schien mir die Bemerkung der Würde, nicht bloss der Wörter, sondern ganzer Redensarten zu seyn; ein Umstand, dessen Versäumung den Nutzen so vieler andern Wörterbücher gar sehr einschränket. Ich habe zu dem Ende fünf Classen angenommen; 1. die höhere oder erhabene Schreibart; 2. die edle; 3. die Sprechart des gemeinen Lebens und vertraulichen Umganges; 4. die niedrige, und 5. die ganz pöbelhafte.[1]

In Adelung's view obsolete, dialectal and loan words as well as neologisms belonged to the third, fourth and fifth categories. Adelung referred to all these forms as Barbarismen and allowed them a place only in low comedy, the "niedrig Komische". In discussing such barbarisms he demanded the greatest caution in the formation of new words in humorous contexts[2] (see also the section Neologisms, pp. 161f.).

The integration of many such barbarisms into the literary language, however, was advocated in Campe's dictionary (1807-11) and Adelung's classification was explicitly criticized in Grimms' Wörterbuch: "Die sprache überhaupt in eine erhabne, edle, trauliche, niedrige und pöbelhafte zu unterscheiden, taugt nicht, und Adelung hat damit vielen wörtern falsche gewichte angehängt."[3] It

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[1] Wörterbuch, I, 1774, p. xiv.

[2] "Von dem komischen Style", in: Ueber den Deutschen Styl, II, Berlin 1787, pp. 245-48 especially.

[3] Deutsches Wörterbuch, I, Leipzig 1854, col. xxxii.

seems surprising therefore that both Benzler's and Michelsen's criticism of the vocabulary should still reflect Adelung's critical attitude. In its rigidity it can only serve as a contemporary background against which one may assess historically the style of the translation.

On the following pages the controversial vocabulary of Tristram Schandi will be scrutinized under two aspects: Firstly, within the linguistic context of the time, and secondly as a reflection on Bode's method of translating. Consideration will only be given to those words for which evidence can be established that Bode was the first to introduce, revive or coin them.

For the purpose of this thesis the historical analysis of the vocabulary is based on dictionaries only. Lexicographical attestation is taken as sufficient evidence for the use of a particular word in a particular meaning at a certain time and place.[1] The consultation of primary sources lies outside the scope of this study. All statements about the first introduction, and the revival or the new formation of a particular word will be made on this limited basis.

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[1] "Ein lexikalischer Beleg ist ein Zeugnis über das Vorkommen eines Wortes zu bestimmter Zeit an bestimmtem Orte in bestimmter Bedeutung. Auf die drei Fragen nach Zeit, Ort und Bedeutung gibt der Beleg gewissermassen passiv, durch seine blosse Existenz, Auskunft." A. Götze, in: ZfdW, II (1902), p. 277.

In the choice of eighteenth-century dictionaries, restriction to the major ones has been found necessary. They were chosen in such a way that an adequate picture of the use of a word during the 1770's could be gained. After consulting the NED. and also Dr. Johnson's dictionary (1755) for the English original, the German translation, used by Bode, was checked in the following German and English-German dictionaries, arranged chronologically:[1] Stieler's Stammbaum (1691), Ludwig's Teutsch-Englisches Lexicon (1716), Bailey's English Dictionary (1736) translated by Th. Arnold and Arnold's Deutsch-Englisches Wörter-Buch (1739), Frisch's Teutsch-lateinisches Wörter-Buch (1741), Richey's Idioticon Hamburgense (1754),[2] Strodtmann's Idioticon Osnabrugense (1756), the Bremisches Wörterbuch (1767-71), Adelung's Kritisches Wörterbuch (1774-86), Dähnert's Platt-Deutsches Wörter-Buch (1781), Campe's Wörterbuch (1807-11), Grimms' Deutsches Wörterbuch (1854-1960), Schambach's Wörterbuch (1858), Heyne's Deutsches Wörterbuch (1890-95), Trübner's Deutsches Wörterbuch (1939-57), Paul's Deutsches Wörterbuch (1966).

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[1] Full titles are given in the bibliography.

[2] The first edition of 1743 is not available in this country; instead, the second edition, which is in the British Museum, was used.

Not included in this list are those dictionaries which were only consulted occasionally.

It is not known which dictionaries Bode himself used for the translation. Possibly he consulted both Ludwig's and Arnold-Bailey's dictionaries which are the only ones to list some rare usages which also occur in the translation (see word list: s.v. aufpflastern, Buckel). He certainly consulted Frisch's Wörter-Buch, his "old and inseparable companion"[1] as he also advised his readers to do in order to be able to follow the translation. Evidence for his use of Frisch can be found among the obsolete words especially (see word list: s.v. Calden, erschanzen, Kebse, Laure, neisen, Ruffian, tagdingen, as well as p. 151).[2] Böttiger[3] records that

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[1] A. Böttiger, "J.J.C. Bode's literarisches Leben," in: Michael Montaigne's Gedanken und Meinungen über allerley Gegenstande, VI, Vienna/Prague 1797, pp. 106 f.

[2] This may produce further proof for the direct influence of this dictionary, which includes a great deal of unusual linguistic material, on the language of the time. Its impact on the translation of Tristram Shandy can nevertheless be regarded as unique. (cf. also G. Powitz, Das deutsche Wörterbuch Johann Leonhard Frischs, Berlin 1959, p. 185: "... der Gesichtspunkt ... unter dem das Wörterbuch Frischs für das 18. Jahrhundert vorzugsweise wertvoll wurde: als Nachschlagewerk für das Verständnis des nicht gemeinsprachlichen, nämlich altertümlichen, mundartlichen und fachsprachlichen Wortgutes der deutschen Sprache. Ein Zeugnis dafür, dass das Werk in dieser Hinsicht selbst auf das literarische Schaffen einwirkte, findet sich in der Vorrede zu J.J.C. Bodes Übersetzung von Sternes 'Tristram Shandy'."

[3] Op. cit., p. 107.

Bode rarely consulted Adelung's dictionary for his work, and we may believe this, since only a limited number of the interesting words which occur in Tristram Schandi, are listed there (see word list: s.v. Bosselplatz, Lönse). Unfortunately Böttiger does not specify the titles of the dialect dictionaries which Bode "permanently kept by his side."[1] Evidence, however, points to Richey's Idioticon Hamburgense and the Bremisches Wörterbuch among others (see sections a, b and c of Dialectal Words). A large number of the obsolete and dialectal forms, listed by Frisch and the dialect dictionaries but not by Adelung, were later included by Campe, and Bode is among the authors from whose writings Campe quotes (word list: s.v. Flirtje, Vorsetze). The numerous instances where quotations from Bodes's translation of Tristram Shandy occur in Grimm DWb. will not be pointed out in all cases.

In the following sections, discussing obsolete and dialect words and phrases, neologisms and linguistic borrowings, the words analysed will be mentioned in the text as part of the argument. A word list, containing the quotations from both the English and German texts and a commentary will be found in the second part of this chapter. Words and expressions, however, which are

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[1] Loc. cit.

followed by page numbers in brackets, are not included in this list. Reference will always be made to the following editions: The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy, O.U.P., 1961 and Tristram Schandis Leben und Meynungen, Hamburg 1774.

Obsolete, Obsolescent and Archaic Words and Expressions

The use of an obsolete and archaic vocabulary was rigidly rejected by Adelung because he held the obsolescence of a word to be a process natural to the development of a language. With the advancement of manners and of taste the standard language, as used by educated people, became more refined and in a process of selection the superfluous, i.e. synonymous, and the vulgar, were eliminated.[1] Adelung believed that in practice obsolete words were never revived although he did admit the theoretical possibility.

> Aber, könnte man fragen, sollte man unter so vielen verwerflichen nicht auch manches gute und unsträfliche Wort aus Nachlässigkeit oder aus der zu manchen Zeiten so herrschenden Vorliebe zu den fremden Sprachen haben veralten lassen, dessen Wiederaufnahme nützlich und nothwendig seyn könnte? Die Frage lässt sich freylich nicht schlechterdings verneinen; ... Sollte man aber ja auf ein veraltetes Wort stossen, dessen Wiedererneuerung man für nothwendig oder nützlich halten sollte, so müsste man ... erst sorgfältig untersuchen, ob dieses Wort nicht eines von denen ist, welche die Sprache wegen ihrer Mängel mit Vorbedacht ausgestossen hat, und

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[1] Ueber den Deutschen Styl, I, pp. 98 f.

> ob man nicht schon ein Wort hat, welches den Begriff hinlänglich ausdrückt. Ein Nebenbegriff an dem veralteten Worte ist zur Wiederaufnahme nicht hinlänglich, wenn nicht erwiesen werden kann, dass er nicht allein edel und fruchtbar sondern auch nützlich oder nothwendig ist.[1]

The severity of Adelung's attitude was not only founded in his philosophical beliefs but must also be seen as an attack on the indulgence of the writers of the Sturm und Drang in the use of such "barbarisms".

As a means of enriching the vocabulary, however, especially when still enslaved to foreign influence, the cautious re-introduction and revival of useful old words had first been recommended by G.W. Leibniz in "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken"[2] and later by J.C. Gottsched.[3] The growing interest in the Middle High German literature and language, which had been initiated by J.J. Bodmer,[4] caused a shift of emphasis from the linguistic to a

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken, betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache", in: Beyträge zur Critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, I, 3 (1732), pp. 394 ff.

[3] Vollständigere und neuerläuterte deutsche Sprachkunst, Leipzig 1776, p. 64: "Aber viele, ja die meisten, (alten Worte) sind ohne ihre Schuld aus der Übung gekommen, und verdieneten es gar wohl, wider in Schwung gebracht zu werden."

[4] Bodmer's most important publications of Middle High German ~~literature~~ poetry are: Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts, Zurich 1748, and Sammlung von Minnesingern aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitpuncte, Zurich 1758/59. For the beginnings of Bodmer's interest in Middle High German literature see D. Knight, "J.J. Bodmer's Contribution to the Knowledge and Appreciation of Middle High German Literature," London M.A. Thesis, 1949.

predominantly aesthetic approach in regard to the revival of such words.[1] While the initial aim had been the enrichment of the present vocabulary and its liberation from foreign influence, the main purpose later was to achieve purely aesthetic results, especially in poetry. Writers of the Sturm und Drang movement subsequently made use of an obsolete vocabulary to create an illusion of historical authenticity as, for instance, in Götz von Berlichingen (1773).

These obsolete words were deliberately revived and often developed into fashionable archaisms of the time. Although Bode's employment of an obsolete vocabulary in Tristram Schandi was deliberate, as his preface has made clear, it never gives a laboured impression[2] because of the ease with which it is introduced. Two factors were responsible for this: a) the humorous character of Tristram Shandy which allowed for a more spontaneous handling of

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[1] For details see E.A. Blackall, The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, Cambridge 1959, especially pp. 296 ff.

[2] W. Kuhberg, Verschollenes Sprachgut und seine Wiederbelebung in neuhochdeutscher Zeit, (Frankfurter Quellen und Forschungen, IV), Frankfurt 1933, pp. 6 ff., appears to be the first to distinguish between an intentional and an unintentional revival, but without defining the latter. A distinction might be made by looking at the context of an obsolete or archaic expression which would explain the purpose of its use.

such words than any other context would have done and b) the fact that Bode often chose an obsolete word for its phonetic similarity to the English term he was translating. Examples of this are: Ammer (16th c.) for ember, Ruffian (ENHG.) for ruffian, Schanz 'chance' (MHG.) for chance, [kein] Spitzgen (16th c.) for no spicula.

The number of archaic words in Bode's translation of Tristram Shandy is negligible and among the words analysed only one occurs: spoliren. The old words chosen by Bode were obsolete and are more interesting to us. In order to determine whether a word was revived by Bode the following lexicographical criteria were applied: A word was held to have been revived by Bode in Tristram Schandi if a) the last example for its use given by Grimm DWb. and other dictionaries does not postdate the seventeenth century; b) Bode's example antedates the first one for a revival given by those dictionaries; c) Bode's example is given as the first for a revival; d) a word is listed by either Stieler (1691) or Frisch (1741) but not by Adelung (1774 ff.) and again by Campe (1807 ff.); e) a word is described as obsolete by Adelung.

The obsolete words in Tristram Schandi had mostly died out between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, but many might still have been found in occasional use during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Examples

are: Ammer for ember, Caball for horse, the spelling in Canefass for dimity, Ehehaften for family concernments, erschanzen 'to win in gambling' for to save [trouble], gesegnen for to prosper, Meister Hemmerling for devil, Kebse for whore, Laure for upon the catch, the spelling of lecken 'to leap, to bound', merken, used in the imperative and without an accusative object for to mark, Obmann for member of the jury, Raths werden for to consult, aufpflastern (see also p. 167) for to plaister up, Pflege 'habit' for indulgence, Ruffian for ruffian, Schanz 'chance' (see also p. 167) for chance, Schlafbett for bed to lie on, [kein] Spitzgen for no spicula, tagdingen for to sue, Zagel for tail.

~~[Words, forms and usages which are last attested in the seventeenth century. Examples are:~~

bissen 'to rut', Calden for tripes, Geniess 'profit', Kumpe for friend, Leichnam 'living body', Stübchen for gallon.

A number of words already mentioned were obsolete in the literary language of the time but were still used in the Low German and Upper German dialects. The following are examples: Ammer, bissen, Ehehaften, Kumpe, neisen 'to hate', Obmann, Stupf for prick. Or they were still used in the colloquial language such as gesegnen, Gespan for fellow-labourer (see also p. 168).

[Some words, forms and usages are last attested in the seventeenth century but may have survived longer. Examples are:

Among Bode's successful revivals are: Kebse, Schanz 'chance', tagdingen, Ruffian, Zagel, merken used in the imperative and without an accusative object, Schlafbett. The following may also be attributed to Bode: Ehehaften, Geniess, Gespan, Kumpe, lecken 'to leap, to bound', Obmann, Raths werden.

