



THE 'ZEITROMAN' FROM 1830-1900.

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SUMMARY

The Zeitroman, an ill-defined and little researched genre, has found less resonance than the other main novel stream in 19th century German literature, the Bildungsroman, and still less than the social novel in other European literatures. This is partly because of the quality of the pre-Fontane Zeitroman, and partly because of the slow development of a traditional basis of the genre: Heinrich Mann's self-appraisal as the first social novelist in Germany may be misleading, but it is an exaggeration of an indisputable phenomenon rather than a misconception of what constitutes the social novel.

Chapter I of this thesis examines different usage of the term Zeitroman, the two main critical contributions to an understanding of the genre, and the particular problems the Zeitroman poses. This form of the novel exhibits in a very particular way the tension between the temporally limited and spatially expansive world of the novel. A further key issue is the way a degree of universality can make the work more durable than a mere period piece. The epic scope of many of these novels and the primacy of the age as a collective impression of different spheres of life create artistic dilemmas. Perhaps the two greatest problem-areas are the characterization of individuals - the degree to which they can evolve alongside the frequently overriding historical concerns of the novel - and the rendering in fiction of those historical concerns. From Immermann through to Heinrich Mann (with the exception of the Swiss Keller) the constant thematic factor midst changing contemporary colour-

ing is the vying for power and prestige between the nobility and the bourgeoisie, with the proletariat as a further "combatant" late in the century.

Another awkward task is establishing the aesthetic criteria for approaching such a factually-oriented genre. Aesthetically the Zeitroman progresses from the lingering of an alien Bildungsroman-tradition in Immermann to the radical satire of Heinrich Mann. Chapters II-VI of the thesis trace various stages of this development in analyzing a few important works. Very different tones emerge, from the elegy of Immermann's creation through the polemics and idealism of Spielhagen to the disillusionment of Keller, the serenity of Fontane and the ^{ironic culture} (grotesquely drawn features) of Heinrich Mann's world. Fontane's predecessors tackle the problems of the Zeitroman from different directions and make progress in different areas: the scene at the beginning of Martin Salander where the children quibble over the distinction between the words "Mutter" and "Mama" is one of the first successful transferences of the theme of social distinctions to a naturally portrayed human context. The question of characterization has already been mentioned; too often in the Zeitroman the figures are no more than chiffres of the age, manipulated embodiments of abstract ideas and historical forces.

The peak of the genre is reached with Fontane. From his position at the end of the century he surveys the subsequent development of those issues which had been too confusing for Immermann and too compelling for Spielhagen, and blends them with characters who really do live out and live in the particular historical period instead of being chance,

faceless accompaniments.

The thesis is then largely an analysis of important stages in the development of the Zeitroman genre. The guidelines of approach established in chapter I are applied to those novels subsequently examined. Successive novels considered both modify and expand the picture of the Zeitroman gained to that point, and the various threads emerging are then synthesized in the Conclusion.

STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published by another person, except where reference is made in the text of this study.

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NOTE

In the cases of those novels to which a separate chapter is devoted, as well as Freytag's Soll und Haben, full details of the edition used are to be found (as well as in the bibliography) in a footnote following the first reference to them within their respective chapter (Freytag's work appears in the Spielhagen chapter). Elsewhere volume and page references to these texts are to be found in brackets in the body of the thesis.

In the bibliography, publishers are only mentioned in the case of primary literature. With a topic of this kind, bibliographical entries inevitably do not always lend themselves to a clear division. In such cases a work is entered under the heading most relevant for this topic; thus Hillebrand's work on Keller, Stifter and Fontane appears in the Fontane section of the bibliography.

Where the author has added emphases to quotations from primary or secondary literature, a note to this effect is added in parentheses.

CHAPTER I
THE 'ZEITROMAN' AS A FORM



(1) Introduction

There can be few literary terms used in a more self-evident sense than Zeitroman. The relative lack of explanation might lead to the assumption that the term defines itself. It is hard to imagine what Lohenstein's Arminius (1689-90) and Günter Grass' Katz und Maus (1961) have in common, yet both have been referred to recently as Zeitromane.¹⁾ So unambiguous did the term seem to the author of the book on Lohenstein that the word Zeitroman does not even appear in the Namen- und Sachregister, even though this is an appendage of nearly 100 pages to a book with 435 pages in the body of the text. At the other extreme, Hartmut Steinecke seems to be using the term in a highly specialized, restrictive sense when he bypasses Immermann, Freytag, Spielhagen and many others with the following assertion about Gutzkow's Die Ritter vom Geiste (1850-51):

...er ist der erste Zeitroman in Deutschland, der diesen Namen eigentlich verdient - und er blieb auf Jahrzehnte hinaus der einzige. 2)

What then is - or perhaps we have to ask: what then was - the Zeitroman?

In his Princeton lecture of May 1939, Thomas Mann had this to say of Der Zauberberg:

Er ist ein Zeitroman in doppeltem Sinn: einmal historisch, indem er das innere Bild einer Epoche, der europäischen Vorkriegszeit, zu entwerfen versucht, dann aber, weil die reine Zeit selbst sein Gegenstand ist, den er nicht nur als die Erfahrung seines Helden, sondern auch in und durch sich selbst behandelt. 3)

This second sense of the word, with Time as a philosophical problem, is not what is generally understood by the term

and can be disregarded for the purposes of this thesis. But with the first sense Mann is clearly referring to the term as it is commonly used when he speaks of the thematic content of the Zauberberg, the "inner picture" of a particular historical era. Mann's work lies outside the limits of this thesis, which spans the period from 1830-1900, but it is instructive to consider his definition here. For only in this sense of an inner picture can Zauberberg be regarded as a Zeitroman; Davos is far removed from the trouble-spots of a Europe on the brink of war, and yet this same setting is an ideal one for a cross-fertilization of intellectual currents.

Sie [die Geschichte] arbeitet wohl mit den Mitteln des realistischen Romanes, aber sie ist kein solcher, sie geht beständig über das Realistische hinaus, indem sie es symbolisch steigert und transparent macht für das Geistige und Ideelle. (loc. cit.)

Mann's novel thus represents a kind of synthesis of Classical and Realist elements, elements seen as antagonistic by Immermann in 1829:

Die beiden [Goethe and Schiller] hatten es noch gut, sie konnten sich noch abschließen und auf das Reingeistige und Ideelle fixieren, während das in unsrer realistisch-politischen Zeit schon ganz und gar nicht möglich ist... Die Wirklichkeit hat sich eine große, ungeheure Geltung erworben... 4)

Mann sees his figures as "lauter Exponenten, Repräsentanten und Sendboten geistiger Bezirke, Prinzipien und Welten" (loc. cit.), and he expresses the hope that this does not automatically reduce them to "Schatten und wandelnde Allegorien" (ibid.). Here he sees the dangers of this approach, dangers most acute in the Settembrini-Naphta disputations. For our purposes this self-assessment is important inasmuch as it throws light on the difficulties

involved in portraying the "inner picture" of an era. For it might be said, in anticipation of a more detailed investigation and with over-simplification, that Immermann and Spielhagen didn't attempt such an "inner picture" in their novels considered in this thesis, but remained on the "outer" of their eras. It might further be maintained that the Poesie Keller found lacking in Martin Salander⁵⁾ was clearly some Steigerung in Mann's sense of an additional symbolic dimension. Viewed in the same terms, H. Mann's Im Schlaraffenland is concerned in its satire with an "outer" reality and yet so distorts this that it at best makes an implied negative comment on an "inner" reality. Only Fontane, so much admired by Th. Mann,⁶⁾ stood somewhere at the crossroads, blending the inner picture of an era with one of its exterior. Fontane never ran Mann's risk of dematerializing his figures into mere intellectual ciphers, and at the same time rarely allowed them to become so enmeshed at the "outer" level that they degenerated into pale types, de-individualized representatives.⁷⁾

To return to the problem of terminology, there have been only two scholars to date⁸⁾ who have sought to establish in any depth just what constitutes a Zeitroman. These are Peter Hasubek (with a thesis on Gutzkow and a more general article) and Joachim Worthmann (whose work arrived shortly before completion of this thesis), and both will be considered later (cf. pp.21-37) in more detail. The term Zeitroman has frequently figured in thesis titles without any⁹⁾ or adequate clarification, or with only the most general of restrictions on its area of application (thus Klemperer¹⁰⁾ sees politics, a concern with affairs

of the State, as the domain of the Zeitroman). Dictionaries of literary terms cannot be expected to give more than the broadest of guidelines, though Ivo Braak's Poetik in Stichworten¹¹⁾ does attempt a division which seems misleading. He uses the term both in what he calls a narrower sense as a "Nebenform des Gesellschaftsromans" and also in a much wider sense:

...als Oberbegriff für diejenigen Romantypen, die weder das abenteuerliche Ereignis noch die psychologische Entwicklung, sondern allgemeinere, überindividuelle Themen gestalten. 12)

Under this broader concept he subsumes: "Utopischer Roman (Staatsroman), Schlüsselroman, Historischer Roman, Zeitroman im engeren Sinne bzw. Gesellschaftsroman, Großstadtroman, Dorf- bzw. Heimatroman, Roman und Erzählwerk des 'Sozialistischen Realismus'".¹³⁾

This kind of classification seems to involve a needless confusion of terminology. Assuming that the Schlüsselroman alludes to contemporary figures and events - a reasonable assumption because of the recognition that has to be presupposed in readers who are contemporaries of the author - all the above categories pertain to the present with the exception of the futuristic "Utopian novel" and the backward-looking "historical novel". There seems no need to complicate the category by including these last two possibilities. Certainly a Zeitroman in the narrower temporal sense may include Utopian elements - as does the ending of Immermann's Die Epigonen to a degree (cf. p.70ff.). For Hasubek the advocating of an ethos in Soll und Haben is expressed in such strong terms that he includes it in an extreme form of the Utopian Zeitroman, what he calls

"der ideologische Thesenroman".¹⁴⁾

The achievement of the historical novel, on the other hand, is an altogether different one, implying a sovereign authorial view of the era treated rather than a vantage point from which the issues are still immediate ones. This still obtains for a novel set in the immediate past, e.g. Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen (1861-62), which ends with the 1848 Revolution. Fontane himself makes a clear distinction between the two streams, rejecting the historical novel for the following: "der moderne Roman soll ein Zeitbild sein, ein Bild seiner Zeit."¹⁵⁾

It is certainly impossible to establish any precise cut-off point at which a Zeitroman becomes a "historical novel" through its historical distance from the time of writing. Just such an awkward middle-region is occupied by Fontane's Vor dem Sturm (appeared 1878, set in the period leading up to the Wars of Liberation), though Hasubek¹⁶⁾ makes a valid point when he considers its classification as a Zeitroman to be problematic. But little seems achieved by using the term of a work written in 1865-66 and set in the period 1619-1648.¹⁷⁾ In the latter case we are reminded of Sir Walter Scott's arbitrary assertion that a "tale of manners", to be interesting, has to be set either in the distant past or in the immediate present.¹⁸⁾ But this still doesn't bridge the vast gap between the respective narrative perspectives in these two types of "tales of manners", and no purpose is served by making the term Zeitroman similarly amorphous.

A different issue altogether is the distinction, discussed in different terms in Die Epigonen (4, 113-17),

between a historian's assessment of character from external signs alone,¹⁹⁾ and the novelist's generally more probing view. The lack of psychological exploration of Immermann's characters does indeed bring their author close to being a chronicler, as he is well aware (see p.45).²⁰⁾ Having then narrowed the temporal scope of the Zeitroman to the present and the immediate past, we should realize that this will affect not only the perspective of the author in his lack of historical distance, but also in all likelihood the strength of his criticism. For it is true that authors tend to exaggerate the ills (above all the uniqueness of those ills) of their particular age, and that Zeitkritik is to a degree a topos.²¹⁾

The example of Vor dem Sturm above was but the first of many we shall encounter which indicate the fluidity of the boundaries between the Zeitroman and other types of the novel. If we assume that any depiction of an age must be restricted, just how comprehensive must it be for the novel concerned to qualify as a Zeitroman, and also how primary a position should the Zeit-aspect have over others, e.g. individual psychological factors? Majut lists Laube's Das junge Europa (1833-37) under the heading "Der Zeitroman", but adds that it: "wie alle Zeitromane - , ebensosehr Gesellschaftsroman, Charakterroman und Entwicklungsroman ist."²²⁾

The issue seems to be one of emphasis, though not in the shadowy form of Majut's claim. A Zeitroman does portray a Gesellschaft, it does include Charaktere (though rarely with such primacy as to justify the term "Charakterroman"), and it can trace the Entwicklung of the latter (but it need not, as in the static approach of

Der Stechlin - cf. p.214). These shortcomings in Majut's blanket statement are important - one might expect from his assertion that some synthesis of the last three novel types has to be present to constitute a Zeitroman. It is in any case no easy matter to separate the terms Gesellschaftsroman and Zeitroman, for instance. Under the former heading, Majut mentions a feature held in common with the Zeitroman, but then does not show where any difference lies.²³⁾

Another term we might think of in this context is sozialer Roman. From the four "Kernthemen" of the "soziale Roman" he sees in the Wanderjahre,²⁴⁾ it seems Majut understands by this category a novel dealing with the economic development of society and the bearing of this progress on politics. This seems a clearer distinction (than between Gesellschafts- and Zeitroman), for presumably the "soziale Roman" would be less concerned with a rounded picture, with manners, fashions, contentious philosophical issues etc. which can do so much to conjure up the atmosphere of a given age in the Zeitroman (thus Weerth's Fragment eines Romans (written in 1846-47) would perhaps be classed as a "sozialer Roman"). But such tenuous boundaries must inevitably overlap, and as said before, the issue seems largely one of emphasis, not of basically different criteria, when approaching the problem with Majut's categories.

(2) Universality and ephemeral elements

In considering the Zeitroman, one is sooner or later confronted with the vexed question of universality: just how bound should a Zeitroman be to its own time? It almost

seems required to forfeit claims to universality by its very nature, i.e. to concentrate in detail on a particular age. But 'timeless' questions merely receive a certain flavouring from their particular historical setting - the attitudes of a certain age to broad issues like religion and morality will be instructive in crystallizing that age's character. This naturally presupposes that certain other problems are either unique to a given age or at least feature in it to a greater extent than at other historical periods. Thus the relationship - crucial for the 19th century Zeitroman - between the nobility and the bourgeoisie changed from a clash of economic interests earlier in the century to a more united front presented to the common enemy, Social Democracy, by the end of the century.

The delineation of character will vary in accordance with the relationship between 'universal' and 'historically limited' concerns. Hasubek ascribes to the "Zeittypen im Zeitroman" a purely localized, non-universal significance (it is difficult to express this notion in terms that don't imply a value-judgement: the characteristic Hasubek describes here is certainly not seen by him as a deficiency). He writes:

Die Menschentypen in der Komödie des 18. Jahrhunderts zum Beispiel verkörperten allgemeinemenschliche Eigenschaften, Schwächen und Vorzüge des Menschen überhaupt. Gerade das kann von den Zeittypen im Zeitroman nicht behauptet werden, die als Mittel, den zeitgeschichtlichen Kosmos zu beschreiben, fest mit ihrer einmaligen historischen Situation verflochten sind und deren dargestellte Wesenszüge keine überzeitlich-allgemeinemenschliche Gültigkeit beanspruchen können. 25)

But again it is surely a matter of accents, and such a clearcut distinction as is here made is misleading. To

cite one example, Beaumarchais' figures, universal though their appeal has proved to be, still derive substantially from their age, while at the other end of the spectrum, any figure who is not the palest chiffre in a 19th century Zeitroman has to transcend his age in some measure to be credible in human terms (a basic level hardly reached for instance by the fevered exaggerations of Gutzkow's Wally, die Zweiflerin - 1835). The notion of any historical situation being "einmalig" to the extent of invalidating an "überzeitlich-allgemeinmenschliche" approach to its historical figures is inconceivable in practical terms. It is of course convenient to talk of "Victorian morality", "Renaissance Man", etc., but to claim a distinct, epoch-bound identity for such concepts would be absurd.

This is the basis on which realistic literature has been seen as surviving, as a work of art, the passing of the world it has portrayed.²⁶⁾ In this assessment, 'Realism' seems less a quality of the form or content of a work than their result. It is almost an aesthetic criterion, referring to a durable quality, and this durability is precisely the element of 'universality'. Whether through strength of characterization in a perennial mould or the quality of the 'world' depicted, a certain exemplary nature is lent to this 'world' in relating an eternal 'type' to a particular age. This exemplary quality which Tolstoy believed present in Der Büttnerbauer was what caused him to enthuse about Polenz' novel:

Such a detail, illuminating the inner life of this woman and this man, lights up for the reader the inner life of millions of such husbands and wives, ... 27) (author's underlining)

On the other hand, every work has ephemeral features, and the Zeitroman must by its very nature - its concern with the minutiae of life to add depth to an allround picture of an era - be particularly prone to such dating. There are two conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing: a) that a certain accessibility for subsequent generations is necessary to ensure a basic human veracity of the work, and b) that the criterion of 'universality' is to be applied very warily when making value judgements on the Zeitroman, since its avowed aim is generally to be found elsewhere.

(3) The aesthetic element

Another vital question is whether aesthetic criteria are the ultimate consideration with such a form as the Zeitroman. Mielke expresses a generally held attitude when he says:

Immerhin müssen wir eingedenk bleiben, daß der Roman eine Dichtung ist und daß für die Dichtung die ästhetischen Gesichtspunkte die ersten und letzten sind. 28)

But if we consider what stylistic features a good Zeitroman might contain, and suggest for instance vividness of depiction, detachment from pamphlet-style polemics, or articulateness of social comment, it becomes clear that the aesthetic value of the Zeitroman leans rather more heavily than most literary forms on historical 'facts', and that extra-literary factors play a considerable role in the shaping of its raw material. Still, the primarily literary function remains, and the sort of historical and sociological documentation that emerges from vols. I & II of Deutsche Sozialgeschichte²⁹⁾ or the Klassenbücher³⁰⁾ is

far removed from a novel by Immermann or Spielhagen, to mention the two lesser lights among those considered here. For the claim is occasionally advanced that the aesthetic quality of a novel is inversely proportional to the faithfulness of its reflection of social reality.³¹⁾ The more direct the reflection, the less artistic is the work, in the opinion of Lucien Goldmann.³²⁾ Goldmann sees this relationship as one of the weaknesses of a literary-sociological approach to literature which seeks to establish connections between the content of literary works and the content of the collective consciousness of social groups. But there is no inherent reason why the Trivialroman should hold sway here, why the mere mention of the Kreuzzeitung (cf. pp. 263-64) or the Café Kranzler in a Fontane novel should not more effectively create a whole, subtly wrought atmosphere. Fontane's technique must be of interest to the sociologist too, but at the same time it contains literary overtones going well beyond the sociological level. It is easy to overlook these overtones when the author or a character makes an analysis of some feature of an age couched in what seems to be the form of a truism, a general assertion of historical fact. But as J. P. Stern points out:

The truth of such generalizations is suspended, we must match them not against our historical understanding but against our understanding of the fictional whole (the 'totality') in which they occur. 33)

This is to be borne in mind particularly in the case of Die Epigonen, where we frequently encounter commentaries on historical events or social trends rather than seeing these actually unfolded on the epic canvas.

(4) Development of the form

Having come somewhat closer to the elusive Zeitroman through formal considerations, let us turn to its historical development to seek more pointers. In his illuminating examination of the Novelle, Karl Polheim³⁴⁾ came to the conclusion that it was meaningless to use the one blanket term for such a far-reaching genre, and that at best one could talk of the Novelle of a limited historical period with certain common features in mind. With a genre primarily determined by formal considerations, this is not really surprising. But in view of the strong emphasis on content present already in the term Zeitroman, it may be surprising that it too would seem to be most meaningful when confined to a particular historical era (very roughly, 1830-1914). The Zeitroman emerged as a form in 19th century Germany, consolidated its position in the course of the century, achieved its pinnacle with Fontane, and then petered out in that broad form. To speak in the most general terms, it seems to have been a peculiarly 19th century phenomenon to attempt to capture such a broad sweep of an age within a fictional framework,³⁵⁾ something that could only ever hope to approach an approximate completeness. Even such a limited or reduced totality became an impossibility with the fragmented reality of the post-World War I era³⁶⁾ - witness as the extreme example the uncompleted monumentality of Musil's Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (appeared in 3 vols. between 1930 and 1950). An interesting borderline case is Arnold Zweig's Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa (1927), which forms a kind of negative answer to the hopes held out by Dubslav Stechlin for a possible restoration of the old order (cf.p. 231), tracing as it does the death of military glory and

the honour of the last vestiges of the Friderician state. Fontane's emphasis on the individual in Der Stechlin is retained here with a much broader canvas as backdrop: the one issue of justice for a foreign prisoner is seen as a test case for the morality of forces waging war.

Within the degree of uniformity in the 19th century Zeitroman there was also of course diversity. At the most basic level this was governed by a rapidly changing Zeit; after decades of 'Restauration' conservatism, this diversity gathered momentum with the completely changed complexion of life wrought by the various stages of the Industrial Revolution, the Gründerjahre in the 70's and a belated imperialism in the race for overseas colonies in the 80's and 90's, to list only some of the more spectacular developments in the second half of the century.

To digress briefly, such diversity does not affect a concept like Bildung. The form of Bildung of course changes, but the concept can retain a constant quality when transferred to various historical settings. Thus a tradition of a Bildungsroman can emerge with certain features common to all members of the genre. This is implicit in any parody of the tradition, represented for instance (among many other things) by Grass' Die Blechtrommel, for parody of a novel type presupposes a tradition to be parodied. Could any work be said to represent a parody of the Zeitroman-tradition? If not, and none is commonly regarded as such (though Grass might again furnish the closest example with Hundejahre), is it because of the lack of a tradition or because the historical limits to each Zeit make such a thing impossible? The latter would seem to be the reason. This thesis aims to show that a Zeitroman-

tradition does develop within the 19th century and that it develops in the direction of more effective, because artistically more articulate, social criticism. Hasubek's otherwise valuable work seems to suffer from his gaining criteria for the Zeitroman largely from Gutzkow's works and at times dangerously generalizing from these (e.g. a- 92-93), implying a largely static form.

The concerns of the Zeitroman are met for the first time (but cf. pp.32-37) in Immermann's Die Epigonen (1836), despite its carry-over from the past (see pp.45-47). It must be remembered that at the time when pioneering efforts were being made in the field of the Zeitroman, the novel as a whole was struggling for acceptance as a genre in Germany. This carried right through to Spielhagen's apologetics much later in the century (see p.155, n.23). The Tendenzroman, a sort of politically or morally engaged Zeitroman, found both detractors and defenders. Among the former was Hermann Marggraff, who in Die Entwicklung des deutschen Romans (1844) claimed the events of the year 1830 had distanced the educated bourgeoisie and the nobility from each other, and that both "sides" defended their aims in tendentious literature.³⁷⁾ A counter-view was advanced by W. Werenberg in the Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung in 1853. He indicated the possibilities of this kind of novel, for instance the fact that it can presuppose in the reader a certain familiarity with the material, and thus needs only light touches.³⁸⁾ He gave an extremely generalized justification of the form in its defence of moral qualities in an age of struggle, contrasting this with the more 'timeless' novel. Fritz Martini sees a progression within the Zeitroman (which he calls "den psychologischen

und tendenziösen Gesellschaftsroman"³⁹⁾) from the tendentious form preferred by Jungdeutschland-writers to a more static one, which finds no solutions. (Martini cites Gutzkow, Spielhagen and Fontane as examples. However, in Problematische Naturen Spielhagen does attempt, without successfully achieving, a historical progression - cf. pp.149-50).

(5) The 'Zeitroman' and the 'Bildungsroman'

The struggle of the novel as a genre is also found in that other main thread of the 19th century German novel, the Bildungsroman. Today we regard Keller's Der grüne Heinrich (1854) as a cornerstone of this novel-type, and easily forget that Keller himself viewed this work as a major departure from his 'natural' areas, among which he reckoned his since-forgotten dramatic attempts.⁴⁰⁾ The Bildungsroman, with its emphasis on the inner harmony of the individual and more shadowy social background, complements the aims of the Zeitroman, which are generally the reverse of these. Quite apart from evaluations of the respective writers, it is quite possibly this division of labour which has assigned the 19th century German novel to a seemingly irretrievable obscurity compared with the contemporaneous novel literatures of England, France or Russia. For there the two strands are more frequently interrelated⁴¹⁾ or else separated with a specific, ironic purpose - e.g. the individual's unglorified view of the Battle of Waterloo in Stendhal's La Chartreuse de Parme (1839). If we agree with Keller that Martin Salander did not succeed (cf. n.5 to pres. ch.), then we have to wait till Fontane for such an achievement in the German novel, and then in his wake his dual admirers Thomas (though bearing in mind the reservations

expressed about Der Zauberberg - cf. pp.2-3) and Heinrich Mann (most notably in Der Untertan).

It is interesting that Raymond Williams sees a similar split - into "the 'social' novel and the 'personal' novel"⁴²⁾ - after 1900 in the realist novel (most of his examples of pre-1900 novels are English works). If this is so, it could hardly be maintained that the German novel had been ahead of its time, but rather that it largely bypassed a whole 19th century European tradition. It is hard to go past the value judgement in Williams' following assertion:

In the highest realism, society is seen in fundamentally personal terms, and persons, through relationships, in fundamentally social terms. 43)

As mentioned directly above, this interpenetration is first found in the German novel in Fontane. But even if this is the "highest realism", it is wrong to apply this criterion to those Zeitromane which do not attempt an interrelationship between an individual and his age at such an intensive level. Some level must of course exist, and the differing emphases within this relationship will be seen in this thesis to be one of the crucial issues in the Zeitroman.

(6) Further formal problems

Having then briefly approached the Zeitroman both formally and historically, we may consider a few more formal problems. The first of these is whether the Zeitroman is or can be a didactic form. It can be, and is, most explicitly in the Tendenzroman (cf. p.14). But in general it would seem that the inherent dangers of ephemeral appeal and comprehensibility are magnified by an approach which substitutes for a panorama of the age a literary 'solution' to its ills

or concentrates on those ills in polemical vein. Among the works treated in detail here, Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen would go closest to this, with its concerted criticism of the noble caste (cf. esp. pp. 113-15). But the occasionally vitriolic tones are countered by inconsistency, with noble graces and life-style being secretly envied or emulated (cf. pp. 130-31), and as well as this Spielhagen is concerned to establish a particular, ill-starred breed of the age, the Problematische Naturen themselves. He is thus not interested in abstract concepts (except that of freedom), and for all its simplified polarizations of character (cf. p. 115) the work never becomes a propagandistic tract. The pedagogic pathos occasionally exhibited by Martin Salander (cf. p. 177) is tempered by ironizing of the figure (p. 178) and is never a mere literary proclamation of a non-literary message. Finally, the satiric barbs of Im Schlaraffenland expose contemporary follies in the most negative light imaginable but never hazard a positive counterbalance (see p. 319).

This last example raises the question of whether the Zeitroman in general tends to be 'destructive' (or at least pessimistic or negative). Alongside the lack of a positive alternative in Im Schlaraffenland we shall encounter in this thesis the patched-together ending of Die Epigonen (see p. 68 ff.) after the predominantly gloomy hues of that work, particularly towards the end, and also the lack of a genuine positive alternative in Problematische Naturen if one disregards the brief apocalyptic vision of the end (cf. pp. 149-50). As counter-examples we shall see the painstaking elaboration of a bourgeois ethos in Soll und Haben (cf. p. 104 et passim) and a core of human and natural values surviving

the age in the Stechlin-symbol (cf. p.209) in Fontane's novel. Thus it seems that the use of satire as a radical negation in H. Mann's novel is not symptomatic of the Zeitroman.

Satire need not necessarily have this effect - both Grimmelhausen's Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus and Gogol's Dead Souls employ it as a basis for attacking contemporary society, while at the same time being brilliant evocations of those societies, but in neither is the overall impression one of wholesale debunking as in H. Mann's novel. His device is far removed from the attitude of mid-19th century Realists (as in Die Grenzboten⁴⁴) that satire was a non-artistic, dogmatic device. For all its strengths as a critical medium, Mann's satire has brought some criticism that his figures are largely caricatures, and never three-dimensional characters.⁴⁵ This returns us to the central issue of the individual and his age, for a truly severe indictment of the latter seems in this case to have been achieved at the expense of the former. Alongside the other works, written in a 'straight' narrative vein despite touches of irony, Im Schlaraffenland has been included in this thesis as an example of the satiric potential of the Zeitroman (first realized in Immermann's Münchhausen (1838)), and also by way of contrast. For it has been claimed that: "Nichts ist den Romanen Fontanes ferner als der Roman Im Schlaraffenland."⁴⁶

Another formal problem of the Zeitroman is its ending. As Friesen indicates, Theodor Mundt advanced in 1842 the theoretical notion that:

...in contrast to the circular structure of the Novelle, the linear progression of the novel may end in an arbitrary conclusion. ...Like the endless continuity of life which it reflects, the novel, theoretically, need not conclude at all. 47)

The problem will be particularly acute in the case of the Zeitroman, where because the accents are usually on a whole era rather than any individual or group of individuals, the convenient device of the death of the main character as the completion of a life-cycle cannot be employed. Yet again Fontane's technique proves to be the exception, though in Der Stechlin the death of Dubslav - which because of Fontane's different concerns is not a misplaced device of convenience - does not quite complete the novel. Instead there is the aesthetically and poetically more satisfying tapering off with the final reappearance of the Stechlin-symbol which had been ushered in on the opening page. Both Die Epigonen and Martin Salander end, as Martini says of the latter, "in der Zelle der Familie",⁴⁸⁾ and both conclusions are unsatisfactory (cf. pp.68ff., pp.192-93). Die Epigonen suggests a largely personal solution to the problems of the age, while Martin Salander introduces an ill-prepared note of optimism for the future. The alternative is to choose a decisive turning-point in history to conclude the era represented in the novel, and this is what Spielhagen attempts in Problematische Naturen with the Berlin barricades of the 1848 Revolution and a brief aftermath. But his poetic realization works against this plausible design (cf. p.146ff.). Im Schlaraffenland benefits from its Märchen-framework in being able to conclude in much the same way as it began - a testimony to the cyclical quality of the life observed. In this particular case the lack of a

historical progression is not disturbing as the fairytale element is never absent despite the work's basic concern with demolishing social façades.

In her study on Martin Salander, Margarete Merkel-Nipperdey hints at the problem of ending the Zeitroman and extends it to the beginning also.⁴⁹⁾ But the beginning does not seem to be as problematic, for the novel-writer - even the Zeitroman-writer working with a panoramic depiction of society - can choose his own settings and gradually allow them to take on fictional shape. There is no need at the beginning for a historically important time-setting, because reference can always be made to past events by way of orientation, whereas at the end of a novel such sorties into the future are not possible in terms of poetic credibility (Die Epigonen errs on this count with the break between the bulk of the 'action', ending in 1829, and the letters of 1835). Nor, if the writer is concerned with a wholly contemporary canvas, are references to the future possible in terms of historical credibility, with the resultant breach between analysis and speculation. The whole problem of the ending of a Zeitroman arises because of its reliance on historical reality at the same time as it preserves its own fictional entity. The historian or literary historian can legitimately demarcate the boundaries of a period for examination, and even give a few pointers to what follows the limit he has chosen, it being accepted that any boundary is arbitrary in a continuous course of history. But the Zeitroman-writer somehow has to mould a self-sufficient work of art, despite his raw historical material which does not "end" nor even generally culminate in an event like the 1848 Revolution. The fictional apparatus which requires a

resolution clashes with the historical level which does not, except in the case of a work like Problematische Naturen where a resolution at both levels is attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, by fusing the two.

The Zeitroman seems to demand the third-person form of narration. A first-person narrative perspective would be too restricted for its panoramic concerns, which require an omnipotent narrator to combine the various diverging threads of the work. Thus it is misleading to call Grass' Katz und Maus a Zeitroman (cf. p.1), whether or not we accept at face value its author's own subtitle, Eine Novelle. For the prerequisite of a sovereign authorial perspective is lacking; an acknowledged outside author manipulates, but recedes before, Pilenz,⁵⁰⁾ whose own narration is punctuated by lapses of memory.

These, then, are some pointers towards the approach adopted by the present thesis to the Zeitroman as a form. The contributions of Hasubek and Worthmann remain to be discussed, and from this discussion will emerge further assumptions underlying the present work.

(7) Hasubek's work on the 'Zeitroman'

It is Hasubek's achievement to have been the first critic to examine in detail the genre of the Zeitroman. This he did in a thesis on Gutzkow's two mammoth contributions to the genre, from which he drew more general conclusions about the "typology" of the 19th century Zeitroman in Germany, and in an article confining itself to this latter concern. The two overlap substantially, and no attempt will be made here to trace references to the same

point in both thesis and article. When a point from the article, which was written later than the thesis, is considered, it is not necessarily a fresh point but often a fresh formulation that lends itself better to discussion. Both thesis and article have already been referred to copiously in footnotes; in this section other points arising from Hasubek's studies will be discussed.

Hasubek's tendency to generalize too much from his observations on Gutzkow (cf. p.14) works against the kind of development within the genre that this thesis will try to trace. In some cases it is not clear when Hasubek speaks of the Zeitroman whether he is referring to the Gutzkow brand, the whole genre, or the latter by (false) implication from the former.⁵¹⁾

An example of the dangers involved in generalizing from Gutzkow is the great stress laid on the "'medialen' Charakter" of novel figures (a-276 et passim), these being seen as undeveloped characters who simply represent a current of the age. Supposed examples of this feature observed in Fontane's works (a-266) are either misleading or misunderstood. The figures Hasubek cites from Die Poggenpuhls are certainly what he claims, namely representatives of certain codes, professions etc., but their being is not exhausted by that particular tag. They are also, in varying degrees of fullness, characters in their own right and not simply one-dimensional chiffres. The same would apply to Martin Salander and even to many of Spielhagen's creations - though additional complexity is not always a poetic virtue with his figures (e.g. in Oswald's erotic vacillations - see pp.112-13). Fontane's figures most certainly do not fit uniformly into this category. When they do, as in

the case of Treibel's political campaigner Vogelsang or the two Berliners in Cécile (to cite Hasubek's further examples), a specific effect is achieved; their very limitations or fanaticism are ironized, and their "medial" nature is frequently designed to signify an incompleteness of being. But it is unjust to lump a Vogelsang together with a Professor Schmidt. Hasubek does allow for a certain amount of individualization of Zeitroman characters to temper their "medial" function as types of the age. But he derives this from the practice of drawing on models from real life to imbue the fictional figures with more fullness (a-267). Again this might do justice to Gutzkow, but it certainly doesn't uniformly to Fontane, either in the direction his poetic practice took or in his achievements in characterization.

Still on the theme of "medial" characters, Hasubek sees Anton Gutmann in Spielhagen's In Reih' und Glied as "der Typus des mit der Zeit zerfallenen Intellektuellen" (a-266), and then in a footnote to this solitary example (a-330, Anm. 59 to S. 266) makes the following bold assertion:

Zwei Motive sind es vornehmlich, die in allen Zeitromanen des 19. Jahrhunderts wiederkehren. Einmal ist es das Streben "nach oben". ...Parvenüs gibt es in allen Zeitromanen in reichem Maße. - Das andere stark hervortretende Motiv ist das Problem der Stellung und der Aufgaben der Intellektuellen in der Gesellschaft.

It is strange that a general statement of such implications should appear as a footnote. But the content is even more puzzling. The first-mentioned motif is certainly an important one, though it does not apply to all 19th century Zeitromane as is asserted here. The most notable exception of course is Soll und Haben. Here we witness a brief

flirtation across social boundaries by Anton and Sabine (with Leonore and Fink respectively - though in each case it is a matter of individual feeling and attraction to the graces of the noble life-style, not a striving for personal advancement). But ultimately the class boundaries are affirmed, not simply accepted with resignation, as the noble couple and the bourgeois couple are united. Parvenus would be inconsistent with this novel's idealization of bourgeois virtues. Veitel Itzig's unscrupulous pursuit of his ambitions is seen as a Jewish aberration. Nor is the situation so clearcut in Die Epigonen or Problematische Naturen. In each case the central figure has the chance to rise in status (Oswald, in Spielhagen's novel, rejects his unexpected inheritance) through a revelation of his noble birth, not through any personal striving.

The second motif postulated by Hasubek bears much less investigation. Vague though the term "intellectual" is, possible candidates would be the two interesting outsider-types in the nobility, Fink and Oldenburg (in Soll und Haben and Problematische Naturen respectively), but the intellectual is not a prominent figure in the 19th century Zeitroman. Intellectual boundaries are only important inasmuch as they reflect class attitudes (for instance the noble gathering in Problematische Naturen spicing their language with French and Latin phrases - I, 194ff.).

Hasubek gives the erroneous impression that the role of conversation is a constant one in the 19th century Zeitroman when he claims:

Das Gespräch ist das dem Zeitroman im 19. Jahrhundert angemessene Gestaltungsmittel. ...Im Gespräch wird die Vielzahl von Einzelwesen zum Begriff der "Gesellschaft" zusammengefügt. (a-274)

The latter claim does apply to Fontane's works or to H. Mann's Im Schlaraffenland, but Der Stechlin and Die Poggenpuhls, which Hasubek cites in support of his argument, are extreme examples of this conversational mode of the Zeitroman. Hasubek sees an increasingly consummate handling of conversation from Immermann to Gutzkow, via further refinements in Freytag and Spielhagen to the crowning peak of Fontane (a-275). This view fails to take into account the frequent abuse of conversational form either to cover over a narrative difficulty or to express in polemical form an idea which doesn't always emerge organically from the work and certainly does not combine "individuals" to form a "society". Soll und Haben illustrates both points. At the beginning (see 20-21) the Baronin and the Freiherr hold a "dialogue" which is purely for the benefit of the reader, enlightening him about the past but running on with feigned freshness as if the characters were musing thus for the first time. An example of the second shortcoming is to be found in the mentor-pupil discussion between Herr Schröter and Anton about the deficiencies of the Poles (Soll und Haben, 250). The pathos-ridden pronouncements of Wilhelmi in Die Epigonen (cf. pp.60, 81) are further instances.

It could be misleading to claim as Hasubek does that the Zeitroman-writer addresses himself to a reader to whom:

...Ausbreitung von Wissen über aktuelle Fragen der Gegenwart einen Genuß bedeuten und der willens ist, die angeschnittenen Probleme über den Rahmen des Romans hinaus weiter zu verfolgen. (a-276)

This would make of the Zeitroman little more than a history primer. No emphasis is placed on the whole fictional restructuring of reality, but instead on supposed pedagogic benefits. The reader referred to here - contemporaneous with the writer - would surely bring to bear on his reception of the novel a whole range of personal views and impressions, and would assess the 'accuracy' of the work by these, rather than gaining impulses from the novel to conduct further research on the topics broached. What Hasubek says has more application to the non-contemporaneous reader who generally has little choice but to go beyond the confines of the novel if he is to understand a significant number of its allusions which are no longer comprehensible without reference to other sources (cf. a-246).

In the final paragraph of his thesis (a- 276-77) Hasubek lists various features which combine to make up the Zeitroman (and only in combination; the presence of some of the features is, he claims, insufficient). Again the absolute nature of the claim is dangerous. One feature he lists is a significant increase in the number of individual characters. But Martin Salander has relatively few characters and Fontane's novels not the abundance one would expect from Hasubek's claim.

There was indeed a general shift of emphasis from a main figure to a group of figures of similar weight - such titles as Die Epigonen, Die Ritter vom Geiste and Die Poggenpuhls illustrate this. However, Martin Salander and Frau Jenny Treibel show that a central figure is still capable of unifying the threads of a relatively small-scale work, while the title Der Stechlin has ramifications

that are different again (cf. p.238).

Hasubek seems to have succumbed here again to the danger he elsewhere warns against himself (a-240), namely of generalizing from Gutzkow's works. This tendency illustrates the difficulties in trying to establish a typology of the Zeitroman when drawing heavily on this particular author, or indeed on any other. A more meaningful procedure seems to be to consider a number of potential Zeitromane in their own right (without Gutzkow-type yardsticks) and see whether general conclusions can be drawn from individual examples. The present thesis attempts to develop the latter approach.

Turning to Hasubek's article "Der Zeitroman. Ein Roman-typus des 19. Jahrhunderts" (see p.40, n. 25), one finds that Gutzkow indeed serves as an admirable base from which to establish the main thematic areas of the Zeitroman. These are seen by Hasubek to be:

"das gesellschaftliche Kraftfeld
das geistig-kulturelle Kraftfeld
das sittlich-religiöse Kraftfeld
das politisch-militärische Kraftfeld
das wirtschaftliche Kraftfeld" (b-222)

This scheme has been applied to the last novel considered in the present thesis, Im Schlaraffenland. This particular division seemed to be most readily applicable to H. Mann's novel, but it will be seen from subheadings in the other chapters that much the same features are observed in other novels too. Hasubek's scheme is not meant to be definitive, but to provide a basis of the most general kind for demarcating the Zeitroman from other genres. It may at first sight seem too general to be meaningful, but what it does not include - individual psychological concerns, the

individual's life-cycle, etc. - already narrows the field of enquiry from, for example, the Bildungsroman.

The aim of the Zeitroman-writer is seen as "die erzählerische Bewältigung der überpersönlichen Kräfte und Strömungen seiner Gegenwart" (b-224). These crosscurrents of the age, though they transcend the fates of individuals, can of course only emerge through the depiction of individuals if the work is to be more than a kind of philosophical thesis. The balance between portraying the forces of an age in more abstract form and delineating figures whose primary function is to be somehow representative of that age, is one of the most delicate facing the Zeitroman-author; this balance is not really satisfactorily achieved before the works of Fontane.⁵²⁾ Hasubek is at pains to stress that the presentation of one-dimensional, 'typical' figures in the Zeitroman is a valid artistic possibility (b- 226-27), but it is hard to look past Williams' comments on the highest form of realism (cf. p.16), and one asks why, if the two levels were achieved in other national literatures, they could not be in Germany. Even if we accept the standard reasons advanced, namely Germany's disunity and lack of a capital before 1871, Fontane (Raabe too to a degree) is something of a solitary beacon in the 30-odd years till the turn of the century. Hasubek seems to underestimate Fontane frequently (cf. pp.22-23), saying that his own comments on the typifying function of one-dimensional characters apply "auf alle für unsere Betrachtung herangezogenen Romanciers des 19. Jahrhunderts" (b-225), and thus to Fontane also. This thesis presents the view (cf. p.277ff.) that Der Stechlin transcends many

of the limitations of the 19th century Zeitroman, a development of the genre which is not always evident from Hasubek's claims.⁵³⁾

There is also a certain dilemma inherent in Hasubek's approach to this point, most clearly apparent when he reformulates it thus:

Die meisten Figuren im Zeitroman erhalten ihre Glaubwürdigkeit weniger auf Grund künstlerisch-kompositorischer Absichten des Dichters, als vielmehr aus der Tatsache ihrer zeitgeschichtlichen Relevanz. (b-228)

Here we see an uneasy intermingling of the historical and artistic aspects of the Zeitroman. The Glaubwürdigkeit seems to be a historical credibility, whereas the "contemporary relevance" cannot, from a modern viewpoint, be taken as pre-established from a familiar contemporary reality, but has to emerge from the novel's portrayal of that contemporary reality. That is, neither the figures nor the overall framework which determines whether something is of "contemporary relevance" can be directly transferred from a particular setting in history - they have to be artistically moulded, and the "künstlerisch-kompositorische(n) Absichten des Dichters" are always apparent. In implying the precedence of the historical over the artistic aspect, Hasubek tends to reduce the novel to a social document, and while the 19th century Zeitroman may be a treasure trove for the historian and the sociologist, the fact cannot be overlooked that it is first and foremost a work of literature and thus to be assessed by literary criteria.

(8) Worthmann's work on the 'Zeitroman'

Though not conceived as such, the present thesis can hopefully be seen as something of a complement to Worthmann's work, the subject of which is stated thus:

Im Mittelpunkt unserer Studien steht die historische Bewegung, nicht das einzelne Werk in allen seinen vielfältigen Dimensionen und Inhaltsnuancen. (S.16)

With Worthmann this leads to a comparison of authors' "positions" - whether they represent a supposed progression or regression in aesthetic and historical terms. It is hoped that the present thesis elaborates sufficiently the historical background and fluctuations of literary movements colouring the individual works considered. At the same time it is these works which are the focus of attention, and detailed analysis and comparison of five main representative examples are designed to illustrate the development of the Zeitroman in the 19th century up to the threshold of the 20th with H. Mann. The inclusion of the latter author plus occasional references to other 20th century writers also afford a certain future perspective which is not present in Worthmann's work. Exclusions are inevitable, the most notable being probably Gutzkow and Raabe (whose works are referred to, but not in an individual chapter). However, Hasubek's thesis deals substantially with the contributions of Gutzkow to the field of the Zeitroman. Within the limits of this thesis, Raabe would have competed for inclusion against his contemporaries Spielhagen, Keller and Fontane. Spielhagen must surely be the Altmeister of the Zeitroman-form, and his works have received little attention recently. Keller's novel provides a different perspective from

an outside point in the German-speaking realm. Worthmann places Raabe on a par with Fontane (S.9 et passim) in transcending the limitations of this particular novel-type, but the present author does not consider him to have equalled Fontane's achievement. Not only are Raabe's figures generally more limited in a geographical sense - provincials without Stechlin-type connections with the outer world - but they are also frequently more encrusted in their individuality, making them odd though colourful personalities rather than individuals firmly located in the crosscurrents of their age.

Though frequently exploring different threads, the present thesis affirms many of Worthmann's arguments and conclusions. Thus there (S.164) as here (p.28) the central problem is seen as combining the individual with the representative element in characterization and 'action' (at the broadest level this is the question of 'universality' - see p.7ff.). Further recurring problems in Worthmann's view are:

....Moralisierung sozialen Geschehens, Harmonisierung der Zeitkonflikte, Idyllik der Schluß-Tableaus, Verselbständigung der Reflexionen. (S.164)

The last two features are also noted in the present thesis (cf. e.g. pp.18-19, 48); the first two are somewhat overemphasized by Worthmann. Thus he disregards the Entstehungsgeschichte of Martin Salander when he claims of it:

....der Dichter legt die erzählte Wirklichkeit auf die intendierte Versöhnung hin an und weicht so den immanenten Konflikten der Gesellschaft aus. (S.121)

This overlooks Keller's changed plans for an end to this novel and his unrealized idea of a sequel.⁵⁴⁾ Doubtless the existing ending is unsatisfactory (cf. pp.192-93) but it should not be seen as necessarily affecting the rest of the work. It is a further distortion of the work - or at very least illustrates the problem of approaching the zeitbedingt aspects of a Zeitroman from our present vantage point - when Worthmann sees the Weidelich twins as a kind of incarnation of evil who only emerge as products of the age through the author's commentary and not through the 'plot' itself (S.122). The actuality of the twins would after all have been quite apparent to a reader of Keller's time, as the figures were in fact 'lifted' from reality (cf. p.175).

The only major issue in which Worthmann's thesis seems unacceptable is the wide net it casts in understanding what constitutes a Zeitroman. This is not very definitively expounded in the brief Einleitung. Auerbach's characterization of European Realism is adopted as a criterion for the Zeitroman, namely an:

...ernste Darstellung der zeitgenössischen alltäglichen gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit auf dem Grunde der ständigen geschichtlichen Bewegung.
(S.10) 55)

Yet even on this broad base, and with the concession that the boundaries of the Zeitroman are ultimately a matter of accents (cf. pp.6-7), it is hard to accept Worthmann's claim that Arnim's novel Armut, Reichtum, Schuld und Buße der Gräfin Dolores (1810) was the first German Zeitroman of the 19th century. A brief refutation of this view will simultaneously clarify some of the assumptions of the

present thesis, and so Arnim's novel is now considered along with two others held by Worthmann to be pre-Epigonen Zeitromane, namely Eichendorff's Ahnung und Gegenwart (1815) and Tieck's Der junge Tischlermeister (1836).

Worthmann's analysis of Gräfin Dolores (as of the other works) is largely unexceptionable; there remains simply the basic question of whether Zeitroman is the right term to describe it. The heading of the chapter covering Arnim's and Eichendorff's novels, "Der idealistische Zeitroman" (S.17), is itself a problematic term, if not an outright oxymoron.

There are considerable formal problems in regarding Arnim's novel as a Zeitroman. Firstly there is the large number of Einlagen, both poetic and dramatic (or even a 'dramatic' presentation within the prose, with people speaking with verteilten Rollen); secondly there is the fact that a substantial part of the work is set in Italy and Sicily. The concluding lines of the novel, which return it to a German base, are visionary. Towards the end we follow almost exclusively the personal intrigues of the story and a generalized religious moralizing. Worthmann himself concedes:

Neben der erzählten Handlungswelt entsteht ein Überbau aus Reflexionen, der nun selber nicht mehr integriert ist. (S.24)

Other assertions of Worthmann further make it difficult to regard this work as a Zeitroman, if by this term we understand a wrangling with the actual problems of an age in real, i.e. non-mythologized form. Thus he states that "der Dichter hier die wirklichen Probleme der Zeit verfehlte"

(S.22) and then:

Da also für Arnim die Objektivationen der "alten" Zeit in Staat und Gesellschaft ihre Legitimität aus der mythischen Urzeit herleiten können, beruhen sie letztlich auf göttlicher Setzung und müssen als solche im Kampf der Zeiten bewahrt werden. (S.23)

Certainly the disorder of war is present as a refrain to the work,⁵⁶⁾ but the theme does not emerge from its background-role to assume a prominent one. One of the interpolated tales in the novel is even heralded by the following description:

...da pflegte er ihnen eine schöne alte Fabel zu erzählen, die wir hier, wo wir mit allen früheren Verhältnissen abschließen, als den Sinn unseres Buches nacherzählen. (346 - author's underlining)

The tale, Die Schule der Erfahrung, conveys this essence of the book as a religious allegory. The allegory has undoubted reference to the historical events of the novel, but extracts from them a generalized sense which is the ultimate concern of the author. The individual age is not in itself of primary interest - a criterion for what we would understand a Zeitroman to be - but simply reflects at this particular historical stage an eternal world-order. Worthmann quite rightly (S.28) interprets in this direction the lines "Was ist uns denn...in unendlicher Betrachtung zu verlieren" (425-26). However, what frames this reflection shows it to be more an elaborate self-justification in formal terms than an abstraction of the thought content. In this incident the Gräfin finds the verses that follow ("Elegie aus einem Reisetagebuche in Schottland") when rummaging through her long forgotten German books, and then as if the defence of their inclusion (see the lines quoted

by Worthmann above) were not enough, the reader is finally admonished: "Überschlagt nicht diese lehrreichen Verse" (426). So that what will be seen at the end of the century as a satisfying interplay between the concrete and the symbolic, the immediate reality and an eternal order in Der Stechlin is not achieved here, and efforts in this direction are even seen by the author himself as a potential fragmentation of his work. In discussing the evolution of the form Worthmann classes the Lehrjahre as a "Vorläufer des Zeitromans" (S.30) - there could be no quarrel with his argument if he included these other novels preceding Immermann's Epigonen under the same heading.

Worthmann is not alone in his view of Eichendorff's Ahnung und Gegenwart as a Zeitroman. Braak⁵⁷⁾ and Majut⁵⁸⁾ see it as the first example of this novel-type in Germany. Certainly elements of Zeitkritik are present, but not in the sense of a differentiated critique of the age. The generalized, highly poetic language is more akin to mythology than the dissection of social criticism.⁵⁹⁾ Mention of the Rhine or Danube - which might seem to be specific settings - occurs for the sake of the poetic resonance of those names.⁶⁰⁾ Certainly the Zeit is seen as a force bearing in on the lives of all people of quality: "der furchtbare Gang der Zeit, der wohl keines der besseren Gemüther unberührt ließ" (193). However, the ultimate solution to the crosscurrents of the age is not to be found in any material sense, but in the higher realm of religion (335, 349). This transcends the usual domain of the Zeitroman, for with the notable exception of Gotthelf it is largely a secularized form,⁶¹⁾ and an appeal to another dimension of reality generally goes beyond its

scope (cf., however, love as the panacea for the age's ills in Immermann's works, briefly at the end of the Epigonen, and with more elaboration at the end of Münchhausen. Cf. p.73). Thus Eichendorff's novel, and for that matter Goethe's Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre with the heralding of industrialism, cannot be regarded as a Zeitroman because of different basic concerns. Worthmann's own formulations sometimes contradict his overall view of the work. It is difficult to reconcile the label of Zeitroman with a work in which: "Reale Interessengegensätze sozialer Schichten spielen keine Rolle" (27),

Die Dinge selber, zumal die Naturphänomene, bedeuten Eichendorff nur so viel, als sie die Fähigkeit haben, auf das in ihnen wirkende Absolute hinzuweisen.
(28),

or: Eichendorff stellt die Welt nur in den Vermittlungen seiner Religiosität dar und errichtet so in seiner Dichtung eine Formel-Welt reiner Poesie. (ibid.)

The same basic objection applies to Tieck's Der junge Tischlermeister: though containing many elements of the Zeitroman it portrays, the work is not concerned primarily with this Zeitroman, and thus is not a Zeitroman. This can be asserted without even going into the question of genre raised by its subtitle: "Novelle in sieben Abschnitten." What we do find is that the second of the seven sections contains the nucleus of a work examining social conditions, but that this potential core recedes before the extended productions of plays at the residence of the Baron. These productions are primarily a vehicle whereby Tieck expresses ideas about the development of a German theatre,⁶² reflecting the work's direct descent from the Lehrjahre and qualifying it more as a Künstlerroman than as a Zeitroman. The work does not range

over a large number of social circles; anecdotes of a highly individual nature abound, and the personal fates of the main characters - notably in affairs of the heart - are followed with an attentiveness that makes them ill-equipped to represent an age.

In regarding this work as a Zeitroman, Worthmann does not draw the natural conclusion implied by his following statement:

Die Zeit-Dimension eröffnet sich nicht im konkreten Schicksal der Personen, das sich als Handlung vollzieht, sondern in ihren Äußerungen. (S.43)

Such a discrepancy between the world of the fictitious characters, constantly in the foreground, and another world they reflect upon in their conversations, is hardly a fruitful foundation for a Zeitroman.

The preservation of the old-style guild with its patriarchal structure is ensured by the tableau at the conclusion of the work, but as with the ending of Die Epigonen (cf. p.68ff.) this is more of a private solution, and one largely overtaken by those historical developments which are at least portrayed in Die Epigonen. For although both Tieck's and Immermann's works appeared in 1836, the action in Tieck's fades out some decades before (Schiller's death is still very fresh in the memory - see 533).

From the above it should be clear that Worthmann's historical sweep is too great and that his perspective on "Probleme des Zeitromans" must be modified by inclusion of these three novels.

With the above discussion in mind we can now turn to the first work universally regarded as a Zeitroman, Immermann's Die Epigonen.

Footnotes

1. Elida Maria Szarota, Lohensteins Arminius als Zeitroman: Sichtweisen des Spätbarock (Bern, 1970); Von Buch zu Buch. Günter Grass in der Kritik: Eine Dokumentation, hrsg. v. Gert Loschütz (Neuwied u. Berlin, 1968), S.61. (The term is used by Kasimir Edschmid in a letter which was part of the defence mounted by the Luchterhand Verlag before the 'Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften'.)
2. Hartmut Steinecke, "Die "zeitgemäße" Gattung. Neubewertung und Neubestimmung des Romans in der jungdeutschen Kritik", in Untersuchungen zur Literatur als Geschichte. Festschrift für Benno von Wiese, hrsg. v. Vincent J. Günther et al. (Berlin, 1973), S.341.
3. Thomas Mann, Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1960), XI, 611-12. Cf. too Der Zauberberg, III, 748-50; Ulrich Karthaus, "'Der Zauberberg' - ein Zeitroman (Zeit, Geschichte, Mythos)", DVjs, 44, Heft 2 (1970), 269-305.
4. Manfred Windfuhr, Immermanns erzählerisches Werk: Zur Situation des Romans in der Restaurationszeit (Gießen, 1957), S.74.
5. Klaus Jeziorkowski (Hrsg.), Dichter über ihre Dichtungen. Gottfried Keller (München, 1969), S.531.
6. Notably in 'Der alte Fontane' (1910), IX, 9-34. However, the canonized picture of Thomas Mann as an admirer of Fontane needs very slight qualification in view of two letters to his brother Heinrich (of 1908 and 1910) in which he says: "Mit dem Fontane bin ich wohl zu ungeduldig gewesen" - which admittedly reflects on him perhaps more than Fontane - , but then also: "Den Fontane finde ich aber sehr flau."
Thomas Mann Heinrich Mann Briefwechsel 1900-1949, hrsg. v. Hans Wysling (F./M.: Fischer, 1968), S.69, 91.
7. Cf. pp.22-23 for a refutation of the view of Hasubek (see n. 14) on this point.
8. Worthmann is less than just in seeing Hasubek's work as relating to Gutzkow alone. Cf. Joachim Worthmann, Probleme des Zeitromans: Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Romans im 19. Jahrhundert (Heidelberg, 1974), S.16.
9. Gerhard Gräfe, Die Gestalt des Literaten im Zeitroman des 19. Jahrhunderts, Germanische Studien, Heft 185 (Berlin, 1937).
10. Viktor Klemperer, Die Zeitromane Friedrich Spielhagens und ihre Wurzeln (Weimar, 1913), S.111.
11. Ivo Braak, Poetik in Stichworten: Literaturwissenschaftliche Grundbegriffe. Eine Einführung, 4. Auflage (Kiel, 1972), S.202-8.

12. Ibid., S.202.
13. Ibid., S.195
14. Peter Hasubek, Karl Gutzkows Romane 'Die Ritter vom Geiste' und 'Der Zauberer von Rom': Studien zur Typologie des deutschen Zeitromans (Diss. Hamburg, 1964), S.245. (Future references to this work, as opposed to Hasubek's article, will be in the form: a- plus page no.)
15. Ibid., S.320 (Anm. 95 to S.203).
16. a-327 (Anm. 2 to S.242).
17. As does Majut with Laube's Der deutsche Krieg. See Rudolf Majut, "Der deutsche Roman vom Biedermeier bis zur Gegenwart", in Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, Bd. II, hrsg. v. Wolfgang Stammeler, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1960), Sp. 1455.
18. Sir Walter Scott, "From the Introductory to 'Waverley' (1814)", in English Theories of the Novel: Vol. III - Nineteenth Century, ed. Elke Platz-Waury, English Texts 9 (Tübingen, 1972), S.13.
19. E. M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel, Pelican Books A557 (1927; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.53.
20. For Schleiermacher's view of the novel as an adjunct to historical accounts, see Werner Hahl, Reflexion und Erzählung: Ein Problem der Romantheorie von der Spätaufklärung bis zum programmatischen Realismus (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz, 1971), S.152.
21. Rudolf Krämer-Badoni, "Der Topos von der Zeitkritik", Der Monat, 12. Jahrgang, Heft 138 (März, 1960), 5-11. This is a polemical, 'unscientific' article, which nevertheless opens up some interesting perspectives.
22. Op. cit., Sp.1408.
23. Ibid., Sp.1385.
24. Ibid., Sp.1437.
25. Peter Hasubek, "Der Zeitroman: Ein Romantypus des 19. Jahrhunderts", ZfDP, 87, Heft 2 (Mai, 1968), S.228. (Future references to this article will be in the form: b- plus page no.)
26. See Hans Mayer's Introduction to Ehm Welk's Die Heiden von Kummerow (Rostock, 1956), VIII-IX. For Wolzogen's similarly expressed view, see Heinz Eugen Greter, Fontanes Poetik (Bern, Frankfurt/Main, 1973), S.130. Cf. too H. Mann's verdict on Fontane (p.276).
27. Leo Tolstoy, "Preface to Von Polenz' Novel 'Der Büttnerbauer'", in What is Art? and Essays on Art, trans. Aylmer Maude (London, 1962), p.316.

28. Hellmuth Mielke, Der deutsche Roman (Berlin, 1898), S.18.
29. Werner Pöls (Hrsg.), Deutsche Sozialgeschichte: Dokumente und Skizzen. Band I: 1815-1870 (München, 1973).
G. A. Ritter und J. Kocka (Hrsg.), Deutsche Sozialgeschichte: Dokumente und Skizzen. Band II: 1870-1914 (München, 1974).
30. Hans Magnus Enzensberger et al., Klassenbuch I: Ein Lesebuch zu den Klassenkämpfen in Deutschland 1756-1850. Klassenbuch 2: Ein Lesebuch...1850-1919 (Darmstadt u. Neuwied, 1972).
31. Cf. Majut, op. cit., Sp. 1385.
32. Lucien Goldmann, Soziologie des Romans, trans. 'Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Paris, gemeinsam mit dem Autor' (Darmstadt und Neuwied, 1972), S.239-40.
33. J. P. Stern, On Realism (London and Boston, 1973), p.104.
34. Karl Konrad Polheim, "Novellentheorie und Novellenforschung (1945-1963)", DVjs, 38 (1964), Sonderheft, S.312.
35. This position is set out by Rudolf Gottschall in his Poetik (1858) in the following graphic, if mildly incredible terms:
Ebenso muß der moderne Romanschriftsteller alle objektiven Lebensverhältnisse kennen; er muß Arzt, Kriminalist, Publicist und Ökonom zugleich sein und mit dem Organismus des menschlichen Leibes ebenso Bescheid wissen, wie mit dem Mechanismus der Staatsmaschine.
Gerhard Friesen, The German Panoramic Novel of the 19th Century (Berne and Frankfurt/M., 1972), p.15.
36. Jürgen Rühle, Literatur und Revolution: Die Schriftsteller und der Kommunismus (München/Zürich, 1963), S.192.
37. Hahl, op. cit., S.156.
38. W. Werenberg, "Der deutsche Tendenzroman", in Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, Nr. 3 (15. Januar, 1853), S.51.
39. Fritz Martini, Deutsche Literatur im bürgerlichen Realismus 1848-1898, Epochen der deutschen Literatur, Bd. V/2 (Stuttgart, 1962), S.409.
40. See Jeziorkowski, op. cit., S.126, 131.
41. Cf. the subtitles to Flaubert's Madame Bovary (Moeurs de Province) and Stendhal's Le Rouge et le Noir (Chronique du XIX^e Siècle). These works appeared in 1857 and 1830 respectively.
42. Raymond Williams, "Realism and the Contemporary Novel", in The Long Revolution (London, 1961), p.280.
43. Ibid., p.287.

44. See Friedrich Sengle, Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848, Band I (Stuttgart, 1971), 271-72.
45. Klaus Günther Just, Von der Gründerzeit bis zur Gegenwart: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur seit 1871, Handbuch der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Erste Abteilung - Darstellungen, Band 4 (Bern und München, 1973), S.192.
46. Ibid., S.193.
47. Friesen, op. cit., pp.63-64.
48. Martini, op. cit., S.610.
49. Margarete Merkel-Nipperdey, "Gottfried Kellers 'Martin Salander': Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Zeitromans". Palaestra, 228 (Göttingen, 1959), S.38, Anm. 4.
50. Günter Grass, Katz und Maus: Eine Novelle, rororo 572 (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1968), S.6.

51. Thus with reference to the practice of searching for Schlüsselfiguren in Goethe's works, he says it:
...hat in den Romanen Gutzkows eine gewisse Berechtigung, weil man auf diesem Wege auf ein typisches Baugesetz des Zeitromans aufmerksam wird. ...Im Zeitroman sollen die speziellen Wesenszüge der historischen Personen bei den Romanfiguren erhalten bleiben. Die Gestalten weisen bewußt auf die wirkliche Person, die bei ihnen Modell gestanden hat, zurück. Die Vorbilder sind im Endeffekt nicht nur der Anlaß [sic] für die Figurengestaltung, sondern auf sie hinzudeuten ist das Ziel der dichterischen Intention. Aktualität heißt diese Absicht beim Dichter des Zeitromans. (a-87)

Then a little further down the same page he speaks of "Verfremdung im Zeitroman des 19. Jahrhunderts". The progression thus seems to be to generalize from a feature observed in Gutzkow, but it disregards the fact that other Zeitroman-writers such as Fontane by no means use this device uniformly. In the following assertion the same oversight is made more explicitly, in a puzzling generalization:

Wie aus den folgenden Darlegungen hervorgehen wird, ist es geradezu ein Baugesetz des Zeitromans, daß die Romanfiguren auf bestimmte lebende oder jüngst verstorbene zeitgenössische Persönlichkeiten verweisen. (a-82)

There is no bridge whatever between the generalizing first part of the following statement and the second part, relating specifically to Gutzkow:

Im Zeitroman soll die Summe eines Zeitalters, im positiven wie im negativen Sinne, gezogen und dargestellt werden. Die Zeit als Held stiftet das Ordnungsgefüge des Kunstwerkes. Wie im Figurenroman die Mittelpunktfigur die Integration leistet, so bewirkt die Zielsetzung der Zeitdarstellung im Roman die thematische Integration. Die Beziehung aller Romanteile auf die Gestaltung der Zeit ist das einigende Band, das alle neun Bücher der Romane durchzieht. (a-95)

52. Worthmann excellently conveys the balance to be achieved: Individuelles Geschick und Zeitgeschehen miteinander zu vermitteln, das scheint uns das Kardinalproblem des Zeitromans zu sein. Es droht ihm auf der einen Seite die Gefahr, in die Schilderung eines zwar interessanteren, aber an sich zufälligen und daher "zeitlosen" Einzelschicksals abzugleiten und so die Dimension der Zeit zu verfehlen; auf der anderen Seite kann er durch zu große Typisierung der Handlung und der Personen in eine abstrakte Schemenhaftigkeit geraten und so die ästhetischen Qualitäten des Romanhaften aufgeben. (op. cit., S.14)
53. Elsewhere Hasubek does concede that:
...ein Blick auf die Romankunst Fontanes, der sich durch die Qualität der künstlerischen Gestaltung und durch die Abwandlung mancher typischer Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Zeitromans am weitesten von dem Feld der übrigen Dichter absetzt, mach(t) freilich eine Korrektur an der uneingeschränkten Geltung des Prinzips der Typisierung erforderlich. (b-230)
54. See Jeziorkowski, op. cit., S.504, 530, 532-33.
55. The reference is to Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur, 3. Aufl. (Bern und München, 1964), S.480.
56. Achim von Arnim, "Armut, Reichtum, Schuld und Buße der Gräfin Dolores: Eine wahre Geschichte zur lehrreichen Unterhaltung armer Fräulein", Band I of Achim von Arnim. Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen (München: Hanser, 1962). See 318, 382 et passim.
57. Op. cit., S.205.
58. Op. cit., Sp. 1371-72.
59. Joseph von Eichendorff, "Ahnung und Gegenwart", Bd. II of Joseph von Eichendorff. Eine Auswahl (München: Hanser, 1949). Cf., e.g., 193, 214.
60. Cf. Walter Killy, "Der Roman als romantisches Buch: Über Eichendorffs 'Ahnung und Gegenwart'", in Interpretationen, Band III: Deutsche Romane von Grimmelshausen bis Musil, hrsg. v. Jost Schillemeit (F./M., Hamburg, 1966), S.136-54.
For this particular point, see S.140. The present author fully endorses the title of Killy's article.
61. Cf. Worthmann, op. cit., S.13. Hasubek means something quite different when he speaks of a "Säkularisierungsvorgang" (a-181), namely the direct reference to historical detail in the Zeitroman as opposed to the "timeless" quality of Classicism and Romanticism.
62. Ludwig Tieck, "Der junge Tischlermeister", Bd. IV (Romane) of Ludwig Tieck, Werke in vier Bänden (München: Winkler, 1966). See 355-56 et passim.

