

Leseprobe

# Komparatistik

Jahrbuch  
der Deutschen Gesellschaft  
für Allgemeine und Vergleichende  
Literaturwissenschaft

2023

Herausgegeben im Auftrag des Vorstands  
der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Allgemeine  
und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft  
von Annette Simonis, Martin Sexl und Alexandra Müller

AISTHESIS VERLAG

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Bielefeld 2023



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation  
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische  
Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

© Aisthesis Verlag Bielefeld 2023

Postfach 10 04 27, D-33504 Bielefeld

Satz: Germano Wallmann, [www.geisterwort.de](http://www.geisterwort.de)

Druck: MAJUSKEL MEDIENPRODUKTION, Wetzlar

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Print ISBN 978-3-8498-1939-2

E-Book (PDF) ISBN 978-3-8498-1940-8

ISSN 1432-5306

[www.aisthesis.de](http://www.aisthesis.de)

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AND JOACHIM HARST

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Liebe Mitglieder der DGAVL,

in der vorliegenden Ausgabe des Jahrbuchs *Komparatistik* können wir Ihnen wieder zahlreiche Aufsätze zu vielfältigen Forschungsfragen der *Komparatistik* und Besprechungen wissenschaftlicher Neuerscheinungen präsentieren. Darüber hinaus wird das diesjährige Jahrbuch durch ein Dossier bereichert, das Beiträge aus der DGAVL-Sektion vom dreiundzwanzigsten Kongress der ICLA in Tbilisi, Georgien, im Juli 2022 enthält. Das Dossier behandelt das Thema *Imagining Cultural Transfers – Poetics of Cultural Contact, Circulation and Exchange* und wurde von Annette Simonis, Corinna Dziudzia und Joachim Harst betreut.

Wie immer möchten wir abschließend alle Mitglieder herzlich dazu einladen, für die nächste Ausgabe der *Komparatistik*, die im kommenden Jahr durch den neuen DGAVL-Vorstand besorgt wird, Aufsätze, Rezensionen, Tagungsberichte sowie Miszellaneen mit Informationen zu aktuellen Forschungsvorhaben oder neuen Studiengängen einzureichen.

Mit besten Grüßen  
Ihr/e

Annette Simonis  
Martin Sexl  
Alexandra Müller





Dossier  
Imagining Cultural Transfers –  
Poetics of Cultural Contact, Circulation  
and Exchange

(XXIII ICLA Congress, Tbilisi 2022)

Edited by Annette Simonis, Corinna Dziudzia  
and Joachim Harst



# Imagining Cultural Transfers — Poetics of Cultural Contact, Circulation and Exchange

## Introductory note

The articles of the group session explore the dynamics of cultural exchange in literature, examining the circulation of narratives, images, concepts, and ideas travelling within and beyond cultural boundaries on a global scale. Cultural exchange proves to be a powerful stimulating agency of creative energy entailing a considerable transformative potential. Moreover, multiple forms of cultural contact and transfer have been the object of individual and collective imaginations in a contemporary as well as a historical perspective. They constitute key relationships at the very core of literary productions and artifacts in other media. In this context, the imaginative process of modeling and reflecting cultural transfer is not restricted to the limits of physical contact and empirical factuality. Far from being limited to mere exotism, imaginings and aesthetic representations of cultural contact play a crucial part in the evolution of cultures. They may also, for instance, draw on oral as well as recorded sources of myth, folklore, fantasy or even the phenomena of virtual reality.

The panel's contributions focus on the different imaginings of cultural transfers and their dynamics in literary texts. They analyze the poetic and stylistic forms designed to express and capture the cultural circulation of concepts, images, and experiences as well as their innovative and transformative implications. (Translations, for example, play an important role in this context.)

Furthermore, they may also reflect on the relation between notions of cultural transfer and comparative literature as an academic discipline. For example, key terms of the discipline such as 'world literature' can be questioned (e.g. the relevance of cross-cultural contacts for the thinking of 'world literature' and examined in regard to their implicit evaluations (e.g. the dominance of a Western canon, relationships between 'major' and 'minor' literatures).

*Editorial note: All contributions to this dossier have successfully passed a double-blind peer review.*



Corinna Dziudzia (Erfurt)

## Percolated images of the ‘Orient’<sup>1</sup> of the Early German Enlightenment in Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann’s Texts: Spheres of cultural transfer

In *Cultural transfer reconsidered* Steen Bille Jørgensen and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink emphasize that “the cultural transfer approach is based on the hypothesis that any cultural artifact transferred between different cultures or (cultural systems) undergoes a process of transformation, or re-semanticization or re-interpretation or re-reading.”<sup>2</sup> Whereas the notion of a cultural ‘relation’ or a ‘contact’ has been criticized as too vague, the concept of cultural transfer, therefore, implies the notion of a shift.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it aims at ‘translation’ not necessarily in a literal sense,<sup>4</sup> but more in the sense of domesticating the alien, the strategies and tactics employed.<sup>5</sup> To shed light on such transformative processes in the early 18th century<sup>6</sup> texts by a female author of the German Early Enlightenment, Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann (1711-1740), shall be focused in the following as she was an attentive observer of her time, reading, writing, corresponding, and publishing.<sup>7</sup>

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1 Used in quotation marks, because the ‘Orient’ is, of course, only laying east from a western, European perspective.

2 Steen Bille Jørgensen/Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink. “Introduction. Reframing the Cultural Transfer Approach.” *Cultural Transfer Reconsidered. Transnational Perspectives, Translation Processes, Scandinavian and Postcolonial Challenges*. Ed. by Steen Bille Jørgensen/Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink. London/Boston: Brill, 2021, pp. 1-20, here p. 2.

3 Jørgensen & Lüsebrink. *Introduction*, p. 2.

4 A focus, for example, in Stefanie Stockhorst. *Cultural Transfer Through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.

5 Peter Burke. *What Is Cultural History?* Cambridge, U.K./Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004, p. 120f.

6 Regarding German history, these processes of cultural transfer, especially considering the ‘Orient’, have been analyzed mostly for the 19th century. See, for example, Andrea Polaschegg. *Der andere Orientalismus: Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.