Bode showed great erudition in his choice of obsolete words and expressions, forms, spellings and constructions. The Middle High German words and forms of Kebse and tagdingen he may well have found in Frisch (1741) (see word list s.v.) but in the use of Pflege 'habit' and Schanz 'chance' and, possibly, aufpflastern 'to plaister up' (see also p. 167)a first-hand knowledge of some Middle High German texts comes into consideration. It is impossible to say which Middle High German texts Bode may have read. We do know, however, that he had read Fischart for his translation of Tristram Shandy and that, in later life, he read Hans Sachs whom he may already have known by 1774. Caball and the expression kein Spitz are both special uses of these authors. Some of the obsolete words in Tristram Schandi are only listed by Frisch and not in any of the eighteenth-century dictionaries which have been consulted; examples are: Calden, erschanzen 'to win in gambling', Kebse, Laure, neisen, Ruffian, tagdingen.

Despite the use of an obsolete vocabulary in Tristram Schandi the rendering of the English is always precise. Kebse stands for whore, tagdingen for to sue, Ammer for ember, Caball for horse, Calden for tripes, Stupf for prick. Modern equivalents for every one of these words were available and as the English text did not necessarily demand the employment of obsolete forms, it must be asked why Bode used them. Middle High German words like Kebse and tagdingen or the sixteenth-century words like Caball, Meister Hemmerling and seventeenth-century ones like Leichnam in the sense of the 'living body' were unexpected and therefore had a humorous effect. No other translation could have succeeded better in conveying the irony of the following sentence: "...(my father) had likewise ... brought some other little family concernments to the same period." Bode's version runs: "... so hatte er auch bereits ... gewisse andre kleine Ehehaften auf eben diese Termine gestellt." The obsolete judicial term Ehehaften renders adequately the understatement of the original.

Dialect Words and Colloquial Expressions

Leibniz in the "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken"[1] was the first to suggest the use of dialect words to enrich the German vocabulary.[2] Gottsched and his School also recognized the value of dialect studies, which were thought to contribute to the understanding of the history of the language:

> Es ist ... nicht übel gethan, wenn man ein Auge auf die Sprache des Pöbels, und auch wohl der Provinzial-Mundart richtet, wie verächtlich sie auch ist; indem man noch viele Ueberbleibsel der alten deutschen Wörter darinnen findet, und daraus der alten ... deutschen Sprache ein Licht anzünden kann.[3]

The use of such dialect words was regarded favourably by Gottsched only if they contributed to the expansion of the German vocabulary, i.e. if they could be proved to be necessary and to fill a gap.

Both Leibniz[4] and Gottsched demanded caution in the use of these words so that, while in theory they were admitted for the sake of enrichment, in practice their stylistic value was denied. Gottsched firmly rejected

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[1] In: Critische Beyträge, I, 3 (1732), pp. 369-411.

[2] For further details see K. Kaiser, Mundart und Schriftsprache, Leipzig 1930, pp. 71-75 especially.

[3] Critische Beyträge, V, 18 (1738), p. 274.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 396 ff.

the use of dialect forms because they lead to obscurity and could not be understood in more than one region of the country.[1] Furthermore, dialect forms and colloquialisms were considered a sign of low breeding and would appeal only to the unsophisticated sense of humour:

> (Die pöbelhafte Art des Ausdruckes) ... entsteht aus gemeinen Sprüchwörtern, abgeschmackten Gleichnissen, einfältigen Wortspielen und possirlichen Scherzreden, die Handwerkspurschen und Mägden ein Gelächter erwecken können. Mit einem Worte, alles, was unter dem tiefsten Pöbel in Schwange geht, ... das gehört hieher.[2]

Adelung rejected the use of dialect on much the same grounds as he had rejected the use of obsolete and archaic words. Both kinds of words were superfluous because they were either synonyms or vulgar, and therefore unnecessary in the educated language of the upper classes of Saxony.[3] As "barbarisms" dialect words were allowed a place only in low comedy.

The general style in Tristram Schandi is coloured by dialect of mostly low German origin. It was against this aspect of the translation that both Benzler's and

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[1] Ausführliche Redekunst, Leipzig 1750, especially section 13: "Von den Wörtern und Redensarten," pp. 264 ff. and section 15: "Von der Schreibart, ihren Fehlern und Tugenden", pp. 317 ff.

[2] Redekunst, 15, p. 339.

[3] Ueber den Deutschen Styl, I, pp. 102 f.

Michelsen's attacks had been directed. This criticism was not well founded. Only in a single instance does Michelsen[1] adduce lexicographical evidence when condemning Bode's use of the verb peckeln. "To souse into the middle of the old subject" is translated by Bode as "mitten in die alte Brühe peckeln". peckeln is the Low German equivalent of to souse and not, as suggested by Michelsen, a variation of pickeln, the iterative verb of picken. peckeln was here used in literary language first by Bode (see also p. 158).

Thus, apparent whimsicalities in Bode's choice of words reveal themselves as correct dialect usage and as exact translations from the English. Bode's biographer Böttiger used the phrase "niedersächsischen Provinzialausdrücken das Bürgerrecht in der teutschen Schriftsprache ertheilen" in connection with Bode's use of dialect in Humphry Klinker of which many forms later became indispensable.[2] The same can be said of the dialect words listed below.

When Adelung lists these dialect words they are described as belonging to his third, fourth and fifth categories, to the "Sprechart des gemeinen Lebens und

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[1] Op. cit., p. 58.

[2] Op. cit., p. 62.

vertraulichen Umganges", to the "niedrige" or to the "ganz pöbelhafte."[1] Yet in spite of this attitude Adelung is the first to have listed the following dialect words: Bosselplatz (LG.), Lönse (attested by Adelung only), and Schlipp-Ende (LG., attested by Adelung only). All three words were introduced by Bode into the literary language.

The majority of dialect words, however, are not given by Adelung but are found only in the Low German dialect dictionaries by Richey (1754), Strodtmann (1756), Dähnert (1781) or in Bremisches Wörterbuch (1767 ff.), all of which had been compiled when interest in the dialects, of despite the ban imposed on them by the Gottsched School, was growing rapidly. Many of those words which are given in dialect dictionaries but not by Adelung were included later by Campe (1807 ff.) and treated as fully integrated into the literary language of the time. His was a far more tolerant attitude towards the use of dialect and he advocated its integration into the literary language:

> Wir unterscheiden ... zweierlei Arten von landschaftlichen Wörtern, nämlich 1. solche, welche in die Schriftsprache entweder schon eingeführt worden sind, oder doch in dieselbe eingeführt zu werden verdienen; 2. solche, welche dieser Ehre aus irgend einer Ursache unwerth zu sein scheinen,

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[1] Wörterbuch, I, 1774, p. xiv.

von welchen aber dennoch diejenigen in dem Wörterbuche nicht fehlen dürfen, die irgendein bedeutender Schriftsteller zu gebrauchen für gut gefunden hat.[1]

In order to establish the lexicographical evidence for the introduction of a dialect word into the literary language the following six criteria were applied. A dialect word or expression is held to have been used first by Bode if a) it is attested by dialect dictionaries only; b) Grimm DWb. gives no examples of the literary use of the word; c) Bode's use antedates the first example in Grimm DWb.; d) it is given as the first example in Grimm DWb.; e) Adelung describes the term as a dialect word and no earlier literary examples than Bode's could be found; f) the word or expression is first given by Campe and Bode's use antedates any examples listed elsewhere.

a) Words and expressions which are not listed by any major dictionary but only by some dialect dictionaries where no examples are given. All of these are Low German: etwas zur Bathe geben for to boot, Buckel 'curl' for buckle, Fluren 'tiles' for floor, sich kretten for to fret, maddeln 'to torture, maltreat' (see also p. 160).

b) Low German words which, apart from dialect dictionaries, are also listed by Grimm DWb. but with no examples

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[1] Wörterbuch, I, 1807, pp. xi f.

given:

Klitterwerk for fiddle-faddle piece of work, Nippen 'sleep' for nap, schlenderig for loose, stick for due, in reference to the directions of the wind, zerwickeln 'to beat up', zusammenknicken 'to fold' paper..

c) Low German words which are listed by dialect dictionaries and Grimm DWb. where the first example post-dates Bode's use:

Granatbissen for splinter, Hespe for hinge, heuster-peuster for helter-skelter, peckeln for to souse, pickern, Rucks for huff, Topp halten for to be pent up, wippen 'to kick over' for to kick out.

d) Low German words which are listed by dialect dictionaries and by Grimm DWb. where Bode's example appears as the first:

dummerhaft for stupid, zu Kehre gehen for to run, knickbeinen for to stumble, Kretteley for altercation, kretten for to debate, Tollbrägen for madcap.

e) Words which are listed by Adelung as dialectal but for the use of which no earlier example is given anywhere. Most of these are Low German:

Egge (LG.) for yarn thrum, Ehzärter (LG.) for marriage article, sich gebühren (LG.) for to happen, Gehre for

gusset, Handschmitz for stroke of a ferula, kitzelhaarig (LG.) for vicious, Klitterschuld for cross-reckoning, Kracke (LG.) for bad horse, sich kritteln (LG.) for to fume inwardly, schweimeln (LG.) for to totter, verspillen (LG.) for to scatter, Vorkopf (LG.) for forehead.

f) Words which are listed by Campe as the first major dictionary with no earlier example given elsewhere. Most of these are Low German:

belemmern 'to impede' (LG.) for to entangle, Pracherstaat treiben (LG.) for to parade ... beggarly, Schäbe for farcy, Schnirre 'predicament' (LG.), schnirren 'to tie up' (LG.), schnökern 'to have a sweet tooth' (LG.), schwipp (LG.) for nimble, Sorgemann (LG.) for chief mourner, Strumpfhosen 'stockings' (LG.), Tückebothe (LG.) for will o' the wisp, Vorsetze (LG.) for mole, zerprudeln 'to spoil' (LG.).

Among the dialect words introduced by Bode into the literary language there are two which do not fit into any of the six categories: Oelbulle for oil bottle (attested by Frisch only) and the expression den Seilergang gehen for to be in the same track (listed by Wander only).

The attraction for Bode of a phonetically similar word to the original often resulted in the choice of a dialect word as in Buckel 'curl' for buckle (a), Fluren

'tiles' for floor (a), sich kretten for to fret (a). Yet despite this Bode carefully conveyed the more unusual shades of meaning found in the original text, for instance when he translated to tickle in the ironical sense of 'to beat, chastise' (cf. NED.) with zermaddeln 'to torture, maltreat' (a).

Bode is always accurate in the rendering of meaning and cannot be accused of arbitrary deviation.[1] It must be remembered, however, that each of these dialect words could have been replaced at the time by an acceptable High German counterpart which Adelung himself might have approved of. Among such words are: Granatbissen for splinter (c), peckeln for to souse (c), Topp halten for to be pent up (c), Tollbrägen for madcap (d), sich gebühren for to happen (e), schweimeln for to totter (e), verspillen for to scatter (e), Vorkopf for forehead (e), belemmern 'to impede' for to entangle (f), Schnirre 'predicament' (f), Tückebothe for will o' the wisp (f), schnökern 'to have a sweet tooth (f).[2] In deliberately falling back on the rich resources of Low German Bode brought to light a large number of dialect words which had not been used in the literary language before and which can be assumed to have been

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[1] See Michelsen, op. cit., pp. 59 ff.

[2] Adelung might have preferred the following usages: einmachen instead of peckeln, eingesperrt sein instead of Topp halten, sich zutragen instead of sich gebühren, wackeln instead of schweimeln, Stirn instead of Vorkopf, Irrlicht instead of Tückebothe.

unfamiliar to the majority of his readers who did not live in Northern Germany. The very unfamiliarity of such words belonging to dialect speech only must have greatly enhanced the humorous impact of Tristram Schandi when it appeared.

Neologisms and Loan Translations

Both Gottsched and Adelung rejected the use of neologisms on stylistic grounds. Gottsched criticized these "(neugemachte) Wörter, die zuweilen sehr seltsam klingen, und nicht ohne Erklärung verstanden werden können"[1] and referred to them as "seltsame und unerhörte Misgeburten" reminiscent of Fischart's translation of Rabelais.[2] Adelung did admit neologisms if these had been coined for a definite reason, either in order to designate a new object or, as he put it "einen alten (Begriff) von einer neuen Seite ... darzustellen."[3] He also allowed neologisms if the alternative expression was stylistically inadequate. Neologisms were further permitted in a purely poetic context but the effect of vulgarity and inordinate humour was to be avoided at all

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[1] Redekunst, 13, p. 266.

2. Op. cit., 15, p. 321.

[3] Ueber den Deutschen Styl, I, "Sprachwidrig gebildete neue Wörter und Formen", pp. 119.f.

cost.[1] While Adelung recognized the comic effect of obsolete vocabulary and of dialect words he did not see anything comic in the use of neologisms because "nicht alles Ungereimte" was "lächerlich". This was the very reason for which he rejected Fischart's writings.[2]

Bode's originality in forming new words was repeatedly mentioned by critics: "An naiven, seltsamen und drolligten Worten ist er unerschöpflich; viele schuf er mit kühnem Witze selbst ..."[3] and: "Bode gehört zu den hervorragendsten sprachschöpferischen Talenten; vor allem aber verraten seine neugebildeten Komposita seine Sprachgewalt ..."[4]

Most of the neologisms in Tristram Schandi are compound nouns and only a few verbs occur. Such new words were formed mostly when special translation problems occurred which could not be solved by the linguistic material which was to hand. To render the archaic 'yclept, beniemset was derived from the newly coined beniemsen and in order to translate twelve-penny oath, Bettelfluch was formed. The curse by my fig Bode translated as Fickelmein, defluxion as Flussschnuppen, Dutch

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 119 ff.

[2] Op. cit., "Von dem komischen Style", II, pp. 245 ff.

[3] K.H. Jördens, Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, Leipzig, 1806-1811, V, pp. 756.

[4] J. Wihan, op. cit., pp. 193 f.

commentator as Glossenraspeler, scare sinner as Sündengreifer.

In the formation of neologisms Bode often had recourse to rare linguistic material as in Kutschcaball for coach-horse, Caball (see also p. 150)being obsolete at the time. Of the new compound Bärenlecker, alliterating with bear-leaders, lecken (see also p. 150) was also obsolete, and in Fycheley for quibbling provision the LG. verb ficheln 'to pretend, to lie' had not been used before in the literary language.

The new formations in the translation are all humorous and intended to render an individual word as well as the general tone of the English text. This is why Bode occasionally coined a new word when a literal translation would have done as well as in pedalieren for to play with one's toe upon the floor, Pfaffenhäppchen for choicest morsel, Probenonne for novice, Seitenabkunft for illegitimacy, Sonntags-Wolle for best fashion, Wochenbetterinn for mistress.

