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The Role of the German Language Societies of the 17th Century in the Formation of "Neuhochdeutsch"

by

Rolf David Luft

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Thesis Director's signature:

Manfred E. Plumbert

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ABSTRACT

The Role of the German Language Societies of the 17th Century in the Formation of "Neuhochdeutsch"

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In this thesis an attempt is made to delineate the influence of the 17th century German language societies on the formation of New High German. The language societies were analyzed from historical, linguistic, and cultural-sociological points of view. Great emphasis was placed on the developments occurring in the German book trade of the 17th century.

With the aid of statistics relating to the book trade, it was shown that the importance of Latin as a literary language diminished, which was one of the societies' goals. Although the members of the societies produced many neologisms, their real contribution lay in demonstrating that German was at least as good a vehicle for literary expression as the then more prestigious Latin, French, and Italian. It was further demonstrated that the discontinuity between the written and spoken German of the period resulted not from the work of the societies but rather from the linguistic policies pursued by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.
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Ein neues Klagelied wider alle Sprachverderber, 
der teutsche Michel genandt.

Ich teutscher Michel, versteh schier nichel
In meinem Vatterland, es ist ein schand.
Man thuet jetzt reden als wie die Schweden
In meinem Vaterland, es ist ein schand.

Ein jeder Schneyder will jetzund leyder
Der Sprach erfahren sein und redt Latein,
Welsch und frantzösisch, halb Japonesisch,
Wann er ist voll und doll, der grobe Knoll.

Der Knecht Matthies spricht bonadies,
Wann er guet morgen sagt und grüsst die Magd,
Sie wendt den Kragen, thuet jhm Danck sagen,
Spricht Deogratias, Herr Hippocras.

Ihr fromme Teutschen, man solt euch beutschen,
Dass jhr die Muttersprach so wenig acht.
Ihr liebe Herren, das heisst nit mehren,
Die Sprach verkehren, zerstören.

Ihr thuet alls mischen mit faulen Fischen
Und macht ein mischgemäsch, ein wüste wäsch,
Ein faulen Hafenküss, ein wunder seltzambs gfräss,
Ein gantzes A.B.C. ich nit versteh.

-- German folksong of the 17th century
I. INFLUENCES ON EARLY NEW HIGH GERMAN

The battle against the bastardization of the mother tongue by means of an influx of foreign words has a long history in Germany. In the Middle Ages, for example, Tannhäuser satirized the tendency of his contemporaries to substitute French words for German ones.\(^1\) The battle for linguistic purity was not given up, for the sixteenth century Emperor Rudolf II at the Imperial Diet at Regensburg in 1575 promised in a Wahlkapitulationsrevers: "in schriften und Handlugen des Reichs Kein Andere Zungen noch sprach gebrauchen lassen, dan die Teutsche und Lateinische Zungen."\(^2\) No real headway, however, was made in this battle until men who were knowledgeable in the problems of language joined in, bringing help to the beleaguered mother tongue through their own personal examples.

The basis for a standard German language is found in the Bible translations of Martin Luther. Luther,

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2. Ibid., p. 219.
in turn, based his language on that of the Imperial Chancelleries and, in particular, on that form of German found in the Imperial Chancellery of Saxony. Since the officials of these Chancelleries had to make themselves understood in all parts of the Empire, they obviously could not use the dialect forms employed in their areas and thus a reasonably uniform _Kanzleisprache_ evolved, which Martin Luther developed further in his Biblical translations.

Luther had to combat two problems, the Catholic opposition to the use of German, and the primitive structure of the German language itself during the sixteenth century. Catholic opposition to the use of German, insofar as it is based on reason and not dogma, has a pseudo-historical and quasitheological foundation. In 1520 the anonymous _christliche und biederliche Ermahnung zu den hochgelehrten Dr. M. Luther_, which can probably be ascribed to Jacob Murner, appeared in Strassburg.


So nun drü haupt- und reguliert Sprachen zu dem Dienst Gottes verordnet sein—hebräisch kriechisch latinisch—and wir Latiner sind, sollen wir billich die latinsiche Sprach zu der Messen bruchen... und nicht zu tütsch soll Mess gehalten werden uss der Ursachen, dass sich die barbarischen Sprachen oft verändern und spöttlich oder verächtlich lautet der Sprachen zu den göttlichen Amtern sich gebruchen, die wir zu menschlichen und däglichen Händlen reden und Uben. 5

The fight against the extraordinary prestige and influence of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin did not end in the sixteenth century, but continued well into and beyond the Baroque period. The use of Latin in religious services, however, ceased to be a point of argument with the final splitting of Germany into Catholic and Protestant areas as a result of the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

The second problem, that faced Luther and other contemporary writers, that of the primitive state of German in the sixteenth century, was rooted in what Gumbel calls the "primitive thinking" (primitive in a psychological and anthropological sense) of the period. Conceptualization during this period was not based on analysis and

5. Ibid., p. 8.
deduction but rather on synthesis: "Die Einteilung der Vorstellungen und zuvor der Dinge und Wahrnehmungen ist bestimmt durch das Vorhandensein von Grundklassen magischer Bedeutung." Primitive thinking therefore can be termed mythic, whereas modern thinking is systematic and logical. The mythic outlook common during the sixteenth century was still strongly under the influence of the Middle Ages.

An example of mythic thinking, taken from Ein wahhaftige history von dem kayser Friderich . . . den die Walhen nennten Barbarossa (Landshut, 1519), follows:

Als die Christen gegen tag auff die maur kamen un des kaysers Fan an der einen seytten der Adler/ an der andern seytten das creutz Christi/ wölcher christenlich streyt von dem hertzog E. von S. zu handhaben in sein handt vom kayser un allen christenlich hör bevolhen was/ d'in noch seinem vermügen bewartet/ Als aber der nachtrugk der Christen am sturm schwach . . .

The abstract idea (Streyt) is congruent with the concrete and magical symbols of the banner. So that the modern

reader may understand this example of sixteenth-century prose it is necessary to construct a skeleton of the logically connecting parts which the writer leaves out. The writer's thinking is associative rather than logical and chronological: the symbols of the banner call to mind the great ideas under which the war against the pagans is waged.

The example of "Barbarossa" makes clear the reasons for the choice of Latin as the language of learned writing. Since Latin was treated as a scholarly language, and was not in daily and common use, it was relatively free of the associative power which the German word must have exercised on the writer of the sixteenth century. Other influences, such as tradition and the supranational and international character of Latin, which had immense prestige, also determined the sixteenth century writer's choice of Latin.

