First-Person Narration in the Early Modern Novel With Special Reference to Sorel’s *Francia*, Grimmelshausen’s *Courasche* and Defoe’s *Moll Flanders*

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Abstract

This thesis is an attempt to reread the 'Rise of the Novel' so as to attach proper importance to the seventeenth century, with special emphasis on first-person narration (a defining feature of picaresque novels), and on the German reception and production of narrative prose texts. Three novels, Charles Sorel's *Histoire Comique de Francion*, Grimme lshausen's *Courasche* and Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, are used as examples of changes in novelistic narration in the period, and are related to the two early modern models of first-person narration, Apuleius's *Golden Ass* and Augustine's *Confessions*. Changes in first-person narration, methods of characterisation, and the role of metatext are explored in relation to changes in the understanding of literature, the individual and the purpose of narration. It will be shown how these conceptual changes are reflected in changes in narrative technique, but also how the novels and other narrative texts contribute to a shift in perception. Narratological analysis is thus contextualised with reference to other contemporary discourses: the novels are placed in the wider perspective of early modern culture, and attention is paid to how the novel 'agglutinated' into being, rather than appearing out of nowhere at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
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Reinhard Uhrig

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A Note on the Texts

The editions used for this study have been selected in view of accessibility; therefore, some works are not cited in accordance with the most recent critical edition. Reference to the originals and to recent critical editions will be made when the need for more accurate description arises.

The early modern titles have not been abbreviated in the Bibliography, as they frequently contain essential information that has often been overlooked. However, the bibliographical references in the footnotes will be suitably abbreviated.
List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Frequently Used Editions

**BF**

**Confessions**

**Confessions**

**Courasche**

**Francion**

**GA**

**Moll**
Defoe, Daniel, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, &c., Who was Born in NEWGATE, and during a Life of continu'd Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent, Written from her own MEMORANDUMS*, ed. by G. A. Starr, The World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

**Review**

**Shortest Way**

Abbreviations of Grimmelshausen’s Works

References are to *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. by Rolf Tarot, Wolfgang Bender and Franz Günter Sieveke (for full references, see Bibliography, Other Primary Literature)

**KS**
Kleinere Schriften

**RP**
Rathstübel Plutonis

**RS**
Simplicianischer Zweyköpfiger Ratio Status

**SP**
Satyrischer Pilgram

**Springinsfeld**
Der seltzame Springinsfeld

**ST**
Der abenteurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch und Continuatio des abenteurlichen Simplicissimi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TM  Deß welterbaffenen Simplicissimi Pralerey und Gepräng mit seinem Teutschen Michel
VW  Die verkehrte Welt
WV  Das wunderbarliche Vogelnest
also
EK  Des Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimi Ewig-währender Calender (1670, repr. 1967)

Abbreviations of Journals

Daphnis  Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur
DVLG  Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
EG  Études Germaniques: Revue trimestrielle de la société des Études Germaniques
PoetT  Poetics Today
Simpliciana  Simpliciana: Schriften der Grimmelshausen-Gesellschaft
StNov  Studies in the Novel

Library Shelf Marks of Rare Editions

Arsenal  Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris
Aug  Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg
BL  British Library, London
BNF  Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Bodleian  Bodleian Library, Oxford
BSB  Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
CAS  Landesbibliothek Coburg
HAB  Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
ÖNB  Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
Sainte-Geneviève  Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris
Taylorian  Taylor Institute Library, Oxford
1. Introduction: Histories of the History of the Novel

This study begins with a curious observation. The established canon of novels, especially within the field of English literature, tends to start at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and nothing from the early modern period and earlier epochs seems to predate it. The presupposition that before the Enlightenment there are no extended prose texts worth reading, let alone studying, is reinforced by another of the convincing 'powerful stories'\(^1\) that dominate scholarship for decades, until scholars re-examine the texts. This powerful story is the one of the rise of the novel, in the eighteenth century, in England. My aim in this study will be to contribute to a revisionist line of scholarship, arguing that there are in fact novels written before the turn of the eighteenth century, and not necessarily just in England. I will trace the development of one particular form of novelistic writing in the early modern period, the picaresque novel. This particular form, limited in its existence from the mid-sixteenth to about the early eighteenth century (before its re-emergence in the twentieth century), is not necessarily the most popular form of narrative fiction in the period, but — as will be shown — most influential for later developments. The picaresque novel can in many ways be seen as enabling the modern novel, if not quite being it.

In order to understand the early modern production of texts, it is furthermore essential to describe the re-editions and translations of earlier and contemporary texts that shaped the genuine production in the period. A number of ancient texts are important for the generic development of the novel as they provide the models of first-person narration, which dominates in the contemporary picaresque novels. Furthermore, it will be described how these models from post-classical antiquity provided not only the inspiration for new developments in the period, but also plentiful reading material. It will be one of the central aims of this study to show that the reception of narrative texts in the early modern period is in most cases a participatory reception, altering the texts that are transmitted from one context to another. The new texts, in particular Grimmelshausen's

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\(^1\) Antony Grafton, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1995), p. 2 describes an even more powerful story, the story of the rise of empiricism and discovery over the authority of ancient texts in the late fifteenth century, before re-examining and disproving this view in the rest of his study.
Courasche, will therefore be described in relation to their precursors and also placed in the European context.

This introduction will give a brief survey of the conflicting accounts of the history of the novel, before I will outline the methodology of my study. Due to the immense amount of debate on the early novel, my survey will have to be limited to only two approaches. More detailed summaries can be found in a number of studies, with Durant providing an overview of earlier scholarship, and Davis summarising some of the more recent developments.

Most of the approaches to the threshold between supposedly old texts and the new novel and its rise in the eighteenth century are not neatly classifiable. It is only the fundamental assumptions in these studies with regard to the issue of threshold itself that can be grouped according to central hypotheses, and not the vast range of scholarship on the relation of the new novel to, amongst others, picaresque novels, spiritual autobiography, or travel literature. In what follows, I will outline the two most important approaches to the issue of threshold before developing my own account of early modern novelistic writing in the following chapter.

The first of these approaches is the origin hypothesis. It holds that the novel arose in the eighteenth century and that there is a clearly discernible origin of the genre. This approach is best exemplified by the single most influential study of the early novel, Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*, which expresses this assumption already in its title. The book revolutionised novel scholarship when it first appeared in 1957, and every account that has been written about the early English or European novel since has to some greater or lesser degree been a revaluation of it. Watt claims that there is in fact something new

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3 My usage of the term 'new novel' is similar to the modification of the Labour party into 'new Labour', indicating formal continuity, but essential change.

happening in England in the period of Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson (whom he perceives as the real founder of the novel).5 This assumption of the birth of a new genre is in Lejeune’s words a ‘messianic system’:6 the arrival of one archetype brings the new form into being. The system still presupposes some prehistory before creation, and Watt is conscious of not being able to include it for reasons of scope.7 However, Watt’s basic assertion is that there is a very strong rupture in narrative fiction around the turn of the century that makes the prehistory irrelevant. He perceives this rupture in the way reality is presented in the texts rather than in the kind of reality they present. The ‘formal realism’ that he finds in Defoe’s and Richardson’s writings is his distinguishing criterion that ‘had not been deeply enough assimilated’ in the previous texts by Richard Head, Aphra Behn and Grimmelshausen, that according to Watt were still based on ‘non-realistic conventions.’8 Watt links the new way of presenting reality to the philosophical realism of Descartes and Locke, which allowed for truth to be perceived through the empirical senses rather than emanating from bookish authority.9 However, it should be noted that this view of a radical break in attitude towards tradition (from reverence to dismissiveness) has been questioned in recent scholarship.10 Watt correctly observes an increase in the characterisation of ‘particular people in particular circumstances’ and in their setting in a more detailed environment than had happened in, for example, the early modern romance or in most picaresque texts.11 A change did occur between 1700 and 1740, and not just in novelistic narration, but, as will be argued below, the change was not necessarily a radical break with the past.

7 Watt, p. 7.
8 Watt, pp. 32–3, here: 33.
9 Watt, p. 11.
10 See Grafton, New Worlds, pp. 6–7.
11 Watt, p. 15.
Watt’s most important contribution to the study of the eighteenth-century novel is his detailed analysis of the English sociological and cultural background. He uses this analysis to demonstrate that literary production was linked to changes in the reading public in England at the time, which for him explains the fact that the novel began in England earlier than on the Continent. Watt links the rise of the novel to sociological and ideological changes in society, and thus extends the Weberian hypothesis of a link between the rise of Protestantism and the rise of capitalism by adding a third element: the rise of the novel out of its readership, the new capitalist middle classes. As has been commonly noted in recent sociological research, this extended hypothesis fails to take into consideration shifts in the reading public that occurred long before the supposed origin of the novel. Literacy in Europe rose sharply at the beginning of the seventeenth century, not at the end of it; the idea of a causal chain of an increase in literacy, leading to an expansion of the reading public and therefore extended demand for new reading material seems to be untenable. I will attempt to show precisely what reading material these newly literate classes, as well as the traditional consumers of high and low literature alike, had at their disposal in the seventeenth century.

It is this problem of the basis and nature of the assumed origin, as well as criticism of Watt’s ‘world of […] unspecified, generalised causes of change’ that have been the subject of scholarly debate. Furthermore, Watt’s assertion of a lack of prehistory and his claim to a radical new beginning, a triumphant rise of a narrative form that fills the void left for it by destiny is questionable. Again, after all the possibilities for criticism, it should be repeated that Watt’s study was and is ground-breaking: he provided the inspiration for a scholarship that went deeper and deeper into the prehistory of novelistic writing, while sometimes the new scholarship cannot help modifying the confident assertions of ‘a distinguished modern scholar without a Ph.D.’

12 Watt, pp. 35–60.
13 Watt, p. 300.
16 Davis, p. 6.
17 Davis, p. 5, Hunter, Before Novels, p. xx.
There is an even more widespread account than this powerful story about the origin of a new genre. This other story holds that there is an ongoing development of the genre, and not just a development and change after the days of Defoe and Richardson, but one that can be traced all the way back to antiquity. This approach tends to be descriptive of different sub-genres rather than attempting to give an overview of the immense amount of material that it otherwise would have to include: a comprehensive history spanning all forms of narrative fiction of the first two millennia AD would have encyclopaedic dimensions.

Almost all the early poetics of prose fiction adhere to this model and stress the generic continuity, from classical antiquity to the early modern period. One of the reasons for this was that the prose upstart, not included in the classical generic canon of poetry, epic and drama, was attempting to find legitimacy. What better place to look for this than in the revered authority of antiquity? Thus, early definitions of prose narratives tended to sketch a more or less continuous development, from whatever the observer perceived to be the first occurrence of the form. There are numerous attempts at defining, classifying and grouping the contemporary texts into one line with previous texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth century and from classical and post-classical antiquity. As these poetics have been widely republished and analysed over the last twenty years, it will suffice to sketch the main development in attitude towards the precursors.

The early modern phase was fairly promiscuous in its inclusiveness of all prose (and even verse) material into one generic canon. Theorists such as Huet frequently stressed the polyglot, multilingual and multicultural heritage of the Roman, while they tended to be vague about clear definitions of this umbrella term (see below). When this form of prose writing became more and more respectable in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it seems to be exactly these dubious oriental precursors that troubled a new genera-

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19 Unconscious uses of this approach can be found in numerous studies, for example Romberg’s description of the ‘first-person novel’ from antiquity to the twentieth century. Bertil Romberg, Studies in the Narrative Technique of the First-Person Novel (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1962), pp. 311-9.

tion of writers. Finally in the eighteenth century a set of English writers and theorists perceived their production as so radically different from the traditional texts that they tried to disentangle themselves not just from the ancient texts, but also from any potential influence continental prose could have had on their production. Doody is correct in perceiving this cutting of all strings that link old to new texts as a political event, important for the self-consciousness of a nation keen to dominate its European neighbours, but she is slightly harsh in accusing this new interpretation of racism ('[t]he new Novel would define itself as home-grown, Aryan'). The tendency to aggrandise the value of one's own national literature can equally be found in previous continental attempts to surpass the foreign precursors. However, through the immense impact of eighteenth-century English novels on continental Europe, this view of the origin of the novel was transmitted to other countries: the ties to the past were severed. It is only in a number of analyses of sub-genres of the new form such as the picaresque that the view of a continuous development, from the past to eighteenth century and beyond, lingers on (see below).

This is also the case in Doody's recent study of the novel that consciously discards the hypothesis of one clearly definable threshold moment in the eighteenth century for the assertion of a continuous history of novelistic writing for the past two thousand years. The revisionist angle of the study can again be inferred from the title: *The True Story of the Novel*. In Doody's view, the origin hypothesis brought forward by Watt is reductive in the way it eliminates all narrative fiction that predates this supposed origin. Doody traces precisely this prehistory through the reception of ancient literature in Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe. Her account, highly polemical, politically correct in stressing the multicultural origins of the genre, and post-modern in its embracing of ambiguity, provides invaluable new material for the reception of ancient texts, while at the same time (due to the considerable scope of her enterprise) having to rush through some of the texts and periods. My study, while never being able to go beyond hers, will provide a micro-analysis of one part of her vast scope, and by focusing on just the first-person forms in the early modern period will give a clearer picture of the interaction of a num-

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22 Doody, p. 287.
23 Doody, p. 288.
ber of texts with the new contexts they are transmitted to. A major difference in attitude should also be observed: Doody consciously rejects the origin hypothesis for a model of evolutionary change. The evolution metaphor seems to me inadequate as it implies a continuous, steady change of texts towards perfection, presumably the mammals of novelist writing replacing the old dinosaurs. I agree with Davis that this model fails to take into account the radical mutations that sometimes survive and indeed become prominent in literature. Furthermore, by intentionally searching for a certain number of traits in texts written during a long span of time, it can become inevitable that the resulting similarities make the texts appear linked,\textsuperscript{25} and thus that some even minor elements could be perceived as the defining feature of a continuous tradition.

It is a less clearly focused approach that seems to deal better with the issue of threshold: the convergence supposition. Although one could hardly call the approach a school of thought (as the critics using this approach come from very disparate angles), the proponents of this approach share one central attitude.\textsuperscript{26} Davis sums up this central assumption:

\begin{quote}
In this explanation, the novel was not destined to evolve in a linear fashion, as in the evolutionary model, nor to be affected by social forces, as in the osmotic [origin] model, but somehow to happily agglutinate into existence by taking on the best features of disparate forms such as the essay, the history, and so on.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

It can be debated whether it really is the best features that the novel incorporates in the course of its development, but the central assumption of an agglutination is fascinating and has the great merit of denying the very thing that Davis misses in this approach:\textsuperscript{28} it does not offer one clear-cut reason for the rise of the novel, which I perceive as impossible. Furthermore, it also does not necessarily assume an origin of the novel in the early modern period or after, but more precisely a complex interaction of a multitude of (not just literary) narrative forms in a changing historical context. It is here that the model of a convergence of forms differs from the attempts of evolutionists to portray a simple succession of literary forms, describing the \textit{Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection} in near-Darwinian terms. It is also here that it differs from the assumption of a rise of the

\textsuperscript{25} Davis, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{26} Examples would have to include G. A. Starr, \textit{Defoe & Spiritual Autobiography} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) and Hunter, \textit{Before Novels}, even though Hunter subscribes to the view that there is a definable origin of the genre in the eighteenth century.
\textsuperscript{27} Davis, pp. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{28} Davis, p. 6.
novel with a discernible archetype becoming the model for other texts: as this study will attempt to show, literary developments are not necessarily causal, logical, or even progressive.

Now it will be necessary to develop the notion of a change of context that is essential for this analysis of novelistic writing during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The *OED* defines *context* as the preceding and subsequent sections of a text that determine its meaning and, by abstraction, as the cultural context in which a work of art is set. It is this latter denotation of a cultural context of texts that this study uses as a core term. The context is perceived as a set of material, cultural, and ideological practices that constitute not just the reality of the people of the time, but also their view of reality. It is furthermore the notion of concepts, of systems of thought governing the perception of reality, that will be essential for the description of changes within the period: concepts of legitimacy of writing, of character, and of morality will be analysed in relation to changes in novelistic writing, and I will attempt to show that these changes are in fact interrelated. It is important to stress that it is not the reality that changes (other than the material basis, such as inventions and the progress of science), but that this is in the first place a change of the perception of reality, leading to a change of concepts.

**Guil登stern** I'd prefer art to mirror life, if it's all the same to you.

**Player** It's all the same to me, sir.\(^{29}\)

It is the changes in the way reality is perceived that make a further consideration of the wider theoretical implications of this study necessary. One could summarise these implications in one provocative sentence: the texts produce the context they represent.

The new novel of the later eighteenth century was the product of a context we can understand more easily than the context of early modern Europe. This is the case simply because a number of concepts changed over the period, and they changed from early modern notions to the modern notions that still lie at the heart of our scientific and cultural presuppositions. For example, a point has been made about the Enlightenment discarding the strong moral focus and the sometimes ascetic notions of un-worldliness of earlier epochs for a more secularised form of Christianity. This changed context makes statements such as the 'Adieu Welt' at the end of *Simplicissimus Teutsch*, book V, seem awkward, less comprehensible than the secularised and very capitalist notions of piety.

developed by Defoe and others. Another concept that developed even more strongly over the period is the very notion of what a human character is defined by. Our modern notion of psychological maturation, from infancy to adolescence, maturity and then to old age (to cite one developmental psychologist), does not exist before this period: Harvey's discovery of blood circulation in the seventeenth century enabled a whole set of new anatomical and medical insights, and his discovery also led eventually to the abandonment of earlier psychological conceptions of four stages of man defined by four bodily fluids that were now untenable (see Chapter 5 below).

This view of a contextual change being central to a break in novelistic writing after the early modern period is widespread, even though not consciously presented: Hochman demonstrates how the rise of modern character is related to the rise of the modern novel, and thus implicitly how our notion of character is embedded in the texts we call novels. Furthermore, in Hunter's view, the eighteenth-century novel allows the (modern) reader to sympathize with the characters, because they are enough like us, similar not only psychologically, but also economically and socially. We can imagine facing the circumstances they face, even though there is a temporal distance of a quarter of a millennium. These statements, when taken with the above considerations, confirm the interpretation that the eighteenth-century novel is simply more familiar to modern readers than the products of the previous phases, dominated by different concepts and set in different material and cultural contexts. The notion of a character being influenced by the cold and moist qualities of the melons he had for breakfast and the position of the planet Saturn, as well as being in the choleric age of his development, is difficult to understand once this concept has been relegated to superstition and alternative medicine. However, this is not a reason for assuming that all the texts written before the novels of the later eighteenth century do not belong to the same genre.

I have now shown how the new concepts of the eighteenth century influenced the eighteenth-century novel. It will be furthermore necessary to demonstrate how the new novels participated in the generation of these concepts, in order to escape from the notion that novels simply mirror reality. Without delving into the vast amount of scholar-

ship on Realism and realistic writing, a number of considerations have to be introduced that enable the understanding of the interrelatedness of changes in novelistic writing and the contemporary conceptual framework. As described above, changes in concepts during this period were reflected in changes of content and narrative technique, for example in the method of characterisation used by a text. On the other hand, texts and their narrative techniques clearly constituted ways of perceiving reality. This interdependence of text and context can be illustrated by the example of witchcraft. Witches were commonly assumed to exist, and this superstition was codified in 1487 in the *Malleus maleficarum*, German title *Der Hexenhammer*, a guidebook on how to discover and deal with witches. In turn, through this text even the denial of the existence of witches became a heresy, and the witchcraft superstition led to the deaths of countless women and men who were obviously not witches. The text therefore does not necessarily mirror objective reality, but shapes it and becomes part of the cultural context. The period’s understanding of the physical and metaphysical world was based on knowledge drawn from texts not only in its understanding of religious dogmas, but also in many other areas: recent studies of the ‘discovery’ of America stress the fact that Renaissance men and women were not only not in shock at the collapse of their entire world-view, but in many ways prepared for the encounter through ancient texts by Pliny, Cicero and Ptolemy, and in some respects also rejected some empirical evidence in favour of the concepts that had been handed down to them from classical antiquity. There was clearly no immediate supplanting of traditional concepts through the shock of discovery, but rather an interaction of text-based knowledge with empirical observation, and then a modification of this body of knowledge through the generation of new texts.

Text and concept are therefore related: concepts do not float transverbally through the minds of people, but are transmitted through text, particularly in the text-based culture of the early modern period. This is the case not just for the cutting-edge scientific text directly concerned with individual concepts, but also for the vast bulk of fictional writings that participates in the generation and reinforcement of these concepts. This interaction can be illustrated by the concept of personality mentioned above that is embedded in fictional texts through their characters. The concept interacts with reality in surprising ways: real persons frequently imitate narrative patterns when they speak of their experi-

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ences. Marco Polo’s report of his travels was written down by Rustichello of Pisa, an author of romances, and he wrote down Polo’s experiences in the manner of Arthurian romance. Furthermore, factual autobiographical narratives are frequently stylised according to the artistically presented lives from previous autobiographies. Writers of autobiographies, in particular in the early modern period, are mostly concerned not with defining themselves as unique beings, but with the description of these individuals in terms of the conventional patterns of behaviour that they strive to imitate.

It is not just the case that any autobiographical account, or even any narrative at all, operates between an already written previous text (that it imitates or differs from) and the response it anticipates to its own writing, but also that narratives become the model for the interpretation of reality: characters in real life are frequently interpreted according to conventional ideas of human nature drawn from texts, and in most cases these conditionings will happen not through the authoritative scientific textbooks of the day that consciously describe the conventions, but through novels or other narrative fictions such as epic and drama in which they are embedded as a set of cultural practices. It becomes obvious that text needs to be treated not as a mirror of reality, but as a fact in its own right, representing concepts it participates in shaping. This insight will facilitate

34 Doody, p. 191.
39 Eakin’s summary in Lejeune, On Autobiography, p. xx. See also Bauer, Romantheorie, p. 2: ‘Viemehr reflektiert der Roman den Mentalitätswandel, zu dem er selbst beiträgt’ and his summary of Iser p. 208: ‘Insbesondere der Roman reflektiert die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit nicht nur, er modelliert sie auch, indem er das Bewußtsein derjenigen verändert, die ihre Konstruktivität in der Lektüre erproben.’ J. Hillis Miller, ‘Three Problems of Fictional Form: First-Person Narration in David Copperfield and Huckleberry Finn’, in J. Hillis Miller, Victorian Subjects (New York: Wheatsheaf, 1990), pp. 91-107 (pp. 94-5) stresses that the reality the text creates is not a mirror image of reality, but an independent, one is inclined to say, virtual reality that exists nowhere but within the text.
the understanding of the break in novelistic writing in the eighteenth century. As will be demonstrated, the break is influenced by the very conceptual changes it contributes to bringing about.

Some tenets mentioned above might be reminiscent of a recent movement in literary scholarship, New Historicism. This movement also aims to portray the interaction of literary text and non-literary discourses, and also stresses the relevance of the historical context that had been rejected by the *explication de texte* of New Criticism.\(^4\) It is especially Greenblatt's ingenuity in employing non-literary texts for the study of high works of art that is appealing, and he is also inspirational in analysing texts that no previous historian or literary scholar would have acknowledged. The 'methodological anarchy' of New Historicism has been criticised,\(^4\) but it can be an asset: too many of the studies of the early novel seem to follow one single assumption, one single causal link to which they subordinate the texts. However, I will be fairly eclectic in the use of the New Historicist approach: some elements such as the analysis of materialism and power-relationships have been employed before to describe the rise of the novel,\(^4\) and also seem not essential to an analysis of the agglutination of different forms of text.

My study will attempt to show how contextual change over this period is reflected/influenced by changes in novelistic writing, in particular its narrative strategies and techniques. Changes of narrative technique are most conveniently described with the analytic tools of narratology, but it is important that this is a means to an end, an application of theory to show how literature works, and not an end in itself.\(^4\) Only the most


\(^4\) Veeser, p. 7.


\(^4\) I follow an inspiration by Ansgard Nünning, 'Narrative Form und fiktionale Wirklichkeitskonstruktion aus der Sicht des *New Historicism* und der Narrativik', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 40 (1992), 197-213, to apply narratology to a (New) historical study of texts, and to thereby provide the historical dimension absent from previous theories of narrative that has also been noted by Onega, p. 12. However, my approach will reverse the priority by using narratology as a tool, and not as the centre of scholarly interest. Summaries of the history of narratology in Onega, pp. 1-25 and Bauer, *Romantheorie*, pp. 187-99.
essential basis of narratological theory will be presented here: the more specific terminology will be introduced in the chapters whenever it becomes necessary.

The basic narratological distinction is the one of narrative levels. I will adhere to Rimmon-Kenan's terminology, as it seems most apt and practical to describe three distinct levels of narrative. The distinction will be introduced with an illustrative example, taken from one of the texts that provides a model for early modern first-person narration: the autobiographical narrator of Augustine's *Confessions* looks back in book II to his youthful errors and describes the theft of pears from a neighbouring orchard, which has been frequently interpreted as a reference to Adam's initial Fall, the gathering of the fatal fruit from the tree of knowledge:

> arbor erat pirus in vicinia nostrae vineae pomis onusta nec forma nec sapore inlecebrosis. ad hanc excutiendam atque asportandam nequissimi adolescentuli perreximus nocte intempesta (quousque ludum de pestilentiae more in areis produxeramus) et abstulimus inde onera ingentia, non ad nostras epulas sed vel procienza porcis, etiamsi aliquid inde comedimus, dum tamen fieret a nobis quo nequissimi Liberet quo non liceret. ecce cor meum, deus, ecce cor meum, quod miseratus es in imo abyssi. [*Confessions*, II, 4, p. 19]\(^{44}\)

What occurs here is straightforward: a group of adolescents steals some pretty tasteless pears, after which the old narrator laments his previous deviousness. This representation is not necessarily chronological. Different ages of the narrator coexist on the same page: before and after the passage describing the actions of the young self, the older narrator introduces and comments on the events. This is the verbal representation that will be denoted by the term 'text':

> the text is what we read. In it, the events do not necessarily appear in chronological order, the characteristics of the participants are dispersed throughout, and all the items of the narrative content are filtered through some prism or perspective ('focalizer').\(^{45}\)

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\(^{44}\) 'There was a pear-tree near our vineyard, loaded with fruit that was attractive neither to look at nor to taste. Late one night a band of ruffians, myself included, went off to shake down the fruit and carry it away, for we had continued our games out of doors well after dark, as was our pernicious habit. We took away an enormous quantity of pears, not to eat them ourselves, but simply to throw them to the pigs. Perhaps we ate some of them, but our real pleasure consisted in doing something that was forbidden. Look into my heart, O God, the same heart on which you took pity when it was in the depths of the abyss.' (*Confessions*, II, 4, p. 47)

If one sits back and abstracts the narrated events into chronological order, into a story, something different can be made out: the young Augustine, playful and wayward, steals pears with a band of ruffians. At some much later stage, he repents this action and turns his attention to God to save his heart from debauchery. This abstracted level of events is denoted in this study by the term 'story':

‘Story’ designates the narrated events, abstracted from their disposition in the text and reconstructed in their chronological order, together with the participants in these events.45

The character indicators of association with delinquent adolescents and the action of stealing pears is thus abstracted to form the young character of Augustine, the delinquent; and also the character indicators of attentiveness to God and displeasure at delinquent actions are abstracted for the picture of the Saint Augustine, sitting at his desk pondering spiritual salvation. Another narrative element of the passage remains to be introduced: the verbal act of telling, which again is something different from the physical text in front of us. This act of communication between narrator and reader is here focused towards an emphatic statement of the narrator, castigating his previous wickedness and powerfully invoking God to save him from the abyss of debauchery, an act that is best described with the term ‘narration’:

Since the text is a spoken or written discourse, it implies someone who speaks or writes it. The act or process of production is the third aspect — ‘narration’. [...] Within the text, communication involves a fictional narrator transmitting a narrative to a fictional narratee.46

It is obvious that an analysis of first-person narration will be immensely interested in these acts of communication that are achieved between the fictional narrators of the texts and their readers. Here a last theoretical preliminary is necessary in order to avoid a biographical study of the authors of the texts: the first-person narrators are not identical to the real authors of the novels, although there might be autobiographical elements in the texts. This is obvious in the case of the female protagonists of Courasche and Moll Flanders and their male creators, but sometimes hard to grasp for the early modern editors:

Hie kußt der Apuleius die Kuchenmaid Fotis/ bulet vmb sie/ biß sie jm zu willen wardt. [Sieder’s translation of Apuleius’s Golden Ass, 1538]47

Wie Lucius Apuleius yn gestalt eins esels verwandelt vnd verkert ward. [Wyle’s translation of Lucian’s epitome of the story, 1509]48

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46 Rimmon-Kenan, pp. 3–4.
The author Apuleius was frequently credited with his hero’s sexual conquests, and also perceived as writing an autobiographical report of his transformation into an ass. The reception of first-person narration in the period generally failed to distinguish between the (fictional) narrators of the events and the (factual) authors of the novels. It is only much later that this distinction was made, for example in the re-translation of the *Golden Ass* by August Rode at the end of the eighteenth century:

> Alles was Apuleius hier und in der Folge des Romans, von seinem Helden Lucius erzählt, das haben die bisherigen Biographen dieses platonischen Philosophen als Nachrichten von ihm selbst angenommen, und es in sein Leben eingerückt. Unmöglich lich kann ich ihnen darin meinen Beifall geben. Mir kommt es gerade so vor, als wenn jemand Wielands Lebensgeschichte aus dem Agathon zusammentragen wollte. Es kann Wahres darin sein, allein wer vermag es vom Erdichtetem zu son dern?[^49]

Sometimes a higher narrative instance can be made out within the text, introducing the first-person narration or commenting upon it, but even there it will be more useful to speak of this as an image of the author inserted into the fictional text, rather than of the real author expressing his views. I follow the terminology established by Booth, who defines this image as an ‘implied author’, the picture of the author in the reader’s mind that is not necessarily identical with the real author or for that matter with the character in the text.[^50] It is therefore not the real author that will be analysed talking to us in the prefaces and post-scripts of the novels, but a rhetorical function from the fictional world serving a very specific purpose.

One further methodological necessity of the study of early modern texts remains to be introduced: this study will distinguish between the stable original ‘text’ and the ‘edition’ that presents the same text in different versions in the course of its history. Some scholarship of the novel has failed to perceive this essential difference. For example, Feldges analyses Grimmelshausen’s novels and their illustrations and relies extensively on the *Gesamtausgabe* without being aware of the strong textual and pictorial alterations of this

[^48]: Lucian, *Ein hübsche history von Lucius apuleius in gestalt eins eels verwädelt vni verkert ward [...]*, trans. by Niclas von Wyle (Straßburg: Johannes Knoblouch, 1509), fol. viii7. It is noteworthy that Wyle’s translation of the abridged version by Lucian perceives the character Lucius as identical with the author of the longer novel, Apuleius.


later edition. This causes rather curious interpretations that could have been avoided given a greater awareness of the nature of this edition, which presents the text with new epigraphs and illustrations and bowdlerises it. These later variations are frequently not included in modern editions. To avoid similar blurrings of focus, and also to discover a whole host of new and surprising material present in the editions of the period, this study will perform a move back to the book, describing how the texts were transmitted and adapted in the early modern context. This will necessitate an overview of at least some of the editions in which a given text is presented (Chapter 3). Furthermore, the sheer number of editions is an indication of the text’s popularity and will therefore help to revise some views about the ‘rise of the novel’: some unlikely texts turn out to be far bigger sellers than the later novels of the eighteenth century (although no clear figures exist of how high the print runs were in the early modern period, 1,000 to 1,500 copies per edition can be assumed). The speed of pirating in particular is an indication of a text’s popularity, and the severe torture for publishers of pirated editions in the hell of Grimmelshausen’s *Verkehrte Welt* (p. 63) can be seen as wishful thinking at a time when this practice was widespread and almost instantaneous, providing plentiful reading material for the public while robbing the author of his sparse share of the profit.

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2. A Brief History of the Early Modern Novel

This chapter will give a summary of the development of narrative fiction in the early modern period, before the following chapters will address the more particular issues of transmission and narrative changes. The following outline is indebted to a multitude of studies mentioned above and in the footnotes of the following chapters. Like most of these studies, it will necessarily have to be reductive in order to give a clear picture of the main trends and changes in narrative fiction in the period. It is nevertheless my conviction that the development of the novel can only be described in a comparative study of texts and traditions from several countries and centuries. In the early modern period with its great emphasis on the importance of old and new knowledge, whatever the national origin, it is impossible to present any national production as independent of its precursors and neighbours. It is also essential to my approach that it is a movement back to the book, away from the a-historical concept of a stable text that does not change through transmission and that can be reproduced in identical form to the first edition: modern editions frequently tend to eliminate precisely the embarrassing variations and additions that are so very important for this study of narrative change.

My description of the early modern agglutination of the genre focuses on the convergence of narrative techniques from diverse forms into the new novel, while this convergence will be related to the contemporary conceptual changes. Points of contact between key texts that have been assumed in scholarship for quite some time will be re-examined: new evidence for or against these links has not necessarily been incorporated into the body of scholarly knowledge about a text. The revisionism of this re-examination of established connections is thus combined with a larger issue of revisionism, the re-examination of the rise of the novel and the studies that proposed it. It will lead to sometimes surprising findings that do not necessarily fit the ‘powerful stories’ described in the introduction, but my assertion is that there is no distinct master narrative, no clear causal story to be told about the novel, but stories.

It is first of all necessary to clarify what this study means by the term novel. There have been numerous attempts to define the novel and, not surprisingly, these definitions vary to a great extent. The earliest prose texts that have been retrospectively classed as novels had no label attached to them: it was common practice to treat them as the poor relations within genre theory by not including them in the canon of reputable genres and simply describing these texts as hoc genus, a usage that Doody documents well into the
Renaissance. Early moderns are aware that another indefinite form exists, while at the same time treating it in a condescending way by not even attempting to define the genus in relation to the reputable sisters, drama, epos and poetry. It was only when the production of 'this sort of thing' became impossible to ignore that writers (and especially critics) attempted to define what they were writing, or more commonly, what they were opposed to being written.

The most influential of these definitions of the umbrella term Roman (that can only be translated as 'narrative fiction', not 'romance' or 'novel') is the one by Pierre Daniel Huet. By the early eighteenth century, it was published in fourteen editions and in three English translations and one German version. In 1666, Huet was asked by his friend Segrais to provide a historical outline of the genre as a preface to the novel Zayde by Segrais and Mme de la Fayette, published in 1670. In this short tract of less than a hundred pages, Huet not only traces the development of the Roman from antiquity to the seventeenth century and provides criticism of the texts that he himself had read, but also attempts to define the genre. It should be noted that this definition is mostly based on the 'Romance AND THEIR ORIGINAL' that the almost instantaneous English translation of the tract of 1672 promises. The definition nevertheless became one of the standard definitions of the genus under investigation:

Autrefois sous le nom de Romans on comprenoit, non seulement ceux qui estoient ecrits en Prose, mais plus souvent encore ceux qui estoient ecrits en Vers. [...] Mais aujourd'hui [...] ce que l'on appelle proprement Romans sont des fictions d'aventures amoureuses, ecrits en Prose avec art, pour le plaisir & l'instruction des Lecteurs. Le dis des fictions, pour les distinguer des Histoires veritables. L'ajoute, d'aventures amoureuses, parce que l'amour doit estre le principal sujet du Roman. Il faut qu'elles soient ecrits en Prose, pour estre conformes à l'usage de ce siecle. Il faut qu'elles soient ecrits avec art, & sous de certaines regles ; autrement ce sera un amas confus, sans ordre & sans beauté.

The novel/romance is defined as fictional but artistic prose, concerned mostly with the narration of amorous adventures, even though these are presumed to be not only pleasurable, but also instructive to read. Huet's terminological endeavour as well as his hist-

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1 Doody, pp. 258 and 490.
2 There are further Latin and Dutch translations. See Hinterhäuser's epilogue in Pierre Daniel Huet, Traité de l'Origine des Romans: Faksimiledruck nach der Erstausgabe von 1670 und der Happelschen Übersetzung von 1682, ed. by Hans Hinterhäuser (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), p. 84. The German, as well as the English translation, are remarkably faithful to the original text and terminology.
3 Huet, Traité, pp. 4-5.
historical overview is a methodological disaster: he only uses the delimiting criterion of prose as it was common usage in his century — his definition does not exclude verse texts from previous centuries. His historical outline is mostly concerned with proving that it was not the Spanish model of *Amadis de Gaula* that started the *Roman*, but rather the oriental and ancient novels. According to Huet, the development from these ancient precursors soon led to ‘*nos vieux Romans, qui vray-ssemblablement en [to the Spanish] furent les modeles*’, and then culminated in d’Urfé’s *Astrée* (1607–27), a French product.

In his definition of the umbrella term, Huet nevertheless includes the one defining criterion that all later theorists of the novel could agree on: prose, the actual way the events are transmitted to the reader. Prose has been variously defined either as being more adaptable to ‘trivial’ uses of narration, or as a mode that is more adequate for the expression of enlightened thought, determined by capitalist interest. The latter view is more common in novel scholarship: it relates the increased speed of the production of (journalistic) texts to the choice of prose (which is supposedly written faster than verse), and therefore gives economic reasons for the mode. It should nevertheless be noted that a number of fictional texts from late antiquity used the supposedly new prose, and also that *Prosaausschreibungen*, prose versions of medieval high romances produced from the thirteenth century onwards, already combined old plots and characters with the new form of prose. It seems to be more adequate to describe the usage of prose in the novel as an expression of the ultimate vernacular, of a register that addresses a very different audience to that of verse and clearly marks it by the form in which it is written. The potential buyer of the book can be assured that he will be offered a particular form, narrative fiction, and not epic poetry or drama.

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4 Huet, *Traité*, p. 76.
7 Watt, p. 56; Davis, p. 71 who himself uses verse ballads in relation to the news/novel discourse.
8 Doody, p. 187. See also Curtius’s definition of *Roman* as derived from *romanisch*, an indication of vernacular language. The denotation of ‘a book written in the vernacular’ is according to him transposed to the whole genre (reported in Æmegalæ, pp. 10–1).
Another of Huet’s criteria, the dominant subject of love, also lingered on in later definitions, most frequently in a derogatory sense to show the novel’s limitation in subject matter to the (immoral) pursuit of emotional gratification (see for example Dr Johnson’s definition of the novel as a ‘small tale, generally of love’). Nevertheless, critics and encyclopaedists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries began to take the novel more seriously in that they not only recognised the existence of hoc genus, but also attempted to define it. The Universal Lexicon, published by Zedler in Halle and Leipzig between 1732 and 1752, was not the first encyclopaedic project, but it far surpassed its predecessors in scope: sixty-four volumes in folio were published which in many ways reflected not only the enlightened spirit and its attempt to rationalise the world, but also the continuing power of traditional beliefs still embedded in the definitions. This is the case in the Universal Lexicon’s definition of the novel/romance that again blends features of the new novel and traditional elements of heroic romance:

Romanen, Romainen, Romans, Lat. Fabula Romanenses oder Historie Fabulose, ingleichen Romanisci, Fr. Romain, nennet man diejenigen Bücher, in welchen allerhand entweder gantz erdichtete oder doch miterdichteten Umständen vorgebrachte Helden= und Liebes=Erzählungen enthalten sind. [...]

Even in the eighteenth century, there was no clear distinction between fictional narratives about heroism and love and ‘realistic’ new novels, but by mid-century there was a consciousness of something new, a feeling of rupture in a ‘new’ novel that Johnson and Fielding opposed to ‘unrealistic’ romance, thereby contributing to the terminological myth that has dominated parts of novel scholarship ever since:

The works of fiction with which the present generation seems more particularly delighted are such as exhibit life in its true state, diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really found in conversing with mankind.

This myth consists in the retrospective application of the term ‘romance’ to all forms of narrative fiction before the eighteenth century, and of the term ‘novel’ to denote narrative fiction post-Richardson. As outlined in the introduction, my study perceives this rupture to be a result of conceptual and contextual changes, but not as a break with tradition in the novelistic genre that (as will be shown) predates the new novel of the

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9 Reported in Watt, p. 164.
10 Johann Heinrich Zedler, Grosses vollständiges UNIVERSAL LEXICON Aller Wissenschaften und Künste [...], 64 vols (Halle: Zedler, 1732–52), XXXII (1742), col. 700.
eighth century. As it seems to be impossible to define the term 'novel' either by its content or by its form (other than the generally acknowledged criterion of prose), this study will of necessity adhere to traditional English language usage and will distinguish 'romance' and 'novel' even for periods and languages that can not make this distinction.

A number of preliminary observations facilitate the handling of the terminology: for the purposes of this study, it will be important to note that romance in its various manifestations tends to be written in the third person. This is not to say that this form is not at least as important in the early modern period, but that there is a very different story to be told about third-person narration at the time: a strong continuity from classical antiquity to the seventeenth century can be made out at first glance, in particular through the strong reception and impact of one of the model texts of romance, Heliodorus's *Aithiopika (Ethiopian Story)*. It is also obvious that romance was not simply replaced by the new eighteenth century novel: numerous texts were written in this tradition in the eighteenth century, for example Schnabel's *Im Irr-Garten der Liebe herum taumelnder Cavalier* (1738). Furthermore, the popular parodistic inversions of romance, arguably started by Cervantes in the *Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* of 1605/15, also retain the formal elements of romance, if for entirely different purposes. Third-person narration is thus evidently as common as first-person narration in the early modern period. However, it can be said without a detailed study of the interaction of romance and novel that the impact of this form on novelistic writing is not essential to the develop-

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12 Hunter defines the novelistic features as contemporaneity, probability, familiarity of the everyday occurrences, a rejection of traditional plots and a number of further formal criteria (Hunter, *Before Novels*, pp. 23–5). This content-based definition of eighteenth-century texts is accurate, while the differentiation between new and previous texts blurs the focus: some of the features such as contemporaneity, probability and familiarity are features that result from a shift in cultural and conceptual focus. This shift stabilises in an understanding of reality that is closer to our modern view of reality than the early modern perception (see above in the text). The sheer (correct) assertion of a change in content does not seem to constitute a break with the narrative tradition of the genre or even a change of narrative technique. Formal definitions of the novel tend to be based on the criterion of prose, combined with the criterion of a certain length (most commonly an assumption of at least forty pages due to the nature of some rather short novels that are clearly not novellas) plus a number of varying criteria such as fictionality (Doody, p. 16; Bauer, *Romantheorie*, p. 8) or even a mostly entertaining aim (David Margolies, *Novel and Society in Elizabethan England* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. vii). As can be readily seen, this definition needs to be vague in order to be inclusive of certain texts that can only be described as novels, while thereby failing to exclude other texts that are clearly not novels.
ments in the early modern phase and in the eighteenth century. It is the backdrop rather than the centre of change, and there clearly is a strong difference between the coexisting forms of romance and the novel. Apart from formal distinctions, this difference consists mainly in the continual setting of the third-person form in antiquity and in the geographic locations of the Mediterranean and Middle East that it originally came from, or at least in the heroic age of medieval high romance. These settings had become remote in time and space by the early modern period, and were thus commonly perceived as being oriented towards an idealised, unrealistic past. For this reason, this study deems first-person texts to be of much greater importance to the development of the novel that culminated in the novel becoming the dominant form of literature by the end of the eighteenth century. Although there are numerous parodistic third-person texts that are now included in the genre (for example Fielding’s novels), novels of the seventeenth and eighteenth century tended to be written in various forms of the first person. I will therefore concentrate on the development of one particular first-person form, the picaresque novel, while recognising that this is clearly not the only form of contemporary prose narration. However, it will turn out to be the most fruitful form for an in-depth analysis of changes in novelistic writing.

The fundamental idea of this study is that not enough attention has been paid so far to the interaction between the novel and the important picaresque sub-genre. The picaresque novel is the traditional problem child of histories of the novel, that, at most, grudgingly acknowledge its existence in the early modern period. On the other hand, studies of the picaresque novel frequently refer to the interrelatedness of the novel and the picaresque, stressing that this sub-genre appeared at suspiciously decisive moments in the development of the novel, but tend not to analyse the interaction. I will attempt

13 Davis, pp. 25-41.
14 Davis, p. 40.
15 An exception to this general rule is Beasley’s work that has served much to enlighten the way the picaresque novel contributed to and enabled the novel. See Jerry C. Beasley, ‘Translation and Cultural Translatio’, in The Picaresque: A Symposium on the Rogue’s Tale, ed. by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael Zappala (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 94-106.
17 The numerous studies of this sub-genre tend to sketch an evolutionary picture, from its beginnings in sixteenth century Spain to the French roman comique and the German Schelmenroman, evolving through the way the picaresque is transmitted across languages.
precisely this analysis of the interaction of picaresque and new novel, and an analysis of narrative changes in both of these forms.

The most important formal criterion of this sub-genre is its sole use of retrospective first-person narration: it combines the view of the contemporary world from a base perspective with the autobiographical narration of the protagonist's life. The genre frequently involves a great spatial and social mobility of the protagonist, whose experiences are represented in an episodic form, an 'Aktstruktur' (Iser) held together by the central character. The term *picaro* (rogue), first used by Alemán in the preface to his *Guzmán d'Alfarache* of 1599, already implies the lack of dignity and the humble activities of the protagonist, mainly concerned with his basic human needs.

The picaresque was not a form of popular literature of the time such as criminal biographies or broadsheets (the price sets it apart from these), but while it is targeted at a relatively affluent and educated audience, it still breaks an important element of classical decorum: characters from the lowest social strata are not only used for comic effect, but their material circumstances are also given serious consideration. This is the feature that makes picaresque novels precursors of the eighteenth-century novel. The picaresque

and cultures (Bauer, *Schelmenroman*; Richard Bjornson, *The Picaresque Hero in European Fiction* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977); Ellen Turner Gutiérrez, *The Reception of the Picaresque in the French, English and German Traditions*, Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures, 18 (New York: Lang, 1995) and Jean-Marie Valentin, *Französischer 'Roman Comique' und deutscher Schelmenroman*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 315 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992)). The scholars frequently stress the role that picaresque narration plays in the 'evolution' of the novel (Bjornson, p. ix) or even that it is a direct predecessor of the *Bildungsroman* (Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, p. 5), but also commonly tend not to draw any comparisons with the later English novels and the way picaresque narration relates to this.

23 Bjornson, p. 3.
is the 'Copernican revolution' of prose narration, and it happens well before the rise of the novel.

The following outline will focus on the early modern period, which seems to be a key phase for the development and change of novelistic writing. However, due to a tradition of writing that is not simply broken, the overview will have to take into consideration a number of earlier texts that had a great effect on novelistic writing in the period. It will also have to describe a number of later texts that propel novelistic writing in the eighteenth century in the direction commonly known as the modern novel. The summary will only focus on first-person narration, while it will hint at the coexistent third-person production and their interrelatedness, or lack of interrelatedness. While a more extensive summary of the central texts of this study and their transmission will be provided in the following chapter, a brief presentation of their key aspects will be given in this summary.

a) First-Person Narration in Ancient Times

There is a number of texts from late antiquity that contain key characteristics of the novel and that therefore can be called novels avant la lettre. Hoc genus probably started in the Greek domain (Doody claims that Chariton in the second century AD is the first novelist), but it is worth noting that our knowledge of the period is still evolving due to the discovery of a multitude of manuscript fragments, used as binding material in medieval and post-medieval book bindings. The precise origin of 'this sort of writing' in antiquity does not concern us here as it is only the impact of ancient texts that is of relevance for the early modern period. For this reason, one of the two Latin first-person novels is of less interest than the other: Petronius's Satyricon, written around AD 60, did not re-emerge before the end of the seventeenth century, and despite efforts to restore it, only a fragment of the whole text survives. It is the other ancient satirical novel that was of greater importance for later periods, even though it has been established that there

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25 Doody, p. 9.
26 Doody, p. 253 describes the discovery of 'new' ancient novels in the late seventeenth century. The Satyricon was offered to the readers in a restored (defective) edition in 1669 and 1694, even though previous (also defective) manuscripts exist.
must have been a predecessor to it (a further Greek epitome if it exists). This other novel is the one that was present throughout the early modern period, and appeared at a rather suspicious time in the development of the novel. Apuleius's *Metamorphoses, or Golden Ass* as it is more commonly known, was written during the second century AD and can in many ways be seen as the first picaresque novel. The story of the central hero, Lucius, is not realistic in our sense of realism, as it involves the transformation of Lucius into an ass, but it should be noted that our notion of realism does not necessarily coincide with the ancient perception of miraculous transformations. Lucius in the form of an ass then witnesses a multitude of rather bawdy adventures in the service of a series of masters and suffers at the hands of these masters. He eventually breaks the chain of misadventures by praying to the Egyptian goddess Isis who transforms him back into human shape. The important feature of this text, which sets it apart from all other first-person prose texts from antiquity, is that it combines serious elements such as the religious ending with the serio-comic adventures of the hero.

The other text that could be seen as a model of first-person narration is very different from this: Augustine's *Confessions*, written around AD 397, are completely serious, and not even fictional. Augustine's autobiography is strongly dominated by the perspective of the enlightened older self, and most of the autobiographical narration is geared towards the central moment of conversion. The *Confessions* became the model for the production of spiritual autobiography, and through the status of Augustine as Father of the Church his writing was omnipresent in the Christian world throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The term 'model' may be misleading: it is the structure of spiritual autobiography in general, and not just the model text itself that provided inspiration for writers in the first person after the *Confessions* were written down. The *Confessions* are thus an inspiration to numerous other first-person forms that coexisted in the early modern period, but the text itself is also used as a quarry for spiritual elements to which numerous strains of the early modern novel can be traced back.

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28 This confirms Doody's insistence on the multicultural early phase of novelistic writing: Apuleius, a black writer from Madaura in Numidia, wrote about a Greek protagonist from the Athens area who finally follows an Egyptian cult to Rome. The background of the author of the other paradigmatic first-person text, Augustine, is similarly attached to northern Africa (Tagaste and Hippo Regius) and its interaction with the declining Roman Empire.
b) The Early Modern Reception

Few fictional first-person texts were written in the period between AD 400 and 1500. Conflicting interpretations of the comparative lack of narration in the Dark Ages exist, and it is difficult to find an explanation for the dominance of verse and the relative absence of first-person narration in this and in later periods. However, there is a continuous reception of late antique texts by key writers and critics as for example Petrach and Boccacio, who is known to have had a manuscript of the *Golden Ass*. It is through the explosion of print immediately after Gutenberg that the ancient texts are made available to an extended audience: it is noteworthy that the fictional *Golden Ass* is published in 1469, one year before the *Confessions*. These are not the only texts from the classical heritage that are printed and re-printed in a multitude of editions and translations, and it is certainly the speed of distribution and increased audience made possible by the printing press that enabled not just the spread of new ideas, but also of the revered authorities of antiquity. The impact of ancient texts in the early modern period has been noted for some time. One of the first scholars of the picaresque novel, Chandler, argued that the reception of the *Golden Ass* in fact started the production of picaresque novels in Spain in the sixteenth century. The suspiciously frequent editions of a Spanish translation of the text (1525, 1539, 1543 and 1551) just before the paradigmatic picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes* of 1554, have been credited with contributing to the birth of the genre. However, it could be argued that it is not an origin, but rather an agglutination of forms into a new configuration, as the *Golden Ass* alone does not furnish

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29 Doody describes how the Western tradition mixed with the stories of the tribes that dominated the period, while at the same time Arab and Persian cultures, as well as the Byzantine Empire, inherited the Greek tradition. Doody, p. 176.

30 Only a small number of first-person verse texts exist from this time that are difficult to class as novelistic in any respect: Lorris and de Meun’s *Roman de la Rose* (thirteenth century), Dante’s *Vita Nuova* (1292-3) and *Divina Comedia* (1320s). Boccaccio’s first-person prose text *Fiammetta* (1343) on the other hand is rather short, and the spiritual autobiographies of the time are not really novelistic, and sometimes not even written in the first person (see *The Book of Margery Kempe* of 1438).

31 Doody, pp. 201-4.

32 Doody, pp. 213-50.

all elements of the developing sub-genre that also relies heavily on elements drawn from spiritual autobiography. It is noticeable that Apuleius's novel is frequently edited, translated and adapted in the period until about 1640, when the transmission of the text suddenly grinds to an (almost complete) halt. This is a strong indication that in the meantime alternative texts have been produced that can satisfy the demands of the readers, perhaps satisfy even new demands in more effective ways than the novels from late antiquity. The market for satirical first-person writing is by then catered for by new texts, and it was not just the third-person rebellion against chivalric romances in *Don Quixote*, but also the nascent production of picaresque novels since the late sixteenth century that provided more contemporaneous reading material.

c) The Picaresque Novel

The picaresque novel first appeared in Spain, probably due to a multitude of related reasons. The socio-cultural situation of mid to late sixteenth-century Spain was less than ideal: it was a time of glory and crisis, combining in the *Siglo de Oro* a cultural golden age with economic problems after the successful *Reconquista* and the expulsion of the Arabs after the conquest of Granada in 1492. This glorious victory of Christianity led to the suppression of Jewish and Moorish culture and an accompanying obsession with proofs of a pure Christian family tree. The converted Spaniards with Jewish and Moorish ancestors were therefore in the situation of social pariahs, but at the same time also had a strong incentive for satirical writing: numerous writers of picaresque novels came from precisely these disreputable *converso* origins. The satirical elements of the novels are therefore employed to polemicise against a society driven by an obsessive notion of honour and purity of blood, while it was economically on the verge of starvation.

It is important to note that this historical setting is quite the reverse of the assumed socio-cultural situation of the rise of the novel in eighteenth-century England. Spain in

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35 Doody, pp. 1-2.
the sixteenth century was dominated by aristocratic aspirations and an obsessive Catholicism that had reintroduced the Inquisition, the precise inversion of the supposed causes of realistic prose fiction, capitalism and Protestantism. It is in these Spanish novels about protagonists from the lowest social strata, surviving in a hostile environment while trying to satisfy the most basic needs such as food and shelter, that social reality is all of a sudden thrust into the foreground. While implicitly criticising the reality they portray, these novels still give a highly detailed depiction of a world that is contemporaneous and geographically recognisable. The anonymous text that probably started the sub-genre, *Lazarillo de Tormes* of 1554, already combined these elements of geographical and temporal proximity to the society in which it is published, and became an instant best-seller. The features of birth in dishonest circumstances and semi-delinquent survival in the service of a series of immoral masters became the paradigm for the Spanish picaresque production that followed with a notable delay fifty years after the initial text. The story of Lazarillo, dominated by the continuous theme of hunger, is narrated from a satirical stance that constantly mingles the perspective of the delinquent young self with asides to the fictional noble addressee of the novel, to whom the narrator presents his life-story as a justification of his present status. This present status of Lazarillo can in many ways be seen as the culmination of worldly success of the narrator, while also being the culmination of moral debauchery: he tolerates the adulterous relationship of an arch priest with his wife in order to secure his material existence. In one important aspect, *Lazarillo de Tormes* differs from the ancient model of satirical first-person narration: unlike the *Golden Ass*, the text contains no inserted stories and is also very short (about fifty pages).

The element of secondary narration reappears in the second Spanish picaresque novel, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán d'Alfarache* of 1599/1604. It combines a similar satirical worldview with a strong sense of distaste for worldly things *per se*. Here, the enlightened narrator combines the narration of his delinquent actions with moralising comments in a manner similar to the Augustinian form of first-person narration. As in *Lazarillo*, a series

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37 Conflicting theories about this delay have been put forward. Marina S. Brownlee, 'Discursive Parameters of the Picaresque', in *The Picaresque: A Symposium on the Rogue's Tale*, ed. by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael Zappala (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 25-35 (p. 32) is probably right in attributing the delay not to some sort of 'critical mass' having to be achieved, but to the lack of a readership ready for this satirical sub-genre.
of masters and sufferings is presented, but the end of the novel portrays the protagonist not at the height of worldly fortune, but at its lowest point, as a prisoner on a galley repenting his previous crimes. This shift of focus indicates a complex interaction of the two models of first-person narration and of other forms (travel narratives, moral guidebooks) that contributed to this text.

Later Spanish picaresque texts continued the satirical and serio-comic form: a brief list would have to mention Úbeda's Picara Justina (1605), Espinel's Marcos de Obregón (1618), de Luna's Continuación del Lazarillo (1620), Quevedo's El Buscón (published 1626), and Guevara's El Diablo Cojuelo (1641). By the end of the Spanish production of new picaresque texts around 1640, all these texts had been translated into the other European languages, and in turn gave the impetus to an original European production. The European literatures integrated the reception of the picaresque novel into their own literary traditions, and frequently contrasted their own novels with the paradigmatic foreign texts and with the models from antiquity.

France, bordering on Spain, was first to integrate the sub-genre into the wider picture of hoc genus, sometimes blending first- and third-person narration into the roman comique. France, becoming the dominant power in seventeenth-century Europe and thus succeeding Spain's position of power of the sixteenth century, changed a number of important elements in the picaresque: different social strata came into focus with the inclusion of heroes from higher social backgrounds, and the theme of poverty that dominated much of the Spanish production is relatively absent. However, the heroes tend to retain their position on the margins of society for at least some part of the stories, providing a satirical point of view on the society in which they move. Two trends can be made out in the French roman comique: on the one hand there was a strongly antibourgeois, libertine strain of novels such as Francion that satirise contemporary French society, while on

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38 Bjornson, p. 139.
39 It is only in Italy that the burlesque literary tradition seems to have stifled an imitation of the precursors, but the Spanish texts were at least translated and adapted into the Italian cultural environment. See Valentin, 'Roman Comique', p. 30; Volker Kapp, 'Sorel's Francion und die Doppelperspektive des spanischen Schelmenromans', in Il picaro nella cultura europea, ed. by Italo Michele Battafarano and Pietro Taravacci (Garolo di Trento: Reverdito, 1989), pp. 173-200 (p. 174); Karl A. Zaenker, 'Grimmelshausen und die Picara Justina', Daphnis, 27 (1998), 631-53 for the Italian translation of the Picara Justina.
the other hand there was the opposite tendency to integrate some of the heroes into precisely this society. This tendency of "Verbürgerlichung des Schelms" can be seen as a step towards the novel of social ascent, and ultimately the Bildungsroman that some critics perceive in nuce in the eighteenth-century picaresque novel Gil Blas. It is important to note that the picaresque sub-genre already underwent a transformation in the first remove from its origin in Spain, while frequently blending picaresque narratives with elements from the ancient tradition. Charles Sorel, the foremost writer of romans comiques and (later) of poetics of narrative fiction such as the Bibliothèque Françoise of 1664/7 was conscious of this ancient and Spanish heritage, but as unclear about the definition of the novel/romance as his contemporaries:

*L'Asne d'or d'Apulée, auroit de belles Narrations au gré des plus difficiles, si on en auroit osté l'impureté [...].* Les Espagnols sont les premiers qui ont fait des Romans vray-semblables & divertiissans: *L'ingénieux Dom Quichot de la Manche* ouvrage de Michel de Cervantes est une agréable Satyre contre les Romans de Chevalerie; *Le Guzman d'Alfarache* ne décrit pas seulement la vie des Gueux & des Voleurs; Beaucoup de Gens de condition y trouuent leur peinture avec des auertissemens pour se reformer à l'avenir. [BF, p. 192]

It is the novel's ability to transform the reader that will be analysed in Chapter 6 of this study that Sorel stresses here. He was also aware of the ancient tradition of the *ROMANS COMIQVES, On Satyrques* and does not let false national pride come in the way of his acknowledgement of the Spanish predecessors, not just of the picaresque sub-genre, but also of the third-person 'counter-genre' represented by Don Quixote. This other form of satirical narrative at the time, while being written in the third person, even provided the model for Sorel's own ventures into the forms of parodistic narration in the Berger Extravagant of 1627, which parodies not chivalric, but pastoral romances that were equally popular at the time. While thus showing the continuity of comic and satirical prose narration, Sorel also provided grounds for a distinction of the French version of the picaresque novel from these predecessors:

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41 Bauer, Schelmenroman, p. 143; similar Gutiérrez, p. 19.
42 Bauer, Schelmenroman, p. 158.
44 Bauer, Schelmenroman, p. 19.
— Comment, Monsieur, dit le seigneur bourguignon [...]. Ignorez-vous que ces actions basses sont infiniment agréables et que nous prenons même du contentement à ouïr celles des guéux et des faquins, comme de Guzman d'Alfarache et de Lazaril de Tormes? Comment n'en recevrai-je point à ouïr celles d'un gentilhomme écolier qui fait paraître la subtilité de son esprit et la grandeur de son courage dès sa jeunesse? [Francion, III, p. 183]

The listener to Francion's narration justifies the base elements by the hero's social background: by Francion's comparatively high birth and accompanying good character, even the low subject matter of parts of the story is dignified. This emphasis on the positive characteristics of the French hero can be regarded as one of the common instances of national chauvinism, but also as a conscious distinction that allowed Sorel to continue the Spanish picaresque while integrating other forms into it. Sorel thus became the father of the *roman comique*\(^\text{45}\) and also one of the first French writers to provide poetological theories for his novels, despite the fact that these poetics are produced long after the brief poetological prefaces to the novels themselves. One of the first *romans comiques*, the *Histoire Comique de Francion* published originally in 1623, already combines these disparate features of picaresque semi-delinquency and heroism of a protagonist from a higher social background, and also first- and third-person narration. The hero's exploits are narrated by himself after a brief frame story, and it is this first-person narration that resembles closely the picaresque narratives of humorous and highly scatological adventures, beginning with the birth of the protagonist. However, there are also numerous amorous encounters that are decidedly dissimilar to the work's Spanish predecessors and that originate from contemporary libertine thought. After Francion has narrated his life up to the present, he sets off on a quest for a beautiful lady after he has instantaneously fallen in love with her portrait, and it is here that the parodistic element takes over: the structure of medieval quests is perverted by the sexual quest of the hero, and it is noteworthy that this quest is narrated in the third-person form of parodistic narration as used in *Don Quixote*. While the French *roman comique* therefore takes up the Spanish...

\(^{45}\) Colombey in his edition of Charles Sorel, *La Vraie Histoire Comique de Francion*, ed. by Émile Colombey (Paris: Delahays, 1858), p. 3, who attempts to interpret Sorel as some sort of early modern Asterix the Gaul: 'C'est la révolte de l'esprit gaulois contre le bel esprit [...]; 'C'est à [Sorel] que revient l'honneur d'avoir ouvert le feu contre l'Astrée et les romans à la suite.' Valentin, *Roman Comique*, pp. 37-8 notes that there is a *roman comique* pre-Sorel in the works of du Souhait, but that Sorel is the first to establish the poetics of the *histoire comique*. 
models of picaresque and parodistic narration, it blends them into something new that in turn had a profound effect on later European developments. Other notable French picaresque texts are l’Hermite’s *Page Degracie* (1643), Le Sage’s adaptation *Le Diable boiteux* (1707/1726) and his *Gil Blas* (1715-35), but the third-person *Roman comique* by Scarron (1651-7) could also be classified as picaresque despite its form.

Germany’s situation in the seventeenth century was very different, not to say contrary to that of France. The interaction of the two nations is best exemplified by France’s intervention in the final phase of the Thirty Years’ War (1635-48). France stabilised its position of power by expanding its domain up to the Rhine. It subsequently dominated Germany politically and culturally, and it was only in the course of the seventeenth century that criticism arose of the predominance of French manners and language in the higher social strata. The Thirty Years’ War itself had disastrous consequences for the German states, devastating large parts of the country and displacing numerous writers, even though a flourishing book trade survived the war and sometimes even took advantage of it through the publication of political pamphlets, religious propaganda and news of the latest atrocities.

The German comic tradition of cycles of *Schwänke* such as *Dit Ulenspiegel* facilitated a swift adoption of the picaresque sub-genre, but the later genuine production of German novels can only be understood through the translation of picaresque texts. The translations are not necessarily faithful to the foreign originals: in the first phase of the German reception, Spanish picaresque texts were regularly transformed into purely comic texts, even less satirical than for example *Dit Ulenspiegel*, while at the same time providing religious frameworks and even entire re-workings of the novels into edifying stories.\(^{46}\) The picaresque prototype, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, was received in Germany in the version of the strongly altered *Lazarillo castigado*, with a reduction of the satirical elements resulting in a much tamer moral tale. Furthermore, the other paradigmatic picaresque novel, Alemán’s *Guzmán*, was radically altered through the hands of a counter-reformatory adaptor: Aegidius Albertinus’s *Gusman von Alfarche* of 1615 is a thorough reworking of Alemán’s novel, eliminating the motif of a series of unfortunate interactions with a perverted society in favour of moral digressions that transformed the first-person format into what Bauer calls a Catholic ‘Thesenroman’.\(^{47}\) It was only in the second phase of the reception,

\(^{46}\) Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, pp. 5-7; Gutiérrez, p. 109.
\(^{47}\) Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, p. 76.
characteristically of the French *roman comique* and in particular *Francion*, that the legitimacy of the low form of writing was accepted without bowdlerisations or superimpositions of Christian moral values.\(^{48}\) After this second phase, a genuine German production could replicate much of the satirical focus of the Spanish picaresque novels. This production transposed the satire into the German environment of the Thirty Years’ War, but also frequently stressed the anagogical perspective, directed towards salvation, which is absent in the French novels: *Simplicissimus Teutsch* culminates in an ‘Adieu Welt’, the rejection of worldly values by the mature narrator, even though wide stretches of the text are still dominated by the younger self’s involvement in a world of war and vanity. *Simplicissimus Teutsch*, published in 1668 and provided with an alternative ending in the Continuatio of the next year, inspired a flood of picaresque narratives that now frequently used the name of Simplicissimus or *simplicianisch* in the title and no longer the attribute *pikaresk*, as for example Johann Beer’s *Simplicianischer Welt-Kucker oder abenteürlicher Jan Rebbo*.\(^{49}\) Grimmelshausen himself wrote a cycle of four ‘Simplician’ novels (a total of ten books or segments of novels according to his own retrospective count in the preface to *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest*, part II). The second text in the cycle, the *Lebensbeschreibung der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche*, was published in 1670 following the success of *Simplicissimus*. The novels are closely interrelated, as *Courasche* takes its central character and the motivation to narrate from the earlier novel: Courasche, supposedly impregnated by Simplicissimus, avenges herself by narrating her immoral life story, thus associating Simplicissimus with a very depraved character. The text is of greatest value for this study as it is totally devoid of any moral development of the protagonist: the evil *Frau Welt* figure refuses to reform or even to integrate into an immoral society as Lazarillo had done at the height of his worldly fortunes. *Courasche* can therefore be seen as a radical narrative experiment, portraying a sinner in the first person without any moral perspective within the text. The analysis will attempt to bring out how the novel still successfully alerts its readers to the fact that Courasche is a negative character, and not a positive role model.


The English reception of the European picaresque novel was facilitated again by national literary traditions of texts about rogues such as the contemporary Anatomies of Roguery and criminal biographies. One of the first genuine texts, Head’s *English Rogue* of 1665, lists the literary pedigree, while again attempting to distance itself from the foreign models:

*What Gusman, Buscon, Francion, R ablais writ,
I once applauded for most excellent wit:
But reading Thee, and thy rich Fancies store,
I now condemne, what I admir’d before.
Henceforth Translations pack away, be gone;
No Rogue so well writ, as our English one.*

In his dedication, the publisher Kirkman made it absolutely clear that he was aware of the translations of the most important picaresque novels, and also of the French comic tradition that predated *Lazarillo de Tormes*. The paradigmatic texts, listed by metonymic reference to their central character (or author in the case of Rabelais) is in Kirkman’s view surpassed by the genuine English article, another instance of the national chauvinism that was already present in Sorel’s praise of the French *roman comique* (and of his own work). While a number of early English imitations of picaresque narrative exist (for example Nashe’s *Unfortunate Traveller* of 1594), the English scene was dominated by translations of the continental texts throughout the seventeenth century, with the notable absence of German novels which were not translated. On the other hand, at least this first genuine English picaresque novel made its way back to the continent: the anonymous *Simplicianischer JAN. PERUS* of 1672, while jumping on the bandwagon of the *Simplicissimus* craze of the decade, is a partial translation of the *English Rogue* into German.

As in France and Germany, the picaresque novels were transformed through their translation into English, reducing the satirical texts to comic first-person texts about lower-class heroes. It is in this form of ‘nugget fiction’ that most readers first encoun-

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2nd edn (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), p. 125 for a number of these imitations and appropriations of *simplicianisch* as an advertising attribute.


52 Gutiérrez, p. 68 calls this a ‘light English original adventure story’, and Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, p. 166 describes this ‘protonovel’, the most read prose text of Shakespeare’s time, as an intermingling of picaresque and adventurous travel narratives.

53 Gutiérrez, pp. 68 and 85.
tered these stories, reduced to jocular roguish tales in chapbooks of the period. It is here that the question regarding the reading material of the newly literate classes of the seventeenth century can be answered partially: apart from the publication of fictional texts from antiquity that continued throughout the century, it is obvious that there was an audience not just for English texts such as *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The English Rogue*, but also for the substantial number of translations, especially from the French. Different sub-genres coexisted through the translation and in imitation of foreign works, as for example the vogue of 'anti-romance' in the 1650s that was initiated by John Davies's translation of Sorel's *Berger Extravagant* and Corneille's stage version of the material in 1653. Sorel's text, one could say 'written in imitation of the manner of Cervantes' as it parodies the popular pastoral romances of d'Urfé and Barclay (*Argenis*, 1621), provides the model for contemporary parodistic texts in England. Some generations later, something new happened. While the picaresque texts continued to be printed in the forms of genuine edition, adaptation and chapbook abbreviation, a new generation of English writers integrated a multitude of new concepts into their novels. Defoe was certainly not the first to carry out such an agglutination, and he was probably not conscious of doing so either. However, it is the retrospective perspective that makes him appear to be the 'father of the English novel', and sometimes also of journalism and propagandistic pamphlets. His production, radically different in many ways from the texts of the mid-seventeenth century, makes a clear cut-off point seem credible, a new beginning at the start of a new age. However, as a child of the seventeenth

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54 Calhoun Winton, 'Richard Head and Origins of the Picaresque in England', in *The Picaresque: A Symposium on the Rogue's Tale*, ed. by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael Zappala (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 79-93 (pp. 84-6). Chapbooks were abbreviated versions of a wide range of forms such as fairy tales, criminal biographies, romances and novels. They were commonly cheap and of very poor quality print and paper.

55 Hunter, *Before Novels*, p. 66 analyses material that seventeenth-century readers read 'while they waited for the novel to rise'. This is slightly biased towards his ideal candidates for such a filiation, the guidebooks and journalistic writings: there clearly was enough other literary material published at the time, even though it was not from a genuine English production.


