

**Richard James Brunt**  
**The Influence of the French Language on the**  
**German Vocabulary**



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Richard James Brunt

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To my Mother and Father



## PREFACE

This work is a revised version of my Oxford D. Phil. thesis (1979).

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## I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### Economic Relations

A history of the economic and commercial relations between France and Germany in the seventeenth century has still to be written. The following is an attempt to gather together and to evaluate facts from primary and secondary historical sources as an aid towards understanding the various factors which favoured linguistic borrowing during this period. It cannot, of course, claim to be complete and a wider evaluation of primary sources (commercial documents, town records, court registers, etc.) than has been possible here might modify some of the following.

Before the Thirty Years' War Germany looked mainly to Spain for the provision of luxury goods and fashionable clothes, but in the mid-sixteenth century there are already records of traders in Frankfurt dealing in imported French goods who, even during the War, continue to travel to France<sup>1</sup>. It is only after the War, however, that this trade reaches sizeable proportions, indicating a demand which German manufacturers were unable to fulfil. Although this inability cannot be attributed solely to the effects of the War on the German economy, there is no doubt that the disruption caused by thirty years of armed hostilities did much to further, indirectly, the import of French goods.

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1 A. DIETZ: Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte. 5 vols. Frankfurt 1910-1925. Vol. IV pp. 88/89

The extent of the effects of the Thirty Years' War on the face of Germany has long been a source of dispute among historians. Whereas the earlier school held that the War was totally disastrous for the German economy, destroying the fabric of the Empire, decimating or brutalizing the population and bringing trade and industry to a complete standstill, more recently historians have maintained that the German economy was already in decline at the end of the sixteenth century, that the War merely accelerated this trend and that the severity of the devastation was much exaggerated by seventeenth century propagandists<sup>2</sup>. The following can be taken as representative of the latter view:

The harm wrought by warfare on populations and economic life in seventeenth century Europe has been exaggerated, and this is especially true of Germany and the Thirty Years' War. War has been blamed for much that was too readily assumed to mean death and was probably migration; losses in one area have not been balanced against gains in another; the extent of subsequent recovery has often been minimised; and much has been ascribed to the war that was mainly due to other causes<sup>3</sup>.

Certainly the war caused a decline in population: it is estimated that Coburg, Hesse, Württemberg and the Palatinate suffered losses of between 60 and 70 per cent<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand in the so-called *Schongebiete*, North West Germany,

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2 For a summary of these views see T.K. RABB: The effects of the Thirty Years' War on the German economy, in: *Journal of Modern History* 34, 1962, pp. 40-51.

3 D.C. COLEMAN: Economic problems and policies, in: *New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. V. Cambridge 1961, p. 21.

4 F.L. CARSTEN: The Empire after the Thirty Years' War, in: *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. V. Cambridge 1961, pp. 434-436. For a detailed account see: G. FRANZ: *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg und das deutsche Volk. Untersuchungen zur Bevölkerungs- und Agrargeschichte*. Stuttgart 1961. It is estimated that the population of the Empire declined from 20 million before the War to 12 or 13 million; the population of France in 1660 was 24 million (H. HOLBORN: *A history of modern Germany 1648-1840*, London 1965, p. 23)

Austria and the Tyrol, the effects of the War upon population were negligible. While in the East Magdeburg was razed to the ground and its inhabitants were slaughtered, Hamburg in the North became a flourishing port. Hence it is impossible to make any general assessment of the state of trade and industry in Germany at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Plague, famine, mass migration, as well as the marauding armies, all played their part in Germany's economic stagnation and those industries which survived the War were more concerned with providing the essentials of life than with meeting the demand for luxury goods. It was the peasantry who suffered most from the devastation, while the aristocracy, often thanks to a skilful changing of allegiances, emerged virtually unscathed and imports of luxury goods, which can be regarded as the 'essentials' of aristocratic life, soon started flowing into Germany again, for while France may have been the enemy of Germany during the War, she was the sole purveyor of these goods.

One of the most important effects of the War upon the social structure of Germany was to accelerate the trend towards particularism. By the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) there were set up within the Empire 343 separate states and free cities, all sovereign members of the Diet, free to control their own affairs independently of each other and of the Emperor. Yet, however much these states may have varied in size and importance, they were united in their common, often manic, Francophilia:

Ein jeder, auch der kleinste der 300 deutschen Souveräne, wollte der Tautropfen sein, in dem sich das Bild des französischen Sonnenkönigs widerspiegelte<sup>5</sup>.

Their ideal was Louis XIV's Versailles and they endeavoured, as far as their exchequer allowed, to imitate the French

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5 G. DEHIO: Geschichte der deutschen Kunst. Bd. III. Berlin/Leipzig 1933, p. 248.

court in architecture, dress and way of life and had the necessary materials imported from France. This outpouring of German money naturally had a ruinous effect upon the German economy; each pocket Louis raised extortionate taxes from his subjects, only to consign them to Colbert's coffers.

In France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Minister of Finance from 1661, worked towards furthering Louis XIV's absolutist monarchy by establishing France's economic hegemony, following those principles later described as mercantilism<sup>6</sup>. His main aim was to promote the expansion of industry, even at the cost of agriculture, in order to ensure that France had no need to import foreign goods. This in turn meant that money flowed into the country and not out, since it was a prime tenet of mercantilism that the economic prosperity of a country was to be measured solely by the gold and bullion it possessed. Colbert reinforced his expansionary measures by reducing taxes on native products and imported raw materials, while increasing them on all imported manufactured goods, these prohibitive import taxes being one of the main causes of the Dutch War of 1674-1678. Attempts were made to promote the export trade, especially with Brandenburg, which at this time was pursuing a pro-French foreign policy, but they came to nothing since France lacked the navy to transport her goods, all sea trade being dominated by the Dutch<sup>7</sup>. One route, however, was open to French exports, namely overland to Frankfurt, and much of this trade was carried on by the Swiss who since the sixteenth century had enjoyed the right to act as

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6 For Colbert and his policies see C.W. COLE: Colbert and a century of French mercantilism. 2 vols. New York 1939.

7 See P. BOISSONNADE: Histoire des premiers essais de relations économiques directes entre la France et l'état prussien pendant le règne de Louis XIV. Poitiers 1913. In 1665 Holland had 16,000 vessels, whereas France had 2,368, of which 1,063 had a tonnage of between 10 and 30 tons (ibid. pp. 138/9).

intermediaries for French trade abroad<sup>8</sup>. Goods were normally carried via Lille or Metz and then on to Frankfurt which became the main entrepôt centre for all imported French wares. In 1676 eight *Pariser Warenkrämer* were active there, and the most successful of them, Johannes Ochs, supplied all the leading German courts - at one time Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg owed him 275,716 Reichstaler. The exchange rate in Paris was listed from 1656 onwards in the Frankfurt *Kursblatt* and French currency was accepted there as a valid means of payment<sup>9</sup>. Other French goods entered Germany via Strasbourg or by sea via Bremen.

The massive influx of these goods eventually provoked a reaction in Germany, led by the German mercantilists. They, like Colbert, believed that, since the amount of gold in circulation at any time is limited, the country which possessed the largest holdings was by definition the most prosperous. This situation was, in theory, to be brought about by a country's exploitation of its overseas colonies and of its own natural resources of precious metals and by exporting more than it imported. Since Germany could not compete with England and Holland in the maritime export trade and her colonial enterprises had borne little fruit, the mercantilists urged that she must direct her efforts towards establishing an active balance of trade, which meant that the flow of precious metals out of the country had to be stopped and a limitation or ban placed upon the import of 'superfluous' luxury goods, while at the same time, the export of high-value native products was to be actively encouraged.

Since, however, German industry had not sufficiently recovered from the War to enable it to increase exports (and Colbert's import taxes were all but prohibitive),

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8 See H. LÜTHY: Die Tätigkeit der Schweizer Kaufleute und Gewerbetreibenden in Frankreich unter Ludwig XIV. und der Regentschaft. Aarau 1943.

9 DIETZ op.cit. Vol.IV, pp. 89-91.

attention had to be directed towards banning the import of French goods.

The mercantilists' campaign against France began in 1672 with the 'Aurifordina Gallica/Französische Goldgrube/denen Römischen Reichs-Ständen eröffnet und Verschlösse' by Eberhard WASENBERG<sup>10</sup>, librarian and secretary to Emperor Ferdinand and King Ladislaus of Poland. For him France's dominant economic position in Europe was not due to any innate virtues of the people or the country, but solely to the fact that the French knew how to make those *Modeartikel* which so appealed to the European aristocracy. This was because:

Aus ganz Europa werden die jungen Leute nach Frankreich gesendet. Diese gewöhnen sich an französische Sitten und Unsitten und wollen/wenn sie in ihre Heimat zurückkehren/nichts anderes mehr/als was aus Frankreich stammt<sup>11</sup>.

If this state of affairs were to continue, he foresaw:

Eine allmähliche Verwüstung aller Familien/äußerste Armut unserer Lande/Zertrennung der Kriegsdisziplin und Einführung aller Laster<sup>12</sup>.

The only remedy was to ban all trade with France:

Denn/wenn wir also die Französische Goldgrube verriegeln/können wir Frankreich/welches jetzt als eine gewaltige Sündflut uns zu überschwemmen sucht/leichtlich nach unserem Gefallen im Zaum halten/unser christliches Regiment bei Frieden erhalten und die ganze Welt in erwünschte Sicherheit setzen<sup>13</sup>.

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10 See J. HALLER: Die deutsche Publizistik in den Jahren 1668-1674. Heidelberg 1892, p. 26; H. von ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST: Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitraum der Gründung des preußischen Königiums. Erster Band: Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Tode des Großen Kurfürsten. Stuttgart 1880, pp. 322/3. This work is included in J.J. BECHER'S 'Politischer Discurs' (1673), pp. 825-866.

11 ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST op.cit. p. 322.

12 Ibid p. 323.

13 Op.cit. p. 323.

The *Goldgrube* was one of a series of anti-French pamphlets by WASSENBERG<sup>14</sup>, and they all found an immediate response among the German cameralists. The greatest of them, Johann Joachim BECHER, who from 1670 was adviser to Emperor Leopold I, revised his *Politischer Discurs* (1668)<sup>15</sup> to include an analysis of the German economy and his proposals were very similar to those of WASSENBERG. He calculated that the Empire imported annually 4 million thalers worth of goods from France<sup>16</sup> and proposed a ban on imports and the immediate expansion of German industry. Similar arguments were advanced in the work attributed to Johann Daniel KRAFFT<sup>17</sup> and in an anonymous pamphlet of the following year<sup>18</sup>. The former laments at length that there is no item of fashionable life that does not come from France - clothes, razors, haberdashery, shirts, stockings, hats, wigs, combs, hairpowder, tooth-picks, playing-cards, purses, knives, needles and thread, shoes and books are all imported<sup>19</sup>. The two previously mentioned works inspired the

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14 E.g. 'Marobodus in Serenissimo et Potentissimo Ludovico XIV, Galliorum Rege, Redivivus Principibus Europae demonstratus'. (n.p.) 1672, see HALLER op. cit. p. 26

15 J.J. BECHER: *Politischer DISCURS von den eigentlichen Ursachen/des Auf- und Abnehmens der Städt=/Länder und Republicken*. Frankfurt 1668, 234pp. The 1673 edition was augmented with the *Commerciën Traktat* (1272pp.). The last edition of this work was published in 1759. On BECHER see H. HASSINGER: *Johann Joachim Becher. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Merkantilismus*. Wien 1951.