7 The role of women as being important in the cultural transfers has been pointed out repeatedly, although mainly in regard to noble women and marriage, see Tracy Chapman Hamilton/Mariah Proctor-Tiffany (Eds.). *Moving Women Moving Objects (400-1500)*. Leiden: Brill, 2019; Joan-Lluís Palos/Magdalena S. Sanchez (Eds.). *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016; Christina Strunck. “Travelling objects: transfers between France, Florence and Lorraine (1589-1627).” In: *The challenge of the object*. Ed. by G. Ulrich Großmann/Petra Krutisch. Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums. Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums; Bd. 31. Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2013,

In her work, she includes the knowledge she has on her hand, from books and newspapers, as well as through observation of her surroundings. She cites historical writers referencing antiquity and — naturally, given the time of the early 18th century and her protestant upbringing — uses the bible as a means to familiarize and domesticate the unfamiliar and foreign. It is therefore assumed that in her multilayered writing cultural transfer can be examined and used to find out not only what was common and known in a rather small city in the middle of today's Germany, a merchant's town, but how these transformative processes unfolded. Zäunemann's literary texts, written between 1732 and 1739, and published in that time frame under her own name, on a regional as well as transregional level, can — to formulate the underlying proposition — give insights into cultural transfer processes in the early enlightenment.

Especially, cultural transfer can be observed in Zäunemann's writing in two different, overlapping spheres that shall be focused in the following: trade and war. Albeit, it shall be argued that only percolated images of the 'Orient' and the cultural transfer processes in the early 18th century are to be seen, i. e., the displayed images are necessarily fragmented and selective in nature. Although, references to the foreign, regarding goods or habits, are not perceived as something threatening, distressing, or inferior, rather, because of the rareness, more adoringly. Nevertheless, the foreign had to be familiarized through a transformation process, for example, it had to be embedded in and shifted towards the Protestant worldview as part of the transformative cultural processes. Necessarily, the transformative process stops in the sphere of religious beliefs, especially regarding the fighting between different empires in that time. Also beyond that 'areas of conflict' can be perceived where the transformation processes come to a halt.

## 1. Foreign Fabrics and Stimulants: Trade

In the early 18th century, Erfurt, in the middle of Germany, had been an important trading city located on the stagecoach route between the fair cities of Lipsia and Frankfurt. Trade had been an essential source of income; merchants occupied their own quarter in the city center with its own church. Their shops were built on the bridge over the river, like on the famous *ponte vecchio* in Florence, to ensure everyone crossing the river took notice of the offered goods. Zäunemann lived north of that bridge and was baptized in the quarter's church ("Kaufmannskirche"). Not surprisingly, given the surroundings she was living in, Zäunemann frequently mentions trading and goods in her writing. For example, when an enormous fire destroyed the old city of Erfurt in 1735, she reflects the horror of everybody not only trying to save their lives but also the goods as their livelihood ("Da führt und schleift man Kaufmanns-Guth, / Man eilt es möchte

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pp. 677-681; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. "Cultural Transfer and the Eighteenth-Century Queen Consort". *German History* 34, Nr. 2 (1. Juni 2016), pp. 279-92.

sonst die Gluth / Die Waaren allesamt verschlingen<sup>8</sup>), by going into the river at last.

She mentions some of the goods specifically, like coffee, tea, and tobacco,<sup>9</sup> which could have been bought in the shops of the Erfurt bridge,<sup>10</sup> or probably consumed in a coffee house nearby. She even mentions "Schnupftobak der Schönen"<sup>11</sup>, pointing to women using tobacco to sniff.<sup>12</sup> Zäunemann mentions these stimulants more than once in her writing. In the 1730s, they seemed to her equally familiar and of the same kind, even comparable to the much more common wine.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, tobacco arrived in Germany with the French Huguenots in the middle of the 17th century; first coffee houses had been emerging in the 1670s in the European port cities, with tea arriving there roughly at the same time.<sup>14</sup>

Zäunemann shows in her writing that she is aware where these goods came from originally and that they are tasty, but not tolerated well by everybody.<sup>15</sup>

8 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Das unter Glut und Flammen ächzende Erfurt". In: *Feder in der Hand, Degen in der Faust*. Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia. Zürich: Secession Verlag für Literatur, 2020, pp. 9-18, p. 11.

9 Especially in her last, longer work, a satire, see Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Die von denen Faunen gepeitschten Laster". In: *Feder in der Hand, Degen in der Faust*. Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia. Zürich: Secession Verlag für Literatur, 2020, pp. 65-171, p. 126. She does not mention chocolate, although this is often times examined together, see Annerose Menninger. *Genuss im kulturellen Wandel: Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa (16.-19. Jahrhundert)*. 2., erw. Aufl. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008. Nevertheless, Hochmuth points out, that coffee, tobacco and tea had been far more common as chocolate, especially, in the early 18th century, when chocolate still was only consumed in the higher nobility. Christian Hochmuth. *Globale Güter – lokale Aneignung: Kaffee, Tee, Schokolade und Tabak im frühneuzeitlichen Dresden*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2008, p. 88f. + 127-130.

10 In one poem Zäunemann mentions merchants, who do not only sell goods like coffee and tea but let their attractive wives do it, which seemed a common strategy, to make sure everybody buys at their place. Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Scherzhafte Gedanken". In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 602-611, p. 603.

11 Zäunemann, *Faunen*, p. 162.

12 That seemed a common practice, also seen in Great Britain in the early modern era, although long 'hidden', i. e. disregarded by historians dismissing seemingly 'unfeminine' actions. See Angela McShane. "Bad Habits and Female Agency. Attending to Early Modern Women in the Material History of Intoxication." In: *Challenging Women's Agency and Activism in Early Modernity*. Ed. by Merry Wiesner-Hanks. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020, pp. 25-64, p. 30.

13 Zäunemann, *Faunen*, p. 130.

14 Linda Levy Peck. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 116; Louis Delpech. "Kaffeeconsumption als Problem: Normenverhandlung und Performativität der Geselligkeit in Leipziger Kaffeekantaten". *Daphnis* 49, Nr. 1-2 (2021), pp. 212-234, p. 214.

15 "Und gleichwohl ist der Mensch an seinen Schmerz und Plagen / Die er an Haupt und Fuß und Leibe muss ertragen, / Nur selber Schuld daran; flöh er die Zärtlichkeit, / Und gäb dem Munde nicht so viel Gelegenheit / Mit leckerhafter Kost und feurigen

She describes the foreign stimulants metaphorically as an aggressive opponent (“feindlich Heer”), in front of the city walls, i.e., the body, to storm it, and that they have physical consequences if enjoyed unguarded and unprotected.<sup>16</sup> Zäunemann talks about the tastiness of the food and the ‘fire’ coming from the drinks, obscuring the senses. She must have tasted them; she did not reject them, but calls for strict moderation, as she observes, that they can have harmful physical consequences if having too much of them.<sup>17</sup> It is everybody’s own fault, as she states, if one gives these overly delicious tastes (“leckerhafter Kost”) too many opportunities to beleaguer and conquer oneself.<sup>18</sup> She talks of them as being gifted (“schenken”) by China, Africa, and Spain. She is aware that these goods come from foreign places, but she does not differentiate that what comes from Spain actually comes from the colonies in Middle and South America — these are part of Spain for her.