The need for new words was in most cases an aesthetic one. It was not a matter of referring to new objects or ideas but of rendering different shades of meaning or the punning formations of the original. The main criterion of success in these cases is not whether an individual word

survived but rather whether the stylistic level of the original was rendered successfully. The enrichment of the German language did not so much lie in the continued survival of individual words as in their stylistic adequacy to the particular context.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the large majority of Bode's new formations do not appear to have lived on and are not attested in dictionaries, as for instance: Bettelfluch, Ehlosenstand, the expression acht Tage nach Ewig, Feuerstoker, Fickelmein, Flussschnuppen, Fycheley, Glossenraspeler, Hastigkopf, Heidenkram, Hörnerträgerey, Hothotpferdgen, klitschklatschen, Klopfschwert, Krückhaken, neisig, pedalieren, Pfaffenhäppchen, schandysieren, Seitenabkunft, Sonntags-Wolle, Spitzhundschwanz, Sündengreifer, Überschnellungen, zertaltern. The hybrid formation Spruderleyen also remained unattested. Only a small number of Bode's neologisms were later listed by dictionaries: Flirtje, platnasig, Zusammenklemmung by Campe, Mascopey-Gesellen, Wochenbetterinn by Grimm DWb., Probenonne by Muret-Sanders.

A large number of neologisms, not mentioned so far, were formed under the influence of individual English words and they must be classed as loan translations.[1] A few of

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[1] For the terminology I am indebted to H. Gneuss, Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen, Berlin 1955, pp. 2-5.

them are listed by dictionaries but their origin is not recognized.

The reason for using a loan translation or a loan formation[1] is that the existing vocabulary does not contain the 'mot juste' for which the translator is searching. From our point of view the criterion for the quality of a loan translation is not so much whether it survived but rather whether it successfully rendered the stylistic quality of the English text.[2] Some loan translations, however, which could be employed in other contexts as well, appear to have survived, and they are attested in dictionaries: fortspornen for to prick forward, haarfein for as fine as a hair (by Campe), the loan formation Jagdcarnaval for carnival of sporting (see also p. 168), überwitzen for to outwit (see also p. 167), Ursachenkrämer for motive monger, Wandfrüchte for wall-fruit, zurückstutzen for to start back by Grimm DWb. Other loan translations which, surprisingly, are not attested anywhere, are: hellköpfig for clear-headed, Jammerbrodt for bread of affliction and the loan formations Grammatikendrescher for gerund-grinders,

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[1] This is a translation of Gneuss' Lehnübertragung, p. 33.

[2] The purely aesthetic value of such momentary and short-lived loan translations does not appear to have been mentioned so far (cf. also Gneuss, p. 41).

Querhändel for cross accidents. The remaining forms must be seen within the stylistic context of the novel from which they derive their meaning: begemählden for to be-picture, beschmetterlingen for to be-butterfly, Kitzelmatz for Tickletoby, Reisenschreiber for travel-writer, Windmusik for wind-music 'whistling', Zeugevorsteher for lords of the genitures.

Loan Words and Sense-Loans[1]

Despite his tendency to coin new words as either neologisms or loan translations, Bode occasionally came up against difficulties which demanded the taking over of a word used in the original as in befetischen for befetish, which was the first time that Fetisch was used in German, caricatiren for to caricature /~~and tristrammen for to tristram~~/, neither of which survived. The small number of such loan words shows that Bode tried to use the material of his native language as much as possible. He did not advocate the indiscriminate use and introduction of foreign material but wanted to make the best possible use of the existing vocabulary.

Bode's semantic borrowings from the English are particularly interesting for us. When he used the verb

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[1] The term has been adopted from N. G. Stern, Meaning and Change of Meaning, Göteborg 1931, p. 220.

aufpflastern (see also p. 150) in the sense of 'to cover with builder's plaster' under the influence of to plaister up Bode was employing the Middle High German sense of the verb which had become obsolete. It is impossible to decide in this case whether the translator was aware of the Middle High German word, but the noun Pflaster was still used in Low German in the sense of 'builder's plaster'. It may well be that in this case Bode's use was influenced by the meaning of this noun as much as by the English verb. The loan translation überwitzen (see also p. 165) used in the sense of 'to surpass in wisdom and knowledge' under the influence of to outwit, seems to be an accidental revival of a Middle High German word. A successful revival is Middle High German Schanz (see alsopp. 150 f.) in the sense of 'chance'. Unless Bode knew this use of the word it is possible that phonetic similarity led to the choice of Schanz for chance and to a subsequent semantic borrowing.[1] The commonest form of sense-loan in Tristram Schandi consists of the extension of the meaning in the use of a word as in

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[1] Especially since this was a case of semantic and phonetic analogy combined (cf. also Gneuss, pp. 22 f.) which led to unconscious borrowing from the original language more easily (cf. H. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, Halle 1920, p. 401: "Wo ein Wort aus einer fremden Sprache sich in seiner Bedeutung nur teilweise mit einem Worte der eigenen Sprache deckt, da wird man leicht dazu verführt, jenem den vollen Umfang der Bedeutung beizulegen, die diesem zukommt.").

däumeln for to thumb over [a page], Gespan, originally meaning 'partner, mate' (see also p. 150) for fellow-labourer and the metaphorical use of Scheerlatte in the expression jdm. in seine Scheerlatte fahren for to puff across a man's canvass. All these special uses are listed by Grimm DWb. with our example from Tristram Schandi and do not otherwise appear to have survived. In the case of two words, however, the line runs on straight to Jean Paul: In the use of aufziehen for to screw up the muscles in one's face and in the metaphorical use of Carnaval in the loan translation Jagdcarnaval (see also p. 165)for carnival of sporting for both of which words the first example given by Grimm DWb. is taken from Flegeljahre (1795-1805).[1]

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[1] This may be seen as further proof that Jean Paul read Tristram Shandy in Bode's translation. B. Brandi-Dohrn, Der Einfluss Laurence Sternes auf Jean Paul, München 1964, p. 9 and p. 20 argued for this and ~~brings~~ gives evidence from early works and excerpts from the year 1782 that Jean Paul took down a number of expressions from Bode's translation and used them in his writings. But no evidence is given for its influence on Flegeljahre.

2. Word List

This word list provides lexicographical evidence and full textual quotations from the English and German. It supplements the foregoing analysis. The list has been arranged alphabetically. The title words appear in the singular, except in the case of new plural formations invented by Bode. Occasional multiple descriptions signify the different linguistic aspects of a single word; "obs., dial.", for instance, has been used when a word was obsolete in the literary language but still current in some dialects. A few compound neologisms made cross references necessary if one constituent part was in itself linguistically significant. The standard abbreviations of the NED. have been used.

Ammer fem. (pp. 149, 150, 152), obs., dial.

271 Francis the First of France was ... warming himself over the embers of a woodfire

4,143 f. Franciskus der Erste von Frankreich (wärmte sich) über den Ammern eines ausgebrannten Feuers

This word, which was widely used in the 16th c., was restricted to the LG. dialects by the 18th c. (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v. Ammer, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Emern, Adelung (1774), s.v. Ammern). Bode, who appears to have chosen the word under the influence of Eng. embers, re-introduced it into the literary language (cf. Grimm DWb. (1854), s.v. Ammer, where all illustrations are from the 16th c.). The attempt to revive it was unsuccessful and Campe (1807) still lists Ammern as a LG. dialect word.

<u>aufpflastern</u> (pp. 144, 150, 151, 167), obs., s.l.

336 as if Nature had plaistered me up, and set me down upon the banks of the river Nile (naked

5,67 als ob mich die Natur aufgepflastert und am Ufer des Nils nackt niedergesetzt hätte

<u>pflastern</u> in the sense of 'to cover with builder's plaster' was current in MHG. only (cf. Lexer (1876), s.v. <u>phlastern</u>) and was obsolete in Bode's time (cf. Grimm <u>DWb.</u> (1889), s.v.). The verb is no longer attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. Although the noun <u>Pflaster</u> n. in the sense of 'builder's plaster' was still current in some LG. dialects of the time, (cf. <u>Brem.Wb.</u> (1768), s.v. <u>Plaster</u>) Bode's use appears to have been influenced by the obsolete meaning of Eng. <u>to plaister</u> (cf. NED.). (Arnold-Bailey (1736) also translates <u>to plaster</u> as <u>gypso oblinere</u>, <u>pflastern</u>.) It did not lead to a revival of the use of <u>pflastern</u> in the MHG. sense.

<u>aufziehen</u> (p. 168), s.l.

290 he ... had . gradually screwed up every nerve and muscle in his face

4,177 (er hatte) jede Nerve und jeden Muskel in seinem Gesichte so scharf aufgezogen

<u>aufziehen</u> in connection with the human face is not attested before Campe (1807), s.v. who says it was coined by K.C.E. Bentzel-Sternau (first publication: 1795). Bode's use is influenced by Eng. <u>to screw up</u> and ante-dates the first example from Jean Paul's <u>Flegeljahre</u> (1795-1805) given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1854), s.v.

<u>Bärenlecker</u> pl. (p. 163), neol., v. <u>lecken</u>

<u>etwas zur Bathe geben</u> (p. 157), dial.

266 I would not give a cherry-stone to boot.

4,132 ich wollte nicht einen Heller zur Bathe geben

This expression is only attested in some LG. dialect dictionaries (cf. Richey (1754), s.v. <u>Bate</u>, Strodtmann (1756), s.v. <u>Bate</u>, <u>Brem.Wb</u>. (1767), s.v. <u>Bate</u>: enem wat to Bate geven) and no examples are given.

befetischen (p. 166), l.w.

162 befetished with the bobs and trinkets of criticism

3,57 mit dem Firlefanz der Kritikerey so behängt und befetischt

The noun Fetisch was first used by Kant (cf. Campe (1801), s.v. Fetisch). Bode's use of the verb befetischen from Engl. befetish antedates Kant's first publication of 1781.

begemählden (p. 166), neol. (l.t.)

81 I ween the souls of connoisseurs ... to get all ... be-pictured

2,21 ich wähne, die Seelen der Natur-und Kunstkenner (werden) ... begemählden

This is a loan translation from Eng. to be-picture which is not attested by any dictionary and did not survive (for verbs with the prefix be- see W. Henzen, Deutsche Wortbildung, Tübingen 1965, p. 105).

<u>belemmern</u> (pp. 159, 160), dial.

494 f. Tristram, ... , thou must entangle thyself still more?

8,18 Tristram, dass Du Dich selbst noch mehr belemmern musst.

LG. <u>belemmern</u> 'to impede' is first listed by Richey (1754), s.v. <u>(be)lemmern</u> (cf. also Strodtmann (1756), s.v. <u>lemmern</u>, <u>Brem.Wb</u>. (1767), s.v. <u>lemmern</u>). Campe (1807), s.v. is the first major dictionary to attest the word. No examples are given by Campe and Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1854), s.v.

<u>beniemsen</u> (p. 162), neol.

79 'yclept logomachies

2,17 f. beniemset Logomachien

To render the archaic '<u>yclept</u> (cf. <u>NED</u>.) Bode formed <u>beniemsen</u> (for the suffix <u>-sen</u> see W. Henzen, <u>Deutsche Wortbildung</u>, Tübingen 1965, p. 225) from the UG. <u>beniemen</u> (cf. Adelung (1774), s.v. <u>beniemen</u>) in analogy to <u>benamsen</u> (cf. Campe (1807), s.v. <u>benamen</u>). <u>Beniemsen</u> is not listed by dictionaries.

<u>beschmetterlingen</u> (p. 166), neol. (l.t.)

81 I ween the souls of connoisseurs ... to get all ... be-butterflied

2,21 ich wähne, die Seelen der Natur-und Kunstkenner (werden) ... über und über ... beschmetterlinget

This is a loan translation from Eng. <u>to be-butterfly</u> which is not attested by any dictionary and did not survive. (For verbs with the prefix <u>be-</u> see W. Henzen, <u>Deutsche Wortbildung</u>, Tübingen 1965, p. 105).

<u>Bettelfluch</u> masc. (pp 162, 164), neol.

289 an involuntary respiration, casually forming itself into the shape of a twelve-penny oath

4,175 ein unfreywilliges Athenschöpfen, welches so ganz von selbst und von Ungefähr in einem Bettelfluch zusammengefahren wäre

The word is not attested by the dictionaries and can be regarded as a new formation.

bissen (p. 150), obs., dial.

591 this poor Bull of mine, who is as good a Bull as ever p-ssed

9,128 mein armer Bulle, der so gut ist, als ein Bulle bei bissenden Kühen seyn kann

bissen 'to rut' was used until the late 17th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1860), s.v. bisen, the last example dating from 1695) and was obsolete in the literary language of the time (it is not attested by Adelung (1774)). bissen was still current in LG. at the time (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v., Brem.Wb. suppl. (1771), s.v.). Bode's attempt to revive the word does not appear to have been successful (the word is not listed by Campe (1807)).

Bosselplatz masc. (pp. 145, 156), dial.

90 this identical bowling-green

2,46 dieser leibhafte grüne Bosselplatz

Of the 18th c. dictionaries consulted, Bosselplatz is attested only by Adelung (1774), s.v. bosseln, as LG. Bode's use antedates the example from E. Pfeffel in Grimm DWb. (1860), s.v.

Buckel fem. (pp. 144, 157, 159), dial.

549 a buckle or two, in his opinion, would have done (the wig) honour

9,9 eine oder ein Paar Buckeln ..., nach seiner Meynung, würden (der Perücke) Ehre gemacht haben

Buckel in the sense of 'curl' is attested only by Ludwig (1716), s.v. and by Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v., where no examples are given. Bode's choice of word appears to be influenced by Eng. buckle.

Caball n. (pp. 150, 151, 152), obs.

149 coach-horse

3,24 das Kutschcaball

The attempt to revive a 16th c. word (cf. Grimm DWb. (1860), s.v., with a single example from Fischart) which was obsolete at the time (not listed by Stieler (1691), Frisch (1741), Adelung (1774)) appears to have been unsuccessful (it is not attested by Campe (1807)). The alliterating compound Kutschcaball appears to be a neologism as it is not listed anywhere.

Calden pl. (pp. 144, 150, 151, 152), obs.