57 Verdier, pp. 92-3.

58 Backscheider, p. xi.
century, Defoe becomes the ideal candidate for an analysis of continuity and change in novelistic writing: Defoe was not just the proponent of the new form of realistic prose, but in fact had his greatest success with a poem, *The True-Born Englishman* of 1701 that was published fifty times until the mid-eighteenth century.\(^5^9\) Defoe was furthermore not a solitary genius founding a new genre single-handedly, but was conscious of his European precursors, if not in as great a detail as poetologically lucid writers such as Sorel, and was also proud of his ability to speak and translate from several foreign languages.\(^6^0\) It is nevertheless the impact of his first novel that makes Watt and others assume that this was in fact the very first novel.\(^6^1\) *Robinson Crusoe* of 1719 went through five editions in the year of publication, while it was pirated, abridged and serialised almost instantly, and through translation also became an instant success on the continent.\(^6^2\) A later novel by Defoe has recently been studied in detail, as it again seems to be an ideal candidate to bring out continuity and change. *Moll Flanders*, published in 1722 almost precisely a century after *Francion*, combines picaresque features with the impression of something new. The old Moll, narrating her life from the perspective of old-age penitence, is not an unworldly hermit contemplating the anagogical perspective of eternal life. No Simplician ‘Adieu Welt’, but a comfortable retirement with all the material as well as the spiritual perks closes the narrative of her adventures, which invariably has been interpreted as an acknowledgement of social changes towards Capitalist values. It will be demonstrated that Moll’s character is also organised by a very different system of change from most previous picaresque texts. Moll is a picara with a difference, and the purpose of the analysis will be to show how the novel incorporates this sense of something new.

d) The New Novel

At some point in the eighteenth century, older novels were no longer perceived as adequate, as they no longer fulfilled the requirements of the new audience. The early modern ‘festival of universal reading’ (Doody) continued unabated into the first decades of

\(^{59}\) Backscheider, p. 75.

\(^{60}\) Backscheider, p. 57. There is a direct reference to ‘*Don Quixote’s Adventure upon the Windmill*’ in Daniel Defoe, *An Essay Upon Projects: 1697* (Menston: Scolar, 1969), p. 16. Backscheider reports Defoe’s efforts to appear as a man of learning, claiming ‘knowledge of five languages, science, logic, and other subjects’ (p. 434).

\(^{61}\) Watt, p. 74.

\(^{62}\) Backscheider, p. 412.
the century, before fewer and fewer older novels were being reissued in England in the 1730s, and in the 1750s these older texts were consciously rejected. Doody links this to nascent English imperialism, but as has been demonstrated above, a healthy measure of national chauvinism was common in the European reception of picaresque novels and was almost an incentive for the production of similar texts. It was more likely that the contextual shift described in the introduction of this study led to a changed perception of new texts in relation to their precursors that had embodied by then outdated early modern concepts of asceticism, characterisation and morality.

The English novel of the eighteenth century, in the articulations by Defoe and especially Richardson, strongly affected continental Europe. Changes on the continent seem closely related to changes in England, the Continent at first nudging England toward novelty, and England later pushing prose fiction in Romance [and Germanic] languages much further toward the full implications of the new species.

It is necessary to stress that this change would not have come about without the pioneering work of the picaresque and its ancient precursors, and that the new form also retained numerous elements from these models. The issue of continuity and change, of an expression of rupture in traditional terminology, is best exemplified by Fielding's now famous definition of *hoc genus*, 'this kind of writing' that he was trying to define almost simultaneously to Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, in 1742:

> As it is possible the mere English reader may have a different idea of romance with the author of these little volumes: and may consequently expect a kind of entertainment, not to be found, nor which was even intended, in the following pages; it may not be improper to premise a few words concerning this kind of writing, which I do not remember to have seen hitherto attempted in our language. [...] Now a comic romance is a comic epic-poem in prose: [...] It differs from the serious romance in its fable and action, in this; that [...] they are light and ridiculous: it differs in its characters, by introducing persons of inferior rank, and consequently of inferior manners, whereas the grave romance, sets the highest before us; lastly in its sentiments and diction, by preserving the ludicrous instead of the sublime.

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63 Doody, pp. 290-2.
64 There is general agreement on the importance of Richardson. Davis, p. 192, for example, sees Richardson as creating the new 'factual fiction' out of a blend of journalistic structure and romantic content, and Watt, p. 135 sees him as the founder of the novel as he blends plot with interpersonal relationships.
65 Hunter, *Before Novels*, p. 27.
Fielding does not use the term novel, but romance to describe his form of writing: almost a century after Sorel's poetological endeavours, the terminological differentiation between novel and romance was still not settled, and both forms of narrative fiction were still perceived as belonging to the same genre, if different in tone (comic and serious). It is important to stress the words 'in our language': like Sorel, Fielding was aware of being the first to attempt something in his language, but also openly stated on the title page whom he was imitating: 'Written in Imitation of The Manner of CERVANTES, Author of Don Quixote'. It is also important to note that Fielding based his definition on the classical notion of decorum, of inferior persons being suited best to the comic style proposed for the new form. The notion of something new itself is expressed in classical terminology: the comic epic-poem in prose is Fielding's attempt to describe hoc genus in terms of precisely the reputable classical predecessors that the novel was already beginning to outsell. The reason why he does not mention the ancient writers of comic narration, Apuleius or even Petronius, lies probably more in his imitation of parodistic third-person narration in the articulation by Cervantes than in an attempt to cut himself off from traditional forms of narrating. This tradition is constantly present in Fielding's use of the burlesque, parodying classical descriptions of battles while at the same time invoking these texts as a foil that he expected his ideal reader to be familiar with:

In the diction I think, burlesque itself may be sometimes admitted; of which many instances will occur in this work, as in the descriptions of the battles, and some other places, not necessary to be pointed out to the classical reader; for whose entertainment those parodies or burlesque imitations are chiefly calculated.

The educated reader, conscious of the tradition and also in awe at the 'founder of a new province of writing' in the later novel Tom Jones therefore senses the pervasiveness of classical motifs and texts, but is also made to share the experience of a break with the past.

It has been commonly noted that there was a distinctive rupture in the eighteenth century. The rupture has been described in different terms. While it is correct that there is a decline of the medieval symbolic codes such as the concept of a great chain of being (from animals to man to God) and of the close link between (human) microcosm and

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(universal) macrocosm, some critics perceive the new novel as a radically post-Christian form. However, these codes and concepts do not simply vanish, but change slowly in complex interactions, which has been brought out in recent studies by Grafton and others. The break seems to occur sometime between the European theories of empiricism and radical scepticism in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the strong feeling of novelty in England in the 1740s. During this period, the material basis of existence changed dramatically, in particular in England that was well ahead in its economic development, but the perception of reality in the later eighteenth century also differed greatly from the concepts that were still being reiterated some decades earlier. The acknowledgement of an individual perception of the world (rather than an understanding of the microcosm in relation to the universal macrocosm) transformed the methods of perception: the sufficiency of books for the discovery of truth was being questioned, and empirical, individual observation of the world became legitimate. Again it has to be stressed that the empiricism of observation did not in most cases supplant, but supplemented bookish knowledge and led to the production of new authoritative textbooks. The novel can be shown to draw new impulses from this interaction of tradition and conceptual change, but the essential point is that the eighteenth-century novel was not a new form. The way of narrating and the narrated stories changed, and so did the concepts of reality present in the material and metaphysical context around the texts, but this is an instance of interaction, not a big bang with nothing before and something new after.

Certain elements of the new novel that have been frequently presumed to constitute defining criteria of the genre can be shown to change, but do not necessarily spring up from nowhere. The notion of empirical reality that is embedded in the texts is perhaps best exemplified by the portrayal of time and space. Whereas the ancient prose writings

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70 Fleishman, p. 86.
71 Miller, ‘Three Problems’, p. 93; Lukács, p. 77.
73 On the perception of novelty, see Hunter, Before Novels, pp. 10–1.
frequently used a-historic settings, blending different epochs into one universal picture, the picaresque novel specified its setting in a very contemporaneous and local reality that was by no means ideal. Grimmelshausen’s technique of setting his narratives is noteworthy: he set the events by reference to famous battles that were recognisable to the readers who had experienced (or at least knew about) these battles. It is therefore not the case that no empirical accounts of reality exist in novels before the eighteenth century, although there was a strong increase of trivial, everyday detail. Backscheider’s summary is more accurate than Watt’s postulate of ‘particular people in particular circumstances’: Writers of the eighteenth-century often took as one of the aims of their fiction to depict how ordinary people would react to extraordinary events. This is not the realism of Virginia Woolf aiming for ‘an ordinary mind on an ordinary day’, but the detailed portrayal of this mind on a very extraordinary day in extraordinary circumstances. It is this selective realism that Samuel Johnson proposed as a characteristic of the new novel:

It is justly considered as the greatest excellency of art to imitate nature; but it is necessary to distinguish those parts of nature which are most proper for imitation: [...] If the world be promiscuously described, I cannot see of what use it can be to read the account; or why it may not be as safe to turn the eye immediately upon mankind, as upon a mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination.

Johnson perceived this new province of writing as even more dangerous for ‘the young, the ignorant, and the idle’ than romance. These social groups, looking for instruction and guidance in fictional works, might be led astray by the wrong example, especially in the new form of writing that was closer to eighteenth-century reality than the ‘unrealistic’ (and therefore harmless) previous texts. Johnson’s statement is another expression of the feeling of rupture portrayed above, and also of a changed context in which the previous novels and their shared conceptual assumptions were regarded as unrealistic. It never-

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75 Doody, p. 135.
76 This has been claimed by Hunter, Before Novels, p. 310.
77 Davis, p. 73 analyses the increased usage of the ‘median past tense’, set in close temporal proximity to the act of narrating, which he relates to the regular forms of writing such as the diary and newspaper publishing.
78 Backscheider, p. 414.
80 Johnson, p. 177. See also Doody, pp. 287-92 for her analysis of eighteenth-century ‘prescriptive realism’.
81 Johnson, p. 176.
theless shows the reservations of contemporaries about the scope of the 'new' genre and the limitations of the portrayal of reality even in these supposedly realistic texts. Further preliminary statements regarding the issues of transmission, translation and adaptation of texts in the early modern period are necessary. This is the reason for the necessarily comparative focus of my study, but also the reason for the analysis of texts in multiple editions, at different moments in time: early modern texts were not transmitted on the assumption that an original text is transferred from one edition to another without alterations. As Beasley points out, the practice of recasting characters and narrative situations by editors 'using the mould of their own cultural beliefs or obsessions' was common. This is especially the case in the transmission of texts from one culture to another, when what Beasley calls 'cultural translatio' allows for the text to be rewritten by translators and editors to become sometimes totally different books. This process of cultural translatio has been traced in some detail in the European transmission of picaresque novels. The process started even before the translation into foreign languages: Spanish re-editions of key picaresque texts for the literate upper classes eliminated the satirical elements and thus trivialised the sometimes severe moral censure. The transformation of Guzmán d'Alfarache into Albertinus's German Gusman, and also the extension of the Spanish Picara Justina to more than three times the original length in Barezzi's Italian adaptation have been studied in detail. The picaresque is thus spread through Europe not in the form it appeared in Spain, but in constantly reworked adaptations, continuations and translations. Although some translators were aware of their methods and sometimes even used the accuracy of the translation in relation to the original as a sign of its

82 Beasley, 'Cultural Translatio', p. 94.
84 See the studies of Hans Gerd Rötzer, Picaro – Landstörtzer – Simplicius: Studien zum niederern Roman in Spanien und Deutschland (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), Bjornson, and Gutierrez.
85 Bjornson, p. 66. These adaptations had a greater effect than previously assumed as they continued to be republished well into the seventeenth century, and thus substantially shaped the contemporary view of the sub-genre.
86 For Albertinus's German adaptation, see Valentin, 'Roman Comique', pp. 9-10, Guillaume Van Gemert, 'Funktionswandel des Picaro: Albertinus' deutscher 'Gusman' von 1615', in Il picaro nella cultura europea, ed. by Italo Michele Battafarano and Pietro Taravacci (Garolo di Trento: Reverdito, 1989), pp. 91-117 (p. 92) and Valentin, 'Albertinus und Sorel', p. 149 who calls it a 'totale Christianisierung' of the picaresque novel. For the Italian translator of the Picara Justina and the German translation of the adaptation, see Zaenker, pp. 632-3.
quality, this was relatively rare. Sorel’s position prevailed that translation is essentially the translator’s privilege to remake books according to current fashion: ‘C’est le privilège de la Traduction de pouvoir être réitérée dans tous les Siècles pour refaire les Livres selon la Mode qui court.’ While the ‘age of translation’ therefore transmitted texts in a very different form from the original books, this transmission is made even more complex by adaptations that occurred already in the original language. The widespread use of chapbook abbreviations, in England in particular, changes texts into very different books, and what is even more problematic for a historical outline, the transmission of these forms is not always traceable: chapbooks, commonly inferior in quality of print and paper to regular editions, were rarely treated with the same reverence as more costly proper editions of the same text. Therefore a high number of the missing links in the transmission of texts could remain lost forever as they were applied to other uses after being read (see the Scheermesser-Diskurs in Simplicissimus Teutsch), and my description of first-person narration could be again open to revision if new books from the period were to come to light.

A notable exception is John Davies of Kidwelly, the foremost seventeenth-century English translator from the French, who not only translated romances by d’Urfé and Scudéry, but also Sorel’s novels into English without altering them. Doody, p. 269.

Charles Sorel, ‘De la maniere de bien Traduire’ (1667), reported in Verdier, p. 75.

Baker, reported in Verdier, pp. 76 and 93: ‘Translations from the French predominated during the seventeenth century: of the 450 new works published in England, 213 were translations and 164 of them were from French.’
3. The Instability of Early Modern Text

The following chapter will perform two functions: it will introduce the two ancient models of first-person narration, Apuleius's *Golden Ass* and Augustine's *Confessions*, and three early modern novels. It will furthermore demonstrate the instability of text in the period by describing the alteration of these original texts through the hands of editors and translators.

As outlined above, the two models of first-person narration are not the only texts from previous periods that had an effect on the early modern novel, but they can illustrate the extreme configurations of first-person writing in the period. These models shape the writing of picaresque novels like Sorel's *Francion*, Grimmelshausen's *Courasche* and Defoe's *Moll Flanders*. Although there are dozens of other first-person texts from the period, these three texts in particular provide essential indicators of narrative changes. Narration, the way of expressing ideas and stories, was not limited by national borders in the early modern period, which necessitated the choice of texts from more than one nation and language. No Spanish picaresque novel has been included as most of its narrative features can be found in the two paradigmatic texts from late antiquity and the two long narrations inserted in *Francion*. A detailed analysis of one of these Spanish novels would thus not be superfluous, but also not essential. The importance of Sorel, in particular of his first novel *Francion*, for Grimmelshausen’s poetological and stylistic development has been frequently noted. As mentioned above, Grimmelshausen’s highly experimental text *Courasche* is more informative for an analysis of narrative technique than its predecessor, the more conventional *Simplicissimus Teutsch*, but reference will have to be made to the paradigmatic German picaresque novel where necessary. Defoe, who has been called ‘the first novelist’, will be analysed in relation to the narrative tradition, but again the picaresque text *Moll Flanders* provides more points of contact (not necessarily of similarity) than the earlier novel, *Robinson Crusoe*, that is more indebted to elements of spiritual autobiography.

All the texts analysed come from the established literary canon. I agree with Chatman that high literature provides a more substantial basis than for example chapbook versions of the texts, as there are simply more aspects to analyse in the unabridged origi-
This is not to say that the study of chapbooks is not legitimate or enlightening, but that it provides less insight into the development of complex narrative changes. Chapbooks and other adaptations will be introduced wherever possible to show in what form texts were read in the period, but another reason against a limited study of these versions is the sheer lack of data: too many adaptations are simply lost.

This is to a certain extent also a problem of the following outline. The aim of this overview cannot be completeness, which would be impossible within the scope of this project. It would be furthermore generally unattainable due to numerous lost editions and translations. The analysis has concentrated mostly on single editions of the texts that show precisely how a text posits itself in the period, without the assistance of other texts legitimising it. Where single editions are not sufficient to describe the distribution of a text, collected editions of the works of an author have also been consulted. The analysis, necessarily comparative in scope and aim, is especially interested in the issue of transmission of a given text from one culture to another; therefore numerous translations have been included. These reflect the interrelationship of literary cultures in the early modern period and the complex exchanges between sometimes unlikely partners, such as Catholics and Protestants.

Apuleius, the author of the first ancient model of first-person narration, was born about AD 125, probably in the north-African town of Madaura. He studied in Carthage and Athens before becoming a lecturer of philosophy in Carthage. Few of his texts survive, and most of his biography is drawn from these fictional and non-fictional texts. His prominence in the early modern period was justified not only by his literary merits, but also by his status as a prominent Platonist philosopher, a pervasive and widely received school of thought. Apuleius was further popularised in the Renaissance by the 'archaising' school of classical scholars that rejected both the eclectic 'Quintilianism' and the classicism of the 'Ciceronians', and therefore proposed the late-antique Apuleius as

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their model. Apuleius was thus present in the period not only in his literary works, but also in philosophical and linguistic discussions.\(^2\)

The title *Golden Ass* is a reference not to the colour of the transformed human, but to the nature of the 'reasonable', 'excellent', or 'Egyptian' text, although the correct denotation was strongly disputed in early modern editions.\(^3\) This ancient first-person text is narrated by an observer who is not necessarily reliable, a point of view also characteristic of the early modern picaresque novels: Lucius, on a visit to Hypata in Thessaly, seduces the host's maid who lets him partake not just of her body, but also of her mistress's magical potion. When the magical transformation occurs in book III, it appears that the maid has accidentally given Lucius the wrong potion: he is transformed into an ass, not into a bird. Lucius, the human hidden underneath a dumb brute, is used as a beast of burden: he is taken on a journey across Greece by a gang of robbers, and then survives a series of repressive and violent masters. When the extraordinary capabilities of the ass with a human brain are discovered in book X, he is trained as a show ass and finally destined to perform a public act of bestiality as a punishment for an evil woman. Although he had willingly committed a similar act in private, he now flees the public humiliation. On the beach of Cenchreae, Lucius has a vision of the Goddess Isis, with whose help he succeeds in transforming himself back into human shape in book XI. Out of gratitude and religious belief, the now human Lucius goes to Rome and eventually becomes a priest for the cult of Osiris. The religious ending in particular gives a serious tone to the text, thereby blending the two types of ancient prose fiction, comic and serious.\(^4\)

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\(^3\) Doody, p. 501 for the denotations. Gerald Sandy, *The Greek World of Apuleius: Apuleius and the Second Sophistic*, Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 233 points out that Augustine was the first to refer to *Asinus Aureus*, whereas Sallustus (c. 395-7) previously referred to it by its Greek title *Metamorphoses*.

\(^4\) Sandy, pp. 241-2.
The novel is Apuleius's longest fictional text, but it has been noted since at least Byzantine times that his version of the story is not the only one: Photius, the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, compared Apuleius's novel in his Bibliothēkē (II: 103–4) to a now lost Greek version by 'Lucius of Patras' and the still existent Greek epitome The Ass by Lucian (the attribution of the latter has recently been questioned). Apuleius's rendition of the story is characterised by numerous secondary narratives that frequently seems to have impressed the early modern editors so much that they provided separate tables of content for them or even advertised them on the title page ('enterlaced with sondrie pleasaunt and delectable Tales, with an excellent Narration of the Mariage of Cupido and Psiches, set out in the iii. v. and vi. Bookes'). It is the longest of these intercalated narratives, the third-person story of Amor and Psyche, that was so popular at the time that it was even published separately. On the other hand, 'problematic' elements such as the acts of homosexuality and bestiality in books VIII to X were frequently suppressed in early modern editions.

Printed editions of Apuleius's works were published soon after Gutenberg, which can be explained by the former's fame as a Platonist philosopher. The 1469 editio princeps of Apuleius's works is a high quality incunabulum, often hand-illuminated in parts, thereby creating the impression of a valuable manuscript. This first edition was soon the object of pirated reprints until 1500, when the Golden Ass alone was edited by the humanist Philippo Beroaldo. This edition, published first in Bologna and then repeatedly reprinted and pirated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, became the basis of all scholarly encounters with the text. It has the usual humanist commentary flowing

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5 Doody, p. 501; Sandy, p. 236.
6 In the Italian L. APVLEGIO [...] , trans. by Matteo Maria Boiardo (Vinegia: Bartholomeo L'Imperadore, 1544), fol. O ii'.
8 For example by Jean Mangin, L'AMOVR DE CVPIDO ET DE PSICHE' [...] (Paris: Jeanne de Marnef, 1546).
9 For example in METAMORPHOSE [...] , trans. by George de la Bouthiere (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1553) that bowdlerises the 'unnatural' acts, whereas other editions such as the previous LUCIU APVLEI' de Lasne dore [...] , trans. by Guillaume Michel (Paris: Jehan Janot, 1522), print these acts without metatextually blushing about them.
11 Metamorphoses, ed. by Philippo Beroaldo (Bononiae: Benedictus Hectoris, 1500). All the later editors such as the one of L. Apoleii Madavrensis Philosophi Platonici quae quidem extarenovimvos monimenta [...] , n. ed. (Baseleae: Henricus Petrus, 1533), and Elmenhorst in
around the text that almost drowns it in the mass of exegetic detail, and after 1516 was also illustrated with woodcuts (see Figure 1). After this scholarly edition, the text was translated almost instantly into most European languages. These translations, while varying in faithfulness to the original, frequently acknowledged their indebtedness to Beroaldo’s edition and commentary. At least three Italian versions were printed (1518 by Boiardo, a free adaptation by Firenzuola of 1550, and Viziani’s purged edition of 1612). The French translation by Michel, published and pirated in 1522, is very faithful to the text, while three later French translations published throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century vary in their respect for the original. This liberal attitude towards accuracy is shared by the comparatively late English translation by William Adlington, whose version of 1566 was often reprinted until about 1640. The much earlier translation into Spanish of 1525 by the archdeacon of Seville, Lopéz de Corte-gana, has already been described in relation to its appearance just before the beginning of the picaresque. Finally, the German version by Johann Sieder is one of the most magnificent editions of the text in that century: the high-quality folio is illustrated throughout with woodcuts of superb quality (see Figure 2), while the translation itself is heavily indebted to Beroaldo’s edition and commentaries. Probably due to the price of this edition and the imperial privilege (prohibiting pirated editions for ten years), the text was not reproduced before 1605, when Sieder’s translation was slightly modernised and the expensive format abandoned in favour of a modest octavo edition. There are no further German editions before 1783, when the ‘verschriene[s] Buch’ is translated once again, but the text is present in Germany throughout the period in Latin scholarly and non-scholarly editions. It is here that the role of the *Golden Ass* as a model of first-person narration needs to be ex-

*APVLÆI MADAVRENÆSIS PLATONICI OPERA OMNIA* [...] ed. by Geverhartus Elmenhorstius (Francofurti: Wecheliana, 1621) refer to Beroaldo.

12 See for example the bowdlerised translation by Bouthiere, *METAMORPHOSE*, whereas the translations *LVC. APVLEE DE L’ANE DORE XI. LIVRES.* [...] trans. by I. Louueau (Lyon: Iean Temporal, 1558; repr. Paris: Nicolas Bonsons, 1586), and *L’ASNE D’OR. OV LES METAMORPHOSES DE LVCE APVLEE* [...] trans. by I. de Montlyard (Paris: Abel L’Angelier, 1612; repr. Samuel Thiboust, 1623 and 1633) are more faithful.

13 Reprints: 1571, 1582, 1596 and 1639.

14 The first Spanish edition appeared apparently in 1525, but I have not seen this. The 1539 folio edition was reset almost identically in 1543 (title page reproduced in Doody, Plate 19). Later editions from Antwerp (1551) and Alcala (1584) in-8° exist.

plained: this is not just the case through the (frequent) conscious borrowings and intertextual references to the text, but also through its formative interaction with other forms of first-person narration in the early modern period such as the picaresque novel. The *Golden Ass* thus had an indirect influence on first-person narration in some of the national productions in whose vernacular it might not have been present. However, elements of the novel such as the Cupid and Psyche narrative were very popular in the period. It is important to stress that a reference to one of these elements is not necessarily an acknowledgement of the author's in-depth knowledge of the entire novel, and even a reference to the text in a vernacular or bowdlerised version is not necessarily a reference to the original content of the text.\(^\text{16}\)

Numerous editors of Apuleius use classical authority to vouch for the text's (moral, literary) worthiness: Augustine's reference to the *Golden Ass* in *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 18 is often quoted. There Augustine had denied the truthfulness of the transformation of a human into an ass by witchcraft (which in the early modern period would have been partnership in a crime punishable by death) for the more exorcisable notion of spirits possessing the dreaming protagonist. Augustine's figurative reading of the novel legitimises not only the fictional narrative, but also allegorical readings of it (see Chapter 6). Some editions such as Elmenhorst's *Opera Omnia quae extant* (1621) make it absolutely clear how much they appreciate this exoneration for the Platonist philosopher by the Father of the Church. They print not just one reference, but a listing of all obtainable 'VETERVM ScriptorVM de APVLEIO PLATONICO TESTIMONIA', with patristic writers such as Jerome and Augustine in prominent positions.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\) Apuleius's story is even present in some of the contemporary emblem books, where it is used to illustrate the asinine state of humanity; see for example the French edition of Gerard de Jonde, MIKpOKÖσMOσ [...]. (Anvers: Jean Keerbergen, 1592), N. 70. It is also notable that Huet, the most influential theorists of the genre in the period, had his breakthrough as the editor of classical texts for the Dauphin of France — and Huet not only supervised the editions and commentaries of sixty-four texts that could fit easily into the school curriculum, but also included the not quite U-rated Apuleius in this series; see *LUCCI APULLEII MADAURENSIS PLATONICI PHILOSOPHI OPERA* [...], ed. by Julianus Floridus, 2 vols (Paris: Federicum Leonard, 1688).

\(^{17}\) See Elmenhorst's *OPERA OMNIA*, pp. 24–6 for the references by Augustine. This edition prints the *Testimonia* from pp. 22 to 31. Similar listings in *APVLEIVS MADAURENSIS Platonicus. serio castigatus* [...], n. ed. (Amsterodami: Guilij. Cæsium, 1624) and *LUCCI APULLEII MADAURENSIS PLATONICI PHILOSOPHI OPERA* (1688), while Beroaldo in his *Metamorphoses* (1500) comments upon Augustine's reference on fol. 1', and Sieder in his German translation *Ain schön lieblich* on fol. a iii'.
Figure 2: Title page and frontispiece of the German translation Lucius Apuleius, *Ain schön lieblich auch kurzewylig gedichte Lucij Apuleij von ainem gulden Eset* [...], trans. by Johan Sieder (Augsburg: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1538) (90% original size). The psalm Sieder refers to is N. 32.9, in the Vulgate 31: ‘Do not be like senseless horse or mule that need bit and bridle to curb their spirit (to let you get near them).’
Augustine, when not providing legitimacy for satirical novels, was also present in the period as the model of spiritual autobiography and has furthermore been credited with contributing elements to the rise of the picaresque novel.\textsuperscript{18} His autobiographical \textit{Confessions} do not only contain his biography (birth in Tagaste in northern Africa in AD 354 and career as rhetorician before conversion to Christianity). The text also leaves out the later phase of Augustine’s life in which he founded a monastic community first in Tagaste, then in Hippo Regis, where he died while the Vandals besieged the town in AD 430.\textsuperscript{19}

The autobiography takes biographical events only as starting-points of a narration that is much more concerned with universal patterns than with particular experiences. Augustine’s experiences are described as the exemplary downfall of a young man, followed by the equally exemplary road to conversion and spiritual salvation. After emigration to Rome in V, 8 he meets bishop Ambrose and his spiritual leader Simplicianus (VIII, 1) in Milan who put him on the path to Christian conversion. Augustine leaves his mistress and son behind (VI, 15) before being enlightened in one instance of direct communication with his maker: God tells him to ‘take up and read’ the Bible in the garden of a country house at Cassiciacum, and Augustine finds solace in the section he reads (VIII, 8–11). On the way back to Africa, his mother dies in Ostia (IX, 8), which ends the autobiographical part and starts more general exegetical reflections. These deal with the perceptive abilities of man (X), the qualities of time (XI) and heaven in general (XII), before book XIII returns to the ultimate Christian origin, Genesis.\textsuperscript{20}

The style of writing is consistently spiritual. Ponderings by the saintly older self are rarely interrupted by the narration of events from his previous life. These events only serve to illustrate the completeness of his conversion and the greatness of his constant addressee, God. This strong perspective of enlightenment was an important structural

\textsuperscript{18} See most recently Gerhart von Graevenitz, ‘Das Ich am Ende: Strukturen der Ich-Erzähling in Apuleius’ \textit{Goldenem Esel} und Grimmeleußens \textit{Simplicissimus Teutsch}', \textit{Poetik und Hermeneutik: Das Ende, Figuren einer Denkform}, ed. by Karlheinz Stierle and Rainer Warning, 16 (1996), 123–54 (p. 126) who concludes that Augustine, not Apuleius, is more important for \textit{Lazarillo de Tormes}. I would suggest that this is the case in later picaresque novels that blend the perspective of the semi-delinquent self with the Augustinian moral point of view, for example in \textit{Guzmán}.

\textsuperscript{19} For the later parts of Augustine’s biography and his influence on the Christian orders, see Peter Hawel, \textit{Das Mönchtum im Abendland: Geschichte – Kultur – Lebensform} (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), pp. 54–9.

\textsuperscript{20} This has been commonly noted, see for example Fleishman, p. 69.
device for early modern first-person texts that used it to legitimise their narratives, while not always appearing as serious about spirituality as the model does.

Augustine’s autobiography was present throughout the Christian world ever since its writing in AD 397/8, and printed editions of it also appeared soon after Gutenberg. It is noteworthy that the British Library alone holds 173 incunables of Augustine’s writings, published before 1500: the Father of the Church was omnipresent, and continued to be so throughout the early modern period. A number of editions of the important ideological defence of Christianity against the heathens, *De Civitate Dei* (1467 and 1468), predate the folio *editio prima* of the *Confessions* (1470). The first edition was soon reprinted in quarto and continued to be reprinted into the sixteenth century in the smaller size of devotional literature, before revised editions by a number of theologians gained prominence. The first one of these, an unspecified ‘Theologum Louaniensium’ (from Louvain), claimed to have amended the text from a number of manuscripts.  

This edition of 1573 was repeatedly reprinted (1581, 1604) before a new authoritative edition replaced it. The Jesuit Henricus Sommalius, most famous for his edition of Kempis’s *De Imitatione Christi* (1599), was a reputable figure by the time he edited the *Confessions*, again ‘ex M.SS. codicibus nouissimè emendati’. This Latin edition of Douai (1608) was continuously reprinted throughout the seventeenth century, and only a few new attempts were made to edit the text. However, around the turn of the seventeenth century, translation of the Father of the Church into the vernacular began: this century can from a spiritual point...
of view be seen as the century of Augustine,\textsuperscript{26} not least through the increased availability of vernacular versions of his works. The Spanish translation of the \textit{Confessions} (1555, pirated in Cologne in the next year) only gave the first ten books and two chapters of book XI, as the translator deemed the exegetical remainder to be of no value for the autobiography of the saint.\textsuperscript{27} In England, where the text was translated in 1620 by a convert to Catholicism, an immense debate ensued about the commentaries he had affixed to the text: Protestant divines and translators combined forces to refute the Catholic annotations of the previous edition, and in the metatextual\textsuperscript{28} realm around the text a war of words was being fought about the spiritual denomination of Augustine and the right religion.\textsuperscript{29} The French translations were equally involved in debate about the disreputable beliefs of a translator: after the first translation known to me, a very scholarly undertaking by Bishop Hennequin, published with summaries of the books and exegetical commentary in 1587,\textsuperscript{30} the translation by Arnauld (before 1659, republished 1675 and 1680) became suspected of having a heretical leaning due to his association


\textsuperscript{27} Spanish translation \textit{LAS CONFESSIONES DE S. AUGUSTIN [..]}, trans. by Sebastian Toscano (Anvers: Martin Nucio, 1555), fol. 228'. The later Spanish translation of Madrid (1603) followed suit in this.

\textsuperscript{28} Metatext is text about text, unlike metafiction that is a conscious self-discussion of the fictionality of text. See Chapter 6 of this study that discusses the role of early modern metatext in detail.

\textsuperscript{29} See the translation of 1620 and the responses to it by M. Svtcliffe, \textit{THE VNMAKING} of a Masse-monger [..] (London: B. Y. and T. Favvct, 1626) and \textit{SAINT AUGUSTINES Confessions [..]}, trans. by William Wats (London: Abel Roper, 1650) and also the English epitome of the \textit{Confessions} published by Catholics in Paris (\textit{THE KERNEL [..] OF S. AUGVSTINS Confessions [..]}, n. ed. (Paris: n. pub., 1638)) in order to absolve their Catholic brother. A later translation \textit{S. Augustine's CONFESSIONS [..]}, trans. by Abraham Woodhead (n.p.: n. pub., 1679) rounds off the autobiographical first ten books with a third-person account 'extracted out of that written by Possidius, (the Father's intimate Friend and Domestick for many Years) and out of some other pieces of this Father's own unquestioned works.' (fols A 2'-A 2') It is noteworthy that Augustine was also a renown figure in the Anglican countries: even an English emblem book exists that takes the \textit{inscriptions} from Augustine's writings. See John Hall, \textit{EMBLEMS [..]} (London: R. Daniel, 1658).

with Jansenist circles. Jansenism, a predominantly French theological movement in the seventeenth century that originated in Louvain, is the most controversial contemporary religious movement: it quotes Augustine as the model for a radical version of belief in providence. The movement was banned twice by the Vatican, in 1641 and 1705, but certainly gave a renewed impetus to the study and editorial efforts of Augustine’s works, most notably in the eleven-volume Latin folio edition of Paris (1679-1700). Another French translation (1659) seems to profit from the allegations against Arnauld, before the 1690 edition again limits itself to the autobiographical first ten books of the *Confessions*.

The German reception of the text is even more mysterious than these in-fightings of diverse Christian groups over an authoritative vernacular version: a number of earlier German editions of other texts by Augustine exist, but despite consultation of the major libraries, I was unable to locate any translations of the *Confessions* into German before 1672. A different translation was published in the following year in Cologne, small and of the size of the common devotional manuals of the time. This sudden activity in Germany in precisely the decade in which Grimmelshausen published most of his texts demonstrates a renewed interest in Augustine through numerous factors (Jansenism, new editions), but also makes at least an indirect reception of this interest by contemporaries plausible.

The *Confessions* were also present in even more distorted forms than the abbreviated versions without the non-autobiographical part: a curious adaptation of 1569 attempted to refute the Augsburg confession, and there was also a third-person synopsis of

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31 See the Introduction of *LA CONVERSION DE S. AUGUSTIN* [...] (Brussele: François Foppens, 1690), fol. a 4', that discusses these accusations, but concludes that there were two Arnauds, one of which was the Jansenist in question, the other the pious translator. I was unable to verify this account.


33 Mostly in the form of cheap devotional guidebooks. See *Ain andechtiger und zu besserung sündigs lebens/ nutzlicher Tractat des hailigen und Christlichen lerers Aurelij Augustini/ von üppigkait der welt* [...], n. trans. (Augsburg: Siluanum Otmar, 1519); *Von Artickeln Christ-lichen Glaubens S. Augustin* [...], trans. by Iod. Lorchium (Colln: Maternum Cholinum, 1582); *MANVALE* [...], n. trans. (München: Lucas Scraub, 1664); and also Abraham a Sancta Clara’s emblem book *AUGUSTINI Feüriges Hertz* [...] (Wienn: Andreas Heyinger, 1693) that draws emblematic material from Augustine’s writings.

34 Breuer, pp. 245-7 confirms this finding and describes the publications and publishers.

35 The editor, Hieronymus Torres or Torrensis, was a Catalan Jesuit who came to Munich in 1618 via Rome and Ingolstadt. See Zedler, XLIV (1743), cols 1403-4.
Augustine’s life, translated into German from an Italian compilation of a French and Latin work (1731):

_Auf Dessen selbst eigenen Schriften und Büchern heraufgezogen/ in einem Frantzösischen grossen Werck/ wie auch in einem Lateinischen/ in einer richtig wohl aufeinander gehenden Form zusammen gezogen, nachgehends in das Welsche übersetzet. [...] Anjetzo auß Kind-schuldigster Pflicht und Andacht in das Teutsche übersetzet [...]._36

This again demonstrates that even a spiritual, sacred text is not a stable entity in the early modern period, but a quarry of material that is frequently rearranged, altered and put to diverse uses. A reference to the _Confessions_ is therefore no guarantee that the person giving the reference is familiar with the text of Augustine: it could be the text of any of these editors.

The instability of early modern text even increases once one moves from the re-editions of ancient texts to genuine new productions. In the case of Sorel’s _Francion_, the alterations start even before subsequent editors abbreviate and translate the text.37 Sorel, born in about 1602 into a well-off bourgeois family, wrote _Francion_ and other parodistic texts such as the _Berger Extravagant_ in his early twenties. After he succeeded his uncle as the royal historiographer of France in 1635, he wrote mostly historical tracts and poe­tological analyses such as the _Bibliothèque Françoise_ cited in the previous chapter of this study. His later reputable status is one obvious reason for distancing himself from the radical satirical novels of his early years; he also might have feared the rigorous persecution of philosophical libertines such as his friend Théophile de Viau. Until his death in 1674, Sorel continued to insist that he was not the author of _Francion_ and set up an elaborate system of prefaces around the novel that attribute the authorship to the real (if already dead) writer ‘Nicolas De Moulinet, sieur _DU PARC_, Gentil homme Lorrain’.38 Sorel

36 In the title of _Der Von sich selbsten redende AUGUSTINUS [...]_, n. trans. (Augsburg: Veits, 1731).
nevertheless continued to be associated with the novel, and the alterations of the 'text in flux' can be seen as an elaborate system of insurance against criticism by the author, eliminating at least the most anti-bourgeois elements of the first edition.\textsuperscript{39}

The novel is introduced by two metatextual statements: an ironical dedication by the fictional editor to the hero himself in 'À Francion', and an 'Avis aux Lecteurs' that elaborates on the fictional authorship. The text then starts rather abruptly, in medias res, with the night-time adventures of a group of people, including the hero in pursuit of an unsuccessful amorous adventure. Francion subsequently relates the circumstances of this adventure to a nobleman with whom he shares a bed in an inn. Another sharer of the bedroom, the aged prostitute Agathe, tells her thoroughly picaresque life story in book II, before the nobleman invites Francion to his castle. On the journey, Francion narrates the content of a bawdy and scatological dream, before he finally starts his autobiographical narration with a description of his noble background (book III). Stories of childhood mishaps are recounted before a whole host of episodes on Francion's education in Paris follows. The theme of hunger is as dominant in these as the theme of stupidity of the teacher, which resembles closely the use of these motifs in the Spanish picaresque novel, in particular the college episodes in Quevedo's 

Further episodes about the adolescent narrator portray encounters with ignorant poets, the court, and love (V). Francion then becomes the protégé of a nobleman, Clérante, with whom he shares a rather promiscuous approach to women of all social strata, and with whom he leaves the court in book seven. In the countryside, these two aristocrats proceed to seduce and make fun of the countryfolk, most notably in the peasant marriage episode in which Francion brings the feast to an unexpected end by adding a laxative to the food. After their return to the court in Paris, Francion wins a duel against a malicious enemy. This ends the first-person narration of the hero to the nobleman, who through a surprising revelation turns

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out to be an old adversary. In the eighth book, the narration changes dramatically; an omniscient narrator takes over from the first-person narrator:

Les aventures que Francion a courues en sa plus basse jeunesse et celles qu'il a eues ont été mises dans les livres précédents, où je l'ai toujours fait parler de la sorte qu'il les a racontées. Il est temps que son historien parle lui-même et dise le reste tout d'une suite. [Francion, VIII, p. 382]

After the third-person description of a libertine orgy in the nobleman's castle, the hero begins his quest for the beautiful lady Naïs. This is in many ways a parody of knightly quests in traditional chivalric romances, but unlike parodistic texts such as Don Quixote not a direct confrontation of the genre with reality. After meeting the object of his desire, Francion is tricked and imprisoned by two other suitors before being able to flee and impersonate a shepherd. This provides opportunity for a thorough inversion of pastoral romance: Francion stumbles through the locus amoenus and applies the idyllic power of lute playing to the seduction of young peasants and a bourgeoise. After this pastoral perversion, Francion returns to Rome and begins courting Naïs in earnest. Further retarding figures and episodes are introduced, before in the final book XII the complicated web of relations between the characters is solved, the good (or reformed) ones married off and the bad ones banished. This again can be interpreted as a mock version of the happy endings of contemporary romances that were frequently brought about in a fairy tale manner.

Although the satirical narrative contains a multitude of parodistic elements, picaresque traits can be made out especially in the first-person narrative of the hero’s life in books III to VII. Apart from the new formal agglutination of first- and third-person narration into this roman comique, this is also a transformation of the Spanish picaresque into a new socio-cultural environment: the 'picaro français' originates no longer from the ignoble heritage that the Spanish anti-heroes tended to be born into, but still remains an outsider in a vicious society.40

This is the summary of the text in the last version of 1633, which evolved through a process of continuous extension and reworking over a ten-year period. The first or 'A' edition was published anonymously in 1623 by Pierre Billaine in Paris, in the octavo

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40 Bauer, Schelmenroman, p. 147 concludes that Francion is really a libertine forced into a picaresque lifestyle. See also Suozzo (1982) p. 111, who describes the text as a combination of the picaresque with elements of apprenticeship and libertinism.
format that the subsequent editions would retain.Already in this edition that contained only the first seven books, the novel is much longer (886 pages) than the earlier picaresque novels from Spain. The text discloses its satirical intention in the title:

*HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION. EN LAQVELLE SONT descouuertes les plus subtiles finesses & trompeuses inuentions, tant des hommes que des femmes, de toutes sortes de conditions & d'aages.*

This satirical focus is stressed again in the heading ‘L’HISTOIRE DE FRANCION, FLEAV DES vicieux’ (fol. à i''): the central character is presented as a scourge chastising his vicious environment. This first version of the text ends with Francion setting out on his quest for love in book VII. In the subsequent ‘B’ edition of 1626, this quest is described in an additional three books (one of the books of the first edition is split into two), and the entire text is re-edited by Sorel. The changes are mostly stylistic (elimination of archaisms and swear words), but also tone down the anti-bourgeois fervour of the satirical revelation. This is indicated again on the title page:

*L’HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION. OV LES TROMPERIES, LES SVBTl-litez, les mauvaises humeurs, les sottises, & tous les autres vices de quelques personnes de ce siecle, sont naïfuement representez.*

The satirical focus is now restricted from ‘toutes sortes de conditions & d’aages’ to ‘quelques personnes de ce siecle’, and the modifying claim to a naive, well-intentioned representation of vice is a further insurance against attacks from the social strata that are being represented. The text ends with Francion’s marriage to the object of his amorous quest, which closes the story and makes a continuation difficult. Nevertheless, a further separate book of the novel was published in 1633 as a ‘CONCLUSION DE LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION’ (title), similar to the separate publication of the *Continuatio* of Simplicissimus Teutsch in 1669. The *Conclusion* is set in big letters in order to

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41 The edition has been reprinted by Vercruysse (1982). Sorel, *Francion*, ed. by Roy, I, xxiii is correct that the first edition is full of mistakes, indicating the haste of the publisher and typesetter.

The ‘Extrait du Priuilege du Roy’ of this edition is dated 5. 8. 1622 (p. 886), and the ‘Advis aux Lecteurs’ of the ‘C’ edition (1633) also refers to a first edition of 1622 (*Francion*, p. 37). It is most likely that the 1623 edition was printed towards the end of 1622 and post-dated, which was common practice.

42 At least one reprint of this version exists, characteristically after the later ‘C’ version. This edition of 1636 avoids the royal permission to print granted to Billaine by printing the previous version that is no longer covered. The 1636 version contains a slightly adapted ending of the text.
inflated it to the size of a separate volume of 218 pages.\textsuperscript{43} The story reaches the awkward fact of Francion's marriage on page 10: he states the intention ‘qu'il alloit espouser Nays, & que luy ayant mesme promis mariage par contract’, which is surprising as they are already married according to the second version of the text. This is a clear indication that Sorel had revised the entire text before Billaine published this separate volume, presumably to sell unsold stocks of the 'B'-edition rather than giving the whole new text immediately, which would have ruined his chances of clearing the previous version. However, the entire revised 'C' edition was published in the same year, again by Billaine, in one single volume of the enormous length of 1040 pages. It adds the discussion of the fictional author, who was already named 'Moulinet' on the title page of the separate Conclusion, and also adds important moral commentaries after most books that defuse (or at least aim to do so) much of the satirical vigour of the novel. The title no longer stresses the satirical content of the novel, but the truthfulness of its narration — and of the sudden apparition of a further continuation ten years after the first publication:

\textit{LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQUE DE FRANCION. Composée par Nicolas De Moulinet, sieur DU PARC, Gentil homme Lorrain. Amplifiée en plusieurs endroicts, & augmentée d'un Liure, suivant les manuscrits de l'Auteur. [...]}

The reworking of the text is not as substantial as the previous revision of 1626, but certain elements that were now perceived as too critical or blasphemous fall victim to the axe of auto-censorship.\textsuperscript{44} This final tamer, but longer version will be the basis for my analysis as it is this version that was reprinted and translated from 1633 on in dozens of editions, making it less likely that readers could have encountered the text in the previous 'A' and 'B' versions.

Not only were continuous additions and eliminations made by the author himself; the novel also fell into the hands of early modern editors and translators. A small number of mistakes and variations in an early copy makes it possible to trace two distinct variants in the reprints. Billaine's edition of 1633 has the preamble to the preface discussing the 'real author' as follows:

\textit{ADVIS AVX LECTEVRVS TOVCHANT L'AVtheur de ce Liure. C'EST icy vn ouurage du SIEVR DV PARC, qui s'est assez fait cognoistre par les auantures de Floris}

\textsuperscript{43} Copies of the separate edition still exist in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Genenviève and (without cover) in the BL.

\textsuperscript{44} Béchade, p. 287. For the changes in 'C', see also Bauer, \textit{Schelmenroman}, p. 146 and Leiner, 'Rêve', pp. 162-3.
& de Cleonte, & celles de Phinimene & de Chrysaure, dans son liure Des agréables Diversitez d'amour.  

It also politely ends this introduction with 'Fin', and repeats the name of the alleged author before the beginning of the first book. As can be seen from the comparison in Appendix A, the subsequent editions follow this model in two different ways, probably due to one early copy that fused the title of a cited work to 'Desagreables Diversitez d'amour', and also eliminated a number of elements from the original text. The subsequent translations of the novel can then also be related to the type of text on which they are based, which has important consequences for the dating of a German translation (see footnote 51).

The comparison also demonstrates the immense popularity of the novel: two editions of the 'A' text of 1623 exist, at least four of the revised version 'B', and according to a count of editions I have seen or have had reliable references to, the first French adaptation of 1697 was the twenty-fourth reprint of the 'C' text in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, at least one Dutch, three English and four German translations still exist, and it is probable that numerous further editions have been lost, even if one is not as optimistic (or boisterous?) as Sorel himself:

Pour vn Liure qui ait la vraye forme d'vn Roman , on nous met en jeu l'Histoire Comique de Francion, laquelle a esté imprimée pour la premiere fois il y a plus de

45 Charles Sorel, LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQyE DE FRANCION [...], 3rd edn (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1633), fol. à iii'.  
46 An ideal culprit would be the bizarre version of 'C' with a separately paginated Conclusion added to it after book XI (Francion and Conclusion [Paris: Gesselin(?), after 1636]). Unfortunately, someone has taken great care to remove the title pages and other indications, but the copy seems to predate LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQyE DE FRANCION [...] (Rouen: Jean Berthelin, 1646). Some of the details of editions that I have not actually consulted should be taken with caution, as the information in Arbour and Sorel, Francion, ed. by Roy, frequently relies on old library catalogues that have not been updated for centuries.  
47 Sorel, Francion, ed. by Roy, I, p. xxiv describes a second edition of 'A'.  
48 The adaptation HISTOIRE CURIEUSE DU FAMEUX FRANCION [...], 2 vols (Amsterdam, Paul Marret, 1697) pirates the illustrations from the 1668 edition, but leaves out the metatextual prefaces and only contains the first six books. There were two further unabridged editions in the eighteenth century.  
49 See my bibliography. On the English translation The Comical History OF FRANCION [...], trans. by John Davies of Kidwelly (London: Francis Leach, 1655) and the subsequent adaptations (1703 and 1727) see Verdier. The Dutch translation 't Kluchtige Leven VAN VROLYKE FRANSjE [...], trans. by 'D. V. R.' (Amsterdam: Johannes Iacot, 1643) is based on the 'B' version, but only contains six books.
Sorel was visibly proud of his success, even though he probably exaggerated the numbers. The international transmission of his novel seemed to impress him, and the reference to Francion as a paradigmatic picaresque hero in the *English Rogue* (cited above on p. 44) shows the popularity of the novel in seventeenth-century England. The German translations and adaptations are of particular interest. An initial faithful version by the publisher Thomas Götze appeared in 1662 (see Figure 3). Another different translation, also of 1662, added metatextual commentaries at the beginning of each book that aim to
bring out a spiritual sense of the novel. I was able to show that this edition predates the later translation of 1668 by the publishers Hackes in Leiden, printed simultaneously with their French edition of the novel.\textsuperscript{50} These two Hackes versions, probably both edited by the linguist Duëz,\textsuperscript{51} are the highest-quality editions of the text in the century. Both the German and French versions use the same frontispiece (Figure 4), and also illustrations of all books of the novel. However, the German text is probably revised from the earlier Vertueutchter Francion gedruckt A. 1662 (or another lost version, even though this is unlikely).\textsuperscript{52} Three copies of Vertueutchter Francion still exist, all without a title page, but one copy with a frontispiece that includes the title and shows an iconographic representation of satire (Figure 5).\textsuperscript{53} The depiction of the satyr/satire will be analysed in more detail in the sixth chapter of this study, but another link needs to be mentioned. The frontispiece of Vertueutchter Francion shows a satyr scourging a walking globe along a winding road,

\begin{itemize}
\item [51] See the titles of the parallel editions: 'Soigneusement revue & corrigée par Nathanaël Duëz, Maistre de Langues', and 'in diesem Druck von einem herühmten Mann fleißig übersehen und gebeoffert. LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQUE DE FRANCION [...]', ed. by Nathanaël Duëz (Leyden: Hackes, 1668) and \textit{VOLLKOMMENE COMISCHE HISTORIE DES FRANCIONS [...]}, n. trans. (Leyden: Hackes, 1668).
\item [52] Uhrig, p. 276, see also footnote 51 and Chapter 6, footnote 114.
\item [53] The HAB copy has a photocopy of the Coburg frontispiece attached. The BSB copy has a handwritten note on the flyleaf: 'Der Titelkupfer mit obigem Titel ist abhanden gekommen. Die Kgl. Bibliothek in Dresden besitzt eine Ausgabe von 1668, wo ein Kupferstich eingeklebt ist (Lit. Gall. B. 974). 15. XII. 1914'. Unfortunately this Dresden copy of the Hackes' edition was lost in the last war, but the note indicates that there was more than one copy of the frontispiece, thereby making it unlikely that it was commissioned for the copy in Coburg. Problems with the only remaining frontispiece continue to be unsolvable: it has been pasted to the flyleaf, which has been cut off in order to make up for the increased size. On the other hand, the stamp on the back of the frontispiece ('Bibliotheca Casimiriana') and the identical size and colour of the cut make it likely that the frontispiece was inserted before the volume was bound, which can be dated before the eighteenth century. Unless further copies appear out of the dusty cellars of private libraries, the dating of Vertueutchter Francion to 1662, which hinges on this problematic frontispiece, remains difficult.
\end{itemize}
thus representing satire's capability to unmask the vanity of worldly values, here represented literally as a *Verkehrte Welt*. I am aware of only two similar walking globes, in the frontispieces of Grimmelshausen’s *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest* (1672) and of Beer’s *Jan Rehbo* (1677) that is an obvious re-cut of this. The frontispiece of the supposedly pirated edition of the *Vogelnest* of 1673 resembles it closely in format and depiction (Figure 6), but the original edition also shows the important elements of a satyr, here observing the globe walking down the winding road through the satirical telescope of the *Vogelnest* that makes its holder invisible.

Grimmelshausen’s indebtedness to Sorel has been widely acknowledged, and the discovery of further German editions of *Francion* and the suspicious similarity of two frontispieces support this link. The main reason for assuming an influence of Sorel’s *Francion* on Grimmelshausen remains one passing reference. In *Satyrischer Pilgram* (1667)

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54 This chronology has been established by Tarot in his edition of *WV*. Grimmelshausen refers to *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest* in *Teutscher Michel* with a precise page number: ‘Der Autor des wunderbarlichen Vogelnests hat pag. 72. eine Histori von einem Bauern [...]’ (*TM*, VII, p. 49), followed by a verbatim self-quotation. It is evident from this that Grimmelshausen copied from the E\textsuperscript{24} version, and not from the first edition that has the section on another page. This is surprising unless one assumes that Grimmelshausen collaborated with the publisher of the pirate, or accidentally obtained a copy of this.
Grimmelshausen discusses amongst other things the merits and shortcomings of writers. In the ‘Gegensatz’ of ‘Erster Satz / von der Poeterey’, he portrays poets as driven to madness by their female muses, and in order to support this generalised statement with specific examples, he pulls out all the stops of classical knowledge — or so it seems:

Schließlich so erweist die tägliche Erfahrung mit der Wahrheit/ daß die Köpfe der besten Poeten mit allerhand Grillen und seltzamen Muthen dergestalt angefüllt befinden / daß man sich darüber verwundern muß; Und wann sie von ihren Musis wie Ovidius von Euterpe, Virgilius von der Thalia, Orpheus von der Calliope, Museus von der Urania, Hesiodus von Terpsichore, Pindarus von Polymnia, Sappho von Erato, Thamirus von Melpomene, und Homerus von Clio angeblasen / und in ihre Furores entzückt werden / daß alsdann ihr Hirn mit poetischen Dünsten der Thorheit solchgestalt übernäbelt und angefüllt sey / daß beynahe kein Platz mehr übrig bleibt / dahin sich die Gedanken und Verrichtungen anderer nützlichen Geschäften logiren könten; und wann man einen solchen Kerl sieht poetisiren / dürfte mancher aus seinen Gebäuden urteilen und darauff schweren / er were gar verruckt im Koppe welchen Morbum Francion in seines Lebens Erzählung so artlich ausstrückhet / daß es auch kein Mahler mit lebendigen Farben besser entwerffen heteren können [...] [SP, II, 1, p. 93]

This reference to the ‘morbus Francion’ has been taken as a proof of Grimmelshausen’s in-depth knowledge of Francion by scholars since Bobertag (1877), and similarities be-
tween textual sections support this view. However, 'mad' poets occur only in one section of the long novel (book V); this reference confirms at best a partial knowledge of the text. Grimmelshausen is also notorious for borrowing whole passages from other texts, a practice that was regarded at the time not as plagiarism, but as a display of bookish knowledge, which was important in a period that still strove to imitate the mastery of classical antiquity. Just before the brief reference to Francion in *Satyrischer Pilgrum*, Grimmelshausen borrowed a large section from Tomaso Garzoni's *Piazza Universale*, a semi-encyclopaedic work describing the different professions that was translated into German in 1619 and reprinted numerous times in the century. Scholte has demonstrated in his pioneering study of 1921 how indebted Grimmelshausen's prose is to the *Piazza Universale*, and Weydt and others have since been able to trace other borrowings that occur throughout Grimmelshausen's works. It should be stressed that this practice is not the sort of verbatim plagiarism a bored undergraduate would commit, but a reworking of style and content for Grimmelshausen's purposes. This is also the case in *Courasche*, a text that borrows its historical framework from another encyclopaedic work, Wassenberg's *Teutscher Florus* of 1647, and one very important section from Garzoni.

The *Lehensbeschreibung der Erzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche* was the first in a series of short novels that are linked to *Simplicissimus Teutsch* through minor characters

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from it, and it is also the only one in the series narrated by a woman. These *Simplicianische Schriften* are much shorter than *Simplicissimus*, which with the *Continuatio* of 1669 spans six books and more than 700 pages: *Courasche* only runs to the modest length of 260 pages (modern editions tend to have less than 150). The novel continues a story line from book V, chapter 6 of *Simplicissimus*. Courasche is introduced in this 'Erzählung eines Possen, den Simplicius im Saurbrunnen angestellt' as the (anonymous) conquest of Simplicissimus, before he supposedly impregnates and ditches her, but is then confronted with the human product of this encounter on his doorstep in a later chapter. Courasche uses this slanderous reference as an opportunity for her revenge on Simplicissimus, and this omnipresent *Trutz Simplex* motif is already introduced in the first words of the title. While the first chapter of picaresque novels had traditionally described the narrator's birth and humble origins, this version begins with the perspective of the old self, and it is clearly not an enlightened perspective: after playing with the reader's expectation of the confessions of an old sinner, narrated in order to achieve spiritual salvation, the narrator consciously renounces this expectation:

> Ich bekenne unverhohlen, daß ich mich auf solche Hinreis, wie mich die Pfaffen überreden wollen, nicht rüsten, noch deme, was mich ihrem Vorgeben nach verhindert, völlig zu resignieren entschließen können [...]. Das, so mir mangelt, ist die Reu, und was mir manglen sollte, ist der Geiz und der Neid. [Courasche, I, p. 15]

This spiteful statement, opposing the entire social and religious order, sets the scene for the narration: the blasphemous old self revels in her previous sins and constantly reminds the addressee of the text, Simplicissimus, of his association with her evil personality. Chapter II begins the autobiographical narrative: Courasche escapes the invasion of 'Bragoditz' (Prachatiz) in southern Bohemia disguised as a boy, becomes first the manservant, and then the lover of a cavalry captain who agrees to marry her on his deathbed. After numerous sexual and martial adventures, Courasche begins to participate in the Thirty Years' War, as an Amazon-like warrior (chapter VII). After another string of marriages of various length and motivation, Courasche follows a musketeer to Italy and becomes a greedy sutler (chapter XV). To secure her status, she enters into an agreement about a (sexual) relationship with the musketeer, in which she invariably dominates. After a number of adventures that resemble *Schwanke* of the sixteenth century, Courasche retires to the spa at Sauerbrunnen to take a cure for syphilis and there encounters Simplicissimus (XXIV). When she is expelled from Offenburg for an adulterous relationship, Courasche first joins the Protestant Hessian army as a sutler and then marries the lieu-
tenant of a gang of gypsies (XXVII). Her narrative ends with episodes describing the tricks of the gypsies. The text has two important postscripts: the 'Wahrhaftige Ursach und kurzgefaßter Inhalt dieses Traktäleins' summarises the text on the last page of the printed edition, and the even more important 'Zugab des Autors' directly after the end of Courasche's narrative warns against consorting with prostitutes.

There has been disagreement about the interpretation of this emancipated heroine, who takes her life into her own hands after being cast into the turmoils of the Thirty Years' War. As will be argued subsequently, the metatextual elements of the novel in particular strive to reinforce the interpretation of Courasche as an almost demonic figure, and not the fallen angel that she sometimes makes herself out to be.

As the history of editions of Grimmelshausen's works has been well documented, the following summary can be very brief and refer to Bender's edition of Couraschef. The text was published three times in the relatively short span of two years. The legitimate first edition of 1670, published anonymously by Felßecker in Nuremberg in duo-decimo, contains an interesting and unusual two-page frontispiece (figure 27). This edition was pirated in 1671, probably by Müller in Frankfurt who also pirated Simplicissimus Teutsch. The legitimate third edition, again of 1671, is an almost identical reissue of the first edition. The novel was then only reprinted posthumously, again by Felßecker in his three-volume edition of Grimmelshausen's works. This 'C' edition was the only seventeenth-century Gesamtausgabe of a German author of low texts, and the extensive reworking of the texts and the addition of illustrations indicates the scale and cost of the under-

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61 The first edition paginates the text up to p. 264, with a jump from p. 232 to 239 and the verso of p. 263 empty. The third edition attempts to correct this, but misnumbers p. 263 as p. 253. Much has been made out of the fact that the number of pages equals four times 66, but it should be noted that the number of the Antichrist in the book of Revelation is 666, and also that erratic numbering of pages is a frequent accident at the time.
Taking. Courasche was most widely distributed in this altered form, and due to the addition of epigraphs and other metatextual material, the version is again very different from the original text by Grimmelshausen (see Chapter 6). The publisher and his anonymous Protestant corrector apparently spent substantial amounts of effort and money on the project, which was then re-edited twice by Felslecker's son and grandson, while it also contains material that cannot be attributed to Grimmelshausen. The first Gesamtausgabe was published in 1683 (volume II) and 1684 (volumes I and III). The second edition, 'C', was already published in 1685 (volumes I and II) and 1695 or 1699 (volume III), while the whole of 'C' was printed in 1713. After the three Gesamtausgaben, Courasche was only published once in one adapted version (1791) before the modern scholarly editions, and the German texts were furthermore also not translated into the European languages.

This is not to say that the German development is irrelevant. It is nevertheless important that most of the complex interactions took place in England between picaresque and other contemporary forms. For reasons that are not easily explained, the transmission of the German picaresque was not as multi-directional as those of its European neighbours; therefore the picaresque element in the narrative hotchpotch that is formative for the new novel is an agglutination of French and Spanish forms. This limited impact is obvi-


63 Trappen, Menippeische Satire, p. 44 notes the pro-worldly Protestantism of the additions; similar Wimmer, Befehst, p. 14. Koschlig, Ingenium, p. 265 deduces Johann Christoph Beer (not to be mistaken for Johann Beer) as corrector, but this has been widely disputed (see Heßelmann, p. 133).

64 For the dating of 'C', see Tarot's introduction to ST, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

ous from the outset in the case of Defoe: the wide range of languages he claimed to have known did not include German.\textsuperscript{66}

\textit{Moll Flanders} was written in one of Defoe's most productive years: the speed of writing and his prodigious output in 1722 is betrayed by numerous inconsistencies in the story. This text in particular reveals a change in the nature of first-person narration: the central character defines herself in a series of formative experiences that lead not to one stable self, but to a succession of different states. Although there has been debate about the consistency of Moll's characterisation (see Chapter 5), it can be said that Moll is well on the way to the modern concept of developmental psychology. This development is already indicated by the title. Moll

\begin{quote}
was Born in NEWGATE, and during a Life of continu'd Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent [...].
\end{quote}

A summary of the story will illustrate the stages of the development: Moll is born in Newgate prison as the daughter of a convict. After a virtuous upbringing in Colchester, Moll is seduced by the eldest son of her foster-family and forced to marry his younger brother in order to avoid exposure. After the husband's sudden death, Moll again looks for security in a series of disastrous marriages: the first husband wastes his inheritance before abandoning her, and the next husband turns out to be her own brother when she follows him to Virginia. Returned to England, Moll's affair with a 'gentleman' in Bath is followed by two parallel marriages: Moll marries a man from Lancashire, but the financial dishonesty before the marriage is mutual and the partners not affluent enough to sustain the relationship. After an amicable separation, Moll proceeds to marry a banker in London who dies heartbroken when he is robbed by his clerk. Unable to support herself, Moll now starts a criminal career as a thief. After being caught and sentenced to death, she is spiritually converted, and subsequently her sentence is reduced to transportation to America. Reunited with her 'Lancashire' husband, who in the meantime returned to his 'trade' of being a highwayman, they start a plantation in Virginia, before being able to return to England 'where we resolve to spend the Remainder of our Years in sincere Penitence' (Moll, p. 343). As the summary of this story already indicates, this is not 'an ordinary mind on an ordinary day': extraordinary adventures are

\textsuperscript{66} Backscheider, p. 434. Defoe claimed knowledge not only of the classical languages, Latin and Greek, but also fluency in French, Spanish and Italian.
offered to the reader, a series of debaucheries, incest, bigamy, sex and crime. This shows that it is not the story-level on which we should look for a break in novelistic writing in the eighteenth century, but on the text-level: the agglutination of different forms of criminal and spiritual biography, as well as of elements of the picaresque, can be best observed here, not in the plots of these novels that are sometimes as hard to believe as their predecessors.

*Moll Flanders* was published in 1722 in a multitude of versions. A first legitimate edition of 424 pages in-8° was followed by a pirated 'Second Edition, Corrected'. This edition is shorter due to typographical 'space-saving devices', but the text is also slightly abbreviated to 366 pages. In ‘The Third Edition Corrected’ the editors of the first and second edition teamed up to produce an identical reprint of the altered second edition, while a later reprint of 1741 was based again on the first edition. All three editions of 1722 were expensive: the price of 5 shillings corresponds to half the weekly income of a labourer, and (although a wide circulation of one copy and a second-hand book trade can be assumed), the genuine article was out of reach for ‘the young, the ignorant, and the idle’. One eighteenth-century option to make the text more affordable was to publish it in instalments: *Moll Flanders* was serialised from May 1722 to March 1723 in the *London Post*, a short newspaper of six folio pages that printed the novel on the first page and a half, followed by the ‘latest’ news. The serialisation was based on the first edition of

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68 The second and third editions each exist in two variants with different title pages, indicating different publishers. *Moll*, p. xxiii.
69 Numerous variants correspond to the first edition. The edition has a good quality engraved frontispiece, illustrating the initial sin of Moll meeting the son of her foster-family.
71 On the cost of publications in the early modern period, see Houston, pp. 185-7. While the price of a New Testament in 1522 was equivalent to a week’s wage of an artisan, the price of an entire bible in 1711 was now equivalent to a day and a half’s work of a worker. The decrease in price was related to the print run: novels such as *Moll Flanders* remained expensive, whereas mass market edifying literature became cheaper.
72 Daniel Defoe [Serialisation], ‘The History and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, &c.’, *LONDON POST* [...] , 11 May 1722-15 March 1723. The BL copy is incomplete, missing the first issues and also some of the last ones. It starts the text in N. 19 of ‘Friday May 11. to Monday May 14. 1722’ with the ‘elder brother’ episode, some forty
3: THE INSTABILITY OF EARLY MODERN TEXT

1722, but added a new ending to the novel that originates from another eighteenth-century form of ‘value for money’: the abbreviated edition of the text that is advertised in the issue of the London Post that contained the last genuine instalment of Defoe’s novel (Figure 7). This low-quality abbreviation of 1723, by the publisher of the London Post and illustrated with low quality woodcuts, reduced the price to a fifth, but also the text to half the original length. While being faithful to the main story line, the version leaves out all ‘unnecessary’ details not directly related to Moll’s story and also the preface, while dividing the text into chapters. The edition stresses the scandalous elements of the novel

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Figure 7: Advertisement in the London Post, N. 146 of 4. 3. 1723, p. 6.

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in its title (‘Marriage to her own Brother’, ‘Marriage to an Highwayman’, and ‘A singular Adventure that happen’d to her at Bartholomew-Fair’ which was notorious for its liberal morals). On the other hand, the anonymous editor seemed not convinced by the original penitent ending, and therefore added Moll’s ‘Settlement in Ireland; her Estate, Penitence, Age, Death, Burial, Elegy, and Epitaph’ (title page). This curious attempt to complete the autobiographical narration will be analysed in the next chapter of this study, but it is important that this ending was invariably used in the subsequent chapbook editions, and also in the translations of the novel.

Further chapbooks throughout the eighteenth century added autobiographies of secondary characters (1730), expanded Moll’s criminal career (in the title of the 1750 version to ‘12 years a Thief, 11 times in Bridewell, 9 times in New-Prison, 11 times in Wood-street Compter, 6 times in the Poultry Compter, 14 times in the Gatehouse, 25 times in Newgate, 15 times Whip[’]t at the Cart’s Arse [sic], 4 times Burnt in the Hand, once Condemned for Life and 8 Year’s a Transport in Virginia’), or even transformed the text into a crude third-person account of only eight pages (1815 editions). The immediate translations of the text into German (1723) and Dutch (1752) adopted the Irish later years of the heroine, or even provided the text with a completely different ending:

After having made several excursions in the nearby places, our choice fell finally on Hampstead, both in terms of its location and the goodness of the air one inhales.

C’est ici que nous passons notre vieillesse agréablement dans des œuvres de piété & les amusemens de la campagne. [...] ^76

It again becomes apparent that books bearing the same title are not identical in each edition, and that it will be necessary in the following analysis to describe the edition in which a text is analysed.

A final word on the popularity of these texts. As has been demonstrated in this overview of editions, some unlikely texts were being reissued more often than the supposed harbingers of the rise of the novel. In twenty-nine editions from its first emergence in

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^75 The abbreviations get progressively cruder. While the 1723 edition had 190 pages, the 1730 version reduces this to ninety-one pages on Moll, completely rewritten from the original text. The chapbooks of 1750 and 1825 condense the text to twenty-four pages, and the 1815 versions are only eight pages long. The progressive reduction of the text is accompanied by a reduction of the story to only the criminal exploits, thus presenting the narrative as criminal biography.

1487 to the end of the seventeenth century, the *Hexenhammer* continued to shape the period and to make especially the seventeenth century one of the most dangerous times for intelligent women. The spiritual writings of Augustine in particular continued to be printed in editions of varying intention and quality (according to my incomplete count eighteen Latin editions and thirteen translations). The unrealistic, even archaic transformation described in Apuleius’s satirical text also enjoyed the early modern readers’ approval (ten Latin editions of the entire works, numerous Latin editions of Beroaldo’s text, twenty-four translations). One of the best-sellers of the seventeenth century, the *Histoire Comique de Francelon*, was published in at least thirty-five different editions and translations in this century alone, and continued to be reprinted in the eighteenth century in another five editions. Even the experimental text *Courasche* is published three times in the relatively short span of two years, and then included in the three editions of the author’s works. It is here that certain assumptions about the new English novel will have to be revised: while Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* strongly changed novelistic writing (as will be demonstrated below), their publishing figures themselves were rather modest. *Moll Flanders* was published in the eighteenth century in nine genuine editions and three translations, as well as in two abridgements and seven chapbook versions, a total of eighteen editions in one century, which is not really astonishing considering the reduced price of texts in the eighteenth century, in particular of the abridged editions. Even the text that can be said to initiate the new novel and its imitations in the latter eighteenth century, Richardson’s *Pamela*, is ‘only’ printed in twenty-nine genuine editions and twenty-two abridged versions in the century, thereby barely surpassing Sorel’s success from the previous century. It is from these figures, as well as from the practice of continuing adaptation, bowdlerisation and re-writing of novels so

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79 *ESTC on CD-Rom*, British Library Board and Reed Technology and Information Services, version 1.08 (1998).
apparent in the case of Defoe, that the instability of text even after the rise of the novel becomes apparent.
4. First-Person Narration and Time

Time within the predominant Christian framework of the early modern period has two distinct configurations: worldly time, and spiritual eternity. As will become apparent, this duality of time shapes the early modern novels in very different ways.

The following chapter will first introduce the necessary theoretical considerations of first-person narration, and then contextualize these theoretical assumptions by placing them in the framework of the contemporary concepts of autobiography and time.