CHAPTER II

KARL IMMERMANN: 'DIE EPIGONEN'

(1) Introduction

In 1835 the theoretician Ludolf Wienbarg exhorted young German writers (Dichter) as follows:

Greift in die Zeit, haltet euch an das Leben. Ich weiß, was ihr entgegnet. Nicht wahr, es ist verdammte wenig Poesie in dieser Zeit, in diesem Leben, das wir in Deutschland führen?...
Aber gut. Haltet einmal Abrechnung mit der Zeit, entzieht einmal durch einen herzhaften Entschluß dieser heutigen deutschen Literatur den Schimmer poetischer Lügen, ...reißt der Zeit den Mantel der Heuchelei, der Selbstsucht, der Feigheit vom Leibe... 1)

Karl Immermann, whose novel Die Epigonen appeared in 1836, had already been working at it for many years,²⁾ yet Wienbarg's remark could almost have been directed to this particular writer. That is, with the possible exception of the admonition to expose "poetische Lügen", a point to which we shall return when discussing the novel's conclusion. But for the rest, Wienbarg's theory is unquestionably realized in Immermann's practice, an achievement which lends the writer historical significance in the tradition of the German novel. For:

Die 'Epigonen' stellen in der deutschen Literatur den ersten bewußten Versuch dar, einen großen Zeit- und Epochenroman zu schreiben. 3)

The work's deserts have always been seen in the light of this pioneering function, coupled with its interest as a historical-sociological document. One thesis purporting to examine the work on its aesthetic merits capitulated before its self-imposed task and modulated to the more usual line of approach.⁴⁾ Anita Moritz' thesis⁵⁾ includes much stylistic analysis, but tends to overinterpretation in Immermann's favour (S.57ff.). She takes a

The quotation at the bottom of p.45 should read:

Nie sind die Individuen bedeutender gewesen als gerade in unsern Tagen; auch der Letzte fühlt das Flußbette seines Innern von großen Einflüssen gespeist. Jeder Mensch ist in Haus und Hof, bei

positive view of Immermann's heavyhanded humour (e.g. S.63), and such humour as there is in the text is overstated by Moritz' interpolated comments.⁶⁾

Immermann's novel exemplifies the tension between 'literature' and a kind of chronicling treatise, a tension inherent in the genre of the Zeitroman. The author himself is aware of the affinity of his work to a historical account. The issue is treated by the Arzt and the Herausgeber in their correspondence in the 8th book,⁷⁾ while in the Memorabilien Immermann says of his novel:

...daß, wenn ich einen Schritt weiter gegangen wäre, ich das Gebiet des Staatsmanns, des Philosophen oder des Predigers betreten hätte. (5, 371)

For Benno von Wiese, there is a wholly successful integration of the characters into the historical panorama the novel unquestionably presents. Indeed, for him the two are inseparable:

So wird das Studium der privaten Seelengeschichte für Immermann zur Voraussetzung, um dennoch Zeitgeschichte zu schreiben, da das Ich-Schicksal unmittelbar mit dem Zeitschicksal identifiziert wird. 8)

The emphases here seem wrongly placed. The ranking of "Seelengeschichte" as a presupposition for "Zeitgeschichte" does not seem tenable when one considers the thinness of individual characterization in this novel and the heavy debt of such characterization as there is to figures from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister novels. Certainly something of what von Wiese claims for the novel is essayed at a theoretical level (and accepted at face value e.g. by Rumler⁹⁾) when the Herausgeber writes to the Arzt:

Nie sind die Individuen bedeutender gewesen als gerade in unsern Tagen; auch der Letzte fühlt das Flußbette seines Innern von großen Einflüssen ge-

Frau und Kindern, am Busen der Geliebten, hinter dem Geschäftstische und im Studierstübchen eine historische Natur geworden, deren Begebenheiten, wenn wir nur das Ahnungsvermögen dafür besitzen, uns anziehen und fesseln müssen. (4, 116)

Yet, as we shall see, the vicissitudes of the age - repeatedly lamented throughout the novel - make a mockery of the significance of individuals. And the domestic regions enumerated in the second sentence above (with the possible exception of the "Geschäftstische") are precisely those not explored in any depth in this work. Their Biedermeier snugness remains foreign to it up to its closing pages. The idyll of such a personal realm is ravaged by external forces, and it is to these that the writer turns his attention.¹⁰⁾

The problematic figure of Flämmchen seems too to confound attempts to view this work primarily as a "Seelengeschichte". Her whole role in a 'realistic' Zeitroman and the intrusion of the world of fantasy embodied in her raises the question of what part allegory (she is even referred to as "die junge Furie" - 3, 83) can play in such a work. In this she does not approach the stature of Melusine, who in Fontane's Stechlin is an individual in her own right with her own integrated role in the novel (at the same time, the mythological implications of her name are never forgotten). Flämmchen is more of a fantastic, exotic character who is a clear example of the borrowed Wilhelm Meister framework and characterization no longer working.

'False' resolutions like that of the Philhellene aside, the individual in Immermann's novel is frequently seen at loggerheads with society. As Hecker points out,¹¹⁾ in the static social order of the Wilhelm Meister-world, only the individual has any mobility, and that within the

clearly circumscribed borders of the social order. With Immermann, however, all is in confusion; we see the crumbling of this order, of these Stände, and the imprint of larger-scale historical movements - the July-revolution of 1830 has affected Immermann far more than the French Revolution did Goethe of the Lehrjahre. But, there being no established Zeitroman-tradition, Immermann employs the old props. Alienated from their origins, his characters border on being clichés of the Bildungsroman, since the panoply of this genre no longer accords with the demands of the (socially more problematic) Zeitroman.

Again, Flämmchen's uneasy position occurs in spite of the author's elaborate attempts to justify the verisimilitude of this character and others. He does this through the outwardly impeccable credentials of the doctor's pragmatism and scepticism. The doctor makes Flämmchen appear more credible through his analysis of her condition (likening it to medieval witchcraft - 3, 123), and then writes the following appraisal of the work to the Herausgeber:

Am wahrsten sind die Figuren, welche die Menge vermutlich für Erfindungen halten wird: Die Alte, der Domherr, Flämmchen. Es ist zu loben, daß Sie diesen Blasen der von Grund aus umgerüttelten Zeit nichts hinzugefügt, noch ihnen etwas abgenommen haben.
(4, 111)

The attempt is made to lend these figures more credence, to justify them as chiffres of a disturbed age, and give verisimilitude to the narrative, but at this point the novel's fictional apparatus creaks audibly.¹²⁾

The identification of Ich- with Zeitschicksal would seem to find more support in a typically sententious statement by Wilhelmi late in the novel:

Wir sehen gleichsam in einer Gruppe und abgekürzten Figur um uns her das ganze trostlose Chaos der Gegenwart. (4, 238)

Hermann's labile nature certainly does bring together several currents of the age, most notably the two great social classes. But even there he belongs to "beiden Ständen...und keinem" (4, 265), so that he does not represent a simple fusion of the two. And the conclusion of the novel shows most clearly the cleft between "Seelen-" and "Zeitgeschichte"- on the first level Hermann has apparently attained happiness, but the problems of the second level have merely been recognized and by no means resolved (in terms of a lasting solution). Furthermore, editorial manipulation of character - the author intruding to make an observation of his own - accentuates the fictitiousness of Hermann. In such cases¹³⁾ any sense of "Zeitschicksal" emerges only through the intermediate stage of the author's reflections tacked on to his narrative. Thus von Wiese's appraisal seems oversimplified.

A more penetrating view of the relationship between the personal fate of the individual and the historic circumstances in which he lives seems to lie in Manfred Windfuhr's verdict:

Die Umwelt, die im Bildungsroman (Beispiel "Lehrjahre") dazu diente, die Entfaltung des Helden zu fördern oder zu hemmen, ihn dem Irrtum und der Bewährung auszusetzen, also trotz aller Eigenbedeutung noch auf die Hauptfigur bezogen blieb, wird in der Schlußfassung der "Epigonen" zum Selbstzweck. 14)

Such a function of the "Umwelt" - as something depersonalized, not flavoured by the subjective fate of the hero - it is tempting to regard as an asset for a Zeitroman, enabling its social import to transcend the confines imposed on it if it is just an extension of the hero's own experiences.

But on closer inspection a far more satisfying, subtler possibility is realized later by Fontane when he refuses to acknowledge such a dichotomy, allowing the "Umwelt" to emerge organically from the situations involving the main characters, and in particular from their conversations.

This leads to the basic difference in characterization between Immermann and Fontane. In the Immermann-type Zeitroman, the Zeit is often revealed through programmatic discussion on the part of characters (e.g. 3, 135, 415-17). Fontane's method is to allow the nature of the Zeit to emerge from action or, more often, Milieuschilderung or conversation, but not conversation at such an introspective, analytical level as that employed by Immermann. For Immermann such conversations are purely the vehicles of thought, whereas in Fontane's works the mannerisms and turns of the language tend to reflect or reveal the attitudes of the characters rather than directly present ideas. 15)

As predominantly spokesmen for ideas, Immermann's characters lose in depth of characterization. This is one of the reasons why the conclusion of the novel does not satisfy. For the resolution of Hermann's trials in his personal relationships emphasizes a side of the novel that has never been sufficiently developed to support such a weight of emphasis (cf. p.68ff.). Windfuhr comments on the uneasy marriage of the earlier Einzelheld-Roman "Leben und Schicksale eines lustigen Deutschen" with the far broader concerns of the Epigonen:

Hermann wird zur bloßen Verbindungsfigur zwischen den einzelnen Gesellschaftskreisen, die sich in der Darstellung zu verselbständigen beginnen...Ist die äußere Verbindung geschehen, so tritt Hermann in der Regel ganze Abschnitte zurück, um der Sitten- und Gesellschaftsschilderung Platz zu machen. 16)

This combination in parts of the Epigonen such as the concluding scene is no longer consonant with Immermann's novel in its final form.

At this point, let us return to the quotation at the beginning of this chapter. Wienbarg clearly localizes his criticisms to Germany, whether it is the unpoetic conditions of life there or the romanticized fabrications of its literature. In the same extract he says: "zeigt uns den Himmel, wie er grau und schmutzig über uns niederhängt", and this injunction is also realized in Immermann's novel, both figuratively and, in the first chapter, almost literally. For it begins thus:

An einem deutschen Sommertage, wo Gußregen und schwüler Sonnenblick wechselten und das Gefilde zu öfterem halb unter grauen Wolken, halb unter glühendem Lichte lag, ... (3, 15)

Through the rather odd coupling of "deutsch" with "Sommer-tag", the broad setting emerges at once, not being limited to Westphalia till the end of the second chapter. The rest is of course only superficially a report on the weather (here perhaps is one parallel with Musil's novel, in its opening! - cf. p.91, n.15). The atmosphere, going well beyond the meteorological sphere, is established, the half and half nature of the age, an image reinforced by repetition. So that what seems to be a conventional stage-setting in fact contains the nucleus of the work in condensed form.¹⁷⁾

What particularly interests us here is the word "deutsch". The young Engels paid homage to this quality in his poem Bei Immermanns Tode:

Ich aber ging ans Tagewerk und schwur,
So stark und fest und deutsch, wie du, zu werden. 18)

Throughout the novel, great emphasis is laid on the fact that the conditions portrayed are German ones. This goes beyond a concrete historical setting to an attempt to explore something of the mentality of a nation. The pride and confidence of later bourgeois art have still to be established - one has only to compare the ring of the word "deutsch" in Immermann (who in any case inclined to a more aristocratic position) with its tone in Freytag's Soil und Haben (cf. esp. Book 2, ch.7), not to mention the twin historic levels of Wagner's Meistersinger in its extolling of the Germanic.

When for instance one of those excluded from the Duchess' festivities suggests staging a still more sumptuous entertainment by way of retaliation, the narrator intervenes: "welcher Gedanke indessen, obgleich er ein echt deutscher war..." (3, 247). The few excursions from German soil are soon returned to base. Thus the tale of the stranger returned from Siberian captivity is not told for the sake of any exotic or adventurous potential. It is merely a yardstick by which to measure the misery of his present plight:

Aber das Schlimmste sollte ich nicht in Sibirien gelitten haben; hier in der lieben deutschen Heimat mußte ich es erfahren. (3, 234) 19)

Likewise the Philhellene with whom Hermann is conversing when he first appears gives but a brief picture of the projected aim of his wanderings. When met with again, he is not only still in Germany but has become the embodiment of a host of philistine tendencies. The zealot's airy plans are more of a foil for Hermann's own disillusioned comments about Germany, the natural repose, he feels, for

his resignation. A fleeting breath of the outside world is soon past: "Ich war in London, in Paris; ich habe sie gesehen, die sogenannten bedeutenden Charaktere der Zeit" (3, 17). The extreme counterpart to this approach, the enrichment of a still unmistakably Prussian outlook through contact with the external world, will be found in Fontane's Der Stechlin (cf. pp.274-75).

Within the bounds of his own country, however, Immermann does present a wide panorama, avoiding mere provincialism. For his purposes, two areas are highlighted, the first being the social coruscations of Berlin, with the many cultural crosscurrents it unites. But together with this comes an unmasking of the emptiness and hypocrisy behind the façade of surface brilliance. With corresponding changes in types and tastes of the age, this is very similar to Heinrich Mann's Im Schlaraffenland, except that Mann goes a step further and creates his own Schlaraffenland-myth from the milieu he portrays (cf. p.296ff.).

The other main sphere of Immermann's novel is the Rhineland. This proves the logical setting for his confrontation of a waning nobility with an emerging bourgeois capitalism, even though the model for Hermann's uncle, Gottlob Nathusius, had built up his enterprise near Magdeburg.²⁰⁾ For:

...Immermann has only transferred the theatre of capitalist expansion from the province of Magdeburg in the West-German district to one where, in fact, the old aristocratic lordships...lay right next to industrial areas. 21)

For a novel whose action fades out in 1829 (i.e. excluding the correspondences of Book 8, dated 1835), Immermann's is

indeed forward-looking in this aspect. For, despite the beginnings of large-scale undertakings in the Rhine provinces, Krupp's factory at Essen still employed only 122 men in 1846,²²⁾ and the industrialization of Germany was even then a long way off. But this point will be expanded when we come to a more detailed treatment of the novel's ending (cf. p.68ff.).

Having touched upon some of the novel's concerns, we shall now examine Immermann's "Abrechnung mit der Zeit", turning first to the conflict between the two main classes represented here, Adel and Bürgertum.

(2) The nobility and the bourgeoisie

At the beginning of Book 2, ch.3, the results of a lawyer's delvings into the family history of the Duke's ancestors are tabulated. Here one sees the old hereditary order crumbling before the new rule of industrial wealth. This situation arises from the fluctuating land values and rights of possession during the Napoleonic occupation. A veritable leitmotif of this novel, the confusion and disorder of the times, appears in the narrator's assessment:

Man weiß, wie die allgemeine Verzweiflung jener Zeit auch...den Grund und Boden, im Werte heruntergedrückt hatte. (3, 102 - author's underlining)

Hermann's uncle profits from Count Julius' financial troubles at this time, and the latter builds up debts to the point where he agrees to cancel them by selling his estates to the uncle. The narrative comments tersely: "Die Rittergüter gingen in die Hände des Bürgerlichen über, das Geld hatte gesiegt" (3, 102). Yet for all the democrati-

zation of land ownership set in motion by the Stein-Hardenberg reforms (1807-11), the nobility still enjoys certain privileges in the novel. When Hermann later examines the title-deeds to his property in Baden and realizes he is a legal minor, Medon (admittedly casting those privileges in an ironic light) reassures him:

Sie sind nur als Bürgerlicher zu jung, wenn Sie ge-
adelt werden, besitzen Sie die erforderliche Weis-
heit. (3, 408)

In fact, the passing of noble estates into middle-class hands:

...happened very often between 1820 and 1830 in the stress of the agricultural crisis which was a result of the limited possibilities of German agriculture for export. At that time eighty per cent of the aristocratic landlords lost their estates. 23)

The takeover in the novel springs from a different reason and an earlier period, but as with so many other historical phenomena treated, this instance anticipates the mainstream of historical events.

Immermann's sympathies show through at this point of the narration. The lawyer, representing the uncle's claims, succumbs to the gracious surroundings and character of his aristocratic hosts and especially of his hostess, the Duchess. Pictured as being impressionable, he falls under the spell of the Duchess' Gartenkabinett, redolent with art that he cannot properly appreciate but whose value he instinctively realizes. As a character he forms a striking contrast to the champions of a self-assertive, overweeningly confident bourgeoisie of later in the century. He visualizes the future in the following terms:

Schon erblickte er hier, wo das Schöne gute Menschen beseligt hatte, ein ödes rechnendes Comtoir; schon sah er dort draußen, quer über die armen Blumen, über den samtnen Rasen einen Weg für Karren und Schleifen zu irgend einer trostlosen Fabrikhütte führen. (3, 110)

This vision, with its aesthetic clinging to the past and rejection of the future, is central to the work. Elsewhere the black and white shades emerging here may be more blended towards a grey on both sides, but whatever is added in favour of the uncle or his enterprise, the bleak spectre of industrialization remains and at the novel's end can only be delayed, not dispersed. Here too Immermann establishes a strain in German literature which continues and survives very late in the century in the works of Wilhelm Raabe. The anti-industrialist streak is taken up in elegaic vein (again not a polemic one) in the Akten des Vogelsangs (1895), as in the following example: X

Jaja, so redet man...über die..., über die Gras wächst und zu denen noch einige Zeit ihre Nächsten im Leben kommen, bis Straßenzüge, Eisenbahngeleise oder, im besten Falle, der Ackerpflug über sie weggehen...wird. 24) X

In the extract from the Epigonen quoted above, the lawyer is smitten by scruples as to the outcome of his investigations. From the outset the surviving inner values of the older order are counterpointed against the unpoetic, cheerless visions conjured up by the incursion of the new (Wilhelmi's objections to the whole proceedings relate to the "kindische Halbwesen der Zeit", to "das ungeschickte Vermischen von Alt und Neu" - 3, 105). This conservative view begrudges the middle-class the acquisitions which cannot, by (or rather, going beyond) the end of the novel, be denied, without positing any revitalization of the aristo-

cratic ranks to counter them.

The lawyer's respect is shared by Hermann, for whom it outweighs the uneasiness felt when the Duke expounds his notion of the indispensability of the nobility and the incontestability of its rights (3, 151). Hermann also finds social intercourse with the local landed nobility to be stimulating, although these were considered by their more refined peers to be "eine Sammlung völlig verbauerter Krautjunker" (3, 155). Here a distinction is made between a) the country nobility which had remained bound to its estates, and b) that which had flirted with the "Stadt- und Hofleben" (ibid.). To hark back to the differences ascertained between Immermann and Fontane (see p.49), Immermann here again simply presents this distinction as an established fact without examining its implications (the "Stadt- und Hofleben" of Berlin is not related to this context). Whereas Fontane, without ever reducing his verdict to such a programmatic statement, pictures a whole spectrum of types in Der Stechlin, with Dubslav standing out from his more provincial peers in Immermann's first category (a) and Barby as a most favourable instance of the second, (b).

Hermann expresses surprise at the unexpected stimulation afforded by the local nobility, but elsewhere he is fully capable of inveighing against the whole class:

'Auch der Adel ist so eine Ruine...Was macht den Adel? Die Abgeschlossenheit, das Kastenmäßige [cf. Oswald Stein's criticism on precisely these grounds in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen - I,175]. Nun aber haben die Bessern sich längst mit dem gebildeten Mittelstande vermischt'. (3, 158)

This intermingling of the two classes, noted by Immermann at this early stage of the century, remains a major issue throughout the period under consideration in this thesis, featuring prominently as a pivotal point in Fontane's novels and also appearing in Im Schlaraffenland. The strong disenchantment expressed by Hermann must make an odd impression at this stage, coming as it does close on the heels of his favourable view of the country nobility, and also in view of his general sense of wellbeing at enjoying noble patronage (e.g. 3, 152). Wilhelmi sees through the contradiction in Hermann ("ein armer Bürgerlicher, der den Adel haßt und sich doch für die Hochgeborenen totschiagen ließe, ..." - 3, 159). With Hermann the ambivalent attitude inclines in favour of the nobility; Oswald Stein in Problematische Naturen veers the other way in his diatribes against the class he despises in his words but not always in his actions, frequently, even if unconsciously, mimicking it (cf.p.130). Hermann sees and acknowledges the nobility's glaring weaknesses, but he at the same time stresses what he regards as its surviving strengths, and defends it strongly, for example, in the face of the exaggerated protests of his uncle (3, 295-97). In the case of Spielhagen's bourgeois hero, however, the nobility emerges in far less twilight shades and is the butt of constant verbal attack (though the very violence of the invective plus Stein's aesthetic tastes and other touches betray the envy of the excluded).

Such duality runs a tortuous course through the novel of the 19th century into the 20th. Here, Immermann is dealing with an era when capital in the hands of the bourgeoisie

began to assert itself as a force vying with and often usurping the established order of inherited estates, etc. The cracks in the walls of the feudalistic order (pictured in a quite literal sense in the Schloß Schnick-Schnack-Schnurr in Münchhausen - 1, 72-73)²⁵⁾ are already very apparent. The uncle, in keeping with his unabashed attitude to the nobility and his pragmatic nature, has no time for the high orders he receives (4, 28) because they bring no financial gain. He represents the extreme position of bourgeois resentment, seeking compensation for earlier snubbing through such catchcries as "Bürgerkanaille" (3, 296). His opposition to the nobility is uncompromising, yet all his calculations are vain before the unreckonable. A kind of noble revenge triumphs²⁶⁾ when he dies of shock at the news that Ferdinand was in fact the natural son of Graf Julius, who had resigned the Standesherrschaft to the uncle to ensure Ferdinand's inheritance. Thus the narrator's comment: "das Geld hatte gesiegt" (cf. p.53) is exposed as a provisional verdict only.

Yet with its upsurge of influence, above all financial influence, the middle-class did assert itself but never quite broke away from the nobility, however much the latter faded in glory. This is seen at the conclusion of the novel which comes at the other end of the span embraced by this thesis, H. Mann's Im Schlaraffenland. The tycoon Türkheimer (in whose case "das Geld" unquestionably has "gesiegt") never makes even a pretence of dispensing with the nobility, and achieves a fond goal in being granted a very lowly order through the efforts of his otherwise wholly powerless son-in-law Hochstetten, whose sole claim to recog-

nition by the financial élite is his noble descent. Hermann (at least by upbringing) and Oswald Stein belong to a bourgeoisie gaining impetus but still yet to find its feet properly and thus aggressively self-conscious. Türkheimer on the other hand has an extensive but clearly circumscribed mandate; he can transcend it and reach the prestige symbols of the nobility only by intercession from within their ranks. With Hermann and Oswald of course, the duality of attitude mirrors too the duality of their origins, since they are raised and considered as a bourgeois till the revelation of their 'mixed' births.

To consolidate the negative side of Hermann's view of the nobility: - he is also disturbed by the ridiculous clinging to antiquated pomp typified by the Duke's exercising of the "Recht des Standesherrn, eine Leibwache zu halten" (3, 163). A rumour of the imminent arrival of a general causes the workers in the garden to don their military trappings, the whole being designed to exhibit "den Glanz des Hauses" (ibid.). Such "Glanz" is shown as hollow by the hasty nature of its assemblage even before the ironic dénouement of the general's failure to appear. This weak point of the more flamboyant nobility was seized on by bourgeois writers throughout the century, other notable examples being Immermann's contemporary, Heinrich Laube,²⁷⁾ and Spielhagen.

But the trivial incident also touches upon far wider-reaching issues. The formation of a kind of domestic guard, with the "Glanz" of the noble estate being represented by workers, indicates again the brittleness of this "Glanz". The gardeners whose charade Hermann witnesses represent a

class whose presence is not strongly felt at all in this novel (its rise coming later in the century). The descriptions of the factory-workers make a strong impression, but the pages containing a concrete description of industrialism are few (unlike, for example, the extensive descriptions of Coketown in Dickens' Hard Times (1854)); this comparison, incidentally, mirrors the gap between the respective industrial growth of England and Germany, a gap which had not been bridged in the years between the publication of Immermann's and Dickens' novels). The spread of Pietism among the factory workers is described in some detail, but in general the novel focusses on the nobility and the bourgeoisie, the two protagonists of the early part, at least, of the century. A notable exception is the following episode, where workers are to remove the longstanding cupboard from the archive, only to find its rotted frame collapse.

Die Arbeiter sahen Hermann bestürzt an.
"Ist es doch, als ob ein Feudalthron einstürzt",
sagte Hermann. "Frisch, ihr Leute vom dritten Stande,
die ihr gar nicht die Absicht hattet, ihn zu zertrüm-
mern, sondern ihn nur so ein wenig beiseite bringen
wolltet, tragt die Stücke hinaus!" (3, 341)

This extract embodies a characteristic frequently encountered in Wilhelmi's utterances, what Höllerer fittingly calls "das Immermannsche Pathos der Verkündigung".²⁸⁾ The prophetic ring, pathos-ridden as it is, might still be convincing, but hardly in the case just cited. A fairly trivial event is allegorized in incredibly heavyhanded fashion, being magnified to the level of a sort of clarion call to the new order. And whether one cares to read irony into Hermann's words or not, they are inconceivable as actually spoken words of him or any other 'realistic' character. In short, this is a blatant breach of style, an editorial intrusion which does

not even achieve any convincing focussing of attention on the "dritten Stande", since this is sparsely represented elsewhere in the novel, but instead reduces the whole scene (including the status of Hermann) to the level of the ludicrous.

Behind the whole pantomime of the domestic guard lie other implications for the nobility. These are formulated by Wilhelmi in a tirade against the:

...ganzen Tun und Treiben dieser abgelebten Klasse. Sie fühlen sich überholt von dem Sturmschritte der Zeit; Ehre, Mut, kriegerische Tapferkeit sind bürgerlich geworden... (3, 287)

This criticism too is repeated in Laube's Das junge Europa, 29) and in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen the wheel has turned full cycle with cases of the nobility actually seeking an injection of renewed vigour from the bourgeoisie. Wilhelmi's comment reinforces his general view of the nobility as a class out of tune with the times. It is not a jaundiced attempt at compensation, but reflects, without concretely referring to, a historical situation in which:

The middle-class, hitherto repressed and politically powerless, had proved its fitness in the national armies of the Wars of Liberation, where it had shown that courage and presence of mind were not the monopoly of the aristocracy. Through the institution of the territorial army (Landwehr) which was led by middle-class reserve-officers, the bourgeoisie had played a great part in the victories of 1813-15
... 30)

Not only are the qualities enumerated by Wilhelmi (above) no longer the preserve of the nobility, they have in fact become debased within that class. This is seen most clearly in the jousting spectacle organized by the Duchess for her husband. The title of Immermann's novel

is exemplified in this episode. Her reading of Sir Walter Scott is her inspiration, i.e. the idea is borrowed, not creative, and irony plus a kind of moralizing lament (3, 276) feature strongly in the author's account of the whole débâcle. The uneasiness and melancholy of Epigonentum, of belonging to a generation born afterwards, is symptomatic of the dissolving of the nobility's inviolable prerogative to values such as those mentioned by Wilhelmi. Its heroism is a thing of the past according to Immermann's novel, and the symbols of grandeur it flaunts reflect no deeds, but an attempt to simulate glory by recourse to representation (as witnessed by a recent turning to heraldry - cf. 3, 161).

The Karussell-episode also serves to crystallize various class distinctions. The origins of these are not delineated in any clear, historical form, but in the following terms:

Auch in diesen Gegenden hatte es im Strudel der Zeiten nicht fehlen können, daß ein Teil der Bodenfläche auf Neugeadelte oder bürgerlich Verbliebne überging. (3, 246) 31)

Something of a historical background is attempted, for example, at the beginning of the Geschichte des Herzogs (4, 158-60) - noteworthy in the context of what was said on pp.50-52 is the beginning of the first two paragraphs: "Der deutsche Adel..." (author's underlining). But although the doctor claims it is "ohne...Kommentar" (4, 158), the historical 'facts' reflect a strongly personal flavour and rather less objectivity than is essayed in most historical chronicling. Laube's Das junge Europa inevitably moves much further in this direction with the outer books of the trilogy ("Die Poeten" and "Die Bürger") being written in

the form of correspondences (see for instance Hippolyt's observations on the Parisians - III,10).³²⁾

The Duchess at any rate intends overlooking the subtleties of class barriers in inviting these landowners (cf. above - 3, 246) too to her entertainment (but not because of any real generosity and still less through any coming to grips with the historical reality - "nach mildem, verständigem Frauensinne" (3, 247) is the patronizing nature of her motivation). But this the Domherr - portrayed as a highly dubious, yet influential character - energetically opposes, and it seems that his exclusive view of the nobility will in fact prevail, for the Duchess bows to his judgement. Much fuss is made about the necessity of purely noble blood for such a 'noble' spectacle (3, 247-48), such a highly self-conscious debate being in itself symptomatic of the crumbling of the old order. Yet the spectacle itself is severely compromised. The Duchess' original conception of a tournament founders, and Hermann's suggestion for a replacement, the Karussell, runs anything but a smooth course and is dominated by the spectacular antics of an intruder, the nephew of the disgruntled Enterbten. The original notion of an exclusively noble entertainment is also compromised. Those initially excluded remain so. But the blurring of class boundaries becomes further apparent when the Duchess is obliged to extend her invitations to the "Honoratioren des Städtchens" to swell the "dünnen Reihen des Adels" (3, 292), and even then the visit of a regiment is timely to cover her embarrassment. The nobility is no longer self-sufficient and has to turn to the class from which it formerly remained distant. The old distinctions are not as sharp, but they do survive at a formal level. The nobles ride in their carriages to the arena, while "die Bürgerli-

chen gingen zu Fuß voran" (3, 305). But once inside, "die verschiedenen Stände...saßen gemischt untereinander" (3, 306). Yet when pages collect votes cast for the Queen of the Festival, "der Unterschied der Stände [wurde] scharf im Auge gehalten", this on account of "der nunmehr doch sehr gemischten Natur der Gesellschaft" (3, 307). So that the compromise to which the Duchess has been forced by lack of numbers is an uneasy one, and while concessions are seemingly made on the one hand, on the other the original conception is rigidly retained.

The whole Karussell-episode highlights the folly of trying to revivify past ages as a kind of temporary escape from the present one (a similar phenomenon is also observed in the sphere of the church³³). Certain weaknesses of the nobility do indeed cause the class to emerge in a rather unfavourable light. But the ascendant bourgeoisie and its economic concomitant, the industrial era, fare no better in the novel. Here the lawyer's aesthetic rejection of the future (see pp.54-55) asserts itself again. Not that this deficiency is confined to the industrial realm - Hermann is disturbed by "der Mangel jeglicher Poesie" (3, 409) in the Berlin circles in which he moves (cf. again Wienbarg: "es ist verdammt wenig Poesie in dieser Zeit"!). Or in one of his letters to the Arzt, the Herausgeber laments the political ugliness of the age: "Was ist also das politische Leben unsrer Zeit?...Ich kann daran nichts Schönes erblicken" (4, 116).

One might compare here the attitude of the narrator Stendhal in the celebrated passage from Le Rouge et le Noir:

Eh, monsieur, un roman est un miroir qui se promène sur une grande route. Tantôt il reflète à vos yeux l'azur des cieux, tantôt la fange des borbiers de la route. Et l'homme qui porte le miroir dans sa hotte sera par vous accusé d'être immoral! Son miroir montre la fange, et vous accusez le miroir! Accusez bien plutôt le grand chemin où est le borbier, et plus encore l'inspecteur des routes qui laisse l'eau croupir et le borbier se former.
34)

Despite the protestations of the Herausgeber, politics of course do obtrude in Immermann and also Stendhal. Stendhal in fact gives a mock apology for this:

- La politique, reprend l'auteur, est une pierre attachée au cou de la littérature, et qui, en moins de six mois, la submerge. La politique au milieu des intérêts d'imagination, c'est un coup de pistolet au milieu d'un concert. ...
- Si vos personnages ne parlent pas politique, reprend l'éditeur, ce ne sont plus des Français de 1830, et votre livre n'est plus un miroir, comme vous en avez la prétention... (376)

Here the aesthetic impropriety of politics impinging on literature (Stendhal's favourite image of a pistol-shot in a concert) is lightly touched upon. But in the first quotation above he very clearly differentiates the role of the novel as a 'mirror' of society from indignation at the actual social conditions portrayed.

In Immermann's novel, Hermann's verdict is reserved above all for his uncle's factories: "Der Sinn für Schönheit fehlte hier ganz" (4, 23). This aesthetic criterion seems to be the main criticism voiced in the novel of the whole approaching industrial era. The poetic aura of the conclusion, with an autumnal mood of sunset as a backdrop to Hermann, his sister and his beloved, seems likewise an effort to provide a bastion in mood - since one in more concrete, economic terms is not presented - against the

encroachments of the new age with the resultant loss of 'beauty'. The author's presence is strongly felt in the concluding Montage. This accords with the one ray of hope seen by the princely narrator of the Mondscheinmärchen:

Nur eine Entwicklung der Schönheit sehe ich noch vor uns, nämlich die poetische; in der Dichtkunst hat, wie ich glaube, Deutschland den Gipfel noch nicht erreicht. (4, 64)

But the possibility of Poesie or "Schönheit" surviving in a literature of the future is not examined in the novel, and even the prince's prophecy would seem blighted by his earlier comments on the inhibiting conditions for the plastic arts (why only these?): "'keine Heldengruppen, ... keine Erscheinungen, ... kein Genre'" (4, 63).

For all this, the picture presented is not wholly dark. Even in the scenes at the beginning of Book 7, where comments on the scarring of the district by the inroads of industrialization are really scathing (4, 14), Immermann hastens to balance the picture, acknowledging the many trades and skills to which simple peasants had turned (4, 21) through the uncle's influence. Preceding a further bitter criticism of industrialism comes a balancing of its good and bad aspects. On the one hand:

...wurde es ihm [Hermann] hier recht klar, welch ein großes Ding das Geld und ein diese Weltkraft bewegender verständiger Geist sei... (4, 22),

on the other:

...empfand er einen tiefen Widerwillen gegen die mathematische Berechnung menschlicher Kraft und menschlichen Fleißes, gegen die Verdrängung lebendiger Mittel durch tote... (ibid.)

Actually very little of the 'vital' ("lebendig") side of life is seen in this novel, and however vivid Immermann's pictures of mechanization are, they do not really invoke a sense of loss. For what is supposedly vanishing in their wake is posited rather than presented as a positive counterweight. The declining aristocracy is celebrated for its former glory rather than ever being seen in it, and the descriptions of Nature are so minimal as to provide no real substance for lament at its defacing (differing in this from the accumulation of such a sense of loss in Raabe's Die Akten des Vogelsangs - cf. p.92, n.24).

The accession to financial supremacy of the uncle by no means involves the extinction of those he has succeeded:

Mit allem Geldevermochte er daher nicht, sich vor den Reminiszenzen des Adels und der Kirche zu schützen, über deren Eigentum der Zeitgeist ihn zum Herrn gemacht hatte. (4, 29)

He even unwittingly encourages those forces he despises: "die sitzende Lebensart" (4, 29) required by work in the factories leads to an upsurge of Pietistic sentiment. His personal antagonism to the churches does not necessarily typify his class, but this little episode does illustrate the Old surviving in spite of, and in some cases nourished by, the New. There is a constant interplay, not an unswervingly ascending line for the bourgeoisie and a descending one for the nobility. Immermann attempts a balanced perspective, which if anything inclines in personal sympathies to the nobility.

But to follow the resolution of this interplay, a more detailed discussion of the novel's conclusion is required.

(3) The conclusion of the novel

Während das Werk in seinem Schlusse gerade lehrt, daß die schrecklichsten Zerstörungen die in der Zeit schlummernden Heilungskräfte nicht vernichten können, sahen viele nur die abgelebten Figuren...Es war mir merkwürdig, daß gerade den frischesten und gesündesten Lesern der Atem der Hoffnung aus den "Epigonen" entgegenwehete... (5, 371)

Thus Immermann in his Memorabilien. It must be said at the outset that poetic achievement has not matched poetic intention.

The final two chapters of the novel bring various strands of the story to a resolution of sorts. Many of these are connected with the idea of heredity, just as the novel's title implies the inheritance of a past which cannot be harmonized with the present. First and foremost, Hermann's own inheritance is seen in the wider terms of the age he lives in - "der Sohn deiner Zeit" (4, 261) is Wilhelmi's expression. The age, whose Umwälzungen have been repeatedly mentioned (finally in an editorial footnote explaining how the author came to possess his material - 4, 262), does not act as an incubator, but leads to abrupt and consequently stunted growth. Even in this elaborate image of Wilhelmi, a brighter future is assumed with talk of "einem zweiten, gesünderen Nachwuchs" (4, 261).

Then we hear of Hermann's solitary walk to the Hünenborn and the interring of Flämmchen's bones. This action gains the approval of Wilhelmi - "Der Mensch bedarf solcher symbolischer Handlungen, um sich von einer Last gänzlich zu befreien!" (4, 261-62) - , who in his aphoristic tone of these final pages aspires to something of the priestly bearing of a Sarastro, a dignity ill-

prepared by the earlier portrayal of a hypochondriac. A symbolic quality attaches not only to Hermann's action here, but also to the whole episode of the dead child. The fact that Hermann has a child by Flämmchen shows that he, too, has known the complications leading to other births of socially mixed origins in the novel. But the child's death removes the possibility of still further complications along the line of Hermann's or Ferdinand's tortuous ancestry.

The latter instance has shown the brittleness of both feuding classes. It is ironic that Graf Julius can only hope to perpetuate the noble line through the bourgeoisie, when Ferdinand ^{inc}~~ap~~pedes to the uncle's wealth. And on the other side, the uncle who thrives on calculation is crossed in his reckoning and dies at the revelation of the illusion under which he has lived. The ultimate irony comes when the funeral processions for both the uncle and the duke cross paths, and the bitter class-enemies during their lifetime are buried simultaneously (4, 222).

Hermann, once apprised of his background, is - through the death of his child - not subject to any such further complications. But the dubious nature of his own inheritance remains. Again Wilhelmi abstracts a more general sense from the personal fates of the figures, seeing in them "de(n) ganze(n) Kampf alter und neuer Zeit" (4, 265 - cf. Fontane's treatment of this pair of opposites, p.218ff.). He berates the vain aspirations of both nobility and bourgeoisie, and finds emerging from their conflict "fremdartige Kombinationen" (4, 265) whereby tensions are not resolved by any clear synthesis:

Das Erbe des Feudalismus und der Industrie fällt endlich einem zu, der beiden Ständen angehört und keinem. (ibid.)

Again we see the whole inheritance complex - the economic inheritance falls to one whose family inheritance has made him simultaneously an heir of both classes, and classless. 35) This duality reflects onto the legal side ("diesen rechtmäßig-unrechtmäßigen Erwerb" says Hermann), and so he resolves to administer it as a "Depositär" (ibid.). Yet although he says this notion springs from *Wilhelmi*, the two have used it very differently. For whereas *Wilhelmi* envisages a positive future ("ein Depositum...für ein nachkommendes glücklicheres Geschlecht" - 3, 417), Hermann merely sets his office against the "Tag der Abtretung" (4, 265). In regarding himself as a 'depository', Hermann retreats from the issues of responsibility of the conflict, consciously isolates himself from the struggle he so clearly sees and clings to an idyll which he acknowledges to be a fleeting refuge from those forces which must destroy it.

He then announces his policy of removing the factories and returning the land to agriculture. Within the framework of this novel, this is a gigantic step. For the factories which are anathema to Hermann have throughout been vying with noble estates, and while these estates presumably support farmers, the reader has repeatedly been shown the aristocratic administrators of those estates and not the rural workers. Hermann's statement: "Die Erde gehört dem Pfluge,..." (4, 266) is nothing short of visionary, for within this novel this possibility has been neglected. The situation differs from that of Münchhausen, where the whole ethos of an industrious, virtuous Volk

emerges organically from the novel and can justifiably (from a narrative viewpoint) be set against the nobility. 36)

Hermann's conception is an individual's solitary defiance of "einem trocknen Mechanismus" (4, 266), scarcely an adequately motivated solution (on the level of fiction) of the problems posed by the novel. The hybrid heir of both noble and bourgeois lines, Hermann expounds a 'vision' at the end which is likewise hybrid, simply forestalling the inevitable. The ending of Münchhausen is similarly visionary:

Unsere Zeit ist ein Kolumbus. Sie sieht wie der Genueser mit den Blicken des Geistes das ferne Land hinter der Wüste des Ozeans. Desselbengleichen erlebt sie die Geschehnisse des Kolumbus. (2, 416)

In the Epigonen "das ferne Land" is perceived by Hermann, namely a soul-destroying industrialism. Unlike the Columbus-vision, Hermann's is unbearable, and thus he retreats before it. In the last sentence of Münchhausen, "der Atem der Hoffnung" (see Immermann's verdict at the beginning of this section) does indeed waft through any delusions of the present:

Und es kann sein, daß auch die Zeit nach Ophir und nach des Tartarchanes Gebiete entsteuert zu sein wähnet und in diesem Wahne, ein erhaben phantasie-render Kolumbus, abstirbt, und daß erst spätere Jahre erfahren, Amerika sei an jenem Morgen entdeckt worden. (3, 417)

No such hope for a future, more enlightened generation emerges from the Epigonen (at least not as an overall impression; Wilhelmi does speak in such terms - 3, 417 and 4, 261).

It is this inadequacy of motivation that makes Hermann's vision unsatisfactory on a narrative level; it seems even more problematic than the historical implications of what he proclaims. For however 'reactionary' he might seem in acting counter to the currents of the age, he does clearly recognize those currents, and acknowledges his whole venture to be merely a staying of the inevitable. 37) Again Immermann has anticipated later trends; certainly Hermann's failure to move with the mainstream he observes is far from violating the historical situation at the time (1829) of the novel's conclusion:

...je mehr also aus wirtschaftlichem Fortschritt politischer Anspruch hergeleitet werden konnte, desto deutlicher wirkte sich aus, daß trotz der radikalen Umschichtung der Vermögens-, Einkommens-, Grundbesitz-, Bevölkerungs- und Klassenverhältnisse während des ersten Drittels des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Ablösung der alten machttragenden Schichten nicht stattgefunden hatte. Nach wie vor war der grundbesitzende Adel der Maßstab, an dem politischer Einfluß und gesellschaftliche Macht gemessen wurden ... 38)

It is not even as if Hermann's 'alternative society' is made laughable by no longer being historically viable in a matter of a few years:

Noch Ende der Siebziger Jahre war Deutschland ein Agrarstaat; die Mehrzahl der Deutschen wohnte nicht in Städten, sondern auf dem Land und fand ihre politische Repräsentation überwiegend im konservativen Altpreußentum. 39)

Thus it seems that criticism such as Hans Mayer's =

Es fehlt die Erkenntnis des geschichtlich Neuen, das Immermann zwar in einzelnen Symptomen... zu erkennen vermag 40) -

is rendered problematic by Hermann's strange decision. Even if the historically new is not embraced, it is recognized

and bowed to as a historical development - "wir können ihren Lauf nicht hemmen" (4, 266) - , but a stay of respite is sought as a provisional, individual 'solution'.⁴¹⁾ For reasons already mentioned (cf. p.71) this seems unsatisfying on aesthetic grounds.

But the historical level is not the only one at which a resolution of sorts is essayed. There is another, albeit one disproportionately stressed at the end of the novel. Hermann says:

...alle Fieber der Weltgeschichte werden endlich wenigstens in dem einzelnen Gemüte von zwei treuen Armen und Augen ausgeheilt. (4, 267)

In other words the turmoil of the age can be overridden anyway, according to this view, by love. And the extent to which an individual will be affected by historical forces is relativized to his own personal happiness. Again, this whole side of the novel is one developed far more extensively and convincingly in Münchhausen. There, the editor's pronouncements in his final letter⁴²⁾ do serve to crystallize tendencies running through the work (cf. the whole Oberhof-section). In the Epigonen, on the other hand, Hermann's statement above strikes virtually a new note. The final tableau (which realizes his statement in his own case) is hastily assembled and then fades out almost at once, having neither the quality of hailing a new age as in Münchhausen, nor - through its abruptness and the author's diffident leavetaking in the last sentence - of any particularly triumphant solution to the personal vicissitudes featured throughout the novel. To return to Immermann's retrospective appraisal of his work (cf. p.68),

"die in der Zeit schlummernden Heilungskräfte" brought into play do not (either in their brief appearance at the end or in the whole tone of the work) balance "die schrecklichsten Zerstörungen" in the Epigonen. Immermann's Zeitroman thus capitulates before any kind of poetically or historically valid solution to the problems of the Zeit which it has thrown up with such clarity and such variety of perspective. The historical implications which have been realized have also been sidestepped in an 'individual' solution. The nobility, for all its weaknesses and sapped vigour, is affectionately clung to, while the bogey of industrialism, championed by the new-found wealth of the bourgeoisie, is to be averted as long as possible.

(4) Contemporary history

The affinity between this work and a historical account has already been mentioned (p.45); this section is devoted to that side of the novel. Any historical event portrayed in fiction of course partakes of the nature of that fiction. The interplay between historical and fictional reality will be seen more clearly in a discussion of the ending of Problematische Naturen in the next chapter. When the further step is taken of referring not simply to a historical event in broad terms, but to actual personages, the possibilities increase.

At the time when Immermann was writing, Georg Büchner created in Dantons Tod a drama where a considerable proportion of the content consists of documented speeches by the (historical) characters concerned. Despite

this, Büchner's play gives a highly personalized portrayal of the French Revolution, and the historical issues raised are basically a springboard for ones of a more existential nature. The extreme in this direction comes with documentary plays such as Peter Weiss' Die Ermittlung, where a bare minimum of the playwright's own language supplements historically documented speeches. Even Weiss' plays, however, are not reducible to pieces of staged history, since his process of sifting and arranging facts (to incorporate those pointing irresistibly to the viewpoint he wishes to stress) goes well beyond that of a historian gleaning what finally appears in his work from the welter of "facts" and documents confronting him.

With Immermann, the central historical process presented anew by his novel is the class conflict, already discussed, between an economically waning aristocracy and an emerging bourgeoisie. This is the constant historical background against which the presentation of characters is seen. But several other historical currents are also integrated into the novel's fictional framework, and several historical characters appear either with name unchanged (e.g. Klopstock - 4, 245), as unnamed yet unmistakable (direct reference to E.T.A. Hoffmann's works but not to the man himself - 3, 127), or as a Schlüsselfigur (Medon modelled on Karl Follen, etc.). The satirical part of Münchhausen abounds with open or veiled references to contemporary figures and institutions, while in H. Mann's Im Schlaraffenland this possibility of the satiric Zeitroman is directed at types intended to represent society rather than any one leading member of it. Die Epigonen

has both possibilities; alongside the Klopstocks and Hoffmanns appear figures like Madame Meyer:

...dem Typus der jüdischen Salondamen nachgebildet, wie er in Henriette Herz, Dorothea Veit, Rahel Varnhagen hervortritt, ohne daß von einer bestimmten Porträtähnlichkeit zu sprechen wäre. (3, 11 - Einleitung des Herausgebers)

Such allusions lend much flavour to the work as a depiction of a particular time; simultaneously of course they can date far more quickly than the overriding historical issues. After this preamble, let us examine how these possibilities work out in the practice of this novel.

Both Hermann and the son of the Konrektor are seen as chiffres of the age in accounts of their personal history preceding the action of the novel (3, 39 and 195). On successive lines we read of Hermann's participation in the wars of liberation and then at the Wartburg, a fiery activism present only in the past and notably absent in the era of the Epigonen. Again, Hermann is individualized to the least possible degree, while the uncertain fate of the son of the Konrektor is one among many mirrors of the turbulence of the times. The "Umwälzungen der Zeit" (cf. p.68) are not only mentioned as an abstract feature. They are also described as impinging on the lives of individuals such as the Johanniter (3, 70) and the Domherr (3, 254), while Hermann speaks of this situation in his childhood (3, 146-47), and his uncle shifts the responsibility Hermann lays at his door to the "Verwicklungen der Zeit" (3, 295). Other examples, while not abstracting this general verdict on the age, reinforce the impression of its topsyturvy nature - the innkeeper suffering on the

same day for "Laster und Tugend" (3, 48) (this admittedly a survival of the novel's picaresque origins), and the doctor's 'arranging' a love affair through conscious quackery ("Der Leutnant und das Fräulein" - 3, 90-100). The exposure of Medon is symptomatic of the age's contradictions (cf. 4, 75). These are all comparatively small touches, but their accumulation in the lives of the fictitious characters illustrates the historical phenomenon concerning Immermann.

A more specific slice of history appears, re-formed, in Book 5, entitled "Die Demagogen". These exponents of revolution are not treated sympathetically by Immermann, but their grievances do provide some more local colouring of the time. For instance the stranger⁴³⁾ who defrauds Hermann of his horse is "gehetzt von den Schergen der neununddreißig Tyrannen" (3, 351); the hopeless entanglement of the numerous states, each with its own petty interests, is still a sorely felt barrier to unification in one nation. The absurd, inflated notions and plans of a group led by one Brüggemann from Mecklenburg are catalogued:

Frisch, fromm, frei, fröhlich, das ist immer die Hauptsache. Auf einen Kopf oder ein paar krummgeschlossene Knochen kommt es dabei nicht an; mehr als totmachen können sie uns nicht. (3, 360)

Empty slogans and ideas devoid of practical application typify the demagogues: before having achieved the power they envisage for themselves, they debate the issue of what should happen to the kings and princes who fall before them, and show in this issue a disunity rivalling that of the states they seek to overthrow. Their 'pro-

gramme' proclaims a non-viable, radical alternative to the uneasy blending of old and new bewailed by Wilhelmi in the present:

Schwer Werk liegt auf deutscher Jugend: wir sollen die alte, dumm und faul gewordne Zeit wieder einrenken...Es ruht, wie gesagt, auf der Jugend; die Alten sind nichts nutze. (3, 363)

Not only does such revolutionary ardour betray itself in its formulation. But a certain despair at a revolutionary spirit in general (3, 346-47) is expressed by the editorial accompaniment⁴⁴⁾ in its comments on the case of the Philhellene. The crassly philistine existence embraced by this erstwhile zealot serves to unmask the "verkappte Bürger" at large.

The extremism of the Demagogen is found too in a less localized aspect of the age, education. Throughout Book 3 a comparison is made between the education systems of the Edukationsrat and the Konrektor. Both systems debase initially good principles through their stubborn oneness. Thus they both embody and help explain the origins of a malaise of the age⁴⁵⁾ emerging from the novel, namely an absence of roundedness, of breadth of vision. Hermann witnesses a rather absurd scene in which the fledglings of the Edukationsrat illustrate the dangers of a fragmented knowledge gained through over-specialization (3, 189). The Book is not as closely related to the contemporary reality as Book 5, and is concerned rather with playing off more general pedagogic principles against one another. Other issues raised, however, belong quite specifically to the day, such as that of the "Verhältnis der neu erworbenen Provinzen zu dem Haupt- und Stammlande"

(3, 394).⁴⁶⁾ A long discussion evolves about this, with different speakers from Medon's circle shedding light on the question from various directions, but without any 'solution' being reached. As Mayne says:

Den Altpreußen Immermann, der im neupreußischen Westen als Jurist tätig war, mußten solche Fragen besonders interessieren. (3, 452 - Anm. to 394)

We do find contemporary figures entering the arena of the novel. Under the pseudonym of "der Hindu", A. W. Schlegel appears, as elsewhere "der Beamte" seems to point to E. T. A. Hoffmann.⁴⁷⁾ Though embodying certain characteristics of their namesakes, these figures (as frequently occurs in Münchhausen) are Kunstfiguren, in no sense miniature biographical sketches. This applies of course too to Klopstock's portrayal in the letter "Graf Heinrich an Hermann, den Vater" (4, 244-46). The method of directly introducing figures (such as Klopstock in this case) brings them nearer to the reader than would reference in either a descriptive or a satirical narrative vein. When integrated into the surrounding narrative, these direct references can add a further semblance of reality. (In this case the letters, remote in time, have long seemed altogether remote, when after frequent mention they are finally disclosed at the end of the novel. This structural weakness works to the advantage of the Klopstock-description, as a certain involuntarily humorous ring⁴⁸⁾ about it does not further distance the reader.)

The appearance of Klopstock in his father's day has in any case been motivated already by Hermann's nostalgic yearning for friendship in the more ardent

spirit of the Empfindsamkeit-era. A single generation has sufficed to distance the earlier attitude to the point where it is ridiculed ("jener verspotteten empfindsamen Zeiten" - 3, 415). But Hermann regrets the loss of the intense joy of close personal relationships, a closeness forfeited through striving after "weiteren und höheren Zwecken" (3, 416). Yet these prove vain, lacking the firm base of a unified nation or established public institutions, so that modern man hovers between the rejected past and the unattainable aspirations of the present. Hermann, generalizing the age's feeling when he says "unser Herz", rues "den Mangel eines Freundes, einer Geliebten, eines Hauses" (ibid.), which further contradicts the claims of the Herausgeber examined on p.46. The verdict extracted from this dilemma - "Wahrlich, es ließe sich ein Werther des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts schreiben" (ibid.) - can be seen as a neat self-advertisement for Immermann's own Werther-sequel, Die Papierfenster des Eremiten (1822)!

A variation of the allusion-technique comes with reference to Weber's opera Der Freischütz, direct in Münchenhausen (2, 389) but indirect here (4, 208-9; cf. also 3, 276 - "Kaspar und Max"). The Kaspar-like Kammerjäger tells Ferdinand fragments of the opera's plot, not without confusion,⁴⁹⁾ reshaping it to motivate Ferdinand's fatal attempt to snatch the leaden ring from the pump. Here it is not a matter of a historical figure appearing in fictional garb, but of a myth - with the opera's tremendous popular success one might well speak of a myth - drawn from historical reality being blended with the novel's fictional 'reality'.

The method by which Zeitgeschichte is most frequently presented in this novel is that of a reflective judgement by a character.⁵⁰⁾ The tenor of these judgements is generally critical, a polyphonic lament on the malaise announced already by the novel's title. Thus Medon, railing against the prevailing despotism, comes in one of his rare verdicts to the following conclusion: "An diesen Erinnerungen hängt unser Dasein" (3, 406). The particular grievance of this example expresses the general blight felt by others. The Arzt presents a retrospective viewpoint on the age in his correspondence with the Herausgeber (e.g. 4, 112), but the most frequently heard spokesman of the period (prior to the 1830 revolution) from within it is Wilhelmi. This hypochondriac is given to violent diatribes, but these are often ironized and thus lose in impact as valid analyses.⁵¹⁾ His sententious but impotent utterances are seen as typical of his compatriots' expending energy on speculation rather than concrete activity.⁵²⁾ But his analyses contain insights, as when he verbally demolishes the changing façades of the age, the:

...frommen Rock,...den patriotischen Rock,...den historischen Rock,...den Kunstroek und...wie viele Röcke noch sonst! (3, 55)

No deeply-rooted opinions or values, but Röcke to be cast off at a moment's notice and replaced by another.⁵³⁾

Wilhelmi it is, too, who is the mouthpiece for the most detailed analysis of Epigonentum. He exposes unsparingly the dilettantism occasioned by the inheritance of a mental and spiritual wealth, the replacement of "Überzeugung" by often completely unfounded, empty "Ansichten"

(3, 136). Elsewhere he repeats the popular catchcry of an "Übergangsperiode" (3, 416),⁵⁴⁾ here he elaborates on the historical setting of his own age:

Man muß noch zum Teil einer andern Periode angehört haben, um den Gegensatz der beiden Zeiten, deren jüngste die Revolution in ihrem Anfangspunkte bezeichnet, ganz empfinden zu können. (3, 135)

There seems no point in lingering over the concept of the Epigone, which has been treated in detail by Manfred Windfuhr.⁵⁵⁾ It is a condition which, since Immermann reintroduced the term to more modern usage, has been spelt out under the same heading (as in poems by Hofmannsthal (Epigonen, 1891) and Keller (Ghasel I, 1847) cited by Windfuhr⁵⁶⁾), or has been described in strikingly similar terms without using the tag Epigone.⁵⁷⁾

Goethe's strong influence on Immermann - not only in works preceding it (cf. p.80) but also in the Epigonen (cf. p.45ff.) - inhibited rather than enhanced the latter's creations. It is thus difficult to accept Claude David's answer to the question he poses:

Auf wen... werden wir den Begriff anwenden?...Immermann, der das Übel erkannt und angeprangert hat, zieht sich damit selbst aus dem Spiel. 58)

Certainly consciousness of the dilemma does not bring its own cure for Wilhelmi in his assaults on it, nor for the editor (cf. 4, 109). We have seen (cf. p.50) how early central issues of the novel appear in veiled form. The essence of Epigontum, an unmanageable abundance inherited from a preceding generation, is also presented briefly even before the declamatory Wilhelmi appears. At the beginning of ch.2, Hermann, alone in a wood, muses on the contrast between the

harmony of Nature in the ordered progression of the seasons, and his own precocious generation, transposing images from the first context to the second to show the discrepancy:

Wir armen Menschen! Wir Frühgereiften! Wir haben keine Knospen mehr, keine Blüten; mit dem Schnee auf dem Haupte werden wir schon geboren. (3, 19) 59)

Immermann's portrayal of Zeitgeschichte in this novel thus covers a very wide field. It ranges from mention of actual historical events (e.g. the 'Wartburg Festival') through the incorporation as fictitious characters of figures drawn from contemporary reality (see p.79) to a verbal reckoning with the nature of the age, in which the most significant feature is the problematic state heralded by the novel's title and running through it as a leitmotif.

(5) Other aspects of the age - manners, customs

The age typified here (see esp. 3, 36-37) inclines strongly to an observation of external politenesses and forms, to a preservation of harmony midst the divergence of opinions in all spheres, rather than coming to grips with the differences underlying these opinions. Medon, for instance, idolized by the society of the Berlin salons, had the art:

...auf die glänzendste Weise zu resumieren, wo dann jeder die seinige [Meinung] in so schöner Gestalt wieder erblickte, daß dem eifrigsten Streite ein allgemeines Wohlbehagen folgte, die Sache selbst freilich unerledigt blieb. (3, 383)

The multitude of opinions (cf. also p.81) finds spokesmen throughout the novel, but only rarely champions in action. The method again employed is a programmatic analysis of the issue, a conversation consisting of generalizations and

abstractly presented ideas. These sometimes transcend the class boundaries one might have expected, so that when Hermann describes good society as a kind of art-work (3, 36-37), the sentiment - coming from him - cannot be restricted to the aristocracy.

The pretentiousness that can veil itself beneath such external harmony as Medon ensures is exposed in impassioned terms by Wilhelmi, who laments the replacing of card-tables at social-gatherings by "Musikpulte" and "Lesebrettchen". This change does not reflect a new level of cultural interest, but a dilettantic toleration of supposedly intellectual pursuits because they belong to 'good tone'.

...dieser bunte Jahrmarkt flutet zwischen Musik, Vorlesen und sogenannter geistreicher Unterhaltung hin und her, mit erlognem Interesse, mit scheinbarer Erhebung. (3, 54 - author's underlining)

What gives itself an aura of cultural refinement is in fact pretentious philistinism.

A grimmer feature of the age, the duel, also appears here, though it is treated far more cursorily than for example its absurd companion in Turgenev's Fathers and Sons (1862). In both cases anything but an air of grandeur or tension prevails, and in each case the duel gains "wegen des Mangels an Sekundanten ein sehr unförmliches Ansehn" (3, 82) (in Fathers and Sons, Ch.24, Peter the valet is present as a "witness"). This reflects the way in which - in both works - qualities such as heroism or old-style chivalry are shown to be questionable in the present age. This feature of the duel is also described in Le Rouge et

le Noir (1830), or, with the irony of a greater historical distance, in Broch's Pasenow (1931-32).⁶⁰⁾ Immermann confines himself to a rather matter-of-fact description and to locating this one duel within its historical context rather than elaborating it to be something significant in the personal fates of those concerned. Thus we hear in some detail of the differing methods of fighting employed by the opponents and whence they originate, and then a general observation to which this duel proves to be an unimportant exception:

Indessen wäre dieser Handel, wie so mancher, durch die Ermüdung der Kämpfer wohl zum unblutigen Ziele gediehen... (3, 83)

Again Immermann's prime concern is with depicting the age rather than individualizing his characters.

A widespread feature of the age, the secret society,⁶¹⁾ is ironized by Immermann. After expressing lofty sentiments, Wilhelmi and his neophyte Hermann give themselves over to the more worldly pleasure of immoderate eating and drinking. Flämmchen, who has caused the abrupt disappearance of the holy vessels by her intrusion, completes the deflating of the previous ceremony by drawing moustaches on the busts of Plato and Pythagoras. The masonic tradition is thus rather crudely satirized by Immermann, yet another symptom of the crumbling of traditions and ideals in the age he is portraying.

Immermann has multiplied signs of the moral decay of the times (cf. too 3, 353-55). Hermann is dazzled by the front presented by Medon and Johanna as a married couple; "klassisch" (3, 383) is the word he uses to describe

their relationship. Later it is revealed that this is in fact a marriage purely in form, not substance. The whole basis of society seems to be this element of the façade it presents; no longer are there any stable, unassailable values, and naïve observers like Hermann must perpetually be disappointed. The discrepancy between the fair appearance and the ugly reality is a veritable leitmotif of the Zeit as portrayed in Immermann's Zeitroman.

This weakness of Hermann's must be borne in mind when appraising other judgements made by him. His first impressions of Berlin's hectic existence are of a "moralischen Schwindel" (3, 381). He finds stability in the society assembled at Medon's house, a society whose mental stimulation enthuses him. The value of these conversations is ironized by Immermann, in that Medon often concludes them by flattering both parties (cf. p.83). Thus in this mental climate the proponents of arguments are more important than the arguments themselves,⁶²⁾ not out of respect for human dignity but as a palliative to the ego. Medon's whole standing as the leader of this salon has already been cast in a highly questionable light. He answers the need of his circle for a spiritual leader, is in fact "ein weltlicher Messias dem der Erlösung aus Unsicherheit und Langeweile bedürftigen Geschlechte..." (ibid.). The adoration of Medon's admirers is equated with "Vasallendienste" (3, 382); Medon himself is described in terms of "Großartigkeit" rather than "Größe" (ibid.), again a reflection of the inflated, basically empty age. Hermann's feeling of wellbeing in this group thus becomes rather pathetic, his praise of its qualities rather dubious.

Immermann's editorial comments often overcome one problem of the Zeitroman, namely how to present a solid, more realistic picture of the time when the characters' utterances are subjective, and in Hermann's case governed by an all too palpable naïveté. The same subjectivity with regard to contemporary historical reality of course applies to these editorial comments, but they do draw together, and thus transcend in general validity, those of the individual characters. As it is, Immermann achieves a vivid picture of the Berlin salons and the fickleness of their members with their diverging, successive crazes. This is furthered in the following chapter, where Madame Meyer's circle of art-lovers is described, with reference made to current interest in neo-Gothic and Byzantine art forms. Hermann is again aware of "Affektation" (3, 387), but again does not let this insight spoil his feeling of wellbeing.

From these examples alone then it can be seen that Immermann presents a very comprehensive picture of the manners and customs of his age. Furthermore, he shows them to be a function of Epigonentum. This central thread of Epigonentum serves Immermann well, uniting the various strands of an age of reluctant, overburdened heirs. The past is crumbling, the future uncertain, and the present a bewildering flux of unresolved historical forces, not directed towards any climax like the 1848 Revolution. The same could be said broadly of the narrative in literary-historical terms - it is something of a hotch-potch of styles and traditions. But if it does not represent any clear break with other novel-streams, Immermann's work does broach new territory in its accentuation of the social

reality as a primary concern, and through this significant step paves the way for the development of a Zeitroman-tradition.

Within the period separating Die Epigonen (1836) from Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen (1861-62) the March Revolution had come and gone, leaving many frustrated liberal hopes in its wake. This is not, however, the light in which Spielhagen retrospectively views it in his first and extremely popular Zeitroman, where the Revolution is clearly intended to be the zenith of the work and the panacea for that malady of a pre-Revolution generation expressed in the novel's title. With Spielhagen's novel the more diffidently expressed sympathies of Immermann become almost demagogic hammer-blows (for democracy), an assertion which, it is hoped, will be justified by a detailed study of the work itself.

Footnotes

1. Ludolf Wienbarg, "Wanderungen durch den Thierkreis. Faule und frische Romane" (Hamburg, 1835), in Romantheorie: Dokumentation ihrer Geschichte in Deutschland 1620-1880, hrsg. v. Eberhard Lämmert et al. (Köln/Berlin, 1971), S.298.
2. For the genesis of the novel, see Windfuhr, op. cit., esp. S.49-58, 133-35.
3. Fritz Böttger (Hrsg.), Karl Immermann. Im Schatten des schwarzen Adlers: Ein Dichter- und Zeitbild in Selbstzeugnissen, Werkproben, Briefen und Berichten (Berlin, 1967), S.403.
4. Emil Grütter, Immermanns 'Epigonen': Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Romans (Diss. Zürich, 1951). Grütter defines his task thus:

Die folgende Darstellung untersucht also weniger die Problematik des restaurierten Adels und des dazu im Gegensatz stehenden Industrialismus usf., sondern sucht den "Stil" und die innere Struktur des Werks herauszuschälen. (S.5)

But then he concedes:
Allgemein kann man zum Prosastil der "Epigonen" sagen, daß er blaß und wenig persönlich ist, so daß sich eine eingehende Untersuchung kaum lohnt. (S.37)

In fact, in this work of fewer than 60 pages, there is a solitary chapter of 3 pages on "Sprachstil und Erzählungstechnik". And in the following verdict, the accent has shifted already to the work's depiction of an age:
Dennoch aber können wir der Leistung, eine verworrene Zeit in einem leicht lesbaren, gefälligen [!] Roman dargestellt zu haben, unsere Achtung und Bewunderung nicht versagen. (S.40)
5. Anita Moritz, Die Raumstruktur in Immermanns 'Epigonen': Eine Untersuchung zur epischen Raumgestaltung am Beispiel eines Zeitromans (Diss. Göttingen, 1955).
6. E.g. commentating the Prügelszene:

...saß auf dem Stuhle und ließ alle zehn Finger im Gesichte des Reitknechts spazieren gehen, (die zehn Finger - statt Hand! - personifiziert und in Handlung ergeben ein komisch-anschauliches Bild) welcher, die Farben des Regenbogens vor den Augen sehend (ironisch), vorn wieder empfing, was er hinten ausgeteilt hatte (komische Wiederherstellung des Gleichgewichts!). (ibid., S.69-70)
7. Immermanns Werke, hrsg. v. Harry Maync, Bd.4 (Leipzig u. Wien, 1906), S.113, 115. All future text references are to this edition, with the page no. being preceded by the no. of the volume.
For a discussion of this issue, see Sengle, op. cit., II, 295-98, 634. Cf. too Hahl, op. cit., S.9, 73.