570 "I'm loaded with tripes"; says the second (ass).

9,70 "Ich bin mit Calden geladen;" sagt der zweyte (Esel).

This form Calden was common in the middle of the 17th c. (listed only by Frisch (1741), s.v. Caldaunen) while the usual form at the time was Kaldaunen, Caldaunen (cf. Adelung (1775) and Grimm DWb. (1860)).

Canefass masc. (p. 150), obs.

400 Except dimity

6,79 Ausgenommen Canefass

The spelling of Can(n)efass dates from the 15th c. (cf. Schulz-Basler (1913 ff.), s.v. Kanevas) and does not occur in dictionaries of the 18th c. (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v. Kanifass, Adelung (1774), s.v. Canevass, Campe (1807), s.v. Kannefass).

caricatieren (p. 166), l.w.

96 Dr. Slop's figure ... may be caricatured

2,62 Doktor Slop's Figur ... welche ... caricatiert ... werden kann

This loan word does not appear to have survived (it is not attested by any dictionary). Bode's use antedates the first introduction of karikieren by L. Börne (cf. Schulz-Basler (1913), s.v. Karikatur). Karikatur had been used in German since the 1760's (cf. Schulz-Basler (1913), s.v. Karikatur).

Carnaval masc. (p. 168), s.l.

463 during that carnival of sporting

7,81 während dieses Jagdcarnavals

The metaphorical use of carnival in English is attested since 1598 (cf. NED., s.v. carnival). Under the influence of carnival of sporting, Carnaval (cf. Schulz-Basler (1913), s.v. Karneval) is used metaphorically. This example antedates the only quotation for metaphorical use taken from Jean Paul's Flegeljahre (1804) given by Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. Karneval. Jagdcarnaval is not attested by any dictionary and appears to be a loan formation from Eng. carnival of sporting.

däumeln (p. 168), s.l.

557 f. what my father did say ... shall be thumb'ed over by Posterity in a chapter apart

9,33 was mein Vater ... sagte,... soll in einem besondern Kapitel von der Nachwelt gedäumelt werden.

Under the influence of Eng. to thumb over, Bode attributes a new meaning to the verb which did not survive (it is attested only by Grimm DWb. (1860), s.v., where this example is given as the only quotation).

dummerhaft (p. 158), dial.

563 when I am only stupid

9,49 wenn ich bloss dummerhaft bin

This LG. word is only listed by Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. dummerhaftig and Grimm DWb. (1860), s.v. has Bode's example as the sole quotation.

Egge fem. (p. 158), dial.

391 (the sermon) is tied length-ways and cross-ways with a yarn thrum

6,54 f. (die Predigt) ... ist in die Kreuz und Queere mit einer wollenen Egge umwunden

This word is first listed by Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. and referred to by Adelung (1774), s.v. Ecke as LG. dialect. Grimm DWb. (1862), s.v. gives this example as the first quotation.

Ehehaften pl. (pp. 150, 151, 152), obs., dial.

gradually
9 he had likewise/brought some other little family concernments to the same period

1,12 f. so hatte er auch bereits, so nach und nach, gewisse andre kleine Ehehaften auf eben diese Termine gestellt

Ehehaften, listed by Frisch (1741), s.v. Ehehafften, had mostly been used in the 16th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1862), s.v.) and was obsolete in the literary language of the time. It was still occasionally used in the dialectal as well as judicial language of Southern Germany (cf. Adelung (1774), s.v. Ehehaft, Campe (1807), s.v. Ehehaft). It was revived again in the late 18th c. and Bode's use antedates the first example given for this by Grimm DWb.

Ehlosenstand masc. (p. 164), neol.

552 A thousand of my father's most subtle syllogisms could not have said more for celibacy.

9,18 Ein ganzes Tausend von meines Vaters subtilesten Sylogismen hätte nichts Stärkeres fur den Ehlosenstand sagen können.

This word is not attested by any dictionary and appears to have been first formed by Bode from the widely used adjective ehelos (cf. Grimm DWb. (1862), s.v. ehelos) and in analogy to Ehestand.

Ehzärter masc. (p. 158), obsol., dial.

39 marriage-articles

1,95 Ehzärter

This word was obsolescent at the time and used in LG. dialects only (cf. Adelung (1774), s.v. Ehezarter, Campe (1807), s.v. Ehezarter). No examples for the use of the word are given by the dictionaries (cf. also Grimm DWb. (1862), s.v. Ehezerter).

<u>erschanzen</u> (pp. 144, 150, 151) obs.

254 it has saved me the trouble

4,99 Dadurch hab' ich die Mühe erschanzt

The use of <u>erschanzen</u> in the sense of 'to win in gambling' is attested only by Frisch (1741), s.v. <u>Schanz</u>, who says it was obsolete at the time. Bode's attempt to revive it appears to have been unsuccessful.

<u>acht Tage nach Ewig</u> (p. 164), neol.

314 Shall we be destined to the days of eternity ... to be showing the relics of learning

5,5 Sollen wir bis acht Tage nach Ewig ... bestimmt seyn, die Reliquien der Gelehrsamkeit zu zeigen

Bode is humorously extending the expression <u>ewig und drei Tage</u> (cf. Wander (1867), s.v. <u>ewig</u> (8)).

Feuerstoker masc. (p. 164), neol.

172 a hot poker

3,86 (ein glühender) Feuerstoker

Stoker is not attested by any dictionary. The new formation appears to have been derived from LG. stokern (cf. Grimm DWb. (1957), s.v. stökern, where no examples are given) under the influence of Eng. poker.

Fickelmein (pp. 162, 164), neol.

459 By my fig!

7,71 Fickelmein!

This expression is not attested by any dictionary. It appears to have been formed from Fickel 'membrum virile' (given only by Frisch (1741), s.v. Ficke; see also the obscene uses of fig in NED. s.v. fig).

Flirtje fem. (pp. 145, 164), neol.

443 A slut!

7,30 Die Flirtje!

This word is listed by Campe (1808), s.v. Flirtchen whose only example is a passage from Bode's other writings which I have been unable to identify. It appears to be a hybrid formation from LG. Flitje (cf. Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Flitje) and Eng. to flirt.

Fluren pl. (pp. 157, 159), dial.

251 my father played the same jig over again with his toe upon the floor

4,91 (mein Vater) pedalierte von neuen sein Stückchen auf den Fluren

Fluren in the sense of 'tiles' is attested only by Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Floren. No examples are given and Bode appears to be the first to use the word in the literary language.

Flussschnuppen masc. (pp. 162, 164), neol.

242 He has got a defluxion

4,66 Hat er etwan einen Flussschnuppen?

This compound is not attested anywhere else and appears to have been coined by Bode.

fortspornen (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

342 with all these great advantages of nature, which should have pricked him forwards with his Galatea

5,84 bey allen diesen grossen Naturgaben, welche ihn mit seiner Galatea hätten fortspornen sollen

This loan translation from Eng. to prick forward is not attested by any dictionary before Campe (1808), s.v.

Fycheley fem. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

151 But by the knots I am speaking of, may it please your reverences to believe, that I mean good, honest, devilish tight, hard knots, ... in which there is no quibbling provision made

3,29 Unter denen Knoten, wovon ich spreche, geruhen Ew. Würden zu glauben, versteh' ich gute, ehrliche, auf Treu und Glauben gemachte Knoten, ... bey welchen keine abgeredete Fycheley ... geschihet

This word is not attested by any dictionary. It appears to have been formed from LG. ficheln (cf. Richey (1754), s.v. fycheln, Brem.Wb. suppl. (1771), s.v. ficheln, Adelung (1775), s.v. heucheln) which had not been used previously in the literary language.

sich gebühren (pp. 158, 160), dial.

233 this event could never happen

4,41 dieser Fall könne sich niemals gebühren

sich gebühren had been obsolete in NHG. since the 15th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1878), s.v.) but had survived in LG. dialects up to Bode's time (cf. Richey (1754), s.v. geböhren, Strodtmann (1756), s.v., Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. boeren, Adelung (1774), s.v.). No examples for the dialectal use of the word are given by the dictionaries.

Geniess masc. (pp. ~~163, 164~~ 150, 151), obs.

52 f. Little boots it to the subtle speculatist to stand single in his opinions

1,131 Sehr wenig Geniess bringt es den spekulativen Kopfe, seine Meynung allein zu haben

Geniess in the sense of 'profit' was mainly used in the 16th and 17th c. and it was obsolete at the time (cf. Adelung (1775), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1897), s.v.). The word is not attested by Frisch (1741) but Campe (1808), s.v. recommends its revival. No examples for the use of the word in this sense during the 18th c. are given by the dictionaries.

Gere masc., fem. (pp. ~~158, 166~~ 158), dial.

496 with regards to ... the strength of their gussets

8,22 in Ansehung der Stärke ihrer Geren

Gere in this sense was current in the dialects (cf. Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v., Adelung (1774), s.v. Gehren) and seems to have been rare in the literary language (cf. Grimm DWb. (1897), s.v. Gehr (3b), where this example is the only one).

gesegnen (pp. 150, 154), obs., colloq.

260 providence will prosper everything else

4,113 Der Himmel ... werde alles übrige gesegnen

gesegnen had been used in the 15th and 16th c. and was obsolete in the literary but still current in the colloquial language at the time, (cf. Adelung (1775), s.v.) and it was revived later in the poetic language of the 19th c. (cf. Campe (1808), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1897), s.v. (2b)). Bode's use antedates the first example from L. Uhland given by Grimm DWb.

Gespan masc. (pp. 150, 151, 168), obs., colloq., s.l.

59 my fellow-labourers

1,149 meine ... Gespane

This obsolete word, meaning 'partner, mate', still occurred in the colloquial language of the time (cf. Adelung (1775), s.v.), and it was revived later (cf. Campe (1808), s.v. Gespann). In this sense of 'colleague' Bode's quotation is the first example given for the 18th c. by Grimm DWb. (1897), s.v. This new meaning was given to it under the influence of Eng. fellow-labourer.

Glossenraspeler masc. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

563 a Dutch commentator

9,49 ein niederländischer Glossenraspeler

This word is not attested in any of the dictionaries and appears to have been coined by Bode. The derisive meaning of Eng. Dutch (cf. Dutch courage, Dutch feast in NED., s.v. Dutch) is rendered in Glossenraspeler.

Grammatikendrescher pl. (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

360 gerund-grinders

5,131 Grammatikendrescher

Eng. gerund-grinder is attested since 1710 (cf. NED., s.v. grinder) but Grammatikendrescher is not attested anywhere and appears to have been coined by Bode under the influence of the original.

Granatbissen masc. (pp. 158, 160) dial.

374 The force of this engine/(is) enough, ... ,
to burst it into a thousand splinters.
...
6,5 f. (Die Kraft dieser Maschine/ ist) So gross, ... ,
dass sie ihn in tausend Granatbissen zerschmettern
kann.

Grimm DWb. (1958) is the only major dictionary to list this LG. word (first attested by Richey (1754), s.v. Granatbitjen) and the first example given by Grimm dates from 1784.

haarfein (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

194 there is but a mark between these two, as fine
almost as a hair

3,148 eine fast haarfeine Linie (liegt zwischen beyden
Gränzen)

This word appears to be a loan translation from Eng. fine as a hair and it is not attested in any dictionary before Campe (1808), s.v., where no examples are given.

Handschmitz masc. (p. 159), dial.

420 three strokes of a ferula

6,133 drey Handschmitze

The word is attested by Richey (1754), s.v. Hand-Smete, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Hand-smete, Adelung (1775), s.v., and Campe (1808), s.v., who says it was dialectal. No examples for the use of the word are given (cf. also Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Handschmitz).

Hastigkopf masc. (p. 164), neol.

152 every hasty man

3,30 ein jeder Hastigkopf

This word is not attested anywhere but cf. the similar form Hastekopf (Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Hastekoop, Campe (1808), s.v. Hastekopf, Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Hastekopf).

Heidenkram masc. (p. 164), neol.

535 what has a man who believes in God to do with this?

8,127 was hat ein Mensch, der seinen Gott glaubt, mit diesem Heidenkrame zu thun.

This widely used word is not attested in any of the dictionaries and it appears to have been coined by Bode.

hellköpfig (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

75 unless the company ... were tolerably clear-headed

2,5 [es] musste ... die Gesellschaft ... sehr hellköpfig seyn

hellköpfig appears to be a loan translation from Eng. clear-headed and it is not attested by any dictionary.

Meister Hemmerling masc. (pp. 150, 152), obs.

499 I send her to Tartarey, ... , and so on to the devil

8,29 Und damit schicke ich sie nach der Tartarey.

In the sense of 'devil' this 16th c. expression is last attested by Stieler (1691), s.v. Haemmerling. Frisch (1741), s.v. Hammer does not attest it. Bode's attempt to revive it does not appear to have been successful (cf. Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Hämmerling, Bächtold-Stäubli (1930 f.), s.v. Hämmerlein).

Hespe fem. (p. 158), dial.

182 the parlour door hinge

3,116 die Hespe an der Thüre

The use of this LG. word (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v. Haespe, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v.) antedates the first example of 1779 given by Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Haspe.

heuster peuster (p. 158), dial.

146 helter-skelter

3,13 f. heuster peuster

This dialect expression is attested only by Strodtmann (1756), suppl., s.v. huster buster, and Bode's use appears to be the earliest example (Brem.Wb. (1767) lists huster de buster and Grimm DWb. (1877) heuster die peuster, the first example dating from 1778).

Hörnerträgerey fem. (p. 164), neol.

490 It is with love as with Cuckoldom -

8,5 Mit der Liebe gehts, wie mit der Hörnerträgerey -

This word is not attested by any of the dictionaries and appears to have been derived from the existing Hörnerträger (attested by Adelung (1775), s.v. Hörnerträger, Grimm DWb. (1777), s.v. Hörnerträger).

Hothotpferdgen n. (p. 164), neol.

532 my hobby-horse

8,119 mein Hothotpferdgen

This word is not attested by any of the dictionaries. It appears to have been formed from Hottepferdchen which was already used in the 16th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Hottepferdchen).

Jagdcarnaval masc. (p. 165), neol. (l.f.),

v. Carnaval

Jammerbrodt n. (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

252 the bread of affliction

4,92 das Jammerbrodt

This appears to be a loan translation from Eng. bread of affliction (cf. 2 Chron. XVIII, 26, translated by Luther as: "Brod ... der Trübsal") which is not attested by any dictionary.