Moreover, these luxurious goods are expensive and not part of a frugal lifestyle.<sup>19</sup> She mentions one neighbor going into debt over them and another always going out to have tea but leaving his wife and children at home with dry bread.<sup>20</sup> She also talks about the various stimulants going along with games, taking away time and virtue,<sup>21</sup> which might have been another reason they had been forbidden in the stricter religious households in Erfurt, as indeed, the consumption of coffee was not associated with a virtuous or frugal lifestyle.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, she is quite aware that what comes from ‘midday’ (“Mittag”),<sup>23</sup> as she puts it in a literarization for the southern regions in contrast to her own city of residence, is, in general, very popular in her time.

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Getränken, / Die China, Afrika und Spanien uns schenken / Den Magen, Leib und Sinn gleich einer festen Stadt, / Die gar ein feindlich Heer vor ihren Mauern hat, / Zu stürmen, und die Burg des Leibes zu belagern; / So würden viele nicht verdorren und vermagen. / Die Säfte würden nicht verzehret und verbrennt: / Stein, Gicht und Podagra, und was man schmerzhaft nennt, / Den Kopf-Weh, Mattigkeit und des Geblütes wallen / Wird keinen Mäßigen so leichtlich überfallen.” Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 158f.

16 In the 17th century, these stimulants had been praised for their effects, but this seems to change already in Zäunemann’s time as she has a differentiated view on them. See for the positive effects attributed in the 17th century as well as the negative consequences: Hochmuth, *Globale Güter*, pp. 55-61.

17 Regarding the rise of coffee consumption and coffee houses as a catalyst for early enlightenment as well as discussed health risks, disruption of social norms in Lipsia, 1690-1730 see Delpech, *Kaffeekonsum*, pp. 212-34.

18 Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p.158.

19 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. “Land-Tag, welchen die Königin Eva denen sämtlichen Weibern zum Trost zu Frauenstadt, auf Sanct Silvesters=Tag gehalten”. In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 500-509, p. 504.

20 Zäunemann. *Land-Tag*, p. 508.

21 Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 130.

22 Delpech. *Kaffeekonsum*, p. 215.

23 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. “Ein ander Sendschreiben”. In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. p. 530-535, here 532.



This is true for another group of goods she talks about quite often besides the stimulants: she mentions Persian carpets from Sine,<sup>24</sup> and fabrics, like velvet, taft, and of course, time and again, silk from Damask and Batavia.<sup>25</sup> Named after the city, Batavia is in the 18th century a silk fabric used for dresses. Batavia, as well as Damask are originally places but used synonymic as terms for the goods they offer, fabrics in that case, the point of origin giving the name for the good.<sup>26</sup> These seem equally familiar to her, as a fabric from Africa is compared by Zäunemann to a work of art ("Kunststück"<sup>27</sup>) from Batavia, nowadays Indonesia, which was a colony of the Netherlands. For Zäunemann, these foreign fabrics arrive through "Hollands Krämen"<sup>28</sup>, that is, shops or traders from the Netherlands, indirectly pointing to the *Oostindische Companie* (the Dutch East Indian Company), the dominant Dutch global trading enterprise in the 17th and 18th century, as the headquarters of the Company had been in Amsterdam, where the goods arrived by ship, from the 'Orient' or beyond.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, the poem in which Zäunemann mentions these new global goods from Africa and Batavia stands out for another reason: it is a letter to a friend, in which the beauty of a black woman is praised, pointing to the fact that not only foreign goods arrived through trade but also people. The counterpart in the letter asks to justify why a black woman is regarded as more beautiful than a European woman and therefore preferred. It seems like a role-play in which a female writer (Zäunemann) is tasked by an unnamed, probably male pen friend to assume his position in falling in love with a black woman and to explain.<sup>30</sup> Zäunemann takes the supposedly given question and justifies in her poem in an elaborated way, why indeed a beautiful black woman is to be preferred — because there is a general taste in her time for foreign goods and beautiful rarities in Europe.<sup>31</sup> There seems to be a notion of an exclusive likening that

24 Persian Carpets have been known in Europe since the early 17th century but were only available in larger quantities in the 19th century. Yuka Kadoi/Iván Szántó. *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, p. 256.

25 "Ein buntes Tuch aus Africa, / Fällt Deutschlands Schönen in die Augen. / Ein Kunststück aus Batavia, / Soll mehr als unsre Arbeit taugen." Zäunemann. *Sendschreiben*, p. 532.

26 Johann Beckmann. *Anleitung zur Technologie, oder zur Kentniss der Handwerke, Fabriken und Manufacturen*. Göttingen: Im Verlag der Wittwe Vandenhoeck, 1777, p. XXV.

27 Zäunemann. *Sendschreiben*, p. 532.

28 Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 155.

29 Jonathan I. Israel. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

30 The lyrical persona of her poem describes as being fallen for that beautiful woman, which is why we may assume the lyrical I is male, although it is not explicitly stated so.

31 "Europens Lippen, Zung und Mund, / Stehn nur nach fremdgewachsenen Speisen. / Sie wissen sie zu jeder Stund / Nicht genug zu rühmen und zu preisen. / O was vor Schmuck und Schön und Pracht / Hat Africa uns zgedacht! / Es giebt den Jungfern Glanz und Schimmer. / Liebt ihr nun was aus Africa, / So lieb ich auch Dnidania, /

prefers the seldom, rare and therefore valuable, like fabrics, plants, and animals, but not to like what is common in a town like Erfurt, e.g., European blonde women. There is no notion of a negative or even racist connotation, but admiration, that prefers the living human not only to the European beauties but also to other rarities like a seldom manuscript.<sup>32</sup> Zäunemann calls her by her name three times, *Dnidania*, probably alluding to a concrete person,<sup>33</sup> recognizing her as an individual, as she even talks about the “Mohrenland” where the beautiful black woman came from.

Regarding the fabrics, Zäunemann mostly mentions silk, originally coming from China and India on the silk road, famously named after that particular good. Already in the 16th century, silk farms were emerging in Italy and France, making silk more and more a European product at the beginning of the 18th century. The fabrication process, and, therefore, especially the role of the silkworm could not have been entirely alien to Zäunemann. Maybe she knew the beautiful engravings by Maria Sibylla Merian that had been very popular at that time, showing the silkworm, the eggs, and the cocoon.<sup>34</sup> Merian herself bred silkworms already at an early age, basing her drawings on observation as

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Und schätze dieses Kind vors schönste Frauenzimmer. // Die Blonden Schönen, ists nicht wahr? / Kan man an allen Orten sehen. / Nur schwarze Schönen bleiben rar; / Dieß muß mir jeder zugestehen. / Weil grosser Häupter ihr Pallast / Nur solche Schönen in sich faßt; / Man sucht sie nicht an allen Enden. / Drum was ein König kostbar schätzt, / Daß ist, was meine Brust ergötzt. / Nur einem solchen Kind will ich mein Herz verpfänden. // Ich bin in Lieben delicat, / Und liebe nicht was jeder liebet. / Ich folge meinem eignen Rath / Damit mich keine Reu betrübet. / Was edel, rar und kostbar heist, / Das liebe ich mit Mund und Geist; / Dieß ist der Abgott meiner Sinnen. / Drum bleibe ich bey meiner Wahl, / Und sage ein vor allemahl: / Die Mohrin krieget mein Herz vor Europäerinnen. //” Zäunemann, *Sendschreiben*, p. 533f.