16 BECHER op.cit. (1673) p. 71

17 *Bedencken von MANUFACTUREN in Deutschland...* von dem Liebhaber gemeiner Wohlfahrt. Jena 1683.

18 *Teutschland Über Frankreich/wenn es klug seyn will*. Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1684. See K. HÖLSCHER: *Die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland über den Fall Straßburgs während der Jahre 1681 bis 1684*. München 1896, pp. 128-133.

19 KRAFFT op.cit. pp. 113-115.

most comprehensive and passionately argued attack on the economic situation in the Empire. It came from the pen of the Austrian diplomat Philipp Wilhelm HÖRNIGK<sup>20</sup>, the son-in-law of J.J. BECHER, who, alarmed at the fact that a 'Drittheil des Capitals [of Austria] so nun jährlich für lauter unnöthige Dinge hinauswerths/und fast meistens nach Franckreich gehe'<sup>21</sup>, called upon the Austrians to develop their native industries such as wool and silk manufacture and to return to the ways of their ancestors who dressed in the produce of their country or, if in foreign clothes, those which would last and could be given to their children: 'Nicht aber in zerreißlichen Französischen Lumpen/die noch dazu alle Jahr durch Enderung der Mode unnütz gemacht werden'<sup>22</sup>. His conclusion is that:

[...] solten die Französische Waaren/als Seiden=Bündel/Spitzen/Possamenten/Knöpff/Castor-Vigognes-Caugebec [...] und andere Wollen und Haarhüt/plumage, Währgehäng/Wedel/Kappen/Masquen/Spiegel/Uhren/Kämen/gantze Nacht=gezeug/Aufsätz/gezierte Schuh/Nadeln/Steck=nadeln/Quincaillerie, und tausenderley andere nichtswürdige Kramereyen billich von uns/wie die unreine Geister exorcisirt werden<sup>23</sup>.

Hence there was a consensus of opinion among the leading mercantilists of the late seventeenth century that the Empire's only hope of economic salvation lay in an imperial ban on the import of all French goods.

In 1674, von Crockau, the envoy of Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, placed a *Memorial* to this effect before Emperor Leopold. This was clearly a political move on the part of the Elector since his pro-French policy was showing little

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20 P.W. HÖRNIGK (also HORNECK, HORNIGK): Oesterreich über alles wann es nur will ... Durch einen Liebhaber der Kayserl. Erbland Wohlfahrt. (n.p.) 1684. Reprint of 1708 edition ed. A. SKALWEIT, Frankfurt 1954. On HÖRNIGK see H. GERSTENBERG: Philipp Wilhelm Hörnigk, in: Jahrbücher für National-Ökonomie und Statistik Bd. 133, III Folge, Bd. 78, Heft 6, 1930, 813-879.

21 HÖRNIGK op.cit. p. 33.

22 Ibid p. 27.

23 Ibid p. 117.

return and he wished to further his own personal ambition by invoking the authority of the Empire. The memorandum reminded the Emperor:

[...] was für ein großes Präjudiz/und unschätzbare Schaden dem gantzen Heil. Röm. Reich daher zuwüchse/daß in demselben die Frantzösische Wahren und Manufacturen überall in so großer Qualität in allen desselben Provintzen eingeführet und verhandelt würden<sup>24</sup>.

It should be remembered, however, that between 1670 and 1673 the Elector spent 7,000 thalers on French materials, clothes and books and 15,000 livres on furniture made in Paris<sup>25</sup>. Nevertheless, he found it in his own interest to attack:

nichtswürdige/vergängliche [...] kostbare [...] Wahren/welche keinen andern Werth hatten/als welchen ihnen der Luxus, und die Opinion der Kaufte machten/Jährlich viel Millionen aus dem Röm. Reich geführet/die Lander erschöpffet viel Familien ruinirt/und der *nervus rerum gerendarum*, einer frembden/ja feindlichen Nation in die Hände gegeben/und dieselbe bemittelt würde/Teutschland mit seinem eigenen Geld in Krieg/Verderben und Confusion zu setzen/dahingegen die Manufacturen in Röm. Reich negligirt/die Commerciën und Nahrung gehindert/und das gantze Teutschland nicht weniger an Mannschafft/als Geld gantzlich entblösset und erschöpffet würde<sup>26</sup>.

The document requested in conclusion:

Daß alle Frantzösische Manufacturen durch einen Reichstags=Schluß in dem gantzen Reich möchten verboten werden<sup>27</sup>.

This memorandum was then placed before the Estates at Regensburg and their *Gutachten* was duly published on 1 April 1675. Finally on 7 May 1676 an imperial Edict proclaimed: 'Das nun und künfftighin alle Frantz. Waren und Manuf. [...] verboten und eingestellet bleiben solten'<sup>28</sup>. It stipulated

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24 Reprinted in: *Theatrum Europaeum* XI. (n.p.) 1682, p. 845<sup>b</sup>

25 BOISSONNADE op. cit. p. 30

26 *Theatrum Europaeum* XI (n.p.) 1682, p. 845<sup>a</sup>

27 Ibid p. 846<sup>a</sup>

28 Ibid p. 1086<sup>b</sup>

that all German merchants had to be rid of their imported goods within a year and all foreign merchants within two months, after which time such goods were to be confiscated. This clause was directed particularly at the Swiss traders who were responsible for importing the majority of French wares into Germany and these measures were reinforced by the Edict of 23 September 1689 which forbade all 'Handel und Wandel/Wechsel und Correspondenz/und was vor Gewerb es auch immer seyn mag' with France and expressly stated:

Wir verbiethen [...] die Einführung aller in Franckreich fabricirten Waaren/und so genannten Galanterien/wie auch Frantzösischen Wein/Brandtwein/Öl/samt andern Gewächsen und Sachen/sie werden gleich *immediate* von dannen/oder durch andere Lande ins Reich gebracht<sup>29</sup>.

Furthermore, it called upon all territorial princes and free cities, especially 'See= und Handels=Stadte [...] Zoll= und Mauth=Stadte/allwo die Kauffleute und deren Guter durch zu passiren pflegen'<sup>30</sup>, to ensure that all foreign imports were confiscated or sent back to their place of origin. It is clear, however, that the political structure of the Empire and the lack of authority of the Emperor both conspired to make such measures unrealisable in practice:

Volle Wirksamkeit erlangten diese Maßnahmen nie. Die Reichsstände, denen ihre Ausführung überlassen blieb, sorgten mit sehr unterschiedlichem Eifer für ihre Beachtung. Aber auch die österreichische Zollkordon, wodurch alle zwischen Deutschland und der Schweiz zirkulierenden Waren passieren mußten, vermochte den allgemeinen und unter der erkaufte Duldung der Zollbeamten selbst betriebenen Schmuggel nicht zu hindern<sup>31</sup>.

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29 Theatrum Europaeum XIII (n.p.) 1698, p. 658. Quoted by LÜTHY op.cit. pp. 64/65. Cf. also I. BOG: Der Reichsmerkantilismus. Stuttgart 1959, p. 110.

30 LÜTHY op.cit. p. 65.

31 Ibid pp. 66/67.

Since the policy of banning French imports was instigated by Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, it is interesting to note that in 1683 he ordered from Paris for his consort 'une toilette d'argent' valued at 46,609 livres and that in the same year Louis XIV made him a gift of two Gobelin tapestries valued at 60,000 livres<sup>32</sup>.

The Emperor commissioned J.J. BECHER, with the aid of P.W. HÖRNIGK, to visit Augsburg, Nürnberg, Frankfurt and Cologne to enforce the confiscation of French goods, but in each place he met with a complete lack of cooperation, everywhere there were loopholes<sup>33</sup>. New bans were issued on 6 October 1702 and 22 May 1703, but:

[...] all diesen Maßnahmen war kein größerer Erfolg beschieden als denen des vorhergehenden Krieges. Generäle und Fürsten der Grenzgebiete verkauften auf eigene Rechnung Geleitpässe oder holten gar selbst in großer Equipage die Luxuswaren, deren Einfuhr verboten war, in den Grenzstädten ab; die Zollkommissare schlossen Partikularverträge mit den Kaufleuten<sup>34</sup>.

Hence it is doubtful whether any of the imperial attempts to regulate or terminate the import of French goods had any lasting success. The fact was that the princes wanted such goods and all the Emperor's legislation could do nothing to prevent this. And so, according to Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ<sup>35</sup>, one tenth of Germany's annual income flowed over the border to France and according to Friedrich Leutholff FRANKENBERG: 'In Europa ist wohl kein Reich oder Provintz/ welches nicht mehr Geld in Franckreich schicke/als von

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32 BOISSONNADE op.cit. p. 28, 31.

33 HASSINGER op.cit. pp. 217/218.

34 LÜTHY op.cit. p. 68.

35 H. BECHTEL: Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Deutschlands München 1967, p. 237. No source is given.

daher empfangen<sup>36</sup>. The testimony of Johann Basilius KÜCHELBECKER shows that the situation was much the same in the early eighteenth century:

Der Luxus ist zu Wien sehr eingerissen, und nimmt fast von Jahr zu Jahren mehr zu. Man imitiret alle Frantzösische und ausländische moden; man träget nichts als auswärtige Stoffes, Tücher, Spitzen und Galanterie-Waren; Die Kleider müssen so viel es möglich ist, à la françoise gemacht werden<sup>37</sup>.

#### Dynastic relations

The aristocracy of Germany, then, looked to France for the provision of luxury goods and thus the influence of Louis XIV's court spread, albeit slowly, throughout Germany. More direct, however, were the actual contacts between the princely houses of France and Germany, especially in the Palatinate. This house had always had, partly because of its geographical situation, close ties with France and its way of life was modelled upon that of its western neighbours. After the Thirty Years' War the Elector Karl Ludwig married Charlotte of Hesse-Kassel, both of whom had been given a French education and who corresponded in French or more frequently in Italian. His sister Sophie, who in 1658 married Ernst-August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, later Duke of Hanover, was great admirer of Leibniz with whom she corresponded - in French. The strongest link between the Palatinate and France came in 1671 when Karl Ludwig's daughter Elisabeth Charlotte married Philippe Duke of Orléans, brother of Louis XIV. During the fifty years she lived in France she never once returned to Germany but attracted many members

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36 F.L. FRANKENBERG: Der Europäische Herold. Frankfurt/ Leipzig 1688, p. 580<sup>a</sup>.