Kebse fem. (pp. 144, 150, 151, 152), obs.

161 whores and concubines

3,53 Kebsen und Concubinen

MHG. Kebse (cf. Lexer (1872), s.v. Kebese) had been obsolete by the 15th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v.). It is attested neither by Adelung (1775) nor Campe (1808), but the form Kebese is listed by Frisch (1741), s.v. kebs as obsolete. Bode's attempt to revive the word seems to have been successful (cf. Grimm DWb., where his use is given as the first example from the 18th c.).

zu Kehre gehen (p. 158), dial.

246 With all this learning ... running ... in my father's fancy

4,78 Mit aller dieser Gelehrsamkeit ... welche ... in meines Vaters Phantasie zu Kehre ging

For this LG. expression (cf. Richey (1754), s.v. to Kere gahn, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Keer, Dähnert (1781), s.v. Kere) Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. Kehr (g), gives Bode's example as the only quotation. The expression is neither attested by Adelung (1775) nor by Campe (1808).

kitzelhaarig (p. 159), dial.

494 the villain ... is not a little vicious into the bargain

8,15 die Bestie ... ist noch dazu sehr kitzelhaarig

This LG. word is listed by Richey (1754), s.v. kettelhaarig, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. kiddelhaarig, Adelung (1775), s.v. kitzelig, Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. Kitzelohr, but no examples are given by these dictionaries.

Kitzelmatz masc. (p. 166), neol. (l.f.)

203 who was Tickletoby's mare?

3,173 was wollen Sie denn mit Kitzelmatzens Stute sagen?

Sterne is referring to Rabelais IV, 13 (in Ozell's version: "How, like Master Francis Villon, the Lord of Basché commended his servants."). No German translation of book IV existed in Bode's time and Kitzelmatz is a loan formation which is not attested anywhere.

<u>klitschklatschen</u> (p. 164), neol.

450 crack-crack on.

7,49 klitschklatsche nur zu.

This verb is not attested by any of the dictionaries and appears to have been derived by Bode from <u>klitschklatsch</u> (cf. Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. <u>klatsch</u>).

<u>Klitterschuld</u> fem. (p. 159), dial.

252 the catalogue of all the cross-reckonings

4,92 die Liste von Klitterschulden

For the use of <u>Klitterschuld</u> (attested by Stieler (1691), s.v. <u>Klitterschulden</u>, Frisch (1741), s.v. <u>Klitter</u>, Adelung (1775), s.v. <u>Klitter</u>), which is referred to by Campe (1808), s.v. <u>Klitterschulden</u> as dialectal, Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1873), s.v. gives Bode's example as the earliest quotation.

Klitterwerk n. (p. 158), dial.

87 a ... fiddle-faddle piece of work ... upon paper

2,39 ein ... Stücke Klitterwerk aufn Papiere

The word is attested only by Stieler (1691), s.v. and Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. where no examples are given. Bode's use was possibly influenced by LG. klitern 'to write badly' (cf. Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. klitern, Adelung (1775), s.v. Klippwerk).

Klopfschwert n. (p. 164), neol.

289 to snatch the cudgels out of Didius's hands

4,174 das Klopfschwert aus Didius Hand nehmen

This word is not attested by any of the dictionaries and it appears to have been coined by Bode.

knickbeinen (p. 158), dial.

228 Stumbling! by Saint Nicolas! every step

4,27 Knickbein! beym Sankt Nicolaus, bey jedem Schritt knickbeinest du!

For the use of LG. knickbeinen (attested by Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. knickebênen) Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. gives Bode's example as the only quotation.

Kracke fem. (p. 159), dial.

21 a bad horse to get rid of

1,45 eine Kracke abzustehn

Kracke was a LG. dialect word (cf. Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v., Adelung (1775), s.v., Campe (1808), s.v.) and Bode's use antedates the first quotation from 1790 given by Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v.

Kretteley fem. (p. 158), dial.

449 altercations

7,46 Kretteleyen

For the use of LG. Krettelei (cf. Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Kriddelije) Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. Krattelei [!] gives this example as the only quotation. The word is neither attested by Adelung (1775) nor by Campe (1808).

kretten (pp. 158, 160), dial.

223 the same point [was debated] betwixt a trumpeter and a trumpeter's wife

4,11 kretteten sich auch ein Trompeter und eine (darüber) Trompeters Frau

In the sense of 'to quarrel' kretten was LG. usage (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v. gritteln, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. kriddeln, not listed by Adelung (1775)). This example is the only quotation given by Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v.

<u>sich kretten</u> (p. 157), dial.

40 he did nothing in the world but fret and teaze himself

1,96 (er) that ... in der Welt nichts, als sich innerlich ärgern und kretten

of
<u>sich kretten</u> in the sense/'to fume inwardly' is attested only by <u>Brem.Wb</u>. (1767), s.v. <u>kriddeln</u> and no examples are given.

<u>sich kritteln</u> (p. 159), dial.

269 she fumed inwardly

4,138 sie krittelte sich innerlich

This expression was LG. (cf. <u>Brem.Wb</u>. (1767), s.v. <u>kriddeln,</u> Adelung (1775), s.v. <u>kritteln</u>). No examples are given by the dictionaries (cf. also Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1873), s.v. <u>kritteln</u>).

Krückhaken masc. (p. 164), neol.

248 upon the cross of his crutch.

4,83 auf seinem Krückhaken

This word is not attested by any of the dictionaries and it appears to have been coined by Bode.

Kumpe masc. (pp. 150, 151), obs., dial.

30 my dear lad

1,69 mein theurester Kumpe

This was an obsolete word of the 15th, 16th and 17th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v.), still current, however, in some LG. dialects (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v. Compagnie, Brem.Wb. (1767), s.v. Kumpaan, Adelung (1775), s.v. Compagnie), and its revival was recommended by Campe (1808), s.v. again in humorous contexts. Bode's attempt to revive it appears to have been successful.

Kutschcaball n. (p. 163), neol., v. Caball

Laure	fem.	(p.	obs.
246		the French indeed, who are ever upon the catch	
4,76 f.		die Franzosen - freylich, welche beständig auf der Laure stehen	

This form of Lauer was obsolete at the time (cf. Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v. Lauer, where examples are given for the 16th c. and none for the 18th c.). Frisch (1741), s.v. Laur is the last dictionary to list it and Bode's attempt to revive it does not appear to have been successful.

lecken		(p.	obs.
360		bear-leaders	
5,131		Bärenlecker	

lecken in the sense of 'to leap, to bound' was archaic at the time (cf. Adelung (1777), s.v. läcken, Campe (1809), s.v. läkken) and is rarely found in writings of the 18th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v.). The verb is attested in this sense by Frisch (1741), s.v. läcken. Bode, however, is using the MHG. spelling (cf. Lexer (1872), s.v.) which is last listed by Stieler (1691), s.v. but appears to have been revived in the 18th c. His use of it antedates the first example given for the 18th c. by Grimm DWb. The new compound Bärenlecker, which is not attested in dictionaries, alliterates with Eng. bear-leaders.

Leichnam masc. (pp. 150, 152), obs.

418 he hit the rider too, and in the most dishonourable part a blow could fall

6,126 (nicht) ohne den Reiter mit zu treffen, und zwar auf den schimpflichsten Fleck an seinem Leichname, wohin ein Hieb fallen kann

In the sense of the 'living body' this word was last used in the 17th c. (cf. Adelung (1777), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v.). Bode's attempt to revive it appears to have been successful (cf. Campe (1808), s.v., Grimm DWb.).

Lönse fem. (pp. 145, 156), dial.

442 a tag, a rag, a jag ... want altering.

7,27 einer Felge, einem Nagel, einer Lönse ... fehlt Etwas, das gemacht werden muss.

The form Lönse meaning 'linch-pin' is attested only by Adelung (1777), s.v. Lünse who says that it was dialectal and gives no examples. Bode's use of this form antedates the first example dating from 1795 for the use of the form Lünse given by Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v. Lünse.

Mascopey-Gesellen pl. (p. 164), neol.

564 the soul and the body are joint-sharers in every thing they get:

9,52 die Seele und der Körper sind in allen Dingen Mascopey-Gesellen.

This was a new compound with the LG. constituent Mascopey, meaning 'company of merchants, guild' (cf. Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v. Maskopei, where this example is the only quotation).

merken (pp. 150, 151), obs.

265 But mark, madam, we live amongst riddles and mysteries

4,128 Merken Sie aber, Madame, wir sind mit Geheimnissen und Räthseln umringt,

This use of merken in the imperative without an accusative object became obsolate in the 16th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1885), s.v.), but in the second half of the 18th c. attempts were made to revive it. Bode's use appears to have been influenced by Eng. to mark and it antedates the example from Wilhelm Tell (1804) given by Grimm DWb.

neisen	(pp. 144, 151),	obs., dial.

500 f. Love is certainly, ..., the most Ninnyhammering ... (of all human passions)

8,32 f. Die Liebe sey gewiss, ... die aller Neisigste ... (von allen menschlichen Leidenschaften).

neisig is a new formation (not attested by dictionaries) from the verb neisen which was obsolete at the time in the literary language (cf. Frisch (1741), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v. neissen, not listed by Adelung (1777)) but was still used in dialects (cf. Campe (1809), s.v., Grimm DWb.).

neisig	(p. 164),	neol., v. neisen

Nippen	n. (p. 158),	dial.

258 for except a short nap ... they had not else shut their eyes

4,110 denn ausser dem bisgen Nippen ... haben sie ... kein Auge zugethan.

nippen 'to fall asleep' is attested only by Stieler (1691), s.v. nicken and by Schambach (1858), s.v. Nip, and Bode appears to have introduced this expression into the literary language (cf. Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v., where no examples are given).

Obmann masc. (pp. 150, 151), obs., dial.

21 What the loss ... might amount to, ..., I would leave to a special jury of sufferers in the same traffic, to determine

1,46 Wie hoch sich, ... der Verlust ... belaufen mochte, das überlasse ich einer eigentlich dazu erwählten Zahl von Obmännern zu bestimmen, die selbst bey dergleichen Handel gelitten haben

Obmann was obsolete in the literary language of the time (cf. Adelung (1777), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v., where the examples are taken from the 16th c.) but it was still used in some LG. dialects (cf. Brem. Wb. (1768), s.v. Over-mann). The word appears to have been revived later (cf. Campe (1809), s.v.) and Bode's use antedates the first example given by Grimm DWb.

Oelbulle fem. (p. 159), dial.

179 an oil bottle

3,107 (eine) Oelbulle

Frisch (1741), s.v. Bulle, described as vulgar, is the only 18th c. dictionary to attest Oelbulle. (Bulle is also listed by Campe (1807), s.v.) Bode's use of the word antedates the example from 1895 given by Trübner (1939), s.v. Pulle.

<u>peckeln</u> (pp. 155, 158, 160), dial.

102 [to] souse into the middle of the old subject again

2,80 da hast Du uns ... wieder mitten in deine alte Brühe gepeckelt

Bode's use of the LG. form peckeln (only listed in dialect dictionaries at the time: cf. <u>Brem. Wb</u>. (1768), s.v. <u>pekeln</u>) antedates the first quotation of 1821 given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1889), s.v. <u>pökeln</u>.

<u>pedalieren</u> (pp. 163, 164), neol.

251 For which reason my father played the same jig over again with his toe upon the floor

4,91 Aus dieser Ursach, pedalierte mein Vater von neuen sein Stückchen auf den Fluren

Bode ~~ed~~ form~~ed~~ a verb from the already existing <u>Pedal</u> (cf. Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1889), s.v. <u>Pedal</u>).

Pfaffenhäppchen n. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

307 They are the choicest morsel of my whole story!

4,223 Sie sind das Pfaffenhäppchen in meiner ganzen Geschichte

In analogy to the expression Pfaffenbisschen (cf. Adelung (1777), s.v. Pfaffenbisschen, Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v. Pfaffenbisschen) Bode formed a new compound Pfaffenhäppchen (not attested in any of the dictionaries consulted). Häppchen n. is referred to by Frisch (1741), s.v. Happen as vulgar. It was a LG. word (first attested by Dähnert (1781), s.v. Happ) and Bode's use antedates the first quotation of 1827, (in a letter addressed to Goethe by C.F. Zelter, dated October 11) which is given by Grimm DWb. (1877), s.v. Häppchen.

Pflege fem. (pp. 150, 151), obs.

497 Now from one little indulgence gained after another, ..., things had insensibly come to this pass

8,23 Nun war es von einer kleinen Pflege zur andern, ..., unvermerkt dahin gediehen

MHG. Pflege in the sense of 'habit, custom' (cf. Lexer (1876), s.v. phlëge) had become obsolete in NHG. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v.) and is not attested in this sense by Stieler (1691), Frisch (1741), or Adelung (1777). Bode's attempt to revive it does not appear to have been successful (the word is not attested in this sense by Campe (1809)).

pickern (p. 158), dial.

382 - for I heard the death-watch all night long

6,30 denn ich habe die ganze Nacht über in der Wand die Todten=Uhr pickern hören

This LG. iterative verb of picken (attested by Brem. Wb. (1768), s.v. but not by Adelung (1777)) may well have been introduced into the literary language by Bode. His use antedates the first quotation in Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v. taken from Hermes' Sophiens Reise (1776).

platnasig (p. 164), neol.

95 a little squat, uncourtly figure

2,61 eine kleine, quappelichte, platnasige Figur

Campe (1809), s.v. is the only dictionary to attest this adjective, while the noun Plattnase fem. had been listed in the earlier 18th c. dictionaries (cf. Adelung (1777), s.v. Plattnase, Grimm DWb. (1889), s.v. Plattnase). No examples for the use of the adjective are given by Campe.

Pracherstaat masc. (p. 154), dial.

288 to parade in the eyes of the vulgar with the beggarly accounts of a little learning

4,172 vor den Augen des grossen Haufens mit seinem Bissgen von Gelehrsamkeit, ..., einen Pracherstaat treiben

Campe (1809), s.v. is the first and only dictionary to list the LG. word (cf. Richey (1754), s.v. Pracher-staat, Brem. Wb. (1768), s.v. Pracher-staat, Dähnert (1781), s.v. Pracher-staat). No examples for the use of the word are given.