32 “Ein Manuscript aus Mohrenland / Weis man nicht hoch genug zu schätzen. / Ein Buch aus einer fremden Hand / Kan unser Aug und Geist ergötzen. / Da nun ein unbelebtes Blat, / So viele Wirkung bey sich hat; / So wird man mir es nicht verdenken: / Wenn ich mit aufgewecktem Muth, / *Der Mohrin*, welche Fleisch und Blut, / Und Geist und Schönheit hat, mein Herze will verschenken.” Zäunemann. *Sendschreiben*, p. 533.

33 So far it could not be determined whom that name belongs to, if it refers to an example from the region of a black woman, maybe living at the courts in Weimar or Gotha, or probably alluding to a picture, a description of some sort, or if it is a fictional example and the name invented by Zäunemann. Regardless, the fact, that a name is used shows that Zäunemann views the example as an individual, a beautiful black woman named Dnidania. Although, of course, the beautiful young black woman had, in all likelihood, no say in the question if she wanted to live in Europe, as well as it is, for today’s judgment, an argumentation that implies making the beautiful black woman herself a traded good, comparing her to other rare and seldom goods like fabrics.

34 Maria Sibylla Merian. *Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung, und sonderbare Blumen-nahrung: worinnen, durch eine gantz-neue Erfindung, Der Raupen, Würmer, Sommer-vögelein, Motten, Fliegen, und anderer dergleichen Thierlein, Ursprung, Speisen,*

she describes in the preface to the reader in her book.<sup>35</sup> Although Zäunemann seemed to have an understanding of where silk originated, for her that was still subject to a particular need of familiarization. Time and again, the silkworm is personified in her writing and referred to as a symbol of a diligent and tireless worker, producing a very valuable and highly wanted good; she shapes the silkworm as a role model and states that the tiny worm should shame anybody much bigger, with more power and strength, who is not working as diligently.<sup>36</sup> The Asian worm is therefore familiarized in a transformative process of re-semanticization because the silk worm not only abides by the rules of the Protestant work ethics but, moreover, becomes a model of it in the process of cultural transformation by ascribing certain positive character traits and habits to it. One could also argue that the silkworm, with the ascribed protestant character traits and, therefore silk, gain a hybrid status, in the sense of Peter Burkes understanding of cultural hybridity.<sup>37</sup>

Additionally, the silkworm is used by Zäunemann as 'being not in fashion', and not 'gallant', which is the preferred behavior of the semi-public spheres of the French, and more and more the German courts as well, being in company, enjoying games and stimulants. Not being gallant and not being in fashion like the silkworm, to her, is a person working diligently, for example, reading books and studying in solitude, as she elaborates.<sup>38</sup> Studying books while wearing silk are no contrast for her, what might be surprising as silk fabrics and silk dresses could easily have been regarded as necessary for being gallant but Zäunemann makes the foreign fabric fit into her protestant world view. For Zäunemann, silk is not gallant because she connotes silk differently; in her writing, she specifically talks about "Keuschheitsseiden"<sup>39</sup>, chastity silk, referring probably to a famous song of her time by Paul Gerhard.<sup>40</sup> The song is alluding to the Protestant bible, the book of Moses and the Exodus, where there is talk about how priests should

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*und Veränderungen, samt ihrer Zeit, Ort und Eigenschaften.* Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Graff, 1679.

35 Merian. *Raupen*.

36 "Dort lag der Seidenwurm, der immer fleißig webte, / Und dennoch nicht für sich, nur uns zu Dienste lebte. / Wir sahen unsern Leib nebst seinen Gliedern an, / Wie er mit Geist und Kraft und Stärke angetan, / Und ausgeschmücket war. Wer sollte sich nicht schämen? / Wer wollte träge sein, die Arbeit vorzunehmen?" Zäunemann, *Faunen*, p. 125.

37 Peter Burke. *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge/Malden: Polity, 2009. Chap. 1.

38 "Wer nennt es wohl galant, wenn man im Winkel lebet, / Und wie ein Seidenwurm sich unter Bücher gräbet?" Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 128.

39 Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 81.

40 "Ach! laß mich dahin gelangen, / wo der keuschen Seelen Schaar / in der weissen Seide prangen, / und die loben immerdar. / Ach! so höre mein Begier: / Mein Gott! gieb die Keuschheit mir." Paul Gerhard: "Unzucht ist des Teufels Freude." In: *Das andächtig-singende Evangelische Zion, oder vollständiges Gesang-Buch: welches in sich hält zwölf hundert Lieder, die in denen Chur- und Fürstl. Sächsischen Kirchen, auch andern Orten, gesungen werden. Dem zugleich beygefüget ist ein Gebet-Buch.* Zwickau: Höfer, 1736, p. 551.

be dressed, which, in the imagination of the early modern period, is in white silk, as a symbol of their pureness, because that was the translation given by Martin Luther.<sup>41</sup> Wearing white silk, especially as a young, unmarried woman, is therefore adhering to biblical ways.

Moreover, she herself quite liked dressing nicely. There is an engraving showing Zäunemann dressed in what looks like a silk fabric, maybe even damask, judging by the ornaments of the bodice.<sup>42</sup> Not only do her sleeves consist of several layers of lace, but she is also wearing several pieces of jewelry. In a later adaptation of the picture,<sup>43</sup> the big jewels in what looks like a wig in French fashion are covered by the laurel wreath, changing her look quite a bit and giving her a more modest appeal than the original engraving, but the look is still more fitting to a court, or at least taking part in a societal event, than studying in solitude.