That Luther's German was the beginning, and only the beginning, of the evolution of a standard German becomes clear when it is realized that tremendous differences existed not only in phonetics in the various parts of Germany, but also in vocabulary. Adam Petri, a printer of Basel, for example, found it necessary to include a
glossary which translated some of Luther's words into Swiss German in his second edition (1522) of Luther's New Testament.\(^8\)

The evolution of a form of German that was standard as well as pure received a severe setback during the Thirty Years' War. During this war great numbers of Swedish, Spanish, French, and Italian troops occupied German soil and, understandably, the influx of foreign words, especially in the sphere of army life was tremendous. An example of the bastardization of German which resulted is Wallenstein's report to the Emperor about the storming of Nürnberg:

\[
\text{Das combat hat von frühe angefangen und den ganzen Tag cal-dissimamente gewährt. Alle Soldaten Ew. Kaiserl. Armee haben sich so tapfer gehalten, als ichs in einiger occasion mein Leben lang gesehen, und niemand hat einen fallo in valor gezeigt. Der König hat sein Volk über die Massen discoragirt; Ew. Majestät Armee aber, indem sie gesehen wie der König repussirt wurde, ist mehr denn zuvor assekurirt worden.}^9
\]

\(^8\) Kluge, p. 83.

\(^9\) Feist, p. 223.
The interest in German as a literary and national language was not due solely to Luther's translation, to the language of the Chancelleries, or to the revulsion against excessive foreign influence. Heretofore, Latin, as a legacy of the humanist era, had been the primary language of literary expression, but the reading public had been expanding beyond the narrow sphere of scholars and princes educated in the Latinist tradition. In order to satisfy the wants of this larger reading public, it was in the best interests of publishers to publish in German. This trend is clearly exemplified in Praxis perspectivae (1615) by Lucas Brunn. In the foreword, it is reported that the book was originally written in Latin, then translated into German, because the publisher thought that sales would be rather small if it were published in Latin.\(^{10}\) Once the decision to publish in German was made a new question arose: which German?

The problem of which German to use, a central question in the sixteenth century, remained important in the seventeenth century, although it became more and more a question of orthography than of language. The spoken

\(^{10}\) Adolf Bach. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (Leipzig, 1943), p. 212.
language was also the written and printed language (except in the Chancelleries). Not only was there the opposition of Low German-High German, but High German itself consisted of a number of almost mutually unintelligible dialects--Swiss, Alsatian, Swabian, Bavarian, Thuringian, Upper Saxon, and Silesian.\textsuperscript{11} From a modern point of view, it is interesting to note that the printer, not the author, decided which German to use and thus was faced with the question of how he should treat the author's language if he was to reap profits in Meissen, along the Rhine or elsewhere.\textsuperscript{12} In some cases, however, authors were concerned enough about their work and did not leave the language up to the printer. The participation of the author, however, seems to have had little effect, as Melanchthon lamented in \textit{Die Sprüche Salomo aus Ebräischer Sprach}:

\begin{center}
Ich konnt diese mein Auslegung für den Buchdruckern nicht übersehen um des willen, das sie's ehr an den Tag zu geben eilten, denn ich's widerumb zu überlesen mocht. Eben das Glück haben
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{11.} Kluge, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{12.} Ibid., p. 55.
With the development of a standard German, fostered by the Imperial Chancelleries, the translations of Luther, and the striving of printers and publishers to reach a large public, and the counterdevelopment of the introduction of large numbers of foreign terms, the stage had been set for the appearance of the German language societies (Sprachgesellschaften).

II. HISTORY AND COMPOSITION OF THE
BAROQUE LANGUAGE SOCIETIES

The first of these language societies was founded in 1617 and was led by Prince Ludwig von Anhalt after 1629. Prince Ludwig met with some of the sons of his late sister, the Duchess of Weimar, and at the Hornstein Palace cofounded the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," whose symbol was to be the Indian Palm tree.\textsuperscript{14} The members of the newly formed society had as their aim:

\begin{quote}
\ldots das man die hochdeutsche Sprache in ihrem rechten wesen und stande, ohne einmischung frembder ausländischer Wort aufs möglichste und thunlichste enthalte, und sich sowol der besten aussprache in reden als der reinsten art in schreiben und Reimedichten beflieissige.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

The "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," was composed mainly of Protestant members of the nobility. The archetypes for this society were the Italian language societies,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Joseph Nadler. \textit{Geschichte der deutschen Literatur} (Wien), p. 142.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Feist, p. 220.
\end{itemize}
particularly the "Academia della crusca" in Florence.\textsuperscript{16} The "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" and the other societies which followed it all had similar ceremonies consisting, in the main, of a symbolical name for each member, a short rhyme about his actions and an emblem of his symbolical role. Thus, for example, the Prince of Anhalt had the name "der Nährende" and a picture of a well-baked loaf of wheat bread with the caption "Nichts Besseres" underneath.\textsuperscript{17}

The actual founder and first "chairman" of the society was Caspar von Teutleben, who had recently returned from travels through Italy, where he had had a chance to study the organization of the "Academia della crusca."\textsuperscript{18} Caspar von Teutleben chose the name "der Mehlreiche" in memory of the "Academia della crusca" (crusca = bran). When Prince Ludwig became "chairman" after the death of von Teutleben, he chose botanical names for members who were newly admitted into the society. An interesting

\textsuperscript{16} Feist, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 220.
sidelight on these language societies is that some of the members were members of foreign language societies as well. ¹⁹

Under the leadership of "der Mehlreiche," the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" seems to have concentrated on cleansing German of foreign words which seemed uncomfortable to its membership. In 1624, for example, nine members of the society met to discuss how to translate "das zudringliche Wort Materia." ²⁰ After much discussion, they concluded that it would be best rendered in German with "der Zeug."

It was only after Prince Ludwig became "Chairman" that more learned men, such as Christian Gueintz, rector of the Latin school at Halle, August Buchner, professor at Wittenberg, and, later, Justus Georg Schottel, were invited to become members of the society. ²¹ Once a more learned membership had been secured, the society began work (about 1641) on the development of a German grammar

¹⁹. Feist, p. 220.
²⁰. Dissel, p. 15.
²¹. Ibid., p. 15.
and on the formulation of the laws of poetics, and, in general, took on a more serious character.

Almost from the inception of the language societies, organized opposition to them also existed. The principal opponent of the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" was "L'ordre de la Palme d'or," which was founded by a female relative of Prince Ludwig von Anhalt. "L'ordre de la Palme d'or" had as its principal purpose the spreading of French and other foreign languages in Germany. Not all opposition to the language societies, however, went so far as to advocate the use of foreign languages instead of German.