Probenonne fem. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

459 the novice

7,73 die Probenonne

This word is first attested by Muret-Sanders, Encyklopädisches Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch, grosse Ausgabe (1899-1900), s.v. It appears to be a neologism by Bode.

Querhändel pl. (p. 166), neol. (l.f.)

11 Fortune ... has pelted me with a set of ... cross accidents

ein Packen

1,17 Fortuna (hat) ... mir/... Querhändel an den Hals geworfen

Querhändel appears to be a loan formation from Eng. cross accidents. It is not attested by any dictionary.

Raths werden (pp. 150, 151), obs.

148 they consulted to take it (the bag) off again

3,21 so wurden sie Raths, ihn (den Beutel) wieder abzunehmen

For this 16th c. expression Bode's use is the last example (cf. Grimm DWb. (1893), s.v. Rat (7b)). The expression is attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. Rath, not by Adelung (1777) but again by Campe (1809), s.v. Rath.

Reisenschreiber masc. (p. 166), neol. (l.t.)

436 a travel-writer

7,11 ein Reisenschreiber

This word is not attested by any dictionary and appears to be a loan translation from Eng. travel-writer. Sterne was the first to have used travel-writer (cf. NED., s.v. travel) and Reisenschreiber appears to be a loan translation.

Rucks masc. (p. 158), dial.

396 in a kind of huff

6,69 in einer Art von Rucks

This LG word (cf. Grimm DWb. (1893), s.v. Ruck) is first listed by Frisch (1741), s.v. rucken and this example antedates the first quotation of 1862 given by Grimm DWb.

Ruffian masc. (pp.144,149,150,151), obs.

29 twin ruffians

1,69 zwey Zwillings Ruffiäne

Under the influence of Eng. ruffian Bode re-introduces an ENHG. word which was obsolete (cf. Grimm DWb. (1893), s.v.). It is still attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. but not by Adelung (1777) and Campe (1809). Bode's attempt to revive the word does not appear to have been successful (cf. Grimm DWb.).

Schäbe fem. (p.159), dial.

314 that every imitator ..., had the farcy for his pains

5,6 dass ein jeder Nachahmer ... dafür die Schäbe bekommen ... möchte

ENHG. Schabe (cf. Grimm DWb. (1893), s.v.) was still current in some dialects and in the colloquial language of the late 18th c. (cf. Dähnert (1781), s.v. Schabbe, Campe (1810), s.v. Schabe). For the use of Schäbe Grimm DWb. gives this example as the only quotation.

schandysieren (p. 164), neol.

307 True Shandeism ... opens the heart and lungs

4,224 Das wahre Schandysiren ... öfnet Herz und Lunge

This verb was coined by Bode and is not listed in dictionaries.

Schanz fem. (pp. 149, 150, 151, 167), obs., s.l.

60 a man in the literary world might have stood some chance.

1,150f. ein Mensch in der gelehrten Welt ... hätte ... auf seine Schanz hoffen können!

Under the influence of Eng. chance the MHG. meaning of Schanz (cf. Lexer (1876), s.v. Schanze) is re-introduced here. It is still attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. and by Adelung (1777), s.v. who says it was obsolete. The use of the word in this sense of 'chance, opportunity' was revived in the second half of the 18th c. (it is attested by Campe (1810), s.v. Schanze) under Eng. influence (cf. Trübner (1955), s.v. Schanze) for which Bode's quotation is the first example (cf. Grimm DWb. (1899), s.v. Schanze).

jdm. in seine Scheerlatte fahren (p. 168), s.l.

448 those whiffling vexations which come puffing across a man's canvas

7,44 (der Lumpenkram) welcher einem ehrlichen Manne in seine Scheerlatte fährt

Scheerlatte 'bobbin from which the warp threads are wound off' is first attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. Latte. Bode is the first to use the word figuratively in the expression jdm. in seine Scheerlatte fahren meaning 'to irritate s.o.' (cf. Grimm DWb. (1893), s.v. Scherlatte).

Schlafbett n. (pp. 150, 151), obs.

495 It was a bed to lie on

8,20 Es war ein Schlafbett

This 16th c. word (cf. Grimm DWb. (1899), s.v. where all examples are from the 16th c.) was obsolete by the late 18th c. (it is listed by Stieler (1691), s.v. Schlafbette and by Frisch (1741), s.v. Schlaf-Bett but not by Adelung (1780)). Bode's attempt to revive it appears to have been successful (the word is again listed by Campe (1810), s.v.).

<u>schlenderig</u> (p. 158), dial.

539 Let not thy breeches ... hang too loose about thy thighs

8,138 Lass Deine Beinkleider nicht ... zu schlenderig auf Deinen Hüften hängen

This LG, word is first attested by Schambach (1858), s.v. <u>slenderig</u> and no examples are given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1899), s.v.

<u>Schlipp-Ende</u> masc. (p. 156), dial.

541 the account of this is worth more than to be wove into the fag end of the eighth volume of such a work

8,143 Die Beschreibung hiervon aber, ist mehr werth, als in den Schlipp-Ende des achten Bandes eines Buches ... hineingewebt zu werden.

This word is only attested by Adelung (1780), s.v. <u>Schlippe</u>, where no examples are given.

Schnirre fem. (pp. 159, 160), dial.

527 It was an eye - But I shall be in love with it myself, if I say another word about it. - It did my uncle Toby's business.

8,103f. Es war ein Auge - Aber ich werde mich noch selbst darin verlieben, wenn ich nur noch ein Wort weiter davon sage. - Meinen Oncle Toby bracht' es in die Schnirre.

Campe (1810) s.v. is the first major dictionary to list this LG. word (first attested by Brem. Wb. (1770), s.v. Snoor). No examples are given by Grimm DWb. (1899).

schnirren (p. 159), dial.

151 In the case of knots ... my opinion concerning them will come in more properly when I mention ... my great uncle ... he rushed into the duke of Monmouth's affair ...

3,28f. Wenn die Rede von Knoten ist ... (wird) meine Meyning darüber schicklicher an der Stelle angebracht erscheinen ... wo ich ... meines Grossoncles ... erwähnen werde. - Er ward in der Geschichte des Herzogs von Monmouth geschnirrt.

Campe (1810), s.v. is the first major dictionary to attest this LG. verb in the sense of 'to tie up' (first listed by Richey (1754), s.v. snirren, Brem. Wb. (1770), s.v. Snoor). No examples are given by Grimm DWb. (1899), s.v.

schnökern (pp. 159, 160), dial.

451 they are all gourmands

7,51 sie schnökern gern

Campe (1810), s.v. is the first major dictionary to list this LG. word meaning 'to have a sweet tooth' (first attested by Brem. Wb. (1770), s.v. snökern) and this example is given as the only quotation by Grimm DWb. (1899).

schweimeln (pp. 159, 160), dial.

313 The London waggon ... hung tottering upon the hill

5,4 Die Londoner Landkutsche ... schweimelte den Hügel hinan

In the sense of 'to totter' this word is first attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. schweimen who says it was LG. (cf. also Brem. Wb. (1770), s.v. sweimen). It is listed by Adelung (1780), s.v. and Campe (1810), s.v. This example is given as the first quotation by Grimm DWb. (1899), s.v.

<u>schwipp</u> (p. 159), dial.

203 if he (Satan) is so nimble as to slip on

3,173 sollte er (Satan) doch so schwipp seyn, sich hinaufzuschwingen

LG. <u>schwipp</u>, used in connection with persons (first attested by <u>Brem. Wb</u>. (1770), s.v. <u>swipp</u>), is not listed by any major dictionary before Campe (1810), s.v. This example is given as the first quotation by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1899), s.v.

<u>den Seilergang gehen</u> (p. 159), dial.

313 Are we ... for ever in the same track

5,5 Sollen wir denn ... Beständig den Seilergang gehn

This example of the expression <u>beständig den Seilergang gehen</u> antedates the only quotation from 1826 in Wander (1876), s.v. <u>Seilergang</u>.

Seitenabkunft fem. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

285 this vile mark of illegitimacy

4,163 dieses schändliche Mahlzeichen der Seitenabkunft

This word is not attested anywhere and appears to have been coined by Bode.

Sonntags-Wolle fem. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

563 my best fashion

9,50 meine beste Sonntags-Wolle

This was a new formation which is not attested by any dictionary.

Sorgemann masc. (p. 159), dial.

390 chief mourners

6,50 Sorgemänner

This LG. word (first attested by Richey (1754), s.v.) is not listed in any major dictionary before Campe (1810), s.v. No examples are given by Grimm DWb. (1905), s.v.

[kein] Spitzgen (pp. 149, 150), obs.

363 unctions, which so fully saturated the pores of the skin, that no spicula could enter

5,139 Salben, welche die Schweisslöcher der Haut dergestalt anfüllten, dass nicht das geringste Spitzgen Luft hinein dringen ... könnte

The expression kein Spitz 'nothing, not a bit' is listed only by Grimm DWb. (1905), s.v., where the only example is a quotation from Hans Sachs. Bode's attempt to revive it does not appear to have been successful.

Spitzhundschwanz masc. (p. 164), neol.

367 Had my father been asking after the amputation of the tail of a puppy-dog

5,150 Hatte mein Vater nach dem Abhacken eines Spitzhundschwanzes gefragt

This was a new formation which is not attested by any of the dictionaries (Spitz is first listed by Adelung (1780), s.v. Spitz).

spoliren (p. 149), arch.

81 when the curate and barber invaded his library.

2,23 da der Pfarrer und Balbier seinen Büchervorrath spolirten.

This archaic expression was rarely used in the 18th c. and then only in order to achieve a comic effect (cf. Grimm DWb. (1905), s.v. spoliieren). It is not attested by Stieler (1691), Frisch (1741), Adelung (1780), or Campe (1810).

Spruderleyen pl. (p. 164), neol.

68 [to watch] her (the soul) loose in her frisks

1,171 f. ihre [der](Seele) Spruderleyen ... zu beobachten

Spruderleyen which is not attested anywhere appears to be a new hybrid form from sprudeln (first attested by Adelung (1780), s.v. sprudeln) and sprüdern (cf. Zingerle (1869), s.v. sprüdern).

<u>stick</u> (p. 158), dial.

407 when the wind continued to blow due west

6,96 wenn der Wind ... stick West durchstund

In reference to the directions of the wind this LG. adverb is first attested by Stürenburg (1857), s.v. and no examples for the use are given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1957), s.v.

<u>Strumpfhosen</u> pl. (p. 159), dial.

463 a pair of ... breeches

7,82 ein Paar ... Strumpfhosen

Campe (1810), s.v. is the first major dictionary to list LG. <u>Strumpfhosen</u> 'stockings' (first attested by Strodtmann (1756), s.v.). This example is given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1942), s.v. as the first quotation.

Stübchen n. (p. 150), obs.

495 it would have amounted to a gallon?

8,18 es würde ein ganzes Stübchen ausgemacht haben?

In the sense of a one gallon liquid measure Stübchen was obsolete by the 18th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1942), s.v., where the last example for this use dates from 1682). It is attested by Frisch (1741), s.v. Stübichen, Adelung (1780), s.v. and Campe (1810), s.v. Stube, and Bode's attempt to revive it appears to have been unsuccessful.

Stupf masc. (pp. 150, 152), obs., dial.

506 I value this precious relic, with its stigmata and pricks

8,46 ich schätze die kostbare Relquie mit ihren Mälern und Stupfen

In the 18th c. this obsolete word had survived in UG. dialects only (cf. Adelung (1780), s.v., Grimm DWb. (1942), s.v., where Bode's use is the only example). Bode appears to have made an unsuccessful attempt to revive it (the word is listed as obsolete by Campe (1810), s.v.).

Sündengreifer masc. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

441 that ... longstriding scoundrel of a scare-sinner

7,24 (der langbeinige) Schuft vom Sündengreifer

scare-sinner appears to be a neologism by Sterne in analogy to scarecrow (it is not attested by NED.). Bode coined the new term Sündengreifer which is not listed by any of the dictionaries.

tagdingen (pp. 144, 150, 151, 152), obs.

395f. Could the world have been sued like a body-corporate, - father had brought an action upon the case

6,66 Hätte man die Welt vor Gericht tagdingen können, wie eine ... Brüderschaft in Corpore - mein Vater hätt' ihr einen Process an den Hals geworfen

The form tagdingen is MHG. (cf. Lexer (1876), s.v. tagedingen). The use with a personal object died out by the 16th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1935), s.v. teidingen) but it is still listed by Frisch (1741), s.v. Taeding. Bode's attempt to revive the obsolete construction appears to have been successful (its re-introduction is recommended by Campe (1810), s.v. tagen).

Tollbrägen masc. (pp. 158, 160), dial.

313 that madcap of a postillion

5,3 der Tollbrägen vom Postillon

Grimm DWb. (1935), s.v. is the first major dictionary to list the LG. word (first attested by Brem.Wb. (1771), s.v. Dull-bräge) and this example is given as the first quotation.

Topp halten (pp. 158, 160), dial.

28 f. but if [he was] close pent up in the social chimney-corner, ..., and could not so readily fly off in a tangent

1,66 f. War er aber beym geselligen Camine, ... eingeschlossen, wo der arme Sünder Topp halten musste

In the sense of 'to stay, to hold out' Topp halten is only listed by Brem.Wb. (1771), s.v. Topp and by Schütze's Holsteinisches Idiotikon, IV, p. 262 (this dictionary was not available in the British Museum and I am quoting from Grimm DWb. (1935), s.v. Topp, where no examples are given).

Tückebothe masc. (pp. 159, 160), dial.

196 polemical writings ... upon a Will o' the Wisp

3,151 polemische Schriften ... über einen Tückebothen

Campe (1810), s.v. is the first and only major dictionary to list the LG. word (first attested by Brem. Wb. (1771), s.v. Tücke-Bode). No examples are given. Bode explained the meaning of this word in a footnote (see also chapter IV, pp. 101 ff.

Überschnellungen, pl. (p. 164), neol.

133 he was too refined a researcher to lie open to so gross an imposition.

2,168 dazu war er ein zu feiner Forscher, sich so groben Ueberschnellungen auszusetzen.

The noun is a new formation from the existing verb überschnellen (cf. Adelung (1780), s.v. überschnellen, Campe (1811), s.v. überschnellen) and it is not attested in any of the dictionaries.