4.1. Foundations

a) First-Person Narration

There is no agreement on the immanent status of first-person narration in relation to third-person narration. Various theorists have claimed that first-person narration is necessarily unreliable\(^1\) or that the third person necessarily confers authority to, for example, historical texts.\(^2\) Others perceive first-person narration as a 'fingierte Wirklichkeitsaussage',\(^3\) encouraging at the least the illusion of truth\(^4\) and requiring the reader to suspend his disbelief in the reality of the narrator.\(^5\) It is probably more the case that first-person narration simply transfers all responsibility for the narration to the narrating character.\(^6\) This is to say that a reliable narrator will create a strong illusion of truth and authority by his 'eyewitness' account of events, maybe even more so than an omniscient narrator, whereas unreliable narrators, such as the low-life heroes of picaresque novels, will not necessarily achieve this effect. In the picaresque novels that are

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1 Franz K. Stanzel, *Theorie des Erzählen*, 4th rev. edn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), p. 122. Booth, pp. 158-9 defines reliability of a narrator as follows: 'For lack of better terms, I have called a narrator reliable when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author's norms) unreliable when he does not.'
4 Bauer, *Romantheorie*, p. 86.
5 Romberg, p. 10. He borrows this phrase from Coleridge.
investigated here, the reader is thus invited to a 'Komplementärlektüre' that questions the reliability of the narrator who is involved in a world that he depicts as less than perfect.\(^7\) This element of dubious reliability of the narrators is present from the beginning in the ancient first-person texts of Petronius and Apuleius,\(^8\) but as will be pointed out, there was a major crisis in trust around the turn of the eighteenth century, reflected in and maybe created by satirical writing. Texts such as Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702) and Swift's *Modest Proposal For preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to their Parents, or the Country* (1729) use first-person narrators in an extremely insincere, ironical way that forces the reader to look beyond the surface level if he does not want to believe that the author really proposes the slaughter of all Dissenters, or of Irish babies in order to provide food.

Time is one of the main constituents of narrative fiction that assumes a temporal succession of events. Theorists of first-person narration agree that this form of text presupposes the existence of two instances of someone saying 'I', unified in personal identity, but divided by temporal difference: an old self of the writer, looking back on the experiences of a younger version of the same self.\(^9\) Augustine expresses the idea of a radical division even by the 'death' of his previous incarnation: 'Et ecce infantia mea olim mortua est et ego vivo.' (*Confessiones*, I, 6, p. 5)\(^10\)

To illustrate the technical terms for time and first-person narration, I will analyse the short passage from Augustine's autobiography that has already been cited in the introduction. This text is to a large extent not only autobiographical, but also a direct reflection on the dimensions of time and eternity. A repetition of the quotation in English will suffice as we are not concerned with the level of narration here, but with the levels of text and story:

> There was a pear-tree near our vineyard, loaded with fruit that was attractive neither to look at nor to taste. Late one night a band of ruffians, myself included, went off to shake down the fruit and carry it away, for we had continued our games out of doors well after dark, as was our pernicious habit. We took away an enormous quantity of pears, not to eat them ourselves, but simply to throw them to the pigs.

\(^7\) Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, p. 2.

\(^8\) Doody, p. 151.


\(^10\) 'My infancy is long since dead, yet I am still alive.' (*Confessions*, I, 6, p. 26)
Perhaps we ate some of them, but our real pleasure consisted in doing something that was forbidden.

Look into my heart, O God, the same heart on which you took pity when it was in the depths of the abyss. [Confessions, II, 4, p. 47]

The pear-tree episode, one of the examples the enlightened narrator gives to illustrate his youthful wickedness, demonstrates the fundamental differences of 'narrating' and 'experiencing' self. The section is preceded by direct reflections of the old narrator on the moral wickedness of the action. The passage begins with a description of the action through the eyes of the younger self, experiencing the deed and the pleasures of the crime. Even in this short section in the voice of the experiencing self, the voice of the enlightened narrator can be heard ('nequissimi adolescentuli', a band of ruffians, line 2), speaking as he is in the background and overlaying the narration of the criminal youth. The passage finishes with one of the omnipresent addresses to the 'ideal reader' of the book, God, who is invoked for spiritual salvation and to whom the narrating self lays his heart open ('ecce cor meum', line 7).

The term 'narrating self' brings out the function of the older self as mediator of the events that the younger self experiences, as the 'Verkörperung der Erzählfunktion des Autors'. The narrating self is not just confined to the limited point of view of its memories, but it can also assume a more creative function towards its own past, including (fictive) re-creations of events. This is the case even in texts that use the convention of the narrator's 'perfect memory' that assumes that even the semi-senile narrators of autobiographies, recollecting youthful adventures decades after they occurred, can still

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11 'The distinction between 'narrating self' (erzählendes Ich) and 'experiencing self' (erlebendes Ich) was first made by Leo Spitzer in his essay on Proust (Stilstudien II [...] p. 478. It has been adopted by most critics concerned with first-person narration.' Dorrit Cohn, Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 298. See also Romberg, p. 95 and Stanzel, Theorie, p. 272, who claims to have made the same distinction without being aware of Spitzer.

12 Stanzel, Theorie, p. 112. It is more useful to apply the terms 'narrating' and 'experiencing' self rather than the frequent attempts to use criterions such as 'reflection'. A distinction of 'reflecting' and 'experiencing' self (for example: Wolfgang Iser, Laurence Sterne: Tristam Shandy, trans. by David Henry Wilson, Landmarks of World Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 57) does not give any indication on which temporal and cognitive level this reflection is performed: the reflections of an experiencing self are frequently included in first-person narration without being contrasted to reflections of an enlightened narrating self.

13 Stanzel, Theorie, p. 113.
remember exactly what their partners in crime said at the time.\textsuperscript{14} This convention is traditionally referred to either directly (frequent in the \textit{Confessions}, also \textit{ex negativo} IX, 11, p. 114: ‘Ad haec ei quid responderim non satis recolo’)\textsuperscript{15} or by indirectly assuming the legitimacy of such a perfect accuracy of memory. Nevertheless, there is an ontological difference between narrating and experiencing self: the purely mental function of the narrating self is frequently contrasted with a corporeality of the experiencing self participating in the actions,\textsuperscript{16} the two states of the one self therefore form a ‘Spannungsgefuge’ that determines the form of the text.\textsuperscript{17} Traditionally, the end of the narrative act eliminates this disjunction between experiencing and narrating self; the temporal gap between the two is closed at the very end by a change of tense to the present tense of narration,\textsuperscript{18} experiencing and narrating self are the same, unified being: ‘we are now grown Old’ (\textit{Moll Flanders}, p. 342). The narrative performs a spiral motion, returning to the present tense of the narrative act. This is not a circular motion but a spiral as this return occurs on a higher level of knowledge gained through the narrative act.\textsuperscript{19}

Another important feature of the difference between experiencing and narrating self visible in the section from the \textit{Confessions} is the overall temporal perspective: the narrating self traditionally narrates from the end of his life, from a protean position similar to the one of an omniscient third-person narrator. However, this is not always the case: an analysis of the relatively traditional texts under investigation will show that the narration can be presented from a more immediate perspective, from the middle of events.\textsuperscript{20}

After this outline of the functions of the narrator, an overview of the different forms of first-person narration is necessary to understand the changing nature of first-person narration in the early modern period. Romberg, who to my knowledge has written the only book-length theoretical study of first-person novels, defines his subject as follows:

\textit{By a first-person novel is meant a novel that is narrated all the way along in the first person by a person who appears in the novel, the narrator.}\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Romberg, p. 97.
\item \textsuperscript{15} ‘I scarcely remember what answer I gave her.’ (\textit{Confessions}, IX, 11, p. 199)
\item \textsuperscript{16} Stanzel, \textit{Theorie}, p. 135.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Stanzel, \textit{Theorie}, p. 112.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Stanzel, \textit{Theorie}, p. 133.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Miller, ‘Three Problems’, p. 98.
\item \textsuperscript{20} An extreme case of this ‘communication from “the middle of things”’ is pointed out by Iser, p. 57, who analyses the continuity of disjunction in \textit{Tristam Shandy}.
\end{itemize}
This is the definition this study will fundamentally adhere to. Romberg distinguishes first-person texts according to what he calls ‘epic situation’ and which should better be termed the ‘narrative situation’ of a text. Oral narrative situations, where a narrator claims to communicate his story orally to an attentive audience gathered around him, are frequently used as a framing device for cycles of short stories or ‘Chinese box’ narrations such as the Decamerone. It is this apparent proximity to oral forms of narration that made the first-person novel the ideal interim form between oral forms of direct communication and the relayed communication in narrative texts, which are written, printed, and read in solitude. Even the ‘written’ narrative situation of a first-person narrator sitting down at his desk and writing down his life (or some part of it) is thus perceived as more immediate than the more distanced, ‘artificial’ third-person narratives that only begin to dominate the novelistic production in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Written first-person narratives fall into three main categories: the diary novel, the epistolary novel and the memoir novel or fictional autobiography. Even though there is a strong predominance of epistolary forms in certain periods, for example after the tremendous success of Richardson’s Pamela, the form of memoir narrative is generally most common.

Obviously, the ideal memoir narrative would be a life story ab ovo and even before (the prehistory of birth and generation is frequently included in the accounts, for example in Lazarillo and Francion) right to the death of the narrator. As death itself is logically excluded from the first person, narrative can only perform what von Graevenitz calls ‘an den Tod heranschreiben’: total closure is thus not attainable even in the most complete first-person narratives which are confined to remain open-ended. An ideal case of memoir would thus be the short autobiographical sketch by the castaway in Schnabel’s Insel Felsenburg:


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22 Romberg, p. 33.
23 Hunter, Before Novels, p. 45 stresses that first-person narration is widely available to novelists in the eighteenth century due to prior knowledge of it from the oral versions of confessions, testimonies, and autobiography.
24 Romberg, pp. 35–42.
25 Graevenitz, p. 123. On p. 124 he shows how closure can be achieved in first-person texts by the introduction of other character’s ‘reports’ on the end of the primary ‘I’.
am 27. Jun. 1606.
Ich lebe zwar noch, bin aber dem Tode sehr nahe, d. 28. 29. und 30. Jun. und noch
d. 1. Jul. 2. 3. 4. 26

Apart from being blessed with a prodigious old age of 131 years, the island dweller gives
a micro-version of the ultimate life narrative, from birth to the closest proximity possible
to death in the first person: as he is unable to add the figure for the 5th of July 1606, it is
implied that death completed his chronicle.

The memoir novel does not necessarily have to render this ideal case of a narration
from birth to impending death. It can confine itself to shorter stretches of the narrator’s
life, which is a common convention especially in travel narratives but is also used in
short first-person sections explaining the immediate prehistory of the narrative situation
(e.g. in Francion, pp. 76–83.) The shortest narrative distance is traditionally found not in
memoir texts but in epistolary narration, where the narrator can even record her anxieties
about the impending intrusion of the ravisher outside her door (‘I must break off;
here’s somebody coming.’). 27

The autobiographical narration of a main character is the most common form of
first-person narration. 28 All the narrators of the texts under investigation are main char-
acters, but especially the compound novel Francion intermixes this with other types of
inserted narratives of secondary characters. This form of ‘intercalation’ 29 of first-person
narration into first-person texts can sometimes lead to a rather confusing fusion of nar-
rators: the ‘I’ referred to by the narrator gives no indication of who is speaking. 30 The
form of intercalation is common not just in picaresque novels, but also in contemporary
romance and even earlier third-person texts. However, Hunter seems to address the issue
in the right way when he notes that in romance these inset elements, mostly of first-per-

26 Johann Gottfried Schnabel, Die Insel Felsenburg, ed. by Ernst Weber, Deutsche Romane
27 Samuel Richardson, Pamela, or, Virtue Rewarded, ed. Peter Sabor (London: Penguin,
1985), letter XXIX, p. 109
29 This term is used by Kermode, Genesis, p. 137. It brings out the two dimensions of in-
serting a first-person narrative into another text shown by the OED entry ‘intercalation’:
Intercalation was first used in the temporal context of calendrical time, adding certain
temporal units into a calender (first example 1577) and then in transformation of this to
denote ‘The insertion of any addition between the members of an existing or recognised
series’.
30 Graevenitz, p. 135.
son narration into a third-person text, do not really form an integral part of the action.\textsuperscript{31} This could also be said about the frequent intercalations in the \textit{Golden Ass} that were even disconnected from the main text and published separately. However, Hunter's claim that these intercalations are formative for the main story only in the new novel seems simplistic:\textsuperscript{32} apart from \textit{Lazarillo de Tormes}, the prototype without intercalations, almost all the picaresque novels such as \textit{Guzmán}, \textit{Francion}, \textit{Courasche} and \textit{Moll Flanders} contain a number of narratives by secondary characters that accompany the story, and sometimes even provide kernels for new developments.

Before proceeding to the contextualisation of these concepts, a short summary will be given of the ways a text can configure time in order to achieve different effects. Rimmon-Kenan summarises Forster's distinction between succession of events and a causal plot and shows conclusively that causality in narrative fiction is difficult to define:

By way of example we may cite the witty account of Milton's life where the humour resides precisely in the cause and effect relation which can be read into the explicit temporal succession. Milton wrote \textit{Paradise Lost}, then his wife died, and then he wrote \textit{Paradise Regained}.\textsuperscript{33} Causality can be implied simply by chronological succession. Causality as a distinguishing criterion should therefore be treated with caution: it will be better to speak of a temporal perspective towards the narrated events than to automatically assume a causal linkage of them.

Kermode argues that the end of narration is the great 'making sense', imposing causal plots onto narration, 'images of the grand temporal consonance'.\textsuperscript{34} This making sense is also brought out by Ricoeur's analysis of emplotment:

I see in the plots we invent the privileged means by which we re-configure our confused, unformed, and at the limit mute temporal experience.\textsuperscript{35} The imposition of a causal plot onto the life of a narrator, mostly from the retrospective perspective of an old self trying to find sense in his life, is especially common in autobiographical writings that stress the spiritual element of the narrator's life, thus presenting a plot of sinning - conversion - penitence and ultimately salvation after death.

\textsuperscript{31} Hunter, \textit{Before Novels}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{32} See footnote 31.
\textsuperscript{33} Rimmon-Kenan, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{35} Ricoeur, \textit{Time and Narrative}, I, xi.
The act of emplotment has two basic temporal dimensions that seem very similar to Forster's distinction of temporal succession and plot, but in fact are not. The dimension that Ricoeur calls 'episodic' draws narrative time into a chronological, linear representation in an irreversible order. This dimension can involve a 'making sense' of the narrated events, but does not have to do so. The other dimension, what Ricoeur calls 'configurational' is a 'grasping together' of events into a meaningful whole that makes the story followable and provides a sense of an ending to the theoretically endless succession of events. This 'grasping together' thus necessarily produces meaning out of the flow of events. Therefore, it will be of utmost importance to the interpretation of the texts' temporal configuration to analyse their temporal perspective.

b) Autobiographical Narration and Concepts of Time

c'est le texte qui produit la vie! [Lejeune]
là vie comme texte [Velcic-Canivez]

Greek antiquity perceived time as a cyclical movement, as an eternal recurrence of the same patterns. This circularity, as outlined by Plato and Aristotle, was obviously incompatible with the fundamental assumption of Christianity: that time progresses irresponsibly from creation towards final closure on judgement-day, and furthermore that it is directed actively by Providence. Augustine's reflections on time in the eleventh book of the Conessions and in De Civitate Dei show the Christian attempt to unify (inferior) time with its superior counterpart, eternity, in the central figure of Jesus:

\[
\text{quod enim ante omnia tempora et supra omnia tempora incommutabiliter manet unigenitus filius tuus coaeternus tibi [...] quod autem secundum tempus pro impitis mortuus est [...].} \quad [\text{Confessiones, VII, 9, pp. 80-1}]^{41}
\]

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36 Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, I, 65-7.
40 Patrides, p. 2.
41 '[Y]our only-begotten Son abides for ever in eternity with you; that before all time began, he was; that he is above all time and suffers no change; [...] that in his own appointed
The influential Father of the Church unites the two temporal dimensions of linear flow and eternal state. Time becomes extremely important for the faithful Christian, as the soul can only attain eternal salvation by preparing this salvation in time, its given temporal stretch on earth. The notion of vanity of earthly time, especially in relation to worldly (and therefore immoral) pleasures and attributes such as beauty, wealth, power and luxury is omnipresent in the seventeenth century, which regards the second aspect of time as without a doubt more important than this vain world: 'ÆTERNUM SUB SOLE NIHIL.' In Zesen's edition of this emblematic topic, the allegorical figure of time literally slays the representatives of worldly vanity with its scythe. Grimmelshausen also frequently expresses this duality of inferior time and superior eternity in his writings, in particular through the reformed character of Simplicissimus who returns from his island to act as an agent for eternity in his (successful) attempt to convert Springinsfeld:

Ich wolte dir wünschen/ antwortet Simplicius/ du führtest hier zeitlich dein Leben/ daß du das ewige nicht verlierest! [Springinsfeld, XXVII, p. 131]

The emblem books of the period, which commonly express moral and religious truths by their combination of a thematic inscriptio, a graphic pictura and an interpretative subscriptio underneath it, often render this duality of time and eternity in visual form: frequently, the figure of a snake biting its own tail as the representative of an eternal circle without beginning and end is contrasted with worldly time represented as the grim reaper or a similar emblematic figure for the transitoriness of existence. Rollenhagen's emblem 45 (Figure 8) repeats the central thought of duality in the subscriptio:

Nascentes moriur, FINISQAB ORIGINE PÊDET.
DE vita ad mortem mors rediuita trahit.

In the pictura of this emblem, eternity is represented by the perfectly circular image of a snake, framing the image of transitoriness represented by an infant contemplating death in a Hamletish pose with a skull.

'time he underwent death for us sinners [...]’ (Confessions VII, 9, p. 145). The section in italics is an intertext from Romans 5. 6.

42 Philipp von Zesen, Moralia Horatiana: Das ist die Horazische Sittenlehre (Amsterdam: Kornelis Dankers, 1656; repr. Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1963), N. 29, II, 57. Zesen translates the inscriptio as 'Alles unter der Sonnen vergehet mit der Zeit.'

43 'Being born we are killed, the end hangs at the beginning. | From life to death, death has been followed by revival.' Gabriel Rollenhagen, NVCLEVS EMBLEMATVM [...] (Coloniae: Ioannes Insonium, 1611), N. 45. The French translation on fol. C 1r expands this to 'Ce speri mouvantes, par leur belle conduite, | Couplent toutes choses d'une fuyant suite; | Ce qui perit renais, ce qui naist doit perir: | Ainsi nous en naissant commençons à mourir.'
Already Augustine located the division of time and eternity in the psyche: his reflections on time in book XI of the *Confessions* led him to the definition of time as extension of the soul, as *distentio animi* (*Confessiones*, XI, 26, p. 161), and no longer as defined by the astral movements put forward by Aristotle and others as a measure. This concept of time remains intact throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. However, time was now increasingly perceived as something threatening: the ‘argument of time’ (the biblical parable of the talents) was frequently invoked by writers from Dante onwards to show how everyone has to give an account of his or her time on judgement-day,44 and the frequent anticipations of the coming of the ‘millennium’ in the seventeenth century heightened this consciousness of impending judgement. Calvinism in particular stresses the

accountability of the self for his talents, for the proverbial investment from Matthew 25. 14-30 that will reap either spiritual profit or loss. Calvinism on the other hand combines this with a direct link between spiritual goodness and financial success: the individual, responsible for his fortunes, is directly rewarded or punished by God in not just spiritual, but also material terms. This can be interpreted as meaning that poor people deserve to be poor, as God has taken a dislike to them on the basis of their spiritual merit. This view, held in particular by the English Puritans with their Calvinist dogma, formed a powerful union with the emergent capitalism of the eighteenth century, a union that stresses spiritual accountability for time. Spiritual importance of time was also agglutinated into the new forms of the novel, especially in the attempts to appropriate the form of spiritual autobiography for secular entertainment.

There are numerous attempts at defining the constitutive elements of an autobiography, and the current trend seems to be to base the definition not on the factuality of such a text (which is difficult to prove) but on the contractual effect the text invokes in the reader:

Retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality.

It is furthermore important to note that this contractual effect is not an a-historical constant, but a historical variable. Autobiographical narration always depends on models and precursors, while transforming into new shapes and contents through its interaction with other texts current at the time. It will be important to note that autobiographies always faced the need to justify their narrative endeavours, as this form of self-description always assumes the importance of the particular life experience, i.e. was only supposed to be written by men of high social or spiritual quality. To summarise the development before describing it in detail: real autobiographical texts generate a concept of legitimate first-person narration, the narration of spiritually or intellectually worthy persons, and thus provides an incentive for art to mirror life. Fictional autobiographies frequently stylise themselves according to models derived from the autobiographical texts and imi-

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45 Hunter, Before Novels, p. 280.
48 Starr, p. 3 and Kapp, p. 177.
tate in particular spiritual forms to legitimise their own narrative endeavours. On the other hand, real autobiographies then take over these fictional forms and style themselves along the lines developed in the interaction of life and art, in the literary fashioning of reality: the case of Marco Polo’s life, narrated in the form of Arthurian romance, springs to mind, and the following will describe this changing interaction for the early modern period. It is important to note that autobiographies as accounts of success or radical renunciations of the system they were produced in do not occur in the period: the common model for autobiography is the apologetic, defensive description of a life that always seems to follow the universal pattern of sinning, conversion, and penitence.

Even though Augustine’s is probably not the first autobiography ever, it remains the model for spiritual autobiographies. Few autobiographies as such were written during the Middle Ages, before a regular boom of spiritual autobiographies occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all over Europe, finally succeeded by secular accounts and their fictional counterparts. There was an explosion of autobiographical writing from the 1720s, but at least until mid-century the religious forms dominated over secular ones. 49 The term ‘autobiography’ itself only became common in the nineteenth century (the earliest entry in the OED is from 1797), even though the term ‘memoir’ had been used in the denotation of ‘autobiographical record’ from as early as 1673. It has been attempted to separate the two terms according to their social orientation: memoirs are supposed to be linked to feudal, autobiographies to middle-class narratives and the rise of the individual. 50 This terminological division is irrelevant for the analysis of pseudo-autobiographical narratives such as the picaresque novels, which posit a central character at the lowest end of the society in question. It is however important to note that most definitions of the picaresque actually include a reference to the autobiographical form of narration, 51 and even to its autobiographical precursors:

49 Fleishman, p. 50 points out that Augustine uses the tradition of biblical typology to re-create his life. For the development of autobiography, see Tarot, p. 55, Matthews, British Autobiographies, p. vii and Hunter, Before Novels, pp. 319–23.
The autobiographical impulse and the inherent individualism typical of the picar­
resque both as mode and as myth was consistent with, surely even reciprocal with,
a continually growing interest in the writing and reading of memoirs, travels, and
‘lives’ or ‘histories’ (the eighteenth century’s familiar words for biography).  
In the discussion of the origins of the picaresque sub-genre, it will be important to note
that it is not just the confessional element in the form of the spiritual autobiographies
that stands as a model of fictional memoir narration, but also another text from classical
antiquity, Apuleius’ *Golden Ass*. These two models give the texts the choice between im­
posing a plot onto the linear progress of the life, and leaving this meaning open and
simply following some sort of central thread in the narrator’s lives all the way to the
point of narration.

4.2. ‘Caro mihi valent stillae temporum’:  
Apuleius and Augustine

The interrelatedness of autobiography and fiction becomes apparent in the writer of one
of the model texts: Apuleius’s biography is largely drawn from some of his (fictional?)
 writings such as the *Florida* and the *Apology*, while it has already been mentioned that
the early modern editors found it hard not to implicate the writer Apuleius in his hero’s
amorous exploits: ‘Comment Fotis mena Lucius Apuleius lassus au planchier [...].’

The ‘episodic’ model can best be illustrated with its archetype (for the early modern
period that was not aware of similar narratives in the *Satyricon*), the *Golden Ass*. This first­
person novel is not an ideal memoir narrative as it only focuses on one important sec­
tion of the narrator’s life, from the immediate prehistory of the metamorphosis to the re­
transformation of Lucius into human shape and his becoming a priest. The text presents
the single perspective of the experiencing self with very few intrusions of a narrating self.

52 Beasley, ‘Cultural Translatio’, p. 104.
53 *Confessions* XI, 2, p. 148. ‘Every particle of sand in the glass of time is precious to me
[...]’. (Confessions XI, 2, p. 253)
54 Hanson, *GA*, I, ix.
55 Michel’s French translation LUCIUS APULEIUS* de Lasne dore, fol. xxxiii f. ‘Planchier’ is a
difficult term, literally: ‘a construction made of wooden boards’ or planches. The sexual
connotation of bed boards is nevertheless obvious in this context.
See page 24 above for quotations from the German translations by Wyle, *Ein hübsche his­
tory*, fol. a vii f and Sieder, *Ain schön lieblich*, fol. viii f. This merging of author and hero
also occurs in the re-edition SEHR LIEBLICHES/ KURZWEILIGES KÜNSTLICHES UND NÜTZLICHES GEDICH
LUCI APULEI [...], trans. by Johann Siedern (Franckfurt: Palthenio, 1605), p. 1 in the head­
ing ‘Vorrede des L. Apuleij’ which is really the metafictional introduction by the narrator.
It is notable, however, that even these are reflections on the act and poetics of narrating and not on the moral rightfulness of the experiences of the younger self:

Iam ergo, lector optime, scito te tragoediam, non fabulam, legere et a socco ad cothurnum ascendere. [GA, X, 2, ii, 214] 

Here, the reflections of the narrator on the style of writing are given in a form similar to the metafictional introduction of the text that discusses the 'milesio varias fabulas', the various bawdy, Milesian tales stitched together into the fabric of the text (GA, I, 1, i, 2). However, the narrative situation, or even the motivation for narrating Lucius's string of satirical adventures as a human ass is never clarified. The story of the *Golden Ass* begins *in medias res*, without ever marking the narrative situation:

Thessaliam — nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo incluto ac max Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloria nobis faciunt — cam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam. Postquam ardua montium et lubrica vallium et roscida caespitum et glebosa camporum emersi [...]. [GA, I, 2, i, 4] 

This introduction has been described as an intermediate phase between oral and written forms of narration, re-creating the performance-aspect of oral speech in written form. While there is a metafictional reflection before this beginning of the story (which I will analyse in Chapter 6), this also starts as abruptly as the story itself. The 'problem' of the missing threshold moment at the beginning of the text was frequently noted in the early modern editions of Apuleius: Beroaldo's definitive edition of 1500 provides a commentary on the beginning that tackles the issue head on and interprets the introduction as the narrator speaking to his son Faustino or the reader ('faustinû filiû siue lectorê alloquês', *Metamorphoses* (1500), fol. 3'), which is not really justified by the text itself. This convenient explanation, however, became the standard feature in further editions and

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56 ‘So now, excellent reader, know that you are reading a tragedy, and no light tale, and that you are rising from the lowly slipper to the lofty buskin' (that were worn for the two forms of drama respectively). (GA, X, 2, ii, 215)

57 ‘I was travelling to Thessaly, where the ancestry of my mother’s family brings us fame in the persons of the renowned Plutarch and later his nephew, the philosopher Sextus. Thessaly, I say, is where I was heading on business. I had emerged from steep mountain tracks and slippery valley roads, damp places in the meadows and cloddy paths through the fields.’ (GA, I, 2, i, 5)

58 Doody, p. 114.
translations, a common wishful closure of one threshold moment for an ‘incomplete’
text.59

Even though the end of book XI with Lucius entering the order of Osiris provides an­
other moment of closure or threshold,60 an endless expansion of at least the middle
stages of the story is possible. The ‘stitching together’ of ‘fabulas’ from numerous sources
into the Golden Ass61 is similar to what occurred in the much later seventeenth-century
adaptations of the Spanish Lazarillo: they destroyed any sense of unity that the original
picaresque novel might have had and altered the text to become ‘a sophisticated jest
book.’62 These jest books — like Dil Ulenspiegel — impose some closure through the
framework of the biography, while keeping the succession of episodes in the middle of
the text theoretically open to continuous additions.

This first model of first-person narration can thus be described as the narrator’s de­
light in ‘sheer narration’.63 The ‘episodic’ dimension of narrative time gives an impres­
sion of chronological, linear advance in irreversible order, while the narrative act is
performed from the temporal point of view of direct involvement in the events. At least
in the case of the Golden Ass, the succession is not clearly focused towards a final unified
meaning, but geared to a direct, immediate satirical attack on the series of vices that the
narrative portrays. On the other hand, it should be noted that any narration has to im­
pose some sort of interconnectedness between the episodic elements to remain compre­
hensible,64 here, the frame of the transformation and re-transformation of the hero. The
Golden Ass thus introduces a form of episodic, disunified narration of first-person adven­
tures into the greater narrative unit of Metamorphoses. By its very strong satirical focus, as
well as by its coherent perspective of the hidden outsider, the ass with the human brain,

59 See the edition of 1650, p. 3, and the translations into French by Michel, Luctus
Apulei , de Lasne dore, fol. ii v, German by Sieder, Ain schon lieblich, fol. 1 v and English by
60 Winkler disputes that there is in fact a clear end: he stresses rightly that the last line,
‘gaudens olibam’ (‘I joyfully carried out’) is not a return of the experiencing self to the
present tense of narrating, but remains in the imperfect tense. Reported in Doody, p.
123.
61 Sandy, pp. 236–7.
62 Bjornson, p. 139.
63 Starr, p. 27.
64 Peter Brooks, ‘Reading for the Plot’, in Narratology: An Introduction, ed. by Susana
Onega and José Angel García Landa (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 251–61 (p. 252) (first
publ. in Peter Brooks, Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative (Oxford:
the text becomes the model for one strain of picaresque novels that begins with *Lazarillo de Tormes* soon after the early modern editions of Apuleius’s novel.\(^65\)

There are some elements in the *Golden Ass* that can be seen as a conversion narrative: the spiritual ending of Lucius entering a religious order resembles the essential structure of spiritual autobiography, conversion and religiosity at the end of the narrator’s life. However, there are strong differences: there is no wiser old self at the end of the text looking back to the pre-conversion phase, and even though the narrative leading up to book XI was sometimes presented in the early modern editions as an ‘exposition spirituelle’ (the colophon of Michel’s French translation of 1522), this element is certainly less strong than the satirical element of the text. Some editions even eliminated the ‘unbefitting’ spiritualisation and replaced it with the non-religious ending of Lucian’s epitome:

\begin{quote}
Sachez donc (Lecteurs benevole) que parvenu à cest onzième livre le lisant & prevoyant selon ma coutume avant y mettre la main & le traduire, i'y trouvay si peu de gout & de grace, auë à peine penuë, ie prendre patience de le prelire. Icelue ne traitant que daucunes ceremonies, pompes, procesions, sacrifice des prestres de la Deesse Isis. Le tout tant proixe et ennuyes, que ie fuZ grandement desgouté le mettre au rang des autres. Toutefois pour ne laisser leasure imparfait, & detenir tousours ce pouzure Lucio en la miserable seruitude, & vile condition asinine, ou encores il estoit, ie recours au premier original Grec de Lucian, dont le tout auoit esté premierement tiré, [...] pour ensuivre entierement la plaisante & recreative conclusion de Lucian sus le recouurement de la premiere forme humaine en Lucio.\(^66\)
\end{quote}

Bouthiere’s dislike for Apuleius’s pompous processions and sacrifices could be seen as a Christian uneasiness about the hero entering a pagan cult, but a spiritual sense in general is rejected by the return to the recreative conclusion of the epitome by Lucian, which was frequently mistaken for the original ending of the novel (only the more astute readers of Beroaldo’s commentaries are aware of Photius’s distinction of three versions of the story, see above). The *Golden Ass* was certainly a model text for the picaresque, but not really for the conversion element in some of these novels. This element originates from another form of first-person narration, spiritual autobiography. This line of first-person narration can be traced back to Augustine’s *Confessions*, a work strongly dominated by the end perspective of the narrating self and its confessions to the ‘ideal reader’, God:

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\(^{65}\) The connection between the *Golden Ass* and *Lazarillo* was frequently made in the period, see for example Chapelain’s conscious genealogy of the picaresque back to Apuleius and Lucian, reported in Valentin, *Roman Comique*, p. 9. For discussions of the link see Chapter 2 above.

\(^{66}\) Bouthiere’s French *METAMORPHOSE*, pp. 13–4.
Sine me, deus meus, dicere aliquid et de ingenio meo, munere tuo, in quibus a me deliramentis atterebatur. [...] ut dicerem verba lunonis [...] laudes tuae, domine, laudes tuae per scripturas tuas suspenderent palmitem cordis mei, et non raperetur per inania nugarum turpis praedia volatilibus. non enim uno modo sacrificatur transgressoribus angelis. [Confessiones, I, 17, p. 13]^{67}

The old narrator looks back to some of the talents he had, or rather wasted according to the strong anagogical outlook he has since developed. The narrating self here and everywhere performs the function of relating the particular experiences of his younger incarnation to a universal pattern of wider significance, and thus treats even the short sections dominated by 'sheer narration' as exemplary for a universal meaning. This brief abstract of the central motion can be demonstrated for most of the autobiographical part of the text.

It is interesting that Augustine was aware of the other, episodic model in its expression by Apuleius and refers to it in De Civitate Dei, but did not exploit the 'episodic' dimension of time to configure his life story: the text is structured by the 'grasping together' of the events into a meaningful whole, the story of debauchery and conversion exemplified by Augustine's life. This move is the essential attitude of the narrating self to his previous experience in the autobiographical part of the text. As has been described in the previous chapter, this is not the only part of the text: an additional three books provide closure of a very different kind to the forms present in the Golden Ass and its adaptations. The last three books enact a move back to the ultimate beginning of time, the Genesis of the world and its scriptural depiction.^{68} Some early modern editors (Wangnereck 1646) and translators (Toscano's Spanish translation of 1555) seem not to have been content with this form of closure and eliminated the 'addition' to the life story without realising its importance for the structure of the text: it relates the individual life to the universal pattern, the individual temporal existence to the eternal universal perspective that is so much more important for the Christian framework. Temporal exis-

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^{67} 'Let me tell you, my God, how I squandered the brains you gave me on foolish delusions. [...] I had to recite the speech of Juno [...] I might have used them [my wits], O Lord, to praise you in the words of your Scriptures, which could have been a prop to support my heart, as if it were a young vine, so that it would not have produced this crop of worthless fruit, fit only for the birds to peck at. For offerings can be made to those birds of prey, the fallen angels, in more ways than one.' (Confessions, I, 17, pp. 37-8)

tence in this model is but one step to eternity, and is thus only relevant in relation to the implications it has for eternal happiness and salvation — or damnation. This anagogical perspective, constantly evoked within the text in the addresses to the eternal God and the sub-eternal incarnation of him in Jesus is thus also manifest in the structure of the text.

This extreme form of orientation towards eternity is generally not replicated even in spiritual autobiographies imitating Augustine’s model, or even in early modern editions of this text, which frequently either reduced it to only autobiographical narrative, or expanded it to another instance of perfect memoir, from birth to death of the character through a third-person account ‘extracted out of that written by Possidius, (the Father’s intimate Friend and Domestick for many Years) and out of some other pieces of this Father’s own unquestioned works’ (CONFESSIONS, trans. by Woodhead (1679), fol. A 2'-A 2’). Augustine’s self-stylised exemplary life of a sinner turned saint nevertheless provides the model for all conversion narratives to come. Two early modern editions of the text expand this conversion element: an edition by Wangnereck (1646) reduces the text to only passages relevant to the conversion, and the translation by Woodhead expands the narrative to include the pious later life of the saint (arguably the most important part of his life, founding monasteries and becoming a shining example for others). The conversion structure is a powerful element of first-person narratives that provides one thing all texts in the early modern period desperately needed: legitimacy.

The connection of Augustine to the novels of the seventeenth and eighteenth century was consciously made: Canisius and others in the period thematised the conversion element in relation to Augustine. While editors may strive to find useful elements even in satirical texts such as Apuleius’s, the conversion element is still the ultimate form of legitimacy in the Christian framework of early modern Europe: a pious end of the protagonist who ‘letztlich sich bekehrt hat’ justified the narration of semi-delinquent adventures of the characters in order to illustrate the sheer exemplary badness of the self before conversion. On the other hand, it is obvious that this building block was easy to use as an excuse, as an insincere invocation of sincerity in order to escape criticism for the early modern equivalent of ‘sex and crime’, scandalous episodes designed to thrill, not necessarily edify. It is also important that a large number of picaresque novels did

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69 Valentin, ‘Roman Comique’, p. 34.
70 Aegidius Albertinus, Der Landstürtzer Gusman von Alfarche [...] (München: Nicolaum Henricum, 1615), title.
not need this conversion element to legitimise themselves: texts such as *Lazarillo* and *Buscón* could justify their narratives by the satirical depiction of vice, thus claiming the corrective aims of satire for their portrayal of an imperfect, degraded world. However, it is more common that the conversion element is used ambiguously in first-person novels: the converted perspective of the narrating self, a superimposed frame narrative of pen­ tence, conversion and piety, is fused with the episodic narration of *Schwanke* and other delinquent ‘adventures’ in the middle of the text. This is precisely the circularity of text and context that has been described in the theoretical foundations of this study: one could say that a provider of legitimacy is kidnapped by other first-person texts in order to avoid the awkward question of morality, which leads to an agglutination of the two first-person models into one new form, the novel.

4.3. ‘J’ai dit qu’il fit’: First-Person Narration as Intercalation in *Francion*

Il écrivit donc les aventures de ce cavalier, auxquelles il donna le titre d’*Histoire comique*, et ce fut à l’envi de Du Souhait [...]. Il y avait de la contention entre ces deux esprits qui étaient d’un même temps, mais notre auteur a bien précédé celui-là [...]. *Francion, Avis*, p. 36

This is part of the metafictional game the implied author of the *Histoire Comique de Francion* plays with his reader, pretending to write an introduction to a book by a certain ‘Nicolas De Moulinet, Sieur DU PARC’ (*Francion, Title*, p. 31) which is in fact the third, re-worked version of his own novel of 1623. Sorel was quite clear about the status he wished to ascribe to his text. He perceived the *Francion* as founding a fundamentally new form of writing, the *roman comique*, and this is actually one of the few parts of the framework that is factual.

The text has an extended history of re-editions that accumulate more and more material, censor other elements and alter the structure. The novel becomes a compound of disparate segments, proliferating to almost twice the original length in a manner similar to later additions to the *Recherche* by Proust. The ‘text in flux’ becomes an ideal case for

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71 Bauer, *Schelmenroman*, pp. 15–6 notes the initial ‘conversion’ of the *picaro* into the perverted values of the world, but regards the second conversion as optional.

72 Richard G. Hodgson, ‘The Parody of Traditional Narrative Structure in the French Anti-Novel from Charles Sorel to Diderot’, *Neophilologus*, 66 (1982), 340–8 (p. 341) as well as Kapp, p. 173 confirm that *Francion* is really the first of these anti-novels.

73 Verdier, p. 77.
this investigation of first-person narration, as the additions of 1626 and 1633 largely ignore the first-person core of the text and add material in the third person, but still manage to form some sort of hybrid unity. Certain segments, such as the metatextual introductions and the ‘Avis aux lecteurs’ of earlier versions even become embedded in the later edition’s text, breaking down the boundaries of poetological reflection and narration, an ‘invasion du discours dans le récit’.

Even the first edition of 1623 combines the two forms of narration: the frame narrative introduces the story in medias res in the third person, while frequent first-person oral narrations are integrated into the text. The novel thus becomes a prime example of a framing grid (reminiscent of the novella cycles and the Golden Ass) with the main text consisting mostly of multiple intercalated narratives. Francion is therefore not really a memoir novel, but important parts can be seen as micro-memoirs inserted into the greater framework of the text. Intercalation dominates the first edition: almost two thirds of the novel consist of retrospective first-person narration, while the final version of the text creates a near perfect equilibrium of first- and third-person narration. The frame structure takes over and becomes the main mode of narration, but even in the third-person part intercalations occur frequently. Furthermore, the intercalated episodes are by no means restricted to one character: even though Francion narrates the quantitatively largest number of these, intercalated (life) stories by secondary characters of the text are frequent. Theoretically, the third-person frame would then have to provide an ordering overview over all these at the end, orientating the episodic first-person narrations towards unity. This clear distinction of narrative functions of frame and episode is not applicable even in the third edition with its extended frame story: closure of the text is only provided ironically by the parodistic fairy tale marriage of Francion to Naïs.

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74 The Francion will be treated here similar to Cohn’s and Romberg’s studies of the transvocalisations, i.e. the re-writing of a first-person text in the third person and vice versa and the resulting necessary changes. See Cohn, pp. 169-71 and Romberg, pp. 237-75.
75 Garavini’s note in Francion, p. 721.
76 For these figures see Béchade, pp. 86-7.
77 For example, VIII, pp. 393-4, p. 409, pp. 415-24, pp. 426-8; X, pp. 526-8, pp. 531-3 (third degree narration); XII, pp. 658-61 and pp. 666-8.
78 Francion narrates 80% of the intercalated segments which amount to a total of 60% of the first edition. Jean Alter, ‘C’est moi qui parlons: Le Jeu des narrateurs dans Francion’, French Forum, 5 (1980), 99-105 (p. 100).
The novel contrasts not just two selves, but three: the frequent intrusions of the 'je' of the omniscient narrator complicates the compound text even further. The 'je' of the intercalated narrating and experiencing self of a number of characters is contrasted with the ordering function of an omniscient 'je', sometimes even eclipsing the first-person narration of the characters:

'(...) Pour lui persuader que l'on n'en pouvait plus savoir que je faisais, je lui montrai beaucoup de petites gentillesses qui se font naturellement, lesquelles il prit néanmoins pour des miracles, comme de faire sonner l'heure dans un verre avec une bague et de transmuer l'eau en vin avec une poudre que j'y mettais secrètement.'

Francion rapporta là-dessus les choses qu'il avait commandé de faire à Valentin, qui sont celles-là mêmes que j'ai dit qu'il fit. [Francion, I, p. 83]

In the seventeenth-century editions of the novel in particular, this (con)fusion of the first persons of intercalated, central and omniscient narrators becomes problematic as the quotation marks indicating direct speech are not commonly used: a stream of narratives provides reflections and experiences, but it is not always possible to make out where these originate from. Temporal order in the text thus becomes highly complex, especially if the large proportion of third-person framework is also taken into consideration that sets and even reminds the reader of where and how the narration takes place in the longer intercalations.

The frequent intercalations produce an effect of temporal disorder, even though they themselves are internally fully chronological (which is notable especially in the longer intercalations). The coherent temporal order of the frame narration is contrasted with these retrospective narrations that eventually return the text to the (clearly marked) narrative situation, a somewhat cyclical movement contrasting the linear progression of time in the frame. Most of the short intercalated narratives are examples of flashback

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79 Authorial intrusions can be found throughout the text, in the first- as well as in the third-person part.
80 The oral narrative situations are established in I, p. 76 (Francion/the immediate pre-history, told to the gentleman with whom he shares a bed); II, p. 90 (Agathe, addressed to Francion and the gentleman in the bed-chamber); III, p. 137 (Francion's dream, told in the carriage); III, p. 153 (Francion's youth, told in Raymond's castle) and also before the frequent shorter intercalations. In the long narration of Francion's youth, there are 'reminders' of this narrative situation at the ends and beginnings of the books, e.g. IV, p. 238.
81 Genette's term for this is anachrony. Rimmon-Kenan, p. 46.
82 Béchade, p. 93 provides a table of the passage of time in frame and intercalated stories.
or analeptic narration from very short temporal distance, summarising the immediate prehistory of the episode in question. There are, however, two larger intercalations in the first part of the text, the life story of Agathe and the long narration of Francion's youth and education. The micro-memoir of Agathe (Francion, II, pp. 90-134) is basically a very accelerated picaresque narrative, starting *ab ovo* and proceeding rapidly to her career as prostitute and pimp, contrasting only once the narrating to the experiencing self: 'Voyez comme j'étais simple en ce temps-là!' (Francion, II, p. 97) On the other hand, the sheer length of Francion's account (Francion, III, p. 153-VII, p. 379) indicates the importance of the central character's life story for the structure of the text. The narration starts five years (Francion, III, p. 153) before the birth of the hero (Francion, III, p. 163), a convention frequently used in other picaresque narrations such as Lazarillo. This intercalated narration of Francion's youth also goes far beyond the analeptic narration of the immediate pre-history of the narrative situation in book I (Francion, I, pp. 76-83), and can be said to describe not just the intellectual, but also the sexual 'education' of the hero. Here as well as in the narration of Agathe, there are only very few instances of a conscious contrasting of the two states of the self (such as 'Je vous jure, Monsieur, que je désire presque d'être aussi ignorant à cette heure qu'en ce temps-là', Francion, III, p. 175), whereas most intrusions of the narrating self into the narration of the experiencing self consist of poetological comments ('Je m'en vais vous redire un discours qu'il tint à son maîtresse', Francion, IV, p. 194). The first-person narration is almost fully consonant, there is no rupture between the older narrating self and the younger experiencing self. The text thus presents a narrating self, older than his previous incarnation, but not necessarily more enlightened, narrating his youth in the convention of the perfect memory without any wiser perspective:

Il faut que je vous conte en passant une petite chose qui m'arriva après que je fus sévré. J'aimais tant la bouillie que l'on ne laissait pas de m'en faire encore tous les jours. Comme la servante tenait le poêlon dessus le feu dedans ma chambre pendant que j'étais encore couché, l'on l'appela de la cour. [Francion, III, p. 163]

This memory of barely conscious infancy is rendered in surprising detail, but with unsurprising comical purpose. The frequent digressions of the narrating self serve as moralising commentaries of Francion on his contemporaries, not on his previous

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83 See footnote 77. Rimmon-Kenan, p. 47 distinguishes 'analepsis' or flashback from 'prolepsis' or anticipation.

84 Alter, p. 101.
incarnation; he is thus portrayed (as will be shown in the subsequent chapters) as an exemplary hero satirising society rather than as the traditional narrator of spiritual autobiography attacking his former self. The reflections can be attributed to the narrating as well as to the experiencing self: there is no cognitive difference, and there does not need to be, as the satirical self has to remain steady in its renunciation of the perverted values of the world.

The temporal expressions used in the novel are vague: the formula of 'un jour' is used very frequently as well as other imprecise indicators of temporal progression and distance such as 'le lendemain', 'huit jours' or 'depuis peu de temps'. This complete lack of precision in the temporal (and spatial) expressions within the intercalated narrations contrasts with the precise, chronological progression of the framing narrative (see footnote 82). This, however, breaks down once third-person narration takes over in the second part of the text: time is now generally imprecise, irrelevant for the episodic progression of the story. It can be said that the text contrasts chronological time, the progress of which is clearly marked and linear, with an imprecise cyclical movement of time in the intercalated stories. Time, obviously important for the frame (starting on a Sunday, Francion, I, p. 61), becomes irrelevant for the memoir narrations of Agathe and Francion that are, as will be argued in the next chapter, not progressive. The central character's objective time or age is implied only three times, and there is only one vague reference to an event that could locate the text in the objective time of history: the hero, satirising society, is a-temporal. Therefore, most of the episodes narrated in the first person as well as in the third person do not form a larger unit of meaning apart from their satirical function: 'les malheurs que l'on verra être arrivés à ceux qui ont mal vécu seront capables de nous détourner des vices.' (Francion, I, p. 43) The disparate elements are frequently called 'aventure', single adventure, which again indicates their episodic nature. Attempts by,
amongst others, Suozzo and Béchade to construct bigger units of meaning for the two parts of the novel seem unconvincing, especially in the light of the disparity of these episodes.\(^9\) The fundamental status of the text as parodistic anti-text, as anti-novel makes it use the techniques of more than one form in a parasitical fashion. These forms, that are used as well as parodied, are first and foremost the first-person narration of the picaresque tradition (the text directly refers to the paradigmatic picaresque texts 'de Guzman d'Alfarache et de Lazaril de Tormes', Franchion, III, p. 183), but also the quest structure of the third-person romance, with heroic and pastoral elements perverted by parodistic inversion.\(^9\) The anti-novel thus becomes a superimposition of the picaresque paradigm (in its episodic form without the perspective of an enlightened narrator) onto the structure of romance. Even though this has also been described as a blending of realistic content and idealistic form,\(^9\) it will be more appropriate to use structural terms for the hybrid form of the anti-novel: even though certain segments of the text clearly possess a unified meaning in their satirical function, this is not necessarily the case for the entire compound. The re-working of segments in the subsequent re-editions of the text lead to a self-censorship of satire, whereas on the other hand the distinction between metatext and text, between poetics and narration breaks down in the confusing fusion of narrators and intercalated texts. This text with its unfixed structure is received in the adaptations of English and German translators in constantly fluctuating forms: some are content with the episodic structure of the novel, whereas others affix further commentaries to fix a clear meaning onto this text:

Agathe stellet das von G ott und allen redlichen Menschen verfluchte Hurenleben vor/ und ist abscheulich zu hören/ daß viel so gar Gottlose sind/ und ihre Seel ün

the medieval quest narratives, this quest is not a chaste one for love but rather an impure one for sexual gratification.

\(^9\) Béchade, p. 87 distinguishes the ‘formation story’ of the first part from the ‘quest’ of the second part; Andrew G. (Jr.) Suozzo, The Comic Novels of Charles Sorel: A Study of Structure, Characterization and Disguise, French Forum Monographs, 32 (Lexington: French Forum, 1982), p. 19 notes the repetitive structure of the love episodes that are sometimes antithetically juxtaposed. I perceive these repetitions as variations of the comic theme of the novel. Alter, p. 99 notices the ‘symétrie remarquable de l’organisation’ of the first edition, the frame encaging the books dominated by intercalation, but this symmetry is obliterated in the second and third edition.

\(^9\) See Hodgson, p. 341 for the parodistic element.

Leib/ so durch Christi bitters Leiden so theuer erkauffet sind/ ohn alles Gewissen zu Hurengefassen machen. [Verteutschter Francion]

This is a technique of metatextual closure that reappears in Courasche — and similarly fails.

4.4. ‘Also werdet ihr euch über mich verwundern, wann euch die Zeitung von dieser meiner Haupt- oder Generalbeicht zu Ohren kommt’: Courasche, the Anti-Confessional

The proximity of factual autobiography and fictional memoir novel can be illustrated by another early modern novel, the famous precursor of Courasche, Simplicissimus Teutsch: it was only generally acknowledged in the eighteenth century that the real author of the novel was by no means Simplicissimus or, for that matter, one of the elaborate anagrams of Grimmelshausen (‘Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshaim’), but in fact Christoffel von Grimmelshausen: the real autobiography turns out to be a fictional novel.

Grimmelshausen is very much aware of the two strains of first-person narration and of their founders: in numerous texts he even refers to them by name. On the other hand, a high number of these are second-hand references rather than direct quotations and allusions: Grimmelshausen is a child of the times in his usage of intertextual borrowings from encyclopaedic sources to illustrate his own familiarity with the pillars of wisdom. The references to, amongst others, Apuleius and Augustine therefore have to be seen as evidence of an awareness of their importance, but not necessarily an in-depth familiarity with their works. However, in one instance in the Simplicianische Schriften Grimmelshausen is very much aware of the two strains of first-person narration and of their founders: in numerous texts he even refers to them by name. On the other hand, a high number of these are second-hand references rather than direct quotations and allusions: Grimmelshausen is a child of the times in his usage of intertextual borrowings from encyclopaedic sources to illustrate his own familiarity with the pillars of wisdom. The references to, amongst others, Apuleius and Augustine therefore have to be seen as evidence of an awareness of their importance, but not necessarily an in-depth familiarity with their works.

A reference to an ‘Esel wie Apulejus’ occurs in the ‘Gegenschriifft’ at the beginning of SP p. 11, which is a partial quotation from Garzoni’s ‘33. Discurs / von den Bücherschreibern’ (Piazza (1626), pp. 226–7). The reference to the ass, however, is not taken from this, and furthermore the Schwank of ‘Corporal Esel’ in the Ewig-währender Calender also shows a detailed knowledge of Apuleius in relation to the foolish corporal’s attempt to pass himself off as a real re-incarnation of Lucius after he has ‘deß Apulei güldenen Esel gelesen’ (EK third ‘Materia’, N. XXXIII, p. 138). However, this text as well as Satyrischer Pilgram are notorious for their usage of large sections of material from diverse sources,
Grimmelshausen refers to the *Golden Ass* thematically when he describes the narrator’s fright at using an ointment given to him by his gypsy lover:

Ich schämte mich aber viel zusehr / und sorgte danneben es möchte mir gehn wie Apulejo/ welcher durch dergleichen Schmirsel in ein Esel verwandelt worden; [...]. [Springinsfeld, VI, p. 36]

Grimmelshausen is again a child of the times in his confusion of the author and the character of the novel, but the reference clearly shows that he is familiar with the model of episodic first-person narration itself, or at least indirectly with the story through another channel such as an epitome, a separate edition of one of the intercalated stories, or simply a summary in one of his encyclopaedic sources.

Grimmelshausen frequently uses first-person narration in his novels and other texts. He is furthermore very experimental in his exploitation of different forms of the first person for different purposes, such as the ‘I as witness’ accounts of the utopian traveller in *Verkehrte Welt*, or the marginal narrator ‘Erich’ in *Rathstübel Plutonis*. The ‘Simplician’ novels themselves, however, all follow their picaresque predecessors in the usage of memoir narration, but from different temporal perspectives and with segments of life of different length told: whereas *Simplicissimus, Courasche* and *Springinsfeld* contain the whole life of their central characters, the *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest* only renders the adventures which the two temporary owners of the magical tool have with it, and not the remainder of their lives. Even though there is a strong similarity between the *Golden Ass* and the *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest* in the fact that both narrate only the period of life related to magical encounters, a direct influence would be farfetched: the creative powers of Grimmelshausen clearly transcend the model in numerous elements and especially in the linkage between the novels of the ‘Simplician’ cycle provided by the reappearance of key characters.

It will now be necessary to recall the distinction of time and eternity. Eternity, in its Christian form, is a figure of a-temporal salvation or condemnation, whereas time progresses in a linear manner towards this eternal closure. It can be shown that Grimmelshausen retains this duality, while sometimes even unifying it in one text: *Des* and the explicit reference to an obscure source at the beginning of this *Schwank* should alert to such a possible borrowing.

95 Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 237 is probably too optimistic in his perception of Grimmelshausen’s references to Apuleius as proof of an influence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Erste Materia</th>
<th>Ewig-wahrender Calender</th>
<th>Simplicissimus Discurs von</th>
<th>Zonagri Discurs von</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Der 1. Jänner</td>
<td>(1670)</td>
<td>Nach Figaro / die Calender</td>
<td>Masurisern in gemein /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Der 2. Jänner</td>
<td></td>
<td>mit soome Indagines / darin</td>
<td>als Propheta Scholasticae,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Der 3. Jänner</td>
<td></td>
<td>unterwiesen werden die</td>
<td>Anguillulae, ubi / auch anderer sat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Der 4. Jänner</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alltagsfragen errichtet /</td>
<td>licher / darauf einen Alte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Der 5. Jänner</td>
<td></td>
<td>deren letzten / bis / in</td>
<td>noch von der Uhrzeit und</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Der 7. Jänner</td>
<td></td>
<td>erstere / und dann / so /</td>
<td>deren simpernisch / und</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9:** The column headings and beginning of the text of Grimmelshausen's *Ewig-wahrender Calender* (1670), EK, pp. 4–5 (70% original size).
Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimi Ewig-währender Calender of 1670 is one of the common ‘permanent’ calendars that remain valid ‘eternally’, but this version is of unusual print quality and length, incorporating the usual astronomical tables and lists of saints and martyrs, but also narrative elements. The Calender, consisting of six columns (Figure 9), brings together linear time, eternally valid observations and ‘Seltzame/ jedoch Warhaffte Wunder=Geschichten’ (EK, title). The first column lists saints and martyrs in chronological order, providing the vernacular names of the months (‘Hornung hat 28. Tag’, EK p. 28). This chronological, linear listing is at the same time eternal and universal, as the intercalated days needed to synchronise the Calender and the solar year are not specified.

The second column of the Calender also intermingles time and a-temporality: the chronicle (using Latin day names) provides timeless country sayings together with clearly dated events from history and the Bible:

Wird ein Morgen=Roth am Neuen Jahrs=Tage gesehen; so werden dasselbe Jahr viel Feursbrunsten geschehen. [...] 
Anno 1499 den 26. May schwam ein Drach zu Lucern aus dem See die Reus hinunter / welchen viel hundert Menschen gesehen. [EK, p. 4]

This historical dimension is not necessarily factual, but nevertheless diachronic. The eternal dimension of the Calender, on the other hand, is not the spiral movement of first-person memoir narration, returning to the starting point on a higher cognitive level, but a perfectly cyclical motion: this is represented on the frontispiece by a snake biting its own tail, with allegorical figures of the four seasons set onto it (Figure 10). As mentioned above, this snake’s ring is the common icon for eternity, but also for temporal transience (see Figure 8).

It has been shown that especially the fourth, fifth and sixth column of the Ewig-währender Calender are intertextual borrowings, not in the form described in the previous chapters, but as verbatim plagiarism: after compiling the first three columns, Grimmelshausen extracts the material for the remaining sections on ‘die Calender=Macherey’, ‘Nativität stellen’ or foretelling, and on ‘Waarsagern ins gemein’, from two sources,

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96 Other examples for these eternal calendars are KALENDRIER GREGORIEN PERPET-VEL [...], trans. by Jean Gosselin (Paris: Pierre le Voirrier, 1582); John Seller, An ALMANACK for an AGÉ [...] (n.p.: n. pub., 1684) and Wolfgang Bachmeyer, Calender-Vereinigung [...] (Ulm: Balthasar Kühnen, 1661).

Indagine and Garzoni (whose name he rearranges to ‘Zonagrio’). As mentioned above, Grimmelshausen is much more creative in his usage of these ‘quarries’ for textual mater-

98 Scholte, Zonagri.
rial in his novels, and the aim of the following analysis will be to show that these borrowed segments, unproblematic in the case of the Calender, clash with the main first-person text of Courasche. Furthermore it will be shown that Courasche retains the unification of time and eternity in a Christian sense, and even parts of the cyclical concept of time as portrayed in the eternal seasonal change of the Calender’s frontispiece.

The first chapter of Courasche shows a very important disorder of chronology that distinguishes Grimmelshausen’s ‘Simplician’ novels from the picaresque tradition: the text is not preceded by a preface, the first chapter therefore has to establish the narrative situation and the motivation of narration before starting the life story ab ovo in the second chapter. The beginning of the text is thus really on the temporal level of the end of the novel: the narrating self, reflecting on her previous incarnation, constantly reminds the reader of this temporal difference by insisting on her advanced age in derogatory terms (Courasche, I, p. 13 ‘alte Schell’, ‘das verdrossene Alter’, ‘Das alte Rabenaas’, ‘ihren alten Esel’, ‘ihre alte, zusammengerumpelte Haut’; p. 14 ‘alte Vettel’, ‘diese Alte’, ‘so alt sie auch ist’, ‘meines Alters vergessen’, ‘ein altes Weib’; p. 15 ‘alte Hund schwerlich bändig zu machen’, ‘Trost meines Alters’). Bjornson and von Graevenitz have shown that Simplicissimus Teutsch is structured cumulatively, repeating certain segments and motifs of the action on a higher level. This is not the case in Courasche where, as will be shown in the next chapter, the character undergoes a linear development through certain stages of her life. These stages are interpreted by the narrating self as the four ages of woman, the ‘unterschiedlichen Alter eines jeden Weibsbilds’ (Courasche, I, p. 15) in the tradition of Galen’s psychological system. This model is universal, eternal — and cyclical. Man ‘passes through a predictable sequence of phases in his life’, thus uniting linear temporal progress with an element of universality. The four ages of (wo)man are frequently illustrated as a perfect cycle similar to the common emblematic snake biting its own tail (Figure 11). The temporal order of Courasche is exactly the combination of linear chronology of the main narration, proceeding from birth to the present state of the narrator, and of a cyclical motion, starting the novel ‘from the end of time’, from the age of the old self be-

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100 Bjornson, p. 176; Graevenitz, p. 146.
Figure 11: Frontispiece of John Seller, *An ALMANACK for an AGE* [...], which inserts the allegorical figures of the end, time and death, into the cyclical representation of the four seasons/ages.

Therefore, proceeding to the younger self. This motion is furthermore not the usual spiral motion of autobiographical narration, advancing to a higher level through the insight achieved by the narration, but here the motion is totally circular: the self is not re-formed.

In the first chapter of *Courasche*, the old narrator reviews and renounces the common form of spiritual narration in the tradition of the *Confessions*. Her ‘Haupt- oder Generalbeicht’ (*Courasche*, I, p. 14) radically rejects the traditional confessional structure of *contritio – confessio – satisfactio*.[^102] ‘Das, so mir manglet, ist die Reu, und was mir manglen sollte, ist der Geiz und der Neid’ (*Courasche*, I, p. 15). The metatextual reflections in the introductory chapter thus define the text as an anti-form, the anti-confessional:

[^102]: This is the structure of spiritual biography as well as of the German picaresque texts in the tradition of Albertinus’ *Guzman* (Valentin, ‘Albertinus und Sorel’, p. 149). Valentin demonstrates that the terminology of repentance used in the first chapter is based on the recommendations of the Council of Trent (‘Théologie’, p. 286).
‘wann du noch nicht im Sinn hast, dich zu bekehren, warum willst du dann deinen Lebenslauf beichtweis erzählen und aller Welt deine Laster offenbarn?’ [Courasche, I, p. 16; my emphasis]

Courasche gives the sole reason of spite, of ‘Das tue ich dem Simplicissimo zu Trutz’ (Courasche, I, p. 16) as an answer to this. A confession purely motivated by spite is obviously a blasphemous inversion of the entire motivation of legitimate spiritual autobiography. This has serious consequences for the form of narration that now cannot simply invert the structure of the traditional confessional, cannot use the parodied form in a parasitical manner — and has to find other means to legitimise itself.

The spiteful renunciation of salvation is rendered orally: Courasche is clearly unable to read or write, but finds a scribe to write down her life story in the genre of Simplicissimus:

Sie befahle mir ich solte mich ein wenig in meines hochgeehrten Herrn LebensBeschreibung informiren/ um mich darnach haben zu richten/ dann sie ware Willens/ ihren LebensLauff auf eben diese Gattung durch mich beschreiben zu lassen/ um solche gleichfalls der ganzen weiten Welt zu communiciren/ und das zwar dem Simplicissimo zu Trutz/ damit iederman seine begangene Thorheit belache; [...] [Springinsfeld, V, p. 29]

In this later text, the narrative situation of Courasche is explained retrospectively, and it is stressed that Courasche wants a precise replication of her life ‘written in the manner of Simplicissimus Teutsch’, a jumping on the bandwagon of the adversary’s form. On the other hand, she only wants the style of the narrative imitated and not the pious motivation of narration. The text has to find alternative means to provide the Christian framework that Simplicissimus had integrated into the pious final perspective that finally invoked the hope (if not certainty) of a penitent ending of the life, ‘ein seeliges ENDE’ (ST, V, p. 463; also Continuatio, p. 570; WV II, p. 314).

The essential comment on Courasche’s narration can be found at the very end of the novel: the original edition of 1670 prints on p. 263 a ‘Zugab des Autors’, on p. 264 the ‘Warhafftige Ursach und kurtzgefaster Inhalt dieses Tractätleins’ (see Figures 12 and 13). This shows that the ‘Inhalt’ is essentially a seventeenth-century blurb on the back cover, supplementing the longwinded narrative title page that summarises the action of the

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103 Apart from in the title, there are further references to the oral narrative situation in Courasche, III, p. 20 (‘Aber wo komm ich hin? Ich muß meine Histori erzählen.’) and XXVIII, p. 127, quoted on page 120 below.
The 'Zugab' (Appendix B) is divisible into two segments, an address to the 'ziichtige Jüngling' or other male readers, followed by a listing of the adverse effects on the addressee should he ignore this warning. The addressee is therefore not the addressee of the main narration, Simplicissimus, and the speaker is clearly not identical to the first-person narrator of the main text. The style of this 'Zugab' differs strongly from the previous narration: the first part of the sentence gives a hyperbolic listing of negative female figures from mythology ('Chimäris', 'Medusen', 'Sirenen', 'Belidibus'). The second part is a hyperbolic accumulation of nouns and adjectives. The paratactic style is used for two instances of intensification: 'allerhand Unreinigkeit, Schand, Spott, Armut und Elend,'
und, was das meiste ist, auch ein böser Gewissen' und 'wie unflatig, wie schändlich, lausig, gründig, unrein, stinkend beides, am Atem und am ganzen Leib [...] daß man sich endlich dessen bei sich selbst schämen muß'. Both intensifications culminate not in physical but in spiritual damage: ‘böser Gewissen’ and shame. This indicates a strongly spiritual, anagogical meaning that is not present directly in the narration of Courasche who consciously renounced this anagogical perspective of salvation in chapter I.

The second sentence, the 'Inhalt', is an instance of omniscient third-person narration, which clashes with the supposedly autobiographical confessions. Apart from here, third-person description is only used on the title page of the book and in the chapter headings. The heading 'Wahrhaftige Ursach und kurzgefaßter Inhalt dieses Traktatleins' furthermore claims to give the true reason for this 'little tract', which according to Grimms' Wörterbuch is a short treatise or text, on religious or secular matters, but could also indicate a part of a larger work or unit: in any case not a supposedly factual autobiogra-
phy. Grimmelshausen’s usage of the term is curious: he also terms the other short novels following Simplicissimus retrospectively ‘Tractätlein’ in his preface to the second Wunderbarliches Vogelnest (p. 150). They can therefore be interpreted as part of a greater thematic whole, in one of Grimms’ definitions of ‘Tractat’ ‘von einem theil (buch, capitel) eines gröszeren werks’. This definition of ‘Tractätlein’ supports the unity of the ‘Simplician’ cycle that has long been suspected, but it has to be noted that this is a retrospective grouping, not a proof for an initial plan for a cycle of novels, in operation ever since the writing of Simplicissimus Teutsch. In the particular case of Courasche, the heading ‘kurzgescalahter Inhalt dieses Traktätleins’ indicates a thematic unity of the text, which is the case only in spiritual autobiographies: a narration of the self’s sinning - repentance - salvation, or, in this case sinning - non-repentance and inevitable damnation. The ‘Inhalt’ therefore labels the protagonist as inherently evil, which is reinforced by the ‘Zugab des Autors’ that precedes it. The two authoritative postscripts thus provide a clear spiritual meaning for the novel.

This clear condemnation of the central character by the commentary is not repeated by the first-person narrative: the narrating self establishes herself in chapter I, after which the narrative proceeds in mostly consonant fashion, hardly ever contrasting the states of experiencing and narrating self. Contrary to Simplicissimus, which used the tension be-

106 Grimm, XI, col. 1015. See also Zedler, XLIV (1745), col. 1805: ‘Tractat, Lat. Tractatus, heist auch ein geschrieben oder gedrucktes Buch, oder vielmehr nur der Theil eines Buches, darinnen eine gewisse und besondere Sache beschrieben und abgehandelt wird.’
108 Apart from the poetological reflections in chapter I, there are few instances of direct intrusion of the narrating self: Courasche, II, p. 18; IV, pp. 25-6 ‘Darumb, o ihr lieben Mädchhen, die ihr noch euer Ehr und Jungfrauschaft unversehrt erhalten habt, seid gewarnet und lasset euch solche so liederlich nicht hinrauben, dann mit derselbigen gehet zugleich euere Freiheit in Duckas, und ihr geratet in ein solche Marter und Sklaverei, die schwerer zu erdulden ist als der Tod selbsten.’, p. 28; V, p. 29; VII, p. 38; X, p. 48; XIII, pp. 63 and 65; XV, pp. 70 and 74; XVI, p. 79; XVIII, pp. 85-7 and 90; XXII, p. 105; XXIV, p. 113; XXV, p. 118.
There is, however, an element of erzählbewusstsein in the ‘Trutz-Simplex’-motif that occurs throughout the text.
tween enlightened narrating and immoral experiencing self in constant alteration, 'sheer narration' of the central character revelling in her former atrocities here dominates the main text. Only one direct reference occurs to the spiritual meaning imposed onto the text by the frame:

Gewissenhafte Leut werden daforthalten, unser Sündenmaß seie damal entweder voll und überhâuft gewesen oder die Güte Gottes batte uns zur Besserung und Buße be­rufen wollen. [Courasche, XXV, p. 116]

This is again the anticipation of the reader's expectation that has already been pointed out for chapter I of the novel. Here, unlike in chapter I, this expectation is not refuted or disappointed, but left uncommented upon, which gives it slightly greater validity, but after this the anti-heroine continues her consonant narration and dominates the value-system of the text. The Continuatio of Simplicissimus Teutsch provided near-absolute closure of the life narration through the third-person account of Jean Cornelissen, a Dutch sea captain who accidentally vouched for Simplicissimus's pious end on the island. The title 'CONTINUATIO des abentheurlichen SIMPLICISSIMI Oder Der Schluß desselben' already indicated the absoluteness of this ending, but the additional book also provided the form of pious closure absent from Courasche. No such closure occurs there, and a later pious ending of the anti-heroine is unlikely and also not born out by the later texts of the cycle.

In Courasche, the disjunction between the two temporal (not cognitive) states of experiencing and narrating self is eliminated in the return to the narrative situation, which is manifested by a change of verbal tense:

Und demnach ich sehe, daß mein Schreiber noch ein weiß Blatt Papier übrig hat, also will ich noch zu guter Letzt oder zum Valete ein Stücken erzählen und daraufsetzen lassen, welches mir erst neulich eingefallen und alsobalden probiert und praktiziert hat werden müssen, bei welchen der Leser abnehmen kann, was ich sonst möchte ausrichtet haben und wie artlich ich mich zu den Ziegeunern schicke. [Courasche, XXVIII, p. 127]

When the narrator catches up with her present state in the process of narrating her life, the narrative situation is again presented as oral; the reader is reminded of the frame in which the narrative is supposed to occur. However, the following episode is presented as exemplary for her present state of mind and representative of other such episodes, but is

109 See also Geulen, pp. 211-2; Menhennet, p. 38. Valentin, 'Du rire au plus haut savoir', p. 105 confirms that this is the case for all of Grimmelshausen's novels apart from Courasche.
110 See also Stein, p. 181.
at the same time devoid of greater meaning: the 'Stücklein' is similar to the Schwänche of Dil Ulenspiegel, a tale of the central character tricking naive peasants. These Schwänk-like episodes also occur in chapters XIV to XXI, where they are referred to as exemplary:

Ich erzähle dir [Simplicissimus] auch dieses nur zum Exempel; dann wann ich dir alle Buben- und Schelmenstück sagen sollte, die er [Springinsfeld] mir zu Gefallen werkstellig machen müssen, so dorfe ich wetten, es würde mir und dir, wiewohl es lustige Schosen seind, die Zeit zu lang werden. [Courasche, XIX, p. 96]

These exemplary Schwänke are meant to serve as single instances for habitual actions similar to Augustine's habit of stealing pears, whereas the rest of the life is narrated as single occurrences of events. There are, however, two important elements of the text that are even repeated:

Woraus aber die ganze ehrbare Welt abzunehmen, daß gemeiniglich Gaul als Gurr, Hurn und Bubn eins Gelichters und keins umb ein Haar besser als das ander sei. [Courasche, I, p. 16]

maßen daraus zu schließen, daß Gaul als Gurr, Bub als Hur und kein Teil um ein Haar besser sei als der ander [Courasche, Inhalt, p. 131]

and

Die Weiber weinen oft mit Schmerzen,
Aber es geht ihn' nicht [gleich als gieng es ihn'] von Herzen[,] Sie pflegen sich nur so zu stellen, Sie [und] können weinen, wann sie wollen. [Courasche, VI, pp. 34-5 and XIII, p. 62]

It is unclear whether this is a conscious repetition of elements or an unconscious recycling of words and phrases already used for similar effects before. Nevertheless, the effect on the reader of any form of repetition is the one of attaching importance to the repeated segments: the repetition in the metatextual condemnation and in the textual self-characterisation strongly stresses the relevance of these two elements. The text reinforces the interpretation of Simplicissimus as sinner, as being 'Bub als Hur', as bad as Courasche (which he is not), and of Courasche (and any other female, for that matter) as inherently false.