At the same time, Zäunemann criticizes those who exaggerate their spending and wear dresses that cost four times the average amount, again referring to the pure white chastity silk as a positive example of purity,<sup>44</sup> but alluding to middleclass women dressing in delicate and expansive fabrics, pointing to dresses as a status symbol once reserved for the highest class.<sup>45</sup> Indeed Zäunemann talks about the little duke's son and mentions that he has nappies made out of velvet,<sup>46</sup> she must have seen that first hand as she indeed had been to the court as a guest and writes a poem celebrating the christening of the child. Nevertheless, a fabric that once was seldom became more and more available. Therefore, silk gained an ambivalent status with different connotations: In a Lutheran domestication, the biblical, pure white, the 'chastity silk', on the one hand, and the criticized gallant side of vanity as part of the French fashion and culture on the other hand. Silk is desired by women from different backgrounds, but probably not necessarily to dress like a chaste virgin in a Lutheran sense, but to dress up. According to the protestant surroundings Zäunemann was living in, she calls to modesty, using

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41 Actually, it might have been white Egyptian cotton and byssus. Heinrich Alt. *Der kirchliche Gottesdienst nach seinen verschiedenen Entwicklungsformen und seinen einzelnen Theilen*. Berlin: G. W. F. Müller, 1851, p. 124.

42 It was first used as a frontispiece for the *Hamburgische Berichte von den neuesten gelehrten Sachen* (1735), see: Picture of Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Porträtsammlung, Inventar-Nr. PORT\_00093508\_01, URL: <https://www.portraitindex.de/documents/obj/oai:baa.onb.at:7750401>

43 The later version was used in her collection of poems *Poetische Rosen in Knospen* (1738), see: Picture of Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. HAB: Za 61, URL: <https://www.portraitindex.de/documents/obj/34024478>

44 "Da ward der Eltern Schweiß nicht freventlich verprasst; / Verschwendung war so sehr als wie der Geiz verhasst; / Da pflegte man sich noch in reine Keuschheits-Seiden, / Und nicht in Wollusts-Schmuck und Hoffart einzukleiden. / Ein jeder hatte sich nach seinem Stand geschmückt." Zäunemann, *Faunen*, p. 81f.

45 In her time, this is obviously changing, and the dress does not necessarily point to the social status.

46 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Bey dem höchsterfreuten Kirchgang." In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 451-453, p. 451.

silk the biblical way, whereas dressing to feed one's vanity is considered sinful and criticized by her, especially in her satire *Die von denen Faunen gepeitschten Laster* (1739). Not necessarily is this to be seen as 'anti-French' — as she herself was dressed à la mode.

Another aspect is also inherent, although not spelled out by Zäunemann: If silk is admired and bought by the women of her time, regional fabrics like wool or linen are shunned necessarily. This shifting process of disregarding local goods in favor of foreign fabrics as part of a cultural transfer process of admiring foreign goods and preferring them had potential economic consequences, especially in the later 18th century, already indicated by Zäunemann ("soll mehr als unsre Arbeit taugen").<sup>47</sup> The selected foreign goods are seen as being better, although, and this leads to another interesting argument, the traditional fabrics would have been more durable and could not have been destroyed so easily by flames, or even only by walking through the narrow Erfurt lanes snagging the delicate fabric on stone walls and wooden beams, as she observes.<sup>48</sup> Silk is not durable enough for daily life routines but far more for sitting, enjoying coffee and playing games. Most definitely, silk dresses are by far not durable enough for the activities Zäunemann herself preferred, riding horses or visiting mines, as she herself remarks — and for which she corollary preferred men's clothing.<sup>49</sup> So when Zäunemann states that even the women of the middle class like herself can dress in silk this is ambivalent in this regard also: the more refined and delicate your dress is, the more restricted are the activities possible if you do not want to risk ruining the fabric or freezing to death. This problem of practical matters is solved by Zäunemann in a very unconventional way, pointing to the different roles she had as a quite active but nevertheless unwed woman. She could choose to do so because she was not under male guardianship in Erfurt.<sup>50</sup>

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47 "Ein buntes Tuch aus Africa, / Fällt Deutschlands Schönen in die Augen. / Ein Kunststück aus Batavia, / Soll mehr als unsre Arbeit taugen." Zäunemann. *Send-schreiben*, p. 532.

48 "Weil ein zu weiter Rock an alle Stufen / Ecken stößt, / So reißt die Seide auf, dass sich der Faden löst, Und also desto ehr das Kleid zu Grunde gehet." Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 150.

49 While visiting the mine below ground, she is wearing the usual attire, a "Bergmanns-Kleide". Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Das Ilmenauische Bergwerk". In: *Feder in der Hand, Degen in der Faust*. Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia. Zürich: Secession Verlag für Literatur, 2020, pp. 27-42, p. 29. In another poem she discusses if a thunderstorm is God's reaction to the lyrical persona wearing men's clothing, "Mannes-Kleid", coming to the conclusion that riding on a horse, a woman is allowed to. Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Andächtige Pfingst- und Feld-Gedanken". In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp.117-127, p. 125f.

50 A patent regarding Erfurt of that time states that "denen weibern frei gelassen wird, ohne zuthunung eines curatoris zu handeln und zu wandeln". Ernst Holthöfer. "Die Geschlechtsvormundschaft. Ein Überblick von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert." In: *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts*. Ed. by Ute Gerhard. München: Beck, 1997, pp. 390-459, p. 424.

As well as the consumption of foreign stimulants, this also points to a potential area of conflict, new goods and delicate fabrics, works of art even as Zäunemann describes them, bringing new habits clashing with the traditional way of life determined by authorities as well as the growing economic component in addition to a female citizenry that is working and earning money, i. e., the wives of the merchants or Zäunemann herself as she wrote poems on behalf of others. Foreign dishes and fabrics were wanted and loved because they were rare and valuable, and therefore necessarily drew attention. Traders and merchants gain profits accordingly; it is a new form of wealth and riches visible. Zäunemann criticizes when the dresses cost four times the sum of an ordinary, far more durable dress; if the fabrics are used to dress up for lustful decoration and pride as there still is the Lutheran bible purity-ideal predominant, symbolized in the white silk of the priests, but she herself also dressed richly — or used men's clothing for which she was criticized according to several poems. Some goods are exotic, new and very seldom, and some replace regional produce more and more and therefore putting workers out of their jobs which is also hinted at by Zäunemann through her comparisons. Traditionally, in Erfurt, beer and wine had been consumed and linen produced, dyed with so-called "waid", a plant used to color fabrics that brought riches to the region since the 16th century, although already in a slow decline in the 18th century,<sup>51</sup> one reason being the import of indigo through the Dutch East Indian Company, which spread more and more, despite local authorities tried to regulate the use through bans.<sup>52</sup> The new global goods put more and more pressure on the local production of fabrics and the local dyeing industry, trade and society, with the constant backdrop of the wars in that time, offering another field of conflicting issues.

## 2. Fighting female warriors in cultural transfer: War

Regarding fabrics, Zäunemann shows that she is aware of foreign customs, nearer and farther. She points to the French custom of wearing little beauty patches, *mouches*, from silk or taffeta in the form of sun, moon, and stars.<sup>53</sup> She is also pointing to the habit of the beautiful Persian women who veil themselves completely — and she contrasts the Persian women in their veils with the

51 Paul Zschiesche. "Der Erfurter Waidbau und Waidhandel, ein kulturgeschichtliches Bild aus der Vergangenheit". In: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt* (1896), pp. 19-70, p. 42ff.

