The Analyst of Manners, Money and Masks.
August Lewald in the *Vormärz*

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(Signature)_____

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Abstract

Writers of the 1830s and 1840s sought to interpret their changing society in an explosion of new forms, developing an all-inclusive aesthetic that saw writing as a direct expression of individual experience, without boundary between life and page and without hierarchy of genre or subject matter. Analyses of social types and behaviour proliferated in which two current preoccupations stood out: the materialist motivation of an industrialising society with an expanding middle class, and the degree of theatricality involved in manoevring for a place in that society. Often groundbreaking, the analyses of August Lewald (1792–1871) were informed by his broad experience which included commerce and the theatre, and for which he was renowned. Contemporary reviews acknowledge the innovativeness of his writing and his sure eye for key issues of the day. In the new conditions after 1848, however, his popularity soon vanished, and he has been largely overlooked since then. My thesis aims to demonstrate that such a strong representative of the period in both his life and works calls for reinstatement as significant writer and personality.

Three of Lewald's works have been selected to support this aim. After an Introduction which tries to place Lewald within the experimental context of the *Vormärz*, Chapters 1–3 will offer a close reading of each work, contextualised by reference to other works, contemporary reviews, and biographical detail where it seems relevant. Sketches from *Album aus Paris* exemplify Lewald's early and influential innovativeness in their humorous scrutiny of social behaviour through observation of its external manifestations, in the style of French *Physiologies*. *Memoiren eines Banquiers* exploits fictionalised life-writing as a cover behind which to confront controversial issues around money, Jewish emancipation and prejudice. *Theater-Roman* plays with the metaphor of society as theatre, conveying the ultimately futile illusoriness of contemporary society's values, and foreshadowing Lewald's own increasing rejection of his *Vormärz* life- and writing style after 1848.

My Conclusion claims for Lewald's life and writing individuality and originality as well as qualities that make him exemplary of his time. It proposes, as a project among other topics for further research, that a new edition of his sketches in particular, enjoyable in their own right, would be a valuable contribution to knowledge of the *Vormärz* period.

List of Contents

List of Illustrations

List of Abbreviations

DHA Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke* (*Düsseldorfer Heine Ausgabe*), ed. by Manfred Windfuhr, 16 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1973–97)

GWB,DG *Gutzkows Werke und Briefe. Kommentierte digitale Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Editionsprojekt Karl Gutzkow, <http://www.gutzkow.de> (Exeter, Berlin, 2000–)

HSA Heinrich Heine, *Säkularausgabe, Werke, Briefwechsel, Lebenszeugnisse*, ed by Stiftung Weimarer Klassik and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, 27 vols (Berlin, Paris: Akademie Verlag, 1970–)

MEGA Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Günter Heyden (Berlin: Dietz,1975–)

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i. August Lewald, engraving by Wenzel Pobuda, ([no date, artist unknown]), Munich, Deutsches Theatermuseum.

Introduction

> Derjenige, welcher wahrhafte Uebung in der Wissenschaft des feinen gesellschaftlichen Benehmens erlangt hat, [ist] nur sehr schwer zu täuschen [...]. Er besitzt Fühlfäden, Sinne und Nerven von solcher reizbaren Beschaffenheit, daß er den Abenteuerer durch die dichteste Maske herausspürt.
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> August Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft. Für angehende Weltleute* (1847).[1]

Introducing *Das Buch der Gesellschaft. Für angehende Weltleute*, a young people's guide to the achievement of effective functioning in modern society, August Lewald refers to knowledge of refined social manners as a science, and implies that it is acquired through practical experience in observational skills. One becomes an adept social analyst not by applying theory but as a participant, by developing a living intelligence that enables the correct reading of appearances through finely attuned antennae, senses and nerves — physiologically, as one animal might get the measure of another, and also as an alert spectator interpreting the performances that constitute social behaviour. The assumption is that behaviour will be driven by ulterior motives of self-interest, whether in pursuit of money or status: the materialist 'every man for himself', in which detection of the adventurer — here implying the manipulative charlatan — is essential if one is to avoid exploitation and play one's own cards to advantage. One must expect misleading or deceptive appearances and become expert at detecting what lies beneath surface phenomena, behind even the most cunning and impenetrable disguise. Lewald's own *Vormärz* writings present just such analyses of contemporary manners, focusing on their materialist drive and concomitant element of performance — on the ubiquitous influence of money and prevalence of masks.

[1] August Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft. Für angehende Weltleute* (Stuttgart: Müller, 1847), p. 5.

Concepts embodied in Lewald's definition of social competence transfer more broadly to aesthetic ideas and writing of the 1830s and 1840s. The greater importance of engagement over theory informed a new aesthetic and generated forms of writing in which an immediacy from life to page — from experience to analysis — was paramount. The popular French *Physiologies* of the period presented studies of society as if it were a living body made up of numerous species capable of being analysed by observation of externals in quasi-scientific terms. These humorous sketches identifying and characterising social types were highly influential in Germany, and Lewald was in the vanguard of that influence.

New approaches to writing grew out of Europe-wide upheaval in the decades following the 1789 French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, when a society in flux saw an expanding middle class striving to assert itself as established forms and beliefs were eroded and new were both sought and resisted. In Germany, the term *Vormärz* has tended to replace the designation *Biedermeierzeit* for the period, and to be framed variously by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the March events of the 1848 revolution, or by the two years of revolution, 1830 and 1848.[2] In contrast to the resonance of stolid, home-grown respectability that attaches to *Biedermeier* culture, *Vormärz* literary culture — most notably from the decade that began with revolution and marked the end of the *Goethezeit* with Goethe's death in 1832 — is associated with intense experimentation, an openness to new influences, and the explosion of new kinds of writing. Peter Stein refers to the period as '"Labor"-Zeit', a time of reassessment of aesthetic values and a necessarily model-less search for forms of expression that felt more relevant. Enlightenment idealism and Romantic idealising seemed no longer tenable, art forms as things of beauty separate from an 'invisible' perfection-seeking maker no longer appropriate. Stein records that a new kind of connection was perceived between writing and history in the making: rejecting an aesthetic that now seemed static and lifeless, an 'operational', anti-idealist aesthetic developed which generated innovative forms intended to have an immediate impact within the contexts of the day. Writers came to be understood as actively involved witnesses to and

[2] Sengle's 1970s survey of the longer period adopts the term Biedermeierzeit: Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit. Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815–1848*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971–80).

protagonists in something currently unfolding: as 'Kronzeugen und Akteure eines neuen Literaturprogramms'.[3]

Gustav Frank also sees experimentation as 'Signatur der Epoche',[4] and suggests interpreting *Vormärz* literature as a specific society's expression of its specific context, 'als gesellschaftliches Konstrukt in und für spezifische(n) historische(n) Konstellationen'.[5] He proposes that with the collapse of philosophical systems that had underpinned literature in the *Goethezeit*, *Vormärz* writing was actively involved in the search for new rather than expressing pre-existing systems. Forced into untried directions, it became one means by which society examined and tried to understand itself — one branch of knowledge-seeking among others:

> diese Literatur [ist] als offenes System neben anderen Systemen der gesellschaftlichen Selbstverständigung und Wissensproduktion zu denken.[6]

Though the *Vormärz* refers specifically to Germany, experimentation and the attempt to understand and describe a changing society in new genres were European phenomena. Judith Wechsler describes the proliferation in Paris during the1830s and 1840s of the humorous written and visual sketches already mentioned, that scrutinised, classified and codified social types and behaviours, as if analogous with the close scientific observation of anatomical and burgeoning sociological studies, and that borrowed the name *Physiologie* from medical science, only partly ironically.[7] The sociologist Richard Sennett underlines the sociological thrust of the sketches in his 'Foreword' to Wechsler's book, recognising their part in the contemporary effort to make sense of a society that was no longer familiar or fixed:

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[3] Peter Stein, '"Kunstperiode" und "Vormärz". Zum veränderten Verhältnis von Ästhetizität und Operativität am Beispiel Heinrich Heines', in *Vormärz und Klassik*, ed. by Lothar Ehrlich, Hartmut Steinecke and Michael Vogt, Vormärz Studien, 1 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1999), pp. 49–62 (pp. 49; 50). See also Peter Stein, *Epochenproblem "Vormärz" (1815–1848)* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), here particularly pp. 21–27.

[4] Gustav Frank, 'Romane als Journal: System- und Umweltreferenzen als Voraussetzung der Entdifferenzierung und Ausdifferenzierung von "Literatur" im Vormärz', *Forum Vormärz Forschung Jahrbuch*, 1 (1996), 15–47 (p. 32).

[5] Frank, 'Romane als Journal', p. 21. Frank's parentheses.

[6] Frank, 'Romane als Journal', p. 21.

[7] Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy. Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), here particularly pp. 20–41.

> People faced with what seem irreversible, destined changes in their lives can believe [...] that the meaning will eventually come clear of its own accord. But the citizens of Paris and London in the mid-nineteenth century had no such comfort [...]. There thus arose a hunger in the lives of these people to impose order, to fix meaning, to arbitrate in the midst of chaos.[8]

Sennett widens the field to London, and describes the social flux in which the sketches arose as affecting 'all of Europe'.[9] In *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century. European Journalism and its* Physiologies*, 1830–1850*,[10] Martina Lauster demonstrates their Europe-wide spread, and explains how a fast and high rate of translation, adaptation, editing and emulating produced cross-fertilisation between countries, and between different regions of the same country.

Balzac, master of the nineteenth-century French *Physiologie*, elaborates on the analogy between zoology and the study of human behaviour in his 'Avant-propos' to the 1842 version of *La Comédie humaine*, his collection of fictional and non-fictional writings depicting French society. The study of humans is more interesting for him, their habits and material accoutrements variable according to context and fashion, their intelligence more complex, their interactions more subtle and capable of drama: 'entre les animaux, il y a peu de drames, la confusion ne s'y met guère'.[11] Balzac includes in a writer's roles as recorder of social behaviour, 'conteur des drames de la vie intime'.[12] That a writer's 'science' of observation and analysis is felt to overlap with a dramatist's skill in signalling social types and manners through gesture and dress is manifest in the collection's title, whose theatrical premise Lauster underlines.[13] The idea of contemporary society as spectacle, individuals as actors, seemed especially relevant during a period which demanded a high level of adaptive role-play and extemporisation, in turn dependent on close interpretation and response to the behaviour of others.

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[8] Richard Sennett, 'Foreword', in Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, pp. 7–9 (p. 8).
[9] Sennett, 'Foreword', in Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, p. 7.
[10] Martina Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century. European Journalism and its* Physiologies*, 1830–1850* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[11] Honoré de Balzac, 'Avant-propos' in *La Comédie humaine*, ed. by Pierre-Georges Castex, 12 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1976–81), I (1976), 7–20 (p. 9).
[12] Balzac, 'Avant-propos', p. 11.
[13] Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 152.

Balzac, like Dickens in England, often depicts social interactions involving the presentation and interpretation of 'performances' either driven by personal greed or necessitated by the greed of others. In an increasingly materialist middle class, in which the significance of a financial system that had proved its creativity during the Napoleonic Wars was enhanced still further, and wealth on an individual level was challenging status within a traditional social hierarchy, the ability not only to observe and interpret a succession of masks but also to adopt and, when necessary, switch them or strip them off was vital in the play for social and financial advantage. Social interactions were seen as increasingly determined by whatever a person has or represents that is of value to another at any given moment. Karl Marx would later choose the language of masks and theatre to describe material interactions — the commercial exchange of 'wares' that consist in anything that has value, or potential value, to the participants in the exchange. Its participants are 'ökonomische[.] Charaktermasken', 'nur die Personifikationen der ökonomischen Verhältnisse [...], als deren Träger sie sich gegenübertreten'.[14] They are mere embodiments of the current transaction, which, it is implied, exclude any deeper or more consistent identity or human connection, and change with each transaction.

August Lewald (1792–1871) was one of a growing number of men relying on their own resources to achieve more than mere survival in the new middle class. He could claim to have acquired a well-developed knowledge of human nature when still in his twenties:

> Obgleich noch in den Zwanzigen stehend, hatte ich schon viel erlebt, bedeutende Reisen gemacht und war mit Menschen aller Stände in Berührung gekommen; ich hatte das Trügerische unserer Hoffnungen genügend kennen gelernt und war zu einem Resultate gelangt, das sonst nur reifern Jahren vorbehalten ist.[15]

In an adventurous life that itself resembles a case-study to exemplify current trends, Lewald made use of his experience in fine-tuned adaptation to different roles through several changes of direction. Man of the theatre, editor, journalist

[14] Karl Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Erster Band*, *2nd edn (Hamburg: Meissner, 1872)*, in *MEGA,* ed. by Günter Heyden, 2. Abteilung, VI: '*Das Kapital' und Vorarbeiten* (1987), p. 114.
[15] August Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften. In einer Auswahl* / *Ein Menschenleben*, 12 vols (Leipzig:Brockhaus, 1844–46), IV (1844), 18.

and writer in many genres, he enjoyed a high popular profile during the *Vormärz* and was acquainted with many of its prominent literary figures, notably with Karl Gutzkow, whose critical assessments of Lewald and his work extend over many years and underline Lewald's significance during the period. Contemporary reviews of his works testify that Lewald was often highly innovative in style and content, a groundbreaker who homed in unerringly on current social preoccupations. Such a key *Vormärz* player, long neglected, demands closer attention. My dissertation aims to make good some of this deficit in *Vormärz* studies, and to show how Lewald's work and life, interpreted in the context of their time, vividly illustrate some predominant contemporary social issues.

Lewald's career as prose-writer took off in the '"Labor"-Zeit' of the 1830s. Wide-ranging reportage, semi-fictional or fictional sketches, travel guides, instruction for self-presentation both in society and on the stage, theatre criticism — much of Lewald's large and varied prose output is 'aus der Gegenwart herausgeschöpft und für die Gegenwart geschrieben', as Ulrich Cruse already recognised in 1933.[16] Lewald wrote several narratives based on current or recent events in Poland: he attributes to Heine the coinage of the word 'Zeitbild' to describe the first, *Warschau*,[17] noting that it adds to Heine's earlier coinage 'Reisebilder' and the later 'Zustände'. Lewald thus assigns to himself the birth of a new genre that signals, like Heine's others, both its standpoint as observer and its contemporary relevance.[18] The twelve volumes of Lewald's *Gesammelte Schriften* are interspersed with extended sections of autobiography, each volume carrying a second title-page, *Ein Menschenleben*. In a review, Gutzkow suggests that their author presents his works

> nicht in der Absicht, mit ihnen einen besondern Vorzug anzusprechen, sondern er gibt sie [...] besonders die Richtungen des Zeitgeschmacks, in dessen Strömungen er gerathen war, anzudeuten.[19]

Their author does not claim merit for the works in themselves, Gutzkow implies, but offers them as integral to the life, or Life, of which they form part, as

[16] Ulrich Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Breslau: Priebatsch, 1933), p. 39.
[17] August Lewald, *Warschau. Ein Zeitbild* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1831).
[18] August Lewald, 'Heine', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, 4 vols (Mannheim: Hoff, 1836–37), II (1836), 89–139 (p. 101).
[19] Karl Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', ed. by Wolfgang Rasch, in *GWB*,*DG*, Literaturkritik. Rezensionen und literaturkritische Essays (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2009), p. 3.

evidence of the context from which they arose — they represent Lewald's response to his times.

Lewald's talent for sensing and partaking of the 'Richtungen des Zeitgeschmacks' are demonstrated resoundingly in his work as journalist and editor, work that places him at the heart of the explosion of journalism that took place during the *Vormärz*. The importance of his work in such a key field must be acknowledged at the outset, and will be outlined here and referred to where relevant throughout this dissertation, but it will not be a main focus, first because the topic is large enough to require separate study, and second because if Lewald has been remembered at all in recent decades, it is usually as journal editor, while his original writing has been largely overlooked. This is reflected in the studies published by *Forum Vormärz Forschung*: while there is an entire chapter on the breadth of the Europe concept in *Europa*,[20] Lewald is otherwise discussed only briefly, by Lauster, particularly in relation to his sketches.[21]

A brief summary of the journals Lewald edited in the *Vormärz* starts with his theatre journal *Unterhaltungen für das Theater-Publikum* (1833). This was followed by the more weighty *Allgemeine Theater-Revue* (1835–7), acknowledged as a valuable source of information in Düringer's contemporary *Theater-Lexikon* and to which Heine contributed his letters 'Ueber die französische Bühne'.[22] *Atlas zur Kunde fremder Welttheile* (1836-1839) and *Atlas. Monatsschrift für Zeitgeschichte und Völkerkunde* (1840) followed, and all were outlived by Lewald's runaway success, *Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, which he edited from 1835 to 1846, when he handed over the editorship

[20] Eoin Bourke, '"Wir wollen die große europäische Gesellschaft schildern, nach allen ihren Beziehungen, treu und wahr": Die Zeitschrift *Europa* von 1835 bis 1848', in *Deutschland und der europäische Zeitgeist. Kosmopolitische Dimensionen in der Literatur des Vormärz*, ed. by Martina Lauster (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1994), pp. 27–43.

[21] See for example: Martina Lauster, 'Der Dandy zwischen Engagement und Ästhetizismus. Überlegungen zu Gutzkow und Baudelaire', in *Zwischen Daguerreotyp und Idee*, ed. by Martina Lauster, Vormärzliteratur in europäischer Perspektive, 3 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2000), pp. 281–314 (pp. 294–95); 'Physiologien aus der unsichtbaren Hauptstadt. Gutkows soziologische Skizzen im europäisch-deutschen Kontext', in *Karl Gutzkow. Liberalismus — Europäertum — Modernität*, ed. by Roger Jones and Martina Lauster (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2000), pp. 217–54 (pp. 251–53).

[22] *Unterhaltungen für das Theater-Publikum*, ed. by August Lewald (Munich: Franz, 1833); *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, ed. by August Lewald (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1835–37); 'Ueber die französischen Bühne. Vertraute Briefe an August Lewald von H. Heine (Geschrieben im Mai 1837, auf einem Dorfe bei Paris)', *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, 3 (1837), 155–248; *Theater-Lexikon: theoretisch-practisches Handbuch für Vorstände, Mitglieder und Freunde des Deutschen Theaters*, ed. by Ph. T. Düringer and H. Barthels (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1841), p.99.

to Gustav Kühne.[23] The journal survived until 1885. Incorporating coloured prints of Paris fashions, caricatures, drawings illustrating instructive articles on all manner of subjects, new poems, songs with their music, literary and theatre criticism, stories, extracts from novels, reports and jottings from all over Europe, it enjoyed a huge readership. In letters to Heine Lewald boasts of a circulation of over two and a half thousand, with two thousand subscribers, and in an editorial in *Europa* itself claims the journal has 'nicht vierhundert Abonnenten, wie dieß oder jenes deutsche Blatt, sondern einige Tausend'.[24] Its innovative inclusiveness became a model for others. Gutzkow refers to *Europa* as a 'mit großem Erfolge begründete[.], dem Ideal der Franzosen nahe kommende[.] "Revue"'. The journal included a *feuilleton* section: Gutzkow attributes to Lewald the introduction from France to Germany of this form. When Gutzkow met Lewald in Munich in 1833, he reports that Lewald was preoccupied with contributing a series of *feuilleton*-like articles to the *Nürnberger Korrespondent*, the first journal to propagate the form: 'Das [...] ist der erste Anfang des deutschen Feuilletons!'.[25] Though Gutzkow is critical of Lewald's own treatment of what he, Gutzkow, understands as a sort of journalistic aside written with the taut wit and structural unity of a poetic form, he acknowledges the *feuilleton*-like contributions that Lewald commissioned for *Europa*.

The timing of Lewald's launch as journalist and prose writer again makes him part of a contemporary current. Roland Chollet pinpoints 1830 as the year in which Balzac left behind his career as writer of romantic potboiler novels and turned to journalism as his staple.[26] Early in his prose-writing career Lewald too produced novellas and novels with highly convoluted gothic plots and irrational elements, often set back in time. The first volume of his *Novellen*, published in 1831, includes 'Aus dem Tagebuch eines Guillotinirten' in which

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[23] *Atlas zur Kunde fremder Welttheile*, ed. by August Lewald (Leipzig, Stuttgart: Scheible, 1836–[37?]; Stuttgart: Literatur-Comptoir, 1838–39); *Atlas. Monatsschrift für Zeitgeschichte und Völkerkunde* (Stuttgart: Literatur-Comptoir, 1840); *Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, ed. by August Lewald (Leipzig, Stuttgart: Scheible, 1835–37; Stuttgart: Literatur-Comptoir, 1838–40; Karlsruhe, Baden: Gutsch und Rupp, 18[41?]–44). From 1845–46 the journal appeared as *Das neue Europa: mit Modebildern, Lithographien u. Stahlstichen; Chronik der gebildeten Welt,* ed. by August Lewald (Karlsruhe: Gutsch und Rupp).

[24] Letters from August Lewald to Heinrich Heine, Stuttgart, 25 November 1839; Stuttgart, 14 September 1840, in *HSA*, XXV, ed. by Christa Stöcker (1974), pp. 232; 284; August Lewald, 'Europa. 1838', *Europa*, 1 (1838), 1–7 (p. 4).

[25] Karl Gutzkow, 'Das Feuilleton', ed. by Kurt Jauslin, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Literatur und zum Theater, Schriften Zur Literatur (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2009), p. 4.

[26] Roland Chollet, *Balzac journaliste. Le tournant de 1830* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983).

the diarist, embroiled in secret affairs and message-bearing, lets pass an opportunity to kill Napoleon, and meets his own death by guillotine; 'Der Familienschmuck. Eine wahre Geschichte', to which my Chapter 2 will return, is a tale about some jewels which seem to possess supernatural power, set in the Frankfurt Judengasse of the eighteenth century. Lewald's 1839 collection of earlier writings, *Der Divan. Eine Sammlung von Novellen, Genrebildern und Memoiren*, includes 'Italienische Noveletten', episodes of hidden torture, murder and betrayal in a Venice of times past.[27] By 1835 Lewald dismissed these as 'dumme[s] Zeug'.[28] Both writers changed in response to changed conditions, journalism offering the potential both for a better living and for the development of new kinds of writing. In reference to Balzac, Chollet describes 'cette mutation essentiellement commerciale, mais dont les conséquences littéraires seront considérables'.[29] Some of these consequences are noted by the eponymous banker in Lewald's novel discussed in my Chapter 2, *Memoiren eines Banquiers*. Writing in his maturity from the perspective of the 1830s, the banker is struck by the considerable change of aesthetic and style since his youth:

> Die alten empfindsamen Geschichten, die poetischen Poesien, und vollends gar die aberwitzigen Ritter-Romane, die ich in meinen jungen Tagen gelesen, waren mir zum Horreur geworden; wie erstaunte ich nun, diese natürlichen, ansprechenden, lebendigen Schilderungen zu finden, in einer faßlichen Sprache entworfen, und gesunde Lebensansichten, Weisheit für die Welt enthaltend.[30]

Even taking into account the authorial irony in the banker's down-to-earth outlook, his comments express the concept of writing arising directly from life, an approach that was central to the decade.

In Heine's case, a turning point towards journalism came a year later than for Balzac, in 1831: having made his name as a poet, notably with *Das Buch der Lieder* (1827),[31] Heine left Germany for Paris, reporting for Cotta's

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[27] August Lewald, 'Aus dem Tagebuch eines Guillotinirten', in *Novellen*, 3 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1831–33), I (1831), 3–32; 'Der Familienschmuck. Eine wahre Geschichte', in *Novellen*, I, 35–146; August Lewald, 'Italienische Noveletten', in *Der Divan. Eine Sammlung von Novellen, Genrebildern und Memoiren*, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1839), II, 5–92.
[28] Letter from Lewald to Heinrich Baermann, Stuttgart, 7 August 1835, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Autograph: Lewald, August.
[29] Chollet, *Balzac journaliste*, p. 11.
[30] August Lewald ([ed]), *Memoiren eines Banquiers*,(Stuttgart: Scheible, 1836), I, 42–3.
[31] Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1827).

Allgemeine Zeitung and French journals. The committed anti-aristocrat Ludwig Börne had been in Paris since 1830: the first collection of his *Briefe aus Paris* was published in 1832,[32] their forthright blend of social, political and personal commentary adulated by the younger generation of writers. Of these, Karl Gutzkow's first journal, *Forum der Journal-Literatur*,[33] appeared in 1831, followed over the next few years by further intensive journalistic activity and his first works of prose fiction. The new writers' radicalism caused controversy, Gutzkow's 1835 novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin*[34] famously banned, Gutzkow tried and found guilty of contempt in his representation of the Christian faith, and sentenced to several months' imprisonment. By the end of 1835, 'junges Deutschland', a broad diversity of authors to whom the critic and journalist Ludolf Wienbarg had dedicated his 1834 lectures calling for a new, living aesthetic,[35] was seen as a coherent literary school threatening enough to the establishment to warrant banning by the authorities. Heine, Gutzkow, Wienbarg, Mundt and Laube were mentioned by name, and a special warning was given to Hoffmann & Campe, the liberal publisher of Heine, Börne, and Gutzkow and, on Heine's recommendation, of early works by Lewald as well.[36] In 1836, official tabs were being kept on Lewald, 'der wohl auch zum jungen Deutschland zu rechnen wäre':[37] whether or not this assessment is justified, it is the context within which he was perceived at the time, and his own enjoyment of being subversive and causing scandal — within fairly safe bounds — is apparent in the works discussed below.

In England, a first collection of Dickens's *Sketches by Boz, Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People* was published in 1836,[38] its title making clear a focus on the immediate concerns of the close at hand rather than a heroic ideal. Dickens's first novels, reflecting the social iniquities he observed around him with both humour and engagement, appeared from 1836 onwards,

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[32] Ludwig Börne, *Briefe aus Paris. 1830-1831*, 2 vols (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe 1832).
[33] Karl Gutzkow, *Forum der Journal-Literatur* (Berlin: Logier, 1831).
[34] Karl Gutzkow, *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (Mannheim: Löwenthal, 1835).
[35] Ludolf Wienbarg, *Aesthetische Feldzüge. Dem jungen Deutschland gewidmet*, ed. by Jürgen Jahn (Berlin, Weimar: Aufbau Verlag, 1964). First published in Hamburg by Hoffmann & Campe, 1834.
[36] Bundesbeschluß, 10 December 1835: Protokolle der deutschen Bundesversammlung 1835, 31. Sitzung, §515. See Edda Ziegler, *Literarische Zensur in Deutschland 1819–1848. Materialien, Kommentare* (Munich, Vienna: Hanser, 1983), pp. 13–14.
[37] *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz*, ed. by Karl Glossy, *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, 21–23 (1912), 22 (p. 70).
[38] Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz, Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People* (London: John Macrone, 1836).

their serialisation in monthly parts and huge popular following giving the relationship between writer and reader a new immediacy and dynamism. Malcolm Andrews shows how in Dickens's case the relationship developed into the author's appearing in person before his public and reading from his own works,[39] performances which made very clear how Dickens's preoccupation with acting and theatricality was, like Lewald's, at the heart of his prose.

Lewald explains his own turning point, in his case from playwright and man of the theatre to prose-writer, in his *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*: by 1831 he had worked for sixteen years as actor (briefly), stage-manager, director and dramatist in theatres across Germany and in Vienna, and had written, translated and adapted numerous plays to supply practical needs. He records that he had become disillusioned with the current state of the German theatre, which the better writers had already abandoned. He was appalled that he had spent so long in what he now saw as a hopeless cause, and did not, at that point, feel capable of influencing the theatre for the better:

> Das Theaterwesen selbst, das ich nunmehr in allen Stufen genugsam kennen gelernt hatte, war in zu großen Verfall gerathen, als daß es für mich noch den alten Reiz hätte haben sollen. Die bedeutendern Kräfte in der Literatur hatten sich in jener Zeit von ihm losgesagt und ihm allen Antheil entzogen; man sprach mit einer Misachtung von seinen Leistungen, daß es mich erschütterte, wenn ich bedachte, daß ich nun so viele der schönsten Jahre meines Lebens so erfolglos geopfert hatte. Ich war zu der Einsicht gelangt, daß hier wol nur eine andere Macht, als ich sie aufzubieten hatte, zu helfen im Stande sei, und ich nahm mir vor, die Bilanz zu ziehen und mit einem Gewinn von Erfahrungen und einigen dramaturgischen Kenntnissen, zugleich aber auch mit einer noch ganz rüstigen Kraft in ein anderes Feld der Wirksamkeit zu treten, ehe das Ergebniß für mich sich vielleicht viel schlechter herausstellen würde.[40]

Interesting in their *Vormärz* context are Lewald's belief in his strength to try himself in something new (though he was approaching forty in 1831), and the

[39] Malcolm Andrews, *Charles Dickens and His Performing Selves. Dickens and the Public Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[40] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, IV, 45–46.

metaphor with which he describes his withdrawal from the theatre in terms borrowed from financial accounting.

Lewald's theatrical experience and know-how would continue to be universally acknowledged, and in spite of his disclaimer at the end of the passage quoted he did after all concern himself with theatre reform. Besides editing and writing for his theatre journals, he wrote widely on theatrical matters of all kinds, addressing whatever he believed was sabotaging standards: corrupt arrangements with critics; permanent appointments for actors leading to complacency and resistance to innovation; lack of training for new actors and absence of encouragement for good new dramatists. He himself supplied encouragement when he could, giving practical help and advice to writers he believed in, including Gutzkow.[41] Lewald fostered new writing for and about the theatre in his *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, claiming to have persuaded fresh writers to turn their attention to the stage,[42] and the review's publisher Cotta setting a competition for new comedy.[43] His obituary writer in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* pays tribute to Lewald's contribution to theatre reform:

> Durch kritischen Geist, praktische Erfahrung und feinfühliges Urtheil hatte er um die Veredlung der Bühne seiner Zeit nicht geringes Verdienst.[44]

In 1831 however, Lewald turned his back decisively on his own theatrical career. A leaning towards prose-writing was developing in tandem with his alienation from the theatre and his recognition that he was not making progress as a playwright. In imagery apt for a writer with an eye for theatrical costume, he records how his life experience fed more satisfyingly into prose:

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[41] After sharing views on theatre reform during their early friendship, Lewald offered Gutzkow practical advice on the staging of *Richard Savage* before its first performance in Frankfurt (Letter from Lewald to Gutzkow, Stuttgart, 31 May 1839, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt/Main, Nachlaß Karl Gutzkow, A 2 1, no. 39,150+1). He defended the play against its critics in 'Noch etwas über Richard Savage', *Europa*, 3 (1839), 330–32, and reviewed its Stuttgart first performance: 'Richard Savage', *Europa*, 4 (1839), 320–26.

[42] August Lewald, 'Vorwort', *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, 1 (1835), iii–iv (p. iii).

[43] In his report on the competition, Lewald regrets the late submission of the work 'eines unserer ausgezeichnetsten Bühnen-Dichter' — according to Büchner's brother, *Leonce und Lena* had unwittingly been returned unopened. Lewald, 'Vorwort', *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, 2 (1836), iii–vii (p. iii); Arnd Beise and Gerald Funk, *Georg Büchner, Leonce und Lena. Erläuterungen und Dokumente* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1998), pp. 84–85.

[44] 'August Lewald', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1 April 1871, Beilage, pp. 1570–72 (p. 1571, col. 2).

> Ich kleidete einige Erlebnisse in novellistische Form und gab sie, mit Anderm, was früher entstanden war, heraus. Hier glaubte ich größere Befriedigung zu finden.[45]

His prose writings began to appear thick and fast from 1831, helped on their way by Heine's recommending them to Hoffmann & Campe. Gutzkow's comment in bitter old age on his former friend's conversion to prose-writing and his friendship with Heine ungenerously emphasises the material gain they brought Lewald:

> Sein Wanderleben hatte ihn nach Hamburg geführt, wo ihm die Verbindung mit Julius Campe's Verlagsbuchhandlung und sein Enthusiasmus für Heinrich Heine [...] einträglicher wurde, als seine Thätigkeit am Stadttheater.[46]

If, as was surely the case, Lewald's intuition that writing prose out of life experience was appropriate to the times merged with the immediate need to maximise his assets to make a living, the double motivation again makes him representative of his time.

Lewald appears to have written no more plays after leaving Hamburg,[47] but inspite of his claim: 'Mein Naturell ist mehr contemplativ als dramatisch',[48] theatre, actual and metaphorical, permeates his output, and his writing retains the imprint of his dramatist's apprenticeship. Three of his prose works have been selected for close examination here: *Album aus Paris*, *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, and *Theater-Roman*.[49] Each not only resonates with its time but

[45] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, IV, 45.
[46] Karl Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, ed. by Peter Hasubek, in *GWB*,*DG*, Autobiographische Schriften (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.2, 2010), Chapter 2, p. 100.
[47] While opera *Regisseur* at the Stuttgart Hoftheater, Lewald wrote the libretto for an opera by the court composer and *Kapellmeister* Peter Lindpaintner, *Giulia, oder: Die Corsen. Ernste Oper in 3 Akten* (Stuttgart: Hallberger, 1852), and *Der standhafte Prinz*, *nach Calderon* (1852), an adaptation for which Lindpaintner wrote incidental music: Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Historisches Aufführungsmaterial der Bayerischen Staatsoper, st.th 873. (Witness to Lewald's adopted title at the court theatre, the work is described as '*neu bearbeitet von Dr A Lewald* '.) See Reiner Nägele, *Peter Joseph von Lindpaintner. Sein Leben. Sein Werk. Ein Beitrag zur Typologie des Kapellmeisters im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1993), pp. 257–58; p. 260, n. 102.
[48] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften/ Ein Menschenleben*, IV, 45.
[49] August Lewald, *Album aus Paris* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1832); Lewald ([ed.]), *Memoiren eines Banquiers* (see note 29); August Lewald, *Theater-Roman*. *Mit Federzeichnungen von E. Hochdanz*, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1841).

also stands out in its originality and boldness. Each is a study of contemporary manners and in each the acting and interpreting of assumed roles, and wealth — its absence, creation or loss — are of paramount importance, but with differing emphases and within a variety of forms that itself demonstrates Lewald's versatility.

In Germany, a country without a capital city that was felt to lack the cosmopolitan sophistication and liberal politics of Paris after the 1830 revolution, sketches from or about the city by German writers imported a sense of what was seen by those eager for change at home as the 'Mekka der Civilisation',[50] and, by Lewald himself, as the 'Welthauptstadt'.[51] The first chapter of my dissertation will look at three of the sketches from *Album aus Paris*, Lewald's contribution to the flow of analyses from the city. Different in kind from Börne's collections of *Briefe aus Paris* (1832–34) and Heine's *Französische Zustände* published in 1833,[52] they are more closely related to Börne's earlier *Schilderungen aus Paris* (1822–24) and Heine's 1822 city sketches, *Briefe aus Berlin*,[53] and highlight in comparison Lewald's individual style. '[Lewalds] "Album aus Paris" ist von ähnlichen, Paris und die Pariser schildernden Darstellungen noch nicht übertroffen', wrote Gutzkow in 1842.[54] Fifteen years later in *Das Buch der Gesellschaft. Für angehende Weltleute* (1847) Lewald suggests that a time and its fashions are all but indivisible:

> Die Mode, wie wir sie hier verstehen wollen, ist auf das Innigste mit der Zeit, welche sie entstehen sah, verbunden und darf als der Ausdruck derselben betrachtet werden.[55]

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[50] Karl Gutzkow, 'Eine männliche Gräfin Hahn-Hahn', ed. by Wolfgang Rasch, in *GWB*,*DG*, Autobiographische Schriften, Kleine autobiographische Schriften (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2008), p. 8.
[51] Lewald, 'Heine', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 127.
[52] Ludwig Börne, *Briefe aus Paris,* in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. by Inge and Peter Rippmann, 5 vols (Dreieich: Melzer, 1977), III; Heinrich Heine, *Französische Zustände*, in *DHA*, XII, ed. by Jean-René Derré and Christiane Giesen (1980).
[53] Ludwig Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. by Inge and Peter Rippmann, 5 vols (Dreieich: Melzer, 1977), II; Heine, *Briefe aus Berlin*, in *DHA*, VI, ed. by Jost Hermand (1973).
[54] Karl Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Von August Lewald. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', ed. by Wolfgang Rasch, in *GWB*,*DG*, Literaturkritik, Rezensionen und literaturkritische Essays (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2009), p. 4.
[55] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, pp. 21–22.

Highly visual observations of life as it is being lived, the sketches document precise, specific details of current fashion in the widest sense, contemporary manners as an expression of their time.

In 1840 the French journalist and critic Jules Janin threw out a challenge to writers if they were to be up to date in recording the essence of the times:

> Vous avez donc [...] à nous raconter les voies nouvelles de la fortune, la banque, la bourse, les actions, les actionnaires, les annonces, les prospectus, les faillites, les rabais, les misères, les spéculations sans fin sur le rien et sur le vide et autres commerces que ce bon dix-neuvième siècle a gardés pour lui-même [...].[56]

Lewald was ahead of the game. Already published in 1836, his fictional satire *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, discussed in my second chapter, takes finance and wealth as its overt subject and subverts a stereotype, the Jewish banker, to raise highly topical questions not only about an increasingly materialist society, but also about emancipation, prejudice and problems of personal freedom in general. As a contemporary review of *Memoiren eines Banquiers* comments:

> Es war zu erwarten, daß in unserer, die Frage einer Judenemancipation und -Reformation, einer socialen Umstellung des ganzen Judenthums gewaltsam anregenden Zeit irgend eine gewandte Feder sich dieses modernen Stoffs bemächtigen und ihn auch auf novellistische oder memoirenhafte Weise verarbeiten würde.[57]

The review implies that Lewald is the first to write a work of fiction in a contemporary setting in which the question of Jewish emancipation is a central theme. Lewald himself and other contemporary authors had written stories with Jewish central characters set safely back in time, and their relationship to

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[56] 'Introduction', in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 8 vols (Paris: Curmer, 1840–42), I (1840), pp. iii–xvi (p. xii). The passage is slightly paraphrased in the English translation, *Pictures of the French: A Series of Literary and Graphic Delineations of French Character. By Jules Janin, Balzac, Cormenin, and other celebrated French authors* (London: Orr, 1840), pp. ix–xx (p. xvi): 'It would therefore be the duty of the writer of the present day [...] to describe the new roads to fortune: the Bank, the Exchange, advertisements, prospectuses, joint-stock companies, rises and falls, disasters and bankruptcies, the endless speculations on nothing and on the vacuum, and other legitimate fields of commerce which our fruitful century has reserved for itself ', (quoted in Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, p. 37).