The linear chronological progression of time in the text is even related to objective, historical time that the narrator constantly refers to: Grimmelshausen’s technique of dating events through battles of the Thirty Years' War (here taken from Wassenberg’s Teutscher Florus) uses a simple reference to the all too well known names of the battles

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112 This is the 1647 edition of the Ernewelter Teutscher Florus by Eberhard von Wassenberg. Könnecke, Quellen, I, 11-28 provides a parallel print of the relevant sections.
and commanders ("da schlugen Corduba und der von Anhalt abermal den Braunschweiger und Mansfelder bei Floreack", Courasche, VIII, p. 44) to evoke the place and precise timing (29. 8. 1622) as well as the (heroic? frightful?) connotations of this battle. This technique is highly rational in its provision of precise settings by only a few words, and also allows a chronological reconstruction of the character's age that is only rarely mentioned directly.\textsuperscript{113} The text's narrated stretch of time is set in the recent past of the Thirty Years' War, again an indication that un-romantic, even realistic eyewitness narratives exist before the alleged rise of the novel. This precise setting and dating of events furthermore serves to make the demonic anti-heroine, the amazon-like devouring prostitute of the Thirty Years' War, a much more immediately threatening image than any setting in remoter times or locations would have allowed for: the devil literally has arrived on earth, a perception that was shared by numerous contemporaries of the war.

He also fails to vanish after the Westphalian peace treaty of 1648: in Courasche's return in later texts of the 'Simplician' cycle, Springinsfeld and the Rathstübel Plutonis, she and her band of gypsies strike terror into the narrators and local peasants.

The narrated time can be directly inferred from these historical battles: the entire narration stretches over only twenty-six years of Courasche's life. There are, however, certain parts of this life that are narrated in greater detail than others: the period of Courasche's life as a Marketenderin (XV-XXII) only covers a narrated time of two years; the text clearly decelerates to narrate a series of episodes that are, as mentioned above, mostly pre-formed Schwänke.\textsuperscript{114} The Schwank element of the novel is given an extended space in the text, but is nevertheless not essential for an overall unified meaning of the novel. Time, indicated directly by historical battles, clashes with a-temporal Schwänke set into this historical time and the cyclical conception of character development.

The metatextual frame of Courasche imposes meaning onto the story: it is the blasphemous narration of an unrepentant sinner, characterised by the 'Inhalt' and the

\textsuperscript{113} Haberkamm's edition gives the dates of the battles mentioned in the footnotes: 1620 (II); 1621 (III); 1622 (IV, VI, VIII); 1626 (XI); 1627 (XIV); 1629 (XIV and XVII); 1630 (XXI); 1631 (XXII); 1632 (XXIII); 1634 (XXIII); 1644 (XXVI); 1645 (XXVI) and 1646 (XXVIII). There is only one very slight 'anachrony' in this, which is probably due to Grimmelshausen's source: the battle mentioned in VI predates the one in IV by some weeks. The age of the character is given only twice: 'ein furwitzigs Ding von dreizehen Jahren' (II, p. 17) and 'damals allbereit schier vierzig Jahr' (XXIV, p. 115).

\textsuperscript{114} According to Weydt, Nachahmung, p. 411, the Schwank in chapter XXIV originates from Balthasar Venator.
'Zugab' as an exemplary negative character who will eternally burn in hell (not even the Catholic purgatory could redeem her crimes). As outlined above, this meaning is not confirmed by the first-person narration lacking the confessional narrating self. Even though the character admits that she fails to confess, that she confesses only her immorality, this 'Generalbeicht' is not structured in the form of the Augustine tradition of spiritual autobiographies: the text remains dominated by the experiencing self, narrating from the middle of her experiences in a manner similar to the *Golden Ass* type of narration. Meaning is thus provided on the borders of, but not confirmed by the text. This shows the inherent problem of first-person narration with portraying a non-repentant negative character and at the same time fending off the identification of reader and character. The deconfessionalisation of the German picaresque format allows for a narration of entertaining episodes that lose the 'grasping' spiritual perspective of the narrating self still present in *Simplicissimus*.

The metatextual addition to the end is certainly an attempt to guide the reader to the correct reception of the text, to defuse the experimental narrative by giving a negative characterisation that the first-person narration cannot provide. The clear metatextual condemnation of this specific character is not individual, though: a comparison between one of the main sources of Grimmelshausen and the 'Zugab' reveals a striking similarity. Grimmelshausen copied the moral condemnation from Garzoni's *Piazza Universale* that he already used for the *Satyrischer Pilgram* section analysed above, and also for the *Ewig-währender Calender* where he used Garzoni as a quarry for material on astrology in the fourth and sixth column. However, in *Courasche* the textual section is exploded into minute fragments which are then re-structured for Grimmelshausen's aim. It is not the case that the intertext is verbatim, which has been reiterated in the small portion of scholarship that is aware of the borrowing of this section: already Scholte stresses the

115 Joldesma, p. 165.
116 Valentin, 'Théologie', p. 287 notes the satirical attitude towards the church in chapter I.
117 Geulen, p. 212 distinguishes episodic structures and 'umgreifendes Vergegenwärtigen größerer Teile' in *Simplississimus Teutsch*.
118 Scholte, *Zonagri*, p. 149 indicates that three segments of the *Courasche* originate from Garzoni, but does not give any specific details.
119 See Feldges, p. 373 'weitgehend wörtliche Übernahme'; Speier in Grimmelshausen, *Courage*, trans. by Hans Speier, p. 45 and 224; Menhennet, p. 137 'copied from Garzoni'. Only Zaenker, p. 650 notes the 'Montage' in this segment, and it is hoped that my description and parallel print provides the analysis he calls for.
amount of change of Garzoni's text through Grimmelshausen's abbreviations and smoothing of the style.\textsuperscript{120} As described above, the 'Zugab' culminates in spiritual condemnation of the sinful contact with prostitutes, whereas the material in Garzoni is much more neutral regarding spirituality, and is equally concerned about the venereal diseases and material poverty resulting from the \textit{Huerei}. Grimmelshausen's addition of the 'böß Gewissen' and the culmination in shame of the original hyperbolic collection of adjectives indicates his purpose: he provides the spiritual meaning for the text by restructuring the material (see Appendix B).\textsuperscript{121}

4.5. Moll's 'Adventures' and her 'Joy at the Prospect of Being a True Penitent'

all my Repentance appear'd to me to be only the Effect of my fear of Death, not a sincere regret for the wicked Life that I had liv'd, and which had brought this Misery upon me, or for the offending my Creator, who was now suddenly to be my Judge. [\textit{Moll}, p. 277]

The sinner finally reaches the climactic point of conversion, to which the entire narrative has been building up. Frequent reflections of the narrating self on the state of spiritual condemnation enlighten the narrative of a wayward youth. The traditional structure of spiritual autobiography is applied to Moll's life: after initiation into sin, the 'Confessing my Sins to God' (\textit{Moll}, p. 283) leads to 'real signs of Repentance' (\textit{Moll}, p. 287) and the following \textit{satisfactio} of the converted sinner. The classical features of conversion, as established by the paradigmatic \textit{Confessions}, are re-enacted. Despair and spiritual agony are followed by a turn to God, leading to an instant case of conversion brought about by an outside event (in this case, the return of the 'Lancashire'-husband from his career as highwayman, \textit{Moll}, p. 281) and the ensuing rapturous joy at being converted which are the stages of conventional spiritual autobiography:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{120} Scholte, \textit{Zonagri}, p. 101.
  \item \textsuperscript{121} It is interesting to note how Grimmelshausen proceeds in his intertextual borrowing. While commonly beginning on the right page of Garzoni's encyclopaedic sections (convenient to find in the German editions through a detailed index), he is very efficient in his exploitation of passages: some fragments, which had already been used in another text, the four lines in verse from 'Ad mea decepti iuuenes' to 'sehet euch vor dem buhlen für' used for the 'Nachklang' of \textit{SP}, II, 3, p. 109, are left out in the borrowing in \textit{Courasche}, probably also for reasons of space.
\end{itemize}
I was cover'd with Shame and Tears for things past, and yet had at the same time a secret surprizing Joy at the Prospect of being a true Penitent, and obtaining the Comfort of a Penitent, I mean the hope of being forgiven [...]. [Moll, p. 289]

Even the previous parts of the novel constantly point to this climax of the text, which thus clearly stands in the Augustinian tradition, while at the same time including an element that makes this novel (as well as Robinson Crusoe) one of the precursors of modern prose narration: it merges the requirements of spiritual autobiography with the delights of 'sheer narration', making the memoir one instance of 'classical' first-person narration. The new confessional novel merges spiritualisation and experience into one consistent narration that only sometimes breaks open and lays bare its heritage. As will be shown in this section, the element of criminal biography in particular adds to the text a distinctively Apuleian dimension that clashes with the purported spiritual aim of the text: the agglutination of disparate forms of first-person narration produces a text that is entertaining, while insuring itself against potential criticism for these entertaining segments with a conventional ending.

The novel ‘Written from her own Memorandums’ (Moll, title, p. iii) is a memoir narration from a long temporal distance. This is the traditional structure of spiritual autobiographies such as the Confessions, the text being dominated by reflections of the narrating self that are (dissimilar to the Apuleian format) not mere poetological reflections, but cases of cognitive distance between old and young self:

I leave the Readers of these things to their own just Reflections, which they will be more able to make effectual than I, who so soon forgot my self, and am therefore but a very indifferent Monitor. [Moll, p. 126]

The narration draws together the unordered, linear life and configures it as a thematic unity of spiritual development: 'at last grew Rich, liv’d Honest, and died a Penitent' (Moll, title, p. iii). The closure the title invokes cannot be repeated by the first-person narration that is necessarily unable to reach death, 'for no Body can write their own Life to the full End of it, unless they can write it after they are dead' (Moll, Preface, p. 5). The metatextual preface therefore invokes a third-person closure similar to the one used in the Continuatio of Simplicissimus: 'her Husband’s Life being written by a third Hand, gives a full Account of them both' (Moll, Preface, p. 5). This preface, superimposing a causal plot

122 For this view, see for example Maximilian E. Novak, ‘Openness and Complexity in Moll Flanders’, in Daniel Defoe’s Moll Flanders, ed. by Harold Bloom, Modern Critical Interpretations (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), pp. 53-73 (p. 58) and Starr, p. 183.
123 Starr, p. 49 distinguishes these two elements of spiritual autobiography.
onto the life through the fictional figure of an editor, is on the other hand the main element contesting the unity of the narrative: it casts doubt on the sincerity of the penitence and calls into question the status of the text as genuine spiritual autobiography. The editor hints at the possibility that the penitence the text constantly invokes might only be a structural device whitewashing over the insincere picaresque narration of Moll's adventures:  

It is true, that the original of this Story is put into new Words, and the Stile of the famous Lady we here speak of is a little alter'd, particularly she is made to tell her own Tale in modester Words than she told it at first; the Copy which came first to Hand, having been written in Language, more like one still in Newgate, than one grown Penitent and Humble, as she afterwards pretends to be. [Moll, Preface, p. 1]

Even though the word pretends can have the two meanings of 'pretence' as well as 'affirmation', both denotations cast doubt on the value of Moll's confessions as they reinforce the fact that the sinner wants to appear sincere. Some critics perceive the editor as the second voice at work in the text, rewriting and overlaying the true narration of the unrepentant Moll that in its original state would have been similar to the unrepentant narration of Courasche. This clearly does not take into consideration that the 'editor' is a construct introduced into the text by Defoe as a higher or authoritative voice and as some means of asserting the reality of the text. The essential clash therefore arises out of the 'pretended' dissonance of a narrating self that does not completely distance herself: the mode of pious repentance is applied by the narrating self, the narration of humorous and criminal exploits of the experiencing self is (in Langford's words) 'laundered'. Even though the preface constantly tries to infer meaning, especially from the segments of text dealing with the criminal exploits ('warnings to honest People', Moll, Preface, p. 4), this attempt at justifying the narrative clashes with parts of the main text.

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124 Maximilian E. Novak, 'Sincerity, Delusion, and Character in the Fiction of Defoe and the “Sincerity Crisis” of His Time', in Augustan Studies: Essays in Honor of Irvin Ehrenpreis, ed. by Douglas Lane Patey and Timothy Keegan (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), pp. 109–26 (p. 109) distinguishes first-person narratives according to their sincerity (spiritual autobiography) or lack of sincerity (picaresque novel) and concludes that this criterion lost its meaning through the Bangorian controversy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. While this is certainly an important point, it seems difficult to measure the sincerity of a first-person narrator, and also possible to describe a sincere picaresque novel such as Simplicissimus.


126 Langford, p. 165.
The narrating self strongly dominates the text in a qualitative manner: it constantly puts the actions of the previous incarnation into the perspective of spiritual salvation. The proximity of this form of self-incrimination to Puritan self-analysis has been frequently recognised, but it should be noted that Defoe was by no means consistent in his use of Puritan concepts and also included religious elements of a more general Christian denomination in his texts. Furthermore, the element of 'sheer narration' that Starr detects even in the autobiographies of 'the pious folk' decidedly gains weight in the criminal phase of Moll's life. The taste for 'adventures' (Moll, p. 195) that Moll develops in this phase leads to a withdrawal of the narrating self; the experiencing self gradually begins to dominate from page 195 with only few intrusions of the enlightened self:

One Adventure I had which was very lucky to me; I was going thro' Lombard-street in the dusk of the Evening, just by the end of Three King Court, when on a sudden comes a Fellow running by me as swift as Lightning, and throws a Bundle that was in his Hand just behind me, as I stood up against the corner of the House at the turning into the Alley [...]. [Moll, p. 195]

The narrating self in turn takes over again from page 268, where it performs the build-up to the conversion. The 'episodic' narration of Moll's adventures for almost a quarter of the text leads to an imbalance between narrating and experiencing self that were still distributed equally in Robinson Crusoe, a process similar to but not as radical as the 'deconfessionalisation' of first-person narration in Courasche. Even though this intermingling of two levels of the self constitutes the case of the 'classical' first-person novel, the two selves — as will be shown in the next chapter — seem disparate, a 'Zusammenspann' of the narration of one self with the reflections of a strange authorial I: Augustinian tradition confronts the Apuleian tradition and forms an unstable fusion.

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127 For example by Martin Price, 'The Divided Heart', in Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders, ed. by Harold Bloom, Modern Critical Interpretations (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), pp. 7-17 (p. 17).
128 Starr, pp. x and 11.
129 Starr, p. 27.
130 Starr, p. 161.
131 Stanzel, Theorie, p. 272.
The circular pattern of Moll's misfortunes, culminating in the return to the place of origin, Newgate prison, indicates the providential guidance of the self towards closure on judgement day that is even invoked directly:

I reflected on my pass'd Life as not sincerely repented of, that Heaven was now beginning to punish me on this side the Grave [sic], and would make me as miserable as I had been wicked.

Had I gone on here I had perhaps been a true Penitent; but I had an evil Counselor within, and he was continually prompting me to relieve myself by the worst means [...]. [Moll, p. 193]

This section, after Moll's first theft, shows the omnipresence of the adversary in the text, often directly referred to as the devil, who is here not to be understood metaphorically but as a material tempter: 'twas like a Voice spoken to me over my Shoulder, take the Bundle; be quick' (Moll, p. 191). The only possibility of escape from these 'Devil's Clutches' (Moll, p. 203) is provided by Christian penitence, towards which the self is guided by the 'Hand of Providence' (Moll, p. 336). The forces of good and evil thus manifest themselves directly on the material level, fighting for possession of the soul that finally overcomes the evil adversary by the direct intervention of grace — or so the narrator would have us believe. Again, the retrospective styling of the (fictional) life story according to conventional patterns of spiritual autobiography is noticeable: previous text along the lines of Augustine's model is re-enacted by the narrating self trying to make sense of her life and looking towards eternity.

This linear self-narration towards a final making sense recounts Moll's life in vaguely, but not precisely chronological order: 'The Disaster of this Woman was some Months before that of the last recited Story [...] ' (Moll, p. 223). This form of narration reproducing thematic, but not chronological linearity, has been interpreted as an attempt to simulate the naive autobiography of a rambling old self, thus heightening the effect of realism of the text. On the other hand, frequent omissions of causal links and even logical mistakes in the text could be pointed out that can be attributed to the narrating self — or the writer in one of his most productive and financially pressed years, having to provide a text without being able to revise it. Breaks in the chronology of the text can

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therefore also occur due to lack of attention by the author, failing to remember contradicting events that he introduced before, or failing to introduce elements that become necessary later: for example, on pages 312-3 Moll reflects on 'whether I should have my Husband with me or no', before 'behold my Husband came on Board'. This is surprising as 'we were both on Board, actually bound to Virginia' a page before this.\textsuperscript{134}

The age of Moll is frequently specified in the text, even though this biography of a penitent is only set in historical time at the very end: 'Written in the Year 1683. FINIS.' (Moll, p. 343) The narrative is therefore set in the close past only on the threshold of the text: the narrated events, while clearly distinguished by the age of the central character, could also have happened some other time in the near past. Even though the temporal expressions employed by the text seem to support the naive biography by being fairly vague, a tendency to specify these temporal lapses or progressions to a greater degree than, for example in Francien, can be noted:

We had an indifferent good Voyage, till we came just upon the Coast of England, and where we arriv'd in two and thirty Days, but were then Ruffled with two or three Storms, one of which drove us away to the Coast of Ireland, and we put in at Kinsale: We remain'd there about thirteen Days [...]. [Moll, p. 105]

The remembrance of things supposedly long past meanders between the perfect memory convention and vague expressions indicating a less precise memory, but it is nevertheless noticeable that a great number of references to the passage of time occur. This greater attention paid to the precise temporal distance between the narrated events can be interpreted as originating in the travel writings that interacted with other forms of first-person narration especially at the beginning of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{135} These texts, as well as Robinson Crusoe, which incorporates key elements of this tradition, pay attention to the passage of events taking place in a identifiable setting that is given a higher degree of prominence. Settings of Moll's two visits to America, of travels in the British isles and especially of the underworld of her criminal exploits are rendered in greater detail than

\textsuperscript{134} After robbing a drunken customer she 'never heard more of them.' (Moll, p. 226) She in fact becomes his mistress after p. 236. After the reappearance of Moll's 'Lancashire'-husband, 'He told me he wrote two or three Letters to me [...]. This I indeed knew to be true' (p. 300), which greatly contradicts her 'Amazement and Surprize I was in, when the very first Man that came out I knew to be my Lancashire Husband' (p. 280).

even Grimmelshausen’s world of war, defined by battles and names of commanders.\textsuperscript{136}

The passage of time, set in concrete locations, is thus rendered in a detail not achieved by the other texts. The precise settings in space, if not in time, bring the events closer to home to the eighteenth-century (English) reader who can even recognise the detailed environment as his own, and through this is made to feel that ‘it can happen again’, to him or her.

This precision in the temporal order even extends to direct reflections on the act of temporal ordering, on the pacing of the narrative according to the importance of the episode in relation to the thematic unity of the fictive autobiography:

It concerns the Story in hand very little, to enter into the farther particulars of the Family, or of myself, for the five Years that I liv’d with this Husband; only to observe that I had two Children by him, and that at the end of five Year he Died [...]. [Moll, p. 58]\textsuperscript{137}

The text leaps over the irrelevant five years of happiness (and the two children) in an ellipsis that denies this secure period any importance in the story of Moll’s inevitable downfall. This is not to say that the selection of criminal ‘adventures’ that are narrated in detail serves any such direct significance: it is the narrating self who tries to attach meaning to certain elements by accelerating and decelerating her narration. This is done according to the importance attached to such episodes as the seduction by the older brother (Moll, p. 21) or the climactic conversion towards the end of the text, but this certainly does not hold true for the ‘sheer narration’ that gains centre stage for a section of the novel without such an imposition of meaning by the narrating self.

The episodes portraying stages of the downfall of Moll towards final agony and climactic crisis are a rendition of exemplary elements of spiritual biography, whereas the ‘adventures’ of the criminal self are frequently presented as habitual. After the key stages of the first theft, prompted by the devil himself (Moll, pp. 191-2) and the second theft of

\textsuperscript{136} The settings of the novel are Colchester (Moll, p. 9); London p. 59; Oxford and Northampton pp. 61-2; the mint in London pp. 64-5; Redriff [Rotherhithe] p. 71; York River/Virginia p. 85; Kinseale/Ireland and Milford Haven p. 105; Bristol and Bath p. 106; Bath, Bristol and Gloucester p. 114; Bath, Reading and Hammersmith p. 118; London, Warrington and Liverpool p. 141; Chester p. 144; Dunstable p. 156; St. John’s Street/Clerkenwell p. 159; Stone and Stony Stratford p. 178; Brickill p. 179; Dunstable p. 219; Sturbridge p. 263; Shannon bay/Ireland p. 319; Potomac/Virginia p. 320; Philip’s Point/Maryland p. 330. The geographical settings of the thefts in London on pp. 191-263 in particular are highly detailed.

\textsuperscript{137} Similar ellipses occur in Moll, p. 29; p. 90 ‘I liv’d with the greatest Pressure imaginable for three Year more’; p. 190 ‘I liv’d Two Years in this dismal Condition’.
the necklace from a child (Moll, pp. 193-5), the ensuing criminal exploits are described as a number of 'adventures' of which only certain ones are narrated:

I had a great many Adventures after this, but I was young in the Business, and did not know how to manage, otherwise than as the Devil put things into my Head; and indeed he was seldom backward to me [...]. [Moll, p. 195]

This form of narrative is not the kind which attaches importance to one episode exemplary for other such events, but rather of adventurous Schwänke rendered for their entertaining effect. Even though the narrator does not accelerate over the 'irrelevant' portion of the story as after the first seduction by the older brother ('so that we took our fill of our wicked Pleasure for near half a Year', Moll, p. 29), importance is here not attached to the events as such, but to their comic effect. This shows the paradoxical stance towards religiosity in the novel: even though certain elements of the text clearly attempt to portray a traditional spiritual autobiography, other elements do not fit into this self-interpretation. The critical debate on this issue is substantial: the consensus seems to be that the text attempts to re-create spiritual autobiography138 in a rather clumsy way that introduces certain elements of this tradition out of sheer teleological necessity,139 while the end product clearly departs both from the single-voiced picaresque texts dominated only by the experiencing self,140 and from the tradition of spiritual autobiography.141 It is interesting that the preface attempts to attach meaning to the very elements of the text that can be said to stand in the Apuleian tradition:

Her robbing a little innocent Child, dress'd fine by the vanity of the Mother, to go to the Dancing-School, is a good Memento to such People hereafter; as is likewise her picking the Gold-Watch from the young Ladies side in the Park. [Moll, Preface, p. 4]

138 Boardman, p. 79; Bjornson, p. 193. Ian Bell, 'Crime and Comfort', in Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders, ed. by Harold Bloom, Modern Critical Interpretations (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), pp. 95-111 (p. 108) perceives the attempt of the narrating self to re-create a spiritual autobiography and the clashes with the criminal experiencing self as 'a kind of ironic parody of these popular genres'.

139 Carl R. Lovitt, 'Defoe's "Almost Invisible Hand": Narrative Logic as a Structuring Principle in Moll Flanders', Eighteenth-Century Fiction, 6 (1993), 1-28 and also Langford, p. 175 who perceives the 'real' editor as rewriting the naive autobiography according to society's values.

140 Ian Bell, 'Narrators and Narrative in Defoe', Novel: A Forum on Fiction, 18 (1985), 154-72 perceives a shift in Defoe's first-person narration from temporal chronicle/fabula-format in Robinson to causal plot/sjuzhet in the later novels.

141 Starr, p. 161 concludes that sections of the text are not 'spiritualised'. Watt, pp. 104-7 notes the 'episodic nature' of the plot that nevertheless culminates in the 'structural coherence' of the end, bringing together the thematic threads of the novel.
This is a clear attempt to influence the correct reception of the text — in order to avoid anticipated censorial pressures and to fulfil the reader’s expectations. As mentioned above, the conglomerate of Augustinian and Apuleian elements in the text forms a fusion of a highly enjoyable text tottering frequently on the brink of incoherence. The fusion of the episodic dimension of time with time configured from the end is portrayed by a succession of episodes, directed by Providence towards climax and conversion, while the experience of time takes centre stage: time (in relation to eternal salvation) is precious to Moll.

The text’s fusion of the two models of first-person narration is not necessarily the form in which it is received in the eighteenth century: the abbreviated versions of Moll Flanders, popularising the text and the first-person format, eliminate the spiritualisation and return to the Apuleian form of single-voiced, episodic, entertaining narration. However, the eighteenth-century adaptations and abbreviations also include a very different form that runs counter to this tendency of simplification: already the abbreviation of 1723 adds further closure by Moll’s pious end in Ireland, her home country to which she retires after acquiring enough wealth in Virginia. Characteristically, the closure is achieved with a third-person account of her ‘Death, Burial, Elegy, and Epitaph’ (title of the 1723 edition). After the detailed will of ‘Elizabeth Atkins’ (which turns out to be her real name), the first-person account is supplemented with an impersonal third-person description of Moll’s remaining existence in this world until the definitive tombstone (with epitaph) is secured onto her grave, almost ensuring that no Continuatio can ever spring from underneath it. The linear, chronological narrative is here stretched to its ultimate length, from birth to death, with the help of an external ending necessary for such an ideal memoir novel. It is important that the novel is received in eighteenth-century Europe in precisely this completed form.

4.6. Conclusion

The analysis has shown how early modern novels employ the models of fictional narration and factual autobiography for their structure. Francion’s intercalated narrations

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142 Sorbier, p. 166.
143 As this ending has not been reprinted since and is extremely important for the reception of the text in Europe, I provide a transcript of this version in Appendix C.
144 See page 82.
clearly used the first-person archetype of Apuleian narration from the perspective of involvement in the events that also predominated picaresque texts such as *Lazarillo de Tormes*. The third-person part of *Francion*, on the other hand, clearly fuses this picaresque form with the quest tradition that is transformed by the combination into a new form, the *roman comique*, perceiving itself as anti-form and providing a rather strange case of ironic closure. The two texts under investigation that are genuine memoir narratives can be said to use the Augustinian element of the tradition in very different ways: *Courasche* is consciously aware of this tradition and copies it, while at the same time renouncing the content of conversion. The lack of enlightenment bereaves the text of the wiser narrating self and its function to order experience, to make sense of the life from the enlightened final perspective. *Moll*, finally, most clearly uses the Augustinian structure to re-create her life, while at the same time filling in the gaps between the distinct stages of spiritual autobiography with the plaster of her adventurous experiences, structured in the episodic way present in the *Golden Ass*. The fusion of the two traditions creates the case of the classical memoir novel, but leaves questions open regarding the coherence of the text.

It is important to stress that this agglutination is not a progressive historical development, from episodic narration in the *Golden Ass* to a blend of episode and spiritualisation in *Moll Flanders*: even Apuleius can be said to bring his episodic string of tales to a close with the religious conversion of Lucius. The two models of first-person narrative more precisely coexist in the early modern period, and in some circumstances provide the necessary legitimisation for the production of novels. The adherence to one of the two models alternates in the history of narrative fiction, but certain trends are perceivable. The early picaresque texts such as *Lazarillo* incorporate satire and even a certain degree of closure. This closure is frequently not provided by an ultimate end such as the one of Schnabel’s castaway, but an arrival in the perverted value-system of the world which allows for further continuations, for example de Luna’s *Continuación del Lazarillo* sixty-six years after the novel was first published. However, these novels do not invoke an overall meaning of the life, as was the case in Augustine’s inevitable path to conversion. Later texts such as *Guzmán* then merge this with the dual perspective of narrating and experiencing self combined.\(^{145}\) This shift towards an inclusion of the end perspective of the narrating self and a justification of narration is necessary in a framework that

\(^{145}\) Kapp, p. 178.
sanctions only legitimate forms of self-description such as spiritual autobiography, which per se has a very distinct meaning imposed onto the life.

The temporal concept of the early modern period is clearly embedded in this development of first-person writing, while the experience of time and the passage of it is central to the autobiographical re-creation of the characters' lives. Two forms of time can be made out within the Christian framework that survives the Enlightenment, if in toned down form: on the one hand, worldly life and temporal existence is frequently represented in cyclical form, as a scheme of the four ages of (wo)man, or even in the medieval figures of the wheel of life that are still occasionally reproduced. The character comes full circle at the end of his life, back to where he started his temporal journey through the vain world. Worldly life, however, is mostly important within the Christian concept of time as an indicator of the spiritual worth, a temporal trial period for the other dimension of time, eternity. The Christian eternal life surrounds the mere temporal existence, which is frequently stressed in the spiritual autobiographies of the time, and which gives autobiographies such as Augustine's a strong anagogical perspective, directed beyond the grave and towards salvation.

This temporal concept is reproduced by the edifying forms of writing (be they factual or fictional). On the other hand, it is embedded into some of the fictional, entertaining forms of narrative that really lack any sense of end perspective or unity. Mostly, the combination of spiritual elements and picaresque lives, presented as exemplary negative lives and positive conversions, appear genuine. Sometimes however, satirical and comic accounts attempt to incorporate the conversion element from spiritual autobiography in order to fit into the Christian value scheme, one could say: jump on the bandwagon of the form while throwing the content overboard. Spiritual autobiography is frequently used only as a grid, as a convenient stable structure onto which the entertaining 'adventures' are plastered, but as has been demonstrated, some writers such as Gimmelshausen perform the exact opposite motion, providing spiritual closure at any cost to a text that could otherwise be criticised for its a-morality. Closure can also be added to the first-person narration by third-person accounts of the death of the character (and especially his pious burial), or more frequently by the convenient element of conversion narrative providing a pious last stage for the life circle. This conversion is not necessarily absolute: the possibility is left open for the 'to be continued' on the last page of the text; the return of Simplicissimus from his island in Springinsfeld is but one instance of this.
Time in the early modern period became a conscious subject of discussion in the controversy over the implementation of the new Gregorian calendrical system. For almost two hundred years, merchants and travellers, but also ecclesiastics and writers struggled to come to terms with the reformation of their year and had to translate not only dates and measures, but also the festivals of the Catholic saints and Protestant martyrs.\footnote{For the various introductions of the calendrical system, see Gosselin’s \textit{KALENDRIER GREGORIEN PERPETVEL}; Zedler, V (1733), cols 236–8; Backscheider, p. xv. In late seventeenth-century Germany, ‘bi-calendrical’ almanacs are published that print the new Gregorian calender next to the old Julian one, with the important astronomical and astrological information between the two. For descriptions of the problem and attempts to reconcile the calendrical systems see Bachmeyer, \textit{Kalender-Vereinigung}.} One element remains that all denominations can agree upon: Catholics such as Grimmelshausen and Presbyterian Dissenters such as Defoe perceive worldly time as far less important than the other element of the dual nature of time, eternity that awaits the Christian sinner after this life. Sorel’s radical satirical libertine rejects this for a more worldly form of morality, but as will be seen in the following chapters, he was the one writer who clearly makes use of traditional forms of legitimacy by simply adopting them and attaching them to his hybrid novel. The concept of legitimate autobiography and its disreputable fictional offspring interact in surprising ways: frequently, readers of the period find it difficult to make out whether it is Apuleius or Lucius, the fictional Simplicissimus, or the factual Christoph von Grimmelshausen who narrate their autobiographies in the first person.
5. Characterisation, Temperament, and the Circulation of the Blood

5.1. Characterisation

The interpretation of characters is not a stable constant. Characters are generated in narration and life by 'culturally sanctioned signs',¹ and these signs are not always interpreted in the same way in different cultures and at different times. The historical variation of character concepts becomes apparent in culturally coded expressions of emotions such as grief: in Apuleius's *Golden Ass* grieving involves a great amount of chest beating, which does not coincide with later conventions for expressing the same emotion:

Die sequenti filia eius accurrit e proximo castello, in quod pridem denupserat, maesta atque crines pendulos quatiens et interdum pugnis obtundens ubera. [*GA*, IX, 31, II, 182-4]²

This expression of emotion, socially conditioned in antiquity and recognisable to the initiated reader as a clear indication of grief, remains obscure for the early modern reader lacking the explanatory footnotes that most of the contemporary editions and translations provide for the above section:

Pugnis obtûdens ubera: Talis anna a Virgilio dscribit unguibus ora soror fœdans: nunc pectora pugnis.³

This is a sign that the expression was already unclear in the early modern period and had to be explained. Again, the implication is of a circularity of concept and text: the description of reality in the text derives from stereotyped assumptions of character in the cultural context around the text, but also leads to prescriptive conventions of behaviour, as in the recognition of early modern witches with the help of the *Hexenhammer* mentioned above.

The most comprehensive narratological theory of character is to be found in Rimmon-Kenan.⁴ It is necessary to recall her distinction between three basic aspects of narrative fiction: 'the events, their verbal representation, and the act of telling or

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¹ Hochman, p. 32.
² 'Next day his daughter arrived in haste from the next town, where she had gone to live after her marriage some time before. She was mourning and shaking her loose-hanging locks and frequently beat her breasts with her fists.' (*GA*, IX, 31, II, 183-5)
³ Beroaldo's commentary in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (1500) fol. 211'. 'Striking her breasts with fists: So the older sister of Virgil described how she scratched her face with her fingernails: here hitting the breast with fists.'
⁴ Rimmon-Kenan, pp. 29-39 and 59-70.
writing. These aspects can be described as three distinct levels of narration: the chronological 'story', the actual 'text' we read, and the act of narrating by the character. The chronological story is therefore an abstraction of events that might have been presented not in chronological, but in thematic form in the text. A character is abstracted from character indicators in the text that form character traits on the story level. According to Rimmon-Kenan, there are two ways of indicating character traits in the text: the first is the direct definition of the character's attributes ('he is a ...'), either by the authorial narrator of the text, by other characters in the text or by the central character, which differ with regard to the authority they convey. Direct definition is more authoritative than the other form, indirect presentation: indirect character indicators are for example a character's appearance (frequently represented graphically in early modern frontispieces), speech, actions, and the character's environment. Indirect indication leaves greater scope for interpretation than direct definition. Direct definition is thus, to an extent, a more authoritative system of indication, allowing less interpretative freedom.

Character indicators are grouped into larger units of meaning by a number of ordering principles (repetition, similarity, contrast, implication) which allow the abstracted character on the story level to gain unity. This process is identical to the common mode of describing people in real life by giving them trait names, usually in the form of adjectives or nouns ('a penitent man', 'an ass'). It also implies the possibility of change and development. This has been used in literary theory to distinguish static from developing characters, which will be important for my description of changes in the portrayal of characters in the early modern novel. Before I introduce the early modern notion of what character consists of, the heroes of the model texts for early modern first-person narration will be analysed to indicate the scope of characterisation that was presented to the imitators of these models in the period.

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5 Rimmon-Kenan, p. 3.
7 This categorisation is a refinement of E. M. Forster's distinction between 'round' and 'flat' characters (E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel and Related Writings*, ed. by Oliver Stallybrass (London: Arnold, 1974), p. 46). In contrast to Forster's dichotomy, Ewen's refinement allows for a more flexible range between the two poles of 'developing' and 'static' characters (Rimmon-Kenan, p. 41).
5.2. The Inquisitive Man Under the Guise of a Beast of Burden and the ‘peccator homo’: Lucius and Augustine

Other than the expression of grief mentioned above, there is also an ultimate unrealistic element in the *Golden Ass* that was still comprehensible in the early modern period when numerous women were burned for alleged cases of this: the metamorphosis. Other elements of the text, and especially of the central character are less incomprehensible once this essential initial metamorphosis is taken for granted and the reader suspends his disbelief.

Lucius, the human ass, is for wide stretches of the novel a very simple character consisting of only a few traits, and performing a narrative function rather than being an individual subject. An overview of the main character traits will illustrate this: three distinct stages of the character can be made out in relation to the two metamorphoses of the hero. Lucius the human (pre-metamorphosis) is characterised by his (illicit) sexual passion for the maid of his host in Hypata, and even more so by the curiosity that leads him to the fatal application of a magical balm that transforms him into a dumb brute, and not into a light-winged bird as he had hoped. On the other hand, there remains an element of human intellect under the asinine hide, and the dual nature of Lucius, the thinking ass, dominates much of this section of the novel. Lucius the ass furthermore retains traits of his human character, curiosity and a physical greed that is here directed towards the gratification of the ass’s enormous belly, and less towards the sexual gratification of his ‘vastum genitale’ (*GA*, X, 22, II, 256). This asinine gluttony, however, also betrays the human hidden beneath the animal: Lucius frequently acts like a human by eating vegetables rather than hay (IV, 1), bread rather than barley (IV, 22) and human delicacies, as

Nec enim tam stultus eram tamque vere asinus ut dulcissimis illis relictis cibis cenarem asperrimum faenum. [*GA*, X, 13, II, 240]¹¹

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¹⁰ This trait dominates book II. Lucius encounters Photis in chapter 7, in chapter 10 they start kissing passionately, and the relationship is consumed in explicit detail in chapters 16 to 17.

¹¹ Lucius the human is driven by his thirst for novelty (I, 2) and curiosity to learn about witchcraft (II, 6) to the fatal application of the potion (II, 9).

The asses gluttony is addressed directly by a number of secondary characters, such as the robbers in VI, 31 and the bakers in X, 15.

¹¹ 'After all I was not such a complete fool or so truly an ass as to pass by those delicious dishes and dine on coarse hay.' (*GA*, X, 13, II, 241)
This characteristic leads to the discovery of surprising talents in the animal which is subsequently trained to perform such human tasks as wrestling, dancing, and having intercourse with women to delight the spectators (X, 17). The duality of nature is also notable in the brutish curiosity of Lucius that is already present in his inquisitiveness about magic when he is still a human, but it becomes dominant in his asinine existence: he describes himself as an inquisitive man under the guise of a beast of burden, 'homo curiosus iumenti faciem' (GA, IX, 30, II, 180). This trait, frequently indicated directly by the narrating self and also through the actions of the curious ass, fulfils the stereotypical expectations of an ass. The text even includes a direct reference to this proverbial curiosity of asses by giving a (fictional) etymology of the Latin proverb about a 'peeping ass', that is supposed to originate from his peeping out of the window of a hiding place which leads to the revelation and arrest of owner and ass (IX, 42). Lucius also acts like an ass by crushing the hand of a salesman who wanted to examine his teeth, thus confirming the stubbornness of asses in general (VIII, 23). He is only accused of another stereotypical attribute of asses, their laziness, by the robbers in VI, 31 and the bakers in X, 5 who despair of this trait in their beast of burden.

However, the trait of curiosity is much more predominant than these stereotyped traits of the ass, and curiosity is also part of the narrative function that the central character fulfils in the satirical novel: Lucius as the hidden eyewitness records the vices of the world. Lucius thus functions as a recorder of people's lies, constantly affirming that his versions of the events 'vera sunt' (GA, XI, 23, II, 340), that his curiosity serves a larger purpose:

At ego, quamquam eximie fatigatus et refectione virium vehementer indiguus et prorsus fame perditus, tamen familiari curiositate attonitus et satis anxius, postposito cibo, qui copiosus aderat, inoptabilis officinae disciplinam cum delectatione quadam arbitrabar. [GA, IX, 12, II, 146]

While human society is ignorant of his cognitive abilities, his ability to observe human actions and vices makes him the ideal focaliser for a satirical narrative, but the perspective is also frequently exploited for elements in the novel that can best be described as

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12 Asinine curiosity occurs frequently in book IX. Lucius indicates this himself when he stresses his habitual (IX, 12), innate (IX, 13) or natural (IX, 15 and 18) inquisitiveness.
13 'Although I was exceedingly exhausted, desperately in need of repairing my strength, and really dead from hunger, yet my habitual curiosity held me spellbound and made me quite anxious. So I postponed the plentiful dinner at hand and took a certain pleasure in carefully observing the routine of this undesirable workshop.' (GA, IX, 12, II, 147)
'sex and crime'. The ass literally performs the function of a 'peeping Tom', for example in the episode that describes the behaviour of his temporary owners, a group of gay priests:

probeque disposita cenula balneas obeunt, ac dehinc lauti quendam fortissimum rusticanum, industria laterum atque imis ventris bene praeparatum, comitem cenae secum adducunt. [...] spurcissima illa propudia ad illicitae libidinis extrema flagita infandis uriginibus efferantur, passimque circumfusi nudatum supinatumque iuvenem exsecrendis oribus flagitabant. Nec diu tale facinus meis oculis tolerantibus [...]. [GA, VIII, 29, II, 116]^{14}

Lucius's subsequent braying alerts the locals of the priests' immoral conduct. This function of the character is crucial: a few character traits are sufficient to produce a hidden witness of the negative traits of other characters, and Lucius only very rarely participates in the events he records (for example, when he actively reveals a hidden adulterer by stepping on his fingers in IX, 27). The ass, functioning as a recorder of the series of vices presented in the satirical novel, is not individualised: even though he claims to be of noble pedigree in book I chapter 1, nothing is made of this relation to illustrious forefathers, and even the trait that normally sets a character apart from his peers, his beautiful, tall, slim, rosy, blond and blue-eyed appearance (II, 2) is transformed into the stereotypical ugliness of an ass:


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^{14} 'When they had their little supper all nicely laid out, they went to the bath-house, from which they returned with a dinner-guest, a sturdy country fellow well equipped with sturdy limbs and loins. [...] those dirty, shameful creatures were driven wild with horrible passion to commit the vilest acts of unnatural lust. They had the young man stripped and lying on his back, and they pressed all around him, forcing their abominable kisses upon him. My eyes could not tolerate such an outrage for very long.' (GA, VIII, 29, II, 117)

^{15} '[M]y body hair was thickening into bristles and my soft skin hardening into hide. At the ends of my palms my fingers were losing their number and being all compressed together into single hoofs, and from the end of my spine came forth a great tail. My face was immense now, mouth spread, nostrils gaping, lips sagging. My ears too grew immoderately long and bristly. I saw no consolation in my wretched metamorphosis except for the fact that, although I could not now embrace Photis, my generative organ was growing.' (GA, III, 24, I, 171)
The early modern illustrations and frontispieces frequently show the dual nature of the man being transformed into a common ass, for example the frontispieces of Sieder’s translation (Figure 2) and of the Spanish edition (1539). The episodic narration of a string of vices by a relatively little characterised hidden observer only comes to an end when Lucius is transformed back into human form. However, this transformation is not a return to the previous ways of curiosity and sexual lust, but a spiritual conversion: the vision of Isis allows Lucius to resume his human shape, and to fulfil the necessary requirements to be initiated into the religious rites (XI 21-7). His new-found piety and industriousness finally enable Lucius to become a priest of Osiris (XI, 30). The transformation in spirit is again accompanied by a transformation in appearance: the gluttonous ass becomes a priest with a shaven head (XI, 30), wearing an embroidered linen dress and carrying a torch in his right hand (XI, 24). However, the abruptness of the transformation clearly indicates a character break rather than a gradual conversion. This frequently led the early modern editors to eliminate the final section of the text, because it seemed not to fit the previously curious and gluttonous character of the satirical observer.

The *Golden Ass* therefore presents the asinine observer and the pious priest as stereotyped embodiments of these roles, only individualised by the persistent curiosity of the man turned beast. Furthermore, these traits are only important for the narrative because they provide a convenient (and unsurpassable) opportunity for the perspective of a satirical observer, and also for the comical elements of the text that take delight in the ass’s bodily functions. The curious ass is a satirical function, not an individual subject. Importantly, the other model of first-person narration for the early modern period also provides a function for early modern fictional characters, but not necessarily a model for modern individual selfhood.

Augustine’s character serves a very different function: his autobiographical narration is embedded in reflections on his God and salvation. The particular circumstances of his life are related to St Paul’s conversion narrative, which is accepted as the model for any story of conversion. By drawing parallels between himself and St Paul, Augustine validates his own experience. Augustine directly condemns his younger self as a hopeless

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16 In VII, 21 Augustine reports his enthusiasm for the apostle’s writings, and when God tells him to ‘pick up and read’ the bible in VIII, 12, it is again a passage from St Paul’s epistles that catches his eye.
sinner: even as a baby (I, 7) and as an infant, he is ‘tantillus puer et tantus peccator’ (Confessions, I, 12, p. 10), and when he notes the good qualities he possessed as a child, he sees them as the gift of God and not as attributes of his own character (I, 20). The experiences of the self as a pear thief (II, 4-9), teacher of rhetoric (IV, 11) and faithful lover of a long-standing mistress (IV, 11 and VI, 15) only serve to illustrate the wayward life of the sinner Augustine before his spiritual conversion.

The conversion in the garden of a friend’s villa (VIII, 8) transforms the self into the enlightened condition that the narrating self still possesses. This later self is mostly characterised by its actions. The narrating self confesses even the most trivial sin to God: ‘Accipe sacrificium confessionum meorum de manu linguae meae’ (Confessiones, V, 1, p. 46). This indirect characterisation of the narrator is supplemented by the actions of the reformed sinner after conversion, who stops teaching because of a weakness in the lungs (IX, 2) and aims to serve God with his pen by writing books (IX, 4). However, the general nature of this portrayal becomes apparent in the self-characterisation of the old saint who still finds grounds to chastise himself for his curiosity (X, 36), love of praise (X, 37) and food (X, 31), and even analyses his unchaste dreams (X, 30). This direct self-characterisation in the later part of the Confessions (which is mostly concerned with the question of Genesis) is again a return to generalised spiritual principles: man after the Fall is intrinsically a sinner, redeemed only by Christ, and even the saint professes himself to be a sinner in need of redemption:

et quis est, domine, qui non rapiatur aliquantum extra metas necessitatis? quisquis est, magnus est, magnificet nomen tuum. ego autem non sum, quia peccator homo sum [...]. [Confessiones, X, 31, p. 137]

However, there is a development of the character from wickedness to milder human weakness. This spiritual development is accompanied by physical ageing (the age of the central character is frequently referred to as a guideline). This process of physical or

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17 ‘A great sinner for so small a boy’. (Confessions, I, 12, p. 33)
18 ‘Accept my confessions, O Lord. They are a sacrifice offered by my tongue [...]’ (Confessions, V, 1, p. 91)
19 ‘But is there anyone, O Lord, who is never enticed a little beyond the strict limit of need? If there is such a one, he is a great man. Let him praise your name. But I am no such a man: I am a poor sinner.’ (Confessions, X, 31, p. 237)
20 Augustine’s birth is described in I, 26. He is aged sixteen (II, 2), nineteen (III, 4) and twenty-eight (IV, 1). Most importantly, the event that ends the narrative part of the autobiography, the death of his mother, is very precisely timed: ‘ergo die nono aegritudinis suae, quinquagesimo et sexto anno aetatis suae, tricesimo et tertio aetatis meae, anima illa
even psychological maturation is irrelevant compared to the spiritual enlightenment that the saint strives to push to the forefront of his narrative: Augustine ‘in virum alterum mutatus fit’ (Wangnerrecks introduction to his 1646 edition, CONFESSIONVM, fol. *5’). The change is a linear spiritual progress: after meeting bishop Ambrose in Milan (V, 13), Augustine gives up the Manichean beliefs of his youth (V, 14), and after conversing with the spiritual guide of Ambrose, Simplicianus (VIII, 1), he is turned away from worldly values such as honour and money, and finally converted in chapter 12 of book VIII.

Again, this is a conventional form of conversion narrative, not even unique at the time when it was written. It tells of the usual sinful youth, describes how external figures bring about an instantaneous conversion, and foregrounds the sinner’s joy at his new-found spiritual life. It is furthermore noticeable that Augustine never pays any attention to other indicators that could make his character unique: there are no references whatsoever to his appearance, and even his parentage is no individualising factor: his mother functions primarily as a spiritual guide for him, and the death of the father is mentioned two years after the fact (III, 4).21

Augustine’s character, directly characterised by himself as a sinner turned penitent, offers a powerful narrative structure for the writers of spiritual autobiography and fictional narratives alike in the early modern period. It is not in the Confessions, however, that they find means to create unique autobiographical narratives.

5.3. ‘Je ne saurais quitter mon humeur ordinaire’: Francion’s Constant Temperament

Abhorrez cette folie
Qui vient de mélancolie
Et ne cherchez seulement
Que votre contentement!
[Francion, p. 405]

The Histoire comique de Francion is technically the most complex novel analysed here, but, quite surprisingly for a highly self-conscious narrative that stretches to over one

religiosa et pia corpore soluta est.’ (Confessiones, IX, 11, p. 115) ‘And so on the ninth day of her illness, when she was fifty-six and I was thirty-three, her pious and devoted soul was set free from the body.’ (Confessions, IX, 11, p. 200)

21 Monica’s spiritual importance is omnipresent: she prays for her son in his ‘wicked’ state (V, 9), follows him to Milan (VI, 1), and her death in Ostia ends the autobiographical part (IX, 8). The remainder of book IX is a summary of her pious life (IX, 8-9) and Augustine’s reflections on it.
thousand pages in its third edition of 1633, it has one of the more simple central characters. Sorel’s third edition uses a complex mixture of third- and first-person narration, but still incorporates the long autobiographical narration of the central character in books III-VII. The following analysis of Francion will therefore distinguish between first-person narration (in which the character himself provides clues to his disposition) and third-person characterisation in the later parts of the text and in the frame story.

Sorel was one of the first writers to make extensive use of one particular form of indirect indication: the characterisation of figures by their sociolect and idiolect. The third-person narrator reflects on this in one of the metafictional passages:

Que si l'on est curieux du langage, comme en effet l'on le doit être, où le peut-on considérer mieux qu'ici? Je pense que dedans ce livre on pourra trouver la langue française tout entière, et que je n'ai point oublié les mots dont use le vulgaire [...]. [Francion, X, p. 486]

Even scatological speech is thus justified as serving the satirical function of describing the contemporary world in its entirety — including all its vices and vulgarities. A character’s idiolect therefore serves mostly the general satirical function of the novel, and only partially functions as an individualising voice of the character.

Francion consists of a relatively low number of character traits that can be abstracted from his narration and from the comments on him by the third-person narrator. Francion already makes a positive impression through the connotations of his name ('frank', 'free', 'French'): 'the name offers a winning combination of libertinism and nationalism'. The narrator explicitly reinforces this connotation:

Francion, qui portait un nom qui lui était véritablement dû pour sa franchise accoutumée, lui répondit sans feintise [...]. [Francion, I, p. 76]

The name thus corresponds to the frank actions of the hero, and the connotative meaning of the name is dominant throughout the narration, even though the fictional editor claims to have used an alias in order to protect the real model for the character (Francion, 'À Francion', p. 34). On the other hand, this is part of the elaborate metafictional game the text plays with the readers: within the main text, the positive signification of the name is never questioned.

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22 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 46.
Personality in *Francion* is defined foremost by Francion's birth and social status. Francion's inherent nobility is inherited, and to reinforce the association of his birth with the positive values he embodies, his parents are introduced as examples of virtue:

> il ne sera pas mauvais que je vous dise premièrement quelque chose de mon père: son nom était La Porte, son pays était la Bretagne, sa race était des plus nobles et des plus anciennes, et sa vertu et sa vaillance [...] notables [...]. [Francion, II, p. 153]

His mother was 'une belle fille du premier lit, qui avait toujours été en pension avec des religieuses' (*Francion*, III, p. 162). Francion is aware of his high social status and even uses it to dismiss unsuitable matches (*Francion*, V, p. 276: 'J'avais le courage trop haut pour m'abaisser tant que de prendre à femme la fille d'un simple avocat') and the lower orders (*Francion*, VIII, p. 407: 'Nous usons bien de plus de caresses qu'eux [peasants], qui n'ont point d'autre envie que de souiller leur appétit stupide, qui ne diffère en rien de celui des brutes.'). Even in lovemaking, a circular connectedness appears: the nobility of his parentage is reflected in the inherent nobility of Francion's character and actions. Birth to a certain extent determines the actions and attitudes of the character.

The following character traits can be seen as most formative of the character Francion: the trait of volatile passion is constant throughout the novel, for example in book VI, p. 320: 'Mais toutes mes affections n'étaient pas de longue durée et un objet me faisait oublier un autre. J'avais toujours la connaissance de quelque femme qui était de bonne composition avec laquelle je passai toutes mes envies.' Some traits, such as the (mostly indirectly portrayed) naivety of the character are phased out after the hero's disillusionment in his interaction with society, but keep reappearing when (structurally) needed for an episode. The naivety of the hero has to be seen in the context of the narrating self ironising the experiencing self, and in the context of the character being a narrative function to satirise society (especially in VI, pp. 288-90). Francion's cultural refinement is mostly shown by his musical and literary abilities, but is also directly named by the narrating self and the third-person narrator: 'Lorsqu'il commença de toucher cet instrument [luth], tout le monde fut ravi de son harmonie. [Joconde] en fut tellement vaincue qu'elle lui promit de satisfaire à ses désirs.' (*Francion*, X, p. 494) It again becomes obvious that this cultural refinement of the hero, used to seduce rather than in a chivalrous manner, is in many ways a parody of the refined heroes of romance. However, the chivalrous bravery is portrayed in the first-person part of the novel in the hero's many brave actions, for example, in the duel Francion fights with a vicious enemy in book VII, p. 375:
je le poursuivis de si près que si j'eusse voulu, je l'eusse tué; mais je ne désirais pas
le frapper par-derrière. [...] son cheval [...] le jeta dans une fosse pleine de boue où,
pour me venger de ma plaie, je lui en eusse fait cent autres mortelles si j'en eusse eu
le désir. Je me contentai de lui mettre la point de mon épée sous la gorge et de lui
demander s'il ne confessait pas qu'il ne tenait qu'à moi que je lui ôtasse la vie.

After the enemy confesses this, 'je lui aidai à se relever.' This portrayal of the enemy
flung into a ditch full of mud is again not serious, but the hero is nevertheless portrayed
as a chivalric fighter. In the third-person part the narrator stresses the character’s heroism
and even directly compares the hero to a knight errant (IX, p. 450): Sorel apparently uses
the later additions to embellish his central character. The most striking culmination of
this embellishment occurs in Book XI, just before the hero’s proposal to the object of his
quest for love, Naïs, when the narrator lists the positive traits of his hero as follows:

Il avait bonne façon, il chantait bien, il jouait de plusieurs instruments de musique,
il était d’une humeur la plus douce et la plus complaisante du monde, il était
grandement savant, parlait extrêmement bien et écrivait encore mieux; et ce n’était
point sur un seul sujet, mais sur tous. [...] L’on voit assez qui ont quelqu’une de ces
perfections; mais où sont ceux qui les ont toutes, et encore en un degré éminent
comme il les avait? [Francion, XI, p. 556]

Here, for once, there is no hint of the usual cynicism and irony of the novel. It is clearly
the case that Francion is far superior to any other character in the novel; he outwits and
outshines all of his opponents and is portrayed as a wholly positive figure.

The character traits of the protagonist alternate, even sometimes disappear, but re-
emerge and on the whole do not develop. It can be said that the character is static in
most of his traits and the first-person narrator even stresses his static constancy ('J’ai tou­
jours aimé les voluptés de l’amour', Francion, XII, p. 621). Character is the constancy of
an inherently noble nature (albeit with an over-active sex drive) that is portrayed in a se­
ries of contacts with the outside world. The intercalated narration of Francion’s
autobiography on the other hand presents the (typically picaresque) process of
disillusionment through interaction with society: the character trait ‘naivety’ is
increasingly replaced by the (negative) knowledge that the character acquires about
society; there is a ‘development from the status of dupe to manipulator’ in society.23 This
process is somewhat similar to an initiation of the hero into worldly things, but again it
should be noted that this is not really an apprenticeship (as Suozzo claims),24 but a
satirical disillusionment of the initiated observer.

23 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 27.
24 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 113.
Apart from this process of disillusionment, only a few changes in the character occur. These are to a certain extent motivated by the character's interaction with society and his increasing cynicism: "Je m'étudiai à faire dire à ma bouche le contraire de ce que pensait mon cœur" (Francion, VI, p. 288). The changes are also caused by his inconsistency in love. These changes are breaks rather than a gradual development:

après avoir même juré plusieurs fois que je ne trouvais rien de si beau comme elle [Nais], je n'ai pas laissé d'avoir la curiosité de voir d'autres beautés dont j'ai même fait de l'estime. [Francion, XII, p. 603]

Comme je me voyais aussi alors hors d'espoir de rien gagner auprès d'Émilie, je ne poursuivis plus ma pointe avec tant d'ardeur, et parce que d'un autre côté je continuais à voir Nais [...], je ne songeai plus qu'à elle et redoublai mes poursuites. [...] j'étais tout changé [...]. [Francion, XII, p. 616]

The main break in the character occurs in the climactic happy ending of the text, where Francion is reformed to become the model of a good husband (Francion, XII, p. 670 'je veux bien changer d'humeur pour demeurer dans les termes de l'obéissance') and a moral exemplum (Francion, XII, p. 673 'il avait de la peine à se repentir de beaucoup de petites méchancetés qu'il avait faites en sa jeunesse'). This dramatic abandonment of the only dubious character trait, Francion's inconsistency in love, must be seen as 'a cold pragmatism rather than a reform or maturation',^25 a parody of the traditional happy endings of romance: the character's inherently noble nature comes into its own. Francion can therefore be seen as a precursor to later heroes such as Gil Blas, who are initiated into (and no longer disillusioned by) society, and a hypocritical grandson of the positive heroes of romance with their fairy-tale dichotomy of good and evil. The inherent good nature of the character makes it possible to present a static hero of little complexity who does not always interact with the surrounding society that he satirises, but simply represents positive-heroic character traits regardless of the situations he finds himself in. The moral complexity of the text depends on the one dubious character trait, Francion's inconsistency and passion in love, which will have serious implications for the relationship of morality and metatext analysed in the subsequent chapter of this study.

Francion is thus not individualised by an inner development or maturation: even though the stasis of his character breaks in the dramatic ending, this change is from one

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static type ('philandering knight') to another ('married nobleman'). As mentioned before, the text, especially in the second part, attempts to present the actions of the hero as typical rather than individual, as belonging to the type of knight errant avenging injustice:

il ressemblait à ces chevaliers errants dont nous avons tant d'histoires, lesquels allaient de province en province pour réparer les outrages, rendre la justice à tout le monde et corriger les vicieux. [Francion, IX, p. 450]

Likewise, popular physiognomic concepts (which are explicitly used in the text) almost demand the beauty of the positive hero:

‘Je sais bien que je ne me trompe point, dit le gentilhomme, et que tant plus je vous fréquenterai, tant plus je reconnaîtrait la vérité de ce que les traits de votre visage m'ont dit. Je tiens que les règles de la physionomie ne sont point menteuses.’ [Francion, I, p. 76]

Francion's beauty cannot therefore be seen as an individual trait of the character, but as part of the popular theory of physiognomy, relating the individual physical characteristics of the hero to his moral character. Appearance in general is important only in the context of disguises and the ‘illusion game’, especially in the college episodes where Francion is dressed more poorly than befits his social standing. The automatic assumptions of a society that values clothes as a reliable indicator of a character's worth are directly satirised by the discrepancy between the apparent and the intrinsic value of a person, with villains being overdressed and virtuous heroes wearing the rags of beggars. Society temporarily underestimates the value of the worthy but poor hero. The appearance of Francion therefore serves a number of purposes, but certainly not that of making him unique.

It should be noted that characters from much shorter texts, with even less character traits, appear to be more distinctively drawn than this highly stylised hero. This confirms Suozzo’s view that all characters in Sorel’s text fulfil one of two functions: they are either heroes and manipulators of illusion, or monomaniacs and victims of illusion. All the characters function in one of two ways: they either ridicule the vices of the world, or embody them. The monomaniac secondary characters such as Hortensius are ‘rhetorical caricatures’ exemplifying one specific vice. They are character types of the kind which appear in La Bruyère’s Les Caractères and are not individualised portraits, but stock characters, determined by one vice or temperament.

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26 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 13.
27 Suozzo, Comic Novels, pp. 45–6.
28 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 57.
Figure 14: Gottfried Leibniz, *ARS COMBINATORIA* [...] (Francofurti: Henricus Crökerum, 1690). The four elements are shown in relation to their main ('summa') and secondary ('remissa') qualities: for example, the main quality of fire is heat, the secondary quality dryness.

5.3. a) Grim melshausen, Sorel, and the Theory of the Humours

It is here that the early modern notion of a temperament or humour will have to be developed in a brief excursus, as the *Histoire Comique de Francion* directly mentions it and its source, Galen.

The system of the four elements/qualities/humours is so all-pervasive in the early modern period that it is frequently deemed too basic for a conscious reference, even though it probably resembles the modern, Freudian psychology in as much as readers are aware of the theory without necessarily having a detailed knowledge of it.

Empedocles of Acragas (fifth century BC) thought that everything, including man, is made of four elements: earth, water, air and fire.\(^{29}\) Aristotle then described these four elements through a combination of the four primary qualities of hot, cold, moist and dry. Illustrations of this combination are often cyclical; Figure 14 shows the possible and

impossible combinations of these qualities and elements. In the school of Hippocrates, the four elements were finally associated with four fluids in the body. These humours contain the primary qualities: blood (hot and humid), yellow bile (hot and dry), black bile (cold and dry) and phlegm (cold and humid). The concept of the four humours is a medical theory: illnesses are seen as the result of some disturbance in the natural balance of the humours and medicine aims at the prevention of illness by therapy and prophylaxis.

De Jonde's frontispiece for *Septem Planetae* (Figure 15) combines allegorical representations of the four humours and four elements into one circular system, and other circular and universal representations have already been described in relation to the eternal recurrence of the four seasons. These are frequently allegorised as the four ages of man and woman (see Figures 10 and 11). The system of the four elements/qualities/humours, related to four seasons and ages forms one powerful, universal concept of man and his development in relation to his surroundings. The macrocosm of the universe is reflected in the microcosmic human body, in Grimmelshausen's words in his *Ewig-währendem Calender*.


Das vierdte/ als der Winter/ ist kalt und feucht / und gleich wie der Herbst Melancholica und durch ihn das Mannliche Alter angedeutet wird/ also ist dieser Phlegmatica und bezeichnet das Alter/ in welchem der Mensch an allen Krâfften abnimbt/ schwer und vertrossen wird/ von dem 60. Jahr biß in seinen Todt. [EK, fourth 'Materia', pp. 17-9]

This schematic concept, taken literally from Garzoni's 'Sechster Discurs/ Von Calender-schreibern/ vnnd was darzu gehöret', but slightly modified to embellish the style, com-

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30 Murray, pp. 22-33.
31 Nutton, p. 281.
bines the seasonal change with the four qualities, humours, and ages of man (this however coexists with a similar universal scheme linking the seven ages of the world to seven stages of human development that do not coincide with these precisely dated phases).

Galen, in the second century AD, elaborated the medical theory of the humours into a distinctly psychological theory of personality. He distinguished four different personality
types or temperaments, and it is this psychological concept that survived into the early modern period. Galen’s psychology was frequently elaborated in the popular guidebooks to physiognomy and chiromancy such as Lemnious’s *De habitu et constitutione corporis* (English translation of 1576 as *The Touchstone of Complexions*) or Prenner’s *Groß Planeten Buch* of 1546. These guidebooks combine the qualities, elements and humours into temperaments, with an elaborate analysis of their mental and even physical characteristics, giving detailed outlines of the characters and even pictorial guidance for the recognition of the four humours in individuals (Figure 16). Prenner defines the main human types as follows:

Colerici seint heiß vnd trucken/ gleich de fraw vnd dem sommer. Welcher mensch diser complexion ist/ der ist blaicher farb/ vnd trinkt mer dann er ist/ kleinlicher glied/ magere/ eins schnellen grimmis zorns/ balv vergessen/ kun/ behend/ hat vil hars vnd bart/ mild/ vnesthet/ begert vil vnkeuschheit vnd mag wenig/ er sol sich hüte vor heisser vnd truckner speiß/ jm ist gesundt was kalt vnd feucht ist.

Flegmatici seint kalt vnd feucht/ gleich de wasser vnd winter. Welcher der complexion ist/ der ist wasser far/ vnd hat vil fleysch/ klein lenden/ isst vil/ trinkt wenig/ ist träg/ schlafft vil/ vnkeusch/ hat vil feuchtung vnnd lützel hitz warm vnd trucken speiß jm gut.

Melancolici seint kalt vnd trucken gleich der erden vnd de herbst/ vnd ist die vnnedlest complexion. Welcher mensch der natur ist/ der ist karg/ geittig/ traurig/ aschefar/ vntrew/ böß begirig/ forchtsam/ etlich ding nit lieb habent/ blöder sinn/ vnweiß herts fleisch/ trinkt vil vnd isst wenig/ mag nit vil vnkeusch sein/ hat ein bosen magen. Er sol sich hüten vor dingë die kalt vnd trucken seint/ jm gut warm vnd feucht speiß.


The medical system aims for moderation in all the temperaments; therefore, hot and dry characters can achieve a beneficial effect on their health by eating foods of the opposite quality (cold and moist). This links the humours to the elaborate herbals and *Tacuinums* of the medieval and early modern period that detail not only the different uses of the plants in medical terms, but also the degree of the four qualities in these foods and

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33 Sebastian Prenner (?), *Das groß Planeten Buch* [...] (Straßburgck: W. Jacob Cammerlander, 1546), fols A i'-A ii' (see also Figure 16).
Figure 16: The psychological and physical characteristics of the four temperaments according to Sebastian Prenner (?), *Das groß Planeten Buch* [...]
(Strassburgck: W. Jacob Cammerlander, 1546), fols A i'-A ii'.
herbs. It is also noticeable that humoral theory incorporates not only the medical and psychological, but also the moral disposition of the types (choleric men and women 'begeren vil unkeuschheit'). The system does not require the presence of all characteristics in a character of a certain temperament; the traits are more precisely indicators of a temperament, and characters were classified into types according to the traits they possessed: 'Darumb mustu die zeichen aller glieder zusamen setzen/ wilt du ein natur mercken.' At the same time, the direct naming of the temperament ('sanguine', 'choleric' etc.) entails the presence of a whole host of elements, physical as well as mental. This (very economical) technique of characterisation is used for example by Shakespeare and Jonson, but also in some early modern novels.

In Galen's system, the disposition of a character's humour is not necessarily static but can change, in Lemnian's words (although there is much debate on this point):

Notwythstanding according to the course of time and season of the yere, according to the quality of ayre enclosing vs, according to condition of the place where we dwel, and according to the nature of ech age, they [the humours] are encreased or dimynished.

This accounts for the dominance of different humours in relation to the seasons and the ages of man, as well as for even more microscopic changes of a character, for example over one single day (morning — afternoon — night). Humoral theory can therefore be used either to classify static characters according to four character labels, or as a more flexible system that allows for a character to change (or even develop) over time. As Galen's theory allows for a certain overlap of the humours and variation over time, each person can be said to have their own natural complexion (or krasis, mixture). On the other hand, the logical number of combinations is limited by the fact that there are only

35 A similar system that pays more attention to the vices related to the four character types can be found in Levinus Lemnian, THE Touchstone of Complexions [...], trans. by Thomas Newton (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576), fol 23r.
36 Prenner, fol. A ii'.
38 Lemnian, Touchstone, fol. 86r.
four main humours. Humoralism can therefore be used to generate a static concept of character according to four types (that are not socially defined) or to describe a more individually varied system of characters that can change over time.

Galen's theory of character unites the four temperaments with the universal system of the four human ages and elements: all the segments fit into one universal, eternal overall scheme, the form of classical and medieval universalism that is frequently represented as one unified figure such as the 'anatomical man', the human microcosm embedded in and influenced by the universal macrocosm. Other elements of this macrocosmic environment also directly reflect on man's body and character, which is brought out by the title of Prenner's


Das ander teyl hellt in die Geomanci/ daraß man erlernen mag/ was in allen ehrlichen sachen zuthun oder zulassen sei den menschen/ [...] in eins jeden Planeten stand/ wie das außweisen die Vierzehen weisen Meyster.

Das dritt teil melt die Physiognomj und Chiromanci/ Das ist/ wie man auß dem Gesicht/ gestalt und geberd/ auch auß anzeigung der händ/ der menschen geburt/ sitten/ geberden und negligkeyten erkennen mag etc.

A character's temperament is formative and can be recognised by the arts of physiognomy and chiromancy, but other macrocosmic elements such as the planets and the moon also have a direct effect on character. These elements are often shown to have a direct bearing on certain parts of the body, such as in the relation of the zodiacal signs to the anatomical man (Figure 17). In the context of psychology, however, the humoral concept developed by Galen is most important.

Francion explicitly mentions the concept of the four temperaments and their source, Galen: 'je vous assure bien que quand Galien même m'aurait dit que l'usage du vin me serait nuisible, je ne m'en priverais pas' (Francion, I, p. 70). Galen is used in this (comical) context as a reliable medical authority: his name (used as a synecdoche) stands for his theory of medicine and the temperaments. The term 'humeur' is used frequently in the text to cover a diversity of meanings that correspond to the contemporary conno-

39 Nutton, p. 281.
40 See also Sears, p. 107.
Figure 17: The anatomical man from Athanasius Kircher, *MUNDUS SUBTERRANEUS* [...], 2 vols (Amstelodami: Joannem Janssonium, 1665–8), II, facing p. 406 (70% original size).
tations of the term (character, mood, intentions etc.) The use of *humour* denoting charac-
ter often occurs in combination with a qualifying adjective: ‘une humeur avaricieuse’
(describing the secondary character Agathe, *Francion*, II, p. 108), ‘une humeur trop colé-
rique’ (Laurette, *Francion*, II, p. 127) or ‘l’humeur pédantesque’ (Hortensius, *Francion*, X, p. 540). ‘Humour’ used with a qualifying adjective is therefore an accurate definition of
character and not a classification into four distinct types.