37 J.B. KÜCHELBECKER: Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserl. Hofe. Hannover 1730, p. 396.

of the German nobility to Louis' court and became indirectly a disseminator of French culture in Germany. After the French devastation of the Palatinate in 1688/89<sup>38</sup> relations between the Palatinate and France were broken off, but even then her influence did not decline noticeably.

The house of Lüneburg-Celle came totally under French influence in 1676 when Duke Georg-Wilhelm married a member of the minor Poitevin nobility, Éléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse. This union of a German prince with an inferior fired the contemporary imagination and it formed the basis of a '*roman à clef*' by Jean de PRÉCHAC which was translated many times, finally by Christian Friedrich HUNOLD<sup>39</sup>. Immediately after her marriage the Duchess surrounded herself with French ladies-in-waiting and the Duke appointed French officers to his regiments and gave all the highest posts at his court and in his privy council to Frenchmen. The French influence was intensified in 1685 by the arrival of many Protestant refugees. The daughter of Georg-Wilhelm's brother Ernst August and Sophie, Sophie Charlotte, was given a totally French education and her brother, the future George I of England, was sent to France in his youth to be educated. Georg-Wilhelm's other brother, Johann Friedrich, married Benedicta Henrietta, daughter of Eduard Count Palatine and Anne de Nevers and was converted to Catholicism<sup>40</sup>.

The princely houses of the Palatinate and Lüneburg-Celle provide the most notable example of the French orientation of the aristocracy at this period but others can be cited. Karl Ludwig of Mecklenburg married Isabelle Angélique de Montmorency Boutteville, sister of the Duke of Luxemburg and, like Johann Friedrich, he was converted. In Bavaria Elector Ferdinand Maria and his consort Adelheid, daughter

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38 See below p. 24.

39 Die liebenswürdige Adalie (1702). See H. SINGER: Der galante Roman. Stuttgart 1966<sup>2</sup>, pp. 36-52. Cf. F. BRUNOT: Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900. Tome V. Paris 1917, pp. 325-327.

40 BRUNOT op.cit. pp. 327/328.

of Victor Amédée of Savoy and Christine de France, slavishly imitated the model of Versailles, especially in the decorations of the newly acquired palace of Nymphenburg. Their son, Maximilian II Emmanuel, carried on this tradition and his sister, Maria Anna, was betrothed to the Dauphin to strengthen the already existing ties between France and the House of Wittelsbach<sup>41</sup>. The ruler of Hesse, Wilhelm VI (1650-1663), spent several months at the French court in 1647 and on his return introduced French fashions and manners to his court<sup>42</sup>. The ties between Brandenburg and France were very close after the Thirty Years' War. Friedrich Wilhelm gained much territory thanks to France's indirect intercession on his behalf at the Treaty of Westphalia and she continued to concentrate her diplomatic efforts on winning Brandenburg as an ally and on promoting trade with this region. Relations cooled in the 1670's however. As previously mentioned, Friedrich Wilhelm was instrumental in having an Imperial ban placed on French trade in 1676, and in 1686 he forbade the young men of Brandenburg to undertake the 'Kavalierstour' to France<sup>43</sup>. Despite this, however, the life of Brandenburg, especially of Berlin, was dominated by the influence of France, which reached its apogee after the arrival of the exiled Huguenots in 1685.

#### The Huguenots and Brandenburg

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV on 8 October 1685 was the culmination of many years of

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41 E. VEHSE: *Geschichte der deutschen Höfe seit der Reformation*. 48 vols. Hamburg 1850-1856, Band 23 (1853), pp. 182/3; 203/4.

42 *Ibid* Band 27, 5 (1853), pp. 113-115.

43 BOISSONNADE *op.cit.* p. 301.

persecution of the French Protestants<sup>44</sup>. Ignoring the warnings of Colbert, who saw in the Huguenots the driving force of the French economy and the embodiment of the mercantile spirit, Louis was determined to rid France of all heretics. They were ordered to renounce their religion and forbidden to leave the country. The majority complied but of the estimated one and a half million Protestants (out of a total population of 20 million) a considerable number contrived to emigrate. Estimates of the number vary, but it was certainly somewhere between 200,000<sup>45</sup> and 500,000<sup>46</sup>. These refugees scattered throughout Europe, some finding their way to America and South Africa, and an estimated 30,000 crossed the border into Germany. They settled in a wide arc extending from Lorraine and the Palatinate to Pomerania; the majority, some 20,000, made their home in Brandenburg. They were encouraged to do so by the Edict of Potsdam which was proclaimed by Friedrich Wilhelm, the *Große Kurfürst*, on 29 October 1685, in which

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44 The two main older sources for the history of the Huguenots after 1685 are Charles ANCILLON: *Histoire de l'établissement des François réfugiés dans les états de son altesse electorale de Brandebourg*. Berlin 1690; J.G. ERMAN/P. RECLAM: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés françois dans les états du Roi*. 9 vols. Berlin 1782-99. Among the more modern sources are: C. WEISS: *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants de France*. Vol. 1. Paris 1853, pp. 123-248; M. BEHEIM-SCHWARTZBACH: *Hohenzollnersche Colonisationen*. Leipzig 1874, pp. 40-83; H. ERBE: *Die Hugenotten in Deutschland*. Essen 1937, especially pp. 66-89; W.C. SCOVILLE: *The persecution of the Huguenots and French economic development*. Berkeley/Los Angeles 1960, pp. 348-357; H. CELLARIUS: *Die Bedeutung der Hugenotten für Deutschland, besonders für Hessen und Nassau*, in: *Nassauische Annalen* 77, 1966, pp. 46-57.

45 CELLARIUS op.cit. p. 48.

46 ERBE op.cit. p. 24

he granted them freedom of worship, all the rights of natural born citizens, exemptions from taxes and assistance in building houses and setting up industries<sup>47</sup>. One of Friedrich Wilhelm's motives was certainly his sympathy for the sufferings of his co-religionists<sup>48</sup>, but this consideration was far outweighed by his desire to rebuild the economy of his states by increasing their population and introducing new industries. The total population of Brandenburg at this time was no more than one and a half million<sup>49</sup> and the capital, Berlin, had probably only 6,000 inhabitants at the end of the Thirty Years' War, and in 1685 was no more than a garrison town of some 11,000 people. By 1703, however, 5,689 French Protestants had settled there<sup>50</sup>, and it is probable that shortly after the migration the proportion of French to Germans was one to three.

In 1700, Charles ANCILLON compiled a register of the Huguenots resident in Brandenburg<sup>51</sup>, and this, together with the later work of J.G. ERMAN and P. RECLAM<sup>52</sup>, is our main source of information on the professions of the French settlers. Calvinism and capitalism at this period were intimately linked<sup>53</sup>; it was the Huguenots to whom Colbert looked to carry out his economic reforms and before their

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47 For the text of the Edict see BEHEIM-SCHWARTZBACH op.cit. pp. 48-53.

48 The House of Brandenburg converted to Calvinism in 1613.

49 ERBE op.cit. p. 39.

50 BEHEIM-SCHWARTZBACH op.cit. p. 60; ERBE op.cit. p. 39.

51 Reprinted in ERBE op.cit. pp. 268-271.

52 See p. 15. Here Vol. V (1786) and Vol. VI (1787).

53 This thesis of MAX WEBER (cf. Die protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus, in: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie. Vol. I. Tübingen 1920) has come in for much criticism and revision. For a summary of later views see: H. LÜTHY: Protestantismus und Kapitalismus, die These M. Webers und die Folgen, in: Merkur 19, 1965, pp. 101-119; 226-242.

migration they occupied leading positions in many branches of trade and the administration. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that among the *Réfugiés* the majority were professional men (doctors, architects, notaries) and tradespeople and skilled craftsmen, often possessors of skills unknown or poorly represented in Brandenburg at this time, e.g. mirror-, pin-, hat-, silk-, lace- and stocking-making. Their exile served only to intensify their industriousness and the Elector was able to reduce the flow of imported luxury goods by setting up silk-mills, factories for the manufacture of ribbons, gauze, hats and gloves and to stimulate production by heavily taxing foreign imports, forbidding the export of raw wool and making it compulsory for all his troops to wear woollen uniforms made in Brandenburg. A considerable proportion of the Huguenots were gardeners who introduced new techniques of cultivation and new sorts of fruit and vegetables, such as peas, asparagus, and artichokes. Not only did industry and agriculture benefit from the skill and knowledge of the Huguenots, they occupied leading positions in banking and loaned the state some 90,000 thalers between 1686 and 1691.

What was later to become the backbone of the Prussian state, the army, was totally reorganised under the direction of one of France's greatest generals, Friederich Hermann, Duke of Schomberg. Two companies, consisting solely of members of the French nobility, were set up and 'ingénieurs', trained in the methods of Vauban, instructed the German soldiers in the arts of war. The reputation of the French as masters of '*politesse*' made them highly sought after as court officials, tutors and teachers. Huguenots were appointed as professors of French in the '*Ritterakademien*' in Halle, Frankfurt an der Oder and Magdeburg and they were instrumental in founding the '*Collège royal français*' in Berlin. Each French community had its own school and German parents often sent their children to these rather than to German schools. French women of good family were frequently employed as governesses and contributed much to: '*cette politesse de moeurs qui aujourd'hui est devenue commune en*

Allemagne parmi toutes les personnes bien élevées'<sup>54</sup>.

Teachers of French were frequently employed by the nobility:

Plusieurs cours d'Allemagne s'empressèrent à profiter des facilités que leur fournissoit le Refuge pour perfectionner l'éducation des Princes & Princesses par rapport à la connoissance de la langue françoise, devenue surtout d'une nécessité absolue pour des personnes de ce rang<sup>55</sup>.

The influence of the Huguenots on the intellectual life of Berlin was immense: they founded publishing houses, which printed both works in French and German translations of French works. They became the centres of attraction of literary *salons* where the latest French modes of thought were disseminated and where the Germans learned to combine erudition with elegance.

The Huguenots, then, exercised a profound influence on both the material welfare and the intellectual development of Brandenburg. Less easy to determine is the effect they had upon the language of their host country. Contemporary evidence on this point is all but absent, although there is the assertion of Julius Bernhard ROHR:

Es hat auch die häuffige Aufnahme der aus Franckreich vertriebenen *Reformirten*, und ihr *Etablissement* in den Teutschen Provintzen, nicht wenig beygetragen, daß unsere Teutschen halb Französisch worden, und sich nicht allein in ihren Kleidungen, sondern auch in der Art zu speisen, in *Meublen*, in den *Equipagen*, bey ihren *Visiten*, *Assembleen*, *Parties de plaisir* usw. nach den Frantzosen richten<sup>56</sup>.