A principal individual opponent of excessive linguistic purism was Christian Weise (1642-1708), who thought that foreign terms should be accepted if no German equivalents existed:

Doch liebes Vaterland,  
ich werde dir gefallen,  
Dass ich im Schreiben nicht  
ein sprach-tyranne bin,  
Ich folge Deiner zier  
und richte mich in allen  
Auff alte reinigkeit  
und neue kurtzweil hin.24

22. Dissel, p. 15.  
23. Feist, p. 224.  
24. Ibid., p. 224.
Most of Christian Weise's opposition to language reform was directed against Philipp von Zesen, whose experiments in language reform were the most radical. In *Die drey ärugsten Ertznarren in der ganzen Welt*, which appeared in 1672, Weise repeatedly attacked Zesen not only on the question of Germanization of certain foreign terms but also with respect to his orthography.25

Other opposition to this or that language society was not based on opposition to linguistic purism, but rather on the human failings of envy and jealousy which were a result of rivalry among the various societies—a rivalry which was bound to arise, since the aims of the different societies were nearly identical.26 Rompler von Löwenhalt, one of the founders of the "Aufrichtige Gesellschaft von der Tannen," stated his opposition to the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," of which he was not a member:

Solcher gestalt (nach Vorbild der Italienischen Akademien) haben unser


etliche im verschiedenen 1633ten jar den Anfang der Aufrichtigen Gesellschaft von der Tannen gemacht, derer vorsatz und absehen ist: alter Teutscher aufrichtigkeit, und rainer erbauung unserer währten Mutter-sprach sich zu befreissen. In welcherley academien oder samlungen gute anstalten zu machen, dass man allen misbrüchen vorbiege, damit die einreissung derselben dem vorgezügten zweck nicht verhinderlich im weg steh; welches am füglichsten kan verhütet werden, wan man genaue aufsicht hat, keine untüchtige gesellen einzunemen: warfür dan auch das bäste mittel ist, so man nur eine wenige zahl bestimmt, und beständig darbey bleibt, dan in einem zugrossen schwarm ist selten gar vil taugliches. Sol gut honig gemacht werden, so mißen nicht wefesen, hummeln und horneisen in den bienen korb kommen. 27

Johann von Rist, who fought Philipp von Zesen's methods of language reform for highly personal reasons, wrote in a letter of 1655 to Georg Neumark:

da er vorigen Sommer in Hamburg gewesen, unterschiedliche lose Kerle zu Gesellschaftern ange- nommen, denselben aus selbstan- gemasster Macht und Gewalt Namen

27. Eckehard, p. 11. (Italics are mine.)
16

erteilt, gestalt er denn einen
den "Flüchtigen" genannt, wel-
er der ärgste Bärenhüter sei,
der auf zwei Beinen trete. 28

Jacob Schwiger ("der Flüchtige") was subject to Rist's anger because he actively supported Zesen's methods.

Once the fad for language societies had been started, other such societies appeared in various parts of Germany. In 1633 Rompler von Löwenhalt and Schneuber founded the "Aufrichtige Gesellschaft von der Tannen." 29 Inspired principally by Philipp von Zesen, the "Teutschgesinnte Genossenschaft" was formed in Hamburg in 1643. 30 Shortly thereafter, in 1644, Georg Phillip Harsdörfer and Johann Klag founded the "Pegnitzer Schäfer-und Blumenorden" in Nürnberg, and finally, in 1658, Johann von Rist founded the "Elbschwanenorden." 31 Not to be forgotten is the Königsberg circle, or "Kürbischütte," which spent its evenings in singing and reading and included the composer.

30. Ibid., p. 209.
31. Ibid., p. 209.
Heinrich Albert, Robert Roberthin, and Simon Dach. The "Kürbishütte" was by far the least pretentious of the language societies.

Martin Opitz, most famous for his Buch von der deutschen Poëtery began his battle for the purification of German in 1617 with his work Aristarchus sive de contemptu linguae Germanicae, first given as an oration, "Aristarchus sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae," as Opitz was leaving the gymnasium in Breslau. In both versions of Aristarchus and in the sixth chapter of his Buch von der deutschen Poëtery Opitz defended the idea of a purified German.

The year 1617, in which Aristarchus was published, was also the year of the founding of the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft." Only seven years later Opitz published his Buch von der deutschen Poëtery. It would seem that with these works to his credit, Opitz should have been an

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34. Feist, p. 220.
35. Ibid., p. 220.
immediate candidate for membership in the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft." Membership in the society, however, was never due solely to literary achievements. Social class always played an important part for Prince Ludwig in his choice of new members, and Opitz, being the son of a butcher, apparently did not have the requisite social standing. It was only after Opitz had been crowned Laureatus (in 1625) and ennobled by the emperor (in 1627) that he was finally admitted into the society in 1629, although he had met Prince Ludwig earlier.\(^{36}\) Even after his admission to the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" his relationship to Prince Ludwig was not one of intense friendship, and the success of his works was not due to his membership in the society.

Since Opitz's Buch von der deutschen Poëterey had such tremendous influence, it is worthwhile to look at the sixth chapter to see what recommendations for a reform of the German language are made. Opitz stated:

Die zierrligkeit erfodert das
die worte reine und deutlich
sein. Damit wir aber reine

36. Pascal, pp. 72, 217.
Opitz demonstrates here that he has a clear understanding of the difference between written German and spoken German, which in the seventeenth century was usually a local dialect. He goes on to state that dialect forms should not be employed even for the sake of rhyme.

His opposition to foreign words is stated just as clearly: "So stehet es auch zum heftigsten unsauber, wenn allerley Lateinische, Frantzösische, Spanische und Welsche wörter in den text unserer rede geflickt werden . . ."38

His reasons for rejecting foreign words are: they don't sound good, they are not easily understood, and the Romans did not use foreign words in their works.39 The last


38. Ibid., p. 162.

39. Ibid., p. 162.
reason seems somewhat curious to the modern reader, but in the context of the time, still under the influence of Humanism, it was necessary to support his arguments with examples from classical antiquity, such as the works of Juvenal.\textsuperscript{40} Here again the tremendous prestige of Latin is used to defend German.

Opitz also treats the important topic of the creation of new words:

Newe wörter, welches gemeiniglich epitheta, derer wir bald gedenken werden, und von andern wörtern zuesammen gesetzt sindt, zu erdencken, ist Poeten nicht allein erlaubet, sondern macht auch den getichten, wenn es müssig geschiehet, eine sonderliche anmutigkeit.\textsuperscript{41}

Opitz thus recommends the creation of new words and supports his argument with examples from French and Latin. From Opitz it is only a few steps to Philipp von Zesen, in whose work many neologisms appear. Opitz, however, makes an important qualification: "wenn es müssig

\textsuperscript{40} Witkowski, p. 162.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 164.
geschiehet," a recommendation which Zesen, with respect to his translations, and others, with respect to excessive use of epitheta, failed to observe.