This non-schematic usage of the term ‘humour’ at the beginning of the seventeenth
century is reflected in the translations of *Francion* into German in the latter half of the
same century: while all the three German versions faithfully translate the reference to the
authority ‘Galenus’,[41] they even replace the term ‘humeur’ with a more general indication
of character such as ‘Art’, ‘Natur’ or ‘Gemüth’, which is then also qualified by an additive adjective:[42] Fremonde ‘war lustiger und freyer Art’,[43] which another version translates
as ‘Jovialische und fliegende Natur’,[44] and Catherine ‘die eines bösen und unrechtfertigen
Gemütes war’.[45] However, the most extensive allusion to Galen’s concept is translated
faithfully in all the German editions, and also in the English one. The concept is one of
the many laid bare in Francion’s allegorical dream in book III, in which scientific theo-
ries are portrayed and parodied at the same time. The origin and composition of the
humours is described in a conversation between the (dreaming) hero and his guide:

Il me mena jusques à un grand bassin de cristal où je vis une certaine liqueur blan-
che comme savon. [...] — Sachez, me répondit-il, que cette matière-ci est faite des
excréments des dieux qui ne s’accordent pas bien ensemble si bien que ce qui sort
de leurs corps garde encore des inclinations à la guerre éternelle. Aussi voyez-vous
que la liqueur de ce bassin est continuellement agitée et ne fait que mousser et
s’élever en bouillons, comme si l’on soufflait dedans. Les âmes, étant épandues
dans les membres des hommes, sont encore plus en discord, parce que les organes
d’un chacun sont différents et que l’un est plein de pituite et l’autre a trop de bile,
où bien il y a quelque autre cause de différence d’humeurs. [*Francion*, III, pp. 140–
1]
Even though the theories of Galen, Ptolemy and other traditional scientific beliefs are treated with burlesque and scatological freedom (humours as the excrement of gods), the dream still describes them in detail and cannot offer alternatives. The burlesque dream can therefore be seen as implicitly reinstating the validity of the theories it makes fun of: the concept is so entrenched in early modern thought that it can tolerate burlesque parodies of it. This interpretation is confirmed by one of Sorel’s non-fictional texts, the much later *Science Universelle* of 1668, in which he attempts to summarise all knowledge into one comprehensive encyclopaedic work, structured unlike Garzoni’s *Piazza Universale* not according to the different contemporary professions, but according to established categories of knowledge (and of the division of knowledge):

*LA SCIENCE V'NIVERSELLE DE SOREL. DIVISEE EN IV. TOMES. Dont le I. traite de la Terre, de l'Eau, de l'Air, du Ciel & des Astres; Le II. des Meteores, des Pierres, des Metaux, des Plantes & des Animaux; Des Ames humaines, des Anges & de Dieu; Le III. De l'Usage, de la Melioration ou perfection, & de l'Imitation de toutes les Choses du Monde; Le IV. De l'usage des Idees qui produisent les Sciences & les Arts & leur enchaisnement; Du langue, de l'Escriture & des chiffres; Et ou l'on trouve la Refutation des Erreurs vulgaires.*


As the title indicates, Sorel relied not only on ancient authority, but also on the new concepts that sprang up during his lifetime. It is important to note that this is not a correction or substitution of old by new knowledge, but an application of the tools of new empiricism to establish the validity of the old concepts. After careful examination of the arguments for and against the revolution of the earth around the sun, Sorel rejects Copernican theory on the grounds of empirical evidence:

> Après tout, la meilleure raison que ie trouue pour soustenir que la Terre ne tourne point, c'est qu'on ne l'expérimente pas, & que cela repugne à nos sens: Enfin il est plus à propos de croire ce que nous voyons, & ce qui est prouvé facilement, que non pas de s'aller imaginer des choses dont l'on n'a aucune certitude. Les dernieres raisons où l'on a recours contre les argumens les plus pressans des aduersaires, sont tirées ordinairement des Liures sacré de la Religion, mais ie ne mêle point icy les choses corporelle avec les spirituelles [...]. Les raisons naturelles sont suffisantes pour nous monstrer que la terre n'a point de mouuement circulaire [...].

Sorel’s radically secular outlook can be felt in his denial of scriptural authority, but he still returns to the Ptolemaic system of the sun revolving around the earth — for empirical reasons.

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When he deals with the human body, Sorel adheres to the traditional medical concept and not to the new discoveries of the seventeenth century that will be discussed below. His discussion of the humours links the four primary qualities to nine character types, defined by four instances of simple correspondence and five combinations of the qualities: again a slightly less orthodox, but nevertheless fairly common version of Galen's psychology. In the following he describes the four main character types in terms that could have originated directly in an early modern guidebook:

Les hommes ont donc toutes ces diuersitez dont leur diuerses humeurs sont la principale cause; l'on les reduit à quatre dont le sang est la principale, à laquelle toutes se mêlent, & l'on les y remarque mieux qu'en pas vn autre animal; l'on les appelle la Bile, la Melancholie', & la Pituïte ou le Phlegme. Pour ce qui est du Phlegme, il peut estre engendré des vapeurs de la premiere ou seconde cuisson de l'aliment qui montent au cerueau, mais la vraye Pituïte qui coule avec le sang fait partie du sang, comme font aussi la Bile & la Melancholie.  

Sorel's treatment of the four human temperaments in this scientific work is essentially serious, but even in the earlier satirical novel *Francion*, the theory generates characters: Sorel there even uses the elaborate system of the correlation of humours and physical characteristics. One of the secondary narrators describes the behaviour of a miser towards his servants, and ridicules the miser's knowledge of complexion as a guide to character types:

pour ses valets, il ne les prend que de complexion flegmatique et melancolique, à cause que ceux qui sont d'humeur colérique mangent trop. [Francion, VIII, pp. 428–9]

Again, this is a satirical use of the concept, which is hardly surprising in a novel that makes fun of almost every authority that it encounters. Francion also repeatedly uses the term 'humour' to define his constancy as the product of his constant 'humour': 'Je ne saurais quitter mon humeur ordinaire, quelque malheur qui m'advienne' (Francion, VIII, p. 386). However, he never defines this constant humour. The interpretation of his constant humour is only narrowed down by the abrupt change in character that occurs in the happy ending, when Francion 'prit dès lors une humeur si grave et si sérieuse que l'on n'eût pas dit que c'eût été lui-même.' (Francion, XII, p. 673) This obviously means that his previous humour must have been the opposite of grave and serious, i.e. light and jocular. Francion is a sanguine character ('klug uff erbar sach/ schön von farb/ singt gern/ mittelleibig/ feist/ kün-mutig/ güttig/ lind an der haut/ steht und vest in seinen

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sachen/ macht vil kint’ in Prenner’s terms) before the abrupt moderation of this excessive amorousness and frivolousness in the final book of the novel. The foregrounding of the theme of passion and love in the *Histoire comique de Francion* confirms this interpretation of the hero’s temperament as predominantly sanguine.

Sorel uses a high degree of indirect indication to characterise the hero as well as the monomaniacs in the novel. He is certainly interested in exploring new techniques of characterisation, hence his use of idiolect as an indicator of character. This is probably all part of the author’s expressed aim to achieve a realistic depiction of characters both in *Francion* and in historical works which he wrote in his later years. Sorel sees social class as an important component of characterisation and uses the sociolect appropriate to each character.

The result of this technique is a vivid portrayal of the central character, but in the predominant context of love and passion Francion remains a ‘prisoner of hackneyed language’. The realistic idiolect of the hero is nothing but the repetition of the received phrases and conventional platitudes that define love in the seventeenth century. This in turn needs to be seen as part of the implied author’s intention to satirise society and its conventions of speech, and to parody the traditional narrative structures that culminate in a stereotypical happy ending. This highly complex novel is therefore critical of traditional character generation — and uses it, especially in the third-person part of the text. It corrupts the theory of the humours — and uses it to construct characters. It satirises society and its conventions — and reinforces them in the portrayal of a hero who is inherently and hereditarily noble. Francion is a simple character in a complex text, similar to Lucius the satirical spectator. Dissimilar to him, his inherent good humour allows him to chastise a society that values him highly because of his goodness.

5.4. ‘Ich weiß die Art der unterschiedlichen Alter eines jeden Weibsbildes’: Courasche’s Ages

There is a discussion of scientific concepts in the fifth book of *Simplicissimus Teutsch* that resembles in many ways the burlesque dream of Francion (though not in the erotic

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49 Suozzo, *Comic Novels*, p. 49.
elements): Simplicissimus physically travels to the centre of the earth, a path opened to him by a convenient entrance in the legendary Mummelsee close to his farm. He is aided by the sylphs who inhabit the watery realm. The prince of the water spirits converses with Simplicissimus and explains his subterranean world and the operation of the cosmos. In chapter 16, he explains the purification of a person’s humours through one of the four elements:

\[\text{als dann setze man einen solchen Menschen wie eine schleimige alte stinkende Tabackpfeiff mitten ins Feur/ da verzehrten sich dann alle bösen Humores und schädliche Feuchtigkeiten/ und komme der Patient wider so jung/ frisch/ gesund und neugeschaffen hervor/ als wann er das Elexier Theophrasti eingenommen hätte; Ich wuste nicht ob mich der Kerl foppt oder obs ihm ernst war/ doch bedanckte ich mich der vertraulichen Communication, und sagte/ ich besorgte/ diese Cur sey mir als einem Colerico zu hitzig [...].} \] 

While again being a burlesque representation of scientific truths, the prince’s words show his belief in Galen’s theory of the balancing of excessive temperaments: Simplicissimus’s choleric temperament is characterised by his hot and dry qualities, which makes the (comical) fiery cure unsuitable for his temperament.

\[\text{Courasche is probably the most elaborate experiment with the structure of a conversion narrative in the seventeenth century. In Courasche, a paradigmatic sinner is portrayed as a negative exemplum in the interplay of self-description and metatextual condemnation described in the previous chapter of this study.} \]

Here she is characterised as sinner in the picture of her on the frontispiece (this will be analysed in detail in the following chapter)

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50 The allusion to the ‘Elexier Theophrasti’ refers to Theophrastus Paracelsus’s highly controversial theory of medicine, which adds a further discrediting touch to the burlesque passage.

and in the two postscripts, the ‘Zugab des Autors’ and the ‘Wahrhaftiger Inhalt’. The metatextual framework thus fixes the character as a type, a paradigmatic whore and sinner rather than an individual case of female corruption. It will be the aim of the following analysis to show how the novel uses the early modern concept of character to arrive at this type, and at the same time to make her unique.

In *Courasche*, there are only a few direct comments by the narrating self on actions of the experiencing self. Apart from the vindictive motif of *Trutz Simplex* (that allows the narrator to stress her moral depravity in order to avenge herself on Simplicissimus), Courasche’s narration is completely consonant, which in itself is a strong character indicator: the self does not achieve moral enlightenment; on the contrary, the narrating self fails to distance itself from debauchery. Of Grimmelshausen’s characters, Courasche is exceptional precisely because the narrating self, like the experiencing self, is irredeemably sinful.

The following traits are formative of the (anti-)heroine. Materialistic greed occurs throughout the novel: Courasche frequently compares herself to a Jew, which in the anti-Semitic views of the time denoted an avaricious person: ‘ich fieng bereits an, in meinem Sinn Wein und Bier um doppelt Geld auszuzapfen und ärger zu schinden und zu schachern, als ein Jud von 50 oder 60 Jahren tun mag.’ (*Courasche*, XV, p. 71) Sexual greed (‘meine unmaßige Begierden’ *Courasche*, VIII, p. 43) accompanies her lust for money, and Courasche’s sterility makes it clear how unnatural this greed is (*Courasche*, XXIV, p. 115). Her aggressiveness in amorous combat is rivalled only by her aggressiveness on the battlefields of the Thirty Years’ War, and for a time she even contemplates passing herself off as an hermaphrodite:

> eben damals war mein höchster Wunsch, daß ich nur kein Weibsbild wäre [...]. Ich gedachte oft, mich für einen Hermaphroditen auszugeben, ob ich vielleicht dadurch erlangen möchte, öffentlich Hosen zu tragen und für einen jungen Kerl zu passieren [...]. [*Courasche*, VIII, p. 43]

This is in the early modern frame of mind more than the comical cross-dressing of *Simplicissimus* (*ST*, II, 25), as it would destabilise the God-given division of the sexes. Nothing comes of this unsettling idea, and instead Courasche’s considerable female beauty causes the related sin of vanity: ‘heimlich aber pflanzte ich meine Schönheit auf,

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52 See above, Chapter 4, footnote 108.
und konnte oft ein ganze Stund vorm Spiegel stehen' (*Courasche*, V, p. 29). Another sinful inclination, anger or vengefulness ('Trutz Simplex'), dominates her old age.

The traits are not constant throughout the text, but do change and form part of the development of the character, with a few exceptions: the trait of vengefulness is the narrating self's constant motivation for relating her story. The character indicator 'vengefulness' appears throughout the text in addresses to the narratee, Simplicissimus, and to the reader. Similarly, beauty and the vanity related to it recur in the early part of the text until Courasche's appearance changes towards the end of the novel. As a gypsy, she then exemplifies both physical and spiritual ugliness:

Derowegen finge ich an, mich mit Gansschmalz, Lässalbe und andern haarfarbenden Unguenten also fleißig zu beschmieren, daß ich in kurzer Zeit so hollrieglerisch aussahe, als wann ich mitten in Ägypten geboren worden wäre. [*Courasche*, XXVII, p. 124]

Courasche is originally named "‘Libuschka’" by her foster-mother (and in the authoritative subtitle of chapter II, p. 17), a name which she adopts again in her final role of 'vornehme Fürstin aller anderer Zigeunerinnen' (*Springinsfeld*, IV, p. 25). The obscene and derogatory connotations of her nickname 'Courasche' are constantly played on in the novel: she first names herself 'Janko' when forced to assume a male personality by the invasion of the imperial troops in chapter II, p. 18. She then acquires her nickname when she becomes involved in a fight in which her adversary discovers that her 'courage', i.e. her sex, is not what it seems to be:

Als aber [...] her employer, the 'Rittmeister'] mich fragte, warum ich meinen Gegenteil so gar abscheulich zugerichtet hätte, antwortet ich: 'Darumb, daß er mir nach der Courage gegriffen hat, wohin sonst noch keines Mannsmenschen Hände kommen sein.' [*Courasche*, III, p. 23]

The Rittmeister himself soon puts his hands where no man's hand had been before. The name is thus a more or less explicit pun on the female genitals, the 'Kursche' or 'Zobelchen' (fur) that is also referred to elsewhere in the text (*Courasche*, I, p. 16). This nickname, consistently used from thereon in the text and in all chapter headings, connotes both the character trait of aggressive female sexuality and of aggressive bravery in

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54 *Courasche* XXIV, p. 114: 'daß ich damals den siebenzehnten Teil meiner vorigen Schönheit bei weitem nicht mehr hatte, sondern ich behalte mich allbereit mit allerhand Anstrich und Schminke'.

55 Grimm give the meanings of 'Kürsen, Kürse, Kursche' as 'Pelzkleid' (V, col. 2820).
fighting. The latter is the connotation that the heroine promotes in the latter parts of the narrative:

vom Namen 'Courage' überredet ich ihn, daß er mir wegen meiner Tapferkeit zugewachsen wäre, wie dann sonst auch jedermann von mir glaube. [Courasche, XI, p. 53]

The name is a constant reminder to the reader of the dangerously attractive nature of the aggressive woman, wearing out men on the battlefield and in bed.

The constancy of the nickname, as well as of the old self’s vengefulness and (declining) beauty, contrasts with the inconstancy of the other character traits. Different traits dominate (but do not exclude others) in certain periods of Courasche’s life: sexual greed is a reasonably constant character trait that nevertheless strongly dominates in chapters III to VIII, whilst her aggressiveness and active bravery are repeatedly indicated in chapters VI to XIV. Materialistic greed dominates the character especially in chapters XV to XX, even though she has started storing her looted possessions in secure places long before that.

Changes in the predominance of different traits are either motivated by outside events, or indicate changes in the identity of the character. However, the development of the character is a replacement of one (social) role of the character (wife, prostitute, warrior, sutler, gypsy) with another, rather than a psychological maturation. Personality in Courasche is furthermore not an inner process towards moral enlightenment. On the other hand, personal identity is also not defined by the external characteristics of appearance and birth: the appearance of the temptress is described in stereotypical, not individual terms, and the stereotype ‘beauty’ is also replaced by the stereotype of ugliness, ageing and decay: ‘Die erste Blüte meiner ohnvergleichlichen Schönheit war fort und wie eine Frühlingsblum verwelket’ (Courasche, XXVI, p. 119). The noble birth that strongly influences Francion (and Simplicissimus) is no longer of central importance: Courasche is brought up by a foster-mother in complete ignorance of her parents (II) and even when she does find out that she is a noble bastard similar to other picaresque heroes, this fails to provide her with a semi-reputable pedigree, as for example Guzmán had: Courasche is

56 For example in Courasche, XXIII, p. 109: ‘Damal sahe ich, daß weder die große und gewaltige Städte [...] mich und das Meinige vor der Kriegsmacht [...] beschützen könnte; derowegen trachtete ich dahin, wie ich mich wiederum einem solchen Kriegsheer beifügen möchte’, and numerous other occurrences.

57 For example in Courasche, XI p. 55, XII p. 59, XXV p. 117 ‘mich im Angesicht anrötete, wiewohl ich mich sonst zu schämen nit gewöhnet war’. 

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only worried that she cannot exploit her noble birth to secure a rich marriage (*Courasche*, X, p. 50). Her pragmatic approach counteracts any suggestion that her noble birth makes her a noble character. Courasche is furthermore the product of a sinful relationship between a count and his wife's servant:

> daß mein natürlicher Vater ein Graf und vor wenig Jahren der gewaltigste Herr im ganzen Königreich gewesen, nunmehr aber wegen seiner Rebellion wider den Kaiser des Lands vertrieben worden und — wie die Zeitungen mitgebracht — jetzunder an der türkischen Porten sei, allda er auch sogar sein christliche Religion in die türkische verändert haben solle. Meine Mutter [...] hätte sich bei des gedachten Grafen Gemahlin for eine Staatsjungfer aufgehalten, und indem sie der Gräfin aufgewartet, wäre der Graf selbst ihr Leibeigener worden und hätte solche Dienste getrieben, bis er sie auf einen adelichen Sitz verschafft, da sie mit mir niederkommen [...] [Courasche, X, p. 50]

The (partial) nobility of her birth is cancelled out by the count’s immoral conduct, not only towards Courasche’s mother, but even more seriously by his betrayal of his country and his faith: the count now fights for the one common enemy of all the Christian denominations in seventeenth-century Europe, the Turks, who were on their way to lay siege to Vienna when the novel was published. In the medical theory of the period, Courasche inherits the virtue of her fallen mother, and the dubious morality of her heretic father. Birth therefore is individualising inasmuch as it indicates her (ig)noble origin, but it shows that the blue blood in her is not necessarily respectable.

The character is consequently not individualised by appearance and birth. Her actions certainly make her unique, present her in the roles of feminine stereotype, aggressive and devouring nymphomaniac, warrior and so forth. They are not actions generated by a constant role, as in the case of the curious ass Lucius, or the philandering knight Francon: the various character traits change the actions in the stages of her life. Courasche could therefore be seen as a succession of distinct roles that change at certain points. These roles are mostly exaggerated impersonations of certain vices. The final result of these roles, the narrating self, is the spiteful individual that fails to renounce her previous incarnations. By doing this, she becomes (in the Christian framework of the text) a paradigmatic sinner. Moreover, even the different roles the character assumes during her life are pre-determined by another concept which informs the narrator’s self-conception: the concept of the four ages and temperaments of woman, here related to a progression of deadly sins.

In the introductory chapter, the old spiteful Courasche motivates her narration and also says of herself:

Courasche sees her life as a succession of the ages of man and the four humours. Furthermore, her excessive temperaments become indicators of deadly sins: gall causes anger, phlegm causes sloth, melancholy produces envy and the sanguine predominance of blood causes a sexual Kütsel. Her krasis is a deeply unhealthy one that is beyond correction, and she admits that it would be impossible to 'evacuate' all three humours dominant in her in her old age. In this interpretation of her excessive krasis, she also expresses a concept of the humours that does not just imply a mere succession of the four humours that would change 'mit dem Gongschlag', as in the section of the Ewig-währender Calender cited above.\footnote{Andreas Heckmann, 'Melancholie in Grimmelshausen’s Courasche’, Simpliciana, 14 (1992), 9-34 (p. 12).} Even though the first chapter seems to invite such an interpretation, the stress on a krasis of three humours in her old age does not fit into a rigid scheme.\footnote{Feldges, p. 47 reads the novel schematically according to four clear-cut phases; also Eva Philippoff, “Sensus Astrologicus” in Grimmelshausens “Courasche”. Ein Beitrag zur astrologischen Aufschlüsselung von Grimmelshausens Werk’, Daphnis, 7 (1978), 531-47 (p. 533). Criticism of this in Heckmann, p. 11.} It is clearly not the case that a novel that begins with old age in the first chapter can be divided into four neat segments dominated by successive humours.

Courasche’s life can be structured into four phases of dominating humours related to cardinal sins. These phases (and the interrelated character traits analysed above) are not self-contained, but a mixture of humours. The four phases are: the sanguine age of adolescence in chapters III to X, dominated by the character trait of sexual greed. A choleric phase in early adulthood that is especially dominant in chapters VI to VIII, then reappears in the trait of aggressive bravery in chapters XI and XIV. A melancholic phase, seen as material greed in her role as a sutler (XV to XXII) and then as depression in chapter XXIII:
Solches bedunken mich eitel Vorbedeutungen meines künftigen Verderbens zu sein, welches dann die erste Melancholia, die ich mein Tage rechtschaffen empfunden, in meinem Gemüt verursachte. [Courasche, XXIII, p. 110]

This phase of melancholy is dominated by the traditional connotations of melancholy and not the new more positive allusion to too much studying: Courasche embodies the sins of greed and aedea that have been traditionally related to this humoral disposition, and not the less negative synthesis of the concept of melancholy, vanitas and virtue that surfaced in less traditional descriptions of the humour in the seventeenth century. Finally, in old age, phlegm dominates together with yellow and black bile (chapters I and XXVI-XXVIII), which is manifested in Courasche’s vengefulness, but also appears in a phase of laziness in chapter XXI, when Courasche is theoretically twenty-three years old:

ich hatte allbereit schon so viel zusammengeschunden und verdienet, [...] daß ich mich weder um ihn [Springinsfeld] noch die Markedenterei, ja um den ganzen Krieg und was ich noch darin kriegen und hinwegnehmen konnte, wenig mehr bekümmerte. [Courasche, XXI, p. 100]

As becomes clear from this listing, the phases are by no means separate units, but overlap to a large extent. Also, certain elements of Courasche’s humoral krasis such as the sanguine sexual greed are constant throughout wide stretches of the novel. The focus of the narrative on the period when Courasche is between the ages of thirteen and twenty-seven makes it impossible to try to superimpose a schematic interpretation on the text as Philippoff attempts to do:

der Roman [ist] eindeutig nach dem Gesetz der Sieben komponiert [...]. Er besteht aus vier mal sieben Kapiteln [...]. Wir erinnern auch daran, daß eine Unterteilung des Romans in vier mal sieben Teile nach den vier Lebensaltern der Frau vorliegt [...].

Philippoff attempts to categorise the text according to seven astrological phases, each consisting of four chapters. The idea of astrology influencing the character, certainly present in the text, is schematically superimposed like a grid onto the text, which leads to some odd interpretations. Heckmann is certainly right in questioning the schematic use of astrological and humoral concepts imported from Grimmelshausen’s Ewig-währender

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60 Watanabe-O’Kelly, Melancholie, pp. 42-54.
61 Courasche is thirteen in Courasche, II, p. 17, the remaining age-process can be inferred from the historical setting of the text by the battles of the Thirty Years’ War.
62 Philippoff, p. 535.
63 For example, for her interpretation of the ‘mercury’ phase Philippoff uses the character Springinsfeld and not Courasche, as he for once seems to fit the picture better than her. Philippoff, p. 544. See also Günther Weydt, ‘Nochmals: Zur Planetenstruktur der Courage’, Simpliciana, 2 (1980), 37-42 for a review of this.
A strict portrayal of the four ages, as defined by the Calender with explicit reference to the human age in which these phases occur, cannot be given in the novel as it focuses mainly on the youth and early adulthood of the central character.

The humoral elements can nevertheless be interpreted from the moral point of view of the metatextual frame as portraying the paradigmatic sinner Courasche in a succession of sins and vices which dominate her character, meaning that (as Lemnius puts it) 'Humours giue occasion to vices'. The sanguine character trait of sexual greed acquires the same negative connotations as Lemnius' 'filthy and detestable loues, horrible lustes'. The choleric element of aggressive bravery is reminiscent of Lemnius's 'testines & anger, to brawling and chydinge, contention, rayling, quarrelinge, fightinge, murther, robbery, sedition, discord'. The melancholic materialistic greed corresponds to Lemnius's 'enuy, emulation, bitternesse, hatred, spight, sorcery, fraude, subtlety, deceipte', and Courasche's phlegmatic vengefulness has its counterpart in Lemnius's 'slouth, [...] bitternesse, sluggardy, slacknes, sleapines, rechlesse unheedynes, and to a despysinge of all vertuous and good exercyses.' This interpretation obviously uses Lemnius as a source of suitable labels, but the first chapter of the novel also stresses the sinful nature of character traits brought about by the dominance of excessive, unhealthy humours.

It appears, then, that the theory of the humours and the conception of character in the novel are not easily separable; on the other hand, it would be impossible to say that there is a cause and effect relationship between, for example Garzoni's rendition of the concept and Grimmelshausen's portrayal of character. The different theories rather interacted: character in the text had to be constructed in a certain way in order to be deciphered by readers familiar with the theory of the four humours, a theory that was already on the defensive, but still perpetuated by Sorel and Grimmelshausen in their theoretical writings as well as in their portrayal of the characters Francion and Courasche. The concept of the four temperaments is but one of the psychological elements that shapes character in early modern texts: Courasche positions its central character against a variety of concepts (e.g. temperaments, physiognomy, astrology) that elude schematic categorisation, but nevertheless leave distinct traces in the text and thereby enable the early modern reader to reconstruct the character Courasche.

64 Heckmann, pp. 15–6.
65 All Lemnius, Touchstone, fol 23v.
The form of the novel is an important modification of the picaresque paradigm: Grimmelshausen, who included in *Simplicissimus Teutsch* diverse theological elements from German adaptations of Spanish picaresque narratives, now breaks with this paradigm, at least on the surface. The text portrays an unrepentant sinner, the embodiment of evil that rejoices at the prospect of seeking revenge on her pious adversary Simplicissimus. This is certainly a deconfessionalisation of the picaresque novel, even though the theological and social framework is not affected by the formal changes: the unrepentant sinner is portrayed as an embodiment of evil. The different traits of this evil are embodied in a female character that develops strongly, even though this development is the product of the humours which define her and not an inner spiritual or psychological maturation. The character is produced as a complex interplay of indirect character indicators in the first-person narrative of the sinner Courasche, and by a very elaborate system of direct signposting around the narrative by the metatextual elements of frontispiece, chapter headings, and postscripts that will be analysed in the following chapter.

A few more words remain to be said about Courasche not as the central character of her *Lebensbeschreibung*, but as a serial character in the ‘Simplician’ cycle of novels. It is here that external character traits of the anti-heroine are invoked in the economical way characteristic of other serial heroes such as Sherlock Holmes (deerstalker and pipe): Courasche’s main physical attributes as a gypsy queen are her fading beauty and her mule. When Courasche reappears in the later novels of the cycle, these characteristics are briefly referred to in order to introduce the character:

Sihe da kam ein prächtige Zigeinerin auf einem Maulesel daher geritten [...] [Springinsfeld, IV, p. 25; similar in RP, p. 40]

The initiated reader immediately recognises the spiteful gypsy, a technique that the later novels also use for the other recurring characters of the cycle, Knan, Meuder, Springinsfeld, and Simplicissimus himself. These few, but efficient external indicators are supplemented by her actions and speech, which are totally consistent with the characteristics Grimmelshausen attributes to her in *Courasche*. While Courasche is only present as the absent adversary in *Springinsfeld*, cursed and described by the men she has cheated (the Schreiber, Springinsfeld, and Simplicissimus), Courasche functions again as the representative not only of the paradigmatic gypsy ('13. [!] Courage die Landstörtzerin' in the *dramatis personae* of RP, p. 5), but also the paradigmatic prostitute when she summarises

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her profession's means of acquiring riches in *Rathstübel Plutonis*. The list of famous hetaeras is taken from the same chapter of Garzoni as the list of infamous examples of prostitution in the 'Zugab des Autors' of *Courasche*:


Garzoni again provides the illustrative examples for the paradigmatic type prostitute.

### 5.5. 'My Blood Began to Circulate Immediately': Moll's Development

Defoe did not use Galen's psychological system: in school, he was taught Harvey, not Galen. I will now have to outline the changes that occurred to the concept of character in the seventeenth century, as these changes are embodied in *Moll Flanders*.

Galen's system of medicine and psychology was omnipresent in the early modern period: Galen's and Hippocrates's works were the basis for medical teaching well into the seventeenth century, and the schools and universities that taught them only varied in the editions of the textbooks and the accompanying commentaries that they used. However, medical science in the sixteenth century made many advances, most notably Andreas Vesalius's return to the dissecting theatre and the ensuing detailed descriptions of human anatomy, with accompanying plates that literally opened up the human body in a way unheard of even in classical antiquity. While the illustrations are extremely detailed and show the surgeon's attention to minute segments of the body, the interpretation of these findings is traditional: the legends to the plates aim to amend, not refute Galen.\(^9\)

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\(^{67}\) This is from Garzoni's *Piazza* (1626), 73. 'Diskurs', pp. 456–64. Grimmelshausen starts on page 463 just before the section used for the 'Zugab', then goes back to page 459 and adds a more detailed account of a monument built for a prostitute from page 458.

\(^{68}\) See for example the *Schulordnung* in Rostock (1565/8), Jena (1592) and Altdorf (1618). For this information, I am indebted to Professor Joseph Freedman, who held a seminar on schools and universities in the seventeenth century at the 23rd International Wolfenbüttel Summer Course, 1998.

\(^{69}\) Vesalius clearly 'accepted Galenical anatomy. He could hardly do otherwise since there was no other.' J. B. de C. M. Saunders and Charles D. O'Malley, *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1950), p. 13.
Figure 18: The venal system as depicted in Andreas Vesalius, *DE HUMANI CORPORIS FABRICA EPITOME* [...], ed. Nicolai Fontani (Amstelodami: Ioannem Ianssonium, 1642) facing p. 67 (70% original size).
Even though Vesalius thus renewed a revolutionary method for the observation of the human body for the first time since his ancient predecessors, his interpretation of his anatomical observations was conservative: the detailed depiction of the venous system (Figure 18) shows the right renal vein higher than the left, which is derived from the observations of Aristotle and Galen that were based on the dissection of animals. Also, the liver is still described as the source of blood, an interpretation also based on ancient authority rather than empirical observation. It is only in the later editions of *De Humanis Corporis Fabrica* that Vesalius began to admit that Galen was simply wrong in parts of his theory.

The ancient anatomical system died hard, and William Harvey waited for eight years before he even dared to publish his revolutionary discovery: "I was greatly afraid to suffer this little Book, otherways perfect some years ago, either to come abroad, or go beyond Sea, lest it might seem an action too full of arrogancy." In 1628 he finally risked the publication of a book entitled *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* ("ANATOMICAL EXERCISES, CONCERNING The motion of the Heart, and Blood, in Living Creatures") that was to be the death blow to the theory of four human fluids. In the book, Harvey outlines his discovery of the circulation of the blood. Harvey takes as his starting-point Vesalius's method of dissection, and is very cautious about questioning medical authority, but nevertheless commits heresy in chapter XIII: he proves conclusively that the veins transport the blood back to the heart and have valves (portals) to stop the counterflow. The experiment he finds to corroborate his evidence is very powerful: other than the traditional anatomical experiments that either involved dead bodies (inpractical for the analysis of the circulation) or the observation of dogs' and swines' hearts laid open 'till the heart begin to dye, and move faintly, and life is as it were departing from it', he found an experiment that could be repeated even by squeamish doctors and interested laymen (Figure 19): the arm of a man is tied above the elbow to increase

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70 Saunders, p. 134.
71 Grafton, *New Worlds*, pp. 112-3.
72 William Harvey, *THE ANATOMICAL Exercises [...] Concerning the motion of the Heart and Blood [...]*, n. trans. (London: Francis Leach, 1653), fol. **3**. There were some strongly anti-Galenical theories before his discovery, most notably by Paracelsus, but he and others tended to be discredited by the mainstream medical scholars.
74 Harvey, *Anatomical Exercises*, II, p. 4.
Figure 19: The plates from William Harvey, *DE MOTU CORDIS & sanguinis in animalibus* [...] (Lugduni Batavorum: Ioannis Maire, 1639) showing the experiment with which the function of the veins and the circulation of the blood can be demonstrated.
the effect, and by pushing the blood along the veins, the function of the portals and the
direction of the flow can be observed.\textsuperscript{75} The greater implication he drew from this is that
the blood circulates through the body, and that the heart is therefore nothing but a me­
chanical pump:

It must be of necessity concluded that the blood is driven into a round by a \textit{circular motion} in creatures, and that it moves perpetually; and hence does arise the action
and function of the \textit{heart}, which by pulsation it performs; and lastly, that the mo­
tion and pulsation of the \textit{heart} is the onely cause.\textsuperscript{76}

However, the coexistence of continuity and change, of radical groundbreaking discovery
and the ancient concepts it is based on, becomes apparent on the same page when
Harvey describes the heart as the ‘beginning of heat’ in accordance with Aristotle’s teach­
ing:

First (\textit{Arist. de respir. \& lib. 2.3. of the parts of creatures}) seeing death is a corruption
which befalls by reason of the defect of heat, and all things which are hot being
alive, are cold when they die, there must needs be a place and beginning of heat
[...].

And that this place is the \textit{heart}, from whence is the beginning of life, I would have
no body to doubt.\textsuperscript{77}

Furthermore, the revolutionary anatomical discovery of the function of the heart was not
instantly accepted; it took at least a century until the anatomical theory that the body
consisted of four fluids (and of character as temperament) was replaced by the theory
that blood circulates. In the seventeenth century, there was a transitional phase in which
both models coexisted in medical and philosophical sources. It is important to stress that
the slow progress of medical science left a vacuum in the psychological concept of
character: Harvey’s discovery was only concerned with the anatomical, not the psycho­
logical implications of Galen. The transitional phase then clings to the theory of four
vital temperaments long after it has been scientifically disproved, but is still perpetuated
by the reiteration of the concept in a multitude of texts.\textsuperscript{78} References to Galen as a medi­
cal authority occur not only in scientific texts such as Sorel's *Science Universelle* and Grimmelshausen's *Ewig-währender Calender*, but also in early modern fiction: the blind beggar in *Lazarillo de Tormes* refers to Galen in chapter I, and Grimmelshausen also frequently refers to him by name, although these references are often borrowings from Garzoni.

Defoe attended a dissenting academy that had introduced empirical experimentation into science education. Furthermore, the schoolmaster, Morton, taught in the vernacular (lessons in the seventeenth century were still normally held in Latin) and wrote a textbook on Newton — and Harvey.

Moll no longer defines herself in terms of a succession of humoral fluids. Where Francion referred directly to Galen, Moll incorporates Harvey's anatomical discovery ('my Blood began to circulate immediately', *Moll*, p. 162), but elements of old and new science coexist in the novel, e.g. in the belief that the liver is the source of venereal diseases ('the foul Disease [...] whose Center or Fountain is in the Liver', *Moll*, p. 226). Moll nevertheless is not determined by any fluid, but by forces within her psyche, and outside herself in society.

Moll is the most complex of the characters described here. The text incorporates a variety of generic elements, ranging from spiritual autobiography, pornography, picaresque and criminal autobiographies to transportation tales. The text is therefore an even more complex agglutination than the intermingling of first- and third-person narrations in

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for example the entry in Johnson's *Dictionary*. However, the concept continued to exert a fascination over not just superstitious 'witch doctors', but serious scholars: Kant, in the *Anthropologie in Pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798) used the Galenical division of characters into four types (Murray, p. 111). The concept of four types of character is even used in Eysenck's recent psychological theories, who attempts to link the types to rates of cortical arousal rather than four bodily fluids: this theory has obviously been strongly debated. See H. J. Eysenck, 'Trait Theories of Personality', in *Companion Encyclopaedia of Psychology*, ed. by Andrew M. Colman (London: Routledge, 1994) i, 622-40 (p. 635).


80 For example TM p. 9, RS p. 22.

81 Backscheider, p. 15.

82 The terms 'character' and 'humour' are not very helpful for the distinction of the two concepts in the novel, as they are both used ambiguously, indicative of a transitional phase. The term *character* is almost consistently used in the text in the meaning of 'reputation', but on page 176 in the meaning of 'character' in the current sense. The term *humour* is used as connoting 'mood', for example on page 106 'my Humour, which was always Gay'.
This narrative complexity is reflected in the complexity of the central character that does not allow one simple label to be attached to her.\(^{83}\)

The abstracted character 'Moll' is a complex construct of the roles she performs. These different roles stem from the various narrative types agglutinated into the novel, from the types of repentant sinner, clever criminal, tradeswoman and wandering outcast. A number of critics have attempted to abstract one essential character, or one constant and predominant trait in Moll. Some have suggested the 'persistent innocence' of Moll to be her essential trait (which is constantly implied in her self-representation as a victim of society),\(^{84}\) but this only fits the old narrating character. It is widely accepted that to fix one label to the heroine would flatten her out, cast her into a mould superimposed by the interpretation.\(^{85}\) Moll's character can be understood if one considers that her personality is a process, whether meandering or linear, leading to the moral enlightenment of the narrating self. Watt sees the irony apparent in the text as a 'lack of insulation between incongruous attitudes'.\(^{86}\) These incongruous and conflicting attitudes imply that the character is not static, but dynamic and changing, volatile and impulsive. Personality is not the stable essence it is in \textit{Francion} or the predictable progress of humours and vices that it is in Courasche, but an inner development of the individual subject. It will be the aim of this section to show to what extent this inner process is a replication of the spiritual forms of psychological development present in Augustine's \textit{Confessions}, and to what extent it is something very different.

The process of character formation in Moll is complex: certain main traits succeed each other, are developed and then vanish. This succession is not simply additive: the traits constantly overlap and it would be difficult to identify any character traits that are not altered during the course of her narrative, apart from Moll's sheer volatility. The flux does not allow for clear-cut segments;\(^{87}\) segmentation is used here to stress rather than negate the perpetual process of the character's development.

\(^{83}\) Starr, p. 132 also sees Moll as a complex outward manifestation of simple inward states, which will be confirmed by our analysis of the character development.


\(^{85}\) Boardman, p. 80; Watt, p. 108.

\(^{86}\) Watt, p. 123.

\(^{87}\) Miriam Lerenbaum, 'A Woman on Her Own Account', in \textit{Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders}, ed. by Harold Bloom, Modern Critical Interpretations (New York: Chelsea House, 1987),
Moll’s virtuous youth in Colchester is stressed by the narrating self (‘I had the Character too of a very sober, modest, and virtuous young Woman, and such I had always been’, Moll, p. 19) and indirectly indicated by the positive physical and social environment. Vanity (as in Courasche, caused by her beauty) is already mentioned in the context of Moll’s still virtuous youth, and then indicated by the narrating self and the actions performed by the character: ‘But that which I was too vain of [beauty], was my Ruin, or rather my vanity was the Cause of it.’ (Moll, p. 19) Moll’s desire for a rich husband is a structurally motivated trait that comes into existence after the death of her first husband, Robin: ‘I was resolv’d now to be Married, or Nothing, and to be well Married, or not at all.’ (Moll, p. 60) The trait connected with the hunt for a suitable husband is indicated mainly by the character’s actions until she changes roles and becomes a thief. Shame dominates the slow revelation that Moll’s third marriage is incestuous: ‘I liv’d therefore in open avowed Incest and Whoredom [...] and tho’ I was not much touched with the Crime of it, yet the Action had something in it shocking to Nature’ (Moll, p. 89). Moll’s permissive dealings with men already begin with the fatal first affair with the elder brother, caused by her vanity and loss of virtue, but are stressed most strongly in her relationship with the Bath gentleman that culminates in her becoming his mistress. The narrating self, in the section after this adulterous relationship, strives to portray the younger experiencing self as completely devoid of any feeling and totally unscrupulous (‘from the first hour I began to converse with him [Bath gentleman], I resolv’d to let him lye with me, if he offer’d it’ Moll, p. 119); a trait which abruptly changes when she falls in love with her Lancashire husband, Jemy. This true love is indicated frequently throughout the rest of the text (‘for I lov’d my Lancaster Husband entirely, as indeed I had ever done from the beginning’, Moll, p. 335), with the exception of the episodic criminal ‘adventures’ in which Moll is separated from Jemy. The technique of direct indication by the narrating self is used almost exclusively in Moll’s portrayal of herself as a victim of poverty, forced into a criminal lifestyle:

O let none read this part without seriously reflecting on the Circumstances of a desolate State [...] it will certainly make them think not of sparing what they have only, but of looking up to Heaven for support, and of the wise Man’s Prayer, Give me not Poverty least I Steal. [Moll, p. 191]

pp. 37-51 (p. 38) distinguishes five phases in Moll’s womanhood according to her social roles as young woman, wife, mother, thief and pioneer.
The text clearly attaches great importance to this connection. Similarly, the text portrays directly the later stage in Moll’s criminal career as a hardened, avaricious thief: ‘the busie Devil that so industriously drew me in, had too fast hold of me to let me go back; but as Poverty brought me into the Mire, so Avarice kept me in, till there was no going back’, Moll, p. 203. Immorality recurs throughout the text, and the descriptions of it verge on the pornographic (‘so putting the purse into my Bosom, I let him do what he pleas’d; and as often as he pleas’d’, Moll, p. 29). The trait surfaces in her adultery with a gentleman whom she had robbed before, but obviously is already present in her earlier affairs with predatory men. Diligence and thrift are the two keywords of early eighteenth century capitalism, in particular in the periodical essays of the time. Diligence is advocated by the sea captain taking Moll and Jemy to the plantations in Virginia:

The Captain readily offer’d his Assistance, told her the Method of entering upon such Business, and how easy, nay, how certain it was for industrious People to recover their Fortunes in such a manner: [...] provided they do but apply with diligence and good Judgement to the Business of that Place when they come there. [Moll, p. 317]

Moll and Jemy follow his advice. Apart from this direct indication, the capitalist character trait is only implied, portrayed by Moll’s diligent actions that lead to her ‘at last growing Rich’, as the title announces. This succession of character traits means that Moll has no one stable identity but is the product of a series of identities. The progress from one identity to another is achieved by the surfacing of previously implied character traits: Defoe is clearly very much in control of the way he wants his heroine to develop.

One constant element of the character is a continuing preoccupation with money, present in a variety of traits such as her criminal avarice, or diligence and thrift in her later years. That ‘self-interest’ is a driving force of capitalism is a view frequently expressed in the moral essays Defoe published in his periodical, the Review:

Give me not poverty, lest I Steal, says the Wiseman that is, if I am poor I shall be a Thief; I tell you all, Gentlemen, in your Poverty, the best of you all will rob your Neighbour; nay, to go farther, as I said once on the like Occasion, you will not only rob your Neighbour, but if in distress, you will EAT your Neighbour, ay, and say Grace to your Meat too [...]. [Review, N. 75, 15. 9. 1711, VIII, 302]

See for example Eustace Budgell’s essay on ‘The Art of growing Rich’ in No. 283 of the Spectator (24. 1. 1712): ‘The first and most infallible Method towards the attaining of this End, is Thrift [...]. Diligence justly claims the next Place to Thrift [...]. A third Instrument of growing Rich, is Method in Business, which, as well as the two former, is also attainable by Persons of the meanest Capacities.’ Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele, The Spectator, ed. by Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) III, 2.
The tension between rising capitalism and Christian notions of morality comes to the forefront in the evocation of a society made cannibalistic by poverty. The phrase ‘Give me not poverty, lest I steal’ is also used by Moll to justify her ‘coming into crime’ (Moll, p. 191). Nevertheless, it should be noted that Defoe’s preoccupation with commerce and trade throughout his publications led him to differing judgements: he voiced strong approval as well as strong ethical objections to the new world order, a duality that is also present in the moral conclusions he drew from the power of self-interest in the same essay in the Review:

Not that I say or suggest the Distress makes the Violence Lawful; but I say it is a Tryal beyond the Ordinary Power of Human Nature to withstand; and therefore that Excellent Petition of the Lord’s Prayer, which I believe is most wanted, and the least thought of, ought to be every Moment in our Thoughts, Lead me not into Temptation.

As the bankrupt hosier and brickmaker noted in his Review, he knew only too well what he was writing about: ‘I own to speak this with sad Experience, and am not ashamed to confess myself a Penitent’ — because at times he had also failed to reconcile morality and capitalism. Moll’s preoccupation with securing money is therefore not necessarily incomprehensible, but neither is it an excusable part of her character: habitual crime (as in her later years) in particular has no excuse according to Defoe’s moral world view.

Moll is not defined by outward characteristics. Moll’s name, even more than the names of Courasche and of Francion, serves as an alibi for a criminal identity going into hiding behind her nickname, in this case devoid of definitive connotations:

These were they [fellow thieves] that gave me the Name of Moll Flanders: For it was no more of Affinity with my real Name, or with any of the Names I had ever gone by, than black is of Kin to white, [...] nor could I ever learn how they came to give me the Name, or what the Occasion of it was. [Moll, p. 214]

Even though the name individualises Moll, the connotation is not as clear as in the sexual one of Courasche and the frankness of Francion, but a mere realistic everyday name. Apart from Moll’s names and alibis, only two of Moll’s husbands are personalised by the use of first names for them (‘Robin’, Moll, p. 57 and ‘James, O Jemy’, Moll, p. 153). The other secondary characters are either introduced by their social role (e.g. the ‘Draper’ husband, Moll, p. 61) or — very frequently — abbreviated to first letters of their names (e.g. ‘Sir W’

89 Starr, p. 143.
90 Apart from Moll’s names and alibis, only two of Moll’s husbands are personalised by the use of first names for them (‘Robin’, Moll, p. 57 and ‘James, O Jemy’, Moll, p. 153). The other secondary characters are either introduced by their social role (e.g. the ‘Draper’ husband, Moll, p. 61) or — very frequently — abbreviated to first letters of their names (e.g. ‘Sir W’
appear in new Shapes every time I went abroad.' *Moll*, p. 262). Her appearance is therefore not indicative of an individual personality, but rather a means to an (immoral or criminal) end. Moll's parentage is a negative character indicator: Defoe uses the technique of reinforcement by analogy to characterise the heroine as born under an unlucky star, as 'even being the Offspring of Debauchery and Vice' (*Moll*, Preface, p. 1).\footnote{Birth as indicator of character is reinforced by the physical environment ('Who was Born in NEWGATE', *Moll*, Title, p. iii, also elsewhere) and the human environment ('that in her [mother's] younger Days she had been both WHORE and THIEF; but I verily believe she had lived to repent sincerely of both, and that she was a very Pious sober and religious Woman.' *Moll*, p. 89.)} She is of common, not noble birth (her mother is a convicted prostitute and thief), and Newgate prison, where she comes into the world, is described as an 'Emblem of Hell' (*Moll*, p. 274).\footnote{Backscheider, p. 60 notes that Defoe might have borrowed the phrase on Newgate, 'that horrid place which you describe when you mention hell', from Thomas Delaune, who was known to him.} As already mentioned, the fact of her (semi-orphan) birth in Newgate does not stop Moll from achieving financial success and a happy end as a penitent; she is not pre-determined to an inevitable downfall, and also not inherently evil like Courasche.

Moll (like most of Defoe's characters) chooses her individuality, inscribes it from within and does not have it inscribed on her from without like Francion or Courasche: she has to struggle to inscribe this identity, as it constantly undergoes changes and developments in line with the social roles she chooses and changes during the course of her life. Despite her birth, Moll can define herself more freely and in a wider range of roles than the previous picaresque heroes and heroines: she is an orphan, a mistress, a wife, a thief and robber, a transported felon and finally a rich planter. Furthermore, she is continuously obsessed with reaching this final high point on the social ladder and continuously tries to assume the role of respectability that was already present in her infant wish to become a 'Gentlewoman' (*Moll*, p. 11).\footnote{Mary Butler, ‘“Onomaphobia” and Personal Identity in *Moll Flanders*, *StNov*, 22 (1990), 377-91 (p. 378).} Even though Moll mostly places herself on the social margins traditionally reserved for picaresque outcasts, she can finally integrate her identity into the social value system that corresponds with hers. This continuing re-definition of social roles, even though held together by the framework of the confessional first-person narration, obviously calls into question the existence of one role or identity.
Moll’s development described above can be further differentiated into motivated and unmotivated character changes, according to social interactions of the character and their inner effects. Moll frequently changes through interaction with society and directly stresses this change (‘so I came gradually into it’, Moll, p. 58). At the same time, the narrative repeatedly implies that the character was led astray by others, that Moll was a victim of a negative society:

I was not only expos’d to very great Distresses, [...] brought into a Course of Life, which was not only scandalous in itself, but which in its ordinary Course, tended to the swift Destruction both of Soul and Body. [Moll, p. 8]

Accountability for the actions of the young self, deeply rooted in the Christian concept of fallen man in the case of Augustine, is transferred to the social other.

Moll’s transferral of blame could be taken at face value as the statement of a reliable first-person narrator, with the enlightened older narrator distancing herself from the errors she made before due to the perversive power of society. This is the commonplace pattern of spiritual autobiographies. On the other hand, there are incongruities in the consistent denunciation of the young Moll by the narrating self, especially in her criminal years, where the narrating self quite happily reports without distancing herself from the illicit ‘adventures’ experienced by the young sinner. This ambiguousness of the narrating self cannot be explained by ‘incongruous attitudes’ or overlapping character traits. It is sometimes unclear if it is the voice of the ‘old’ or the ‘young’ Moll narrating. Matters are further complicated by the attempted interpretation of the narrative by the preface, which states that Moll is ‘one grown Penitent and Humble, as she afterwards pretends to be’ (Moll, Preface, p. 1). The narrating self does not completely distance herself from the experiencing self: the voice of pious repentance seems superimposed by the narrating self, the narration ‘laundered’, but not sincere.

Novak points out that it is normally possible to distinguish satirical picaresque novels from sincere spiritual autobiography. This distinction is now obviously under threat if

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94 Also in Moll, p. 22: ‘From this time [...] I may truly say, I was not myself’, p. 66, p. 193, p. 238, pp. 278–9, p. 281, p. 287, p. 327.
95 Also in her justification of the abandonment of her children on p. 177, and elsewhere.
97 Novak, ‘Sincerity’, p. 109. Novak delineates the ‘Bangorian Controversy’ in the early eighteenth century. The Bishop of Bangor, Benjamin Hoadly, wrote a series of sermons in favour of the Jacobite uprising of 1715, defending the Jacobites on the grounds of
a supposedly sincere repentance turns out to be undermined by its own insincerity, by the clash of picaresque and confessional elements. Moll herself invites doubt on the reliability of her narration by omitting a reliable account of her mother's conviction: 'The Circumstances are too long to repeat, and I have heard them related so many Ways, that I can scarce be certain, which is the right Account.' (Moll, p. 8) Moll's dissonant narration is no longer a clear sign of the character's reform as it is in narratives of reliable repentance like Augustine's, as it is now impossible to disentangle the different voices speaking cacophonically together. The reader has to take much greater care not to sympathise with the wrong state of the self, adventurous deviance and not enlightened piety.

It is important in this context that the 1723 adaptation of Moll Flanders notes this problem and attempts to solve it, which both takes place in the added elegy by 'the prime Wits of Trinity College in Dublin' summarising Moll's life after her demise:

But hold, deceased Moll we must not blame
Too much, for tho' she glory'd in her Shame,
Of being dextrous Thief, and arrant Whore,
Yet we some Pity for her must implore,
And give her deathless Memory some Praise,
In that she ended well her latter Days,
For of her num'rous Sins she did repent,
And dy'd a very hearty Penitent.

The elegy stresses that the narrating self is not necessarily free from sinfulness (like Augustine who was also still a sinner in his saintly later years), and might have even 'glory'd in her Shame'. At the same time, the third-person ending provides the ultimate affirmation of the penitence that the preface had questioned: reliability is reinstalled, at least for the numerous editions that adopt this convenient closure of the story of her life. Moll, in the adaptations of the eighteenth century, is rounded off in a manner resembling the ending of the Continuatio of Simplicissimus Teutsch, and once she is established as

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their sincerity, which he claimed is not measurable by another consciousness. These sermons led to a severe reprimand and attempted expulsion by the church authorities as well as to an intellectual dispute, in which the word 'sincerity' became increasingly controversial. See also Backscheider, p. 397 for Defoe's involvement in the controversy.

98 See also Stanzel, Theorie, p. 272 who notes that Moll Flanders lacks the attention to a chronological development of the psyche that he finds in later first-person narratives.

99 1723 adaptation, p. 188.

100 1723 adaptation, p. 189.
reliable and traditional penitent, Moll's development again conforms with the unambiguous type of the penitent sinner.

It has been frequently noted that Moll, in comparison to other characters in the early modern novels, is a 'highly individualised' narrator,\textsuperscript{101} even that she 'is a characteristic product of modern individualism',\textsuperscript{102} as she is in both social and economic terms a self-made woman. This, on the other hand, does not necessarily distinguish her from other picaresque characters such as Lazarillo,\textsuperscript{103} who like her mostly survive on the fringes of society. Richetti argues that 'modern individualism' finds an impressive representation in Moll. He sees her as one of

these unique or at least unpredictably individualised characters [in eighteenth-century narrative] who tend to be presented as such rather than as part of a traditional system of predetermined roles and functions in which understanding the repetition of perennial patterns is the key to moral and social knowledge.\textsuperscript{104}

Much can be said against this simplification, and it obviously does not take into account the pervasive influence of Christianity. Christian morality imposes on Moll the same 'predetermined role and function' in relation to salvation as on heroes of earlier novels.

This also becomes obvious in the early eighteenth-century attempts to round off her character: these attempts by no means individualise the character, but turn Moll into a traditional type, the penitent sinner. The psychological development of the character is again made irrelevant by the dominant narrative of sinning — conversion — penitence. Furthermore, even the most striking heroine of the new novel, Pamela Andrews, clearly relies on a socially and thus externally determined value system and not just on her individual moral judgement when she defends her virtue from the lecherous attacks of Squire B. While Francion certainly 'repeats the perennial pattern' by realising the inherent nobility of his nature, spiritual conversion already enables Augustine and Lucius to move away from their social class. On the other hand, the early modern characters of low ori-

\textsuperscript{101} Bjornson, p. 188.
\textsuperscript{102} Watt, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{103} Watt tries to distinguish between picaresque heroes ('he is not so much a complete individual personality whose actual life experiences are significant in themselves for the presentation of a variety of satiric observations and comic episodes') and Defoe's heroes ('ordinary people who are normal products of their environment', Watt, p. 94). His distinction seems doubtful in the light of the early modern spiritual individuals, present in spiritual autobiography and picaresque novels such as \textit{Simplicissimus Teutsch} that incorporate this element.
\textsuperscript{104} Richetti, 'Novel and Society', pp. 49-50.
gin, such as Lazarillo and the bastard Courasche could not achieve the social acceptance of a character such as Moll in her final, rich years. This is clearly an acknowledgement of social changes that enabled new upstart classes to gain social respectability in a new capitalist world, even though this respectability is not only related to financial success, but also to spiritual wholesomeness.

5.6. Conclusion

It has become clear how the generation of character in the early modern novel relates to the contemporary theories of character. Again, an important assumption of this study was confirmed by the perpetuation of the old, outdated system of four bodily fluids dominating types of humans and their main phases of life (or for that matter, a similar concept of seven ages of man dominated by the planets, related to the ages of the world). While these universal concepts appeared in Garzoni's *Piazza Universale* at a time of unchallenged validity, Grimmelshausen's much later borrowing from his favourite source shows not only the great degree of indebtedness of early modern texts to other texts, but also the continuity of an obsolete concept. Early modern character still needed a stable psychological base from which it could define itself, but while cutting-edge science was already chipping away at the foundations of Galen's theory, the new psychological and philosophical definitions of character were not yet available.

The sometimes vague characterisation of heroes such as the satirical observer Lucius or the penitent saint Augustine was sometimes clarified by the early modern editors: frequently, frontispieces and illustrations give detailed depictions of the hero or heroine, for example of Lucius (Sieder's edition 1538), Augustine (Birckmann edition 1604 passim), Francion (Hackes' edition of 1668) and Moll in the abbreviated version of 1723. However, these depictions are frequently just stereotyped representations of character types, the metamorphosing human, the bishop, or the penitent thief. On the other hand, some texts of the early modern period use non-textual elements such as the frontispieces as a very conscious indicator of the content, as a metatextual emblematic addition guiding the reception of the work. In the following chapter, this metatextual guidance by the early modern editions will be analysed in relation to the morality of the texts.
6. Morality and Metatext

This emblem from the *Emblemata moralia* of Jakob von Bruck (1615) expresses a central problem of the early modern period: the ambiguity of uses. Ethically, spiritually and morally, all things can have a good or an evil application. This is not to say that the thing itself is ambiguous, but that the use made of the thing by men (or animals) of a different inclination varies according to this inclination. In the case of the flower, the same nourishment can be used for diametrically opposed products, sweet honey or deadly poison. The ambiguity of uses almost necessitates a binding definition of the nature of things, which in the case of texts leads to authoritative, binding interpretations. Augustine had already come up against this problem in his discussion of allegory, and it is at the heart of the poetological debate in the seventeenth century: Antoine Furetière stressed the necessity of authoritative commentary to guide the reader in his or her private reading, no longer publicly controlled as in the oral transmission of texts.

Furthermore, these commentaries frequently focus on the usefulness of reading: the widely translated and reprinted definition of the novel by Pierre Daniel Huet includes the important elements of 'plaisir & l'instruction', the Horatian *aut prodesse aut delectare*. Literature which was not directly edifying thus faced the problem of having to be (or at least appear) useful, and also of having to make this usefulness unambiguously clear to the reader. It is in satirical and picaresque texts such as Grimmelshausen’s *Wunderbarliches*

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1 Henkel, col. 303. The emblem is reproduced in Figure 20.
3 Bauer, *Romantheorie*, pp. 22-4. This is in Furetière’s *Le Roman Bourgeois* (1666).
A different use is made by different insects:
One collects a poisonous liquid; the other collects honey-comb.
How the inclination of each is, so does he operate: and one
thing has and takes diverse uses.'

The Latin subscriptio does not specify which these different insects are, but the
very commonplace allegorical image is supplemented by the spider and the bees
depicted in the pictura in most of the translations.

emblem of the usu diverso reappears to express what the reader can (i.e. should) learn
from the text:

CAP. XXII. | Wie es weiter gieng/ und was auß diesem Gesichte zu lernen. | Gleich wie die Bienen Honig / und die Spinnen Gifft auß den Blumen saugen/ also schöppfen auch die gute Menschen guts/ und die schimme böses auß den Büchern; Ein Buch kan so ärgerlich nicht seyn/ es wird ein frommer Mensch etwas
guts drauß lernen können/ und ein Buch wird so Gottselig nicht seyn/ darauf ein
verkehrter Mensch nichts nehmen könnte/ das ihm vermeintlich zu Besteifung
seines verkehrten Sinns nicht dienlich wäre; Sehen wir solches nicht an den
Ketzern/ welche zu Verthäigung ihres Irrsals auch die Göttliche Schrifft selbst
mißbrauchen? [WV II, p. 281]
A general truth about the moral ambiguity of reading is expressed by the 'bee and spider'-emblem. The emblem compares the different uses these insects (with their positive and negative connotations) make of the same nourishment to the different uses humans make of scripture. This in turn justifies the publication of 'low' literature, as the potential misuse, the potential pure delectation it might offer, matches the misuse of even the ultimate truth itself, the word of God. It can thus become an insurance of the author or the editor of the text against anticipated criticism.

The emblematic motif of the bee and the spider also appears in the anonymous translation Vertütschter Francion of 1662 in almost identical terms:

Aber gleich wie die Spinne aus eben der Blume ihr tödlich Gifft sauget / aus welcher die Biene ihren Honig nimmet / also wird auch ein jedweder nach seiner Art Nutzen und Schaden aus diesem Buche haben. Ein Ding sey so köstlich als es wolle / kommt ein böses Gemüthe drüber / so kan es nichts anders als Böses draus lernen: dieses sehen wir vornemlich aus der heiligen Schritff: welche ob sie wol nichts als lauter Göttlichkeit und ewige Weißheit in sich hat/ so wird sie doch nichts desto minder von den Ruchlosen dergestalt mißbrauchet / daß fast keine Ketzerey auff Erden ist/ die nicht ihre verdammlichsten und schädlichsten Lehren daraus zu beweisen sich bemühet / der Zaubereyen und Hexereyen / in welchen die Worte Göttlicher Schritff abscheulich angewendet werden/ zu geschweigen.

It would be rash to conclude a direct link between Grimmelshausen's novel and the German adaptation: the emblem is commonplace in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and was frequently used by, amongst others, Martin Luther.

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6 Vertütschter Francion, 'Anmerckung über das Erste Buch', fols A 1'-A 2'.

7 See the introduction of this study for the relationship of Grimmelshausen to this translation of Francion.

8 Martin Luther, Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe) (Weimar: Bohlau, 1883-), LVI (1938), 432-3: 'Ex eadem Mensa, eadem Scriptura sancta alius mortem, alius vitam, alius Mel, alius venenum capit, Sicut Ex eadem Rosa | flore | Araneus venenum et apis mel colligit.' Other uses by Luther e.g. Werke, 1 (1883), 512 and in German in the Auslegung schöner Sprüche: 'eine spinne aus der schönen lieblichen rosen vergift seuget, da doch das bienlein eitel süs honig aus seuget.' (Ph. Dietz, Wörterbuch zu Dr. Martin Luthers Deutschen Schriften, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1870-2; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), I, 301 'Bienlein'). I am indebted to Professor John Flood for this reference. See also Henkel, col. 302 (their translation from the Latin emblem of Hadriani Ivnii Medici of 1565): 'Verfälschung des Guten | Die gleiche Blüte fällt die Spinne mit todbringendem Saft und schenkt der Biene flüssigen Honig. Dasselbe Wort bringt Eintracht oder Streit hervor: die Heilige Schrift wird den Bösen zum Dolch, den Guten zum Schild.'
The *Verteütscher Francion* on the other hand moves the emblem into a clearly defined space before the text as such, into the 'Anmerckung über das Erste Buch', and then makes the application this has to the reading of the following picaresque text clear:

Alle Sachen haben zwey Handhaben/ eine lincke und eine rechte / eine nützliche und schädliche/ und ist Niemand/ als dem so solche erfasset / das Gute und Böse/ so er drauß hat/ zuzuschreiben.

The reader is alerted that it is essentially up to him to draw the right moral use from the text, but the 'Anmerckung' (as will be shown below) guides him very explicitly in this difficult process.

This is one of numerous instances in which a translation or even a re-edition of a book adds explicit moral statements to ambiguous fictional literature, but also to clearly edifying texts. The 'Kollektiv', to use Koschlig's term, soils the purity of the ingenious artist, later self-censorship adds metatextual statements on the borders of the text. The general distaste for this explicit moral didacticism led many modern editors to eliminate these additions, to purge the text of the (in their view) unnecessary morality. It is nevertheless of great interest and importance to analyse these additions exactly as they seem to confirm one of the fundamental assumptions of this study: texts change when they are transferred from one context to another, and also change the context through this transmission. Furthermore, narrative technique changes over time, not just through arbitrary alteration but also through changes in the conceptual historical framework. To bring this to an (admittedly oversimplified) point: a basic distrust in the reader in the

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9 *Verteütscher Francion*, fol. A 2v.
10 Koschlig, *Ingenium*, p. 12. For the later editions of Grimmelshausen’s works he deduces a ‘collectiv’ of adaptors who for financial reasons change the ‘original’ texts. For a discussion of these claims see below, footnote 152.
11 Béchade, p. 287 regrets the distorting process of re-editing the *Francion* as ‘autocensure’ by Sorel. He claims that the true Sorel can only be found in the first edition of 1623 (p. 293).
seventeenth century leads to an expansion of metatext. This then is no longer necessary when the novel rises in the eighteenth century: the reader is ‘emancipated’ from direct moral guidance.

I will now first attempt to clarify the different forms of addition to the text and then give an outline of views of morality in relation to literature in the period.

6.1. Foundations

a) Metatext

It has been commonly noted that the theory of romance and the novel emerged from the introductions to new texts and editions of ancient texts in the early modern period.\(^{13}\) These introductions form a theoretical framework, set before the texts, that enabled the readers to position the text in some form of historical continuity. This framework, which in the early modern period can include the normally very detailed title page, the common frontispieces or other preliminary material such as dedications and prefaces, clearly sets the horizon of expectation for the reader.\(^{14}\) It will thus be important to note any alterations to this framework, as it can radically shift the emphasis to a very different reception of the text. This is the case even if these alterations originate not from the original author, but from later editors or translators.

Within most first-person texts there is an alteration of the voices of the narrating and the experiencing self, and therefore an alteration of points of view. This alteration is commonly extended to include moral digression, mostly the older, wiser self moralising about his or her previous incarnation and the state of the world. The extent of these digressions varies greatly in first-person texts, from the omnipresence of digressions in spiritual texts such as the *Confessions* to shorter asides by the narrators of picaresque

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\(^{13}\) Doody, p. 244. Bauer, *Romanttheorie*, pp. 9 and 21 notes that the theory starts as an apology for ‘low’ novels.

novels. Some degree of morality is therefore present in most texts, even the comic novels of the seventeenth century. This can lead to clashes between the text and its borders, as for example in the case of an advertisement of a text as purely comic that contains some moralising elements or (more commonly) vice versa, of claims to morality on the title page that are then not fulfilled by the predominantly comic narration that follows it.

A common feature of early modern texts is the commentary, which can be shown to originate from the biblical midrash and the medieval manuscript culture of commenting upon and thereby clarifying an already existing text. The commentary in most of the scholarly editions of ancient texts (and the Bible) by humanists in the early sixteenth century becomes an outgrowth that in many cases exceeds the text itself by far. The commentary also increasingly becomes an explicit or implicit self-discussion of the text. This is precisely what Genette defines as ‘metatext’, text discussing text. This is a wider term than metafiction, which denotes a discussion of the fictionality of a text within it and that tends to cast doubt on the distinction of factual and fictional forms of writing, as for example in Tristam Shandy where the narrator constantly makes fun of his own digressive style. The sub-genre of metatext that Genette calls ‘paratextuality’ is the subject of this chapter: the ‘thresholds’ of the text, such as prefaces, chapter headings and additions to the text. What follows will only analyse the interesting phenomenon of metatextual paratexts, or to use more simple terms: moralising textual elements that comment upon the text on the boundaries of the text itself. This explicit, direct morality and even criticism of the text itself frequently clashes with the main first-person narration and even the value systems of the older, wiser narrating self.

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15 Kapp, p. 178 analyses this double perspective of the picaresque novel. See also Schweikle’s definition of ‘Exkurs’ (p. 143) who link this to antique rhetoric, the conscious digression from the main subject of the oration.
16 Kermode, Genesis, p. x analyses the stages of interpretation through narration and then through commentary, in the case of biblical exegesis called midrash, but also a common secular practise. Doody, p. 179 sees the hand-written annotations in medieval manuscripts as participatory reading. Other than the marginal glosses by readers ('GNÔ!'), there are already editorial commentaries at the beginnings of sections.
In what follows I will analyse the alterations and additions of chapter headings, of the boundaries of the text, and of the text itself. Chapter headings are the early modern form of chapter divisions, which tend to give a commented synopsis of the following narrative unit, mostly in the gnomic present tense and in the third person. The gnomic or timeless present tense is normally used to express generalisations rather than specific cases, and thus indicates a claim to general validity and authority, which is further supplemented by the position of the chapter heading, set clearly apart from the text itself. It is therefore distinct from the text itself and, as will be shown, frequently gives a very different synopsis of the action from that given by the first-person narrator in the text.

The most common form of additions to the boundaries of the text are the addition of new, or expansion of old prefaces, which frequently involve some form of editorial fiction: a fictional editor claims to have in some form or another got hold of an authentic manuscript and edited (i.e. purged) it, but at the same time blames the original 'author' for the manuscript's faults. This functions to authenticate the text as well as to protect the real author and printer from prosecution, a form of insurance that will be shown to be an important function of metatextual expansions of the text. Less frequent are alterations to the text itself, which in some cases lead to an extension of the moralising digressions mentioned above or to direct 'authorial intrusions'.

Two rhetorical forms in the metatextual addition will be analysed most closely: the form of exemplum and the applicatio. In the case of the exemplum, an abstract doctrine is linked to a concrete, singular case. In the case of first-person narration, this is frequently the exemplary narration of positive or negative life stories to transmit a general doctrine — or the retrospective stylisation of these life stories as such meaningful exempla. Another closely related form is the applicatio (Nutzanwendung or application) that ex-

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19 Cohn, p. 190; Stanzel, *Theorie*, p. 145.
20 Romberg, pp. 68–80.
22 See Schweikle, p. 141; Jöns, p. 234 and especially the definition by Trappen, *Menippische Satire*, p. 305 who lists the usage of the term 'Exempel' by Grimmelshausen and analyses what he calls the 'Exempelkapitel'.
plains how to draw the doctrine from the narration. This involves a move towards the reader, who is guided towards the appropriate interpretation of the narrative unit, and this guidance is often, but not always linked to the portrayal of the narrative unit as an exemplum.

All these metatextual additions intentionally or unintentionally contribute to an effect of alienation: the reader is jolted out of the realm of fiction by a different voice, authoritatively alerting him or her to the (im)morality of certain passages in a fairly patronising way. This patronising warning is not superfluous, though: at least the seventeenth century thinks it to be a prerequisite for effective narration.

b) Morality in Seventeenth-Century Literature

The common modern view is that any moralising digression by an author or narrator is basically tedious and belongs to the realms of edifying or didactic literature, but ruins the unity of a work of art. This was clearly not the case in the European context before the eighteenth century, where the moral function of any form of text, including fiction, was perceived as its main raison d'être. As has been shown above, already Augustine noted different possible (if not legitimate) ways of reading the same text, and the practise of midrash then aimed to narrow down these possibilities. Since the fathers of the church, the special status of the Bible in relation to meaning has been stressed: whereas all profane literature was only granted one level of meaning, holy scripture was held to have a further spiritual sense underneath (or rather: above) this. The common notion in the early modern period was that there is more than one level of meaning present, not just in scripture but in any text, that there is a hidden meaning beneath the surface level of words that needs to be extracted by theological and literary scholars. These levels of meaning were codified into a clear distinction between literal and spiritual senses of the text, and in the case of the spiritual senses into a system of three different levels of mean-

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23 Trappen, Menippeische Satire, pp. 38 and 307. Grimm define the Nutzanwendung as a didactical form, directed towards the use of the reader/listener: 'die anwendung einer sache (einer lehre, einer wahrheit) zu seinem nutzen, zur belehrung oder besserung' (VII, col. 1020).
ing: allegorical, moral and anagogical (directed towards salvation).