It is clear from ROHR's choice of vocabulary that French words were borrowed into German to describe those activities and articles which were of French origin. ERMAN und RECLAM

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54 ERMAN/RECLAM op.cit. Vol. III (1784) p. 187.

55 ERMAN/RECLAM op.cit. Vol. III (1784) p. 194.

56 J.B. ROHR: Einleitung zur *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft* der Privat-Personen ... Leipzig 1728, pp. 37/38.

claim that a knowledge of French was common in Berlin after the arrival of the Huguenots, so much so in fact that: 'Des étrangers de distinction ont quelque fois été tentés au premier coup d'oeil de prendre Berlin pour une ville française'<sup>57</sup>. The pedagogical efforts of the Huguenots were considerable:

Les Colonies Françaises qui s'établirent en divers lieux offrirent des ressources pour apprendre une langue dont il est difficile aujourd'hui de se passer & dont l'étude entre nécessairement dans le plan d'une bonne éducation [...] . Dans la capitale & dans toutes les villes considérables des Provinces les Réfugiés ont établi des Pensions & des Ecoles dont on s'est prévalu<sup>58</sup>.

It seems likely that the authors are projecting the situation prevailing at the end of the eighteenth century back into the seventeenth, but, nevertheless, it is clear that there was a great desire to learn French, especially among the nobility and the wealthier bourgeoisie. An increasing knowledge among a wide section of the community and their daily contact with native speakers, together with the introduction of French objects, such as clothes and materials, would inevitably lead to the borrowing of French words into German.

It is significant that the dialect of Berlin contains many French words which are not current in other areas and whose transference may be ascribed to what Emil ÖHMANN<sup>59</sup> terms the '*Spieltrieb*' of the Berliners, the creation of new words out of French lexical material, often with humorous intent, e.g. the addition of the adverbial suffix *-mang(-ment)* to adjectives (*direktemang*, *knappemang*, *sachtemang*) or the substantival suffix *-age* to nouns (*Kleidage*) and the drastic assimilation of French words,

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57 ERMAN/RECLAM op.cit. Vol. I (1782), p. 303.

58 Ibid.

59 E. ÖHMANN: Prinzipien der Fremd- und Lehnwortforschung, in: Mitteilung des Universitätsbunds Marburg 1961, pp. 3-12; here p. 5.

often in a new meaning, e.g. (mit 'n) *Aweck* (<avec) 'mit Eleganz', (mit einem) *cislaweng* (<ainsi cela vint) 'mit Schwung', *Jardingarten* 'Garten', *Kinkerlitzchen* (<quincaillerie) 'wertlose Kleinigkeiten'<sup>60</sup>. It has even been suggested that the Huguenots were responsible for the introduction of the uvular-r into Germany<sup>61</sup>.

#### Diplomatic relations

During the Thirty Years' War Germany had been the battlefield of Europe, constantly devastated by armies of foreign mercenaries, who left behind them a record of their presence, not only in the destruction and carnage, but also in the many French words, especially military terms and oaths, which the Germans learned from them<sup>62</sup>. The official exchanges between German and French ambassadors and negotiators, which until 1600 had been largely in Latin, were now carried on in French on both sides and such contact must have done much to further the use of French words in German<sup>63</sup>. Diplomacy rather than force of arms was in fact the main tool in the policy of Louis XIII and his minister Richelieu since their aim was not to annex German territory, but to attack the Emperor, and undermine what little authority he had, through the princes of the Diet<sup>64</sup>. Louis was particularly anxious that they should not support the

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60 See A. LASCH: 'Berlinisch'. Eine berlinische Sprachgeschichte. Berlin (n.d.), pp. 92-94; 165-168; H. MEYER: Der richtige Berliner in Wörtern und Redensarten. München/Berlin 1966<sup>10</sup>, p. 80ff. See also below

61 See below pp. 97-101.

62 Cf. W.J. JONES: The influence of French on the German vocabulary 1575-1648. D. Phil. Thesis. Oxford 1970 and Appendix II.

63 Cf. below pp. 34-37.

64 Cf. E.W. ZEEDEN: Das Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe (1555-1648), in: GEBHARDT: Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, hrsg. von H. GRUNDMANN. Bd. II. Stuttgart 1970, pp.180/1.

Spanish cause and dispatched ambassadors throughout Germany to negotiate with them. In 1624, for example, François Langlan, sieur de Fancon, was sent to Munich to promise the Elector Maximilian Louis' support in obtaining the Imperial crown in return for his abandonment of his pro-Spanish policy<sup>65</sup>. In 1635 Bernhard of Weimar entered French service and, in return for four million livres a year and territories in Alsace, agreed to raise an army of 18,000 men. In the following year Wilhelm V of Hesse pledged himself to raise a similar army and not to sign any peace treaty without French permission<sup>66</sup>. While these alliances may have been opportunistic and short-lived, they do nevertheless indicate the general pro-French policy of much of the aristocracy whose admiration for France transcended politics and their own self-interest.

France's intervention in the affairs of the Empire was furthered by the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia, since each of the 343 independent states and free cities became a target for the diplomatic intrigues of Cardinal Mazarin, who succeeded Richelieu in 1642 and who administered France on behalf of Louis XIV from the death of Louis XIII in 1643 until his own death in 1661. France continued to pour vast amounts of money into the coffers of the German princes in order to retain their allegiance and was particularly anxious to win over Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, who received 10,000 thalers a month for agreeing to grant French troops access to his territories and to vote for Louis in the Imperial election<sup>67</sup>. The Elector of Hanover and

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65 C.J. BURCKHARDT: *Richelieu*. Bd. II. München 1965, pp. 304/5.

66 W. PLATZHOFF: *Geschichte des europäischen Staatensystems 1559-1660*. München 1928, p. 206.

67 Cf. A. WADDINGTON: *Le grand Électeur Frédéric Guillaume de Brandebourg*. Tome II. Paris 1908, p. 468 ff.

Max Emmanuel of Bavaria also became client-princes of France and the subsidies they received helped them to imitate the French court and its way of life whose influence had permeated all of cultivated society by the late seventeenth century<sup>68</sup>.

#### Public opinion

Public opinion in Germany showed various conflicting attitudes towards the French in the mid-seventeenth century. On the one hand they were the epitome of all that was cultivated and elegant; on the other they were an inferior race, lacking all the German virtues, whose language and fashions were exerting a deleterious effect upon German society. It was not until the 1680's, however, that there was a concerted opposition to France's policies and her military aggression. It was provoked by a series of events which commenced with the 'réunions', which were an attempt by Louis XIV to annex German territory without resorting to armed intervention, and culminated in the capture of Strasbourg by French troops in 1681 - *clausa Germanis Gallia*.

This threat to the whole of Germany's western frontier proved to be the impetus for a prolonged campaign, conducted through the medium of broadsheets and pamphlets, against the enemy in the West<sup>69</sup>. The titles of these works are highly

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68 Cf. L. REYNAUD: *Histoire générale de l'influence française en Allemagne*. Paris 1914, p. 201 ff.

69 For the following see: G. von ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST: *Die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland im Zeitalter Ludwig XIV*. Stuttgart 1888; J. HALLER: *Die deutsche Publizistik in den Jahren 1668-1674*. Heidelberg 1892; K. HÖLSCHER: *Die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland über den Fall Straßburgs während der Jahre 1681 bis 1684*. München 1896; H. GILLOT: *Le règne de Louis XIV et l'opinion publique en Allemagne*. Paris 1914; F. KLEYSER: *Der Flugschriftenkampf gegen Ludwig XIV zur Zeit des pfälzischen Krieges*. Berlin 1935.

revealing of German attitudes but, as has been pointed out<sup>70</sup>, they cannot be taken as representative of public opinion in general, since in many cases they were written at the behest of some minister of politician to serve his own political ends and were little concerned with giving an unbiased picture of events. They provide, nevertheless, evidence of a growing hostility to France in the late seventeenth century, at least in the political sphere. Before 1681 the pamphlets are directed largely against the devious machinations of French foreign policy, e.g.:

Das in der gantzen Welt/Und Vornehmlich in Europa/sich Ausgebreitete Französische Interesse/Und die künstliche Staats=Griffe mit welchen Franckreich sich bey allen Potentaten/Fürsten und *Republiquen* ohne vermerck zu Insinuiren und sein eigen Interesse gar listig zu befördern weiß. Von C.V.V.R.S. Gedruckt zu Veron im Jahr 1680<sup>71</sup>.

After the fall of Strasbourg they grew more strident in tone and attacked France's military aggression, e.g.:

Das regiersüchtige Franckreich/Worinnen der europäischen Welt sonderlich aber Franckreichs Regiersucht/und dahero entstehende vielfältigen Kriege [...] in gleich die schlüpfrigen und listigen Staatsgriffe und *Raison de guerre* [...] vorgestellt werden (n.p.) 1684

and the persecution of the Huguenots:

Grosser Ludewig/ [...] sehe zu, daß von der Hugenotten Fall/dein Franckreich nicht erzittere [...] Franckfurt und Leipzig 1686.

It was, however, Louis' activity in the Palatinate which caused the greatest outrage in Germany. When Karl, the son of Karl Ludwig, died in 1685 without heir, Louis XIV intervened to claim the right of succession for his sister-in-law,

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70 E.g. K. SCHOTTENLOHER: Flugblatt und Zeitung, Berlin 1922, p. 288.

71 See GILLOT op.cit. p. 330.

Elisabeth Charlotte, in opposition to Philipp Wilhelm, Count of Neuburg, the father-in-law of Emperor Leopold. Louis, however, abandoned his claim and suggested the mediation of the Pope. Then in 1689 the French army under Louvois invaded the Palatinate and systematically devastated it, burning all crops and pulling down all buildings. Thus Louis made sure that the Palatinate, the weak link in his line of defence, was unable to support a German army and warned Philipp Wilhelm and the Emperor that he could decide the fate of Germany. This attack was immediately condemned in numerous pamphlets, e.g.:

Der Frantzösische Und des Heil. Röm. Reich verderbende  
grosame Greuel und Abgott Ludewig der Vierzehende  
König in Franckreich/An dem sich Teutschland hat so  
lange vergaffet/allein durch denselben nunmehr so  
Hefftiglich gestraffet [...] Gedruckt im Jahre 1689<sup>72</sup>.