<u>überwitzen</u> (pp. 165, 167), l.t., s.l.

61 My way is ever to point out to the curious, different tracts of investigation, ... not ... in the decisive manner of Tacitus, who outwits himself and his reader

1,153 f. Meine Gewohnheit ist immer, dem Forschbegierigen von verschiedenen Spuren einen Fingerzeig zu geben ... Nicht ... mit dem entscheidenden Tone des Tacitus, der sich selbst und seine Leser überwitzet

<u>überwitzen</u> in this sense of 'to surpass in wisdom and knowledge' was used only in MHG. (cf. Lexer (1876), s.v. <u>über-wizen</u>, also Grimm DWb. (1936), s.v.). This example appears to be a loan translation from Eng. <u>to outwit</u>, with which was combined a revival of the MHG. meaning through a semantic borrowing from the original. It did not survive.

<u>Ursachenkrämer</u> masc. (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

417 My father, ... a great motive-monger

6,125 Mein Vater, ... ein grosser Ursachenkrämer

This loan translation from Eng. <u>motive-monger</u> is attested only by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1936), s.v. <u>Ursache</u> (E), where this example is given as the only quotation. Eng. <u>motive-monger</u> appears to be a neologism invented by Sterne (cf. NED., s.v. <u>motive</u>).

<u>verspillen</u> (pp. 159, 160), dial.

260 without scattering?

4,116 ohne etwas davon zu verspillen.

Bode's use of this LG. verb (cf. Richey (1754), s.v., <u>Brem. Wb</u>. (1771), s.v. <u>spillen</u>, Adelung (1780), s.v.) antedates the first quotation of 1783 given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1956), s.v. <u>verspildern</u>.

<u>Vorkopf</u> masc. (pp. 159, 160), dial.

194 forehead

3,146 Vorkopf

This was a LG. word (cf. Adelung (1780), s.v., Dähnert (1781), s.v. <u>Voerkopp</u>) and Bode appears to be the first to use it in the literary language (cf. Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1951), s.v., where no examples are given).

Vorsetze fem. (pp. 145, 159), dial.

506 the bason is upon a level with the mole

8,47 der Hafen ist nun ausgefüllt, so hoch, wie die Vorsetzen

Campe (1811), s.v. is the first major dictionary to list this LG. word (first attested by Richey (1754), s.v. Voersetten). The only example given by Campe and Grimm DWb. (1951), s.v. is an unidentifiable quotation from J.J.C. Bode.

Wandfrüchte pl. (p. 165), neol. (l.t.)

40 his wall-fruit and green gages especially, ... , were just ready for pulling

1,96 seine Wandfrüchte, besonders die Mirabellen ... (stunden) grade zum Pflücken reif

This loan translation from Eng. wall-fruit is given only by Grimm DWb. (1922), s.v., where this example is the only quotation. Eng. wall-fruit is attested since 1669 (cf. NED.).

Windmusik fem. (p. 166), neol. (l.t.)

149 As Obadiah loved wind-music preferably to all the instrumental music he carried with him

3,23 Da Obadiah die Windmusik, aller der Instrumental-musik, die er auf der Schulter trug, vorzog

This loan translation from Eng. wind-music meaning 'whistling' is not attested by any dictionary.

wippen (p. 158), dial.

178 kicking it (the cause) out of the great doors, instead of in

3,103 ihn (den Prozess) aus der Thüre wippen, anstatt herein

wippen in the sense of 'to kick over' is first attested by Hoenig (1905). This example antedates the first quotation of 1786 given by Grimm DWb. (1960).

Wochenbetterinn fem. (pp. 163, 164), neol.

257 And how does your mistress?

4,106 Was macht ihre Wochenbetterinn?

This new formation is attested only by Grimm DWb. (1960), s.v. Wochenbett, where this example is given as the only quotation.

Zagel masc. (pp. 150, 151), obs., dial.

351 devils ... with their tails chopped off (their rumps) by

5,106 (Teufel) denen die Zagel dicht am Rumpfe abgehackt worden

This MHG. word (cf. Lexer (1878), s.v.) began to die out in the 15th c. (cf. Grimm DWb. (1956), s.v.; it is still listed by Frisch (1741), s.v.) but it occurred in some dialects at the time (cf. Adelung (1786), s.v.). Bode's use appears to be the earliest example for a revival, which took place in the late 18th c. (cf. Grimm DWb., s.v.). The word is again listed by Campe (1811), s.v.

<u>zermaddeln</u> (pp. 160), dial.

146 never poor jerkin has been tickled off at such a rate

3,13 niemals ist wohl ein armes Brustwams ärger zermaddelt worden

LG. <u>maddeln</u> in the sense of 'to torture, to maltreat' (cf. Richey (1754), s.v., <u>Brem. Wb</u>. (1768), s.v. <u>maddeln</u>, Dähnert (1781), s.v. <u>madden</u>, Schambach (1858), s.v.) is not attested by any major dictionary. Bode appears to be the first to use the word in the literary language.

<u>zerprudeln</u> (p. 159), dial.

145 you might have rumpled and crumpled, and doubled and creased, and fretted and fridged the outside of them all (the jerkins) to pieces

3,13 Man möchte das Oberzeug zerknollt und zerknickt, und zerwickelt und zerkrickelt, und zerhudelt und zerprudelt haben

<u>prudeln</u> in the sense of 'to spoil' was LG. (cf. <u>Brem. Wb</u>. (1768), s.v. <u>pruddeln</u>, Campe (1809), s.v.) and no examples are given by Grimm <u>DWb</u>. (1899), s.v. The alliteration of <u>fretted and fridged</u> has been altered into an assonance in <u>zerhudelt und zerprudelt</u>.

zertaltern (p. 164), neol.

138 the intellectual web is so rent and tattered

2,182 das Verstandsgewebe (ist) so zerrissen und zertaltert

Bode is forming a new verb from the LG. noun Taltern pl. which is only attested by Richey (1754), s.v. Taltern, Brem. Wb. (1771), s.v., Taltern, by Dähnert (1781), s.v. Taltern and by Campe (1810), s.v. Taltern, where no examples are given. It appears that Bode was the first to use the word in the literary language.

zerwickeln (p. 158), dial.

145 you might have rumpled and crumpled, and doubled and creased, and fretted and fridged the outside of them all (the jerkins) to pieces

3,13 Man möchte das Oberzeug zerknollt und zerknickt, und zerwickelt und zerkrickelt, und zerhudelt und zerprudelt haben

In the sense of 'to beat up' wickeln is first attested by Hennig (1785), (there is no copy in the British Museum and I am quoting from Grimm DWb. (1960), where no illustrations are given).

Zeugevorsteher pl. (p. 166), neol. (l.f.)

353 the lords of the genitures

5,113 die Zeugevorsteher

This loan formation from Eng. lords of the genitures is not given by any dictionary. Eng. lords of the genitures appears to be a neologism of Sterne's (it is not listed by NED.).

zurücke stutzen (p. 165), neol. (l.f.)

242 the traveller, starting back.

4,66 der Reisende ... stutzte zurücke.

This loan formation from Eng. to start back is attested only by Grimm DWb. (1941), s.v. stutzen (C 3). This example antedates the first quotation from H. v. Kleist given by Grimm DWb.

Zusammenklemmung fem. (p. 164), neol.

508 an unforced compression

8,52 f. eine ungezwungene Zusammenklemmung

This word is attested only by Campe (1811), s.v. and appears to have been a new formation.

zusammenknicken (p. 158), dial.

79 When Dolly has indited her epistle to Robin

2,15 Wenn Trienchen ihr Brieflein an Robert zusammengeknickt hat

knicken in the sense of 'to fold paper' was LG. (attested only by Brem. Wb. (1767), s.v.) No examples are given by Grimm DWb. (1873), s.v. and Bode appears to be the first to have used the word in this sense in the literary language.

VII

TRISTRAM SCHANDI AND THE LANGUAGE OF HUMOUR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the second half of the eighteenth century Germans became acutely aware that they themselves had not yet produced a humorous novel of any significance, and that the German scene compared unfavourably with other countries. In Ueber die neuere Deutsche Litteratur (1768) Herder wrote:

> Deutsche Humoristen haben wir wenige, ... Von unsern komischen Schriftstellern im launigten Ausdruck - vielleicht keiner als Lessing, wenigstens keiner so eigenthümlich als er. - Und an einen Deutschen Cervantes, Hudibras, Tristram, ... lässt sich bei unserm ~~Antonio von Rosalva, ... kaum~~ Antonio von Rosalva, ... kaum gedenken.[1]

In the light of this literary situation Bode's translations of English humorists gained their special significance and contemporaries knew how to appreciate them. In Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität Herder thanked Bode for his translations which had contributed so much.

> Dank also auch jedem guten Uebersetzer guter brittischen Humoristen. Und wir wissen alle, wem wir in Deutschland vorzüglich hiebei Dank zu sagen haben, dem Uebersetzer Y o r i k s, S t e r n e, F i e l d i n g's, S m o l l e t s, G o l d s m i t h's, C u m b e r l a n d s, u. f. Die B o d e'schen Uebersetzungen der e m p f i n d s a m e n R e i s e n, des T r i s t r a m-S h a n d y, T h o m a s J o n e s, H u m p h r e y K l i n k e r s, des L a n d p r i e s t e r s v o n W a c k e f i e l d, des W e s t i n d i e r s sind in Aller Händen.[2]

[1] Sämmtliche Werke, II, p. 46.

[2] Sämmtliche Werke, XVII, p. 250.

[2] Sämmtliche Werke, II, p.45: "Woher lieben die Britten so sehr das Launische in ihrer Schreibart? Auch deswegen weil diese Laune unübersetzbar und ein heiliger Idiotisme ist. Warum haben Shakespear und Hudibras: Swift und Fielding sich so sehr das Gefühl ihrer Nation zu eigen gemacht? Weil sie die Fundgruben ihrer Sprache durchforschet, und ihren Humour mit Idiotismen, jeden nach seiner Art und seinem Maass, gepaart haben."

The reasons for a lack of a humorous literature were manifold. One of them was often seen in the country's national character, whose dullness, as Lichtenberg claimed, was such that "ein Mann, der einen deutschen Roman schreiben will, fast nicht weiss, wie er Leute zusammenbringen, oder Knoten schürzen soll."[1] Herder recognized how intimately English humour and English idiom were connected[2] and treated the problem as a predominantly stylistic one. For the cultivation of a humorous language of her own Germany would have to bring to life the potential of her own language, dormant for some time past. The difficulties of this he freely admitted: "Es muss auch würcklich schwer seyn zu diesen Geheimnissen der Sprache zu gelangen, ...".[3]

Nevertheless the linguistic situation did undergo a drastic change during the 1770's so that in 1781 J. Möser could write:

> Keine Sprache hat sich vielleicht so sehr zu ihrem Vortheile verändert als die unsrige; nichts war armseliger als unsre komische Sprache, ausser dem Hanswurst war keiner auf der Bühne, der einen komischen Ton hatte, und das Volk liebte diesen, weil es von ihm wahre Volkssprache hörte, ...[4]

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[1] Vermischte Schriften, II, Göttingen 1844, p. 215.

[2] ~~Sämmtliche Werke, II, p. 45: "Woher lieben die Britten so sehr das Launische in ihrer Schreibart? ... weil dieso Laune unübersetzbar und ein heiliger Idiotisme ist. ... Weil sie die Fundgruben ihrer Sprache durchforschet, und ihren Humour mit Idiotismen ... gepaart haben."~~ /See opposite page.

[3] Sämmtliche Werke, II, p. 46.

[4] Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur, (reprinted in: Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale, no. 122 (Berlin 1902), p. 21. (Osnabrück 1781)

Herder's and Möser's statements indeed mark an important phase in the stylistic development of a period which, under the impact of English then held to be "die einzige Volkssprache, welche in Europa geschrieben wird, und ein auf den Thron erhobener Provinzialdialect, der auf seinem eignen fetten Boden steht ...",[1] shook off Gottsched's influence and saw the birth of a new language of humour. To this renaissance Bode's Tristram Schandi made an essential contribution.

Sterne's peculiar brand of humour was distinct from that of any German writer and, although it was understood by contemporaries in Germany, was not fully described before Jean Paul whose definition still applies. Sterne possessed, Jean Paul wrote, "weit mehr Humor als Witz und Ironie,"[2] and about this humour: "... seine ~~[Die]~~ blosse S u k z e s s i o n des Pathetischen und Komischen verwandelt ein Sterne gar in ein S i m u l t a n e u m beider."[3] It was the achievement of this very quality in Tristram Schandi which earned it Jean Paul's tribute: "... der schönste Abgusssaal eines Sterne."[4] When Michelsen writes: "Die Umdeutung Sternes

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[1] Möser, op. cit., p. 20.

[2] Vorschule der Aesthetik, Sämtliche Werke, XI, p. 130.

[3] Op. cit., p. 92. Spaced letters are indicated by dots.

[4] Op. cit., p. 131.

1935,

beginnt mit den Übersetzungen seiner Werke",[1] we cannot agree with him. Our findings acquit Bode's translation of all responsibility for that flood of mistaken imitations which followed, and of which Michelsen names a great number.[2] Looking back on that unfortunate period Jean Paul wrote:

> (... jeder ersah sich an Sterne seine eigne Kopier-Seite, z.B. Wieland die Paraphrase des Subjekts und Prädikats, andere seine unübertreffliche Periodologie, manche seine ewigen "sagt' er", mehre nichts, niemand die Grazie seiner Leichtigkeit).[3]

Bode approached his translation in the spirit of a linguistic crusader, aware that his attempt to adapt the German language to the gamut of Sterne's humour brought him into direct conflict with the acknowledged arbiters of literary taste, Gottsched and Adelung. The effective novelty of Tristram Schandi consisted mainly in its enriched vocabulary, refined use of idiom and skilful play on words. All three contributed to convey essential aspects of Sterne's humour.

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[1] P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, p. 79.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 87 ff.

[3] Op. cit., p. 129.

The controversial vocabulary that Bode chose had previously been consigned to the low comedy of the stage. In reintroducing it Bode achieved more than a mere quantitative enrichment of the literary language: he gave to the language of low comedy a new quality which preserved the many facets of Sterne's humour - its sentiment, irony, wit or comedy.