[57] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers. Herausgegeben von August Lewald. Zwei Theile. Stuttgart, Scheible. 1836', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), 530–32 (p. 530, col. 2).

Lewald's 1836 work will be discussed.[58] *Memoiren eines Banquiers* is placed squarely in modern times, its eponymous 'author' explicitly writing his memoirs during the 1830s. Several sketches in *Album aus Paris* depict aspects of society in a painterly way as they describe details of scenes unfolding live around the onlooking 'sketcher', or as if they were being acted out on a stage. *Memoiren eines Banquiers* also makes its points through close observation of manners but, in contrast to the sketches, the later work deals with issues — issues which closely affected Lewald himself as a practical businessman and Jew by birth. For his analysis, and to distance himself from identification with views expressed, he creates a layering of masks that results in a work as complex as the issues themselves and the attitude towards them of both actual and fictional authors.

Theater-Roman (1841) was Lewald's last original work of fiction before the watershed of the failed 1848 revolution. In its five volumes, Lewald takes his accumulated knowledge and experience of the theatre and his 'Menschenkenntnisse', the two areas of expertise to which he laid claim and for which he was widely acknowledged, and makes of them a satirical fiction that is a culmination of both: a thoroughgoing critique of the current state of the theatre in Germany and — the focus of my third chapter — a critique of the society in which the theatre functions. Like *Memoiren eines Banquiers* it boldly — at times almost recklessly — confronts modern society head on, its introduction explicitly placing the 'moderne[.] Thorheiten und Schwächen' the novel will depict 'in der civilisirten Gesellschaft zu Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts'.[59] As another contemporary review points out, Lewald the former man of the theatre is on home ground in a subject that currently had widespread popularity in Germany:

> Diese Vorliebe für das Theater lässt Lewalds 'Theaterroman' als ein durchaus nicht unzeitgemässes Unternehmen erscheinen, und es kann ihm um so weniger an Lesern und Käufern fehlen, da der Name des

[58] Lewald, 'Das Ghetto', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, I (1836), 209–15; *Gorgona. Bilder aus dem französischen Mittelalter* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1833); Karl Gutzkow, *Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam*, in *Gutzkows Werke. Auswahl in zwölf Teilen*, ed. by Reinhold Gensel, 4 vols (Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Stuttgart: Bong, [1910]), II, Part 4, pp. 19–63; Berthold Auerbach, *Spinoza. Ein historischer Roman* (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1837).
[59] Lewald, *Theater-Roman*, I, pp. iv and xi.

> Verf. unter den Liebhabern und Mitgliedern der Bühnenwelt ein viel genannter und geachteter ist.[60]

Lewald manipulates his overview of modern theatre to throw into high relief the theatricality of contemporary social behaviour: the theatre is presented as a microcosm of society, while the novel's characters 'perform' their off-stage lives within a variety of continuous, more or less conscious, acts. My chapter will point to suggested and overt allusions in *Theater-Roman* to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, and refer to Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, to help define the context of Lewald's work.

The idealism of Goethe's novel and the gusto of the English close contemporaries emphasise a distaste for modern life that pervades *Theater-Roman*. There is a perceptible progression from the buoyancy and relish of Lewald's Paris sketches, through a difficult combination of engagement and ambivalence in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, to the disillusionment of *Theater-Roman*, a progression that is apparent in Lewald's own life and which would lead increasingly from 1848 to his conversion in 1860 to ultramontane Catholicism, his style of journalism *passé*, his *Vormärz* fame evaporated, but with a new role developing as a Catholic author writing for a Catholic readership. In his review of *Theater-Roman* Gutzkow outlines how the compulsive fascination the theatre initially held for Lewald changed with experience to disgust and repulsion. Gutzkow identifies this development in Lewald himself with the novel's outlook:

> wohl [...] ist die Bestimmung dieses Romans, sein Ton, seine Auffassung der Bühnenzustände, sind seine Schönheiten und seine Fehler nur aus des Vfs. dramatischer Lebensscizze zu verstehen.[61]

He interprets the novel as a direct expression of Lewald's own experience good and bad, not in an autobiographical sense but in essence. His interpretation reflects the view of life and writing as a seamless continuum that took on the strength of a manifesto among *Vormärz* writers and is germane to an intepretation of Lewald's writings and their context. New kinds of writing were

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[60] 'Theaterroman. Von August Lewald. Mit Federzeichnungen. Fünf Bände. Stuttgart, Krabbe. 1841', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), 289–92 (p. 289, col.2).
[61] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 4.

emerging which rejected notions of the writer as creating self-contained forms of aesthetic beauty conceived within identifiable genre boundaries, remote from everyday life. Instead the writer's 'visibility' and an iconoclastic breaking down of genre 'rules' and boundaries were equated with engaged integrity, with a commitment, whether imaginative or instructional or both, to a representation of the immediate concerns of the day, to an all-inclusive absence of hierarchy rather than to established ideas of 'high' and 'low' art. As early as 1828 Börne's famous declaration sets out, with characteristically pithy irony, the new terms of engagement which turn the idealist perception of what it is to be a writer on its head:

> Was ich immer gesagt, ich *glaubte* es. Was ich geschrieben, wurde mir von meinem Herzen vorgesagt, ich mußte. Darum, wer meine Schriften liebt, liebt mich selbst. Man würde lachen, wenn man wüßte, wie bewegt ich bin, wenn ich die Feder bewege. Das ist recht schlimm, ich weiß es, denn ich begreife, daß ich darum kein Schriftsteller bin. Der wahre Schriftsteller soll thun wie ein Künstler. [...] Nicht *was* die Kunst darstelle, es kümmert [die Kunstkenner] nur, *wie* sie es darstelle.[62]

The fifth lecture of Wienbarg's *Aesthetische Feldzüge* fleshes out Börne's words, pleading for a new broad-based rather than elitist aesthetic, extolling life itself as experienced by each individual in the present moment over dry philosophy and learning or the historical idea of heroism. Wienbarg declares, 'Der Zweck des Lebens ist das Leben selbst', and asks, 'wo bleibt unsere Welt, die lebendig organische Ganzheit, die gesunde, vollblühende Gegenwart?'.[63] Wienbarg insists on the superiority of lived experience over theory as the source of creativity:

> woher stammt diese Fülle von Leben und Kraft, die uns an Shakespeare entzückt [...]? [...] das hat er sich nicht auf seinem Stübchen zusammengedichtet, das hat er nicht aus dem Stegreif phantasiert, das hat er gelernt und herausgeschaut aus dem wildbewegten, großartigen Leben, das seine Jugendträume umflatterte und ihn später als Jüngling und Mann in seine Mitte aufnahm.[64]

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[62] Börne, 'Aphorismen und Miszellen', in *Sämtliche Schriften*, II, 332.
[63] Wienbarg, *Aesthetische Feldzüge*, pp. 46; 49.
[64] Wienbarg, *Aesthetische Feldzüge*, pp. 55–56.

Lewald stressed repeatedly the value of experience over textbook theory, and his own experience as the basis of his writing. The narrator of Lewald's collection of sketches, *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, refers in the first person to his collected writings entitled, like Lewald's own, 'Ein Menschenleben': 'es ist viel Erfahrung darin, auch wohl einige Menschenkenntniß, die einzige Wissenschaft, die ich hienieden erlangte'.[65] In his 1844 review of Lewald's *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* Gutzkow endorses this self-assessment, recommending the works' author as 'kein Stubenmensch, sondern im besten Sinne Weltmann', a virtuoso 'dessen Werkstatt das Leben, sein eigenes und das Leben Anderer war'.[66] Gutzkow's 1844 critique of Lewald in turn echoes Laube's 1833 comment on Gutzkow's first novel, *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin*,[67] quoted by Wulf Wülfing in *Schlagworte des Jungen Deutschland*:

> Die Briefe enthalten das Leben, aber mit dem ganzen Inbegriffe des Wortes Leben eines Mannes, der viel gelernt und empfunden hat, und der noch viel lernt und empfindet.[68]

Wülfing identifies the concept of writing as 'das unmittelbare Leben' — life unmediated in its transfer to writing, unqualified by any pre-existing aesthetic ideal — as a benchmark for Young German literary criticism, quoting a review by Theodor Mundt, one of the writers banned in 1835:

> Ist euch das Kunstwerk nur bloß *das unmittelbare Leben*, das noch nicht vermittelt sei durch die Idee, so frage ich, was giebt es Höheres und Reizenderes auf unserem unvermittelten Erdglobus, als *das unmittelbare Leben*.[69]

An unfiltered relationship between life and writing, an immediacy between an impression and its representation in words, is underlined by Lewald's use of the

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[65] Lewald, 'Ina', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 241–49 (p. 242).
[66] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', pp. 4 and 2.
[67] Karl Gutzkow, *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin*, ed. by R.J. Kavanagh, in *GWB*,*DG*, Erzählerische Werke (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.2, 2011).
[68] Heinrich Laube, 'Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin. Hamburg bei Hoffmann u. Campe, 1832', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 42 (1833) (p. 167), cited in Wulf Wülfing, *Schlagworte des jungen Deutschland: mit einer Einführung in die Schlagwortforschung* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1982), p. 166.
[69] Theodor Mundt, in 'Bücherschau', *Literarischer Zodiacus. Journal für Zeit und Leben, Wissenschaft und Kunst*, 1 (1835) (p.411), cited in Wülfing, *Schlagworte des jungen Deutschland*, p. 166. Mundt's emphases.

watercolour metaphor for *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*. He develops the concept in the collection's unpaginated 'Vorwort': the written sketches are 'eine Reihe kleiner Genrebilder und Zeichnungen nach der Natur':

> So wie der Gedanke kommt, wird er in flüchtigen aber festen Umrissen schnell auf's Papier geworfen, dann werden eben so schnell mit Saftfarben die Lokaltinten angedeutet. Alles ist flüchtig, durchsichtig und klar, giebt einen vollkommenen Begriff von dem darzustellenden Gegenstande.

The cumbersome preparation and procedures necessary for a grand historical subject (probably in oils) can be dispensed with. There is no time, nor need, for deliberation, analysis and correction: there is an unbroken continuity between life as it is being experienced and the written word — 'Der Geist muß in der Auffassung liegen. [...] [S]o folgt die Ausführung dem Gedanken und athmet daher Leben und Wahrheit.'[70] New relationships between writer, his experience, his work and his reader resulting from this change of approach are apparent in each of Lewald's works to be discussed here. In each, a greater immediacy and an apparently greater mutual visibility between writer and reader interact with a complex play of disguised or masked voices, Lewald's own, the author's, the narrator's and those of the characters portrayed — an interaction that reflects the society he depicts, in which it is essential to have a knowledge of human behaviour competent to interpret what is seen, to 'read' correctly and to be 'read' in turn to one's advantage

That Karl Gutzkow 'read' Lewald astutely and felt at least until 1844 that there was a close continuity between his experience and his writing is due no doubt in part to the two men's early friendship and lifelong acquaintance. Besides pointing up Lewald's significance during the *Vormärz*, Gutzkow's assessments of Lewald and his work, and the men's relationship as a whole, could be seen as reflecting a difference in outlook and experience between two 'post-Napoleonic' generations, a difference that is helpful in understanding Lewald's development. When the twenty-three-year-old Gutzkow met Lewald in Munich in 1833, and again in Stuttgart in 1834, he enjoyed the forty-one-year-old

[70] Lewald, 'Vorwort', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, I, [pp. i–iii] ([pp. iii; ii]).

Lewald's humour and his style as man of the world, in his life as in his writing, and respected his know-how and advice on theatrical matters. Much later Gutzkow recalls his early impression of Lewald:

> aus Paris gekommen, ganz erfüllt vom dortigen Theater- und Literaturwesen, bildete der weltgewandte Mann [...] einen Mittelpunkt für einige Studenten, Musiker, Schauspieler, Maler, unter welche auch ich eintrat und nicht zu meinem Nachtheil.[71]

Gutzkow acknowledged Lewald's 'dauernde Anhänglichkeit' towards him until 1848, 'wo sein Katholisch- und Ultramontanwerden Lockerung herbeiführte'.[72] Lewald's tendency towards Vatican-centered Catholicism strengthened until his conversion in 1860, while Gutzkow's aspirations for reform and German unification through Prussia remained vigorous, and the two men grew apart. Gutzkow's negative assessment after Lewald's death in 1871 of Lewald's reasons for conversion reflects the younger man's bitterness at the hurdles to political reform he saw in conservative Catholicism.[73]

The writer and theatre director Karl Immermann (1796–1840) maintains that the maximum and most enduring impact of the events between 14 October 1806 (the Prussian defeat by Napoleon at Jena) and 3 February 1813 (renewed Prussian mobilisation against France) would be felt by north Germans aged between ten and sixteen on the first, and between seventeen and twenty three on the second date.[74] Lewald fulfilled both conditions. His fourteenth birthday fell on the first date, by the second date he was twenty, and he lived during the entire period in Königsberg, the Baltic seaport through which French, Russian and German troops passed during the wars and where decisive moves towards Prussia's re-engagement against France took place. Among those named in the December 1835 resolution of the Frankfurt *Bundesbeschluß* as belonging to the so-called Young German literary school, Heine was just five years younger than Lewald, whereas Gutzkow, Mundt, Laube and Wienbarg were between ten and nineteen years younger. Lewald's attitude to Gutzkow resembled that of a concerned but affectionate father towards a wayward son. During their

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[71] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, p. 100.
[72] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, p. 100.
[73] Gutzkow, 'Eine männliche Gräfin Hahn-Hahn'.
[74] Karl Immermann, *Memorabilien*, in *Werke in fünf Bänden*, ed. by Benno von Wiese (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1973), IV, 355–652 (p. 361).

fluctuating relationship, Lewald is clearly delighted when Gutzkow resumes contact after a rift, reporting to Heine that Gutzkow has pleaded 'pater peccavi',[75] and professing in his reply to Gutzkow confidence in their friendship: 'die Anhänglichkeit die Sie der 20jährige zu mir dem 40jährigen Manne bewiesen, — von dem ersten Augenblicke unserer Bekanntschaft bewiesen, die bürgte mir für Etwas'.[76] In the same letter Lewald admires the young man's talent: 'Gutzkow, Sie sind mir stets die merkwürdigste Erscheinung der jüngsten Zeit gewesen', and he takes issue with what he sees as impulsiveness in pursuing regrettable new directions:

> Sie gehören halb der jetzigen, halb der jüngst vergangenen Periode an. Ich möchte keck behaupten Ihr besseres Theil gehört dieser. Welche Mischung! Naiv, sentimental, maliciös, witzig; ernst u tief, leicht u unbesonnen; zu gescheut u zu rasch.[77]

Lewald was clearly stimulated by Gutzkow's writing, which perhaps fed his own relish for subverting commonly held attitudes and for a degree of scandalousness in his own writing.

Lewald's earlier post-Napoleonic generation had experienced the violence, turmoil and unpredictability of war at first hand. By the time he met the young Gutzkow, Lewald had seen the supposed humiliation of French occupation leading to the greater freedoms of the Napoleonic Code, notably for Jews, and the erosion or withdrawal of those and other freedoms after the Treaty of Versailles in 1815 during the Restoration period, in which he and his contemporaries had to adapt from a military to a differently uncertain civilian life. Gutzkow, born in 1811, missed Lewald's first-hand experience of war, the reversal of prospects for reform during the Restoration, and the early struggles of the middle classes to adapt to the peace, analysed with humour and insight in Lewald's *Memoiren eines Banquiers*.[78] Gutzkow self-confessedly came of age as a student in 1830, when a new revolution in Paris brought fresh promise

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[75] Letter from Lewald to Heine, 14 September 1840, in *HSA*, XXV, 284.
[76] Letter from Lewald to Gutzkow, Stuttgart, 27 December 1838, Nachlaß Karl Gutzkow, A 2 1, no. 38,357. For a discussion of Lewald's relationship with Gutzkow, see Veronica Butler, 'On- and Off-stage Theatre. Gutzkow and August Lewald', in *Karl Gutzkow and His Contemporaries. Karl Gutzkow und seine Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Gert Vonhoff, Forum Vormärz Forschung, Vormärz-Studien, 21 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011), pp. 341–57.
[77] Letter from Lewald to Gutzkow, Stuttgart, 27 December 1838, Nachlaß Karl Gutzkow, A 2 1, no. 38,357.
[78] Lewald, *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, II, 5–18.

for change at home to the generation whose hopes had not already been tempered with scepticism by experience.[79] Gutzkow became politicised, and remained actively engaged beyond the 1848 revolution, the intensity of his engagement reflected in the depth of his frustration at the revolution's failure. Without reference to less identifiable personality differences, Lewald's longer experience and observation of human nature could at least in part explain his more sardonic and pessimistic outlook, his early disillusionment, and his desire for some stability and certainty in old age. Lewald's career after 1848 is discussed as an epilogue to my Chapter 3.

Circumstances of Lewald's life will be considered throughout where they might provide insight into his authorial stance, and also, as just above, to identify aspects of his experience as 'post-Napoleonic man' that make his life itself exemplary. The validity of this practice seems endorsed by the format Lewald himself chooses for his *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*: the double title emphasises the continuum from experience to works, and reflects the *Vormärz* breaching of boundaries that set literature apart from life.

Autobiographical passages in his *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* and autobiographical references scattered throughout his other writings are the source for much of what is known about Lewald's early life in particular. They rarely give precise dates, if any at all, and the extent to which they are accurate cannot be known, though they show what Lewald wished to reveal of himself. Some information and corroboration of facts about his life have been found in the published and unpublished sources consulted for this dissertation, among them Lewald's published letters to Heine;[80] his correspondence with the publisher Cotta and with Berthold Auerbach and others in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach; his correspondence with Gutzkow in the archive of the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main. Contemporary criticism and comment in journal reviews and articles held in archives across Germany, including reviews by Gutzkow published online in the digital edition of the Editionsprojekt Karl Gutzkow,[81] have helped to give an idea of Lewald's literary and personal

[79] Karl Gutzkow, *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. 1830–1838*, in *Gutzkows Werke. Auswahl in zwölf Teilen*, III, Part 8, pp. 85–137 (pp. 87–9).
[80] *HSA*, XXIV–XXVI (1974–76).
[81] Editionsprojekt Karl Gutzkow, <www.gutzkow.de>.

reputation in the *Vormärz* and beyond. Since the reprint of her own three-volume autobiography, Fanny Lewald's comments and impressions of her older cousin have contributed a valuable first hand view.[82] Lewald's personal file as *Regisseur* at the Stuttgart court opera in the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg reveals much about his *Nachmärz* attitudes and struggles with work and health.[83]

Apart from a chapter on Lewald and the Paris theatre by the French scholar Jean-René Derré in 1981,[84] the only study found that focuses on August Lewald alone is Ulrich Cruse's 1933 monograph, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*. The teacher Cruse acknowledges in his foreword, Josef Nadler, believed in a deep connection between differentiated German racial lines and their literature, and the publication date of the monograph resonates as the year in which Hitler came to power, but Cruse's study is level-headed. Perhaps he underplays Lewald's Jewish birth in favour of his allegiance to Königsberg and Poland, but this reflects how Lewald presented himself. Cruse's study is a rich source of references, and, without the benefit of recent research, it is perceptive about the changing cultural contexts of Lewald's works, and acknowledges his importance between 1830 and 1848. It gives an overview of Lewald's whole output, in so far as it was available, but most space is given to discussion of the earlier gothic works in which Cruse sees the influence of Lewald's fellow Königsberger, E.T.A. Hoffmann. Lewald's social critique is overlooked: the study denies *Album aus Paris*, for instance, any bite, calling it '[e]ine wahllose Sammlung der verschiedenartigsten Bilder [...] mit dem alleinigen Zwecke, den Leser zu unterhalten [...]'.[85] In a brief discussion of *Theater-Roman* the metaphorical dimension in which its social criticism plays out is not mentioned, and a section on 'Lewald als Gesellschaftsschriftsteller' focuses not on his critique of modern society but on his specific prescriptions for refined living.[86] This dissertation hopes to redress

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[82] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, ed. by Ulrike Helmer, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Königstein/Taunus: Helmer, 1998).

[83] Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv, Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II Bü 613.

[84] Jean-René Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vus par August Lewald', in *Mélanges offerts à Georges Couton*, ed. by Jean Jehasse and others (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1981), pp. 535–50.

[85] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 72.

[86] Referring briefly to *Theater-Roman*, Sengle recognises a modern trend in Lewald's viewing the theatre 'mit gewöhnlichen gesellschaftskritischen Maßstäben', as a part of society rather than as a separate, glorified entity, though he stops short of interpreting the novel as a metaphor for modern society in general (Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, II (1972), 895). Perhaps reflecting a twentieth-century perception of Lewald, three out of Sengle's five mentions of him

what in the light of more recent approaches to *Vormärz* writing seems an imbalance in Cruse's study, and to adjust Cruse's verdict on Lewald as 'keineswegs ein original Schaffender'.[87]

are in the context of his acquaintance with Heine (Sengle, II (1972), 23; III (1980), 495; 532). The last entry mistakenly records Heine's 'Vertraute Briefe über die französische Bühne' as contributed to *Europa*, which Sengle dismisses as 'die zahme *Europa*'. Lewald does not merit his own entry in Sengle's third volume, *Die Dichter*.

[87] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 9.

Chapter 1. *Album aus Paris*

In 1831 Lewald left Hamburg, after nearly four years working for the Stadttheater, to join the large German community in Paris.[88] Börne and Heine were already in self-imposed exile in the cosmopolitan capital that Germany lacked, where they could avoid the German censors, and where the 'Trois Glorieuses' of the July 1830 revolution and the instatement of the initially liberal King Louis-Philippe gave renewed hope for reform and greater freedoms. 'Paris ist nicht bloß die Hauptstadt von Frankreich, sondern der ganzen civilisierten Welt, und ist ein Sammelplatz ihrer geistigen Notabilitäten',[89] wrote Heine reporting from the city during Lewald's time there. Karlheinz Stierle extends the quotation to demonstrate how for Heine Paris was the very fount of now-ness, 'der Ort des Zeitgeists selbst, die Stadt, die unablässig Jetzt-Zeit aus sich heraussetzt'.[90] In Heine's words:

> Eine neue Kunst, eine neue Religion, ein neues Leben wird hier geschaffen, und lustig tummeln sich hier die Schöpfer einer neuen Welt.[91]

By contrast, the reasons Lewald gives for the timing of his move are as non-theoretical and immediate as the Young German aesthetic itself: cholera had broken out in Hamburg, a threatened Danish blockade made escape seem urgent, and he missed the daily company of two friends who had recently left Hamburg for the 'Weltstadt' — his fellow Königsberg townsman, the playwright and poet Gotthilf August von Maltitz, and Heine.[92] Whatever his motivation, Lewald absorbed the essence of the city's life, offering his impressions in his first volume of sketches. *Album aus Paris* was published in 1832 soon after his return to Germany. Several more collections followed: *Panorama von München* in 1835; *Schattirungen* (1836); the substantial four-part *Aquarelle aus dem Leben* and two-part *Neue Aquarelle aus dem Leben* (1836–37 and 1840).[93]

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[88] Derré cites an 80,000-strong German population. Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vus par August Lewald', p. 539.
[89] Heine, *Französische Zustände*, in *DHA*, XII, 103.
[90] Karlheinz Stierle, *Der Mythos von Paris. Zeichen und Bewußtsein der Stadt* (Munich, Vienna: Hanser, 1993), p. 305.
[91] Heine, *Französische Zustände*, in *DHA*, XII, 103.
[92] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften* / *Ein Menschenleben*, IV (1844), 46–47.
[93] August Lewald, *Panorama von München*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hallberger, 1835);

Lewald's output added to his well-established reputation as man of the theatre a reputation as sketch writer with an exemplary impact. He was already a well established proponent of modern 'life-writing' based on observation by the time the younger generation published their own comparable sketches: Laube's *Reisenovellen* appeared between 1834 and 1837; Eduard Beurmann's *Frankfurter Bilder* in 1835, his *Skizzen aus den Hanse-Städten* in 1836; Gutzkow's *Briefe aus Paris* in 1842, his earliest Berlin sketches, *Berliner Eindrücke*, in 1844.[94] Gutzkow himself wrote of Lewald in the same year: 'sein immer gewählter und bester Gesellschaft angehörender Styl wurde mustergültig',[95] an opinion echoed by Lewald's obituarist in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*:

> Mustergültig war er in seinen Reiseschilderungen und in der geistvollen Causerie, wie er mit wirklich anmuthiger Selbstgefälligkeit von Paris, Hamburg, aus dem Badeleben, über Kunst und berühmte Zeitgenossen zu schreiben verstand.[96]

Lewald himself acknowledges the care he took over style, stimulated by guidance from Heine when they were friends in Hamburg:

> die gewissenhafte Sorgfalt, die ich auf die Ausfeilung meines Styls, bald mit mehr, bald mit minderm Glück verwende, den Rhythmus der Prosa, die Vermeidung veralteter Wendungen und mißklingender Worte, dies verdanke ich den Ermahnungen meines Freundes.[97]

Three sketches from *Album aus Paris* have been selected as a basis for discussion of their author's style and thematic preoccupations:[98] 'Der Boulevard' (1,49–76), and 'Savoyarden' (2,101–15) describe aspects of Paris street life,

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Schattirungen (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1836); *Aquarelle aus dem Leben* (see note 17); *Neue Aquarelle aus dem Leben* (Stuttgart: Cast, 1840).

[94] Heinrich Laube, *Reisenovellen*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Wigand, 1834), 4 vols (Mannheim: Hoff, 1836) and *Neue Reisenovellen* (Mannheim: Hoff, 1837); Eduard Beurmann, *Frankfurter Bilder* (Mainz: Kupferberg, 1835) and *Skizzen aus den Hanse-Städten* (Hanau: König, 1836); Karl Gutzkow, *Briefe aus Paris* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1842) and *Berliner Eindrücke*, *Kölnische Zeitung*, 13 April 1844; 20 April 1844.

[95] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', p. 2.

[96] 'August Lewald', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1 April 1871, Beilage, p. 1571, col. 2.

[97] Lewald, 'Heine', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 121-22.

[98] In this chapter references to *Album aus Paris* will be made in parentheses in the text, in the form (part,page/s).

'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' (4,52–99) presents an anatomy of the Paris theatre world. Each could be allotted a different rough category — *Physiologie*, *Genrebild* and satirical narrative respectively — the sketches within the collection as a whole vary widely, their forms often not clear cut. In the author's foreword to *Album aus Paris* he compares the collection to the album of a friend in which pictures, mementos, letters — all kinds of memorabilia from childhood to adulthood — are placed side by side, a whole life in all its seemingly disordered diversity. The author would like his sketches to perform the same function: 'Alles Eigene und Fremde, was mir im Leben zukam und des Aufhebens würdig wäre, auf diese Weise aneinander zu reihen' (1,ix–x). Within *Album aus Paris*, there are rough groupings: Part 1 focuses on salient buildings or areas, Part 2 homes in on specific groups or noteworthy individuals, Part 3 on literary and broader cultural trends, Part 4 on theatre and opera, but boundaries blur and overlap. In Part 3, for instance, a factual, information-laden inventory of booksellers, producers and authors is followed by a narrated discussion of French and German preferences in tales of suspense and the supernatural that includes the relating of some examples. The next but one sketch is a complete gothic tale of suspense with a French flavour, told by a first-person narrator. In between is an unattributed translation of a poem from *Iambes* by the young French poet Auguste Barbier decrying continued hero-worship of Napoleon on the occasion of the recasting of his statue.[99] In the context of the all-inclusive, non-hierarchical aesthetic of the *Vormärz* it is noteworthy that the 'nebeneinander' arrangement of contents in the album of the writer's friend is mentioned three times in the foreword to *Album aus Paris*: relating to childhood mementos — 'Hier lagen sie Alle nebeneinander, die stummen Zeugen ihrer Leiden und Freuden' (1,vi–vii); of lovers' keepsakes — 'Wie sie so friedlich neben einander ruhen' (1,viii); of the letters received in maturity from noteworthy correspondents — 'die Briefe, die nebeneinander aufgeklebt waren' (1,ix). Lewald's album as a whole provides a broad-spanning view of Paris in 1831, and, in each sketch selected here, amasses detail, appearing to include everything that is there in the scene he sees before him or the section of society on which he is focusing, creating miniature 'Zeitbilder', comprehensive studies of

[99] Auguste Barbier (1805–1882), *Iambes* (Paris: Canel et Guyot, 1832); a German translation appeared in the same year: *Geisselhiebe für die grosse Nation, von August Barbier, aus dem Französischen übersetzt von L. G. Förster* (Quedlinburg, Leipzig: Basse, 1832).

interdependence and simultaneity that could be compared to studies of anatomical systems or interlocking ecosystems. In 'Der Boulevard' all life from one end of the avenue to the other and from house-top to gutter is laid out for the reader. It fits the concept explored in Gutzkow's 1832 novel *Briefe eines Narren an einer Närrin*, that in every historical detail related 'Alles enthalten sein [muß], was zur selben Zeit geschah': 'die Gleichzeitigkeit, das Nebeneinander muß das Hauptziel der Darstellung bleiben'.[100]

One viewpoint that has the potential to embrace all aspects of life and exclude none — particularly in sketches of cities — is that of the nineteenth-century *flâneur*, an unhurried, impartial outsider among the crowd, interpreting for the reader whatever he sees as he sees it, remaining both outside the scenes described looking in and inside them looking out. Lauster quotes from an article, 'Le flâneur à Paris', in *Paris, ou Le Livre des Cent-et-un*, a collaborative series of written sketches focusing on modern Parisian *moeurs*, whose first issues Lewald witnessed in 1831 (2,187–88): 'Sous quel aspect inattendu s'offre à vos yeux, avec un pareil démonstrateur, le panorama mobile qui vous environne!' and, 'Rien n'échappe à son regard investigateur [...], tout l'intéresse, tout est pour lui un texte d'observations.'[101]

The writer of *Album aus Paris* assumes the persona of *flâneur* and observer, one step removed from the direct authorial voice Lewald adopts in the popular guidebooks he later contributed to the mass of German travel writing in which the post-Napoleonic generations explored and instructed each other about life beyond their own immediate horizons. It is the writer's intent in Lewald's *Malerisches Reisehandbuch durch Deutschland*, 'das Practische mit dem Unterhaltenden zu verbinden', to point the way in sunny weather and help pass the time in bad.[102] Both handbook and *Album aus Paris* provide a diverting blend of historical background and up-to-date information. The Paris sketches contain their share of facts: Part 1 includes historical information about the city's most famous institutions; the writer's overview of journals and their orientation in Part 3 could have been consulted as a journalist's handbook.

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[100] Gutzkow, *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin*, pp. 118; 117.
[101] 'Le flâneur à Paris', in *Paris, ou Le Livre des Cent-et-un*, 15 vols (Paris: Ladvocat, 1831–34), VI (1832), 95–110 (pp. 102; 101), quoted in Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 9.
[102] *Malerisches Reisehandbuch durch Deutschland und die angränzenden Gegenden. Practisch und unterhaltend. Nach eigener Anschauung und nach den besten und bewährtesten Quellen. Mit Abbildungen, Städteplanen und Karten*, ed. by August Lewald (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1842), pp. iii–iv.

Significantly, though, the writer's aim in the *Reisehandbuch* is to feed the reader information, 'seine Wissbegierde zu befriedigen',[103] from a position of superior knowledge previously acquired. This contrasts with the observer's aim in *Album aus Paris* to record 'Alles Eigene und Fremde, was mir im Leben zukam' (1,ix–x). Here, he himself is the one being instructed, and by life itself. He himself is the traveller, looking at what Paris has to offer 'dem neugierigen Beschauer' (1,1), open-eyed and open-minded, receiving new impressions from moment to moment. He invites the reader to accompany him at random through the streets of Paris, and to observe them without bias: 'Werfen wir uns vorerst ohne Wahl in das Labyrinth der Straßen und sehen wir, welchen Eindruck sie im Allgemeinen auf uns machen werden' (1,1). Elsewhere he is alone in the crowd: 'allein ging ich in den Straßen umher. [...] Ich strich durch das belebteste Viertel [...]' (1,25); 'Ich lag im Fenster und schauete aufs tolle Treiben hinab' (2,131). In 'Der Boulevard' he 'shows' the reader what strikes him as he himself saunters along the avenue.

Common ground between the leisurely *flâneur* with his independence of outlook and the contemporary figure of the dandy is demonstrated when the Boulevard's 'eigentliche[.] Besucher' arrive, the well-to-do upper and middle classes, including aristocrats, bankers, businessmen, actors, artists, writers. At this point the observer, who since the introductory paragraphs has identified himself if at all as 'wir' (1,52) or 'man' (1,63), begins to write in the first person and takes his own part in the scene: this is his *milieu*. 'Ein wohlunterrichteter Freund' (1,62) tells him who the owners of some of the carriages are, as they arrive. Having reached the place on the Boulevard where there are chairs for hire, the writer steps aside from the crowd and takes his ease upon not just one but three, 'wovon mir einer zum Sitz, ein anderer zur Lehne und der dritte zum Fußschemel dient' (1,63), epitome of unabashed idleness. From this position he observes the passers-by and is well-placed to be observed by them, an *élégant* among *élégants*. The image perhaps reflects an etching, 'L'Egoïsme personifié', from the series, 'Le Bon Genre', published in Paris in 1814. It shows a dandy disporting himself similarly over four chairs, cutting a figure of would-be careless detachment from those he is observing, though actually connected to them through his very disregard, the stick he is resting over his shoulder threatening one passing lady, the boot of his extended leg catching

[103] Lewald, *Malerisches Reisehandbuch*, p. iv.

another's skirt.[104] The *flâneur* of 'Der Boulevard' neither suffers nor causes any such indignity. Comfortably set up for watching Paris life go by, he seems more absorbed in interpreting what he sees than in the figure he cuts.

A feeling of being at ease in Paris society and of a ready receptivity to the city's characteristics permeates *Album aus Paris*. The quality is recognised by Derré: 'l'auteur donne le sentiment que, dès le premier jour, il s'est senti comme chez lui'. Derré attributes this to Lewald's mastery of French and his experience of Paris during the 1814 campaign against Napoleon. He considers Lewald's text deserving of attention and esteem, and worth more than 'la plupart de ses pareils',[105] his judgement echoing Gutzkow's view quoted earlier, that '"Album aus Paris" ist von ähnlichen, Paris und die Pariser schildernden Darstellungen noch nicht übertroffen'.[106] To provide an insight into what made Lewald different from writers for whom the French capital and language were more alien, and into what made his stylistic and observational skills so striking for the younger generation of German writers, it is worth looking at some of the early influences and tendencies Lewald himself thought worth recording in his autobiographical writings.

Lewald's boyhood and youth in Königsberg predisposed him towards French culture in the broadest sense. An excellent fluency in French had been laid down in the highly regarded French school he attended for several years. During the French occupation of Königsberg an officer quartered on the Lewalds had impressed by his 'Artigkeit und Weltkenntniß'.[107] The cultured French soldiers, though the enemy, were preferred not only to the Russians, but to home-grown Prussian officers:

> Die Bildung der Franzosen, ihr anständig geselliger Ton, den sie selbst durch jahrelange Feldzüge zu erhalten gewußt, nahm für sie ein. Der Unterschied zwischen ihnen und unsern ahnenstolzen, steifen Junkern,

[104] 'L'Egoïsme personifié', from *Le Bon Genre* (Paris: Pierre La Mésangère [1801–19]), Plate 73 (1814). Reproduced in Ellen Moers, *The Dandy. Brummell to Beerbohm* (New York: Viking Press, 1960; repr. Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), opposite p. 113.
[105] Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vus par August Lewald', p. 540.
[106] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 4.
[107] Lewald, 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen 1806–1813. Aus den Papieren eines Freundes', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, III (1837), 1–133 (p. 60).

> ohne Talent und Wissenschaft, ohne Gemüth und Erfahrung, sprang grell in die Augen.[108]

The fifty-five-year-old author of *Das Buch der Gesellschaft* still affirms, 'der französischen Umgangsweise [läßt sich] nicht absprechen, daß sie leicht, ungezwungen und dabei fein und rücksichtsvoll sey.'[109]

Deeply ingrained culture and refinement coupled with breadth of experience and outlook, as opposed to backward-looking rigidity and philistinism, was part of what Paris represented to German writers in the 1830s. In the first of Heine's *Vertraute Briefe über die französische Bühne* published in Lewald's 1837 *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, Heine records how 'der gute Ton der Unterhaltung, die wahre, leichte Gesellschaftssprache' to which he has become attuned in France means that he can no longer tolerate the language of the currently popular German playwright Raupach, which for him has 'so etwas Einsames, Abgesondertes, Ungeselliges',[110] implying a graceless absence of the urbanity necessary to flourish in fine society — the society for which Lewald wishes to equip the young readers of *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*. By contrast, in the Paris of 1831, dandyism flourished, the exaggerated form of elegance which was part extreme fashion, part defiance of convention. Balzac's 'Traité de la vie élégante' had appeared in the fashionable journal *La Mode* in 1830.[111] Moers describes how members of the newly liberated French press revelled in dandyism, portraits of dandyish characters proliferating in their writing.[112] From a *Physiologie du théâtre*, the description of a *régisseur*, 'Il se mouche dans la soie et prise dans l'or',[113] provides a concise example of dandyism described in language of matching elegance. Lewald's own liking for elegant clothes and fine living is well documented. Criticism of clothes that are less than clean, particularly if bearing traces of snuff, recurs in his writing and he himself liked to make a fine impression. The writer Hackländer describes Lewald's manner as

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[108] Lewald, 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, p. 63.
[109] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, p. 3.
[110] Heine, *Vertraute Briefe über die französische Bühne*, in *DHA*, XII, 230.
[111] See Moers, *The Dandy. Brummell to Beerbohm*, pp. 130–132. In the eyes of the observer of 'Der Boulevard', Balzac himself fails to qualify, appearing as: 'Jener schwammige, etwas bleich aussehende junge Mann, der mit den vielen Damen, stets lachend eine Zahnlücke zeigend, in nicht gehöriger Toilettenverfassung' (1,64). Moers records a similar consensus among Balzac's friends and observers at the time: Moers, pp.128–29.
[112] Moers, 'The Dandy Goes to Press: France 1830', in *The Dandy. Brummell to Beerbohm*, pp. 125–43.
[113] [Louis Couailhac], *Physiologie du théâtre. Par un journaliste* (Paris: Laisné, Abert, Lavigne, 1841), p. 70.