In them Louis is depicted as a blasphemous monster whose infamies far exceed those of Machiavelli and the Turk. This was clearly the 'official line' on France and her ruler at the end of the seventeenth century, but it is doubtful whether the fall of Strasbourg or subsequent events had any profound influence on the admiration felt by the aristocracy, and much of the 'Bürgertum', for France and her way of life. Even after the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the decline of French prestige, German eyes still looked to the West and it was not until the late eighteenth century that the influence of France diminished - only to be replaced by that of England.

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72 ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST op.cit. p. 71.

## II. FRENCH INFLUENCE ON THE GERMAN VOCABULARY

### Technical literature

The influence of France upon the cultural life of Germany in the mid-seventeenth century has frequently been described by historians<sup>1</sup>, but we are concerned here not so much with the external manifestations of this influence as with the various literary channels, especially translations, through which French inventions, fashions and ideas, and hence French words, passed into German.

It is important at the outset to distinguish between translations of 'fiction' and 'non-fiction'. The former proves in the main resistant to new borrowings. Many translators, e.g. Philipp von ZESEN (Madeleine de SCUDÉRY '*Ibrahim*') and Georg GREFLINGER ('*Le Cid*') actively resisted the use of French words in German, while others employed only those borrowings which were well established in the language. Only satire favoured the use of French words, and the novels of Christian WEISE, and Christian REUTER and the plays of Franz CALLENBACH<sup>2</sup> make copious use of them. Ultimately, of more cultural and linguistic importance, however, are the many translations of French technical literature, which introduced to Germany both new French fashions and the French designations for them which were then often retained. It will be most convenient to consider these works under different subject headings.

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1 E.g. C. GEBAUER: *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit*. Berlin 1932; W. FLEMMING: *Deutsche Kultur im Zeitalter des Barock*. Konstanz 1960.

2 For titles see Bibliography A.

a) *architecture* In the early seventeenth century almost all the techniques of military architecture were borrowed from France, often via Holland<sup>3</sup> and works on this subject used French terminology rather than the archaic native terms<sup>4</sup>. After the Thirty Years' War the reputation of the splendours of Versailles inspired the German princes to compete with others in the magnificence of the palaces and country houses they had designed for them by French architects<sup>5</sup>. One of the most active propagators of French architectural styles was Leonhard Christoph STURM who produced books of plans both for the aristocracy and the 'Bürgertum'<sup>6</sup>. LE NOTRE's gardens at Versailles caused the Italian-styled gardens in Germany to be replaced by lawns, intricately arranged flowerbeds, fountains and waterfalls, grottoes and summerhouses<sup>7</sup>.

b) *food* German food, which had not been noted for its variety, was enlivened by a whole range of new meat dishes (e.g. *Fricassée, Grillade, Ragoût*), desserts (e.g. *Blancmange, Gelée*) and methods of preparation (e.g. *candieren, marinieren*). The cookery books translated from French were later attached to the so-called '*Haushaltungswörterbücher*', compendia of useful knowledge on every subject from cattle-breeding to beer brewing<sup>8</sup>. Many new plants, especially fruit-trees and vegetables, were introduced into Germany by the Huguenots<sup>9</sup>, as were new methods of cultivation such as the *Orangerie*

3 Cf. W.J. JONES: The influence of French on the German vocabulary 1575-1648. D.Phil. Thesis. Oxford 1970, s.v. *angle, casemate, contrescarpe, redoute*, etc.

4 Cf. below p. 92, esp. Footnote 4.

5 Cf. G. DEHIO: Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, Bd. III. Berlin 1933, p. 295.

6 E.g. L.C. STURM: Vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil Baukunst ... Wolfenbüttel 1696.

7 Cf. D. HENNEBO/A. HOFFMANN: Geschichte der deutschen Gartenkunst. Bd. II. Hamburg 1965, p. 104 ff.

8 E.g. Salomon FISCHER: Unterrichteter Hauß=Vater und Kluger Gärtner ... Hannover 1705.

9 See above pp. 17/8.

or glass-house and they were described in many practical handbooks<sup>10</sup>.

c) *fashion* One of the main complaints of the critics of the French influence on German society was the ridiculous excesses to which young men of fashion went in their clothes<sup>11</sup>. They were much given to wearing linen and lace (*Manchette, Cravatte*), elegant coats (*Manteau*) and wigs (*Tour*), while women affected much jewellery (*Brillant, Bracelet*), elegant fabrics (*Gaze, Drap d'or*), elaborate hair styles (*Fontange*) and beauty-patches on their faces (*Mouche*). In a lexicon written specially for women, G. CORVINUS describes all these fashions and dress materials<sup>12</sup>.

d) *social life* In the mid-seventeenth century the aristocracy of Germany patterned their conduct almost exclusively on that observed at Versailles. Even the smallest court followed the niceties of precedence and etiquette which were listed in such handbooks as Julius Bernhard ROHR's 'Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft' (1728/9) and organised lavish entertainments for its guests (e.g. *Bal, Festin, Divertissement, Illumination*). After the Thirty Years' War French dances such as the *Allemande, Bourrée, Courante, Gavotte*<sup>13</sup> and later *Menuet* all but replaced the native dances and late in the seventeenth century, especially after the arrival of the Huguenots, French dancing-masters were employed by all the leading courts<sup>14</sup>. New and popular dances such as the *Polonaise* and the *Cotillon* were described

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10 E.g. Georg Andreas BÖCKLER: Nützliche Hauß- und Feld-Schule ... Nürnberg 1683.

11 E.g. Johann Ludwig HARTMANN: Alamode-Teuffel ... (Nürnberg?) 1675.

12 G. CORVINUS (= AMARANTHES): Nutzbares, galantes und curioses Frauenzimmer=LEXICON ... Leipzig 1715.

13 For these words see JONES op.cit.

14 See F. BÖHME: Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland. Teil I. Leipzig 1886, p. 120ff.

in manuals<sup>15</sup> and in lexica<sup>16</sup>. Other pastimes which owed their popularity to the cultural prestige of France were horse riding, especially the art of dressage<sup>17</sup>, hunting<sup>18</sup>, fencing<sup>19</sup> and card-playing (e.g. *Bassette*, *Hombre* and *Quadrille*)<sup>20</sup>.

Such technical literature can be a valuable guide to our knowledge of the introduction of new fashions, and their designations, into Germany, although many terms have often been found in lexica but nowhere else. Other non-fiction is less receptive to French borrowings, although chronicles of contemporary events such as Bogislav Philipp von CHEMNITZ's history of the Thirty Years' War<sup>21</sup> contain many military words and translators of French historical texts often made no attempt to render such words into German:

Ubrigens/zeigt der Augenschein/daß man im Wercke selbst  
sq scrupuleux nicht gewesen/ein und das andere Frant-  
zosische Wort/so nach ietzigen Goût ist/beyzubehalten<sup>22</sup>.

The retention of foreign words is even more prevalent in the new disseminator of information in the early seventeenth century - the newspaper.

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15 E.g. Gottfried TAUBERT: Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister und gründlicher Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz=Kunst ... Leipzig 1717.

16 E.g. Johann WALTHER: Musicalisches LEXICON oder Musicalische Bibliothec ... Leipzig 1732.

17 E.g. Adrian BEIER: Curiöses ... Ritter =Exercitien LEXICON. Leipzig 1742.

18 E.g. Hans Friedrich FLEMING: Der Vollkommene Teutsche Jäger ... Leipzig 1719; 1724.

19 E.g. Sebastian Heussler: Neu Kunstliches Fecht=Buch ... Nürnberg 1627; 1665.

20 All described in AMARANTHES op.cit.

21 B.P. von CHEMNITZ: Königlich Schwedischen Jn Teutschland geführten KRIEGES Erster [-Ander] Theil ... Stettin 1648; Stockholm 1653.

22 In an anonymous translation of a work of Jean GRIMAREST entitled Die Feld=Züge des Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten CARL XII. Königs von Schweden ... (n.p.) 1707, p. 14

## Newspapers and journals

The hand-written newspaper is known in Germany from the mid-sixteenth century, often being compiled by the great trading-houses to advise their merchants of the safety, or otherwise, of the roads and rivers in Europe, and is still found in Berlin at the beginning of the eighteenth century<sup>23</sup>. It was superseded by the printed newspaper<sup>24</sup>, consisting of two or four pages, which appeared at weekly intervals (*Ordinari Zeitung*) or more frequently (*Extraordinari Zeitung*). The earliest extant examples are the *Wolfenbüttel Aviso* and the *Strasbourg Relation*, both of 1609<sup>25</sup>, and they were followed, with the Thirty Years' War acting as a powerful stimulus, by a spate of similar publications throughout Germany, although Protestant areas proved more hospitable than Catholic ones<sup>26</sup>. The '*Zeitungen*' contained initially reports of battles, peace-treaties and important political events in Europe but, after the War, they also gave much space to reports of monstrous births, comets and portents, and murders, which had previously been dealt with in '*Flugblätter*' (broadsheets). For the collection of news the newspapers relied upon agents in various European cities and upon the postal services within Germany. The necessity for rapid composition and printing often meant

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23 See E. FRIEDLÄNDER: *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen aus den Jahren 1713 bis 1717 und 1735*. Berlin 1902.

24 For the history of the German press, see: J.O. OPEL: *Die Anfänge der deutschen Zeitungspressen bis 1650*. Leipzig 1879; L. SALOMON: *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens*. Bd. I. Oldenburg 1900; J. KIRCHNER: *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1928/31. For a catalogue of seventeenth century newspapers see: E. BOGEL/E. BLÜHM: *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Bremen 1971.

25 Ed. W. SCHÖNE: *Die deutsche Zeitung im ersten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1939/40.

26 See L. MACKENSEN: *Zeitungen als Quelle zur Sprachgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft* 3/4, 1956/7, pp. 146-157; here p. 148.

that reports in foreign languages were only hastily translated and many foreign words, especially titles and exotica, were retained in the text. Hence, as Lutz MACKENSEN points out<sup>27</sup>, the newspapers of the seventeenth century are a highly important, and neglected, source for determining the influence exerted by foreign languages, especially French, upon the German vocabulary, a source which at present has been systematically drawn upon only by Karin KINNEMARK in her analysis of the foreign borrowings in three newspapers of 1609, 1630 and 1650<sup>28</sup>.

Although the average printing of a newspaper was no more than two hundred copies, these were passed from hand to hand and enjoyed a wide public, a fact which caused religious writers to attack the so-called 'Zeitungssucht'<sup>29</sup>. Such a wide dissemination of the printed word, and especially of foreign words, must have provoked a reaction among newspaper readers<sup>30</sup>. Even in the earliest paper the editors

27 Op. cit. pp. 146/7.

28 K. KINNEMARK: Studien zum Fremdwort in deutschen Zeitungen aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Licentiatsavhandling 1964 in tyska språket (Copenhagen?). I am grateful to Dr. Elger Blühm of the Deutsche Presseforschung, Bremen for placing a copy of this work at my disposal. See also the summary in: Publizistik 9, 1964, pp. 359-363.