52 Zschiesche. *Waidbau*, p. 45f.

53 "Auch Sonne, Mond und Stern zum Zierrat aufgestellt. / Wenn jener Lichter Schein auf blauen Grunde strahlet; / So wird der untern Glanz auf weisen Grund gemalet. / Und weil die Obersten nur für die Nacht bestimmt, / Indem ihr heller Glanz die Finsternis benimmt. / (Dieweil dem lichten Tag kein solcher Glanz vonnöten.) / So nimmt und schneidet man dergleichen Welt-Planeten / Von schwarzen Taffend aus, und fragt wohl: lässt's nicht schön, / Wenn Sonne, Mond und Stern im Angesichte stehn?" Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 149.



Amazons.<sup>54</sup> The reference is more than a simple comparison as she refers to the mythological-ancient female warriors that could be veiled in a metaphorical sense, meaning being veiled as not overtly armed as well as using the veil to hide the true self: Zäunemann uses her knowledge to draw comparisons that span astounding points of reference by using — not infrequently — a satirical style of writing, therefore implicitly warning men to be careful what might await them once they lift the veil, alluding to battle-ready women underneath it. According to the myth, amazons can be recognized by the missing left breast, but this requires lifting the 'veil' customary in Zäunemann's own time and, again influenced by France, i. e. examining the corset ("Schnürbrust"), if an Amazon is hiding underneath.

Especially fighting women and female warfare is an underlying theme in Zäunemann's writing and subject matter regarding the second sphere of cultural transfer examined here, war. Beyond goods, references to the 'Orient' are made by Zäunemann in her writing several times regarding war and ancient Persia. Essentially, Zäunemann draws on two sources of reference, one is, of course, given the time of the early 18th century and her Protestant upbringing, the bible; the second is the ancient Greek historian Herodot, which detailed the so-called Persian wars and wrote about Persian kings like Dareios of Persia and the attempts to conquer Greece. Furthermore, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) as well as several travelogues had aroused interest in her time.

Zäunemann is, and that might come as another surprise, very much interested in fighting: she does not only reference the Amazons but also writes soldier songs or talks about how there are two general ways to fame and glory — by fighting or by writing, which apply to her as well as she is aware. Amazons were not only a quite popular topos at that time, as for Zäunemann and her contemporaries, fighting women had not only been figures of the mythological world.<sup>55</sup> Zäunemann is actually dedicating her book of poems to Empress Anna of Russia, a contemporary queen of her time, leading troops in a war. During Zäunemann's most productive years the third Russo-Turkish war (1735-1739) was drawing more and more attention, because in 1737, the Holy Roman Empire

54 "Vielleicht befürchten sich jetzunder unsre Schönen, / Das Mannsvolk möchte sich nach Perser-Art gewöhnen. / (Denn dieser schickt vorher zu der erkornen Braut. / Die nächste Freundin hin, die sie mit Fleiß beschaut, / Ob sie vollkommen ist. Denn bei den Amazonen / Wird wohl kein Mannesbild so leicht nicht wollen wohnen.) / Drum zeigt das Frauenvolk vollkommen aufgedeckt, / Dass keine Amazon' in ihrer Schnürbrust steckt: / Und folglich man auch nicht die schöne Weiber-Gabe / Nach Persischem Gebrauch erst zu erforschen habe." Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p.149.

55 Marian Füssel. "Frauen in der Schlacht? Weibliche Soldaten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Dissimulation und Sensation". In: *Soldatinnen. Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Ed. by Klaus Latzel/Franka Maubach/Silke Sajukow. Paderborn [et al.]: Schöningh, 2011, p 159-178; Marian Füssel. "Zwischen Devianz und Heldentum. Die 'Soldatin' als eine ambigüe Persona des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts." In: *Gelehrte Frauen der Frühaufklärung. Einsame Wunderthiere oder vernetzte Akteurinnen?* Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia/Sonja Klimek. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2022, p. 121-141.

was joining that war.<sup>56</sup> The fighting took place in today's Ukraine, it had been about trade routes and must have had an impact on trading cities like Erfurt, even more so, because it was preceded by a war between the Ottoman Empire and the Persians. Zäunemann probably read about it in the several newspapers that were published in Erfurt at that time — exactly by the two publishers who also published her poems, Nonne und Jungnicol.<sup>57</sup>

War is a cultural transfer that includes a confrontation of, at times, several oppositional parties, but nevertheless means engaging with the other, and Zäunemann does, for example, when she mentions classical Turkish weapons like the kilidsch. She writes about arms in more general terms in her soldier songs using classical references, like Mavor,<sup>58</sup> the Roman god of war, but updating it and talking about powder and lead ("Pulver und Blei") — firearms of her own time.<sup>59</sup> Arms and weapons, in general, had been familiar to her, insofar Stockmar, who engraved her portrait, was also an engraver of weapons. She knew his occupation and must have visited his home and workshop in Ilmenau, where her sister lived after marriage, at least for the sitting and a second time for the alteration.<sup>60</sup>

War also means increased praise of one's own achievements in contrast to the losses of others. Zäunemann does a praising poem of one of the famous generals of her time, Prince Eugen of Savoyen (1663-1736), who fought in the Austrian army several battles against Turkish troops. French by origin, he was in the services of the Austrian court since being a young man. Zäunemann compares him to a Greek god, calling him a German Hercules the opponents are afraid of, his reputation preceding him.<sup>61</sup> Eugen was said to be successful even

56 Brian Davies. *Empire and Military Revolution in Eastern Europe: Russia's Turkish Wars in the Eighteenth Century*. London [et al.]: Bloomsbury, 2011.

57 For example, Arnoldus Liberius. *Neu-eröffnetes Welt- und Staats-Theatrum: Welches die Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Affairen, der gantzten Welt, sonderlich aber die merckwürdigsten Begebenheiten in Evropa, So in dem abgewichenen Jahr MDCCXXXV. vorgefallen sind, In 12. besondern Eröffnungen*. Erfurt: Jungnicol, 1735; *Verbessertes Welt- und Staats-Theatrum: worauf alle vorfallende Staats-, Kriegs- und Friedens-Affairen, wie auch die neuesten Kirchen- und gelehrte Sachen, nebst andern Merckwürdigkeiten, mit gehörigen Documenten und nützl. Anmerkungen aus der Historie, Genealogie und Geographie etc. vorgestellt werden*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1740.

58 Zäunemann again shows her knowledge of poetic forms, when she uses "Mavor" instead of "Mars".

59 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Soldaten Ode". In: *Feder in der Hand, Degen in der Faust*. Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia. Zürich: Seession Verlag für Literatur, 2020, pp. 22-24, p. 24.