'herablassend, aber wohlwollend und freundlich'. On a visit in 1840 he was received by a liveried servant: Lewald eventually appeared wearing 'einen seidenen Schlafrock von persischem Muster', and spoke 'einige gütige Worte' before withdrawing on urgent business.[114] Fanny Lewald calls him 'ganz Lebemann', particular about the proper preparation of food, describes his delivery when speaking as 'heiter und trotz der Flüchtigkeit deutlich', and is impressed by the 'Leichtigkeit und Eleganz der Mitteilung'.[115]

It is Gutzkow who makes explicit the connections between the dandyish tendency in Lewald's dress and lifestyle, the style of his prose, and its significance to modern German writing. As Lauster explains in an article discussing dandyism and aesthetics,[116] Gutzkow sees in Lewald's *Panorama von München* the promise of a new nobility in writing liberated from dependence on the patronage of the nobility of social hierarchy, and from stale, narrow provincialism. He imagines the possibility that the sleeping caps of the popular philistine stereotype — the dozy 'deutscher Michel' — might grow wings and fly, their wearers becoming 'Männer von Welt und Ton' who learn at last 'mit Anstand und Würde zu repräsentiren!'[117]

> Wie schön, wenn zu dem Weltmann noch der Werth einer wirklichen poetischen Zulänglichkeit kommt, Scharfblick, witzige Combination, schöpferisches Vermögen! In der That ist die ruhige und englische Haltung Lewald's, sein Plie und die kleine Koketterie etwa mit einem neuen au duc d'Orleans dessinirten Gilet nur die äußre Hülle, ich möchte sagen, die stylistische Hülle eines tiefen Geistes, der die menschlichen Zustände mit klarstem Auge durchschaut, die Hülle einer genialen Neuerung in der Literatur, welche wir wahrlich nur diesem Namen verdanken.[118]

By Lewald's own account, besides nurturing an affinity with French culture, his early life in Königsberg encouraged the development of his powers of observation and a natural inclination to interpret his world through visible signs

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[114] F.W. Hackländer, *Der Roman meines Lebens*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1878), I, 196.
[115] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, III: *Befreiung und Wanderleben*, 282–83.
[116] Lauster, 'Der Dandy zwischen Engagement und Ästhetizismus', pp. 294–95.
[117] Karl Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Balz, 1836, repr. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1973), I, 305–06.
[118] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 307–08.

— powers which come into their own in his sketches of Paris. Lewald describes the exploration and practice of drawing and painting in his youth as 'eine Hauptbefriedigung meines Lebens',[119] and claims he had been preparing to preface a career as a painter with the required Italian journey when war between Prussia and France prevented the plan.[120] Fanny Lewald reports seeing in his mother's house copies her cousin had made of the paintings of old masters.[121] As a young citizen of Königsberg during the Napoleonic era the significance of dress and behaviour was borne in on Lewald: an important theatre of war, the town was quartered by both Russian and French soldiers, sometimes simultaneously. It was occupied by the French, in the path of both French and Russian soldiers on retreat or pursuit from Moscow, and seat of the final Prussian manoeuvres to rejoin the war against the French. A reading of what one saw helped make sense of the turbulence. Differentiating uniforms and clothing, for instance, had immediate practical significance, acting as an up-to-the-minute news bulletin. Lewald describes 'das militairische Schauspiel' of Napoleon's transit through the town, the splendid show of the 'Gendarmes de l'Imperatrice' in their 'zierlichknapper Uniform, grünen Röcken und rothen silbergestrickten Westen, einen kleinen Czacko auf dem Kopf, mit dem silbernen Adler und der Chiffre der Kaiserin daran'.[122] A different spectacle of desperation mixed with farce is to be seen on the retreat from Moscow: 'Bärtige Krieger in Saloppen und Weiberpelzen', a decorated general 'in einem Damenmantel von Atlas, einen Shawl um den Kopf gebun[d]en; die Furcht vor dem Lächerlichen, die den Franzosen sonst so vollkommen beherrscht, war jetzt ganz verschwunden'.[123]

Lewald in his fifties thinks fit to emphasise his early reliance on the external to give meaning to and make sense of his world:

> In das väterliche Haus meines Freundes kamen die ausgezeichnetsten Männer der Stadt. [...] Als ich einst auf einem Spaziergange meinem Vater von diesen Männern erzählte und ihm genau von ihrem Benehmen, von ihrer Kleidung und dergleichen Aeußerlichkeiten Alles mitzutheilen wußte, verwies er mir das und sagte, man müsse auf solche

[119] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I, 14.
[120] David August Rosenthal, 'August Lewald', in *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1866–70), I: *Deutschland* (1866), 1010–19 (p. 1010).
[121] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, II: *Leidensjahre*, 226.
[122] Lewald, 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, III, 70–71.
[123] Lewald, 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, p.113.

> Dinge keine so große Aufmerksamkeit verwenden, das seien nur Nebensachen, und dann ging er darauf ein, mir etwas über den innern Werth dieser Männer mitzutheilen. Dies merkte ich mir sehr genau, allein es schien mir interessant, meinen Sinn, sich das Aeußere einzuprägen und ihm Bedeutung zuzumessen, zu vertheidigen, und deshalb beschloß ich, [...] einen Aufsatz niederzuschreiben, der, dem gemeinen Gebrauche entgegen, das Thema behandeln sollte: Sieh auf das Kleid, nicht auf den Mann, das Aeußere, nicht das Innere an.[124]

Lewald's early leaning towards deriving meaning from a study of surface phenomena anticipates both nineteenth-century materialism and *Vormärz* anti-idealism. He returns to the saying, turned upside down in his teenage essay title, in *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, one of his last *Vormärz* publications:

> Die Erscheinung im Leben und in der Gesellschaft im engern Sinne ist eine Sache von großer Wichtigkeit. Zwar soll man nach dem bekannten Sprichwort nicht auf das Kleid, sondern auf den Mann sehen; das Innere, nicht das Aeußere in das Auge fassen. Allein wie oft sieht sich Derjenige, welcher sich im Aeußern vernachlässigt, auch von den Menschen vernachlässigt, und es wird ihm dann schwerer, sich zu dem Grade von Achtung emporzuschwingen, die er seinem innern Werthe nach in Anspruch zu nehmen wohl berufen ist.[125]

Appearance confirms worth. Though in this work of his maturity the author acknowledges the importance of inner qualities, his guidelines for giving the desired impression in his etiquette manual are close to those published the previous year in his guide for actors — who must signal their meanings in outwardly visible ways.[126] In both he attributes to the levelling of contemporary society a greater need to signal worth by behaviour: in *Das Buch der Gesellschaft* he explains how the trend towards comfort, 'so wie das Emporstreben des Mittelstandes und das Nivelliren in allen Schichten der Gesellschaft'[127] has meant the loss of a commonly accepted traditional etiquette, resulting in the need for a book such as his. In *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, he notes the difficulty of putting on older plays

[124] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I (1844), 17.
[125] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, p. 16.
[126] August Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1846).
[127] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, pp. 2–3.

'in der modernen, alle Stände nivellirenden Tracht',[128] without the immediately recognisable, differentiating outfits that used to signify status. New signals must be found. The author suggests ways in which the ubiquitous top hat might be variously manipulated — by the refined, for example, swept off the head to reveal the spotless white lining within, or, by the less refined, held close to the body to hide an interior soiled by sweat.[129] Self-presentation in the creation of a desired impression is all-important: an actor's raw material is himself, and from this he must make the best work of art possible. 'Wer in seiner gewöhnlichen Alltagskleidung die Bühne betritt, wird nicht nur in der äussern Erscheinung ungenügend sein, sondern sich selbst eben so wie Andere von der Illusion bringen'.[130] The importance of self-presentation and playing one's part with conviction whatever one's role, emerges as a salient theme from the three selected sketches from *Album aus Paris*.

[128] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 215.
[129] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 217.
[130] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 183.

1. ‘Der Boulevard’

In ‘Der Boulevard’ (1,49–76), Lewald is typically right up to the minute in his choice of topic: according to Balzac, ‘la splendeur du Boulevard n'a monté vers son apogée qu'à partir de 1830 environ’ — just when Lewald is describing it, and fifteen years before the publication of Balzac’s own *Histoire et Physiologie des Boulevards de Paris*.[131] The reader is orientated: the Boulevard is ‘die majestätische Straße, die von dem Bastillen-Platze im weiten Halbkreise bis zur Magdalenenkirche die ungeheure Häusermasse wie ein Gürtel zusammenhält’ (1,49). All of Paris life too is contained within the Boulevard’s semicircle: ‘das eigentliche Pariser Leben [...] von der elegantesten Welt bis zur niedrigsten Hefe’ (1,49). Unlike Balzac in his title, Lewald writes about ‘Der Boulevard’ in the singular, as a single linking feature, occasionally naming a few key landmarks, but disregarding most of its numerous subdivisions except the markedly different Boulevard du Temple. The sketch is not primarily a topographical guide, but a sociological overview, a personal analysis offered in friendly familiarity, ‘Du’, the reader, will be offered ‘meine Schilderung’ (1,49 and 50).

The organisation of the vast mass of detail conveying the dense ‘Nebeneinander’ of Boulevard life is built up stage by stage, both chronologically and geographically, to a climax of sights and activity that arise gradually and peter out again within framing evocations of stillness. Into the early morning absence of people, action, sounds and smells — ‘kein Café ist offen, kein Restaurant duftet Arome, kein Handelsmann schreit, kein Omnibus fährt’ (1,50) — comes first the sound of carts and carriages trundling into the still almost empty streets from the suburbs with essential supplies, heralds of later activity. By the end of the sketch, the observer/*flâneur* has walked the length of the Boulevard and is near its end, where ‘die Herrlichkeit zu verschwinden anfängt’ (1,75). The observer resumes the first-person narrator voice of the first paragraphs that has emerged only occasionally since the episode among the Boulevard’s *élégants*. As he returns home by cold moonlight he sees reminders of Napoleon’s fall from glory and is aware of the proximity of Paris’s cemetery ‘père la chaise’. The sketch ends its evocation of intensely lived life firmly rooted in the material world with a chilling sense of the ultimate loneliness of the

[131] [Honoré] de Balzac, ‘Histoire et physiologie des Boulevards de Paris. De la Madeleine à la Bastille’, in *Le Diable à Paris*, 2 vols (Paris: Hetzel, 1845–46), II (1846), 89–104 (pp. 92–93).

individual and the futility of all human effort. 'Ein Frösteln überfällt mich. Wie so einsam ist es hier nach all' dem fröhlichen und glänzenden Leben'. The observer ends his journey home 'wo der Mond so eben die kahle Siegessäule bescheint' (1,76). Given Lewald's enjoyment of the gothic and hints of the supernatural, and the gusto with which his *flâneur* has just described life on the Boulevard, the *memento mori* of the empty 'stage' feels playfully poetic rather than heavily philosophical, but it is there, an early sign of what would later appear in Lewald's writing as a more hardened outlook.

In between the frames, the stages of a day on the Boulevard are presented like a series of 'tableaux' — it is hard not to see the influence of Lewald's stage-setting experience, which early on included 'Anordnungen von lebenden Bildern, die damals in den hohen Cirkeln beliebt waren'.[132]

> Alles folgt mit unglaublicher Schnelligkeit hinter einander, Worte sind bei diesem Schauspiel gerade nur so viel als nöthig, um die Uebergänge zu motiviren und die Handlung zu erklären; die Schauspieler, die hier selten einzeln, sondern stets in Massen [...] agiren, sind so vorzüglich einstudirt, wie man es selten auf ruhigern Bühnen sehen kann. (1,72–73)

This description in 'Der Boulevard' of the Circus Franconi's 'sogenannten Tableaux oder kurzen Akten' could be transferred from Franconi's stage to Lewald's sketch itself with its crowd scenes, dramatic changes of atmosphere, and economy of style.

The Boulevard's series of 'tableaux' begins with first stirrings in the early morning (1,50–52), followed by the increasing activity of salesmen preparing for customers, the arrival and disporting of the 'consumers' and, as night falls, the throng around the Boulevard's theatres. The adjustment from the first 'halb ländlichen Morgenszenen', to the second 'tableau', is prepared as for the first scene of a drama after its prologue:

> mit dem neunten Glockenschlage ist die Idylle vorbei, und wir dürfen uns gefaßt machen, den Boulevard lyrisch, episch, doch am meisten dramatisch zu sehen. (1,52)

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[132] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, IV, 14. For a discussion of the relationship between tableau and written sketch see Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 144–48.

The stirrings now promise to gather impetus ‘wie die Lawine von Minute zu Minute wächst und sich immer brausender entwickelt, immer mächtiger dahinrollt’ (1,52), and the sense of separate, individual lives and activities combining into one overwhelming force can be clearly felt in the telling choice of detail, its sheer density, and the pacing of sentences. The first paragraph introducing the new phase is an example:

> Hunderte von Kellnern springen in blendend weißen Jacken und Schürzen vor den elegantesten Café’s hin und her, putzen die Spiegelgläser, welche die Wände bekleiden, füllen die zierlichen Körbchen mit dem auserlesendsten Brode, stellen Tassen und Kannen von goldumrändetem Porzellan auf die erwärmte Marmorplatte, bedecken die kleinen Tischchen, und treffen alle Anstalten zum Empfange der täglich erscheinenden Gäste und zum Herbeilocken von neuen. Die Herumträger von Zeitungen werfen im Vorüberrennen die neuen Tagesblätter zur Thür hinein, die von den Kellnern geordnet werden, denn kein Pariser wird sein Frühstück nehmen, ohne ein Journal dabei zu lesen. (1,52–53)

The feeling of a huge burst of activity begins with the first word, and there is a sudden switch to a fast tempo conveyed by the high-energy verbs, ‘springen hin und her’, ‘werfen im Vorüberrennen’, by the use of the present tense and active rather than passive mode: ‘putzen’, ‘füllen’, ‘bedecken’, by the propelling rhythm of the first sentence. The mind’s eye is instantly caught by the waiters’ dazzlingly white jackets and aprons. The waiters themselves perform well-rehearsed ‘acts’ whose purpose is to attract and make a profit from sections of society not yet there, to keep old customers and lure in new. Each inanimate object enumerated is effectively a prop or stage setting for these acts, each adjective and noun succinctly provides the reader with information about the cafés’ *clientèle* and its expectations: the waiters themselves, the choicest bread, the warmed marble heating plate, promise excellent service and pampering for those used only to the best; the huge polished mirrors on the walls and the gold-rimmed porcelain promise elegant luxury while the dainty breadbaskets and small tables promise privacy and intimacy. The passage is pure word-painting without intrusion of explicit authorial presence, unless in the information that no Frenchman breakfasts without his newpaper. Later on, among the

élégants, interpretation of 'das Aeußere' enables the observer to know Heine's plans for the evening: Heine's 'weißglacirte[.] Hände' (1,67) — his white patent gloves — signal to him that his friend is going to dine in fine company and cannot take up the writer's own offer.

Set pieces make visual a change of gear: when all the degrees of salesmen from elegant restaurant chef to beggars are in place, in contrast to the functional carts that brought in supplies in the early morning, a build up of ever more elegant conveyances is described, bringing the Boulevard's 'eigentliche Besucher', and leading to the writer's 'who's who' among the 'Troß der Fußgänger' (1,62–63). Later, the moment when night falls and the Boulevard's theatres open is suspended as the writer looks back at the 'ungeheure[n] Fackeltanz' formed from hundreds of lights: the stationary gas lights of the theatre and of the grand shops and eating-places with their mirror reflections; the moving lights carried by the crowd and those of the pedlars either carried or set down (so on different levels); lights on carriages — red lanterns on the 'Omnibus'; two lanterns on each of the hundreds of cabriolets; the royal carriage led by equerries bearing torches (1,69–70). From the size, colour and position of the lights alone a 'sociological map' of the Boulevard's population can be drawn.

In attempting to define what is distinctive about Lewald's approach in his sketches, comparison with Börne and Heine is helpful. Börne, Heine and Lewald were all in Paris in 1831 and 1832. The first volume of Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* was published in 1832; Heine's *Französische Zustände* in 1833 — both, like *Album aus Paris* by the liberal publisher Hoffmann & Campe.[133] All consist mainly of up-to-the-minute reports from the social and cultural Mecca. Both Börne and Heine had written sketch-like reports from cities a decade earlier, Börne his *Schilderungen aus Paris* (1822–24) and Heine his *Briefe aus Berlin* (1822).[134] Comparison with Börne's Paris reports is particularly relevant in connection with Lewald's portrayal of the Boulevard: comparison with Heine's early city sketches seems more relevant to a general discussion of Lewald's style later in the chapter.

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[133] Börne, *Briefe aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, III; Heinrich Heine, *Französische Zustände*, in *DHA*, XII.
[134] Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, II; Heine, *Briefe aus Berlin*, in *DHA*, VI (1973).

Börne's *Briefe aus Paris*, almost daily reports of events currently unfolding in Paris, are embedded in a strongly partisan commentary. Their author is as concerned with events elsewhere in Europe, always aware of how they reflect and contrast with the state of affairs in Germany. In the twentieth letter, for example, on 25 December 1830 he analyses the Paris students' demands for greater freedoms, commenting 'O wie recht haben sie!'; he berates the Bavarian king's banishment of the writer Liesching, behaviour apparently 'so ganz über die Maßen dumm', and the publication in revolutionary Warsaw of a list of police spies: 'Das wird, hoffe ich, den Spionen anderer Länder zur Warnung dienen'.[135] Street sights trigger his strong personal opinions: during days of protest against Louis-Philippe's failure to deliver reforms, an image of a troop of National Guards, 'Trommel voraus, die auf einer Bahre die lorbeerbekränzte Büste des Königs trugen', conveys the possibility both of loyal support and of menace in an unstable time. Direct comment on protesting students follows.

Lewald by contrast avoids serious political analysis, an avoidance noted by a contemporary and a twentieth-century reviewer of *Album aus Paris*. The first misses

> nicht Schilderungen des Pariser Lebens, sondern des Lebens der Pariser nach der politischen Färbung der Factionen des Augenblicks, die auf das gesellige Leben dieser Hauptstadt der Revolution so viel Einfluß üben.[136]

The second, Derré, finds the sketch's portrayal of everyday reality compensates for an absence of political commentary:

> S'il néglige à peu près complètement l'actualité politique, bien qu'elle ait été à cette date passablement agitée, il ne nous en livre pas moins l'un des tableaux les plus vivants et sans doute les plus exacts de la réalité quotidienne.[137]

The author on the contrary asserts an apolitical tendency among Parisians. Describing the city's less refined members dancing and playing outdoor games

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[135] Börne, *Briefe aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften,* III, 97–98.
[136] 'Album aus Paris. Von August Lewald. (Hamburg. Bei Hoffmann & Campe 1832.)', *Flora. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt*, 175 (1832), 701–02 (p. 701).
[137] Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vues par August Lewald', p. 540.

among the fountains of the *château d'eau* and the side-shows and popular theatres of the Boulevard du Temple, he mocks statesmen who worry about latent revolutionary fervour:

> Ihr träumt von Emeuten und Revolutionen, ihr finstern Staatmänner, ihr laßt euch das Schreien der Bewohner der Cité und die Klagen der Volksfreunde stets zu Herzen dringen, und ihr wißt nicht abzuhelfen. Hier kommt her! Seht mit eigenen Augen, wie leicht der Pariser das Leben nimmt, wie leicht seine Wünsche zu befriedigen sind, gebt ihm Brod zur Sättigung und seinen *Boulevard du temple*, und er ist zufrieden. (1,71)

Derré sees no irony in this alignment with the 'bread and circuses' theory of pacifying the people, but the comment of 'un sagace observateur'.[138] Earlier on in the sketch the observer describes how wandering pedlars rush around 'gleich Kometen' between the displays of those higher in the pavement hierarchy — merchants with shops or salesmen with stationary displays — 'bald diesem bald jenem Waarenhaufen den Umsturz drohend' (1,57), but if this is intended to convey a threat of rebellion, it is not followed up.

Börne's letter format allows for quick changes from cultural and political matters to personal details about food, lodging and health, and back again. He takes his correspondent's high level of philosophical and political awareness for granted: with good-humoured self-deprecation he records having failed to notice that he has taken lodgings over a gateway, and that they are consequently incurably cold, 'Und doch bin ich Doktor der Philosophie! Wie dumm mögen erst gewöhnliche Menschen sein, die von Fichte und Schelling nie ein Wort gelesen!'. With tongue in cheek he vows never again to engage with matters of state reform, but in the next paragraph rages about social injustices.[139] Lewald, writing for as broad a readership as possible, assumes no such knowledge or learning beyond a passing familiarity with prominent celebrities of the arts world, but relishes imparting information through specific, observed, detail: for instance, the provenance of the city's victuals ('Der Boulevard',1,50–51) is revealed as the author enumerates the carts carrying them in from the outskirts. Arcane facts are embedded in narrative: for example the dentist Desirabode's

[138] Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vues par August Lewald', p. 542.
[139] Börne, *Briefe aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, III, 48–49.

practice supplying false teeth is tied in with its direct impact on newly arrived Savoiard children, when an opportunist extracts healthy teeth from each of them to sell ('Savoyarden', 1,103–04). His description of celebrities parading along the Boulevard — some of Heine's 'Notabilitäten' perhaps — provides the author himself with the opportunity to parade his networking journalist's personal knowledge and insights ('Der Boulevard', 1,63–69). Derré ascribes to Lewald's description 'une incontestable valeur de document'.[140]

More sketch-like than his later *Briefe aus Paris*, Börne's *Schilderungen aus Paris* is closer in form to Lewald's *Album aus Paris*, though written before the 1830 revolution and the heyday of the Paris Boulevards. Like Lewald's collection, Börne's *Schilderungen* present wide-ranging reports on characteristic aspects of Paris life, and there are overlaps of both subject matter and response. In 'Der Boulevard', Lewald's observer conveys the sense of all teeming life that is to be found on the Paris streets by piling layer on layer of detail with very little explicit commentary. Börne sums up Paris life in a single page of imaginative abstractions in 'Lebensessenz'.[141] 'Nicht einem Strome, einem Wasserfalle gleicht hier das Leben; es fließt nicht, es stürzt mit betäubendem Geräusch' (this not unlike the avalanche metaphor in 'Der Boulevard', but more generally applied), and, 'Wenn man in Deutschland das Leben distillieren muß, um zu etwas Feurigem, Erquicklichem zu kommen, muß man es hier mit Wasser verdünnen, es für den täglichen Gebrauch trinkbar zu machen'. Typically, Börne expands on his abstractions with fluent insight, taking them ever further, as he calls Paris 'Der Telegraph der Vergangenheit, das Mikroskop der Gegenwart, und das Fernrohr der Zukunft'. Lewald's writing centres almost exclusively on what he sees revealed through the microscope of the present.

Both Börne's 'Die Läden' and Lewald's 'Der Boulevard' describe Parisian shops and salesmanship. Börne generalises:

> Sich in dieser Riesenstadt hervorzutun, sich in diesem Ocean als einzelne Welle bemerklich zu machen, erfordert große Übung, die aber keinem Eingebornen mangelt.

[140] Derré, 'Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vues par August Lewald', p. 542.
[141] Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, II, 15–16.

His sketch then focuses on the sheer size and mass of the shops' displays, giving sellers of cloth, clocks and boots as examples, soon moving on to an interpretation of painted shop signs, bringing out their hidden political content — the display of patriotism in the depicted figures' preference of French over English shawls, for instance, and the fact that the depiction of three-coloured shawls echoing the *tricolore* had been reduced to two colours by police edict. Börne takes cloth-sellers as an example of display on a grand scale, generalising, and making the stock the subject in the passive tense:

> '[d]ie Zeuge werden nicht in Mustern, sondern in ganzen aufgerollten Stücken vor Thüre und Fenster gehängt. Manchmal sind sie hoch am dritten Stocke befestigt, und reichen nach allerlei Verschlingungen bis zum Pflaster herab'. [142]

Lewald's observer of shops on the Boulevard is also impressed by the cloth sellers' display, but his are specific sellers anchored in the present by names based on currently popular operas — 'zum "Robert le diable" oder zu den "Bayaderen"'(1,54)[143] — and it is the people, the salesmen or their assistants, who are the subject of his observations, very much in the active mode: 'Von aussen umklettern Ladendiener auf langen Leitern die Magazine und drappiren ganze Häuser mit hundertellenlangen Zeugstücken' (1,54).
In Lewald's sketch, example upon example of salesmen is 'shown', enabling the reader to visualise a panoramic scene from the amassed detail. The largest are the first to be described, the buildings in which are located the permanent eating-places and shops. Some of the shops' displays extend outwards onto the pavement. Next, numerous temporary stalls or tables are set out in lines, collectively forming a passage of smaller-scale, less magnificent goods, a sort of boulevard within the Boulevard. Any gaps and spaces available are occupied: cheap engravings are displayed against fountains, cornerstones and even piles of dirt, apparently without concern for the undignified contrast with the pictures' pretentious gold frames. A continuous row of edible and inedible goods stretches higgledy piggledy along the edge of the pavement next to the gutter. Wandering pedlars, glimpsed between fixed displays, are added to the

[142] Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, II, 29–31.
[143] *Robert le diable*, libretto by Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne, music by Giacomo Meyerbeer (Paris: Barba, 1831); *Le dieu et la bayadère*, libretto by Scribe, music by Daniel-François-Esprit- Auber (Paris: Bezou, 1830).

throng. Some of this group offer solo or ensemble continuous performances of sales acts: demonstrations of a patent cork-puller, the latest sort of fire-lighter (yellow, better than red), a new boot polish. The demonstrations can only continue if the pedlar endlessly repeats the pulling of the cork, the firing of the lighter, the polishing of the boot, and this necessitates equally endless negations of their action: the returning of the cork to the bottle, the extinguishing of the flame, the smearing of the boot. The observer seems to be impressed equally by the futility of this cycle of action and negation, and the persistence and panache of the performing salesmen. Others sell 'the very last' stick or pair of spectacles at a knockdown price, another stick or pair of spectacles in their hand a moment later. The displays are accompanied by exuberant sales patter, 'worin die gemeinsten Franzosen ein nicht genug zu bewunderndes Rednertalent entwickeln' (1,60). This wry dig at the salesmen's charlatanism is a rare gloss within a visual description left to speak for itself. By contrast, the force of Börne's examples of shop displays comes at least as much from preceding generalisations that go straight to the heart of the matter:

> In Deutschland ist die Scharlatanerie die Krücke eines lahmen Verdienstes; hier ist sie die notwendige Einfassung, von der entblößt, auch der echteste Diamant keine Blicke anzieht. [...] Von allen den Kunstgriffen, die von jedem in seinem Kreise angewendet werden, seine Person und seinen Besitz auf das vortheilhafteste geltend zu machen, könnte man ein großes Buch anfüllen.[144]

Stierle points out that a chief target of Börne's *Briefe aus Paris* is to expose Germany's backwardness in contrast to Paris of the July Revolution.[145] Börne's earlier Paris sketches too are full of explicit comparisons between German and French ways, in which German ways appear slow and lacklustre by comparison, as in the first sentence quoted above. Though Lewald too draws comparisons, often with a similar emphasis — especially in 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' — 'Der Boulevard', with very little generalising or partisan gloss, presents a comprehensive word-picture which transmits with good-humoured relish only what is being seen and experienced by the writer in the present moment. Börne's reports from Paris tend to look for

[144] Börne, *Schilderungen aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, II, 30.
[145] Stierle, *Der Mythos von Paris*, p. 295.

and formulate the general behind the particular: his wit hits hard, he is not interested in the picturesque. The writer himself claims in *Briefe aus Paris*: 'Ich glaube nicht, daß ich Talent zu poetischen Naturbeschreibungen habe; ich grüble zuviel und sammle mehr Wurzeln als Blüten.'[146] Lewald by contrast appears to collect blossoms and to avoid digging for roots. In 'Der Boulevard' and 'Savoyarden' in particular the writer as observer and word-painter conjures up a gently amusing picture, as visible and diverting to the mind's eye as a painting of the same subject might be, in a style of writing whose friendly elegance makes even what might jar feel almost sweet. Being pleasing is important, as the foreword to Lewald's *Aquarelle aus dem Leben* makes clear: the immediacy with which an impression is transmitted without analysis from life to paper gives it life, 'und ist dabei gefällig anzusehen'.[147] According to one reviewer's comments on Lewald's style, and with another acknowledgement of his embeddedness in his time,

> [hat] [d]ie Art, wie Lewald Menschen und Verhältnisse ansieht und beurtheilt, [...] etwas Unbefangnes und Wohlwollendes; ich möchte es die Frucht einer vielseitigen Zeitigung nennen. Er raisonnirt aus dem Leben, nicht in das Leben, und fasst die Welt ohne Versäuerung des Herzens und ohne Versessenheiten der Schule auf. Dabei ist seine Darstellung lebendig klar, gebildet und für alles Äussere bezeichnend. Lewald, könnte man sagen, bietet in seinen Erzählungen und Genrebildern kandirte Fruchtschalen, schmackhaft und reizend. Was ihm aber [...] zum eigentlichen Dichter fehlt, ist die eigentliche Tiefe.[148]

Though the observer of 'Der Boulevard' avoids digging deep, is most at home among the Parisian *élégants* and paints portraits that are elegantly and divertingly formulated, he does not shy away from those literally at the bottom of the heap of humanity (1,60–61) — a mother who sits motionless on the pavement with her dead baby in her arms, looking up to heaven: 'es ist fast nicht zu glauben', as if there is a hint that hers too might be a show; the drunks, the prostitutes, and the aftertaste of futility and vanity which the whole glittering, bustling show leaves behind it. The writer's pleasantly charming presentations

[146] Börne, *Briefe aus Paris*, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, III, 102.
[147] Lewald, *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, I, ([p. iii]).
[148] H. K[öni]g, 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), 221–23 (p. 222, col. 1).

of ‘das Aeußere’ convey as clearly as any theoretical tract recognition of the ruthless materialist drive and the concomitant importance of showmanship and performance at every level of Paris society, as well as the interdependence of all its levels for its survival, and each level’s disregard for the others. Very different from Börne’s reflective, deep-probing commentaries, in which the authorial ‘I’ refers unequivocally to the writer himself as politicised commentator, Lewald’s style is closer to that of the French *Physiologie*, in his interpretation of the city as observer and sensitive reader of its surface phenomena. As has been suggested, Lewald’s early affinity with the French ‘physiologists’ distinguish him from his German contemporaries who had yet to develop their approach. Derré endorses Lewald’s stylistic ‘Frenchness’ by suggesting that ‘Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters’ would not be out of place in the groundbreaking series whose launch Lewald noted: ‘Cette étude de moeurs ne serait pas déplacée dans le *Livre des Cent et Un* qui en a peut-être fourni le modèle’ — no mean compliment from a French critic to a German writer.[149]

[149] Derré, ‘Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–1832 vus par August Lewald’, p. 545.

2. ‘Savoyarden’

Lewald’s *Physiologie* of ‘Der Boulevard’ shows a cross-section of all Paris society in one part of the city. A few sub-groups in the crowd, mentioned in passing for the sake of completeness, include ‘die schmutzigen Savoyarden mit ihren Affen und Murmelthieren’ (1,61), who share a sentence with others presumably considered to belong to society’s ‘niedrigsten Hefe’ (1,49) and whose presence is ubiquitous — news criers, police, loose women. In ‘Savoyarden’ (2,101–115), the sub-group becomes the main focus of a sketch that shows both the group’s individuality and its dependence on the social body as a whole. From his knowledge and experience of migrants from the Savoie mountains, the writer moulds an imagined narrative about one group of Savoiard children’s first experience of the city and their life there living mostly on the street with other groups of Savoiards, all scratching a living by various forms of begging, or by carrying out menial tasks, as chimneysweeps, water-carriers, or shoeshiners, for instance. The sketch exemplifies Lewald’s skill in creating ‘Genrebilder’, the term borrowed from a long-existing category of painting, used in the nineteenth century to describe highly visualised scenes from contemporary life — like Dickens’s *Sketches by Boz*, ‘*Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People*’ rather than grandiose heroic representations — with a tendency towards slightly idyllic portraits of type and touches of caricature.[150] A painting by Carl Spitzweg exemplifies some of the genre’s characteristics: ‘Zeitungsleser im Hausgärtchen’[151] depicts an unglamorised man, not young, with gently exaggerated look of concentration, unselfconsciously reading a newpaper, hand in the pocket of a comfortable coat, standing in the privacy of a sunlit corner of a garden near a table on which a tray is set for coffee (see Illustration ii).

Contemporary recognition of the literary category ‘Genrebild’ or ‘Genremalerei’ — and its current popularity — can be deduced from Gutzkow’s judgement in his review of Lewald’s *Panorama von München*, in which he acknowledges Lewald as front runner:

[150] For a review of the numerous versions of the form during the nineteenth century see Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, II, 787–802, particularly from p. 794.
[151] Carl Spitzweg (1808–85), ‘Zeitungsleser im Hausgärtchen’ ([between 1848 and 1858]), Kaiserslautern, Museum Pfalzgalerie.

> Hier ist es am Platz, das zu wiederholen, was über A. Lewald schon so oft gesagt worden ist, daß er als der beste Genremaler unserer Literatur gelten muß.[152]

ii. Carl Spitzweg (1808–1885), 'Zeitungsleser im Hausgärtchen' ([between 1848 and 1858]), Kaiserslautern, Museum Pfalzgalerie.

Vormärz reviewers of Lewald's works, including Gutzkow again, support this early statement, often adapting the watercolour metaphor with which Lewald himself introduces his *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*. For example:

> Sein Blick hat sich an den Umrissen und Bewegungen des Lebens geübt, und die Feder ist an die Stelle des Pinsels getreten.[153]

> Die Skizzen sind mit leichter Hand und treffender Feder mehr hingeworfen als ausgeführt.[154]

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[152] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 310.
[153] 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), p. 222, col. 1.
[154] Willibald Alexis, 'August Lewald als Genremaler', *Der Freimüthige, oder: Berliner Conversations-Blatt*, 247 (1832), 988. Willibald is reviewing Lewald's *Das Oktoberfest im Jahre 1832. Skizzen aus München* (Munich: Lindauer, 1832).

> Lewald's Talent für Aquarellmalerei, für kleine Croquis, die mit irgend einem überraschenden Coup artig umrahmt werden, ist bekannt.[155]

The narrative voice in 'Savoyarden' is not that of the *flâneur* recording what he sees as he sees it. Only at the end of the sketch does the writer allow himself the last word in a first-person anecdote: instead he stands back from his word-picture, using the 'we' and 'our' of a friendly narrator: 'Unsere drei Neulinge', 'unsere Savoyarden' (2,106 and 109), even 'unser Fuß' (2,109), which stumbles over one of the Savoiard boys in the entrance to a restaurant. The reader is invited to look on with him, as at a painting, rather than to accompany him.

The young Savoiards are portrayed in a lightly affectionate tone, as possessing an animal intelligence and charm in their actions, a likeable sense of mischief. In spite of the coarse simplicity and dirtiness of their clothes, the three Savoiard children whose arrival in Paris the sketch first follows are introduced in strikingly tender images: they look like 'die ungeleckten Bären', neglected cubs who have not been licked clean by their mother:

> und doch gucken die kleinen Händchen und Füßchen, und die artigen, gesunden Gesichter, recht lieblich aus der entstellenden Hülle hervor. (2,101)

When offered money for their teeth, they open their mouths '[w]ie hungrige Küchlein die Schnäbel' (2,104). They and other young Savoiards live largely out of doors, carrying their 'possierliche Thiere auf dem Arme, welche ihnen gleich sehen' (2,105); one sits on the pavement sharing with his monkey some cabbage leaves, 'von denen bald er, bald der Affe gesellschaftlich und verträglich abbeißt' (2,108); they swarm around the pedestrians on the grand avenues 'wie nackende Kobolde (2,107)'.

The migrants' hard lifestyle is presented almost as cosy: in their dealings with each other their friendship and community spirit seem genuine. The old hands offer real help to the newcomer children, and they form co-operative enterprises with a rough but honest form of accounting (2,112). They exhibit a spontaneous *joie de vivre*, in their begging acts as in their competitive games of physical risk, in which they never come to blows (2,111–12). They have a simple trust in a benign providence — the children's father lets them go

[155] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', pp. 7–8.

without anxiety: ‘Gott hat noch keinen Savoyarden verhungern lassen’ (2,102). Once on their own, his children follow whichever path chance offers, ‘die sicherlich immer zum Ziele führt' (2,103). In their night-time shelter, many Savoiards hang images of saints over the spot where they sleep, and their sleep is sound, ‘denn die armen Teufel hier haben ein gutes Gewissen’ (2,106). Their begging acts are performances: the youngest child follows seasoned advice and simply lies huddled in front of a restaurant, a position that promises to be lucrative; others perform traditional Savoiard dances to the accompaniment of a barrel organ, ‘um [...] die Leute eher zu belästigen als zu unterhalten’ (2,110). However, their conscience is not marred by these small exploitations of more pretentious members of Parisian society who can well afford what they give. The Savoiards’ needs and wants are small too: ‘An Entbehrungen aller Art von Jugend auf gewöhnt, führen sie ein nüchternes, arbeitsames Leben, haben durchaus keinen Begriff von den gewöhnlichen Bequemlichkeiten’ (2,114). Though they save up quite large sums with which to return home when they are older, and continue to appear poor because it is good for business, they are not greedy, their commercial aim is a modest sustainability. They feel no wretchedness in their own condition, nor do they show any wish to share the material trappings of the city’s more elegant inhabitants, rather keeping to themselves as a group than being driven by social ambition to break out of it. They possess a natural integrity which nothing in the ‘Weltstadt’ contaminates.