8. Benno von Wiese, "Zeitkrise und Biedermeier in Laubes 'Das junge Europa' und in Immermanns 'Epigonen'", Dichtung und Volkstum, 36 (1935), 178-79.
9. Fritz Rumler, Realistische Elemente in Immermanns 'Epigonen' (Diss. München, 1964), S.25.
10. For Immermann's more detailed depiction of the family and its historical location, cf. the section on Die Familie in the Memorabilien (5, 276-329). Also cf. Friedrich Engels' comments on this depiction in Friedrich Engels, "Immermanns 'Memorabilien'" (1841), in Meisterwerke deutscher Literaturkritik, hrsg. und eingeleitet von Hans Mayer, 2. Band (Berlin, 1956), S.258-59.
11. Konrad Hecker, Mensch und Masse: Situation und Handeln der Epigonen gezeigt an Immermann und den Jungdeutschen (Diss. Leipzig, 1933), S.19.
Cf. too Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Zu Immermanns Epigonen-Roman", in Kleine Schriften II: Interpretationen (Tübingen, 1967), S.148-60.
12. Cf. Sengle, op. cit.:
Immermanns Epigonen, welche die schauerempfindsamen Motive nicht konsequent vermeiden, sind vor allem mit den Mitteln des Salonromans an die wesentlichen Probleme der Gesellschaft herangekommen. (II, 888)
13. In the space of a few lines we read: "Daß..., wollen wir grade nicht billigen" and then, shortly after:
Denn darin war er glücklich zu preisen: kein Zweifel, kein Leid versenkte ihn unnütz grübelnd in sein Ich, wo so viele Menschen fruchtlos die Auflösung ihrer Bedrängnisse suchen - fruchtlos, weil alle Selbstbetrachtung nur tiefer zerstört. (3, 285)
14. Windfuhr, op. cit., S.141. Cf. too Sengle, op. cit., II, 917ff.
15. A kind of fusion of the two approaches comes with Musil's Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1970). Ulrich launches into a long, largely abstract discourse on "die Moral unserer Zeit" (739). Agathe seizes her opportunity when he pauses for breath to change the direction of what he is saying:
...denn sie wolle nur wissen, wie es Ulrich in Person halte, und alles, was man denken könne, aufzufassen, sei sie außerstande. (740)
Ulrich obliges to a degree, with an indictment of the age's emphasis on Tatkraft. Yet Agathe:
...bemerkte wohl, daß Ulrich von der großen allgemeinen Rede, womit er begonnen hatte, abgekommen und in etwas ihn persönlicher Angehendes geraten war, aber für ihren Geschmack war auch dieses zu allgemein. (741)
But if his speech does not become significantly more personal, the gestures accompanying it do, as Agathe notices her brother unwittingly defacing the table with his pocketknife and tightening his hand while speaking

"leise gegen die Tatkraft". The preceding two pages and more of text, consisting predominantly of Ulrich's discourse, are summarized in their effect on Agathe as follows:

Die gedankenlose, aber beinahe leidenschaftliche Bewegung dieser Hand, und daß er von Agathe so aufrichtig gesagt hatte, sie sei jung und schön, das war ein sinnloser Zwiegesang über dem Orchester der anderen Worte, dem sie auch gar keinen Sinn verlieh, außer daß sie hier saß und zusah. (741)

Wilhelmi in the Epigonen is of course not ironized in the same way (merely relativized by his hypochondria) and never has a listener like Agathe. But it is easy for the reader to have reservations akin to Agathe's (about Ulrich) vis à vis his declamatory, pathos-ridden utterances.

Windfuhr makes the following claim, unfortunately without substantiating it in any way:

Es ist keine Frage, daß ein Werk wie Musils "Mann ohne Eigenschaften", das verwandte Themen zum Gegenstand hat, von Immermanns "Epigonen" direkt oder indirekt angeregt ist. (op. cit., S.7)

16. Op. cit., S.142.

17. Cf. Immermann's verdict in a letter to Tieck:
Früh fühlte ich mich mit der Zeit und Welt in einem gewissen Widerspruche, oft überkam mich eine große Angst über die Doppelnatur unsrer Zustände, die Zweideutigkeit aller gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse, in diesem Werke legte ich dann alles nieder, was ich mir selbst zur Lösung des Rätsels vorsagte.
Harry Maync, Immermann: Der Mann und sein Werk im Rahmen der Zeit- und Literaturgeschichte (München, 1921), S.383.

18. Published in 1840 under the pseudonym of Friedrich Oswald in Gutzkow's "Telegraph für Deutschland". See Hans Mayer, "Karl Immermanns 'Epigonen'", in Von Lessing bis Thomas Mann (Pfullingen, 1959), S.253.

19. This lament is echoed some 30 years later by the Heimkehrer in Raabe's Abu Telfan, with even the most atrocious external conditions still being preferable to those in Germany.

20. Cf. Immermann's letter of April, 1824 to the Countess Ahlefeldt. Here he mentions:

...die Gewächshäuser des reichen Gutsbesitzers Nathusius in Althaldensleben. ...Sie werden vielleicht von den ausgedehnten Besitzungen und weitgreifenden Wirkungen dieses Mannes gehört haben, der aus einem Bettler ein Millionär wurde und sich eigenes Papiergeld fabriziert, welches bei allen Wechslern Kurs hat. Er ist selbst Botaniker, und bei seinen Mitteln lassen sich denn freilich herrliche Pflanzen und Blumen ziehen. (Böttger, op. cit., S.408)

The self-produced paper-money and its acceptance, plus the love of botany, furnished Immermann with further motifs for his character.

21. Ernest K. Bramsted, Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in Germany, revised ed. (Chicago and London, 1964), p.59.
22. J. H. Clapham, The Economic Development of France and Germany 1815-1914, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1955), p.92, n.1.
23. Bramsted, op. cit., p.54, n.1.
24. Wilhelm Raabe, Die Akten des Vogelsangs (Berlin: Ullstein, 1969), S.26-27.
The lament here is for the incursions made on the still and quiet of home's simple pleasures and on contact, a very unromanticized contact, with nature. Thus Herr Krumhardt, Sr. says:
Die Fabrik auf Hartlebens Grundstück versperert mir den letzten Blick auf den Osterberg...Was gibt es denn eigentlich noch, was uns hier festhalten könnte? Schon der Schatten allein, den mir da hinten die neue Feuermauer auf meine Rosenplantage wirft, verdirbt mir das ganze Pläsier an der Liebhaberei. Mit dem Kaffeetisch im Garten unter diesen Fabrikgerüchen ist's auch nichts mehr. (93-94)
Another example:
Zwischen den neuen Mauern der Fabriken, Mietshäuser, Tanzlokale war's allein die alte Frau, die Mutter Veltens, welche...nicht von ihrer Heimstätte gewichen war und trotz des neuen Lebens, das ihr von allen Seiten unbehaglich, spöttisch, ja drohend sich andrängte, ihr Häuschen, ihr Gärtchen, ihre lebendige Hecke festhielt. (106-7)
25. Cf. too the description of the palace of Graf P...at the beginning of Arnim's Gräfin Dolores (12), where it is admittedly contrasted with the solid, old-style princely castle opposite it.
26. In this "revenge", the Hünenborn has a baneful influence on the uncle's fortunes. Cf. J.F.T. Hope, Epigontum und Biedermeier: Karl Immermanns Verhältnis zur Biedermeierzeit (M.A. Melbourne, 1967), S.191.
27. Cf. Hippolyt's attempt to trace the stages of the nobility's decline in Die Poeten:
...man fing an, die Bestandteile der Gesellschaft zu prüfen, der Adel war genötigt zu glänzen, weil sein Kern verdorrt war.
Heinrich Laube, "Das junge Europa", Vol. 1-3 of Heinrich Laubes gesammelte Werke in fünfzig Bänden, hrsg. v. H.H. Houben (Leipzig: Hesse, 1908), I, 112. Future references are simply indicated by Laube plus vol. and page no.
Wilhelmi uses similar imagery but takes it a step further in reproving Hermann for the naïveté of his outburst:
Ja freilich ist der Adel im Kern verwest; aber das Gehäuse steht noch aufrecht, und man kann sich daran noch immer die Stirn einrennen. (3, 158-59)
28. Walter Höllerer, "Karl Leberecht Immermann", in Zwischen Klassik und Moderne: Lachen und Weiner in der Dichtung einer Übergangszeit (Stuttgart, 1958), S.447-48 (Anm. 36 to S.236).

29. Cf. Hippolyt's same speech as is referred to in n.27:
Die herrschende Klasse, die aus den Anführern oder den Kriegeren oder den Eroberern bestand - denn nur das Schwert war das Kriterium - wurde der Adel... Allmählich...das Schwert reichte nicht mehr ganz aus;...an die Stelle des Schwertrechts trat das historische. (Laube I, 111-12)
In this long letter of Valerius to Konstantin, the whole presentation is similar to that of Die Epigonen in being programmatic, but differs inasmuch as opposing viewpoints are gathered together.
30. Bramsted, op. cit., p.37.
Cf. also the Diakonus' words in Münchhausen:
Gegenwärtig ist durch die Errettung des Vaterlandes, welche von allen Ständen ausging, die höchste Ehre ein Gemeingut geworden... (I, 241)
31. This is in harmony with the answer of the Herausgeber to the question of the Arzt: why he had not written a straightforward history book. His reply uses imagery similar to that in the example cited:
Was ist also das politische Leben unsrer Zeit? Eine große, weite, wüste Überschwemmung, worin eine Welle sich zwar über die andre erhebt, aber gleich darauf von ihrer Nachfolgerin wieder umgestürzt und zerschlagen wird. (4, 116)
And in the same letter:
...der unentschiedne Strudel, in welchen die verschiedenen Strömungen der Lebenstätigkeiten endlich zusammenrinnen, wenn sie in den Konflikten des Öffentlichen einander begegnen,... (ibid.)
32. Cf. Worthmann, speaking of some works of the Jungdeutschen, including Laube's novel:
Im Medium der zeittypischen Briefschreiber spiegelt sich Realität als eine abstrakte, gleichsam literarische Größe. Zeit-Wirklichkeit ist hier kein konkretes Sein, sie wird nicht im Leben der Menschen veranschaulicht, sondern zum Zwecke propagandistischer Wirkung unmittelbar in Reflexion verwandelt. (op.cit., S. 60)
33. The Arzt writes approvingly of a clergyman who has strongly repudiated "alle Versuche, eine gemachte Devotion und Rigorosität früherer Zeiten wieder hervorzubringen" (4, 152).
34. Stendhal, Le Rouge et le Noir (Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, 1957), p.357. Subsequent references are to this edition.
35. It is impossible to draw from this (with validity) the following inference, whose terms ("Aristokratie des Geistes und der Menschlichkeit") go well beyond the confines of this novel:
...die Zukunft gehört also keinem Stande als solchen, sondern einer kleinen Gruppe von mäßigen, vielseitigen, selbstbeherrschten, klassenlosen Mittelmenschen, mit anderen Worten der Aristokratie

des Geistes und der Menschlichkeit, den kulturtragenden Denkern.

Hope, op. cit., S.648.

Nor is Rumler's view (op. cit., S.133) of the synthesis in a wholly positive light acceptable.

36. Cf. Höllerer (op. cit., S.228), who situates Immermann's treatment of the Volk within the literary age.
37. A letter from the statesman Friedrich v. Gentz to Amalie Imhoff puts the conservative view very sympathetically, while realistically accepting the inevitable. Written in 1827, it is nearly contemporaneous with the novel's conclusion (1829) and gains further interest through the striking similarity of its terms of reference:
Die Weltgeschichte ist ein ewiger Übergang vom Alten zum Neuen. Im steten Kreislaufe der Dinge zerstört alles sich selbst, und die Frucht, die zur Reife gediehen ist, löst sich von der Pflanze ab, die sie hervorgebracht hat. Soll aber dieser Kreislauf nicht zum schnellen Untergang alles Bestehenden, mithin auch alles Rechten und Guten führen, so muß es notwendig neben der großen, zuletzt immer überwiegenden Anzahl derer, welche für das Neue arbeiten, auch eine kleinere geben, die mit Maß und Ziel das Alte zu behaupten, und den Strom der Zeit, wenn sie ihn auch nicht aufhalten kann noch will, in einem geregelten Bette zu erhalten sucht. In Epochen gewaltiger Erschütterungen, wie die unsrige, nimmt der Streit zwischen diesen beiden Parteien einen leidenschaftlichen, überspannten, oft wilden und verderblichen Charakter an;...
- Golo Mann, Friedrich von Gentz: Geschichte eines europäischen Staatsmannes (Zürich/Wien, 1947), S.364.
38. Helmut Böhme, Prolegomena zu einer Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, edition suhrkamp, 253 (Frankfurt/Main, 1968), S.37-38.
39. Ibid., S.85.
Cf. too the following:
Einzelne Führer der Agrarier ("Adel und Bauern") waren sich dabei bewußt, daß sie die gegen ihre Interessen verlaufende Entwicklung wohl eine Zeitlang, aber nicht dauernd aufhalten konnten.
Karl Erich Born, "Der soziale und wirtschaftliche Strukturwandel Deutschlands am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts", in VSWG, 50 (1963), 369.
To expand on what was "gegen ihre Interessen":
Die Agrarier führten einen Zweifrontenkampf, einmal gegen das industrielle Unternehmertum, das sie wirtschaftlich überspielte, zum anderen gegen die Massenbewegung der Arbeiter,... (ibid.)
This latter element ("zum anderen") is certainly new, otherwise the original quotation could well seem relevant to Hermann's view. The difference is, Born is speaking not of 1829, but of the 1890's!

40. Op. cit., S.270.

41. Mayer comments on Hermann's pronouncement: "Die Erde gehört dem Pfluge, ... der einfach arbeitenden Hand" (4, 255) as follows:

Aber dieser Rückweg ist nicht mehr möglich. Der Landgerichtsrat Immermann mußte täglich von Düsseldorf aus erleben, wie immer weitere Strecken dieses bäuerlichen Landes in Industriegebiet verwandelt wurden. So wirkt das letzte Kapitel in der Tat wie ein Versprechen, dessen Erfüllung mehr als ungewiß bleibt. (ibid., S.271)

But no attempt is made in the novel to regard this "Rückweg" as turning back the clock of history. The "Versprechen" Mayer speaks of is present perhaps as an individual 'solution' against the trend of history, but not as a generalized historical verdict.

By the Memorabilien, any individual 'solution' clearly seemed untenable to Immermann:

Der Charakter des Friedens... ist... der... des Verschlingens des Einzelnen in ein Weltganzes. Es gelingt sogar keinem, der aus früherer Zeit herübergekommen ist, mehr, sich rund für sich mit den Seinen hinzustellen, sich zu isolieren, den Kontakt mit den wirkenden Potenzen abzuwehren; den hartnäckigsten Widerstand bricht endlich doch die Macht der Umstände. Wieviel mehr muß dies in Familien jüngerer Datums der Fall sein! (5, 288-89)

42. E.g.: "Mit Liebe wollen sie den stumpfen Widerstand der Materie überwinden" (2, 415). Or:

Mein Sinn stand darauf, eine Geschichte der Liebe nachzuerzählen, der Liebe zu folgen bis zu dem Punkte, wo sie den Menschen für Haus und Land, für Zeit und Mitwelt reif, mündig, wirksam zu machen beginnt. (ibid.),

In das Schiff der Zeit muß die Bussole getan werden, das Herz. (2, 417)

Similarly, the sense in Münchhausen of the end of the love-story strand of the novel pointing well beyond itself - "Nein, ihre Geschichte ist nicht aus, sie hat erst begonnen" (2, 413) writes the editor of Oswald and Lisbeth - is absent in the Epigonen, and in fact, although Johanna refers to Cornelia as "die Braut" (4, 267), we do not see such a marriage between Hermann and Cornelia.

43. He has arranged his appearance to embody the Germanic element:

Der Mann trug einen Rock, wie ihn Jahn vorschreibt, hinten zu, vorn offen, ging im bloßen Halse, mit langen, herabwallenden blonden Locken; aus dem offenen, treuherzigen Gesichte strahlten die schönsten blauen Augen. (3, 349)

Jahn is further mentioned in connection with his plan to build a new capital on the Elbe (3, 360-61). A whole section of the Memorabilien is devoted to him (5, 406-16), while a biting satiric depiction of him is contained in Laube's Reisenovellen II (1834).

See Das junge Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente, hrsg. v. Jost Hermand (Stuttgart, 1967), S.56-58.

44. Elsewhere the editorial accompaniment strikes a dismal note in registering the grounds for complaint (3, 349).
45. Both are described as symptomatic of the age:
Bei diesem Hin- und Herreden wurde Hermann, der sich nun auch noch an so manches aus den Gesprächen des Edukationsrats erinnerte, das sonderbarste Verhältnis offenbar...
- at this juncture one suspects Immermann might fall out of his usual generalizing role, but no -
eins von denen, welche der deutschen Stuben- und Gelehrtenwelt eine so wunderliche Gestalt geben. Beide Schulmänner gingen von Prinzipien aus, die, jedes in seiner Art, etwas für sich hatten. (3, 205)
Cf. too Rumler, op. cit., S.110-12; Moritz, op. cit., S.107ff.; and Elisabeth Guzinski, "Karl Immermann als Kritiker. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Selbstkritik", in Neue deutsche Forschungen, Bd.142 (= Bd. 11), (Berlin, 1937), S.221-26.
46. This refers to the Rhineland territories which came under Prussian rule after Napoleon's defeat. See Guzinski, op. cit., S.44-53.
47. In both cases (3, 208 and 3, 425), see Maync's footnote at the bottom of the page and then his further comments in the Anmerkungen.
48. ...Klopstock..., der sich ganz verjüngte, ...
Ich bat um seinen Segen, den er mir auch als Hoherpriester in Thuiskons Heiligtume feierlich-gerührt erteilte. (4, 245-46)
49. Thus the qualification: "Sie sagen, wer ein Stück Blei - aber es muß nicht von einer Kirche sein - ..." (4, 209) would seem gratuitous, since not closely bound to the dénouement (certainly Ferdinand does not seek to salvage lead from a church, but there is no indication he would assume that was required), unless referring to the plot of Weber's opera. If this is the case, two ideas seem to have been condensed into one, as Kaspar in fact includes the following in his brew:
Hier, erst das Blei! Etwas gestoßenes Glas von zerbrochenen Kirchenfenstern; das findet sich! (Der Freischütz, Act II, Scene II)
50. Cf. the section "Die Reflexion ist in der Erzählprosa unentbehrlich" in Sengle, op. cit., II, 831-33.
51. A fact not recognized by many of Immermann's contemporary critics. See his exasperation in a letter to his brother Hermann:
...Wilhelmi ist der Druckarteiler Leitstern; was der sagt, das ist ihnen Tendenz des Buches, der Verfasser mag ihn noch so krank und hypochondrisch hingestellt haben, an seinen Worten läßt sich wie an einem guten Henkel das Gefäß am besten ergreifen. (Böttger, op. cit., S.417)
See too the verdict of the Arzt:
Unser Wilhelmi sieht vor der Verderbnis des Zeitalters im allgemeinen das besondere Fleckchen zu seinen Füßen nicht... (3, 122)

52. See the following characterization:
Wilhelmi gehörte zu den vielen Deutschen, bei denen der Sinn die Tatkraft überwiegt. ...Unzufrieden mit allem, was er in der Wirklichkeit sah, erbaute er sich eine Art von Traumwelt und suchte sich in allerhand Willkürlichkeiten eine problematische Existenz zu gründen... (3, 131-32)
The same shortcoming is viewed more playfully by Heine:
Franzosen und Russen gehört das Land,
Das Meer gehört den Briten,
Wir aber besitzen im Luftreich des Traums
Die Herrschaft unbestritten.
Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen (1844). Caput 7.
53. Cf. Sengle, op. cit., I, 97.
Leonhard, the title-figure in Tieck's Der junge Tischlermeister, describes very similar symptoms and goes beyond mere description to an analysis, connecting role-playing with exclusion from political activity:
Ich glaube in der Tat, daß die Masse der übertriebenen und krankhaften Eitelkeit unserer Tage, die Sucht, eine lügenhafte Rolle vor der Welt und vor sich zu spielen, dieses Heucheln von süßlicher Bildung, unechter Frömmigkeit, affektierter Liebe zur Natur und dergleichen mehr, nur möglich geworden ist, seitdem es dem Menschen untersagt ist, eine Rolle von Staats wegen zu spielen, seitdem er so ganz auf die Haushaltung in seinen vier Pfählen, und auf sein Herz in seinem sogenannten Innern angewiesen ist, denn ich fühle es, daß der Trieb, sich zu entfliehen, sich selbst fremd zu werden, und als ein anderes Wesen wieder anzutreffen, mächtig in uns ist. (264-65)
For the "Haushaltung" in Immermann's novel, cf. pp.45-46.
54. Cf. Maync, Immermann. Der Mann..., op. cit., S.393.
55. See Windfuhr, op. cit., S.71ff.
And by the same author the article "Der Epigone: Begriff, Phänomen und Bewußtsein", Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte, Bd.4 (1959), S.182-209.
Also cf. Sengle, op. cit., II, 322.
56. Windfuhr, Der Epigone. Begriff..., S.190.
Cf. Keller I, 195: "Unser ist das Los der Epigonen..."; Hugo v. Hofmannsthal, Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Einzelausgaben: Gedichte und lyrische Dramen (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1946), S.156-57.
The poem ends:
All-Eines ist der Anfang und das Ende,
Und wo du stehst, dort ist die Zeitenwende.
57. Cf. Harry Haller's words to the editor in Hesse's Der Steppenwolf:
Zum wirklichen Leiden, zur Hölle wird das menschliche Leben nur da, wo zwei Zeiten, zwei Kulturen und Religionen einander überschneiden. Ein Mensch der Antike, der im Mittelalter hätte leben müssen, wäre daran jämmerlich erstickt, ebenso wie ein Wilder inmitten unsrer Zivilisation ersticken müßte. Es gibt nun Zeiten, wo eine ganze Generation so zwischen zwei Zeiten,

zwischen zwei Lebensstile hineingerät, daß ihr jede Selbstverständlichkeit, jede Sitte, jede Geborgenheit und Unschuld verlorengelht. Natürlich spürt das nicht ein jeder gleich stark. Eine Natur wie Nietzsche hat das heutige Elend um mehr als eine Generation voraus erleiden müssen, - was er einsam und unverstanden auszukosten hatte, das erleiden heute Tausende.

Hermann Hesse, Gesammelte Dichtungen, Vierter Band (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1958), S.205-6.

The sentence: "Es gibt nun Zeiten..." is reminiscent of Wilhelmi's words cited on p. 82. Cf. also Hofmannsthal's "Epigonen":

Verfluchte Schar von Gegenwartsverächtern!
Gewandelt seid ihr zwischen den Geschlechtern,
Den Vätern fremd und fremd den eignen Söhnen; (157)

58. Claude David, "Über den Begriff des Epigonischen", in Tradition und Ursprünglichkeit (Akten des III. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses 1965 in Amsterdam), hrsg. v. Werner Kohlschmidt und Hermann Meyer (Bern, 1966), S.73.

Windfuhr is more cautious in his formulation:

Die Einsicht, bisher nur einem oder mehreren Mustern allzu eng gefolgt zu sein, kann, wenn die Kräfte reichen, zur teilweisen oder vollständigen Überwindung des Epigontums führen. (Der Epigone. Begriff..., op. cit., S.197)

On this basis we might allow a "partial overcoming" in this work, and possibly a complete one by Münchhausen, but not David's blanket assertion.

59. Cf. Sengle, op. cit., II, 929.

60. Julien's duel with M. de Beauvoisis is dismissed in a line: "Le duel fut fini en un instant: Julien eut une balle dans le bras..." (269). The duel itself is simply sandwiched between Julien's reflections and a mutual 'sniffing out' of the two 'combatants'. His reflections in the following paragraph on the unexalted nature of duelling parallel those of Fabrice in La Chartreuse de Parme, wondering if he has in fact experienced Waterloo.

Then come Mathilde's musings on the handsome young men around her:

Ils étaient braves, et voilà tout. Et encore, comment braves? se disait-elle: en duel, mais le duel n'est plus qu'une cérémonie. Tout en est su d'avance, même ce que l'on doit dire en tombant. Etendu sur le gazon, et la main sur le coeur, il faut un pardon généreux pour l'adversaire et un mot pour une belle souvent imaginaire, ou bien qui va au bal le jour de votre mort, de peur d'exciter les soupçons (327)

(In Fathers and Sons, Paul Petrovitch suggests to Bazarov that each should carry in his pocket a letter laying upon himself the full blame. The latter retorts that the episode is beginning to take on the character of a French novel!)

The final debunking of duelling comes with the tragic stupidity of M. de Croisenois' death at the hands of the plutocratic M. de Thaler:

Ivre de colère et de malheur, M. de Croisenois exigea des réparations tellement fortes, que le millionnaire préféra un duel. La sottise triompha; et l'un des hommes de Paris les plus dignes d'être aimés, trouva la mort à moins de 24 ans. (503)

In Broch's Pasenow the conventional aura of grandeur surrounding a duel is counterpointed against a stark view of the absurd reality:

Joachim hatte sich über das Duell seines Bruders eigentlich wenig Gedanken gemacht; alles, was er seit dieser Begebenheit darüber gehört hatte und was in allen Kondolenzen unzählige Male wiederholt wurde, ging in der gleichen Richtung: daß Helmuth von einem unabänderlichen Fatum der Ehrenhaftigkeit, aus dem es kein Entrinnen gab, tragisch erfaßt worden sei. Bertrand dagegen sagte: "Das Merkwürdigste ist es doch, daß man in einer Welt von Maschinen und Eisenbahnen lebt, und daß zur nämlichen Zeit, in der die Eisenbahnen fahren und die Fabriken arbeiten, zwei Leute einander gegenüberstehen und schießen."

Hermann Broch, Pasenow oder die Romantik, Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 92 (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1969), S.63.

These examples have been chosen from many in world literature casting the practice of the duel in a questionable light. We see something of a progression from Immermann's rather colourless depiction, which contrasts with the eloquent terseness and sense of waste in his contemporary Stendhal. Then comes the more elaborate instance in Turgenev, who is interested in describing the psychology of his figures rather than merely typifying them, and finally Broch's retrospective irony in turning to a historical convention of the past.

61. Yet another detail prefigured in the Lehrjahre, in the Gesellschaft des Turms.

Secret societies, with elaborate initiation rites, were a feature of the 18th century. The most famous of these orders were the Freemasons, but in their principles at any rate, if not in some of their ritual, they were dedicated to rationalism and the Enlightenment. The Rosicrucians...had a wide following among the Prussian upper classes...

E.J. Feuchtwanger, Prussia. Myth and Reality: The role of Prussia in German history (London, 1970), p.84.

62. Cf. the following section of a letter from Konstantin to Hippolyt in Laube's Das junge Europa (I, 61), where the 'epigonal' nature of the age emerges in terms similar to Immermann's and argumentation is seen as supplanting heroism:

Es wird und muß sich eine neue Zeit bilden, wir leben freilich in keiner, sondern in dem Zwischenraume auf der Brücke zweier Zeiten. Individualitäten, plastische Figuren, mit einem Worte, Helden verschwinden, und an die Stelle der Helden tritt die Meinung.

CHAPTER III

FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN: 'PROBLEMATISCHE NATUREN'

(1) Plot

In view of this novel being nowadays the least familiar of those selected for this thesis (attested to by the dearth of recent secondary literature on Spielhagen the novelist as opposed to Spielhagen the theorist), it seems useful to preface the analysis with a brief summary of the plot.

Oswald Stein is persuaded by his friend and mentor Berger to take up a position as tutor with a noble family, the Grenwitz'. His charges are Malte, the Grenwitz' son, and their relative Bruno, whose passionate loyalty to Oswald is depicted far more vividly than Malte's shadowy existence. Oswald's bourgeois sensitivity is often belied by his aristocratic exterior, and he soon becomes involved in an affair with Melitta von Berkow. His friendship is earnestly sought by Baron Oldenburg, who has an interesting role as an outsider-figure among his noble peers, ironically exposing their weaknesses and championing the interloper Oswald. Oswald, however, has reservations about Oldenburg for he cannot be sure just what connection exists or existed between the Baron and Melitta.

Bourgeois deference to the nobility is paid by Pastor Jäger and his wife - they are the butts of Spielhagen's attacks on the more philistine side of the bourgeoisie. An ambiguous role is played by the geometrician Timm, who also comes to the Grenwitz residence and at first finds favour with the Baronin but then seeks to undermine the family through the discovery that Oswald is

in fact the illegitimate heir of Baron Harald, ancestor of the Grenwitz'. The Baronin enlists the aid of her cousin Felix in countering Timm's machinations, and Felix is promised the hand of Helene Grenwitz. Helene is the second of Oswald's noble loves, the third being Emilie von Breesen, with whom he later elopes. Oswald has to leave the Grenwitz residence after a duel in which he cripples Felix - his main bond with the family, Bruno, has died the same night.

An earthy, uncomplicated counterpart to the Proble-
matische Naturen is provided by Caspar Schmenckel, and his fate, along with that of Timm, Berger, Oswald, Oldenburg and others among the novel's figures, is linked with the Berlin barricades portrayed at the end of the work. Previously, as a final display of sensitivity, Oswald has declined the inheritance Timm offers to procure him through asserting his claims to the estates that are rightfully his. The novel closes with the resolution of the fates of the main characters and an apotheosis of the Freedom fought for in the 1848 Revolution.

(2) Introduction

In Immermann's novel, Die Epigonen were the successors of a particularly rich historical era. Wilhelmi formulates their plight (pp.81-82) - it is one shared, as a result of their position in historical time, by all figures in the novel who are not of the older generation. Epigonen-
tum was thus a collective malady, felt more acutely by some than others, but symptomatic of a whole age. In Spielha-

gen's novel, on the other hand, we see just three people among the novel's broad range of characters who are



classed as Problematische Naturen. These are Oswald, Berger and Oldenburg, all rather extreme individuals. Their frequently divergent paths are drawn together at the end when they fight on the barricades. But the intent at least is clearly for the historical event, and above all the ideal of Freiheit, to take precedence over the resolution of the individuals' fates. And so the familiar problematic relationship between the individual and his age in a Zeitroman (cf. p.28) is present from the outset of the novel and strained by the end to the point where it has virtually become two separate strands.

The idea behind the novel's title is first expounded by Oldenburg in discussion with Oswald. He acknowledges its origins in Goethe, referring to those people "die keiner Lage gewachsen sind, in der sie sich befinden, und denen keine genug thut."¹⁾ This leads to a conflict "in dem sich das Leben ohne Genuß verzehrt" (ibid.), and Oldenburg concludes (without acknowledging Brentano,²⁾ only surprising because the work bristles with acknowledged allusions):

Es ist ein grausiges Wort, denn es spricht in olympischer Ruhe das Todesurtheil über eine, besonders in unseren Tagen, weit verbreitete Gattung guter Menschen und schlechter Musikanten. (I, 344-45)

Clearly a certain general validity is essayed here ("weit verbreitet"), with special reference to the contemporary scene ("besonders in unsern Tagen"), in accordance with Spielhagen's own theoretical canon, whereby the modern Dichter should attempt "den Helden...zu einem für die Zeit typischen, für die aktuelle Welt repräsentativen

Menschen umzubilden."³⁾ Such programmed generality is reinforced in Dr. Braun's view of the same phenomenon:

...ich habe...gefunden, daß Sie eines der vortrefflichsten Exemplare einer in unseren Tagen ziemlich weit verbreiteten Species generis humani sind, Nachkommen des weiland vom Teufel geholten Doctor Faustus,... (I, 422)

The idea contained in the novel's title is exaggerated beyond all proportion when Oldenburg tells of a conversation with Berger "über die schwere Noth einer Zeit...die beinahe nur noch problematische Naturen hervorbringt."
(II, 453)

The poetic intention is, however, not realized - the Problematische Naturen do not emerge as types reflecting their age.⁴⁾ The faceless men dying beside Oswald and Berger on the barricades are presumably not governed by the same desperation or death-wish. Certainly Oswald is rebuffed by society, but these rebuffs are outweighed by his own hypersensitivity and in particular his erotic vacillations. So that whereas Wilhelmi's verdict of Epigonentum is an attempt to formulate the essence of the existing age from observation of it, Spielhagen's central notion of Problematische Naturen is both more symbolic and more universal. It tries unsuccessfully to convert a formulation of Goethe into a central symbol of the time immediately preceding the March Revolution. The novel fails to transplant this notion as a general one to fresh historical soil; the type of the 'problematic nature' does not emerge sufficiently as the necessary product of this particular age. Because the choice of a representative phenomenon of the age is not a felicitous one, the theoretical basis of the work in the

Zeitroman-genre is itself rendered problematic.

Another difference between the two novels is the shift in perspective from Immermann's basic conservatism (which is certainly unsympathetic to the type of the bourgeois found in the *Onkel* - see p.58) to Spielhagen's clamorous but inconsistent anti-nobility sentiments. In Spielhagen's novel the figure of Dr. Braun provides a rational counterbalance to the rootlessness of his friend Oswald, and the cosy circle of the Robrans is extolled. Further, the enigmatic Baron Oldenburg, who resists categorization through his outsider-role in noble circles, seems to emerge from his tortuous fortunes with the victor's spoils at the end of the novel. But the Freiheit visualized at the conclusion is not described any more definitively in class-conscious terms, and for all its tirades against the nobility, Problematische Naturen is far from being pro-bourgeois. In this it differs strongly from that bastion of awakening bourgeois self-confidence, Freytag's Soll und Haben (1855), which will be drawn on for comparison in this chapter.

The assertiveness in Freytag's novel can be quite painful in poetic terms, as when Anton, half-drowned, opens his eyes and thus shows "die Absicht, seine Stellung in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft noch nicht aufzugeben."⁵⁾ From an example like this it becomes clear just how firm the bourgeois core of the novel is. The inflated expression of a simple idea - namely that he isn't yet going to die - is wholly inappropriate to the concrete situation, but points back relentlessly to the novel's central concern. This kind of solid base is lacking in Problematische Naturen. The historical progress of the bourgeoisie is not sufficient

to explain this. For although Spielhagen's novel (appeared 1861-62) is set in the period before the March Revolution, the Warengeschäft in Freytag's novel where Anton gains his grounding in the ethos of work is specifically described as belonging to a former stage in the development of commerce (39-40).

Positive values in Soll und Haben are not simply praised in their own right, but lent more profile by the berating of what is opposite to or outside them. Thus the national spirit of the German bourgeoisie becomes overweeningly nationalistic in outbursts against the Poles, a people whose ills ^{allegedly} supposedly result from the lack of a strong middle-class (see 448, 478, 571, 636). In Problematische Naturen, on the other hand, a national identity is seen as a dream belonging to the past, to the Wars of Liberation. The dream could be shattered no more rudely than in the case of Berger (II, 55ff.). There are reminders of the extant order of "deutschen Duodezfürsten" (I, 177), while Oldenburg feels all too conscious of the difference between the purposefulness of the French uprising he has just participated in, and the political naïveté of the Berlin revolution (II, 537). Problematische Naturen is essentially a negative comment on the age, largely ignoring (except for the Brauns) constructive alternatives.⁶⁾ This is not in itself a criticism of the narrative. But it does mean that the glorification of Freiheit at the conclusion is a greater break with what has gone before, and a greater poetic contrivance, than the problematic ending of Die Epi-
gonen (cf. p.68ff.).

One final point in this introduction: the oft-noted⁷⁾ discrepancy between Spielhagen's practice and his more tenacious theory is evident in this novel also. The device of Reflexion is anathema to Spielhagen's Objektivitätstheorie (cf. BTT, 69 - admittedly what is pilloried here is not its mere existence, but its "mehr als sporadische Auftreten"). Yet it is present for instance in the extended speech of the Geheimrat (II, 324-26). Clearly intended to be an abstraction of the age akin to Wilhelmi's Epigonen-speech (cf. pp.81-82), it is, in terms of the novel, little short of visionary. The "schnaubende Dampfrosse, Riesenwerke der Industrie, Triumphe der Erfindsamkeit aller Art" (II, 325) are nowhere evident. Nor is the power of the masses "in dicht geschlossener Kolonne" (ibid.), if one excludes the fighting on the barricades at the end, but even that is seen primarily in terms of a few individual characters.

The fevered individualism of an Oswald is certainly found wanting, but he finds no strength in any communal activity. Braun referred to him as a successor to Doctor Faustus (see p.103)⁸⁾ - this is apt, not the Goethean Faust, for Oswald never dams up his land against the sea, so to speak. Indeed, prior to the fighting on the barricades, we only see the negative counterpart to what the Geheimrat envisages here, the Kastengeist of the nobility. This is not a demonstration of constructive power through solidarity, but a cowardly acknowledgement of powerlessness without it (see p.132). So that the whole speech of the Geheimrat, however provocative its individual ideas, is not only a breach in the tone of such a private occasion, but is also poorly integrated into the work as a whole. It remains a

theoretical treatise, and is not saved by the miraculously timed appearance of a male choir comprising all stations of (non-aristocratic) men. The text they sing (moving the assembled company to tears) and the solidarity of their ranks are intended to lend substance to the sentiment finally expressed by the Geheimrat, that the young will continue the work begun by the old in a ceaseless march of progress. Whereas one only has to readjust the concrete setting slightly to expose it as an operatic device, and an off-stage one at that.

Having considered some of the structural weaknesses of the novel, let us turn to a fuller consideration of the narrative.

(3) The narrative-structure

The whole confrontation between Oswald and the nobility he despises hinges on his coming to the estate of Grenwitz as tutor. The motivation for his taking up this job is odd. It is offered him by Berger, who has nevertheless written "ein Buch über den Adel und gegen den Adel" (I, 15 - the point of this being a gibe against the prevailing censorship; the book cannot be printed in Germany). Berger mentions as enticements the cleverness of the Baronin and the beauty of Helene, but only finally convinces Oswald with the argument that the book of life's experiences for people of their ilk takes its title from Balzac's Illusions perdues. His feeling of obligation towards Berger combines with this argument to sway Oswald, with his virulently anti-noble sentiments, to accept a job for four years in

the bosom of a noble family. That the Baronin should accept Berger's advice so unquestioningly, without realizing he is reputed to be a democrat and an atheist (I, 260) - anathema to her Divine Right belief in royalty - is also a poor price of motivation. But Oswald does come to work for the Baronin and her family, and the inevitable clash of personalities and ideologies is sustained for the whole of vol. I, with Oswald frequently bewildered at his own immobility but nevertheless staying on, and the Baronin's avariciousness emphasized to explain her adherence to the original contract. Further co-existence only becomes impossible after Oswald has badly wounded Helene's suitor Felix in a duel. When Oswald visits Berger at the Fichtenau asylum, the latter expresses surprise that Oswald has survived thus long and sees the whole venture in terms of a philosophy of resignation: "Bevor wir dem Dasein entsagen, müssen wir erkennen, daß es besser ist, nicht da zu sein" (II, 49). The pivotal point of the plot is thus inconsistently and unsatisfactorily motivated.

The Zeitroman, like any other novel, requires a certain logic in construction. In Problematische Naturen, the opening situation is little more than a device for providing access to the nobility to one outside its ranks (till the revelation of his birth), so as to expose noble institutions to a highly critical gaze. But this contrived conflict diminishes the tragedy inherent in those hapless individuals "die keiner Lage gewachsen sind, in der sie sich befinden, und denen keine genug thut" (I, 344 - see p.102). For Oswald's experience does not cover a whole range of situations in life. He is placed in a situation that is untenable from

the outset, and the threads of vol. II (when he has left the Grenwitz estate) are all too closely bound up with those of vol. I for any viable alternative to present itself.

Disturbing too are the many theatrical, Romantic elements which also dogged Die Epigonen as a novel about contemporary reality.⁹⁾ These are remnants of an earlier, alien literary tradition. Here one must count among other components of the plot¹⁰⁾ the gypsies, incredibly bound up with an earlier phase of Oldenburg's life (I, 347ff.); Mutter Clausen's tale of herself as a jilted commoner (I, 162); the riotous living of Harald and his entourage; and the Epigonen-motif of the concealed noble birth of one believed a commoner. The characters in the novel even express consciousness of these devices. When Xenobi is robbed of her child by some frivolous Junker and entreats Oswald to help her, Oldenburg laughs:

Eine ungeheuer romantische Situation, Herr Doctor...
Morgendämmerung, Wälderrauschen, Zigeuner, des Königs
Hochstraße, - wahrhaftig: reiner Eichendorff!
(I, 243)

But at the same time as Spielhagen exposes these narrative props for what they are, he does employ them, without satiric intent, as structural elements of a novel whose basic concerns are not consonant with their hackneyed exotic flavour. Superimposed on a post-Eichendorff novel, they evoke literary echoes out of harmony with the realistic base of the work.

Nor is this the only instance of self-conscious usage of novelistic devices. When Berger, in trying to persuade Oswald to take up the position at Grenwitz, mentions Helene

as his trump, Oswald replies he has no wish to experience for himself the stock novel-situation of a house-tutor falling in love with the daughter of the noble household (I, 17). But he does take up the job and he does fall in love with Helene. Then again, Berger describes the revelation that Schmenckel is the father of Fürst Waldernberg with grim glee:

Der Proletarier eines Fürsten Vater, der Fürst
eines Proletariers Sohn - das gäbe einen hübschen
Stoff zu einem modernen Romane... (II, 543)

Certainly, this strand of the plot is subsidiary, and Waldernberg is one of the more patently manipulated characters, reeking of the technical machinery of the novel rather than the 'reality' it feigns to present. But the Oswald-Helene example is a more serious instance of the author utilizing a convention he simultaneously questions, without investing it with any new energies.

A further discordant note comes with the increasing role of chance in vol. II, as the words Zufall and zufällig recur again and again, often to explain fairly major developments in the action (see II, 124, 128, 140, 148 et passim). We have seen in Die Epigonen how, at least in one case, this same outside force appeared to great effect (see p.58).¹¹⁾ The uncle, whose life has been built up on rationality and calculation, is struck dead by the revelation that he is not, after all, father of the son he has raised. A single blow of chance suffices to annul his painstakingly constructed life. But with Spielhagen this element is so obtrusive as to pose serious problems to a Zeitroman. Without specific reference to this novel,

Löwenthal writes:

Neben die bloße Gesinnung tritt als ein anderer bestimmender sozialer Faktor bei Spielhagen der nicht weiter abzuleitende Zufall: Tod, Ohnmacht, Abstammung, eine Gesprächssituation und dergleichen mehr vermögen bei ihm Schicksale zu formen, lassen also der Illusion, als ob in sehr weitem Maße das Leben der Menschen nicht aus ihrer gesellschaftlichen Realsituation, sondern aus individuell beiläufigen Anlässen sich bestimme, breiten Raum. 12)

This crystallizes the point at stake here. In any novel, a strong element of chance in the plot can be a cover-up for discontinuity in the narrative, unexpected resolutions, etc. But in addition to this stylistic criticism, the Zeitroman finds its very essence threatened, it being assumed that the Zeit portrayed is not wholly chaotic and dominated by the whims of chance. Even at the level of the structure of scenes, without (as in the following case) Zufall being named as such, details small in themselves detract from any narrative tautness. After the Baronin has so perfidiously intercepted Helene's letter to Mary Burton and discussed its contents with Felix, she carelessly loses it from her pocket. Bruno is able to reclaim it for the other side of the conspiracy. The improbability of this situation, in view of the importance the Baronin attaches to the letter, renders her evil machinations almost laughable, akin to Music Hall villainry but not high intrigue by clever conspirators. Spielhagen's later attack on the veracity of Effi Briest¹³⁾ (Effi's failure to destroy the letters compromising her) is vitiated by his own melodramatic gesture here.

Löwenthal's statement above also touches on that central structural issue when discussing a Zeitroman, the relationship between the individual and the Zeit he lives

in. We have seen (pp.45-46) that in Die Epigonen this relationship was a lopsided one, with the Zeit emerging at the expense of characterization rather than through it. In Problematische Naturen we have a far more reciprocal relationship, with the danger (as Löwenthal implies) of the individual taking priority. It is not automatically a danger - any number of French, English and Russian novels of the 19th century testify to that (see too p.15). But in this particular case the result is disastrous at the conclusion of the novel, when a historical event is seemingly pasted together as a tableau-type backdrop to the resolution of individuals' fates, instead of accompanying these as an integrated narrative element. Again Spielhagen's epic powers are not the equal of his theoretical demands.¹⁴⁾ The diverging tendencies in Problematische Naturen towards a confessional¹⁵⁾ and a panoramic world-view are at loggerheads (whereas Werther, for instance, exhibits the same divergence, but clearly and harmoniously favours the confessional side). Ideas are projected but not integrated into the narrative structure of Spielhagen's novels.¹⁶⁾

One of the clearest instances of the destructive interrelationship between individual and Zeit is Oswald's penchant for ladies of noble birth despite their nobility. There is a conflict between his erotic side and his ideological principles. In a letter to Berger, in which he also admits to revelling in the luxury of noble life (I, 126), he concedes that if his ideal-beloved insisted he renounce his principles as the price of her favours, he would not resist (I, 127). In practice, it is Oswald's fevered sensitivity to class-differences, and not that of Melitta,

which undermines their relationship (I, 175, 219, 387-88). He at once embarks on the relationship, but fails to draw the consequences of this in terms of self-commitment, being assailed by doubts about class-barriers that he conveniently overlooked at the beginning. With Helene these do obtrude from the outset; his consciousness of a distance between them never fully vanishes. His later flight with Emilie comes at a time when his personal stocks are particularly low, and with her the coquettish element is in any case always emphasized. She least approaches his ideal, so that the foundering of their relationship without class-boundaries playing a major role is no contradiction of the original point made.

However, these relationships do not gain any sense of tragic dignity as victims of social dictates. Viewed from the one end, there is never any suggestion that an earlier revelation of Oswald's birth would have removed barriers to the relationships. And viewed from the other, Oswald's own labile nature seems to be the determining factor. The erotic strain is grafted onto the strain of anti-nobility polemics without this baneful combination seeming inevitable. This questioning of the tragic dimensions of the novel is not idle when approaching it as a Zeitroman, for as we shall see (p.146), the clash between the individual and his hostile age is seen as the crucial issue in the novel's own terms (II, 454).

The polemics mentioned above can seriously obtrude on the narrative pattern. The brief chapter 12 of vol. II paints a picture of Grünwald,¹⁷⁾ the fictional disguise for the town Greifswald. This is consonant with references

to Berlin being to the Residenz, with transparent ciphers for its famous streets and parks such as Unter den Akazien (Unter den Linden), etc. The thinness of the disguise seems odder still when Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen are specifically named by way of comparison (II, 131), and when the reader's knowledge of the historical Greifswald - and not the fictionalized Grünwald - is drawn upon in an appeal such as: "vor Allem ist Grünwald, wie jeder weiß, eine Universität" (II, 133).¹⁸⁾ The chapter seems to be an interlude between the frenzied pace of action in the preceding chapters and the changed scene in the ones following it. Yet several elements are repeated in the first three paragraphs of ch. 13; the city's towers, the mist, the crows which had formed part of a rather tortuous natural image in ch. 12, and the dark windows of the nobles' winter residences. Only the mist reappears later in any significant form, and that as a veil over the clandestine rendezvous between Oswald and Emilie. The history of Grünwald, idealized in its more distant past, more recently declined to the level of a simple provincial town, does not even add local colour to the subsequent narrative.

Yet the chapter is not simply self-indulgent nostalgia. Its point, or more accurately its barb, is kept for the last paragraph. There we hear of the country nobility's emigration for the winter period from their estates to the city.¹⁹⁾ The paragraph consists of one sentence of normal length and one of mammoth proportions. The latter gathers venom as it lists the faceless droves of the noble families and their attendants, lingers briefly on the abandoned appearance of their houses in summer and finally offsets this accumulation of

detail by drawing a comparison with:

...den gewöhnlichen Häusern...die von ordinären, Steuer zahlenden, unprivilegierten, Sommer und Winter arbeitenden Menschen bewohnt sind. (II, 133)

In its position at the end of a chapter, this final comment is clearly intended to stick in the reader's throat as an exposé of all that has gone before it.

But though the resentment is sustained throughout the novel, no positive counterbalance is ever developed. In Soll und Haben those working summer and winter evolve an ethos of labour that in fact makes them feel privileged, capable of patronizing comments about the 'upper' class (250-51). Here, however, they remain shadowy, and rather than being a bitter self-assertion or a plea for justice, the final comment has the more envious ring of the excluded. Elsewhere the (here) idealized picture of the constantly diligent, self-supporting working-classes is in any case countered by the experience of Franz' prospective father-in-law. The Geheimrat has given his all to people in need in the hope of rehabilitating them, but has been ruthlessly exploited for his kindness and credulity. The masses are still as faceless as before, but the tone has changed radically when the narrator laments the debtors, the:

...schlechte Subjecte...Welche unerhörte und ach! so vergebliche Anstrengungen hatte dieser Mann gemacht, das Danaidenfaß des Proletariats zu füllen! (II, 245)

Despite its black-and-white polarization, a blight for any conflict that is not to be oversimplified, the final strident note of vol. II, ch. 12 seems to be the

N.B.

sole justification for the chapter, even though its invective is reiterated in the next. Spielhagen abuses the Zeitroman-form both stylistically and, to use his own terms (e.g. BTT, 134), in his own lack of objectivity. Passages of this kind complicate the whole issue of the degree to which Oswald's verbal outbursts against the nobility are exaggerations, in which case they are more a comment on his own character than on that of the class he despises.

Such complications occur in cases like the present one, where the tone of the editorial comment is if anything more slanted than Oswald's; it certainly dispenses with any claim to restraint or objectivity. Repeatedly Spielhagen succumbs to the danger he so clearly sees at a theoretical level as threatening 'modern' writers, namely:

...die Gefahr: tendenziös zu werden,...nicht mehr den Geist der Zeiten, sondern nur noch ihren eigenen Geist zu geben. (BTT, 59)

A further important aspect of the narrative, the conclusion of the novel, remains to be discussed. But it warrants a section of its own (cf. p.143ff.).

(4) Literary references

References and allusions to other works of literature abound in this novel. In the following only a cross-section of examples can be cited, but it is hoped they are representative of the various purposes these references may serve. We have seen how Die Epigonen stood deep in the shadow of the Goethean novel (see pp.45-47). Spielhagen's novel takes its title and central notion from Goethe (see p.102), but

little if anything else in a structural sense (his works are quoted).²⁰⁾ Even less obtrusive Goethean elements in Die Epigonen such as the Mondscheinmärchen (the Novelle or Märchen within the novel) are absent here. The Novelle Auf der Düne, originally intended as part of the novel, became independent and was published separately.²¹⁾ Other genres appear on the fringe of the novel. Oswald writes poems of a highly subjective nature, while Primula Jäger, self-styled muse of nature, perpetrates such aesthetic outrages as Auf einen toten Maulwurf, den ich am Wege fand (I, 73). Her efforts (like the presentation of Wallenstein - II, 195 ff.) clearly satirize that section of the bourgeoisie whose culture does not extend beyond Lesekränzchen. They do not belong to any serious consideration of Spielhagen's use of other works on genres in his novel.

Various ends are served by the literary references. Ch. 13 of vol. I abounds with them. It must be borne in mind that these are very early days in the relationship between Oswald and Melitta. The pair enter her house, where among other things he is impressed by the "Tische mit Büchern und Bilderwerken bedeckt" (I, 97). Oswald begins the artistic catalogue of the chapter when he correctly identifies a sculpture as the "Rondanini'sche Meduse" (I, 98). Melitta, who has been to Italy, values his knowledge. Oswald, instructed by Melitta to be friendly to her servant Baumann, promises to smile "wie ein Engel von Guido Reni" (I, 100). This reference is left completely in limbo. Leafing through Melitta's album, Oswald then chances on a sketch of Oldenburg. When asked for his impression, he replies with words of Goethe's Tasso (Act II, sc. I). This

does not amount to an evasion of expressing his judgement in his own words, since his formulation follows immediately afterwards. The Venus de Milo (that Melitta has copied from the original) is of course a temporary guardian of their relationship, and this reference thus has a certain direct bearing. Oswald then improvises a poem of his own on demand (II, 105), followed by the reappearance of Baumann "wie der Comthur im Don Juan" (ibid.). Oswald's erased figure on another album-leaf is likened to the Erlkönig (I, 106), Shakespeare's name appears in the retort to this last speech (ibid.), and finally the Harfner in Wilhelm Meister is mentioned (I, 110). A constellation of references fully as brilliant as in a Fontane-chapter has thus been assembled. But they are no more than passing references, and thus add little in profile to the characters concerned, unlike the more elaborate discussions in Fontane (cf. pp. 264-66). Here they seem largely to signal an intellectual flirtation that verges on mere names-dropping. Oswald responds to the broad experience of his aristocratic partner, while she in turn rejoices in his brilliance and learnedness. Brilliance is traditionally associated with the nobility; learnedness here seems to characterize the bourgeoisie. Equipped with the former, Oswald in fact manages to tantalize the Grenwitz family over a meal with his manipulation of literary models in adorning his own tale until, sure of his success, he draws back (I, 411). Here the references simply underpin Oswald's dazzling virtuosity (cf. the same thing in ironic vein with his assessment of Primula's poem - I, 73).

However, though learnedness is still seen as a bourgeois virtue, Spielhagen is not as clearcut as Freytag in

the matter of true Bildung. Oldenburg, admittedly a black sheep in the noble fold, cites Lessing (I, 343), Eichendorff (I, 347) and Novalis (I, 239). Melitta's tastes are seen mainly in positive terms, though not wholly, as Oswald is disappointed to find she reads Eugène Sue (I, 94). Oswald also criticizes the Baronin for squandering her chances for self-improvement by lumping together Dumas or Eugène Sue with her reading of Rousseau or Schleiermacher (I, 168). Her interest is dilettantic - she reads Schleiermacher's "Reden über die Religion", but both Oswald and Jäger doubt her capacity to comprehend them. And the effect of her reading on her personal development is circumscribed by adherence to her class. Braun describes her as "adelsstolz(e), trotz ihrer Belesenheit bornirt(e)" (I, 393), and for all the scope of her reading she is only capable, in Oswald's words, of "abgedroschene, aristokratische Gemeinplätze" (I, 169) when speaking on general issues. She is at least versed in languages, and in this atypical for the local nobility. For Melitta tells how she managed to pass off the braune Gräfin as a Hungarian countess at a function by claiming she only spoke Latin beyond her native tongue - a ruse none present was in a position to test (I, 90). And Oldenburg leads Cloten a merry dance with an anecdote in which all the crucial points are in English, which he is obliged to translate for the dandy (I, 190ff.).

The bourgeoisie also provides a broad spectrum of culture, from the philistinism of Primula and her literary circle through to the cultivation of Braun or Oswald that they so readily exhibit. Braun's spicing of his conversation (I, 167-68) with literary references must strike a present-

day reader at least as gesucht. Their purpose seems to be to show the wide reading of the non-philistine section of the bourgeoisie. This point, incidentally, is taken further in Soll und Haben. Anton feels uneasy while staying on the Rothsattels' estate because of their narrowness of vision (412). If Eugène Sue was anathema to Oswald, Anton finds it tasteless that the Baronin should read "Chateaubriand und... außer kleinen Modenovellen die Romane blasierter Damen" (ibid.). In the matter of personal Bildung as with everything else in Freytag's novel, the bourgeois attitude is affirmed in strongly self-conscious terms. We read:

Gegen die ritterlichen Künste seines Freundes verhielt er sich kühl. Nur selten überredete ihn Fink, des Sonntags sein Begleiter zu Pferde oder am Pistolendstand zu werden. Dagegen benutzte Anton Finks Bücherschrank mehr als dieser selbst. (177)

There are few direct references to works of literature in Soll und Haben (Anton is found reading Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans one morning - 107).²²⁾ Not that the welter of titles, figures and quotations in Problematische Naturen is particularly differentiated or absorbed into the work. Freytag simply seems much surer of both his class-sympathies and the status of his chosen genre than Spielhagen. Indeed one suspects strongly that the latter's many references are largely intended to raise the 'tone' of his novel, a suspicion lent substance by his defensiveness about the novel as a form.²³⁾

This whole area may seem at first to be secondary in approaching a work as a Zeitroman. But if the above assumptions are correct, it is not, for the novelist has clearly felt the need to lend his work a 'poetic' framing

to counterbalance a more prosaic depiction of reality. The most puzzling thing about this hypothesis is that Spielhagen should neglect to merge the two in what would have been the most 'realistic', poetically least contrived, way. We never in fact see Oswald engaged in his occupation of tutoring - such a scene with a lesson chosen on literature would have positively demanded the sort of learned references we find elsewhere.

Freytag approaches the whole question from the other end by attempting to establish a kind of poetry of the prosaic. This concern had been adumbrated at the end of Tieck's Der junge Tischlermeister, though poetic fantasy is accorded much fuller flight in that novel:

"Poesie!" rief Dorothea; "ei, so müßten denn auch einmal Dichter kommen, die uns zeigten, daß auch alles dies unter gewissen Bedingungen poetisch sein könnte." (538)

Anton transfigures the scene of his daily work with the Firma Schröter into Poesie (46, 246), while Fink extols the 'poetry' of action above the written and read poetry of contemplation (487). Spielhagen's Zeitroman lacks the singlemindedness with which the bourgeois ethos is advanced in Soll und Haben. But since the ideals of freedom and enlightenment can only be attained outside the ranks of the decaying nobility, literary references in Problematische Naturen are predominantly made by bourgeois characters.

(5) The nobility

The main object of attention in this novel is the nobility. Even the two main "Problematische Naturen" (leaving aside the less central Berger) are seen substantially in their relationship to the nobility, be it Oswald's ambiguous attitude, or Oldenburg's incisive eye for the foibles of his peers. Spielhagen has left behind Immermann's nostalgic twilight leavetaking of the nobility, but does not approach the paeon to bourgeois values that ensured the continued success of Soll und Haben well after its author's death, in a progressively bourgeois age.²⁴⁾ The nobility, whether berated or secretly imitated, is the focus of attention, and despite Braun, the Robrans and the Revolution at the end, there are few positive or constructive elements to offset the sustained attack directed at the crumbling foundations of the upper class.

In Problematische Naturen there are none of the gentler nuances of criticism and characterization employed by Fontane. Old Briest's famous "Das ist ein zu weites Feld" would be a confession of ignorance rather than something like humility or resignation if voiced by one of Spielhagen's figures. Problematische Naturen contains a continued polemic against the decaying (physically, financially and morally) nobility relieved only by certain touches (such as the pitiable but upright Baron von Grenwitz) designed to effect some kind of balance. The outer symbol for the internal process is established early with the descriptions of the Grenwitz' castle. While not in the same state of utter disrepair as the Schloß Schnick-

Schnack-Schnurr (see p.58), it has sufficient indications of a gradual crumbling of past glory:

Jetzt war der Thurm abgetragen, die Brücke konnte nicht mehr aufgezogen werden und aus dem Brückenköpfe hatte man längst Backöfen und andere nützliche Dinge gebaut. (I, 21-22)

There is also:

...ein steinernes Becken mit einer Najade...die, wahrscheinlich aus Schmerz, daß ihrem Brunnen schon seit einem halben Jahrhundert das Wasser fehlte, den Kopf verloren hatte. (I, 22)

The roots of Oswald's hatred for the despised class are to be found in his few surviving childhood memories, which show his supposed father in such a light as to rival through his own fanatic prejudice the blind hatred of other classes imputed to the nobility. For Oswald's father²⁵⁾ there are no exceptions to his rule that the class as a whole is rotten; he rejects pupils of noble birth out of hand, without any acknowledgement of their individual differences, and thus simply helps maintain the unbridgeable gap he feels between the two classes (II, 8-9). His hatred seems to be blind and unreasoned; he steadies his aim in shooting by imagining he is aiming at a nobleman's heart (I, 195-96). This background should be borne in mind when considering Oswald's attitude to and dealings with the nobility in the course of the novel. His father's attitude is motivated late in the piece when his connection to Marie Montbert, the miserable victim of Baron Harald's dissolution, becomes clear. Berger's enmity is similarly explained (II, 56ff.), but though violent hatred is the preserve of the bourgeois, they are not the only victims of frivolousness and dishonour on the part of the nobility. For the

high-born Melitta has been sold into marriage by her father to redeem a lost bet (I, 416). The Graf Julius-line in Die Epigonen had a similar function to the arch-villain Harald here, with a murky past generation of profligate nobility wreaking havoc right down to the time depicted. But Spielhagen's indictment of the whole class is more radical than Immermann's.

Nor is the outrage committed against Melitta a thing of the past, even if the modern refinement involves propping up waning fortunes rather than paying off concrete debts. Machinations in this direction are exposed very early. The method is through marriage by arrangement, as shown in the inhuman fate planned for Helene as victim of a class whose fortunes are declining. Her intended's fortune is admittedly "angegriffen" (I, 40), but as he is to inherit the Grenwitz estate in the event of Malte's death, such a union would in these circumstances retain the family fortune within the direct circle of the family. Felix' own crumbling fortunes typify the financial decay of the aristocracy, and the whole scheme is clearly to his advantage (cf. I, 429). Spielhagen thus ruthlessly exposes those figures of the aristocracy, typified by the Baronin and Felix, who are ready to sacrifice their own flesh and blood as a pawn to the betterment of their financial position. But in his exposé, the economic forces from outside which precipitate the moral degeneracy within the aristocracy remain shadowy - we see nothing on a par with the grim business-acumen of the Onkel in Die Epigonen, or with the Jewish usurers in Soll und Haben (the latter appear on the fringe here - cf. II, 138 and 267).

Caste-ideas are very strong, even with the more 'enlightened' members of the nobility. Melitta voices 'noble' preconceptions of tutors: "Er wird sein wie alle Andern: entsetzlich gelehrt, eckig, pedantisch, langweilig" (I, 43). This stereotype is transgressed by Oswald, as at least Melitta recognizes. Oswald's social conduct:

...überraschte Melitta um so angenehmer, als sie es bei einem Manne von einer nach ihren Begriffen so untergeordneten Stellung am wenigsten erwartet hatte. (I, 47)

Her ideas are deeply ingrained, but she is at least sufficiently openminded to revise them rather than retreat into her aristocratic shell or attack this exception to the rule as a possible threat to the security of her own class. She later sees this quality of learnedness in a more positive light when comparing it with the merely surface-deep splendour of members of her own class (see I, 93). And Spielhagen does attempt to show the justification for such slogans as the one above ("von einer...Stellung"), if not as a generalization then at least as apt for certain cases, in the figure of Pastor Jäger:

...denn der Pastor hatte sich die akademische Würde durch eine grundgelehrte Dissertation über die möglicherweise vorhanden gewesenen Schriften eines bis auf den Namen verschollenen Kirchenvaters erworben... (I, 68)

From such a caricature it is of course impossible to draw any inferences about 19th century German academics, but it does have the virtue of being considerably pithier than protracted harangues against the nobility that are often tantamount to caricature anyway (as when Oldenburg leads

Cloten by the nose - cf. p.135). In the example of Melitta's change of opinion above, as also with Helene's letter (witness the broadening of outlook that seems to have taken place between I, 432 and I, 531-32), it might seem as if Oswald in his tortuous path through life has at least achieved a revision of proud, caste-bound notions in two of the worthier members of the nobility. But the ultimate impression is not of a figure undergoing significant development in character, but of Spielhagen commenting loudly and clearly on aristocratic preconceptions of their social 'inferiors'. The subsequent revelation that Oswald is indeed of noble blood rather works against this process of purification.

As well as the nobility, bourgeois opportunists who pander to them - like Pastor Jäger - are also the butt of Spielhagen's attacks. A self-avowed "Anhänger der Aristokratie" (I, 65), the pastor defends the principle of primogeniture (ibid.), but with such cliché-ridden language that his conservatism condemns itself. It is later shown to be the tool of a sycophantic attitude to his noble benefactors when he obliges the Baronin with an account of the Waldernbergs' genealogy, which he prefaces with groveling politeness (II, 238). This flattery finds its reward in noble favour, but favour expressed as condescension. The Baronin speaks of Jäger and his wife:

Die Leute haben sich stets treugesinnt und ihrer Stellung bewußt gezeigt. Ich halte es für unsere Pflicht, dergleichen Menschen zu protegiren. (II, 237)

It is fitting that she should express to Jäger (I, 265-66) her wholly positive, misled assessment of Timm, for Jäger

too represents the virtue in her eyes of accepting the status quo and not attempting to climb above the social rank that is his.

Very early in the piece, Oswald opposes the pastor's dismissal of the Roman "Plebejer" (I, 65) with a passionate, idealistic defence of the oppressed. But Spielhagen invests such outbursts of fire on Oswald's part with more vigour than incisiveness, an effect enhanced by the historical distancing to the Gracchi and Roman times. When the pastor draws on present conditions with a condemnation of the extravagance of the peasantry at festivals while they remain tight-fisted towards the Church, Oswald averts the issue with a counter-accusation. This the pastor in turn answers with a line of reasoning that must fail to satisfy Oswald but is clearly intended by Spielhagen to typify the attitude of the aristocracy and its toadies (and thus further to show the pastor echoing catchcries he has heard): "Der Adel, lieber Freund! das ist etwas ganz Anderes" (I, 66). This exclusivist view is not elaborated on here, but finds a vocal champion later in Helene's princely suitor (II, 371). But it is important to note here the inadequacies on both sides, not only the pastor's unconvincing defence of those with whom he seeks to curry favour, but also Oswald's inability (at least here) to come to grips with the real nature of those he seeks to glorify, ready though he is to launch general broadsides (e.g. I, 174-75; cf. too p.130ff.).

Though a champion of their cause, Oswald is in fact characterized as anything but a "Plebejer", but rather as one with attributes normally confined to (or held to be

confined to) the aristocracy.²⁶⁾ Thus Melitta acknowledges in Oswald's nature "Schönheit der Formen, Grazie der Bewegung und Anmuth der Rede" (I, 97), precisely what she missed in Oldenburg. That is to say the external appearance of both characters belies their class (or with Oswald, supposed class). In Oldenburg's case this paradox is all the more striking because his family is one of the oldest in the district (I, 261).

Oswald's unnatural proficiency in noble exploits is a theme laboured all too much. When Oldenburg compliments his horseriding ability (I, 352-53), Oswald replies:

Es ist das um so merkwürdiger, ...weil ich doch eigentlich in Folge meiner plebejischen Geburt und Erziehung gar keine Ansprüche auf diese aristokratischen Vorzüge machen kann. (I, 353)

The irony of this retort does not escape Oldenburg, but the point of such laboured repetition of the class-consciousness theme may well escape the reader. It is really heavily done, with familiar catchwords such as "plebejisch", and "Ansprüche auf...aristokratische(n) Vorzüge" being repeated ad nauseam literally or in essence.

Oldenburg, the exotic exception to the hide-bound ideas of his peers, performs a similar function in this novel to that of Fink in Soll und Haben,²⁷⁾ with the important difference that Fink averts the financial threat to the Rothsattels by his own support (484). The motif of a noble family's financial collapse is common enough in the 19th century Zeitroman, but here we have a rare instance of one nobleman being in the position to help another. Apart from his love for Melitta, Oldenburg plays

a Mephistophelian role in the class he belongs to in name only. In a novel obsessed with attacking the nobility, he provides criticism from within the class to substantiate the sustained criticism coming from outside it.

Just what constitutes the nobility, or its supposed superiority, is never seriously examined. A distinction is made by the pastor between the state of "Geburtsadel" and the "wahren Adel der Seele" (I, 62). But this is not a vehicle for examining what constitutes "nobility", as the pastor sees both qualities combined in the Grenwitz household, particularly in the Baronin. This shows how little insight he has into nobility of the soul, and so a potentially inflammatory issue is skirted. It is further skirted when the pragmatist Timm scoffingly dismisses illusory idealizations (II, 184) in a passage where he pinpoints Oswald's ambiguous attitude to the nobility (even though he is here wooing Oswald, seeking to stir his ambitions, what he says is true). In the caste-ridden society portrayed by Spielhagen the attribute of nobility of the soul is in any case a rarity, offset even in the case of the Baron by a palpable weakness. The singular lack of this quality in the Baronin is nowhere clearer than in her heartless comments on the contracts for the renting of farmland on their estate (I, 125). These lead the enraged Oswald to question his whole situation, having plunged into it without much deliberation (I, 126). We have seen how the reader, too, is frequently tempted to query this rashness (cf. p.108), despite the motivation through Oswald's amorous adventures while in the employ of the noble family.

The hidden predilection for the nobility that Oswald frequently reveals in his tastes and tendencies does not sway him when Timm reveals the inheritance that is rightly his (II, 490). He denies to Helene that he would ever have accepted it, least of all when its connection with the misery of his mother is made clear (II, 526). Hermann in Die Epigonen had accepted his new position as Depositär (see p.70); Oswald here completely rejects his, but without the positive counterbalance of bourgeois pride à la Freytag, and he perishes on the barricades in relative meaninglessness.