29 E.g. Ahasver FRITSCH: Discursus de Novellarum, quas vocant Neue Zeitungen, hodierno usu & abuso. Jenae 1676; Johann Ludwig HARTMANN: Unzeitige Neue=Zeitungs=Sucht/und Vorwitziger Kriegs=Discoursen Flucht ... Rotenburg 1679.

30 E.g. Der Vnartig Teutscher Sprach= Verderber ... (n.p.) 1643, p. 36: 'Es were von nöthen bey dieser jetzigen zeit/daß/wann einer die Zeittungen lesen will/er zween Männer bey sich stehen habe/auff der rechten seiten einen Frantzosen/auff der lincken/einen Lateiner/welche ihm die frembde Wörter auslegten'.

try to explain foreign words by coupling them with a native synonym, e.g. 'Dessin oder Verrichtung'<sup>31</sup>. In 1674, the editor of the 'Nordischer Mercurius', Georg GREFLINGER, wrote:

Weil hier ein kleiner Raum übrig ist/so hat man/dem Versprüchen/einige neue Französische Kriegs Wörter zu erklären/nachkommen wollen/die Relationen desto leichter zu verstehen

and gives a short list of French borrowings with a definition, for example:

Detachiren einige Volcker von diesem und jenem Hauffen nehmen. *Detachment*/ist solch abgenommenes Volck<sup>32</sup>.

As we shall see later<sup>33</sup>, the culmination of the attempts to explain foreign borrowings were the 'Zeitungsllexica', which were intended to make the reading of newspapers easier, both by providing a short definition and, as in the case of Johann HÜBNER's 'Conversations-Lexicon'<sup>34</sup>, by explaining the geographical, historical and political references to be found in newspapers. Newspapers prove a fertile source of foreign borrowings<sup>35</sup>, which should not, however, be overvalued, since ephemera have just as rigorous stylistic criteria as the novel, and hence should not, despite their 'popular' character, be regarded as being any more representative of every-day speech.

31 See KINNEMARK op.cit. pp. 82-85.

32 Nordischer MERCURIUS Welcher Wöchentlich kürztlich entdecket/Was mit den geschwindesten Posten an *Novellen* eingekommen ist [Hamburg]. August 1674, p. 114. Cf. E. BLUHM: Der Nordische Mercurius, in: H.D. Fischer (ed.): Deutsche Zeitungen des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts. Pullach 1972, pp. 91-114.

33 See below pp. 40/1.

34 Reales Staats=Zeitungs=und CONVERSATIONS-LEXICON ... Leipzig 1711<sup>5</sup> (1704<sup>1</sup>).

35 See KINNEMARK op.cit. Wörterverzeichnis; L. MACKENSEN: Zur Sprachgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Arbeit der 'Deutschen Presseforschung', in: Wirkendes Wort 14, 1964, 157-70, esp. pp. 162/63.

As well as the emergence of the 'Zeitung', i.e. a (usually) weekly compilation of news, the seventeenth century saw various other examples of journalism. The predecessors of the newspaper, the 'Flugblatt' (broadsheet) and the 'Flugschrift' (pamphlet), i.e. publications on political issues such as Louis XIV's invasion of the Palatinate, which appeared at irregular intervals, flourished until well into the eighteenth century<sup>36</sup>. Several other forms of popular publication appeared at more or less regular intervals.

Firstly, the compilations of newsworthy events, which originally were prepared for sale at the annual fairs, one of the earliest being the *Calendarum Historicum Decennale Oder Zehenjährige Historische Relation ...* Leipzig 1609<sup>37</sup>. There followed such publications as Augustin PASTORIUS' 'Europaeischer Teutscher Florus' (in five volumes, 1659-1660, which cover the years 1618-1659); the *Diarium Europaeum* (21 volumes, 1662-1738). These works were largely made up of official edicts, peace treaties and accounts of battles, with little or no comment by the compiler.

Secondly, the 'Fama': this was inspired by the *Mercure Galant* (1677-1716) and appeared monthly from 1703 to 1735 edited by Philipp Balthasar SINOLD VON SCHÜTZ. It is described by ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST as:

eine Monatsschrift mit Porträts, Briefen, Kriegsberichten, politischen Nachrichten, den Ranglisten der kaiserlichen Aemter und dem Leipziger Mess-Katalog<sup>38</sup>

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36 H. von ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST: *Die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV.* Stuttgart 1888; see also above pp. 22-24.

37 Reprint of title page in W. SCHÖNE: *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in Abbildungen.* Leipzig 1940, p. 346.

38 Op.cit. p. 5.

whose aim was to satisfy:

die Lust einer curieusen Leserschaft an "Staats-Kriegs- und Friedenssachen" in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, an Feldzügen, Kabinettsintrigen, Hofaffairen, Festen, Verträgen, fürstlichen Beilagern und feudaler Genealogie<sup>39</sup>.

In its desperate attempts to be '*galant*' and to avoid all charges of being '*pedantisch*', the '*Fama*' used a highly gallicised vocabulary, and this is even more true of the '*RECUEIL von allerhand Collectaneis und Historien*' (Verona [!] 1719-1725), a curious mixture of 'news stories', usually of a bizarre or humorous nature, and jokes, puzzles and philosophical saws.

The coming of the Age of Enlightenment, however, saw the decline of such works. A herald of this new age was Christian THOMASIUS' '*Monatsgespräche*'<sup>40</sup>, the first German literary journal in the vernacular, in which recently published books were discussed and criticised. Despite their serious purpose the '*Monatsgespräche*', at least the numbers of 1688, were meant to amuse and are '*galant*' in tone. They abound in French words and are a rich source of early loci but, due to severe attacks on the frivolity of their style, the later numbers are less prodigal in this respect<sup>41</sup>. In the 1720's there was a violent reaction against THOMASIUS' '*galant*' outlook and the obsessive interest in all the activities of the aristocracy as found in the '*Fama*', led by the '*Moralische Wochenschriften*'. Under the influence of English journals such as the '*Spectator*' this new genre, whose leading exponents were Michael RICHEY and Barthold Heinrich BROCKES (*Der Patriot*) and Johann BODMER and Johann BREITINGER

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39 W. MARTENS: Die Botschaft der Tugend. Die Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Moralischen Wochenschriften. Stuttgart 1968, p. 18.

40 These appeared monthly between January 1688 and April 1690. Each number has a slightly different title, the volume title for 1688 being 'Freymüthige Lustige und Ernsthaftte jedoch Vernunft-und Gesetz=Mässige Gedancken Oder Monats=Gespräche/über allerhand/fürnehmlich aber Neue Bücher ...'.

41 Cf. E.A. BLACKALL: The emergence of German as a literary language. Cambridge 1955, pp. 50-60, esp. p. 50

(*Discourse der Mahlern*), endeavoured to replace the complex style of the Baroque and the affectations and the servile francophilia of the 'galant' period with a more natural, unadulterated and clear style. These early efforts, however, were not entirely successful, as is witnessed by the frequent use of French words by BODMER and BREITINGER, and it was not until Johann Christian GOTTSCHED, at first in his journal '*Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*' and later through his attempts to classify and lay down a standard for '*Hochdeutsch*' in his grammars, that literary German rejected the apeing of French models and the indiscriminate use of French words<sup>42</sup>.

Finally, there are David FASSMANN's '*Gespräche im Reich Derer Toten*', which appeared, with many reprints, from 1718 to 1730. These curious throwbacks to the previous century, which came in for much criticism, a sure sign of their popularity, took the form of a discussion between two famous historical characters in the underworld. They propagated the *galant* style well into the eighteenth century, despite the continuous ridicule of the *Moralische Wochenschriften*<sup>43</sup>.

#### The letter

From the fourteenth century the art of letter writing, stimulated by the growth of international trade and the increase in literacy, was cultivated as the means of political and commercial and later private communication. Letters were initially written in Latin and followed

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42 See MARTENS op.cit. p. 344; BLACKALL op.cit. pp.92-95.

43 Cf. K. KASCHMIEDER: David Fassmanns '*Gespräche im Reich der Toten*', 1718-1740. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Breslau 1934; J. KIRCHNER: *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens*. Teil I. Wiesbaden 1958<sup>2</sup>, pp. 31/32.

closely the rules of classical rhetoric in their construction, which were still observed when German replaced Latin during the sixteenth century<sup>44</sup>. In the following century, under the leadership of the French-oriented aristocracy, it became the practice to correspond solely in French<sup>45</sup>. This in itself would have had little effect on German had it not been for the fact that those who chose to correspond in German, either out of sheer affectation and the desire to be thought fashionable and cultured or because their knowledge of French was so exiguous that it did not extend beyond a few conventional formulae, took to imitating the French epistolary style and interlarding their letters with French words and phrases, a habit which was ridiculed by many contemporary writers<sup>46</sup>. These letters, like the 'compliments', were intended to impress the recipient with the writer's ingenuity and 'learning' rather than to impart information. More personal letters, however, differed little from the formal exercises in their use of borrowings. The German letters of Elisabeth Charlotte of Orléans, for example, are remarkable for the multitude of gallicisms and French words they contain<sup>47</sup>. The writer is of course a special case as she lived in France from 1671 until her death in 1721 and her vocabulary became increasingly gallicized as her command of German declined. A comparison

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44 See W. GRENZMANN: Brief, in: W. KOHLSCHMIDT/ W. MOHR (eds.): Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Bd. I. Berlin 1958, p. 158; D. BRÜGGEMANN: Vom Herzen direkt in die Feder. Die Deutschen in ihren Briefstellern. München 1968, p. 10ff.

45 See G. STEINHAUSEN: Geschichte des deutschen Briefs, Bd. II. Berlin 1891, pp. 16/7; GRENZMANN op.cit. p. 188.

46 Cf. Johann RIST: Rettung der edlen Teutschen Hauptsprache. Hamburg 1642, p. Aiff.

47 Ed. W. HOLLAND. 6 vols. Stuttgart/Tübingen 1867-1881; cf. A. URBACH: Über die Sprache in den deutschen Briefen der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans. Greifswald 1899; cf. pp. 76-78.

with the letters of her father Karl Ludwig<sup>48</sup> and those of Friedrich I of Brandenburg<sup>49</sup> reveals, however, that the use of French words in informal communications was the normal stylistic and social convention and suggests that the initial impetus of lexical borrowing at this period is to be sought in the colloquial usage of a social élite and is hence only partially to be demonstrated by the literary monuments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The wide-spread use of French in diplomatic negotiations from the early seventeenth century is reflected in the vocabulary of the letters of Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg and his ministers<sup>50</sup>. They employ a highly gallicized jargon which contains, for example, many verbs in *-i(e)ren* which have been recorded nowhere else at this period. Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNITZ normally corresponded in Latin or French and his occasional German letters make liberal use of French borrowings, which are often found only much later, if at all, in literary texts. In the early eighteenth century even the '*Bürgertum*' regarded it as socially unacceptable to correspond in any language but French and it was not until the middle of the century that, due to the efforts of Christoph Martin WIELAND, there was a return to German and a more natural style<sup>51</sup>.