The writer’s admiration for their lifestyle, as well as the assumption of his own, very different, social status, are illustrated in the sketch’s final anecdote. The writer’s usually reliable Savoiard boot-polisher fails to turn up one morning. The next day, in impeccably inoffensive language, without actually using the word ‘drunk’, the Savoiard explains that he had been in no state to appear, having celebrated the birth (on a pavement corner) of his latest child the previous evening. This dirty-faced member of Paris society's underbelly is one of nature’s gentlemen, with a refined enough sense of decency to know that it would be better to fail to appear at all than to appear ‘in einem unanständigen Zustande’ (2,115). Most masks described in Lewald’s writings hide something more rather than less selfish, something less honourable, or less valuable. In this sketch the norm is inverted: the writer

reveals a natural honour and integrity beneath 'der entstellenden Hülle' (2,101) of poverty and rough living.

The idyllic 'soft-focus' in which the sketch portrays the young migrants from the mountains does not disguise the hard conditions of their lives, and there is a critical edge to the contrasting examples of society's disregard for its worst-off members. Paris is explicitly presented as a metaphor for the whole of society, in terms the author would later echo in his presentation of the theatre in *Theater-Roman*:

> Paris ist die Welt im Kleinen — dort übersieht man mit einem Blicke alles Große und Bewundernswerthe, so wie Erbärmliche und Thörichte unserer gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen. (2,107–08)

The writer makes it plain where society sees the Savoiards as belonging:

> sie gehören in dies großartige Getümmel, wie die Kothhaufen an die Pallastportale, und die Verhungernden vor die Thüren der Restaurants. (2,107)

Their obvious poverty fails to make an impression and is largely overlooked. Members of the elegant world that do take notice of the Savoiards and give them money or food do not do so from spontaneous generosity or a sense of justice, but from vanity, to make a good impression on a female companion, or because they are being taught good behaviour (2,108); from sentimentality (2,110), or simply to get rid of them. The first person the Savoiard children come across on their approach to Paris is the already mentioned tooth-puller, who lures them in with friendliness and wine in order to make a profit out of them. The sketch conveys sympathy and understanding for the generally despised migrants, and criticism of society's attitude towards them that belies the genre's gentle style, making it more than just the 'harmloses Bild der Gegenwart' that Lewald's contemporary Willibald Alexis saw in his sketch of Munich's 'Oktoberfest', published in the same year.[156] Beurmann's critique of *Panorama von München* provides a more positive view that could be applied to 'Savoyarden', and *Album aus Paris* as a whole :

[156] Alexis, 'August Lewald als Genremaler', *Der Freimüthige,* 247 (1832), 988.

> Es ist mit eben so vieler Freimüthigkeit, wie mit Einsicht geschrieben. Es leidet weder an der Oberflächlichkeit der heutigen Genre-Malerei, noch an gemachtem Geiste, oder pedantischer Kunst-Affektation. Es ist lebendig gehalten, objektiv und ruhig, Vorzüge, die Lewald zu einem vorzüglichen Schriftsteller in jenem Fache erheben.[157]

[157] Eduard Beurmann, *Skizzen aus den Hanse-Städten*, p. 201.

3. ‘Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters’

‘Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters’ (4,52–99) presents the analysis of surface appearances and the humour of the *Physiologie* in the form of a satirical narrative, charting the path to performance on the Paris stage of a one-act vaudeville written and translated by the eponymous, German, playwright and first-person narrator, who is eventually identified as ‘Auguste’ (4,93). Whether or not the story has autobiographical elements, it is a *reductio ad absurdum* in which ‘die materiellen Bedingungen des kommerziellen Pariser Theaterbetriebs bloßgelegt werden’, as Ida Brendel-Perpina puts it in the summary of *Album aus Paris* that forms part of her discussion of Heine and the Paris theatre.[158] Derré, who as already mentioned, endorses the authentic Parisian flavour of this sketch in particular, pays Lewald another handsome compliment, acknowledging the independent and unbiased ‘panorama quasi exhaustif de la vie dramatique parisienne’ handed down by ‘ce Prussien’ in *Album aus Paris* as a whole.[159]

The sketch is in the fourth, final Part of *Album aus Paris* devoted entirely to the stage. Part 4’s first three chapters, ‘Italienische Oper’, ‘Théâtre français’ and ‘Académie royale de musique’, report critically on the background of these institutions, their current financial and artistic status, and their best-known performers past and present. The writer makes occasional comparisons between Paris and Germany — Germany might learn, for instance, from the tasteful and comfortable luxuriousness of the Académie as opposed to the ‘finstre, strenge Pracht’ of the Munich theatre:

> wäre es nicht wünschenswerther, für Eleganz und Bequemlichkeit mit Geschmack zu sorgen, als den Schauspielern den lächerlichen Stolz zu nähren, sie ständen höher, wenn sie ihre oft so schlechten Späße unter einem griechischen Porticus machen? (4,43–44)

The mismatch between façade and reality emphasises, for the writer, the poor quality of much of the current repertoire of German theatre. Cultural exchange across the Rhine is at the centre of the final chapter of Part 4, ‘Ein deutsches Schauspiel in Paris’, which documents Lewald's ambitious plan to bring the best

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[158] Ina Brendel-Perpina, *Heinrich Heine und das Pariser Theater zur Zeit der Julimonarchie* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2000), p. 52.
[159] Derré, ‘Paris et les théâtres parisiens en 1831–32 vus par August Lewald’, p. 542.

and most accessible of German theatre in German to Paris. The project got as far as a prominent public write-up in the *Moniteur*, the government's official paper, but was scotched by the outbreak of cholera in Paris in 1831 (4,117). Between these information-laden reports 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' stands out as light relief, exposing the inner workings of the Paris stage at every level, a miniature satirical novel in thirteen sub-chapters. Like 'Der Boulevard', it depicts a complete system from which a multitude of interdependent participants pursue their various goals and rewards with all their energy and ingenuity.

The first-person narrator is cast as an *ingénu* in the world of the Paris theatre, with a stereotypical German poet's unworldliness, a device that enables the writer to face two ways at once to expose simultaneously elements of both the German and Parisian theatre world that work against an improvement in standards. Something of a 'deutscher Michel' who has readily accepted the status quo at home, in Paris the narrator takes everything and everyone in good faith and at face value, with bewilderment and astonishment. He is both a caricature of German apathy himself and a foil for the unpoetic worldliness and opportunism of the Paris theatre. In conversations with the French theatre personnel, in his responses to events, in the title of his play, the sketch's narrator reveals its author's up-to-the minute insight into trends in French writing and French attitudes to German literature, without coming out of role.

Both French condescension towards and ignorance of German culture, and the lamentable lack of both a German capital city and good German theatre are conveyed in the narrator's meeting with the Parisian props manager, for instance, who has heard of a certain 'Schillère' and the 'célèbre Monsieur Goët', whose plays are said to be 'ganz artig'. He asks 'Nicht wahr? Sie haben in ihrer Hauptstadt auch ein Theater?' The narrator heaves a sigh as he reflects 'an unsere Hauptstadt' (4,81).

The subject of the narrator's play turns out to be 'Mäusekönig und Nußknacker'. I have found no evidence that Lewald himself actually adapted E.T.A. Hoffmann's 1816 fairy tale, 'Nußknacker und Mausekönig'. The choice of title reflects ironically the currently prevalent strain of German Romantic influence Lewald saw in French writing, 'die Ader des Abenteuerlichen und Abergläubischen' (4,107). The fact that a retelling of E.T.A. Hoffmann's tale by the older Alexandre Dumas was published in 1845 shows how close to the mark

Lewald was.[160] Lewald sees the influence of Hoffmann, via the novels of Balzac and others, in countless insipid French vaudevilles whose only attraction for him is that they are fashioned after a German folktale ('Sage'):

> Das Deutsche also macht Glück in Paris; und namentlich ist es das Fantastische, was die Franzosen so sehr lieben, das sie nachahmen, fast ohne Fantasie. (4,107–08)

Because the narrator of 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' is German, it is assumed by his chosen theatre's 'Generalsekretär' that he will have complete mastery of the 'fatalistisch-fantastischen genre' (4,57) — clearly a recommendation in Paris.

The strongest implied criticisms of German theatre are of its apathy: towards change in general and new dramatists in particular, and perhaps of the failure of dramatists themselves to take action to improve their situation. In the sketch, when fellow authors in Paris offer conflicting advice, a suspiciously rich agent his services, a businessman sponsorship, it all seems unnecessarily burdensome to the narrator: 'In Deutschland ist das Ganze so einfach, so harmlos'. He asks how a poet can be expected to deal with agents, percentages and income: 'Ist das Stück aufgeführt, so erhalte er einige Monate später drei bis sechs Ducaten, das ist der Ehrensold, und damit Punktum!' (4,54). In Germany, it is implied, dramatists have no say in their terms of payment, and are more straightforwardly underpaid, moreover as a privilege, not a right. In Paris, even the man who will sell copies of the play's songs in the interval consults the narrator about what price to set. The narrator has no idea. 'In Deutschland ist das ein Accidenzchen für die Theaterverwaltung oder den Kassier, und Niemand denkt dabei an den Dichter' (4,83).

As involvement and activity around the narrator's play increases, he expresses surprise that his 'kleines Vaudeville' has involved so many people acting with an enthusiam 'als wenn das Wohl des Theaters davon abhinge', an energy all the stranger, 'da ich in Deutschland nicht im Stande gewesen war, auch nur die kleinste Aufmerksamkeit auf meine Arbeit hinzulenken' (4,59). German apathy (though in this case possibly justified) is contrasted with the Parisian overdrive for material gain. With neatly layered irony the narrator asks:

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[160] Alexandre Dumas, *Histoire d'un casse-noisette* (Paris: Hetzel, 1845).

> Sollte denn wirklich das Gedeihen der Bühne von den Dichtern zuerst ausgehen: und ist die französische oder deutsche Art mit ihnen umzugehen die Richtige? Ich wage hier nicht zu entscheiden. (4, 59)

It was after his return to Germany that Lewald became active in encouraging higher standards in German theatre through journalism and direct support for young playwrights. However the Parisian model as experienced by the narrator of 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters', motivated solely by financial interest, is not held up in the sketch as one that would generate healthy reform.

With an apparent absence of partisanship contrived by manipulation of the naive narrator device, the sketch exposes both the material self-interest that drives the narrator's Parisian theatre, and the off-stage performances involved in the pursuit of that interest. The narrator's opening sentence is reminiscent of the simple village youth setting out with his bundle of belongings into the wide world, here the 'Weltstadt', to try his luck: 'Mit meiner kleinen fahrenden Habe und einem einaktigen Vaudeville, kam ich gänzlich unbekannt in Paris an' (4,52). Like 'Hans im Glück' from the Grimm folktale he meets a series of people who claim to be acting for his good, while actually exploiting his innocence. Among them are those who become his four co-authors: one who might actually help adapt his play for a French audience, and three for whom the co-authorship and equal share of the narrator's promised three percent of the takings are effectively a bribe — the 'régisseur général' who, the narrator is informed, 'leider mit der Feder nicht umzugehen wußte' (4,64), but whose influence is essential to ensure the narrator's play is accepted; the 'Generalsekretär' on whose goodwill the schedules depend (4,61), and a rival playwright who claims his play has been put back in favour of the narrator's and who must be appeased (4,70). 'Nun war mir's mit einem Male klar,' the narrator comments, 'was ich in Deutschland nie begreifen konnte, wie fünf Autoren solch ein kleines Vaudeville zusammen verfertigten' (4,71). The author behind the narrator enjoys a knowing joke in naming two of the five 'co-authors' after two poles of Paris's current dramatic scene: Eugène (Scribe) and Victor (Hugo) (4,93).

The narrator accepts the approaches of everyone he meets as helpful gestures of friendship, failing to see their ulterior motives. The authors who advise him at the outset 'kamen mir freundlich entgegen' (4,52), particularly one

Léon, whose later treachery has to be pointed out to him by the ‘chef des claqueurs’ another ‘friend’ who sees advantage in the narrator’s inexperience. After his first meeting with the theatre’s two directors, the narrator takes his leave ‘unter tausend Versicherungen steter Freundschaft’ (4,58). The ‘Generalsekretär’ suggests in his reply that this is a false footing: ‘ “Mais, Monsieur, est-ce que Vous me connaissez donc?”’ (4,58). One of the directors involves the narrator in a scheme for planted members of the audience to demand a play by the director’s daughter to replace the narrator’s on its first night. On the second night the narrator's own play would be demanded in the same way. The narrator, shocked into speechlessness, is given no time to respond before the director, with a theatrically sentimental show of gratitude, takes him home to dine with his family at their already prepared table (4,72–73). Hospitality as a means of manipulating social interaction is a theme that Lewald will explore further in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*.

Though in this case the director’s plan comes to nothing, the narrator’s misreadings of the various masks of friendliness cost him. His first co-author explains to him that the Paris theatre is ‘eine Rente’ (4,60), and the narrator comments without judgement: ‘Bei dergleichen Unternehmungen denkt hier kein Mensch an die Kunst, sondern man sucht sein Kapital zu den höchsten Zinsen anzulegen’ (4,54). His assessment is borne out by events. Once his play — presumably representing ‘art’ — has been accepted by the Paris theatre, it is all but absent from the action of the sketch. Its first read-through is interrupted, and the narrator misses the whole of its dress rehearsal through constant interruptions from importunate theatre personnel. The reader learns of its title only when the narrator sees a poster for it on a street corner, among thirty others, on the day of its first performance. The only mention of its content is at third hand, when it appears to be threatened with censorship on the grounds of a wildly distorted report received about it by the ‘Minister’. When the play is referred to directly at all, it is as ‘rubbish’ (‘Bettel’, 4,92) by the dramatist himself; ‘dummes Zeug’ (4,94) by one of the directors; or ‘bétise’ (4,93), on the second performance’s handbill, a demotion from ‘Vaudeville’ on that of its first (4,85).

The dramatist recognises his own insignificance in the process. When the play’s authorship is finally revealed on the playbill at the second performance, his name comes last, preceded by his four ‘co-authors’: he is after

all merely the ‘host’ placed properly at the end of the table, an image of gentle irony which brings the harsher image of parasites to mind (4,93). The play itself is little more than a nought at the centre of the layers of activity it generates for the financial benefit of the theatre personnel and hangers-on, a ‘ware’ whose intrinsic value is as irrelevant as that of the latest sort of corkscrew being sold on the Boulevard. The writer presents the Boulevard as a microcosm of Paris society as a whole, and Paris as a microcosm of the world at large. In ‘Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters’ the theatre is shown as another system of interdependent protagonists each focused on what can be got from it. For some — the agent, the directors, the skillful intriguer Léon, for instance — it represents a very comfortable living. In Léon’s case this can be seen from the clothes he wears to rehearsals: ‘mehrere Westen, ein [f]oulard des Indes um das Kinn, einen Biberrock mit einem Chinchilla-Kragen, und darüber einen weiten grünen Mantel von Seidenzeuch, mit rothem Unterfutter’ (4,64–65), an advertisement of wealth the naive narrator attributes simply to protection against the theatre’s draftiness.

For others, the theatre is a way out of penury, its financial benefits reaching down to the most destitute. The narrator’s co-author had been an unsuccessful businessman who has made a good income from getting adaptations of plays by Kotzebue staged. The Kotzebue translations were made by someone in St. Pélagie debtors’ prison (4,59–60). The narrator’s theatre provides employment for three sub-*Regisseurs*, the most junior a youth of seventeen with no acting talent but a love for actresses, and for whom minimal tasks in the theatre make it possible to make ends meet (4,63–64). Lewald saw in the contemporary German theatre too a a kind of social ‘catch-all’, attracting people with no particular enthusiasm for drama and no aptitude for other work — a tendency he saw militating against high standards. He returns to the idea of the theatre as a reflection of the whole of society, like the Paris Boulevard, in *Theater-Roman*.

What little on-stage acting is described in the sketch is less than impressive: a talentless performance by the wife of another playwright (4,66–70); a jealous mistress with the vapours (4,94–96); a drunken actor (4,96–98). If imagination and creativity are not to be found in this theatre’s ‘product’, it is abundantly demonstrated in ploys invented to squeeze income from the product. The ever-increasing numbers of people expecting to profit from the

narrator's little vaudeville quickly make him feel caught up in something like a web: with apt use of the noun, he ponders 'das Geschäft, worein ich verwickelt war' (4,58). Layers of increasingly convoluted make-believe are wrapped round the play and its bewildered author. The performance of one of the directors to raise the profile of the play before its first staging, for example, has all the bravura and colourfulness, that of the 'chef de claqueurs' all the professionalism, that is seen to be lacking on stage.

One of the theatre's two directors, Mr. de la vieille Ganache ('old duffer'), puts on a magnificent act to increase takings (4,84–92). On the very day of the intended first performance, the narrator sees him, in the early morning mist like a figure from a Hoffmann tale, climbing into a cabriolet. On returning from what turns out to have been a meeting with the 'Minister' who is allegedly threatening to ban the play on the grounds of a distorted report of its content, the director stumbles 'schweißtriefend' into the theatre, and recounts a version of events that shows him to have acted first with great guile and diplomacy and then with reckless defiance as the Minister allegedly stakes his honour upon enforcing the ban. The director's performance unites the theatre personnel in defiance of the common enemy. Mr. de la vieille Ganache asks rhetorically, '"Spielen wir?"' '"Wir Spielen!" rief Alles' (4,89). The most expensive tickets promptly sell out, and the director earns his title by directing the biggest drama of all in stage-managerly detail. The 'chef des claqueurs' is to organise a 'mob' of people clamouring to see the play, who are to storm the theatre door and fill the entire stalls (but, with a watchful eye for expense, the director will instruct the concierge to loosen the door's bolts and hinges beforehand, to avoid damage). For the 'mob', this promises to be an excellent show: they assemble 'Mit Gesichtern voll Munterkeit und Mäulern, die nach Scandal wässerten' (4,91). Police prowl among the crowd. At the very moment the doors are opened (from inside), an official message allegedly arrives to announce that the Minister has after all lifted the ban. The narrator begins to glimpse a less glorious truth behind the whole show: 'Und der Minister hatte doch sein Ehrenwort gegeben, oder Mr. de la vieille Ganache war ein Lügner!.....'(4,92). A 'succès complet de scandale' (4,93) for the narrator's play results.

The *claque* — paid to promote the success of a performance or of individual actors by leading applause — is crucial in the execution of the

director's plot. A 'chef de claque' could be hired, or, by the 1830s, might belong to the regular theatre personnel — it is not clear which is the case in the sketch. The sketch's narrator reports:

> ein großer, stattlicher Mann in feiner Kleidung trat mit wichtiger Miene ein und rieb sich die fleischigen, großen Hände so stark, als ob es Funken geben sollte. (4,74)

The description is similar to a later one of Auguste Lavasseur, who was surely familiar to Lewald: 'Large, robust, a veritable Hercules in size, and gifted with an extraordinary pair of hands'.[161] Lavasseur, a star among 'chefs de claque', was employed in 1831 by Louis Véron, director of the Académie Royale de Musique where grand opera was performed, the institution described in the third sketch in Part 4 of *Album aus Paris*.

In the present sketch, the 'chef des claqueurs' and his men form a self-contained sub-society within the larger theatre network, with its own hierarchy: a strong leader, the 'Elite', who understand just when and how to clap for best effect, and the 'loses Gesindel' who if not properly controlled might ruin everything by clapping too much (4,78). The *claque* plays its own semi-independent role in determining the commercial worth of the narrator's play, helping to maximise the threat of censorship to make it a success regardless of any intrinsic value. In general, the *claque* could determine the success or failure of a new work, and make or break actors' or playwrights' reputations. Berlioz describes some of the delicate financial arrangements involved in its practices.[162]

The *claque* is itself an act *par excellence*, a performance precisely tuned to purpose. In the sketch, the 'chef des claqueurs' is incomparably more committed and convincing than the stage-actors. He is imposing from his first entry. His conversation with the narrator is a masterpiece of salesman's blarney: he blinds the unworldly poet with the complex science of his trade, contrasting the excellent service he will give with that of the theatre administration who, he claims, have clearly been ripping off the 'Neuling' (4,74–

[161] Charles de Boigne, *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1857), p. 86, quoted in William Loran Crosten, 'Auguste and His Claque', *The Musical Quarterly*, 32 (1946), 215–26 (p. 216).
[162] See Hector Berlioz, 'Seventh Evening', in *Evenings with the Orchestra*, trans. and ed. by Jacques Barzun (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1956; repr. 1973), pp. 76–98, here particularly pp. 79–80.

78). By the end of the interview, the astonished narrator, convinced that the success of his play depends upon it, has agreed to hand over all his complimentary tickets for use as payment to the *claque*, and more tickets besides, for which he himself will have to pay. The 'chef' is also an expert stage-manager, placing 'his men' where they will have the most effect. He uses the vocabulary of a military campaign — a specialised form of stage-managing, and commonly applied to *claque* strategies — referring to his 'Phalanx', his 'Truppe', and 'Hilfsquellen' (4,77 and 78).

The practices of *claqueurs* amounted to a system of controlled signals: they could almost be seen as a metaphor for nineteenth-century society's concern with the development of new social codes, and the practice of behaviour calculated to convey a desired impression. There were specialised roles among the *claque*: 'rieurs', 'pleureurs', and 'bisseurs' demanding a performance's repetition, for example. Heine draws attention to the convincing inauthenticity of their performances. He describes precisely some of the tiny gestures and sounds with which the 'chatouilleurs' could 'tickle' an audience into laughing at even the least funny jokes. One, Heine reports, combined this night work lucratively with a day job as chief mourner at funerals, in which role he was just as convincing.[163] Berlioz identifies an esoteric *claqueurs*' jargon and a whole range of clapping methods, akin to an actor's range of gestures. They includes the dandy's method, who

> stretches his arms out affectedly over the edge of his box and applauds slowly, almost noiselessly, and for the eyes only. He thereby says to the whole house: "Look! I condescend to applaud".[164]

Théophile Gautier also ironically cites saving those too well-gloved to applaud for themselves as one of the benefits of the *claque*.[165] It provided benefit too to the less well-dressed. The narrator in 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' describes those assembled for duty for the storming of the theatre as the 'Kehricht der Boulevards, nicht ein einziges honorichtes Menschenkind, mit einem Rocke, der ordentlich über die Hüften reichte, und

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[163] Heine, *Über die französische Bühne*, in *DHA*, XII, 271–72.
[164] Berlioz, *Evenings with the Orchestra*, p. 77.
[165] Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*, 6 vols (Paris: Hetzel, 1858-1859), I, quoted in translation in William Loran Crosten, *French Grand Opera. An Art and a Business* (New York: King's Crown Press,1948; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), p. 45.

kein Kopf, den ein Hut bedeckte' (4,91). For these, at the very bottom end of the theatre's 'ecosystem', their payment of a free ticket gives them access to the most sought-after of entertainments.

In keeping with the sketch's folktale touch, 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' has a happy ending — a modest but clear run for the narrator's play, and a fair sharing out of his fifth of three percent. For him, both materially and as playwright, there is not quite nothing at the centre of the layers of charade and dissembling that have wrapped themselves round his play.

'Der Boulevard' and 'Savoyarden' exemplify their author's skill at conveying highly visual, picturesque scenes with an economic clarity and elegance, acknowledged by contemporary reviewers and credited by Gutzkow with promising a reformation in German prose writing. No doubt Lewald's experience as stage director contributed to his ability to imagine precisely the scenarios he depicts: in 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' his experience as dramatist tells too in the sketch's numerous brief characterisations and dialogue scenes. Above all, though, it is the consistency of the narrator's voice with its modest, 'naively' non-judgemental good humour, that impresses. Gutzkow's praise in his review of *Panorama von München* applies well to this sketch: among the diverse subject matter presented 'kehrt immer Eines wieder, was das Schönste ist, die Monotonie derselben künstlerischen Auffassung, ein Styl, welcher nichts verdirbt'.[166] The 'kleine Koketterie'[167] Gutzkow identifies as part of Lewald's stylistic elegance is to the fore in the sketch. The writer delivers a hard blow at the materialist culture of his generic Paris theatre as it feeds off 'innocent' prey, but in a gently teasing tone, and 'ohne Versäuerung des Herzens'.[168] The lightness of touch Lewald attributes to French language and manners is felt in slightly coy, elegantly charming phrases in which the narrator ungrudgingly conveys his own insignificance within the system: the mere 'Accidenzchen' that income from the sale of the songs from his play would be in Germany, the diminutive dismissing any importance the extra cash might have for the playwright; his already mentioned acceptance as only right, when his authorship is finally

[166] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte de neuesten Literatur*, I, 311.
[167] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 308.
[168] 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), p. 222, col. 1.

acknowledged on the theatre bill at the play's first performance, that he should be named last of five 'co-authors' he has accumulated for largely non-existent services rendered:

> Mir, als dem eigentlichen Gastgeber, ward [...] der Platz am untern Ende der Tafel eingeräumt; das ist nicht mehr als üblich, den Gästen die Ehrenplätze. (4,93)

'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' revisits some of the large themes that emerge in 'Der Boulevard' and 'Savoyarden' and that will continue to preoccupy Lewald: the intense energy generated by the prospect of commercial gain; the apparently concomitant need for performance and guile; the materialist motivation of human interactions; the interdependence of society and its sub-groups. In the present sketch, the writer has taken the reader inside a generic Paris theatre and shown as 'theatre' what happens off-stage. Through its narrator the sketch has given the reader an anatomy of the theatre's workings in economic detail, in a nuanced satire of consistent geniality. The device of a 'naive' narrator, allowing for multiple levels of interpretation, will be developed still further in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*. In the very last paragraph of the sketch (4,99) the writer seems to shake off his *ingénu* narrator's mask and appear undisguised before the reader, with a harsh warning of the 'Reich der Intriguen und Revolten, der Anmaßungen und Prellereien' that exists backstage. Lewald will explore the realm of the 'Coulissen' more thoroughly and less light-heartedly in *Theater-Roman*. In *Album aus Paris*, most of Lewald's observations of the human condition, however sharp, are recorded with amusement. He appears to accept and relish both the theatricality that pervades society, and the vigour with which it chases material advantage. In *Memoiren eines Banquiers* and *Theater-Roman* he looks more critically at the harm both can cause.

4. Style and social analysis in Lewald's sketches

It has been suggested in this chapter that the style Lewald honed in *Album aus Paris* is capable of delivering through picturesque scenes and in a tone of benign impartiality a social analysis that is nonetheless unsparingly clear-sighted. Some of his later sketches deal harshly with social prejudice. In *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, for instance, 'Häusliche Bilder'[169] exposes, in elegant and urbanely articulated narratives, catastrophic outcomes resulting from the hypocrisy and injustice of some attitudes to women: in one a servant is driven to suicide by a lack of understanding that someone of her status might want to read; in another a good country parson's daughter 'die das Unglück gehabt hatte den Verführungen des General Rapp [...] zu erliegen'[170] suffers pregnancy and disease that must be covered up for decorum's sake, with disastrous consequences, while the General's reputation remains untarnished. Some contemporary reviewers not attuned to the modern *Physiologie* and its style of social analysis through humorous observation of externals had difficulty reconciling the descriptive and the critical in Lewald's writing. This is demonstrated even in the left-leaning, progressive *Hallische Jahrbücher*:

> Lewald ist mit Recht ein beliebter Schriftsteller. In einem vielbewegten Leben erhielt er Stoff und Form für sein anmuthiges Talent. Er weiß von den Sachen dieser Welt Bescheid, hat viel erlebt und erfahren, und darf daher mitreden. Wenn sich zu einem feinen gewandten Geiste ein lauteres Gefühl für Recht und Sitte, ein reiner Sinn für Wahrheit und Schönheit gesellt, und wenn das Ganze getragen ist von eben so großer Sicherheit des Bewußtseins als anspruchsloser Bescheidenheit, so wird man gern an dem liebenswürdigen Munde hängen. Zu dem kommt ein allseitiger Anschluß an die Mächte, welche die Zeit bewegen. Er blieb den modernen Ideen in keinem Stücke fremd, wenn er sie auch nie und nirgends in ihrer Tiefe erfaßte. So wußte er stets die Perspective in das, was heute die Geister bewegt, herzustellen und wenigstens auf den Hintergrund seiner Schildereien den Duft des modernen, des fortschreitenden Gedankens zu legen.[171]

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[169] Lewald, 'Häusliche Bilder', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 150–64 (pp. 154–64).
[170] Lewald, 'Häusliche Bilder', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II,160.
[171] H. Lenz, 'Neue Aquarelle aus dem Leben, von August Lewald. 2 Theile. Stuttgart, 1840. Cast'sche Buchhandlung', *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 104 (1841), 414–16 (p. 414). Lenz's review goes on to express disappointment at finding Lewald's stylistic strengths falling short in *Neue Aquarelle aus dem Leben*.

The review acknowledges Lewald's popularity and his authoritative voice as writer and man of the world keenly aware of the forces that move his time and the ideas that preoccupy them, yet it denies his analyses depth, and finds merely a background flavour of modern progressive thought in his descriptions. The review seems almost to damn Lewald with faint praise for his writing's good behaviour — the charm of his talent, the friendliness of his words, his authorial modesty and lack of pretension. The very modernity of Lewald's interpretations of society by observation of its surface phenomena rather than theoretical reflection, presented in an immediately accessible style, seems to be mistaken for guileless superficiality. Tellingly, Gutzkow does not see Lewald's style and interpretative depth as cancelling each other out, acknowledging the first as the outer layer in which the second lies intact: 'die stylistische Hülle eines tiefen Geistes, der die menschlichen Zustände mit klarstem Auge durchschaut'.[172]

Arguably there is an ambivalence in Lewald's own authorial attitude caused by the conflict between a desire to retain his projected status as refined and respected man of the world, and a quite partisan urge to shake his reader's preconceptions and to expose some of the destructive effects of society's folly and narrow-mindedness. Lewald was clearly pleased to be able to report to Heine in 1841, 'Mein komischer Roman "Theaterroman" [...] macht Scandal'.[173]

In Lewald's life too it seems to have been important to him to appear in control, respected and graciously benevolent, while seeing quite clearly the realities of society's cut and thrust. Beurmann conveys more than a hint of this, not without edge, in a critique of *Panorama von München* which, like Gutzkow's critque, unites Lewald's style of writing with his personal manner, and again acknowledges the admiration of younger writers for his worldly refinement, here exemplified in his way with the ladies:

> eine gewisse Bedächtigkeit und vornehme Herablassung sind ihm im höchsten Grade eigen. [...] vor der jungen Literatur, der er, der ältere Schriftsteller, beigetreten ist, hat er das voraus, daß er sich trefflich mit Damen zu unterhalten weiß. Lewald ist Weltmann. [...] Wenn er einmal renommirt, so wird er stets mit dem Savoir faire renommiren, welches sich für das Salonleben eignet.[174]

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[172] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 308.
[173] Letter from Lewald to Heine, 15 September 1841, in *HSA*, XXV, 341.
[174] Eduard Beurmann, *Skizzen aus den Hanse-Städten*, p. 201.

Another characterisation of Lewald's personal style adds a contrasting note of sobriety and moderation:

> Seine Tracht ist leicht und doch auf Eleganz berechnet. Er ist mehr Modemann in der Theorie, als in der Praxis. Er weiss das Solide in der Mode mehr zu schätzen, als das Flüchtige, was jeder Tag verändert. Seine Manieren sind gemessen und doch zutraulich.[175]

In one of two thinly disguised autobiographical interludes in Lewald's *Aquarelle aus dem Leben* addressed to a wife-figure 'Ina', showiness is balanced with moderation in reference to a villa the writer is having built in the resort of Cannstadt. He refers to it idyllically as a 'Hüttchen'. It is to be 'einfach und bequem', its designer not sacrificing all beauty to comfort, but not yielding to excess 'wie der prunksüchtige Thor, der nur dem äußern Scheine fröhnt'.[176] Here too there seems to be an unresolved conflict, between the dandy-like exhibitionism that greeted Hackländer, and reserve; between play-acting and what Gutzkow refers to as 'was über Manier, Schule und Ideologie erhaben ist, das gesunde Urtheil'.[177]

Comparison with Heine, Lewald's early mentor and friend from the 'founding' generation of writers in the modern style, helps position Lewald within these conflicts. Fanny Lewald claims that Börne and Heine gave the German language the flexibility and punch needed for the new social and political discourse: that they refashioned the gold bars of the treasury built up by Schiller and Goethe into coins that could be readily exchanged, no longer usable only by an elite few but a useful common currency.[178] An 1837 review of Lewald's 'Künstler-Portraits' — brief sketches of actors and actresses published in 1836, the second year of his *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*[179] — makes a connection between Heine's innovative style and Lewald's. The review notes that the portraits contain:

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[175] 'Zahme Persönlichkeiten', *Frankfurter Telegraph: Blätter für Leben, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, ed. by Wilhelm Speyer and Eduard Beurmann, 16 (1837), (repr. Frankfurt/Main: Athenäum, 1971), 113.
[176] Lewald, 'Ina', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, IV, 308–12 (p. 310).
[177] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 310.
[178] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, I: *Im Vaterhause*, 225.
[179] 'Künstler-Portraits', *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*,2 (1836), 267–387.

> [m]anches treffend Urtheil, manches auch, was nur pikant sein will. Auch im Deutschen kommt die Zeit, wo man des Blitzstyls, den Heine zuerst einführte, satt werden wird.[180]

Lewald attributes to Heine in superlatives the very qualities of clarity and insight with which he himself is credited, but he denies any ambition to emulate his friend:

> Es ist mir nie eingefallen wie Heine schreiben zu wollen, und es wäre mir wohl auch nicht möglich, seine crystall-flüssige Form wiederzugeben, die den feinsten, durchdringendsten Geist aushaucht.[181]

In his conclusion to *Panorama von München* Lewald makes much of disclaiming any wish to be 'pikant':

> Ich habe nicht pikant geschrieben, das werden mir viele Leser vorwerfen. Ich weiß wohl, daß das heute von dem Schriftsteller verlangt wird, der es wagt, über gegenwärtige Zustände offen zu schreiben. Aber man muß nicht mit aller Gewalt pikant seyn wollen; nach und nach könnte Einer und der Andere wohl wieder einen ruhigen Ton anstimmen. Das 'Pikant seyn wollen' ekelt wahrlich schon an.[182]

He contrasts a desire to speak the truth openly and calmly with what could be read as a criticism of Heine and his 'Blitzstyl', and a desire to distance himself from this way of writing:

> Jeder sollte schreiben, wie es ihm sein Talent, wenn er es wohl ordnet, eingibt, und soll alles Bestreben, unmenschlich geistreich zu seyn, die brillanten Antithesen, Witzraketen u.s.w. weit von sich halten.[183]

Provocativeness is filtered, in the sketches at least, through the generally good-natured tone emphasised in reviews.

Though it makes little sense to compare the sketches of *Album aus Paris* with Heine's *Französische Zustände* published in the same year — his series of discursive reports for Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* on recent French

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[180] 'Allgemeine Theaterrevue. Herausgegeben von August Lewald. Zweiter Jahrgang. Stuttgart, Cotta. 1837', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 247 (1837), 1003–04 (p. 1004, col. 2).
[181] Lewald, 'Heine', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 121-22.
[182] Lewald, *Panorama von München*, II, 307.
[183] Lewald, *Panorama von München*, II, 307.

history, current politics, society and culture — his 1822 *Briefe aus Berlin* is more closely related. Lewald's brief portraits of the *élégants* arriving on the Paris Boulevard, for instance, are presented in a format highly reminiscent of Heine's parallel description in his *Briefe aus Berlin* of notables spotted in Berlin's Café Royal: in both, recognised celebrities are pointed out as if to someone looking on with the observer/*flâneurs* letting the city reveal itself to them.[184] Stylistically though, the tone of Heine's sketches contrasts sharply with Lewald's. In a far from serene tone, paradoxes, punchy expressions and biting comment follow each other unexpectedly with dizzying speed. Neatly juxtaposing God and Mammon, for instance, the writer advises his correspondent-cum-imaginary companion to turn away from the cathedral to the building next to it, the stock exchange.

> Das ist die Börse. Dort schachern die Bekenner des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Wir wollen ihnen nicht zu nahe kommen. O Gott, welche Gesichter! Habsucht in jeder Muskel. Wenn sie die Mäuler öffnen, glaub ich mich angeschrieen: Gib mir all dein Geld! Mögen schon viel zusammengescharrt haben. Die Reichsten sind gewiß die, auf deren fahlen Gesichtern die Unzufriedenheit und der Mißmuth am tiefsten eingeprägt liegt. Wieviel glücklicher ist doch mancher arme Teufel, der nicht weiß, ob ein Lousidor rund oder eckig ist.[185]

He debunks the activity that takes place in this would-be important building by calling its business 'peddling' — 'schachern' — the lowest form of trading and one traditionally seen as Jewish; he gets in a blow at Jewish traders but quick as a flash includes the Gentiles who might scorn them; conveys horror at material greed; slips in a paradox that the poor are happier than the rich, and overall conveys his moral distaste in neat visualisations, verbless sentences, strong colloquial vocabulary, and the very speed with which he passes by the scene. This kind of almost insolent cleverness is far from the refinement and well-behaved likeableness seen as characteristic of Lewald.