While Oswald is rather dignified when declining his just inheritance, his pride is elsewhere provoked time and again because of the brittleness of his position. He consistently feels snubbed by his social superiors and sees only strained indulgence behind their efforts at accommodation. The following passage may stand for many others. Speaking to Melitta of his invitation to a ball, he says:

...man ladet mich nur ein, entweder, weil es an Tänzern fehlt, oder, um dem alten Baron eine Höflichkeit zu erweisen, in keinem Fall um meiner selbst willen. Ich werde in der Gesellschaft wie ein Mohikaner unter den Irokesen, wie ein Spion im Lager angesehen werden. Ich kenne den Adel. Der Adelige ist nur höflich und liebenswürdig gegen den Bürgerlichen, so lange er mit ihm allein ist; sind mehrere Adelige bei einander, so fließen sie zusammen wie Quecksilber und kehren gegen den Bürgerlichen den esprit de corps heraus. Ich sage Dir, Melitta, ich kenne die Adelige und hasse die Adelige. (I, 174-75)

This tirade raises various points. The metaphor incorporating Cooper's Mohicans echoes the precise imagery used by Berger in his attempts to make Oswald see his entry among the ranks of the nobles in a humorous light (I, 16). Here

there is no longer any trace of humour, merely of bitter resentment. The repetition of the allusion shows how Berger's calculations have gone awry. Oswald's final sentiment in the passage above is firstly unfeeling and secondly highly questionable for being made to the woman he loves, who is after all of noble birth, as are Oswald's other two romantic interests in the novel. This perhaps presages the ultimate revelation of Oswald's own noble birth, but simultaneously robs his invective of some effect.

For Oswald's ambiguous position - the supposed commoner endowed with noble graces, later discovered to be of noble blood - tends to work against the exposure of noble prejudices through his skills in 'their' domain. For example, his outshining of Cloten in the art of shooting (I, 196ff.) only works as it is clearly intended to work, as long as Oswald is, and not simply is supposed to be, a commoner. As soon as it is shown that he is in fact of noble birth - corroborating the many conjectures about his physical similarity to the noble line (e.g. I, 297) - these skills shown earlier may be reinterpreted as anticipating his true status, however uncongenial he finds that status. This would tend to confirm the very equation of 'noble' skills with noble blood that Spielhagen is trying to ridicule, and thus make his narrative design inconsistent. Such an unintended lessening of impact is avoided in Soll und Haben, and not merely by Anton being both born and bred a bourgeois. His prowess at dancing is not achieved by outdoing the nobility on their home ground, but "durch die bürgerlichsten aller Tugenden, durch Ordnung und Pflichttreue" (127). Furthermore, although Fink introduces his friend to 'noble'

pastimes (101), it is not in any competitive sense, and brilliance in horseriding, music or hunting is in any case relativized by Anton - in typically self-righteous vein - to more basic human values (74).

The most important idea in the passage quoted on p.130 is associated with the nobility once they congregate. When Cloten appears during a visit Oswald pays Oldenburg, the tutor is hurt in his pride by the noticeably cool treatment he receives from the dandy, and imagines a waning in his host's warmth too once the new visitor arrives and the maligned "Kastengeist" (I, 350) asserts itself. Justified as the first observation is, a study of the text shows the second, and with it the supposed "Kastengeist", to be a product of Oswald's fevered hypersensitivity and an indication of a persecution complex. Not only at this point in Spielhagen's novel are the diatribes against the nobility tempered by the tortured imagination, the "problematische Natur", of the person making them. That Oswald's suspicion towards Oldenburg is unwarranted is shown by the latter's avowal of friendship when he intervenes in the dispute at the cardtable during the social evening at the Grenwitz'. This latter incident is the sole example of a "Kastengeist" confirming Oswald's criticism; though Felix is the one who provokes Oswald with his condescension he merely stands for his assembled friends there, representing their grievances, which they voice briefly and with cowardly boldness once Felix has made the first step. In this case Oswald's addressing them as "Ihr feigen Wölfe, die Ihr nur in Rudeln jagt!" (I, 611) is appropriate. So that Spielhagen has maintained a certain balance in his picture: Oswald's

hatred of the nobility's "Kastengeist" has substance, although it tends to exaggeration, and is certainly unjust towards the interesting outsider Oldenburg. The nobility and Oswald's antagonistic attitude to it are seen most clearly when all are assembled at a social gathering in a scene which warrants a section of its own.

(6) The ball-scene

The social superiority of the nobility is supposed to bring with it an elevated intellect and conversation, but clearly doesn't in cases like the trivia discussed by the Baronin on the way to the ball at Barnewitz' (I, 177-78). The ball itself crystallizes many of Oswald's personal and class-conscious attitudes, as the confrontation is staged between his pride and talents and the assembled nobility, ranging from the renegade Oldenburg to dyed-in-the-wool conservatives, and weighted heavily towards the latter. Oswald's anguished feelings towards Melitta reflect a great sense of frustration at the social gap between them:

...er zürnte sich selbst, daß er sich von der Geliebten hatte bestimmen lassen, ihr in diese Gesellschaft zu folgen, diese Junkerwelt, in die er nicht gehörte, in welcher er sich nur geduldet wußte, in diese Welt frivolen Genusses und hochmütigen Dünkels, diese lärmende, blendende Welt... (I, 207-8)

Again the tragedy here is that Oswald is so acutely aware of all this, that he is not content with the "Romantik seiner Liebe" (I, 208) to transfigure the present more garish surroundings. For Melitta does not deny this "Liebe" one whit in her actions, even though she is among her social equals and not alone with Oswald, a situation which one would expect from Oswald's arguments to call forth the

"Kastengeist" in her.

Oswald's hatred of the nobility seizes on any pretext to express itself, and sees itself provoked at all turns. For instance Melitta's unsigned note bidding him to a rendezvous is misconstrued by him as a challenge to a duel, and yet again, "der ganze fanatische Haß gegen den Adel" (I, 358) fills him. The social gap between them is the constant thorn in the side of their relationship. It brings Oswald close to desperation, but typically he sees inflexibility and rejection exclusively on the noble side:

...kann ich, der pfenniglose Abenteurer, der Freisheitschwärmer, jemals daran denken, die reiche Aristokratin zu heirathen? daran denken, mich in die Gesellschaft der verhaßten Menschen zu drängen, die den Parvenü stets über die Achsel ansehen würden? nie! nie! (I, 387-88)

His love for Melitta is incapable of surmounting the social gulf between them, because if she were to make the further sacrifice of jeopardizing her rank through an openly-aired relationship with a tutor, Oswald for his part would never be able to look beyond the snubs, real or imagined, of the class in which he could never hope to feel at ease. This whole side of the novel brings together one element of the Zeit - inflexible social boundaries - and the uniquely individual side of the story, in this case Oswald's rootless, readily impassioned "problematische Natur". However much this personal side might seem to take precedence, the theme of Oswald's thwarted love is a legitimate and integral part of the novel as a Zeitroman because of its basis in the particular social conditions on which the individual story depends.

Differing greatly from Melitta's view is the exclusivism represented by the dandy Cloten when he says of Stein: "Ah! danke für ein Duell mit so einem Bürgerlichen. Partie ist zu ungleich" (I, 200), and then fails to note the keen irony of Oldenburg's fabrication of a manuscript (I, 201ff.) verifying the separation of mankind at creation into noble and bourgeois blood. When he even ventures to guess the name of the first noble pair as Cloten, we see Spielhagen's justification for Oswald's complaint of "hochmütigen Dünkels", except that Oswald uses it as a blanket condemnation. However, at this level of attack, the nobility is so patently caricatured that there is no real contest between its values and others. Cloten is a ludicrous puppet in the hands of Oldenburg's superior intellect, and Spielhagen lays on the ridicule so thickly that it defeats its purpose. For although his farfetched inventiveness might be amusing, the result is never less than a distortion, and attack in the form of such distortion loses its thrust; the narrator's voice is all too strident to speak to any but those already converted. Löwenthal does not 'rescue' this passage, but merely betrays the time he was writing, when he sees in it "antizipierten Nationalsozialismus".²⁸⁾

Among the twelve to fourteen noblemen at the Barnewitz' ball were three who:

...von Vorurtheilen nicht so sehr befangen waren, daß sie Oswalds ritterliches Wesen nicht gern hätten gelten lassen. (I, 209)

This is in effect an inadequate attempt by Spielhagen to restore a more objective perspective. Firstly the propor-

tion of nobles not beset by the supposed caste-prejudice of their class is very small, and secondly even these three are treated in a rather condescending manner, their virtue consisting in the way they reflect Oswald's dazzling constellation. In the case of Baron Oldenburg this praise is admittedly cast in a dubious light. Whether he is expressing his earnest conviction in championing Oswald, or whether he simply wants to irritate his young peers, is not certain, and his whole demeanour at the ball, his lack of those social graces so amply displayed by Oswald and usually confined to the aristocracy, make his figure all the more striking as an outsider to the sphere of the nobility as Oswald understands it. Oswald himself naturally makes the ladies of the nobility overlook his status more readily than their husbands:

Die Damen schienen vollkommen vergessen zu haben, daß ein so unermüdlicher und gewandter Tänzer, ein so hübscher Mann...doch nur ein Bürgerlicher sei, der auf alle diese Vorzüge eigentlich gar keinen Anspruch machen durfte. (I, 208)

Otherwise Oswald sees "Nathan's frommer Wunsch, daß es dem Menschen doch endlich genügen möge, ein Mensch zu sein" (I, 176) still far from fulfilment through the rigidity of class-barriers. He laments: "Nie wird...der Adelige in dem Bürgerlichen...und umgekehrt wahrhaft seines Gleichen sehen..." (ibid.). It is important to draw attention to the fleetingly mentioned "und umgekehrt": whether through pride, an exaggerated sense of persecution or whatever, Oswald never adopts any kind of conciliatory approach to the nobility, failing for instance throughout the novel to appreciate fully the friendship offered him by Oldenburg.

Spielhagen portrays with obvious relish (invested in the figure of Oldenburg - I, 218) the breakdown of formal politeness and aristocratic dignity as the meal progresses and with it the imbibing:

Der dünne Firniß äußerlicher Cultur... begann... in einer erschreckenden Weise heruntergespült zu werden, und die nackte, trostlos dürftige Natur kam überall zum Vorschein. Die jungen Herren... gefielen sich in Unterhaltungen, die scherzhaft und galant sein sollten, und die für jedes feinere weibliche Gefühl einfach plump und zweideutig waren. Indessen schienen die jungen Damen leider an diese Sorte Unterhaltung viel zu sehr gewöhnt zu sein, als daß dieselbe irgend einen unangenehmen Eindruck auf sie hätte hervorbringen können. (I, 217)

This is a truly scathing broadside, not only at the menfolk, but at the noblewomen whose sense of values they have corrupted through their habitual coarseness. Oswald on the other hand is continually showing the noble how to be noble, as when he escorts Emilie's aunt to her carriage. She asks him: "Sind Sie überzeugt, Herr Stein, daß Sie nicht von Adel sind?" (I, 234). Again his courteousness belies his supposed class. Such ungrudging recognition of Oswald's more chivalrous qualities does not however extend to all noble ladies, most emphatically not to the Baronin, whose antipathy to him never wanes.

Drawing these many strands together, then, we find a preoccupation with the nobility in this novel. It is seen as an unjustly privileged class engaging in intrigues for its own preservation (e.g. the plan to marry off Helene to Felix) and vacuous pursuits of leisure (the social evenings held by the Barnewitz and Grenwitz families). Its main opponents are the novel's three "problematische Naturen", of whom Oldenburg is the most incisive - his criticisms of

the class from the inside lack the pathos-ridden fanaticism of Berger and Oswald. Oswald's attitude is in any case complicated by his own 'noble' graces and tastes and the ultimate revelation of his birth. His claims of a noble "Kastergeist" are largely paranoid, and the lack of accommodation he feels on the side of the nobility applies equally to the bourgeoisie. The one exception to this is an illegitimate marriage between the two classes - Jäger's obsequiousness in currying a favour granted with great condescension for reasons of self-preservation (cf. p.126).

The novel's polemics against the upper class are not reinforced by a consistent affirmation of the other classes. For all its at times exasperatingly repetitive diatribes against the nobility as a class, Spielhagen's work does not attempt to extol the Bürger-class or to exempt from criticism only those nobles who show themselves of a more favourable disposition towards their social inferiors. The two main bourgeois figures of the novel are Oswald and Timm. Oswald appears in anything but a uniformly positive light; Timm is exposed towards the end as the scoundrel he really is. The upper bourgeois reading circle assembled by Primula is mercilessly satirized, and its aspirations to being "wahrhaft gebildet" and "wahrhaft human" (II, 195) are shown to be absurd pretentiousness. Jäger himself is almost a parody of the enterprise and self-esteem characterizing Freytag's bourgeois figures. His professional advance is secured through the aid of his father-in-law, he is untrue to his class in his flattering praises of the nobility, and the recognition he gains comes through arid, ludicrously abstruse scholastic pursuits (see I, 550).

A certain counterbalance to these examples is provided by Braun and the Robrans, but their frequently sentimental portrayal does not have the same kind of impact - Spielhagen shows considerably more verve in negating than in affirming. X

His gaze rarely extends further to the fourth Stand, which never figures in the wrangling about class-differences, and this issue thus remains a two-sided one. An inkling, but no more than that, of class realignments is given with the governmental experiment in the village of Faschwitz. Here a large estate, formerly belonging to a noble line that has since died out, is redistributed among a class "kleinerer Grundbesitzer oder freier Bauern" (I, 56), which till then had been almost completely lacking in the district. The difference between this stage and the industrialization already taking place in the earlier-written Epigonen is the difference between Pomerania and the Rhineland in terms of economic progress in the first half (and beyond) of the 19th century.

(7) The military

The early Heinrich Mann had before him the examples of Germany's tardily adopted imperialism and the forewarning rumbles of World War I; Fontane's military figures have the glorious days of the 60's and 70's to think back to. Spielhagen's novel is set at the end of the long period of stagnation following the Wars of Liberation, and the "militärische Kraftfeld"²⁹⁾ is consequently very limited. But we do receive some pointers as to the kind of spirit he saw informing the forces defending the status quo in the March

Revolution of 1848.

In the following almost offhanded reference we see the same absurdly exaggerated concept of 'honour' within the military that is to reappear in broader and more convincing form in Fontane (e.g. Schach von Wuthenow). Felix tells Timm of the suicide of his former commander:

Weil er die Schande nicht hat überleben wollen, daß bei der letzten großen Parade die zweite Compagnie mit Tuchhosen statt mit weißen Hosen angerückt kam, und er deshalb vom Commandirenden ob dieser "Schweinierei" einen fürchterlichen Rüffel besah. (I, 464)

Both bless the deceased, and then Felix flippantly moves onto another matter. Thus both in its brevity and its exaggeration, this picture belongs to the same class as Jäger's dissertation (cf. p.125). Such patent distortions in isolated critical thrusts make the 'realism' of a work problematic, for in being isolated, the thrust has this single opportunity to present its criticism and, not being substantiated elsewhere by more soberly expressed examples, sorely tests credibility. The strained conventions of honour set forth here also strain literary conventions, as the satirical element - a legitimate and potentially effective device of the Zeitroman, as will be shown in the case of Im Schlaraffenland (p.291) - verges on the burlesque.

A glorification of the military profession comes later in the novel from the Russian prince wooing Helene. He considers the military to be the "Grundbedingung für alle übrigen Stände" (II, 370), because it alone can ensure the peace in which the other professions can thrive. "Mit diesem Stande verglichen sind alle andern niedrig und ge-

mein" (II, 371), and because of its importance and noble function its maintenance is the domain of the nobility. Yet here too, old traditions are gradually crumbling, which cannot please the Prince:

Daß man neuerdings auch angefangen hat, den Bürgerlichen Zutritt zu unsern Reihen zu verstatten, halte ich für einen beklagenswerthen Fehler... (ibid.)

He says "neuerdings", but in Germany at least this process had gained impetus already during the Wars of Liberation (see p.61).³⁰ For him the difference between the two Stände is their "Geist" (ibid.), which to him is a self-evident fact and thus does not require further definition. He does elaborate with examples of specific differences, espousing an absolute inflexibility towards all hints of change and liberalism and disagreeing strongly with what he regards as the concessions made by the King to the "liberalen Partei und dem Zeitgeist" (II, 372), which amount for the Prince to an abuse of the divinely ordained office of royalty. The veiling of these sentiments behind a foreign officer is but a thin façade, his origin in an even more despotic land a cover for the fact that the substance of what he says is applicable to Spielhagen's Vormärz-Germany. Thus in treating the military in this novel Spielhagen has chosen the isolated satiric comment, or when going into any sort of detail, he has distanced his figure by means of an alien nationality, where a more in-depth analysis of a figure modelled on contemporary reality could easily have achieved so much more. The March Revolution finally erupts against ultra-conservative elements of the Prussian nobility, elements embodying the spirit of the Prince.

The same applies to the revelation of the Prince's birth. Schmenckel's fathering of the Prince is the mirror-image of Oswald's birth across the class-barrier, and the first is not just symptomatic of a decline of the nobility in Russia. The degeneracy and heartlessness of her husband drove the Prince's mother to love a 'commoner'; of her husband she says:

Wie konnte ich auch einen Menschen lieben, der seine Kraft wie sein Vermögen in den abscheulichsten Ausschweifungen vergeudet hatte. (II, 513)

She seeks to mollify her son's horror by generalizing his plight:

Und wähnst Du denn, daß in den Adern unseres Adels nur adeliges Blut rollt? daß Dein Fall der einzige ist, wo ein entartetes Geschlecht durch gesundes Proletarierblut sich wieder regeneriert hat? (II, 511. 31)

Spielhagen's editorial comment is to be heard loud and clear behind the two adjectives "entartet" and "gesund". Such a dénouement naturally delights Berger (II, 543), who has quite specifically broken down national barriers when, in addressing Graf Malikowsky, he connects the first indications of the Berlin insurrection with revenge on "Du und Deinesgleichen" (II, 505). The mixed births are strongly reminiscent of the conclusion of Die Epigonen, where Wilhelmi describes Hermann as one "der beiden Ständen angehört und keinem" (4, 265). In both novels the effect of this is to render the more ridiculous a conservative clinging to social distinctions through blood and birth, by showing that these criteria are subject to chance and confusion.

(8) The novel's conclusion

In the last chapter of vol. 1, Oldenburg says:

Da ich für die nicht leben kann, für die ich leben möchte, und da es in unserer engbrüstigen Zeit an jedem großen Zweck gebricht, an dessen Erreichung ein Mann sein Leben setzen könnte, so will ich denn auch, ein anderer Peter Schlemihl, meinen eigenen Schatten suchen gehen. (I, 619)

At this stage a mood of Epigonentum prevails, the sense of an age devoid of worthy ideals such as Immermann had depicted; the "große Zweck" that is lacking comes later with the Berlin Revolution.

The purposeless time spoken of by Oldenburg succeeds one of fiery deeds and ideals. Berger tells Oswald of his youthful energy, how he defended his fatherland on the battlefields of Leipzig and Waterloo (II, 55ff.). After convalescing from his wounds in Fichtenau, he resumes his university studies, which the war had interrupted. He studies with great diligence and also devotes himself in what sounds like a students' organization to the cause of freedom, which was what his and their blood had been shed for. For all this he is betrayed by the fatherland he is so dearly trying to serve, arrested and thrown into prison without trial, where he languishes for five years. Even these experiences form only the pivotal point for Berger's personal tragedy, the loss and frenzied search for his former love, but they suffice to give a damning statement on the internal politics of Germany in the period following the Napoleonic Wars.

The strands Oldenburg mentions (p.143) of self-realization and historical impetus are drawn together at the end of the novel. The storm of the revolution brooding over France makes itself felt in Germany as an omen of what is to follow there too. As we see Melitta sharing with great understanding Oldenburg's hopes and fears and his decision to travel to Paris, we see also a certain equation between rational, 'directed' activity and success in the realm of personal relationships. Oldenburg's wild, aimless wanderings had been succeeded by a zealous application to the "Verwaltung seiner Güter" and to following the "Politik des Tages" (II, 357). Likewise Berger considers - with apparent justification - his own personal fate to be intimately bound to that of his homeland:

Der Moderdunst der Festungscasematten und die Stickluft des Polizeistaates, welche ich mein Leben lang habe einathmen müssen - das hat mich gemacht, was die Leute verrückt nennen - hatte der Professor einmal gesagt; mir ist manchmal, als ob nur ein Athemzug freier Luft im Vaterlande mir die Last wegheben würde, die hier ruht; und dabei hatte er auf die Brust gedeutet. (II, 358-59)

The relationship between the individual and the age seems to be growing in directness, to be gathering momentum.

In vol. II, ch. 38, we see the atmosphere in Berlin in the early days of March '48, in the wake of the Paris uprising and directly before the similar events in Berlin itself. This is an example of historical facts transplanted to the characters familiar from the novel itself, the technique of 'personalized' history employed likewise by many greater 19th century realists (e.g. Stendhal's famous description of Waterloo in La Chartreuse de Parme and

Flaubert's framework of the 1830 Paris Revolution in L'Education Sentimentale). Thus after a general picture of the feverish expectancy generated by the events in Paris and of the general populace seeking amusement in "Unter der Zelten", we hear Oldenburg and Berger reflecting on the probable course of coming events; we hear an insincere, sensational speech by Timm to a basically hostile crowd (delivered, as we later learn, not through a sense of his own convictions but for his own entertainment) and witness an initial skirmish of relatively minor proportions between the people and the military in which Oldenburg, Graf Grieben and Caspar Schmenckel play their parts. A little further on we gain from Franz (II, 436-37) another perspective on this brush and events subsequent to it. The lilting waltzes of Strauss and Lanner, displaced from the park dais by political speeches, have definitely vanished from the scene for a while, a mood of "fiebrhaften Aufregung" (II, 437) grips the town. The imminence of a great upheaval is captured by Oldenburg in language which is a justification if such were needed of the deep suspicion in which the Baronin holds him as a worthy representative of the (conservative) nobility. He says to Melitta:

Wir stehen hier auf einem Vulkan, der jeden Augenblick zum Ausbruch kommen kann. Schon schwankt der Boden unter unsern Füßen, und ehe noch viele Tage vergehen, werden wir unerhörte Dinge erleben. Ich zittere nicht vor der Entscheidung; im Gegentheil, ich sehne sie herbei, denn sie ist nothwendig und wird für uns zum Heile ausschlagen. (II, 449)

The connection between a man as an effective political animal and the harmonious ordering of his own personal relationships receives further comment here from Oldenburg:

...um ein ganzer Mann nach außen sein zu können, muß ich erst in mir selbst zur Ruhe kommen... (ibid.)

This inner security is what Oldenburg alone has obtained in any measure by the end of the novel, and he survives, while the rootless, passionate visionaries Oswald and Berger both perish.

The issue raised again here is central to any discussion along theoretical lines of this work (and indeed any other) as a Zeitroman. The following question, posed by Franz and referring to Oswald, contains the very kernel of the whole problem:

...sollten Sie auch einen Menschen schonungslos verdammen, dessen größtes Unglück es vielleicht ist, in dieser Zeit geboren zu sein? (II, 454)

Are the positive characteristics leading to Oswald's restless existence and ultimate doom merely products of the age in which he lives? Did a person of Oswald's constitution have to perish in the given historical circumstances, when he may well have flourished in another era? It seems highly questionable just how far Oswald's motives and actions, above all the important theme of his inconstancy to women, are to be explained merely by his historical milieu. And it would appear more legitimate to see the conclusion of the novel not in terms of Oswald dying as a son of his time, but rather as a desperate and necessary end to his personal problems.

Helene was not alone in being intended for a marriage of convenience. Waldernberg's mother tells him she married her husband "weil der Czar es wollte" (II, 513),

again a socially ordained marriage, not one based on love. In this respect Oswald is perhaps a 'victim' of his age, as his three loves are noblewomen, socially inaccessible to him according to the unwritten laws of society, and the one case in which scruples about such prejudices are thrown to the winds (Emilie) ends disastrously.

Spielhagen is capable of presenting the more historical side of his work with very vivid, precise description, as in the picture of the growing excitement and activity in Berlin at the beginning of vol. II, ch. 44. He describes a crowd-scene as symptomatic of those being enacted with ever greater frequency throughout the city, further fired by the successful overthrow of the Metternich régime in Vienna. In Spielhagen's text the latter events are admittedly distanced somewhat when we hear references to the "wegen ihres Leichtsinns verrufene Kaiserstadt an der Donau" and:

...der Vater der völkerberückenden Cabinetspolitik,
der Altmeister, durch dessen erbärmliche Künste ein
ganzes Menschenalter sich hatte gängeln lassen.
(II, 474)

In the final pages of his novel Spielhagen brings together various thematic threads and personal fates on the battlefield of the streetfighting, the barricades. He employs a more muted tone than might have been expected from his earlier, often onesided perspective (e.g. II, 133ff. - cf. pp.114-15). Certainly the heroic spirit behind those manning the barricades is not underplayed, nor is the sense of the great historic significance of the moment. Oldenburg's earlier image of the "Vulkan" is carried over

first to the "Krater..." (II, 530) and then to the "Strom der Revolution" (II, 538). His appeals to his followers are couched in grandiose terms:

Ist Einer unter Ihnen, der es süßer findet, für das Vaterland und die Freiheit leben zu bleiben, als zu sterben, der möge es jetzt sagen! (II, 536),

a tone which in Spielhagen's hands all too readily declines into banality: "Jeder fühlte, daß der Würfel geworfen...sei" (ibid.). On the other hand no illusions are held as to the practical side of the combat, to the efficiency of the streetfighters' arms. And even the spirit moving them is cast in a questionable light when Oldenburg notes their vacillation after the Major's attempts at reconciliation. He cannot fail to notice the difference between what he considers to be the clear aims, the informed, firm resolve of the Paris masses and the naïve, undirected exuberance of the Berliners.

There are also more conciliatory observations on the streetfighters' opponents than earlier in the novel. Firstly comes the Major's impressive attempt to avoid violence, then we see "Damen aus der guten Gesellschaft" (II, 540) tending the wounded in the fighters' ranks. The opportunist Timm meets a dreadful end, while the divergent threads of Oswald, Berger and Oldenburg are drawn together on the side of the mass. In this final scene it is difficult to separate the elements of personal destiny and the vast significance of the historical scene being enacted. For instance it is said of Oldenburg:

Der Tod für die Sache der Freiheit war ihm nicht fürchterlich, ja er glaubte etwas wie eine leise Todessehnsucht in seinem Herzen zu verspüren. Schien

doch die süße, fest gehegte Hoffnung, Melitta bald die Seine nennen zu dürfen, seit den letzten Tagen weiter als je hinausgerückt. (II, 553)

In other words, for all Oldenburg's admirable qualities, his motives for hurling himself into the fray with such apparent zeal for the "Sache der Freiheit" are in fact debased in their idealism by his desire to flee his personal problems. Such a reservation applies more strongly still to Oswald, who "kämpfte, wie Jemand, dem der Tod lieber ist, als das Leben" (II, 553-54). And for the tormented Berger peace is definitely only possible in death. When Oswald does die, his death is not seen - cannot consistently be seen - as a heroic sacrifice for a cause; instead we hear of it as "der letzte tiefe Athemzug einer Brust, von der die Last des Lebens für immer genommen ist" (II, 562).

This robs the final chapter's funereal tones of their effect. It is not tragic that men like Oswald and Berger should find release in death. And it is a strange attempt at transfiguration, at effacing the memory of what he has just said, when Spielhagen voices the sentiment of the masses (numbering 20,000 - II, 563) lining the streets for the funeral procession of the 187 dead: "Der Tod für die Freiheit krönt alles Streben, sühnt alle Schuld" (II, 563). The second half of this verdict may be correct, relating as it does to the personal lives of Oswald and Berger (the other 185 remain faceless). But we neither see any final victory of "Freiheit",³²⁾ nor does the impression predominate that this is what has been died for. Rather does the 1848 Revolution seem a convenient device by which Spielha-

gen can end the fevered wanderings of two of his main figures. A sense of fusion of the historical and personal levels is not attained here. It is certainly not achieved through a direct equation, as when Berger, but scantily characterized (with flowing grey hair and glowing eyes) is elevated to become an incarnation of the revolution - "es war, als ob die Revolution selbst Gestalt und Stimme angenommen hätte" (II, 532). Instead, the historical setting constitutes the backdrop (but not a backdrop made to seem inevitable from the course of the novel) for the final resolution of various individual destinies. The deaths of Oswald and Berger contribute by chance rather than by the successful realization of a narrative design to the cause of freedom.

Similarly the work's concluding paragraph does not emerge entirely organically from the final chapters. The visionary quality of these utterances has not found any reflection in a sense of exultation, of a disburdening from an impossible historical yoke, following the fighting on the barricades.³³⁾ Little attempt has been made to lend substance to a bourgeoisie and proletariat prepared to keep at bay the powers of tyranny (which indeed we can only surmise from this passage to have been overthrown already - the author focusses attention on the fate of his heroes, not the outcome of the battle). The presumed leader of the new era and order, Oldenburg, is there purely by chance, having survived the fray despite his death-wishes to receive his victor's laurels at the hands of his beloved (II, 561).

The novel concludes thus:

Wir sollen arbeiten und schaffen, daß die Nacht nicht wieder hereinbreche, ...die lange schmachvolle Nacht, aus welcher nur der Donnersturm der Revolution durch blutige Morgenröthe hinüberführt zur Freiheit und zum Licht. (II, 564)

These final lines with their polarity of imagery, the darkness of the Vormärz-era being illuminated by the bloody dawning of Revolution and giving way before the light of freedom, are little more than poetic in this context, for the novel's bounds have not extended to portraying or even preparing this ultimate stage. In fact, the one case where the phrase "Durch Nacht zum Licht" occurs (other than as the subtitle to vol. II) would tend to cast a very ironic light on the visionary tones of the novel's conclusion, for they are uttered by Berger at the beginning of his incarceration (II, 58) - a period which is to extend for a further five years.

The view of Spielhagen's novel advanced in this chapter has been a notably negative one. Its inclusion in this thesis is nonetheless readily defensible. Firstly, Problematische Naturen was simply the first of a long line of Zeitromane written by Spielhagen. With the possible exception of Fontane (of whom it may be argued that his shorter narrative works are not even novels, let alone Zeitromane), he is the only author among those considered here to have produced by far the bulk of his output in this particular stream of the novel-genre, even if, like Weyrauch in Im Schlaraffenland (cf. p.290), he does not explore new territory with his subsequent works. If Spielha-

gen's name is mentioned at all nowadays, it is as an important but inflexible theoretician, or possibly as a writer of novels which nobody reads any more apart from a handful of Germanisten writing theses on a par with the Pastor's (cf. p.125) in abstruseness. Yet for all its faults, Problematische Naturen is not some kind of object lesson in how not to write a Zeitroman. It is an instructive example of the genre, illustrating clearly some of its more characteristic tensions, namely between the historical reality represented and the fictitious figures, and between effective social comment and a jaundiced frontal attack - which in this case is inconsistent into the bargain.

We turn now to an altogether less extravagant work, in which a tone of disillusionment prevails till the - in a different sense from Spielhagen's apotheosis here - unsatisfactory ending (cf. pp.192-93), and where an aggressive tone has given way to a more muted pedagogic one: - we turn now to Keller's Martin Salander.

Footnotes

1. Friedrich Spielhagen, Problematische Naturen, 2 vols., 22. and 21. Auflage resp. (Leipzig: Staackmann, 1900), I, 344. These two vols. are nos. 1 and 5 of "Friedrich Spielhagens sämtliche Romane". Further textual references are to this edition.
2. Cf. Georg Büchmann, Geflügelte Worte, Fischer Bücherei, 145 (Frankfurt/Main und Hamburg, 1965), S.100.
3. Friedrich Spielhagen, Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans, Faksimiledruck nach der 1. Auflage von 1883, Deutsche Neudrucke, Reihe Texte des 19. Jahrhunderts, hrsg. v. Walter Killy (Göttingen, 1967), S.180. Future references to this work are abbreviated to BT plus the page no.
4. Cf. Bramsted, op. cit., p.173, n.1.
5. Gustav Freytag, Soll und Haben (München: Knauer, 1960), S.94. Further references to the text are to this edition.
6. This is not to say that Soll und Haben provided such an alternative, either historically or poetically. The other side of Freytag's coin can be seen in the biting satire of Georg Weerth's Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben (1847-48).
7. See for example Winfried Hellmann, "Objektivität, Subjektivität und Erzählkunst. Zur Romantheorie Friedrich Spielhagens", in Deutsche Romantheorien: Beiträge zu einer historischen Poetik des Romans in Deutschland, hrsg. u. eingeleitet v. Reinhold Grimm (F./M., Bonn, 1968), S.168.
Cf. too Hermann Schierding, Untersuchungen über die Romantechnik Friedrich Spielhagens (Diss. Münster, 1914). Schierding sees Spielhagen's notion of 'objectivity' in very positive terms. Like Spielhagen tended to do, he judges disparate novels by this one canon, and thus becomes ludicrous when, for instance, he criticizes the beginning of Tristram Shandy for its lack of "Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit" (S.59).
8. Also see II, 8, where Oswald reminisces about his father:
Hätte er zweihundert Jahre früher gelebt, würde man ihn ohne Zweifel als Hexenmeister und Zauberer verbrannt haben.
9. See Klemperer, op. cit., S.74.
10. Cf. Günter Rebing, Der Halbbruder des Dichters: Friedrich Spielhagens Theorie des Romans, Literatur und Reflexion, 8 (F./M., 1972). Speaking of Spielhagen's novel technique in general, he says:

Nicht nur die zahlreichen Dialoge, sondern der ganze Roman bekommt dadurch ein forciert dramatisches Gepräge. Dieser Effekt wird verstärkt durch inhaltliche Eigentümlichkeiten: Häufung erotischer Konflikte, moralische und soziologische Schwarzweißmalerei (Adlige zum Beispiel sind zumeist völlig korrupt und gewissenlos), Spannungserzeugung durch Hintanhalten der wahren (unweigerlich ganz verblüffenden) Identität geheimnisumwitterter Figuren und ähnliches mehr. (S.215)
Cf. too Schierding, op. cit., S.8.

11. But see also Siegfried Kohlhammer, Resignation und Revolte. Immermanns 'Münchhausen': Satire und Zeitroman der Restaurationsepoche (Stuttgart, 1973), S.195 (Anm.7 to S.121).
12. Leo Löwenthal, Erzählkunst und Gesellschaft: Die Gesellschaftsproblematik in der deutschen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts, Sammlung Luchterhand, 32 (Neuwied und Berlin, 1971), S.175.
13. Friedrich Spielhagen, Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik (Leipzig, 1898), S.109 (in ch. III: Die Wahlverwandschaften und Effi Briest).
14. Cf. BTT, 48 and 73. Spielhagen himself admits the ideal, unattainable nature of his demand for epic portrayal of "den Menschen in seiner Totalität" (S.48), of a hero who is "der Repräsentant der ganzen Menschheit" (S.73). Since:
...ein Menschenleben...doch immer nur ein Einzelnes bleibt, an welchem immer nur ein aliquoter Teil des allgemeinen Menschenloses illustriert werden kann, so kann auch...das Abbild das Urbild nicht völlig decken. (BTT, 74)
15. Cf. Friedrich Spielhagen, "Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks. Wie die 'Problematischen Naturen' entstanden", Deutsche Dichtung, 17. Bd. (Okt. 1894-März 1895), S.2.
Cf. too Rebing, op. cit., S.174-75.
16. Cf. Rebing, op. cit., S.210.
17. Also referred to in some editions as "Sundin" by virtue "des Sundes, an dem die Stadt liegt" (II, 131). See the Volksausgabe of 1909, 51.-55. Auflage (Leipzig: Staackmann), S.630.
18. This ambiguity makes unconvincing the claim of Schierding, op. cit., S.91, that Spielhagen followed the stock reason usually advanced for employing this device:
Diese Scheu vor einem völligen Realismus erklärt sich aus der Furcht, in seiner dichterischen Freiheit beeinträchtigt zu werden.
A "völliger Realismus"? As Schierding concedes later (S.92), it is only "scheinbar". He further claims:

"Größere Städte finden wir bei Spielhagen durchweg mit ihrem wirklichen Namen bezeichnet" (S.92), which is contradicted by the fabrications Grünwald and the Residenz.

19. For a further instance of this phenomenon, see Soll und Haben, S.49.
Cf. too Wilfried Richter, Das Bild Berlins nach 1870 in den Romanen Theodor Fontanes (Diss. Berlin, 1955), S.47; Sengle, op. cit., II, 40.
20. It surprises a reader of today that "wirklich Goethesche Kraft und Anschaulichkeit" were ascribed to the work by - the young Nietzsche (1865)! See Hellmann, op. cit., S.165.
21. See Friedrich Spielhagen, Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks..., op. cit., S.4.
22. On Cooper's popularity in Germany, see Karlheinz Rossbacher, Lederstrumpf in Deutschland: Zur Rezeption James Fenimore Coopers beim Leser der Restaurationszeit (München, 1972).
23. See BTT, 134 (from Der Ich-Roman, written in 1882):
... [daß] ein Produkt der epischen Dichtkunst, auch das höchste, an absolutem Kunstwert immer hinter den höchsten Produkten der beiden Schwesterkünste zurückbleiben muß.
24. Cf. T.E. Carter, "Freitag's 'Soll und Haben': A Liberal National Manifesto as a Best-seller", GLL, XXI (1968), 328. Carter produces astonishing sales figures for the periods between World War I and the Weimar Republic and then again after World War II.
25. For convenience M. d'Estain, who has protected the deserted Marie Montbert (Oswald's mother) and raised Oswald as if he were his own son, will be referred to as Oswald's father rather than supposed father.
26. Cf. Bramsted, op. cit., p.190ff.
27. As noted already by Julian Schmidt. See his article "Friedrich Spielhagen", Westermanns Jahrbuch der Illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte, 29. Band (Okt. 1870-März 1871), S.430.
See too the contemporary critic Arthur Levysohn, speaking of comparisons drawn by critics with Problematische Naturen:
Unsere Leser werden begreifen, daß diese Vergleiche meist mit Bezug auf Freitag's "Soll und Haben" statt hatten. (BLU, 1863, S.906)
28. Löwenthal, op. cit., S.144. The essays collected in this work were written in the period 1928-1931.
29. Hasubek, a- 66-67.

30. For the historical perspective following Spielhagen's novel, see Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, Herrliche Kaiserzeit. Deutschland 1871-1914 (F./M., Berlin, 1973):
War das Verhältnis zwischen adligen und bürgerlichen Offizieren 1860 noch 65 zu 35 Prozent, so bestand es bereits 1913 aus 70 Prozent Bürgerlichen und nur noch 30 Prozent Adligen. (S.138)
For examples of the bewilderment of the old order at this change (S.499-500) and the aggressive overcompensation of the new "breed" (S.342), see Arnold Zweig, Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa, 16. Auflage (Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau, 1973).
31. The same issue is broached by Fontane. In Stine, Baron Papageno reports Waldemar's uncle as having said to him:
Glauben Sie mir, Baron, ich kenne Familien und Familiengeschichten, und, mein Wort zum Pfande, wo das alte Blut nicht aufgefrischt wird, da kann sich die ganze Sippe begraben lassen. Und behufs Auffrischung gibt es nur zwei legitime Mittel: Illegitimitäten oder Mesalliancen. (I, 533)
But when the uncle is required to turn from the general to the particular, close-to-home case, he cannot consent to the "misalliance" between Waldemar and Stine (Stine, ch.12).
For a further example of the greater procreativity of the bourgeois implied in Problematische Naturen by the Prince's mother, cf. Der Stechlin, ch.6. Here Frau Katzler (born in the noble Ippe-Büchsenstein line) answers Dubslav's hint that she already has enough offspring with the following: "Wenn ich diesen Segen durchaus nicht wollte, dann mußt ich einen Durchschnittsprinzen heiraten..." (II, 477).
32. Nor really (from within the confines of the novel) of this being a stage along the way, as Spielhagen envisaged it in the following:
Und [Gott] weiß...daß, wie verfehlt auch sonst dein Leben war und du [Oswald] selbst bankerott an Glauben und Hoffnung und Liebe, du wenigstens sterben durftest mit vielen hunderten [! - cf. the 187 in the novel], die braver waren als du, für eine Idee, die, tausendmal blutig gezeißelt und schmäählich ans Kreuz geschlagen, immer wieder aus dem Grabe erstehen und endlich die Welt besiegen wird. (Die Geschichte des Erstlingswerks..., op. cit., S.7)
33. Cf. Schmidt, op. cit., S.434-36. Schmidt rejects the ending on historical grounds (S.436), and without specifically drawing the comparison, clearly plays off Spielhagen against Freytag to the advantage of the latter:
Auf die Revolution zu rechnen, ist so viel als auf ein Hazardspiel zu rechnen. Die bürgerliche Arbeit, die unablässig Tag aus, Tag ein schafft, bringt keinen glänzenden, aber einen sicheren Erwerb; von dem großen Loos sagt man mit Recht: wie gewonnen so zerronnen! (ibid.)
(Cf. the motto for Soll und Haben - "Der Roman soll das

deutsche Volk da suchen, wo es in seiner Tüchtigkeit zu finden ist, nämlich bei seiner Arbeit" - taken from Julian Schmidt.)

For further objections, see the Hart brothers' "Friedrich Spielhagen und der deutsche Roman der Gegenwart", Kritische Waffengänge, Sechstes Heft (Leipzig, 1884), esp. S.32 and 44.

CHAPTER IV

GOTTFRIED KELLER: 'MARTIN SALANDER'

(1) Introduction

With Keller's novel (published in 1886) we move from German internal conditions to Swiss soil and are confronted with the negative side of the progressive spirit of the Gründerzeit there. We have also left behind the dominating issue of Immermann's and Spielhagen's novels already discussed, the relationship of the rising bourgeoisie to the declining aristocracy; instead we find problems wholly confined to the bourgeois sphere, in particular the financial vicissitudes of the time. This, incidentally, is also the central theme of Spielhagen's Sturmflut (1877),¹⁾ whose title with its suggestion of natural catastrophe is a vast allegory on the collapse inevitably attending the financial speculation of the Gründerjahre in Germany.

The perspective from which the 'hero' is treated likewise differs markedly from the earlier novels. Just as the typifying titles Die Epigonen and Problematische Naturen reflect the generalizing function of the 'hero' of each, it was in accordance with the emphasis of his work that Keller chose the name Martin Salander (after toying with the idea of the more ostentatious Excelsior). Margarete Merkel-Nipperdey sees this change in the following terms:

Anders also als in den "Epigonen" (und im "Wilhelm Meister"), wo der Held die Funktion hat, verschiedene in sich verhältnismäßig geschlossene Lebensbereiche (wie Adel, Volk, gebildetes Bürgertum u.a.) miteinander zu verbinden, indem er in solchen verschiedenen Bereichen Eingang findet, selbst aber mehr oder minder passiv bleibt, anders ist die Funktion des Helden im "Martin Salander", wo er selbst in der Auseinandersetzung mit anderen Figuren - die Raumszenen erst aufbauen hilft, an diesem Aufbau selbst unmittelbar - aktiv - beteiligt ist. 2)

The spectrum in Martin Salander is not one of social strata, but of ethics within the one social class - of varying susceptibility to the impact of new material abundance and new political freedoms on timeless moral values. The panorama presented by Keller's novel is thus far more restricted than that of Immermann's or Spielhagen's. This makes possible a more incisive study of the one social area treated in the novel, but it also becomes more problematic when the attempt is made to derive wider, even universal significance from the relatively narrow issues treated (see pp.195,199). Martin himself may well gain, in terms of the aesthetics of the narrative, by bearing a stronger stamp of individuality and direction. But the artistic perils implicit in this kind of characterization (perils which find a highly satisfying resolution in the title figure of Fontane's Der Stechlin) lie precisely in the representative quality of characters like Hermann in Die Epigonen or Oswald Stein in Problematische Naturen, a quality which can easily be forfeited by a character bearing a more individual, less zeitbedingt stamp. The problems broached here should be borne in mind in the following sections where they are discussed in greater detail.

(2) Industrial change

Though the unaesthetic incursions of the factories in the Epigonen play no part here, certain 'industrializing' signs are clear, even in the opening scene of the novel when Martin, like Leonhard Hagebucher in Raabe's Abu Telfan, returns to his homeland after many years' absence. Sympto-

matic of the setting that is familiar to him and yet so changed is the new railway-station, "ein weit größeres Gebäude".³⁾ This opening setting finds its mirror-image in the concluding paragraph of the novel, when the prime villain of the piece and negative incarnation of the age, Louis Wohlwend, is seen leaving at the station, bound for an uncertain destination. But this redressing of the moral balance in terms of entry and exit of characters does not obscure the change from the new station at the beginning to the Blitzzug at the end. These features are not merely a chance accompaniment to the individual setting of the work, but an important indicator of the social and economic factors in constant interplay with that setting.

And however much such features may exude purposeful bustle and material expansion, that too is but one side of the picture. For in a novel so closely incorporating contemporary events, it is impossible to ignore the overtones implied by frequent reference to the railways. These overtones derive from the complete collapse, in 1878, of the Nationalbahn, to which Zürich had pledged a sum in the millions.⁴⁾ It is illuminating that Keller did not exploit the Naturalistic potential of this local event, in view of the new direction taken by Martin Salander towards a less poetically adorned realism. In this novel, such abstractions as the Railway System (cf. the 'personalized' locomotive, Die schwarze Suse, in Sudermann's Frau Sorge), the State, or Freedom are avoided, and their workings seen only as they relate to the lives of individuals. Vast losses are incurred by the government through the twins' and others' financial speculations, and of course at the individual

level by Martin, duped by Wohlwend. Broader themes are thus worked out through individuals - even in the former instance, the focus of interest is the twins' conniving.

A similar relationship between the individual and the historical setting holds for Martin's estrangement upon his return. He is confronted by signs of a growing orientation towards a city-existence as he "von dem Verkehrstrubel un-sanft gestört wurde" (7). He seeks in vain:

...zwischen der rastlosen Überbauung des Bodens nach Spuren früherer Pfade, die sonst zwischen Wiesen und Gärten schattig und freundlich hügelan geleitet hatten. (ibid.)

The earlier, pre-industrial idyll is being despoiled in the wake of the general shift of population from the land to towns and cities. Not that this trend was as clear in Switzerland as in Germany - nothing we see here compares even with the impression emerging from Die Epigonen, set so much earlier in the century.

The picture here is not presented as a broad canvas, but built up on an accumulation of details. Gone are the paths Martin knew, vanished "unter staubigen oder mit hartem Kies beschotterten Fahrstraßen" (ibid.), and much as he wonders at the recent innovations, Martin is delighted to find at length the familiar Zeisig-inn, a survival from his earlier days there. Just as the following scene with the children playing on semantic differences heralds the theme of social distinctions, of 'representation' in the novel, this opening portrayal of Martin's reactions establishes his fundamental conservatism, which is allied to a deep patriotism. The despoliation that is seen in

questionable terms here is positively senseless in the case of land surrounding Marie's lodgings on the Kreuzhalde. She tells her husband that the owner of the land had been forced:

...Bauplätze daraus zu machen, da einige andere Landbesitzer den Bau einer unnötigen Straße durchgesetzt haben. Nun ist sie da, jedes schattige Grün verschwunden und der Boden in eine Sand- und Kiesfläche verwandelt; aber kein Mensch kommt, die Baustellen zu kaufen. Und seit die guten Bäume dahin sind, ist auch mein Erwerb dahin! (40)

Pointless, unplanned changes that have a peculiarly modern ring, and the small businesswoman is the ultimate sufferer.

The mentality behind such moves, the financial greed overriding all considerations of aesthetic appeal or in this case even prudent protection, are depicted later in Salander's son-in-law Isidor. He calmly announces that the wood behind his beech-trees is to be felled shortly. Though his property will then be endangered by the "Schlamm- und Schuttmassen" (178), Isidor, unmoved by any inherent beauty of the trees, will then sell his beeches to the wood-choppers too. For "sie tragen ein schönes Geld ein!" (177). With him as with many other representatives of this era, financial considerations are the ultimate ones. This whole motif receives more extensive treatment in that other work of Keller's that anticipates many of the problems of his later novel, Das Verlorene Lachen. It is left to Jukundus to save the thousand-year-old oak from the greedy hands of those who had already bought up and destroyed so much woodland, a community-minded action in which he receives no support whatever from the state (V, 219-20). Age-old, deeply-rooted preserves of nature are subjected to the plun-

dering shortsightedness of the grasping moment.

In terms of the Zeitroman, these features of the Zeit are portrayed negatively. By this is meant not simply a moral negation by the author of the values presented, but also what might be termed a negative narrative approach. Through this, the few individual examples of concern and civic-mindedness highlight by implication the general trends of the Zeit, inasmuch as they run counter to them. These trends are occasionally embodied in a concrete example (e.g. Isidor's attitude to the beeches), but more frequently depicted without clear substance as the object of the lament sustained through much of the work. "Without clear substance" is not intended to be an aesthetic criticism, but simply to describe the way an overall atmosphere emerges from these specific examples, rather than through a more directly moralizing approach which might glaringly illuminate certain negative features.

The expanding network of railways also makes itself felt as a new current of the age:

Diese Nachmittagssitzung dauerte so lange, daß die Herren Volksvertreter nach Schluß derselben sofort die Bahnhöfe aufsuchen mußten, um die Heimat zu erreichen. Denn seit das Ländchen überall von den Schienenwegen durchzogen war, galt es nicht mehr für wohlanständig, die Nacht in der Hauptstadt zuzubringen, während man in einer halben oder ganzen Stunde zu Hause, und am Morgen ebenso rasch wieder da sein konnte. (117)

What prevails here is the sense of the railway as something of a dictator of fashion ("galt es nicht für wohlanständig", reinforced by the opening words of the next paragraph, referring to the Weidelich twins: "Um nicht nachteilig aufzufallen..." (ibid.)⁵⁾) rather than as a technical advance.

And on the very next page the negative aspect of railways is mentioned by Jakob Weidelich: "die Eisenbahnen, für die sich die Gemeinden und der Staat so überschuldet haben" (118).

Thus definite indications are present in the novel of the changing complexion of the country from a rural to an urban aspect, and none of these changes is proclaimed in a positive light. Instead, they are resented as a threat to certain rather nostalgically viewed, established values.

(3) Social-climbing and social distinctions; the cultivation of externals

The whole leitmotif of Schein, of people wanting to appear to be what they are not and striving to achieve recognition above the station that they bitterly deny, is presented in miniature in the scene with Martin's first human contact upon return from overseas. From his position as a relative outsider, as a newcomer to the prevailing social conditions, he is able to see far more clearly and objectively the changes that have insinuated themselves. The scene is constructed around a semantic distinction made by the young boys: the twins, and with them their playmates, ridicule Arnold (as he is later identified) for referring to his mother as Mutter, whereas they use the term Mama.⁶⁾ They in fact call their mother for help when Arnold retaliates to their gibes, and she too is immediately characterized by a recurring trait. She has been trying on a hat, which reappears in the story as a token of her vanity and the importance she attaches to externals, until her eyes are finally opened to her sons' un-

worthiness and she flings the hat away. But at this early stage she is in the prime of her ostentation, her requirements for the hat's appearance reflecting no trace of personal taste or enterprise but rather the pure and simple desire to take her competitive place in current fashion trends:

...sie wolle ebenso schöne und große [Blumen], wie andere Frauenzimmer, ... Sie wüßte nicht, warum sie nicht ebensogut weiße Bänder tragen dürfte, wie diese und jene... (9) (Author's underlining)

She then expresses with grim determination a prophetic utterance:

...wenn sie auch keine Rätin sei, so werde sie dereinst vielleicht eines oder zwei solcher Stücke zu Schwiegertöchtern bekommen! (9-10)

This shows her true attitude, her inferiority complex for which she is anxious to compensate by proclaiming loudly a waiving of social barriers, and seeking this for herself through status-symbols. But her very stridency betrays her, and what Martin admires as "die zunehmende Gleichheit der Bürger" (11) is in fact a diversifying of signs of material prestige, not an increased social or political awareness and responsibility in those formerly ascribed to the lower middle classes. The petit bourgeois, exemplified by Frau Weidelich, seeks to compensate for inner poverty by external display, all with great self-consciousness. Her pharisaic words to her sons - "ihr könnt Gott danken, daß es euch besser geht!" (10) - show further her smug self-aggrandisement.

Mutter is not the only word to have received emotional overtones: Frau Weidelich is incensed at Martin's

reference to the people as Volk:

Wir sind hier nicht Volk, wir sind Leute, die alle das gleiche Recht haben, emporzukommen! Und alle sind gleich vornehm! (ibid.)

And yet in her own eyes she can only attain this equality through such criteria as the colour of her hatbands. Her husband, addressed by their sons as Vater, explains to Martin why this word has been retained in favour of Papa.⁷⁾ According to him women are more concerned about finenesses of address than men, and in any case the menfolk would have to pay for their titles in the form of increased taxation, which naturally deters them. The women, whose presumption involves no burden or responsibility, can thus alone indulge their vanity. Unless of course a Wohlwend is concerned; he is mortified by Marie's addressing him without that Herr before his name which he feels to be his due (54). Martin's choice of words is made in all innocence, but Marie's is a calculated and well-aimed gibe.

The feudal connotations of the words Bauer and Herr (in the sense of aristocratic overlord) had already come under scrutiny in Gotthelf's Zeitgeist und Berner Geist (1852).⁸⁾ In the course of his improvised toast to his sons and their fiancées, Herr Weidelich, influenced by his sons, who have inherited their mother's extreme concern for social-climbing, says:

Ich bin ein schlichter Landwirt (die Söhne hatten ihm diesen Ausdruck eingelernt, weil der alte Name Bauer, der immer einen Herrn voraussetze, im souveränen Volke nicht mehr üblich sei),... (125)

All these instances of the emotive quality of words reflect the attitude of resentment of a self-assertive bourgeoisie towards the social barriers they are trying to eradicate. The emptiness of their efforts is demonstrated by the lack of deeds within the novel to support such claims, nor is there any question of Frau Weidelich being as vornehm in character as Marie Salander, and so the quibbling over words is largely a semantic game and not the reflection of any deep change in the social make-up of the people.

The desire to keep up appearances is admittedly not confined to the Weidelichs of the story. For Marie, the "Offenbarung ihres Unvermögens" (28) is to be avoided if at all possible, even if this involves her customers in eating at the expense of her children. Admittedly her motivation is the "Ruf des heimkehrenden Mannes" (30), who is himself the prey of a "verzeihliche Selbsttäuschung" (34) in having his luggage brought from the station by two men to hide his own suspected indigence. However, these two instances show rather the preservation of a sense of pride and dignity than the social-climbing of the Weidelichs, but the element of Schein is nevertheless shown to characterize the age and not just one type of person.

The crassest example of this spirit is Louis Wohlwend, whose successive crazes of heraldry, crab-fishing and a cant-riddled religiosity are mere outer affectations of a mobile spirit to conceal his moral bankruptcy. One example will stand for many. Immediately before Martin learns the hard reality of the collapse of the bank in Rio de Janeiro, Wohlwend characterizes his latest hobby thus:

Hier lassen sich alte Fäden politischer und kultureller Entwicklung offen legen und neue anknüpfen im Sinne einer neuen Verteilung der Volksehren - (44)

In Wohlwend's mouth originally lofty concepts are divested of meaning, something Salander the politician later has cause to regret with regard to the word Republik and its overuse (cf. p. 180). In the political sphere the desire for representation is shown at its most relentless and destructive in the flair for titles of Herrn Kleinpeter's wife, who tries to use her husband's occupation as a springboard for her own social rise. This is symptomatic of the insidious, compelling force of appearances sowing discord even at the domestic level, consuming the human side of human relationships in an obsession with prestige and advancement in the public eye.

Not only words have lost their meaning. When Marie visits Setti and comments on the prettiness of her dress, even though she hadn't expected visitors, the latter replies that this is the will of her husband and that she scarcely notices any more the quality of her garments (174). Thus something which would normally delight a young woman's heart has become simply a means of representing her husband fittingly to the public eye; predictably Julian imposes the same conditions on his spouse (180).

In Das Verlorene Lachen the minister had recanted at the end. Established religion is similarly treated here as a mere gloss, church-going is nothing more than churchiness. Thus Frau Weidelich makes it her business to attend:

...eine der Stadtkirchen, wo es immer so voll und interessant ist und die Leute ihre Visitenkarten an die Bänke nageln! (220)

It is the old story of climbing, allied here with Frau Weidelich's fanatic will to further her sons and in her turn be able to bathe in their glory:

...ich tu's meinen Söhnen zu Ehren, die gebildete Herren sind! Man soll nicht sagen, daß man ihre Mama nicht in einem gebildeten Gottesdienst zu sehen bekomme! (ibid.)

Everywhere the ubiquitous "man" is to be encountered, demanding the appearance of being "gebildet". Further, the semblance of an unfelt religiosity is seen here, and the devaluing of qualities and virtues through pretence. The seal is set on the true sentiments of the sanctimonious Wohlwend when he instructs his son to say grace at the very moment when Martin is raising his spoon to his mouth (203).

The Salanders' concern for appearances also recurs at different stages up till the end of the story. Arnold rejects the idea of any particular preparations for the circle of friends he has invited, but only seems to win the argument, as on the evening itself two assistants are duly installed in the kitchen. Marie reasons:

...sie habe nicht mit einem mißlungenen Wesen die Familie erst recht als Emporkömmlingsware ins Gerede bringen können! (280)

In this age there are unfortunately few fates worse than to be brought "ins Gerede". But here the more rational Arnold is seen as supplanting his mother's more traditional attitude, and even the latter is harmless compared with the other examples given here. For in Martin Salander an

obsession with externals is not, as in the previous two novels discussed in this thesis, an attribute of a declining aristocracy, but instead of a money-grubbing bourgeoisie.

These externals, from semantic bickerings through to hypocritically paraded religiosity, fall well within the province of this smaller-scale Zeitroman. Its scope is not suited to a broad presentation of wider issues, but at the same time the less spectacular examples are rarely related to a larger framework of events. The ramifications of apparent trivia that characterize Fontane are not always present in Keller's work. The individual examples in Martin Salander of the cultivation of externals reinforce each other in illustrating the same point, but they are seen as accompaniments to historical developments rather than as factors conditioned by them (this is to be compared with Schach von Wuthenow, for instance, where Schach's aesthetic sensitivity emerges as an Enderscheinung of the old Prussia). Keller's Zeitroman illustrates the cultivation of externals in this Zeit without always adequately locating them in it - abused democratization cannot be appealed to as an explanation in all instances.

(4) Financial ascendancy, speculation and ruin

Aber ernste Männer klagen über den reißenden Fortschritt des Geldgeistes. Monarchieen, sagt ein Schweizer selbst, ein guter Republikaner, zu mir, öffnen den menschlichen Leidenschaften mehr Abzugskanäle, zum Beispiel Titel, Adelsdiplome, Hofdienste, Orden dem Ehrgeiz, der Eitelkeit; hier aber wirft sich aus Mangel an Anderem die ganze Sinnlichkeit fast allein auf's Geld;...
Denn daß inmitten unserer monarchischen Großstaaten noch eine Republik besteht, auf altgesunder Grund-

lage, verständig, nicht ideologisch, gut konservativ: das soll sein, ist recht und in der Ordnung. Wenn sie sich nur auch vor der modernen Demokratie brav hütet! Gerade einer Republik nichts verderblicher, als der falsche, abstrakte Freiheitsbegriff! 9)

This extract, which might serve as something of a motto for this section, could well be taken from Martin Salander, as far as the content is concerned. In fact it comes from Fr. Th. Vischer's Auch Einer.

The sense of appearances discussed in the preceding section, of the recognition of genuine, intrinsic values being clouded by the dictates of a questionable propriety, is not confined to the moral and social spheres. It is carried over to the realm of finances, where fortunes are amassed, only to crumble overnight. The spread of speculation and ruin in the later stages of the novel are presaged very early in the course of Martin's narration to Moni Wighardt of his earlier family history. His constant scourge Wohlwend had secured him as the first of three guarantors for one of his enterprises. The enterprise predictably founders, and it is reported of the other two guarantors that they:

...sich vor der Katastrophe ruhesam verzogen, nicht ohne ihrerseits selbst verschiedene Bürgen oder deren Gläubiger geschädigt zu haben, insofern solche wirklich etwa bezahlten. (20)

This calls to mind part of Schiller's Die Bürgschaft as rendered with hair-raising accentuation by Wohlwend on an earlier occasion, an extract that sticks in Martin's mind because of its unaesthetic impact, not its thought-content:

Ich lasse den Freund dir als Bürgen,
Ihn magst du, entrinn' ich, erwürgen. (19)

Indeed an ominous presentiment of the time to come! One guarantee is based on another, and so on, and an artificial system is built up simulating financial security, a system which totters at the slightest prod. Money is in fact progressively enslaving rather than serving people. Salander sees this clearly when he extols to his wife:

...diejenige Unabhängigkeit, welche nur ein mäßiger Besitz verleiht; denn ein zu großer macht natürlich den Mann auch unfrei. (58)

Such an outlook, unthinkable in a Wohlwend or the Weidelich twins, is reflected towards the end of the novel too in the very sober discussion between Martin and Arnold on whether to extend their business. Very much the exception, they are not moneygrubbers or status-seekers, preferring to further their intellectual pursuits instead of sacrificing them, and to stay within their relatively modest bounds. Arnold says, and his father subscribes to his views:

Wollen wir in der Tat kleine Nabobs werden, die entweder ihr Leben ändern oder den weit über ihre Bedürfnisse reichenden Mammon ängstlich vergraben müssen und in beiden Fällen vor sich selbst lächerlich sind? Zudem bist du ja Politiker und Volksmann, ich bin meines Zeichens Geschichtsfreund und Jurist; es steht uns also beiden besser an, wenn wir in schlicht bürgerlichen Verhältnissen und Gewohnheiten bleiben... (273)

At the other end of the scale comes Frau Weidelich. When her sons bring home the Salander girls as their betrothed, Frau Weidelich's mind boggles: "die Salanderinnen, von denen das Stück erst eine halbe Million Franken gelten sollte!" (123). That is the sole criterion by which

she judges the match her sons have made. And her succeeding reactions are similarly typical (cf. 124). Having decked herself out she turns her attention to preparing a meal for which the young people protest they have no taste. Her husband seems to be having an ironical taunt at her fussing when he says: "wir stellen alles durcheinander, so sieht unsere Armut um so reicher aus!" (ibid.) - again symptomatic of the striving of the unmoneyed to keep up appearances beyond their station. Her crass materialism is exemplified by her reaction to the news that her sons' marriages are collapsing: "Der erste Gedanke war das große Erbgut, das viele Geld..." (223).

Martin is in general a far from idealized figure and is constantly shown with his foibles and weaknesses, and his attitude towards the recent spate of building, which he is supporting through lending ready capital, is no exception. Rumours of an impending slump are circulating. He thinks of:

...das bedenkliche Umsichgreifen der Baulust, welcher er ja selbst Vorschub leistete, und auf die Reden, welche bereits von einem unvermeidlichen Häuserkrach umgingen. Mag er kommen, dachte er, ich habe nur erste Hypotheken, und ohne das: mit geflogen, mit gefangen! Man muß mit der Zeit marschieren, sie gleicht alles wieder aus... (195)

His rationalizations at the end seem reckless in the extreme, his condoning of the currents of the time as such seems opposed to his circumspection as a statesman. As with Wohlwend's three Bürgschaften there is the sense of a financial bubble with no firm foundation.

The disparity between appearance and reality disappears all too quickly as the swelling number of festivals

is succeeded by a series of arrests and exposures of embezzlement.

Wenn man jedoch sich der Klagen über schlechte Zeiten und stetig wachsende Volksnot erinnerte, so begriff auch der Einheimische nicht recht, wo sie alle das Geld hernahmen, das sie verjubelten. (214)

Martin is in fact witness to a painful scene where a reveller is led away by policemen in the midst of celebrations. Indeed, so seriously does Martin take the spirit and the camaraderie of these gatherings that when the prisoner sadly removes the "Ehrenzeichen der Freude" (216) he has accrued, Martin likens him to an officer being dishonoured before his regiment. The man concerned had been: "ein...eines großen Vertrauens teilhafter Verwalter irgendeiner der florierenden Unternehmungen" (ibid.), whose embezzlements had been discovered and who had sought to flee the country, presaging Julian's fate. His folly in joining the carousing a final time is motivated with keen irony by the moralist Keller:

...da ja ein reinlicher Bürger auch das Unliebsame stets zu einem artigen Stammbuchverslein zu gestalten strebt. (ibid.)

Thus the cloak of respectability is ripped from this man and the gay atmosphere of the festival soured.

But this is only the beginning. The same evening Martin reads in the newspaper of three similar cases, even one within his own canton, which particularly distresses him. The newspapers become progressively fuller of instances of misappropriation by people from all kinds of positions. "Sie haben wieder einen! Wieder einen!" (218) becomes common parlance. Keller intersperses his

narration of these events with irony: "Am Sonntag war wieder Ruhetag. Aber am Montag hub der Tanz von neuem an..." (ibid.). But he does make direct reference to the corrupting power of money in the following moralistic tones:

Und die schlimme Krankheit durchzog das ganze Land, ohne Ansehen der Konfessionen oder der Sprachgrenzen. Nur etwa im Gebirge, wo die Sitten einfacher geblieben und das bare Geld oder Geldwert seltener, war nicht viel davon zu hören. (ibid.)

To the pedagogue, parliamentarian and patriot Salander it is naturally disheartening:

...daß die Übel der Zeit nicht an den Grenzen der Republik stehenblieben, deren geistigen und sittlichen Ausbau er so getreulich betreiben half. (ibid.)

Yet as we have already seen, he has himself helped nourish the false and inflated values underlying such speculation.

The peak of this trend is reached with Isidor's arrest. The sums the twins have misappropriated are colossal; it is typical of his rather naïve trust in human nature that Martin has interpreted the twins' nocturnal activities in their favour. In his work on Keller, Ermatinger¹⁰⁾ portrays the immediate historical background to this stage of the novel, the arrests of the Notaren Koller and Rudolph, and the furore they caused. The twins' shallowness and soullessness are shown to have resulted from energy misdirected into contriving schemes. This calamity is necessary to recall Frau Weidelich to her senses; she declines to wear her hat home and even throws it into the river, an act symbolizing her shattered vanity. The many outlets and temptations for financial ventures are to be seen in the case of Isidor as emerges from his trial:

he had acted as go-between for a kind of agriculturalists' co-operative society with its investors, and he himself invests the money he embezzles in fruitless ventures on the stock exchange (241). Keller's occasional ironic side-thrusts¹¹⁾ seem to betray a grimly humorous tone rather than one of indignation. But in a case like the following:

Es war eben der beiden Brüdern gebliebene Anteil am menschlichen Idealismus, das Unrecht nur mit dem Vorbehalte zu üben, es mit Fortunas Hilfe rechtzeitig gutzumachen... (243),

the attitude of sheer cynicism is allowed to expose itself without any commentary beyond the dubious light already thrown by the narrative on a concept like "Idealismus". And in fact the whole débâcle of the financial scene that unfolds in the novel is not one of hard-core mercenariness, of calculating profiteering, but rather of the seductive lure of money, which in its all too ready accessibility misleads fairly average people, vulnerable to temptation, into speculation, momentary success and frequent disaster. Here again Keller's Zeitroman stands clearly between the more spectacular events in Immermann and Spielhagen and the complete absence of them in Fontane's last novel (cf. p.214). While avoiding all melodrama, Keller's rather low-key approach runs the risk of making the events described seem fairly harmless. There is little sense of waste or futility for instance when Martin, duped by Wohlwend, returns to South America, and most potential for drama or tragedy is eliminated by the frequent tone of disillusionment and resignation.