One of the earliest to distinguish this total number of four meanings was Dante who applied them to his *Divina Commedia*, i.e. literature, not just scripture, and his self-interpretation was repeated by numerous Renaissance writers and scholars. Luther then consciously refuted this underlying spiritual sense of scripture, brought out in the patristic and medieval commentaries that he saw as perverting the one, simple meaning: *unus simplex sensus* thus attacks all Catholic attempts to abstract other layers of meaning beyond this. However, the seventeenth-century Protestants were far more lenient (and inconsistent) when it comes to their approach to spiritual senses that they also found in profane literature in order to justify this form of writing: a surprising degree of exchange not only of texts, but also of commentaries on them can be found between supposedly hard-core Protestant publishers (such as Felslecker in Nuremberg) and Catholic writers (such as Grimmelshausen).

This interpretation of literature and the Bible as having more than just a literal sense then clashed directly with the English Puritans’ attempts at a ‘plain style’ in preaching and writing, that is totally unambiguous and eliminates any figurative language. As will be shown, this has important implications for the uses of literature in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but it is important to note that at least for the European heartland during the seventeenth century there was more than one layer of meaning present in a text.

Literature furthermore had to be pragmatically useful (a common charge is the waste of time committed by not applying oneself to spiritual purposes), and this even more so as there is constant temptation, a constant danger not only to life, but also to salvation. This claim to usefulness extends even to non-literary, pragmatic forms of text such as historical writing which also have to show their applicability, but is most present in the

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26 For the four levels of meaning or ‘Lehre des vierfachen Schriftsinnes’, see Doody, p. 185; Feldges, pp. 7 and 187; and Ohly, p. 17, who quotes the mnemonic for these four senses: ‘Littera gesta docet, quid credus allegoria, | Moralis quid ages?, quod tendus anagogia.’

27 Ohly, p. 3; Feldges, p. 8.

28 This linguistic upheaval is mentioned by, amongst others, Davis, p. 80 and Fleishman, p. 78.


30 Davis, p. 69; Vosskamp, *Untersuchungen zur Zeit- und Geschichtsauffassung*, pp. 35-47.
edifying literature\textsuperscript{31} that in fact outsells any purely fictional endeavours of the century by far.\textsuperscript{32} Here, the form of the \textit{exemplum virtutis} dominates, one of the forms of \textit{exemplum} mentioned above that stresses the importance of imitating positive figures, in ideal cases obviously the \textit{Imitatio Christi} which was present throughout the period in the text of Thomas à Kempis that was to be continuously reprinted well into the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{33} Even though this edifying literature focuses on the useful application of text to life, it still relies on this method of graphic presentation, on the use of entertaining elements to transmit the abstract doctrine.\textsuperscript{34} The homiletic stages of \textit{propositio}, \textit{explicatio} and \textit{applicatio} are thus frequently transformed into a narrative sequence that can even include comical segments in the \textit{explicatio}.\textsuperscript{35} Edifying literature is not necessarily confessionally binding: numerous instances of cross-usages and influences have been documented, and also the use of edifying elements in literary texts is not bound to just one confession.\textsuperscript{36}

Edification can be achieved not only by reading directly didactic works, but also through the application of literary works to edifying uses. The use of the quotation from Horace's \textit{Ad pisones} was commonplace in the period to express the combination of \textit{prodesse et delectare}, of \textit{utile dulci} and thus to stress the edifying (or at least educating) purpose of literature as such. The important formulations that were repeated and varied endlessly are ‘Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae | aut simul et iucunda et idonea

\begin{itemize}
\item Schwei\textsuperscript{31}kle, p. 135 define the German term as follows: ‘\textit{Im engeren Sinne wird als E[rbauungsliteratur] jenes Schrifttum bez[eichnet, welches das individuelle relig[iöse] Empfinden anspricht, zu prakt[i schem] Christentum anleitet und in faß[icher] Form theolog[i sch]-dogmat[i sche] Lehre vermittelt.’ [their emphasis] It is nevertheless not possible to distinguish edifying, educating and entertaining elements of texts, as the first two are ends, the latter the means of the same aim. Wolfgang Brückner, ‘Thesen zur literarischen Struktur des sogenannten Erbaulichen’, in \textit{Literatur und Volk im 17. Jahrhundert: Probleme populärer Kultur in Deutschland}, ed. by Wolfgang Brückner, Peter Blickle and Dieter Breuer, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 13, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), II, 499-507 (p. 504).
\item Trappen, \textit{Menippeische Satire}, pp. 353-8; Schwei\textsuperscript{31}kle, p. 135; Hunter, \textit{Before Novels}, gives the astonishing number of fifty-nine editions published before 1734 for a didactical work by Bayle. A high print run meant a reduction of the price and therefore an even wider distribution of copies (see Houston, p. 185).
\item Brückner, p. 501.
\item Brückner, p. 501. The entertaining aim is frequently discussed in homiletic theory, e.g. the use of the so-called ‘Oster-Mär’ in preaching.
\item Brückner, pp. 502-3.
\item Stefan Trappen, ‘Konfessionalität, Erbauung und konfessionell gebundene Traditionen bei Grimmelshausen’, \textit{Simpliciana}, 18 (1996), 53-73 (p. 56); Brückner, p. 503; Schwei\textsuperscript{31}kle, p. 135.
\end{itemize}
dicere vitae', and 'omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci, | lectorem delectando
pariterque monendo.'\(^{37}\) Horace was commonly taught in the school curriculum; a famili­
arity with him can be presupposed in the period.\(^{38}\)

The ethical purpose was frequently expressed in medical metaphors such as the com­
parison of literature to a bitter pill or potion, coated with sugar to make it easily swal­
lowable:

Man weiß wol/ wie ungern die Patienten die bittere/ ob gleich heylsame Pillulen
verschlucken/ dahingegen aber die übergüldte oder verzuckerte leicht zu sich
nehmen/ deßwegen hat er auch den vorsichtigen Aerzten nachgeöhmt/ und seiner
straffenden Schriften scharpfe Bitterkeit dergestalt versüset/ daß sie etliche
unbolirte bey nahe vor keine heylsame Artzney/ sondern vielmehr vor ungesund
Schleckwerck geniessen [...] [WVII, Vorrede, p. 149].

Here, the medical metaphor of a bitter pill cunningly tricked down the patient’s throat is
linked to the corrective abilities of a specific genre, satire, but the motif (dating back to
Lucretius)\(^{39}\) is commonplace and applied to diverse literary forms. The similarity of early
modern novelistic writing and satire nevertheless brings the metaphor to the forefront in
both of these genres. It is not always possible to distinguish them clearly: as Trappen has

\(^{37}\) Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical
Library (London: Heinemann, 1978), *Ars Poetica*, p. 478, ll. 333-47. 'Poets aim either to
benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once pleasing and helpful to life', p. 479, ll.
333-4 and 'He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once
delighting and instructing the reader', ll. 343-4.

\(^{38}\) Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 109. See also the school curricula of the time.

\(^{39}\) In the first book of the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius writes: 'sed veluti pueris absinthia
taetra medentes | cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum | contingunt melli dulci
flavoque liquore [...] | sic ego nunc, quoniam haec ratio plerumque videtur| tristior esse
quibus non est tractata, retroque | volgus abhorret ab hac, volui tibi suaviloquenti| car­
mine Pierio rationem exponere nostram | et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle [...]'
('but as with children, when physicians try to administer rank wormwood, they first
touch the rims about the cups with the sweet yellow fluid of honey [...] so now do I: since
this doctrine commonly seems somewhat harsh to those who have not used it, and the
people shrink back from it, I have chosen to set forth my doctrine to you in sweet-speak­
by Martin Ferguson Smith, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Koschlig, *Ingenium*, p. 81 interprets the use of the motif by Sorel and Grimmelshausen as
a proof for an intertextual relationship, but it has since been generally accepted that the
motif is very commonplace. Valentin, *Roman Comique*, p. 14; Trappen, *Menippeische Sat­
tre*, pp. 79 and 101 for the usage by Schupp; Elkin, p. 74 on Dryden’s usage; and to name
just one occurrence, the poetics of Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, *De Poeta*, ed. by
Bernhard Fabian, Poetiken des Cinquecento, 5 (München: Fink, 1970) from 1559 uses it
shown admirably, the two forms of the picaresque novel and especially Menippean satire overlapped to a great extent in the seventeenth century.\(^\text{40}\) Obviously, the necessity to prove an ethical aim is essential in satirical forms of writing, which to a greater or lesser extent aim at exposing vice and commending virtue.\(^\text{41}\) This positive ethical purpose is in many ways similar to the aims of a preacher, attempting to persuade the audience to accept his moral world view and to move the audience to criticism of negative moral behaviour through an emotional response.\(^\text{42}\) Satire also uses the Horatian definition of *utile dulci*, but adds the dimension of *ridendo dicere verum*, the strong focus on the truth that is said in a laughing manner.\(^\text{43}\) This positive ethical aim of exposing vice and thus promoting truth was frequently attacked in the seventeenth century from diverse sides. The common denominator of the attack is a criticism of the moral appropriateness of the satirist himself to expose vice,\(^\text{44}\) which in fact seems justified in a time of patronage and religious and political factions. The seventeenth century used satire as a common weapon and with a blissfully blurred theoretical perspective.\(^\text{45}\) Trappen traces the opposing views of satire as a mode and satire as a genre back to Casaubon,\(^\text{46}\) and it has been commonly noted that it is only in this period that the etymological myth of the derivation of satire from the *satyrus*, a wild and immodest forest god, is finally discarded for the more accurate derivation from *satura*.\(^\text{47}\) However, this was a very gradual process: Moscherosch, to cite only one of many, still used the old etymology when he wrote in 1650:

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Darumb so wisse/ das wort Satyrisch komme her vom Lateinischen Satyricus, Satyra, welches (viel andere den Gelehrten bekandte vermeynte bedeütunge hie zu geschweigen) eigentlich ist / Ein Lied / Eine solche rede ; da man zu geniigen alles
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\(^{40}\) Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 118 on the common humanist distinction of Roman verse satire, satyr play and the Menippean satire which he (p. 316) defines as indirect criticism, using the forms of poetry and prose indiscriminately (*prosimetrum*). See also Elkin, pp. 36–7 and Zedler’s definition of Menippean satire, XXXIV (1742), col. 236.

\(^{41}\) This again is commonplace in the theory of satire. Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, pp. 93–4; Elkin, p. 73; Stevens, ‘Grimmelshausen’, p. 18.


\(^{44}\) Elkin, pp. 44–89 for the attack and *Augustan Defence of Satire*; also Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 97.

\(^{45}\) Elkin, pp. 5 and 11.

\(^{46}\) Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 114. Casaubon distinguishes the Greek *satyrice*, which he links to the satyr-play, from the Roman *satira*, based on the *exodium*, and thus tries to refute Scaliger’s claim that satire is of Greek origin.

\(^{47}\) Elkin, pp. 26–43 who notes that even a new English spelling is proposed: ‘satire’, not ‘satyr’; Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 112. Feldges, p. 146 misinterprets the etymology to denote a ‘wild man’, which he links to ‘unadulterated human nature’.
The satyr is thus not necessarily a positive figure (his devilish immorality and voracious sexual appetite was frequently noted) but he was nevertheless admired for being able to express unrestricted moral truth without consideration for his personal freedom, which obviously was an utopian ideal for satirists who could still end up in the pillory (as happened to Defoe). The satyr frequently reappears in one important element of the interpretative frame of the texts, 'auff dem Titul [...] im Kupferstück getruckt', on the frontispieces of satirical and comic novels of the time that thereby clearly guide the expectations of the (potential) reader. Frontispieces have been called by Harsdörffer an 'Obersinnbild', a form of meta-emblem taking over the function of an extended title page, and commonly containing numerous iconographic elements that need to be decoded by the reader. It is nevertheless misleading to call the frontispiece itself an emblem: this is, strictly speaking, a narrowly defined form (inscriptio, pictura, subscriptio), present throughout the century in numerous emblem books. The satyr on the fronti-

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spiece functions to indicate the ethical, truthful, but also critical content of the work behind it, a motif that commonly appears in the pictorial element of masks that the satyr/satire rips from the face of the world, or (in an illustration of the Grimmelshausen Gesamtausgabe of 1683) by the revelation of truth by a satyr drawing back the curtain from the ‘truthful’ writings of the author (Figure 21). A further common motif is present in another illustration where a satyr holds up the mirror to the Satyrischer Pilgram, but this mirror in fact reflects the world with a fool’s cap on (Figure 22).

English and German theory tended to be uneasy about satire,\textsuperscript{50} tended to note its harmful potential, but also to stress its possibility of acting as a moral guardian against vices that cannot be prosecuted under the usual legal system. There is a twofold element present here: the corrective exposure of the wicked, but also the presumption on the side of the satirist, comparing himself to God. The dual nature of satire is best brought out by the satirist Alexander Pope:

\textsuperscript{50} Stevens, ‘Grimmelshausen’, p. 17.

Figure 22: Illustration of Satyrischer Pilgram II, 3: ‘Von der Liebe’ in Grimmelshausen (C), Der Aus dem Grab der Vergessenheit wieder erstandene SIMPLICISSIMI [...] (1699), III, facing p. 70. The subscriptio reads: ‘Bespiegle dich O Welt in dir | Dis Bild stellt deinen Wandel für | Ich heuchle nicht, das glaube mir.’
Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me:
Safe from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Throne,
Yet touch'd and sham'd by Ridicule alone.\(^{51}\)

Picaresque novels could thus claim to use one of two morally valid ways of writing by using satire — the other would have been the mode of panegyric, in the form of the praise of virtue.\(^{52}\) By portraying the world in a low, satirical way and exposing worldly vices, picaresque novels could claim to paint a realistic picture of the world and at the same time to participate in rectifying this world. It has been noted that the Horatian claim of *prodesse et delectare* thereby became a set phrase, almost necessary in every poetological statement on the borders of a text, a ‘common escape hatch’ for the author and publisher, an ‘exemplary alibi’,\(^{53}\) but in many cases this aim of edifying as well as entertaining has to be taken seriously. This is certainly the case in the common and widespread use of the *applicatio*, in new texts such as Grimmelshausen’s *Simplicissimus*\(^ {54}\) as well as in Spanish picaresque texts (Ubeda and his Italian and German adaptors use it in the *Picara Justina*),\(^ {55}\) by German translators of the Counter-Reformation (Albertinus in

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\(^{52}\) Elkin, p. 73. Unfortunately, panegyric was frequently used in the period for the praise of not very virtuous people.

\(^{53}\) Doody, p. 232; similar stresses of the ‘insurance’ function of the Horace quotation in Žmegas, p. 25 and Valentin, ‘Roman Comique’, p. 39. Romberg, p. 80 notes the same function for the editorial fiction discussed above, and Hunter, *Before Novels*, p. 235 the one of didacticism as a ‘fire insurance for eternity’.

\(^{54}\) Feldges, p. 20 interprets the end of the ‘Scheermesser’ episode in the *Continuatio* as an *applicatio*. It has to be noted that this *applicatio* is only by Simplicissimus to the Scheermesser and vice versa, not to the reader. It is therefore more appropriate to see this as a moral application without the characteristic move to the reader (*ST, Continuatio*, XII, pp. 521-2).

\(^{55}\) The Spanish text of Francisco López de Úbeda, *La Picara Justina*, ed. by Bruno Mario Damiani, studia humanitatis (Madrid: Turanzas, 1982) has an ‘APROVECHAMIENTO’ added after some chapters, e.g. in the ‘Introducción General’, Numero Primero, pp. 62-3. This text also uses summarising verses before the chapters, a form that reappears in the *Gesamtausgabe* of Grimmelshausen’s works. The anonymous German adaptation *Der Landstürzterin JUSTINAE DIETZIN PICARÆ II. Theil [...]* (Franckfurt am Main: Caspar Rötel, 1627) includes a ‘Lehr und Erinnerung’ after most chapters, in particular at the end of XV, p. 603 the *applicatio* of the entire text.
his *Gusman* adaptation)\(^{56}\) and also by the very widespread form of the moral emblem books,\(^{57}\) some of which have been cited above. Edifying aims are therefore not clearly distinguishable from elements of satirical and/or comic writing of the time, but form some sort of unstable unity. It will be the task of the following analysis to show that these edifying aims cannot be enough in the writings of the period, which leads to the curious case of the continuous expansion of text by metatext. As text could be put to diverse uses, the one right application had to be clarified in a context that was apparently more interested in the edifying *prodesse* of all narrative fiction than in its (potentially entertaining) content.

6.2. 'A Figure of Man's Life' and the 'Usus' of Another Life: Apuleius and Augustine

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the two archetypal forms of first-person narration that are present in the early modern period vary greatly: the *Golden Ass* is primarily an episodic narration, dominated by the perspective of the inquisitive experiencing self. Lucius undergoes two transformations while continually reporting the vices of his environment, and also a series of intercalated narrations that could be described as an ancient form of 'sex and crime'. Augustine's *Confessions*, on the other hand, are strongly unified from the protean perspective of the narrating self, renouncing his previous self and permanently addressing the 'ideal reader', God. It would nevertheless be too simplistic to distinguish a type of immoral satirical narration from the moral narration of the saint: especially in the Renaissance, the boundaries of the texts blur, and, as will be shown, both books acquire a moral status that is even greater than the moral potential of the texts themselves.

\(^{56}\) Valentin, *Roman Comique*, p. 9 analyses these Counter-Reformatory elements in *Gusman*. On Albertinus see also Van Gemert, p. 93 and Valentin, 'Albertinus und Sorel', p. 149, who speaks of a 'totale Christianisierung' in the adaptation.

\(^{57}\) See Abraham a Sancta Clara who uses spiritual emblems drawn from Augustine and then includes a *narratio* and an *applicatio* after the emblems as such. Also some editions of Alciatus (for example *EMBLEMATA* [...], ed. Claudius Minoem (Antverpiae: Balthasarem Moretum, 1622)) that add the ‘explications’ of the emblems at the end of the text, and for example the edition *EMBLEMATA* [...], ed. Claudius Minoem (Antverpiae: Verdussen, 1692) that shifts these applications to a position straight after the individual emblems.
Apuleius's narrator is fairly conscious of narrating (erzähltbewusst) and frequently addresses the reader. The beginning of the text itself is clearly metafictional, discussing the task the narrator sets out to perform:

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benivolatas lepido susurro permulceam, modo si papyrum Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris. Exordior. Quis ille? [GA, I, 1, 1, 2]

The introduction then describes the ancient heritage of the narrator. This metafictional introductory section discusses the style of narration, even the genre (Milesian tales), but does not stress any sort of satirical aim or any moral edification that might come with it: the reader will be amazed at the 'figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas', but not necessarily edified by them. The other mediating intrusions of the somewhat older, potentially wiser self also only concern the content, the story of what is narrated or left out, and do not question the actions of the ass with a human consciousness. This is also the case for comments on the explicit sexual activities that are presented throughout the text: Lucius's 'vastum genitale' literally dominates him, as well as his predominant curiosity. These sexual elements are also present in the frequent intercalated narrations. It is in these narratives and in some of the observations of the inquisitive ass that the moral element of the text becomes apparent: the hidden spectator comments upon the actions he observes, and sometimes directly labels the actors as either good or evil. This then adds the implicit satirical layer to the text: the hidden observer, unsuspected of having

58 'But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style of yours, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper, if only you will not begrudge looking at Egyptian papyrus inscribed with the sharpness of a reed from Nile, so that you may be amazed at men's forms and fortunes transformed into other shapes and then restored again in an interwoven knot. I begin my prologue. Who am I? GA, I, 1, 1, 3.

59 Doody, p. 110 defines the 'Milesian tale' as a short, funny story with bawdy and (mock-) supernatural elements that ends with a twist. See also Beroaldo's commentary on the 'Milesia fabulae' in Metamorphoses (1500), fol. 3'.

60 GA, X, 22, II, 256. Other occurrences of explicit, unproblematic sexual activity can be found especially in book II, but also throughout the novel. Sexuality becomes problematic when it is 'unnatural', homosexual: 'illicitae libidinis extrema flagitia' VIII, 29, II, 116, and also when it is supposed to become a public act (of punishment) between the ass and an evil woman in X, 34 (he flees to avoid an act he nevertheless willingly performed in privacy in chapters 20–22 of the same book).

61 GA, book V, chapters 11–12; V, 21; VII, 10–12; VIII, 5; IX, 10; IX, 14; IX, 35; IX, 38; X, 4–5; X, 26.
more than an asinine brain, satirises the actions of his environment and at least in one instance is instrumental in uncovering an immoral act: Lucius steps on the adulterer's fingers which makes him jump from underneath the tub in the baker's wife episode, GA, IX, 27. Trappen stresses the similarity of Menippean satires such as the Golden Ass to the emerging picaresque narration in early modern Europe: the satire is mostly implicit, Lucius hardly ever directly satirises characters such as the eunuch priests in IX, 8 and the arrogant soldier in IX, 39.

As the narration is generally consonant, there is no significant cognitive distance between the younger and the older self. This only changes in the religious book XI. The retransformation of Lucius into human form does not include a return to his previous, sexually promiscuous ways but an initiation into the Isis and Osiris cult. This is the only instance in the text where a direct moral voice is used on Lucius himself, and it is significant for the structure of the text that this voice does not originate from the older, wiser Lucius, but from the priest who initiates him:

Nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, vel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit, sed lubrico virentis aetatulae ad serviles delapsus voluptates, curiositatis improsperae sinistrum praemium reportasti. Sed utcumque Fortunae caecitas, dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam beatitudinem improvida produxit malitia. [GA, XI, 15, II, 318-20]

This is the interpretation of Lucius's transformation that was the kernel of the critical debate in the early modern commentaries of the text.

It is first important to note that the original text does not have metatextual elements. No longwinded title page can provide a moral exegesis of the text, and there are also no chapter headings that could infuse at least some form of authoritative voice into the text. The text is thus left completely on its own to provide meaning, which the editors and commentators all strove to 'remedy'.

The early modern editors were especially puzzled at what to make of the narrative situation of the text: the metafictional introduction, cited above, starts the narration very

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62 Trappen, Menippeische Satire, p. 238.
63 'Not your birth, nor even your position, nor even your fine education has been of any help whatever to you; but on the slippery path of headstrong youth you plunged into slavish pleasures and reaped the perverse reward of your ill-starred curiosity. Nevertheless the blindness of Fortune, while torturing you with the worst of perils, has brought you in its random wickedness to this holy state of happiness.' (GA, XI, 15, II, 319-21)
abruptly and while providing a short autobiographical framework, it never clarifies the distance in space and in age of the narrator to the events he narrates. This has been noted and interpreted ever since the first printed edition by Ioannes Andreae in 1469 and especially by Beroaldo in 1500: Beroaldo added a detailed commentary to the text that explains not just the meanings of dark words, but also the content, the story of the narrative. The commentary, flowing around the text and exceeding the text by far, thus provides a metatextual exegesis of the text on the boundary of the text, in this case on the same page (see Figure 23). The common features of the humanists' scholarly editions such as printed marginal references, an index, a vita of the author and a preface are all present, but Beroaldo also attempted to abstract a unified literal sense from the text: the 'Ad Lectorem' summarises the plot before the text, short synopses precede the chapters. The commentary also attempts to solve the cryptic narrative situation of the metafictional introduction:


Lucius, addressing his son Faustino or the reader, became a standard feature in the later editions and translations that were mostly based on Beroaldo's edition (or on other editions and translations based on it). The metafictional introduction was frequently set apart from the text itself, sometimes even typographically and formally, by transferring it into verse, probably based on Beroaldo's interpretation of this as a two-part iambic epigram. The interpretation of the beginning as an address to his son or the reader, which is in Beroaldo's edition part of the commentary, clearly could not remain in this posi-

64 'As if in the middle of a literary discussion', Hanson's footnote, GA, p. 2. Doody, p. 113 stresses the performance aspect of this, recreating a turn from spoken to written.

65 This is a common feature, present also in other editions of ancient satirical works; see Persius, AVLI FLACCI Persii. Satyrographi Clarissimi opus [...], ed. by Joanne Baptista Plautio (Venetiis: Bernardini de Vianis, 1520) and also Juvenal, Opera (Venetia: Simon Papiensis, [1490 (?)]).

66 Metamorphoses (1500), fol. 3'. 'The light literary work of the Golden Ass is introduced playfully by a two-part epigram in iambic rhythm in which he addresses in an urging mode his son Faustino or the reader with what he will relate in the whole work. On the other hand, he tries to incite the aptness of learning and collect the attention [of the reader].'

67 This happens in the Latin editions of 1533, 1621 and 1650, and also in the Italian translation by Viziani (1612).
Figure 23: Beginning of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (1500), fol. 3' and Beroaldo's surrounding commentary (90% original size).
tion in non-scholarly editions and translations that did not include a commentary. The German translation by Johann Sieder thus moved the section to the heading of book I:

Volget das erste buch Lucii Apuleij Maudarensis [sic] von dem guldin esel/ schön/ lustig/ kürgweilig [sic] und auch nutze zu lesen/ an seinè sone Faustinû oder an den gutwilligen leser mit freuden geschriben.68

Not only is the book useful to read for the author’s son, but also for the well-disposed reader. The English edition transformed Beroaldo’s completion into an (extended) preface,69 set again as a poem. It becomes obvious that the metatext from the commentary on the border of the text wanders into the text, into clearly defined metatextual forms inserted into the text itself.

This addition of metatext to the original text was common in the early modern editions of Apuleius. Only the Latin edition of 1650 included a satyr frontispiece; the many other illustrated editions (Latin 1516, Italian 1518, French 1558, German 1538) that do have frontispieces frequently show depictions of the initial transformation into the ass and the resulting mixed state of ass’s head and human lower body. While the ‘Obersinnbild’ is thus focused more on the miraculous and fascinating transformation of a human into a beast than on the satirical elements of the text, other metatextual additions focus less on the literal than on the spiritual sense of this transformation: some

68 Sieder’s translation of Apuleius, Ain schön lieblich, fol. 1’. The synopsis of the first book, before this chapter heading, ends with a translation of Beroaldo’s attempt to find meaning in the metafictional introduction: ‘solches buche hat er zum eingang vor her gesandt/ das etwas zum verstandt der folgenden bûcher vileicht thon möchte [etc].’ The edition then provides a printed marginal to indicate the metafictional content of the section: ‘Apuleius wie ein Rhetor/ braucht vil figurè im reden’, before indicating on fol. 1 the beginning of the ‘Narratio’.

That I to thee some ioyous iestes, may show in gentle glose:
And frakly feede thy bëdedeares, with pasing pleasût prose.
So that thou daine in seemly sorte, this wáton booke to view
That is set out and garnisht fine, with written phrases newe.
I will declare how one by happe, his human figure lost,
And how in brutishe formed shape, his lothed life he tost:
And how he was in course of time, from such estate vnfold.
Who oft soones turnd to pristine shape, his lot unlucky told.

What and who he was, attend a while and you shall understand, that it was euen I, the writer of mine owne Metamorphosie, & strangue alteration of figure.’ Now follows the autobiographical sketch and text.
editions and translations restricted themselves to adding only chapter headings and printed marginal notes to the text, other more scholarly ones expanded the commentary. Frequently, the Horatian formula of prodesse et delectare appears in some form or another in the metatextual framework and thus sets the interpretative frame for the reader to expect a useful satirical narrative, for example in the title of the re-edition of Sieder's translation (1605): 'Sehr liebliches/ kurtzweiliges künstliches und nützliches Gedicht [...]. Other editors bowdlerised the text and purged it of some of the unproblematic acts of sexuality analysed above (Vizani's Italian translation (1612) stresses in the title 'da motti dishonesti purgato'), or at least left these parts untranslated to defuse the elements of the text viewed as immoral: 'So hab auch ich/ weß on schamróte nit mag gelesen werden vnuerteutsch in der federn gelassen/ damit sich niemand darab [sic] möcht ergern.' (Sieder's preface to Apuleius, Ain schon lieblich, fol. aiii). However, the most important feature of many editions is the metatextual spiritual reading of the text: moral intentions of the author are deduced from the text and the character is interpreted as an allegorical exemplum:

Scriptoris intentio atq\[ue\] consilium. [...] Ita ut dicere possimus iuuenes illicio uoluptatum possessos/ in Asinos transmutari/ mox senescentes/ oculo mentis uigente/ maturescentibus\[ue\] uirtutibus exuta bruti effigie humanam resumere/ [...]  

70 For example the French editions of 1558, 1612, 1623 and 1633; the English editions of 1566 passim, and the German editions of 1538 and 1605.  
71 In the English editions of 1566 passim and in the German editions of 1538 and 1605, the former of which has both Latin and German marginals.  
72 The French edition L'ASNE D'OR of 1612 states in the title: 'ILLVSTRE DE COM- MENtaires apposez au bout de chasque liure, qui facilitent l'intention de l'Auteur' and adds the commentaries after each book; the later re-editions of this (1623 and 1633) separate the commentary from the text by setting it into a separate second volume.  
73 Also in the first edition of Apuleius, Ain schö\n lieblich in the translator's preface: 'als bald der leser verstendiget müge weder/ wie kurtzweilig/ lieblich/ vnd auch nutzlich diß lesen sein werde' (fol. a iv').  
74 'The intention and also the plan of the writer. [...] As we can say that youths who possess illicit luts are transformed into asses, in the same way old people, by virtue of the flourishing mental power [literally: eye of the mind] cast off the vulgar appearance and recover the human mask.' Metamorphoses (1500), fol. 2'. The text has been interpreted since the first printed editions as a parable, see the introduction by Ioannes Andreae in Apuleius, Opera (Rome: Petrus de Maximo, 1469), fols 3'-3'. See also Doody, p. 117 who stresses that the source of the ass's pain is thus his carnal, male sexuality; also Sandy, p. 245.
The interpretation is universally applicable to youthful amorous fools and wise old men and women, and furthermore helps to solve the unrealistic element of the text, the metamorphosis of a man into an ass that is allegorised and generalised. This interpretation by Beroaldo distinguishes a carnal section of the text from later religious purity, thereby implying a conversion story, and also an overlay of the literal sense of the story with the allegorical carnal meaning, generally applicable to all readers alike. This interpretation was repeated frequently in the editions, in various places of the metatextual framework:

And in this fable or feigned ieste of Lucius Apuleius is comprehended a figure of mans [sic] life, ministringe moste sweete and de-lectable [sic] matter, to such as shalbe [sic] desirous to Reade the same.\(^7\)

This spiritual reading of an essentially satirical novel is present in almost all translations of the text into the European languages, into English, German, French and also Spanish, the latter of which might have had a direct impact on the birth of the Spanish picaresque in the 1550s.\(^6\) The ambiguity of a text without direct morality, containing indirect, Menippean satire was thus defused by the metatextual expansion of the text: it can be received without any moral and censorial qualms. It can be read spiritually as an example of a general moral truth about man's life.

It is obvious that this is not necessary in the case of the other archetype of first-person narration in the period, the Confessions: the text itself is clearly intent on edifying the reader. Again, the original text passed down in manuscript form to the editio prima of 1470 does not have any metatextual elements. The narrator is even more conscious of his

\(^7\) Adlington's preface to The .xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse, fol. *ij*.\(^7\)

\(^6\) The title of Sieder's German translation (Apuleius, Ain schön lieblich) stresses: 'darinnen geleret/ wie menschliche Natur so gar blöd/ schwach/ und verderbet/ das sy beweilen gar vibisch/ vnuerstandig und fleischlich/ on verstand dahin lebet/ gleich wie die Pferdt und Manl/ wie Davud sagt/ auch herunderum sich möge auf Gottes beystand erbolen/ on auf einem Mensch werden/ Gott gefellig/ aufrecht und verstendig'. The French translation LUCius Apulei' de Lasne dore gives on fol. II' the applicatio: 'Nous sommes faictz asnes perdant la forme dhomme quant par voluptez brutalles / pechez/ et folies a la simillitude dung asne nous brutons.' Louueau's later French translation LVC. APVLEE DE L'AUNE DORE XI. LIVRES stresses in the dedication on fol. a 3' the edifying abilities of the text, 'Tant ia que son [Apuleius's] intention & vray but semble tirer à nostre doctrine & reformation de vie [...']. The re-edition of 1586 adds a 'sonnet d v tradvctevr' which offers a moral applicatio, e.g. lines 7-9: 'Lisez. lisez en ceste œuure amoureuse, | Pour mieux cognoistre, & beautez & bontez. ' (fol. a vii'). The Spanish translation of 1539 passim also provides a metatextual reading of the novel, here set after the text itself on fol. lxvij'.
task than Lucius; the perspective of the narrating self dominates the text in his meditations on his God, religion and morality. This already indicates an important feature of this form of first-person narration: the element of moral digression, present in all picaresque novels, here clearly dominates the text. Moral digression is a constant feature of the text, and the narration of episodes experienced by the younger self is always related to the moralising view of the older self. The text thus becomes an exemplary narration of a life, an *exemplum* of evil youth (for example the pear tree episode analysed above) and its conversion in order to give the reader an example for imitation. The *applicatio* is sometimes stressed directly in the text:

\[
\text{Si placet corpora, deum ex illis lauda et in artificem eorum retorque amorem, ne in his que tibi placent tu dispecias. si placent animae, in deo amentur, quia et ipsae mutabiles sunt et in illo fixae stabiliuntur: alioquin irent et perirent. in illo ergo amentur, et rape ad eum tecum quas potes [...].} \text{[Confessiones, IV, 12, p. 40]}\]

The narrator moves away from his usual addressee, God, to guide the reader towards the right application of the narrated events (and meditations), but in most cases this is not necessary as the moral digressions are totally unambiguous. The initiated reader would also not have any problems in abstracting the right use of this exemplary narration, as he/she is constantly reminded of the divine presence, by direct addresses as well as by constant intertextual quotations from scripture. These are originally not marked in the text: the initiate would recognise the intertext without having to be alerted to it.

The text is also strongly dominated by metaphorical expressions and by the uses of allegory, which again indicate an underlying, spiritual layer of meaning to the *vita*. The

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77 *'If the things of this world delight you, praise God for them but turn your love away from them and give it to their Maker, so that in the things that please you you may not displease him. If your delight is in souls, love them in God, because they too are frail and stand firm only when they cling to him. If they do not, they go their own way and are lost. Love them, then, in him and draw as many with you to him as you can.' [Confessiones, IV, 12, p. 82] A similar application can be found at the end of IX, 12.

78 Metaphors, especially of light and darkness, are omnipresent, e.g. in VIII, 12: 'quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt.' *Confessiones*, p. 101 ('it was as though the light of confidence flooded into my heart and all the darkness of doubt was dispelled', *Confessiones*, p. 178). Allegory is used in VIII, 11 'casta dignitas continentiae, serena et non dissoluto hilaris, honeste blandiens ut venirem neque dubitarem, et extendens ad me susciendum et amplexendum pias manus plenas gregibus bonorum exemplorum.' *Confessiones*, p. 100 ('the chaste beauty of Continence in all her serene, unsullied joy, as she beckoned me to cross over and to hesitate no more. She stretched out loving hands to welcome and embrace me, holding up a host of good examples to my sight', *Confessiones*, p. 176) and also in X, 6.
spiritual sense is present in the autobiography's focal moment, when the still sinful self interprets a child’s voice as the voice of God telling him to pick up the Bible and read, and then to apply this reading to his life:

et ecce audio vocem de vicina domo cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis, quasi pueri an puellae, nescio: 'tolle lege, tolle lege.' statimque mutato vultu intentissimus cogitare coepi utrumque utrum propter cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis iacere autem non posse in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid. nec occurrerat omnino audisse me uspiam, repressoque impetu lacrimarum surrexi, nihil aliud interpretans divinitus mihi iuberi nisi ut aperiem codicem et legerem quod primum caput invenissem. [Confessiones, VIII, 12, p. 101]79

This application of scripture to the reader Augustine is thus transformed into the form of a divine applicatio: God himself guides the reader on how to draw meaning from the ultimate text, scripture.80 This ultimate applicatio surely cannot be surpassed — or can it?

The text was frequently edited, re-edited and translated in the early modern period, in the form of cheap devotional literature as well as scholarly editions which print the Latin text with a translation.81 Most of the editors were Catholic theologians or monks: Latin editions were prepared by a ‘Theologorum Louaniensium’ (from Lovain in Belgium), by the Jesuits Henricus Sommalius and Henricus Wangnereck. The text was translated into Spanish by the Augustinian Sebastian Toscano and a co-founder of the Societas Jesu, Pedro de Ribadineyra, into French by the bishop of Rennes, Aemar Henneqvin, by Arnauld d’Andilly of whom the 1690 edition notes that he died as a monk in an abbey, and by the Jesuit Ceriziers. The first English translator, Sir Tobie Matthew, was a controversial convert to Catholicism. The second translator, William Watts, was royal chaplain to

79 'All at once I heard the sing-song voice of a child in a nearby house. Whether it was the voice of a boy or a girl I cannot say, but again and again it repeated the refrain 'Take it and read, take it and read'. At this I looked up, thinking hard whether there was any kind of game in which children used to chant words like these, but I could not remember ever hearing them before. I stemmed my flood of tears and stood up, telling myself that this could only be a divine command to open my book of Scripture and read the first passage on which my eyes should fall.' (Confessions, VIII, 12, p. 177)
80 Augustine interprets the section of St Paul’s Epistles as relating to his carnal appetites: ‘carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.’ Confessiones VIII, 12, p. 101 (‘spend no more thought on nature and nature’s appetites.’ Confessions VIII, 12, p. 178)
81 The Latin edition of 1629 is printed in 24°, on fairly poor and therefore cheap paper, which indicates a wide distribution. This is confirmed by the frequent re-editions of the same text (at least 1637 and 1647). The French CONFESSIONS, trad. by Arnauld D’Andilly in 8° includes the Latin text and a critical apparatus.
Charles I. The early modern editors firstly added the ‘missing’ indicators of intertext to the Bible, commonly in the form of printed marginal references to the books of the Bible. The editions frequently break the text down into chapters and add headings, in many cases a conscious process to facilitate reading. Most of the editions have frontispieces: Augustine, commonly depicted as a bishop with mitre and staff, frequently holds another iconographic attribute in his (right) hand: the flaming heart (or a heart with arrows through it). This representation of the saint with his specific attributes makes him instantly recognisable to the initiated Christian reader, as with the other fathers of the

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82 Only one of the German translations carries a name, Samuel Johann Valtl, who is described on the title page as ‘Austriacum Viennensem, J.U. Baccalaureum & publicum Notarium’. Die drei zehn Bücher Der Bekantnussen Des Heiligen AURELII AUGUSTINI [...], trans. by Samuel Joan Valtl (Wienn: Thurmeyr, 1672). Biographical detail mostly from Zedler (who also notes numerous editions that predate the ones I was able to analyse) and from the DNB.

83 In the Latin editions D. AURELII AUGUSTINI Hippon. Episcopi Libri XIII CONFESSIONUM [...], ed. by Henricus Sommalius (Coloniae Agrippiae: Cornelius ab Egmond, 1647, first publ. 1629, 1637); also the English translations of 1620 and 1631 and the German translation of 1673.
church (Jerome and the lion, Ambrose as bishop and Gregory with tiara), and of course the four evangelists. All these representations are highly economical in their use of symbolic elements to indicate the particular character. The frontispieces of the Confessions tend to use the focal part of the 'tolle lege' enlightenment of the narrator, but also tend to represent the saint in costume conforming to the editor’s own order: the editions of the Latin text by the Jesuit Sommalius (1629 passim) consistently show Augustine in a simple alb and soutane (Figure 24), thus following the Jesuits’ rejection of any specific vestments; a similar depiction (with a more antique dress) can be found in the Spanish translation of 1674, and an identical one in the French translation of 1675. Other Jesuit editions depict Augustine in bishop’s vestments with his attribute of the flaming heart, touching with his left hand an open book with the title on it, with Augustine’s christening in the background (1646). This frontispiece was re-cut for the French translation of 1659 (Figure 25) and the German translation of 1673. The depiction of a barefoot Augustine can be seen on the frontispiece of the 1693 emblem book by 'Abraham [a
Sancta Clara] *Augustiner Barfüßer* (Figure 26). The edifying text was used to reinforce the reputation of the editor’s order, and the text was drawn into the battle over spiritual domination, in at least one case even into an extended debate about the right confession: while sneering asides against rival Christian faiths are common in the editions, this became serious in the first English translation of 1620. It added metatextual commentaries to the text stressing the Catholic nature of the saint and his text, which in turn was answered by a Protestant edition of 1631, refuting the commentary and imposing a radi-

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84 The frequent copying of previous engravings for the frontispieces furthermore shows the extent and speed of the contemporary book trade, at least in western Europe.  
85 *S. AVREL AVGVSTINI CONFESSIONVM* [...] ed. by Henricus Wangnereck (Coloniae: Iodocum Kalcovium, 1646), fol. *6r* compares Lutherans, Calvinists ‘aut alia secta hærent’ to the Manichean heresies of the young Augustine.
cally Protestant reading on the edifying content that stressed the importance of scripture and its simple sense:

Mark this, ye Papists. 1. What high terms he gives the Scriptures: whereas you call them A nose of Wax, a shipmans Hose, &c. 2. Here’s liberty for all to read them; you lock them under an unknown tongue, from the Laytie. 3. Here are they said to be plain; but you fray the people with their difficulty, profoundness, and danger.

The text, even though predominantly presented by Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and used as an early modern form of public relations for their orders, was not just present in the Catholic heartlands of Europe but also in the Protestant counties: even though Lutheranism rejects the authority of the patristic sources and their authors, amongst them Augustine, at least the English Protestants agreed on the edifying nature of the book for the reader, and even used metatext as a weapon against the ‘popish translator’.

However, this disputation of religious dogma in the metatext was not the norm. The most common way early modern editors applied metatext to this spiritual autobiography was to round off the life story consistently. It is present in a blurb, taken from Augustine’s own summary of the text in the Retractatio and commonly printed before the text itself, from the editio prima onwards:

EX LIBRO RETRACTIOnum diui Augustini.

Confessionum mearum libri tredecim, & de malis & de bonis meis deum laudant iustum & bonum , atque in eum excitant humanum intellectum & affectum. Interim quod ad me attinet hoc in me egetunt cum scriberentur, & agunt cum leguntur. Quid de illis alij sentiant ipsi viderint, multis tamen fratribus eos multum placuisse & placere scio. A primo usque ad decimum de me scripti sunt. In trib° [sic] cæteris de scripturis sanctis, ab eo quod scriptum est: In principio fecit deus coelum & terram, usque ad sabbati requiem. In quarto libro cum de amici morte animi mei miseriam confitterer , dicens, quod anima mea una quodammodo facta fuerat ex duabus, & ideo inquam forte mori metuebam , ne totus ille moreretur , quem multum amaueram. Quæ mihi quasi declamatio leuis quàm grauis confessio videtur , quàmuis utcumque temperata sit hæc ineptia in eo quod additum est, forte. Et illud in libro tertio decimo, quod dixi: firmamentum factum inter spiritales aquas superiores & corporales inferiores, non satis considerate dictum est. Res autem in abdito est valde. Hoc opus sic incipe magus es domine.

86 SAINT AUGUSTINES Confessions [...], trans. by William Wats, p. 154. The 1631 translation (reprinted 1650) then swamps the text with commentaries, including them at the foot of most pages and frequently ranting on against the faults of the ‘Romish Catholike’ translator (p. 5) and against ‘Papists’ in general.

87 Edition Paris 1540, fol. 1v. THE CONFESSIONS OF THE INCOMPARABLE DOCTOR S. AVGUSTINE [...], trans. by Sir Tobie Matthew (n.p.: n. pub., 1620) translates this as follows: ‘Thus therefore sayth he, of these books of his confessions, in those others of his
The blurb stresses the edifying nature of the autobiography for writer and reader alike and attempts to clarify the problem of books X to XIII. The commentaries on Genesis in these books cannot be easily interpreted as parts of the autobiography of the saint and therefore require interpretation (which the author even provides himself, if not in the same text). The other 'solution' to the puzzling question of the last four books of the text was to simply eliminate them and replace them with other accounts of the end of Augustine's life, thus providing the closure of the autobiographical frame that is not normally possible within first-person narration itself. However, the general trend seemed to be to purify the text rather than purge it, and also to stress the exemplary nature of the narrated life:

farre different were the thoughts of this Saint, and such was his death, and such had been his life, whose Confessions I here offer to your reading, and best attention. And beseech Almighty God, that as perhaps they ['the Sectaries of this tyme'] may be perused, by some who are dangerously infected, with both these leprosies, of heresy and sensuality (to which his soule had once beene subject;) so by the admirable example, that is deliuered to vs, in this rare book of his, men may fal, as he did, vpon the true consideration of that so dangerous consumption [...].

The text is posited as an exemplum, as edifying literature that should be read by men and women in similar circumstances to avoid the hero's mistakes and to imitate the central
character in his saintly later state.\textsuperscript{90} In one case at least, even this stress on the exemplum by the metatextual framework was outdone by an editor who apparently did not want to leave anything open to the reader's interpretative freedom — and added an applicatio ('usus') to most of the chapters:

_Hac mutatio dextera Excelsi, manus Domini fecit hoc, non Augustinus. Lux divinae gratiae vertit in odium illecebras libidinis, & in contemptum amorem seculi. Sic Paulus voce celesti, sic Antonius verbis Evangelii, mutati sunt ab eo, qui est mirabilis in Sanctis suis. Sepe hæc eadem legimus, audimus, cogitamus; sed Spiritus ubi vult, spirat, non convertimur cum Augustino, nec assumimur cum Alipio. Saltem pro modo nostro divinae cooperemur gratiae, quae nunquam deest volentibus._\textsuperscript{91}

After stressing the divine role in the conversion and giving the biblical examples of Paul and Antonius, the application moves to a gnomic summary of the 'us' of the readers, to be enlightened by this reading of another man's conversion through the unambiguous power of scripture.

As can be seen from the two models of first-person narration, morality could not be overstated in the early modern period: direct _usus_ was added to a life that is already edifying in many ways, and the exemplary nature of another’s episodic life narration was generally clarified to leave the reader in no doubt about the moral intention of the text.

\textsuperscript{90} Similar stresses of the edifying nature of the text in the English translation of 1631 (repr. _Confessions_, trans. by William Wats, p. 109); in _LES CONFESSIONS [sic] DE S. AVGVSTIN [...]_, trad. de Ceriziers (Paris: François Muguet, 1659), fol. a viii\textsuperscript{1}; _LES CONFESSIONS DE S. AVGVSTIN [...]_, trad. by Arnauld D'Andilly, 7th edn (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1659), fol. a ii\textsuperscript{2}; and especially _LA CONVERSION_ (1690), fol. a v\textsuperscript{3}: ‘Augustin s’est converti en lisant la conversion de quelques courtizans prez de Treves, je prie Dieu que vousvous convertissiez en lisant & celle de ces courizans, & celle d’Augustin, & que cette année nouvelle que je vus souhaite tres-heureuse, puisse être la source & le commencement de vôtre éternité glorieuse. A-Dieu.’

\textsuperscript{91} This is in the Latin edition by the Jesuit professor of philosophy, theology and divine law in Dillingen, Henricus Wangnereck, _CONFESIONVM_ (1646). The ‘usus’ occurs after the ‘tolle lege’ episode analysed above, VIII, 12, p. 309. (‘Here is the skilful transformation of the mighty one, the hand of god and not Augustine did this. The light of divine grace directs him to a hatred of the seductions of lust and to a disgust of secular love. In this way Paul by a heavenly voice and Antonius by the word of the gospel were converted by him who is admirable in his holiness. Often we read, listen and think about these, but the spirit blows where he wants [literally: goes everywhere, blows everywhere, Vulgate of Gospel according to John, 3: 8], are we not converted with Augustine, received in good grace with Alipio. We co-operate at least in what is in our power with the divine grace, which never fails the ones who have good intention.’) On Wangnereck, see Zedler, _LII_ (1747), cols 1987–8.
Whether this is really the case within the text remains the question, but at least from the perspective of the metatextual framework both forms of first-person narration that were agglutinated into the picaresque novels of the period were unambiguously moral.

6.3. ‘Agathe stellt das von Gott verfluchte Hurenleben vor’: *Francion* ‘verteütscht’

I have shown how the texts of Apuleius and Augustine travelled through early modern Europe, and how this transmission in turn changed the texts by adding an elaborate commentary and other metatexual frameworks to the transmitted texts. This is especially the case in the ancient, light narrative of Lucius’s metamorphosis, but also in the clearly edifying *vita* of the saint. However, it is generally noticeable that editors had even less qualms about altering the interpretative framework, the metatextual frame and even the text itself in the cases of contemporary low texts such as picaresque novels. This practice is best demonstrated by the *Histoire comique de Francion*, whose permutations already started before any further editors and translators reinterpreted the text.

The text started its life in 1623, before being re-edited by the author in 1626 and 1633. It is generally accepted that this process is the result of Sorel’s attempts to defuse the radical libertinism in the novel and to gain acceptability for his new position as the royal historiographer of France. It has nevertheless never been analysed how Sorel defuses this volatile mixture of libertine promiscuity and the absence of moral condemnation of it: he achieves this through metatextual additions to the text itself. The last edition of 1633 became the basis for most of the later editions and translations, which underlines the importance of the changes Sorel himself made to the text. There was then a further addition to the metatextual framework in at least one of the translations that shifts the moral focus to a strongly anagogical condemnation of the acts committed and thus gives yet another spiritual reading of a satirical text.

The first or ‘A’-edition of *Francion* (1623), which predates Sorel’s separate poetological endeavours by far, already included an elaborate metafictional framework:

Il m’a fallu confesser avec eux que j’avais mêlé l’utile avec l’agréable, et qu’en mo­quant des vicieux je les avais si bien repris qu’il y avait quelque espérance que cela leur donnerait du désir de se corriger, étant honteux de leurs actions passées. [...] Il
est besoin que j'imite les apothicaires qui sucrent par le dessus les breuvages amers afin de les faire mieux avaler. [Francion, VIII, pp. 383-4]92

As has been outlined above, the 'gilded pill'- and the 'utile dulci'-motif were commonplace in the early modern period and go back to Lucretius and Horace respectively. However, the metafictional frame sets the horizon of expectation to a strongly satirical aim, criticising and ridiculing vice to control and correct it:

et bien que je sois satirique, je tâche à l'être de si bonne grâce que ceux même que je contrôle ne s'en puissent offenser. [Francion, VIII, p. 384]

This censure of human folly and human obsessions can be seen as one of Sorel’s main aims:93 a strong, sarcastic portrayal, especially of passions94 and conservative scientific concepts, aims at an ethical, but secular reform of his compatriots. Another section of the metafictional introduction deals directly with the problem of worldliness, as opposed to the religious realm:

En tout cas, l'on sait bien que ceci n'est pas fait pour servir de méditations à une religieuse, mais pour apprendre à vivre à ceux qui sont dans le monde, où tous les jours l'on est forcè d'entendre beaucoup d'autres choses [...]. [Francion, VIII, p. 426]

The metafictional introduction thus interprets the following text as educating, if not edifying literature, as practical guidance for readers ‘forced’ to survive in the world which is portrayed as a satirical dystopian world. Even though the metafictional ‘[a]dvertissement d’importance aux lecteurs’ of the first edition is well aware that readers tend not to read these interpretative frameworks,95 Sorel continuously re-edits this original introduction, and finally moves it to the beginning of the third-person part of the text in book VIII, and thus incorporates the metafiction into the text itself.

The text of the first edition (‘A’) already has the interplay of first-person narration and a third-person frame story, but both parts are indiscriminately comic, satirical and scatological. Sexuality is portrayed here as totally unproblematic and promiscuous, a form

93 See for example formulations in the same metafictional introduction such as ‘N’ayant fait que témoigner la haine que je porte aux vicieux avec des discours bien négligents [...]’ (Francion, VIII, p. 385). See also Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 11.
94 Suozzo, Comic Novels, p. 52.
95 This is in Sorel, Francion, ed. by Roy, 1, p. viii: ‘Neantmoins il y a des hommes si peu curieux qu’ils ne lisent jamais, ne sachans pas que c’est plutost là que dans tout le reste du livre, que l’Auteur monstre duquel esprit il est pourveu. Je demandois un jour a un sot de ceste humeur pourquoi il ne les lisoit point. Il me respondit qu’il croyoit qu’elles estoient toutes pareilles, et qu’en ayant leur une en sa vie c’estoit assez [...]’ [my emphasis].
that could also be found in the *Golden Ass*. Explicit and hyperbolic depictions of libertine orgies and of prostitutes telling their adventures (*Francion*, II, pp. 90–134) are never problematised from a moral or spiritual point of view:

> Il me serait difficile de nombrer combien l'on dépucela de filles et combien l'on fit de maris cornards. [...] 

> Ceux qui demeurèrent [in the castle] se retirèrent bientôt deux à deux dedans les chambres. Francion fut avec Laurette, Raymond fut avec Hélène, et les autres avec celles qui leur plaisaient davantage. Je n'entrepris pas ici de raconter leurs plaisirs infinis: ce serait un dessein dont je ne verrais jamais l'accomplissement.  

Even the omniscient narrator is aware of the all-encompassing sexual satisfaction in the depicted world, but fails to satirise this excessive behaviour of the hero and other characters. Sexuality only becomes problematic in book XII when the central character does not stop his philanderings even though he is embarked on a knightly quest for a beautiful lady.  

> Sexuality then finally becomes legitimate when it is integrated into the wedding in the happy ending (‘ils jouissent des plaisirs qui leur étaient légitimement accordés’, *Francion*, XII, p. 672), which on the other hand is in many ways a highly ironic closure of the previous episodic narration of amorous adventures.

Comedy and laughter are just as omnipresent in the text as sexuality, and also as hyperbolic as the frequent scatological elements. These are even more explicit than some of the scenes in Grimmelshausen’s *Simplicissimus*, for instance in the peasant marriage episode in book VII where the disguised nobleman Clerante and Francion as his sidekick wreak havoc on the unsuspecting guests at a wedding in the countryside:

> En dressant les potages et le riz jaune du dîner, j'avais mis dedans une certaine composition laxative que j'avais apportée. Cette drogue ayant fait alors son opération, tous ceux de la noce étaient contrains d'aller se décharger, le plus près qu'ils pouvaient [...]. Il y en avait qui entraient dedans les écuirs en serrant les fesses; d'autres, n'ayant pas le loisir d'aller si loin, se vidaient sur le fumier à l'endroit où ils se trouvaient. [...] la pauvre épousée [...] ne croyait pas qu'il fût bien sânt à elle, pour qui se faisait la fête, de quitter ceux qui la tenaient par la main, si bien qu'elle laissa couler jusqu'à terre une certaine liqueur [...]. [*Francion*, VII, p. 341]  

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96 *Francion*, VIII, pp. 401 and 409. Both quotations are from the libertine orgy episode in Raymond’s castle.

97 *Francion*, XII, p. 620. There is an accusation of the ultimate problematic sexual act, rape, but Raymond is cleared of the charge: it turns out to be a trick played on Francion and Raymond by their enemies (pp. 659–61).

98 Numerous other occurrences, e.g. *Francion*, III, pp. 143 and 166; V, p. 210; VII, p. 343; VIII, p. 423; XI, p. 553. The text is also full of very hyperbolic references to laughter, e.g. in the scene in book I where the villagers laugh at the exposed robbers hanging from a
These humorous elements of the text should not distract from the strong satirical focus of the narration: the main aim in even the scatological scene above is to ridicule, to expose the folly of the rural manners. Satire is predominantly implicit, but through its frequent link to hyperbolic expressions it is still very apparent to the reader that the text does not condone the behaviour it portrays:

‘Comment, brave Francion, ce disait-il [Hortensius], je croyais que vous ne pourriez pas sortir plus aisément de Paris que l’Arsenac et le Palais, et que l’on vous verrait aussi souvent au Louvre que les pierres du grand degré et la salle des Suisses. [...] Là-dessus il usa de tant de termes extraordinaires que Francion ne put davantage souffrir sans lui demander s’il fallait parler comme il faisait, vu qu’il n’avait rien en son style que des hyperboles étranges et des comparaisons tirées de si loin que cela ressemblait aux rêveries d’un homme qui a la fièvre chaude [...].

[Francion, XI, pp. 542-6]

This satirical element is even more present in the moral digressions of the central character that are ethically motivated to expose ‘la sottise’ of the world, to portray the amorality of the contemporary society. This is certainly one of the reasons for Sorel’s attempt to defuse this criticism when he himself became part of the social establishment. However, these explicit comments on the ‘feverish’ world are not very numerous: direct, explicit commentary is less present than indirect satirical criticism. The de-moralisation of the picaresque genre after the comparatively high moral and spiritual aims of earlier Spanish texts such as Guzmán then became a problem for the later editions: Sorel increasingly introduced a moral voice into the text and put authoritative, binding interpretations into the mouths of some of the characters.

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99 For example in Francion, V, p. 243 (the poor poets), VI, p. 288 (of courtiers), X, p. 498 (of a bourgeoise).
100 Francion, V, p. 268.
101 For example in Francion, III, p. 160 on advocates, p. 168 on simpletons; IV, pp. 188-9 on teachers; V, pp. 268-9 on the vanity of appearances; VII, p. 345 on nobles and p. 373 on cowardly duellists.
103 Leiner, ‘Regards critiques’, p. 163 notes this for the ‘dream’ episode in book III: the A-edition leaves the dream open for the reader to interpret, the B-edition, which cuts the blasphemous parts of the dream, lets Francion himself and Raymond comment upon the dream, and the C-edition further limits the interpretative freedom of the reader.
The re-edition of 1626 ('B') made numerous alterations to the text: whole sections that are no longer considered to be safe are eliminated, new sections expand the third-person part (and thereby the story) by three books. The most important additions came in the last re-edition of 1633 ('C'), when the text was expanded by only one further book, but also by explicit moral commentaries to the entire text. Book XII, like the Continuatio of Simplicissimus Teutsch first published as a separate volume, was soon integrated into the revised novel. The C-edition now includes a series of metatextual statements that finally clarify the implied author's moral stance. Apart from adding further editorial fictions and repeating the prodesse et delectare-intention in them, the C-edition also provides a new metafictional introduction:

Nous avons assez d'histoires tragiques qui ne font que nous attrister. Il en faut maintenant voir une qui soit toute comique [...]; mais néanmoins elle doit encore avoir quelque chose d'utile, [...] et les malheurs que l'on verra être arrivés à ceux qui ont mal vécu seront capables de nous détourner des vices. [...] C'est aussi un grand avantage d'être instruit par le malheur des autres, et [...] les leçons ne sont que des jeux et des délices. Or, c'était ainsi que faisaient les anciens auteurs dedans leurs comédies qui instruisaient le peuple en lui donnant de la récréation. Cet ouvrage-ci les imite en toutes choses [...]. [Francion, I, p. 43]

This is a distinction between Sorel's 'new' comical form of writing and previous 'tragical' use of narrative that resembles in many ways Fielding's distinction of serious and comic romance that has been analysed in Chapter 2 above. However, the aim of this distinction, predating Fielding's by more than a century, is very different: this introductory section compares (and justifies) Sorel's style of narration through another ancient authority, the comedian's power to instruct by negative examples. The text is therefore announced as a series of negative exemplary actions and characters, even though, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the central character is generally portrayed as a noble hero. The main element of the C-text that then provides these negative exemplary readings of actions and characters is the metatextual commentary of an authorial third-person narrator, added mostly at the end of the books:

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104 Béchade, regrets these alterations but analyses them admirably on p. 293 and pp. 302-3. He notes the elimination of blasphemous passages and of those with political or libertine tendencies. Religious terms are now capitalised, which was not the case in the first edition.

105 In the 'À Francion', Francion, p. 34: 'plaisir de la lecture de tant d'agréables choses, et d'en tirer aussi du profit'.

106 Roy, who also laments the destruction of the original, unadulterated edition, calls this introduction a 'longue tirade' (Sorel, Francion, ed. by Roy, I, p. 1).
En tout cela l'on voit clairement que ses moeurs étaient fort perverties et qu'il se laissait merveilleusement emporter aux délices, et que néanmoins il était trompé par de faux charmes et qu'il ne jouissait point du bonheur qu'il s'était figuré, étant au lieu de cela en un très mauvais équipage qui doit servir d'exemple et d'instruction pour ceux qui veulent mener une pareille vie, leur faisant reconnaître que c'est un très mauvais chemin. [Francion, I, p. 84; my emphasis]

It is notable how the metatext is at pains to point out the diverse negative actions of Francion: the continually repeated 'et que' makes the passage sound strained, and the applicatio to the readers seems absurd even for a socio-cultural setting in which libertinage existed: probably only few readers would have taken up a libertine lifestyle spontaneously after reading the A-edition that lacked this direct warning.

The metatext generally renounces the behaviours of characters and stresses some moral norm to which these actions are contrary. These ethical and social norms, however, are purely secular and are never integrated into a spiritual framework as in the case in the early modern editions of the ancient texts of Apuleius and Augustine. There are even instances of a moral applicatio of some of the narrated segments to the reader (see above, end of book I), but these moral warnings are again purely secular:

Nous avons vu ici parler Agathe en termes fort libertins [...]. Nous apprenons ici que ce que plusieurs prennent pour des délices n'est rien qu'une débauche brutale dont les esprits bien sensés se retireront toujours. [Francion, II, p. 135]

The changes of the B-edition, eliminating wide stretches of the amoral, politically imprudent and blasphemous sections of the first edition, are thus further increased in the C-edition that gives exemplary status to an otherwise comic narrative. The 'paratext', the

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107 See Roy’s edition that provides the texts of the different versions; here I, p. 54, line 17. Similar metatextual summaries are added at the end of books II, IV, VII, and also at the ends of some books of the third-person part: VIII, IX, and X. Edition C also adds a clear direct moral warning to the libertine orgy chapter in book VIII, p. 389: ‘C’est pourquoi, ô vous, filles et garçons qui avez encore votre pudeur virginale, je vous avertis de bonne heure de ne point passer plus outre, ou de sauter par-dessus ce livre-ci, qui va réciter des choses que vous n’avez pas accoutumé d’entendre [...]’.

108 Other instances of Sorel’s purely secular use of norms can be found in the Science Universelle, in the BF and also in LA MAISON DES IEUX ACADEMIQYS [...] (Paris: Estienne Loyson, 1668) which is a purely secular description of the rules of contemporary card and board games without ever raising any moral doubts about these gambling activities. Sorel’s secular moral ethics have been noted by Valentin, ‘Roman Comique’, p. 12, who perceives a general tendency towards a worldly interpretation in the contemporary French literature (p. 15). Suozzo, ‘Libertinism’, p. 137 stresses the prevalence of libertinism in the 1620s in France. He distinguishes lapses in social behaviour from a more philosophical libertinism, being highly sceptical of any sort of received beliefs.
metafictional introduction of the first edition that gave some form of ethical justification to even this version of the text, has been totally absorbed by the text itself. The invasion of metatext into the text, on the other hand, succeeds only partially: in some instances, the metatextual commentary of the C-edition on the comic, scatological and amorous narrations clearly clashes with the value-system of the first-person narrators. Furthermore, due to the comparative brevity of the metatextual additions (in most cases only one summarising sentence), these explicit moral exegeses sit awkwardly on the borders of the text, outnumbered by the extensive description and implicit criticism of immoral activities.

The translations of the *Histoire Comique de Francion* into diverse European languages vary to a great extent in their treatment of the text: the first English one (1655), as well as one of the first German ones (Götzze, 1662) are basically faithful to the text, whereas some of the later ones are adaptations rather than translations. Only the German translations have the important addition of frontispieces to the interpretative frame (see Figures 3-5): the edition of 1662 by the publisher Götzze illustrates a comical scene in book one, whereas the 1668 edition by the Leiden publishers Hackes introduces the elements of song (lute), drink and a naked woman with a ram appearing from beneath her legs. This is clearly a symbolic illustration of the amorous and libertine elements of the text that are also present in the illustrations of the single books. The part of this frontispiece that sets the horizon of expectations towards a satirical reception is the Janus-faced person in the background (holding Janus's attributes of mirror and sun-sceptre), thereby indicating Janus’s legendary all-encompassing vision. On the other hand, the nun with the rosary sitting at the table is probably meant to signify the edifying element of the novel. The German frontispiece that sets the expectations of the readers most definitely towards a satirical interpretation of the text is the one of the *Verteitschter Francion* (1662) (Figure 5): a rather overweight satyr flogs a literal depiction of a topsyturvy world down a road. The curious walking globe is furthermore losing elements of worldly folly such as mirror, comb, sword, money, a crown, and also a mitre, common

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109 On the English translations of the text, see Verdier.
111 Schäfer, p. 209 notes this for a frontispiece to a Persius edition. Janus is enviable because it is impossible to cuckold him behind his back.
iconographic motifs of the effects of satire.\textsuperscript{112} It again becomes obvious that the frontispiece in the early modern period functioned as an ‘Aushängeschild’,\textsuperscript{113} as a clear signpost to the genre the reader could expect from the text: satire.

The most interesting adaptation in this context is this latter version of 1662, the \textit{Verteitschter Francion}. It gives a fairly faithful translation of the text itself, with some omissions and mistakes that were then amended in the Hackes’ edition of 1668, probably edited by Nathanael Duëz.\textsuperscript{114} The \textit{Verteitschter Francion} adds a spiritual metatextual framework to the text that had so far only justified itself by reference to a secular morality, even though it seems impossible to find any clear confessional fixation of this spiritual dimension. The anonymous translator notes in his first ‘Anmerckung’ that he has added further clarifying warnings to the text even though the original was already morally unambiguous:

\begin{quote}
Ob nun wol derhalben gegenwärtiges Werck keiner fernern Vermahnung von Nöthen hätte/ und auch der Frantzose schon selbst sehr schöne Anmerckungen hin und wieder beygefüg't/ welche alle treulich übersetzet worden. Jednoch/ damit keiner sich zu beklagen habe/ als sey er nicht gewarnt worden/ und damit der Ubersetzer sein eigen Gewissen vergnüge/ hat er jedwedem Buche seine kurze Vermahnungen anhengen wollen/ nicht zweifelnde/ es werde der Christliche Leser seinen Nutzen drauß haben. [\textit{Verteitschter Francion}, I, fol. A2\textsuperscript{a}]
\end{quote}

Again, the ‘Nutzen’, the applicability to the reader of these further additions is stressed. The moral use is frequently illustrated with metaphorical and emblematic motifs such as the analogy of the spider and bee cited above. It is important that the ‘Vermahnungen’ are mostly inserted before the books and thus bracket Sorel’s own metatextual additions of the C-edition that were set after the books. The metatext sometimes also stresses and even reinforces the satirical layer of the text,\textsuperscript{115} but it becomes apparent from the

\textsuperscript{112} The ruins in the background are also one (of many other) common emblematic signs for the transitoriness of the world, see Henkel, cols 95 and 99.
\textsuperscript{113} Trappen, \textit{Menippeische Satire}, p. 121 mentions this with reference to the representation of satyrs to indicate satirical writing.
\textsuperscript{114} The most essential correction of an omission occurs in the metafictional introduction to book VIII. The \textit{Verteitschter Francion} renders it as ‘Nun ist es Zeit/ daß die Historie selber rede’ (fol. Oo6\textsuperscript{a}), whereas the \textit{VOLLKOMMENE COMISCHE HISTORIE DES FRANCIONS} has the correct ‘Nun ist es zeit daß seinhistorienschreiber selber rede’ (p. 371), by the cramming of the correction into one word indicating that the typesetter was pressed for space in inserting the previously overlooked alteration of the text by a corrector.
\textsuperscript{115} For example in \textit{Verteitschter Francion}, I, fol. A2\textsuperscript{a}: ‘Was derhalben das Werck an und vor sich selbst betrifft/ so ist solches/ nach Aussage der Überschrift/ eine Comische und Satyrische Handlung/ in welcher man sich nothwendig etzlicher freyer Reden gebrauchen
‘Anmerckungen’ or notes that they are less concerned with a worldly applikatio, than with the analogical and eschatological dimension that the text itself is lacking:

Anmerckung über das andere Buch. Unruhige Sünder haben auch unruhige und sündliche Träume/ und alle muß ihre Sünd zu eigener Quaal dienen/die ihnen deñ weder Tag noch Nacht Ruhe lässt/ und auch die allergrösten Wollüste zur Marter macht. Francion bezeugt uns solches mit seiner schändlichen Mondsucht [sic, Mondsucht] darüber er verspottet und verlacht wird. Agathe stelt das von Gott und allen redlichen Menschen verfluchte Hurenleben vor/ und ist abscheulich zu hören/ daß viel so gar Gottlose sind/ und ihre Seele un Leib/ so durch Christi bitter Leiden so theuer erkauft sind/ohn alles Gewissen zu Hurengefassen machen. O wie werden solche schöne Verächter Göttlicher Güte dermaleins am Jüngsten Gerichte schwere Rechenschaft geben müssen [...]. Agathe wird gleichfalls von Gott gewarnt/und mit einer abscheulichen ansteckenden Krankheit/ so endlich alle Hurer und Huren sich zu Wege bringen/ heimgesucht/ und ist an ihr waar worden/ was dort stehet/ daß solche verruchte Leiber Motten und Würme zu Lohne haben sollen. [...] solche Leute sind gleich einer schädlichen Pestilentz/ welche mit ihrem Gifte anstecket was ihr zu nahem kommt/ und man kan sich nicht anders als durch die Flucht von ihnen retten. [...] [Verteütschter Francion, II, fals E1°-E3°]

In instances like this, the exemplary interpretation of sections of the text is not clearly distinguishable from the applikatio, but not all the ‘Anmerckungen’ combine the two elements. This particular note frequently moves from a general truth to the specific example given in the text (‘Francion bezeugt uns solches’) to reinforce this general doctrine, the relevance of which is then shown in the individual application to the reader (‘man kan sich nicht anders [... retten’). This interpretation of the section of text also links up to the eschatological perspective by constantly stressing the relevance of the character’s actions for their judgement ‘am Jüngsten Gerichte’, stressing the eternal perspective as opposed to the merely temporal ‘eitelen Welt-Freuden’ that are pointed out in
The opposition is stated directly in the following section from the metatext on book IV:

Aber der gerechte Richter [...] wird auch diese zu finden wissen/ wenn er das grosse Gerichte hegen wird/ in welchen kein lautern noch appelliren hilfft/ sondern da ein jedweder seinen Lohn empfangen wird/ nachdem ers verdient hat. Denn das hier wol oder übel geführte Leben/ zeucht ewige Belohnung oder Qual nach sich.

This is another example of the dual nature of time and eternity delineated in Chapter 4 of this study. On the other hand, these clear, unambiguous spiritual readings of the books clash with an element that only the Verteitschter Francion added to the French text, after dividing the original books into chapters: the synoptic chapter headings, normally also an element that introduces the metatext into the text itself, are mostly void of moral or spiritual commentaries. Some are highly metafictional, which recalls usages by, amongst others, Cervantes, Grimmelshausen and Fielding (the introduction of book VIII 'Ist nur vor die Gelehrten/ und darff es einer der nicht studiret hat/ mit guten Gewissen überhüpfen', fol. [*]B8), but most of them only summarise the (comic) plot of the narrative unit. This element, present in an adaptation of a text that had previously increased more and more in ethical, moral and even anagogical instructions for the right use and condemnations of the unproblematic sexual activity of the original novel, shows the basic tension of all the picaresque texts of the period: edifying elements compete with purely comical elements, and it is often difficult to make out which of them gains the upper hand.