Johann von Rist, already mentioned as the founder of the "Elbschwanenorden," chose the literary form of the letter for a defense of the German language. In 1642, Rist wrote Rettung der edlen teutschen Hauptsprache, in which the endangered state of the German language is discussed in the letters of Pomposianus Windbrecher zu Schneideberg and Liephold von Hasewitz zur Leimstängen; thereafter it is shown in the letters of Freiherr Ernst Teutsch-Hertz von Redlichshausen and Fräulein Adelheit von Ehrenberg that German is perfectly capable of purity. 42

Even as early as 1640, however, Rist wrote against the bastardization of German in his Kriegs-und Friedensspiegel. In the "notwendige Vorrede an den gutherzigen und verständigen Leser" Rist complained that necessity forced him to use many non-German words, since military language was full of them, but he hoped that one:

diealamodisirenden Aufschneider
und Sprachenverderber vom Parnass

and Helikon hinweg an des Königs Midas Hof verweise, auf dass sie daselbst, wie er, mit Eselsohren statt des Lorbeerkranzes prangen mögen.  

Included with this work is an "Erklärung oder Ausslegung der fremden Wörter und Namen für die Einfältigen" which comprises some 44 pages.  

Rettung der edlen teutschen Hauptsprache is a thoroughly polemical work, as one would suspect from the names of the letter writers. The polemical nature of the work becomes even clearer in the "Vorrede," where Rist addresses his opponent thus:

Du fragst nach meinem Namen?
Thue die blinden Ochsenaugen auff, Herr Struntzer, da steht es ja geschrieben: Ich heisse Baptista Armatus. Du fragest ferner warumb ich so heisse?
Ich antworte: Dieweil es mir also gefellt, und warumb fragst du nach meinem Nahmen? Ich frage ja dich nicht, warumb du Cuntz Sauw mage oder Heintz Affenfänger heissest.  

44. Ibid., p. 53.  
45. Ibid., p. 55.
The character Pomposianus Windbrecher, who represents the bastardizers of German and opponents of the Opitzian reforms, gives some good examples of *à la mode* German of the period:

Not only does Pomposianus inveigh against the Opitzian reforms, but he also gives Opitz's name the Latin endings which Opitz proscribes in the sixth chapter of *Buch von der deutschen Poëterey* and reserves only for the names of

46. Hansen, p. 55.
the Greek and Roman deities. It is characteristic for the time that Rist should veil his true identity in an anagram in his *Rettung der Teutschen Hauptsprache*. 47

Rist continued his battle for the purification of German by publishing *Der Unartig Teutscher Sprachverderber* (1643); *Teutscher unartiger Sprach, Sitten- und Tugendverderben* (1644); *Der Teutschen Sprach Ehren-Krantz* (1644); and *Neue aussgeputzte Sprachposaun* (1648). 48 Such questions as why "Armee" should be used instead of "Heer" and are not "Fussvolk" and "Reiterei" clearer than "Infanterie" and "Kavallerie" are repeatedly asked in these works. 49

Although Rist definitely opposed the use of foreign words in the German of his time, thus defending New High German, his own works, nevertheless, were not entirely pure. In his drama *Freudejauchzendes Deutschland* (1649) he included scenes written in Low German. 50 The scenes in Low German, however, are given exclusively to members of the lower social strata and serve as a vocal mark of their inferior station.

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47. Hansen, p. 54.
49. Ibid., p. 216.
Other members of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" who fought for a purer German language were Georg Phillip Harsdörfer (1607-1658), Justus Georg Schottel (1612-1676), Johann Michael Moscherosch (1601-1669), and Friedrich von Logau (1604-1656). Harsdörfer wrote the Poetischer Trichter (1647-48-53), Teutscher Secretarius, and Frauenzimmer Gesprechspiele (1641-1649), all of which preached purity of the mother tongue. Schottel is famous primarily for his Teutsche Sprachkunst (1641) and Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubtsprache (1663). Although Friedrich von Logau was a member of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," he remained relatively isolated, since he concentrated on the epigram for purposes of social satire. He complained about the condition of German as follows:

"Deutsche Sprache"
Das deutsche Land ist arm;
die Sprache kan es sagen
Die jetzt so mager ist,
dass man ihr zu muss tragen
Aus Frankreich was sie darf,
und her vom Tiber-Strom,
Wo vor Latein starb auch
mit dir, Unrömisch Rom!
Zum Theil schickte der Iber.
Das andre wird genumen,
Johann Michael Moscherosch demonstrates once more how divergent the view on language reform of members of the same society were. He was definitely opposed to the à la mode style of life, but was not against the adaptation of foreign words or ideas. In the emulation of foreign nations, only the better characteristics should be chosen and in any case the process ought to occur with moderation. In 1645, for example, he wrote to Harsdörfer praising the French language and judging it to be superior to German.

Although Harsdörfer was a good friend of Moscherosch, he nevertheless did not escape criticism in Moscherosch's Wunderliche und wahrhaftige Gesichte Philanders von Sitteenwald, d. i. Satirische Schriften. Moscherosch was opposed to pastoral literature and its less-than-serious approach.

51. Feist, p. 221.
53. Ibid., p. 76.
to life. The emphasis of the "Pegnitz Schäfer" was on experimentation with words and entertainment, and Moscherosch was more concerned with the meaning of words and the seriousness of life.\textsuperscript{54}

In 1645 Moscherosch was taken into the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" and given the name of "der Träumende."\textsuperscript{55} Since Moscherosch used dialect and foreign words, a practice which was contrary to the ideas of the founders and members of the society, it seems somewhat strange that he became a member. The aims of the society, however, had changed somewhat by the middle of the seventeenth century. Now "not only preservation of the language, but also the social and cultural virtues of the members and of the society were to be emphasized"\textsuperscript{56} in order to produce a new educational and cultural community quintessential to the realization of the society's original goals.

Harsdörfer coined the word "Briefwechsel" for "Correspondence," "Irrgarten" for "Labyrinth," and "Lehrart" for "Methode."\textsuperscript{57} However, Harsdörfer was more concerned with

\textsuperscript{54} Grunwald, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 62.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 63.
\textsuperscript{57} Bach, p. 209.
the onomatopoetic capabilities of German than anyone else.