Whether or not Lewald may have been capable of Heine's kind of wit and edge, or wanted to emulate his friend's style, his protestation that he has no wish to be 'pikant' may not be entirely ingenuous. His portrait of Munich is not

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[184] Heine, *Briefe aus Berlin*, in *DHA*, XII, 17.
[185] Heine, *Briefe aus Berlin*, in *DHA*, XII, 11.

uniformly flattering, and his 'Schluß' is a defence against criticisms his panorama contains. He concludes by claiming that he wants his description to be 'unparteiisch und ohne Schmeichelei' but goes on:

> Dabei mußten allerdings Namen genannt, Persönlichkeiten enthüllt werden, aber dem Verfasser ist es nicht im Entferntesten eingefallen, die jetzt so beliebte Scandal-Literatur dadurch vermehren zu wollen.[186]

It is rarely wise to take Lewald's authorial voice at face value, and here another 'kleine Koketterie' with the reader is suggested in the idea that it would never even remotely have occurred to this worldly-wise writer to want to propagate scandal.

Lewald's apparent failure to come out from behind a mask of gentle irony like this one and commit himself entirely either to mere elegant popularity or to unmasked polemic in spite of his clear-sighted intelligence and social awareness — a resistance to revealing himself entirely that inhibited him from articulating straight from the heart to the paper like Börne — may have prompted Gutzkow's ultimately damning criticism of his former friend as a mere speculator in the literary market: 'im Wesentlichen spekulirte er nur'.[187] Possibly Lewald never entirely resolved the ambivalences in his own life, but the need to negotiate them in his writing led him to the bold conceptions of *Memoiren eines Banquiers* and *Theater-Roman*, in which he delivers ever stronger social criticism in a style distinctively his own.

[186] Lewald, *Panorama von München*, II, 308.
[187] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, p. 100.

Chapter 2. *Memoiren eines Banquiers*

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	ZEIT	PAPIER	GELD
Berlin...	k.S	103 7/8	
ditto...	2.M		
Hamburg.	k.S	147	
ditto...	2.M	146 1/2	
			u.s.w.
			u.s.w.

’

(Altes Cours-Blatt)[188]

This chapter is divided into four sections with separate though overlapping focuses. The first discusses Lewald’s manipulation of the memoir genre, the second looks at the novel’s critique of commercialism, the third at its treatment of Jewish issues and their broader implications. A brief fourth section links the theme of acting and theatricality in *Memoiren eines Banquiers* to its place centre-stage in *Theater-Roman*.

1. Life writing as mask

1836 saw the publication of the first two volumes of Lewald’s four-volume collection of sketches, *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*; two volumes of short stories and ‘Genrebilder’, *Schattirungen*, and *Bad-Almanach*[189] — spa guide and compendium of short stories, travel writing and memoirs which Lewald edited and to which he contributed a large share of content. At the same time, as editor, he was keeping three recently launched journals coming off the press: the annual *Allgemeine Theater-Revue* and the weekly *Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt* and *Atlas zur Kunde fremder Welttheile*. These demanded a constant search for and correspondence with contributors, a ready supply of contributions of his own, and above all, in the case of the weekly journals, an ever-alert reading of contemporary trends in all fields at home and abroad.

Out of this intense activity and hightened connectedness to the currents of the day sprang *Memoiren eines Banquiers*,[190] arguably Lewald’s boldest and most original creation, in which the analyst of manners tackles not only the

[188] Motto on the title page of *Memoiren eines Banquiers*.
[189] August Lewald (ed), *Bad-Almanach. 1836*, (Stuttgart: Liesching, 1836).
[190] In this chapter, the title will be abbreviated to *Memoiren*, and references to Parts 1 and 2 of its text will be made in the form (part,page number[s]).

subject of money in the modern world but also problems of emancipation and prejudice associated with the contentious 'Jewish question', paradoxically both unmasking commonly held social attitudes and concealing personal involvement in the issues through a complex manipulation of authorial masks.

In Lewald's sketches, the amused, impartial observer-narrator might write himself explicitly into the fringes or the midst of currently occurring events, recording and analysing social behaviour, filtering what he sees for his reader through selection and interpretation. He is an alert spectator, part of the 'audience' of the 'comédie humaine' as it is acted out before him. In the case of *Memoiren*, the concept of theatricality is extended to the work itself: it is itself an 'act', a fiction masquerading as non-fiction. Lewald makes a great show of distancing himself from the work, purporting to be merely the editor of memoirs of a rich Jewish banker that have been left, shortly before their author's unexpected death, with a publisher with whom the editor has connections (1,9–10). Disclaiming substantial interference with the banker's text, his role is not that of observer and interpreter. Instead, the readers of *Memoiren* are implicitly challenged to take on these 'spectator' roles themselves and make their own sense of the masquerade: they must become the work's 'audience' and rise to the task of interpreting the many-layered manipulation of the banker character and his memoirs, created to examine and subvert popular stereotypes. Implied interactions between reader, actual author and fictional author, editor and narrator are added to the blurred relationships between fact and fiction, satire and polemic already apparent in Lewald's sketches. The roles become teasingly interwoven and ambiguous, suggesting further masks beneath the banker's mask, and the mask that is *Memoiren* itself. The reader-audience must decide which are on at any given moment, in a constant activity of interpretation that parallels the reading of people and situations demanded in a changing contemporary social and commercial life.[191]

The editor sets up the scam elaborately in his foreword, dropping hints that his involvement is greater than he claims. He delineates the boundaries of his editorial brief, and, toying with his reader in over-emphasised disclaimers of responsibility for style and content, creates chinks through which his own

[191] In writing about *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, the terms 'editor' and 'author' will be used in this chapter without inverted commas, in the sense in which they are used in the novel.

authorial persona might be glimpsed even as he dons his disguise. In the final paragraph of the 'Vorwort' the 'gehorsamster Herausgeber' claims he has now done his job and will step back 'um meinen Autor, ohne weitere Dazwischen-kunft, ruhig bis zu Ende fortsprechen zu lassen' (1,18). In the 'Nachrede des Herausgebers' the editor bows out with the wish, 'daß mich Leser und Kritiker bei Beurtheilung dieses Buches für keinen größern Theil daran verantwortlich machen möchten, als für den des Herausgebers' (2,207–208). He admits to having smoothed out some roughnesses in Part 1, so that the reader might recognise there, if not his style, at least 'etwas von meiner *Schreibart* ' (1,10). The editor who is the well-known author August Lewald can be confident that his reader will be familiar with this way of writing, he implies, and might wonder if there is not more of him in the work than he admits. Self-reflecting layers accumulate which further confuse fact and fiction, editor and true author: the editor states that he has not attempted to bridge gaps in the more fragmentary Part 2, 'da dem Publikum kein Roman übergeben werden sollte' (1,11), and criticises what is actually his own writing, purporting to be criticising the banker's: 'gern hätte ich selbst im ersten Bande manches weggewünscht, das mir zu geringfügig oder überflüssig schien' (1,11), while the banker himself claims he would have liked it, 'wenn irgend ein gewandter Stylist meine Blätter vor dem Drucke durchgelesen hätte' (1,45).

The editor's description of meeting the banker some years earlier teasingly meshes precise fact with invention: Lewald was in Hamburg in 1828, and involved with the Hamburg Stadttheater — it is plausible that he could have met the banker in Altona with the theatre director Lebrün (1,12).[192] However this factuality is undermined by an exaggeratedly portentous interpretation of the meeting, in which the editor sees the hand of fate: 'Wie seltsam das Schicksal mit uns spielt!' (1,12) and compares 'etwas Uebernatürliches' (1,14) that passed between him and the banker to Marie Antoinette's premonition on passing her future executioner in the Trianon park. The blunt disrespect of the editor's physical description of the banker, in which he emphasises 'daß es nicht die Schönheit des Mannes seyn konnte, die mich für ihn eingenommen' (1,13–14), hints again that nothing is to be taken at face value. Qualms that this description and the banker's correspondence with the dedicatees that follow it may have blown the banker's incognito are offset by the fact that this puts 'die

[192] Carl Lebrün (1792–1842).

einstmalige Existenz des Mannes außer allen Zweifel', and will assure the reader that the memoirs are 'keine Erfindungen einer müßigen Laune' (1,17) — more overstated denials of pretence. The memoirs' publisher allegedly gave the banker the incentive to undertake the tour of foreign stock exchanges which led to his death at sea between Hamburg and Le Havre (1,7–9). The editor records the events with heartless jokes blaming the publisher for the banker's death; veiled ironic references to a more famous 'Verstorbenen',[193] and dryly narrated details of the fatal sea storm — a lack of respectful gravity that belies their reality.

If it were needed, external evidence too indicates that *Memoiren* is a fiction written by Lewald himself. On 17 July 1836 he wrote to Heine: 'In diesem Augenblick werden meine 'Memoiren eines Banquiers' gedruckt, wo ich mich als Herausgeber girire': the memoirs are claimed as 'meine', and the editor conceit revealed.[194] Extracts appeared in *Europa* the same year.[195] Lewald reprinted *Memoiren* in his collection of writings, *Der Divan* (1839), and included them in his collected works: [196] a merely edited work by someone else would surely not have merited these reissues. However, Lewald sustains the disguise and ambiguity around the authorship. *Der Divan* includes memoirs of Lewald's own life as well as of the banker's. A 'Vorwort zur zweiten Ausgabe', signed 'A.L.', prefaces *Memoiren*, in which he claims to be appending them at the publisher's wish, 'unverfälscht und unverkümmert'. He expresses his delight at the good critical reception the memoirs received three years earlier, particularly in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*,[197] and regrets, in a passing jibe at corrupt critical practice, that the banker (since dead) is not able 'sich dem wohlwollenden Herrn Referenten dankbar [...] zu beweisen'.[198] In Lewald's collected works, *Memoiren* appears again ambiguously as a 'supplement' ('Nachtrag') at the end of the final volume.

His biographer Cruse acknowledges that Lewald's editorship is a disguise: 'So kleidet Lewald sich hier in die Rolle des objektiven Herausgebers

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[193] An allusion to Hermann Pückler-Muskau who published *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, Parts 1 and 2 (Stuttgart: Hallberger, 1830), Parts 3 and 4 (Stuttgart: Hallberger, 1831), and numerous further volumes '*aus den Papieren eines Verstorbenen*', between 1834 and 1837.
[194] Letter from Lewald to Heine, Stuttgart, 17 July 1836, in *HSA*, XXIV (1974), ed. by Renate Francke, p. 408.
[195] *Europa*, 2 (1836), 1–16 and 63–72.
[196] Lewald, *Der Divan*, V and VI; Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, XII.
[197] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), 530–32.
[198] Lewald, *Der Divan*, V, pp. v–vi.

und Überarbeiters'. He adds a cautious proviso: 'ob das Fiktion ist oder Wahrheit, das kann schwerlich ganz genau gesagt werden', though he finds the ironical remarks in the 'Vorwort' make the former likely.[199] As for Lewald's contemporaries, one reviewer — whether ingenuously or with tongue in cheek — gives no hint of questioning Lewald's mere editorship. He finds the memoirs unexceptional, and can only agree with the editor's own critical view of them: again, either sincere judgement or back-hander, playing the editor's own game.[200] The review in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, singled out by Lewald as encouragement to reissue *Memoiren* in *Der Divan*, refers unequivocally to 'dem Lewald'schen Romane'.[201]

Chief actor in the hoax, the narrator and banker of the title is a wealthy converted Jew who relates his experiences from the Napoleonic Wars, the Restoration, and beyond, and reflects on the lessons life has taught him. The memoirs represent his response to his life and times:

> die Hauptmomente aus dem Leben eines Menschen, der in der Zeit lebte, mit ihr verkehrte, [...] und aus dessen Erlebnissen sich manche Lehre feststellen läßt. Die lebendige Erfahrung hat vieles vor dem todten Buchstaben voraus; das, was ich hier gebe, ist eine solche; keine mühsam aus Büchern zusammengestoppelte Lese übergebe ich hier der Welt, sie soll keine Weisheit aus zweiter und dritter Hand erhalten; Alles trägt hier den Stempel der Wahrheit und des selbst Erlebten. (1,33)

The banker's insistence on the superiority of what is learnt from life over theory is thoroughly in keeping with Lewald's own credo and that of Young German writers discussed in my Introduction, and still held by Lewald ten years later when he stresses in the 'Vorwort' to his *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*: 'Wir benützen kein älteres Werk für dieses Buch', but its author's own experience.[202] Predominantly, the banker's memoirs concern commerce high and low; the relationship between commerce and the arts; the experience of being Jewish; as in the sketches, the material self interest that

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[199] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 62.
[200] 'Memoiren eines Banquiers. Herausgegeben von August Lewald. 2. Thle. Stuttgart, Scheible's Verlags-Exped. 1836', *Repertorium der gesammten deutschen Literatur*, 10 (1836), 519–20.
[201] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), p. 531.
[202] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, pp. xi–xii.

drives human interactions, and the importance and problems of being 'read' and of 'reading' other people and situations correctly in all these contexts — the activity *Memoiren* obliges its reader to practise. All are issues with which the growing middle classes had to grapple: even the Jewish issue represented, for many, wider questions of freedom and nationhood. *Memoiren* might be read as a compendium of topical issues of the day.

The issues are inextricably enmeshed in *Memoiren*, as they were in Lewald's own life, making the fiction his most public as well as his most elaborately masked exploration of problems with which he could identify intimately. In the context of *Vormärz* writers' engagement with communicating 'das unmittelbare Leben', the hoax of *Memoiren* is striking. Lewald takes what is potentially one of the most direct forms of life-writing with its mix of autobiography, personal memories and reflections, and manipulates it to explore controversial content: presenting his banker character's memoirs as the unadorned expression of the banker's life experience, he is able to avoid identification with any of the views expressed. Lewald's own experiences and outlook feed into the satirical fiction, which acts as a disguise, or several disguises, beneath which his own opinion might be sought in vain. It would not be far-fetched to suggest that desire to wrong-foot the censors may have played a part in this act of evasion — publishing a novel dealing with such sensitive matter was not without risk in the year after the *Bundesbeschluß* of December 1835. The Young German 'school' — seen by its opponents as representing moral degeneration as well as a radical struggle for political and social reform — was reputed to consist largely of Jews, or at least to be driven by a Jewish element. Wolfgang Menzel's defamatory articles in the *Literatur-Blatt* of the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* following the publication in 1835 of Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, associated the Young German literary 'school' with both French and Jewish influence.[203] Börne and Heine, both living in Paris, both converted Jews, were considered its senior exponents, though Börne was not listed among the authors banned. Menzel's articles are credited with fuelling the December edict, and the associations echoed strongly in the controversy that was still raging in 1836. Lewald must have been aware that his

[203] See for example Wolfgang Menzel, 'Wally, die Zweiflerin. Roman von Karl Gutzkow. Mannheim: Löwenthal, 1835', *Literatur-Blatt*, 93; 94 (1835), 369–76, and 'Unmoralische Literatur', *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, Literatur-Blatt*, 109; 110 (1835), 435–40, in Gutzkow, *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (Reclam, 1998), pp. 274–91; 336–49.

own currently high profile as editor and writer, let alone his friendship with Heine and Gutzkow, would have caused tabs to be kept on him, as indeed they were. His movements were observed, specifically his contacts with the banned Heine, and with Paris, the perceived source of subversive liberal thought. On 23 March 1836, for instance, just months before *Memoiren* was published, the secret report mentioned earlier was filed:

> Lewald in Stuttgart (der wohl auch zum jungen Deutschland zu rechnen wäre) geht heute von Stuttgart ab nach Paris [...], es soll eine Vergnügungsreise sein.[204]

In the context of the controversy about Jewish influence, Lewald might seem to be satirising through the narrator of *Memoiren* another highly recognisable current stereotype, 'rich Jewish banker'. Yet by manipulating the layers of narrative voices he has set up, and their ambiguities, he makes of the caricature a far more broadly relevant and nuanced cipher for contemporary middle-class society at large.

The first decades of the nineteenth century saw the profile of the Rothschild banking family so high that the concepts 'rich Jewish' and 'banker' were practically inseparable. Gutzkow's article about the family had appeared in 1835, as part of his series *Oeffentliche Charaktere*.[205] In it he prefaces his account of the Rothschilds with a broad critique of the capitalism of his time, which for him the family represents. Though Gutzkow falls short of attacking the personal integrity of individuals in the family, he shows them at the hub of modern finance and the 'Immoralität des Börsenspieles' as it wheels further and further into the realm of speculation and risk, and away from the 'Wohl der Völker', craftsmen and peasants, for instance, from whom financial sustainability is being withdrawn as a result.[206] The Rothschilds epitomise the 'Geldaristokratie': all doors are open to them across the globe, including that of the Christian pope and the Muslim sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Gutzkow traces the current wheeling and dealing of international high finance back to the small-time peddling and haggling of the Jewish ghetto. A trans-European,

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[204] *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz*, *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, 22 (1912), p. 70.
[205] Karl Gutzkow, 'Rothschild', in *Öffentliche Charaktere*, *Erster Theil* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1835), pp. 275–302.
[206] Gutzkow, 'Rothschild', p. 279.

extra-national dimension seems to him already to have been present in the routes of ghetto trading, and among its inhabitants who speak, look and behave like a nation apart, and maintain a coherence and separateness from Christian society, which may have been forced on them by that society, but which they appear to want to perpetuate.

Gutzkow spells out thoughtfully connections some of his and Lewald's readers might make less consciously and less thoughtfully between Jews, money-making, and contemporary capitalism. That these connections were commonly made is underlined in Jakob Weil's 1836 polemic *Das junge Deutschland und die Juden*. Linking allusions to a member of the Rothschild family and to Börne, he claims single familiar examples of a stereotype have become a focus for anti-Jewish feelings:

> Ein reicher, um den Credit der Staaten verdienter Banquier *ist* ein Jude — Grund genug für *eine* Parthey, ein geistreicher, aber in revolutionairen Ideen befangener Schriftsteller *war* ein Jude — Grund genug für die *andere* Parthey, sie zu hassen.[207]

In 1843 Marx would link Jewishness and capitalism explicitly in his essay *Zur Judenfrage*. He takes his proposal: 'Welches ist der weltliche Kultus des Juden? Der *Schacher*. Welches ist sein weltlicher Gott? Das *Geld* ' to its logical conclusion, arguing that society's freedom from the grip of materialism is inseparable from freedom from Jewishness, and Jews' own freedom is only achievable through renouncing trade and money-worship, which would be equivalent to renouncing their very Jewishness. In his conclusion: 'Die *gesellschaftliche* Emanzipation des Juden ist die *Emanzipation der Gesellschaft vom Judenthum*', Marx, like Lewald seven years earlier, appears to be building a critique of society as a whole around a Jewish stereotype used emblematically.[208] In Marx's analytical argument, the common stereotype represents the capitalist's drive to acquire personal wealth and property on an individual level, a drive which stands in the way of the liberation of humankind as a whole from the inequalities of social and economic hierarchies. Lewald's fictional work picks out the main characteristics with which the stereotype is commonly endowed, and, like Marx, pursues them to the limit, but unlike Marx,

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[207] J. Weil, *Das junge Deutschland und die Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Jäger, 1836), p. 4.
[208] Karl Marx, *Zur Judenfrage*, in *MEGA*, ed. by Günter Heyden, 1. Abteilung, *Werke, Artikel, Entwürfe*, II: *März 1843 bis August 1844* (1982), pp. 141–69 (pp. 164; 169).

to the ironical limit of satire, leaving his readers to draw their own conclusions from his portrayal.

The banker-narrator in *Memoiren* seems at times to be endorsing the stereotype. For him, Jewishness and commerce are inseparable. He perceives as absurd attempts by a poor Jew he meets on his travels to establish himself as a poet. To the banker, artistic passion that entails material deprivation is incomprehensible, when 'man durch Handel auf jedem Schritt ein reichliches Auskommen finden kann'. He concludes, 'wer den Handel verschmäht, höre auf, Jude zu seyn' (1,91).

Seeming to share Gutzkow's view of a continuum of 'typical' Jewish commercial activity from the ghetto upwards, the banker resolves, after conversion to Christianity,

> nur christliche Geschäfte zu unternehmen, und alle Lieferungen, Leihgeschäfte, Geldwechsel für immer aus meinem Comptoir zu verbannen.

No longer will he 'mit ängstlicher Hast dem Gewinne nachjagen' (1,201). The banker later discovers he cannot break away from the stereotype so easily after conversion, finding himself still excluded from Christian society. There is no evidence that he returns to the practices he wishes to abandon, but he experiences the phenomenon, acknowledged by Gutzkow, of being edged back into his Jewish context.

In a eulogy to money in general and to his own wealth in particular, the banker again conforms to stereotype, rhapsodising:

> Zu wissen: ich kann Alles, was ich will! ist ein Gefühl, das kein Anderes aufwiegt. Viele meiner Glaubens- und Standesgenossen werden vollkommen verstehen, was ich hier nur unvollkommen auszudrücken im Stande bin. (1,69)

Though these statements might make the reader smile comfortably as at a familiar caricature, their resonance beyond the stereotype is made clear. 'Glaubensgenossen' is extended to non-Jewish 'Standesgenossen', and in any case, strictly speaking the banker's 'Glaubensgenossen' are now Christians. In the following, the banker again extends the narrow stereotype to refer to his times in general ('in dieser Zeit') and to society as a whole ('Alles'):

> Ist [das Geld] nicht in dieser Zeit wirklich der Hebel alles Großen und Nützlichen, Schönen und Vortrefflichen? [...] Wie sich doch Alles abmüht und abquält um des Geldes willen! Und diese Leute wollen das Geld verächtlich finden? Heuchler und Lügner sind sie! (1,67)

The fact that the banker seems to play to the stereotype, with self-awareness but without self-justification or inhibition, is unsettling. Thanks to his great wealth he has no need for greed or self-interested intrigue and deviousness, and this endows him with a kind of incongruous innocence which on one level is satirical, emphasising his remoteness from the common lot, but on another makes possible the impartiality that marks his outlook. He has been rich from birth (1,69). He can afford to publish his memoirs at his own cost, a fact seen by the editor as a lack of savvy: 'Er verstand [...] seinen Vortheil nicht' (1,9). He easily writes off his capital in a doubtful deal with his future father-in-law, and later forgoes his wife's promised dowry, in the interests of bailing out the father-in-law (and in the process keeping his own hands clean); he provides amply for his sons, saving one who is currently serving a prison sentence from having to find work in the future.

> Das Geld, was dazu erfordert wurde, war für mich Glücklichen leicht auszugeben, da ich so viel davon besaß! Und wenn man hier einen Blick auf die Verhältnisse wirft, muß man nicht wieder einräumen, daß nur das Geld es war, was so viel Mißgeschick in Freude und Glück umzuwandeln vermochte? Welche Unannehmlichkeiten ohne Zahl wären für mich aus diesem Allem erwachsen, wenn ich nicht Geld genug zu meiner Disposition gehabt hätte? (2,33)

He can afford to look down from a rarely accessible height on his fellow humans, 'als reicher Mann, der voll Mitleid auf diejenigen [...], die das Unglück haben, nicht reich zu seyn' (2,158). He honours

> [d]e[n] Trieb, Geld zu verdienen, diese[n] so mächtige[n] Trieb in gewöhnlich tüchtigen Naturen, die sich dadurch zu der allein auf Erden möglichen Freiheit emporschwingen wollen. (1,108–109)

It is the freedom to look unblinkered at what he sees, to do as he likes, and to dispense and dispose on behalf of others as he sees fit. The passing reference to 'der allein auf Erden möglichen Freiheit' cuts straight through the currently

raging controversies about Jewish emancipation, ignoring the religious, moral, political and legal issues in which the debate was usually embroiled. To the banker it is self-evident that only wealth can emancipate. In *Zur Judenfrage*, attacking the egoism of trade, Marx uses the term in its contemporary theoretical context, to signify a self-serving, narrowly individual manner of economic functioning. The concept was commonly aimed less theoretically at Jews, by Gutzkow among others.[209] Both applications are satirically epitomised in the banker caricature as he rejoices in commercial activity and uses his gains to look after himself and his own. However, no overt moral judgements are drawn. How far the banker's position is endorsed by events and reflections elsewhere in *Memoiren* — whether it is justifiable or truly liberating, are questions about which the reader, again, must be arbiter.

The converted Jew broker in Georg Weerth's 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', published in 1847 and 1848, represents a current materialist trend, like the banker, but Weerth's caricature exemplifies unambiguous exploitation of the popular stereotype: the 'Handelsjude' is shabby, shifty and cunning, his physical and metaphorical nose emphasised; he gesticulates and uses traces of syntax-distorting jargon.[210] By contrast, a naivety born of the banker's great wealth and an open frankness give the banker an endearing quality that places Lewald's creation further beyond easy stereotyping.

The clear sight afforded by the banker's privileged vantage point is enhanced by an absence of bias that derives from his rootedness in rational commercial analysis, undistorted by sentiment or emotion. In this too the banker is a double-sided tool in Lewald's hands. The dyed-in-the-wool businessman is a caricature capitalist through whom to critique the materialism that was encroaching on all aspects of human activity, but at the same time, the caricature's very detachment and dispassion enable him to see and expose prejudice and pretension wherever he finds them. Sharp attention from the reader is required, who is often invited to laugh at and with the banker at the

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[209] 'Der Jude [...] ist überzärtlich für Alles, was seinen Namen trägt, kalt und abstoßend gegen Jeden, der sein eigenes Ich nicht näher berührt.' [Karl Gutzkow], 'Religion und Christenthum' in *Die Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Martina Lauster, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Politik und Gesellschaft, (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.1, 2007), p. 502.

[210] Georg Weerth, 'Der Makler', in *Sämtliche Werke in fünf Bänden*, ed. by Bruno Kaiser, 5 vols (Berlin: Aufbau, 1956–57), II: 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben' (1956), pp. 349–485 (pp. 410–20).

same time, and must decide whether the banker's opinions are wisdom or folly, or a blend of both. Lewald's own voice, however hidden or disguised, makes itself felt, as if he were still an observer after all, both watching his reader's reactions and seeing what the banker sees, with his own and with the banker's eyes simultaneously. In his 'Nachrede' the editor makes the modest claim that though perhaps otherwise unremarkable, the memoirs at least show 'einen gesunden geraden Verstand und manche originelle Ansicht gegenwärtiger Lebensverhältnisse' (2,206–207): an understanding, and perceptions, which, in the banker's voice of apparently non-judgemental rationality might overturn prim conventional thinking. Views on currently controversial topics secondary to the work's main content are sometimes slipped into an anecdote almost in passing, a characteristic of the more fluid forms of contemporary writing. An example is the banker's view on illegitimate children: acknowledging his own happy marriage, he nevertheless wonders whether a population without formal marriage would be a healthier one, and dwells on the inferiority and overabundance of the products of marriage, born to older parents whose passion is spent, over a single product of youthful passion (2,121–125). Gutzkow had expressed a comparable view in a defence of the perceived immorality of his novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin*:

> Hätte die nichteheliche Geburt nichts Entehrendes, so würden die Liebenden nicht eilen, sich zu verheiraten. Der Staat würde *einen* kräftigen Bewohner haben, statt daß in der Ehe ihm gezwungen sechs schwächliche nachfolgen.[211]

Referring to the Malthusian spectre of a world whose population exceeds sustainability, Gutzkow elaborates on this radical view of marriage's contribution

[211] Karl Gutzkow, *Vertheidigung gegen Menzel und Berichtigung einiger Urtheile im Publikum*, in Karl Gutzkow, *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1998), pp. 303–26 (p. 323). The pamphlet was first published in 1835 (Mannheim: Löwenthal). The thinking echoes a much earlier source: Shakespeare has King Lear's illegitimate son Edmund express a similar idea, though Edmund's character does not promote a liberal view:

> Why brand they us
> With base? with baseness? bastardy? base, base?
> Who in the lusty stealth of nature take
> More composition and fierce quality
> Than doth, within a dull, stale, tired bed,
> Go to th' creating a whole tribe of fops,
> Got 'tween asleep and wake?
>
> *King Lear*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (London: Methuen, 1972), I.2. 9–15.

to overpopulation in his essay 'Die Existenz' published the following year.[212]

The banker concludes his rational presentation of the advantages of births outside over those inside marriage with a generalisation that can be read both as the banker's pessimism about the possibility of changing society's prejudices, and as the true author's hidden mission to do just that. The banker counters his own suggestion that illegitimate children might by their superior qualities force society to relinquish its prejudices:

> Dies ist jedoch nur im Einzelnen möglich; die Vorurtheile sind mit der Gesellschaft so innig zusammengewachsen, daß ihre Entfernung diese nothwendig zerstören müßte.
>
> Haben die leisesten Versuche nicht oft schon den Beweis hiezu geliefert? (2,125)

[212] [Karl Gutzkow], 'Die Existenz', in *Die Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Martina Lauster, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Politik und Gesellschaft (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.1, 2007) particularly p. 152.

2. Commerce

Beneath the banker mask, *Memoiren* presents a satirical *exposé* of contemporary materialist values in commerce and beyond it. All kinds of transactions are described, including marriage, in which there is an element of acting or disguise, and which demand careful self-presentation and a correct interpretation of the behaviour of others. That Marx, as mentioned in my Introduction, later uses the theatrical image of masks to express the nature of commercial exchanges underlines the relevance to its time of the focus in *Memoiren* on these interpretative skills in a materialist context, and the precocity of Lewald's invention.

Among numerous expositions of trade and commerce is one self-contained chapter, discussed further below, 'Betrachtungen über die Handwerke' (2,35–61), in which the banker offers a modern materialist's view of traditional crafts which are doomed in an industrialising society. By contrast, a currently thriving form of commercial activity of which Lewald had personal experience is satirised, that of speculative publishing, also discussed later on in this Chapter. Stuttgart, where Lewald published with several houses, was a centre of the new entrepreneurial activity. Here too his manipulation of the masks of author, editor and narrator make it possible for him both to attack and defend the activity, without having to take a stand on his own part in it.

Memoiren is embedded from the start in the language, outlook and preoccupations of commerce — entirely appropriate for a banker, but not usually associated with writing for a general readership. In this alone it is groundbreaking for a work of humorous fiction in German. The banker character opens his memoirs by emphasising the originality of his undertaking, quoting the opening of Rousseau's *Confessions*: 'Je forme une entreprise qui n'eut jamais d'exemple', its wording happily apt for the banker's world. He is in no doubt about the memoirs' timeliness, as well as about his being the first to stop an obvious gap:

> Daß ein Banquier heut zu Tage Bedeutung genug hat, um nicht erst weitläuftig nöthig zu haben, sein Beginnen [...] zu rechtfertigen, liegt klar am Tage, vielmehr könnte es auffallen, daß es bis jetzt noch Niemanden eingefallen ist, der großen Börsen-Aristocratie darin mit gutem Beispiel

> voranzugehen. Die Frage aber ist, ob mein Beginnen dadurch gerechtfertigt wird. Doch nur Muth! ich will die Bahn brechen! (1,32)

As noted in my Introduction, the banker, and Lewald, are blazing this new trail four years ahead of the challenge thrown out by the Parisian Jules Janin to modern writers observing contemporary manners.[213]

Already on the title-page of the two Parts of *Memoiren*, the banker replaces the more traditional quotation from a literary classic with an extract from a classic of accounting, attributed as, 'Altes Cours-Blatt', and showing columns for 'Zeit', 'Papier' and 'Geld'.[214] The banker launches his literary enterprise with a play on words derived from accounting:

> Wann hätte man wohl jemals gehört, daß ein homme de lettres zugleich ein homme de lettres de change war? Der Stand, zu dem ich mich zähle, ist nicht einmal zu dem lesenden Publikum zu rechnen, geschweige zu dem schreibenden. Da haben wir's: Zählen! Rechnen! Man sollte glauben, daß wenn einmal ein Banquier die Feder ansetzt, sogleich von Zählen und Rechnen die Rede seyn muß. (1,31)

He promises that if these concepts do crop up, it will be 'nur immer figürlich', a promise kept in his explanation of the Jewish Day of Atonement in book-keeping terms, as the day on which the 'Conto' held by God for each person is 'abgeschlossen und saldirt', his remaining balance of sin cleared through prayer, fasting and castigation, so that

> die neuen Sünden auch wieder ein reines Blatt im Hauptbuche der Welten haben, nach dem uralten Sprichworte: 'Wer seine Schulden zahlt, erhält seinen Credit.' (1,52)

The banker visualises God assessing man's sins like any material commodity.

Writing too is commodified: in his letter to one of his dedicatees, the banker describes the current fashion for memoir-writing and -publishing as if describing a type of stock:

> Dieses Geschäft ist einträglich und nicht übel an der literarischen Börse accreditirt. Selbst ein Fürst[215] hat darin gearbeitet und setzt, wenn

[213] Jules Janin, 'Introduction', in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, p. xii.
[214] See the motto at the head of this chapter.
[215] Another reference to Pückler-Muskau.

> gleich bei einigem Schwanken des Courses, seine Speculationen noch immer im Großen fort. (1,21)

He promises not to spin out his own memoirs in volume after volume ‘aus Speculation auf die Beutel meiner Leser’. There is much play throughout *Memoiren* around the mismatches and overlaps between the literary and commercial worlds, a significant strand in the work which will be explored later on.

In *Memoiren*, the couching in commercial language of matters conventionally held to be the ‘opposite’ of commercial — religion, literary endeavour, human relationships — is a satirical tool used exuberantly to convey the increasing commodification of all aspects of contemporary life. Weerth’s ‘Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben’ inverts the trope. Descriptions of the conduct of business matters are couched satirically in pseudo-biblical language appropriate for a materialism that seems to have taken on the status of a religion, while allusions to ancient and modern classics suggest that small matters of commerce are the new high culture. Herr Preiss, head of the business firm portrayed in the sketches, introduces the firm’s copybook to a new apprentice as ‘das Evangelium’: his induction of the apprentice into the ways of commerce has the ring of a religious sermon, with parodied inversions and similies. With an echo of the beatitudes, Herr Preiss proclaims:

> Gross ist der Handel und weltumfassend! Glücklich der, welcher unter seinen Fittichen ruht, denn ihm wird wohl sein wie einem Maienkäfer unter den Linden.

Herr Preiss recognises the importance of ‘reading’ those he does business with. He exhorts the apprentice to master the art: by the reading of external signs their soul — which is as much as to say their financial situation — will be revealed:

> Merken Sie sich jedes Lächeln Ihres Gegenmannes, das geringste Zucken seiner Mundwinkel, die leiseste Bewegung seiner Augen, denn das Äußere des Menschen spiegelt oft genug das Innerste seiner Seele

> wider. Die Seele aber steht in genauem Zusammenhang mit dem Geldbeutel.[216]

Weerth's broker is already a master reader

> der sich selten irrt, der in jedes Herz und in jede Tasche zu sehen versteht, der in den kältesten und unbeweglichsten Gesichtern so richtig buchstabiert wie in einem grobgedruckten Buche.[217]

He can read the course of world events from stock exchange figures, and knows just how to play the moment to induce Herr Preiss to part with his money. Closely scrutinising faces and other surface indications to determine meaning, he embodies a materialist application of the observer's pseudo-science of physiognomy, developed by sketch writers in the 1830s. Lauster interprets both the portrayal in the sketch of the broker, and the signs he reads so fluently, in the context of the 'Charaktermasken' of Marx's commercial exchanges — as 'expressions of an economic system that has replaced social and moral values by exchange values and characters',[218] an interpretation relevant to an understanding of the banker of *Memoiren* and many of the experiences he relates.

The banker's letters to the two commercial companies he wishes to be his memoirs' dedicatees include stock exchange price lists and an up-to-the-minute commodity tip, and they are couched, like their replies, in formal business language. The dedicatees' Spanish and Italian names and far-flung places of business — Cadiz and Smyrna — introduce a flourish of international finance, where a note of warm attachment to personal friends or relatives might be expected. The dedication reads 'Seinen bewährten Freunden': friends proven by the credit he has received from their firms over the years, and, presumably, by the satisfactory return the companies derived from this credit. 'Freundschaft und Kredit', the banker writes to Herren Arias de la Torre Mazaredos et Co. zu Cadiz, 'heben und tragen sich in jetziger Zeit wechselsweise; eines gibt dem andern Währung und Maaß' (1,20). This punning formulation of the banker's, in which the content of a human relationship is expressed in terms of a financial exchange, sums up one of the

[216] Weerth, 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', pp. 356–57.
[217] Weerth, 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', p. 411.
[218] Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 309.

fundamental themes of *Memoiren*: the extent to which material interests govern social behaviour. Social interactions are determined by whatever a person has or represents that is of value to another at any given moment: 'wares' that have value only in the specific context of each 'deal'. The participants in exchanges both commercial and social appear like Marx's character masks, mere personifications of the terms of engagement in each instance. The metaphor could be extended in a less specialised way to apply to the banker himself as a personification of the materialist attitudes of the day and as a mask created by Lewald to portray contemporary society without giving away his own position — an important skill in commerical transactions.

According to the banker, in business the more thorough-going the mask the better:

> Es ist wahrlich nicht nöthig, daß Kaufleute etwas anders sind, als tüchtige Geschäftsmänner, und die werden die besten seyn, welche statt des Herzens einen Cassabeutel, oder eine solide Tratte im Busen tragen. (1,154)

In business dealings, only the economic mask is visible. Social prejudice might forbid interaction other than that demanded by business between the cultured Jewish natives of the *Residenzstadt* and newcomer Polish Jews: in business matters however 'war uns natürlich ein Jeder recht und gleich, er mochte Christ, Türke oder Heide seyn' (1,138).

The possession of wealth signifies that one might be a player in the exchange market, and bestows social status and potency:

> "Dies hier ist der gewaltige Geist, der mächtige Große, der allgemein verehrte Staatsmann; jener dort ist nichts als reich — und Alles ist ausgeglichen — Alle stehen sie nun auf derselben Linie." (1,68)

Conversely, the absence of wealth makes one almost a non-person, 'zu der untersten Hefe des Pöbels in der Meinung Aller hinabgesunken' (1,66). Among Jews, there is a special term for this, the banker explains. Anyone without money, who has ever had to borrow, is and remains a 'Lump', however high his professional status and regardless of whether he has honestly repaid his debts (1,94).