(5) Salander the politician; general political and educational trends

Under this rubric we see the idealistic side of Martin which often borders on unrealism, and his patriotic fervour. The first quality appears when he is recounting to Moni Wighardt his motivation for his teaching efforts:

Ich freute mich schon der späteren Tage, wo ich manchem Landmann zu begegnen hoffte, der es mir danken würde, wenn er eine richtige Berechnung anstellen, ein Stück Feld ausmessen, seine Zeitung besser verstehen und etwa ein französisches Buch lesen könnte, alles ohne die Hand vom Pfluge zu lassen! Allerdings hab' ich es nicht erlebt; denn die Buben schwanden einem vorweg aus den Augen und verkrochen sich in alle möglichen Schreibstuben.
(17)

Martin's notions of a well-educated peasantry sound almost comical through the very images that he employs, and are in any case thwarted by that urban expansion already noted. His pedagogic trait is shown even in a brief scene when he and his family have walked to a vantage point looking out over the surrounding countryside. This serves Martin as a pretext for testing the children's geographical knowledge, and when his elder daughter answers correctly that what they see is Münsterburg (- Zürich), one of the twelve Bezirke, he ruminates aloud on the historical precedents of the Bezirke, the ensuing rising of a sense of history and tradition strengthening his patriotic impulses. Perhaps the most salient point in this brief episode with regard to the Zeit is the recent introduction of Heimatkunde to the school curriculum, showing that education is in a state of flux in accordance with the age.

Martin's visionary political opinions are gently ironized by Marie's attitude to them: in reading his last letter before his return from his second stay overseas, she skims over his political views, contenting herself with the wellbeing of the moment. For all this she admires his "bürgerlichen Freisinn" (61). But the fact that Wohlwend has caused her husband to spend such a long period of his life in wholly unforeseen, unplanned pursuits shows the brittle nature of plans for the future (such as those in Martin's letter), which are susceptible to the ever increasing intrusion of the unexpected. The relevant part of Martin's letter is then quoted, where he looks forward with great expectation to experiencing the new constitution the republics have wrought for themselves (in 1869 came the new Zürich constitution, replacing the legislative power of the elected Räte by the will of the people expressed through plebiscites), and paints a rosy picture of the increased sense of duty and responsibility which must accompany such a step. In this he is to be sadly disillusioned.

But for the time the Münsterburger constitution attracts the admiration of neighbouring statesmen, and the principles democratically introduced bring with them undreamt of changes. There is a seething political atmosphere, and the entrusting of government to such an extent to the hands of the people leads to individual enterprise of the following nature:

Salander sah mit Verwunderung, wie im Halbdunkel eines Bierstübchens zwei Projektenmacher den Entwurf eines kleinen, Millionen kostenden Gesetzes oder Volksbeschlusses fix und fertig formulieren konnten, ohne daß die vom Volke gewählte Regierung ein Wort dazu zu sagen bekam. (73)

The continuing succession of elections for offices of all kinds similarly keeps those entitled to vote active. Martin joins in this whirl of activity and is elected to many committees because of his known independent spirit, among his functions being that of helping explain the difficult points of their new political sovereignty to those unversed in them. This involves familiarity with many laws, which he does strive to assimilate by making himself directly acquainted with them. But such integrity is rarely to be observed in others in like positions, and so Martin shines as a rather isolated beacon of enlightenment and idealism in the midst of a sea of changes which often move too quickly for those who have effected them. A presentiment of the true state of affairs beneath the surface of hectic ferment does not escape Martin. It seems to him:

...als ob das Personal der politischen Ober-, Mittel- und Unterstreber gegen früher im ganzen ein klein wenig gesunken wäre, so daß die etwas geringere Beschaffenheit der einen Schicht diejenige der anderen bedinge und erkläre. (74) 12)

The people are simply not ripe in many cases for the wide-ranging powers that are theirs, that have been so rapidly acquired and not gradually integrated into the structure of the nation's political life. This is seen when the Salanders leave the Lautenspiel. The Gemeindamann draws attention to the irresponsibility of those who have brought Isidor to power:

Eigentlich müßten mir diejenigen den Schaden gutmachen, die einen solchen Menschen zu ihrem Notar wählen und das Recht dazu an sich gerissen haben!
(238)

In a debate about a "Nahrungsfrage" (74), a suggestion devised by one individual and accepted to a degree in the district is discussed by "ungeschulten, meist jüngeren Leuten" (75), who "statt eingehender Gründe" (ibid.) cited "nur immer das Wort Republik, republikanisch, Würde des Republikaners usw." (ibid.). This degradation to an emotional catchcry of a concept very dear to Martin's heart distresses him, and at the same time his pedagogic inclination is aroused. He administers a rebuke to the offenders in a speech in which he again dwells on historical references, which reflect his firm patriotic pride but tend to seem pedantic. He makes the timely observation, which is ill-received because of its closeness to home,

...daß auch der Republikaner alles, was er braucht, erwerben muß und nicht mit Worten bezahlen kann.
(ibid.) 13)

Martin's keenness to remain independent changes; he realizes that the presentation of an opinion carries far more weight in the Rat than in other assemblies. Again he is contrasted sharply with most of his fellow-politicians: his reticence in simply attending the meeting without insinuating to others his desire to be elected, is exceptional. Whenever Martin is tacitly praised in such procedures the general state of politics and politicians of the time is equally roundly condemned by their deviations from his integrity, and thus the Zeit receives further negative colouring. In this particular scene, Martin's integrity and the twins' brashness emphasize the picture of their character already emerging. Except in the case of Arnold, Keller generally manages

to keep the delicate balance, basic to the Zeitroman, between individual character representation and more generalized comment, without the characters becoming transparent ciphers and manipulated components of the fictional apparatus. Even a secondary figure like Kleinpeter, for all his function of prefiguring a strand in the main action, emerges as much more than a type.

In the scene under discussion, it is said of Martin that he espouses greater representation from the Old Liberals. His normally impeccable motives as a tolerant patriot are satirized here, for in view of his party's waning support, he too regards it as expedient ("klug") to be:

...Verehrer...der Minderheitenvertretung..., der nicht nur politische Philosophen, sondern auch allerlei praktische Leute anhängen, welchen der schöne Grundsatz nächstens selbst nützlich werden konnte, nachdem sie bislang keine anders gesinnte Fliege zugelassen hatten, noch ferner zuzulassen gesonnen waren. (105)

In this issue as in his financial dabblings there is no question of Martin being lumped together with the crass opportunism exposed at the end of the sentence. But the chinks in his idealistic armour do show through. And this both renders the presentation of him as a character more credible (in terms of human weakness - again precisely what is lacking in Arnold), and also establishes a certain continuum, so that the negative features of the age are not simply contrasted with a wholly idealized positive pole. The solid core of integrity in Martin is affirmed, but after the opening situation where his perspective as a partial outsider, a long absent compatriot, achieves a

certain objectivity (e.g. his naïveté in the semantic wrangle over Mutter and Mama), his lament for the abuses of the day is far from that of a detached observer not involved in the events he is decrying. The same applies to society viewed from the other end. Julian and Isidor are not individual transgressors beyond the pale of society, but have rather been spawned by it, their political careers have been actively furthered by it (see p.179).

There is nothing in the general tone of party politics to inspire Martin, his is an individual stance of a fervent patriot, not the pursuing of selfish or shortsighted aims with the immunity of a party label. With typical naïveté Martin imputes to the twins worthy motives in attending the elections:

Ei nun, sie zeigten doch wackere Teilnahme an den Landesangelegenheiten; das steht jungen Leuten gut und beweist einen ernsten Sinn! (106)

In fact they seek only to impress and ingratiate themselves with the man they hope will be their father-in-law, and nominate Martin with a brashness, a calculating opportunism that is countered by an unswerving integrity on Martin's part, for he cannot accept a position under such circumstances. He himself is aware of the fact that he is not endowed with the compromising character necessary for success in politics. He realizes:

...es gebreche ihm an der derben Rücksichtslosigkeit, welche zum rüstigen Vorgehen auf politischer Laufbahn unentbehrlich sei. (108)

This quality is illustrated by the Weidelich twins when they turn to politics; Julian's flashy, superficial senti-

ments are reflected by his big hat, "ein unverhohlenes Zeichen der Gesinnung" (114), which in itself earns him his candidature. Both he and Isidor (with his "Hütlein wie ein Suppenteller" - 113) are very much the sons of their mother, with her own parading hat, and in all such cases the frippery betokens an inner poverty. There is no emphasis on depth of political sympathies in Julian's favour, but instead on the emotive effect of the external sign, precisely what Martin had referred to in his attack on the abuse of the word Republik.

The political career of the Weidelich twins, brought to an abrupt end by the disgrace of their incarceration, is the most glaring indictment of the freedoms of the Switzerland portrayed in the novel. In a particularly crass scene they throw dice to decide which political party they will adhere to, having agreed upon the expediency of taking an active interest in this sphere and of not belonging to the same party. Their ruthless, frivolous self-seeking, devoid of ideals and principles, is opposed to Martin's wary Unparteilichkeit, which is based on strong moral sentiments. Their primitive methods of 'rising', of ensuring notice through hackneyed tricks - having themselves called away from meetings by telegrammes, for instance (112) - reflect their unprincipled drive for success and expose further the superficiality of an age which nurtures them and smiles indulgently on their devices. On the other hand, Martin's Gesinnung is not properly recognized. He even sees the principal reason for the social isolation of his family, which emerges when a list of wedding-guests is being compiled, to lie in the

suspicious figure he cuts as a politician:

Wohlhabende Geschäftsleute und Ähnliche, die aus den für besonnen geltenden Reihen des bisherigen Zustandes heraustreten und mit den bewegten Massen voranstürmen, gelten bei jenen Standesgenossen mindestens für wunderliche, unvertraute Käuze, denen die gesicherte Staatsordnung ein Spielball der Leidenschaft oder des Ehrgeizes sei... (127-28)

Such an exception to the rule does he form that, at least in his own view, people cannot look past this rule in assessing his ethics.

In connection with the wedding, a letter from Arnold arrives, wherein he expresses his own view and that of his friends (129ff.). These accord generally with those of an old man who has clearly impressed Arnold, and who has bemoaned successive generations restlessly undoing the work of their forebears, the idea of an excessively hasty progressive spirit being conveyed by the image of a ground-beetle in its ineffective attempts to reach the opposite side of a table surface. This attitude of responsible detachment is to be echoed at the end of the novel and hailed by Martin as a great hope for the future; here it meets with a certain degree of bewilderment on his part. Indeed, it is his inability to come to grips with what he sees as his son's doctrinaire ideas that prompts him to stage a "freiheitliches Volksfest" (128) after all as part of his daughters' wedding celebrations. This is a kind of defiance aimed at Arnold's scepticism towards progressive trends. The girls' objections to various features planned by Martin are met halfway, yet it is clearly of great importance to him that the whole should have "einen politischen Beigeschmack" (135). Yet he had originally been prepared, with-

out any recourse to the preferences of the girls, to sacrifice sundry features of a more conventional style of wedding in the interests of a flashy affair incorporating as a prime feature the railway and even the railway-station (132-33).

This headlong hurling of himself into more questionable currents of contemporary life stands at strange variance with that side of Martin that is rooted in the customs and history of his nation. His impetuosity on the one hand and fierce patriotism on the other make possible the presentation of a Zeitroman-figure with two historical time-dimensions (with the third, the future, intended to be Arnold's domain). This differentiates him for instance from Hermann in Die Epigonen; the latter's scantily depicted view of the past is generally negative, while Martin is more confused than anything else by the crosscurrents of his own age. And whereas Martin's tendency to idealization and abstraction are highlighted by the gently ironic, realistic foil of Marie, there is no such 'norm' to lend clearer contours to Hermann or any other figure in Die Epigonen. Though one suspects a poverty of invention, this is of course far from a wholly negative statement, since the Zeit of Immermann's novel is portrayed as a confused flux. Whereas that of Martin Salander ultimately isn't, since the thread of productive patriotism is never quite lost, and the ending is marginally more convincing.

At the wedding the parson proposes a toast to the newly-weds and their parents in strongly folksy tones.

His speech is riddled with high-sounding words and turns of phrase that are primarily trappings and thus abuses of language. In his view "ein Volksredner muß immer ein Ganzes bieten, das sozusagen künstlerisch abgerundet ist" (142). For him the form is of greater importance than the content, and it is symptomatic that alone of the four parents Frau Weidelich is greatly impressed. Salander sees his sophistry as an involuntary defence-mechanism, which is rather an indictment for a representative of such a profession.¹⁴⁾ This is not the only dubious feature of the wedding. The play conceived by Martin as wedding the political ideals of the Democrats and the Old Liberals takes turns he had not expected, and democracy emerges at the expense of a ridiculed, lagging liberalism. Martin hastens to rectify the twist given to his conception, and the crowd applauds again, but is thereby shown to be very fickle. It thus seems that political opinions are to them basically a mere framework for the formulating of fine speeches, witty farces, etc. The whole political enlightenment which Salander while in foreign parts had foreseen as the heritage of the new constitution is cast in a very questionable light.

The political issues raised in the play are presented in such a distorted form, more with an eye to their effect on the audience than to their intrinsic merits, that no conclusions about such merits can be drawn from the account of the play. But the other side does emerge in rather atypical fashion from commentary inserted into the narrative, something essayed elsewhere to lend a kind of general, philosophizing tone to an observation.¹⁵⁾

Here it ensures that for the reader a more sober criticism of Liberalism emerges which is not present for the spectator of the farce. This is achieved by the following interpolations:

...wobei aber der Liberalismus, so ziemlich wie es im Leben geschieht, ohne es zu merken, einen Satz der Demokratie nach dem andern zu dem seinigen machte... (145)

and:

Es waren biedere Leute, die durch alle Ungunst der Zeit ihrer Gesinnung treu geblieben und die im Grunde richtigen Anspielungen auf den Wankelmut ...nicht einmal verstanden. (146) (author's underlining in both cases)

The narrator here adopts the pedagogic stance attributed to Martin throughout the novel. He concedes that the exaggerations of the play distance it from the conditions which form its subject-matter. At the same time he ensures that a clear verdict on those conditions does in fact emerge (see the underlined sections of the above quotations). Without this, an uninstructed reader might have assumed from the dubious light in which both the farce and the audience's reception are cast, that the satiric barb is intended to backfire, but this is not the case.

This seems a fascinating instance of that constant interplay between individual and general concerns present in the Zeitroman. Rather than let a more gradual and reasoned criticism of Liberalism emerge organically from his work, the novelist chooses to accentuate the individual aspect with this extreme form of satire reflecting more on Martin's wedding-feast and the level of both participants in and spectators of the play (the repeated

Hanswurst-elements, the complete lack of subtlety) than on the object directly satirized. To redress this balance - since the author is also striving for a political comment - the narrator has to supply his own commentary.¹⁶⁾ Martin Salander avoids the irritating black-white scheme of characterization whereby polemical thrusts are driven home. But the above example shows the dangers with which Keller's method is fraught in balancing the more colourful, satiric and even epic¹⁷⁾ concerns found in his earlier works (e.g. Das Fähnlein der sieben Aufrechten, Die drei gerechten Kammacher and Der grüne Heinrich respectively) with the more didactic and disillusioned features of this Zeitroman.

To return to the wedding celebrations, the harsh reality of what Martin idealistically envisages is revealed in the caricature of the twins (at the hands of two yokels - 147-49) after they consider whether to appear on stage; had they carried through their intention, this too would have been a mockery of Martin's true sentiments.

Shortly after, Martin is finally persuaded to become "Mitglied des Großen Rates" (150), a responsibility he takes on after much soul-searching.¹⁸⁾

He discusses with his wife the recurring problem of the demands of cantons and the federal government on finances (166), but with even more enthusiasm does he expound his ideas about his hobby-horse, education. His wife is perceptive in seeing through his illusions, his attractive but impracticable (because Fremdarbeiter would be needed!) notion of compulsory education to the age of

twenty, and sees him headed for "einer großen Enttäuschung" (169), which applies not only to his ideas in this field. These few pages provide an interesting comparison with Die Epigonen. In Martin Salander, certain 'programmes' and theoretical ideas are heralded, yet their presentation is consistent with a certain character development, be this Martin's pedagogic trait or Marie's scepticism and rather grim humour. A comparison with Wilhelmi in Die Epigonen must be to the latter's disadvantage - as already indicated (p.81), his pronouncements are generally outright polemics, coloured only by the hypochondria attributed to him to relativize his position.

A desperate and wholly absurd attack is made on the state education system by the defence counsel for Julian. But the judge refers to the solid foundation this system has in the ideas contained in Pestalozzi's Lienhard und Gertrud (1781-87). His generally reasoned repudiation of the defence's claims unfortunately ends with a rhetorical flourish:

...weil es mir, wie schon öfter in neuerer Zeit, zumute war, wie wenn der Geist eines hysterischen alten Weibsbildes in unserm Ländchen herumführe, wie der Böse im Buch Hiob! (258)

This earns him many hisses as it is imputed to his Old Liberal leanings. Yet similar terms are used for the same phenomena in a more editorial comment, when we hear of the troubles caused Martin by the "Zeitkrankheiten" (264). And he himself thinks of explaining to his wife his need to worship the beauty of Wohlwend's sister-in-law Myrrha as an escape from the "Krankheiten der Zeit" (268). The two have been linked before (218-19) as objects of his

sighing. But for all the debunking of Martin's infatuation for Myrrha, the other side of the coin does seem an appropriate verdict on the age. Martin's reference to the "Krankheiten der Zeit" is admittedly largely a rationale for his own behaviour. But from the first mention of the word Verfall (155) - with reference to the hapless Kleinpeter - the financial and moral bases of society have progressively disintegrated, and the judge's final image in his speech above seems to be based on substance, even if it is exaggerated.

Furthermore, the verdicts of both Martin and the judge are justified in terms of integration into the narrative through being extracted from details presented. With some of Wilhelmi's utterances in Die Epigonen, such verdicts were often presented in lieu of these details, rather than emerging from them. The same criticism applies to the end of Martin Salander, where Arnold's character (e.g. his attitude of responsible detachment - 279) is a vehicle for ideas rather than being integrated into the narrative in such a way as to motivate the natural emergence of these ideas. In the 'Materialien' Keller notes: "Salander ist der Zustand der Gegenwart, Arnold der Zukunft."¹⁹⁾ As far as Arnold is concerned, little more than this abstraction of his function is achieved by the novel.

Arnold does bring a fresh perspective, even if it is all too insubstantial, from which future progress can derive its impetus. He makes a very timely distinction between "Vaterlandsliebe" and "Selbstbewunderung" (271), and his appearance also has a salutary effect on Martin.

For the latter:

...seit er so rüstig an dem öffentlichen Wohle mitgezimmert und gebastelt, [hatte] manches für unvergleichlicher und einziger gehalten..., als es war. (ibid.)

He too is thus brought to a realization of the relative importance of Swiss politics (cf. Arnold's maxim: "Es ist bei uns wie überall!" - ibid.), and when his infatuation with the classical beauty of Myrrha Glawicz passes, his political efforts, or at least their impulses, are gently ironized:

So ging Martin Salanders später Liebesfrühling, der die Verjüngung seiner politischen Tatkraft herbeiführen sollte, in Gnaden und ohne weitere Gewitter vorüber. (272)

It can be seen then that the political sphere plays a dominant part in Keller's final work, and its extensive treatment may be what Keller had in mind when he regretted the lack of "Poesie"²⁰⁾ within the novel. The political currents of the age are nonetheless well integrated into the novel, and a broad spectrum achieved from the unscrupulous opportunism of the Weidelich twins through to the deep sincerity of Salander. The latter is nonetheless tempered by a tendency to idealism and by a fiasco such as the play performed at the wedding. The political changes, the adoption and initial operating of the new constitution, are just part of the series of rapid changes found also in the industrial and financial spheres, and reflect the impetuous, not always well-considered 'progress' of this 'progressive' stage of Swiss history.

The concluding pages of the novel deserve special attention. On the one side, the negative influence of Wohlwend finally disappears from the scene, after his "Gottesstaatsidee" (264) has been expounded and its inadequacy as a solution to the governmental problems of the time shown. The whole tone of these concluding pages is conciliatory and confident. When his father speaks in apologetic terms of recent events in their country, Arnold points to worse excesses in the past which have not managed to hinder its development. His words immediately preceding their pact of patriotism are of similar import - to him their richness or otherwise is immaterial, since they live eighty years after the Napoleonic occupation of the country and after the upsetting of the feudal order ("wir sitzen hier in einem der Häuser der untergegangenen Aristokratie..." - 274). Their liberty is far weightier than their financial state. Unfortunately the novel has shown that such a noble outlook characterizes certain individuals but by no means the bulk of the populace.

Martin's political activity, frequently ironized, is succeeded at the end by his son's preference for a less engagé attitude. This is not a sign of an unwillingness to shoulder responsibility, but instead is designed to preserve 'freedom' and breadth of vision. This contrasts with Martin's persevering but perhaps somewhat narrow engagement, and he receives a lesson in the value of the new spirit pervading Arnold's assembled friends, "denn er war in manchen Dingen ein wenig viel zurückgeblieben" (281). It remains Arnold's lot to steer the Salanders' ship into

clearer waters when threatened subsequently on the sea of life. If the high praise lavished on him by Martin were to indicate solely his suitability for this domestic role, it would be convincing. Clearly the whole future destiny of the land is seen as secure by Martin because of Arnold and his ilk; Keller thought of a sequel to this novel featuring Arnold as hero. But his emergence here as a bastion of hope does not convince because of the thinly drawn role he has played and the untestedness of his ideas as counters to Martin's. Wohlwend leaves, but the remaining impression left by this novel is one of the negative features of the Zeit portrayed, with an all too insubstantial hope for the age to come. ✓

(6) Patriotism and the 'Volk'

The worthier protagonists of ideas in this novel, such as Arnold and Martin, display over and above the individual currents of their ideas a deep-seated patriotism that tends to unite them despite all diversities of outlook. This distinguishes them for instance from the 'hero' of Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen, whose fevered energy is turned to the championing of political ideas without the same pride in a historical evolution already achieved. The reason for this is of course the cluster of German states up till Bismarck's day as opposed to the Swiss cantons, generally able to look past regional differences to a sense of federal pride formalized since 1848. This patriotism, already mentioned in the last section, features prominently in the novel.

It appears in the opening scene when Salander returns to his homeland. There is a sense of national emergency and at the same time a deep expression of patriotic sentiment in his rumination:

...schon hängt in jedem Hause, wie ich vernehme, das gezogene Gewehr und harret der ernstesten Prüfung; möge sie der Heimat lange erspart bleiben! (8)

The New World does not appeal to him because it has "keine ...Vergangenheit und keine Gräber der Vorfahren" (56); his nature is rooted in and stirred by:

...das Ganze unserer Volksentwicklung auf dem alten Boden..., wo meine Sprache seit fünfzehnhundert Jahren erschallt... (ibid.)

(though the abuses of this "Sprache" in his day cannot be overlooked). The thriving of emigration, however, the lure of the New World to those not as rooted in the Old as Martin, also finds its place here.²¹⁾ There are Martin's two trips during which he is able to recoup his financial losses, while Kleinpeter's sons travel to America, "um dort Stellungen als Fabrikaufseher zu finden" (164). Arnold spends a year in Brazil to build up the business's connections there, while Isidor wishes for history and geography books about America and volumes of the travel-writer Gerstäcker to while away his time in prison. Thus the theme of emigration receives fairly extensive treatment here (having already been mentioned elsewhere in Keller's work; e.g. in the Sinngedicht, at the end of the tale Die arme Baronin, the three Landstreicher accept being transported to the New World as an alternative to punishment in their own land, and in fact establish themselves there in

*a former
Hainich*

diverse, honest professions). Not that the plot ever shifts to the New World, which simply enters the narrative in reported form.

The purest expression of the patriotic spirit is the vow made by Martin and Arnold towards the end of the novel, a pact never to leave country and people, made with impressive solemnity. The less exalted idealism of Arnold admittedly makes the reservation that "eine völlige Entartung" (274) of the nation they thus pledge their all to would nullify his vow. But he then withdraws this reservation, since "es würde doch chez nous comme partout sein!" (ibid.).²²⁾ And thus their whole national pride is relativized into something devoid of all chauvinism. The very formulation of this slogan in French, as of its inverted form (271),²³⁾ is an illustration of its own content. That is to say, Martin or Arnold find in another language the best means of expressing a particular truth - the very fact that this saying has become a slogan shows a breadth of application presumably reflecting a true state of affairs.²⁴⁾ It is somewhat comparable in sense, though not in effectiveness, with the symbol of the lake in Der Stechlin (cf. p.240).

The above example is of interest for the Zeitroman as a genre in the placing into a more general framework of the specifically Swiss conditions depicted throughout the novel. This is done without drawing upon any external frame of reference (i.e. conditions in other countries - the only concrete comparisons are with Switzerland's own history²⁵⁾). This applies even to a phenomenon such as the international resonance of Darwin's Origin of Species

(appeared in 1859). This is nowhere referred to directly (unlike the product of Swiss soil, Lienhard und Gertrud). The idea in this work of the individual's influence radiating out through the family to the community and state has clearly influenced Keller's emphases in Martin Salander). But when Arnold gently ridicules his sisters' description of their wooers' earlobes as distinguishing features, he does so with terms referring to Darwin's theory of natural selection, indicating the impact of this thinker on his time (83). This is reinforced by Marie's musing on the Weidlich parents' attempts to localize the hereditary influences on their sons to one side of the family. Marie imagines the impetus this would give Martin's pedagogic trait: how he would add:

...seinen erzieherischen Postulaten noch eines über
selektionstheoretischen Volksunterricht in sittli-
cher Beziehung..., oder wie er es nennen würde!
(254)

Allied to the love of country shown by Martin and Arnold comes a detailed description of its people, the Volk, who don't always match up to Martin's idealistic notions of them. The enthusiasm which the new constitution fires in Martin is not reflected in his fellow countrymen, as he finds to his disappointment in the course of a "Gang in das Volk hinaus" (63). He sees faces that are:

...fröhlich oder gleichgültig, einzelne mürrisch
und über irgend etwas fluchend; den Hauch und Glanz
aber der neuen Zeit, das Wehen des Geistes, den
etwas feierlicheren Ernst, den er suchte, konnte er
nicht wahrnehmen. (ibid.)

Old songs are sung in the old imperfect manner (Arnold's friends, on the other hand, sing "mit resoluten frischen

Stimmen ein lebensfrohes Lied, rasch und taktfest, kurz und gut" - 282), and drunken youths belie any sense of a new noble communal spirit or political responsibility. Thus Martin's naïve hope - "schon die Tatsache eines solchen Ereignisses würde Land und Himmel eine andere Physiognomie machen!" (64) - is shown to be a rosy dream, even though he still entertains delusions that this simply indicates the unassuming nature of the Volk, its clinging to modest forms.

Just how false this assumption is, is shown by the immediately following scene in a restaurant. A Swiss tradesman flaunts his independence, the supposed superiority of his nation and his own inflated sense of importance before his South German toady. This brash boastfulness has absolutely nothing in common with the brand of patriotism espoused by Martin and Arnold. The latter's slogan "chez nous comme partout" (274) is inconceivable in the mouth of this compatriot, but what irritates Martin at least as much is the self-abasement of the South German who spurs his companion on to ever greater excesses of exaggeration. Martin is sadly disappointed in his hopes of a freshly enlightened homeland. And yet his faith in the Volk is in the last analysis unshakeable, as we see in his following reaction to doubts assailing him in his political efforts: "Allein er faßte bald wieder guten Mut, auf den unverlierbaren guten Ackergrund des Volkes vertrauend..." (74). He is prepared to pardon the shortcomings of the Volk in artistic presentation through attempting something too ambitious. He defends the democratizing of art and the popular view of "eine stramme Kunstübung eher als aristokratisches Wesen" (138). He dismisses the inconsistency pointed out

by his wife in defending this instance after earlier criticizing Wohlwend's faulty rendition of works he could not hope to do justice to. But here (with the words "Hm! Ja, das heißt, es ist nicht der gleiche Fall!" - 138) as elsewhere, the narrative exposes Martin's illusions, and so although his ensuing defence suffices to convince himself, it does not convince the reader, whose view of the Zeit thus contradicts that of the character presenting it.

The "Feste, Anlässe, Gesamtreisen, Vereinsausflüge und Begehungen allerart" (214) which constitute the people's pleasure in summer had been viewed with some scepticism by Martin, but flushed with the élan of his late infatuation he mingles enthusiastically. The narrative takes a very sober view of the festivities, yet while virtually conceding that they amount to squandering at a time of relative financial need, it does relativize even this by referring to "Scharen katholischer Wallfahrer" who were a reminder:

...daß früher noch mehr im Volke gewandert und geschmaust wurde, und das gerade in Zeiten der Bedrängnis. (214)

This achieves a historical perspective analogous to the geographical sense of "C'est partout comme chez nous" (271). However bad the present may seem, worse historical precedents may be found in one's own country, and comparable cases outside it. The same thing is achieved when Arnold answers Martin's apologetic tone towards the present by pointing to worse excesses in the past which have not hindered the development of the country (270). He thus takes the affirmative view that "es ist doch am besten in der Heimat!" (ibid.). What is essayed, then, is a degree of universality

radiating from a core of patriotism. But the former remains sketchy because it lacks terms of reference external to the situation portrayed, and also because the characterization and themes of the novel are far more particular than universal. And the core of patriotism itself is far from intact by the end of the work through frequent satirization.

The Volk thus exhibits itself in this novel in anything but the favourable light Martin fondly wishes to see it in. Just as his infatuation is ironized later, the merriment of a festive gathering shared by Martin is soured by the arrest of a fugitive criminal. The new spirit of democracy and liberalism which he thinks must infect those around him is at best the preserve of a few individuals of integrity like himself, however much his own weaknesses and idealism are highlighted. His patriotism seems to be based rather on the traditions and institutions preserved from the past than on the achievements of the present, for these are shown to be sadly different in practice from the mostly fine theory behind them. At the end the Volk recedes and future hopes rest on the all too thinly delineated shoulders of Arnold and his friends.

With its title-figure as a unifying feature and its reduced epic scope, Martin Salander has a much tauter narrative structure than Die Epigonen or Problematische Naturen. The other side of this coin is the restricted portrayal of the age - the relatively few figures emerge vividly, but those contemporary crosscurrents which are behind their actions are rather less substantial. Keller's only Zeitroman is a disillusioned reckoning with the age

without the reflective wisdom and serenity sustaining
Dubslav Stechlin and informing the whole tone of Fontane's
last novel. Der Stechlin works with a still further reduced
epic canvas but achieves a greater impression of breadth
through tracing the subtlest gradations of that canvas. But
to see how Fontane transforms the main question mark against
Keller's novel into a positive virtue in his own work, it is
necessary now to turn to a fairly detailed discussion of the
highest achievement of the Zeitroman-form, Der Stechlin.

Footnotes

1. For the connection between this novel and the ending Keller planned for his work, see J.M. Ritchie, "The Place of 'Martin Salander' in Gottfried Keller's Evolution as a Prose Writer", MLR, 52 (1957), 221.
2. Op. cit., S.108-9.
3. Gottfried Keller, Gesammelte Werke in acht Bänden (mit einer biographischen Einleitung von Max Rychner), Achter Band (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., n. d.), S.7. All subsequent page references in the body of the text are to this edition. When simply a page no. is given the reference is to Martin Salander; in the odd case of reference to another work, the vol. no. precedes the page no.
4. See Emil Ermatinger, Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher, Bd. I, (Stuttgart u. Berlin; 1916), S.634.
5. Martin even entertains the following prosaic but modish idea for his daughters' wedding:
Dem Geiste der Zeit entsprechend, wurde von allem Auffahren einer Menge Kutschen abgesehen und die Eisenbahn als Beförderungsmittel gewählt. (132)
6. Cf. Karol Szemkus, Gesellschaftlicher Wandel und sprachliche Form: Literatursoziologische Studie zur Dichtung Gottfried Kellers (Stuttgart, 1969), S.21.
7. The distinction is clear too in Ehm Welk's Die Heiden von Kummerow (appeared in 1937, but set round the beginning of the century). Martin, asked by a superintendent for his father's Christian name and then what his mother calls his father, answers in both cases "Papa". Thereupon the superintendent observes to the pastor:
"Das wundert mich übrigens, in Bauernfamilien ist es doch nicht üblich."
"Ach", erwiderte der Pastor laut, "der Grambauer, der will hoch hinaus. Dem gefiel auch sonst sein Vorname nicht."
Ehm Welk, Die Heiden von Kummerow (Rostock: Carl Hinstorff, 1956), S.120.
8. Jeremias Gotthelf, Zeitgeist und Berner Geist (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1951):
"Es ist nicht mehr die Zeit, wo zwischen Herr und Bauer ein gesetzlicher Unterschied war, wir sind einer so gut als der Andere, es gibt keine Sklaven und Landvögte mehr, es kann ein jeder daherkommen, wie es ihm gefällt und wie er es vermag." (I, 60)
Der Zweite ['Jäger'] frug, ob der Herr vom Hause daheim sei. Lisi sagte, obschon es die Redensart recht gut verstand, sie hätten hier keinen Herr, der Bauer aber sei fort... (II, 185)

9. Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Auch Einer: Eine Reisebekanntschaft (Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1879), II, 247-48.
10. Op. cit., S.635-37.
11. Thus of Isidor:
...weil das alles sich in die Millionen belief, so verfuhr er vielleicht bescheiden, wenn er von den vielen Geldern, die ihm zwischen die Hände gerieten, nur einige Hunderttausend verabwandelte,... (242)
12. Cf. Jakob Baechthold, Gottfried Kellers Leben. Seine Briefe und Tagebücher. Dritter Band: 1861-1890 (Berlin, 1897), S.641.
Das gesunkene Niveau der politischen Sitte und Moral hatte auch den Stand des Strebertums hinabgezogen, so daß im allgemeinen die Ober-, Mittel- und Unterstreber je um einige Grad niedriger als früher gegriffen waren. (Materialien zu "Martin Salander")
13. Not an abuse of particular words, but a propensity to wordiness is seen at the beginning of Auch Einer, set late in 1865 (as we learn much later). When A.E. has been interrupted three times, he retorts:
Da haben wir wieder das Menschevolk! Und darunter sind erst noch Schweizer, Republikaner? Selbstregierung bei Menschen, die nicht einmal warten können, bis ein Mitmensch ausgeredet hat? Reif für Tyrannenstock! (op. cit., S.9)
14. Cf. Emil Ermatinger, Dichtung und Geistesleben der Schweiz (München, 1933):
Was auf der Hochzeit der beiden Töchter Martin Salanders der demokratische Pfarrer sagt, gehört in die Volkswirtschaft und in die von Schmeichelei nicht freie Personal- und Familiengeschichte; mit Religion hat es nichts mehr zu tun. (632)
15. Frau Salander stand hinter ihren Kindern am Fenster und sah, wie auch hier der Welt Lauf erging und die einen verschlangen, was den andern bestimmt war. (29)
Sie trank unverweilt einen besseren Schluck, als gewöhnlich, und mit ihm einen jener kurzen Sonnen- oder Silberblicke, die mit der Länge der Zeit sich immer mehr verlieren, wenn die Menschen sich in Wind und Wetter leise ändern, so daß die Klugen weniger klug, die weniger Klugen Narren, und die Narren oft schnell noch Halunken werden, eh' sie sterben, wie wenn sie Gott weiß was versäumten. (138)
16. This scene is a clear exception to Ritchie's verdict: There is no longer a story-teller between the reader and the story. ...No personal opinion on the events related is ever expressed,... The facts speak for themselves. (op. cit., p.221)
For more exceptions, see Merkel-Nipperdey, op. cit., S.25.

17. Examples of these concerns here are: the colourful - the Volksfest; the satiric - the farce discussed above; the epic - the new (for Keller) device of relying so heavily on dialogue in the more discursive framework of the novel-form.
18. The irony of this lies in the immediate cause, in view of his earlier refusal to be associated with the twins' loud and vulgar nomination (106). He is later in no doubt as to this cause:
...die auffällige Doppelhochzeit..., durch die ich in den Rat gekommen bin, was jedermann weiß... (233)
His democratic principles are also gently ironized when shown to vanish before the beautiful presence of Myrrha:
Sie lächelte leicht..., und er verbeugte sich bei diesem Anlaß unfreiwillig, trotz seiner demokratischen Gesinnung... (202)
19. Baechthold, op. cit., S.641.
20. Jeziorkowski, op. cit., S.531:
"Es ist nicht schön! Es ist zu wenig Poesie darin!"
This verdict is belied by occasional descriptions such as that of the setting sun, the golden chalice and the red wine (215), where colours emerge fully as richly as Trakl's or as Benn's in "Sieh die Sterne, die Fänger..."
21. For figures on Swiss emigration in the nineteenth century, see Kurt B. Mayer, The Population of Switzerland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp.200-204. The issue must have been particularly relevant when Keller wrote his novel, because:
In 1883 the all-time maximum was reached when 13,500 persons went overseas, but the tide remained high throughout the 1880's - the more so since an industrial depression in 1885-86 made the effects of the agricultural depression cumulative. (p.203)
22. The duality of this motto was well formulated by Otto Brahm:
...C'est partout comme chez nous. Das ist eine bittere Erkenntnis, aber auch ein Trost.
Otto Brahm, "Gottfried Keller 1882-1890", in Hans Mayer, Meisterwerke..., op. cit., S.812.
Keller expressed the second aspect in a letter to Julius Rodenberg of 5./7. August 1885:
Der Umstand jedoch, daß es am Ende lohnt zu zeigen, wie keine Staatsform gegen das allgemeine Übel schützt, und ich meinem eigenen Lande sagen kann voilà, c'est chez nous comme partout, läßt mich über jenes Bedenken hinwegsehen und ausharren.
Jeziorkowski, op. cit., S.512.
23. Cf. too Martin's ruminations on the slogan "l'amour est le vrai recommenceur!" (215).
24. Cf. Baechthold, op. cit., S.606 for Keller's own appreciation of the question of internal and external success of his work, and the hope that the latter will produce the

former. But two years later he laments to Ida Freiligrath:

In meinem Lande ist es wohl verstanden und unter großem Gebrumme gelesen worden. Draußen aber haben nur wenige gemerkt, was es sein soll, und daß es sie auch etwas angeht. So geht es, wenn man tendenziös und lehrhaft sein will.

Baechthold, op. cit., S.614.

25. Cf. Michael Kaiser, Literatursoziologische Studien zu Gottfried Kellers Dichtung (Bonn, 1965):

Er wollte seinen letzten Roman nicht als Zürcher Spezialität aufgefaßt wissen, sondern meinte ihn zugleich als Mahnung für die Leser im Reich. (S.65-66)

CHAPTER V

THEODOR FONTANE: 'DER STECHLIN'

(1) Introduction

...der Stoff, so weit von einem solchen die Rede sein kann - denn es ist eigentlich bloß eine Idee, die sich einkleidet - dieser Stoff wird sehr wahrscheinlich mit einer Art Sicherheit Ihre Zustimmung erfahren. Aber die Geschichte, das was erzählt wird. Die Mache! Zum Schluß stirbt ein Alter und zwei Junge heiraten sich; - das ist so ziemlich alles, was auf 500 Seiten geschieht. Von Verwicklungen und Lösungen, von Herzenskonflikten oder Konflikten überhaupt, von Spannungen und Überraschungen findet sich nichts.

Einerseits auf einem altmodischen märkischen Gut, andererseits in einem neumodischen gräflichen Hause (Berlin) treffen sich verschiedene Personen und sprechen da Gott und die Welt durch. Alles Plauderei, Dialog, in dem sich die Charaktere geben, und mit ihnen die Geschichte. Natürlich halte ich dies nicht nur für die richtige, sondern sogar für die gebotene Art, einen Zeitroman zu schreiben, bin mir aber gleichzeitig nur zu sehr bewußt, daß das große Publikum sehr anders darüber denkt und Redaktionen - durch das Publikum gezwungen - auch. 1)

Thus Fontane, speaking of his final novel, Der Stechlin. If his verdict is correct, it is clear that we are dealing here with an exceptional case in tracing the development of the Zeitroman, one acknowledged by its author to be at variance with what was generally considered to be "die gebotene Art, einen Zeitroman zu schreiben." And yet is it so very different?

Certainly the accents have shifted. Whereas in Die Epigonen the 'hero' Hermann was still strongly bound to the picaresque tradition (see p.49), serving as a common denominator to the various levels of society treated but not being developed as a fully-fledged character, Fontane's approach is clearly from the opposite direction. From what Fontane says - and I think we may accept this appraisal of Der Stechlin - the characters emerge from the formal structuring of conversation, and through the characters such plot

("Geschichte") as there is. A superficial similarity between the two works conceals fundamental differences. In Wilhelmi's rhetorical reckoning with the age in his analysis of Epigonentum,²⁾ speech is simply a vehicle for summarizing tendencies observed from the action of the work. His is a reflective statement on the "Geschichte" portrayed to that point of the novel. Such a programmatic judgement, not relativized either by irony on the part of the author or the presentation of a contrary viewpoint, would be inconceivable in Der Stechlin. This is not merely because of its author's scepticism but also because of the way his novel is built up: from the succession of dialogues, the loving lingering over "Plauderei", a whole mosaic of viewpoints emerges, even if certain main lines predominate, and out of them emerges the plot that isn't one.

At the end an old man dies and two young people marry. As an abstraction of the "action" this is basically correct, but of course it does violence to the ramifications of the work, and why this objection holds again helps indicate the structure of the novel. The bare fact of Dubslav Stechlin's death does not explain its serene acceptance both by the person dying and those about him who revered him so much. Little Agnes alone weeps briefly; while Graf Barby, driving away from the burial, can exult in the natural beauty about him without this having a trace of callousness. Certainly the old Baroque motif of memento mori is present; Barby is conscious that he will be the next to take his earthly leave. But his response to this intimation, his joyful relish for the spring air without letting any dark overtones intrude

on that joy - all this is a worthy adjunct to the funeral of Dubslav Stechlin.

The explanation of this complete lack of pathos and its absolute consistency with the novel's tone is to be found only in the gradual development of that tone, not in any details attaching to the funeral-scene itself. Similarly, to return to Fontane's statement, two people marry. The life-cycle goes on, or as the lapidary heading of the final chapters foretells, there is the sequence "Tod. Begräbnis. Neue Tage".³⁾ But that is altogether too glib to do justice to this novel. What is important here is the specific toning of this phenomenon - the life-cycle - as something emerging organically from the novel (and therefore not merely as an extraneous note of aesthetic rounding-off). Dubslav on his deathbed is sustained by the thought of the complete dependence of the Ich on an eternal world order.

It is undoubtedly this final insight which is referred to by the beginning of the title ("Verweile doch...") prefacing the concluding seven chapters of the novel (ibid.). This is the moment to which Dubslav - in other respects so un-Faustian - could utter: "Verweile doch, du bist so schön!" (Faust I, l. 1700) because this is his ultimate revelation. "Der Weisheit letzter Schluß" (Faust II, l. 11574) in the case of Faust has also a direct reference to Dubslav, namely that:

Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muß. (Faust II, l. 11575-76)

For Lorenzen's funeral oration includes the praise: "Er war recht eigentlich frei" (787), and Woldemar notes in his

diary: "doch kenne ich keinen Menschen, der innerlich so frei wäre wie gerade mein guter Alter" (518). The proximity of what is meant here to a Goethean interpretation of the word "frei" is made clearer by reference to Die Wahlverwandtschaften ("Aus Ottiliens Tagebuche" - zweiter Teil, fünftes Kapitel):

Es darf sich einer nur für frei erklären, so fühlt er sich den Augenblick als bedingt. Wagt er es, sich für bedingt zu erklären, so fühlt er sich frei.

That this expresses the very essence of Dubslav, his lack of illusions and false pride, his perpetual relativizing (cf. "bedingt") will emerge from later, more detailed consideration of his character. It is by no means the only quotation from the German literary heritage⁴⁾ to have been integrated into the otherwise everyday chatter of the novel, as in the following example. Czako confides to Rex as they leave the funeral:

"Rex, Sie sind ja wie vertauscht und reden beinahe in meinem Stil. Es ist doch merkwürdig, sowie die Menschen dies Nest, dies Berlin, erst hinter sich haben, fängt Vernunft wieder an zu sprechen". (793. Author's underlining corresponds - with appropriate change of word order - to Faust I, l. 1198.)

What is the function of these references to Faust (among other works) in this Zeitroman? Primarily they exemplify the Alt-Neu leitmotif (cf. p.218), evoking the literary tradition in which stand both the narrator (Dubslav doesn't in fact say "Verweile doch", it remains an expression of the narrator) and also his figures. For these make allusions either for learned or more ironic effect, an example of the latter being for instance Czako's quotation

from Goethe, following on from the colloquial "dies Nest". The references thus bring together Zeiten, both in the broadest sense and in particular as stages of a continuous literary tradition. They show the interrelationship between the setting of the novel and past ages, thus achieving that breadth of vision which characterizes the Dubslavs of the novel and which is so abhorrent to Adelheid.

The idea formulated by Dubslav on his deathbed is mirrored in Melusine's benediction at the end of the novel: "es ist nicht nötig, daß die Stechline weiterleben, aber es lebe der Stechlin" (799).⁵⁾ Thus the novel is rounded off by repetition of its title, embracing at once the lake, whose apparent placidity conceals its connections to the external world; the essence of the Stechlin family surviving its individual members; and the family residence, constant despite its many alterations (rebuilt after the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm I; the fantasy-ball (778) Dubslav envisages is to be held in a renovated residence, yet Melusine's letter to Lorenzen right at the end reports: "Morgen früh zieht das junge Paar in das alte Herrenhaus ein" - 799).

The culmination of the Stechlin-spirit comes towards the end, with the young couple honeymooning on Capri, having been inaccessible to the world of the Mark for want of a fixed address. For even here, geographically distanced, filled with a sense of a union rather than the end of an existence, - even in these circumstances they are not cut off. They watch Vesuvius, hear a muffled omen of a fresh eruption, and Woldemar interprets that instantly in terms of its echo in the Stechlin-lake.⁶⁾ Only superficial bonds are

severed - those such as telegraphic services, created by a technology that proves inadequate here but is praised elsewhere (cf. for example 425). Individual connections are changed (this flux is seen too in a universal context with the fisherman's song "Tre giorni son che Nina..."), but the Stechlin, the seismograph of impulses overriding the merely individual, remains. None of this is apparent in any bare account of the "action" of the novel.

Nor are the symbolic touches of the final pages. Dubslav's death coincides with the first signs of Spring. Agnes plucks snowdrops and lays them on the dying man's lap ("'Dat sinn de ihrsten', sagte Engelke, 'un wihren ook woll de besten sinn'." - 783); near the church are to be seen "Holunderbüsche, die zu grünen anfangen" (785), and after the bitter cold of the morn, commented on by Molchow and von der Nonne, the weather warms and the Barbys and Berchtesgadens exult in the Spring landscape as their carriage takes them along "eine schon in Kätzchen stehende Weidenallee" (792). These successive notes are far subtler than any "pathetic fallacy" (Ruskin). Since his Stechlin-symbol could not have served the author here, the picture is rather one of the rebirth of life on a scale dwarfing the potential tragedy of the morning. This rebirth is by no means restricted to the new squire of the estate and his bride (whose depiction by Lorenzen as "die blasse junge Frau" (780) parallels Dubslav's earlier musings on "das junge, blasse Fräulein, das seine [i.e. Dubslav's] Frau werden sollte" - 631). Significantly the carriage-ride is shared by (mainly older) members of two noble families painted in very positive terms, people whose sensitivity is such that they can perceive beauty midst the

supposed "Dürftigkeit und Prosa dieser Gegenden" (792), a quality which will also enrich their lives in the sphere of human relations.

These then are the far from dismal accompaniments to Dubslav's death. The attendant circumstances of it prevail over its immediate significance, or rather transfigure this significance into natural terms. The same is true of the conclusion of the novel. The young couple does not move into the Stechlin "castle" immediately. The summer months - those, incidentally, when the lake could have thawed naturally - are spent in Berlin, then at Armgard's suggestion they move to the family estate.

After its introduction, the novel had "begun" on October 3rd. Woldemar and Armgard move in at the same time of the year, on September 21st. Thus yet again, the action itself is of little significance, but the framing (in this case, temporal) of it is all-important. The older generation is paralleled with the new (with the portentous advance that the Globower greet the new "Herr als einer der 'Ihrigen'" - 799) and this augurs the realization of the hope expressed in Melusine's letter which rounds off the novel.

This novel, like Die Poggenpuhls, is a work in which "das "Wie" muß für das "Was" eintreten",⁷⁾ an assessment of his earlier work which delighted Fontane. In Der Stechlin, "das was erzählt wird" (author's underlining) is dismissed as trifling - "Die Mache!" This approach to novel-writing does however involve problems of its own. In the 4th chapter of Stine, "Sarastro" introduces his nephew Waldemar and friend Papageno to the ladies gathered at Pauline's.

The following quotation comes directly after his words of introduction:

In der Art, wie diese Vorstellung von den drei Damen aufgenommen wurde, zeigte sich durchaus die Verschiedenheit ihrer Charaktere: Wanda fand alles in der Ordnung, Pauline brummte was von Unsinn und Afferei vor sich hin, und nur Stine, das Verletzende der Komödie herausführend, wurde rot. (I, 496-97)

At this early stage of the work, when characters are still not particularly clearly delineated, the words of "Sarastro" cannot stand alone, however finely the offensive overtones sensed by Stine are blended in his hearty delivery. And so the differentiation has to be spelt out, stridently so through the italicizing of the word "Art".⁸⁾

In the Stechlin-novel, the "Was" is at times shown to be not so much of subsidiary interest as of a directly misleading appearance. Actions or expressions which are seemingly identical, and would remain so if explored solely on the level of "Was", are shown by closer analysis to spring from very different motivations. Thus a tête-à-tête between Koseleger and Lorenzen is presented as follows:

In dünngeschliffene große Gläser schenkte Lorenzen ein, und die beiden Amtsbrüder stießen an "auf bessere Zeiten". Aber sie dachten sich sehr Verschiedenes dabei, weil sich der eine nur mit sich, der andre nur mit andern beschäftigte. (578)

Another case is when Adelheid asks Agnes for whom she is knitting the stocking. For herself, the child replies:

Dubslav lachte. Adelheid auch. Aber es war ein Unterschied in ihrem Lachen. Agnes nahm übrigens nichts von diesem Unterschied wahr... (761)

Because of Agnes' lack of reaction a finer differentiation

is uncalled for here. Only when she has left the room are we enlightened, or rather the mental picture we have of Adelheid is further confirmed: "Als sie hinaus war, wiederholte sich Adelheids krampfhaftes Lachen" (ibid.). She is right outside the humane and liberal Stechlin-spirit. In both these examples two people perform actions that are identical on the surface but are no longer so once the reader is taken beyond that surface. The greater psychological concerns of Fontane - the examination of the "Wie" - set this novel apart from the bulk of nineteenth century Zeitromane.

This emphasis on stylistic detail above the subject-matter as such distances Fontane from Spielhagen for instance, in whose novels the repeated anti-nobility strand predominates. In Fontane's case "eine Idee, die sich einkleidet" is merely the central thread unifying many strands of comparable value, not a passionately defended idée fixe colouring the whole work (as with Spielhagen⁹⁾). This central thread of Fontane's novel is expressed by the title of a recent study devoted to it, Heiko Strech's "Theodor Fontane: Die Synthese von Alt und Neu,"¹⁰⁾ a synthesis favouring the Old, as we shall see. This is even hinted at in Fontane's statement on his work at the level of the nobility itself: "Einerseits auf einem altmodischen märkischen Gut, andererseits in einem neumodischen gräflichen Hause (Berlin)..." (author's underlining).

To return to the original assessment, Fontane emphasizes the unruffled flow of his narrative:

Von Verwicklungen und Lösungen, von Herzenskonflikten oder Konflikten überhaupt, von Spannungen und Überraschungen findet sich nichts.

This is perfectly true, and if Fontane considered these to be the criteria for a Zeitroman then we must seek other designations for his other prose works, for in them these elements are not absent.¹¹⁾

His last novel shows Fontane's ability in structuring conversations at its very highest. Strech writes in this context:

Die in den vorangehenden Gesellschaftsromanen aufbrechende Problematik, Fragen um Individuum, Konvention und Staat, Konfession und Politik haben sich ins Gespräch verflüchtigt, werden nicht mehr im vollen Einsatz der Existenz ausgetragen. Spektakuläre Ereignisse wie Duelle (Effi Briest, Cécile), Selbstmorde (Schach von Wuthenow, Unwiederbringlich, Stine), Ehekonflikte und ihre dramatisch-tragische Lösung (von L'Adultera an), Verbrechen (die Kriminalgeschichten) verschwinden gänzlich. 12)

In fact the diverging elements of the Problematik mentioned by Strech can be merged and, as a concerted force in the one direction, lead to the avoidance of any potential conflict. Thus in the narrator's brief biography of Dubslav in ch. 1, Dubslav's reasons for not remarrying after the death of his first wife are given as these:

Sich eine neue zu nehmen, widerstand ihm, halb aus Ordnungssinn und halb aus ästhetischer Rücksicht.
(408)

These two factors, "Ordnungssinn" and "ästhetische Rücksicht", working in opposite directions, are precisely what contrive to bring about Schach von Wuthenow's suicide.

The whole problem of marriage across the boundaries

of social classes is by-passed in Der Stechlin by bringing together two people from the same class, the nobility. The agonizing issue avoided finds extensive treatment elsewhere, e.g. in the renunciation of Botho and Lene in Irrungen Wirrungen. Botho is obliged to marry his richer cousin Käthe to stay within the noble class but also, in a more binding sense, to repair his family's rundown fortunes. His mother's letter which seals his fate appeals to his responsibility for his family - "Du hast unser aller Zukunft in der Hand..." (I, 403). And in this context Käthe's mother's professed attitude - "Herr von Rienäcker sei frei von dem Augenblick an, wo er frei sein wolle" (ibid.) - simulates a freedom of choice that doesn't exist beyond a theoretical level.

Whatever Botho might want is of no significance here, the swaying factor is the compulsion from outside his own person which is oblivious to his own preference. In this sense he explains in a letter to Lene: "Ich hatte Briefe von Haus, die mich zwingen; es muß sein, und weil es sein muß, so sei es schnell..." (I, 408). Till then he had delayed a decision, but inactivity had merely been a staying of the inevitable. His mother had also advised: "Ein Rückzug ist ehrenvoller als fernere Hinausschiebung" (I, 403), and once the word "ehrenvoller" appeared the whole ethical code of the nobility was brought to bear on him. Thus the apparent freedom that Käthe's mother grants him is wholly deceptive. Such predetermined alliances have only a superficial flexibility - the individuals concerned are in fact governed wholly by the dictates of their estate.

The same class-barrier leads to the suicide of the

young Graf Haldern in Stine, while in Frau Jenny Treibel the border between the lower and the upper bourgeoisie proves equally rigid¹³⁾ when Corinna Schmidt calls it into question in her designs on young Treibel. In the central story of Der Stechlin the matter of class barriers does not arise in this context, and furthermore the consideration which ultimately determines Botho's move in Irrungen Wirrungen - the restoration of the family's fortunes - is provided for into the bargain as Woldemar marries into a richer family (see 652). Financial advantage, purely an incidental result of marriage for Woldemar, is elsewhere frequently its main function for a financially declining nobility.

The question of which of the Barby daughters will become Woldemar's wife is a subject for piquant speculation, but is never in any sense a "conflict". Any potential for divisiveness is removed when Melusine immediately blesses the engagement upon learning of it. The only hint of a triangle comes when Woldemar says to Armgard: "'Welche liebenswürdige Schwester Sie haben'" (651), to which she replies while blushing (which distinguishes her from Melusine's coquetry):

"Sie werden mich eifersüchtig machen."

"Wirklich, Komtesse?"

"Vielleicht...Gute Nacht." (ibid.)

And as Armgard correctly senses, these few words of parting are tantamount to a proposal, a dénouement to the jestingly sustained "rivalry" between the sisters that is handled by Fontane with irreducible economy. A similar device is used to similar effect in Stine. Throughout ch. 5 we are regaled with the inconsequential chatter and superficial brilliance of most of the company assembled at Pauline Pittelkow's.

Their repartee extends for pages. In the second last paragraph they are finally brought together in the rendering of a song, harmonizing their four different parts. But the last paragraph finally turns attention to the two guests who have remained wholly outside the social banter. And though it is described in a single, short sentence, theirs is the only significant "action" of the whole evening: "Nur der junge Graf und Stine schwiegen und wechselten Blicke" (I, 509).

All such elements of conflict as those in Irrungen Wirrungen, though handled in these other works with a minimum of "dramatic" treatment (in the sense of pathos or violence of action), are absent in Der Stechlin, and thus the relationship between the individual and the society he finds himself in is even more static, the novelist's only concern being fluctuations within that social order.¹⁴⁾ Julius Petersen speaks of a:

...Gradualismus von Typen, die keine Entwicklung durchmachen, sondern im einzelnen fest bleiben, aber in ihrer Aufeinanderfolge eine Entwicklung des sozialen und religiösen Gewissens und Gesamtbewußtseins der Zeit repräsentieren. 15)

The accents are consequently different from those in many of his other works. There is no sense here of a Müssen in the name of society overriding any individual Wollen such as has already been observed in Irrungen Wirrungen. The same conflict is present in its most crystallized form in the Gesellschafts-Etwas compelling Instetten to his challenge of Crampas in Effi Briest, a challenge which though meaningless and reluctant is required by the petrified code of morality and honour. By Fontane's last novel the theme of adultery has vanished; it recurs elsewhere in Fontane's works as a

symptom of brittleness, - the brittleness of marriage which, itself a microcosm of society, epitomises the fragility of the social order. Such considerations would be out of place in Der Stechlin for here elements, elsewhere disparate and out of joint, are harmonized as Fontane focuses attention on the role and survival of (in particular) the nobility in society.

Why the nobility and not another class is explained by Paul Böckmann:

Der Adel ist nicht dargestellt, weil er als gültige Lebensform anerkannt würde, sondern weil sich an ihm die Bedeutung der geschichtlichen Wandlungen, das Verhältnis von alten und neuen Lebensformen am deutlichsten ablesen läßt. 16)

Thus Fontane's assessment of his novel can be endorsed without succumbing to the danger of blindly accepting an author's statement on his own work. From the few comparisons with earlier novels made so far, it would seem that this Zeitroman does represent a departure from the established methods of the genre to that time, a point to be examined further in the following, more detailed analysis of the work.

(2) The Old and the New

These two concepts form a leitmotif in the work. They are never seen in isolation, but the one always relativizes the other (if not directly, at least by implication). Their polarity remains, though the substance of the concepts naturally changes. Melusine formulates this when speaking to Lorenzen: ✓

Ich respektiere das Gegebene. Daneben aber freilich auch das Werdende, denn eben dies Werdende wird über kurz oder lang abermals ein Gegebenes sein. (677)

Nowhere else in Fontane's narrative work does this pair (Old-New) appear so frequently; here the two are referred to so often that they almost attain the status of generally valid concepts (i.e. with a uniformity of meaning) rather than being subjectively-toned blanket-terms used by the individual speakers. The question arises, why should this be so? Firstly, a perspective from which the Old (even if still surviving in many forms) and the New (even if already there) are seen as so striking would seem to have reference to an age of transition. (The corresponding position when there is no sense of a "New" age, weighed down by the Old to a degree stifling the possible emergence of the New, is that of Epigonentum - cf. p.82.) This must involve a keen consciousness of the cross-currents acting on one's own age, which has no unique identity and no sense of confidence (present for instance in a very assertive form in the materially prospering bourgeoisie of the Gründerjahre). Rather does the age represent a fusion of elements not attributable to it as a creative force (for although the "New" is of course already present, it is so rather as a premonition; it has not come to fruition). Or to refer to Strech's title again, it is "Die Synthese von Alt und Neu." There is certainly evidence, especially in his later letters to Friedländer, that Fontane felt the later 1890's to be just such an era, his most famous comment being the following:

Mein Haß gegen alles, was die neue Zeit aufhält,
ist in einem beständigen Wachsen und die Möglichkeit,

ja die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß dem Sieg des Neuen eine furchtbare Schlacht vorausgehen muß, kann mich nicht abhalten, diesen Sieg des Neuen zu wünschen.
(17)

The rise of the Social Democrats was no meteoric, overnight affair. Some months before the introduction of Bismarck's Sozialistengesetz (1878), designed to thwart the party, Fontane had written to his wife:

Millionen von Arbeitern sind gerade so gescheit, so gebildet, so ehrenhaft wie Adel und Bürgerstand; vielfach sind sie ihnen überlegen. ("Brief an seine Frau vom 5. Juni 1878" - FLB, 383)

But 20 years later, in his final novel, Fontane is primarily concerned with Social Democracy as a part of the New, and not with its actual historical progress. This much may be asserted despite the references to contemporary figures such as Bebel and Stöcker. Strech writes:

Aus den Belegen von Petersen geht hervor, daß Fontane eine dokumentarische Darstellung der tatsächlichen politischen Verhältnisse des von ihm in den Blick gerückten ländlichen Wahlkreises völlig außer acht ließ. Die Wahl gewinnt, wer sie zu dem damaligen Zeitpunkt an dieser Stelle überhaupt nicht gewinnen konnte: die Sozialdemokratie. 18)

Thus historical evidence alone is not sufficient to explain Fontane's treatment of the New in this form. Social Democracy was neither a freshly emerging force, nor was its inclusion required by the geographic^d setting of the work.

The other possibility in considering the balance between the Old and the New is an aesthetic consideration. In most of Fontane's earlier proseworks the conclusion had been anything but harmonious, at least on the level of individual happiness. But here it is, deeply so. The central symbol from which the work takes its title stands constant

and frames the novel, both opening and closing its pages. The Stechlinsee embodies the Old and the New brought together, having by repute registered the Lisbon earthquake of the preceding century and being capable - at least Woldemar is confident of the fact - of reacting to eruptions of Vesuvius (794). It registers, but also survives, all flux. And this is what is sought for in all the polarities of Old and New in the novel, whether in politics, religion, or whatever - the common, lasting ground which emerges from the combination, embracing at once what is worth retaining from the past and what are valuable, forward-looking innovations. This whole line of argument is summarized in Melusine's words to Lorenzen:

Alles Alte, soweit es Anspruch darauf hat, sollen wir lieben, aber für das Neue sollen wir recht eigentlich leben. Und vor allem sollen wir, wie der Stechlin uns lehrt, den großen Zusammenhang der Dinge nie vergessen (677),

words reminding one irresistibly of "den steten Zusammenhang der Dinge" observed by Hans Castorp's grandfather, Hans Lorenz Castorp, in Der Zauberberg (III, 40).

The aesthetic consideration is not exhausted by the Stechlin-symbol. In his other prose works¹⁹⁾ some particular problem or area of problems is generally emphasized. But though these other works employ to great effect conversation (mostly dialogue), this last work as Fontane's "conversation novel" par excellence produces different problems. A great range of subjects for discussion, dispute and reflection (but not the instigation of significant action) is essayed. And while it could be argued that Fontane's "Altersstil" (an odd term anyway with reference

to a man whose prose works appeared only in the last 20 years or so of a very long life²⁰) favours more general, less definitive terms (as with the late Goethe), the question originally posed (p.219) can be better answered from the aesthetic requirements of the work at hand. The terms "das Alte" and "das Neue" not only lend themselves to the panoramic sweep of the novel's concerns but accord with the character of the title-figure, who sees both sides of every coin. Furthermore he can look back over his life with a gaze that detects general currents rather than sharp contours. (Cf. the scene in the 33rd chapter where Dubslav and Frommel are conversing. Frommel supplies a Schiller quotation - "Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen größern Zwecken" (702) - that had evaded Dubslav in his search for an apt summary of his impressions. This seems to be more than just an indication of the respective educational standing of the two men; it is also one illustration of the point just made about Dubslav's perspective.)

After this preamble, let us consider the actual working out of the Old-New theme in the novel. It appears in ch. 1 (to be discussed on p.232ff.) and then in a discussion between Lorenzen and Woldemar in ch. 3. The former's imagery at the beginning reminds us again of the central Stechlin-symbol. He expounds his ideal:

"...Einen Brunnen graben just an der Stelle, wo man gerade steht. Innere Mission in nächster Nähe, sei's mit dem Alten, sei's mit etwas Neuem."

"Also mit dem Neuen," sagte Woldemar und reichte seinem alten Lehrer die Hand.

Aber dieser antwortete: "Nicht so ganz unbedingt mit dem Neuen. Lieber mit dem Alten, soweit es irgend geht, und mit dem Neuen nur, soweit es muß." (430)

This establishes from the outset the balance between the two concepts which is to prevail throughout the work.²¹⁾ The dialectic can appear much less obtrusively, for example in the following:

Czako...ein ganz moderner, politisch stark angekränkelter Mensch (war), der, bei strammster Dienstlichkeit, zu all dergleichen Überspanntheiten ziemlich kritisch stand. Der alte Dubslav nahm indessen von alledem nichts wahr... (443-44) (author's underlining)

Here the adjective describing Dubslav is almost passed over because it seems so trivial compared with the detailed depiction of Czako's attitude, and yet it summarizes with the whole concentrated force of a symbol²²⁾ the Gegenposition to it.

This is the essence of Dubslav, his conservative core, yet not in the sense of a blind onesidedness. When Dubslav does criticize the New it is in comical rather than earnest terms, a momentary impatience which is checked the next moment by his sense of justice. By the lakeside he muses one evening over "Altes und Neues, seine Kindheits- und seine Leutnantstage". His thoughts trace Woldemar's growth: "... und lernte bei Lorenzen all das dumme Zeug, das Neue (dran vielleicht doch was war)...". He certainly does not rank with the post-French Revolution nobility pilloried by Ernst von Wolzogen in his brochure "Linksum kehrt schwenkt marsch - Trab!" (1895), which had:

...in verhängnisvoller Verblendung seine Aufgabe darin gesehen, unter allen Umständen das Alte gegen das Neue zu verteidigen. 23)

Dubslav's great respect for Lorenzen as contrasted with Rex'

attitude to the pastor illustrates this clearly, when the theme of Old and New²⁴⁾ in religious belief is discussed by Rex and Czako. The two review their first social contacts on the Stechlin-estate. Rex even overlooks Lorenzen in favour of Katzler, but when reminded of him by Czako, he describes him in terms revealing the suspicion and even outright hostility with which he views the New:

Dieser Lorenzen erscheint mir, im Gegensatz zu seinen Jahren, als einer der allerjüngsten. ...Der Alte liebt ihn und sieht nicht, daß ihm sein geliebter Pastor den Ast absägt, auf dem er sitzt. Ja, diese von der neuesten Schule, das sind die aller-schlimmsten...Sie haben ein neues ["Christentum"], und das überlieferte behandeln sie despektierlich.
(446-47)

In actual fact, Lorenzen alone among his longstanding friends fails to disappoint the dying Dubslav, and at no stage seeks to undermine him. The charge of Rex' last claim is answered by Lorenzen towards the end of the novel: "dies neue Christentum ist gerade das alte" (779). And in his striking dialogue with Melusine in ch. 29 he pinpoints the true source of Rex' zealousness:

Es gibt hier um uns her eine große Zahl vorzüglicher Leute, die ganz ernsthaft glauben, das uns Überlieferte - das Kirchliche voran (leider nicht das Christliche) - müsse verteidigt werden... (678)

Rex' outlook is too limited to accept Lorenzen's penultimate verdict. He sees only systems, theoretical effects, that must counter each other. Whereas Dubslav shows a breadth of vision; for him the depth of his human contact to Lorenzen is alone decisive. This impression is strengthened when the two come together shortly afterwards and the pastor figures again in conversation. It is incidentally a turn in the convers-

ation arising from a favouring of old jokes over new ones, showing that the springboard for a discussion of the two concepts can be found in various spheres. Dubslav reiterates Lorenzen's views:

"...Die aristokratische Welt habe abgewirtschaftet, und nun komme die demokratische..."

"Sonderbare Worte für einen Geistlichen," sagte Rex, "für einen Mann, der doch die durch Gott gegebenen Ordnungen kennen sollte."