Wolfgang Kayser wrote correctly:

Und nun ist das Problem ge-
löst, warum Harsdörfer in sein-
en Werken so auffällig die
Klangmalerei verwendet. Seine
ganze Dichtung war ja Arbeit
an der deutschen Sprache. Un-
sere Muttersprache kann alle
poetischen Feinheiten, alle
Zierden der anderen Sprachen
und Literaturen nachahmen.
Und sie besitzt das alles noch
viel reicher. Denn sie ist
älter, sie ist reiner, sie ist
prächtiger, sie ist natürlicher.
Der Beweis für ihre Natur-
lichkeit liegt in dem Vermögen,
die Naturlaute nachzuahmen;
das muss in der Dichtung offenbart
werden.58

Nevertheless, the change in the objectives of the
language societies is also clearly seen in the works of
Harsdörfer. His Frauenzimmer Gesprechspiele, for example,
contains plays and operas as well as astrological advice
and a bibliography of books recommended for women.59 Hars-
dörfer, with the majority of German Baroque poets, took

58. Wolfgang Kayser. Die Klangmalerei bei Harsdörfer,
Palaestra, No. 179, p. 183.
59. Eckehard, p. 32.
extreme delight in emphasizing the "delectare" of literature although much of his work had a didactic aim—to teach someone how to write a poem. As Gabriele Eckehard has written, "Heute spielen die Damen Bridge, damals schrieben sie erbauliche Gedichte."  

Schottel, primarily responsible for a new grammatical terminology in German, created the words "Nennwort, Zahlwort, Zeitwort, Mehrzahl, Sprachlehre, Selbstlaut, Hauchlaut, Mundart, Wörterbuch" and "Wortforschung." Schottel was undoubtedly the greatest German linguistic theorist of the Baroque period:

1641 erschien das erste philologisch-grammatische Werk stark sprachphilosophischen Einschlags von Justus Georg Schottel, dem andere und neue Auflagen und Bearbeitungen folgten, die 1663 zu der "Ausführlichen Arbeit von der teutschen Hauptsprache" zusammengefasst wurden.—Die barocke summa philologica.

Schottel's theories were based mainly on the idea of the "Stammwort" or "Naturwort," which he defines as "eines

60. Eckehard, p. 22.
einzelnen Dinges einlautende Anzeigung." Schottel thought that a language whose vocabulary was free of foreign words was purer, more genuine and truer than one which has many foreign words in it.

Schottel gives a clear theoretical basis for the Baroque period's concern with linguistic purism. For him every language:

bestehet in gewissemmaßiger Zahl eigener Stammwörter, davon zwar durch beliebte Ungewohnheit, und stillschweigende lange Nachgebung, eines und anders kann in Abgang, Unbrauch, Vergessenheit und Unwelt kommen, kein neues Urwort (im Text "Unwort") aber dazu auch für Gold und Geld also erkauft werden, dass eine rechtmäßige Wortstelle, und allgemeiner Deutungsstand demselbe künne zugleich zu

Thus Schottel's main concern was the preservation of the organic unity of the language. Schottel is also aware of historical development in language and was the first

63. Ibid., p. 128.
to try to establish historico-linguistic epochs and stages.\textsuperscript{64}

Schottel saw nature and language as being closely connected and related. His "Naturwörter" bring the eternal character of the thing named into phonetic reality; they not only describe the thing named, but also are the phonetic forms of eternal realities.\textsuperscript{65} The analogy between nature and language is carried even further: man can create neither nature nor language. With Schottel etymology became an important tool of philology, since etymology allows the philologist to find root words, which can be combined to form new words that will be true to the spirit of the language. He states:

\begin{quote}
Es ist demnach der Anfang und vollständige Grundlegung der teutschen Letteren, der Stammwörter, der Ableitungs- und Doppelungsarten, nicht ohne Göttliche Mithülffe, aus sonderlicher Kunst und Erfahrenheit entstanden: Denn die innerliche Schicklichkeit und wundervolle Art kann nicht genugsam begriffen, noch, wie es anfangs kommen, dass durch
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{64} Hankamer, p. 132.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., p. 126.
Schottel's idea of the relationship between nature and language strongly emphasized onomatopoeia. As a result, the "Natursprache," sometimes became a mere acoustic imitation on the action described and strongly influenced the "Pegnitz Schäfer."

The influence of Schottel's work, however, did not remain confined to the members of the Nürnberg circle. His influence on Leibniz was all-pervasive, culminating in Leibniz' Unvorgreifliche Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache and the third book of his Nouveaux Essays, "Von den Worten." Leibniz did not give a central role to poetry, as did Schottel, and did not think language and poetry were intimately connected.

Philipp von Zesen was overambitious in his early works in his attempts at cleansing German of foreign

66. Hankamer, p. 129.
67. Ibid., pp. 140, 194.
elements, and thus he became somewhat ridiculous. The word "Fieber" Zesen germanized as "Zitterweh"; "Kabinett" became "Beizimmer"; "Affekte" was transmuted into "Gemütsrift"; "Fenster" became "Tageleuchter"; "Natur" was germanized as "Zeugemutter"; for "Grotte" he wrote "Lusthöhle." 68

Zesen for his cosmopolitan interests and wide travels represents the quintessential Baroque Man. He had no settled position and lived mainly on proceeds from his writings and on patronage. His manners were extravagantly courtly, and it was said that he was a favorite with the ladies. 69 He was one of the most productive and virtuoso writers of the period. His works covered a whole gamut of fields--from translations, novels, and verse to works on orthography, poetry, and grammar. 70

Zesen became interested in the problems of language at a very early age. When he was eleven years old, he was sent to the Latin School at Halle, where the rector, Gueintz, was a friend of Zesen's father, a Lutheran

68. Feist, p. 224.
70. Ibid., p. 242.
clergyman.\textsuperscript{71} While in the Latin school, the rector furthered Zesen's interest in linguistic problems.

His first important work, \textit{Deutscher Helikon}, which appeared in 1640, already showed a strong concern for purism in German. Thus, for example, he suggests:

\begin{quote}
man [könnte] Strophe einen Satz, Wendelied oder Rückwende nennen, weil sie sich im Lesen der-selben zur Linken wendeten, um damit die Bewegung der Welt vom Anfang bis zum Niedergang anzudeuten; denn die Rechte Seite nenne Homer den Aufgang, die Linke den Niedergang.\textsuperscript{72}
\end{quote}

The tendency toward the use of etymology in the formation of new words was also seen in \textit{Deutscher Helikon}.