That the exchange value principle operates beyond the world of commerce in human relationships is demonstrated in the banker's narratives about marriage. Weerth makes a parallel explicit when he describes the broker as taking over in commerce 'die Rolle [...], welche die Kuppler in der Liebe spielen'.[219] In *Memoiren*, already rich, the banker wishes, 'diesen Reichtum zu erhalten und zu vermehren [...], mich nach einer reichen Parthie umzusehen' (1,69). For the banker at this stage, marriage clearly fits Marx's definition of a commercial exchange: 'ein Willensverhältnis, worin sich das ökonomische Verhältnis widerspiegelt':[220] a desired interaction between himself and the proposed bride, or her family, reflecting the (apparently) well-matched economic circumstances of each. He successfully woos the daughter of an extremely rich Jew, but before they become engaged he discovers that the source of the family's unexplained wealth is their trade in counterfeit coins. The family falls into disrepute, whereupon the banker falls fairly easily out of love and withdraws from the situation. 'Eine Verbindung mit diesem Hause konnte nicht mehr das Ziel meiner Wünsche bleiben' (1,83). He is next taken in by the seductive ploys of a widow, for whom these are her wares, and who almost succeeds in entrapping the banker into marriage. A more worldly friend saves him just in time. The banker observes that in both cases he has let himself be led by his heart. Feelings, it is implied, are not to be trusted: they merely distort, and cause situations to be misread. Much better to stick to a clear business framework:

> Hätte ich mir die Tochter eines reichen Hauses durch einen bekannten Mäkler, gleich wie jede andere Waare abschließen lassen, so wäre das Geschäft bald in Richtigkeit gekommen. (1,133)

The banker relates an anecdote about another marriage, that of his brother-in-law, a vile man grossly disfigured by venereal disease. The anecdote provides an extreme example of how ruthlessness and greed can transform what is in itself a hideous mask into the 'Charaktermaske' of a uniquely desirable ware, if the partner in the exchange is read and exploited with sufficient acumen. The strategies leading to the marriage fit the banker's

[219] Weerth, 'Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben', p. 411.
[220] Marx, *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, p. 114.

summary of commerce: ‘was ist der Handel anders, als ein Krieg im Kleinen, wo jeder Vortheil gilt und selbst der Betrug, als erlaubte Kriegslist, gestattet ist’ (2,12). The brother-in-law ‘besaß eine sehr umfassende Waarenkenntniß und war ein gebornes Genie zum Handel’ (1,144). He uses his knowledge of commodities to make himself indispensible to a large banking house, and his knowledge of human nature to acquire for himself the coveted commodity of his boss’s daughter as his wife. He first accustoms her to untiring attentions in spite of her initial rejection of him, then abruptly withdraws them, without explanation. At this point the wealthiest and noblest suitors try for her hand in vain. The brother-in-law has become the only man she wants, above all other contestants. Ostensibly to save her from pining away, he agrees a wedding contract on terms highly beneficial to himself. There is nothing to suggest affection or respect on either side. The marriage is based for both only on acquisitiveness. When eventually, after their marriage, the brother-in-law’s wife shows signs of severe infection, the brother-in-law becomes ‘der Gegenstand [...] des allgemeinen Hasses’ (1,153):

> Ihm lag jedoch nichts an der Achtung und Liebe, welche ihm die Gesellschaft zollte, er lebte in seinem Geschäfte und war so ganz und gar Banquier, daß ihm nur die Achtung an der Börse für etwas galt, und diese genoß er im vollsten, reichsten Maaße. Die Mäckler [...] bückten sich vor ihm bis auf den Boden. (1,153)

The brokers practise Mammon-worship, while the brother-in-law demonstrates, on the level of an individual personal transaction, what Carlyle, like the banker, saw as inherent in society’s ‘Gospel of Mammonism’: ‘Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named “fair competition” and so forth, it is a mutual hostility’.[221] Only single-minded selfishness enables the brother-in-law to outdo the competition and achieve the advantage of legal possession of his boss’s rich daughter. The drive behind the brother-in-law’s calculated ‘psychological warfare’ and his heedlessness of the inevitable violence done to his bride’s health, are ruthlessly hostile, while her determination to have only him is motivated by stubborn greed for what is given value by seeming unavailable.

[221] Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, Toronto: Dent, 1912), p. 141. The collection of essays was first published in 1843 (London: Chapman & Hall).

The banker's comments about his brother-in-law raise the question whether he himself is 'so ganz und gar Banquier' as he seems to want the reader to believe. The history of his own marriage begins traditionally as a potential 'exchange' between a father seeking a suitable son-in-law and a wealthy man seeking a suitable bride. 'Eine jüdische Jungfrau wird in solchen Fällen nicht gefragt' (1,141). The 'ware' is presented and the banker assesses the bride, running through a checklist of conventionally desirable physical characteristics: 'hoch gewachsen, schlank', 'der Mund karminroth und knospenförmig', 'schöne Zähne' — as if it were a horse deal (though the banker also notes that the prospective bride possesses 'Mutterwitz und ein tiefes Gefühl') (1,135). The banker is too canny at this stage to let the prospective father-in-law see that his goods are pleasing: he makes sure his own face will be unreadable, letting 'nichts als unverständliche Charaktere' show in his face (1,136). Eventually a marriage deal is agreed. During the engagement the banker enjoys permitted intimacies with his bride, Röschen, regarding her now as a legal possession: 'Es ist ein schönes Ding um die Legitimitäten [...], der im gerechten Besitze ist, erfreut sich allein des schönsten Genusses' (1,142).

Gradually a genuine mutual dependence and affection grow up between him and his bride. The father-in-law is unable to keep his side of the marriage deal and pay the agreed dowry, but (besides not needing the money) the banker, to his own amazement, now loves his wife 'so sehr und wahrhaft', that he finds it easy to be generous:

> Seltsam erschien es mir [...], daß ich mich jetzt in einem Fall befand, den ich mir früher nicht hatte denken können. Ich besaß eine Frau, die ich wahrhaft, ohne alle Nebeninteressen, um ihrer selbst willen liebte. (1,172)

Before marrying Röschen, the banker commits himself to defying the snobbishness of his home town's native Jewish inhabitants who look down on the kind of Polish Jewish *parvenu* family to which Röschen belongs, and which he too finds unattractive. It is as if this degree of deliberate turning away from surface pretension and towards genuine compassion is instrumental in taking the banker's marriage beyond the bounds of a business deal, enabling it to become a genuine relationship of mutual respect and consideration, in which

the banker learns to experience, behind the 'Charaktermasken' among which alone he has until now felt at home, feelings that do not distort but enrich. He considers Röschen's feelings in important matters, and takes the lead from her greater emotional sensitivity in the matter of their conversion. However, he has first moulded his wife, his 'possession', to suit his own ways:

> freundlich und gefällig, wie sie war, willigte sie in Alles, was ich veranstaltete und anordnete, um mir mein häusliches Leben angenehm zu machen. (1,171)

Again the reader must decide how to interpret the development of the banker's marriage — whether or to what extent it demonstrates a change in the banker towards a less materialist attitude where emotional response plays a part, or whether it merely represents the rewards of patient and shrewd investment in an advantageous bargain.

Commercial exchanges — deals of all sorts — are recounted by the banker with the insight of experience and with a zest which apparently never flags: when the banker drowns he is on his way to gather material for a sixteen-volume work whose aim is, 'den Zustand der Börsen der alten und neuen Welt zu dechiffriren' — a decoding of the ultimate materialist 'alphabet' (1,8). Part 1 of *Memoiren* takes place during the Napoleonic Wars, and ends not long after the Congress of Vienna. There is a precision of detail in the banker's account of fortunes made and lost during wartime, of wheeling and dealing of all kinds, that has an instructional feel, as if he is using his inside knowledge to document aspects of the recent past for the post-war generation.

In keeping with his alleged single-minded outlook, the banker sees the war in terms of its effect on business. It is 'eine böse Zeit', because of its financial rather than physical dangers and uncertainties: 'man konnte in einem Augenblick zum armen Mann werden' (1,60). On the other hand, possibilities for the financial exploitation of war become apparent to the banker in the example of the huge sum his future father-in-law has made in a salt deal. During a break in hostilities, the banker decides that it is advisable, if war breaks out again, 'sich der Armee mit tüchtigen Summen so nahe als möglich zu halten, um von jeder Conjunctur sogleich Nutzen ziehen zu können' (1,118): the theatre of war is also the theatre of commerce. When war resumes, it

offers the banker ‘die willkommenste Gelegenheit [...], um mich zu zerstreuen’ because of its opportunities for business enterprise (1,134). He sees colossal fortunes made that are specific to war, as well as the speed with which they can be lost. He sees the power that is in the hands of the ubiquitous ‘Lieferantenwirtschaft’ — the business of supplying the army — upon whose dealers might depend, ‘das Wohl und Weh des Soldaten, oft sogar der glückliche oder unglückliche Ausgang des Feldzugs’ (1,112). Others have an influence on world events, including the richest Jews of his *Residenzstadt*, who are involved in the top end of the supply chain, and in the payment of war subsidies and war taxes (1,87). He himself is involved with his future father-in-law in what looks like a promising grain deal, but extricates himself, accepting the loss of his capital, when he realises his partner’s doubtful financial position. After the war the deal has disastrous consequences for the father-in-law, but the banker’s agent is able to report to his chef: ‘Alle Papiere, die uns compromittiren könnten, sind glücklicherweise in unsern Händen’ (1,213). The banker recognises the urgency of the situation by the fact that his agent reports it as soon as possible, ‘gleich nach der Börse’ (1,214): this of course must come first. However lofty the banker’s position, it seems he still knows how to keep it so, and would not be above covering his tracks if necessary: ‘Denn Mensch ist man doch vor Allem, und als solcher hängt man an Credit, Ehre, Namen’ (1,215): another ironic conjunction of humanity and credit.

Aware of the changed commercial situation after Napoleon, and prompted by a sense of fatherly responsibility for his two sons’ future, the banker reflects on possible occupations for them. His nineteenth-century materialist’s view of trades and crafts, ‘Betrachtungen über die Handwerke’, is a closely observed and astute analysis of the current, mostly moribund, state of traditional manual trades and their guilds. It reads like a literary craft museum, detailing well over twenty occupations: the entire twenty-six-page chapter (2,35–61) stands out as a nearly self-sufficient ‘sketch’, and, with its concentrated focus, as one of the wittiest in *Memoiren* in its exploitation of the banker’s rational clear-sightedness. ‘Unaware’ of any irony in his juxtaposition of great and small, he exemplifies, in the fate of the barber and wig maker, the impact of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century events to date, through 1789 revolution, Restoration, and 1830 revolution, showing the effect of increasing industrialisaton, social and legal changes and the influence of

fashion:

> Keinem Mitgliede unserer Gesellschaft hat die erste französische Revolution so übel mitgespielt, als dem Friseur [...]; und weder die Restauration, noch die zweite Revolution hat ihn in seine ursprünglichen Rechte wieder einzusetzen vermocht. (2,35)

> Wenn man bedenkt, wie viele junge Leute durch die Wendung, welche die Mode dem Perrückenmetier gegeben, nunmehr in der Wahl ihres Berufes zweifelhafter geworden, so muß man natürlich einige Besorgniß hegen, um wie viel mehr aber noch, wenn man sieht, daß Maschinen aller Art alle Tage Neuerungen einreißen lassen, welche Menschenhände stets entbehrlicher machen. So sterben nach und nach ganze ehrbare Gewerke und Innungen aus. (2,37–38)

In another brief side-step, the banker combines the effects of industrialisation with a current development in prison reform, reaching a conclusion that again runs counter to what might be expected of social organisation. Given the progress of steam-driven machinery, under the new 'philantropischen Organisirung der Zuchthäuser, als Fabriken ohne Dampfmaschinen' only criminals will have meaningful work to do, or any work at all, while the only employment available to honest men in the industrialising world will be to fuel the machines (2,38).

Finding each trade too insecure, too demanding, or too boring, the banker concludes that none is appropriate for his sons.

Lewald would have seen for himself the disintegration of many of the crafts he describes. His own experience of commerce runs roughly parallel to the banker's, beginning in wartime, and encompassing the changes the end of the war brought with it. The banker has been 'noch nicht lange auf eigene Hand etablirt, als der Napoleonische Krieg ausbrach' (1,59); Lewald first worked for a relative's business when his father died in 1807, the year after Prussia rejoined hostilities against France. His first experience, in his early teens, was as a copyist, when he would have learnt the nuts and bolts of business deals. He found the work stressfully tedious, only recovering his *joie de vivre* on being given an independent commission in Warsaw in 1811. From the start, and

subsequently as the Russian General von Rosen's secretary in the last years of war, he would have witnessed and heard of numerous deals and tall stories such as are recounted in *Memoiren*, and no doubt he participated in some too. The banker's zest for them reflects Lewald's own. Even after Lewald had adopted the theatrical and literary life, he could not resist 'fixing', often for third parties, and whether it involved money or not. In the course of his correspondence with the virtuoso clarinettist Heinrich Baermann in Munich, he enlists his casual friend's help several times as intermediary. The following is a choice example:

> Im kleinen Gärtchen des Frohsinns [an entertainment club in Munich] blüht eine schöne rothe Blume — Alpenblume des Himalajas —, die mir Tambosi glt [gelegentlich] zeigte u die nur einen Tag blüht. Von dieser wünschte ein botanischer [word obliterated] Ableger oder Saamen. Ich bitte Sie daher sehnlichst mir Eines oder das Andere davon zu verschaffen u unter meiner Adresse herzusenden, oder Seydelmann, wenn er direct reisen sollte, was ich jedoch bezweifle, mitzugeben. Herr von Grundner, der Gärtner wird Ihnen gewiß dazu behilflich seyn, vielleicht auch Tambosi.[222]

Lewald involves four of his acquaintances in a *recherché* manoeuvre on behalf of a fifth, and knows not only the names of those who might help but, in his actor friend Seydelmann's case, his probable movements. It was clearly not the size of the task nor its financial benefit that motivated him but the challenge of making it happen, or perhaps a desire to show that he could make it happen. As a director of the Stuttgart court opera during the 1850s he was trusted with negotiating with the notoriously sensitive and particular Meyerbeer, and he was still alert to a good prospect. His most enthusiastic memos to his superior are those where he has secured, or might be able to secure, a bargain, as in the following, where the 'ware' represents a happy convergence of artistic and financial value:

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[222] Letter from Lewald to Heinrich Baermann, Stuttgart, 7 August 1835, Autograph Lewald, August.

> Wie ich höre wäre Lindemann, der treffliche Bassist noch ohne Engagement. Dies wäre eine herrliche Acquisition für uns, die wir aus dem Hamburger Bankrott gewinnen könnten.[223]

Lewald had experience as both writer and editor of the specialised application of contemporary commerce, speculative publishing, which underwent an explosion in the 1830s and 1840s, notably in Lewald's base town, Stuttgart, where *Memoiren* and many other of his works were published. Such publishing enterprises benefitted writers who needed an income, but was disparaged by many, including some of the same writers, as a commodification of writing at the expense of integrity. Among the new generation of writers and journalists, it gave rise to accusations and counter-accusations of pandering to ease and popularity for income. Lewald was himself a target. In an 1838 *Europa* editorial he defends himself, as editor, against the charge, claiming that it is his sensitivity to his desired readership's tastes that has driven the journal's innovations, now copied elsewhere.[224] Gutzkow, having once hailed Lewald as the pioneer of a welcome new style in German writing, later emphasised the speculative element of his writing, suggesting that an eye for a new literary market at least partly motivated his conversion to Catholicism.[225]

In Part 2 of *Memoiren*, the banker shows himself aware of the phenomenon, and that he himself is involved in it. Chapter 1 opens with an astute analysis of new trends during the period of peace following the Napoleonic Wars. He notes a growing movement among the young towards the pursuit of arts and sciences: 'es war ein unersättlicher Zudrang zu den Studien', and wonders (with rather more classical allusions than might be expected from a self-confessed non-literary banker), '[w]o für alle diese Jünger der Themis Processe oder vielmehr Aemter, für alle Jünger des Aeskulap Patienten herkommen sollten' (2,12). Lenore O'Boyle bears out the banker's concern. She notes that in the aftermath of the French Revolution there was a 'greater expectation of upward social mobility' among the young, who 'hoped for a freer and more rewarding life', the possibilities for which were restricted in Germany by its delayed industrialisation. In any case, young men whose education in 'the classical and literary disciplines which were regarded as the

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[223] Letter from Lewald to Ferdinand von Gall, Stuttgart, 1 August 1854. Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II, Bü 613.
[224] Lewald, 'Europa. 1838', *Europa*, 1 (1838), 1–7.
[225] Gutzkow, 'Eine männliche Gräfin Hahn-Hahn', p. 6.

proper preparation for the older professions' failed to provide them with the hoped-for upward mobility were 'repelled by business'. She presents figures that show an excess of trained candidates for the older professions in Prussia in 1835, and of legally trained candidates in Baden and Bavaria in the 1820s.[226]

Writing offered an alternative source of income to those with a high level of education but poor career prospects. In plays on words linking paper production, for both money and writing, with worthlessness ('Lumpen' as both 'rags' and 'scoundrels'), the banker notes that the 'veredeltes Papier', demanded by the 'Fonds, Stocks, oder Staatspapiere[n]' of Mammon-worship (2,11–12), followed the more ordinary paper used by writers. During peacetime, '[steigen] die Lumpen im Preise':

> im Frieden hat sich das Reich des Papiers nach allen Richtungen hin aufgethan; und woraus macht man Papier, als aus Lumpen? Zuerst zeigte sich der Zug nach diesem Elemente durch die Schriftstellerei in Deutschland, die jetzt bei weitem mehr als früher beachtet wurde. Nähme ich nur mich als Exempel an! (2,10)

Though the banker makes no grand claims for his own 'Schriftstellerei', the distinction between 'Dichter' and 'Vielschreiber' was keenly felt by contemporary writers. Anja Peters illustrates how some writers who might have had a foot in both camps tried to find ways to avoid identifying themselves with the less dignified term.[227] The versatility of Lewald's own output is witness to his sense for the currently popular, as well as to the breadth of his interest. Lewald had no formal education after the age of fourteen, but for him as for his more scholarly colleagues, writing was his passport both to self-sufficiency and to recognition as a member of the cultured middle classes. As journal editor, Lewald the businessman and fixer with a highly developed sense of the topical, worked in tandem with Lewald the conscientious stylist and the encourager of promise. In *Memoiren*, the banker himself starts a publishing business, his interest first stimulated by a neighbour who has suffered losses in the 'Papierschwindel' of worthless printed money

[226] Lenore O'Boyle, 'The Problem of an Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe, 1800 –1850', *The Journal of Modern History*, 42 (1970), 471–95 (pp. 472–78).
[227] Anja Peters, '"Eine reine Geldangelegenheit"? Nineteenth-century Writers' Correspondence with the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 46 (2010), 321–33.

and now wants to gain from paper put to another use. The banker sees how much money can be made from providing the paper on which medical prescriptions, fair catalogues, and writers' works are printed: regardless of the value or significance of what is printed on the paper he knows that it can bring in more than can be earned by a writer himself from his fee. He expresses sympathy for 'Schriftsteller von Handwerk' who have grimly to achieve the necessary number of lines to be paid enough for their needs, and he is not surprised that the result is a flood of bad books. Even with the alleged increase in writers' fees, it is work for which 'alle Ehre eines gekrönten Schriftstellers' would not compensate him, 'noch weniger sein Honorar' (1,35). The reader must steer through the narrative's ambiguities: the banker's bluntly mercenary assessments are at once sound and philistine. He expresses the facts of the matter without embarrassment as few would; his understanding masks a put-down of speculative publishing and 'Vielschreiber', while the extent of Lewald's own involvement in the practice of speculative publishing is a question that is left hanging.

The banker's memoirs detail in consecutive chapters two careers in commerce that exemplify how things can go badly wrong, both for exploiter and exploited. His father-in-law acts with an incorrigible ruthlessness. Subterfuge and intrigue are integral to his methods; he thinks nothing of ruining others to save his own skin, nor of evading or breaking the law, and his profligacy and recklessness perpetuate a cycle of alternating well-being and crisis. He twice narrowly escapes prison, once by an elaborate deception involving the luring on a false trail to Greece of a young man whom he subsequently fleeces and abandons (2,154–167). The banker's son, by contrast, brought up in seclusion by a country pastor, then sent to a flourishing commercial and shipping company in France to learn the business, shows how an honourable ambitiousness combined with impressionable inexperience can be undone by too much responsibility too soon, and by abuse at the hands of wilier practitioners. At first the son flourishes, and refuses further financial support from his father. Gradually, however, his boss retreats into inaccessible moodiness, the son becomes aware of the firm's bad book-keeping but fails to sort it out, acts rashly, makes mistakes and covers them up. He makes deals with a cheating partner, and finally the firm is bankrupt, the banker's son found guilty of fraud

and sentenced to ten years in prison (2,126–153).

In both stories the banker shows his knowledge of commerce in the wider European context, and his specialist's ingrained interest in financial matters breaks through the account of his son's career especially. He is alarmed at his son's report of the state of his firm's business records: 'dieses Fundament des Wohlstandes und des guten Rufes' (2,135). His writing is peppered with technical financial terms: 'Acceptationen', 'remboursiren', 'Deficit' (2,142). Exact figures for capital and assets are given: here the banker's punning earlier promise that mentions of 'Zählen und Rechnen' will be made only 'figürlich' must be taken in its literal sense. Most striking are the clarity with which the banker analyses complex situations, and his close understanding of the psychology behind the actions of both men. In commercial matters the unemotional banker reads motives extremely well.

The banker's dry account of his son's career appears impartial. He condemns his son for the 'Gewissenlosigkeit' that led him to use the savings of his company's small investors to save himself. He sets out the mitigating circumstances brought at his son's trial, and the court's response to them, with great lucidity, making it hard to detect a father's partiality that sees prejudice against a foreigner (a German in France) as the reason for the court's harsh judgement. The banker himself disclaims any such partiality on behalf of his son:

> Man glaube [...] nicht, daß ich nicht vollkommen von seiner Strafbarkeit durchdrungen bin und daß mein Vatergefühl mich zu einer Ungerechtigkeit hingerissen; dies Mißverstehen [...] darf ich wohl bei meinen geneigten Lesern nicht voraussetzen. (2,151)

The banker's reference to his 'geneigten Lesern' reminds the work's readers of the ambiguity over whom they are actually reading: the text seems to be 'watching' to see whether they will respond knowingly or gullibly. More partiality than the banker will admit to is revealed by his recording that the jury deliberated only for one hour, and that the verdict they delivered was 'Vernichtung' (2,152). His response is expressed unemotionally, however, in practical plans for his son on his eventual release.

Another key theme of *Memoiren* — the fallibility of human judgement — is demonstrated in the fact that the banker's father-in-law, the more ruthless

and the more practised in deception, wins out over the son who is merely gullible and yielding, yet is brought to ‘justice’. After his experiences with both men, the banker expresses more explicitly a shift in his perception that money makes everything possible. He has learnt:

> daß das Geld allein nicht vor Unglück zu bewahren im Stande ist, sondern daß eine eigene Constellation erfordert wird, selbst reiche Leute auch zu glücklichen zu machen. (2,166–67)

Money can not insure against shame and punishment any more than it can guarantee happiness. The stereotypical connection between wealth and happiness does not hold up as the solution to all human problems, any more than conversion proves a solution to problems attached to the stereotyping of Jews.

3. Jewish issues and their broader resonance

In considering how *Memoiren* provides a disguise behind which Lewald is able to explore issues otherwise difficult or impossible for him to discuss openly, and to emphasise the work's artful distortion of the concept of 'life-writing' as direct self-disclosure, it is useful to look at some background detail about Lewald's attitude to his own Jewishness. Within the distancing ploy of *Memoiren*, Lewald reveals an engagement with Jewish issues carefully concealed elsewhere. He denied by omission his Jewish birth, choosing for himself instead a consciously projected role as cosmopolitan man of the world. In his role as editor Lewald could relish operating as acknowledged 'Weltmann', exercising his knowledge of human nature and his commercial know-how in the interests of his literary enterprises. Pride in his ability to spot and strike a good bargain on behalf of his last employer, the Stuttgart court opera, is undisguised in Lewald's letters to its directorate. By contrast, he is silent about his Jewishness. As Cruse notes, 'Er selbst spricht von seiner jüdischen Abkunft nirgends und zeigt auch keine Reminiszenzen daran'.[228] He does not mention his Jewish birth either in his *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, nor in the memoir 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen 1806–1813'. This account of a boyhood and youth in Königsberg during the Napoleonic Wars was first published with the distancing subtitle, 'Aus den Papieren eines Freundes'. It is reprinted in the *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* without subtitle,[229] and the reader is referred to it to find out '[w]ie sich [...] mein junges Leben [...] gestaltete'.[230] Of his birth, Lewald recounts simply that 'Zwei gelehrte Oheime, Brüder meiner Mutter' welcome into the world 'den gesunden, schreienden Weltbürger'.[231] Yet Lewald's mother came from 'einer angesehenen und durch ihre große Bildung ausgezeichneten Kopenhagener Judenfamilie', and one of his uncles was an active member of the Berlin Jewish Enlightenment, had been a friend of Moses Mendelssohn and had worked with the reformer David Friedländer.[232] Though mentioning his uncles'

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[228] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 13.
[229] Lewald, 'Geschichtliche Erinnerungen', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, III, 1–133: Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I (1844), 180; 181–258.
[230] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I, 180.
[231] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I, 4.
[232] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, II: *Leidensjahre*, 225–26; Heinrich Spiero, 'Die Familie Lewald. Ein Beitrag zur Königsberger Familiengeschichte', *Altpreußische Monatsschrift*, 48 (1911), 318–24 (p. 319).

scholarliness, Lewald passes up the opportunity to claim such a distinguished heritage, choosing instead to advertise himself as from the start a citizen of the world, free from more specific identity tags. The *Jüdisches Athenäum* claimed Lewald in their *Gallerie berühmter Männer jüdischer Abstammung und jüdischen Glaubens* in 1851, but it is significant that Lewald's entry in the 1866 edition of *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, which leans heavily on Lewald's own testimony, does not mention his Jewish origin. His own *Aus dem katholischen Leben der Gegenwart* is quoted: 'Der dieses schreibt, war ein Zweifler und dann ein Gleichgültiger, dem Namen nach Protestant'. [233] There is no mention that his Protestantism was itself a conversion from Judaism.

Lewald was surely less close about his Jewishness in conversation with friends. The correspondence that followed his meeting and early friendship with Heine makes no explicit reference to it, but, as well as a shared enthusiasm for money-making publishing schemes, a shared common experience of Jewishness seems to contribute to the frankness and ease of their exchanges, particularly where Lewald reports on contentious matters concerning his friend's standing in Germany. Lewald nurtured the young Berthold Auerbach, to whom he sent a requested copy of *Memoiren*.[234] Auerbach contributed to *Europa* in its early years, and extracts from his novel *Spinoza* appeared in it in 1837, though in 1838 Lewald rejected extracts from Auerbach's novel *Dichter und Kaufmann* [235] and was ready to drop him from *Europa*. Auerbach's open insistence on a Jewish identity was distasteful to Lewald, who condemns it and him in a letter to Gutzkow:

> Auerbach wird auch vom nächsten Jahre nicht mehr beibehalten werden. Er ist ganz geblendet von dem Weihrauch der Frankfurter Judengasse; übermässig eitel, bissig, einseitig; ich konnte ihn nicht

[233] *Jüdisches Athenäum. Gallerie berühmter Männer jüdischer Abstammung und jüdischen Glaubens von der letzten Hälfte des achtzehnten, bis zum Schluß der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Grimma, Leipzig: Verlag-Comptoir, 1851), pp. 124–26; August Lewald, *Aus dem katholischen Leben der Gegenwart* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1862); Rosenthal, *Convertitenbilder*, I, 1014.
[234] Letter from Lewald to Berthold Auerbach, Stuttgart, 29 December 1838, Marbach, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, A: Auerbach, Z3376/3.
[235] Letter from Lewald to Auerbach, no place, 1[?28] February 1838, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, A: Auerbach, Z3376/1.

brauchen.[236]

Lewald's comments are themselves rather 'bissig', and somewhat two-faced, since two days later Lewald asks Auerbach to write a positive assessment of Gutzkow,[237] and he continued to ask Auerbach for various contributions for a few more years. Lewald encouraged struggling young non-Jews equally, including Richard Wagner, and Gutzkow himself, who was certainly aware of Lewald's Jewishness. In Gutzkow's damning 1871 analysis of Lewald's conversion to Catholicism, Gutzkow attributes the conversion to material self-interest, sceptical of Lewald's claim to have long been attracted by Rome's mystery and sentiment. In direct speech, cunningly implying that Gutzkow is quoting Lewald's own words, Lewald 'cites' friends and influences, among them Ignaz Jeitteles, 'ein Jude wie ich', and the Nazarene painter Veit, 'auch ein Jude'.[238] It is noteworthy that this sole instance of 'written' first person identification with Jewishness, so thoroughly avoided in Lewald's own writing, is used, if subtly, against him.

The absence of any hint of a specifically Jewish upbringing in Lewald's account of his childhood makes it seem probable that his family, like that of his younger Königsberg relative, Fanny Lewald, were non-practising Jews. Fanny reports discovering indirectly when she was five or six, from a neighbour, that she was Jewish, 'und daß man mir dieses zu Hause verschweige, weil die andern Leute die Juden nicht leiden könnten'.[239] According to Christopher Clark, later in the century in Königsberg 'Jewish residents flourished in an urban environment marked by easy inter-communal relations and "cultural pluralism"'.[240] This does not seem to have been the situation familiar to Fanny Lewald. In her 1887 novel, *Die Familie Darner*, set in Königsberg during the Napoleonic Wars, the marriage of a Christian into a Jewish family of similar wealth and social class is almost as difficult to accept as the marriage of a member of an old

[236] Letter from Lewald to Gutzkow, 27 December 1838, Nachlaß Karl Gutzkow A 2 I, no. 38,357.
[237] Letter from Lewald to Auerbach, 29 December 1838, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, A. Auerbach, Z3376/3.
[238] Gutzkow, 'Eine männliche Gräfin Hahn-Hahn', p. 7. Lewald wrote an introduction, 'Biographisches über Ignaz Jeitteles', to Jeitteles' *Eine Reise nach Rom*, published after Jeitteles' death in 1843 (Siegen, Wiesbaden: Friedrich, 1844), pp. v–xxx. Philipp Veit (1793–1877), son of Simon Veit and Dorothea Mendelssohn, converted to Catholicism in 1810.
[239] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, I: *Im Vaterhause*, 47–48.
[240] Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom. The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 584.

established Christian family into that of a *parvenu* who was born a bondsman. Fanny Lewald's 1843 novel *Jenny* follows the still very active prejudices and hurdles that face both Jews and Christians who wish to intermarry, and Jews who wish to exercise their profession freely.[241] It is not surprising that Lewald sought to bypass these limitations by, at least, not advertising his origins, and that he preferred the role of 'Weltbürger' — like theatre actors, as portrayed in his 1841 novel *Theater-Roman*, never revealing his true provenance.[242]

Lewald was quite ready to admit to an affinity with Poland and Poles, who, in the aftermath of the 1830 uprising against Russia, symbolised a heroic spirit of resistance to oppression. The Königsberg of his youth was 'den Einwohnern nach, zum Drittel eine polnische Stadt': the first stages of his life were accompanied by a Polish wetnurse, a Polish nanny and a Polish tutor. Of a business trip to Warsaw that saved him from depression in early adulthood he confirms: 'Schon längst fühlte ich mich zu den Polen hingezogen'.[243] He wrote two early novellas and a late novel about Poland and Poles.[244] So plain, apparently, was his affinity with Poland and so underplayed his Jewish origin that his obituarist in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was confused, attributing Lewald's birth to 'polnischen (wahrscheinlich jüdischen) Eltern'.[245]

Both the distancing strategies of *Memoiren* and the work's complex attitude to Jewishness could be understood as reflecting the ambiguities of Lewald's own chosen disguise. His treatment of Jewish characters in his earlier works already shows an ambivalence apparent in the later work, as well as demonstrating that his chosen 'non-Jewish' mask hid an alertness to the condition of being Jewish. A complex attitude can be seen developing from the geographical and temporal distancing that masks contemporary relevance in the earlier works, to the layers of ambiguity and irony that clothe opinions and attitudes in the locally-based, contemporary *Memoiren*. In each work endorsement of some stereotypical Jewish traits, and expressions of aesthetic

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[241] Fanny Lewald, *Die Familie Darner. Ein preußischer Roman aus napoleonischer Zeit* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, [1925]); Fanny Lewald, *Jenny* (Frankfurt/Main: Helmer, 1993).
[242] Lewald, *Theater-Roman*, III, 287.
[243] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I, 4; 180.
[244] Lewald, *Warschau. Ein Zeitbild*; *Przebracki, der Russiche Polizei-Spion. Ein Zeitbild* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1832); *Der Insurgent* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1865).
[245] 'August Lewald', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1 April 1871, Beilage, p. 1570, col.2.

distaste about some Jewish customs, are balanced by a sympathy and understanding for Jews' social and economic position.

In 'Das Ghetto', one of two sketches about Venice in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, the narrator makes it clear from the first sentence that his interest is as a man of the theatre, wishing to follow Shylock's footsteps, and not primarily in the contemporary Jewish quarter. He fails to identify any building of a sort that Shylock might once have lived in, but once in the ghetto, the ever-active observer records what he does find. Stereotypically, the Jews' first question to him is '"ob ich etwas zu handeln habe"', and there is a pervasive and characteristic smell, 'ein Gemisch von Knoblauch und gebratenem Gänsefett' that he recognises from the Frankfurt ghetto.

The narrator is at pains to distance himself from identification with Jewishness. The writer introduces the contemporary Jews of the ghetto with a circumlocution, as if it might be distasteful, offensive even, to use the word 'Jew' too directly. Some men who approached him

> zeigten mir auf den ersten Blick, daß sie sich der Thiere mit ungespaltenen Hufen und der nicht wiederkäuenden zur Nahrung enthielten.[246]

In this rather knowing indirectness he seems to be sharing with his reader a reinforcement of the 'otherness' of the people they will recognise from his stereotyping tag. In *Memoiren* also, the banker first mentions his Jewishness indirectly, and not until his memoirs are well under way (1, 36–41). A well-to-do banking neighbour, who continuously rolls coins around in his pockets, wants to involve him in a speculative publishing enterprise, and has a completely materialist idea of writing: anyone who 'den Cours richtig und schnell im Kopf berechnen kann, wird auch ein Sonnet machen können'. The neighbour sees writing in terms of its percentage yields: imagination plays no part: 'es ist ja doch keine Hexerei!' (1,39). He declares, 'Ich sage Ihnen, es muß Alles zu Gold werden, was ich drucken lasse' (1,40). The greedy, philistine, speculating Jew stereotype having been thus set up so that no-one could miss it, the banker slips in almost ashamedly the fact of his host's and his own Jewishness:

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[246] Lewald, 'Das Ghetto', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, I, 209–15 (pp. 212–13; 211).
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> Meine Leser werden es längst wohl gemerkt haben, daß mein nachbarlicher Wirth zu jenem Volke gehörte, dem der Handel zu Macht und Ansehen verhilft. (1,40)

He adds almost in the manner of a confession of some shortcoming he could have concealed,

> und ich will eben so wenig verheimlichen, daß ich einst sein Glaubensgenosse war, der aber längst zum Christenthume überging. (1,40–41)

The qualifying clause informing the reader that he has been a Christian for a long time is quickly offered as if in mitigation. The word 'Jew' or 'Jewish' has not been mentioned directly, and a common social awkwardness arising from perceptions of 'them' and 'us' satirised. Even in an elegiac polemic about German Jews' not being accepted as German, the banker cannot bring himself to identify unequivocally with Jews, but only in inverted commas: '"unsre Leute"' (1,60), underlining both his perception of the false collective into which non-Jews tend to corral all Jews, and his resistance to being thus corralled. The role 'Jew', it seems, is a problematic one either to pin on others or to accept for oneself, because of the preconceptions it brings with it.

In spite of the fact that in 'Das Ghetto' the narrator uses a common signifier of 'otherness' to describe the ghetto's inhabitants — 'diese Leute' — the narrator's perception of their troubled look of disappointed expectation is sympathetic: it shows 'an welchem Uebel diese Leute zu leiden hatten', the pathos enhanced rather than made ironic by the potentially stereotyping interpretation that they have been waiting too long for the Messiah.[247]

Empathy for Jewish characters who are outwardly stereotypical is shown in Lewald's dark tales of superstition and the supernatural, the novella 'Der Familienschmuck' (1831) and the 1833 novel *Gorgona*, the first set in the Frankfurt ghetto of the eighteenth century, the second in fourteenth-century Paris. Both portray poor Jews living by 'Schacher', the lowliest and most despised form of commercial activity closely associated with Jews. Yet in 'Der Familienschmuck' the old Jew Hessel bears a difficult lot with dignity, and is told by a non-Jew that he has, outside the ghetto, 'vor allen Euern

[247] Lewald, 'Das Ghetto', in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, I, 211.

Glaubensbrüdern den Ruf der Ehrlichkeit'. He provides for his large family with whatever honour his limitations permit:

> Schnell und oft mit großer Gefahr muß sein geringes Capital umgesetzt werden, um nur spärlich zu genügen. Um einen größern, gewinnbringendern Handel beginnen zu können, fehlen ihm die nöthigen Kenntnisse, auch ziehen ihm nach vielen Seiten hin die Gesetze einen Schlagbaum vor. Er sieht sich also lediglich auf den Schacher beschränkt und muß oft in bitterm Unmuthe Schmach und Erniedrigung ertragen, um nur den Hunger der Seinigen stillen, die Vorschriften seiner strengen Religion befolgen und die Staatsabgaben leisten zu können. Drei Dinge, die, wenn gleich schwer zu erfüllen, doch die unerläßliche Bedingung seines Lebens ausmachten.[248]

He is paid to house some valuable jewels of mysterious provenance, on the condition that he must keep them safe until they are claimed, without using them for his benefit. He keeps the bargain until his death, and his affairs prosper. As if exemplifying a general slackening of moral order, two generations on — from 1792, the beginning of Lewald's own lifetime — the taboo on using the jewels is broken, to ruinous effect for Jew and gentile alike.