Bode employed the obsolete words, dialectal expressions and neologisms for their stylistic effect. It is wrong to conclude, as Benzler and Michelsen have done, that he took unnecessary liberties in using such strange words[1] when the standard language could have provided the appropriate vocabulary. Whether they are neologisms, obsolete words revived or dialectal expressions legitimized, each contributes its particular effect of comedy, irony, humour or wit. An obsolete word sometimes occurs to convey irony, one functional element of Sterne's humour. When talking about the winding up of the grandfather clock and other matters Sterne wrote: "... he (my father) had likewise brought some other little family concernments to the same period" (p. 9). In the translation the understatement

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[1] See chapter VI, pp. 136 ff.

comes through fully: "... so hatte er auch bereits, so nach und nach, gewisse andre kleine Ehehaften auf eben diese Termine gestellt" (1.14, pp. 12 f.). An obsolete term, on the other hand, might have a purely comic effect, as when Walter Shandy's unfair treatment of his brother's hobby-horse is described: "... he hit the rider too, and in the most dishonourable part a blow could fall" (p. 418), which is rendered: "... [er traf den Reiter mit], und zwar auf den schimpflichsten Fleck an seinem Leichname, wohin ein Hieb fallen kann" (6, 31, p. 126). But an obsolete expression might also be used to render a humorous nuance. Dr. Slop arrives on the scene without his bag of tools and Obadiah is sent to fetch it. In the process of deciding the best way of conveying it safely on horse-back, Obadiah and the housekeeper "consulted to take it off again" (p. 148). Bode's rendering neatly conveys the mood of this small detail: "... so wurden sie Raths, ihn wieder abzunehmen" (3, 7, p. 21). The connotation of the dialect words is, on the whole, more humorous than ironical or comic, as in the rendering of "The London waggon ... hung tottering upon the hill" (p. 313) as "Die Londoner Landkutsche ... schweimelte den Hügel hinan" (5, 1, p. 4). Bode's neologisms were successful because of their comic and witty rather than their humorous or ironical effect.

Their impact on the reader of to-day is still very funny and it is surprising that not more have survived. Jean Paul's observation seems applicable: "Neue Wendungen und Wortknüpfüngen drängen sich am schwersten oder langsamsten durch die enge Pforte in die lebendige Sprachwelt."[1] Amongst Bode's most striking neologisms are: Glossenraspeler, Grammatikendrescher, Heidenkram, Jammerbrodt, Pfaffenhäppchen, Probenonne, Querhändel, Sonntagswolle, Ursachenkrämer.

Bode's employment of unusual words is neither clumsy nor heavy, as Michelsen complains, but just the opposite. They were also often shorter and more precise. For "to parade in the eyes of the vulgar with the beggarly accounts of a little learning" (p. 288) there could hardly have been a better translation than: "... vor den Augen des grossen Haufens mit seinem Bissgen von Gelehrsamkeit ... einen Pracherstaat treiben" (4, 26, p. 173).

Having realized the close interdependence of English humour and English idiom Herder claimed idiom to be the essence of any humorous writing:

> Und nirgends reizt diese Idiotistische Schreibart mehr, ja nirgends ist sie unentbehrlicher, als bei Schriftstellern der Laune, bei Dichtern von eigner Manier, und in dem Vortrage für den gemeinen Mann, der auch in Schriften leben soll. Nimmt man diesen

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[1] Op. cit., p. 287.

> das Idiotistische ihrer Sprache, als einer lebendigen, als einer angebohrnen, als einer Nationalsprache: so nimmt man ihnen Geist und Kraft.[1]

Translations under Gottsched's rule had been criticized by Breitinger "weil sie in denselben alle Idiotismos, die in der Form der Rede bestehen, mit einer schädlichen Behutsamkeit vermeiden, so dass der Nachdruck der Grundschrift gemeiniglich durch weitläuftige und wortreiche Erklärungen verderbet wird ...".[2] As "Sprache des Pöbels"[3] idiom had been confined to low comedy by Gottsched. Bode's handling of it is surprisingly subtle.[4] Used in a context other than low-bred dialogues of the stage the flexibility of its nature appears; its connotative variety is cleverly utilized to convey the subtle overtones of individual phrases as well as the general feeling of their context.

A final contribution to the language of humour which Bode made in Tristram Schandi is his play on words. This was one of the results of his realization of Sterne's indebtedness to Rabelais. Doing justice to this aspect of the novel was not always easy. Assonances in particular

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[1] Sämmtliche Werke, II, pp. 45 f.

[2] Critische Dichtkunst, Zurich 1740, II, p. 146 (see also chapter III, p. 95).

[3] See chapter VI, pp. 153 f.

[4] Examples have been discussed in chapter V, pp. 132-34.

/... als das horazische ridiculus mus

were difficult to reproduce because of their fundamental foreignness to German. The famous sequence "a tag, a rag, a jag, a strap" (p. 442), to which Jean Paul referred as "nicht so leicht im Deutschen zu übersetzen/,"[1] Bode made no attempt to render (7, 8, p. 27). Such play on words Adelung had included among the "Figuren der Aufmerksamkeit", which were appropriate for poetry alone. They were "unter allen die schwächsten, und unter allen diesen ... [hat] die Alliteration ... die wenigste Kraft."[2] Not before Jean Paul was the play on words pronounced an essential factor in humorous writing: "Da es ohne Sinnlichkeit überhaupt kein Komisches gibt: so kann sie bei dem Humor als ein Exponent der angewandten Endlichkeit nie zu farbig werden."[3] His concept of "humoristische Sinnlichkeit" and his own employment of its elements showed clearly the influence of Sterne,[4] whose Tristram Shandy he had read in Bode's translation,[5] where these elements, hitherto confined to the rhetoric of serious poetry, were, for the first time since Fischart, effectively employed in humorous prose.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 127.

[2] Ueber den Deutschen Styl, Berlin 1787, I, p. 293.

[3] Op. cit., p. 125.

[4] Cf. B. Brandi-Dohrn, Der Einfluss Laurence Sternes auf Jean Paul, doctoral dissertation, Munich 1964, pp. 80 ff.

[5] See chapter VI, p. 168.

In conveying Tristram Shandy's humour Bode succeeded in expanding the German concept of humorous prose. He succeeded in adapting to the more sophisticated requirements of the 1770's many forgotten usages which Gottsched and Adelung had consigned to low comedy. In Bode's hands and under Sterne's influence the formerly crude and comic language of the Hanswurst was elevated into the acceptable language of humour.

VIII

BODE HOLOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS AND COPIES

In the course of a fruitless search for Bode's "Real-und Verballexicon über Tristram Schandi's Leben und Meynungen"[1] I acquired much information from librarians and custodians concerning the present whereabouts of Bode manuscripts. It became obvious that the last survey by W. Frels, Deutsche Dichterhandschriften von 1400 bis 1900, Leipzig 1934, p. 28, was badly out of date. Many manuscripts have been lost and the location of others has changed.

Although I have not had the opportunity to examine every manuscript I append the following list. This does not include masonic papers since it/has proved difficult to obtain information about them. The order followed in the list is that of Frels. /\ Unless otherwise stated none of the manuscripts has been published.

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[1] Mentioned in his preface to Tristram Schandi (see chapter IV, p. 99). P. Michelsen, Laurence Sterne und der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1962, p. 68, note 36, suggested that it might have survived (see chapter I, p. 47 and chapter IV, p. 98).

/\ I have noted such manuscripts as have changed hands, been lost or newly appeared since his survey and have corrected or added without special mention some names and dates.

Altona: Stadtarchiv see Hamburg: Staatsarchiv.

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.

- 2 letters to H.C. Boie, 1774/5.
- 1 letter to J.G. Herder, 1771.
- 1 letter to a friend, 1786.
- Lessing-Sammlung:

  1 letter to H.W. v. Gerstenberg, 2 December, 1768.

  2 letters to a publisher, 6 December, 1792 and 24 March, 1793.

All the above were lost in the war. (See also Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

Berlin: Literatur-Archiv.

- 11 letters to H.C. Boie, 1770-79.

Frels lists only 7 letters (1770-76) which have been published in Mitteilungen aus dem Literaturarchive, III, Berlin 1904.

Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

- 86 letters to F. Nicolai, 1771-92.
- 1 letter to J.G. Herder, May 1770.

These letters were formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.

Dresden: Körnermuseum see Dresden: Stadtarchiv.

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek.

- Travel diary covering the journey to Paris (1787).
- Copies of 49 letters to Frau Hess, née Smith, 1785-93.
- Copies of 56 letters to Elisa v. der Recke, 1785-93.
- 1 letter to a female friend, 1787.

Dresden: Stadtarchiv.

- 1 letter to C.F. Schwaan, 12 May, 1781.

This was formerly in the Körnermuseum which was destroyed in the war.

Frankfort: Goethemuseum.

- "Diarium", March 1-23, 1765.
- 2 letters to H.W. v. Gerstenberg, 5 May and 27 November, 1769. The latter not in Frels.
- 2 letters to G.J. Göschen, 8 February, 1786 and 10 June, 1789.
- 1 letter to [G.?] Hufeland, 3 October, 1788.

Halberstadt: Gleimhaus.

- 8 letters to L. Gleim, 1767-76.
- 1 letter to the merchant H.W. Bachmann in Magdeburg, ~~1767~~ 16 December, 1767.

Of the nine letters, listed by Frels as addressed to Gleim, one is, in fact, addressed to H.W. Bachmann.

Hamburg: Staatsarchiv.

- 1 letter to [G.?] Hufeland, 21 September, 1791.

Frels does not indicate whether the addressee was G. or C.W. Hufeland. This letter was destroyed in the war. It was formerly kept in the Stadtarchiv Altona which in 1938 was amalgamated with the Staatsarchiv.

Hamburg: Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek.

- 1 letter to R.Z. Becker, 16 October, 1793. Not in Frels.

- 1 letter to Geheimrat Formey, 29 September 1775. Not in Frels.

- 2 letters to H.W. v. Gerstenberg, 16 February, 1769 and 22 November, 1770. The latter not in Frels.

- 2 letters to Frau v. Lengefeld, née v. Wurm, 10 August, 1786 and 8 May, 1788. Not in Frels.

- 1 letter to Professor [J.A.A.?] Meyer at Göttingen, 17 October, 1787.

- 14 letters to P.E. Reich, 1771-76 and a bill, 1776.

- 2 letters to Elise Reimarus, 25 December, 1786 and 19 January, 1787. The former not in Frels.

- 1 letter to Sophie Schwarz, née Becker, 17 October, 1789. Not in Frels.

- 2 letters addressed to "Mein liebster Herr Professor" [J.A. Ebert?], 11 July and 17 December, 1770. Not in Frels.

- 1 letter to (?), 6 December, 1792. Not in Frels.

Frels also lists 4 letters to P.E. Reich, 1777 and 1 letter to F.G. Klopstock, 11 April, 1769, which appear to have been lost.

1 [1769]

Hannover: Kestnermuseum.

- 1 letter to (?), 26 December, 1789.

I have been unable to find out whether this letter is still in the possession of the museum.

Kaliningrad: (formerly Königsberg: Staatsarchiv.)

- 1 letter to J.G. Scheffner, 17 November, 1790.

This letter was formerly kept in the Staatsarchiv. I have been unable to find out if it has survived.

Kiel: Universitätsbibliothek.

- 1 letter to [?] Widemann, 25 January, 1790.

Königsberg: Staatsarchiv see Kaliningrad.

Leipzig: Bibliothek des Börsenvereins see Leipzig: Deutsche Bücherei.

Leipzig: Deutsche Bücherei.

- 19 letters to G.J. Göschen, 1786-92.

Frels lists only 16 letters. They were formerly in the Bibliothek des Börsenvereins which is now under the administration of the Deutsche Bücherei.

Munich: Bayrische Staatsbibliothek.

- 1 letter to [G.?] Hufeland, 15 August, 1789.

Münster: Universitätsbibliothek.

- 2 letters to A.M. Sprickmann, 10 March and 20 June, 1779.

Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

- 1 letter to C.A. Böttiger, undated.
- A collection of unbound leaves containing notes on the history of magnetism.[1]

The Germanisches Nationalmuseum was not included by Frels.

Weimar: Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv.

A, 1773-78 - 11 letters to F.J. Bertuch. Not in Frels.

A, 1789 - 1 letter to G.J. Göschen. Not in Frels.

- 1 letter to G. Hufeland, 8 April, 1791.

A, 1789 - 1 letter to Sophie v. Laroche. Not in Frels.

- 2 letters each to an unidentified addressee. Only one, dated 6 June, 1786, is listed by Frels.

More details about these items are given in K.H. Hahn, Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv, Bestandsverzeichnis, Weimar 1961, pp. 53; 148; 227.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek.

- 5 letters to J.A. Ebert, 19 October, 1759,
  15 July, 1765,
  12 December, 1770,
  30 November, 1771,
  one undated.

- 1 letter to a female friend, 21 September, 1791.

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[1] "... der bei uns verwahrte Nachlass von Johann Joachim Christoph Bode besteht aus einem Faszikel, ...". (Personal communication from Dr. Veit, Oberkonservator of the Nationalmuseum.)

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ABSTRACT

The principal aim of this dissertation is to discuss certain aspects of J.J.C. Bode's translation of Tristram Shandy and their impact on the German language of the late eighteenth century.

The first two chapters incorporate a biographical introduction, concentrating on Bode as a translator, publisher and musician, and relate to the background, the writing and publication of his Tristram Schandi and its reception by the critics. This is followed by a discussion of the different theories of translation maintained by eighteenth-century writers. The traditional theories and the stylistic ideals as represented by Gottsched and Adelung were hardly favourable to the rendering of so eccentric a novel as Tristram Shandy. The comparative failures of both J.F. Zückert's and J.P. Frénais' translations illustrate the inadequacy of these ideals. The fourth chapter describes Bode's perceptive approach to the novel and his determination to reproduce even the least orthodox aspects of its style, however controversial by contemporary standards. The following chapter examines aspects of his translation in the light of that intention and his understanding of Sterne's style. The sixth chapter gives a lexicographical analysis of the vocabulary employed, which, though clashing strongly with the accepted

ideas of style as represented by Gottsched and Adelung, nevertheless survived in part. The final chapter summarizes and weighs the rich stylistic and linguistic contribution of Tristram Schandi to the formation of a new language of humour. Appended is a list of the present location of Bode's manuscripts.