Zesen's "hyperpurism" in German, however, began around 1642, with his first stay in Holland. In Holland he learned of the successful work, already begun in the 16th century, of the Dutch in cleansing their language of foreign elements. In 1553, Jan van de Werve published

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} Dissel, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Harbrecht, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p. 10.
\end{itemize}
his *Schat der Duytschen talen*, in which he laments the use of French and Latin in Dutch. The efforts at purifying Dutch were furthered by Hendrik Spieghel and the other members of the Amsterdam Chamber, *In Liefd' Bloeyende.*

The influence of the Amsterdam Chamber on the rest of Holland was very strong and their efforts met with extraordinary success.

Whereas Zesen's "hyperpurism" met with ridicule and opposition in Germany, the Amsterdam Chamber had been successful in Holland. In view of the Dutch example, it seems somewhat unfair to subject Zesen's attempts to extreme ridicule, an attitude which, unfortunately continues to this day.

Zesen's word creations led not only to ridicule but also to scurrilous attacks by his contemporaries. Perhaps the most humorous word Zesen coined was "Jungfernzwinger" for "Nonnenkloster." "Jungfernzwinger" became such an object of ridicule among his contemporaries that Zesen found it necessary to defend it in his foreword to *Kriegsarbeit oder Neuer Festungsbau* of 1672:

74. Harbrecht, p. 10.
75. Pascal, p. 242.
Weil über dieses Wort Jungfernzwinger etliche naseweise Klüglinge, die es angesehen, wie ein Kalb ein neues Tor, ihren Mund als über etwas Ungereimtes tapferzerrissen, so muss ich ihnen allhier notdringlich anzeigen, dass es eben so ungereimt nicht sei, wiewohl es dazumals aus meinem schier noch kindlichen Verstande geflossen. Das Wort Kloster ist ja nirgends her als aus dem Lateinischen clastrum gebildet; und clastrum heisset ebensoviel als das gute uralte deutsche Wort Zwinger, dafür die niederdutschen Singel oder Zingel, welches aus dem Lateinischen cingulum herriesset, gebrauchen. Wer sieht nun nicht, dass Kloster, seinem Ursprung nach, ebensoviel gesagt sei als Zwinger, das ist ein Umschluss oder Umzug, der eine Stadt umschliesst? Ja wer sieht nicht, dass Jungfernzwinger einen Ort bezeichnet, der Jungfern-um- oder einschliesst, oder darinnen sie in ewiger Jungfrauschaft zu leben eingeschlossen sind? Und also irren dieselben, welche das Wort Jungfernzwinger auf Niederlandisch Vrouwenbedwinger geben, vom rechten Verstande solches hochdeutschen Wortes zweifach ab, indem sie nicht betrachten, dass Frauen und Jungfern unterschiedlich sind und Zwinger im Werte [?] Jungfernzwinger nicht wie sonst zuweilen einen Bezwinger, das ist Überwinder, sondern einen Umschluss oder Umzug bedeutet. Hiermit lasse ich meine unzeitigen Splitterrichter als solche, die den Grund unserer Wörter nicht verstehen, laufen. 77

77. Harbrecht, pp. 45-46.
Zesen thus admits that the word comes from his younger days but nevertheless defends it against the false analysis to which others had subjected it.

That Zesen germanized the word "Nase" with "Löschhorn" or "Gesichtserker" is a falsehood which is still perpetuated in many histories of German literature.\(^78\) "Gesichtserker" was definitely not coined by Zesen—indeed it did not occur before 1800.\(^79\) "Löschhorn" did occur in the works of Zesen—in the foreword to Die Schöne Hamburgerin of 1668; "Runzelste hierüber dein närrisches Löschhorn, du Narr" and again in the foreword to Assenat (1672); "Mich deucht, ich sehe die Welt ihr Löschhorn rümpfen (der deutschgesinnte Leser)."\(^80\) It is highly doubtful, however, the Zesen considered "Löschhorn" as a serious Germanization of the word "Nase," since he did not use it anywhere in Ibrahim or Adriatische Rosemund; moreover, none of his contemporaries even mentioned Zesen's use of this word.\(^81\) In any case, Zesen did not coin the

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78. For example, Feist, p. 224.


80. Harbrecht. p. 52.

81. Ibid., p. 53.
word "Löschhorn," since it is to be found in the festnachtsspiele of Hans Sachs.  

Along with the words which failed to gain acceptance, however, Zesen also introduced or backed such words as "Gewissensfreiheit" for "liberté de conscience," "Trauerspiel" for "Tragödie," "Mundart" for "Dialect," "Verfasser" for "Autor," "Sinngedicht" for "Epigramm," "Nachruf" for "Nekrolog" and "lustwandeln" for "spazieren," as well as the words Staatsmann, Vollmacht, Vertrag, Rechtsbegriff, Lehrbegriff, Heerschau, Wechselgesang, Augenblick, and Gesichtskreis.

Zesen was admitted to the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" in 1649, and was given the name "Der Wohlsetzende." He also had strong connections with the Nürnberg poets.  

In 1653 he was ennobled. His relations with Prince Ludwig, the chairman of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," deteriorated rapidly because of Zesen's obstinacy in continuing with his orthographic reforms as well as his lack of servility toward Ludwig.

82. Kluge, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, p. 329.
84. Dissel, p. 29.
Progress was made by members of the language societies not only in the creation of new words, but also in the areas of grammar and orthography. Christian Gueintz, a member of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," published two grammars: *Deutschen Sprachlehre Entwurf* (1641) and *Deutsche Rechtschreibung* (1645). Opitz must be mentioned again, since he also had a decided influence on grammar. Whereas Luther formed the past participle without the prefix "ge-," Opitz regularly used it. He also formed the imperative of strong verbs without endings (*gib, nimm, zeuch*). \(^{85}\)

There was also a good deal of argument among various members of the language societies concerning orthography. Different rules were employed by Zesen, Schottel, Gueintz, and Harsdörfer. Thus for example, Harsdörfer regularly writes *k* where Schottel has *ck*.

Zesen once again appears to have been the most radical in orthography. The letters *c, q, and v* were to be banned from German entirely. \(^{86}\) Zesen's orthographic principles were based mainly on phonetics. He regarded

\(^{85}\) Feist, p. 235.