Dubslav lachte. "Ja, das bestreitet er Ihnen. Und ich muß bekennen, es hat manches für sich, trotzdem es mir nicht recht paßt." (452)

Again, Rex is hopelessly cramped in his appraisal by theoretical (and in that sense, lifeless) systems, and in this case a supposed "divine right" sanction for the status quo. He attacks Lorenzen in his professional capacity,²⁵⁾ with which he associates certain inflexible notions. Dubslav on the other hand reports Lorenzen's viewpoint impartially, without any polemic appeal to a higher order and with no hint of the moralizing and patronizing "sollte" used by Rex in the passage quoted above. And though he doesn't share it, he is sufficiently generous and broad in outlook to acknowledge what Lorenzen's opinion has to recommend it.

These examples all show the structure of this particular possibility of the Zeitroman-form. Crosscurrents in contemporary politics and religion emerge not through direct depiction, nor through any "action" on the part of the main characters. Instead the attitudes of two characters to these matters are crystallized by reference to a third - in this case rather contentious - character, who in turn advances his own viewpoint later. In the playing off of

opinions against each other two features emerge: firstly, a rounded analysis of the matter under discussion and secondly, the gradual delineation of character traits moulding these attitudes. "Alles Plauderei, Dialog, in dem sich die Charaktere geben, mit und in ihnen die Geschichte" (see p.205).

The two occasions when the whole problem of Old and New is grappled with in programmatic terms feature Lorenzen as the unifying thread. In the first instance he converses with Melusine, who speaks in almost aphoristic terms and yields before the full implication of Lorenzen's statements, relinquishing the theme for another. Here, as against his later talk with Dubslav, Lorenzen seems to come out unambiguously on the side of the New.

Ich lebe darin und empfind es als eine Gnade, da,
wo das Alte versagt, ganz in einem Neuen aufzugehn.
(678)

Then after the already quoted attack against institutionalized tradition in the Church, he criticizes it in the State too, where it can appear as an unquestioning acceptance of Prussian values as the highest. He concludes in words that make perfectly concrete the restructured social foundations of the new society.

Der Hauptgegensatz alles Modernen gegen das Alte besteht darin, daß die Menschen nicht mehr durch ihre Geburt auf den von ihnen einzunehmenden Platz gestellt werden. Sie haben jetzt die Freiheit, ihre Fähigkeiten nach allen Seiten hin und auf jedem Gebiete zu betätigen. Früher war man dreihundert Jahre lang ein Schloßherr oder ein Leinenweber; jetzt kann jeder Leinenweber eines Tages ein Schloßherr sein. (ibid.)
26)

Such a mobility of social status is another thread which can

be traced through from Immermann's Epigonen. The implications of this are too great for Melusine, who replies with a laugh that it is almost possible for a lord of a castle to become a weaver too, but her laughter is hollow, her own vested interest in the nobility's status precludes any more probing elaboration of the theme, and the topic of social forms is taken up. But here too Lorenzen is relentless in his visionary utterances. He criticizes the idolization of noble norms as if they were "etwas ewig zu Konservierendes" (679). The latter undoubtedly has a second meaning with an ironic barb, as the idea of einpökeln recurs in Fontane's attacks on the nobility in the Friedländer-letters (cf. FLB, 285 and 295). For Lorenzen the primary achievement of Friedrich Wilhelm I lay not in his stabilization of the monarchy: "...er hat auch, was viel wichtiger, die Fundamente für eine neue Zeit geschaffen..." (679). But that new era, the glory of the nobility under Frederick the Great and then again in the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon, is past, and has left a gigantic delusion:

Unsre alten Familien kranken durchgängig an der Vorstellung, daß es ohne sie nicht gehe, was aber weit gefehlt ist, denn es geht sicher auch ohne sie; ...vorläufig...stehen wir im Zeichen einer demokratischen Weltanschauung. Eine neue Zeit bricht an. Ich glaube, eine bessere und eine glücklichere.
(680-81)

It is precisely the lack of "Bedeutung...für das Ganze"²⁷⁾ in the old-style nobility that necessitates "Die Synthese von Alt und Neu", which in turn lends the novel the dimensions of a Zeitroman as opposed to a provincial work of purely local significance.

At the point where Lorenzen's statement above ends,

his vision admittedly tapers off, and he returns from his prophetic note to one of shallow flattery for Melusine's sex: "Die Frauen bestimmen schließlich doch alles" (681). What he understands in concrete terms as the attributes of the new age thus remain those quoted on the preceding page of the novel. It is a property of this conversational mode of the novel that statements bordering on the inflammatory are left suspended, neither leading on to nor reflecting any direct action. Melusine dispels the fervour of what Lorenzen has been saying, emphasizing at the same time that it has after all been said, and flees before its implications into a nonetheless ironized idyllic setting:

Und nun erlauben Sie mir, nach diesem unserm revolutionären Diskurse, zu den Hütten friedlicher Menschen zurückzukehren. (ibid.) 28)

(There is another reason too why Lorenzen's ideas here cannot be further elaborated on, and that is the critical stance adopted towards the bourgeoisie in this novel, but that will merit investigation in its own right subsequently - cf. p.243ff.)

✓ This feature of the novel - actions being discussed but not enacted - is not confined to Lorenzen's statements. It is not the concern of Fontane to explore the new ground frequently heralded, but to maintain an equipoise between the elements of tradition and progress. Dubslav is a very enlightened member of his class, but still inseparable from that class. Lorenzen's ideas look further forward, but in the case of his still more progressive (even if impetuously so) fledgling, Woldemar, he counsels moderation. And Woldemar, in whose hands (guided by Lorenzen) the future of

the Stechlin estate and family lies at the novel's conclusion, is far less clearly delineated than his father or his adviser, so that the New receives no detailed exposition (the same position reached at the end of Martin Salander - cf. pp.192-93). Indeed the New for its own sake, an unprincipled embracing of the New, is rejected just as strongly as an empty clinging to the Old, not only by Dubslav and Lorenzen, but for instance in Uncke's doubts about Isidor Hirschfeld (cf. 672).

The following quotation is symptomatic of the novel:

Ich habe mit meinem Woldemar, der einen stark liberalen Zug hat (ich kann es nicht loben und mag's nicht tadeln) oft über diese Sache gesprochen. Er war natürlich für Neuzeit, also für Experimente... (716)

For we only hear briefly of Woldemar's ideas here in the midst of a discussion between two venerable members of the nobility, Dubslav and Barby. The equipoise mentioned above is illustrated perfectly by the words in brackets - Dubslav is too bound to his older concepts to be able to praise his son's liberalism; at the same time he is sufficiently open to it not to want to criticize it.

The relativization doesn't always need to be so explicit. When Baruch Hirschfeld visits the ailing Dubslav, the latter introduces a nostalgic note with the words: "Aber lassen wir das schlimme Neue; das Alte war doch eigentlich besser (das heißt dann und wann)..." (724). True, the brackets are there, the mental reservation, yet the illusory nature of this cosy view of the past is only shown when Baruch's true concern, namely with the ultimate takeover of

the Stechlin estate, dawns on Dubslav (725-26). The Old is crumbling, with noble estates threatening to fall into the hands of Jewish usurers. Dubslav defers the New in highly ironic terms, referring Baruch to Woldemar for the transaction he suggests:

...vielleicht können Sie gemeinschaftlich mal was Nettos herauswirtschaften, was Ordentliches, was Großes, was sich sehen lassen kann. Das heißt dann neue Zeit. (725)

So while the Old fades in beauty, the New remains distanced, the equipoise is retained in negative terms. And not only in this case - tendencies to the extreme of either pole are rejected completely, as when Sponholz' replacement Moscheles ("solchen Allerneuesten" - 741) is slated by Dubslav.

Alternatively, what is seen here as a onesidedness can be viewed from a different perspective as a fusion of the two poles. This occurs when Lorenzen answers Dubslav's charge that he is proclaiming a new Christianity with the words "dies neue Christentum ist gerade das alte" (779).

The second major exposition of the Old-New theme comes just before Dubslav's death when he has Lorenzen summoned to his bedside. He elaborates on it under the same rubric as that chosen here: "...ich hab auch mein Steckenpferd, und das heißt: König und Kronprinz oder alte Zeit und neue Zeit" (776-77). His humour and plastic powers of imagination unimpeded to the last, he projects his prognostications into a fantasy-ball given by Woldemar and Armgard. Side by side with survivals from the past and the noble-caste are 'modern' elements with which Woldemar flirts, socially cutting a count of the old line and expressing admiration for Bebel.

Lorenzen assures Dubslav that his picture is at best that of an initial period of innovation before a return to familiar ways inherited from the past. Again we are back at the title of Strech's work when Lorenzen says Woldemar will soon want "so halb und halb ins Alte wieder einzu- lenken" (779), further maintaining the balance between the two concepts. This is enough for Dubslav, provided Lorenzen promises not to hinder any such return to the fold of the tradition-based nobility. The pastor agrees and seeks to play down the emphasis laid on his influence in any case, whatever direction that influence might take:

Nicht ich werde ihn führen...Die Zeit [author's underlining] wird sprechen und neben der Zeit das neue Haus, die blasse junge Frau und vielleicht auch die schöne Melusine. (780)

The currents of the "Zeit" contemporary with the novel's Handlung are what emerge repeatedly and are the ultimate object of the many conversations conducted. The "Zeit" is ranked highest by Lorenzen among the influences operating on Woldemar, and it becomes a prime moving force over and above the individual characters, this being in accordance with the work's accents as a Zeit- rather than a Charakterroman.

The one thing to transcend Time is precisely Dubslav's greatest quality, present throughout the novel in his humility, tolerance and warm humour, and spelt out by Lorenzen in his funeral oration:

Sah man ihn, so schien er ein Alter, auch in dem, wie er Zeit und Leben ansah; aber für die, die sein wahres Wesen kannten, war er kein Alter, freilich auch kein Neuer. Er hatte vielmehr das, was über alles Zeitliche hinaus liegt, was immer gilt und immer gelten wird: ein Herz. (787)

It is this attribute of Dubslav's then which embodies the synthesis of Strech's title. It sets him apart from the unbalanced labours and attitudes of an Isidor or even an Adelheid and from all blindness, hypocrisy and fanaticism. This principle behind the man, this lasting quality beyond the mortal individual, is extracted by Melusine in her letter at the conclusion of the novel. It is hinted at earlier by Dubslav on the broader level of the whole Prussian nobility:

...daß wir Alten...noch mehr Herz für die Torgelowschen im Leibe haben als alle Torgelows zusammen-genommen... (780)

In the constant flux of temporal forces, with today's New becoming tomorrow's Old, the human heart is the one point of orientation. It is the essence surviving all vicissitudes.

(3) The first chapter

The first chapter seems to contain the bulk of the novel's concerns in nuce. In a novel with little 'plot' and fewer dramatic tensions, the tranquil yet keenly observing narration opens with a description of the natural setting of the story. It proceeds through details from the past and present in which the points of chronological orientation are drawn from Prussian history. Thus the rebuilding of the Stechlin residence is related to the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm I (whose reign is cited by Lorenzen (679) as the first of Prussia's three great eras), while Dubslav's entry into the regiment coincides approximately with the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. These parallels might have been expected anyway, but when Woldemar's birth is located as "wenig mehr als ein Jahr vor Ausbruch des vierundsechziger

Kriegs..." (408) the immediate correlation in time is less apparent and it becomes clear that the strand of personal history is to be seen in terms of history on a broader scale, in this case that of the Prussian state, to which the fate of the Stechlin family is in any case inextricably bound. The constant reminder of the Prussian macrocosm alongside the noble family's microcosm also illustrates the motto of the Stechlinsee; "den großen Zusammenhang der Dinge nie vergessen" (677), and is a further indication of the primacy of Zeit in this novel (cf. p.231).

The narrator's gaze, after establishing the setting, roves deftly over a whole range of people. All of them figure importantly in the novel, as importantly, that is, as any one individual can in accordance with the novel's concerns: these are far from the concerns, for instance, of a Bildungsroman. Conversation as a characterizing element, and the avoidance of potential conflicts (see p.214) have been discussed already as important structural elements. They are present from the outset (as in the Old-New theme, for which central importance has been claimed) in the dialogue between Hirschfeld father and son. The ultimate criterion by which Dubslav is perpetuated in Lorenzen's funeral oration, his Herz, is also there immediately both in his humour and, with the slightest of touches, in the conversation with which the chapter concludes. This shows a miniature-scale generosity, but establishes Dubslav's nature despite the family's declining finances. Indeed, since Engelke advises thrift, it possibly even contributes to these.

The central symbol of the novel, the Stechlinsee, is depicted at some length in the opening paragraph. This finishes with a motif that also recurs, though in a different guise: the superstition of the red rooster. Superstition appears in humorous vein when Dubslav threatens to haunt Lorenzen (780), but with far less ironic distance in Melusine's fear of sleeping in the canopy-bed (666) or of breaking the lake's ice lest the rooster should appear (674).²⁹⁾

As with so much of his so-called 'realistic' prose, Fontane concentrates meaning-laden images into his concrete descriptions. The sloping terrace before the residence is graced by several "Kübel mit exotischen Blattpflanzen, darunter zwei Aloes" (407). Each summer one of these aloes, ^{"a seed of flowering rush has dropped by chance into the tub, & the sick aloe seems to be} pollinated by an alien seed, bursts forth in a blaze of white and red, stunning all but the botanical connoisseur. This deception diverts Dubslav greatly, but again his ironic distance from this phenomenon - the false marrying of the prosaic with the exotic - strengthens his receptivity for the genuine blending of these elements in the Stechlinsee. This function of the lake is reflected elsewhere in the novel too, as in the conversation among Dubslav's supporters after his abortive electoral candidacy. From the local gossip featuring "die schöne Lilli" (600) and her amours, the point of discussion shifts directly to a Siamese princess, a more exotic instance of the idea of Entsöhnung taken from the first, close-at-hand story.

The colours of the aloes themselves seem to carry particular portents. For a start the red and white of the

butomus umbellatus - flowering red
~~aloes~~

were the colours of Kurbrandenburg. The white recurs in the Prussian flag on the Aussichtsturm, whose colours are reinforced through "die mit weiß und schwarzen Fliesen gedeckte Veranda" (412). Engelke wants to add a strip of red to it. But Dubslav opposes this suggestion with the reasoning:

Laß. Ich bin nicht dafür. Das alte Schwarz und Weiß hält gerade noch; aber wenn du was Rotes dranhähst, dann reißt es gewiß. (413) 30)

The red of the rooster³¹⁾ is reflected in the red of little Agnes' stockings, applauded by Dubslav because of their intimidating effect on his sister Adelheid (she even refers to them as "eine hochgehaltene Fahne"! - 762). There and in the case of the aloes he can afford a kind of playing with fire, a liberty also possible with opinions, since they are after all expressed, not implemented: "Er hörte gern eine freie Meinung, je drastischer und extremer, desto besser" (408). But the old Prussian flag is something altogether too close to home. The way he rejects the addition to it of red, quite clearly meant to represent revolutionary forces,³²⁾ is handled all too obviously. It is certainly a suggestive means of evoking contemporary history and incorporating a viewpoint on it. But whereas Fontane draws a great wealth of symbolic energy from the Stechlinsee, this particular symbol is too overtly explicit.

Dubslav himself is characterized in wholly sympathetic terms. He embodies a type ("der Typus eines Märkischen von Adel" - 407) described elsewhere in scathing terms, and here the explanatory qualification follows: "...aber von der milderen Observanz" (ibid.). This is revealed in those qualities which so set him apart from his sister, encrusted

as she is by tradition and parochialism. His pre-Hohenzollern ancestors give him a certain identity and pride, but he does not revel in them as self-justification. Even this deepseated family tradition is exposed to the question mark he eternally places after things. This maintains his integrity before the delusion to which Adelheid succumbs, a Wahn Fontane describes in a letter to Friedländer:

...man kann ihn ["unsren Adel"] besuchen wie das aegyptische Museum..., aber das Land ihm zu Liebe regieren, in dem Wahn: dieser Adel sei das Land, - das ist unser Unglück... (FLB, 310)

In Dubslav's case even his weaknesses are reckoned as merits because of his capacity for self-irony. Only once, it seems, does this gift abandon him in the course of the novel. In the presence of Czako he arranges with Engelke the decorating of the meal table with flowers:

Nur nicht Astern. Astern sind ganz gut, aber doch sozusagen unterm Stand und sehen immer aus wie'n Bauerngarten. (464)

The reader already has a sufficient impression of Dubslav's human nature not to hear excessively snobbish overtones in this little commentary. It does seem born of a consciousness of his noble guest's presence, and is but a slight blemish, possibly included to avoid the risk of a figure idealized to the point of losing credibility.

One of his most oft-quoted principles illustrates the ever-threatening borderland between Dubslav's healthy scepticism and sheer disorientation. "Unanfechtbare Wahrheiten gibt es überhaupt nicht..." (408) is couched in the terms of a truism itself. But that form is at variance

with the content of his assertion - if there are no incontestable truths, then the truth of this claim is also open to doubt - , and thus follows a modification which at first glance had seemed to weaken the original statement: "... und wenn es welche gibt, so sind sie langweilig" (ibid.). This new form of the maxim becomes something of a programmatic utterance in the course of the novel, with its constant relativizing, suspicion towards particular 'one-sided' directions, and frequent 180-degree turns on statements just made. To cite one example among many of what is meant by the latter - Woldemar writes in his diary of his father:

Das [a genuine Junker of the old school] ist er auch, aber doch auch wieder das volle Gegenteil davon. (518)

This problem of truth that resists categorizing carries over to the realm of communication. In the midst of an unspectacular biography of Dubslav, following him through his unheroic days of military service to his retirement to the Stechlin estate, the narrator inserts the following quotation from his subject:

"Wir glauben doch alle mehr oder weniger an eine Auferstehung" (das heißt, er persönlich glaubte eigentlich nicht daran),... (408)

What seemed to be a revelatory credo is immediately divested of all such import by the incursion of the narrator, whose sovereign manipulation of the characters throughout the work repudiates any naïvely 'realistic' tendencies claimed for Fontane. At this early stage of the work we are not yet in a position to make the mental reservations contained in the

narrator's insertion, but through such qualifications of the meaning expressed by the 'real' state of affairs we become critical towards subsequent statements claiming any generality of validity. Such a radical dissection of the devices and actual import of communication is no great distance from confusion and ever-diminishing circles of meaning. But Fontane never oversteps the dividing line, and his scepticism achieves an injection of new energies (in uncovering new lines of approach, new sides of the object in question, etc.) instead of the dissipation of those already present.

Another aspect of this whole communication problem, the matter of names and their symbolic inadequacy, also receives detailed exposition here. On the one hand there is the accumulation of associations behind the word "Stechlin" as this is applied in turn to the lake, the wood surrounding it, the village, the Schloß and the family. All bear the one name, all become organic components of the central symbol with which the novel begins in its title and ends in the letter of Melusine.

In other cases, names of people or names assigned to objects have no such harmonious effect. Dubslav is critical of his own (Christian) name as not reflecting the area into which he was born. The import of names - there is never a suggestion that they are arbitrary - is further elaborated in this chapter as a springboard for subsequent development. When Dubslav receives Woldemar's telegramme with the news that Rex and Czako are accompanying him, he ponders on whom to invite to a welcoming dinner:

Czako, das ginge vielleicht noch. Aber Rex, wenn ich ihn auch nicht kenne, zu so was Feinem wie Rex paß ich nicht mehr... (414)

Thus the two officers are first introduced with a certain prejudgement on the basis of their names. These afford subsequent material for conversation too, or at least Czako's does, as it is on this note that they ultimately depart the scene before the novel's concluding pages. Czako is clearly smitten by Melusine but, being conscious of gradations within the nobility, is afflicted by doubts, which are revealingly related to his name: "Und dazu diese verteufelt vornehmen Namen: Barby, Ghiberti. Was soll da Czako?" (793). But Rex will have none of this evasion: "Italienisieren Sie sich und schreiben Sie sich von morgen ab Ciacco" (ibid.). This infuses Czako with fresh hope, and his final words, couched in two foreign languages, show him belying that background he seeks to escape: "Sapristi, Rex, c'est une idée." The issue thus evaporates on a light, playful note, but has been both a conversational strand and one of the vehicles for a reckoning with language.

A further example of this reckoning in the first chapter is found in the various appellations of the erstwhile Schloß. For Dubslav this is an inflated term; he writes at the head of letters "Haus Stechlin" and refers to it as "ein alter Kasten" (410). (Rex combines the two sides of the building in the ironic epithet "Schloßkate" - 420). Another case is the progression in the titles with which Dubslav vainly tries to approach the peculiar being and status of Katzler's wife:

...und die Frau, das heißt die Gemahlin (und Gemahlin is eigentlich auch noch nicht das rechte Wort)... (414)

The former example speaks eloquently of that 'freedom' imputed to Dubslav by Woldemar and Lorenzen. A man-made edifice is no cause for conceit in his eyes. His pride is confined to the lake - "Das andere gibt es woanders auch, aber der See..." (454) -, and in this he glories in a connection with the outside world (cf. 426) to an extent probably not even enjoyed by the much-travelled Graf Barby. The connection between this tiny neck of the woods and the big outside world, present in the symbol of the Stechlinsee,³³⁾ occurs in other instances too as when Lorenzen's Christian-Socialist tendencies are related to those of Stöcker in Berlin (429).

The polar opposite to Dubslav's breadth of outlook is of course his sister Adelheid, a crabbed survival of the obsolete caste-spirit, whose actions for good even are tarnished by a wrong motivation. And her attitude also receives its exposition in ch. 1. Thus her financial aid to Dubslav is rendered:

...nicht aus Liebe zu dem Bruder..., sondern lediglich aus einem allgemeinen Stechlinschen Familiengefühl. Preussen war was und die Mark Brandenburg auch; aber das Wichtigste waren doch die Stechlins, und der Gedanke, das alte Schloß in andern Besitz und nun gar in einen solchen übergehen zu sehen, war ihr unerträglich. (411)

Prussia is the absolute limit of her field of vision, and even it is most decidedly secondary to family interests. At no stage does she escape the confines of her narrowness in response to the more liberal perspectives around her.

She belongs to those contrasted with Graf Barby ("Er")
in the following extract from Woldemar's diary:

Er weiß - was sie hierzulande nicht wissen oder nicht
wissen wollen - , daß hinterm Berge auch noch Leute
wohnen. Und mitunter noch ganz andre. (518)

His sister's caste-spirit is not to be found in
Dubslav himself: he does not match the "gute Partie" (410)
sought by his father in his three wives. At least we do not
hear of such an economic rationale, only of the brief happi-
ness shared by him and his wife. Both father and son are
disposed of in this connection in a few lines, so that the
whole issue of 'arranged' alliances, treated in such ironic
detail in Frau Jenny Treibel, is skirted here. Dubslav's
financial need is met instead by his sister and by the
Jewish usurer, Baruch Hirschfeld, whose true machinations
are exposed in the opening picture of him, with his sense
for the "Geschäftliche" only obscured from Dubslav's view,
not his own, by his degree of affection for his creditor.
Unlike his more radical son, he is content to bide his time
and wait for the estate to fall into his hands in due
course. This constant threat³⁴⁾ to the Stechlin family
would seem to have been removed by the end of the novel
with Woldemar's assured backing from his richer father-in-
law. Thus the static quality of the novel implied by
Fontane's verdict on it on p.205 - the life-cycle of the
family as the only real event - is somewhat misleading, as
Woldemar will not be dependent on financiers.

As a final observation on ch. 1 of the novel, the
tattered Prussian flag (cf. p.235) is not alone in its
state. On the veranda:

Eine große, etwas schadhafte Marquise war hier herabgelassen und gab Schutz gegen die Sonne, deren Lichter durch die schadhafte Stellen hindurchschienen und auf den Fliesen ein Schattenspiel aufführten. (412)

These signs prefigure Dubslav's fantasy at the end of the novel of the newly-married couple entertaining in a renovated residence. It places the novel in the long line we have already seen represented by Immermann's Epigonen and Münchhausen, with the decay of the "dehors" mirroring the financial decline of the nobility. The notable difference here is that external decay is not symptomatic of an inner one, at least not in the case of the Stechlins and Barbys of the nobility.

The novel begins as it ends, with the Stechlin-lake, which has feelers going out from its unspectacular depths into all the world. The first chapter of the novel has a similar function - and for this reason it has received such detailed attention - , introducing almost all important elements of the succeeding work. And however cursory this introduction has to be in some cases because of the wealth of information to be compressed into a few pages, the small touches are uncannily chosen, the characterizations are in miniature form and yet so economically direct. Consider the following first mention in a conversation between Dubslav and Engelke of a couple to play no mean part in the subsequent story:

"...Was meinst du, ob die Gundermanns wohl können?"
"Ach, die können schon. Er gewiß, und sie kluckt auch bloß immer so rum."
"Also Gundermanns. Gut..." (414)

The matter of inviting the Gundermanns is settled, but we already have a clear picture of husband, anxious to gain social acceptance, and wife, a fussy chatterbox.

(4) Social classes

a) Bourgeoisie

Mention of the Gundermanns leads directly to a consideration of the bourgeois class as depicted in this novel. It certainly does not emerge as anything like a dominant force, as for instance in Frau Jenny Treibel, but the attitude adopted to it shows a similar disenchantment. Czako asks Dubslav in frivolous vein how the carp ("er" in the quotation) in the Stechlin-lake reacts to the legendary red rooster:

...ist er...ein Feigling, der sich in seinem Moorgrund verkriecht, also ein Bourgeois, der am andern Morgen fragt: 'Schießen sie noch?' (427)

Here then a comment on the social standing of the bourgeois is couched in witty conversational tone. There is no elaborated discussion, and in fact the class which with Immermann had made such a rude incursion into the noble establishment or with Spielhagen had been championed with frenetic over-compensation against the supposedly decaying aristocracy, is of minimal interest here.

Certainly Gundermann, though recently ennobled, is to be regarded as bourgeois at heart in his crass materialism and vain attempts to gain full acceptance in noble circles. In a terse, atypically harsh verdict, Lorenzen describes him thus: "Gundermann ist ein Bourgeois und ein

Parvenu, also so ziemlich das Schlechteste, was einer sein kann" (579). And yet Gundermann's dubious status within the nobility does not always reflect on him. It does when he advocates doing away with the Reichstag and is criticized by von Molchow:

Es ist doch 'ne Wahrheit, daß sich...die Stände jedesmal selbst ruinieren. Das heißt, von 'Ständen' kann hier eigentlich nicht die Rede sein; denn dieser Gundermann gehört nicht mit dazu. (599)

But not, or at least not exclusively on him, when his reservations about Lorenzen's funeral oration for Dubslav are patronizingly observed by the: "'Alten und Echten' (die wohl sich, aber nicht ihm ein Recht der Kritik zuschrieben)..." (788). Here the 'authentic' noblemen's caste spirit rebounds on their heads.

Familiar attitudes emerge again in Frau Gundermann's following criticism of the local nobility, who:

...legen alles auf die Goldwaage. Das heißt, vieles legen sie nicht auf die Goldwaage, dazu reicht es bei den meisten nicht aus; nur immer die Ahnen. (431)

The oft-observed financial decline of the nobility and their recourse to family tradition (applicable to Adelheid, but certainly not to Dubslav) are coupled with an odd sublimation of materialism by imputing that to them too, until the succeeding spiteful observation, contradicting this claim, gives the speaker even more pleasure.

Frau Gundermann expresses pride in her husband's business acumen in building up something of a timber empire. Yet the true state of his splendour is exposed when Woldemar,

Rex and Czako are passed by his cart:

... eine ziemlich ramponiert aussehende Halbchaise, das lederne Verdeck zurückgeschlagen... die Sitze leer, alles an dem Fuhrwerk ließ Ordnung und Sauberkeit vermissen; das eine Pferd war leidlich gut, das andre schlecht, und zu dem neuen Livreerock des Kutschers wollte der alte Hut... nicht recht passen. (470-71)

Frequently Fontane inserts wry authorial comments on people but rarely at any length. The above is quoted extensively to show the sustaining of this indictment of the owner through a merciless description of his vehicle. The rub lies in the final touch of the coachman's new coat not matching his old hat, mirroring in a single image the half-baked nature of Gundermann himself, trying to blend his newly-attained status with his long-held one and failing dismally. There is no synthesis of the Old and the New here. But he is presumably as unaware of this self-inflicted ridicule as of the self-irony contained in his favourite catchcry, "Wasser auf die Mühlen der Sozialdemokratie", harking back as it does to his own mills, all seven of them.

A possibility for genuine advancement, politics, is for him no more than an object for dilettantic dabbling, just as Treibel never became really involved and entrusted his hapless campaign to Lieutenant Vogelsang. Gundermann lacks all pretension to culture, he does not even look at the pictures in newspapers. His wife is a fitting soul-mate, finding "gelehrig" (435) Czako's lengthy story of a rat-hunt in the sewers of Paris. This is the only time Czako lapses into such an eccentric tale in the novel, undoubtedly a commentary on his assessment of his table-

companion and what degree of taste he can presuppose in her. He has gauged her ignorance of the French language in translating the phrase "Oeil-de-Boeuf" for her, and it was she who broached the whole topic of rats with sufficient detail, midst her protested distaste, to give herself away.

The whole episode seems to be a consciously grotesque distortion of the Stechlin-symbol discussed already. Instead of dwelling on the characteristic features of a city undoubtedly unfamiliar to Frau Gundermann, Czako chooses to expand this curious item of conversation. The Stechlin-lake brings together world crosscurrents: Czako's 'guide' through Paris ignores the city's truly notable features or distorts them. "Oben drei Millionen Franzosen, unten drei Millionen Ratten" (434), and the seething metropolis "oben" remains faceless. Among art-treasures the Venus de Milo alone is mentioned, and that as a calculated appeal to Frau Gundermann's feigned prurience. Czako's dismissal of Paris' attractions - "Und das alles haben wir schließlich auch, und manches haben wir noch besser" (ibid.) - is likewise guaranteed to reinforce the selfsatisfied, chauvinist core of this impossible lady.

It is characteristic of this novel that the damning picture of Frau Gundermann emerging above is relativized first to her social milieu and then to other classes. Dubslav excuses her own dubious story about rats as "Berliner Stil" (441), reinforcing the narrator's toning-down of her individuality:

Denn eigentlich hatte sie für gar nichts Interesse, sie mußte bloß, richtige Berlinerin, die sie war, reden können. (438)

Dubslav's breadth of vision does not fail him, even in the case of this woman. Having referred to her in conversation with Czako as "eine Vollblutberlinerin", he adds:

Aber wir von Adel müssen in diesem Punkte doch ziemlich milde sein... Unser eigenstes Vollblut bewegt sich auch in Extremen... (441)

This is in no sense a concession, but a genuine striving for a balanced perspective. The person of Frau Gundermann recedes behind the type, a type not confined to any one level. The characterization of her as speaking for the sake of hearing her own voice is also of course of particular significance in this kind of novel. For the debasing of conversation to an end in itself is ample comment on a figure in a work where conversation is the vehicle of character-exposition.

A further strong criticism of the bourgeoisie comes from Onkel Hartwig, cited by the domestic Hedwig to support her own complaints against employers' 'hospitality':

...der Bourgeois tut nichts für die Menschheit.
Und wer nichts für die Menschheit tut, der muß
abgeschafft werden. (550)

This dissatisfaction is reflected but never voiced in such class-conscious terms by Hedwig, who misses a proper Schlaf-gelegenheit in her place of employ (even with upper bourgeois families; "bei Hofrats" (550) she was quartered in a cluttered-up bathroom). Her complaint does not assume political dimensions, but is confined to her concrete, immediate concerns. Indeed she expresses loyalty to the state, counting the police force as a blessing, but is simply against the 'inhuman' working conditions. These are

described in graphic detail, the now proscribed Hängeböden³⁵⁾ among them, but the economic causes are not examined. It is undoubtedly significant that Hedwig finally finds satisfactory and settled conditions when employed by Armgard and Woldemar at the end of the novel - Engelke and Jeserich are of course instances of exemplary service under the patronage of exemplary masters.³⁶⁾

b) Social Democracy

Unlike the bourgeoisie, the proletariat receives considerable attention in the novel,³⁷⁾ still as something rather amorphous. But if its implications are as yet unforeseeable to most, the few of Graf Barby's vision see the most burning issue of their time to be:

...ob sich der vierte Stand etabliert und stabilisiert (denn darauf läuft doch in ihrem vernünftigen Kern die ganze Sache hinaus)... (545) 38)

Such a sober appraisal is, however, rare. For Gundermann the bogey of Social Democracy is forever having water piled on its mills, while for Schulze Kluckhuhn it is likened to the spectral bane of the Danish warship, 'Rolf Krake'. Gundermann's criticism in particular loses all incisive thrust through repetition ad nauseam, while his own shortcomings are never very far away. Thus in ch. 3, in an outburst against innovations which are, predictably, "Wasser auf...", he defends the new possibilities of telegraphy. But his reasons?

Und dabei das beständige Schwanken der Kurse. Namentlich auch in der Mühlen- und Brettschneidebranche... (425)

Dubslav interrupts him before his Mammonism can take fuller flight.

Even beyond its unworthy opponents Social Democracy never loses its suspect nature in this novel. The "Schimmer von Sozialdemokratie" (420) in Woldemar is branded by Czako as "Freiheitsluxusse" and seen as running counter to his position in the army. Granted that at the end he leaves his army post and is greeted warmly to his estates by the Glob-sower, the Old is at best waning rapidly, the New has still not emerged in any clear form.

Lorenzen, who is sympathetic to their cause, does not seem to³⁹⁾ expect a Social Democrats' victory in the local election. But the winds of change are crystallized in a conversation between Hirschfelds senior and junior on voting in the coming election. Dubslav's personal stature is never questioned, even by his opponents, but Isidor Hirschfeld for example prefers to the venerable old man's spotless character a platform in which he sees the correct "Prinzip" and the interests of "die Menschheit" (567).

The sordid reality behind these lofty-sounding notions becomes apparent all too soon. Dubslav's carriage stops to take on the drunkard Tuxen, prostrate from the excesses of the Social Democrats' victory celebrations. Dubslav presses him (with amusement, not resentment) as to his political choice, and this proves to be based on no concrete grievances but on hopes and promises held out, above all for a "Stück Tüffelland" (606) in a juster land-distribution. This platform is cast in a very dubious light by being presented at two removes, coming firstly not from

the campaigner but from one of his less impressive supporters, and secondly with that supporter not being in full command of himself. Lorenzen sums up the sad mobility of the Volk: "'Denn auf das arme Volk ist kein Verlaß. Ein Versprechen und ein Kornus, und alles schnappt ab'" (579). The harrying of Bennigsen elsewhere elicits a similarly pessimistic comment from him on the unimaginativeness of the electorate:

Jedes höher gesteckte Ziel, jedes Wollen, das über den Kartoffelsack hinausgeht, findet kein Verständnis, sicherlich keinen Glauben. (776)

Uncke questions the integrity of Isidor's Prinzip and also tells Dubslav that Torgelow is making an uncertain start to his parliamentary career. Even his own supporters find him "zweideutig" (671), a quality which Uncke sees as the besetting sin of modern change. It is the negative correlate of Dubslav's capacity to see an issue from various sides. Whereas with Dubslav the fundamental desire is to shed as much light as possible and dispense with mental strait-jackets, the 'ambiguity' of an Isidor or a Torgelow consists in a discrepancy between what is proclaimed and what is practised.

Dubslav reiterates his interest in Torgelow's doings when talking again with Uncke shortly before his death. This follows his assessment: "Und die Sozialdemokratie will auch hoch raus..." (774). But these unmellowed aspirations of the eruptive political force do not cause Dubslav concern, in fact he speaks of the shortcomings of Torgelow and his party as a passing phase, preceding a possible re-emergence of the nobility.

Nu kann Torgelow zeigen, daß er nichts kann. Und die andern auch. Und wenn sie's alle gezeigt haben, na, dann sind wir vielleicht wieder dran...
...Vorläufig aber müssen wir abwarten und den sogenannten 'Ausbruch' verhüten und dafür sorgen, daß unsere Globower zufrieden sind. (ibid.)

These are admittedly the visionary utterances of a man on his deathbed, steeped in the traditions of a class experiencing a decline he feels to be temporary. They imply an answer in the negative to the burning question of the time proposed by Barby (see p.248). But this is a wholly organic work, and Dubslav's idea here has been anticipated in his comments to Barby, comments admittedly dominated by the jump from the concrete (Junkers' hostility to the crown) to the speculative at the end:

Das Junkertum...hat in dem Kampf dieser Jahre kolossal an Macht gewonnen, mehr als irgendeine andre Partei, die Sozialdemokratie kaum ausgeschlossen, und mitunter ist mirs, als stiegen die seligen Quitzows wieder aus dem Grabe herauf. Und wenn das geschieht,...so können wir was erleben. Es heißt immer: 'unmöglich'...Nichts ist unmöglich. (715)

Fontane's Zeitroman is again a vehicle for ideas rather than a copious rendering of contemporary reality. The terms in which Dubslav speaks in the last quotation but one, also have direct bearing on the question of the meeting of Old and New in a historically transitional era (discussed on p.219). In Dubslav's view the momentary glamour and ascendancy of the politically New will fade and the Old - not a spent force, but merely biding its time behind the scenes - will reappear; the fond hope of an old man.

c) Class-relationships - more general

For all his smiling indulgence towards Tuxen's dream

of "Tüffelnd", Dubslav himself has advanced a similar idea elsewhere. In a tirade against the evil designs he sees behind the Globowers' glass factory, he says he would prefer to avert the "große Generalweltanbrennung" (469) he sees them preparing by meeting their basic economic needs. Lorenzen smilingly labels the idea "die reine Neulandtheorie. Das wollen ja die Sozialdemokraten auch" (470). But this brings a rather impatient reaction from Dubslav, who doesn't continue the topic. It can possibly be said that Dubslav appreciates progressive ideas but still recoils when a tag is put on them, disliking such constrictions. On the other hand it may be a realization that his own pronouncements can only sound liberal and disinterested from within his own sphere, having a progressive ring but only relatively so, until for instance the Social Democrats are mentioned. At all events the incident, as well as furthering the Old-New theme (reminding one for example of Lorenzen's defence of the supposedly 'new' Christianity as precisely the old form - see p.224), hints at a phenomenon to be examined further in this novel and to be discussed also in the Im Schlaraffenland chapter, namely the fading of class boundaries.

The most striking instance of this here - striking, admittedly, because of its rarity - is the marriage of the Princess of Ippe-Büchsenstein with the bourgeois Katzler. The real-life precedent of this was the marriage between the Prinzessin von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst and the bourgeois portrait-painter Richard Lanchert.⁴⁰⁾ The Princess' efforts to conform to her new station are intriguing in the contrast they form to the far more common case of bathing in past or

reflected glory. This is of course the prerogative of the more debilitated nobility (such as von der Nonne - cf. 589), but also of prestige-seekers and social-climbers like Koseleger, of whom Dubslav says: "Er war Galopin bei 'ner Großfürstin; das kann er nicht vergessen..." (585). On pp.214-16 were indicated the conflicts connected with marriage present in many of Fontane's other works and absent in the Woldemar-Armgard story here. It is consonant with this novel's emphases that the Katzlers' marriage is presented as a fait accompli and primarily as a touchstone for other people's (verbal) reactions to it.

Thus Rex finds the alliance, and above all its prodigious progeny, beyond his comprehension. He immediately expresses his disgust at the "Bürgerlichste, was es gibt" (476), then after hearing more details of the Princess' attitude changes his own completely and rationalizes her action as "Andauernde Opferung eines Innersten und Höchsten" (477). He admires what he sees as her incredible "Maß von Entsagung" (ibid.), and to further what seems to be a conscious parody of Classical concepts, the Princess' highest value in life is Pflicht, which she explicitly contrasts with Neigung (582). Rex views her action positively, although in point of fact she divests herself of noble ties⁴¹⁾ through a strenuous adherence to the moral imperative of Duty. Lorenzen assesses her aptly: "Alles an ihr ist ein wenig überspannt" (586), and this verdict applies to her sense of duty, which can be warped to the point of contravening nature in insisting on her husband's presence at the elections while she lies in her child-bed. This rests on her opinion: "...daß im modernen bürgerlichen

Staate Wählen so gut wie Kämpfen sei..." (588). Her behaviour thus does not reflect an outlook which has simply adapted to a new station in life, but forever shows self-consciousness and self-moulding.

In short, this marriage is a mistake. This is shown symbolically in the death in childbirth of 4 of their 7 children and the fact that although with each child they hope for a son, the survivors are all daughters, so that there is no male heir to continue the new hybrid line. It is also shown in Dubslav's verdicts. In congratulating Woldemar on his choice of a bride, he writes: "...höher hinauf geht es kaum, Du müßtest Dich denn bis ins Katzlersche verirren" (652 - author's underlining). And then after an attempt by the Princess to minister to Dubslav's soul while he lies sick, the old man reflects:

Es ist doch nicht gut, wenn Prinzessinnen in Oberförsterhäuser einziehn. Sie sind dann aus ihrem Fahrwasser heraus und greifen nach allem möglichen, um in der selbstgeschaffenen Alltäglichkeit nicht unterzugehn. (739-40)

Dubslav's ultimate disillusionment comes when the Princess and Koseleger plan founding a "Rettungshaus für verwaiste Kinder" (781) and suggest Agnes as their first charge. This draws from him an indictment of pious princesses,⁴²⁾ showing he is not blinded by an a priori faith in any superiority of the old order - another instance where a reaction (here, Dubslav's) to an action (or attitude) is more important than the action itself, a point which leads back to the opening discussion of Fontane's verdict of his Zeitroman.

Further light is cast on the nobility from a completely different direction by Dubslav's sister Adelheid, his sister purely in kinship ties and not in spirit. What she understands by nobility emerges in a letter to Woldemar:

Was ich Adel nenne, das gibt es nur noch in unsrer Mark und in unsrer alten Nachbar- und Schwesterprovinz, ja, da vielleicht noch reiner als bei uns. (563)

The following genealogy of other German nobility and its inadequacies, the gross conceit of:

Und dann haben wir hier noch zweierlei: in unserer Bevölkerung die reine Lehre und in unserm Adel das reine Blut (564),

her feigned dismissal of money as a factor in considering an alliance, smilingly seen through at once by Woldemar - everything here and elsewhere brands her as the antipole to her brother's broad, undogmatic, generous outlook.

The ultimate confrontation between Dubslav and Adelheid comes when he takes young Agnes into his house both as a diversion and as insurance against visitation by Adelheid. She in turn stands on the tradition she feels to be slighted by such a move, and transmits her own standards to Dubslav, though he himself never makes any great issue of "Familie, von Zugehörigkeit zu Thron und Reich" (763). She holds an ambiguous position, and again it is an élitist one, on the matter of waning social distinctions encountered already. She deplores Agnes' stockings, seeing in them a sign "daß alle Vernunft aus der Welt ist und alle gesellschaftliche Scheidung immer mehr aufhört" (762). And yet she can mass the 'opposition' under one banner: "Torgelow und Katzen-

stein (was keinen Unterschied macht)...". (763). In other words, class differentiation applies for her only when her own class is involved (threatened, as she sees it); the distinction between the political platforms of the Progressive Katzenstein and the Social Democrat Torgelow are of no concern to her since both lie outside her all-consuming preoccupation, the nobility. Attwood interprets the conclusion of this scene in the following terms:

Und es ist in höchstem Maße symbolisch, daß Dubslav die kleine Agnes...angesichts des nahenden Todes ins Haus ruft,...Die überlebten Vorstellungen nachhängende Adlige geht, die junge, frische Vertreterin des vierten Standes kommt, und der alte Dubslav, der ja den Aufzug selber inszeniert hat, schaut in lächelnder Zustimmung zu. 43)

This would make of Dubslav an arbiter of social class relationships, an all too explicit interpretation of the playing with Adelheid's class prejudice that is undeniably there. The episode with Agnes and Adelheid is a clear and humorous victory for that Freiheit which characterizes Dubslav, the fact that he is superficially prepared to snub his own class and flirt with the proletariat. But Agnes' role is also inadequately described by Attwood, sounding as it does like the heroine of a party-line DDR novel (a criticism far from applicable to the rest of his argumentation, and his own irony above can admittedly not be overlooked). She belongs to a long tradition of outsider or gypsy children (robbed, or here 'borrowed', from their parents), seen already in Problematische Naturen (cf. p.109). She is hardly to be taken as representative of the "fourth class" (whereas Adelheid is of a certain sector of the nobility), and Dubslav's action is certainly not a

championing of this class, of whom he has written to Wolde-
mar: "Die Proletarier - wie sie noch echt waren, jetzt mag
es wohl anders damit sein..." (653).

The character of Adelheid is probably the only one
other than that of the less-developed Gundermanns to receive
a consistently negative portrayal (apart from some con-
cessions to her social savoir-faire). In a novel concerned
with the survival of a humane, enlightened form of the
nobility, she represents many of the faults of the class
which have led to its decline as an ethical force (she is not
involved at the more basic level of its financial decline).
Her whole being is totally opposed to, and uncomprehending
before, the Stechlin-spirit. Significantly this is fêted
at the end by Melusine, Adelheid's pet aversion.⁴⁴⁾

5) Politics

Politics figured largely of course in the preceding
sections; what remains will be discussed here.

Dubslav is anything but convinced when accepting the
candidacy pressed upon him by the Conservatives: "Da muß
ich dann ran und mich populär machen. ...Eigentlich mag
ich nicht, aber ich soll,..." (421). In conversation with
Czako, Dubslav advocates a form of enlightened despotism
in accordance with the Friderician concept of the State.
He says the instruments of support for such a ruler are
still at hand in the nobility, the army, and particularly
in Czako's regiment (443), which at first sight speaks
against the emphases to be established in the section on the
army (cf. p.269ff.). But for one thing such a régime does

not come to power, and for another, Dubslav's comment is less a programmatic statement than a springboard for his following reminiscing and warming to the theme of Russia with delvings into its history and that of his own state.

This demonstrates another problem of the conversational-style Zeitroman, namely to what degree statements are made to stimulate further discussion, especially given the openness of a Dubslav to all sides of a viewpoint, and to what degree they can be understood as an expression of the convictions of the character concerned. In narrower figures such as Gundermann the problem is not so acute; any toning of his own limited viewpoint is for the sake of seeking acceptance among those he wishes to impress. (He doesn't succeed in this - his arch-conservative sentiments (598) voiced to the assembly of Dubslav's supporters after his defeat are systematically repudiated by von Molchow in an aside to Katzler.) The electoral procedure and results are themselves described in personalized terms, not as the operating of some abstract system, but as the rather lightweight accompaniment to vignettes of character (such as Dubslav's failure to greet Gundermann simply through not noticing him, whereas Gundermann's bad conscience interprets it as a deserved snub).

This is the anti-"Tendenzroman" par excellence. Far from characters being tacked on to ideas to lend them a certain plasticity, ideas and "facts" (whether historically actual, or "facts" in terms of the narrative reality) are subsidiary to the purely human dimension of the characters associated with them. This is not to minimize

that side of the novel which is of foremost interest here, its social documentary aspect. But it simply sets off Fontane's treatment as far removed from that of Immermann or Spielhagen. With Spielhagen, the decline of the nobility on any one level was symptomatic of a wholesale decline. But not so with Fontane. Petersen can correctly see "die Wahl als Symptom eines politischen Niederganges des Adels,"⁴⁵⁾ but it remains a political decline, the humour and warmth of the members of the nobility (the real nobility, excluding Gundermann) remain unimpaired. To emphasize a political trend within the setting of his novel, Fontane disregards the actual contemporary situation (cf. p.220).

6) Social manners, customs

In the works discussed to this point of the thesis a picture of sorts of the general social background of the particular era emerged almost incidentally in details such as etiquette, fashions, etc. In Fontane's case it is attention to details such as these which is at the very core of the novel. These details reflect the much broader concerns of the world beyond, a world whose panoramic depiction is not Fontane's task.

Thus the fourth chapter begins:

Frau von Gundermann schien auf das ihr als einziger, also auch ältester Dame zustehende Tafelaufhebungsrecht verzichten zu wollen... (435)

And throughout Fontane's works great emphasis is laid on table-manners and social forms. Tante Adelheid's otherwise

proficient hostessing is deficient in one respect:

...aber eine Gabe besaß sie nicht, die, das Gespräch, wie's in einem engsten Zirkel doch sein sollte, zusammenzufassen. (491)

Even language itself is subjected to formal requirements, not merely in such things as correct forms of address. The following comments of the Baronin Berchtesgaden, in which she imagines a Japanese painting with a stork, testify to Victorian restrictions of propriety in not talking of certain "unmentionables", even in a context where they could not possibly have this "unmentionable" connotation: "In meinen Jahren darf ich ja von Storch sprechen. Früher hätte ich vielleicht Kranich gesagt" (634). The word "Storch" seems particularly loaded; when Agnes uses it quite naturally in talking about the Berlin Tiergarten, Dubslav's servant-maids instantly congregate about her (764). A related situation prevails when Professor Cujacius begins a Schiller quotation, "Das ist der Fluch der bösen Tat..." (644), but declines to finish it out of deference to the ladies present, because it includes the word "gebären".⁴⁶⁾

Böckmann makes the general observation:

Fontane bringt...in seinen Romanen vor allem die unscheinbaren, alltäglichen Vorfälle des Lebens zur Geltung, die den Menschen in seine Zeit verstricken. 47)

Certainly the formal demands of convention largely survive the mobility of social status witnessed in the novel and are independent of that mobility. At the same time such details tend to set the characters in their age, as Böckmann says, at a more basic level of existence than, say,

the election campaign or theoretical wranglings about issues. Political and religious powers may be questioned and rejected, but the status of such conventions remains undisputed, and they are thus a far more effective instrument (from the viewpoint of Zeitroman-technique) in relativizing the most individualistic character to the overriding demands of his Zeit. The relative priorities are even made quite explicit, with an appropriate dash of humour, when the following thought is imputed to Dubslav's political supporters: "Siegen ist gut, aber Zu-Tische-Gehen ist noch besser" (594). There follows a wealth of loving detail as this wish is realized. Firstly the occupying of the table is pictured, with due attention devoted to the important question of whether Dubslav or "der Edle Herr von Alten-Friesack" (595) should sit at the head of the company.

The possibilities of interweaving comments of far greater implication than the specific details given, are brilliantly shown in the following. The assembled company raise their glasses in a toast to the King:

...und während der junge Lehrer abermals auf den auf einer Rheinsberger Schloßauktion erstandenen alten Flügel zueilte, stimmte man an der ganzen Tafel hin das "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" an, dessen erster Vers stehend gesungen wurde. (596)

The information about the piano's background, at first sight gratuitous, throws a highly ironic light on the whole proceedings. For here are Conservatives expressing their loyalty to their monarch. They do so to the musical accompaniment of an object auctioned at what would have been regarded as a bastion of their cause, but one which has obviously seen more prosperous days. It is possible to

read a similar satiric thrust in their "selling out" with a song first published in 1790 which (in addition to being the Prussian national anthem) in 1793 underwent changes and became known as the "Berliner Volksgesang" (see 998 - Anm. to 596). At all events the accumulation of colour and atmosphere is never arbitrary and frequently conceals a barb such as the superficially harmless piano here. The barb can also be elaborated far more explicitly, as in the following comment on the music accompanying the "Tafelaufhebung" of the same company:

...unter den Klängen des "Hohenfriedbergers" - der "Prager", darin es heißt: "Schwerin fällt", wäre mit Rücksicht auf die Gesamtsituation vielleicht paßlicher gewesen - kehrte man in die Parterreräume zurück... (599)

7) Art, culture

Works of art are another touchstone for reactions revealing more of the person concerned without direct authorial comment. They also of course lend another dimension to the Zeit being portrayed, but here again Fontane's technique is almost a mirror image of Immermann's. Whereas the earlier writer included characters primarily to integrate episodes of contemporary colour, the reverse is true of Fontane. "Alles Plauderei, Dialog, in dem sich die Charaktere geben, mit und in ihnen die Geschichte" (see p.205).

There is a far greater degree of individualization in Fontane's characters, and subtle shades are lent to characterization through discussions of tastes. Thus Lorenzen's copy of a Rubens Crucifixion is contrasted by Koseleger with the art tastes to be encountered in the

locality around him. He mentions the popularized tastes of Rheinsberg for instance, for the Rococco frivolities of Watteau, but not extending to the greater depths of Lorenzen's picture. Koseleger almost pesters Lorenzen to get away from this provincial atmosphere; he himself is transported in memory back to Antwerp, where he had seen the original years before. But Koseleger is not to be reckoned among those exhibiting the true Stechlin-spirit of openness; what seems to be his progressiveness is exposed as sheer ambition by the end of the section, and his dissatisfied restlessness contrasts sharply with Lorenzen's mildness. So Lorenzen's taste emerges as all the more creditable for lacking immediate contact with the outside world. The fact that he nonetheless transcends the danger of provincialism shows his superiority as a person over Koseleger, who has not grown in human terms despite all his opportunities and contact with cultural stimuli. In this light the pile of newspapers Lorenzen removes from the sofa table (575) may be understood as a further testimony to his keen mind seeking to remain informed.

In this case their titles are not mentioned, but newspapers are of course a further indicator of cultural tastes. When Engelke brings Dubslav the mail and his newspapers, "zuunterst die "Kreuzzeitung" als Fundament, auf diese dann die "Post"..." (746), this gives a touch of contemporary history in citing two examples of papers circulating in noble circles, and simultaneously, a further indication of Dubslav's foundations (cf. "als Fundament") in those circles for all his occasional championing of more progressive viewpoints. Admittedly the weight carried by

such a title as the "Kreuzzeitung" is not to be gauged from this work alone; its mere mention should have conveyed sufficient implications to a reader who was a contemporary of Fontane. For the modern reader this situation no longer obtains; he must rely on an implicit understanding from reference to it elsewhere in Fontane's works, or on annotations to the edition or other secondary sources. This emphasizes again the problem of those elements of the Zeitroman (as too of the historical novel) which are bound to its particular Zeit.

This problem becomes intensified when contemporary figures are veiled in fictional apparatus, however thin this veil might have been for contemporaries. Thus the professor (named Cujacius) who enthuses for Peter Cornelius is apparently a reference to Karl Pfannschmidt (see 998 - Anm. to 609). From this figure we hear a detailed account of one of Cornelius' "Kartons" in particular, but the absolute terms in which he does this expose his enthusiasm as fanaticism, and also provide the springboard for Melusine's wry reference to the "Böcklinsche Meerfrau mit dem Fischleib" (610), a reflection in the artistic sphere of her own nature. These hints about the character of people in a discussion are Fontane's real concern. They are of primary importance over and above the individual work discussed.

This is also the case in a discussion between Baronin Berchtesgaden and Melusine. Proceeding from a concrete case of a foggy day, the Baronin mentions the painter Skarbina. Melusine then describes another of his pictures and more details of his style, but all this is a mere springboard for

what follows. For the perspective then shifts in turn to Italian paintings of the Ascension and the simplicity of the Japanese style, showing the Stechlin-symbol at work in yet another sphere, with crosscurrents of art being brought together. The focal point of the whole episode comes with Melusine's reflection: "'Ach, daß doch das Natürliche wieder obenauf käme'" (634). The Baronin assures her this process is already under way, by which stage the whole conversation goes far beyond the issue of realism in art and refers to the whole domain of social relationships (cf. p.260) calcified by "anti-natural" conventions, so anti-pathetic to the freely soaring spirit of Melusine.

The impression made earlier by Professor Cujacius is confirmed by his subsequent appearances. It is sealed by Melusine's dismay at his arrival and her harsh judgement once he has left. His condescension seems unlimited, his verdicts allow no other viewpoint ("Ein überwundener Standpunkt" (643), "Es gibt nur ein Heil..." - 645), and the manner (again the Wie for the Was) in which he speaks of Millais, Millet or Turner is of more importance than what we incidentally learn of their art. The magnification of the confusion between the names Millet and Millais is primarily an indictment of Cujacius' flaunted superiority, but this incident and Woldemar's verdicts on Turner ("... leider nur flüchtig ["kennengelernt"]"; "Etwas Großartiges" - 645) and more so the way these are introduced - "...Woldemar, der einsah, daß irgendwas gesagt werden müsse" (644-45) - point up a dilettantism in the latter's appreciation of art.

The ultimate exposure of Cujacius comes when he draws swords with a similarly intractable nature, Wrschowitz, over the worth of Niels Gade. A dispute about the musician deteriorates rapidly into scathing personal broadsides. All rational elements of criticism ("Krittikk" 534) is after all Wrschowitz' highest value) recede before an invective that is unworthy of men of such intelligence and throws a very dubious light on their indisputable critical capabilities when basic human graces are lacking in them. Thus, once again, a current cultural figure (Niels Gade) is not mentioned simply to lend a flavour of the contemporary cultural scene. The main aim is to allow fanaticism in art to exhibit and destroy itself, just as fanaticism on other levels (e.g. Adelheid's fantastic notions of grandeur for her caste) is exposed in the novel as contrary to the Stechlin-spirit.

8) Religion

In treating this area as part of the material of a Zeitroman, attention must be directed not so much at individual answers to the Gretchen-Frage as at aspects of religious debate or of church history. Unlike the musty delving into oddities of the past in Cécile, church history in Der Stechlin is current, interesting, and of direct bearing on characters. Through Lorenzen's affiliation with the Christian-Socialist movement we hear Rex talk of the movement's founder, the court preacher Adolf Stöcker.⁴⁸⁾ This in turn leads Lorenzen on to mention of the "Wörishofener Pfarrer" (429), Sebastian Kneipp. For all their similarity of outlook, the differences in manner between the fiery

Stöcker and the composed Lorenzen are emphasized. Current church history receives an airing in relation to a key figure in the novel, but the individuality of that figure is carefully preserved from eclipse by his more illustrious contemporary. The comparison made between Immermann and Fontane in the sphere of art (cf. p.262) applies here too, namely that whereas figures are frequently chiffres with the earlier writer, Fontane creates in Lorenzen an imposing character of great individual integrity. He still embodies certain currents of the age but is far more than a mere vehicle for the exposition of these.

This is not the case with Rentmeister Fix, who never appears in person anyway but only in Adelheid's observations, and then always as a source of authority for her. His views on the "Wortlaut" (498) are important for their influence on Adelheid and their broaching an issue of considerable controversy in religious circles of the time. Another current idea receives passing mention here too, when Fix (as reported by Adelheid) speaks of the necessity of an "Umwertung" (499). Nietzschean concepts reappear when Dubslav voices his dissatisfaction with the notion of the "Übermensch" (701).

These are no more than fleeting references, and a more systematic appraisal of Nietzsche's influential ideas is excluded, but again the idea of the Stechlin-symbol is there with crosscurrents drawn from many sources. The extreme form in this possibility of the Zeitroman, the cursory, unelaborated reference, occurs in cases such as the following, where Rex is speaking of Stöcker (at first) and Lorenzen:

...aber der 'neue Luther', der doch schon gerade bedenklich genug ist - Majestät hat ganz recht mit seiner Verurteilung -, der geht ihm gewiß nicht weit genug. (446)

What would normally be seen as a mere expanding of his line of thought, in appearing in parenthesis, is of considerable importance to the Zeitroman, referring to the dismissal of Stöcker by Wilhelm II. in 1890, a breach strengthened by a telegramme from the Kaiser in 1896 (see 981 - Anm. to 446). Rex passes an opinion and then has recourse to the Kaiser's judgement to verify that opinion. A reference to an historical event is thus introduced in terms that are neither laboured nor in any sense a mere tabulation of events. This priority of emphasis is wholly appropriate to the Zeitroman in Fontane's hands, whereas a historical novel for instance would almost certainly have lingered over the Kaiser's judgement and not left the full import of Rex' reference - as he does - to be gained from sources outside the novel.

One other feature deserving brief mention here is Rex as a "Konventikler" (474). "Er hat...einen Verein gegründet für Frühgottesdienste" (448), on which account Czako playfully (474) and Dubslav much more earnestly (in his absence - 448) upbraid him. But the freshly-emerging sects which also obtruded in Cécile (I, 200) and Irrungen Wirrungen (I, 426 - connected here with the 'new' continent, America) remain on the fringe of Der Stechlin because of the disposition of speakers. For Adelheid broaches the topic of proliferating sects with Rex and makes clear her own disapproval (487). Though about to become an "Irvingianer" (ibid.) himself, he is too much a "Lebemann" (ibid.) to dispute her views. The dictates of polite conversation are

here supreme. The people expressing facts and opinions, and even more so the social conventions moulding their behaviour, prevail over the facts and opinions themselves, just as in Irrungen Wirungen mention of Mormons is described as "ein Thema, wie geschaffen für Frau Dörr" (I, 427).

9) The army

The greatness that Prussia has known is frequently mentioned in Der Stechlin; that greatness was associated with the state's army, and this army, both in its present form and in reflections on its past, receives detailed attention in the novel.

Very early in the piece Czako expresses doubts about Woldemar's suitability for his position in his regiment. These lead him to expand on the topic of the progressive 'refinement' of the army (or at least "von den Regimentern unter den Augen Seiner Majestät" - 420) through the presence of more and more princes in its ranks. The Marwitz', the Bredows and the other venerable Prussian families which provided the backbone of the army till 1806 no longer do so: -

...der Adel gab den Ton an, und die paar Prinzen mußten noch froh sein, wenn sie nicht störten. Damit ist es nun aber, seit wir Kaiser und Reich sind, total vorbei. (420)

This thesis of an over-refinement in the army as opposed to that of about a century earlier is questionable even within the bounds of the novel itself. Firstly, Czako's credentials to make such a judgement are qualified when Woldemar says of him almost exactly what he had said (419) of

Woldemar: "er paßt nicht so ganz zu uns und eigentlich auch kaum zu seinem Regiment" (500). Secondly, the gap in time is rather too great to lend support to his claim.

The unspectacular military careers of Dubslav and Graf Barby are both outlined. Of interest here, when considering the nobility's influence into the 19th century, is Barby's entry in 1848 to the "Regiment Garde du Corps, drin die Barbys standen, solange es ein Regiment Garde du Corps gab" (525). The brittle state of the whole pre-Jena Prussian military tradition had in any case been highlighted by Fontane in his Schach von Wuthenow, where significantly an over-refinement (aestheticism) of the title-figure is a main issue.

Furthermore, the whole concept of 'heroism' is thrown into doubt in this novel. Dubslav philosophizes to Czako:

"Heldentum ist Ausnahmezustand und meist Produkt einer Zwangslage. Sie brauchen mir übrigens nicht zuzustimmen, denn Sie sind noch im Dienst."
"Bitte, bitte", sagte Czako. (427)

It is as if the façade required by the upholding of institutions is seen through by both, the need to maintain the fiction of heroism in the army overriding rationality.

The theme occupies Dubslav and Lorenzen at length in their last conversation but one of the book. Dubslav asks to be told a heroic military anecdote, but Lorenzen retorts: "Mein Heldentum...das ist nicht auf dem Schlachtfelde zu Hause" (750), and proceeds to tell the tale of the obscure North Pole ^{schwieriger} adventurer, Lieutenant Greeley. But he

is obscure only by popular standards; to Lorenzen he embodies a true heroism, heedless of all demands of convention in assessing the needs of an exceptional situation. On the other hand "Der Bataillonsmut...ist nur ein Heldenmut" (753). This image echoes Lorenzen's earlier panorama of Prussian history:

Aus der modernen Geschichte...verschwinden die Bataillen und die Bataillone (trotzdem sie sich ständig vermehren)... (680)

Their place, the whole bygone glory of the military, has been taken by inventors like James Watt and Siemens. The reactionary endeavours of Wilhelm II to ignore this fact earn him Lorenzen's (and elsewhere Fontane's - cf. FLB, 309-10) criticism:

Das Heldische hat nicht direkt abgewirtschaftet..., aber sein Kurs hat nun mal seine besondere Höhe verloren, und anstatt sich in diese Tatsache zu finden, versucht es unser Regime, dem Niedersteigenden eine künstliche Hausse zu geben. (ibid.)

Even without considering the further guidance of Woldemar entrusted to Lorenzen, the withdrawal of Woldemar from the army and retirement to the family estate at the novel's conclusion is no mere repetition of his father's seemingly similar move several years before. For the two events lie at opposite ends of the novel, and in the intervening pages the whole fabric of the military has received a searching examination, and a new, more individual order of heroism been proclaimed.

Nevertheless, the signs of the old one are still very much in evidence. In the company of Dubslav-supporters gathered before the election, both Katzler und Kluckhuhn

wear their military medals (569). And when they are returning from their outing to the Eierhäuschen, Woldemar conjectures to Melusine that the rocket they have just seen is part of celebrations for Sedan or Düppel or the crossing to Alsen. So that reminders of Prussia's recent victories and its emergence as a leading power through its army's achievements are there as a constant background.

But even Sedan lies several years back in the past, and these military victories are perpetuated by the older generation. The younger one fluctuates. At first Armgard shows a predisposition to what is "preußisch-militärisch" (698), as Woldemar observes with satisfaction, preferring to be wed in the Berlin "Garnisonkirche" rather than the old family church. She is also all for Woldemar's remaining in service: "ich bin sehr für Freiheit, aber doch beinah mehr noch für Major" (ibid.). But when they return to Berlin after their honeymoon, the "Großstädtische" and the "Militärische" (798) no longer hold the same attraction for her, and she echoes Woldemar's own sentiments in suggesting they move to the land to the Stechlin-estate. The feeling has grown in him that "Die Scholle daheim, die dir Freiheit gibt, ist doch das Beste" (ibid.). So that "Freiheit", secondary in Armgard's earlier preferences, wins the day after all, echoing Dubslav's inner freedom so extolled by Lorenzen in his funeral oration, and rounding off one of the most important concepts running through the novel. It is in this light that this particular thematic area of Fontane's work is to be seen. The military historical background is there, ingrained in the older characters and still lending colour to the present.

But the ultimate consideration (which again represents a jump from the more stratified and predominating society depicted elsewhere in his works) is the human level of heroism and freedom. So that once Woldemar feels the latter to be lacking in the confines of his military career, he seeks it - as one of the highest values posited in the work - on the old estate.

10) Zeitgeschichte

Like the other novels discussed in this thesis, Der Stechlin contains various references to contemporary life, especially that in Berlin, which add depth to the work by lending local colour and fixing it further in that Zeit being portrayed. This applies to the "Pferdebahn" described by Tante Adelheid (500), as it does to the string of place-names tracing Woldemar's journey to the Barbys', ending "An dieser echt berlinisch-pittoresken Ecke" (527).

There is frequent mention of Wagner in Fontane's works. The Conservative supporters move to their meal after the elections to the strains of the march from Tannhäuser (played "von einem Thormeyerschen Unterlehrer" - 596), whose exalted tone stands in ironic contrast to the comical attempts of the participants to achieve a similar exaltation. Wrschowitz' scorn for the model for his Christian name Niels (Niels Gade) grows from his developing enthusiasm for Wagner. Yet again the real force of such references emerges from the following characteristic one, in which Melusine expresses her regrets to Woldemar:

...daß wir in einer halben Stunde fort müssen, Opernhaus, 'Tristan und Isolde'. Was sagen Sie dazu? Nicht zu Tristan und Isolde, nein, zu der heikleren Frage, daß wir eben gehen,... (515)

A contribution to der Fall Wagner is furthest from Fontane's mind in this example. Melusine even squashes in advance any comments on Wagner's music possibly ensuing from a misunderstanding of her question. As an important figure of contemporary controversy, Wagner appears in Fontane's works, but as a background or at best an accompaniment to his own fictitious characters. Thus towards the end of Cécile, the performance of Tannhäuser attended independently by Gordon and Cécile is commented on by the former, not in any sense as an aesthetic judgement, but as a thin veil for his own thwarted, malicious comments. The fact that this particular opera is being performed simply reinforces the atmosphere of febrile eroticism never far beneath the surface of Cécile - reinforces, but does not establish it.