117 Verteitschter Francion, III, fol. K2'.
118 It seems likely that these chapter headings with their very different style do not originate from the same person who added the notes to the chapters. The chapter headings in the table of content and some of the fictional dedications mostly use the spelling 'Frantzion', whereas the chapter headings in the text and the notes vary between 'Francia' and the rendering of the name as 'Françion'. See the table of content in Verteitschter Francion, fols [*]A11'-[*]B12', and also before the individual chapters that this translation adds. Clear moral or spiritual values are only expressed in IV, 12 ('Frantzion [sic] erzehlet ferner/ was er vor ein elender Dieb gegen seinen schul-Gesellen gewesen ist', fol. [*]B4') and in VI, 15 ('Wie dem Frantzion [sic] eine sonderliche GOttes-furcht in einem Hurrhause ankömpft.', fols [*] B6'-B7').
119 Also book III, chapter 11; V, 12; VI, 4, VII, 8, 11, 13; IX, 12 and 14.
6.4. ‘Demnach, du garstig Sünden Schwein Merck diß, und stell dein Laster ein’: Courasche and the Commentary of the Gesamtausgabe

There is no doubt that an edifying aim is central to Grimmelshausen’s writings. The successive endings of the Simplicissimus Teutsch make it absolutely clear that the values the central character strives for in his older, wiser form are not worldly rewards, but the spiritual perspective of a ‘seelig[es] ENDE’. This in turn then provides the anagogical perspective of eternal life which Simplicissimus can expect thereafter. The direct, spiritual dimension, even including the anagogical perspective, is easy to present in a dissonant autobiographical narrative, where the older, wiser self renounces the actions of a younger, foolish version of himself. This had been the case of Augustine, who in his saintly later state renounced even the theft of some pears as a spiritual sin, and it had also been the case to a certain extent in the radical transformation of Francion into a virtuous, married, knightly hero (even though there were some doubts as to the extent to which he seems to revel in his past actions in the narration of his life). The one technical case in which such an older, enlightened perspective is not available in first-person narration is the totally consonant memoir of a sinner who is not converted to a better moral and spiritual stance: this is the case of Courasche. The text thus comes up against the problem of clearly attempting to be educating and even edifying, while lacking the explicit moral voice inside the text that in Francion could at least be integrated into the third-person framework around the narrations of the characters. Here, such a framework is absent, and the novel thus has to find other means of making this central aim understood.

The narration of the ‘alte[s] Rabenaas’ (Courasche, I, p. 13) is fully consonant and only motivated by the leitmotif of spite against Simplicissimus, who in his text mentions an amorous encounter with a ‘schöne Dame’. He considers her to be immoral, ‘mehr mobilis als nobilis’ (ST, V, 6, p. 391) and rids himself of her rather quickly. Even though this short section does not even mention the assumed name of the lady, this reference

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120 There is general agreement on this. See Heßelmann, p. 60; Trappen, Menippeische Satire, pp. 3, 350 and 355. Valentin, ‘Roman Comique’, p. 17 stresses Grimmelshausen’s balancing act in attempting to reconcile a theological content with a style that directly rejects theological modes of narration. He also notes that this is therefore edification through literature, not edifying literature as such (p. 20, and also in ‘Grimmelshausen zwischen Albertinus und Sorel’, p. 153). In ‘Du rire au plus haut savoir’, p. 109, Valentin notes Grimmelshausen’s ‘christocentrisme intégral’.

121 ST, V, 24, p. 463 and Continuatio, 23, p. 570.
becomes the motivation for narration 'Trutz Simplex' (*Courasche*, title, p. 3), not a conversion and the accompanying wish to offload sins committed in youth through a confessional narrative. Direct morality is present in statements of the old self stressing her immorality in order to avenge herself on Simplicissimus, who is implicated in immorality through the association to the prostitute, through whom he is 'gar des Teufels Schwäger worden' (*Courasche*, XXVIII, p. 130). This strong statement at the very end of the text itself also indicates that all is not well with the central character, even though her narration is stringent, logical and could be (mis)read as a tragic life story of the Thirty Years' War, made necessary by the circumstances rather than self-chosen. The link of Courasche to the devil is made repeatedly by other characters and herself, and there are also references to her as a witch, which in the early modern period with its ever-ready kindled pyres was equally damnable and dangerous. However, the damning perspective is mostly present by its absence: for example, the portrayal of love as a fire, a burning passion, and as lust would have been an indirect sign for the reader that Courasche's lifestyle is not a model of positive behaviour, but part of the perverse value scheme of the world. In another instance, she is indirectly linked to a devilish spirit, even though (as will be shown) it is left to the second Gesamtausgabe to express this link explicitly:

*Der Gewinn, der mir in so mancherlei Hantierungen zuging, tät mir so sanft, daß ich dessen je länger, je mehr begehrte; und gleichwie es mir allbereit eines Dings war, ob es mit Ehren oder Unehren geschehe, also fieng ich's auch an nicht zu achten, ob es mit Gottes oder des Mammons Hülß besser prosequiert werden möchte. [Courasche, XIIX, p. 85]*

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122 Other direct moral statements occur in *Courasche*, V, IX, XV, XIIX, XXIV, in XXV where she calls herself 'eine unnütze Last der Erden' (p. 118) and thus repeats a moral attack by the 'Herren' of I (p. 14) who call her a 'unnütze, abgelebte Last der Erden'; and in XXVIII. Only two moral digressions of the character appear, and even they seem not to fit into the narration: the warning to the 'lieben Mädch'en' not to let themselves be seduced in IV, pp. 25-6, and the treatment of Springinsfeld's actions of drinking and gambling as *exemplum* for a generalising digression on the perverting power of drink in XXII.

123 Valentin, 'Roman Comique', p. 22 reports such a reading of the text by Enzensberger.

124 Courasche is called a witch in *Courasche*, VIII, XII, p. 56 ('Bluthex'), XIV. She compares herself to one in XXVII and XXVIII. She is called a devil in VIII and XIV and finally acquires the 'Teufels Leibfarb' when she joins the gypsies in XXVII, p. 124.

125 Love is frequently portrayed as a violent passion or fire, e.g. 'den innerlichen Brand' in *Courasche*, III, p. 22. Also in IV, V, VI, X, and the opposite image in XVI, p. 76 when Springinsfeld is 'in meiner Liebe so gar ersoffen'. Love is furthermore portrayed as an illness that makes the sufferers pale and despairing (V and XV).
Courasche does not care (any more) about which God she follows and acquires a *spiritus familiaris*, a helping spirit in a bottle that Grimmelshausen’s short tract on *Galgenmännlein* identifies unambiguously as a hellish creature, but again it is left to the reader of *Courasche* to fill in the spiritual condemnation that the text only implies. Courasche sometimes even presents herself directly as an *exemplum*, but the negativity of this exemplary life story is only implied in the text, present only by its absence. This absence is already present in the programmatic, metafictional first chapter of the text which consciously plays with the tradition of first-person narration and the spiritual autobiography in particular. Again, a metafictional introduction, integrated into some sort of narrative situation (the old self is supposed to deliver an oral narration that a writer then transcribes), sets the reader’s horizon for what he/she has to expect from the following narration. However, this setting of the reader’s expectations is to a large extent a disappointment of the reader’s expectations: the voice of the ‘Herren’ or readers is introduced in the very first sentence of the chapter and allowed to anticipate the following narration in terms of the traditional succession of sinful life, old sinner, penitent, life narration in order ‘dass sie Hoffnung schöpfen konnte, noch endlich die himmlische Barmherzigkeit zu erlangen’ (*Courasche, I*, p. 13). The old narrator nevertheless makes it clear very quickly that her ‘Haupt- oder Generalbeicht’ (*Courasche, I*, p. 14) is in fact the inversion of the Christian form of confession codified by the council of Trent. Her only motivation for narrating is the ‘Trutz Simplex’ motif mentioned

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126 In *KS*, pp. 73–109. The *Galgenmännlein* also includes metatextual, explicit moral ‘Anmerckungen’ after the sections.

127 She sees herself as an *Exempel* for the general truth that ‘alte Hund schwerlich bändig zu machen’ (*Courasche, I*, p. 15) and the reader is advised that she narrates her text only to avenge herself on Simplicissimus, not ‘dass ein ehrlicher Christenmensch den Werken dieses seines abgefeimten, bösen Feindes [the devil] zu folgen an mir ein Exempel nehmen soll, weil ich ihm damals nachahme’ (XV, p. 74).

128 The narrative situation is elaborated in *Springinsfeld*, IV-V, pp. 24–29. The ‘Schreiber’ is captured by Courasche’s gang of gypsies and writes her life story down in the manner of the *ST*.


130 Valentin, ‘*Roman Comique*’, p. 8 analyses the metafictional statement in relation to the council of Trent. In Valentin, ‘*Théologie*’, p. 286 he notes the similarity of the terminol-
above, and she even directly renounces the path of spiritual salvation offered to her by the Holy Joes:

ICH BEKENNE UNVERHÖHLEN, DASS ICH MICH AUF SOLCHE HINREIS, WIE MICH DIE PFaffen ÜBERREDEN WOLLEN, NICHT RÜSTEN, NOCH DEME, WAS MICH IHREM VORGEBEN NACH VERHINDERT, VÖLLIG ZU RESIGNIEREN ENTSCHEIßEN KÖNNEN [...]. DAS, SO MIR MANGLET, IST DIE REU, UND WAS MIR MANGLEN SOLLTE, IST DER GEIZ UND DER NEID. [COURASCHE, I, P. 15]

This, again, was in the spiritual framework of the seventeenth century an indisputable one-way ticket to hell. The most disastrous thing that can happen to the worldly sinner in the Christian framework is that God leaves him/her to continue sinning. Furthermore, the conscious rejection of the path to salvation makes her a lost soul, and even her motivation to narrate her sinful life story, revenge, has to be seen as a cardinal sin in this context. Again, the spiritual dimension is present, but only by its absence: a reader who is not initiated into the interpretative framework might misinterpret the following narration. To avoid this, at least some other direct and indirect signposts to the spiritual meaning of the text are put up around it. The text, then, clashes with the interpretative framework in a way unheard of in even the retrospective defusion of the libertinism in Francion.

The first part of the metatextual superstructure that the reader comes across is the elaborate title page of the text. The first indicator is obviously the reference to Simplicissimus (Teutsch). The title page, commonly functioning as blurb and advertisement in the period, summarises the content and gives clear clues to what the reader had to expect of the text. The Simpliciade reference in the title functions in the later texts of the 'Simplician' cycle as advertisement: the reader can expect a similar content (picaresque adventures), form (first-person narration) and style: 'Eben so lustig/annemlich unnützlich zu betrachten als Simplicissimus selbst.' (COURASCHE, TITLE, P. 3). This reference again includes the Horatian formula of 'nutzlich und angenehm', prodesse et delectare, thereby justifying the comical elements of the text as satirical narrative. These adver-

ogy used to Canisius's Catholic manual based on the recommendations of a 'Generalbeichte' by the council.

131 The implicit condemnation of the heroine has been pointed out by Trappen, Menippeische Satire, pp. 246 and 276; Schade, 'Thesen', p. 227; Joldesma, p. 162 and Joel Lefebvre, 'Didaktik und Spiel in Grimmelshausens Courage', Simpliciana, 2 (1980), 31-6 (p. 32). Starr, in his analysis of spiritual autobiography points out that it is most disastrous for the sinner if God does not stop him/her sinning (p. 58).

132 See also the titles of SP, p. 3: 'Beydes lustig und nützlich zulesen', of ST, p. 3: 'Überaus lustig/ und männlich nutzlich zu lesen', of WV, p. 3: 'auf Simplicianische Art sehr
tised satirical elements are certainly present in the text, but not as numerous as in *Francion* or the *Golden Ass*. For example, the 'Herren Geistlichen' are reprimanded for failing to guide the lost soul in chapter I (p. 15), and 'die gemeine Gottlosigkeit der Welt' that is depicted in the text makes it a general portrayal of the perversion of Courasche’s environment (*Courasche*, XIX, p. 89). On the other hand, the title also stresses that the central character is by no means critical or outside of the immoral world she depicts, as is the utopian traveller in Grimmelshausen’s *Die Verkehrte Welt*. Courasche is introduced as an arch-cheat, as the ‘Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche’ (*Courasche*, title, p. 3), and this characterisation of the character is repeated in the first chapter (p. 13), and also on the important frontispiece (pp. 4-5). The title page thus already sets the expectation of the reader not towards the usual ‘spiritual laudering’ of a sinful life by an old penitent, but something very different.

This technique is continued in the frontispiece of the text (Figure 27). It functions as a sign for the text, but, similar to the frontispieces analysed above that use a satyr as an indicator for their satirical content, achieves this setting of the horizon of expectation through implicit pointers that are common in the iconographic repertoire of the early modern emblem books. Courasche is shown as the central figure in a very detailed representation of a rural landscape. This landscape is set in the historical context of the Thirty Years’ War by the numerous figures in the background. The comparison of these soldiers and their train to the biblical plague is brought out by the large locust in the air directly above them, underneath the banner bearing the short title of the novel. The devastating effect of the biblical locusts is described by Alciatus’s emblem 128, in Held’s translation:

nutzlich und kurtzweilig zu lesen’, whereas other titles rely on the intertextual reference to ‘simplicianisch’ and stress the comic element (e.g. *TM*, p. 3).

133 *VW*. The ‘utopian traveller’-motif is present throughout: the naive traveller presents the real world as utopia (which the reader then contrasts with the real, dystopian image) to representatives of a *Verkehrte Welt* in the underworld, such as on p. 18: ‘massen seit deinen Tod niehmalen erhöret worden/ daß jemahls ein Christlicher Fürst ein Concubin gehabt/ oder in geringsten nur eine andere als seine Gemahlin berühret’.

134 The creatures around Courasche have been mostly interpreted as a general ‘locus terribilis’. Schade, ‘Frontispiece’, p. 80 provides rather associative interpretations of the winged creatures, as in his linking the basilisk to the character trait of ‘revenge’. See also J. H. Scholte, ‘Johann Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen und die Illustrationen seiner Werke’, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, n.s. 4 (1912), 1-21 and 33-56 (p. 53) who interprets the air-borne creatures as reflecting on Courasche’s guilty conscience, which remains cryptic in the light of her lack of a guilty conscience.
Figure 27: The frontispiece of the first edition of *Courtesie* (BSB copy, enlarged to 140%).
The soldiers and gypsies of the historical backdrop of the frontispiece are thus directly related to the biblical plague through the emblematic sign of locusts, living parasitically off the country. Notice is given to the potential reader not only of the realistic setting of the text, but also of the moral interpretation of this setting. This interpretation is made explicit by one of the final statements of the narrator, in which she expresses wonder at the fact that she and her fellow scavengers are tolerated by the countryside they ravage:


Although this section refers to her later state as duchess of the gypsies, it is equally applicable to the behaviour of the marauders of the Thirty Years’ War.

Courasche is depicted sitting on the mule she acquires in chapter XXVI, discarding objects from her knapsack. The subscriptio to the frontispiece (‘Erklärung des Kupfers’), printed on the back of it, elaborates on this discarded ‘Torheit Kram’, the worldly means to appear beautiful such as ‘Haarpuder’ and ‘Schmink’ (Courasche, p. 6), and the frontispiece shows these materials as well as other common worldly attributes such as comb and mirror that were also depicted in the frontispiece of the Verteítschter Francion. Courasche in her later state as the wife of a gypsy lieutenant does not require these tools any longer, as her main attraction is now no longer her made-up beauty, required for her role as paradigmatic prostitute, but her ability to steal well:

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Courasche is depicted sitting on the mule she acquires in chapter XXVI, discarding objects from her knapsack. The subscriptio to the frontispiece (‘Erklärung des Kupfers’), printed on the back of it, elaborates on this discarded ‘Torheit Kram’, the worldly means to appear beautiful such as ‘Haarpuder’ and ‘Schmink’ (Courasche, p. 6), and the frontispiece shows these materials as well as other common worldly attributes such as comb and mirror that were also depicted in the frontispiece of the Verteítschter Francion. Courasche in her later state as the wife of a gypsy lieutenant does not require these tools any longer, as her main attraction is now no longer her made-up beauty, required for her role as paradigmatic prostitute, but her ability to steal well:

so wurde ich gleich sein Weib und hatte diesen Vorteil, daß ich weder Oleum Talci noch ander Schmiersel mehr bedorffe, mich weiß und schön zu machen, weil sowohl mein Stand selbsten als mein Mann diejenige Coleur von mir erforderte, die man des Teufels Leibfarb nennet. Derowegen finge ich an, mich mit Gänsseschmalz, Läusesalbe und andern haarfärbenden Unguenten also fleißig zu

135 Andreas Alciatus, LIBER EMBLEMATVM [...], trans. by Jeremiam Held (Franckfurt am Main: Nicolaum Basee, 1580), here N. 191 (the numbering of the emblems varies from edition to edition). Unfortunately, I was unable to find a German translation of the numerous editions of Alciatus’s emblem book that contains all the emblematic elements of this frontispiece.
beschmieren, daß ich in kurzer Zeit so höllriegerisch aussahe, als wann ich mitten in Ägypten geboren worden wäre. [Courasche, XXVII, p. 124]

The link of gypsies to Egypt is etymologically commonplace in early modern Europe: the (false) superstition that gypsies originated from there (they really proceeded from Indian origins to Eastern and then Western Europe) is used to explain their darker skin colour, which is perceived as negative, if not necessarily as diabolical, as some interpreters have tried to make out.\textsuperscript{136} The frontispiece thus illustrates a late section of the text, while here not directly reinforcing the negative associations of this section.

However, the mule Courasche is sitting on is depicted chewing on a thistle, and it is here that it becomes apparent that the frontispiece functions not only to illustrate the novel, but also to directly signify the central character: in contemporary emblematics, the mule or ass is frequently represented to indicate greed, as in Alciatus's often reprinted collection of emblems (Figure 28), in Hunger's translation of 1542:

\begin{verbatim}
Wider die geitigen.
   Ein man der hat vil hab vnd guet,
   Doch so geitzig vnd karg darbey,
   Das er nimer hat gueten muet,
   Vnd sparts als ob es heyltgumb sey,
   Gleicht sich eimm Esel wunder frey,
   Dem alltag wird sein ruck beschwert
   Mit kostlicher speyß mancherley,
   Vnd sich doch rauher distel nert.\textsuperscript{137}
\end{verbatim}

The connection is also directly made in Grimmelshausen's \textit{Satyrischer Pilgram}:

\begin{verbatim}
Ein Reicher Geitziger ist des Salomons Esel sagt das gemeine Sprichwort: Dann ein Esel ist ein Ehrend mühsam und Arbeitseelig Thier/ Er frist übel, muß große Arbeit thun sein Leben lang [...]. Also thut auch ein Reicher und Geitziger/ Er krimmet und kratzet/ sein Leben lang, hat Angst/ Sorg und Mühe/ [...] und in dem daß Er also spahret/ frist und süfft Er keinen guthen Bissen noch Tropffen [...]. [SP, 'Gegensatz' of 'Fiinffter Satz / vom Geld', pp. 45-6]\textsuperscript{138}
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{136} Schade, 'Thesen', p. 229 follows Feldges in attempting to link the dark-skinned gypsies to Egypt, perceived as the land of sin of the biblical romances and novels about Joseph, and thus in three associative steps links Courasche to the evil, diabolic Egyptian seductress Assenât. See Grimm and \textit{OED} for the etymology.


\textsuperscript{138} This has been pointed out by Schade, 'Thesen', p. 235. He reprints on p. 239 an engraving by Càllot, directly linking an ass to an allegorical representation of 'Pigrita', or \textit{acedia}, as the deadly sin of sloth is more commonly called.
‘On the avaricious.

Septitus is the richest of all people;
no old man holds vaster lands than he.
Denying himself his own enjoyment and prepared dishes,
he devours nothing except beets and raw turnips.
To what shall I compare this man, whom abundance renders poor?
Is he not like an ass? That is it: he does resemble one.
For the ass carries costly food-stuff on its back,
and the poor thing feeds on bramble-bush and tough reed-grass.’


‘False religion.

A most beautiful harlot sitting on a royal seat,
wears a distinguished purple robe of honour:
and from a full mixing-bowl she offers drink to all,
while strewn about her lie a drunken throng.
Thus do people signify Babylon, which with seductive beauty,
and false religion captivates stupid people.’

(Translation by Daly, I, N. 6)
The mule, feeding on the thistle, indicates the greediness and covetousness that Courasche develops in the later parts of her life (see Chapter 5 of this study) and that is clearly sinful in the sense of a deadly sin. The reference to material greed is also present in the crane flying directly above her head: the crane has been directly related to gluttony (as the glutton in Alciatus's emblem 91 stretches his neck and stuffs his belly just like a crane). Another element of the symbolic use of the mule is obviously its infertility: the product of a horse and a donkey, it cannot normally reproduce and is barren, as is Courasche, who revels in the fact 'daß ich den guten Simpeln glauben gemacht, die Unfruchtbare hätte geboren' (Courasche, XXIV, p. 115). This short aside after Courasche's encounter with Simplicissimus, which the whole narration has been building up to, explains the nature of Courasche's voracious sexual appetite: it is infertile, devouring men's semen without procreating life, and thus, in the spiritual framework set up around the novel, sinful. A further element of this sinful sexuality is signified by the horns hovering in the air above the male soldier to the left of Courasche: the context identifies him as 'Springinsfeld, dem ein Fähndrich auf der Courage Anstalt gar listig ein Paar großer Hörner aufsetzet' (Courasche, table of contents, chapter heading of XVI, p. 9). Thus, another character trait of Courasche is interpreted by the frontispiece, and notice is given of her adulterous, illegitimate sexuality. The same element of the devouring, sexually and financially greedy heroine as prostitute is also indicated by the 'Nachteule' (she compares herself to one in Courasche, IX, p. 45) to the right of the banner. Owls are linked in the iconography of the early modern period not just to their proverbial wisdom, but also to the night, to illegitimate love, and even to misfortune: in chapter IX of the text, Courasche is consciously avoided by the militia she travels with as she is perceived to bring misfortune to a series of husbands that all die a violent death. This character trait of malignant slyness that leads to her exclusion from honest society is also indicated by the bat underneath the banner. The bat is — as the owl — a nocturnal creature, but carries a number of directly negative connotations. In Alciatus's usage, the day-blind bat is first

139 Schade, 'Frontispiece', p. 77. Heckmann, p. 25 sees the mule's infertility as reflecting on the entire barren war.
140 Schade, 'Frontispiece', p. 82 interprets the male figure as the gypsy lieutenant that Courasche marries in chapter XXVII, but the gun the figure carries as well as the cuckoldry image indicates the musketeer Springinsfeld (e.g. XIV, p. 68).
141 Henkel, cols 889-99. See also Watanabe-O'Kelly, Melancholie, p. 87 who links the dual nature of the emblematic owl to the seventeenth-century perception of the dual nature of wise and sinful melancholy.
related to debtors in hiding, to philosophers who through their ruinous nightly study lose their common sense — and to slyness:

Darzu zeigts an auch listig Leut
Die heimlich sich auff beyde seit
Halten/ vnd kriegen doch zu sold
Das zu kein theil trauw/ vnd ist hold.  

The frontispiece is probably only designed to bring out the element of slyness in the gypsy’s character, eventually losing the confidence of militia and honest citizens alike and becoming the ultimate outcast, a gypsy. One icon on the frontispiece refers to her later state as spiteful gypsy, narrating her story to avenge herself on Simplicissimus: the scarab beetle on the left is frequently associated with the insidious weaker animal, piercing the eggs of an eagle (Alciatus’s emblem 169). The German translation brings this to a direct applicatio:

Drumb halt mit groß vnd klaynen frid
Zu schwach ist niemand zu der rach.  

The avenging powers of even insignificant things is emphasised in this emblematic image, which can be seen as a direct reflection on Courasche’s power to sting Simplicissimus in her vengeful attack, insignificant as the old gypsy might be.

The numerous signs and especially animals around the portrait of Courasche therefore serve as a detailed indication of her character, but especially the other framing creature on the left of the banner brings out the evil nature of the narrator: a basilisk, commonly depicted as a cock with a serpent’s tail from the supposed origin of this devilish creature from a cock’s egg, again reflects on the character that is portrayed underneath it. Courasche’s ability to bind men such as Springinsfeld to her in amorous obsession resembles the basilisk and its devilish look:

da ich Sie damals das erstemal ansahe, fieng auch meine Krankheit an, welche mir aber den Tod bringen wird, wann ich Sie nicht mehr sehen sollte! [Courasche, XV, p. 72]

Courasche binds her unlucky husbands with one deadly glance, and most of them then find an untimely end on the battlefields of the Thirty Years’ War, although not directly

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142 Alciatus, LIBER EMBLEMATVM, trans. by Held, N. 180.
143 Alciatus, Emblemata libellus, trans. by Wolphgangum Hungerum, N. 54. This emblem goes back to one of Aesop’s fables (N. 4), although it should be noted that the German translation of the sixteenth century that is invariably reprinted throughout the early modern period, translates this for no apparent reason as a hornet and an eagle.
through the first deadly glance of a basilisk or Medusa (see the 'Zugab des Autors' that compares prostitutes to this mythical woman).

A last emblematic reference that is implicit in this frontispiece, but not explained in it or in the subscriptio, is the one to the woman sitting on the beast, to the Whore of Babylon of the Revelation of St. John. The book of Revelation is frequently published separately from the New Testament in the early modern period, most notably by Dürer in 1498 and 1511. The demonic whore, arriving on the seven-headed beast just before the apocalypse, offers 'ein guldin schenckuaß in irer hande vol vnmenschlicher sünde. vnd der vnreyningkeit irer gemeynen vnkeusch' to the worldly kings.\(^144\) Again, it is important to note that this reference is not very strong in the frontispiece of Courasche:\(^145\) the implicit layer of a prostitute sitting on an animal might have been recognised by readers familiar with the Whore of Babylon or one of the numerous representations of her by Dürer and the popular emblem books (see Figure 29), but the representations differ greatly in detail. However, the reference is brought out directly in the next text in the 'Simplician' cycle, Springinsfeld. The fictional writer, who later turns out to have written down Courasche's oral report, first encounters the band of gypsies and Courasche's arrival in terms of an apocalyptic doomsday:

\[
\text{Nun diese tolle Zigeunerin/ welche von den andern eine gnädige Frau genannt: von mir aber vor ein Ebenbild der Dame von Babylon gehalten wurde/ wann sie nur auf einem siebenköpfigen Trachen gesessen: und ein wenig schöner gewesen wäre/ sagte zu mir; Ach mein schöner weisser junger Gesell/ was machstu hier so gar allein/ und so weit von den Leuthen? [Springinsfeld, V, pp. 26-7]}\]

\(^{146}\) The similarity of the paradigmatic gypsy and prostitute and of the evil harlot of eschatology, devouring money and men alike, is brought out in a fashion that resembles the later fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm: the evil witch bends down to the comely white youth, about to engulf him in her depravity.


\(^{145}\) Feldges, p. 187 overreads the anagogical layer of the text, identifying Courasche as a prefiguration of the Whore of Babylon herself. Penkert, p. 267 also sees the entire frontispiece as taken directly from Alciatus's Whore of Babylon and Greedy Ass emblems which is not the case: note the differences in the portrayal of Courasche and the whore towering on a throne on the seven-headed beast.

\(^{146}\) Grimmelshausen in another text compares the speeches of drunken peasants in the pub to the blasphemous speech of 'das Thier in der Offenbahrung Johannis' (\textit{WV} II, 21, p. 277).
There has been much debate over Grimmelshausen's involvement in the execution of the frontispieces of his texts. Supporting this is the in-depth knowledge of the texts that are illustrated, and the full command of the iconography of this frontispiece and also the satyr frontispiece of *Simplicissimus Teutsch*. However, no original sketches survive, and the other drawings by Grimmelshausen that have been published by Könnecke and others are of a very different nature (depictions of fortifications and castles). No matter where it originated, the frontispiece, while illustrating the content of the text and the historical setting of the Thirty Years' War in the background, functions as an important indicator of the spiritual nature of the character, but again by implicit allusion to allegorical symbols commonplace in the contemporary emblem books. The character is represented as a paradigmatic sinner, as an infertile, greedy prostitute related to the devil, but only to those readers (or viewers) of the frontispiece initiated into the spiritual layer of the engraving.

The metatextual framework continues this implication, but sometimes even states the morality directly. Chapter headings such as a comment on the 'verruchtes, gottloses Leben' (*Courasche*, V, p. 28) and the ‘[g]ar zu übermachtie Gottlosigkeit der gewissenlosen Courage’ (*Courasche*, XIIX, p. 85) move the metatextual condemnation of the central character closer to the text itself, but it remains up to the two metatextual postscripts after the text as such to provide the most scathing moral and spiritual condemnation: whereas the 'Wahrhaftige Ursach und kurzgefaßter Inhalt dieses Traktätleins' indicates the content in the form of a blurb, printed on the very last page of the novel and thus again advertising the content to the potential reader, the 'Zugab des Autors' contains a direct applicatio of the text to the (male!) reader: a clear warning to stay well clear of prostitutes, and by implication the exemplary prostitute Courasche. What is essential in this (unique) metatextual addition to the text is that it is clearly an attempt at preventing the potential mis-reception of the text. The implied author seems not to trust the effectiveness of the indirect allegorical references in the frame and in the frontispiece. Grimmelshausen uses an intertextual borrowing from one of his favourite sources, Garzoni,

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148 Heßelmann, p. 52.
on the shortfalls of ‘Huren / und denen / so inen anhangen’, but nevertheless changes its structure (see Appendix B). The hyperbolic climaxes of nouns and adjectives are in the first part expanded by Grimmelshausen (‘und was das meiste ist / auch ein böß Gewissen’), in the second restructured (‘daß man sich endlich dessen bey sich selbst schämen muß / und oftermals viel zu spat beklagt’), but in both cases culminate in a spiritual climax of the negative results associated with prostitution: the worst thing that can happen to the chaste males in dealing with prostitutes is not ‘Armuth und Elend’, not even the illnesses of ‘Frantzosen’ and ‘Blattern’ (syphilis and smallpox), the very worst thing that can happen to the reader is ‘ein böß Gewissen’ and shame. This metatextual addition thus finally sets the correct reception towards a spiritual reading of the prostitute’s narrative. It focuses on a moral, and implicitly on an anagogical end that the reader has to be aware of if he fails to apprehend even this direct applicatio. This directly didactic ‘Rezeptionskorrektur’, on the other hand, sits on the border of a text totally void of a spiritual perspective: it clashes with Courasche’s self-interpretation as a successful picaresque survivor of the atrocities of war. The edifying aim is clearly present in the novel, but only on the thresholds, not inside it.

A further attempt to avoid this apprehended misapplication of Courasche (and thereby anticipate criticism) is made in the Gesamtausgabe, published posthumously in three versions between 1683 and 1713 (see Chapter 3 above). The publisher Felßecker and his anonymous Protestant corrector clearly spent a great deal of time and money on the project, and it is clearly not for financial reasons that the publisher adds the metatextual commentaries in form of poems: a merely illustrated edition would have sold just as well.

There are some structural changes in this version of Courasche: the blurb, now no longer required on the back cover, moves to the front of the text after the ‘Erklärung des

149 Garzoni, Piazza (1626), 73. Discurs, pp. 463-4.
150 Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen, Lebensbeschreibung der Erzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche, ed. by Wolfgang Bender (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), p. 148. For a parallel print of the two versions indicating and analysing the changes, see Appendix B and Chapter 4 of this study.
151 Heßelmann’s term. There is common agreement on this interpretation of the ‘Zugab’. See Heßelmann, p. 52; also Lefebvre, p. 35; Feldges, p. 153 and Zaenker, p. 650.
152 Trappen, Menippeische Satire, p. 44 notes the pro-worldly Protestantism of the additions, as opposed to the anti-worldly asceticism of the hermits in ST. Koschlig, Ingenium, p. 265 deduces Johann Christoph Beer [not to be mistaken for Johann Beer!] as corrector, but this has been widely disputed. See Heßelmann, p. 133.
Kupfers’ and thus summarises the text before the narration, but the important ‘Zugab’ remains in its place after the text. Another formal necessity is the recutting of the frontispiece to conform to the format of the edition: it is now printed on a single page and therefore has to change the depicted format from landscape to portrait (see Figure 30). The engraver clearly uses the original as a model (the entire frontispiece is mirror-in-

Figure 30: Re-cut frontispiece of Couräsche in Grimmelshausen, *Der Aus dem Grab der Vergessenheit wieder erstandene SIMPLICISSIMI [...] (1713), II, facing p. 108.*

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verted). He also moves the 'enormous pair of horns' towards the top of the page and changes the suitor to depict a courtly character, no longer the soldier Springinsfeld. This courtier is now furthermore approaching Courasche rather than bidding her farewell. The changed format reinforces the analogy to the depictions of the Whore of Babylon, with the courtly suitors willing to approach her and take her cup of fornication. The added subscriptio of the frontispiece is further bracketed by an enlarged depiction of the owl and basilisk discussed above. However, the most important amplification of this interpretative frame is the rhymed subscriptio itself: it provides another 'Erklärung des Kupfers' on the pictorial page itself that thus resembles more and more an emblem with inscriptio, pictura and subscriptio. The fairly clumsy rhymes are representative of the metatextual additions of the C-edition:

Nim hier das Huren Weib in acht,  
Die ihren Männern Hörner macht  
Und freye klüglich mit Bedacht.\(^{154}\)

The addition provides a Nutzanwendung for the reader that is predominantly secular. The gesture of the imperative 'Nim hier [...]'] is the basic gesture of the applicatio, alerting the reader to the right use. This gesture is omnipresent in the illustrations of the C-edition of Courasche (mostly as 'Schau'), and also in the additions to the chapters themselves.\(^{155}\)

Within the text, some changes in style occur, and sometimes the text itself is slightly corrected in order to clarify sections,\(^{156}\) but most additions occur before and after the chapters themselves. These additions on the very borders of the chapters are consistently in the form of rhymed metatextual statements, mostly iambic tetrameters.

\(^{154}\) Reproduction of the Courasche frontispiece and the other illustrations of C\(^1\) in Wimmer, Benehst, pp. 80-5. The C\(^3\) engraving is again slightly altered in a re-cut (see my Figure 30).

\(^{155}\) Wimmer, Benehst, p. 83 (VII); p. 85 (XIX) and in Grimmelshausen, Trutzsimplex, ed. by Keller, in the additions at the beginning of the chapters (XV, XVIII) and at the end of chapters (VII, IX, XI, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV).

\(^{156}\) Clarifications of the narrative situation in I: 'Warumb das Courage? warumb wirst du also lachen?' is changed to '[...] lachen (möchte mancher fragen).’ Grimmelshausen, Trutzsimplex, ed. by Keller, I, p. 173, and also again p. 174. Also, the C-edition changes the Latin 'Lupas' in the 'Zugab' to the German 'Wolffinnen', without being aware of the Garzoni intertext (p. 323). The most important inner-textual expansion is of the poem demonstrating women's falseness in crying, Chapter VI (pp. 197-8), which adds an applicatio. When the same poem is repeated in XIII, the C-edition only cross-references this without adding the further lines (p. 232).
One part of the additions occurs before the chapters, as in the case of the *Verteitschter Francion*. In most cases, these added poems just summarise the following story, but sometimes they also provide an *applicatio*:

Wer was Leichtfertigs hören will,
Der stehe hier ein wenig still,
Und hör, was die Courage spricht,
Doch daß er deren folge nicht,
Besondern nur zur warnung hör,
Und sich von solcher bäsern lehr.\(^{157}\)

Most of the additions before the chapters are thus synopses, expanding the synoptic chapter headings, and also frequently providing moral interpretations of this synopsis, but rarely treating the narrative unit to follow as *exemplum* or drawing an *applicatio* from it.\(^{158}\)

This then happens frequently in the addition of poems after the chapters, which are generally longer than the introducing ones. They always provide a moral interpretation of the events and very frequently even combine the two didactic forms.\(^{159}\) Generally, the movement of these summarising verses is firstly the statement of a general truth in the gnomic, authoritative present, then the portrayal of the particular case of Courasche in this narrative unit, linked to the general truth, and finally the application of the doctrine to the reader, as in the following case:

Deß bösen wird man gerne los,
Und achtet niemand solches groß,
Wer wird mit unfall sich beklecken,
Ein jeder sich't sich fleissig für,
Für einem solchen wüsten Thier,
Das so voll Laster pflegt zu stecken,
Auf daß man nicht besudelt werd,

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\(^{157}\) Grimmelshausen, *Trutzsimplex*, ed. by Keller, beginning of XXIII, p. 294, addition by C.

\(^{158}\) The occurrences are as follows, even though there is an overlap: summaries occur in I, II, III, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XXV and in XXVI. Moral interpretations of the following units can be found in III, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XV, XXIV. The text is read as *exemplum* in V, X, XII, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXI, XXVII and XXVII; and the *applicatio* is drawn for the reader in IV, XVI, XXII, XXIII (which is only an application), XXV and XXVII. Only in XX is there no introducing poem, probably due to the illustration bound in before this chapter.

\(^{159}\) Moral interpretations in II, III, V, X; exemplary readings in VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII; *applicatio* in I, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XVII, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXVII; again, these forms are not mutually exclusive. No poem occurs at the end of XIX: the illustration provides the *applicatio* in its place.
Lines one to nine provide the general truth about 'evil' persons; line ten then interprets Courasche as an *exemplum* of the best treatment of evil, and lines eleven to fourteen finally provide the *applicatio* to the reader. The verses frequently have to be called clumsy and in instances like this ruin their moral validity by involuntary bathos ('du garstigs Sünden Schwein'), but the essential intention of the metatextual additions is obvious: the reader is asked to see his own reflection in the text *as in satire*. The additions twice ask the reader to 'spiegle dich' in the actions portrayed,¹⁶¹ and the very end of the text (and metatextual addition) repeats this mirror metaphor and relates it to the motif of the perverted world reflected by the mirror: 'Diß ist ein Spiegel böser Art'.¹⁶² The exemplary negative behaviour of the character is stressed and applied to the reader's situation; the reader is alerted to the moral meaning of the life story, but the interesting fact is that the additions of the first *Gesamtausgabe* do not expand the anagogical dimension present in the metatextual framework of the original editions.¹⁶³ This only happens in an even later addition, in the expansion of the metatext added to chapter XVIII. The *spiritus familiaris*, implicitly recognisable as a devilish creature already in the first edition, directly called the 'Teuffel' in the C'-addition to chapter XXII,¹⁶⁴ now merits a direct anagogical interpretation and application to the reader — over three pages of the C²- and C³-editions, including different forms of verse and also prose:

Allhier wird der Zustand mit den Spiritibus familiarum, dero Bewandnuß und Beschaffenheit vorgestellet. So boßhafftig und taudsentlistig ist der Teuffel, daß er [...] sich doch gleichwolein so überaus in seinen Bedienten, demütiget, schurigeln, zwingen, obligat machen, und abtrollen läset. Einig nur darum, damit er unterweilen eine oder auch mehr Seelen, durch solche seine gezwungene oder simulirte Demut und Dienstbarkeit gewinne und an sich ziehe. [...]
Also lässt sich dieser Welt-Fürst von den thörigten und verwogenen Menschen herum schleppen, nur zu seinem Nutzen, ihre Seelen dardurch zu gewinnen: Gleichwohl aber sind sie so unbedächtlich, daß sie es nicht einmal achten oder gewähr werden, wie hier dieses Capitel außweist. O übergrosse Blindheit! [...] 

Drum lasse (wer da klug) mit solchen sich nicht ein, 
Wer anderst dermaleinst, nicht will verdammet seyn. 

The literal sense of the text, portraying an eerie helper of the evil heroine, is supplemented with the anagogical meaning of this eerie helper as an embodiment of the 'Welt-Fürst', the devil himself, and the last lines provide the necessary *applicatio*. The last section, from a poem of twelve lines, makes it clear that the anonymous adaptor borrows heavily from different sources (in one instance Latin and German), styles, and forms, to clarify the spiritual dimension of the devilish helper and especially the anagogical meaning that was only present implicitly, by its absence, in the first edition.

Even though the additions of the metatext thus attempt to rectify the reception of the text and to clarify the dubious moral nature of the protagonists, this addition is in many ways contrary to the tendency present in the translation _Verteütschter Francion_. The comparatively ambitious task of adding verse metatexts only focuses on the secular moral sense of the text, not on the anagogical meaning that is clearly present underneath the literal text, which could be linked to the Protestant editor's attitude to spiritual senses of scripture and literature. However, the different layers of meaning are again shown to coexist peacefully underneath the surface level of the consonant narration of events in the Thirty Years' War, but again need to be clarified by more and more metatextual additions — at least in the view of the early modern editor. Uncommented, direct narration of a prostitute cannot be trusted, and also cannot be trusted to be understood correctly as a negative exemplary narration by the reader — but he can be guided towards the correct reception.

6.5. 'The Moral is left to be gather'd by the Senses and Judgment of the Reader': Moll's Exegetic Emancipation of the Reader

At some point in the eighteenth century novel (if not in the critical commentaries on it) the quest for a spiritual sense came to an end. However, this was a gradual process, and it furthermore did not at first include a secularisation of novelistic writing. At the begin-

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165 Grimmelshausen, _Trutzsimplex_, ed. by Keller, end of XVIII, p. 267-9, addition by C².
ning of the eighteenth century, novels were still written for the same purposes as in the
seventeenth: to educate the reader, to expose vice and to promote virtue, and this within
the still all-encompassing totalising vision of a Christian framework. Nevertheless, the
direct moral commentaries on the borders of the text begin to fade: increasingly, these
direct moral exegeses of the spiritual sense of the text were described as an authorial
‘intrusion’, and, as will be shown, especially in the English novel of Daniel Defoe, the
further hidden layer is no longer present: the surface or historical meaning itself pro­
duces the moral meaning and thus does not have to be taken to a further, higher level of
allegorical, moral, or anagogical meaning.

The first indicators of a change in reception are new adaptations of texts that had
been translated previously. The change of context changes the adaptation: in the case of
Sorel’s Fracion, the first translation into English of 1655 had been fairly faithful to the
French text, but failed to be successful in the English social and intellectual setting. The
re-edition of the same translation some fifty years later aimed at rectifying this ‘missed
opportunity’ of adapting the text to the cultural context:

To make it more conformable to the Intent of the Author, we have ventur’d to Expatriate
[enlarge] upon the Morals, and Apothegms; nay we have ventur’d to insert some of our
own Growth: Some Stories that have been long the Table-talk of this Age, were judg’d too
Familiarly known, not but I might have said vulgar, therefore we have put Others in their
stead; which have an equal measure of Salt and Mythology, with the additional Beauty of
being more New.\textsuperscript{166}

This announcement in the metatextual introduction by the adaptor sets the reader’s ex­
pectations firstly towards added moral segments, that furthermore are not a reiteration of
old moral commonplaces, but beautifully new: the reader is led to anticipate a modern­
ised revamp of an old text into a new novel. What the adaptor then really went on to do
to the text is precisely a reduction of these moralising elements that were still present in
the C-edition of the Fracion, as well as in the German and English translations from the
previous century.\textsuperscript{167} The central character was here adapted to become a social type,

\textsuperscript{166} THE Comical History OF FRACION [...], n. trans. (London: R. Wellington, 1703), fols
Aa 2'-Aa 2'.

\textsuperscript{167} See Verdier’s excellent analysis of the three English editions. Verdier, pp. 79 and 84.
The 1703 edition eliminates most of the interpretative frame, such as the dedications and
the metafictional ‘À Francion’, as well as a large part of the metatextual introduction to
book VIII.
recognisable to the contemporary reader: a roguish adventurer. Again, a lack of metatextual condemnation of the character still allows for him to be interpreted in clear moral categories, the ones set by the 'roguish stage' of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. It is nevertheless indicative of the later eighteenth century that already this adaptation cuts the metatextual additions which were still thought to be an integral part of the work of art some fifty years before.

Daniel Defoe's writings, spanning a period of more than fifty years, can all be described as moral to a certain extent. The pamphlets he began to write in the 1680s on political, religious and moral issues frequently use the form of satire and irony. Already the text that established his fame as a writer, *The True-Born Englishman* of 1701, is a satire on a belief in an inherent English blood line and related rights of succession. The power of irony is most notable in the most famous satirical deceit of the eighteenth century: in the *Shortest Way With the Dissenters* of 1702, Defoe assumed the voice of a high churchman in the controversy over dissenting Christian beliefs, and takes the positions to their logical, but draconian extreme:

I answer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv’d, but for the prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do. [Shortest Way, p. 126]

He proposed to kill all Dissenters, persons who do not conform to the beliefs of the Church of England. When, after immense debate over the positions argued in the pamphlet, the author was found out to be a Dissenter himself, the general outrage of the establishment over this cunning trick was so great that Defoe was thrown into prison and forced to stand in the pillory three times. The government refused to read the text as irony, and it seems that the outrage was caused by Defoe's ability to disguise his voice rather than by the positions argued.170

Even after this experience of the dangers of satire, Defoe kept using the forms of irony and satire in his pamphlets and the periodical essays of the *Review*. He introduced

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168 Verdier, pp. 77 and 86–7. She also notes that the scatological and obscure parts are shortened in the adaptation.

169 Backscheider notes the use of exemplary, illustrative stories in all of Defoe's writings (p. xii). The technique Defoe uses in his pamphlets is the traditional postulation of a hypothesis, the use of an illustrative example and then the summarising conclusion (p. 18), which again highlights the tradition of the *exempla*.

170 For an account of the entire controversy, see Backscheider, pp. 94–120.
his intentions in the first collection of Reviews as the traditional aim of satirists ('to exalt Vertue, to expose Vice, promote Truth, and help Men to serious Reflection', Review, I, Preface, p. [4]), and stressed his inability to abstain from writing satire:

When I saw the Word of God turn'd into Bullying and Burlesque, and the Pulpit sound to Party War; when I saw those Hands, which used to be spread forth in Prayers to God, and Blessings to Men, lifted up in virulent Imprecations, Cursing and Bitterness [...] When I saw the Dissenters embrace a set of Men that avowedly sold and betray'd them [...] nay, when I saw them willing to be sold and betray'd [...] I could not but speak; indeed who could, or who can refrain.

Difficile est Satyram non scribere, nam quis iniquce
Tam patiens Urhis, tam ferr eus ut teneat se?
Juv. Sat. I.

[Review, N. 104, 6. 6. 1713, K, 210]

This is the traditional line of defence of satirical writing: the satirist claims to have not been able to stop himself from writing satires on a totally perverted world. The passage, rhetorically repeating the invocation of the negative world ('When I saw') again and again in a manner reminiscent of preaching a sermon, is from one of the last Reviews Defoe ever wrote. The reference to Juvenal sets the tone of the summary: bitterness and self-righteousness dominated Defoe's self-perception at this time just before the death of Queen Anne and his fall from political grace. Here he summarises the periodical essays he wrote over nine years as basically satirical, even though it can be argued that they are more generally moral periodical essays or moralische Wochenschriften, touching diverse subjects that range from political to religious and moral matters.

The themes Defoe took up again and again in the periodicals and the pamphlets of his early years reappeared in the later novelistic writings. Even though texts such as Moll Flanders have comparatively little direct satirical elements, other moral themes of previous writings reappear: the general assertion that poverty is the worst 'devil' in the world that prompts one to immorality is frequent in the Review as well as in Moll Flanders. Moll begs her 'Bath' lover to support her financially 'that I might not be

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171 Elkin, p. 71.
172 Backscheider, p. 329 notes the similarity of Steele and Defoe in the moral aims of their periodicals.
173 Passages satirising society can be found in Moll on p. 86 ('many a Newgate Bird becomes a great Man' in America); p. 130 (general greed of her environment) and p. 277 the priest in Newgate prison 'preaching Confession and Repentance to me in the Morning, and find him drunk with Brandy and Spirits by Noon'.
expos'd to the Temptations which the Devil never fails to excite us to from the frightful prospect of Poverty and Distress [...] (Moll, p. 125). In a similar statement in the Review, Defoe expresses the compelling power of poverty to commit even the most heinous crime, and this motif reappears in numerous of his later writings:

Will the honestest Man of you all, if ye were drowning in the Thames, refuse to lay hold of your Neighbour who is in the same Condition, for fear he drown with you? Nay, will you not pull him down by the Hair of his Head, tread on him with your Feet, tho' you sink him to the Bottom, to get your self out? — What shall we say? — Give me not Poverty, lest I Steal. [Review, N. 75, 15. 9. 1711, VIII, 303]

The following, equally draconian section of this Review, where Defoe describes the power of temptation and poverty to force even the most honest citizen to acts of cannibalism, has already been quoted in Chapter 5 in relation to Moll's attempts to blame her shortfalls on these powers. It can be assumed that Defoe did not condone the behaviour he observed in others, and the compelling power of self-interest: Defoe, with his share of self-interest and financial problems, portrays in his texts a world divided between self-interest and the Puritan morality of his dissenting belief that he continued to defend throughout his life.174

This also has severe implications for the depiction of the young and no longer innocent heroine in Moll Flanders. Sexuality, portrayed as essentially unproblematic in the episodic narration of Lucius in the Golden Ass and the libertine text Francion, now explicitly becomes a serious moral problem: extramarital sexuality is frequently presented as a moral crime,175 which is not necessarily the case for Moll's other criminal exploits (such as the theft of a necklace from a little child) that she attempts to justify by necessity. Sexuality, even in the form of self-interest or prostitution in order to survive, thus becomes problematic in a cultural environment that puts increasing value on chastity and virtue. Sexuality at the root of at least some of Moll's problems (her initial

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174 There is general consensus on the moral ambivalence of the entire period, between nascent capitalism and still dominant Christian value systems. The paradoxical stance of the early eighteenth century towards welcoming trade, while at the same time lamenting the related loss of moral values is best encapsulated by Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, but also surfaces in the ambiguous usage of terms such as advantage (denoting spiritual or material success) by Addison and others (for example, Addison's Spectator essay N. 94, 18. 6. 1711, I, 398). On Defoe's stance see: Richetti, 'Novel and Society', pp. 51-53; Price, pp. 8 and 16; Langford, p. 167.

175 For example in Moll, p. 29 'our Crime' and 'our wicked Pleasure'. Also pp. 58, 89, 107, 116 and 128.
'Fall' with the elder brother, her incestuous marriage to her own brother, her subsistence as a mistress and prostitute) is present on the surface level of the text: it therefore does not require elaborate commentaries such as Beroaldo's spiritual reading of the carnal element in the *Golden Ass*.

This increased explicit judgement of (fallen) virtue is also no longer directly linked to the analogical layer of condemnation as in *Courasche* or the *Verteutschter Francion*, but to the bourgeois moral ideology that was to culminate in Richardson's *Pamela* later in the century. The negative perception of the sexual exploits of the young self reveals the moral point of view of most of the text: narration from the protean perspective of a penitent, enlightened self is stylised according to the conventional patterns of spiritual autobiography. Moll's penitent end in many ways resembles the penitent ends of numerous picaresque characters, but it is important to note that her end is within the social world (she even returns 'to England' from her exile, *Moll*, p. 343). This contrasts sharply with the ascetic end of Simplicissimus and others outside this world, on his desert island, totally oriented towards eternal life. This very different ending betrays the Protestant perspective in its rejection of an ascetic *vita contemplativa* of the (Catholic) hermit and endorsement of an actively pious end within the civilised world.

It can be said that all of Defoe's characters have a certain degree of moral aspiration. This is present in *Moll Flanders* in her use of scripture to abstract a general truth on drunken men from a singular case: "THESE are the Men of whom Solomon says, *they go like an Ox to slaughter, till a Dart strikes through their Liver*" (*Moll*, p. 226). This is also present in her reasoning on theft along very secular moral lines that can be paralleled in Locke's moral argumentation on possessions. The text frequently stresses the forces of poverty and necessity. The two evil tempters lead the self astray and thereby to clash with the value systems of society, but the frequent references to penitence and conversion link the narration of the sinner Moll to the structure of autobiographical accounts of conversion in the tradition of Augustine. As has been pointed out in Chapter 4 of this study,

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this confessional narration is not coherent as it frequently clashes with the episodic narration of 'adventures'. However, the self-interpretation of Moll as a confessor in the tradition of spiritual autobiographies is made explicit by the text itself. When Moll confesses her sins to the priest in Newgate,

I unravell'd all the Wickedness of my Life to him: In a word, I gave him an Abridgement of this whole History; I gave him the Picture of my Conduct for 50 Years in Miniature. [Moll, p. 288]

This again implies that the 'whole History' therefore is an extension of this confession into the narrative form of Confessions, or (more likely) the retrospective stylisation of her experiences into such a coherent unit of sinning - conversion - penitence, the narration of which is meant to achieve absolution from God, and society. Where the title page of Courasche stressed her downfall, here even the title page implies a spiritual increase in the character of Moll, who

was Born in NEWGATE, and during a Life of continu'd Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent [...]. [Moll, p. iii]

The penitent and rich end is also again an indicator of the rewards the converted sinner can expect in a society that purportedly rewards positive moral behaviour. Spiritual wholesomeness is clearly linked to material rewards on this side of the grave.

The text is full of moral digressions of the narrating self, who is furthermore consistently conscious of narrating throughout the novel. The narrating self again and again stresses the moral usefulness of the text, a claim that was also made by the seventeenth-century novels and adaptations, but there traditionally on the borders of the text and not in the text itself, as happens here:

As the publishing this Account of my Life, is for the sake of the just Moral of every part of it, and for Instruction, Caution, Warning and Improvement to every Reader, so this will not pass I hope for an unnecessary Digression [...]. [Moll, p. 326]

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179 This has been noted by Bell, 'Crime', p. 108 and Bjornson, pp. 193 and 196.
180 Other moral digressions can be found in Moll on p. 7 (state of orphans), p. 58, p. 64 (bankrupts in the 'Mint'), pp. 67-8, pp. 73-4, p. 119, p. 123, p. 126, p. 128, p. 173 (on the abandonment of children), pp. 212-3, pp. 226-8 (on men heated by wine), p. 278 and pp. 325-6. Gillespie, p. 161 perceives 'Defoe's' moral digressions as an attack on society, which holds true only for some of the ones mentioned above that are not reflections of the narrating self on the immorality of the experiencing self, treating this younger self as a negative exemplum rather than satirising society. The proximity of the self-analysis of Moll to Puritan customs has been pointed out by Price, p. 17 and Watt, p. 75, but this
The narration of not just adventurous episodes, but also of moral reflections by the older self on these episodes, is justified in order to provide negative moral examples for the reader. This strong instructional aim is stated explicitly in the text; the moral didacticism is laid open for the reader:

Particularly, I reflect that many of those who may be pleas’d and divert’d with the Relation of the wild and wicked part of my Story, may not relish this, which is really the best part of my Life, the most Advantageous to myself, and the most instructive to others; [...] It would be a severe Satyr on such, to say they do not relish the Repentance as much as they do the Crime; and that they had rather the History were a compleat Tragedy, as it was very likely to have been. [Moll, p. 291]

Thus, a reading of the text as pure delectation is blamed on the reader; again a warning against the possible misunderstanding of a text that is nevertheless much more confident that the reader him- or herself will find the correct application. Even though she admits that the 'wild and wicked' part of the story is essentially more enjoyable than the moral digressions of the narrating self, these are again commended to the reader in similar terms to Horace’s dual aims of prodesse et delectare. It is furthermore important to note that the usefulness of the text is again directed towards a spiritual dimension, towards the spiritual reformation of the reader through the understanding of an exemplary life. There are even certain passages that can be described as a direct applicatio of the text to the reader, but this occurs less frequently and also is not as explicit as in the metatextual additions to Courasche in the Gesamtausgabe, or even the last edition of Francion:

I am the more particular in this part, that if my Story comes to be read by any innocent young Body, they may learn from it to Guard themselves against the Mischiefs which attend an early Knowledge of their own Beauty [...]. [Moll, p. 24]¹⁸¹

The moral of the story is spelled out for the reader in order to show him or especially her the application of it. However, more commonly the narrator tells an exemplary story

¹⁸¹ The problem of sheer narration surfaces again in Moll’s narration of the ‘Lancashire’ husband’s life story when the narrating self reflects: ‘I could fill a larger History than this, with the Evidences of this Truth, and but that I doubt that part of the Story will not be equally diverting as the wicked Part [...]’ (p. 339). This is already present when he ‘gave [me] a long History of his Life, which indeed would make a very strange History, and be infinitely diverting’ (p. 299). Criminal biographies are thus portrayed as mostly entertaining and not necessarily useful negative examples, which again highlights their schizophrenic moral stance.  
¹⁸² Applications of the text to the reader occur also in Moll p. 119 ‘I have often observ’d since, and leave it as a caution to the Readers of this Story; [...]’ and p. 191.
in order to illustrate a general moral truth, which is clarified by moral digression of the narrating self in the gnomic present tense, but the application of this truth is left up to the reader:

The Moral indeed of all my History is left to be gather’d by the Senses and Judgment of the Reader; I am not Qualified to preach to them, let the Experience of one Creature compleatly Wicked, and compleatly Miserable be a Storehouse of useful warning to those that read. [Moll, p. 268]\(^\text{183}\)

This is on the one hand a disclaimer on the part of the implied author rejecting any responsibility for instant imitations of the heroine by young, innocent and idle readers, but also part of a general trend. It is here that the development of text and metatext at the beginning of the eighteenth century becomes apparent: narration still follows the same aims as before, to educate and even to edify the reader through the description of exemplary positive and negative exempla, but the text now avoids the direct metatextual commentaries that were omnipresent in the earlier novels and adaptations. The reader, emancipated from patronising guidance towards spiritual meanings in the text, is left alone to find the moral dimension in the 'storehouse of warnings', but this moral dimension is easy to find on the surface level of the text.\(^\text{184}\) This moral dimension of the life story is furthermore totally directed towards a morality of this world, not towards the analogical dimension that the Verteütschter Francion had constantly invoked. The Protestant, and especially the Puritan Christian framework in fact puts strong emphasis on this earthly dimension of spirituality, as opposed to the eternal, otherworldly perspective so present in the Catholic texts of Grimmelshausen: the idea of predestination is founded on the assumption that a person’s morality is directly related to his or her financial fortune, that material possessions reflect the spiritual state of the owner. This is a moral dimension that is strongly reinforced by the text and also by the metatextual preface:

\(^{183}\) Similar disclaimers occur two more times in the text: Moll, p. 126 ‘but I leave the Readers of these things to their own just Reflections, which they will be more able to make effectual than I, who so soon forgot my self, and am therefore but a very indifferent Monitor’ and p. 337 ‘But I leave the Reader to improve these Thoughts, as no doubt they will see Cause, and I go on to the Fact [...]’.

\(^{184}\) The concordance to Moll Flanders lists only five uses of the word ‘moral’ as such, mostly in the moral reflections of the narrating self, but the frequently used terms for penitence (‘penitent’, ‘penitentials’, ‘penitence’, ‘repent’, ‘repentance’ etc.) show how dominant the layer of morality is in the text. W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank: A KWIC Concordance to Daniel Defoe's 'Moll Flanders' (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 547, 646, 715-6.
Heaven was now beginning to punish me on this side the Grave, and would make me as miserable as I had been wicked. [Moll, p. 193]

there is not a wicked Action in any Part of it [the book], but is first or last ren­
dered Unhappy and Unfortunate [...] [Moll, Preface, p. 3]185

God, as present in the world as his evil adversary, the devil,186 directly rewards and pun­ishes the individual in relation to their spiritual disposition. There is therefore no need to wait for reward or punishment in the other world after death (that is rarely invoked by the text),187 and spiritual conversion thus becomes important even for worldly success of the individual. Morality therefore again functions as a direct guidance to the reader, but towards worldly moral persistence — and material success.

There are hardly any paratextual elements in Moll Flanders that could set the interpretative framework for the reader: no frontispiece is there to guide him or her, neither is the text divided into chapters, which leaves out the possibility of intrusive metatextual chapter headings. Other than the title page, here again functioning as synopsis and advertisement for a novel that tries to sell itself through the implication of a scandalous life story, there is only one metatextual element that can set the horizon of expectation for the reader: the preface. Some of the problems that the metatextual preface of Moll Flanders throws up have already been analysed in the previous chapters of this study. The fictional editor claims to have purged the text of immoral expressions that hardly befit the supposedly enlightened older narrator, and he also casts doubt on the sincerity of her ‘pretended’ penitence (Moll, Preface, pp. 1 and 5).188 At the same time, the fictional editor

185 When Moll reflects on the fortunate development of the plantation she inherits from her mother in America, she stresses 'the Hand of Providence, which had done such wonders for me'. This providential provision of financial gain confirms her in her penitence: this is not just a spiritually but also financially lucrative state (Moll, pp. 336-7). The Calvinist watchwords of diligence and thrift are a direct means of obtaining financial and spiritual reward in this world: ' [...] Diligence and Application have their due Encourage­ment [...] no Case can be so low, so despicable, or so empty of Prospect, but that an un­wearied Industry will go a great way to deliver us from it, will in time raise the meanest Creature to appear in the World, and give him a new Cast for his Life.' (Moll, Preface, p. 4; see also p. 317).
186 On pp. 191-3 in particular, when the devil prompts Moll into stealing a bundle of valuables.
187 The narrating self contrasts the state of ‘false’ penitence and fright before the anticipated execution with a ‘real’ repentance related to ‘Heaven or Hell’ (Moll, p. 279) and directed to ‘my Creator, who was now suddenly to be my Judge.’ (Moll, p. 277).
188 See Langford, who finds a ‘real’ editor at work, laundering the first account, which is obviously not the case in a fictional work employing a fictional editor. Davis calls this
makes it clear that by expurgating the text he in fact makes sure that it is even more useful than the first, unadulterated narration of Moll might have been:

In a Word, as the whole Relation is carefully garb'l'd of all the Levity, and Loose-ness that was in it: So it is all applied, and with the utmost care to vertuous and religious Uses. None can without being guilty of manifest Injustice, cast any Reproach upon it, or upon our Design in publishing it. [Moll, Preface, p. 3]

There is certainly a strong element of the insurance function in this editorial preface: the disclaimer frees the editor, and thereby the real printer and author, of any moral complicity in the potentially immoral narration and its ambiguous uses. This ambiguity is now totally blamed on the reader. By withdrawing the metatextual voice from the text and only giving a brief introduction before the text itself, the direct \textit{applicatio} of the text is externalised from the narration, and greater emphasis is put on the reader him- or herself to draw the right moral use. The preface thus only needs to direct the reader to expect exactly this indirect form of didacticism. It reiterates variations of the Horatian formula of \textit{utile dulci} in statements stressing the 'delightful Incidents, and all of them usefully apply'd' (Moll, Preface, p. 2) and also emphasises the educating or edifying elements of the story, but the application of these elements is clearly set on a different level than the 'fable' itself:

it is to be hop'd that such Readers will be much more please'd with the Moral, than the Fable; with the Application, than with the Relation, and with the End of the Writer, than with the Life of the Person written of. [Moll, Preface p. 2]

While emphasising the moral value of the narrative, the preface thus differentiates between the 'relation' of youthful adventures and the enlightened state of the 'end of the writer', but also between 'fable' or story and the \textit{applicatio} of this story, which is essentially performed by an extra-textual instance: by the reader. The application thus moves away from its position next to the text, in editions like Beroaldo's commentary on Apuleius, towards a position outside the book, in the realm of reading. The metatextual preface even makes a desperate attempt at interpreting the text as a moral narration that

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{189} See Davis, p. 16 for the function of authenticating the text, and especially Romberg, p. 68 for the additional function of providing anonymity to the real author and printer, who thereby could avoid censure.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{190} There is a very similar claim in the preface to Daniel Defoe, \textit{Serious Reflections DURING THE LIFE [...] OF ROBINSON CRUSOE [...]} (London: W. Taylor, 1720), fol. A2': 'The Fable is always made for the Moral, not the Moral for the Fable.' See also Backscheider, p. 18.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{189} See Davis, p. 16 for the function of authenticating the text, and especially Romberg, p. 68 for the additional function of providing anonymity to the real author and printer, who thereby could avoid censure.}

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cannot be misinterpreted, but again this has to be seen as part of the insurance function this preface fulfils.\footnote{Watt, p. 117 notes that the moral claim of the preface is ‘flatly contradicted’ in the narration of adventurous episodes, and also Langford, p. 165 stresses the antagonistic nature of the preface to the story itself.}

These are a few of the serious Inferences which we are led by the Hand to in this Book, and these are fully sufficient to Justify any Man in recommending it to the World, and much more to Justifie the Publication of it. [Moll, Preface p. 4]

It is precisely not the case that the reader is explicitly ‘led by the Hand’ to the application of the text through metatextual commentaries on the text, but the reader is again and again called upon to provide his own interpretation of the text. The interpretations the reader has to fill in are nevertheless not difficult to make: the constant presence of an enlightened narrating self provides this guidance at least implicitly. Furthermore, the preface gives explicit metatextual interpretations of precisely the textual segments that are not unambiguous (such as the theft ‘adventures’) and also provides the applicatio for these episodes that could have been (mis)understood as Moll revelling in the memory of her cunning tricks:

Her robbing a little innocent Child, dress’d fine by the vanity of the Mother, to go to the Dancing-School, is a good Memento to such People hereafter; as is likewise her picking the Gold-Watch from the young Ladies \textit{[sic]} side in the Park. [Moll, Preface, p. 4; my emphasis]

While the metatext thus performs a micro-exegesis of the text, a micro-commentary (and shifts part of the blame for immoral activities from the character to the vain world), it again becomes clear how much freedom the text itself gains by this liberation from the metatextual ‘intrusions’. This increased liberty puts a dramatically increased emphasis on the correct reading of the text, but the text trusts that its reader will find the right moral usus. The reader, left alone to enjoy the book, is still assumed to not just enjoy it, but also to find the moral sense. This layer, on the other hand, is much more present in this text than in most of the picaresque novels that had to add metatextual clarifications of their moral stance: the digressions of the enlightened self make it difficult for the reader to enjoy the wickedness too much, even though there are significant withdrawals of the narrating self, especially in the theft episodes.

The aims of writing in the new, rising novel do not differ greatly from the aims of the novelistic forms in the seventeenth century: religious and Puritan writers in particular reiterate the moral usefulness that the previous novels also presupposed, and satirical
forms of writing also continue to aim for moral and spiritual reform of a perverse world (see the quotation by Alexander Pope at the beginning of this chapter). Nevertheless, Defoe participates in an important technical shift that occurs around the turn of the century, and firstly in the country traditionally associated with the rise of the novel: direct moralising elements are still present in the text, and they also provide a spiritual dimension, even though this is now directed towards a reformation of the material world. While Defoe's earlier *Family Instructor* (1715/18) still included metatextual moral commentaries after the dialogues, in his novelistic writings these direct moralising elements are now integrated into the novel of the (traditional) sinner in a manner that makes any further metatextual expansions of the text unnecessary. Furthermore, the emphasis on the reader to emancipate him- or herself from the guiding hand of the metatext seems to become more and more acceptable. This can and has been related to the Protestant doctrine that the believer is responsible for salvation himself and thus has to make sense of his or her moral stance without the direct, institutionalised guidance towards collective salvation that was offered by the Catholic confession or *Beichte*. It is also notable that especially the English Puritans in their focus on the 'plain style' with its direct, immediate access to the ultimate truth rejected any further spiritual senses, and thus the four levels of meaning that were present in the medieval and post-medieval editions of low texts. It is also important that this rejection of allegorical modes of interpretation is not a rejection of moral aims in the text: the text even brings the morality to the forefront of narration itself.

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192 On the Puritan ideals and perception of fiction, see Price, p. 12; Elkin, p. 71 and Doody, pp. 267–8. See also Vosskamp, *Romantheorie*, p. 122 on the very similar Calvinist approaches to (or rather against) literature.


195 Schlaeger, p. 322; Backscheider, p. 20 on Defoe's use of the plain style for concrete, instructive cases.
There is an epilogue to this section. The serialisation of the novel in the *LONDON POST* and the abridged edition by the same printer added an element to the text that was not present in the first three editions. It has, unlike the original editions, a crude woodcut as a frontispiece (see Figure 31) which uses no emblematic elements, but very simple signposts to the character of the beautiful heroine, posed between a prison and gallows inset at the top. This edition already promises a life full of wicked adventures in the descriptive title page that sets the trend for the following abridgements and chapbook versions that focus on the criminal exploits of the paradigmatic thief, and furthermore indicates also the new element of closure in the title: 'her [...] *Settlement in Ireland; her Estate, Penitence, Age, Death, Burial, Elegy, and Epitaph*'. Whereas the serialisation was only interrupted by the constant 'To be continu'd' that structured the text into swallowable units, this abridgement breaks the previously continuous flow of the text into chapters, and also adds some rather crude illustrations that can by no means be called metatextual as they only give generalised representations of the story. However, there are metatextual chapter headings that frequently summarise the story from a moral, third-person point of view close to the moralising perspective of the narrating self, and also the *subscription* to the frontispiece:

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See here the Wonder of the British Land,
Whose various Life doth just Surprise command;
From *Tyburn* freed by her indulgent Fate,
Sh' attain'd a wealthy and a worthy State ;
So just is what's proverbially said,
*None truly know their Fortune till they’re dead:*
Kindly accept what vertuous doth appear,
And at what's faulty be not too severe ;
But her last Hours, and pious Exit weigh,
And, like hers, let your Evening crown the Day.197
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While the *subscription* thus reduces the story of the novel to a narrative about the proverbial powers of fate, it also reinforces the very element that the preface of the original edition (that is eliminated here) made uncertain: the 'pious Exit' of the heroine, to be commended to the reader as a positive example.

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196 Defoe [Abridgement], *LIFE and ACTIONS*, title page.
197 Defoe [Abridgement], *LIFE and ACTIONS*, frontispiece.
Figure 31: Frontispiece of Daniel Defoe [Abridgement], *THE LIFE and ACTIONS OF MOLL Flanders* [...] (London: T. Read, 1723). The frontispiece is also used for the advertisement in the *London Post*, published by the same printer (see Figure 7).

However, this is the full extent of metatext in the additions. The much larger section added to the *LONDON POST* and to the 1723 abridgement as ‘chapter IX’ (see Appendix C) is not metatextual: it serves first and foremost to round the story off (see Chapter 4 above), and furthermore to authenticate Moll’s narrative even further.