\(^{86}\) Dissel, p. 27.
the Meissen dialect of his time as the best form of German, and thus where Harsdörfer, for example, wrote "Sinn," "Willen," Zesen wrote "Sün," "Wüllen." Zesen, however, did not insist that others follow his example in orthography. In the foreword of Das Hochdeutsche Helikonische Rosenthal, das ist der Deutsch-gesinnten Genossenschaft Erster oder Neunstämmiger Rosenzunft Erzschrein durch den Färigen (1669), Zesen presented his position clearly:

Hierbei müssen wir auch notwendig erinnern, dass kein Mitglied unserer Genossenschaft gehalten ist, sich an eine gewisse dieses oder jenes Schreibart, wie etliche naseweise Streithämml uns falschlich bezichtigt, zu binden; sondern ein jeder seine vollkommene Freiheit habe, nach seiner Willkür damit zu verfahren, jedoch also, dass es mit der rechtmässigen Vernunft, oder zum wenigsten mit dem erlediglichsten, üblichen Gebrauche, ob er schon zuweilen jener schnurstracks zugegenläuft, Übereinkomme. Denn es ist einmal gewiss, dass hierinnen nimmermehr einige Gleichstimmigkeit, ob man schon gerne wollte, auch nicht unter zweien zu treffen, indem dieser der andern Sinn und Ursachen, warum er

87. Dissel, p. 23.
so und so schreibt, nicht alle-
mal erraten, und also ihm keines-
wegs überall folgen kann. Aber
was die Sprache selbst und der-
selben Redensart angehet, so ist
jedes Mitglied in allewege ver-
bunden, dieselbe in ihrem Wesen
und Stande, ohne Einmischung
fremder und ausheimischer Wörter
aufs mächligst und thunlichste,
den Fruchtbringenden zur löblich-
Folge, zu erhalten und sich der
besten und reinesten Meissnischen
oder Obersächsischen Mundart, so-
wohl im Reden als Schreiben, es sei
gereimt oder ungereimt, zu befeiss-
igen.88

Nevertheless, the basic principles of modern German ortho-
graphy that the relationships between words should be in-
dicated and that the pronunciation should be as economi-
cally and unequivocally displayed as possible were present
in the theories of both Zesen and his contemporaries.89

88. Dissel, pp. 24-25.
89. Feist, p. 235.
III. EVALUATION OF THE SOCIETIES' CONTRIBUTION

In view of the contributions made by the language societies in purifying German of many unnecessary foreign terms, as well as raising it to a status equal to that of other languages, the role of the language societies in the formation of Neuhochdeutsch was indeed important. It is hard to see how the changes and attitudes introduced by these societies could have made much headway without the forum and organizational backing that the societies provided.

The views set forth above have a powerful opponent in Richard Alewyn, who wrote:

Was an Sprachzuwachs, glückliche Eindeutschungen, neuer Schmiegsamkeit erreicht wurde, ist das persönliche Verdienst einzelner, ohne oder gegen die Orden. Die Kluft zwischen dem Volk und den Belesen den (freilich die Voraussetzung ihres Daseins) haben sie erweitert, die deutschen Hof- und Schulkreise einander genähert, mehr durch Mangel als durch Tugenden: die Höfe sind pedantischer geworden, die Schulmeister eitler.\textsuperscript{90}

Although it is true that the achievements of the societies were made by individuals, the unity that the societies afforded gave strength to the movement for linguistic purity and the impetus for intellectual exchange among the members for the furtherance of their goal. The gap between the common people, that is the general population, and the literate or even well-read Germans could have been narrowed in the area of language only by giving up the idea of a standard language and orthography.

In evaluating the effectiveness of the language societies in the area of language reform, Richard Alewyn has failed to consider sufficiently the religious, social, political, and economic factors which obtained during the Baroque period. The political disunity and Kleinstaaterei of the seventeenth century had much to do with the impermanence of the societies and their failure to have a lasting effect, as societies, on the German language.

What the societies could have become is best seen in the example of France. There, in 1635, Cardinal Richelieu founded the Académie Française. The functions of this academy were to include the compilation of a French dictionary, criticism of authors' works at their request, establishment of canons of literary taste and facilitation
of the correct growth of the vernacular. The success of this academy was due in no small part to the protection of the king. For one of the German societies to have succeeded in a similar measure, the protection of the emperor would have been necessary, Karl Barth spoke correctly of the work of the Académie Française when he wrote: "Hier erhob sich damals zum ersten Male eine Muttersprache zur Klassik." By and large, the language societies were a Protestant movement, although they did take in Catholic members, a procedure which was due to the nationalistic tendencies of the societies. When Richard Alewyn spoke of the societies, "Die Kluft zwischen dem Volk und den Belesenen ... haben sie erweitert," he failed to take into consideration the groundwork for the triumph of High German which the Protestant churches of Germany had already completed. Although Lutheranism brought the language of the people back into the churches by banishing Latin, for the Low German areas of Germany this banishment ultimately resulted

in the replacement of one foreign language, Latin, with another, High German. 93

The sixteenth century was rich in both secular and religious works in Low German, but by 1600 the situation was very different. The last printings of the New Testament in Low German were in 1604 in Stettin, in 1615 in Lübeck, in 1620 in Hamburg, and in 1621 in Goslar. 94 At about the same time, the language of sermons became High German. In 1603 High German became the official church and legal language. 95 Since 1600 High German has been the language of sermons in Flensburg; since 1617 church services have been held in High German in Husum. After 1650 Low German was seldom heard in the churches of Schleswig because the general superintendent there only tolerated High German. 96 Even in those places where Low German continued to be used in the churches, it was often a case of the local minister's not knowing any High German. In general, however, written German—High German—was furthered

94. Ibid., p. 97.
95. Ibid., p. 101.
96. Ibid., p. 101.
by the churches: "Der Erfolg, welchen Luthers Schriften hatten, wuchs durch die Berufung von Geistlichen, welche hochdeutscher Abstammung waren oder auf hochdeutschen Universitäten studirt hatten." 97

Again, for religious reasons, the Catholic provinces of Germany failed to accept the literary New High German, based on Luther's work. In 1730 Professor Litzel of Jena published a polemical work Der undeutsche Katholik oder historischer Bericht von der allzugrossen Nachlässigkeit der römischen Katholischen in Besserung der deutschen Sprache, in which he catalogued the failure of German Catholics, particularly the Jesuits, to take part in the creation of a literary New High German. 98 According to Litzel, there was no room for the German language or German poetry in Catholic and Jesuit schools, and Catholic universities such as Mainz had no teachers of German years after Halle, Jena, and Leipzig had included German in the curriculum. Even books which did not treat theological matters but were published in Protestant Germany were prohibited reading material.