There is much talk in Der Stechlin of London and England and some too of Italy, but this is far from being a travelogue. It can indicate the weltoffen nature of the Stechlins (as expressed most tellingly in the central symbol of the lake), preserved through Woldemar's trip to London and then Armgard's stimulating impressions of their honeymoon in Italy (which contrast with Käthe's gushing in Irrungen Wirrungen - I, 439-41). It can further define character - Adelheid hears of Armgard's Italian impressions with boredom and expresses ludicrous prejudices against life in England which she bases entirely on hearsay. On the other hand more informed opinion, such as Lorenzen's in the following quotation, can give important information about con-

temporary attitudes to England:

Sie sind drüben schrecklich runtergekommen, weil der Kult vor dem goldenen Kalbe beständig wächst; lauter Jobber und die vornehme Welt obenan. Und dabei so heuchlerisch; sie sagen 'Christus' und meinen Kattun. (630) 50)

Furthermore, the picture presented of London, those features which the speaker deems worthy of special comment, also tell by implication something about Berlin as presumably lacking in those features. Typically for the novel we hear less of institutions and buildings and more of human features of rare colour, such as the Chinese acrobat, grinning in through the window at Herbstfelde, and his Mary, or Koseleger's anecdote of the duchess' unsuccessful court case against a beautician charging an exorbitant fee. He draws the following conclusion from the story, comparing the mentality of the country with his own state:

In unserm guten Preußen, und nun gar erst in unsrer Mark, sieht man in einem derartigen Hergange nur das Karikierte, günstigstenfalls das Groteske, nicht aber jenes Hochmaß gesellschaftlicher Verfeinerung, aus dem allein sich solche Dinge...entwickeln können. (664)

The whole expansive discussion of England centring on Koseleger's tale is preceded by a very brief reference to a far closer, to home instance of Zeitgeschichte. The first topic of conversation at table is the Berlin-Stralsund railway line, which had led to the insolvency and even suicide of many financial speculators, and which:

...seit der neuen Kopenhagener Linie, den ihr von früher her anhaftenden Schreckensnamen siegreich überwunden habe. (660)

The epic dimensions of this reference, so condensed, are

realized in Spielhagen's Sturmflut. But the briefness of mention here is wholly consonant with Fontane's work, whose domain excludes the elaboration of such epic potential.

11) Conclusion

Als erster hier hat er [Fontane] wahrgemacht, daß ein Roman das gültige, bleibende Dokument einer Gesellschaft, eines Zeitalters sein kann; daß er soziale Kenntnis gestalten und vermitteln, Leben und Gegenwart bewahren kann noch in einer sehr veränderten Zukunft, wo, sagen wir, das Berlin von einst nicht mehr besteht. Alles vermöge richtig gesehener, stark gezeichneter Personen, einer Welt von Personen oder einzeln ausgesuchter, die dasselbe tun: standhalten, sich selbst unverletzt überbringen den weiten Weg von damals her. . . . Nach Effi Briest sagte er: "Das kommt nicht wieder." Er wußte, was er gemacht hatte, war übrigens alt. Er schrieb noch Der Stechlin, da wird sein herber Realismus geisterhaft, wie nach dem Leben das Ende; sein eigenes spricht verhalten mit. 51)

This evaluation of Fontane by Heinrich Mann, 50 years after his death, serves firstly as a convenient bridge to the next chapter of this thesis, which deals with one of Heinrich Mann's own novels, and secondly as an acute assessment of the older author's work. It brings us back to Fontane's own verdict on his Zeitroman Der Stechlin right at the beginning of this chapter. For we see here the vindication of the method outlined there by Fontane.

He had claimed his characters evolve from conversation, "mit und in ihnen die Geschichte" (author's underlining). These are the accents that cannot be stressed too strongly. They are respected by Heinrich Mann, when after his first broad statement about the social documentation in Fontane he goes straight to the narrative means whereby this

is achieved: "Alles vermöge...Personen." This is what ensures the life of the work, life in both senses of its immanent vitality and its literary survival long after the passing of the age depicted. It is this element of characterization as a primary concern, and not simply as a shadowy enactment of historical forces or as a human form given to ideas, that has assured the durable appeal and validity of Fontane's novels that has eluded Immermann, Spielhagen and Freytag, to say nothing of much lesser 19th century German novelists.

The problem of transience, inherent in the whole genre of the Zeitroman, is overcome by this deceptively obvious device. Long after minute details of local colour (effective though they are at one level) have passed, the broad Gesinnung of the characters remains, as do the historical forces in interplay with that Gesinnung. And these forces survive not as abstract props but in a subtly constructed panorama of the age. Before Fontane, a like emphasis on the individual was in Germany the preserve of the Bildungsroman (if one excludes the lesser success of Raabe with more eccentric figures removed from the mainstream of life). Indeed, the whole issue is seen most clearly in a letter from Keller to his publisher Vieweg in 1850. Speaking of the hero of Der grüne Heinrich, Keller specifically relates "die Verhältnisse seiner Person und seiner Familie" with those "im bürgerlichen Leben", the moral of his work being that failure in the one sphere necessarily implies failure in the other.

Die Schuld kann in vielen Fällen an der Gesellschaft liegen, und alsdann wäre freilich der Stoff derjenige

eines sozialistischen Tendenzbuches. Im gegebenen Falle aber liegt sie größtenteils im Charakter und dem besonderen Geschehens des Helden und bedingt hierdurch eine mehr ethische Bedeutung des Romans. 52)

To Keller it seemed a matter of choice, whereas Fontane succeeded in merging the two. In Der Stechlin at least, he encompasses both society and the individual in his individuality, and furthermore the interaction between the two. In doing so he creates something transcending the pejorative sense Keller conveys with his phrase "sozialistisches Tendenzbuch". At the same time, the method of characterization differs from the Bildungsroman; there is no process of development, the depiction of character is static (but not stagnant, rather calm like the surface of the Stechlinsee).

How are we to understand Heinrich Mann's assessment of Der Stechlin: "da wird sein herber Realismus geisterhaft"? Various critics⁵³⁾ have spoken of the Verklärung of this novel, and this is what Heinrich Mann seems to be implying too. Is a verklärter Zeitroman a contradiction in terms? If one thinks only of Keller's postulated "sozialistisches Tendenzbuch", the answer will be 'yes'. But if one considers the theoretical abstraction by Fontane (p.205) of what has been shown in this chapter as fully achieved - an achievement finding its due appreciation in Heinrich Mann's assessment - then the answer must be 'no'. Fontane is in fact an outright negation of those tendencies bedeviling the German Zeitroman of the 19th century. Polemics, mere provincialism, and a clinging to alien traditions are all absent from his work, quite apart from his stylistic superiority. Verklärung in Fontane's last

novel does not mean a distancing from reality through artistic manipulation, but an enhancement of reality through artistic mastery. And if the resulting realism seems "geisterhaft", it is so not in any sense of remoteness or insubstantiality, but rather akin to the "wehmütigen Zauber" of little Elfriede:

Ihr zarter, beinahe körperloser Leib schien zu sagen: "Ich sterbe". Aber ihre Seele wußte nichts davon; die leuchtete und sagte: "Ich lebe." (767)

Footnotes

1. "Theodor Fontane an Adolf Hoffmann. Berlin 1897 (Entwurf)", in Theodor Fontane 1819.1969. Stationen seines Werkes, Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach a.N. (Stuttgart, 1969), S.210-11.
2. Immermanns Werke, 3, 135-36.
3. Theodor Fontane. Werke in drei Bänden, hrsg. v. Kurt Schreinert (München, 1968), II, 764. All future references to page nos. (alone) relate to Vol. II of this edition, other vols. are referred to by I or III.
4. And there are quotations (or at least adaptations of them) from other sources, e.g. Luther, as is pointed out in a fascinating chapter by Hermann Meyer. See Hermann Meyer, Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst (Stuttgart, 1961), S.174-85.
5. It seems incontestable that this is to be regarded as a "benediction", as a final statement on the theme of the passing of individuals being offset by the survival of the principles they represent and the spirit they embody (cf. 782). Thus the following interpretation of this conclusion, which sees it as the ultimate revelation of Melusine's supposed heartlessness, cannot be supported:
In dem Rückzug auf das Elementare wird der Mangel Melusines an "Herz" deutlich, so, wenn sie in dem den Roman abschließenden Satz meint, es sei nicht nötig, "daß die Stechline weiterleben, aber es lebe der Stechlin."
Vincent J. Günther, Das Symbol im erzählerischen Werk Fontanes (Bonn, 1967), S.128.
6. Cf. Fontane's letter to Joseph Viktor Widmann (Berlin, 19/11/1895):
Ich kenne zwei Seen in unserer Mark, in denen sich Springflut und Trichter bilden, wenn in Italien und Island die Vulkane losgehen.
Richard Brinkmann (Hrsg.), Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Theodor Fontane Teil II (München, 1973), S.470.
7. Siegmund Schott, "Die Poggenpuhls", in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung vom 3. Februar 1897. Dichter über ihre Dichtungen..., ibid., S.469.
In this context the following passage is of interest:
...es kommt ihm bei nichts darauf an, was es ist, sondern nur auf irgendein danebenlaufendes 'wie es ist', irgendeine Zutat, kommt es ihm immer an.
Here the very same terms of reference are seen in a negative light, concentration on the Wie appears to be a diversion from cognition of the Was. This presupposes of course that the Was can be perceived, or is worthy of primary interest; thus it is not surprising to find that the above passage is an assessment of Ulrich by Walther in Musil's Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (op. cit., S.65).

8. For the perils with which Der Stechlin is fraught, cf. Peter Demetz, Formen des Realismus: Theodor Fontane, 2. Auflage (München, 1966), S.182-85.
9. Cf. one of Fontane's criticisms of Zola: "c) Fehler in der Tendenz (große Kunstwerke müssen tendenzlos sein)." "Aus Entwürfen zu einem Aufsatz über Zolas 'La Fortune des Rougon'", in Theorie und Technik des Romans im 19. Jahrhundert, hrsg. v. Hartmut Steinecke (Tübingen, 1970), S.68.
For a more complete picture of what Fontane understood by "Tendenz", cf. Heinz Eugen Greter, Fontanes Poetik (Bern, Frankfurt/M., 1973), S.49ff.
10. In Philologische Studien und Quellen, Heft 54, hrsg. v. Wolfgang Binder, Hugo Moser u. Karl Stackmann (Berlin, 1970).
11. There is however nothing apologetic about Fontane's appraisal of this difference. Demetz' curious assessment must be discounted:
...er selbst [Fontane] neigte ja dazu, den Stechlin an seinen früheren Arbeiten zu messen und war beunruhigt, daß sich nichts von "Verwicklungen... Überraschungen" fand. (op. cit., S.180)
12. Op. cit., S.13.
13. Schmidt assures Marcell towards the end of Frau Jenny Treibel:
In eine Herzogsfamilie kann man allenfalls hinein- kommen, in eine Bourgeoisfamilie nicht. (I, 1001)
14. Hopefully this investigation of the achievements of Fontane's style in Der Stechlin shows why I cannot agree with Roy Pascal when he claims the following:
Little is to be gained from an analysis of Der Stechlin...It is Fontane's wistful farewell to a class of which he was the 'disappointed lover'. The novel lacks composition, however, and the characters and affairs of the younger generation are vague and tedious. Fontane called it 'a political novel - a contrast between the nobility as it should be and as it is', but, though there are numerous characters and scenes which illuminate the contemporary social situation, the story is lacking in contrast and tension, and shows indeed a marked falling off in imaginative power.
Roy Pascal, The German Novel (Manchester, 1956), p.206.
"Lacking in contrast and tension" it of course is, but strictly in accordance with the novelist's intentions.
15. Julius Petersen, "Theodor Fontanes Altersroman", Euphorion, 29 (1928), 67.
16. Paul Böckmann, "Der Zeitroman Fontanes", Deutschunterricht, 11, Heft 5 (1959), 75-76.
17. Letter of 6/5/1895 to Friedländer.
In Theodor Fontane. Briefe an Georg Friedländer, hrsg.

u. erläutert von Kurt Schreinert (Heidelberg, 1954), S.284 (referred to in future as FLB).

18. Op. cit., S.70. The reference to Petersen is to S.32ff.
19. I choose this rather vague term because of the borderline region between Erzählungen and Romane occupied by many of Fontane's works. It is intended to cover Fontane's imaginative prose fitting into either of these categories.
20. As was pointed out by Thomas Mann. Cf. Der alte Fontane (1910), IX, 12.
21. Reuter makes the following comment on this interchange between Woldemar and Lorenzen:
Der Roman bietet genug eindeutige Belege dafür, daß es für Lorenzen - die zentrale Erziehergestalt des Stechlin-Kreises - mit dem Neuen gehen muß, weil es mit dem Alten nicht mehr gehen kann.
Hans-Heinrich Reuter, Fontane (München, 1968), S.809-10. He repeatedly insists on this clear rejection of the Old in favour of the New (cf. S.61, 96, 636 [referring to earlier works], 848), even though he says the following about the old flag (cf. p.234):
Die Flagge wird zu einem Symbol voller hintergründiger "Bedeutungen". Enthalten ist darin der "Degout" des märkischen Landedelmannes gegen die sozialistische Bewegung, gegen das "Rote",... (ibid., S.465)
For a fair assessment of the baffling mixture of scholarship, insight and distortion contained in Reuter's work, cf. Karl Heinz Gehrman, "Der Stechlin und die klassenlose Gesellschaft: Notizen zur neuesten Fontane-Interpretation", in deutsche studien, 35 (1971), 293-302.
22. Clearly "alt" only superficially refers to Dubslav's age.
23. Quoted by Petersen, op. cit., S.34. The work enthused Fontane; he wrote to Friedländer:
Da hat Ernst v. Wolzogen neulich ein Büchelchen über den jetzigen Zustand unsres Adels geschrieben, ganz vorzüglich, soll ich Ihnen die Broschüre schicken? (FLB, 285)
24. Drawing on the title of David Friedrich Strauss' "Der alte und der neue Glaube" (1872). Cf. 981, footnote.
25. In a diatribe against the nobility Fontane wrote to Friedländer on 14/8/96:
Sie verlangen Dienste, man ist, immer mehr oder weniger, Pastor, Hauslehrer oder Inspektor; sie sind ganz unfähig Individuen richtig einzuschätzen... (FLB, 300-01)
26. This phenomenon is described in disapproving terms by Gundermann when toasting Dubslav:

...was sollen wir...anfangen mit einem Wahlrecht, wo Herr von Stechlin gewählt werden soll und wo sein Kutscher Martin, der ihn zur Wahl gefahren, tatsächlich gewählt wird oder wenigstens gewählt werden kann. (598)

27. Just before the passage quoted on pp.219-20, Fontane had written:

Die Welt wird noch lange einen Adel haben und jedenfalls wünsche ich der Welt einen Adel, aber er muß danach sein, er muß eine Bedeutung haben für das Ganze, muß Vorbilder stellen, große Beispiele geben und entweder durch geistig moralische Qualitäten direkt wirken oder diese Qualitäten aus reichen Mitteln unterstützen. (FLB, 284)

In his very next letter to Friedländer, Fontane finds these "Vorbilder" elsewhere among the flourishing Berlin bourgeoisie:

Zunächst freue ich mich immer, wenn ich Namen lese wie Lisco, Lucă, Gropius...Virchow, Siemens, weil ich mir dabei bewußt werde, daß in diesen, nun in zweiter und dritter Generation blühenden Familien, ein neuer Adel, wenn auch ohne "von" heranwächst, von dem die Welt wirklich was hat, neuzeitliche Vorbilder (denn dies ist die eigentliche Adelsaufgabe), die, moralisch und intellektuell, die Welt fördern... (FLB, 285)

28. Cf. Bebel's Reichstag-speech (25.5.1871) about the Paris commune:

Der Redner schloß seine Solidaritätserklärung mit dem kämpfenden Volk von Paris mit den Worten: "Ich erinnere Sie daran, daß der Kampf in Paris nur ein kleines Vorpostengefecht ist, daß die Hauptsache in Europa uns noch bevorsteht, und daß, ehe wenige Jahrzehnte vergehen, der Schlachtruf des Pariser Proletariats, Krieg den Palästen, Friede den Hütten, Tod der Not und dem Müßiggang, der Schlachtruf des gesamten europäischen Proletariats werden wird."
(author's underlining)

Pierre-Paul Sagave, 1871: Berlin Paris - Reichshauptstadt und Hauptstadt der Welt (Frankfurt/Main - Berlin - Wien, 1971), S.118-20.

29. The obvious precursor here is the Chinaman in Effi Briest (1895).

30. Cf. Günther, op. cit., S.107:
Bei Bismarck repräsentiert sich der revolutionäre Nationalstaat gegenüber den alten Monarchien in der Reichsfahne. Dubslav überträgt dieses Verhältnis ins Konkret-Sinnbildliche, indem er das Rot der Fahne als das Rot der Revolution (das Rot des Hahnes, das Rot als revolutionäres Flammenzeichen), als die Zerstörung des sowieso schon hinfälligen Alten nimmt.

31. ...Lorenzen erklärt ihn ["den See"] außerdem noch für einen richtigen Revolutionär, der gleich mit-rumort, wenn irgendwo was los ist. (454)

32. Thus Strech:
Dieses Rot, Emblem der neuen Zeit mitsamt der aufkommenden Sozialdemokratie, korrespondiert mit dem roten Hahn der Sage des Stechlinsees. (op. cit., S.56)
Comparing this incident with Dubslav's sheltering of Agnes, Strech ventures with great diffidence the following thought:
Dubslav lehnt es ab, seine Sympathien mit dem neuzeitlichen Rot vom Dache seines Hauses in aller Offensichtlichkeit wehen zu lassen, ist jedoch geneigt, ihm innerhalb seines Hauses durchaus einen Platz zu gewähren. (S.56-57)
33. Fontane's symbol has since extended feelers in a literary context, too. The lakeside setting of Christa T.'s house (in Christa Wolf's Nachdenken über Christa T.) is clearly indebted to Fontane's novel, as emerges from the following extract:
...nun lag es doch klar auf der Hand..., daß dieses ganze Haus nichts weiter war als eine Art Instrument, das sie benutzen wollte, um sich inniger mit dem Leben zu verbinden, ein Ort, der ihr von Grund auf vertraut war, weil sie ihn selbst hervorgebracht hatte, und von dessen Boden aus sie sich allem Fremden stellen konnte.
(Neuwied u. Berlin: Luchterhand Verlag, 1971), S.193.
Further, Christa T. essays some sketches called "Rund um den See", in which:
Das Leben der Nachkommen sollte sich scharf vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte abheben. (S.218)
34. The threat never assumes the dimensions of that posed by Veitl Itzig in Soll und Haben, nor is the depiction of the Hirschfelds comparable with the caricature of Freytag's figure.
35. For documentation of servant-girls' quarters in turn-of-the-century Berlin see Deutsche Sozialgeschichte. Dokumente und Skizzen Band II: 1870-1914, hrsg. v. Gerhard A. Ritter und Jürgen Kocka (München, 1974), S.258-59.
Nor were these primitive conditions confined to Berlin of the Gründerzeit. In Tonio Kröger we hear of the following:
Der Küche gegenüber...sprangen wie vor alters in beträchtlicher Höhe die seltsamen, plumpen, aber reinlich lackierten Holzgelasse aus der Wand hervor, die Mägdekammern, die nur durch eine Art freiliegender Stiege von der Diele aus zu erreichen waren. (T. Mann, Ges. Werke, VIII, 312)
For a general survey of living conditions in Berlin at the time, see Friedrich Mielke, "Studie über den Berliner Wohnungsbau zwischen den Kriegen 1870/71 und 1914-1918", in Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 20, S.202-38.
36. The nearest thing to a complaint is a conversation between Barby and Jeserich (516-17) in which the strong

underlying tone of humour prevails over what slight element of grievance is there.

37. Bearing in mind the accents of this work, with Dubslav as the central figure, Fontane's practice here seems to be at interesting odds with his following critique of Polenz' novel Der Büttnerbauer, written at a time when Der Stechlin was already under way:

Wollten Sie die Modernitäten, die...zu der eigentlichen Büttnerbauergeschichte nicht notwendig gehören, mit hineinziehen, so mußten, meine ich, die Schicksale des Alten auch nur ein Punkt unter anderen Punkten werden, kam es aber umgekehrt auf den alten Büttnerbauer an (und glücklicherweise kam es auf diesen an), so mußte das Sachsengängertum, die Adelsgesellschaft mit den gesammelten 140 Mark...und endlich die Häschke-Figur samt seiner Sozialdemokratie wenn nicht fortfallen, so doch in nur wenig Strichen vorgeführt werden.

Letter of 24/9/1895 from Fontane to Polenz. First published in full in Sinn und Form, 21, (1969), 1290-91.

Yet Melusine's words with which the novel concludes indicate that Dubslav is not the central concern (the difference is illustrated by the direct title Der Büttnerbauer as opposed to Der Stechlin, with its various references.)

38. In a letter to Friedländer of 27/5/1891 Fontane bemoans the accent on "Äußerlichkeit" in contemporary life.

Die ganze Welt, man könnte beinahe sagen die Sozialdemokratie mit eingerechnet, hat sich durch gesteigerten Besitz und durch gesteigerte Lebensansprüche bis zu einer gewissen Bourgeoisshöhe, vielfach von greulichstem Protzenthum begleitet, entwickelt, aber von der Bewältigung der zweiten Hälfte des Weges, von der Entwicklung bis zur Aristokratie, der echten natürlich, wo das Geld wieder anfängt ganz andren Zwecken zu dienen als dem Bier- und Beefsteaks-Consum, - von dieser Entwicklung unserer Zustände sind wir weiter ab denn je,... (FLB, 147)

He adds that under Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) there had been many individual exceptions to this mass levelling, but the greatness of a Krupp in Fontane's own time is dehumanized. Fontane concludes with words reminiscent of Barby's, though referring to an even broader spectrum:

Ich habe dies weiter ausgeführt, als man in einem Briefe wohl eigentlich soll, aber es ist die eigentlich "große Frage", in der die andern großen Fragen erst drin stecken. (ibid.)

39. The diffidence in expression is intentional. Lorenzen actually writes to Woldemar:

Ich glaube, daß er [i.e. Dubslav] siegt. Nur die Fortschrittler können in Betracht kommen und allenfalls die Sozialdemokraten, wenn vom Fortschritt (was leicht möglich ist) einiges abbröckelt. (565-66)

Günther takes this at face value and concludes: "entgegen Lorenzens Meinung siegt Dubslav nicht" (op. cit., S.108). But as so often in this work, a single statement does not suffice for the true, overall picture. In conversation with Koseleger, Lorenzen sounds far less confident:

Ob wir ihn durchbringen? Katzler tat so sicher...

Aber ich habe trotzdem Zweifel... (578)

And then his reaction to Dubslav's own prediction makes of these doubts almost a negative certainty:

"Übrigens geh ich einem totalen Kladderadatsch entgegen. Ich werde nicht gewählt."

Lorenzen wurde verlegen, denn was Dubslav da zuletzt sagte, das stimmte nur zu sehr mit seiner eignen Meinung. (584)

In the light of Lorenzen's prevarication when assessing Dubslav's chances in his letter to Woldemar, the degree to which the rest of his prediction accords with his true feelings is also thrown into doubt. Even the narrative seeks to cloud Lorenzen's original assessment by distorting its unambiguous emphases, namely that Dubslav is the most likely winner, with the Progressives a possible alternative and the Social Democrats rather less so ("allenfalls"). The field would seem wide open from the narrator's following rephrasing:

...es lag genauso, wie Lorenzen an Woldemar geschrieben, daß ein Fortschrittler, aber auch ein Sozialdemokrat gewählt werden könne. (567)

40. See 985 (Anm. 476). It was with this marriage in mind that Fontane wrote to Friedländer:

Die Prinzessinnen höchster Häuser können einem leid thun; wie schwer muß es sein, was Paßliches zu finden und wie richtig handeln die, die einen Maler oder einen Professor heirathen. Wenn ich denn schon mal aus meiner Sphäre 'rausfalle, dann auch ordentlich. (FLB, 316)

Despite this, the presentation of the Princess in the Stechlin-novel is not affirmative on balance, though her good features are not to be denied. Lorenzen's verdict (p.253) is made milder by the reflection immediately following it: "Und doch ist es eine sehr liebenswürdige Dame" (586).

41. But these cannot be forgotten, witness the embarrassment experienced by Dubslav (414) and Woldemar (476) in finding words adequate to her hybrid state. Her bearing also belies her new social level:

Sie war nicht schön, dazu von einem lymphatisch sentimental Ausdruck, aber ihre stattliche Haltung und mehr noch die Art, wie sie sich kleidete, liessen sie doch als etwas durchaus Apartes und beinahe Fremdländisches erscheinen. (580)

42. He does generalize:

Alle Menschen sind Egoisten, Prinzessinnen auch, und sind sie fromm, so haben sie noch einen ganz besonderen Jargon. (781)

But if he projects the qualities of an individual onto the whole caste, he at least does criticize shortcomings as people:

Wenn sie nur ein bißchen mehr Vertrauen zu dem gesunden Menschenverstand anderer hätten. (ibid.)

This approach, an appraisal in human terms, differs strongly from the following sort of depersonalization in which the principle submerges the individual:

Koseleger sowohl wie die Prinzessin wollten zu diesem Zwecke beim alten Dubslav als "nächstem Objekt" einsetzen... (731 - author's underlining)

43. Kenneth Attwood, Fontane und das Preußentum (Berlin, 1970), S.239-40. Cf. Strech's more restrained interpretation, p.284, n.32.
44. Their opposition is clearly programmed:
Sie waren eben Antipoden: Stiftsdame und Welt-dame, Wutz und Windsor, vor allem enge und weite Seele. (791)
45. Op. cit., S.33.
46. Cf. 1005 (Anm. to 644):
...das ganze Zitat aus Schillers "Piccolomini" (V, 1) lautet:
"Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen Tat, daß sie fortzeugend immer Böses muß gebären."
Cf. Meyer, op. cit., S.182:
Das völlig nutzlose Abbrechen des ohnehin allbekannten und grundanständigen "Wallenstein"-Zitats wirkt als lächerliche Prüderie und entbehrt dennoch nicht eine gewisse schneidige Eleganz, die für des Professors gesamte Redeweise charakteristisch ist.
A similar example of "lächerliche Prüderie" is to be found in Adelheid, speaking of England:
...die Frauen, bis in die höchsten Stände hinauf, sind beinahe immer in einem Zustand, den ich hier nicht bei Namen nennen mag. (661)
47. Op. cit., S.73.
48. Cf. Fontane to Friedländer in a letter of 13/3/1896:
Persönlich bin ich ganz unchristlich, aber doch ist dies herrnhutische Christenthum, das in neuer Form jetzt auch wieder bei den jüngeren Christlich-sozialen zum Ausdruck kommt, das Einzige, was mich noch interessirt, das Einzige, dem ich eine Berechtigung und eine Zukunft zuspreche. (FLB, 294)
49. Cf. Reuter, op. cit., S.797.
50. Cf. Fischer Weltgeschichte. Band 28: Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, hrsg. und verfaßt von Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), S.66.
51. "Theodor Fontane, von Heinrich Mann", in Fontane und Berlin, hrsg. v. Hans-Dietrich Looek (Berlin, 1970), S.84-85.
The first of the sentences quoted in the text appears

in an extract from the same Heinrich Mann essay
appearing as a Motto in Reuter's work (op. cit., S.25).

52. Löwenthal, op. cit., S.221.

53. Cf. Reuter, op. cit., S.740.

CHAPTER VI

HEINRICH MANN: 'IM SCHLARAFFENLAND'

(1) Introduction

Mit fünfundzwanzig Jahren sagte ich mir: 'Es ist notwendig, soziale Zeitromane zu schreiben. Die deutsche Gesellschaft kennt sich selbst nicht.' 1)

Thus Heinrich Mann in 1926, a retrospective judgement that throws a rather different light on his estimate of Fontane mentioned in the last chapter (see p.276). For it becomes clear from other sources that Mann - at least in the 20's - saw himself as a pioneer in the field of the social novel. Either he did not class Fontane's novels as 'social novels',²⁾ or he had still to reach either close acquaintance with Fontane or his high opinion of him - just which is not clear. For the very virtues he later sees in the older writer were overlooked in statements like the following, in 1924:

...ich hoffe aber doch,...daß meine Arbeiten Anfänge einer sozialen Roman-Literatur sind. Wir haben keine, wie Sie bemerken;... 3)

Or the following in 1927:

Ne croyez pas que la formule du roman social fût si facile à faire accepter. On ne connaissait pas cette manière. Il y eut surtout une résistance de mentalité.....
Pour le roman et jusqu'à la fin du siècle, rien de très sérieux, rien du moins qui fût en même temps de quelque portée sociale et de grande valeur littéraire. 4)

In the latter case he does refer to the post-1848 essays at a social novel in Freytag and Spielhagen (he mentions Problematische Naturen), but sees this attempt to establish a tradition as petering out, and points to the psychological and sociological limitations of their works. He

then mentions Hauptmann's early plays and in particular the anti-capitalist protest of Die Weber (1894) - the same play that is mercilessly satirized in the guise of Rache in Mann's Im Schlaraffenland (1900)! But that was already in the domain of the drama; the novel had yet, in his opinion, to produce such a work.

It is clear then that if we accept this last verdict of Mann, the emergence of a social novel tradition such as this thesis has tried to trace is far from a smooth linear development, but rather one of relatively isolated contributions in different directions, despite the many cross-references which have offered themselves among the works treated thus far. There is certainly no close connection between Spielhagen and Freytag on the one hand and Fontane on the other, while H. Mann rejects the former writers and only acknowledges the latter late in his career. This rejection is given plastic shape in the novel under discussion with the doddering remnant of the '48 Revolution, Wennichen. It is probably not of primary importance whether it is Freytag or Spielhagen⁵⁾ whom Wennichen is meant to represent. What is important is the lack of a Zeitroman-tradition to do justice to the particular era described in the novel. Mann's comments to Lefèvre, quoted above, help explain the picture presented of Wennichen, who:

...seit fünfzig Jahren immer dieselben Romane verfaßte, die niemand mehr las...Er sah nichts von den Veränderungen der Zeit seit achtundvierzig... 6)

Wennichen's slogans - "Ehre des Handelsstandes...Errungenschaften der bürgerlichen Revolution" (ibid.) and so on -

are clearly dated in approaching the reality of Berlin of the 1890's, distorted though that reality becomes in H. Mann's novel.

With this point we have reached the crucial difference between Mann's work and those treated elsewhere in this thesis, namely its strongly satirical bias. The problems raised by this approach were crystallized by the contemporaneous critic, Josef Ettlinger:

Die Personen sind zumeist echt, die Art, wie der Verfasser ihren Jargon in allen Spielarten beherrscht, erregt Staunen; in den Vorgängen aber und ihren Voraussetzungen steckt viel mehr groteske Übertreibung als die satirische Absicht rechtfertigt. Auch tritt die gewollte Ironie bisweilen in der Darstellung zu unverblümt hervor, als daß man geneigt sein möchte, den Roman als glaubhaften Spiegel tatsächlicher Naturzustände gelten zu lassen. Es sollte wohl so etwas wie der blutrote Feuerschein einer nahenden kapitalistischen Götzendämmerung über diesem Zeitgemälde liegen; aber es zeigt sich nur die grellweiße Beleuchtung eines künstlichen Scheinwerfers. 7)

The main point raised here - the grotesque exaggeration of the satire and the resulting distortion of reality - will be returned to later (pp.328 and 333-34, but against this p.332).

The satirical thrust need not exclude a realistic basis, but implies this is viewed in a negative light. Mann's use of satire is not to be compared with the occasional heavyhanded use of the same device by Spielhagen (cf. p.140), nor with the gentler tones of a Fontane (cf. pp.261-62).

Through its more extreme tone, it would be fair to claim that Im Schlaraffenland bears more overtly than the other novels in this thesis the imprint of its author's personal style (at this early stage of his literary career).

There are programmatic statements on the age and its tendencies in Die Epigonen, but the degree to which they are coloured by the personality of the person expressing them is not significant, and a fairly uniform editorial comment emerges from the aggregate of such pronouncements. In H. Mann's novel there are substantial segments devoted to Communism - Türkheimer-style -, "ein demokratischer Adel" (54ff.), "die deutsche Geisteskultur" (25ff.), etc. The latter chapter-headings (see p.305), however, are not springboards for rounded appraisals of the concepts they introduce, but fuel for Mann's satiric fire. High-sounding concepts that they are, they are stripped of any lofty veneer and exposed in their true colours as catchcries of charlatanism when applied to this society of "feinen Leuten" (the novel bears the subtitle: "Ein Roman unter feinen Leuten"). In assessing, for example, statements on Adel-Bürger conflicts in Problematische Naturen, one cannot look past the exaggerations (in terms of black-white characterization) introduced through Spielhagen's personal views.

With the dimension of satire as in Mann's novel, new problems emerge. As a narrative device, reflection is absent from this work, the only perspective being that of the novel's characters.⁸⁾ Considerable intellectual reflection and juggling within the authorial viewpoint are nevertheless implied by the distanced, dissecting perspective of satire. This novel thus calls for a different approach (cf. p. 298) when statements reflecting the age are related to the age itself, the relationship between historical reality as the author's raw material and the reconstructed 'reality' of his Zeitroman being after all

one of the major concerns when approaching this particular novel-type (cf. p.10).

Another problem of Mann's novel in this context is its scope. Though its characterization has been described as a "Nebeneinander von Menschen",⁹⁾ Im Schlaraffenland is only a "Roman des Nebeneinander" within a limited sphere, namely that of the "feinen Leuten". This framework is, however, flexible to the point of including the venal worker Matzke and the last male scion of a debilitated noble line, von Hochstetten. But basically it is the bourgeois realm which dominates, and the upper-bourgeois at that. This question of scope is not solely one of social stratification, but also one of breadth of the milieu. When Andreas speaks of the shallowness of "der ganze Berliner Ton" (19), "Berliner" is primarily a contrast to the Rhenish homeland from which Andreas has just come, but it is frequently specified elsewhere too.¹⁰⁾ Ch. 3 bears the heading: "Die deutsche Geisteskultur" (author's underlining), an even more comprehensive generalization from the particular.¹¹⁾ Liebling traces the progression from the particular to the general (although we only ever see the former), when at the end of the novel he speaks of Andreas' former standing:

Als ein geachtetes Mitglied der feinsten Kreise,
als einer der beliebtesten Dramatiker Berlins, und
ich darf wohl sagen ganz Deutschlands... (352-53)

Liebling's assessment raises a serious problem. In striving for more breadth in his novel, H. Mann really works against the reflection of reality in it through the supposed fame of one of his own fictional creatures, who

is furthermore not a Schlüsselfigur for any dramatist of the day. We can accept unexceptional figures in the Zeitroman as chiffres of the age in a situation which, while invented, seems 'genuine' (historically feasible), whereas exceptional figures suspend credibility in their particular fields of achievement. If Andreas were really one of the most popular dramatists in Berlin and even Germany - the historical Berlin and Wilhelminian Germany - we might expect to hear for instance of Hauptmann taking offence at the misrepresentation of his own play in Rache. Even in such a confrontation it would be a Kunstfigur Hauptmann and not the historical person, and any such reference would be a breach of the novel's character-scheme, all figures being inventions of H. Mann's.

This problem draws attention to the awkward middle region between historical and fictional reality. When a Schlüsselfigur is employed in a novel, both levels are blended in a clear relationship - the figure X in the novel is modelled on figure Y in reality and takes the significant features of his own fictional reality from those of Y. When clearly fictitious characters are employed they can still be used as representatives of an age, and an aura of more immediate reality can be added (as so often in Fontane's works) by reference to actual historical events or persons in conversations, newspaper reports, etc. But the coexistence of the historical and fictional levels is strained in a Zeitroman in a case like the above one: for Andreas to be such an acclaimed dramatist almost demands that he be a Schlüsselfigur.

In the instances of generalization above (p.293) attempts are made to extend the novel's applicability beyond the confines of the Türkheimer circle, yet basically it remains what its subtitle has proclaimed, "ein Roman unter feinen Leuten". The perspective remains uniform, everything is seen in its relationship to the Türkheimer empire. No rounded picture is presented despite the above-mentioned devices, which simulate one. The same phenomenon is present, even if we allow for his exaggeration, when Kaflich tells Andreas:

So tief ins Volk dehnt das Schlaraffenland seine Grenzen aus, sehr geehrter Herr, und alle wollen hinein. (184)

Here Mann attempts to generalize from his own fictional structure - or rather the transposition of a familiar concept to his own setting - by having the Schlaraffenland extend feelers "tief ins Volk". This is important for this particular Zeitroman in attempting to lend a certain general validity to the author's own satiric creation.

The depiction of a particular social class through average representatives of that class brings the work into line with Bourget's roman de moeurs.¹²⁾ The expansion of its scope from a single group to a whole society makes it difficult, as Ingeborg Meister has pointed out,¹³⁾ to fit the work into German novel traditions existing at the time, especially since the Entwicklungsroman-framework is retained. It is in fact for the post-1929 reader a kind of anti-Entwicklungsroman in view of Andreas' letter prefacing the whole novel, as H. Mann's answer to the request for a Vorwort to the 1929 edition (7-9). Here

it is clear, even before the reader approaches the novel proper, that Andreas will not undergo any positive 'development'. At the same time the traditional format is turned upside down in that Andreas' career is traced in its external course, not as a basically inward-looking spiritual saga.¹⁴⁾ This is of course in line with the emphases of the Zeitroman, and in this sense this novel unites those two strands of German novel tradition which have been seen (pp. 15-16) to be disparate for much of the course of the 19th century.

A further complicating dimension is to be seen already in the novel's title, with its legendary aspect. When he first goes to the Türkheimers' residence clutching Bediener's note of reference, Andreas is described as "einsam wie der Märchenprinz, der ein verwünschenes Schloß erobert" (36). This overlapping of the worlds of the social novel and the fairytale is further evident in Bienaimée's 'tick' for a fairytale prince (cf. 278 et passim). However, her sentimentalized illusions recede before the harsh bourgeois reality of her 'arranged' marriage with Andreas. This is undoubtedly a parody both of 'arranged' alliances in aristocratic circles, and an inversion of the kind of dénouement we have seen in Die Epigonen and Problematische Naturen, with the revelation of the noble blood of the hero hitherto presumed to be bourgeois.

The worlds of the social novel and the fairytale are merged in the metaphorical description of Türkheimer's empire, with Türkheimer as king, the Schlaraffenland as his court, and Andreas as court jester. The choice of

this image also reflects the lack of a positive alternative within the novel to its depiction of Berlin of the 1890's. There is no change in the feudal order, despite temporary inroads made by the likes of Andreas and Bien-aimée. Türkheimer and Adelheid remain the real king and queen. The whole elaborate metaphor of royalty and courtiers blends the two sides of the novel's title, with the satiric invention of the Schlaraffenland-legend transposed to this particular society, whose economic power-structures parallel the hierarchies of the feudal kingdoms. Money, and the power accruing from its possession, are at the very base of this society. But this core is described primarily in terms of the legend:

Das Geld rollte hier unter den Möbeln umher.
Gewiß tat keiner etwas anderes, als sich die Taschen
zu füllen. Welch ein Wohlleben in diesem Schla-
raffenland! (49)

This Schlaraffenland-legend is brought in contact and indeed paralleled with the stock exchange, which is described in similar terms to those above. Its economic basis is not probed further, understanding of these processes and responsibility for them being attributed to "einer höheren Fügung" (189). The puppeteer behind the scenes is acknowledged in equally shadowy terms in Andreas' reaction to his big winnings on the stock exchange:

Die Einrichtung in der Lützowstraße, die gepreßten Ledermöbel, das geschnitzte und vergoldete Louisquinze-Bett wurden in diesem Augenblick gleichsam aus einer höheren Sphäre an Fäden zu ihm herabgelassen... (252)

The legendary strand is continued to the end of the novel, where Andreas rues his lost grace in the eyes of

the "Sagenkönig" (367). The fading of Türkheimer's last triumphal procession is likened to "der Apotheose am Schluß eines Feenmärchens" (ibid.). The basic reality the novel is concerned with still emerges clearly. But the fairytale quality of its satirical framework causes those elements of naturalism which would seem to be inherent in the genre of the Zeitroman to dissolve in insubstantiality. In fact, in the distortions of Rache, such naturalistic elements become in turn the butt of satire. What the fairytale element also achieves is that the fictitious framework never disappears completely, whereas the Spielhagen-type Zeitroman had attempted to bel^{ie} its fictitious nature through 'objectivity'. And finally, through such an elaborate metaphorical frame of reference to familiar stock-figures, this element lends a certain timelessness to the Zeit portrayed. This in turn enables the work to transcend the purely localized follies of Berlin W. in the 1890's, since the follies are simultaneously those of the Türkheimer circles and of the universal Schlaraffenland-figures, their fictional archetypes. This is a major part of that "different approach" referred to on p.292: the device contributes to a universality that has been seen as one of the most vexed issues of the Zeitroman-genre (p.7ff.).

The degree of timelessness would be inappropriate for a more dynamic Zeitroman. But it accords with Mann's novel, whose conclusion is a testimony precisely to a cyclical pattern.¹⁵⁾ The Schlaraffenland has returned unruffled to its state before Andreas' brief irruption into its ranks, Türkheimer's financial power is being wooed by

the Großfürst of Walachei - but the very exotic nature of his title shows his arbitrariness as a figure dependent on Türkheimer's financial constellation - , and Adelheid has a new lover. Andreas' benediction: "Dumm, ruchlos und glücklich. Meinen Segen haben sie" (369), is a final testimony to his dubious gift "die Menschen zu durchschauen" (186), but is also a reflection on the completely static, timeless quality of the Schlaraffenland.

We now proceed to an analysis of the novel itself and employ as subheadings the various Kraftfelder established by Hasubek (see p.27), reorganizing them to deal with the gesellschaftliche last, and realizing the necessary overlap between them.

(2) "Das geistig-kulturelle Kraftfeld"

a) The metaphor of the theatre

Central to this novel is the experience of the theatre, both as an external component of the cultural scene and as a source of images for the author which are designed to accentuate the whole falseness, the role-acting, of the society he portrays. The interweaving of the two is established very early when Andreas seeks advice from Köpf as to how to go beyond the 'Café Hurra' in his entry to Berlin society. Köpf says there are three ways "nämlich die Presse, das Theater und die Gesellschaft" (22). In literature, ("in der eigentlichen Literatur" (23) as Köpf puts it, thereby dissociating the theatre from literary pretensions and allowing it solely social ones) no way of acceptance is to be found among a wilfully non-

literary public.

Köpf's comments here on his own novel-writing activity raise a problem, as does the sentence on the very first page of the novel:

Es war der alte Herr [the "Mäcen von Gumplach"], den es in jeder kleinen Stadt gibt, und der bei seinen Mitbürgern als harmloser Sonderling gilt, weil er sich mit Literatur befaßt. (11)

In both cases the voice of editorial irony is loud and clear. They are neat comments, valid from the author's own viewpoint, but can they be regarded in any sense as substantiated Zeitgeschichte, as a legitimate comment on the state of literature and its reception at that time? (This is one of the central problems of satire, with its more overtly subjective toning, when applied to the Zeitroman. For it is above all this form of the novel which seemingly requires a high degree of objectivity - but cf. Fontane!) Köpf's comment above apparently can be taken at face value, to judge by Fontane's two essays of 1881 and 1891 on "Die gesellschaftliche Stellung des Schriftstellers in Deutschland."¹⁶⁾

Köpf continues:

Das Theater hat zweifellos auch eine literarische Seite, aber die gesellige ist wichtiger. Beim Theater hat man es stets mit Menschen zu tun... Hier kommt es vor allem auf die gesellschaftlichen Verbindungen an. (23)

The last sentence refers to the theatre specifically but is equally applicable to the whole Schlaraffenland, as Andreas is to find out. In the same speech Köpf denies theatre, or at least dramatists, the qualities of "Ernst,

Abgeschlossenheit und Rücksichtslosigkeit" (ibid.), and whenever a situation involving "Ernst" emerges in life, it can be conveniently stripped of any threatening genuineness of feeling through reference to the theatre. Thus Klempner describes to Andreas the financial ruin of one of Türkheimer's debtors, suddenly illumined by the debt-collector's suing for his daughter's hand:

Der ruinierte Mann...fällt...vor seinem Retter auf die Knie. Stellen Sie sich die Szene auf der Bühne vor! (69)

In a description of Claire Pimbusch occupying almost a page, the effect of her ghastly appearance is repeatedly described in theatrical terms:

Es lag über ihr [her forehead] ein künstlicher grüner Schimmer, wie über der schlecht aufgeklebten Stirnhaut einer Theaterperücke (98);

her face is described as "gleich der Maske eines Clowns" (ibid.). But for all her ugly features, Claire Pimbusch does not make an impression of ugliness on Andreas:

Es war ihm, als habe er, zum erstenmal in seinem Leben, die Ehre, einer großen, sehr teuren Kokotte gegenüberzusitzen, nach deren Loge die jungen Leute auf ihren Parkettplätzen sich erblassend umwenden. (ibid.)

Thus in close succession this figure is described in terms assigning her to the stage and to the audience of a stage-performance; she is at once actress or clown and at the same time spectator, so that the relationship between the theatre and society proclaimed by Köpf is reinforced and broadened in dimension. For while the connection in Köpf's speech referred to social advancement, to a common

"gesellig" quality, the roles of protagonist and spectator are fused here.

In this, Claire Pimbusch typifies the inhabitants of the Schlaraffenland, as theatrical images are used again and again. In the midst of the adulation drawn to him by the reading of his play and Türkheimer's attention, Andreas is described as "der junge Mann, dessen Clown-gesicht alle erheiterte" (203), and it is this mask, this role of providing general amusement, that Andreas is obliged to sustain to please Türkheimer, the producer of the whole life-play that constitutes the Schlaraffenland - "Wenn Sie Trübsal blasen, fallen Sie aus der Rolle" (245). As well as consciously repeating phrases used by others, calculated to draw attention to himself, Andreas shows long before his final hybris that he is a far from harmless Pulcinello in miming people maliciously in their absence.

Not all roles are as overt as that which Andreas is obliged to act, and he acknowledges Klempner's success in concealing his motives for entering the Türkheimers' social circle anew:

Wieviel Elend verbarg sich unter Klempners schneidiger Miene und in seiner Heldenbrust! Er spielte übrigens eine gelungene Komödie... (215)

At this harmless level of personal relationships the histrionic props are indulged or even cultivated, whereas at the more fundamental (and therefore rarely probed) level of the realities underlying the Schlaraffenland, they can be viewed negatively. Andreas is an exception in assigning power to the person who really wields it, Türk-

heimer, even though the latter doesn't display all the panoply of his position. Whereas:

So aber traut der blöde Pöbel sie ["die Macht"] noch immer jenen anderen, Buntgekleideten zu, die bloß Theater spielen. (254)

The whole dissembling apparatus of this society leads to a Macchiavellianism of the emotions and of viewpoints. In talking with Duschnitzki and Klempner, Andreas makes the mistake of openly admiring Jekuser. This offends not so much his companions' own views as an unwritten law proscribing such genuineness, which runs counter to the whole fabric of polite conversation in this realm. On the other hand:

Frau Türkheimer gegenüber war es vielleicht etwas anderes? Da, wo er einen ungewöhnlichen Eindruck machen wollte, durfte er doch nicht den Allergeschmack nachahmen. Dort war es vielleicht hohe Politik, sich so zu zeigen, wie er wirklich war? (60)

The sheer boldness of discarding all masks is thus in itself unmasked as a calculated, "hohe Politik" to be employed effectively in making a certain kind of impression. In this lie-riddled society genuineness itself is reduced to a mask. Even Asta's acerbity is seen in terms of theatre. Türkheimer's daughter, who goes around "à la Ibsen frisiert" (40) explains to her sister-in-law:

...es muß irgendwo stehen, daß eine Frau sich von einem Manne scheiden lassen darf, der keine Lack-schuhe trägt. (225)

Such self-assertion, opposed to the image of a compliant wife, is related by Andreas to Ibsen's Nora. He whispers his revelation to Adelheid, his accomplice in eavesdropping,

which is itself a highly theatrical kind of activity.

This excursion into the theatre-images which permeate the novel has been fairly detailed, but has tried to disclose the metaphorical foundations of the work. For it will be seen that this basic metaphor of the theatre, of acting, masks, and a cosily distanced audience, underlies many themes in the work. It becomes a motif of paramount importance for H. Mann (cf. the extended performance in Die kleine Stadt (1909) for example). Mann had examples of opera from his French models, as in the performances of 'Lucia di Lammermoor' in Madame Bovary (Part 2, ch. 15) and of 'Manon Lescaut' in ch. 28 of Le Rouge et le Noir (cf. too the self-effacing taunts about the novel in this latter example, akin to Köpf's comments - 22). In a German context, Wilhelm Meister had experienced aesthetic awakenings in the theatre (a strand of the Bildungsroman satirized, for instance, in the chapter Die Tribüne of Grass' Die Blechtrommel); for Andreas, the performance of Rache is informative in showing him what is expected of him in this art form that is now externalized in both effect and success (cf. p.308ff.).

b) "Die deutsche Geisteskultur"

At the beginning of the novel, before Andreas has been assimilated into the society of his new city, he observes with more detached shrewdness, not as yet being caught up himself by the façades he can see through. At first, admittedly, he shares the general admiration evoked by Dr. Libbenow's glib assertion that he hasn't read a book

for ten years. Through a process of inverted snobbery, being uninformed has assumed a positive value. But he quickly comes to recognize such dilettantism in its true colours as:

...der Ausdruck von Unwissenheit und Impotenz. Aber der ganze Berliner Ton kam schließlich bloß von Mangel an Tiefe. (19)

"Impotenz" - the tone is set already for the decadence encrusting the whole society, not merely the "Literaten", but also the nobility for example, in a quite literal sense in a representative such as Hochstetten.

Apart from the generalizing function already attributed to a title like "Die deutsche Geisteskultur" (cf. p.293), the lofty concept contained in the chapter heading is soon exposed to a more ironic gaze. Its champion, Doktor Bediener, has just stripped the façade from his opportunistic 'convictions':

Daß man eine gesunde liberale Wirtschaftspolitik vertritt, versteht sich von selbst; wir wären verrückt, wenn wir es nicht täten. (29)

Then comes the high-sounding phrase: "Im übrigen betrachten wir uns als ein Organ der deutschen Geisteskultur" (ibid. - in the same chapter Kaflich assesses from Andreas' reception that the time is ripe to ask Bediener for the commission to report a "Lustmordprozeß"!)). These words are echoed twice subsequently, once by Andreas in a display of mimicry for Adelheid's benefit, and then when Adelheid and Lizzi are engaged in a dispute over their protégés. Kaflich explains to Türkheimer that they are quarreling

"wegen der deutschen Geisteskultur" (163). The man of might, who has offered to mediate "als ehrlicher Makler, ganz wie unser großer Kanzler" (ibid.) is signally unimpressed by the bone of contention: "Wenn es sonst nichts ist - " (ibid.) is his reply. This is directed rather against the hollowness of the concept as here expressed rather than against the arts themselves as a sphere for Türkheimer's attention. For he himself, pragmatic in his patronage as in all else, adds:

Wir müssen was für die Kunst tun, wer soll es sonst? Immer bloß Abfütterung, das ist ja wie beim Mittelstand. (ibid.)

A novel such as Fontane's Frau Jenny Treibel has already shown that the gradations within the middle class can be greater than those separating it from the class above (cf. p.216), a view to which Türkheimer would clearly subscribe in the example above.

An instance of Türkheimer's patronage has been seen earlier in the novel in the art of Claudius Mertens. What proportion love of the arts and self-aggrandizement respectively constitute in Türkheimer's patronage emerges from the fact that Mertens works exclusively for a few houses such as Türkheimer's, destroying models of his creations for a fittingly large reward.¹⁷⁾ Works of art in the Schlaraffenland are the preserve of the financial aristocrats such as Türkheimer, art is a 'ware' that can be bought and treated with exclusiveness (so too is science, which he employs to freshen his salons with "Gebirgsluft" - 67). And the artist's attitude to his work

is similarly pragmatic, his talents are sacrificed to his venality (cf. 66), though of course a society of artistic philistines is also responsible, people prepared to encourage panderings to their own poor taste. Thus from his beginnings, which would have done credit to Michelangelo, Mertens has declined to creating elaborate Kitsch - a roulette-wheel in which ivory horses serve as spokes, their riders "in meistens durchaus intimen Stellungen" (75), or figures distantly reflecting the features of some of Türkheimer's own circle of friends, in monstrous postures.¹⁸⁾ His creations on the one hand pamper the narcissistic impulses of his protectors¹⁹⁾ and on the other externalize²⁰⁾ their thwarted Dionysian impulses which they are simply incapable of generating.

This then is the sad reality behind the lofty phrase: "Die deutsche Geisteskultur".

c) The theatre as a social institution

In this novel H. Mann employs a feature which recurs in later works. He portrays the production of a play or opera, less as a comment on the aesthetic side of the art itself than as a device whereby he can bring together his main figures. These figures are generally seen in smaller groups within the larger one, even in such cases as a grand function at the Türkheimers' residence. This serves a similar artistic purpose to the ball at the Barnewitz' in Problematische Naturen in bringing together a range of social types, manners etc. (without differences in social levels being accentuated by H. Mann). With a theatrical

production at which the bulk of the novel's figures are present, the one central interest attracts their attention and their varying reactions, these reactions being the primary concern of the writer (as on a larger, more finely delineated scale in Die kleine Stadt, with the performance of the opera Die arme Tonietta; and, with much less epic sweep, the reactions of Diederich and Guste in the Lohengrin-episode of Der Untertan). The element of literary criticism is also present, in this case a broadside at Hauptmann's Die Weber as the representative of Naturalist drama. H. Mann had expressed his distaste for this work in 1894:

...ouvrage foncièrement antipathique (...). Le drame manque de toute beauté morale, la misère en révolte n'offrant pas, à mon sens, ce charme de pitié et de commisération duquel est imbue la résignation (...) c'est le manque de tout contenu moral qui me choque le plus... 21)

and it is ruthlessly ^{invoked?} pilloried here in a performance of Klempner's Rache. The barbarous tones of the overture are exceeded only by those of the play, but whereas the 'music' found a poor reception, the drama finds a largely rapturous one. Claudius Mertens' figures were a debasement of the Schlaraffenland-figures, yet the latter revelled in what they saw as a perpetuation of themselves. Similarly do they respond to the potential mirror held before them on the stage. When the factory owner's wife is forced to drop the veneer of respectability by the abuse of the workers' wives, she falls back into "den Naturzustand", and answers them "mit der gleichen schmutzigen Beredsamkeit" (115) (cf. the confrontation between Adelheid and Frau Levzahn - 231). This scene reduces the audience to a frenzy of acclaim. And just as Claudius Mertens has lost his affinity to Michel-

angelo through the selling-out of his art, so does the reverse process of evaluation apply when Pimbusch as the spokesman for the aesthetically bankrupt audience calls the tastelessness of the drama "Michelangelesk!" (117).

Kaflisch sees the sense of the social drama as lying in:

Kräftige volkstümliche Instinkte, Wollust und Grausamkeit, die sonst eher im Panoptikum befriedigt werden, in 'ne gewisse höhere Sphäre erheben. (119)

For Türkheimer, the cathartic side of theatre has a more direct function. When at the end of the performance the "Arbeitermarseillaise" is intoned by the remnants of the audience, Türkheimer is to be seen in "der Loge der exotischen Diplomaten...wohlgefällig lächelnd den Takt schlagen" (129).²²⁾ For him the theatre provides a legitimate outlet for substitute ardour, for feelings that could otherwise undermine his position if transferred from the grotesque emotionality of simulated reality to his reality.²³⁾ Nor are revolutionary feelings the only ones sublimated here. The sensationalism and lack of art of the play are rivalled only by the avid response of most of the audience, as when the ladies stand up to follow the abduction of two of the female characters behind stage-prop scrub, transported by their most sensuous desires to which they give full rein here, albeit by proxy. But then the people of the Schlaraffenland show no capacity to experience any genuinely strong emotions other than at second hand. The only two spectators not caught up in the swarm of enthusiasm are the blithely innocent Frau Blosch and the venerable Wennichen, the '48er whose comprehension of

politics has remained static. The critics are duped (or bribed) too, witness Abell's absurd eulogies:

Ein neuer Stern ist aufgetaucht, der manchen unserer dramatischen Epigonen aus dem Feld schlagen dürfte 24) ...Geniale Synthese einer differenzierten Gesellschaftspsychologie...Napoleonische Bewegung der Massen...Überlegener sozialer Gerechtigkeitssinn... (135)

This supposed "Gerechtigkeitssinn" is lauded by the spectators in their wilful blindness to its possible application to their own position, so blinded is their judgement by the play's sensationalism. Earlier somebody had on the other hand objected to the censorship of the desecration scenes: "Darf man nur uns auf der Bühne vergewaltigen und die Pfaffen nicht?" (43). But by the end there is no sense of offence, and Adelheid is astonished and full of admiration when Andreas draws the logical inference from the play's message, namely that Klempner has bitten the hand that has been feeding him. The audience's acclaim is, ideologically speaking, suicidal. If we take the "Schnapswirt" (114) as being an oblique reference to Pimbusch, then the latter's rhapsodic reaction to the play (117) is in keeping with his self-destructive outlook (not that he penetrates the transparent veil. Parallel to this is his wife's reaction to the treatment meted out to Mesallina, the wife of the "Schnapswirt" - cf. 119).

The whole spectacle is symptomatic of the cultural appreciation of the Schlaraffenland. Not only does it lack all vestige of taste. But for it the theatre is a wholly social institution, a point of convergence of fashions, carefully chosen platitudes and the indulging of emotions, not

a vehicle for ideas or for any direct criticism of contemporary society. For this audience, even "das soziale Drama" with far greater pretensions than Rache could ultimately only be "das gesellige Drama". At the same time, the title of the play is symptomatic of the Schlaraffenland. The words "Rache" and "sich rächen" appear repeatedly with respect to a whole range of characters and situations (cf. for example 171, 198, 218, 246, 265, 349 et passim²⁵). They demonstrate in each case a display of power - a later verdict by H. Mann is consonant with this dominating feature.²⁶ The revenge exacted frequently only ruffles the surface of the society momentarily, but can go beyond this harmless level in threatening the very foundations of a hierarchy built up on fear²⁷ - thus Türkheimer is disconcerted when Andreas envisages for him a death at the hands of anarchists (see p.338).

The audience present at Rache is later criticized by Lizzi Laffé. But here as elsewhere the problem is raised which André Banuls, speaking of another episode, formulates as follows:

...die Ironie ist, vor allem dadurch, daß die Kritik oder das Lob von selbst lächerlichen Gestalten formuliert werden, derart vielschichtig, daß man sich fragt, ob die Satire nicht alle Parteien trifft. 28)

Certainly Lizzi raises a lonely voice against "unser dünkelfhaftes Berliner Publikum" (161), but not through any genuine insight into its deficiencies. Rather is she motivated by spite and jealousy, and she makes the ludicrous counter-assertion that "die wahre Bildung" (ibid.) is to be found in provincial outposts like Posemuckel and Meseritz,

where her protégé's play has met with success.

The final incisive satire of the writer's role comes in inflated, meaningless terms when Andreas is riding on the crest of his wave. He possesses, so he confides to Adelheid:

"...ein zu empfindliches Organ für den kaum erst wahrnehmbaren Hauch des Zeitgeistes. Ah! wie wenige sind wir im Grunde, in ganz Europa verstreut, die es besitzen. Wir bilden sozusagen einen Geheimbund, mit der Absicht, zu fühlen, was keiner fühlt, die erst zu erfindenden Verfeinerungen, den noch ungeborenen Kitzel einer hohen geistigen Korruption. Fühlen, das ist alles! Was bedeutet es, Gedichte zu verbrechen oder einen Roman zu schreiben?"

Er schrieb keinen. (313-14)

In the laconic editorial sequel to Andreas' exalted nonsense we see that the wheel has turned a full cycle, another attribute of the Schlaraffenland. Dr. Libbenow's glib assertion in the 'Café Hurra' that he had read no books for ten years finds its echo here in Andreas' scorning of further literary activity after his one play has found for him a niche in this society. The credo of the young Goethe: "Gefühl ist alles!" (Faust I, 1.3456-57) has been debased here to an emasculated obscurantism. In place of the upsurge of creative energy untrammelled by the intellect, Andreas' slogan is a justification of his inactivity.²⁹⁾ The "Geheimbund" is also an allusion to coteries of ages past, modernized here as the preserve of a decaying society.

Andreas makes further literary references. On one occasion he endows himself with a Faustian "Zweiseelenleben" (261). On another, Klempner sympathizes with him on account of his fresh fame, which involves so many social obligations.

Andreas agrees and professes a desire to dedicate his energies to work, nothing but work. But the insubstantiality of this desire is shown by the farfetched concepts he uses:

Ganz zur Arbeit zurück! In einem fünften Stockwerk, mitten in einem Proletarierviertel Berlins, oder in irgendeiner fernen Waldeinsamkeit. (212)

The seamier side of Berlin is just as distant from this darling of its society as the "Waldeinsamkeit" of a Tieck. This example is thus a fitting note on which to conclude consideration of the "geistig-kulturelle Kraftfeld", for the remoteness from true poetry is symptomatic of the novel. The genuine idyll of a Romantic "Waldeinsamkeit" is the exact counterpart of the self-indulgent and superficial community living Im Schlaraffenland.

(3) "Das sittlich-religiöse Kraftfeld"

Other than in the figure of Liebling, self-styled champion of the "sittlicher Gedanke", none of the Schlaraffenland-figures strikes a moralistic pose. Far more important than morality are the possible permutations and combinations of money, power and prestige, but anything requiring depth of character or insight such as morality of any idealism whatever is beyond the province of these people. Religion also plays a marginal role, though an important one, in its adoption by Andreas as his "Marotte". A hierarchy of values is established by the gathering assembled at Türkheimer's, Andreas' first contact with this society. It is reported that Hochstetten, who has used his influence as "Geheimer Rat" at Türkheimer's behest, has

managed to have Rache passed for performance intact but for the cutting of:

...das bißchen Kirchenschändung und die Benutzung der geweihten Gefäße zu unsauberem Zwecke... (43)

Objections to this prerogative of the church are countered by a lady and by Andreas, who typically expresses an opinion behind which lies no personal conviction but the need to make his impression on the course of the conversation. The group concurs, allowing the mishandling of a whole range of hallowed concepts, "die Ehre des Bürgertums", "unser ruhmreiches Heer", "Die allerhöchsten Personen!", "Den Ruf einer Frau!", "Sogar die Börse" (43-44), but drawing the line finally, after scaling these giddy heights, at ridiculing God. This is the limit of iconoclasm. It is drawn not only hypocritically, but unrealistically. A truer appraisal of the hierarchy here postulated is given later by Kaflisch:

Majestätsbeleidigungen und Gotteslästerungen kann sich bei dem Fortschritt heutzutage der Ärmste leisten; aber haben Sie schon mal jemand gekannt, der an Türkheimer klingelt?...Das ist nämlich beträchtlich kitzlicher. (184)

There is one crime even more terrible than blasphemy. And it is in this context that the hybris of Andreas and Matzke is to be seen when they throw this power structure into question.

As already stated, genuine moral indignation is virtually unknown in this sphere, where lovers and mistresses are not merely tolerated but expected; indignation about financial matters is far more to be feared.

Türkheimer ist ja ein sehr verständiger Mann, um die Privatangelegenheiten seiner Frau kümmert er sich nicht. Aber wenn die Geschäfte ins Spiel kommen, dann wird er strenge. (50)

These then are the priorities, with money always occupying the first position. The above verdict on Türkheimer refers to the following ticklish situation:

Dem Bankier Ratiboehr zu Gefallen war sie [Adelheid] zur Spekulantin geworden und hatte ihren Gatten nicht nur im Schlafzimmer, sondern, was schlimmer war, an der Börse betrogen. (141)

As with so many cases this is an instance of the cyclical nature of the Schlaraffenland, presaging Andreas' unforgivable crime.³⁰⁾ Indeed, it can't be pretended that his being cuckolded disturbs the potentate at all, he favours it as a diversion from the scurrilous Ratiboehr, and his wife shows a similar attitude toward her spouse (175). She warns the unversed Andreas, fresh from the Rhineland, "es gibt hier nichts, was man nicht um eines guten Geschäftes willen verraten würde!" (52). Liaisons are wholly subservient to finance and can be used as means towards financial ends, the accepted lovelessness of this society making reactions like jealousy seem ludicrous anyway. But Andreas is far from naïve and also far from any blindness of love in his view of their relationship, calculated for his advancement (62, 307).

Nevertheless, morality is observed at a certain level. Köpf warns Andreas against underestimating the womenfolk of the Schlaraffenland, at the same time exposing the hollowness of their risqué jokes, their appearance of liberality:

Vergessen Sie nicht das Moralische! Bei Türkheimers

steckt man, so viel Zynismus der gute Ton auch vorschreibt, im Grunde doch voll moralischer Bedenken. Es sind schließlich nur Bürgersfrauen. (87)

The conclusion to Klempner's play, devised by him to answer the aesthetic requirements of his audience, further illustrates the fundamental morality of the Volk after all the bloody excesses which have gone before.

The image of play-acting, fundamental to the novel, is encountered again under this heading, further exposing as a sham such religiosity as is expressed. It is of great curiosity value to have a Marotte, some whim like Liebling's Zionism which is never taken completely seriously and yet commands respect both for its inherent beliefs and for the singular position of interest it assures its holder. Andreas initially rejects Adelheid's invitation to the performance of Rache, seizing upon the inspiration of the moment that he, as a devout Catholic, has to go to church instead. This achieves the desired effect, though Andreas threatens to overplay his hand in his adoption of his new role. It is after all a role, however clever a one, and Adelheid reflects:

...er durfte seine religiösen Pflichten nicht gar zu ernst nehmen, sonst verderben sie das Spiel.
(110)

This characterizes precisely the nature of Andreas' religiosity and further qualifies the hierarchy of absolutes established by Süß, Duschnitzki and the others (see p.314), making a mockery of Andreas' own protestations in the same scene. He pursues his self-composed role to the extent of arranging his room to resemble a cell and receiving

Adelheid's visit in the apparel and pose of a monk. This apparition is something of a bogey to her, who as one of the "aufgeklärten Lesern dieser Zeitungen [des 'Nacht-kouriers' und des 'Kabel']" (133), has come to regard the Catholic Church as a dangerous relic of the past. This is possibly a barb by H. Mann against Bismarck's earlier anti-Catholic legislation of the Kulturkampf-era, and is at all events an indictment of the insular anti-Catholicism bred by influential Berlin papers such as those owned by Türkheimer.

The person most overtly concerned with Sittlichkeit is Liebling, for whom "der sittliche Gedanke" is the ultimate criterion of assessment. Yet in an unmasking of what lies behind his assumed moral rectitude at the end of the story, we gain a horrifyingly familiar prophetic look into the near future. Cloaked in the guise of moral excellence lies an insidious chauvinism, not for his earlier-espoused Zion but for Germany. When a dejected Andreas describes his own actions as "Hybris", Liebling doesn't immediately comprehend, and then exhorts him:

Sprechen Sie übrigens doch deutsch! Wir Deutsche verstehen jetzt nur noch deutsch und sind stolz darauf. (354) 31)

Consistently with this he berates Bienaimée:

Ich liebe es nicht, wenn Frauen rauchen. Das Weib sollte seinem natürlichen Berufe als Familienmutter treu bleiben, besonders das deutsche Weib. (356)

It is all there, the ideals of Sauberkeit, Sittlichkeit in the puritanical and hypocritical sense of a following generation, the relegation of womanhood to the function of

childbearing and -rearing, and the ever-recurring yardstick, "deutsch". In less sinister but equally fanatic mantle a corresponding nationalism is found in Abell's accolades to the fêted dramatist Andreas.³²⁾ Liebling's moralistically-toned pronouncements, often reflecting in the falseness of the language used their falseness of content,³³⁾ are ultimately debunked in a way even more telling than the clash between his Zionist convictions and his Germanic ideals. In the final passing parade through the Schlaraffenland it is he who sits by Adelheid's side as Andreas' successor, which demolishes with one blow his whole pretence of Sittlichkeit. It also relativizes his highly efficient mediating work for Türkheimer in arranging the expedient of Andreas' marriage to Bienaimée, since this not only relieves Türkheimer but clears the field for Liebling himself.