Already the chapter heading (‘She lives very honest; is a great Penitent; makes her last Will and Testament; dies much lamented by the Poor; and is buried in Saint Nicholas’s Church’)^198^ indicates a paradox of first-person narration that an aware reader would have noticed immediately: it describes not only Moll’s later years, but also her death and bur-

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^198^ Defoe [Abridgement], *LIFE and ACTIONS* p. 185.
The mystery is solved by the addition itself: it describes firstly how Moll and her husband sell their possessions in Virginia and then 'return' to Galway in Ireland, where it turns out Jemy aka 'Patrick Carroll' (his 'real' name) is from. After his death two years later, 'Elizabeth Atkins' (as her 'real' name turns out to be) begins a life of self-immersion in penitence and reflection on her past sins, praying frequently and turning into a devout churchgoer, before her 'heavenly Father' afflicts her with asthma. This shows her that her days are numbered and induces the only anagogical reflection of this ending: as 'I was not a Woman for this World long,' \(^{199}\) she draws up her Will, after which a third-person narrator summarises her pious death, prints an 'elegy' by 'the prime Wits of Trinity College in Dublin' on her, and after further describing her rich and pious burial (120 mourners are given *memento mori* gold rings), transcribes the epitaph from the tombstone:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{B} & \text{E} \text{h} \text{o} \text{l} \text{d} \text{ th} \text{e} \text{ cr} \text{u} \text{l} \text{ H} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d} \text{ o} \text{f} \text{ D} \text{e} \text{a} \text{t} \text{h}, \\
\text{H} & \text{a} \text{t} \text{h} \text{ s} \text{n} \text{a} \text{t} \text{h} \text{d} \text{ a} \text{w} \text{a} \text{y} \text{ E} \text{l} \text{i} \text{z} \text{a} \text{b} \text{e} \text{r} \text{t} \text{h} \text{ E} \text{l} \text{i} \text{z} \text{a} \text{b} \text{e} \text{r} \text{t} \text{h} \text{.} \ldots \\
\end{align*}
\]

All this is reminiscent of the tendencies of later editions of picaresque novels to round off the earlier versions, to make them more complete, and to render the morality unambiguous, here by stressing the genuine penitence of the heroine. However, not even the mildly moral *subscriptio* of the frontispiece is reminiscent of previous adaptor's attempts to add metatexual spiritual exegeses on the borders of the text. The ending serves a very different function: the frequent references to the 'real' names of not only Moll and her husband, but also her spiritual guide 'Mr. Price' (p. 187) the reverend 'Dr. Shaw' who buries her (p. 190), and most importantly of the 'real' witnesses of the will authenticates the ending strongly:

'Lastly, I make and constitute my abovesaid Brother-in-Law, Charles Carrol, Executive of this my last Will and Testament, written with my own Hand this 30th day of March, in the Year of our Lord Christ, according to the English Computation, 1722.

*Eliz. Atkins.*

*Seal'd, publish'd and declar'd by the said Elizabeth Atkins, for and as her last Will and Testament, in the Presence of Patrick Magey, James Mullens, and John Hara.* \(^{201}\)

The witnesses, all from the geographically verifiable town of Galway, set in the immediate past and no longer towards the end of Charles II's reign put forward in the original

\(^{199}\) Defoe [Abridgement], *Life and Actions*, p. 186.

\(^{200}\) Defoe [Abridgement], *Life and Actions*, p. 190.

\(^{201}\) Defoe [Abridgement], *Life and Actions*, pp. 186-7.
editions, thus serve to provide the element that already Moll's original narrative strove for: authenticity, but not an allegorical, or anagogical meaning of this 'real' life. This shows the process of change in novelistic writing well under way: metatext is no longer used to clarify the spiritual usefulness of a novel, but (if at all) to authenticate it and reinforce its claims to veracity. This is even present in the two elements of the addition that can be called metatextual, the elegy and the epigraph: both are not simply affixed after the text, as in the case of the Gesamtausgabe of Grimmelshausen's works, but are integrated into the unity of the last chapter of Moll's life, written by the 'real' members of Trinity College, and on the (supposedly real) tombstone of Moll in the parish church of Galway. The metatextual inscription of her epitaph furthermore gives no applicatio or interpretation of Moll's life as a positive or negative exemplum, but as an example of something very different (lines 17 to 24):

When People all, in after Times,  
Shall read the Story of her Crimes,  
They'll stand amaz'd, but more admire  
That one so bad should e'er desire  
To live a godly, righteous Life,  
And be a loving, faithful Wife.  
Of all her Sins she did repent,  
And really dy'd a Penitent.\(^{202}\)

No applicatio for the reader is drawn, as he stands gasping in surprise at the 'strange surprising adventures' not of Robinson Crusoe, but of Moll's amazing transformation into a pious penitent, from a previous evil that in many ways resembled Courasche's status as a lost soul, which is stressed in the added elegy: 'hanging her had any Tree disgrac'd'.\(^{203}\) While the reader is left in no doubt what way the editor wishes him to follow (the penitent conversion, not the wicked part of the life), he is emancipated from moralising metatextual additions — even though the text is still expanded during and after the rise of the novel, still not the fixed structure that modern editors have us believe.

6.6. Conclusion: Diverse Uses

On a purely descriptive level, it is perfectly clear what happened to the novel in and after the early modern period: first, a basic distrust in the reader led to an expansion of

\(^{202}\) Defoe [Abridgement], *Life and Actions*, p. 190.  

\(^{203}\) Defoe [Abridgement], *Life and Actions*, p. 188.
metatext; then this stopped in the Enlightenment. On the other hand, it is more difficult to give a causal interpretation of these changes in relation to conceptual changes over the period. In the following section, at least some of the possible reasons will be discussed.

Narrative fiction of the early modern period attempts to edify or at least educate the reader, while at the same time trying to sell itself through a host of paratextual ‘advertisements’ such as the descriptive title page, the (allegorical) frontispiece, and even a blurb. At the same time, fictional literature comes up against a problem that concerns any form of narration: the *usu diverso*, the ambiguity of literature once it leaves the page and enters the uncontrollable sphere of the reader. There clearly was an extensive amount of distrust towards the reader in the early modern period: already Sieder’s translation of Apuleius’s *Golden Ass* blamed him for any misapplication of writing:

> Ob aber iemand ein gestrenger richter/ woll lieber vnkönnend sein/ dann böses wissen/ der zele die Historienn der Bibel/ vnd rechne ob er [n]icht mere vnthat dann gutthat finde/ vnnnd kurzlich ist kein schriftt besser/ dann jr lesen/ vñ als gut sie gebraucht wirdet [...].

Again, the *usu diverso* motif appears with the reference to ultimate truth, to scripture and the atrocities in it that might be misinterpreted as not edifying. This link of the ambiguous uses of scripture to texts in general is also present in the emblem of the bee and spider. It is commonplace in the period and was used by amongst others Grimmelshausen in *Satyrischer Pilgram* and by the anonymous translator of the *Verteütschter Francion*, both texts with a certain degree of satirical elements. This highlights the common problem the defenders of satire had in the early modern period and in the eighteenth century: satire, while being perceived as a handy corrective, even going further than the corrective abilities of the legal system, can be misused if it falls into the wrong hands. It then becomes a seditious libel — or is perceived as such, which shows the dangers of the ‘diverse uses’ for the writer: Defoe ends up in the pillory. The picaresque narratives under investigation here all portray some sort of immoral environment, the inhospitable world of the *Golden Ass*, the perverted world of the court in *Francion*, the realm of the ‘Welt-Fürst’ or Antichrist in Courasche’s Thirty Years’ War, and the criminal underworld of *Moll Flanders*. All these depictions of immorality, however, could be potentially misread as affirmations of this world, as becomes especially obvious in the case of Courasche who fails to distance herself from worldly values even in old age. The indi-

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204 Sieder’s introduction in Apuleius, *Ain schön lieblich*, fol. a iii'.

rect, Menippean satires in these texts, relying on the reader to read between the lines were therefore frequently clarified through the use of metatext: direct moral statements on the boundaries of the text served to disperse the ambiguity. Frequently, the narration is treated as exemplary, as the portrayal of positive characters (such as Augustine) to be imitated, or, more common in the case of picaresque novels, as the depiction of negative lowlifes that show what not to do in life, especially when it comes to the carnal pleasures they tend to revel in. This exemplary interpretation of the text in the metatext was often supplemented by direct moral applications for the reader, 'damit keiner sich zu beklagen habe/ als sey er nicht gewarnet worden' (Verteütschter Francion, I, fol. A2'). The *applicatio* certainly had the dual function of spelling out the moral *usus* to the reader and, simultaneously, of absolving the writer of any complicity in the misapplication of the text.

Authoritative readings were added to the text that scan it for the spiritual sense and then provide guidance in bringing the hidden levels of meaning to the surface, even though, as has been shown, the metatextual readings tended to concentrate on only one of these meanings, and also tended to clash with the first-person narration of amorous and comical 'adventures'. Also frequently, these authoritative readings even transgressed the borders of text and blurred the clear distinction of paratext and text itself: the translations and adaptations of Apuleius increasingly integrated the address to 'his sonne Faustinus' into the beginning of book I, and the re-editions of the *Francion* blended the original metatext with the start of book VIII.

There is no clear confessional pattern to this practice. The phenomenon of translation, adaptation and transmission of texts in the early modern period shows that not only the texts, but also the metatextual commentaries travelled freely between the different confessions and cultures. The phenomenon of transmission also shows two contrary tendencies in treating the low novel in early modern Europe: as has been outlined above, especially in the case of Apuleius the text was frequently unified, purged and read as allegory, i.e. the metatext was used to expand a layer present at most implicit in the text. On the other hand, a contrary tendency is also present in the period: already a French edition of Apuleius had rejected the moral sense that an earlier translator had extracted

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205 See Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, pp. 229-33 on the confessional differences in the early modern production of texts: Protestant texts tend to stress the role of the Bible and an active end of the hero after conversion, whereas Catholic texts use more of the patristic sources and the ascetic end of the enlightened self turning away from this world, frequently in the form of hermitages.
from the novel.\(^{206}\) This was even more common in the new production of low literature and its transmission: frequently, adaptations and translations of picaresque texts left out even the sparse moral digressions that the original text had contained and therefore became pure entertainment, which clearly transgresses the claim to Horatian \textit{aut prodesse aut delectare}. However, this pure delectation is only possible by transforming the picaresque text into something different, eliminating the ambiguous element of satire that could have been perceived as threatening. This elimination of the satirical layer of the novels already occurred in the upper-class reception of picaresque novels in Spain, but especially in the transmission of texts such as \textit{Lazarillo de Tormes} and \textit{Guzmán} into the European cultures. The French translations adapted the characters to a more secular society, without the extensive moralising elements.\(^{207}\) Based on this, the seventeenth-century English versions of the rogue then lacked the degree of moral digressions that their Spanish counterparts still had.\(^{208}\) Finally, the German adaptations moulded the texts into another genre: jest books.\(^{209}\) They expurgated the satirical elements and adapted the text to become a series of purely comical \textit{Schwänke}, the narration of which is legitimate in certain circumstances:

\begin{quote}
Und dienet dise mein Geschrifft allerbest zu lesen (uff daz der Gotsdienst nitt verhindert werd), so sich die Müß [mice] under den Bäncken beissen unnd die Stund kurz werden unnd so die braten Birn wol schmecken bei dem nuwen Wein.
\end{quote}

\textit{[Dil Ulen'spiegel]}\(^{210}\)

Pure delectation is legitimate as a (non-satirical) jest book, read only in the exceptional circumstances of no other useful activities being available in wintry confinement, but it is obvious that this again makes the metatext function as an insurance against anticipated criticism. Comic forms of narration sometimes clearly search for possible excuses for their existence, but this again reflects on the dominant concept of necessary

\(^{206}\) The conscious reflection by the translator, de la Bouthiere, occurs in his \textit{METAMORPHOSE}, p. 10.


\(^{208}\) Cruz, ‘Sonnes’, p. 260; Gutiérrez, p. 68. This is also the case for the English chapbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. See Sorbier, p. 161 and also the chapbook versions of Defoe Daniel, \textit{The Fortunes and Misfortunes of MOLL FLANDERS} […] (London: n. publ., c. 1750; repr. London: n. publ., c. 1770, Newcastle: n. publ., c. 1790, Manchester: A. Swindells, c. 1805).

\(^{209}\) Rötzer, p. 38; Gutiérrez, p. 109.

usefulness, without which purely entertaining stories would not have had to justify themselves.

Over the period, a change happened in the uses of metatext. Where Huet's ambitious, but ambiguous definition of the romance/novel still described the 'instruction des lecteurs' as its principal aim, the *Universal Lexicon* in the eighteenth century (which is equally unclear about the definition of the genre) now placed this aim of literature below the aesthetic aim of novelistic writing. A process from external moral statements to a more integrated form of morality can be made out, a withdrawal of the metatext and an increase in function of the character's moralising digressions. However, this process is not linear: especially in the experimental phase of the novel in the seventeenth century, experiments such as the pure sinner narration of *Courasche* coexisted with counter-reformatory adaptations of texts by Albertinus, with editions of the *Confessions* by Jesuits, and the 'deconfessionalised', secular texts of Chapelain and Sorel. An important shift in perception happened at the beginning of the eighteenth century: now, explicit moral statements were more and more commonly perceived as illegitimate intrusions into the narrative flow: Le Sage called them 'Moralités superflues' on the title page of his *Guzmán* adaptation of 1732 and purged the text of them. Defoe 'emancipated' the reader by allowing him to extract the right application from the text, and in the rapid transmission of *Moll Flanders* and other texts throughout Europe, even the clumsy *applicatio* in the metatextual preface was shortened, as 'im Werke selbst leicht zu finden ist/ wie man die application machen müsse: so habe [ich] solches theils fur überflüssig/ theils auch fur verdrießlich gehalten.' The German translator Mattheson perceived even the externalised *micro-applicatio* as superfluous and even annoying for the reader, and eliminated it.

There clearly was a break in novelistic writing in the mid-eighteenth century, but, as has been described in the second chapter of this study, there also is a fundamental conti-

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211 Huet, *Traité*, p. 5.
212 Definition of 'Roman', Zedler, XXXII (1742), col. 701.
213 The French translations and adaptations of the Spanish picaresque eliminated their metatextual commentaries, but some of the German Counter-Reformation adaptors then replace these by new ones. See Valentin, 'Albertinus und Sorel', p. 147 and Valentin, *Roman Comique*, pp. 38-9. The English reaction to the French texts is described by Verdier, p. 96.
215 From the (otherwise faithful) German translation *MOLL FLANDERS* [...], trans. by Mattheson (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1723), fol. [6].
nuity: the texts continued to be printed and reprinted, while the editors sometimes dispensed with the metatextual additions by the 'Kollektiv'. This was also present in the new production of texts in the later eighteenth century: the elements of the interpretative framework that could firmly establish the horizon of expectation for the reader, such as the allegorical frontispiece, the detailed title page and also the descriptive metafictional chapter headings were used less and less, or, as in the case of Fielding and Sterne, incorporated into the work of art for comic effects. Towards the end of the century, the reader was left to enjoy the text without the jolting effects of alienation that the metatextual elements had caused. This is clearly an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of purely recreative uses of narration, not only in the dark winter nights that the *Ulenspiegel* preface invoked, and also of the increasing secularisation of writing after the Enlightenment. The most important movement only happened more than a century after the early modern period: the voice of the implied author is finally drowned, and even the narrator banished from commenting on *Madame Bovary*. This text, however, shows the continuing ambiguity of reading fictional narratives, of the diverse uses: Flaubert was prosecuted for promoting immorality by failing to guide the reader to the appropriate reading of the text, to the condemnation of the central character’s actions.

As mentioned above, it seems difficult to find clear-cut answers to why the metatextual additions suddenly became perceived as intrusions. There certainly is an element of truth in the link to the Protestant concept of self-accountability: the reader/believer is

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216 Doody, p. 277 notes the decrease in the usage of metatextual prefaces after the mid-eighteenth century. There is also a marked drop in the occurrences of the ‘fictional editor’ in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, even though authors such as Goethe still use him in *Werther*, but for different functions that space forbids me to go into. Penkert, p. 276 stresses the interesting case of the misunderstandings in the re-cutting of the *Simplicissimus* frontispiece, which indicates a changing horizon of expectation towards these allegorical and emblematic signposts already for the end of the seventeenth century.

217 *Joseph Andrews* in particular frequently plays with the conventions of the chapter headings that Fielding calls ‘an inn or resting-place’ for the reader, thus making it clear that they serve a very different function from the early modern moralising, authoritative ones (Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, II, 1, p. 99). He uses them to achieve a comic effect through the disappointment of these conventions and of the reader’s expectations of them, as in Book IV, chapter 11 ‘In which the History is continued.’ (Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, p. 37).

218 It is not the case that with the ‘beginning’ of enlightened thought in Hobbes and Locke the spiritual dimension is decreased immediately; this is a later movement. See Trappen, *Menippeische Satire*, p. 361.

219 Žmegac, p. 192 calls this a ‘Kommentarverbot’.
left alone with the text/sins and not 'taken by the hand' to the appropriate meaning of someone's/his life, as in the case of a confession to a Catholic priest. The strong European dominance of the English novel after the successes of Defoe and especially Richardson then transmitted these forms of narration relatively unadulterated into the other cultural environments and thus formed the basis for the national productions, which oriented themselves towards these dominant models as they had before towards the dominant models of Apuleius and Augustine, or otherwise the models of picaresque narration and romance.

The link to Protestant culture confirms the assertion of this study that text and context are in fact circular, that textual changes are not just a mimetic reflection of the conceptual changes, but more precisely are these conceptual changes: the plain style, abolishing any further layers of meaning and therefore the quest for allegorical, moral, and anagogical senses in the texts, is a form of preaching and writing, and therefore a form of text. The concept itself consists in an approach to textuality that rejects the concept of four layers of meaning that was present since the middle ages. Also, importantly, the end of the addition of metatexts to the texts was not a withdrawal of spiritual or moral aims of writing: even *Madame Bovary* aims to achieve a certain effect, to portray an example of something, even though it was no longer as easy to find this unambiguous meaning as with the help of the metatexts of the early modern period, where the editors and writers such as Grimmelshausen tended to stress directly the exemplary nature of narration, and to provide the explicit application for the incompetent audience:

[...] ist er [the author] bey seiner vorigen Art geblieben/ die unbehutsame Menschen (auch mit Exempeln) unter dem Schein kurtzweiliger Geschichte/ vor demjenigen treulich zu warnen/ was sie/ wie gemeldt/ gar leicht vom höchsten Gut absondern/ hingegen in deß leidigen Teufels Gewalt/ und [...] ohn Zweifel in die Ewige Verdammnus bringen mag [...]. [*WV* II, Vorrede, p. 149]
7. Conclusion

My analysis of early modern novels reveals the extent of continuity and change in the relatively short period of the seventeenth century. A brief summary of my findings will illustrate the nature of early modern novels, and the development of the genre in the century from 1623 to 1722.

In the third and final version of *Francion* (1633), numerous fictional forms are agglutinated into one enormous novel of over 1000 pages. The text is dominated by the sequential structure of disparate comic and satirical episodes that also characterises Apuleius’s *Golden Ass*. The chronological progression of time and the geographical setting serve only as a framework: they are not essential to the presentation of Francion’s character, which remains static. Francion’s inherent nobility is an expression of his sanguine temperament, even though his excessively sanguine nature leads to sexual adventures that are morally ambiguous. In the last, heavily moralising version of the novel, metatext is used to guide the reader to the ‘correct’ reception of these adventures. This demonstrates one of the basic problems of the reception and interpretation of fictional texts in the early modern period: the reader of *Francion* would not be trusted to find the ‘correct’ interpretation of a novel, to understand it as a satire on secular life, and not as an affirmation of worldly values. One German adaptation of Sorel’s text, the *Verteütschter Francion* of 1662, supplemented its secular moral exegeses with an anagogical Christian perspective: the reader is spiritually guided to avoid the moral ambiguity inherent in the reading of texts — an ambiguity that is frequently expressed in the early modern period by the emblem of the bee and the spider as symbols of virtuous and corrupt readers.

Grimmelshausen’s works transform the picaresque novel by adding a spiritual and allegorical layer to it and by setting it in the very specific historical reality of Germany in the Thirty Years’ War. After the German adaptations of Spanish picaresque literature in the 1610s and 1620s and of *Francion* in the 1660s, *Courasche* inverts the confessional structure of its Spanish and French predecessors and of *Simplicissimus Teutsch* by portraying a totally unrepentant central character as the ‘heroine’ of a first-person text. This creates the very interesting case of a text that relies both on implicit textual and explicit metatextual indicators of Courasche’s sinfulness: for example, she summarises her life as a succession of four ages, in which each age is dominated by one of the four humours. The excessive dominance of the humours leads to vices that in the Christian-patriarchal
context of the time have to be interpreted as sins. Courasche's first-person narrative is framed by explicit metatexual statements that present it as a moral exemplum. The novel finishes with two epilogues. Both the first, the 'Wahrhaftige Ursach und kurzgefaßter Inhalt dieses Traktätleins' and the second, the 'Zugab des Autors', interpret Courasche's life as an exemplary story of evil. The other framing devices such as the allegorical frontispiece, the elaborate title page, and the summarising chapter headings reinforce this interpretation. As in the final version of Francion, metatextual commentary is used to clarify a first-person narration and to guide readers to the 'correct' interpretation of the narrative, as they are not to be trusted to find it themselves. The moralising metatextual additions to the novel were expanded in the edition of Courasche in the Gesamtausgabe of Grimmelshausen's works published in 1683. These additions serve to underline the view that the heroine is an exemplum of evil, and draw the applicatio that women like Courasche are to be regarded as both morally and spiritually reprehensible.

Moll Flanders, a novel of over 400 pages in the first edition of 1722, differs in important respects from the Spanish, French and German first-person novels written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moll's character is constantly evolving with the roles she assumes, and Defoe's abandonment of humoral psychology, prompted by the discovery of blood circulation by Harvey almost a century earlier, facilitated this change. The new notion of character and development is slow to reach the continent from England, but its transmission is facilitated by fictional characters such as Moll who uses the changed understanding of human psychology to make sense of her own development. All the same, Moll Flanders is written in the established form of the first-person novel: it combines a first-person episodic structure in the tradition of Apuleius's Golden Ass with the retrospective style of narration derived from Augustine's Confessions. In this hybrid fusion of moralising exegeses by the narrator and criminal adventures set in the very specific English social context of the late seventeenth century, morality is present everywhere on the surface level of narration, as the narrating older self constantly tries to make (moral) sense of her previous actions. No moralising authorial exegeses are incorporated into the text, but the preface still aims to offer a metatextual commentary in which the criminal exploits of the heroine are defined in unambiguously negative terms. Later adaptations of Moll Flanders eliminated the preface and reduced the text, while expanding on the pious end of the heroine. They did not use metatext to guide the reader: the aim is authenticity (the 'realistic' ending of Moll's life), not spiritual
applications for the readers, who are emancipated from explicit moralising guidance: they were now trusted to find the right moral use of reading a novel for themselves.

The early modern novels examined in this thesis were soon forgotten: Sorel's *Francia* was republished a number of times at the beginning of the eighteenth century, then it went out of fashion. Courasche, was still adapted twice in the eighteenth century (in the third *Gesamtausgabe* of 1713 and a separate adaptation of 1791), but it must have seemed outmoded once the concept of the four temperaments was no longer part of the current system of thought. Even *Moll Flanders* with its decidedly materialistic heroine failed to excite a new audience. Readers no longer expected the moralising digressions that invoke God and salvation as the aim of all autobiographical narration: Defoe's novel was mostly reedited in the form of sensationalising adaptations of Moll's criminal exploits in chapbooks of varying length. The very fact that these three novels were so heavily reedited demonstrates the instability of early modern fictional texts, and that instability is in itself of fundamental importance to the development of the novel as a genre.
Appendix A: Edition Type Comparison; 'C' Editions of Francion

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<th>Title: XII/ un</th>
<th>Avis aux Lecteurs [Touchant]</th>
<th>Book by Alleged Author: Des[] agreables</th>
<th>End of 'Avis': [Fin]</th>
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<td>Without</td>
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<td>Gentil-homme</td>
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<td>Without</td>
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<td>des Agreables</td>
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<td>XII</td>
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Most editions retain the brackets at the beginning of book VI: "DEEM que ie m'estois veu bien vestu, (continua Françion) j'auois [...]. All the Leiden editions (French and German) and the adaptation (Amsterdam: Marret, 1697, 300 + 288 pp.; 8°; Arsenal) print the introduction to book VI with commas instead.
Further copies according to Arbour and Roy, location in brackets (with the possibility of losses):

Paris: Billaine, 1628 (B) 8° (Soissons)
Paris: Billaine, 1630 (B) 8° (Musée Dobrée, Nantes: 571; Reims)
Paris: Griset, 1632 (B) 8° (Lyon Bibliothèque muncipale: 346619; Upsala)
Paris: Ruelle, n.d. 8° (Copenhagen)
Rouen: Ovin, 1632 (B) 8° (Manchester)
Rouen: n. publ., 1635 (Marsh’s Libr. R.2.9.11)
Paris: Villery et Grignan, 1635 8° [only 11 bks] (Méjanes, Aix)
Paris: Boulanger, 1636 (B?) 8° (Montpellier BM: 48256)
Rouen: Berthelin, 1640 8°
Rouen: Berthelin, 1641 8° (Glasgow)

Paris: Jacquin, 1643 8° (Stockholm)
Paris: Jacquin, 1646 8° (Tours)
Rouen: Malassis, 1661 8° (Marseille)
Paris: Osmond, 1672 12°, 2 vols (Rodez)
Rouen: Malassis, 1673 12° (Rennes)
Paris: Besongue, 1673 8°
Leiden, Drummond, 1714 [German] 12° [Dresden (?)]
Köln: Marteau, 1739 12° 3 vols (Vesoul)
Appendix B: Comparison of Garzoni’s Seventy-Third ‘Discurs’ and the ‘Zugab’ of Courasche

Garzoni, *Piazza* (1626), pp. 463-4 ‘Der Drey und Sechtzigste Diseurs. / Von Huren / und denen / so inen anhangen’ (recte 73)

“In summa, es ist endlich gewiß/ daß man nichts anders hat von ihnen zu gewarten / als allerhand Unreinigkeit vnd Schande / welche auch für ehlichen Leuten nit zu nennen / vnd deren man sich endlich auch bey sich selbst schämen muß. Da wird man erst gewahr / was man an ihnen gehabt / wie unflätig / schändlich / lausig / gründig / unrein / stinnckend / beydes an Athem vnd dem gantzen Leib/ [p. 464] wie sie inwendig so voll Franzosen / vnd außwendig voll Blattern /tc. Ist derhalben wol in acht zu nemmen / daß man sich solche Lupas deß Romuli vnd Remi nit lasse be-thören / die Kühe deß Appollinis meide / sich vor den Chimeris vorsche/sich der gefährlichen Medusen abthue / die Ohren vor diesen ver-fluchten Siren verstopffe/diesen unergründlichen und bodenlosen Belidibus ab sage/ vnd sie von allen ehrlichen Gesellschaften abschaffe / wie die Diana die Elicen, so vom Ioue geschwängert/von ihrer Gesellschaft abgewiesen/mit diesen worten/wie Ouidius schreibt:

\[I procul hinc,dixit,sacros ne pollue fontes,\]
\[Cinthia deq; suo iussit decedere coetu.\]

Das ist

\[Droll dich hinweg/ nicht vervnrein \[sic\].\]
\[Diß Brüñlin klar und Gesellschaft mein.\]

Und gedencke allzeit an die gute Lehre gemeltes Poeten/ da er sagt:

\[Ad mea decepti iuuenes, præcepta venite,\]
\[Quos ferus ex omni parte fefellit amor.\]
\[Kompt her jr Jüngling lehret von mir /\]
\[Und sehet euch vor dem buhlen für.\]

Dann es mehr als gewiß/ daß bey Hurenlieb nichts anders zu erlauffen / als Schand / Armuth vnd Elend / dessen man sich oftermals zu spat beklaget. Last derhalben die Huren im Bordell / vnd nempt euch anderer Gesellschaft an / darbey ihr Ehre und Ruhm erlangen möget.’


‘Darum dann nun Ihr züchtige Jüngling / ihr ehrliche Wittwer und auch ihr verehlichte Männer / die ihr euch noch biß-hero vor diesen gefährlichen Chimeris vorgesehen / denen schroccklichen Medusen entgangen / die Ohren vor diesen verfluchten Siren verstopfett/ und diesen unergründlichen und Bodenlosen Belidibus abgesagt / oder wenigst mit der Flucht widerstanden seyt / lasset euch auch fürterhin diese Lupas nicht betboren / dann einmal mehr als gewiß ist / daß bey Huren - Lieb nichts anders zu gewarten / als allerhand Unreinigkeit / Schand / Spott / Armuth und Elend / und was das meiste ist / auch ein böß Gewissen ; Da wird man erst gewahr / aber zu spat / was man an ihnen gehabt / wie un-flätig / wie schändlich / lausig / gründig / unrein / stinnckend / beydes an Athem / und am gantzen Leib / wie sie inwendig so voll Frantzosen / und auswendig voller Blattern gewesen / daß man sich endlich dessen bey sich selbst schämen muß / und oftermals viel zu spat beklagt.

ENDE’

[My emphasis of intertextual elements]
Appendix C: The Ending of the Abridged Version of *Moll Flanders*

Daniel Defoe [Abridgement], *THE LIFE and ACTIONS OF Moll Flanders [...]* (London: T. Read, 1723)

‘[p. 185]

CHAP. IX.

Moll Flanders *having sold her Estate in Virginia, comes over with her Husband to Ireland, at 70 Years of Age, liv’d at Galway, and became a Widow again. She lives very honest; is a great Penitent; makes her last Will and Testament; dies much lamented by the Poor; and is buried in Saint Nicholas’s Church; having a Marble Tombstone put over her Grave, with an Epitaph cut on it.*

HAVING by the Consent of my Husband sold our Estate in Virginia, and what Goods and Plate we had by us, we made up the Sum of 10000 Pounds, and taking Shipping at Saint James-Town, we safely arriv’d at Kinsale in Ireland, and went thence to the City of Galway, the Place of my Husband’s Birth, whose Name was Patrick Carrol; and my right Name Elizabeth Atkins.

Here we purchas’d an Estate of 400 Pounds per annum, in the seventieth Year of my Age, and liv’d very happy and honestly with my Husband for two Years, when it pleas’d the irreversible Decree of Heaven to take him out of the Land of the Living, and so I became a Widow again. Now also being on the last Stage of my Life, I began seriously to reflect on the past Follies and Wickedness thereof, truly repenting of all my former Sins and Transgressions; praying thrice or four Times a Day in my Closet to God to forgive me, who had been so vile a Sinner, and pouring forth an Abundance of Tears in my private Devotion, to shew an utter Abhorrence of those Vices of which I had been too frequently guilty. [p. 184, recte 186; signature: ‘I ne-’]

I never miss’d going to Church when well, and tho’ I had been a most unworthy Member of the Protestant Communion, yet now I hop’d my endeavouring to be a true Penitent would bring me into Favour again with a long incensed God, who had suffer’d me to run thro’ a long Series of Wickedness, but in the midst of many Afflictions, which at last brought me to a due Sense of my manifold Negligences in the Duties of Religion, which till latterly I utterly abhor’d.

Thus I past my latter Days in a total Resignation of myself to the Will and Pleasure of my heavenly Father, till he was pleas’d to visit me with a Dropsie and Asthma, or Shortness of Breath, whereby finding Nature daily to decay more and more, and that I was not a Woman for this World long, I began to set my Houshold in Order, and made my last Will and Testament as follows.

‘I Elizabeth Atkins, of the City of Galway, in the County of Galway, (being at this Time in good and perfect Memory, thro’ the Mercy of God, but weak and sickly in Body) do make this my last Will and Testament, in Manner following; that is to say, I give to my deceas’d Husband’s Brother, Charles Carrol, all my real Estate, lying about Athlone, in the Counties of Roscommon, and West-Meath, and to his Heirs and Assigns for ever.

‘Item, I give to my Gardiner, Henry Kelly, the Sum of 50 Pounds of current Money of England.

‘Item, To Jane Burke, my Chamber-maid, I give the Sum of 40 Pounds.

‘Item, To Catherine O’Neal, my Cook-Maid, I give the Sum of 30 Pounds. [p. 185, recte 187]

‘Item, To Dorothy Macknamarra, my House-maid, I give the Sum of 20 Pounds.

‘Item, To my deceas’d Husband’s Brother, William Carrol, I give all the rest of my Goods and Chattels, and personal Estate whatsoever; but out of the same to be decently interr’d, and all Funeral Charges to be paid, by the said William Carrol.
'Lastly, I make and constitute my abovesaid Brother-in-Law, Charles Carrol, Executor of this my last Will and Testament, written with my own Hand this 30th day of March, in the Year of our Lord Christ, according to the English Computation, 1722.

Eliz. Atkins.

Seal'd, publish'd and declar'd by the said Elizabeth Atkins, for and as her last Will and Testament, in the Presence of Patrick Magey, James Mullens, and John Hara.

In the time of her Sickness, which held for about nine Months, she was very penitent, and most zealously fervent in her Devotion, not in the least minding the Affairs of this World, but entirely prepar'd herself for a future State. She was constantly attended by some eminent Divines, but particularly one Mr. Price, Master of the Free-School in Galway. In this godly Disposition for her latter End she continu'd till the 10th of April following the Date of her last Will and Testament, when she departed this mortal Life, in the 75th Year of her Age, to the no small Grief and Sorrow of the Poor, to whom she had been very charitable whilst alive; for she allow'd 25 old Men 40 Shillings a-piece yearly; to 20 old Women she allow'd 30 Shillings a-piece yearly; and forty Pounds a Year for putting out poor Children to be Apprentices.

No sooner was the Death of Moll Flanders nois'd over the Kingdom of Ireland, but the prime Wits of Trinity College in Dublin compos'd on her the following Elegy.

Alas! what News doth now our Ears invade?
What Havock has grim Death among us made?
With the impetuous Fury of his Dart,
Moll Flanders he has wounded thro' the Heart:
Moll Flanders, once the Wonder of the Age,
Whilst she remain'd on this terrestrial Stage,
Is gone to take a Nap for many Years,
For which ye ought to shed as many Tears.
We mean her chiefest Mourners ought to be
The chief Proficients in all Villany,
Such Persons who go on the sneaking Budge,
And will for Mops and Pails thro' Dublin trudge;
House-breakers, Doxies who can file a Cly,
And those who out of Shops steal privately.
But you that can't cry, yet would seem to weep,
Your Handkerchiefs in Juice of Onions steep,
Then rail upon the cruel Hand of Fate,
Which wou'd not grant Moll's Reign a longer Date.
A longer Date, said we? Indeed too long
She liv'd to do some honest People wrong;
Such Wrong, that had she her deserved Due,
She had been whipt, and glimm'd, and hanged too;
But all the Paths of Vice so much she trac'd,
That hanging her had any Tree disgrac'd.
Howe'er take care below, among the Dead,
For tho' the mortal Life of Moll is fled, [p. 189]
She may perhaps as now ye cannot feel,
Your Shrouds, and Coffins, else your Bodies steal,
As Grave-diggers in England do, to be
Mangled to Pieces in Anatomy.
But hold, deceased Moll we must not blame
Too much, for tho' she glory'd in her Shame,
Of being dextrous Thief, and arrant Whore,
Yet we some Pity for her must implore,
And give her deathless Memory some Praise,
In that she ended well her latter Days,
For of her num'rous Sins she did repent,
And dy'd a very hearty Penitent.

Death having now clos'd the last Scene of her Life, she lay in State in a very splendid Manner, her House being hung from Top to Bottom with black Baize, a black Velvet Pall covering her Coffin to the Ground, which was rail'd round, the Room being all dark, and illuminated with several wax Tapers put into silver Scones. Having thus lain three Days, her Corpse was carried to St. Nicholas's Church, being attended thither by all her Husband's Relations, both Men and Women, in deep Mourning, besides above one hundred and twenty other Persons, who had gold Rings given them, with these Words engrav'd in them, Memento mori. Elizabetha Atkins obit 1722; that is, Remember to die. Elizabeth Atkins died in 1722.

Four Women went before strewing sweet Herbs and Flowers all the Way; after whom follow'd two Beadles, with their Staves cover'd with Cypress; next them two Ministers and the Clerk; the Pall was supported by the Wives of the Recorder of Galway, the two Sheriffs, the Town-Clerk, and two other Gentlewomen [sic], led all by [188, recte 190, signature: 'their'] their Husbands. When the Corps was brought into the Church, after the usual Prayers were said, the Rev. Dr. Shaw preach'd the Funeral Sermon, which being over, she was decently interr'd in the same Grave with her Husband; and shortly after a fine white Marble Tombstone was put over her, with the following Epitaph cut on it.

Behold the cruel Hand of Death,
Hath snatch'd away Elizabeth.
Twelve Years she was an arrant Whore;
was sometimes rich, and sometimes poor;
Which made her, when she'd no Relief,
Be full as many Years a Thief.
In this Carrier of Wickedness,
Poor Betty always had Success;
Till caught at last, was doom'd to die,
But Rope b'ing not her Destiny,
Eight Years she was transported, where
She Wealth obtain'd by Pains and Care.
Of Husbands five, one was her Brother,
Which was discover'd by her Mother,
Yet tho' she was both Thief and Whore,
She with this Mate wou'd live no more.
When People all, in after Times,
Shall read the Story of her Crimes,
They'll stand amaz'd, but more admire
That one so bad should e'er desire
To live a godly, righteous Life,
And be a loving, faithful Wife.
Of all her Sins she did repent,
And really dy'd a Penitent.

FINIS.
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The self marks refer to the editions cited, not to the reprints.

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*Opera* (Vicentia: Henricus de Sancto Urso, 1488) [Colophon:] Lucii Apuleii platonici Madaurensis philosophi metamorphoseos liber: ac nonnulla alia opuscula eiusdem: necnon epitoma Alcinoi in disciplinarum Platonis desinunt. [sic] Impressa per Henricum de Sancto Vrso in Vicentia. Anno salutis. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII. Die nona Augusti. [BL 86.k.11, Bodleian Auct.N.4.7.]

*Opera* (Venetia: Philippus Pinzius, 1493) [Title:] L. APVLEII OPERA [Colophon:] Lucii Apuleii Platonici Madaurensis philosophi metamorphoseos liber. ac nônulla alia opuscula eiusdē.
necon epitoma Alcinoi in disciplinarum Platonis desinuit. Impresa Venetiis per Philippum
pinzium Mâtuam Anno domini. M.cccc.lxxxiii. pridie Kalendas maias Imperâte Augustino
Barbadico Serenissimo Venetorum principe. Laus deo Amen. [BL G.8996, Bodleian Auct. N.
4.8.(3)]

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Madaurensis philosophi metamorphoseos liber. ac nonnulla alia opuscula eiusdem. necon epitoma
Alcinoi in disciplinarum Platonis desinunt. Impressum Mediolani per Magistrum Leonarû
pachel Anno domini. M.cccc.lxxxvii. die septimo Augusti [BL IB.26688]

Metamorphoses, ed. by Philippo Beroaldo (Bononiae: Benedictus Hectoris, 1500) [Title:] Com-
mentarii a Philippo Beroaldo conditi in Asinum Aureum Lucii Apuleii. Max in reliqua Opus-
cula eiusdem Annotationes imprimatur. [Colophon:] Impressum hoc opus Bononiae a Benedicto
Hectoris ipressore [sic] solertissimo/ Adhibita sâma diligentia/ ut in manus hominû ueniret ã
status huiusce Bononienisi Florentissimi habenas feliaciter Moderâte. [BL IB. 29107]

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Venetiis per Simonem Papiensem dictum Biuilaquam Anno Domini Iesu Christi. M.D.CCCCI.
Die. xxix. Aprilis. [BL 87.h.5]

Metamorphoses, ed. by Philippo Beroaldo (Paris: Ludovicvs Hornken, 1512) [Title:] Accipe
candissimse lecor philipi Beroaldi viri doctissimi in asinum aurel. L. Apulei ex Archetypo
redimpressa (Arte siringulariq in imprimendis libris industria: honesti uiri Ioannis Philippi)
commentaria/ qd si probaueris/ spera te breui/ hac uenustissima litera/ eiusdem Flori-
dorum libros/ cum pleriq alis Apulei monumentis ã emendatissime consecuturum. Venundantur
in uico sancti lacobi sub intersignio trium coronarum. Colonie retro maiore ecclesiam sub inter
signio carunculi albi. [Colophon:] Impressum Lutecie charactere admodum uenusto expensis
Ludovici Hornken & Gottfredi Hittorpii sociorum uirorum integerrimorum/ Industria uero
cumprimis honesti uiri Magistri Ioânis Philippi Anno a partu virgineo Millesimo quingentesimo
duo decimo. [BL 634.m.1]

Metamorphoses, ed. by Philippo Beroaldo (Venetia: Ioannis Tacuini, 1516) [Title:] Apuleius
cum commento Beroaldi: r figuris nouiter additis. [Colophon:] Lucii Apuleii in asinum aurem
opus explicat. Venetis in Aedibus Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino impressum. Inclyto Laureanedu
Principe. Anno Domini. M.D.XVIIII. Kalen. Junii. [BL 12403.h.9]

L. Apuleii Madavrensis Philosophi Platonici quae quidem extarenowimus monimenta, quorum
catalogum sequens exhibet pagella. Basileae exdebat Henricvs Petrvs. [Colophon:] Mense
Martio: Anno XXXIII. [sic, 1533] [HAB Lh 39]

L. APVLEI MADAURENSIS OPERA OMNIA QVÆ EXSTANT. In quibus post omnes om-
nium editiones hoc præstium est, vt iam denum AVCTOR IPSE Ope Cod. Mss. auctus locis
infinitis, interpolutas, & genuino nitori suo rectitutus prodeat, per BON. VVLCANIVM
BRVGENSEM. Ex Officina Plantiniana, APVD CHRISTOPHVRVM RAPHELGIVM, Academia
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ELMENHORSTS ex Mstis & vett. Codd. recensuit , Librumque Emendationum &
Indices absolutissimos adiecit. FRANCOVRTI, In Officina Wecheliana, apud Danielem &
Davidem Aubrios, & Clementem Schleichium. ANNO M. DC. XXI. [1621] [BL 1079.i.2., ÔNB
71.M.100]
LUCII APULEII MADAVURENSIS PLATONICI PHILOSOPHI OPERA INTERPRETATI-
ONE ET NOTIS ILLUSTRATAE JULIANUS FLORIDUS J.U.L. Can. Carnot. JUSSU
CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS, IN USUM SERENISSIMI DELPHINI PARISIS; Apud
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PRIVILEGIO REGIS [2 vols, 1688] [BL 56.d.2/3, ÔNB BE.11.L.36]

Apuleius, Lucius, Italian Translations

APVLEGIO VOLGARE: Diuiso in Xndeci Libri. Nouamente stampato & in mol-
ti lochi aggiuntoui che nella prima impressione gli mancava, & de mol-
ti piu figure adornato: & diligentemente corretto. Con le sue fabule in
margine poste. TRADVCTO per il Magnifico Conte Mattheo Maria Boiardo.
[Colophon:] Impreso in Venetia p Ioanne Tacuino da Trino a di. XXL Mazo.
M. D.XXII. [1544] [HAB Lg 1419.2]

L. APVLEGIO TRADOTTO IN VOLGARE DAL CONTE MATTheo Maria Boiardo Historiato. Nu-
ouamente, reuisto, & ricorretto con ogni diligenza. APPRESSO AGGIVNTOVI VN BREVE
Discurso della uita dell’ Autore. Con una Tavola da ritouar tutte le Nouelle, Sentenze, Detti, Fatti
& altre piu cose notabili, secondo che poste sono in margine; quello che per innanzi non si era. IN
VINEGIA AL SEGNO DELL’ IMPERADORE. M. D. XLIII. per Bartholomeo detto
L’Imperadore, & Francesco Vinitiano, Sulla piazza di S. Marco appresso la Chiesa di S. Basso.
[1544] [HAB Lg 1419.2]

L’ASINO D’ORO DI LVCIO APVLEGIO FILOSOFI PLATONICO Tadotto nuouamente in
lingua volgare dal Molto Illustre Signor POMPEO VIZANI Nobile Bolognese, Et da lui
con chiari argomenti ornato , & da motti dishonesti purgato. CON PRIVILEGIO. IN
VENETIA, MDCXII. Appresso Antonio Turini. [1612] [HAB A: 116.9 Eth]
Apuleius, Lucius, German Translations


Der Goldne Esel, trans. by August Rode, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Berlin: August Mylius, 1790) [BL 1164.f.47]

Apuleius, Lucius, Spanish Translations

Lucio Apuleyo del Asno de Oro. Enel qual se tracta muchas Hystorias y fabulas alegres: y de como una moça su amiga: por lo tornar aue como se axia tornado su señora ñ era grâ hechizera/ erro la buxeta: r tornolo de hombre en asno. E andâdo seho asno vido r oyo las maldades y trayciones que las malas mugeres hazê a sus maridos. E assi anduuo fasta ñ a cabo de vn âio comio de vnas rosas y tornose hombre: segun que el largamete lo recuenta eneste libro. 1539. [Colophon:] Fue imprimida la presente obra/ enla muy noble y leal ciudade de çcamora enel ano de nuestra reparacion: que conta mos: Mil y quinientos y treynta y nueve años. A ve vnte y seys del mes de Março.

[trans. by Diego Lopez de Cortegana, 1539] [BNF Rés. R. 310]

Lucio Apuleyo del asno de oro/ corregido y añadido. En el qual se tractan muchas hystorias/ y fabulas alegres/ y de como una moça su amiga por lo tornar aue como se axia tornado su señora/ que era gran hechizera/ erro la buxeta/ y torno lo de hombre en asno: y andando hechoasno/ vido/ yoyo las maldades/ y traycionesque las malas mugeres hazen a sus maridos. Y anfianduuo hasta que a cabo de un año comio de vnas rosas y tornose hombre: segun ñ ellargamentorecuèta eneste libro. 1543 [Colophon:] Fue impresla la presente obra/ enla muy noble villa de Medina di campo por Pedro de castro impressor a costa de Juan de espinosa mercader de libros acabosea seys dias del mes de April año de M.D.XLiii. [trans. by Diego Lopez de Cortegana, 1543] [BL C.63.L.11]

Historia De Lucio Apuleyo, del asno de oro, repartida en onze libros, y traduzida en Romance castellano. EN ANVER En casa de Juan Steelisio, M.D.LI. [1551, repr. 1584] [BL 12410.aa.32, HAB 123 Eth]
Apuleius, Lucius, French Translations


L'ASNE D'OR. OV LES METAMORPHOSES DE LVCE APVLEE PHILOSOPH PLATONIQVE. ILLVSTRE DE COMmenTaires apposez au bout de chasque liure, qui facilitent l'intention de l'Auteur. OEUVRE DE TRES-GALANTE invention , de tres-facetieuse lecture, de singuliére doctrine. Jouxta la coppie imprimée PARIS, Chez ABEL LANGELIER. M.DG.XII. [1612] [HAB M: Lh 31]

LES METAMORPHOSES OV L'ASNE DOR DE L. APVLEE PHILOSOPH PLATONIQVE. Oeuvre d'excellente invention et singuliere doctrine. A PARIS Chez Samuel Thiboust aus palais en la galerie des prisonniers. 1623. [trans. by I. de Montlyard, repr. 1633] [BL 17219, HAB A: 30.4 Eth]

Apuleius, Lucius, English and Dutch Translations


Augustine, Aurelius, Latin Editions

Confessiones [Strasbourg: Mentelin, 1470 (?)] [BL G.12.077]
Confessiones (Mediolanum: Bonus Iohannes, 1475) [Colophon:] Qy letum augustina ferat confessio fletum Prasens fratre refert pagina presa suo. Theutonicis delatus enim bonus are Iohannes Hoc mediolanii fertile pressit opus. ANNO INCARNATIONIS DOMINI MCCCCLXXV: XII° KALENDAS AVGVSTI. [BL IA: 26253]

Confessiones [Colonia Agrippina: Bartholomeos de Unkel, 1482] [BL I.A.3940]

Confessiones (Daventrie: Richard de Paffroed, 1483) [Colophon:] Tredecim libro y confessionû beati Augustini finis felix Per Rychardum de paffroed Daventrie in platea e P i impressorum dili-genti examine correcto y. Anno dni Mcccclxxixiij. [BL IA.47511, Taylorian Arch.8°F.1495]

D. AVRELII AVgustini Hipponësis episcopi cöfessionum libri tredecim. PARISII, Apud Ioannê Ruelliû, via ad Diuœ Iacobû, sub signo Caude Vulpina. 1540. [BSB P.lat.73]

D. AVRELII AVGVSTINI HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI Confessionum libri tredecim. ANTVERPIAE apud Joan. Gymnicam. [Colophon:] typis Dictemij. 1546. [BL 1568/4817, BSB P.lat.74]

D. AVRELII AVGVSTINI, HIPPONENSIs Episcopi, Confessionum Libri tredecim: Operæ Theologorum Louaniensium ex manuscriptis codicibus multum emendati. Eiusdem Confessio Theologica Tripartita. LOVANII Apud Hieronymum Wellæum sub Diamante. 1573. [BL 846.a.24]

D. AVRELLII AVGVSTINI HIPPONENsis Episcopi, Confessionum Libri tredecim: Operæ Theologorum Louaniensium ex manuscriptis codicibus multum emendati. Eiusdem Confessio Theologica Tripartita. WIRZENBURGI, EX OFFICINA HENRII Aquensis, Episcopalis Typographi. Anno, M.D.LXXXI. [1581] [BSB P.lat.79]

D. AVRELII AVGVSTINI, HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI CONFESSIONVM, LIBRI TREDECIM. Quibus nunc primum est adiectus Rerum, & Verborum Index. TVRNONI, APVD CLAUDIVM MICHAELM, Vniuersitatis Typographum. M. D. LXXVIII. [1588] [BSB P.lat.80]


S. AVREL. AVGSTINI CONFESSIONVM Libri X. Cum NOTIS R.P. HENRICI WANGNEREGK. Soc. Iesu. Colonie. Apud Ioan. Kalkovium et Socios. Anno MDC XXX. [1646] [BL 845.a.16 (1)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS


SANCTI AURELII AUGUSTINI HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI OPERUM POST LOVANENSEM RECEPTIONEM castigatus denuo ad manuscriptos codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, Anglicanos &c. nec non ad editiones antiquiores castigatores. OPERA ET STVDIO MONACHORVM Ordinis S. Benedicti è Congregatione S. Mauri. PARISIIS Excedebat FRANCISCUS MUGUET Regis illustrissimi Archiepiscopi Parisiensis typographus. M DC LXIX. CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS. [11 vols, 1679-1700] [BL 13.g.2-13]

Augustine, Aurelius, Latin Epitomes and Adaptations


Confessio Augustiniana, Ex D. Aurelii Augustini Operibus Compilata, In Qua Theologiae capita controversa, & in Disputacionem superioribus seculis ab Hereticis vocata, nunc a Novatoribus reucata, secundum veteris Ecclesia Catholicæ consensus, ex ipsis Augustini verbis decisa, proponuntur. Auctore & collectore R.P. Hieronymo Torrense Societatis Jesu Theologo, & Academia Dilingana professore. Cum triplici, Capitum, rerum sententiariam, & Sacra Scriptura Indice. Colonia, Apud Arnoldum Quentelium. Anno M. DC. XI. [1611] [HAB Xb 4720]

Augustine, Aurelius, Spanish Translations

LAS CONFESSIONES DE. S. AVGVSTIN, traduzidas de Latin en Romance Castellano: por el padre Maestro fray Sebastian Toscano, de la orden de S. Augustin. EN ANVERS En casa de Martin Nucio. M.D.LV. Con Privilegio Imperial. [1555] [BL C.46.A.1, BSB P.lat.115]

LAS CONFESSIONES DE. S AVGustin, traduzidas de Latin en Romance Castellano: por el padre Maestro fray Sebastian Toscano de la orden de S. August. Vendese en Enberes à la enseña de la gallina gorda. Impresso en Colonia Agrippina por los herederos de Arnoldo Bircmanno. 1556. [BL C.107.a.17]
LAS CONFESSIONES DEL GLORIOSO DOCTOR DE LA IGLESIA SAN AGUSTIN.
TRADUCIDAS DEL LATIN en Castellano por el R. Padre Pedro de Ribadineyra, de la Compañía de IESVS. EN MADRID. Por Luis Sanchez. M. DCIII. [1603] [BL c. 186.b.4]

LAS CONFESSIONES DEL GLORIOSO DOCTOR DE LA IGLESIA S. AGUSTIN. TRADUCIDAS Del Latin en Castellano por el R. Padre Pedro de Ribadineyra, de la Compañía de Jesus. A su excelencia mi señora la Condesa de Monterey, &c. En Brusselas, Por Francisco Foppens, Impressory Mercader de Libros. 1674. [HAB M: Li 120]

Augustine, Aurelius, English Translations

THE CONFESSIONS OF THE INCOMPARABLE DOCTOR S. AUGVSTINE, Translated into English [by Sir Tobie Matthew]. TOGETHER With a large Preface, which it will much import to be read over first; that so the Booke itselie may both profit, and please, the Reader, more. Cibus sum grandium, cresce, & manducabis me. D. Aug. Conf. l. 7. c. 10. I am the food of strong persons; grow vp, and thou shalt be able to eate me & c. Permissu Superiorum. M. DC. XX. [1620] [BL 3627.aa.7]

THE KERNEL OR EXTRACT OF THE HISTORICALL PART, OF S. AVGVSTINS Confessions; TOGETHER WITH ALL THE most affectuous passages thereof; TAKEN OVT OF THAT WHOLE Booke, & seuered from such parts, as are obscure. PRINTED AT PARIS, M. DC. XXXVIII. LION. [1638] [BL 19946]


Augustine, Aurelius, French Translations


BIBLIOGRAPHY: EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

LES CONFESSION [sic] DE S. AVGSTIN. Traduites Par le R.P. de CERIZIERS de la Compagnie de Jeus. A PARIS, Chez FRANÇOIS MGVET, Rué de la Harpe, à l’enseigne des trois Rois vis à vis la Barbe d’Or. M.DC. LIX Avec Approbation. [1659] [BL 3805.aa.22]

LA CONVERSION DE S. AUGUSTIN Décrite par lui-même. A BRUSSELE, Chez FRANÇOIS FOPPENS, au Saint Esprit. M D C X C. Avec Privilege & Aprobacion. [sic] [1690] [BSB P.lat. 107 e]

Augustine, Aurelius, German Translations

Ain andechter und zu besserung sündigs lebens/ nutzlicher Tractat des heiligen und Christlichen lerers Aurelij Augustini/ von üppigkait der welt/ neulich auß Latein in Teutsch gebracht. Augspurg. M.D.XIX. [Colophon:] Siluanum Otmar [1519] [BSB Res. 4° Hom. 967 b]


Defoe, Daniel, English Editions and Abrigements

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES Of the FAMOUS Moll Flanders, &c. Who was Born in NEWGATE, and during a Life of continu’d Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year a
BIBLIOGRAPHY: EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own MEMORANDUMS. LONDON: Printed for, and Sold by W. CHETWOOD, at Cato's-Head, in Russel-street, Covent Garden; and T. EDLIN, at the Prince's Arms, over-against Exeter-Change in the Strand. MDCCXXI.[1722] [BL G.13539]

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES Of the FAMOUS Moll Flanders, &c. Who was BORN in NEWGATE, And during a Life of continu'd Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Years a Whore, five times a Wife (wherof once to her own Brother) Twelve Years a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own MEMORANDUMS. The Second Edition, Corrected. LONDON: Printed for JOHN BROTHERTON, at the Bible in Cornhill, against the Royal Exchange. MDCCXXII.[1722] [BL C 184.a.42]

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES Of the FAMOUS Moll Flanders, &c. Who was BORN in NEWGATE, And during a Life of continu'd Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife (wherof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own MEMORANDUMS. The Third Edition Corrected. LONDON: Printed for, and Sold by W. CHETWOOD, at Cato's-Head, in Russel-street, Covent Garden; and T. EDLIN, at the Prince's Arms, over-against Exeter-Change in the Strand; W. MEARS, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar; J. BROTHERTON, by the Royal-Exchange; C. KING, and J. STAGS, in Westminster-Hall. MDCCXXII. [1722] [BL 1081 m.4]

[Serialisation], 'The History and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, &c.', LONDON POST: The freshest and most remarkable Occurrences at Home and Abroad, 11 May 1722–15 March 1723 [BL P.P.5258.i.]

[Abridgement], THE LIFE and ACTIONS OF Moll Flanders. CONTAINING, Her Birth and Education in Newgate; her Ambition to be a Gentlewoman; her being taken into a Gentleman's Family; her being debauch'd by her Master's Eldest Son, and married to the Younger; her Marriage to her own Brother; her going over with him to, and settling in, Virginia; her Return to England; her Marriage to an Highwayman, who pass'd for a Person of Quality; her being reduc'd, and turning Thief; her taking some Plate from an House on Fire; her turning Informer; her robbing in Man's Clothes; A singular Adventure that happen'd to her at Bartholomew-Fair; her being apprehended, committed to Newgate, try'd, and cast for her Life; her obtaining Transportation; her meeting with her Quality-Husband in the same Condition; her being transported with him; her second Settlement, and happy Success in Virginia, and Settlement in Ireland; her Estate, Penitence, Age, Death, Burial, Elegy, and Epitaph. Adorn'd with Cuts suitable to each Chapter. LONDON: Printed and Sold by T. Read, behind the Sun Tavern in Fleetstreet. Price One Shilling. [1723] [BL 012612.e.18]

[Abridgement], Fortune's Fickle Distribution: In THREE PARTS. Containing, First, The LIFE and DEATH OF MOLL FLANDERS. Who was born in Newgate; Debauch'd by her Lady's eldest Son, and then marry'd to his Brother; after whose Death, she was twelve Years a common Whore; twelve Years a Thief; five Times marry'd Wife, once to her own Brother; condemn'd at the Old-Bailey; eight Years a Transport in Virginia with her Lancashire Husband; their Settlement there; Return to Ireland, Estate; her Penitence, Age, Last Will and Testament, Death, Burial and Epitaph. Part II. The Life of JANE HACKABOUT, her Governess; who was an Attorney's Daughter, a Lady's Woman, a Whore, a Bawd, a Pawn-broker, a Breeder up of Thieves, a Receiver of Stolen Goods, and at last died a Penitent. Part III. The Life of JAMES MAC-FAUL, Moll Flanders's Lancashire Husband; who was born in Ireland; came into England; turn'd Gentleman, Gamester, Highwayman, transported to Virginia; his Return to Galway in Ireland,
Settlement and Death. LONDON: Printed, and DUBLIN: Re-printed and sold by the Booksellers. M DCC XXX. [1730] [BL 12612.b.14]

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES Of the FAMOUS Moll Flanders, &c. Who was Born in NEWGATE, and during a Life of continued Variety for Threescore Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Years a Whore, five Times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Years a Thief, Eight Years a Transported Felon in Virginia, at last grew Rich, liv'd Honest, and dy'd a Penitent. Written from her own MEMORANDUMS. LONDON: Printed for J. BROTHERTON, at the Bible in Cornhill; J. STAGG in Westminster-Hall; and F. NOBLE, at Otway's-Head in St. Martin's-Court near Leicester-Fields. MDCCXL. [1641] [BL 1578/7128]

[Chapbook], The Fortunes and Misfortunes of MOLL FLANDERS, Who was Born in Newgate. And during a Life of continued Variety for sixty Years was 17 times a Whore, 5 times a Wife, whereof once to her own Brother, 12 years a Thief, 11 times in Bridewell, 9 times in New-Prison, 11 times in Wood-street Compter, 6 times in the Poultry Compter, 14 times in the Gatehouse, 25 times in Newgate, 15 times whip t at the Cart's Arse [sic], 4 times Burnt in the Hand, once Condemned for Life and 8 Year's a Transport in Virginia. At last grew rich, lived honest, and died penitent. Printed and Sold in 'Aldernary Church-yard, Bow-Lane, London. [c. 1750, repr. 'Printed and Sold at No. 4, Aldernary Church Yard.' (c. 1770), 'Newcastle: Printed in this Present Year.' (c. 1790), 'MANCHESTER: Printed by A. Swindells, 8, Hanging-Bridge' (c. 1805)] [BL 1079.i.13/21]

[Abridgement], THE HISTORY OF LÆTITIA ATKINS, Vulgarly called MOLL FLANDERS. Published by Mr. DANIEL DEFOE. And from Papers found since his Decease, it appears greatly altered by himself; AND From the said Papers, THE Present Work is produced. LONDON: [sic] Printed for the EDITOR; and sold by F. NOBLE in Holborn, and T. LOWNDES in Fleet-street. MDCLXXVI. (Price Three Shillings, bound) [1776] [BL 12614.cc.6]

[Chapbook], THE Fortunes and Misfortunes OF Moll Flanders: WHO WAS BORN IN NEWGATE, And during a life of continued variety for sixty Years was 17 times a whore; 5 times a wife; whereof once to her own brother, 12 years a thief, 11 times in Bridewell, 9 times in New Prison, 11 times in Woodstreet Compter; 6 times in the Poultry Compter, 14 times in the Gate-house 25 times in Newgate, 15 Times whip t at the Cart's tail; 4 times burnt in the hand; once condemned for life and 8 years a transport in Virginia. At last grew rich, lived honest, and died a penitent. Printed and sold by J. Pitts, No. 14, Great Saint, Andrew-street Seven Dials, London. [c. 1815, another edition n.d. and n.p., c. 1815] [BL 1607/5780]

[Chapbook], THE HISTORY OF MOLL FLANDERS, Who was born in Newgate, and during a life of continued varieties, for threescore years, was twelve years a whore, whereof once to her own Brother, twelve years a thief, Was eighteen times in Bridewell, Nine times in New Prison, Fifteen times whip t at the cart's tail, Four times burnt in the hand, Once condemned for life, Eight times transported to Virginia, at last grew rich, lived honest, AND DIED A PENITENT. STIRLING. Printed by W. Macnie, 1825. [BL 1078.k.17]

Defoe, Daniel, Translations

DE LEVENSGEVALLEN EN BEDRYVEN Van VLAAMSCHIE MIE, Welke zich door haar
gedrag en wisselvalligheden in Engeland zeer berucht gemaakt heest. Gepaart met de LEVEN-
SGEVALLEN EN BEDRYVEN Van YRSCHE BETH. Niet min zonderling om hunne ver-
scheidenheid. Beide WARE GEBEURTENISSEN, In London veelmalen herdrukt, en om
hunne zeldzaamheid uit't Engelsch vertaalt. TE AMSTERDAM, By STEVEN VAN
ESVELDT. Boekverkoper in de Beurs-steeg. 1752. [BL 012618.df.12.]

MÉMOIRES ET AVANTURES DE MADAME MOLL FLANDERS; ÉCRITS PAR ELLE-
MEME. TRADUIT DE L'ANGLOIS A LONDRES, Chez NOURSE, Libraire dans le Strand.
M. DCC. LXI. [1761] [BL 1607/4793]

Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoph von, German Editions

Trutz Simplex: Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und
Landstörzerin Courasche/ Wie sie anfangs eine Rittmeisterin/ hernach eine Hauptmännin/ ferner
eine Leutenantin/ bald eine Marcheketenterin/ Myßquetirerin/ und letztlich eine Ziegeuerin abgege-
ben/ Meisterlich agiret/ und ausbündig vorgestellt: Eben so lustig/ annemlich un nutzlich zu be-
trachten/ als Simplicissimus selbst. Alles miteinander Von der Courasche eigner Person/ dem weit
und breitbekannten Simplicissimo zum Verdrüß und Widerwillen/ dem Autori in die Feder dictirt,
der sich vor dſſmal nennen PHILARCHUS GROSSUS von Trommenheim/ auf Grijfsberg/ tc.
Gedruckt in Utopia/ bei Felix Stratiot. [1st edn: E %, Nürnberg: Felßecker, 1670] [BSB Rar
567]

Trutz Simplex: Oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebens=Beschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin
und Landstörzerin Courasche/ Wie sie anfangs eine Rittmeisterin/ hernach eine Hauptmännin/
ferner eine Leutenantin/ bald eine Marcheketenterin/ Myßquetirerin/ und letztlich eine Ziegeuerin
abgegeben/ Meisterlich agiret/ und ausbündig vorgestellt: Eben so lustig/ annemlich un nutzlich zu
betrachten/ als Simplicissimus selbst. Alles miteinander Von der Courasche eigner Person dem weit
und breitbekannten Simplicissimo zum Verdrüß und Widerwillen/ dem Autori in die Feder dictirt,
der sich vor dſſmal nennen PHILARCHUS GROSSUS von Trommenheim/ auf Grijfsberg/ tc.
Gedruckt in Utopia/ bei Felix Stratiot. [3rd edn: E³, Nürnberg: Felßecker, 1671] [CAS A
1221, HAB Lo 2316]

Der Aus dem Grab der Vergessenheit wieder erstandene SIMPLICISSIMI Abentheurlicher/ und
mit allerhand seltsamen Begebenheiten angefüllter Lebens=Wandel/ Auf eine ungemeine/ und jetzo
gantz neue viel=vermehrte anmuthige Schreib= und Lehr=Art/ vermittelst Scharfsinnigen Lehr en/
nützlichen Anmerckungen und wohl=klingenden Poetischen Versen/ auch nebst recht lebhaften
Kupffer=Bildnüssen; Lust=liebenden/ und curieusen Gemüthern auf das annehmlichste/ In dreyn
Theilen/ auf= und vorgestellet / durch Germann Schleiffheim von Sultzfort. Dem es wollen so be-
bagen/ Lachen/ was wahr ist / zu sagen. Nürnberg/ gedruckt und verlegt bey Adam Jonathan
Felßecker. 1713. [C³ vols I and II; C² vol. III, 1695 or 1699] [BL 12547.e.10]

Lächlerliche und unterhaltsame Lebensgeschichte des im vorigen Jahrhundert allgemein bekannten
tapfern Soldaten Kilian Springinsfeld, getreuen Kriegskameraden des Simplizius, zuletzt aber ver-
armten Landstürzers. Mit einem Anhange von der begünstigten Liebhaberin des Simplicius, Jung-
Frankfurt und Leipzig. [n. pub.] 1791. [IGS]

Sorel, Charles, French Editions

HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION. EN LAQVELLE SONT descouuertes les plus sub-
tiles finesses & trompeuses inuentions , tant des hommes que des femmes, de toutes
sortes de conditions & d'âges. Non moins profitable pour s'en garder, que plaisante à la lecture. A PARIS, Chez PIERRE BILLAINE, rue sainta Iacques, à la bonne Foy. M. D. C. XXIII. Avec Priuilege du Roy. [1st edn: A, 1623] [Bodleian 8° H 68 Art]

L'HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION. OV LES TROMPERIES, LES SVBTILITEZ, les mauaises humeurs, les sottises, & tous les autres vices de quelques personnes de ce siecle, sont naïuement represente. Seconde edition reueüe & augmentée de beaucoup. A PARIS, Chez PIERRE BILLAINE, rue S. Iacques, à la Bonne Foy, devant S. Yues. M. DC. XXVI. AVEC PRIVILEGE. [2nd edn: B, 4 vols, 1626] [Arsenal Rés. 8 BL 19514(1-4)]


L'HISTOIRE COMIQVE DE FRANCION. OV LES TROMPERIES, LES SVBTILITEZ, LES MAVVAISES humeurs, les sottises, & tous les autres vices de quelques personnes de ce siecle sont naïuement represente. DERNIERE EDITION. A PARIS, Chez IÉAN GESSELIN, sur le Pont-Neuf. M. DC. XXXVI. [2nd edn: B, 1636] [Aug 02/111.11 8°589]

Francion and Conclusion [Paris: Gesselin(?), after 1636] [Arsenal Rés. 8 BL 19515]


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Liure, suivant les manuscrits de l’Auteur. A ROVEN, Chez DAVID BERTHELIN, dans la Court du Palais. M. DC. LXI. [1661] [HAB A: 74.1. Eth]


LA VRAYE HISTOIRE COMIQUE DE FRANCION. Composée par Nicolas de Moulinet, Sieur DU PARC, Gentilhomme Lorrain. Soigneusement revuë & corrigée par Nathanaël Duëz, Maistre de Langues. A LEYDE ROTERDAM Chez les HACKES. 1668. [2 vols] [HAB M: Lm 3424 a and b, BL 12518.a.1]


HISTOIRE CURIEUSE DU FAMEUX FRANCION, Mise en meilleur François & enrichie de plusieurs Figures. A AMSTERDAM, Chez PAUL MARRET, dans le Beursstraat à la Renommée. M. DC. XCVII. [2 vols, 1697] [Arsenal 8° BL 19519]


Sorel, Charles, Translations

‘t Kluchtige Leven VAN VROLYKE FRANSJE, Daar in de hedendaegse ongeregeltheden, en bedriegerijen naaktelijk vertoont worden. Vyt het Francois van de Heer DV PARC, vertaelt door D.V.R. t’AMSTERDAM, Voor Johannes Iacot, Boekverkoper op ‘t Rotkin, by de Beurs. 1643. [BSB P.o.gall 2080mi]

The Comical History OF FRANCION, WHEREIN The variety of Vices that abuse the Ages are Satyrically limn’d in their Native Colours. Interwoven with many pleasant Events, and Moral Lessons, as well fitted for the entertainment of the Gravest Head, as the Lightest Heart. By Monsieur De Moulines [sic], Sieur De PARC, a LORAIN Gentleman. Horat Serm. Lib. 2. Omne vafer vitium ridenti tangit amico. Done into English by a Person of Honor [i.e. John Davies of Kidwelly]. LONDON, Printed for Francis Leach, and are to be sold by Richard Lowndes at the White Lion, near the little North door of Pauls, 1655. [BL 12510 h 30]

Verteutschter Francion gedruckt A. 1662. [n.p., n. pub.] [BSB P.o.gall. 2080 mk, HAB Xb 2279, CAS A 6235]


THE Comical History OF FRANCION. Satyrically Exposing Folly and Vice, in Variety of HUMOURS and ADVENTURES. Written in French by the Sieur de Parc, and Translated by several Hands, and Adapted to the Humour of the present Age. Quicquid agunt Homines, Votum, Timor, Ira, Voluptas, Gaudia, Discursus, nostri est Farrago Libelli. Juven. LONDON, Printed for R. Wellington at the Dolphin and Crown at the West-End of St. Paul’s Church-Yard. I703. [BL 1074. g. 13]

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oder gesundbeyt etc. in eins jeden Planeten stund/ wie das außweise die Viertzehen weisen Meyster. Das dritt teil melt die Physiognomy und Chiromancy/ Das ist/ wie man auß dem Gesicht/ gestalt und geberdê/ auch auß anzezigung der händ/ der menschen geburt/ sitten/ geberden und neygligkeyten erkennen mag etc. Alles auß Platone/ Polomeo/ Hali/ Albumasar undt Johanne Königßberger außt kurtzt gezogen jderman zu gut/ das böß zußfrihen/ und das gut anzunemen. Getruckt zu Straßburgck durch W. Jacob CammerLander von Mentz. Anno M.D.xlvI. [1546]

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