The various genres previously discussed vary widely in their receptivity to foreign borrowings and it is hence essential when attempting to assess the currency and degree of penetration of such words to take into account the context in which they occur. Besides the letter, technical literature and historical works, newspapers, journals and

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48 Ed. W. HOLLAND. Tübingen 1884.

49 Ed. E. BERNER. Berlin 1901.

50 Cf. STEINHAUSEN *op.cit.* p. 17; see below p. 76.

51 Cf. GRENZMANN *op.cit.* p. 190.

other ephemera and satirical novels and poems are the most prodigal users of foreign borrowings during our period, while imaginative literature, especially poetry, proves in the main resistant to such words. This fact is to be explained partly by the opposition of many authors on stylistic and puristic grounds to the so-called '*Flickerei*' with borrowed material and partly by the irrelevance of much of it to the subjects treated. When a French borrowing is found in such a context, it is eloquent testimony that it no longer belongs to a specialized vocabulary, but has passed into wider usage. Care has, therefore, to be taken to excerpt as wide a range of sources as possible in order to record the occurrence of borrowings both in highly gallicizing texts and in the less receptive literary genres such as fiction. Since the evidence of the latter is mainly negative, the bulk of the material contained in the dictionary derives from the more informal and ephemeral genres, which stylistically correspond more closely to the reader's conception of every-day speech. The foreign-word dictionary also proved to be an important source.

#### Foreign-word dictionaries

The dictionaries and word-lists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent one of the main sources of evidence for the currency of French borrowings in German. Such evidence however, has to be interpreted with some caution since these works not only embody the shortcomings of any lexicon, but also rely far more than those of the present upon the authority of the written word as codified by the grammarians and exemplified by the usage of the best authors. It is axiomatic that no lexicographer works in a void but bases his work on that of his predecessors, but at this period it was often the practice to reproduce an earlier lexicon verbatim, with only a few additions to reflect changing usage and also possibly to avoid charges of plagiarism. In this way many 'ghost' words, which owe

more to a pedantic desire for completeness than to an attempt to record actual usage, are passed on from one dictionary to another<sup>52</sup>. Such considerations limit the lexical value of such works, but it has nevertheless been found that in most cases there is adequate evidence of a word's currency before its earliest dictionary listing.

Several different methods of presentation are employed by the compilers of dictionaries of foreign borrowings in German. The earliest '*Fremdwörterbuch*', Simon ROT's '*Dictionary*' (1571)<sup>53</sup>, follows the principle of most earlier Latin dictionaries, giving a list of (mainly Latin) words followed by three or four German synonyms, e.g.

*illuminirn* Erleuchten/erleutern/erklären/mit farben außstreichen.

A similar method is used in the compilations of Georg LIEBE (1686), Hermann Justus SPANUTIUS (1720) and SALANDER (1724)<sup>54</sup>. Others, e.g. Johann Christian WÄCHTLER (1703), SPERANDER (1727), give sentences demonstrating the use of the lemma and even its pronunciation, e.g.

*Arbitrage* (Arbitrachsche), der Ausspruch durch Schiedsmänner, z.E. von den streitenden Parteyen ist ihm die *arbitrage* aufgetragen worden (WÄCHTLER 1703).

In the eighteenth century the so-called '*Conversations-Lexica*' list far fewer borrowings than the conventional '*Fremdwörterbuch*' but provide far more extensive factual

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52 Cf. G. ISING: Die Erfassung der deutschen Sprache des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts in den Wörterbüchern Matthias Kramers und Kaspar Stiellers. Berlin 1956, p. 17ff; see below pp. 42/3.

53 S. ROT: Ein Teutscher Dictionary ... Augsburg 1571; (ed. E. ÖHMANN, in: Mémoires 11, 1936, pp. 225-370.).

54 For the full titles of these works and those mentioned later by author only see Bibliography B.1.

definitions, sometimes running to several pages or columns (e.g. Johann HÜBNER (1711<sup>5</sup>), Johann Heinrich ZEDLER (1732 ff))

The value of the linguistic evidence provided by a lexicon depends to some extent upon the aim and attitude of the compiler. In the introduction to his '*Dictionarius*', ROT says that he wished to explain the Latin words which were in use in German and which 'täglich mehr und mehr herfür kommen'<sup>55</sup> to those who knew no Latin or wished to employ these words properly. He did not call for their eradication; on the contrary, his aim was to demonstrate 'was zier die Teutsch sprach allein auß den einzelligen wörtern/so auß dem latein eingemengt werden/bekommen habe'<sup>56</sup>.

He accepted the fact that the knowledge and use of such words was an essential accomplishment for the educated man and one which could not be entirely ignored by the non-literate<sup>57</sup>. His attitude is shared by almost all later lexicographers. While some maintain that in theory the use of French words in German is an evil to be avoided, they nevertheless accept that in practise it is necessary for the cultured person to follow this fashion rather than insist upon pedantic purism. Johann WÄCHTLER, for example, claims that his '*Commodes Manual*' (1703) was compiled to enable the user to employ the words listed in his speech, and to this end he appends a German-foreign glossary. The '*Manual*' was especially intended for the use of newspaper readers, university students, ladies of fashion (*Frauenzimmer*) and businessmen<sup>58</sup>.

The first work in German in the modern tradition of

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55 ROT op.cit. ed. E. ÖHMANN, p. 282.

56 Ibid p. 283.

57 Cf. L. MACKENSEN: *Traktat über Fremdwörter*. Heidelberg 1972, p. 47.

58 J.C. WÄCHTLER: *Commodes Manual, Oder Hand=Buch ...* Leipzig 1703, pp. )5<sup>v</sup>-)(6<sup>v</sup>.

dictionary-writing, i.e. which aimed at a description of the whole of the language and not merely at the provision of a list of words with their definitions, is that of Kaspar STIELER<sup>59</sup>. It is based on the programmatic suggestions made by Justus Georg SCHOTTELIUS in his 'Ausführliche Arbeit'<sup>60</sup>, who advocated that a dictionary should be arranged according to 'Stammwörter'. This method necessitated tortuous analogies to demonstrate, for example, that *Natur* was a German word and, since it presupposed that German was older than any other vernacular, no borrowings are listed since what appeared to be French words were in fact German words reborrowed. STIELER was, however, unable to apply this method too rigorously and appended a 'Nachschuß etlicher fremden und zurückgebliebenen Wörter'. Only four years after the publication of this work STIELER produced his 'Zeitungslust und Nutz'<sup>61</sup>, the first of a long line of 'Zeitungsllexica'. The aim of these works was to instruct the readers of newspapers in the meaning of the frequently-used foreign borrowings, especially those which described objects, persons and institutions not known in Germany, which were often retained in articles when they were translated from another language. In his introduction STIELER laments the newspapers' use of 'die bunte Frantzösische [!]/Spanische/Italiänische und Lateinische Flickklappen'<sup>62</sup>, but is forced to conclude:

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59 K. STIELER: *Der Teutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs ... Nürnberg* 1691. (Reprint ed. S. SONDEREGGER. 3 vols. München 1968).

60 J.G. SCHOTTELIUS: *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt Sprache ... Braunschweig* 1663.

61 K. STIELER: *Zeitungslust und Nutz ... Hamburg* 1695; 1697<sup>2</sup> (ed. G. HAGELWEIDE. Berlin 1969).

62 Op.cit. p. 36/37.

Weil jedoch der Misbrauch dergestalt eingerissen daß/man ihm zu steuern nicht mehr vermag; so muß man Fünfe gerade seyn lassen/mit den Wölfen heulen und ein Mittel er-sinnen/denen ungereiseten Teutschen der ausländischen Wörter Verstand unter der Hand bey zubringen/worzu auch am Ende dieses Büchleins eine kurze Erklärung solcher unteutschen Worte und Redensarten bey gefüget wurden.<sup>63</sup>

In a later chapter, entitled 'Ein Zeitungs=Leser muß fremde Sprachen verstehen', STIELER maintains that a knowledge of foreign languages, especially French, is essential for the courtier and the businessman and that a lexicon such as his is instrumental in helping them to stay abreast of the ever increasing number of foreign-words in the language. It contains 1559 words<sup>64</sup>, the majority of which are of French origin. This work was followed in 1703 by Christian JUNCKER's translation of Christian WEISE's '*Schediasma Curiosum de Lectione Novellarum*' (Weissenfelsae 1676), under the title '*Curieuse Gedancken von den NOUVELLEN oder Zeitungen*', which has, as an appendix to a compilation of newspaper extracts, a list of foreign-words<sup>65</sup>.

A transitional place between the '*Zeitungsllexicon*' and the encyclopaedia is occupied by the work attributed to Johann HÜBNER, who wrote only the preface, usually called the '*Conversations-Lexicon*'<sup>66</sup>, one of the great publishing successes of the eighteenth century, which went through nine editions in 22 years and eventually became the basis of the modern 'Brockhaus'. In the introduction to the fifth edition (1711) HÜBNER says:

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63 Ibid.

64 The second edition of 1697 contains 1503 words.

65 *Curieuses Nouvelles=LEXICON, oder Kurtze und deutliche Erklärung [...] der meisten und vornehmsten in den Zeitungen vorkommenden Deutschen/Frantzösischen und Italiänischen Redens=Arten.* Frankfurt und Leipzig 1703; 1706.

66 First published in 1704 under the title: '*Reales Staats= und Zeitungs=LEXICON*'. The third edition of 1709 has the title: '*Reales Staats=Zeitungs= und CONVERSATIONS-LEXICON*'.

Es ist nehmlich dieses Werck eigentlich *curieusen* Leuten zu gefallen angeleget worden, welche die so genannten Zeitungen oder *Novellen* mit Verstande lesen wollen<sup>67</sup>.

Since this involved mainly explaining the actual content of the newspapers, the number of foreign-words listed in relatively small. The genre of the encyclopaedia proper begins with Johann Christoph NEHRING's '*MANUALE Juridico-Politicum, Diversorum Terminorum, Vocabulorum*' (1684)<sup>68</sup>, which includes many early listings of foreign-words among explanations of Latin legal terms, but its most outstanding representative in the eighteenth century is Johann Heinrich ZEDLERS's '*Universal Lexicon*'<sup>69</sup>, which largely relies for its foreign-word listings upon the works of earlier compilers.