60 In a letter published in the *Hamburgische Berichte* she writes about Stockmars little son who died because of pox, Zäunemann describes that he as well as his little dog had been covered with it, so she must have seen it, that is end of 1737. Her engraving in the original form was done probably end of 1735, the alterations (the added laurel wreath) were done for her portrait in the collection of poems that was published around May-June 1738. The laurel wreath was awarded to her in January of 1738.

61 "O Deutscher Hercules! wie weit / Erstrecket sich dein Ruhm auf Erden! / Wo kan wohl jetzt zu unsrer Zeit / Ein solcher Held gefunden werden? / Der Muselmann



with little resources because he managed to discipline his soldiers. Zäunemann praises Eugen in another, although ex negativo-comparison to the ancient Persian folk of the Parthians, not wasting the blood of his own army.<sup>62</sup> But Eugen died at the beginning of the third Russo-Turkish war, and that might be another reason — besides her fascination with fighting women — why Zäunemann dedicates her opening poem in her poetry collection published 1738 to the tsarina of Russia, Anna, as the commander in chief during that war. She attests her to be victorious in the war against the Turks, although she does not call them that but “beschnittne Schaar”, circumcised troops.<sup>63</sup> This, of course, has a gender component, it is not only a religious conflict of Christians against Muslims, or a transregional conflict of European leaders against Middle Eastern ones, but it is on top of that a female empress leading the fight against male troops. Zäunemann wants Anna to win this war and calls her a brave heroine. Additionally, it is not lost on Zäunemann, that, in case Anna was truly winning this war, it would entail that the Turkish Muslims would have to submit to a female leader, as she points out. Zäunemann probably was familiar with a long poem by her contemporary writer Christiana Mariana von Ziegler, *Lob des weiblichen Regimentes*, who names even more examples of female leadership, going back to ancient times and naming, for instance, Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who was fighting against the Romans.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, Zäunemann references several female leaders of the early modern era besides the Russian tsarina as well, whom she attests reigning wisely, just, and winningly (“die ihren Scepter klug, gerecht und sieghaft führt”), also naming Elisabeth of Valois (1545-1568), queen of Spain,

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erschrickt und flieht, / So bald dein Arm den Sebel zieht; / Er zittert, wenn man dich nur nennet, / Wie oft hast du mit kleiner Macht / Den stärksten Feind zu weichen bracht, / Und seinen grossen Schwarm getrennet //” Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. “Das hochfürstliche Geburths-Fest des Durchlauchtigsten Prinzens und Feld-Herrn Eugenii Herzogs von Savoyen”. In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 375-385, p. 381.

62 “Doch hast Du nie nach Parther Art / Das Blut der Deinigen verschwendet. / Du hast Dein Heer wie Dich verwahrt, / Und mancherley Gefahr durch Klugheit abgewendet.” Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. “Trauer-Ode auf das Absterben des Durchlauchtigsten Prinzens und Ober-Feld-Herrn Eugenii”. In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 165-176, p. 171.

63 “Die Ursach war der Sieg, / Den Ihre Völker jüngst in dem geführten Krieg, / Mit der beschnittnen Schaar beherzt erfochten hatten; / Drum eilte Sie den Dank dem Mavors abzustatten. / Sie zog recht prangend ein; ein jeder der Sie sah, / Blieb vor Verwundrung stehn und rief Victoria! / Der Feind, der Ihrem Schwert sich unterwerffen müssen. / Lag dort und krümte sich beschämt zu Ihren Füßen / List, Untreu, Bosheit, Stolz, Betrug und Tyranny / Erhielten ihren Lohn benebst der Barbarey, / Und musten voller Spott, und unter Furcht und Grämen / Mit Fesseln angethan, den Weg zum Tempel nehmen.” Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. “Zuschrift.” In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, n. pag.

64 Christiane Mariane von Ziegler. “34. Ode. Lob des weiblichen Regimentes.” In: *Vermischete Schriften in gebundener und ungebundener Rede*. Göttingen: Im Verlag der königl. privil. Universitets-Buchhandlung, 1739, p. 122-136.

calling her the model of great women, and, of course, the most famous queen of the early modern era in today's perspective, Elisabeth of England (1533-1603).<sup>65</sup>

Zäunemann's writing is often times satirical, when she writes in one of her soldier songs, that there are two ways to gain glory, by sword or by quill, she combines that in her writing style. Especially in her last work, when she published a long satire in verse that another female writer her age disputed by publishing a refutation, she takes part in the 'male' practice of satirical writing feuds.<sup>66</sup> Her satirical writing style can be observed in several of her poems long before the publication of her satire in 1739. Maybe it can be observed when she uses the Islam for pointed comparisons, which are political in nature as can be seen in her Philosophical Letter ("*Philosophisches Sendschreiben*") when she claims that the German and the Muslim men are equally superstitious regarding granting access to women, the Germans with respect to the liberal arts, the Muslims regarding their mosques.<sup>67</sup> At the center of this comparison is another contemporary conflict of the Early Enlightenment, the question of allowing women into the field of academic subjects like Zäunemann claims for herself by writing such a philosophical letter and publishing it in a learned journal. The perceived superstition of one group, the adversaries in the wartime, is seen by her also regarding her fellow countrymen that might show oneself to be progressive religiously, but actually are not academically.

Therein lies yet another, obvious conflict, as Zäunemann points out that the war is religiously motivated, a conflict between the Christian and the Islamic religion. Muslims as well as Jews are mentioned by her as vigorously fighting for their beliefs, in contrast to the Christians, which she criticizes as being cold and half-hearted regarding their eagerness.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, this also substantiates a change in how the Europeans view Islam:

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65 Zäunemann. *Andächtige Gedanken*, p. 124f.

66 See Magdalene Heuser. "Das Musenchor mit neuer Ehre zieren. Schriftstellerinnen zur Zeit der Frühaufklärung." In: *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*. Bd. 1. Hrsg. v. Gisela Brinker-Gabler. München: Beck 1988, pp. 293-313, p. 312.

67 "Unsere eklen Deutschen sind noch nicht gewohnt, den Weibs-Personen eine Übung in freien Künsten zu gestatten. Ihre öffentlichen Lehrsäle dürfen von unserm Geschlechte eben so wenig entheiligt werden, als die Moscheen der abergläubischen Muselmänner. Ein Frauenzimmer, das nach Weisheit trachtet, muss ihren Hass so sehr empfinden, als kaum in England ein katholischer Prätendent." Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Philosophisches Sendschreiben". In: *Feder in der Hand, Degen in der Faust*. Ed. by Corinna Dziudzia. Zürich: Seccession Verlag für Literatur, 2020, pp. 49-63, p. 49.