Gorgona was published the year after the first performance of a play by Alexandre Dumas and F. Gaillardet, *La Tour de Nesle*, with which it shares its setting and some aspects of its plot.[249] Unlike the play, the novel gives prominence to a Jewish character, the old Manasses von Vierzon, who lives in the 'Val-de-Misère', the notorious Jewish quarter of medieval Paris, and to Christian superstitions about Jews. The beliefs were rife that Jews could create living beings from clay, that they used the blood of Christian children in their rituals and desecrated the Christian communion host. Manasses has illegally taken in an abandoned, Christian, girl baby, now a young woman, and brought her up as his own. This act of compassion, mixed with a more selfish desire he acknowledges, to have a child in his house, leads ultimately to their both being burnt at the stake.

Manasses is another potentially stereotypical 'Schacherer', whose activities are sympathetically presented:

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[248] Lewald, 'Der Familienschmuck', in *Novellen*, I, 41; 37–38.
[249] Frédéric Gaillardet and Alexandre Dumas, *La Tour de Nesle, drame en cinq actes et en neuf tableaux* (Paris: Barba, 1832).

> Er war nicht reich, aber dennoch hing seine Seele mit großer Macht an dem Eigenthume, welches er erworben hatte mit schwerer Mühe und unter Schweißtropfen der Arbeit und der Angst.[250]

The narrator emphasises that money drives Christian activity at least as much. Manasses had returned to Paris from Amsterdam when a ban on Jews residing in Paris was reversed by King Louis X, 'um seine Finanzen zu verbessern, gegen starke Lösung',[251] an act interpreted by Manasses' Christian enemy as 'Gnade'. Giving exact details of the financial terms, now reneged on, under which the Jews were originally expelled and then readmitted, Manasses rages: 'Was wollen die Gojim von uns haben Anderes, als unser Geld? [...] Sie beschuldigen uns — und sind sie nicht geldgieriger, denn wir?' Those Jews owed most are imprisoned or burnt at the stake: 'Da ist denn das Capital mit den Zinsen gleich bezahlt.'[252]

Though the Jews are believed by the Christians to work dark magic, the Jew Manasses is presented as thoroughly rational and self-aware, declaring 'ich bin kein Zauberer'.[253] When another Jew is accused of host desecration, Manasses explodes with rage at the absurdity both of the accusation and of the whole superstition: for him this includes the Christian rite, which he strips down to its unmysterious basics:

> Er, der Rechtlichste unter uns! [...] Er, der Frömmste unter uns, wie sollte *der* sich den bösen Geistern zum Spielwerk leihen? Und was hätte er denn davon, ein Stückchen Teig aus Wasser und Mehl geknetet, worin die Nazarener ihren Gott verehren, auf seinem Heerd zu kochen?[254]

There is a 'foreshadowing' of the Enlightenment, an echo of *Nathan der Weise*, in Manasses' bringing up his ward as Christian, and, in dialogue with a Christian, addressing God as: 'der Herr, mein und Euer Gott'.[255] This hint of 'aufklärungssüchtigen Rationalismus' is noteworthy in the context of the review of *Memoiren* in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, discussed below, which blames misguided support for Jewish emancipation on false Enlightenment

[250] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 245.
[251] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 26.
[252] Lewald, *Gorgona*, pp. 145–46.
[253] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 42.
[254] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 144.
[255] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 34.

reasoning.[256] Manasses dies at peace, having turned away from the 'Eitelkeiten der Welt', as a martyr, his faith intact, believing, in a rather practical way, that the fire in which his body is being consumed will enable him to bypass a corpse's more cumbersome journey and go directly to God.[257] The narrator grants him a nobility in death that was not possible for him in life.

Cruse analyses *Gorgona* but makes no mention of its Jewish content, though it is acknowledged in passing by Gutzkow in his review.[258] As mentioned in my Introduction, that Lewald felt he had moved on by 1835 from the kind of gothic tale *Gorgona* represents is demonstrated by his dismissive reply when a non-literary friend expressed his enjoyment of the novel and of another early tale, *Gadsalünah*: 'Also Sie lesen noch immer mit so freundlichem Eifer all das dumme Zeug, womit ich die Welt beglücke! Nun, das nenn' ich Freundschaft!'[259] Yet Manasses' clear-sighted and outspoken rationality in the face of prejudice, his materialist interpretations and ease with the ways of finance, a certain naivety, and above all the sympathetic treatment given him by the narrator, make him a forerunner for the banker in *Memoiren*, a link between the gothic medieval tale and the bold contemporary critique.

That *Memoiren* was published amid a highly topical and controversial debate about the present and future place of Jews in modern German society has already been stressed. Amid struggles for greater freedoms for all citizens, the emancipation of Jews was one, almost symbolic, strand of the larger liberalising movement. Gutzkow attributed to Börne's Jewish origins his calling 'für die Freiheit Aller [...] zu wirken'.[260] For both supporters and opposers of reform, the subject of Jewish emancipation fed into the debate about the relationship of state to citizen, and between Jew, Christian and state. Between 1831 and 1836, Gabriel Riesser had been working to publicise and stimulate the debate on behalf of fellow German Jews: he earns a mention in *Memoiren* in the banker's polemic, central to Part 1, against anti-Jewish prejudice, as an

[256] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), p. 531.
[257] Lewald, *Gorgona*, p. 303.
[258] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, pp. 33–34; Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 302.
[259] August Lewald, *Gadsalünah* (Munich: Jaquet, 1833); letter from Lewald to Heinrich Baermann, Stuttgart, 7 August 1835, Autograph: Lewald, August.
[260] Gutzkow, *Börne's Leben*, ed. by Martina Lauster and Catherine Minter, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Literatur und zum Theater (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2004), p. 29.

example of a blameless Jewish writer, ‘dem Niemand eine verderbliche Richtung vorwerfen darf, und den alle Parteien bis jetzt den Edeln nennen müssen!’ (1,178). Gutzkow and Auerbach both published essays on Jewish subjects in 1836, following the censorship of Young German writers and allegations that Jews dominated the so-called school. Some of their views are echoed by the banker in *Memoiren* as he attempts to find his place in society.

The banker’s account of his progression from youth to maturity shows him searching for and adopting a new role, and reflecting on the degree to which the new role brings escape from the first-learnt in which he has been typecast. The review of *Memoiren* in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* demonstrates the work’s topicality within the debate about Jewish emancipation, and its assessment of the work will be discussed further on in the chapter as exemplifying the kind of entrenched outlook based on preconception that is one of the work’s targets. The banker’s experiences reflect not only those of Jews seeking assimilation as middle-class German citizens, but more broadly the situation of all those seeking a place in the expanding middle classes, with concomitant problems of integrity, identity and culture in a changing world. The banker’s record from youth to maturity of negotiating these issues makes of *Memoiren* something of a middle-class ‘Everyman’ for the 1830s and beyond.

As a young man the banker rebels against his father’s strict orthodoxy, breaking away from it increasingly and then completely, when he converts to Catholicism after marriage; later he becomes disillusioned with his new life which does not after all bring hoped-for change and new possibilities, and finally he yearns for the orthodoxy of his childhood. Each stage of his life reflects elements of the contemporary debate, sometimes through close allusion, but conclusive standpoints slip away beneath layers of irony. Through the banker, Lewald seems to be presenting his reader-audience with a challenge: here are your preconceptions and stereotypes — decide for yourselves whether they hold water and where they lead!

The banker’s well-to-do orthodox father is himself a cameo stereotype of an authoritarian, backward-looking Jew, indulging in arcane practices including chemical experiments suggesting alchemy, and hair-splitting exegeses of ancient Hebrew writings, insisting on the Jewish law, contemptuous and overbearingly arrogant. He officiates at old-school religious

services, where ‘eine dichte, dunkle, hin und her wogende Masse, voll verworrenen Geräusches’ creates in reverent prayer an atmosphere that feels threatening to the young banker, and whose noise, heat and smell make him feel giddy. The banker ‘innocently’ fails to recognise his father as a stereotype, claiming ‘mir ist seitdem nie wieder ein solches Exemplar eines Juden aufgestoßen’ (1,48–49). The shuffling, bent old rabbi checking observance to the law and dispensing blessings who exemplifies antiquated orthodoxy in Gutzkow’s essay, ‘Jüdische Theologie’, is described in gentler terms,[261] but, like the banker in his youth, Gutzkow too argues that the orthodoxy is due for rejection.

There is a real sense of taboo-breaking when the young banker escapes to an inn on the most holy of days, the Day of Atonement, and, tempted by hungry cravings and the spiteful goadings of a Christian acquaintance, stammers out an order for ‘Schweinebraten mit Sauerkraut’ and eats pork for the first time. Later he returns home to customary Jewish ‘Leckerbissen’, but none is as good as ‘jener verpönte’ (1,53-55). His transgression marks him, literally: he wakes from a dream in which his dead mother chastises him, with a red mark on his cheek which fades only gradually. In spite of his already developing freethinking, and significantly for his outlook at the end of the novel, his sense of the holiness of the Day of Atonement runs deep: ‘unsere ganze Philosophie’ cannot dismiss it (1,53). Nevertheless he continues the process of breaking away: ‘Ich emancipirte mich nach und nach immer mehr’ (1,57–58). His words seem to allude ironically to the current school of thought that only through self-emancipation from Judaism and its culture could Jews expect to achieve social and political emancipation within the state. The currency of the argument: ‘“emancipiert euch selbst, dann soll euch die politische Freiheit nicht fehlen!”’ is acknowledged and its premise critiqued in Gutzkow’s essay ‘Religion und Christenthum’, published in 1837.[262]

Later the banker persuades his wife to abandon her own father’s orthodox ways, especially the food laws, which the banker sees as atrophied relics of ancient policing and hygiene dictates (1,184–185). Gutzkow interprets Jewish law similarly in 1836:

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[261] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, II, 267–77 (pp. 267–69).
[262] [Gutzkow], ‘Religion und Christenthum’ in *Die Zeitgenossen*, 441–517 (p. 510).

> Das Judenthum war für ein Volk berechnet, das kein Volk mehr ist. Es war für ein Land, für einen Erdtheil berechnet, aus dem seine Bekenner fortgerissen sind.[263]

Abandonment of the food laws enables the banker and his wife to accept Christian hospitality, and so to emerge from the hermetic exclusivity of which Jews were often accused, and which was seen as a barrier to assimilation.

The banker's rejection of his father's orthodoxy is balanced by a pull towards Christianity, which he experiences through its outer manifestions rather than inner meanings: order, cleanliness, calm, cultivatedness. His Jewish bride's mode of housekeeping, after the death of her old-school, lazy, mother, has a rejuvenating effect on the household, and already displays some of these elements:

> Alles war rein, nett, ruhig, geordnet, christlich — wenn es mir erlaubt ist, es so zu nennen. Wenigstens habe ich in christlichen Haushaltungen [...] es stets so gefunden. (1,169)

The setting for the banker's final break from Judaism and his conversion to Catholicism is Vienna — significantly outside his more provincial homeland. The banker enjoys the hospitality he and his wife receive there, after their wedding, from a Christian banking family. He is amazed at their 'Beispiel milder Toleranz' in welcoming a Jewish couple into their house, 'aus Freundschaft!', when in Frankfurt or Hamburg it would not happen for good money (1,175). They experience 'das anmuthige Gemälde einer gebildeten christlichen Familie', and see, in contrast to their own past experience, 'was Erdenglück sey' (1,185). A strong feeling of restriction, of being 'beengt, daß wir nicht ganz so waren, wie sie', leads to their decision to convert. The banker records that he found the instruction he and his wife received together horribly boring, and as a businessman used to action in the world of commerce was impatient at being lectured at like a schoolboy: he already knew most of the instruction's content and had formed his own opinions about it. It is clear that matters of belief based on theological dogma and historical context are not what is important to him, and he has long found 'mystisch-religiöse Träumereien' ridiculous (1,77). In spite of this, his conversion is not

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[263] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, II, 276.

undertaken lightly but is ‘treu und gewissenhaft’: he intends to practise Christian virtues (though these are not further specified beyond entailing a rejection of traditional Jewish commercial practices), ‘und folglich Christ zu seyn, mit aller Kraft des Gemüths und der Seele’. He looks forward to being able to share openly ‘durch würdige, äußere Kennzeichen, eine reine und stille Gottesverehrung’, within a church community — an aesthetically satisfying sense of belonging denied him till then. He also looks forward with rare emotion to the benefits his conversion will have for ‘die bürgerliche Existenz meiner zu hoffenden Nachkommenschaft’, a common, and for the banker characteristically practical motivation for conversion (1,196). The banker’s expectation of change for the better through the adoption of externals is epitomised at the actual conversion, which he and his wife attend ‘neu gekleidet’,

> denn ich wollte den Sprachgebrauch: ‘Er hat einen neuen Menschen angezogen,’ bis in’s Kleinste rechtfertigen [...].
>
> Hinter mir der Talmud und seine eben so schwerfälligen als spitzfindigen Ausleger, weit weg von mir der Schmutz und die Pein des jüdischen Lebens, liebevoll aufgenommen, so dachte ich, selbst Christ (1,197–198).

In the context of Lewald’s teenage prioritising of ‘das Äußere’, in turn expressive of the *Vormärz* tendency to intepret the world through its surface phenomena, it is noteworthy that for the materialist banker the key elements in both Judaism and Christianity are their visible or tangible practices or ‘acts’. The banker acts out his conversion by the donning of a new set of clothes, reminiscent of a theatrical change of costume and role.

Much of *Memoiren* after the conversion of the banker and his wife deals with subtle varieties of prejudice that persist, making escape from typecasting and the adoption of a new role less straightforward than they envisaged. It soon becomes apparent that change is after all not as simple as casting off one set of clothes and putting on another. The prejudices of others, both Jew and Christian, remain unchanged, and the banker’s idea of Christians and a Christian life seems itself to have been something of a stereotype that does not stand up to reality. He experiences at first hand the struggle between those

trying to find a new place in society and those for whom change to the old social status quo feels like a threat. The first indication that conversion does not make it possible simply to exchange one identity for another comes when his wife intercedes on behalf of her father with their 'Landesherr' who is currently in Vienna (1,221–229). On the one hand the 'Landesherr' hears her plea and responds with graciousness and fairness, but on the other, when he hears that her husband is a newly converted Jew, he questions the banker's motive for converting, suspicious that it is to profit from damaging financial practices illegal to Jews and abhorrent to Christians. In his province any Jew wishing to convert is closely vetted, and permission to convert refused if any such motives are perceived. He reveals a concept of Jews based on the classic stereotype, prejudging them as dishonest and exploitative. John Ward identifies the image among nineteenth-century non-Jews of 'the Jewish financier as harbinger of a malignant modernity' and as 'espousing a somewhat un-German, inauthentic and alien materialistic value system'.

> The Jewish businessman, having been seen to 'inherit' the vices of dishonest, therefore un-German, business practice during his enforced historical marginalisation, became the obvious representative of the dishonest, acquisitive and destabilising modern trend.[264]

Ward argues that while Jews hoped for 'Verbürgerlichung' — assimilation into mainstream society — non-Jews feared 'Verjudung' — a contamination of society through Jewish influence. The encounter with the 'Landesherr' is the first taste of this phenomenon for the banker and his wife.

The impartial banker is able to acknowledge both the noble, just sensitivity of the 'Landesherr' and his 'Widerwillen gegen die Juden'. He sees that areas of prejudice exist within an otherwise rational and benevolent person, but comments, rather portentously, 'Schwer lastet das Vorurtheil auf unserm Geschlecht; schwer und zum größten Theile unverschuldet' (1,229), identifying here with his origins and not his new status. He has already found that the role in which he was typecast before conversion is the one with which he is still identified.

Back home in his provincial town, his hopes of a reformed life do not

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[264] John Ward, *Jews in Business and their Representation in German Literature 1827–1934* (Oxford: Lang, 2010), pp. 3 and 4.

go according to plan. He does not experience the genuine 'Freundschaft' that delighted him and his wife in Vienna, but finds the giving and receiving of hospitality inseparable from ulterior motive. He is obliged to maintain relations with Jewish families who want to show they can rise above the 'Mißverhältnis' (2,19) of his new status, or who want to associate with him because they too are thinking of converting. As long as they are duly formal, his invitations to respected Christian families are accepted, but relations remain formal and invitations are never reciprocated. The banker discovers that socialising among Christians is all done 'en petit comité' (2,20), in a closed circle — precisely the sort of exclusivity frequently levelled at Jews. In Lewald's treatment of the banker's post-conversion experiences of hospitality there is irony both at the banker's expense and over the rigidity of social interactions generally. The banker tries rather too hard, and desires status: he lets no opportunity go by 'angesehene Familien in meinen Kreis zu ziehen' and initiates new forms of hospitality to do so. Neither his open house, 'ganz der Gewohnheit und der Lebensweise meines Wohnorts entgegen' (2,19), nor his sixty-setting 'offene Tafel', a 'bis dahin in unserm Orte nicht gebräuchliche Sitte' (2,20) take off, and the banker is 'bitter getäuscht' (2,21). The open table attracts only a few old acquaintances, passing merchants, theatre personnel, and a pretentious pair of would-be dandies who consider themselves a cut above the rest. All use the banker as a substitute innkeeper. The banker notes the dandies' scorn and stops the experiment, wishing to save himself from ridicule. His account of his attempts at assimilation into Christian society and at innovation shows social interaction, both Christian and Jewish, stuck in its ways, with people either keeping to those they feel are their own kind, or taking advantage where they can. All are careful not to damage their perceived status by overstepping accepted boundaries. In situations reflecting a current tension throughout middle-class behaviour, the banker explores new social roles and forms of association, while others resist them, unsure of how it might affect their interests if they change their social habits.

In Part 1 of *Memoiren* the reader is shown those negative experiences of Jewishness the banker wishes to leave behind: an outmoded orthodoxy he finds inimical, and anti-Jewish prejudice in all its forms. In Chapter 13 at the heart of Part 1 (175–84), a generalised polemic against 'Judenhaß' and its

manifestations is buried within a chapter about the banker's and his wife's visit to Vienna, as if under cover of the banker's chronological narrative. The polemic is informed by Lewald's own position as man of the world and non-observant Jew, and it surely expresses aspects of Lewald's own experience that caused him to turn his back on his Jewish origins. The banker's often professed ignorance of and indifference to the arts is completely forgotten as he both gives the lie to the myth that links Jews to Young German writers, and lists Jews who have achieved fame as writers, painters, musicians and scholars (1,183). In spite of this, the polemic is a *tour de force* of rhetoric in the style of the banker. Entrenched anti-Jewish prejudices are exposed with the banker's clear-sighted, though here heated, rationality. Ways in which they impact on the lives of would-be assimilated middle-class Jews in particular are forcefully summarised, and heartfelt empathy with those who bear the brunt expressed. The banker reads with characteristic shrewdness a subtle slight from a non-Jew who invites him to share an insult about another Jew, pretending not to know that the banker is himself Jewish. Further on in the polemic, carried away on a flood of indignation, the banker waxes lyrical as he apostrophises an imaginary victim of the restrictions of movement imposed on would-be professional Jews:

> so mußt Du dort aushalten, wo Deine Geburt Dich verwies, und solltest Du auch darüber bittere Thränen vergießen Dein Leben lang. Kein Mensch erbarmt sich Deiner; verschloßen sind Dir die Kreise der Gebildeten; Du lebst ausgestoßen, verachtet und dem Spotte preisgegeben. (1,182)

The language is redolent of the Old Testament: the banker seems to stray into the language of Isaiah's prophecy of Christ, 'despised and rejected of men',[265] and in this context the word 'Gebildete[.]' is calculated to bring the whole passage abruptly back to current nineteenth-century middle-class preoccupations.

In Part 2, after the banker discovers that metamorphosis as a result of conversion has not after all occurred, there is a corresponding Chapter 13 in which he prepares to write his testament. Reflecting on his life so far, he finds that it has not been possible to leave behind either the entrenched customs of

[265] *Isaiah* 53. 3, in *The Holy Bible*, King James Version (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, [n.d.]),

his youth or the entrenched prejudices of society. He asks himself:

> Warum war ich ein Christ, getauft? warum hatte ich dem Handel entsagt? warum mich in eine fremde Kaste hineingedrängt [...]? Warum das Alles? Ich wollte ein Anderer werden; aber gelang es mir? (2,186)

He has not been able to shake off the 'mit der Milch eingesogenen Grundsätze und Denkungsart' of orthodoxy (2,186), and, by way of a topical critique of Reform Judaism with its services in German rather than Hebrew, and organ music as in Christian services, he yearns for the old, unenlightened 'Undurchdringlichkeit', the incomprehensible fog through which the 'Fäden und Maschinerien' could not be glimpsed (2,189) — bad stage-management of religious worship as unacceptable to the banker as 'bad theatre' of any sort was to Lewald. It was arrogant of Reform Jews, writes the banker, to abandon the old language in which Moses spoke to Jehovah, and which was right for 'sein altes, zu eigenes, ihm opferndes Volk'. The banker now believes all attempts 'die Juden im Aeußern den Christen gleichzustellen' are misguided, and only emphasise the unbridgeable gulf between them. Simply putting on new clothes has not worked, surface change and surface advantages have failed to bring hoped-for betterment. Conversion fails to bring acceptance by Christian society, and also complicates interaction with Jews. He concludes: 'Entweder hört auf, Juden zu seyn, oder seyd es ganz, wie ihr es waret und stets hättet bleiben sollen' (2,191). With hindsight he would not now decide to become Christian. He can sometimes even imagine feeling proud of being a Jew:

> Wie äußerlich sind die Vortheile, die ihm die Christen entziehen, gegen das Bewußtseyn, das ihn belebt: aus den frühesten Zeiten des Menschengeschlechts, durch Verfolgungen hindurch und mannigfaltige Wechsel der Schicksale, seine Kaste rein bewahrt zu haben, eine Reinheit, die sich selbst in der äußern Gestaltung ausspricht und bewährt. Welch eine Lebenskraft wohnt den Juden inne! Welche hohe Intelligenz! Ja wohl könnte sie fremden Interessen gefährlich werden, wenn man nicht dafür sorgte, sie nach vielen Richtungen hin einzudämmen und sich dagegen zu verschanzen. (2,188)

The banker's reactionary pro-Jewish paean panders to a whole set of

generalising preconceptions, held at least as much by Christians about Jews as by Jews themselves, that are actually being pointed up and lampooned behind the mask of the banker's apparently sincere reaction and rational understanding of the Christian counter-response. Once again, a position seemingly stated with heartfelt directness is subtly subversive. Common clichés about Jews that militate against their assimilation are listed in a way which invites non-Jewish readers to laugh complacently as the banker reveals his entrenched, and seemingly smug, position, while they are simultaneously being confronted with an anthology of their own preconceptions.

Cruse wisely refrains from drawing too close a parallel between Lewald's and the banker's positions:

> solche Erwägungen [as the banker's] blieben wohl Lewald, der damals schon dem Katholizismus sich näherte, fern. Daher läßt sich eindeutig auch an dieser Stelle Lewalds Haltung zum Judentum nicht bestimmen.[266]

Preconceptions and prejudice on both sides are satirised. It is possible, however, that failing ultimately to find a satisfactory social niche, Lewald himself may have felt a degree of yearning for a fixed law which would bring a fixed identity with it, and that this is at least part of what he eventually sought in Catholicism.

The theme of assimilation that runs through the whole of *Memoiren* is the focus of its final chapter. The difficulty — perhaps impossibility — of ever being able to remove the stereotype mask of a Jew is explored in a parable-like anecdote narrated by the banker about a vastly rich old court Jew, now ennobled and baptised. His sons, second generation Christians, assume the life of Christian noblemen, but are not truly accepted as such, remaining the object of ridicule and envy. By contrast, their father has found himself unable to give up his small, traditionally Jewish financial transactions, and goes about, old and bent, and still known as 'der alte Jude', and 'Wucherer'. Eventually '[d]er alte, reiche, jüdische Wucherer, Hofagent, Finanzrath, Ritter und Baron' dies (2,198).

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[266] Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 62.

> Da lag er [...], der alte Jude, der es einst gewesen, und der diesen Namen nie verlieren gekonnt; der in der Synagoge erzogen und sich Zeit seines Lebens mit jüdischem Handel und Wandel befaßt, nun todt, das Bild des Gekreuzigten auf der Brust. (2,202)

He has received the Catholic last rites. The banker asks:

> Was mag er in seiner Sterbestunde empfunden haben, als er [...] statt des murmelnden Rabbi's, den Priester im Meßgewande neben seinem Lager erblickte! (2,202–03)

The deathbed image presents the conflict *in extremis* between 'dem Äußeren' and the ingrained 'Inneren', whether or not 'das Innere' was itself initially another sort of 'Äußere'. One mask merely covers another, and the mask first put on is the last to come off. Through the parable-like tale of the court Jew, the banker, as well as underlining his own rediscovered pride in being Jewish, expresses the tensions and insecurity of acquired, external status and identity, raises doubts about how successful they can ever be, and calls into question the very concept of a fixed identity.

The banker's use of this tale to raise but not answer deeper questions demonstrates the function of the many anecdotes he recounts throughout his memoirs. Introduced by such phrases as 'Ich kannte seit vielen Jahren einen Mann [...]' (2, 62), or 'Ein junger Mensch [...] hielt sich [...] in einer großen Stadt auf, die auch ich zu jener Zeit besuchte [...]' (2,94), they allow the narrator to exemplify the impact of general social trends on individual lives — the exploitation caused by the single-minded pursuit of material gain, the absurdity of cultural maladjustment, the effects of prejudice and the shortcomings of human judgement — without the need to draw conclusions. Consecutive narration with a clear timeline is not the aim, there is little clear distinction between anecdotes and more directly autobiographical material: the careers of the banker's father-in-law and son, for instance, are laden with ancillary detail which gives them an anecdotal feel. The effect is of another kind of 'Nebeneinander', different from that of *Album aus Paris* in providing a broad overview of attitudes, revealed in brief narrations of behaviour rather than through visual impressions or concentrated focus on single social 'species'. The memoir form is apt for this kind of approach: a discursive style including a broader range of memories than the strictly autobiographical is expected of it.

In *Memoiren* Lewald achieves a threefold masterstroke in taking a form particularly suited to his acknowledged strengths as episodic writer and *Genremaler*, subverting it into a highly original satire on contemporary manners, and at the same time benefitting commercially from the genre's current popularity, which itself is satirised in the work.

As suggested earlier, the review of *Memoiren* in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* sets the work vividly within its topical contemporary context. It provides a useful bridge between a consideration of the treatment of Jewish issues in *Memoiren* and some of their broader resonances both in *Memoiren* itself and in works about Jews set back in time by Gutzkow and Auerbach.

The banker's life-cycle as he recounts it describes the universally well-recognised progression from youthful rebellion, through reinvention, disillusionment, and a return to, or nostalgia for, first orthodoxies. More specifically, at least up to the yearning for old ways, it illustrates the experience of contemporary Jews who wished to play a full part in the growing middle class but found their position locked in a society that regarded them as more or less 'other' — as a distinct 'nation' within a state that was still assumed to be incontrovertibly Christian. This is the assumption made in the review, which focuses on the emancipation issue, overlooking the novel's critique of materialism and commerce. From an entrenched conservative viewpoint it interprets the banker's experience to fit the reviewer's preconceptions, demonstrating precisely the kind of setting apart through prejudice and typecasting against which the banker struggles, and at which much of the satire of *Memoiren* is aimed. The first extract represents a backlash against what the reviewer considers to be the misguided liberalism of those who favour emancipation, a regrettable legacy of the Enlightenment:

> Wie nämlich die gegenwärtige Zeit überhaupt unleugbar alle ihre Tendenzen mit Dampf betreibt, so finden wir insbesondere die Frage über eine bürgerliche Gleichstellung der Israeliten fast urplötzlich zum Gegenstande gelehrter, halbgelehrter, salbadernder, aber auch öffentlicher Discussionen gemacht; ein *pro* und *contra* erhebt sich, und die sociale Welt beweist mit einem Male, daß ihre kosmopolitischen, freimaurerischen, Humanitäts- und philanthropistischen Principien, daß die alten Theorien der Menschenrechte, die wir sämmtlich durch eine

> tiefer in das Wesen der Dinge eingehende Philosophie überwunden glaubten, ganz in dem Maße, wie die uralte Mutter aller dieser Systeme, die Aufklärung selbst, noch immer ganz weidlich in ihren Ansichten und Verhältnissen herumspuken.[267]

The second quotation focuses on the fundamental incompatibility of Jew and Christian and the impossibility of their co-existing within one state, and expresses the view, challenged by Auerbach and Riesser among others, but apparently endorsed by Gutzkow, that Jewry can only be emancipated by renouncing its Jewishness and becoming Christian. The passage ends with a blow at the rigid fanaticism of a people — 'Volk' — who fail to recognise their own essential nature. It is not clear whether the reviewer is referring to Jews who cannot see their incompatibility or non-Jewish liberals who believe some sort of emancipated co-existence might be possible: in any case the century's woolly, superficial rationalism is to blame:

> Der einzelne Jude, als dieses mit sich und mit der Welt entzweite Individuum, sowie ihn die gegenwärtige Zeit uns darstellt, kann nie und auf keine Weise emancipirt werden, denn eben die Erinnerung ist es, die Vergangenheit, welche zuvor verlöscht und vertilgt werden muß. Ob das jüdische Volk als Ganzes, Großes, Einheitliches dereinst emancipirt, befreit, erlöst werden, ob sich dergestalt die uralte Sage vom ewigen Juden endlich erledigen und zum Ziele bringen wird, dies zu verneinen, wäre vielleicht sogar ein Frevel. Daß aber diese Befreiung auf allgemeine, allmälig vollendende und wahrhaft totale Weise nur durch das Christenthum selbst geschehen kann, diese Behauptung ist eine unumstößliche und unzweifelhafte Gewißheit, an welcher nur der starre Fanatismus eines sein eignes Wesen verkennenden Volks und nur der schale, keine Tiefe der Dinge erfassende, in der eignen Geistlosigkeit verdumpfende Verstandescalcul des gegenwärtigen Jahrhunderts zu zweifeln vermag.[268]

The reviewer justifies this generalised exposition in a pertinent summary of the content and satirical method of *Memoiren*, but draws too straightforward a conclusion from the work. In so far as the book

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[267] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), p. 531, col. 1.
[268] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), p. 531, col. 2.

> den Widerspruch des jüdischen Bewußtseins, der, so lange die Erinnerung bleibt, auch selbst durch Taufe und Übertritt noch nicht gehoben wird, in der Weise der Selbstgeständnisse zu Tage fördert — dadurch eben beleuchtet es in Wahrheit die absolute Infirmität des Judenthums, des socialen sowol als des religiösen, und läßt eine vom wirklichen Ernst durchdrungene Ironie hindurchblicken, die in der That diesem vielbesprochenen Gegenstand selbst als dessen krankhafte, sich verzehrende Dialektik einwohnt.[269]

Unlike Cruse, who is careful not to identify the banker's conclusions about his conversion and Jewishness in general with Lewald's own, the review takes the banker's words at face value, in spite of having acknowledged the work's satirical approach. The banker's experience certainly appears to demonstrate a double-bind: there seems to be no satisfactory place for him in society as Jew or Christian convert. Satire however works by writing its object large, stimulating a fresh awareness which might lead to constructive change. Like Lewald himself, the banker makes trenchant observations about human nature but does not offer overarching theories, whether political, philosophical or theological, and it would risk misreading the work's complexity to try to supply them. In Part 2 of *Memoiren* (2, 80–93) the difficulty of assessing the truth in cases where it seems clear is stressed in two anecdotes about a miscarriage and a near-miscarriage of justice in two murder cases. In both, circumstantial evidence misleads, and a right interpretation of people and situations is not possible, or is extremely hard. The banker declares, 'Ich wollte um keinen Preis Kriminalrichter seyn!' (2,93). The banker does not judge, but rather observes and accepts as human nature all manner of types and behaviours, though consistently critical of ignorant prejudice and of pretension, an outlook that in fact strongly resembles an enlightened acceptance of a universal humankind, though apparently without an Enlightenment belief in its capacity for improvement. In view of the banker's vigorous exposure of preconceptions wherever he finds them, both among Jews and among Christians, and the number of levels at which his reflections can be interpreted, it would be a mistake to claim that the work was anything so one-sided or simple as an *exposé* of 'die absolute Infirmität des Judenthums'.

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[269] 'Memoiren eines Bankiers', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 131 (1837), p. 531, col. 2.

Andrew Cusack demonstrates, in relation to drama, how, though plays were strictly censored, literary criticism could provide a public stage for 'meta-political debate [...] in the guise of aesthetic criticism'.[270] Though *Memoiren* elaborately avoids declaring opinions that could be read as Lewald's own, it too provokes a public airing of the emancipation controversy, though hardly a liberal one. The editor's reference, in his preface to the reprinting of *Memoiren* in *Der Divan*,[271] to the encouragement of this 'wohlwollenden Herrn Referenten' takes on an ironical edge in the light of the review's conservatism, but the review contributes forcefully to the public debate.

The review's claim that the contemporary Jew is a 'mit sich und mit der Welt entzweite[s] Individuum' applies emphatically to the banker. In this respect, the banker's attempts to break out of the restrictions of old Jewish ways and of his limiting 'outsider' status resonate more broadly with the plight of post-war generations trying to find new roles amid the erosion and rejection of old orthodoxies and the struggle for greater freedoms for middle-class citizens. As Gutzkow wrote in 1833 in 'Die Sterbecassirer', his own tale about the new materialism:

> Den großartigen Veränderungen, die die Wissenschaft, die Kunst, das gesellschaftliche Leben, ja selbst der Glaube an die Gottheit erlitten, entsprachen die neuen Begriffe über die Stellung der bürgerlichen Stände, ihrer Vorrechte, ihrer Ansprüche, ihrer wechselseitigen Beziehungen.[272]

As old certainties crumbled, the creation of new attitudes and behaviours brought with it the breaking of taboos and the problem of finding any firm new ground. Both the Christian Gutzkow and the Jewish Auerbach deal with some of these wider issues in works almost contemporary with *Memoiren* that revolve around historical Jewish figures from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who are persecuted when their efforts to find an honest basis for their

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[270] Andrew Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei. Theatricality and Roles in the *Vormärz* ', in *Karl Gutzkow and His Contemporaries. Karl Gutzkow und seine Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Gert Vonhoff, Vormärz Studien, 21 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2011), pp. 321–39 (p. 334).
[271] Lewald, *Memoiren eines Banqiers*, in *Der Divan*, V, p. vi.
[272] Karl Gutzkow, 'Die Sterbecassirer', in *Novellen*, ed. by Gert Vonhoff, in *GWB*,*DG*, Erzählerische Werke (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0a, 2001), pp. IX-73 – IX-83 (p. IX-77).

actions and beliefs lead them onto untrodden ground. Gutzkow's 1834 story *Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam* shows Uriel Acosta, Christian-born son of an originally Portuguese Jewish family which had been forced to convert, now in Amsterdam after fleeing the Inquisition. The family has returned to Judaism, but Uriel sees absurdities in both rigid Christian dogma and Jewish law. He makes an attempt to abandon the search for his own truth in favour of happiness with Judith, his betrothed, but unsuccessfully — his integrity is too compromised. He feels the lonely groundlessness of his position: 'Er hatte mit dem Menschengeschlechte jetzt keine religiöse Gemeinschaft mehr',[273] but accepts responsibility for his own soul, even though it leads to humiliating public anathematisation. Judith becomes betrothed to a relative Uriel had thought a friend. Uriel aims to shoot him but kills Judith by mistake, and then shoots himself. Ultimately Uriel is overwhelmed by the lonely struggle to steer an independent, fresh, path through conflicting and inflexible beliefs, and by the concomitant personal suffering and loss.

Among two selections from Auerbach's new novel, *Spinoza*, that were published in Lewald's *Europa* in 1837,[274] is a scene of divided identity *in extremis*, in very different circumstances from the deathbed scene in *Memoiren*, but with common elements. The section, 'Der jüdische Dominikaner', is prefaced by the quotation from Goethe's *Faust*:

> Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust,
> Die eine will sich von der andern trennen.[275]

It describes the delirium before death in his cell of a Portuguese Jew, who has infiltrated the Inquisition as a Dominican in order to save the lives of fellow Jews. He is confused about whether he is receiving Catholic or Jewish last rites, and, to the horror of all present, inadvertently lets his cover fall. His original identity is the one that comes through at the very end, the assumed mask has a more flimsy hold. The narrator, a relative, is present, his own Jewishness disguised. He is in danger of his life, but gets away undiscovered, sworn to secrecy, and appalled that he too could suffer such an end. In his case, cowardly wavering about his real beliefs has meant a life torn between

[273] Gutzkow, *Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam*, II, Part 4, p. 35.
[274] Berthold Auerbach, 'Spinoza', *Europa*, 4 (1837), 241–61; 300–12.
[275] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust. Erster Teil*, in *Goethes Werke*, ed. by Erich Trunz, 14 vols (Munich: Beck, 1981), III, 41, lines 1112–13; Auerbach, 'Spinoza', *Europa*, 4 (1837), p. 248.

openness and hypocritical concealment:

> auch Du, auch Du, kannst eines solchen Todes sterben, verlassen von jedem bestimmten Glauben, der ein Spielzeug Deiner Feigheit war, haltlos, herumgezerrt zwischen Wahrheit und Heuchelei.[276]

The *Spinoza* extracts contain information about prayers and rituals specific to the practice of Judaism while Gutzkow in *Der Sadducäer* focuses on Uriel's internal processes of doubt and struggle, but both have at their centre problems of sustaining identity and integrity within rigid systems, of forging new ways out of the old, and of acceptance and rejection. *Memoiren* takes these very nineteenth-century problems out of the less controversial distant past and dares to place them firmly in the present and immediate past, replacing solemnity and tragedy with satire that contrives both to address its subject matter head on, and disguise its own position, or to take several opposing positions at once.