Ethics and religion are basically a further possibility for exposing the hypocrisy of the society depicted here. No clearly-contoured picture of religious cross-currents of the day appears - unlike references to sectarianism and Stöcker in Der Stechlin (see p.266ff.) - simply because no one really takes religion seriously. Culture at least had a social value; religion does not even have that, and furthermore a Schlaraffenland presupposes an existing state of paradise anyway.

(4) "Das politisch-militärische Kraftfeld"

For this novel this is really a misleading heading. H. Mann kept his exposé of the military side of the

Wilhelminian era for his later work Der Untertan (1918). But the sphere of politics comes in for considerable treatment, not least the relationship between the various social classes.

The tone for the lack of depth of political opinion is set early in the piece in the course of Andreas' apprenticeship in the ways of Berlin society. He:

...durfte...Meinungen, die er nicht einmal hatte, sogar dem strengen Doktor Pohlitz gegenüber vertreten. Einmal ließ er sich einfallen, den Sozialismus, der ihm durchaus gleichgültig war, nur darum herauszustreichen, weil er dies für etwas Besonderes hielt. (17)

Here we see two variations of the central image of the theatre, of play-acting. Andreas voices opinions as if reading a part; they are not his own. And we have already seen how it also occurred to him to feign strong Catholic views to impress Adelheid. Both causes he ostensibly champions are something out of the ordinary, their espousal purely designed to attract attention. Mann's satire here can bring out the inadequacy of such ways of approaching serious issues. But in this novel there is no possibility of suggesting any concrete alternative - implied alternatives, yes, but without clearer contours - as not one of the main characters, and hardly any of the secondary characters, is endowed with the sincerity to express an opinion that can be considered on its merits. This Zeitroman exposes mercilessly but does not proclaim. (No value-judgement is implied here, nor an expression of what the work's business should be, but simply a statement of where its energies lie.)

Andreas goes on to learn the origin of the name 'Café Hurra':

Die Herren von der Tafelrunde hatten früher staatsumwälzenden Grundsätzen gehuldigt, bis im März 1890³⁴⁾ sich die Sozialdemokratie als nicht mehr zeitgemäß herausstellte. Damals hatten alle einem Bedürfnis der Epoche³⁵⁾ nachgegeben, sie waren ihren freisinnigen Prinzipalen ein Stückchen Weges nach rechts gefolgt und bekannten sich seither zum Regierungsliberalismus und Hurratriotismus. (17)

The gentlemen so described seem to have been motivated solely by the dictates of fashion, by what was "zeitgemäß", in their earlier upholding of social-democratic principles. Their "Hurratriotismus" is later echoed, as has already been seen (pp.317-18) in Liebling's fanatical championing of all that is "deutsch". This capricious change of opinion is intended to be symptomatic of a lack of depth in political opinions of the time.

And in this respect this thesis, which hopes to trace a line of developing social criticism in the Zeitroman from Immermann through to H. Mann, must register the sad fact that at one level the object criticized has not changed at all in that span of years (over against this must be set the swansong to Prussian conservatism in Der Stechlin). Political opinions can be cast off like clothes in the Berlin of Im Schlaraffenland, witness the story behind the name of the 'Café Hurra' (see above). At one historical remove we have seen the opportunistic twins Julian and Isidor throwing dice to determine their political allegiance in Martin Salander. Still further back, some sixty years earlier, Mann's image was prefigured by Wilhelmi in Die Epigonen to decry the shifting sands of opinion of his own

generation. With Immermann the lack of stability arises from the whole historical fate of Epigonentum, having no firm present identity to confront the multiplicity of fragmented inheritances from the past. With H. Mann it is a tendency to drift dictated by expediency. It is simply not expedient to run a newspaper along any 'engaged' political lines, as Andreas learns from Doktor Bediener (29). And going beyond expediency is complacency, a wilful lack of involvement as proclaimed by Ratibohr before an admiring audience (47). It is a reflection of the Schlaraffenland, the final stages of an over-refined society slowly subsiding into ruin. Common to both Immermann's and Mann's ages, at least as seen by these two literary seismographs, is their lack of historical identity. Wilhelmi says of his age: "Sie spielt Komödie wie keine andere" (Immermanns Werke, 3, 55 - again the theatre!) and of "die jetzige Generation":

Abwechselnd kriecht sie in den frommen Rock, in den patriotischen Rock, in den historischen Rock, in den Kunstroek und in wie viele Röcke noch sonst! (ibid.)

Instant parallels spring to mind, Andreas' "Marotte" as an example of the first "Rock", the 'Café Hurra' and Liebling in connection with the second, Türkheimer's 'Renaissance Castle' (36) with the third, and the admirers of Claudius Mertens' art with the fourth (the three goddesses of H. Mann's next novel Die Göttinnen, as dominating aspects of the Herzogin von Assy, show a somewhat different changing of coats and roles, each one being lived out to the exhaustion of its possibilities). Because, like coats, they are changeable at will, political opinions are arbitrary. This

fact impresses itself strongly on Andreas at the Türkheimers' soirée, where opposed viewpoints forwarded by Liebling and Wennichen are discounted by Ratiboehr's clinching remark: "Es ist ja Nebensache, wie regiert wird" (47). The ineducability of these circles is registered, the political apathy and the accompanying penchant for self-destruction of the upper bourgeoisie, which Andreas had considered since his arrival to be:

...die herrschende Klasse...nun fand er sie so wenig einig über die Grundlagen ihrer Herrschaft. Der bürgerliche Absolutismus, den Liebling vorschlug, lag wohl in ihrem Interesse. Gleichzeitig mochte ihr Vorteil erfordern, so zu tun, als teilten sie noch die fünfzig Jahre alten Ansichten Wennichens. Ihre innere Neigung dagegen schien Ratiboehr ausgesprochen zu haben... (ibid.)

Türkheimer's domain, as the place where power truly resides, is described correspondingly in terms of the apparatus of the state. Images from the sphere of government predominate in Andreas' impression (26) of the vast power of Bediener and of Jekuser, a constitutional monarch with even greater powers. It is a metaphor developed on a grand scale, and does not merely posit the state as a basis of comparison. But it also shows the state being surpassed by an empire on the scale of Türkheimer's, becoming subsidiary in influence and power because of its secondary position in the realm of money, in which the many branches of both the state and the Schlaraffenland are rooted. Andreas' appraisal of Jekuser continues:

Und er war reicher als sie ["andere gekrönte Häupter"], denn von den Abgaben seines Volkes, von den fünfzehn Pfennigen, die Hunderttausende von Lesern täglich erlegten, blieb der größere Teil in seiner Tasche zurück. (ibid.)

This picture of a monopolistic capitalism is only slightly modified later by Türkheimer-style Communism, which involves supporting all those in his immediate circle. But it of course doesn't benefit those countless readers of the "Nachtkourier", and these subjugated readers, or rather the system they imply, still inspire awe in Andreas (208) when he has gained acclaim through his play and is tending to treat his wellwishers very condescendingly.

The imposing aura of power mentioned here is overlooked by Jürgen Zeck in his strange interpretation of Andreas' aggressive thoughts towards the journalistic 'monarch' immediately after. Andreas muses: "Was ist denn der Jekuser?...Ein Tritt von Türkheimer, und er fällt auf den Bauch" (210). Zeck comments:

Diese indirekt ausgesprochene Ablehnung einer konstitutionellen Regierungsform spiegelt die Ansicht, daß die konstitutionelle Monarchie in England Schuld an dem kulturellen Niedergang dieses Landes trage. 36)

This disregards Andreas' conclusion to this spiteful outburst: "Ich bin heute mächtiger als er" (210), a sentiment showing his need to assert himself over others. It further ignores the fact that Jekuser is then linked with a long line of people from the Schlaraffenland whose pretensions are ridiculed by Andreas, which testifies to his dubious ability "die Menschen zu durchschauen" (186, heading of ch. 10).

The matter of class-barriers has already been seen to play a major role in the depictions of their times essayed in Immermann's Epigonen and Spielhagen's Proble-

matische Naturen. Zeck sees an affirmation of these class-barriers in the novel under discussion:

Die revolutionären, demokratischen, liberalen und besonders sozialistischen Ideen seiner Zeit lehnt Heinrich Mann entschieden ab und stellt ihnen sein Bild des hierarchischen Staates, der sich aus einer traditionellen Ständegesellschaft zusammensetzen soll, entgegen [i.e. in his articles for the journal Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert]. Nach Thema und Inhalt muß der Roman 'Im Schlaraffenland' dieser ersten Phase seines politischen Denkens zugeordnet werden. 37)

In fact, consideration of the text will show that this is not the case at all, and that boundaries between the classes are becoming very fluid indeed in this novel.

This is seen from the heading of chapter 5, "Ein demokratischer Adel" (alluding to the forthcoming marriage of Asta and Hochstetten), a combination of concepts unthinkable in any society that is hierarchically constructed in the traditional sense. The tendency, already observed, to paint a negative, satirical picture without any positive counterbalance, is carried through consistently. An indictment of a member of one class is not made in isolation, but applied even in the same terms to another class so that the one cannot be seen as free of the faults of the other. For example, Goldherz coins the phrase "Müde Rasse!" (61) to capture the debilitated nobility. But this is not symptomatic only of the nobility, and in the next chapter Kaflich uses the same term to describe Frau Pimbusch, wife of the spirits merchant (74). And although he is in this consciously mimicking Hochstetten and his detractor Goldherz, the parallel remains. Hochstetten's impotence is countered by Claire Pimbusch's frigidity (a situation which

draws together Hochstetten and his imitator: - "Die Ähnlichkeit ihres Schicksals als Gatten hatte sie zu Freunden gemacht" - 297). Indeed, so representative is the figure of Claire meant to be that she alone of the figures from Im Schlaraffenland is carried over into H. Mann's next novel, Die Göttinnen, and mentioned as a subject for painting in the same breath as "die Hysterie und das ohnmächtige Laster..."³⁸) (author's underlining).

Class barriers further vanish before the new power of money. Just as Türkheimer can buy the art of Claudius Mertens, so can Asta, backed by her father's colossal wealth, buy herself into the nobility. Klempner sums it up thus:

So 'nen Baron und gar 'nen Geheimrat vom neuen Kurs kann sich doch jetzt schon der gute Mittelstand leisten, seit der Adel sich den Liberalismus anschafft, den wir abgelegt haben! (63)

There is thus a mutual interdependence. The bourgeoisie, in this case Asta, still pays homage to the old order by acknowledging a noble title as something worth attaining, although from Duschnitzki's offhanded words - "Sie kauft sich einen Namen! Was ist denn so'n abgetragener Name heute wert?" (ibid.) - it is clear that this name is but a hollow shell of its former substance. And on the other hand the nobility, here Hochstetten, needs the financial reserves of the bourgeoisie to prop up its crumbling fortunes. This situation is far more radical than in Fontane's works. In Irrungen Wirungen, for instance, the fortunes of one noble family are still restored by marrying into another, while in Die Poggenpuhls a marriage between

Leo and either of two rich Jewesses is 'averted' by a legacy inherited from his uncle. Class-distinctions are, on the other hand, transgressed in Im Schlaraffenland. Türkheimer's fêting of Matzke's daughter draws from Köpf the comment:

Oh, keine Frau gehört einer bestimmten Klasse an... Vornehmsten Anstand und tiefste Canaillerie, alles besitzen sie von Hause aus. Man zieht ihnen ein neues Kleid an, und flugs entdecken sie in sich die dazu passenden Sitten. (264)

This makes a complete mockery of notions of an earlier age that certain qualities such as social deportment were solely possessed by the upper class, their inherited birth right. At the same time it exposes the hollowness of such assumed "Anstand"; the two-edged sword is ever H. Mann's satirical weapon. However ludicrous its portrayal here, such a fluidity of class-barriers is a big step from Die Epigonen, for example, though there the nobility's fortunes are already crumbling fast.³⁹⁾

The blurring of contours between the bourgeois and the noble world is furthered in the character of Pimbusch, who consciously models himself on Hochstetten. Like Hochstetten, Pimbusch has inherited his position and the fame associated with his name.⁴⁰⁾ "Der träge Zug der Proletarier" (94) - a phrase loaded to accentuate the social superiority he feels over his customers - ensures his continued commercial success, and he despises those whose misery he cultivates. The extent of his influence is described in mock apocalyptic tones:

Ein giftiger Duft zog durch die Stadt, die in einem Meer von Schnaps zu ertrinken trachtete. (95)

But not only the extent, also the direction of this influence is clear, his reprehensibility in steeping the masses in deeper degradation while feigning to provide them with a panacea. The figure of Pimbusch alone is sufficient to contradict the following thesis of Zeck, whose comments are clearly geared to H. Mann's preceding literary activity in the journal Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert. Citing Matzke's and Hochstetten's venality before the all-consuming wealth of Türkheimer, Zeck concludes:

Heinrich Mann will damit den destruktiven Einfluß der jüdischen Hochfinanz auf die niederen wie die höheren Volksschichten zeigen. Diese antisemitische Tendenz darf in diesem Roman nicht übersehen werden. 41)

The first sentence of this quotation is demonstrably one-sided - there could be little more ravaging abuse of power and position towards the lower classes than that exhibited by the Gentile Pimbusch. And the second sentence, while true, is developed by Zeck into a regular witchhunt of antisemitism:

Das von Juden regierte 'Schlaraffenland' läßt die Entfaltung eines deutsch empfindenden Menschen nicht zu, der negative Einfluß auf den Adel wie auf das Proletariat wird gezeigt. 42)

The claim that Jewish finance is responsible for, and not simply contemporaneous with, the ethical decline of both nobility and proletariat is not substantiated. Moreover, Zeck's assertion that Jewish sentiments are swamping Germanic ones takes no notice whatever of the figure of Liebling, ever in the background, who is proselytised at the end in the opposite direction to that proposed by Zeck, abandoning his Zionist sentiments for an insidious

chauvinism, as already seen (pp.317-18).

To return to Pimbusch, Kaflisch calls him "den Schnapsfeudalen", one of the "Feudaljobber" (95 - author's underlining), and these descriptions strengthen the impression of his self-styled affinity to Hochstetten. Again the picture presented is unrelievedly prophetic of doom, because Pimbusch's motives in modelling himself on Hochstetten are not a misguided attempt to emulate a grandeur that is absent, but spring from his:

...zehrende(n) Ehrgeiz, als letzter Ausdruck einer an Überfeinerung zugrunde gehenden Gesellschaft zu gelten. (ibid.)

The final approximation of the two classes comes with the following appraisal of their fate:

Und obwohl er von der Herkunft seines Großvaters durchaus nichts wußte, kam dieser Sproß des kräftigen Bürgertums dem Ideal des vollkommenen Kretinismus mindestens ebenso nahe wie der Freiherr von Hochstetten, dessen Vorfahr mit dem Burggrafen von Nürnberg in Brandenburg eingezogen war. (ibid.)

The ironic "Sproß des kräftigen Bürgertums" is in itself enough to undermine the hope Wennichen places in "Ehre des Handelsstandes...arbeitsame(n) Kaufleute(n)..." (45). Here the trust in the revitalizing effect of bourgeois blood on inbred noble circles - trust expressed by the mother of the Russian Prince in Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen⁴³⁾ - seems remote indeed. H. Mann's portrayal is of course too exaggerated to be a general comment on the age; it is part and parcel of the distortion of his satire, but the tendency he is pointing to cannot be dismissed as easily - the figure of Pimbusch would seem monstrous and not simply

overdrawn in a novel set in the Berlin of a slightly earlier period. The direction of this criticism is sustained with Claire Pimbusch's scornful aspersion on modern youths not taxing their physical weakness for the sake of an amorous adventure (whereas in fact she would be immune to a far less feeble manhood), and with the ladies in the theatre-boxes at Rache. In their case too the same physical decrepitude is to be seen "in den von matter, feuchter Blässe bedeckten Gesichtern" (127).

For all Hochstetten's pathetic weakness and insignificance as an individual, the class to which he belongs still retains certain privileges which outsiders can only aspire to through connections such as Hochstetten. Thus does the parasitic Pimbusch trail after his model wherever he goes.

Denn Pimbusch hegte den wahnwitzigen Ehrgeiz, durch Vermittelung von Türkheimers Schwiegersohn in den hocharistokratischen Jeuklub aufgenommen zu werden.
(97)

And Türkheimer himself, colossus of power that he is, finally induces his son-in-law to gain an honour for him through his position as "Geheimrat". He gains the "Kronenorden vierter Klasse" (368), an honour that is laughably insignificant compared with the store he sets by it, but one that nevertheless means a tremendous amount to him and is outside his own power to achieve.⁴⁴⁾ This motif is developed with Diederich Hessling's final achievement of the Wilhelmsorden at the end of Der Untertan.

In the novel Im Schlaraffenland the distinctions between classes are blurred through elaborate parallels

(e.g. Pimbusch and Hochstetten) and the actual crossing of class borders (e.g. Asta's marriage into the nobility. Bienaimée's status as daughter of a worker is only really changed when she marries Andreas and they are both assured of stultifying bourgeois mediocrity. Though a higher jump, her position as mistress of the finance-giant Türkheimer was always tenuous. Fontane, in Stine, portrays the partners each one step higher on the social ladder with the bourgeois Pauline Pittelkow as mistress to a nobleman.) Yet as the last examples of Pimbusch and Türkheimer have shown, a certain level of social prestige, however empty that prestige may seem, is attainable only through having connections with the nobility. And this fact assures even such a weakling as Hochstetten of a certain power, for when Asta no longer provides her husband with an adequate allowance, he can confidently find support in Pimbusch, ever nurturing his hopes of acceptance into the "hoch-aristokratischen Jeuklub". These last vestiges of noble power protect Hochstetten and his ilk from the state envisaged by Andreas:

Alles Bestehende ist heutzutage unsicher, und kein Mensch weiß, ob er nicht eines Tages wird arbeiten müssen. (100)

Like so many of his utterances, this is admittedly said less with earnestness than to create an effect. Instead of being a verdict on the times it becomes a foretelling of Andreas' own end.

For all its decline the nobility still ultimately retains its superiority, not only in such influence as mentioned above, but simply by its rootedness in tradition,

in its natural right to those signs of taste and refinement almost violently trumpeted forth by a bourgeoisie that is basically insecure and suffering from an inferiority complex as historical upstarts. Bourgeois pretensions are no more ruthlessly exposed than in what Griseldis von Hochstetten's scornful gaze seems to Andreas to be saying at the 'Türkheimers' soir e. There is no sense here of any bourgeois ethos after the manner of a Freytag. Andreas is thoroughly disquietened by the thoughts he imagines her probing glance to be conveying, and devises neither a defence nor a counter-attack. It is almost substantiation of her criticisms that the symbols she seizes on as embodying bourgeois pretensions and the meanness she detects behind them are to be found in some cases verbatim in Fontane's anti-bourgeois prose works. Here belong the "Zimmer voll echte Gobelins" (106),⁴⁵⁾ the "Mei ner Porzellan" (ibid.),⁴⁶⁾ and the "Tr dell den" (105),⁴⁷⁾ while her final broadside strikes the bourgeoisie at its most vulnerable point, which no amount of imitation can ever bridge:

Ihr...prahlt mit diesen und anderen historischen
Erinnerungen, als ob ihr Erinnerungen haben k nntet,
und als ob in den Zeiten, als jene Herrlichkeiten
erfunden wurden, euresgleichen existiert h tte!
(106)

As mentioned, Griseldis' diatribe, almost a page in length, is not even an explicit comment ("Sie schien zu sagen" - 105), but rather what Andreas reads into her severe expression, and thus it reflects his attitude to the bourgeoisie's weaknesses as much as hers. It is a further device employed by H. Mann which diminishes the binding quality of what is said, however much truth it is meant to contain

from the viewpoint of the character concerned, the author behind the novel or actual history. This distancing seems to overcome a problem otherwise encountered in the Zeitroman, where either the author can intrude with some statement on the times, or such a statement can be expressed through one of the characters. The dry sententiousness of some of Wilhelmi's pronouncements in Die Epigonen shows the dangers inherent in the latter approach.

For all its poetic devices, Mann's novel does yield an accurate depiction of the age. This can best be seen by drawing on an economic historian - the following quotation sounds almost like an extraction of a 'programme' from Mann's novel, combining as it does so many of the work's features:

Das Großbürgertum trennte sich vom übrigen Bürgertum und wurde feudalisiert. Es suchte in seinem Streben, zur Spitze der gesellschaftlichen Pyramide aufzusteigen, nach einer Lebensform, die ihm die Zugehörigkeit zur Elite bestätigte, und es glaubte diese Form in dem durch lange Tradition gefestigten Lebensstil des Adels zu finden. Man sieht diese Übernahme aristokratischer Lebensformen an der Entwicklung der Fabrikantenwohnungen vom kleinen Haus unmittelbar neben dem Betrieb über die Villa zum ländlichen Herrensitz...und schließlich im Streben nach der Nobilitierung oder wenigstens einem auszeichnenden Ratstitel. Die Feudalisierung des Großbürgertums entsprang nicht nur gesellschaftlichem Ehrgeiz, sondern auch einem gemeinsamen sozialpolitischen und allgemeinpolitischen Interesse mit dem Adel. Diese politische Interessengemeinschaft beruhte darauf, daß beide einen gemeinsamen Gegenspieler hatten: die Arbeiterbewegung. 48)

(5) "Das wirtschaftliche Kraftfeld"

It has appeared from the conclusion of the preceding section that the aristocracy does after all enjoy a certain supremacy over the bourgeoisie. Certainly it remains the

case that Andreas' embarrassment when confronted by Griseldis is an expression of a bourgeois inferiority complex, and she makes a lasting impression on him (cf. 325). Yet here as elsewhere H. Mann leaves no potentially positive value standing. In a vicious scene between Asta and Griseldis, the former expresses her disappointment in her husband (with a neat inversion of class roles!):

Schon während der ganzen Reise hat er mir durch seine unnobeln, wie soll ich sagen - bürgerlichen Gewohnheiten das Leben unmöglich gemacht. (224)

Despite her expressed wish he fails to wear "Lackschuhe", which rouses her indignation and her desire to divorce him - a feature perhaps comparable with Bienaimée's stubborn search for her fairytale prince, and one which at once renders her ridiculous. But for all this, her attack on Griseldis loses none of its venom. When she protests Hochstetten's inability to present her with an heir, Griseldis hypocritically objects:

Sprechen Sie doch nicht von einem Erben Ihres Geldes, liebe Asta, sondern von einem Stammhalter des Hauses Hochstetten! (225)

Asta then proceeds to unmask Griseldis and at the same time the reasons for Hochstetten's waning finances: - he passes the 'pocket money' received from Asta on to Griseldis, who invests them in Gold Mounts shares. The latter objects all too loudly and stands stripped of her superior veneer. Money has exercised its lure on her too, and she does not content herself with sending gifts to Palestine "zur Bekehrung von Judenkindern" (226). Even in the completely unprincipled Schlaraffenland it is a

grotesque piece of satire that the money of the Jewish financier Türkheimer should find its way via Asta, Hochstetten and Griseldis to the Holy Land to proselytise his co-religionists.

There is indeed nothing which rivals money as an object of power, and since Türkheimer stands at the peak of the financial scale there is nothing to rival his wielding of power. Money, not religious, cultural, moral or any other kind of values stands at the core of the society of "feinen Leuten":

Gutes Essen, feine Weine, Weiber, Witze, Kunst und Vergnügen, es ist alles da. Man langt eben zu, wie im Schlaraffenland. (87)

Thus muses Andreas. Directly before, he has questioned the origin of all the money, a single time. Manfred Hahn draws attention to this and registers the following, somewhat tendentiously expressed criticism:

Insgesamt beschränkt also die Unkenntnis der ökonomischen Prozesse die Breite der erfaßten Wirklichkeit und die Tiefe ihrer Analyse. Reife der Weltanschauung und des Realismus korrespondieren. 49)

In fact statements on the financial bases of the Schlaraffenland seem contradictory. When Andreas hears that Ratiboehr has more millions than he, Andreas, has marks, Duschnitzki claims: "Hier sind wir Millionäre oder Schubbejacks" (57), to which Klempner adds: "So ist es. Der Mittelstand stirbt aus" (ibid.). Andreas himself, in trying to fathom the functioning of the Schlaraffenland, says later: "Die einen haben schauderhaft viel Geld, die anderen gar nichts" (86). But this financial

polarization is not the whole picture. Klempner's statement is not valid, as the bulk of the novel is concerned with the financial "Mittelstand". At most those people in the middle range of wealth might be dying out as wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of tycoons like Türkheimer. But even that is an oversimplified picture because according to the tenets of Türkheimer-style Communism all within his far-reaching domain receive some of the benefits of his accumulated fortunes. Ultimately he pulls the strings in either suffering people to stay in the Schlaraffenland or banishing them, as is seen by the fall from grace of Bienaimée and Andreas at the end. But within the "land" itself, however artificial their wellbeing might be, there are no absolute "have-nots". This is seen in the bitter satire of Matzke's swaying convictions; his anti-nobility views are temporarily quietened by his daughter's rise to wealth and reappear with her fall from Türkheimer's grace. His views are seen to be without revolutionary substance, as springing purely from the jealousy of the non-possessing, and they are thus without hope of enforcing a change in the system because they can be bought by the system. The proletariat, a rising force in Fontane's Der Stechlin,⁵⁰⁾ holds no keys to the future in this novel. Nor does the narrative dwell on their material misery. Reference to the "schlecht gelüfteten Hinterzimmer" (172) in which Sophie Levezahn has been raised, brings only a slight touch of social criticism. What interests Mann is the hopelessly confined manners and morals of the Levezahns. But if the proletariat is not yet ripe for revolution, the bourgeoisie is atrophied in its

wellbeing, and the following glimmering appreciation of social problems is a lonely voice in the wilderness:

Geben wir dem Volke nicht Brot und Feste, so kommen wir selbst früher oder später an den Galgen. (46)

Türkheimer's role as the centre of this financial solar system requires closer consideration. A typical example of his operations on a smaller scale is given early in the novel as the background to Blosch's marriage. Blosch, Türkheimer's man-of-straw in shadier transactions on the stock exchange, travels to the provinces to settle amicably a bankruptcy case involving an industrialist, Türkheimer having assured through mortgages his eventual ownership of the factory. More spectacular instances of Türkheimer's power are the Puerto Vergogna affair and the Texas Bloody Gold Mounts shares. These show his wide-ranging influence and business acumen. In the former, Türkheimer emerges with a gain of seventy million, while the republic of Puerto Vergogna is financially ruined and furthermore reaps the enmity of the German government which is representing German creditors. To show its attitude, a cruiser is despatched to defend the interests of the duped creditors "und um der Welt zu zeigen, wie weit Deutschlands starker Arm reicht" (84). The whole incident is of course fanciful and yet a very pertinent statement on Germany's policy at the time (first Flotten-gesetz passed by the Reichstag in 1898) of developing naval power overnight to vie with England's, and exhibiting this in brash and belligerent fashion. Indeed it is not merely pertinent but highly prophetic - the quotation above foreshadows Wilhelm II landing at Tangiers on March 31st 1905

"aus Prestigegründen und aufgrund von bündnispolitischen Erwägungen".⁵¹⁾ This coup of Türkheimer's earns him the following eulogy from Kaflisch:

...für uns moderne Literaten geht nichts über das Genie der Tat. Napoleon, Bismarck, Türkheimer!
(loc. cit.)

Exaggerated as this comparison is, it does show Türkheimer's span of influence, not only on the local stock exchange, but setting off reactions in international politics. The likeness to Bismarck (in supposed grandeur, never as a historical parallel) is moreover reinforced later when Türkheimer consciously adopts one of the Iron Chancellor's more famous terms, offering to mediate in a quarrel between his wife and Lizzi Laffé "als ehrlicher Makler" (163). Such historical geflügelte Worte tend to reinforce the idea of Türkheimer's might, at the same time as their Verfremdung from the historical reality suggests hybris on the part of the fictional character.⁵²⁾

The incident of the Texas Bloody Gold Mounts shares shows Türkheimer's power not only in the realm of the stock exchange, but also in the sphere of journalism, in the contrivance of his rival's (Schmeerbauch's) removal and in gaining into the bargain the admiration of the masses who have been his suffering pawns. This he achieves by offering them a scapegoat when their resentment threatens to become ugly. Schmeerbauch suicides and the Volk, their bloodthirstiness whetted by the policeman's account of the editor's end, are appeased by the 'false' sacrifice. Just as Türkheimer had occasion to smile indulgently at the misdirected venting of revolutionary zeal at the performance

of Rache, so does he regard this interlude as greatly diverting. The masses are indeed duped. Türkheimer speaks of them either in platitudes of incredible distance and hollowness - "Das Volk ist doch das einzig Wahre" or "Für das Volk muß was geschehen" (259)⁵³ - or with a far more direct, scandalously patronizing cynicism:

Denken Sie bloß an all die Dummen,...meist kleine Leute, die ihre Groschen in ihrem saueren Schweiß aufbewahren wie Rollmöpfe in Essig. Heutzutage muß man schließlich 'n paar soziale Gefühle haben,... und Dumme sind auch Menschen. (245)

But those he can crush under his thumb either remain ignorant of this, pitting for instance their resentment against the far less significant Schmeerbauch, or they are ineffective in their protests. Thus Matzke's vulgar denunciation of Adelheid and her affluence as she drives past - "Dicket faulet Aas,...fährt uff Jummirädern." (257)⁵⁴ - remains no more than a bold expletive, moreover one which amuses Türkheimer greatly, because Matzke's resentment, as has been seen already, is nothing that cannot be bought off.

Yet there are other threatening signs in this 11th chapter of the novel, which throw into partial relief Türkheimer's most triumphant moment. Andreas concludes his praise of the great man by saying his ilk meet their deaths at the hands of anarchists (254), which alarms Türkheimer into hastily changing the subject. This is not the end accorded Türkheimer in the novel, indeed he meets no end, though progressively ravaged by his increasing blood-sugar level (and Andreas does prepare his "Nekrolog" right at the end). But the exposure to publicity that is Türk-

heimer's lot, the masses thronging the streets who see Andreas bathing in the reflected glory of the great man, all this sets the scene for such a deed if sufficient resentment were fostered. And there are signs of this, too. Kokott, whose talent has been purchased and debased like Claudius Mertens', lives ^{on} from the "Schweigegeld" paid him by Türkheimer not to divulge his master's devious business methods. That alone shows the precariousness of Türkheimer's position, that and the resentment harboured by his hireling, who "schnitt in Türkheimers Rücken eine rachgierige Fratze" and concluded:

Kriege ich ihn aber mal zufällig mit auf ein Gerüst hinauf, dann soll er bedeutend plötzlicher unten wieder ankommen, als ihm lieb ist! (256)

But these are mere omens in the novel. Concerted opposition by the exploited is nowhere evident. Such opposition as they do offer is misdirected, ineffective. The end of the chapter summarizes both this impotence and also the self-destructive trait present in Türkheimer. He entreats his vassal: "Machen Sie mal Ihre Judenfratze!" (260);⁵⁵⁾ Kokott complies and Türkheimer congratulates him. Thus Türkheimer only gets to see the "Fratze" he has demanded and not the other, dangerous one made behind his back.

Andreas, though not one of the oppressed, does see the far-reaching implications of Türkheimer's system of power:

Eine Laune, ein Wink von Ihnen, und der oder jener ist ruiniert, eine Unmasse Familien geraten ins Elend oder werden glücklich, je nachdem es Ihnen gefällt; notleidende Stände gehen ganz zugrunde

oder dürfen ihr Dasein fristen, und die soziale Unzufriedenheit nimmt ab oder wächst. (253-54)

This echoes the earlier situation of the stock-market slumping when Türkheimer declares he can no longer take champagne. The stock-exchange is entirely at the whim of the few main speculators (in this case, of Türkheimer's health). The wellbeing of its few key figures forms the whole tenuous foundation of the Schlaraffenland. Andreas, for all his insight, succumbs to the imposing grandeur of Nietzsche-like "Herrenmenschen" (248) in the Türkheimer mould. He enumerates Türkheimer's crimes - "Von gefälschten Pressenachrichten, Irreführung der öffentlichen Meinung und ausgeplünderten Bevölkerungsmassen zu faseln," - but abdicates judgement - "... das überlasse ich den Moralisten" (251). For him the most important factor is "das Ästhetische" (ibid.) embodied in Türkheimer, his example of Renaissance-like greatness to a weak generation.

H. Mann's satire is directed against two qualities combined in Andreas here, his Untertan-spirit in the face of power, however much abused, and his furthering of the Nietzsche-cult of turn-of-the-century writers (who in this misunderstood Nietzsche), asserting the primacy of the aesthetic over the moral (a problem that is at the heart of his following novel, Die Göttinnen). This position of substitute vitality found in an amoral aestheticism is what is referred to in the first part of the title of an essay by Walter Rehm: "Der Renaissancekult um 1900 und seine Überwindung."⁵⁶ Even more significant than this aspect of Andreas' eulogies is his exposure of the hollowness of aristocratic symbols such as a "Hofkutsche" or even a "Hof"

(253). This is actually a result of his adoration of power; he sees no substance behind the outward display of pomp presented by the nobility and attributes its lack of power quite simply to the stratification of the classes:

Er [any "Fürst"] steht ja in gar keiner Verbindung mit uns und unserem bürgerlichen Leben. (ibid.)

Real power does not reside with those who wear uniforms adorned with orders, but with the moneyed, the moneyed bourgeois, exemplified by Türkheimer.

Not that Türkheimer can afford to keep his amassed fortunes to himself:

...wenn ein einzelner Mann so blödsinnig viel gestohlen hat wie Türkheimer, dann kann er keinem mehr weismachen, daß ihm das wirklich alles alleine gehört. (183)

Within boundaries, Communism is acceptable to Türkheimer, namely interpreted as the supporting of his 'family', of the people in the many and varied branches of his financial empire. On such a simple basis - benevolent despotism in the administration of finances instead of government - does the economic system of the Schlaraffenland rest, or, as the grandiose title of ch. 9 terms it: "Politik und Volkswirtschaft im Schlaraffenland". And yet within the confines of the novel this basis seems to suffice.

In the final pages we witness the triumphal procession of Türkheimer and the Großfürst der Walachei, who, as Andreas ruefully observes, is simply a follower in the footsteps of the president of Puerto Vergogna. And so the novel ends on a familiar note with a new celebrity

committing himself to Türkheimer's powerful clutches and a cheering, unenlightened crowd reinforcing the cyclical quality of the Schlaraffenland (a quality present too in the rise and fall of Klempner anticipating that of Andreas, who does not interpret the signs aright). It is seemingly a self-perpetuating 'land'. Despite the blatant abuses of the whole realm of power presided over by Türkheimer, the oppressed masses show no effective opposition and indeed remain blinkered and apathetic. But it is after all only seemingly impregnable; Türkheimer's health is deteriorating fast and he has no heir.⁵⁷⁾ Manfred Hahn summarizes the situation at the end thus:

Die Gesellschaft der großen Bourgeoisie ist durch Stagnation, mehr: durch Verfall gekennzeichnet... Am nächsten liegt durchaus nicht eine revolutionäre Vernichtung durch die Arbeiter, sondern eher ein Prozeß der Selbstzersetzung. 58)

(6) "Das gesellschaftliche Kraftfeld"

Much is made of Andreas' being a newcomer to the salons of Berlin, his origins in the Rhineland count very much in his favour.⁵⁹⁾ For, as Köpf admonishes him:

Bedenken Sie nur Ihre ältere Kultur! Jeder seßhafte Bauer bei Ihnen zu Hause ist ein Aristokrat gegen die Landstreicher aus dem wilden Osten, die hier in Palästen wohnen. (88)

These words, combined with the social ease ascribed earlier by Kaflisch to the Rhenish (24), reappear almost verbatim as Andreas condescendingly surveys the fancy dress party held by Bienaimée. This is typical of the whole novel, where Andreas frequently adopts a phrase used by someone else and utters or thinks it portentously as his own. This

illustrates his parvenu aspect,⁶⁰⁾ assigned in Köpf's statement only to the many people, especially Jews, who with progressive industrialization swarmed from eastern regions to the capital Berlin.⁶¹⁾ And because of this lack of a firm basis (in tradition) for self-respect among these people, they tend to respect Andreas' background. He exploits its potential to the full. It enables him for example to stage successfully his "Marotte" of Catholicism, calculated to be of great curiosity value in nominally Protestant Berlin W. The terminology of Köpf's statement above recurs in highly ironized form with reference to Andreas' supposed earthy vitality as a lover. To lend piquancy to corruption, it is incumbent upon him to enjoy Bienaimée's lacklustre charms, but:

Zuweilen rächten sich seine natürlichen Anlagen, der bürgerliche Drang nach ungeheurer fleischlicher Fülle übermannte ihn. (307. Cf. too 140)

Or else he seeks to explain the wild anti-establishment urges roused in him by the performance of Rache in the following terms:

Vielleicht waren es uralte Bauerntriebe, die ihn gegen den verhassten, überfeinerten Stadtbürger aufbrachten. (130)

Certainly the fact of having one's origin in the east is a taint that cannot be thrown off. When Lieblich adopts a pedagogic tone towards Bienaimée in his transaction on Türkheimer's behalf, she knows how to hit him below the belt:

Nanu? Sie langen woll eben von Ihre hinterpommerischen Rittergüter an, Herr Graf, un sind eklig uff die feinen Manieren? (356)

And Andreas finds the theme of emancipated womanhood has been degraded by writers:

...aus Posen und Schlesien...Diese besaßen eben die Schwerfälligkeit und den Fanatismus niedriger Kulturstufen. (189-90)

When he says: "Die neudeutsche Kultur hat nun mal was Östliches" (189), his comment is to be understood both at a quantitative level (the permeation of culture by the many easterners) and at a qualitative one.

The ultimate example of the cringing attitude of the "feinen Leuten" comes with the hailing of Andreas' play Die Verkannte. As Köpf said in the first chapter, the theatre is primarily a social, not a literary, institution, and its successes must be acclaimed accordingly. A steady flow of "admirers" files before Andreas, the darling of the moment, jumping on the bandwagon of his success and fêting his supposed qualities as a writer. But the depth of their praise is shown when Türkheimer appears and Andreas is at once relativized as the protégé of his mighty patron, to whom honour has to be accorded as the only constant 'hero' of the Schlaraffenland. This is all conveyed in a scene reminiscent of that discussed on p.331 where Andreas' reading of Griseldis' glance is given at length. Here it is the gaze of each person looking first towards Türkheimer and seeking approval for his act of devotion. The description is couched in almost prayerful, biblical tones in accordance with Türkheimer's supremacy (cf. 209).

Greed, extortion and hypocrisy are exposed at all levels of society, not simply the higher ones. Frau Levzahn

and her daughter, while feigning and perhaps even feeling moral indignation at Adelheid's relationship with Andreas, are primarily interested in the money they can extort from her as the price of silence and concurrence. Andreas, who has witnessed Adelheid's humiliation at the whim of their sharp tongues, is again not offended in his moral impulses, but on an aesthetic level - such baseness is the opposite of his concept of Macchiavellian magnific²ance in 'crime'. It is thus another instance of the misunderstood Nietzschean Übermensch. Andreas even manages to win Bienaimée's respect and love a single time when in a moment of rage he produces his riding-whip! ("Du gehst zu Frauen? Vergiß die Peitsche nicht!")⁶²⁾

Hypocrisy and pretentiousness constitute the core of the Schlaraffenland. A particularly crass example of this comes towards the end of the novel when Andreas is at the height of his arrogance. He changes the nameplate on his door to read "Andreas zum See" (312), a motif borrowed directly from Maupassant's Bel-Ami.⁶³⁾

Er fand, daß dieser Name, wenn noch nicht aristokratisch, doch kaum mehr bürgerlich klinge. (312-13)

This could stand as a motto for the whole Schlaraffenland, seeking to break with one's identity but never quite achieving a new one.

(7) Conclusion

H. Mann's novel thus gives a highly varied picture of the Zeit of Berlin in the 1890's. His devices are largely witty repartee and satiric barbs rather than

detailed analysis of the social conditions he portrays.

This has led to a certain uniformity in the Kraftfelder considered, for the prevailing impression in all spheres is a combination of emptiness, hypocrisy and theatricality. The society portrayed is basically homogeneous - a calcified upper bourgeoisie - and the basic traits of the one character can recur in any combination of the Kraftfelder. No specifically 'political' or 'religious' type emerges from the novel, because all realms are inter-related as sectors of the Schlaraffenland. This lack of diversity plus the inbred quality of the Schlaraffenland work against the novel as a Zeitroman. It lacks some variation of the Stechlin-symbol to relate the rather limited epic arena to a more general context, and such efforts as are made to generalize from the particular have been seen as not wholly successful (cf. pp.293-95).

The novel is, however, important in the framework of this thesis in showing the development in issues common to most other novels treated, notably the Adel-Bürger relationship. This was earlier (Immermann, Spielhagen) a conflict but is here a matter of coexistence, though the bourgeoisie has made huge strides in effective power, directed by its financial supremacy. The Schlaraffenland of legend, a Cockaigne where one simply reaches out for what one wants without worrying about where it has come from, is reflected here in the unreal aura surrounding the whole - Hahn is right (see p.334), the foundations are never clarified. Yet even the fantasies of the author (e.g. the Puerto Vergogna affair) have such direct reference to the social

events of the day, that the novel can be regarded as a Zeitroman, and a very telling one at that, which shrouds the harsh realities in an imaginative veil.

Footnotes

1. Klaus Schröter, Heinrich Mann, Rowohlts Monographien (Hamburg, 1967), S.41.
2. This would seem unlikely from the qualities he emphasizes in them. And he does claim in 1948 to have known Fontane in the 1890's:
Was ich büße, ist mein Sinn für das öffentliche Leben, die Voraussetzung jedes einzelnen. Damit befremdete man, als ich anfang, in Deutschland; trotz Fontane, der da war. Ihn kannte ich, zugleich mit den Franzosen, seinen Zeitgenossen. Die sozialen Romane der Russen sind das andere Beispiel des gleichen Glücksfalles. (an Karl Lemke, 10.12.1948)
Reuter, op. cit., S.533.
3. Letter to Félix Bertaux of 24.11.1924. In Neue Deutsche Literatur, 19, Heft 3 (1971), 22.
4. Frédéric Lefèvre, "Heinrich Mann", in Une heure avec..., VI^{me} Série (Paris, 1933), pp.31-32.
5. Thus Roberts assumes it is Freytag (p.29), as does Weisstein in the body of his text (S.30), though he modifies this and acknowledges features of Spielhagen as well in a footnote (Anm. 69, S.36).
See David Roberts, Artistic Consciousness and Political Conscience: The Novels of Heinrich Mann 1900-1938, Australisch-Neuseeländische Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, hrsg. v. Gerhard Schulz und John A. Asher in Verbindung mit Leslie Bodi, Bd. 2 (Berne and Frankfurt/M., 1971).
Ulrich Weisstein, Heinrich Mann: Eine historisch-kritische Einführung in sein dichterisches Werk; mit einer Bibliographie der von ihm veröffentlichten Schriften (Tübingen, 1962).
6. H. Mann, Im Schlaraffenland (Hamburg: Claassen, 1966), S.45. All future page references are to this edition, and will be given in the body of the text.
7. J. Ettliger, "Ein satirischer Roman", in Das litterarische Echo, 3. Jg., H. 5 (1900), Spalte 335. See Ingeborg Meister, Traditionen des französischen Gesellschaftsromans in Heinrich Manns "Im Schlaraffenland", Magisterarbeit (Berlin, 1971), S.2.
8. Cf. Jürgen Zeck, Die Kulturkritik Heinrich Manns in den Jahren 1892 bis 1909, Diss. Hamburg, 1965, S.59, 83.
9. Hans W. Rosenhaupt, "Heinrich Mann und die Gesellschaft", in The Germanic Review, 12 (1937), 271.
10. Cf. for example Andreas' fantasies of his forthcoming success as a dramatist:
Er selbst hatte...ein Stück geschrieben, dem ganz Berlin zujauchzte...Es war das maßgebende Berliner Premierenpublikum...das seinen Geschmack den geistig

weniger fortgeschrittenen Schichten des deutschen Volkes mitteilte... (129-30)

11. For the 'exemplary' nature of Berlin in considering German conditions, cf. Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert (6.1.179).
N.B.: References to H. Mann's contributions to this Journal will be in the form of three numbers. The first indicates the year, the second the half-volume, and the third the page no. (Jg. 6, 1. Halbband = Okt. 1895-März 1896).
12. Cf. Zeck, op. cit., S.57.
13. Op. cit., S.13.
14. Ibid., S.13-14.
15. Though with the clear indication that the bases of the "Schlaraffenland" are threatened. Cf. Manfred Hahn, "Zum frühen Schaffen Heinrich Manns", in Weimarer Beiträge, Heft 3 (1966), S.385.
16. For the 1881 essay, cf. Theodor Fontane: Aufzeichnungen zur Literatur, hrsg. v. H.-H. Reuter (Berlin, 1969), S.177-90.
For the 1891 essay, cf. Theodor Fontane: Sämtliche Werke; Aufsätze Kritiken Erinnerungen I, hrsg. v. Walter Keitel (München, 1969), S.573-77. Here Fontane suggests State "Auszeichnungen" (S.576) as a cure.
For the same issue, cf. Herbert Jhering, Heinrich Mann (Berlin, 1951), S.20-21.
17. This is still a hallowed practice. In the Zeit-Magazin, advertisements like the following frequently appear. In the issue of 25.10.74, a work by Wolff Buchholz was offered, 'Finnische Landschaft' (through Galerie Levy-Hamburg):
Einmalige Auflage von 400 Exemplaren handsigniert, datiert und numeriert. Handdrucke Siegfried Reinert Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Künstler. Die Druckplatten wurden nach dem Druck vernichtet. (S.9)
18. See Hans Herzfeld, "Berlin als Kaiserstadt und Reichshauptstadt 1871-1945", in Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, hrsg. v. Wilhelm Berges et al., Bd. 1 (Tübingen, 1952).
...vor allem aber auch innere Schwächen der Übergangszeit des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts mit seinem Höhepunkt der im bürgerlichen Kapitalismus herrschenden einseitigen Idealisierung des Privateigentums und der Privatinitiative, schließlich auch das künstlerische Versagen einer Zeit des wahllosen Eklektizismus, das alles vereinigte sich schließlich, um die riesige Ausdehnung des modernen Berlin unter dem Vorzeichen vollendeter Planlosigkeit - bei emsiger bürokratischer Überwachung und Gängelung - sowie der künstlerischen Verantwortungslosigkeit vor sich gehen zu lassen. (S.153)

19. See Just, op. cit., S.131:
Im Gegensatz zur Architektur aber, die des Zweckes bedarf, kann sich die Bildhauerei auf ihre eigene Stilhaltung zurückziehen. Dazu bedient sie sich vorzüglich des Aktes. Der nackte Mensch beansprucht nach wie vor, Medium des Sakralen zu sein, aber selbst da, wo er diesen Anspruch nicht mehr erfüllt, nicht mehr erfüllen kann, bleibt er Medium dieser seiner vorgegebenen Haltung. Das berühmteste Beispiel aus dem wilhelminischen Zeitalter ist der Brunnen mit fünf knieenden, in sich versunkenen Jünglingen, den George Minne 1898 schuf. Die Spiegelung des Narziß in der Quelle, also das Tun eines Einzelnen, wird hier vervielfacht und gibt damit vor, für die Epoche insgesamt verbindlich zu sein.
20. E.g. in the "Familie hagerer Faune und mondsüchtiger Sylphen, begehrlicher Ziegenböcke und rätselhaft lächelnder Knaben" (65).
21. Quoted (as "Privatnotizen") in André Banuls, Heinrich Mann (Stuttgart, 1970), S.27.
Cf. too Fontane's critique of Die Weber (Aufsätze..., op. cit., S.858-59):
Hier aber, am Schluß des vierten Aktes, hätte der abschließende Sieg nichts bedeutet als - was eben zu wenig ist - den Sieg der Rache (!).
22. Cf. the visionary tones of the following, the 'real thing', the conclusion to the "Parteitag der Sozialdemokratie in Hannover 1899":
Die Arbeitermarseillaise brauste durch den Ballhof. Hörte niemand die Dissonanz? Es waren nicht die Geister der Vergangenheit, die Prinzessinnen, die Kurfürsten und die Könige, die sie hervorriefen. Es war der Geist der Zukunft.
Lily Braun, "Memoiren einer Sozialistin, Kampfjahre", quoted in Historisches Lesebuch 2: 1871-1914, Fischer Bücherei (F./M., 1967), S.155.
23. Here the 'king' of the Schlaraffenland does react differently from the historical Kaiser. See Barbara W. Tuchman, The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War 1890-1914 (London, 1966):
The Kaiser himself had removed the imperial coat of arms from the Deutsches Theater when it performed Hauptmann's Die Weber to a cheering Socialist demonstration in the mid-nineties. (p.324)
24. The reference to the superseding of Epigonen by Rache is doubly inept. "Ein mürrischer Herr wagte laut zu behaupten, daß die ganze Szene gestohlen sei" (127) shows the playwright's own Epigontum. Renate Werner claims this original source was Zola's novel "La bête humaine".
See Renate Werner, Skeptizismus, Ästhetizismus, Aktivismus: Der frühe Heinrich Mann, Literatur in der Gesellschaft, Band 11 (Düsseldorf, 1972), S.80 and 297 (Anm. 58 to S.80).

25. Renate Werner repeatedly draws attention to the "sozialdarwinistisch" aspect of the work (*ibid.*, S.77 et passim). Cf. too Michael Stürmer (Hrsg.), Das kaiserliche Deutschland: Politik und Gesellschaft 1870-1918 (Düsseldorf, 1970), S.363.
26. See Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p.32:
Mes romans sont généralement consacrés à la connaissance du pouvoir et de ses conditions dans une société donnée, de ses déplacements à l'intérieur de cette société.
Dans mon premier roman berlinois, Au pays de cocagne, le pouvoir demeurait encore ferme aux mains du souverain et des possédants. À côté seulement et inofficiellement, fonctionnait la grande force sociale du capital. (p.32)
27. See Türkheimer's reaction to the "Ausgeraubten" after Schmerbauch's fall: "...mochten sie ihn hassen, wenn sie ihn nur fürchteten" (249).
28. *Op. cit.*, S.74.
29. A similar doctrine, though without the same negative overtones, is proclaimed by Violante in Die Göttinnen. She writes to her friend, the old Garibaldi disciple San Bacco: "...unter uns kommt es auf Gesinnungen an; nicht auf Werke" (I, 239). And later: "Ich kenne nur eine Aristokratie, die der Empfindung. Gemein nenne ich jeden, der häßlich empfindet" (II, 129). See Roger A. Nicholls, "Heinrich Mann and Nietzsche", Modern Language Quarterly, 21 (1960), 168.
The second quotation of course involves far more than the content of what Andreas is saying, but both are expressions of an effete society. Nicholls equates the views of the Herzogin with those of her author, and states: "In this conviction Mann is still close to Nietzsche" (*ibid.*), but in the case of Im Schlaraffenland, the parallel between Andreas' dictum and Goethe's seems so close as to do away with any need for an intermediate figure such as Nietzsche.
30. The outcome for Adelheid is also presaged at the end of the same paragraph:
Sie war zu allem imstande; führte ihr Schicksal sie einem Manne wie Liebling zu, so ergab sie sich dem Zionismus. (141)
31. This is an about-face from the clinching line in one of his earlier pronouncements: "...und dies kann nur geschehen mittels forca, farina e feste!" (46)
32. Cf. Abell's extolling "unsere nationale deutsche Tingeltangeloesie" at the expense of shallow "französischen Chansons" (204-6). It is characteristic of H. Mann's editorial use of irony to expose his characters that Abell's tirade against the French culminates in "eine napoleonische Miene" (206).

33. As in his preposterously pompous and condescending assurance to Bienaimée:
Trösten Sie sich, liebe Kleine. Es handelt sich von seiten Ihres Wohltäters durchaus nicht um gehässige Reklamationen. Herr Türkheimer ist eine viel zu vornehme Natur, als daß er einem jungen Geschöpf, welches ihm mit sonniger Kindlichkeit sein freudloses Alter verschönt hat, einige Augenblicke leidenschaftlichen Überschwangs nachtragen würde. (357)
An unparalleled piece of bombast, unrecognizable as the same thought, already discussed, that in the Schlaraffenland sexual infidelity does not in itself have serious consequences.
34. Bismarck's "Sozialistengesetz" of 1878 had been largely countered by the time of his deposition on 21.3.1890. The government did in fact call an international conference for the protection of workers which took place from 15.-29.3.1890 (see Historisches Lesebuch 2, op. cit., S.264-65).
35. Just as Kaflisch tells Andreas:
Türkheimer...sieht ein, daß der jetzt so beliebte Kommunismus tatsächlich einem Bedürfnis der Neuzeit entspricht. (183)
36. Op. cit., S.65.
37. Ibid., S.66. Hahn justifiably criticizes the linear connection Zeck draws between Mann's contributions to Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert and the novel Im Schlaraffenland.
See Manfred Hahn, "Heinrich Manns Beiträge in der Zeitschrift 'Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert'", in Weimarer Beiträge, Heft 6 (1967), S.1015, Anm. 4.
38. H. Mann, Die Göttinnen oder Die drei Romane der Herzogin von Assy (Hamburg und Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1969), S.389. (The painter Jakobus is speaking.)
39. For the ambiguous and confusing class-relationships in Münchhausen, see Kohlhammer, op. cit., S.78, 177 (Anm. 6 to S.84) and 181 (Anm. 27 to S.92).
40. In the elaborate description of Pimbusch, the absurd slave of current fashion -
...so mußte es im Jahre 1894 jeder machen, der auf guten Ton Anspruch erhob, und so würde es zwei Jahre später niemand mehr tun (94) -
he is reduced to a chiffre of the time, a mere instrument registering its impulses (here - of fashion). Cf. pp.22-23, 28 for more on the role of such figures in the genre Zeitroman.
41. Op. cit., S.64.
42. Ibid., S.70.

43. This episode (cf. p.142) could well be obliquely referred to by the following:
Süß erzählte Andreas ins Ohr eine äußerst schmutzige Geschichte über die ausgeschnittene Dame, die Fürstin und den jungen Mann, der der Sohn der Fürstin sein sollte. (59)
44. For a statement on the lowliness of the order, and at the same time, on the miserable position of German writers, cf. Fontane in a letter to Friedländer of 29.4.1890 (FLB, 123).
45. The equivalent of Gobelins corresponding to the wealth of the Witwe Pittelkow are to be found in her front room; "die Fransen des vor dem Sofa liegenden Brüsseler Teppichs". From Stine, ch. 4 (I, 495).
46. Hildegard Munk no sooner arrives in Berlin than she gushes:
Eure Berliner Muster schlagen jetzt alles aus dem Felde, selbst Sèvres...Scheltet mich übrigens nicht, daß ich in einem fort von Dingen spreche, für die sich ja morgen auch noch die Zeit finden würde: Grecborte und Sèvres und Meißen (!) und Zwiebelmuster.
From Frau Jenny Treibel, ch. 14 (I, 987).
47. The following quotation applies to the motley collection of elegance, pretentiousness and trivia in Pauline Pittelkow's front room:
All dies Einrichtungsmaterial, Kleines und Großes, Kunst und Wissenschaft, war an ein und demselben Vormittage gekauft und mittels Handwagen...von einem Trödler in der Mauerstraße nach der Invalidenstraße geschafft worden. (I, 494 - author's underlining)
48. Karl Erich Born, "Der soziale und wirtschaftliche Strukturwandel Deutschlands am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts", in VSWG, 50 (1963), 375.
49. Cf. Hahn ("Zum frühen Schaffen..."), op. cit., S.383.
50. In the Reichstag elections of 20.2.1890, the Social Democrats had for the first time gained more votes than any other party. See Stürmer, op. cit., S.317.
51. Fischer Weltgeschichte. Bd. 28, op. cit., S.174.
Cf. too Böhme, op. cit., S.100.
52. Cf. too Zeck, op. cit., S.114.
53. In this context the following quotation from Lizzi, who is reiterating Abell's critique, shows how un-seriously the very real social grievances of the Volk are taken:
Ich kenne doch das Theater!...Was jetzt Mode wird, ist das Volk, und mit der Mode muß man gehen. (160)

54. Cf. Akt V of Die Weber (satirized in Rache!):
Chirurgus Schmidt: "...ich meechte kee Fabrikante
sein, und wenn ich gleich uf Gummirädern fahr'n
keente.
Gerhart Hauptmann: Die großen Dramen (Berlin:
Propyläen, 1965), S.74.
55. Cf. Fontane's comment:
Der Judengeist, der uns 50 Jahre lang beherrscht
hat, von Anno 20 bis Anno 70, ist kolossal über-
schätzt worden; er repräsentirt eine niedrige
Form geistigen Lebens, so niedrig, daß wenn ich
jetzt einen klugen Mann, er sei Jude oder Christ,
Judenwitze machen höre, ich in seine Seele hinein
verlegen werde. (FLB, 286. Letter of 8.7.95.)
56. In ZfDP, 54 (1929), 296-328. Reprinted in Der
Dichter und die neue Einsamkeit: Aufsätze zur
Literatur um 1900, hrsg. v. Reinhardt Habel (Göttingen,
1969).
The second part of the title - the overcoming of the
Renaissance-cult - refers above all to Thomas Mann.
This essay, apart from its instructive treatment of
the subject at hand, is something of a historical
curiosity from today's perspective, championing
strongly the Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen against
H. Mann's Zola-Essay. H. Mann's works written after
Rehm's essay plus a more sympathetic secondary
literature have presented the author as a humane
European, but this view is far from Rehm's.
57. Cf. Hahn ("Zum frühen Schaffen..."), op. cit., S.385.
58. Ibid.
59. For the model of the French novel in the playing-off
of capital city against the provinces, cf. Meister,
op. cit., S.22.
60. Cf. Herzfeld, op. cit., S.144.
See too H. Mann in Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert, 6.1.201:
Berlin...schließt trotz allem noch soviel glück-
lich Kleinstädtisches in sich, es enthält so viele
nicht abgeschliffene, provinzielle Elemente und
bewahrt in seiner groben Emporkömmlings-Physiognomie
im Grunde einen so einheitlichen Charakter.
61. Cf. Herzfeld, *ibid.*, S.161; Böhme, op. cit., S.85;
Feuchtwanger, op. cit., S.166, 171.
Cf. too Wolfgang Köllmann, "Industrialisierung,
Binnenwanderung und "Soziale Frage": Zur Entstehungs-
geschichte der deutschen Industriegroßstadt im 19.
Jahrhundert", in VSWG, 46 (1959), 60.
62. Friedrich Nietzsche: Werke in drei Bänden, hrsg. v.
Karl Schlechta (München, 1960), II, 330.
63. Cf. Weisstein, op. cit., S.27 (Anm. 49).
Cf. too, in the Materialien zu 'Martin Salander', the

following characterization of "Der reiche Emporkömm-
ling, welcher sich auf schlaudem Wege adelig machen
will":

Dann legt er mit Bezug auf das Haus seiner Adresse
die Bezeichnung "zum" bei und verläßt sich darauf,
daß der Sprachgebrauch ein "von" daraus machen
werde,...

Baechtold, op. cit., S.645.

Cf. too FLB, 381-82 (Anm. 4 to S.276):

Ehrendoktor Fontane.

Fontane ist nun wohl fein 'raus,

Er ist jetzt ein gelehrtes Haus,

Und will er bürgerlich nicht bleiben,

Kann er sich auch von Tane schreiben.

(Beilage des Berliner Tageblatts "Der Ulk", Jahrgang
23, 1894, Nr. 49 vom 7. Dezember).

CONCLUSION

The vagueness surrounding the term Zeitroman (see p.1) has, it is hoped, been at least partially dispelled in the course of this thesis. No final hybris is to be attempted here in a categorical definition of the Zeitroman. However, we can establish the form in broad (and yet limiting) terms as a novel whose main concern lies in depicting the age contemporary with the writer as an agglomeration of historical and social forces, among others (cf. Hasubek's Kraftfelder, p.27). As well as other works treated more cursorily, five novels have been analyzed in detail as representing possibilities of the Zeitroman. All except Im Schlaraffenland are commonly regarded as instances of the form, and it has been seen how H. Mann's work strives to extend the boundaries of its satiric frame of reference (see p.293ff.) while including the concerns of the Zeitroman within that frame.

The novels chosen span some seventy years of German literary and national history. Aesthetically the Zeitroman has advanced from somewhat faltering beginnings to complete self-sufficiency, from the trammels of a Classical tradition evident in Immermann and still present in Spielhagen, to Fontane's novels on the threshold of the new century. Indeed, Fontane's illustrious descendant, Thomas Mann, could write to Julius Bab in 1925: "Sicher, Roman, das heißt Gesellschaftsroman...",¹⁾ a statement inconceivable without the gradual evolution of the frequently ignored Zeitroman. Its emergence should not be overlooked alongside that stream of the nineteenth century novel which has claimed so much more attention, the Bildungsroman.

The span of seventy years has seen dramatic changes at the historical level, changes reflected in the concrete settings of successive eras of Zeitromane. These changes - and not merely greater artistry - are also responsible for a notable feature in Keller's and Fontane's works considered here; this feature might best be termed 'radiation'. In the phrase "c'est partout comme chez nous" and the Stechlin-lake, we have a relativizing, an application of the particular case portrayed to a more general context. Such a 'radiation' would have been unthinkable in the fragmented world of pre-unification Germany depicted in Die Epigonen and Problematische Naturen.

The nineteenth century novel, in particular the social novel, is popularly held to have been both a 'democratic' form and one feeding substantially on the metropolis (Dickens, Balzac, ^{Schwab? Trollope?} etc.). If this view is correct, then the Zeitroman evolved under historically blighted augurs in the Germany of the period. Disappointed hopes after the 1848 Revolution (ignored by Spielhagen in Problematische Naturen) plus Bismarck's Kulturkampf and Sozialistengesetze are the most striking examples of the thorny progress of German democracy in the nineteenth century. On the other hand Berlin was still relatively provincial when it became a capital city. It figures but briefly in Immermann (its salons, a side considerably more developed in H. Mann's scathing satire) and Spielhagen (basically as the setting for the Revolution).

At the same time, however, it should be noted that

there was a turning away from Idealism, at the latest with the Jungdeutschland-movement, i.e. the aesthetic pre-suppositions for the form were there, even if the substance of the political and social reality was insufficient to sustain these with much epic sweep. Immermann was still caught up in the old aesthetic tradition, even though his novel represents a considerable thematic change. Freytag's clear propagandistic aims make possible a certain breadth within an intact closed system, an illuminating and extolling of Bürgertum from all sides, with the nobility, the Poles and the Jews as negative counterpoles (politically, materially, ethically). These three groups are not explored or differentiated, and are not even presented as threatening bogeys, but form a negative basis of comparison for German bourgeois virtues. All this of course implies a strongly flavoured view of the Zeit, but also a manageable epic compass in terms of the Roman. Spielhagen's more complicated political and aesthetic sympathies combine with a more ambitious dissection of society at various levels to produce a novel which uses a spectacular event from the Zeit to draw together its many threads. The Zeit and the Roman are not balanced here.

The Swiss example included sets off the German ones to a degree, Switzerland having a more developed democratic tradition and lacking the Zeitroman leitmotif of the decline of the nobility. Martin Salander directly relates financial and political currents to individual existences, i.e. as crucial events within those existences. It does not always show the wider communal bases of these

individuals, their daily lives, the 'feel' of their environment, factors which are ever-present in the still further reduced epic dimensions of Fontane's Zeitromane other than Der Stechlin (and Effi Briest, if this can be considered a Zeitroman).

Then with the late Fontane and the early H. Mann we have a realization of the historically more favourable preconditions for the genre within Germany, and at the same time a link between the historically distant stature of Goethe's novels and the substantial German contributions to the novel of the twentieth century. Der Stechlin is furthermore a consummate resolution of the problems of individualization inherent in the Zeitroman. Fontane's 'personalized' Zeitroman makes no formal sacrifices for the sake of breadth of subject-matter, but presents figures which are unmistakable and unforgettable in their individuality. He does not develop a natural phenomenon into a large-scale historical analogy, as Spielhagen had done in Sturmflut, but transforms a lake actually existing in the Mark Brandenburg into a central symbol. This approach at once answered those needs of the Zeitroman-genre which had never been met by earlier authors in satisfactory fashion, namely the desirability of combining the individual example with the larger frame of reference. Fontane benefits from the non-'realistic' aspects ascribed to the lake by legend (e.g. the red rooster), but this legend is in itself 'real'. And so Fontane does not manipulate reality for his own poetic ends, but goes directly beyond the firm realistic base that is present to an

aesthetically satisfying symbolic level, which assures the Roman-element of the Zeitroman its due. Fontane's work is neither a historical document nor an artistic fiction but both; it is truly a Zeit-Roman.

From the variety of features ascertained in the five cases considered in detail, it is clear that the Zeitroman-form was not a static one, as is implied by any normative approach (such as Hasubek's in taking Gutzkow as a yardstick - see p.14). It nevertheless exhibited problematic areas that remained constant and were naturally held in common with those genres whose concerns were also primarily with a panorama of the present or the immediate past. Büchner's view²⁾ of the historical dramatist being bound in material to historical reality but remoulding that reality in artistic form, could be a statement on the same tension within the Zeitroman, and it returns us to Thomas Mann's description of the Zeitroman as portraying the inner picture of an era (see p.1).

Another tension characteristic of the genre is that between the ephemeral and more 'universal' elements, the ephemeral which result from exploring an age in considerable depth, and the 'universal' arising from locating the particular age within a broader historical span. This tension relates directly to that between individuals and types in characterization, and the latter is in turn bound up with relative emphases laid on the individual and on his age. Before Fontane these areas of emphasis were in any case often separated into the Bildungsroman and the Zeitroman: only with him are the individual and his social background

combined satisfactorily. The significance of this social background (or foreground), not merely as narrative colour but as the very basis of the work, complicates the application of aesthetic criteria to the Zeitroman. Extraliterary factors play a greater role in shaping this genre than most others. The historical basis of the Zeitroman is nowhere more apparent and nowhere more clearly external to the novel's fictional entity than in the dilemma confronting the author of a Zeitroman at the conclusion of his work. For while a historian of the nineteenth century period has definite historical boundaries to his investigation and the Bildungsroman-writer had only to concern himself with the resolution of his hero's fate, the author of a Zeitroman had to combine both elements of the individuals and their historical age.

These then are some of the main problem-areas of the Zeitroman. It is hoped that this thesis has eliminated at least some of the perplexity evident in the two extreme viewpoints cited on p.1. For only from a more precise concept of the Zeitroman - which needn't be an ultimately definitive one - can future research approach the problem-areas summarized above.

Footnotes

1. Hans Wysling, Einführung zum Briefwechsel T. Mann - H. Mann, op. cit., S.XLII.
2. "An die Familie", Straßburg, den 28. Juli 1835:
Der dramatische Dichter ist in meinen Augen nichts als ein Geschichtschreiber, steht aber über letzterem dadurch, daß er uns die Geschichte zum zweiten Mal erschafft und uns gleich unmittelbar, statt eine trockene Erzählung zu geben, in das Leben einer Zeit hinein versetzt, uns statt Charakteristiken Charaktere und statt Beschreibungen Gestalten gibt.
Georg Büchner, Werke und Briefe, dtv-Gesamtausgabe, 3. Auflage (München, 1968), S.181.

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