98. Ibid., p. 130.
In 1731 Litzel published Deutsche Jesuitenpoesie, which contains poems of the period 1680-1730. Friedrich Kluge wrote of these poems:

In allen treffen wir strengere oberdeutsche Züge, die in der Literatursprache bereits getilgt waren. Zahlreiche ue (Hueff, guet) und ai (Aiche, erraichen, Straich, gehaisser, waiss) kehren wieder; die oberdeutsche Synkope des e in der Vorsilbe ge (ghören, gfallen, gsehen, Gmütt, Gselle, Gsicht, Gstalt u.s.w.) wird nicht gemieden; so begegnen auch b'herrscben, sogar z'bergen; selbst der Artikel die erleidet Verstümmlung (d'Schäfle, d'Backen, d'Höch, d'Vorhöll, d'Trompeten). Das Auslauts -e oder, wie jene Zeit es benannte, das lutherische e vermissen wir häufig; die Stuff, der grausamb Tod, die Höll, die Hitz, der Namm; in her Mehrheit finden wir die Feind, die Leut. Der oberdeutsche Vokalismus verrät sich durch zu-ruck, stuck, die Lucken, trucken (für drücken), rucken, sowie in der Ableitung von Geheimnus, Bündnus. Aus der Deklination seien Formen wie ihne für ihn, deim für deinem angeführt. Auch das Zeitwort zeigt harte oberdeutsche Formen: er findt, er leb', er mach', geloffen für gelaufen, gewest für gewesen.

Indeed, the Catholic literary circles of Germany were not in agreement with the rest of Germany, as far as the written language was concerned, until the period of classicism in German literature.  

There existed another factor which furthered the isolation of German Catholic literary circles and at the same time encouraged the production of High German works in Low German territory—the relocation of the center of the German book industry:


The full impact of the relocation of the center of the German book industry can be gathered only from an understanding of the book trade of the period:

100. Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing (1898), p. 143.
101. Eckehard, p. 44.
Das Schema, nach dem die Versorgung des Publikums mit literarischen Erzeugnissen durch den Buchhandel vor sich ging, war dies: die Neuigkeiten erscheinen zur Messe; der Buchhändler bringt sie von da nach Hause mit und setzt sie im Platz- und Reisevertrieb ab; die kleinen Buchführer versorgen sich teils in Frankfurt, teils bei den Buchhändlern ihrer Gegend. Das Publikum konnte nicht zu beliebiger Zeit ein beliebiges Buch bestellen. Der Buchhändler selbst ist Post und Katalog: die Beweglichkeit des Buchhandels besteht in der Beweglichkeit des Buchhändlers. 102

Since books were distributed by the bookseller in a door-to-door manner the shift of the center of the book trade from Frankfurt to Leipzig in effect isolated Catholic Germany, especially the southern areas, because the cost of transporting the books over the great distances involved would have made the venture unprofitable.

The gap between the reading public and the common people which Richard Alewyn believes was widened by the language societies was not so much changed by the language societies as it was influenced by the literary

tastes and economic situations of the groups involved. Johann Goldfriedrich characterized the situation as follows:

Bernhard bemerkt 1718, dass man in Frankreich, England und Holland mehr auf Anschaffung literarischen Hausrats sehe, und einen Ruhm darin suche, auch wenn man schon für seine Person nicht viel über den büchern liege. In Deutschland, sagt er, machten die Reichen keinen so grossen Staat damit, den Mittelmässigen aber würde ihre Besoldung also in die Hand gezählt, dass sie des Jahrs wenig entbehren könnten. Ein Büchlein vom Jahre 1702 stellt fest, das zuweilen wohl auch von etlichen so genannten Gelehrten, der Regel nach aber von den "ungelehrten, gemeinen Pöbels Gemüttern" einerseits, rohen Welt-, Hof- und Kriegs leuten anderseits gute Bücher wenig oder gar nicht ästimiert würden. 103

The language societies had to concentrate their efforts for the purification of German on the scholarly and courtly circles, not only because these circles were the ones which would be interested in the literary productions

103. Goldfriedrich, p. 18.
of the societies, but also because these circles were the ones which could afford to buy those productions. In addition, the courtly classes determined tastes and style, and if these classes could be won over the use of a purified German—or even the use of German at all—then the language reforms would eventually filter down to the lower classes. Here it should be reemphasized that the members of the language societies belonged preponderantly to the nobility.

Moreover, it is a mistake to judge the success of the societies in terms of "Sprachzuwachs, glückliche Eindeutschungen [und] neuer Schmiegamkeit," as Richard Alewyn has done. As indicated earlier, the language societies not only had to fight against the influx of foreign words from French, Italian, and other foreign languages, but also had to undermine the tremendous prestige of the classical languages, particularly Latin, and to prove that the German language could be as expressive in all phases of scholarship and literature as the classical languages. These goals of the language societies found clear expression in the works of Schottel:

Darauf war seine Philologie gerichtet, die sich begriff als
The success of the German language societies of the Baroque is not to be measured by the numbers of words which were coined in the period and are still extant, but rather in terms of the exploration of the possibilities of German as a vehicle of expression in all fields of human endeavor. From the modern point of view the idea that German might not be a suitable language for the expression of certain ideas is so absurd that it hardly seems

104. Hankamer, p. 139.
possible that it could ever have been a point of dispute. For the Baroque period, any examination of language contained some mystical elements. It was thought that by finding the "Naturwörter," one could come closer to Nature and thus to God. Again and again, one finds that the emphasis of the Baroque linguistic theorists is on the word and on vocabulary. The larger elements of syntax such as the sentence are barely considered and their development does not keep pace with that of vocabulary.\textsuperscript{105} Whereas Schottel concerned himself with imitation (of nature in the form of the word), and Jacob Bühme, with the feasibility of using language to capture and hold the mystical experience, Leibniz was able to synthesize these concerns by shifting the emphasis to a more modern point of view, namely, the communicative nature of language.\textsuperscript{106}

In one area, the undermining of the use of Latin as the literary language, the efforts of the language societies met with immediate success. (The decline of literary production in Latin, however, should not be ascribed solely to the efforts of the language societies, since

\textsuperscript{105} Hankamer, p. 138.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., pp. 137-150.
the general cultural tendencies of the period, such as a rise in a feeling of German national consciousness, undoubtedly played an important role.) In the *Ostermesskatalog* of 1650 were listed 314 works in Latin, 73 theological works in German, 9 works in German on law and medicine, and 49 miscellaneous works in German.\(^{107}\) Fully 71% of the works in the catalog were aimed at Latin readers and 16% consisted of German theological works. Works in Latin and German theological works together comprised 87% of the literary production; thus only 13% of the literary production of 1650 satisfied the German readership in topics other than theology. Conditions changed radically, as can be seen in the *Ostermesskatalog* of 1690, where 47% of the works are in Latin, 24% are in German but treat theological topics, and fully 29% are in German and treat miscellaneous topics.\(^{108}\) The trend thus established held true, with minor variations, during the subsequent eras.

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