The early eighteenth century is notable for the emergence of numerous lexica devoted to more specialized topics. These include civil and military architecture (GRUBER; PENTHER)<sup>70</sup>, music (WALTHER), equestrianism (BEIER; TRICHTER) and commerce (MARPERGER), as well as the numerous '*Haushaltungsllexica*'.

These lexica were consulted to support the evidence from the primary sources used. It is important to determine, however, what credence is to be given to such works, and whether an unsupported attestation in a lexicon is sufficient testimony that a word was current in the language at the time of compilation. It is conceivable that compilers were not reflecting actual usage but merely expanding upon an earlier work with its contingent of 'ghost' words. Unfortunately, the field of seventeenth and eighteenth century lexicography has yet to be mapped<sup>71</sup> and only

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67 Vorrede X3<sup>r</sup>

68 Cf. W.J. JONES: German foreign-word dictionaries from 1571 to 1728, in: MLR 72, 1977, 1, 93-111, esp. 106.

69 Grosses vollständiges UNIVERSAL LEXICON Aller Wissenschaften und Künste Welche bishero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert worden. 64 vols. Halle/Leipzig 1732-1750.

70 For the full titles of these works see Bibliography B.1.

71 For a first attempt see W.J. JONES: German foreign-word dictionaries from 1571 to 1728, in: MLR 72, 1977, pp. 93-111.

surmises are possible, especially as many works and editions have not survived, thus making a stemmatic description of direct influence untenable. Certain correspondences between lexica do suggest, however, that, for example, SCHURTZ (1695)<sup>72</sup> had a knowledge of LIEBE (1686), NEHRING (1684; 1689/1697)<sup>73</sup> and DIBBERN (1692). Similarly, JUNCKER (1703) probably drew upon STIELER (1695), SPANUTIUS (1720) upon NEHRING and SPERANDER (1727) in turn upon SPANUTIUS. ZEDLER (1732ff) selectively used the works of AMARANTHES (1715), FÄSCH (1726) and SPERANDER. Despite the mutual interdependence of many of these works it can be stated that 'ghost' words form a minimal proportion of the total amount of lemmata<sup>74</sup>, and that the lexica consulted appear to reflect usage reasonably accurately, since they list with few exceptions all the words attested from primary sources.

None of the lexica used has pronounced puristic intentions. The attitude of the authors is usually one of resignation, e.g. STIELER, or of willing acceptance, e.g. WÄCHTLER, MORATORI, both of whom pay lip-service to the ideal of the purity and selfsufficiency of the German language and attack the use of '*Flickwörter*', yet produce the longest lists of foreign-words. Antonio MORATORI in particular seems to have taken a Latin dictionary, added the ending *-ieren* to every verb and passed the result off as an existing word. Words recorded solely in lexica with no support in the texts excerpted have been listed in Appendix I, since many of them did in fact enjoy some currency in the eighteenth century (e.g. in the language of commerce) and a few are still current today. A wider selection of sources would undoubtedly have provided attestations for the majority

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72 See Bibliography B, 1 for titles.

73 The first edition, published in 1684, was not available to me. The edition of 1697 is, according to the preface, a reprint of the fifth edition of 1689.

74 See Appendix I.

of them and also made it possible to assess more accurately the extent to which lexica represent the frequency of usage. The word *Voyage*, for example, is found in almost every dictionary consulted from HARSDÖRFFER (1656) to APINUS (1728), yet occurs but rarely in the texts excerpted, whereas a word such as *appui*, which is attested with some regularity from the late seventeenth century, has the support of only three dictionaries. With these reservations, the foreign-word dictionaries of period 1680-1730 have been found to be in the main a reliable guide to the currency of French borrowings.

In order to follow the history of the words recorded up to the present day, more modern dictionaries have also been consulted.

The tradition of the '*Fremdwörterbuch*', i.e. an alphabetical list of foreign borrowings with their German equivalents, but without any details of their history, continues unbroken into the twentieth century and in such quantities that Peter von POLENZ has claimed: 'Deutschland ist das Land der Fremdwörterbücher'<sup>75</sup>. These works, of which a leading representative is Johann HEYSE's '*Allgemeines verdeutschendes und erklärendes Fremdwörterbuch*' (1809<sup>1</sup>), which appeared in its 21st edition in 1922, aim both at explaining 'hard words' to be met with in novels and newspapers and at helping the user to avoid embarrassing solecisms, at being a form of linguistic 'Knigge'. They share this function with the '*Verdeutschungswörterbücher*', the first of which was compiled by Joachim Heinrich CAMPE<sup>76</sup>, which aim at suggesting German equivalents for foreign borrowings.

It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, however, that lexicographers attempted to trace the history and semantic development of words, using the new discipline of comparative linguistics, the milestone here being the '*Deutsches Wörter-*

75 P. von POLENZ: Fremdwort und Lehnwort sprachwissenschaftlich betrachtet, in: Muttersprache 77, 1967, pp. 65-80; here p. 72.

76 J.H. CAMPE: Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke. Braunschweig 1801; 1813<sup>2</sup>. See below pp. 57/8.

*buch*' of Jacob and Wilhelm GRIMM<sup>77</sup>, the first volume of which was published in 1854. They did not in fact include many foreign borrowings in the volumes which they edited, justifying their exclusion as follows:

Dieser ausländerei und sprachmengung soll das wörterbuch keinen vorschub, sondern will ihr allen redlichen abbruch thun<sup>78</sup>.

i.e. they believed that such words should not be granted the authority of a dictionary listing since they were recording only words,

die im boden unserer sprache längst wurzel gefasst und aus ihr neue sprossen getrieben haben<sup>79</sup>.

The later volumes of the '*Wörterbuch*', however, compiled between 1930 and 1960, do contain a certain proportion of foreign borrowings and the '*Neubearbeitung*' of the volumes A-F includes all those which have gained some currency and are not merely *termini technici*<sup>80</sup>. Of the later major dictionaries TRÜBNER<sup>81</sup> lists very few '*Fremdwörter*' and WEIGAND's<sup>82</sup> listings are derived mainly from the lexica of KRAMER, NEHRING and WÄCHTLER.

The most important modern contribution to the lexicographical study of foreign borrowings is the '*Fremdwörterbuch*'

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77 J. und W. GRIMM: Deutsches Wörterbuch. 16 vols. Leipzig 1854-1960.

78 Ibid Vol. I, Vorrede col. XXVIII.

79 Ibid col. XXVII.

80 See J. BAHR: Zur Neubearbeitung des Deutschen Wörterbuchs, in: ZfdWf 18, 1962, pp. 141-150.

81 TRÜBNER'S Deutsches Wörterbuch, hrsg. von A. GÖTZE. 8 vols. Berlin 1939-1957.

82 F.L.K. WEIGAND: Deutsches Wörterbuch, hrsg. von H. HIRT. 2 vols. Gießen 1909/1910.

of Hans SCHULZ and Otto BASLER<sup>83</sup>. The first volume, covering the letters A-K and edited by SCHULZ, appeared in 1913. SCHULZ was killed in 1915 and his materials for the other letters were eventually passed on to Otto BASLER, who edited the letters L-P from 1926 to 1942. In 1972 the letter Q appeared and then BASLER handed over the material for the remaining letters to the 'Institut für deutsche Sprache' in Mannheim<sup>84</sup>. In his introduction SCHULZ says:

Das vorliegende Werk versucht eine lexikalische Behandlung der in die deutsche Sprache aufgenommenen Fremdwörter nach den Grundsätzen der historischen Wortforschung<sup>85</sup>.

Each article shows the form and meaning of the word and illustrates its usage and semantic development with quotations from a wide range of sources. Specialised technical terms, exotica and words which were current for only a brief period are not recorded. BASLER follows the same principles, but also gives the etymology of the word and its occurrence in lexica. Their compilation varies widely in quality and accuracy. Some articles are exemplary, e.g. *idée, machine*; some are very perfunctory and ignore semantic development, e.g. *bombardement, esprit, gendarme*; some are widely astray as regards the date of a word's first occurrence, e.g. *avertissement, conducteur, desavouieren, en passant*; and many words are not included, although they enjoyed considerable currency in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This work has been frequently consulted during the course of the present study, but other accounts of linguistic borrowing covering the period 1649 to 1735 have proved

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83 H. SCHULZ: Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch. Band I (A-K). Straßburg 1913; fortgeführt von O. BASLER. Band 2 (L-P). Berlin 1942; Band 3 (Q). Berlin 1972.

84 Volume 3 (R), volume 4 (S) and volume 5, Lieferungen 1 and 2 (T) have now been published (Berlin/New York 1977-1980).

85 Op.cit. Vol. I, Vorwort p. V.

less helpful. The historico-cultural survey of Friedrich SEILER<sup>86</sup> has little independent value since his evidence is either derived from the early fascicules of SCHULZ or is dated vaguely. Chronological imprecision and the absence of quotations also make the two volumes by Ferdinand BRUNOT<sup>87</sup> of little use as a source. The '*Fremdwörterbuch des 17. Jahrhunderts*' of Klara HECHTENBERG<sup>88</sup> does not fulfil the promise of its title, being merely a list of some 2,500 words culled from a limited number of reprints, often with inadequate references which render verification impossible.

The most recent treatment of borrowing in the seventeenth century is contained in three articles by Eero ALANNE<sup>89</sup>. In the first of them the author says: 'Es fehlt eine systematische Darstellung des Eindringens der romanischen Sprachen in den deutschen Wortschatz der Barockzeit'<sup>90</sup>, but unfortunately he does little to fill the lacuna. He provides only a list of words with no supporting attestations, ignoring the fact that context is essential in assessing the usage and degree of assimilation of a borrowing and that it is not enough to know that a word was used but where and how it was used, if one is to do more than scratch the surface of this very complex subject.

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86 F. SEILER: Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnworts. 8 vols. Halle 1913-1924; Vol. III: Das Lehnwort der neueren Zeit. Erster Abschnitt 1924.

87 F. BRUNOT: Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900. Tome V; Tome VIII, 1. Paris 1917/1934.

88 K. HECHTENBERG: Fremdwörterbuch des 17. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1904.

89 E. ALANNE: Das Eindringen der romanischen Sprachen in den deutschen Wortschatz des Barock. I Lyrik, in: ZfdS 21, 1965, pp. 84-91; II Romanische Fremdwörter im Drama des Früh- und Hochbarock, III Lyrik des Hoch- und Spätbarock, in: Neuphil. Mitt. 71, 1970, pp. 36-52; IV Epische Dichtung des Hoch- und Spätbarock, in: Neuphil. Mitt. 72, 1971, pp. 355-358.

90 Op.cit. (1965) p. 84.