68 "Das göttliche Gesetz befiehet uns nicht nur / Zu eifern für das Wort; die Regel der Natur / Hat auch in unser Herz der Ehrfurcht Trieb gegraben, / Für unsre Glaubens-Lehr Sorg, Lieb und Mut zu haben. / Ein Heid, ein Sarazen, ein Mann vom Judentum / Sorgt, weil's natürlich ist, für seiner Kirche Ruhm / Und eifert für die Lehr, und wir erleuchte Christen, / Die wir uns mit dem Wort und ganzen Nachtmahl brüsten, / Sind in dem Eifer kalt, und in der Liebe lau." Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 99.

Gradually between 1683, when the Turks fell back from Vienna, and the high Enlightenment of the mid-1700s, Islam came to be viewed less as a cesspool of sexual licentiousness, error, and imposture (though this portrayal still had its adherents, as it does today) and more as a kind of intellectual and cultural foil for European customs and religions.<sup>69</sup>

It serves as a point of reference, as can be seen in Zäunemann's texts for several aspects. Zäunemann knows fighting and violence as being cruel, what, therefore, should be restricted to the battlefield. A long poem is dedicated to a murder in her hometown, where a brother killed his sister, which infuriates Zäunemann: Whereas he had been armed, a soldier with weapons, his sister was not and therefore unable to defend herself. In Zäunemann's poem, again using her satirical writing style, she ironically invites the citizens of Erfurt to praise the soldier and 'heroic fighter' conquering his opponent – but the murderer in Erfurt actually killed an unarmed woman, his sister, by no means an enemy. A reference to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, fighting against the Romans, is given in that context, again emphasizing Zäunemann's knowledge of fighting women in ancient history and to make clear that this would have been an equal enemy, an armed woman.<sup>70</sup> Zäunemann is familiar with ancient history beyond Roman-Greek mythology knowing full well that there had been historical female warriors in the past besides the mythological Amazons in the region that much later would have been known as the 'Orient'. Again the foreign reference serves as a sort of role model, the moral being here: If you want to pick a fight, choose somebody who is equally equipped.<sup>71</sup> There is another aspect to that: in times of war, do not kill your own, be considerate with your resources. There again, the religious conflict comes into play, that is the advised goal to direct aggressions to, as Zäunemann formulates regarding the 'heroic brother', if you want to pick a fight go to the battlefields and fight the Muslims, do not fight at home and kill your sister. 'Do not kill your own' is likewise the moral of an anecdote Zäunemann gives about two Turkish soldiers who fought against each other and had been both punished with prison.<sup>72</sup> Soldiers are a valuable good and needed, they shall fight the enemy, not themselves. Equally, the murderer of his sister is 'wasted' as a soldier because he had to face his punishment in court, probably the death penalty. In her time, soldiers are a worthy good for either side.<sup>73</sup> Regardless the differences, Zäunemann again and again finds common grounds.

69 Lynn Hunt/Margaret C. Jacob/Wijnand Mijnhardt. *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World*. Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 252.

70 Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann. "Auf Christiana Eleonora Friderica Gottschöfsky." In: *Poetische Rosen in Knospen*. Erfurt: Nonne, 1738, pp. 199-203, p. 201.

71 "Ist ja dein Blutdurst groß, wilst du den Degen färben, / Wilst du den Leibes-Bau zerschmettern und verderben; / So geh zur Donau hin, und greif den Muselmann / Den Feind der Christenheit, und nicht die Schwester an." Zäunemann. *Gottschöfsky*, p. 202.

72 Zäunemann. *Faunen*, p. 107.

73 The dukes of Saxony near Zäunemann's hometown of Erfurt had been involved in these wars, because they were in the business of lending their citizens as soldiers to

### 3. Using cultural transfer as an inspiration: Conclusion

Zäunemann uses references and transforms them in her own writing. She gained these references not only by observing her surroundings and reading newspapers, but she was far more literate than that. She probably was familiar with the Greek historian Herodot, his mentionings of the Amazons and also his descriptions of the Persian wars. She also, more than once, refers to the Persian king Ahasveros,<sup>74</sup> who tried to fight the Greeks as well. In her historical references, examples from the Middle East are generally given admiringly, be it Zenobia, or Ahasveros. Zäunemann was probably familiar with them through literary works and art, probably illustrations. There are other contemporary references to these fighting kings of the 'Orient' Zäunemann might have known, besides Ziegler's mentioning of her: Zenobia, the ancient queen had been depicted by the famous engraver and illustrator Bernard Picart, who also did a portrait of Prince Eugen of Savoyen, at the beginning of the 18th century.<sup>75</sup> These books, especially by Picart,<sup>76</sup> also arrived like the other goods and fabrics, through "Hollands Krämen"<sup>77</sup> as there had been a very vibrant Dutch book trade in the beginning of the 18th century.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, Picart's engraving of Ahasveros,<sup>79</sup> for example, with subtitles in six different languages, German, English, French, Hebrew, Dutch and Latin, hints at how transnational and multilingual the early modern era actually was and how capable especially the typesetters were in places like Amsterdam.<sup>80</sup>

Today Ahasveros is known not with the Hebrew name of the bible, but with his Greek name, Xerxes (Serse), probably because in February of 1738 a Händel opera by that name premiered in London. Although the shifting process Händel tried there was not going well with the public, the opera had not been a huge success at first, maybe because — still in times of war — the story is not referring to the fighting Persian king but shows him in a love triangle, with the nowadays famous aria *Ombra mai fu* in the beginning, where Serse is singing about a plant tree offering much-needed shade. In winter-cold and rainy London, that seemed to be a cultural transfer not (yet) working. Indeed, Zäunemann herself only loosely talks about foreign plants, as in Gotha and Weimar, the orangery of

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the different European battlefields, she herself suggest to give mine workers out of job a new occupation as soldiers.

74 Ahasveros is known later primarily as the lonely and restless wanderer, probably because of Heinrich August Ottokar Reichards *Der ewige Jude: Geschicht- oder Volksroman, wie man will* (1785) what is received as a 'mythological folk tale', but actually it is only in the 1800s this becomes more of a topos, parallel to the historical figure Ahasveros which is then known more and more as Xerxes (Serse).

75 Bernard Picart. *Zénobie, reine de Palmyre* (1720), URL: <https://nat.museum-digital.de/singleimage?resourcencn=1123041>

76 Hunt/Jacob/Mijnhardt, *The Book*, p. 32.

77 Zäunemann, *Faunen*, p. 155.

78 Hunt/Jacob/Mijnhardt, *The Book*, p. 76.

79 Bernard Picart. Ahasveros (1720-1728), URL: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1934-214>

80 Hunt/Jacob/Mijnhardt, *The Book*, p. 86.