Deeply personal religious and moral searchings were one aspect of the effort required of Jews trying to become part of mainstream Christian society, as well as of non-Jews trying to become part of a changing middle class. On a more immediate level, the level on which *Memoiren* and most of Lewald's *Vormärz* writing focuses, attempts to adopt new forms of social behaviour in order to merge convincingly with the perceived culture of the 'host' group were widespread. Glaßbrenner's series of sketches published between 1832 and 1850, *Berlin wie es ist und — trinkt*, satirises the efforts of new members of the middle class to find their feet in shifting ground, and the difficulties of getting it quite right.[277] 'Bildung' can be seen in *Memoiren* as a kind of acting which is either 'good' or 'bad' depending on whether a convincing representation of the desired model has been properly made and reproduced. A representation that misfires clearly leads to 'bad' acting and militates against assimilation. The banker ridicules the absurd posturings of some Jews in the name of appearing like educated Christians, acts that backfire by revealing only philistinism and ostentation, widening the cultural gap still further. He is at pains to distance his early love for the rich Jewish merchant's daughter from 'der überspannten Lächerlichkeit, wie sie damals unter vielen meines Glaubens herrschte' (1,75),

[276] Auerbach, 'Spinoza', *Europa*, 4 (1837), p. 253.
[277] Adolf Glaßbrenner, *Berlin wie es ist und — trinkt*, (repr. of issues from 1835–50), (Berlin: Arani, 1987).

which aped a sort of Christian artistic-mystical sensitivity that was fashionable at the time. The banker knew 'überspannte Närrinnen aus guten jüdischen Häusern' who ate no pork and would not cut their nails on the Sabbath, but who kept a little container of holy water and a picture of the Madonna on their wall.

> Sie faselten von einer Religion der Kunst, oder von einer Kunstreligion, wie sie es nannten; aber die Hauptsache dabei war, daß sie nichts davon verstanden und eigentlich keine rechte, wahre Religion hatten. (1,76)

This offends the banker's rationalism, which allows him with typical, startling, impartiality to approve heartily a characterisation in the popular, notoriously and grotesquely anti-Jewish one-act *Posse*, *Unser Verkehr*, in which Isidorus Morgenländer is ridiculed for similar pretensions.[278] 'Der Verfasser, Doctor Sessa, hat ein wahres Meisterstück geliefert' (1,76), declares the banker, with Lewald behind him, tongue-in-cheek, but also sharing Sessa's and the banker's distaste for the stereotype thus satirised. Another version of the stereotype is satirised in Lewald's novel *Theater-Roman* in the character of Aaronheim, who, in a residual Jewish jargon, is over-keen to display his limited understanding and knowledge, and to be respected for it.[279]

When, after conversion, '[d]ie ersten jüdischen Familien, die Aristokratie' shun the banker, he is not altogether sorry. Over-ostentation in their desire to seem aristocratic simply makes fools of these '*Precieux ridicules*' (2,68–69). The banker prefers to open his house to 'den minder reichen aber unterrichteteren unter meinen früheren Glaubensgenossen', just as he decides in favour of a relatively uncultured Polish Jewish bride with natural depth of feeling, ignoring the snobbery of the Jewish natives of his home town, who possessed an enlightened culture ('eine geläuterte Bildung'), 'wenn gleich bei vielen Mißbrauchen' (1,138).

The importance of a 'good' performance in cultural matters extends for the banker to the preparation of food and the manner of its presentation. The reader senses the narrator of 'Das Ghetto' turning up his nose in distaste at a pervasive smell of garlic and goose fat: in *Memoiren* the banker

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[278] Several editions appeared between [1810] and 1819, among them [Karl Borromäus Sessa], *Unser Verkehr. Eine Posse in einem Aufzuge*. *Nach der Handschrift des Verfassers*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Dyk, 1815). A sixth edition appeared in Berlin in 1832 ([n.pub.]).

[279] Lewald, *Theater-Roman*, I, Chapter 18 (pp. 249–75).

expresses revulsion at traditional Jewish cuisine as he describes the overcooked, ash-baked meals at his father's house that he found greasy and indigestible, and at the meal he himself lays on for his orthodox in-laws at which '[n]ichts fehlte, was das Herz eines orthodoxen Juden zu erfreuen im Stande ist':

> Nach der braunen Suppe mit den Flügeln und Mägen der Gänse folgten der Reisbrei mit der dampfenden Knoblauch durchwürzten Wurst, das geräucherte Bockfleisch mit Erbsen und Meerrettig, die süßen Bohnen mit Würsten, der fette Pudding mit Rosinen und Safran, endlich der große kalcutische Hahn mit Kastanien und Aepfeln gefüllt. (1,156)

After this meal his bride's family 'schwamm in Wonne; Hände und Lippen glänzten von Fett'. Even in the best Viennese Jewish banker's house, the banker considers the food greatly overstated: some cultural entertainment, such as a concert, would have been a more fitting expression of hospitality than ostentatious dishes with 'Fasanen, Schnepfen, Dammhirschen und Steinbutten, die Böhmen, Ungarn und Triest hatten herliefern müssen' (1,210). For Lewald the 'Lebemann' too, culinary excess and perceived coarseness were keenly felt. Fanny Lewald describes how he prepared a meal in Stuttgart in 1845, paying serious attention to the 'Feinheit des Filets und die Blume des Weines'. She listens, 'wie man einem geistvollen Künstler zuhört, der eine seiner Lieblingsrollen darstellt', to Lewald talking about his one meal a day, which had to be 'künstlerisch und vollendet'.[280] To Lewald the stage-director a meal was as important a performance as any other, and philistinism and bad taste in its content or execution abhorrent. Clearly those who participate in displays of bad taste endorse their 'outsider' roles.

Deborah Hertz, in her analysis of *Memoiren*,[281] suggests that, beside the banker's revulsion for traditional Jewish food and scorn for other Jewish characteristics, his endorsement of Sessa's caricature might be understood in the context of disdain for Jews on Lewald's part, as well as the banker's, and asks whether it is appropriate to apply the concept of Jewish self-hatred.[282] In a second essay responding to a discussion of her analysis, Hertz returns to the

[280] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, III: *Befreiung und Wanderleben*, 282.
[281] Deborah Hertz, 'The Lives, Loves, and Novels of August and Fanny Lewald, the Converted Cousins from Königsberg', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook,* 46 (2001), 95–112.
[282] Hertz, 'The Lives, Loves, and Novels of August and Fanny Lewald', pp. 105–06; 112.

question.[283] She borrows the concepts, developed by Hannah Arendt in her study of Rahel Varnhagen, of the contrasting types: pariah or social outsider, and *parvenu*, accepted, but at a cost.[284] Though Arendt wrote the relevant chapter in the 1930s and so with a knowledge of that decade's forms of anti-semitism, she applies the concepts to the early nineteenth-century and Restoration period of much of *Memoiren*, and gives the terms broad social relevance, relating them to Rahel's non-Jewish, status-seeking husband, and controversial friend Pauline Wiesel as well as to Rahel. The *parvenu*, in Arendt's usage, dare 'in nichts und in keiner Minute mehr er selbst sein'; he must commit to 'einer lügenhaften Selbstidentifizierung'; his world narrows to a sensitivity to every rebuff and every sign of approval from the desired milieu. The pariah lacks this self-centred ruthlessness and instinctively feels sympathy with and respect for all fellow humans, making assimilation even as a *parvenu* impossible. It is the pariah whose responses represent 'die einzig natürliche Vorstufe für das gesamte moralische Weltgebäude der Vernunft': a positive view of reason and compassion that in this context would not be shared by the *Blätter* reviewer of *Memoiren*.

Hertz proposes: 'We could try out the idea that in life August Lewald was a post-Jewish parvenu, whereas his fictional narrator is at times a self-hating pariah.'[285] Her proposal may be influenced by the fact that, surprisingly, she finds the banker-narrator ultimately convinced of the desirability of conversion. Also, in her attempts to apply such concepts as 'self-hating Jew' and 'post-Jewish' to Lewald himself and to *Memoiren* — concepts that belong more to twentieth-century discussion of antisemitism than to Lewald's highly contemporary 1830s novel — she makes no acknowledgement of the work's satirical cast and many-layered irony. However, she senses the work's essential elusiveness, the difficulty of pinning down its points of view. Her 'either-or' formulation does not fit Lewald or the banker any more neatly than it does Rahel in Arendt's study. Lewald's denial by omission of his Jewishness, his close study of his desired public as writer and editor, and his willing

[283] Deborah Hertz, 'Response to Dagmar Herzog', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook,* 46 (2001), 159–63.
[284] Hannah Arendt, 'Zwischen Paria und Parvenu. 1815–1819', in *Rahel Varnhagen. Lebensgeschichte einer deutschen Jüdin aus der Romantik* (Munich, Zurich: Piper, 1981; repr. 2010), pp. 209–25 (pp. 214; 221; 224). In her 1958 foreword Arendt writes that the chapter was written more than twenty years earlier (p. 9).
[285] Hertz, 'Response to Dagmar Herzog', p. 163.

submersion later in the Catholic church, do seem characteristic of a *parvenu* who chooses how he wishes to be identified and responds and acts accordingly — with what sincerity it is hard to gauge. The banker does remain an outsider after conversion, imagines himself clear-sightedly and sympathetically into the lives of others, and can acknowledge all sides of a situation. Yet Lewald the '*parvenu*' has the compassion, clear sight and urge to create the 'pariah' banker character, who in turn is capable of dissimulation and has the urge to be assimilated into Christian society. Hertz acknowledges, in relation both to August and Fanny Lewald and the converts in their novels, that identity is 'fluid' and 'unstable',[286] a finding fully supported in the banker's experience and in the constant fluctuations of voice within *Memoiren*.

In spite of the fact that some of the Jews portrayed in *Memoiren* display cultural bad acting, the banker claims that German Jews are 'gewiß die gebildetsten' in Europe (1,176). Even where there is a high level of shared culture, however, 'Judenhaß' on the part of non-Jews works against assimilation. The Jewish 'nation within a nation' highlighted Germany's seemingly irreconcilable regional, cultural and religious divisions and exemplified questions about who a German fatherland should be for. The banker sums up the current situation and expresses pessimism, born out by his experience, about the prospects for the inclusion of German Jews within a German nation, in spite of their high level of 'Bildung':

> Ich nehme überhaupt Anstand, in Deutschland von einem Vaterlande zu sprechen. Der Baier in Preußen, der Schwabe in Baiern, der Schlesier am Rheine, sind Fremde, und nun vollends die Juden! – Der Jude, wenn gleich tausend Jahre darüber vergangen sind, daß seine Vorfahren sich in Deutschland ansiedelten, wird stets nur ein Fremder in diesem Lande seyn. (1,59)

Heine expresses a comparable sense of partial, tenuous belonging in *Die Bäder von Lukka,* when he sums up the relationship of a Hamburg Jew to his home town in the one word, 'Stiefvaterländchen'.[287] The question is raised whether Jews have been too thoroughly typecast for perceptions of the Jewish as 'other' to change, however well they act the role of educated German.

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[286] Hertz, 'Response to Dagmar Herzog', p. 159.
[287] Heinrich Heine, *Die Bäder von Lukka*, in *DHA*, VII, ed. by Alfred Opitz (1986), 92.

Paradoxically, yet in keeping with his rational clear sight, the banker denies 'Bildung' of any artistic sort in himself. Here the commerical stereotype asserts itself. If the banker has to listen to poetry, he admits to the weakness, 'zuerst zu gähnen und dann einzuschlafen'. He does not actually *read* the poems of the poor Jewish poet he subsidises (1,37; 97). About artistic promise: 'ich und Meinesgleichen' had 'nur sehr vage Begriffe überhaupt' (2,14). This is so obviously at odds with Lewald's own position that in the banker's frequent allusions to contemporary writers the stereotype mask is allowed to slip and the banker to have read more widely and with more judgement than one could expect from his own self-assessment. Lewald's own superior literary persona is allowed to show through. Such literary 'intrusions' throughout *Memoiren* alert its reader-audience to the layers of interpretation the banker mask demands, and emphasises complicitly the cultured status, superior to the banker's, that Lewald can assume his readers will recognise as his. The banker admits that he started reading some of the writings he published, and that when peace came even he reached for books to fill spare time created by the new order of things, but this slight base is not sufficient to explain, for instance, his comprehensive knowledge and passionate defence of Young German writers (1,178–179), nor his witty jibe at the 'kleine Schriftsteller' who started writing when the war was over 'aus langer Weile [...], wie Frauen aus langer Weile stricken; und die auch so ihre Leser aus langer Weile fanden'. Only boredom, he maintains, could explain how the birth of the *Dresdner Abendzeitung*, edited by Theodor Hell from 1817–1843, and a popular novel such as Clauren's *Mimili* could be the leading events of their time:

> Dies war der Beginn des deutschen Friedens; Parlamentäre waren Clauren und Theodor Hell; die ersten Acte waren Mimili und die Abendzeitung. (2,11)[288]

The banker suggests that a proliferation of journalism, and popular fiction of a trivial nature were the new forums for public life and arbiters of opinion in the Restoration period. Lewald the shrewd and knowledgeable critic

[288] Heinrich Clauren, *Mimili. Eine Erzählung* (Dresden: Hilscher, 1816). Like Lewald, though seventeen years older, Theodor Hell (1775–1856) was a man of the theatre, a prolific writer, translator and adaptor of works for the stage, and journal editor. Hell was a pseudonym for Winkler.

peers out behind the banker's concise and characteristically down-to-earth 'take' on the contrast between former styles of writing and the modern, quoted in the discussion of style at the end of my first chapter.[289] The intense sensitivity, elevated diction, and sheer far-fetchedness of the fiction and poetry of the banker's youth, had been off-putting for the rational, unimaginative banker — too much feeling, too esoteric and precious. By contrast the newer style is more like 'normal' language, more accessible and lively, and its subject matter more recognisable and relevant, providing the kind of healthy outlook that the editor claims for the banker in his 'Nachrede' to *Memoiren*.

The banker's judgement is a valid critique, though couched in terms fitting his caricature. The work's true author, it is implied, is no philistine outsider, but analyses cultural matters with the knowledge and good taste of a man of the world, the role for which he has so thoroughly established his credentials in his lifestyle and 'owned' writings. Lewald plays a teasing game of authorial hide and seek with his reader, coming close to stripping off the banker mask and revealing himself as true author, almost, but never quite entirely, destroying the fiction's illusion, and challenging his reader to define exactly where the boundaries between author, narrator and Lewald himself lie.

[289] 'Die alten empfindsamen Geschichten, die poetischen Poesien, und vollends gar die aberwitzigen Ritter-Romane, die ich in meinen jungen Tagen gelesen, waren mir zum Horreur geworden; wie erstaunte ich nun, diese natürlichen, ansprechenden, lebendigen Schilderungen zu finden, in einer faßlichen Sprache entworfen, und gesunde Lebensansichten, Weisheit für die Welt enthaltend.' (1,42–43)

4. On- and off-stage acting

If *Memoiren* is itself an act, capable of complex interpretations, various kinds of acting are performed within it, effective and ineffective. In the case of the banker's conversion, dressing for a part does not necessarily make an assumed role convincing, to the actor or to the beholder. The 'Schauspiel' (2,200) surrounding the converted old Jew's death does not erase people's first perceptions of him, nor, the banker imagines, his own perception of himself. Problems of identity and of fitting in are not so readily solved. Wrongly interpreting, and acting out of kilter with, the prevailing culture can preclude social acceptance.

Acting as dissimulation can however be materially beneficial when exercised to obscure correct reading by another, or to bring about a desired reading. Showing too much eagerness in a deal is clearly bad business: the banker is careful to let his prospective father-in-law read nothing in his expression when he first meets his proposed bride (1,136). Dissimulation can make the difference between life and death. The banker describes how during the wars the commander of a fortress that has held out against French occupation sends an intermediary, under cover of darkness, to ask him for a loan that would enable the commander to maintain his position. To prevent any rumour of action against the occupying forces from leaking out, which could lead to death at their hands, the banker improvises a charade to mislead a servant waiting in the next room. He shouts a loud and angry refusal to the intermediary, but later takes the requested money personally to an isolated meeting-place, where it is secretly handed over to the commander. The intermediary is captured by occupying troops on his way back to the fortress and shot. The banker survives (1,59–66).

In his search for a satisfactory place in society, the banker-narrator observes, adapts, observes again and is obliged to reinterpret his role. Those he describes who are involved in deals of all kinds also engage in cycles of observation, adaptation, and extemporised acting as the immediate situation demands, their degree of success depending on the accuracy with which they respond to the moment. The work both mirrors and parodies those seeking to act appropriately for their interests in a changing contemporary middle class society, and who find themselves performing several roles simultaneously, as Lauster describes:

> Watching themselves play parts for which the script is only written as the performance is going on [...], the middle classes are at once actors, dramatists and spectators in a dynamic social scenario.[290]

Memoiren expresses this endlessly self-perpetuating activity in its very form, in the play between Lewald as editor, Lewald as actual author, the banker-narrator and the work's reader. It seems to be watching its readers and presenting them with acts for them to watch in turn: they must adapt their interpretative position continuously according to whichever 'mask' is presented. No mask is definitive and no interpretation conclusive. This continuous theatrical process will be a main focus of my next chapter.

Meeting a theatre critic at a spa prompts the banker to deliver a polemic about the actual theatre encompassing views entirely recognisable as Lewald's own: criticism of the idolisation of actors and exaggerated preoccupation with theatre gossip; the need for theatre reform, for theatres to be 'anders organisirt [...] als sie es heutzutage sind' (2,177); the bad effect on standards of actors taking to the stage after failing in other trades, with no special talent, no real interest in theatre, and no knowledge of the kinds of society they are required to model; plays that shock or irritate and give no pleasure. The banker's informed and passionate thinking about the theatre and about the appropriateness of applying the terms 'Kunst' and 'Künstler' to acting and actors, belie again his professed disinterest in the arts. Those of Lewald's readers familiar with his views as well-known man of the theatre and theatre journal editor, can here enjoy finding them transformed, in the mask of the banker's rational, commercial language, into satire whose target is simultaneously the banker himself, the 'artistic' world he is discussing, and the materialist world he represents. In commerce-based language he writes damningly of what theatres 'für Kunst verkaufen' (2,176); he expounds on the sponsorship of actors by rich Jewish banker families common earlier in the century, and actors' exploitation of it. Finally he turns firmly away from the insubstantial world of theatre and sums up his own materialist view, in his eyes far more productive. Industrial innovation, represented by the three seemingly incongruous but currently booming areas: railways, beet (as a source of sugar manufacture) and steam engines, has already drawn in many 'die sonst sich

[290] Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 311.

um reelle Thätigkeit nicht kümmerten, und auf Nutzen des Allgemeinen nie bedacht waren' (2,182). In prophetic mode, as if heralding a Utopia where materialist capitalism is the true culture and the solution to society's ills, he hopes that more and more people will be drawn into the practical world of commerce:

> und daß sich dann jeder wahrhaft Gebildete von dem drehenden Wirbel der Geschäfte ergriffen sehen wird. Man nenne unsere Zeit immerhin eine antipoetische, von materiellen Interessen umgarnt, unsere Richtung eine rein practische! Diese Richtung ist es allein, die zur socialen Glückseligkeit führt. (2,182)

It is fitting that a kernel of the whole *Memoiren* act should be found nestling inside a passage about theatre.

The banker's polemic on the theatre also contains the germ of Lewald's next and last major work of original fiction in the *Vormärz*, *Theater-Roman*. The banker refers to 'den tausend unerlaubten Maskeraden, womit wir uns selbst äffen und das ganze Jahr hindurch Fastnachtspossen treiben' (2,176). Acting is a common human attribute, whether as dissimulation, representation, mimicry or gesticulation:

> Die Gabe, sich zu verstellen oder dieses oder jenes vorzustellen, nachzuahmen und sich auf seltsame Weise zu gebehrden, besitzen die meisten Menschen. (2,177)

The acting that goes on off-stage is more real than that which happens on the stage — ridiculous to claim that the stage boards represent the real world: 'welch' stolzer Wahn' (2,177). *Theater-Roman* takes these ideas to their limit. 'Die Bretter sind es, die die Welt bedeuten',[291] turned back, with irony, into its positive form, becomes the novel's motto. Whereas *Memoiren* creates the 'rich Jewish banker' caricature and the banker-narrator fiction as masks through which to satirise and question stereotypes, *Theater-Roman* sets about removing the masks from on- and off-stage actors in society's 'Maskeraden'

[291] The expression echoes lines in Schiller's poem 'An die Freunde':

> Sehn wir doch das Große aller Zeiten
> Auf den Bretern, die die Welt bedeuten,
> Sinnvoll still an uns vorübergehn.

In *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, im Auftrag der Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und des Schiller-Nationalmuseums Marbach (Weimar: Böhlau, 1943–), II: *Gedichte*, ed. by Norbert Oellers (1983), pp. 225–26 (p. 226).

and ‘Fastnachtspossen’, in order to expose the unadorned reality beneath.

Chapter 3. *Theater-Roman*

Lewald wrote to Gutzkow in December 1838:

> Ich will nur das, wozu ich mich noch contractlich verpflichtet habe, beendigen, [...] dann ruhe ich aus u schreibe ganz con amore für meinen alten Freund Campe, den Theater Roman u den Propheten,[292] knüpfe daran einen Auswahl meiner besseren erzählenden Schriften [...] und beschließe damit meine schriftstellerische Laufbahn.[293]

It is clear from this that Lewald's 'Theater Roman' was a long-nurtured project, to be written at leisure for his own satisfaction, and that he thought of it as a valediction. As it turned out, more than a dozen new works in other genres appeared between Lewald's letter and *Theater-Roman*, and the novel was not his last word on the theatre nor his last fictional narrative. It was, though, his last extended work of fiction with a contemporary setting until those written after 1860 in his new, Catholic, role, and could be said to represent his ultimate assessment of *Vormärz* society. Significantly he finds in his lifelong preoccupation, the theatre, the most apt material for this analysis of 'la comédie humaine' of his time.

The date on the individual title page of each of the five parts of *Theater-Roman* is 1841. It is not certain whether the parts were published serially or in two batches. The novel's epilogue refers to six months that have passed between it and the foreword, fitting with the dates of Gutzkow's two reviews of the novel: August 1841 for his review of Parts 1 and 2, and February 1842 for his review of Parts 3, 4 and 5. His second review gives the publication date for the last three parts as 1842. Two reviews of all five parts by different critics appeared in March 1842, but a third review which refers to all five parts is dated 1841.[294]

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[292] No trace of such a work has so far been found.
[293] Letter from Lewald to Gutzkow, 27 December 1838, Nachlaß Karl Gutzkow, A 2 I, 38,357.
[294] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Von August Lewald. Erster und zweiter Band. Stuttgart, bei A. Krabbe, 1841', ed. by Wolfgang Rasch, in *GWB,DG*, Literaturkritik, Rezensionen und literaturkritische Essays (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2009) and 'Theater Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band' (see Rasch's commentary on each review in *GWB,DG*, 1.2, Textüberlieferung. Drucke, for dates of their publication); 'Theaterroman. Von August Lewald. Mit Federzeichnungen. Fünf Bände. Stuttgart, Krabbe. 1841', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), 289–92; 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante*

The novel rode on the theatre's huge current popularity. Though Lewald's two theatre journals, *Unterhaltungen für das Theaterpublikum* and *Allgemeine Theater-Revue,* had ceased publication in 1837, he was still writing about the theatre for *Europa*. *Theater-Roman*, his 'durchaus nicht unzeitgemäßes Unternehmen',[295] was not in the end published by Campe, the supporter of controversial liberal authors, as Lewald seemed to expect or hope in his letter to Gutzkow, though Campe had brought out some of Lewald's early writings, but by the speculative Stuttgart publisher Krabbe with whom Lewald had a well-established business relationship. The novel included illustrations, a new fashionable selling point. A second edition carrying the title *Die Geheimnisse des Theaters* was published in Stuttgart in 1845 by Knobbe, perhaps a thinly disguised mystification of Krabbe, as no evidence of the firm of Knobbe has been found — a mystification matching the new edition's title which in turn echoes that of Eugène Sue's *Les mystères de Paris*. Sue's massively successful novel in which a disguised nobleman explores Parisian society had appeared in 1842 and 1843, a German translation appearing in 1843:[296] by retitling *Theater-Roman*, not inappropriately, author and publisher could benefit by association from Sue's popularity. As with *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, Lewald has personal experience of a highly topical feature of middle-class Germany, gives it expression in his writing, and is able to use his writing to benefit materially from publishing on such a fashionable subject.

Memoiren eines Banquiers covers a time-span anchored by historical events external to it, and makes its comment on the materialism of contemporary society from behind the mask of commerce's most recognisable symbol, the Jewish banker. *Theater-Roman* scrutinises a broad span of human behaviour arguably universal in any era, but in his dedicatory foreword the author makes it plain that contemporary society is his target. He repeatedly insists on the modernity of his subject matter, referring to the place of the theatre in contemporary life, the theatre as focal point for a broad section of modern society, and to the specifically modern nature of the social ills he will portray. The theatre has the force of an overarching metaphor for society at large, trumpeted in the novel's ironically grandiose Schillerian motto, 'Die

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Welt, 56 (1842), 221–23; 'Theater-Roman. Von Aug. Lewald. 5 Bände. Stuttgart, Krabbe. 1841', *Repertorium der gesamten deutschen Literatur*, 30 (1841), 379–81.

[295] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), p. 289, col.2.

[296] Eugène Sue, *Die Geheimnisse von Paris* (Berlin: Meyer & Hofmann, 1843).

Bretter sind es, die die Welt bedeuten'. The popular saying, reiterated on the title-page of each part of *Theater-Roman*, is dismissed by the banker in *Memoiren* as being 'stolzer Wahn'.[297] Focusing on events off-stage rather than actors on the stage boards, *Theater-Roman* turns the concept on its head to give the age-old metaphor of the world as a stage an articulation that emerges from and goes to the heart of middle-class social behaviour in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s.

The theatre-society metaphor is worked as another of Lewald's double-sided tools. Each theatre troupe portrayed could be interpreted as representing a variety of socio-political organisation, a microcosmic state within a state. This proposal will be discussed in this chapter's first section. More substantially, the novel shows its individual protagonists as actors on the broader social stage, participating outside the theatre in behaviour and interactions which are themselves varieties of performance. Section 2 will explore the significance of the theatre and the relevance of some concepts of theatricality to *Theater-Roman* and its mid-nineteenth-century context. These concepts and the way they play out in the novel will be studied in more detail in Sections 3 and 4. Section 3 will look at experimentation and adventurousness, as reflecting two related aspects of *Vormärz* society involving boundary crossing, improvisation and role-play. Illusion is fundamental to acting and performance of all kinds and central to the novel's social critique: its ambiguities and paradoxes as presented through the experiences of the novel's characters, and the novel's ultimately negative balance, will be the focus of Section 4. Section 5 will suggest that *Theater-Roman* signals a turning point within Lewald's own development, anticipating his experience of the need for adaptation caused by the changed climate of *Nachmärz* society.

[297] Lewald, *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, II, 127.

1. Varieties of theatre governance in *Theater-Roman* as reflections of political and social models

> Die Schauspieler bilden einen Staat im Staate; eine Gesellschaft in der Gesellschaft
> (Krauthöfer, *Theater-Roman*, 1,35)[298]

As in previous chapters, it seems in keeping with the *Vormärz* concept of a life-writing continuum and Lewald's own *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* to to make connections between his writings and his life. For *Theater-Roman* his political outlook and his personal responses to authority seem relevant. He joked to Heine in 1832 about his lack of engagement in the political struggle for constitutional government: 'ich — friedfertige Person, die keine andere Konstitution als einen offenen Leib haben will',[299] yet in spite of this disavowal he was well aware of current tensions between traditional hierarchies and pressures for reform towards broader democracy beyond the mere granting of constitutions in the German principalities. His powers of apparently impartial observation and his liberal breadth of vision at first masked a latent social and political conservatism that became increasingly overt after 1848. In *Theater-Roman*, the narrator's use of political terminology when characterising forms of theatre governance seems to reflect Lewald's own outlook that hardens in his reports from the Frankfurt parliament in 1848 and 1849, and culminates in his conversion in 1860 to ultramontane Catholicism, discussed in Section 5.

Lewald himself saw theatre direction in terms of autocracy and strict hierarchy: if a theatre has more than one *Regisseur*,

> so kann doch nur jedesmal Einer allein funktioniren, und sein College in der Regie muß sich dann, eben so wie jeder andere angestellte Künstler, seinen Anordnungen unterwerfen.[300]

Immermann's formulation in his *Memorabilien* is equally autocratic, but his emphasis on the goal of artistic coherence contrasts with Lewald's on rank and protocol:

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[298] In this chapter references to *Theater-Roman* will hereafter be made in the text in the form (part,page number[s]).
[299] Letter from Lewald to Heine, Munich, 11 September 1832, in *HSA*, XXIV, 138.
[300] August Lewald, 'In die Scene setzen', *Allgemeine Theater-Revue*, 3 (1837), 249–308 (p. 253).

> Des Dichters Werk, dachte ich, entspringt aus *einem* Haupte, deshalb kann die Reproduction desselben vernünftiger Weise auch nur aus *einem* Haupte hervorgehen.[301]

As *Regisseur* at the Stuttgart court opera from 1849 to 1863, Lewald experienced at first hand the theatre as a 'Staat im Staate'. Soon after his appointment he objected to having been passed over in the chain of command as he understood it, and he offered his directors a draft service contract to clarify his own position. It was declined, the directorship fearing 'vollständige Anarchie' if each employee were to define his own place in the system. An official service contract for *Regisseurs* was hastily provided.[302] Lewald professed conscientious obedience to it himself, but lashed out at underlings who failed to respect his own authority. His anger was triggered by delays and hitches that jeopardised the artistic integrity of his projects, but he could not achieve the *Theater-Roman* narrator's ideal (discussed further on) of rising above perceived attacks on his personal status. He was sensitive to slights and snobbish towards those he considered his cultural inferiors, suggesting that he felt his hard-won role as refined man of the world endangered and his independence of action, as monarch of his own realm, threatened. Of a subordinate who complained of receiving unjustifiable abuse from Lewald over a confused order, Lewald writes to his directorship:

> Daß bei den verschiedenen Bildungsgraden und Character-Eigenschaften der Angestellten der unteren Kathegorien, für mich, in meiner Stellung als Vorgesetzter, mancher unangenehme Konflikt entstanden ist, stelle ich selbst nicht in Abrede, weil ich diese Schattenseite meines Amtes nur zu sehr empfinde.[303]

Faced unexpectedly at rehearsal with a trial of the new gas lighting, he is charged with shouting at the unfortunate lighting supervisor:

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[301] Karl Immermann, *Memorabilien*, in *Werke in fünf Bänden*, IV, 625. Quoted in Eduard Devrient, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst. Neu bearbeitet und bis in die Gegenwart fortgeführt als "Illustrierte deutsche Theatergeschichte" von Willy Stuhlfeld* (Berlin, Zurich: Eingenbrödler,1929), p. 386.

[302] Correspondence between the court theatre directorate and August Lewald, 27 May – 18 June 1850, especially [von Gall] to K. HofDomänenKammer, Stuttgart, 4 June 1850, Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II, Bü 613.

[303] Lewald to Hohe Intendanz des königlichen Hoftheaters, 6 October 1857, Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II, Bü 613.

> Sie haben nichts ohne mich auszuführen! Ich bin der Herr und sonst Niemand. Wenn ich auf der Bühne bin, so haben Sie nur mir zu gehorchen.[304]

In the theatre he was universally, incorrectly, addressed as Dr Lewald. Though he did not award himself the title on his employment document or on letters, he clearly allowed the form — a glossing of the facts that put him on an equal footing with so many of his scholarly colleagues and which perhaps compensated for the respect and status lost as his *Vormärz* fame evaporated.

In *Theater-Roman* democracy is nowhere upheld as an ideal: far from it — the narrator pronounces unambiguously, '[d]ie einzige Verfassung, die dem Theater frommt, ist die monarchische', continuing with wit but conviction:

> Alles Ein- oder Zweikammersystem ist schon vom Uebel; unmöglich kann aber die Sache dort gedeihen, wo Alles mitspricht und Alles herschen will. (4,109)

Explicit comparisons made in passing between styles of theatre and state governance are scattered throughout the novel. When withdrawal of funding threatens the survival of the Pogenwinkel amateur theatre, its members meet, shouting out in disorder their irreconcilable reactions to a proposed solution. The narrator comments: 'Kurz, es war ein Geschrei, wie beim einstmaligen polnischen Reichstage' (1,71). The *impasses* caused in the Polish parliament of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the system of single members' power of veto made of the institution a byword for unproductive chaos.[305] The Pogenwinkel petty official Fizmeier, who pretends to an English heritage, is the first to recover himself. He assesses the others 'mit ruhig beschaulichem Blicke', displaying the kind of calm, apparently detached composure and exercising the well-moderated rhetoric and diplomacy only to be found 'im britischen Parlamente' — 'die Ruhe des Staatsmannes in den Wirren der Parteien, der sie endlich Alle zu seinem Zwecke hinzulenken versteht' (1,71).

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[304] Kiedaisch, Oeconomie-Inspector, to Eine[.] Hohe[.] K. Hoftheater-Intendanz, Stuttgart, 24 November 1857, Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II, Bü 613.
[305] See 'liberum veto', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* <http://www.britannica.com> [accessed 17 September 2013].

Even the English party system, it is implied, depends on strong and effective steering. In Gutzkow's review of Lewald's *Panorama von München*, an Englishness he sees as one of Lewald's own traits — his 'ruhige und englische Haltung' — seems to represent refinement and a cosmopolitan outlook.[306] Gutzkow's admiration for England, its parliament and press is demonstrated in his borrowing the identity of the English writer and politician Litton Bulwer for his 1837 collection of critical essays, *Die Zeitgenossen*. The English parliament and 'Englishness' in general represented what Germany lacked: an identifiable central state institution, and greater opportunities within and outside it for effective engagement with public issues. The narrator of *Theater-Roman* here gives a nod to this contemporary view, though he satirises Fizmeier's pretensions to English nobility as mercilessly as he ridicules pretension in any guise.

Alfred, a young native of provincial Pogenwinkel and the novel's main character, sets out to make a name for himself as a professional actor. On the road he meets the 'Tausendkünstler' Bodenlos, who provides a contrast to the Pogenwinkel amateur theatre's model of participatory culture. Bodenlos presents himself and his performing family as a republic within the world of the theatre, an independent unit in which he keeps his family from want 'auf ehrliche Weise' (3,32) while avoiding 'eine sclavische Anstellung'. All must contribute what they can: 'Die Hauptsache ist, daß sich jeder in unserer kleinen Republik nach seinen Kräften nützlich bezeige' (3,32). Within this utilitarian state, which seems almost to anticipate Marxist communism, Bodenlos is clearly an autocrat. Although determined to avoid submitting to another authority himself, he decides what each will contribute, and he uses his performing family hard. When Erlinde, who has been absorbed into Bodenlos's family, lags behind on the road with Alfred, Bodenlos brandishes his whip at her with the anger of a potentially violent dictator (3,46). Bodenlos is 'ein durchaus practischer Mensch' (3,9), adapting his performances to each current situation with canniness based on another of his guiding principles: 'Die Hauptsache ist's, sich auf die rechte Menschenkenntniß zu verlegen' (3,11) — he possesses the knowledge of human nature crucial to an effective working of situations and

[306] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 308.

resources. He seems well adjusted to play the fluctuations of *Vormärz* society, yet he is one of very few characters in the novel who do not dissimulate off-stage. Alfred admires his expert use of facial expression and voice during a one-man performance in an inn. As soon as the act is done, however, Bodenlos's bluntness returns as he shouts reproach after some people who go out without leaving any money for the entertainment they have enjoyed (3,7). He cuts through pretence: he is the voice of unadorned realism that brings to an end the high-spirited but unpractical off-stage 'improvisierte Posse' (3,64) of Goldammer's struggling theatre company in its off-season guest residency. On the arrival of Bodenlos with a sensible solution to their immediate problems, '[fielen] Alle [...] aus der Rolle, [...] das Zeremoniell löste sich auf' (3,72). He is capable of heavy irony where he sees pretension or excessive emotion, making sardonic comments during an amateur theatre rehearsal in Pogenwinkel (5,187; 190; 201–02), and parodying what is already a parody, a highly charged off-stage 'recognition scene' in which the mysterious provenance of 'die Stumme' and her children is revealed — characters who form a dark 'sub-plot' in the novel. Bodenlos brings the mood back to earth by ironically pre-empting the requisite ecstatic line: '— Dies ist der schönste Augenblick meines Lebens! sprach Bodenlos mit falschem Pathos und drückte Alfred an's Herz' (4,245).

Bodenlos's bluntness and pragmatism allow him to operate with a degree of integrity as an independent unit, though his name suggests that neither his flexibility nor the living it provides are too solidly grounded. A more democratic but less effective form of republic is represented by Goldammer's company in its reduced and necessarily adaptive off-season status as guest theatre away from its home base:

> Die Verfassung des ganzen Kunstinstituts nahm dann alsbald eine andere Gestalt an; das im Winter regierende monarchische Prinzip mußte einem republikanischen weichen. (3, 53)

The director is there merely to protect his own interests and

> erhielt das Recht zu einer berathenden Stimme, während sämmtliche Mitglieder die Geschäfte leiteten, Krieg erklärten und Frieden schlossen, kurz, die höchste Macht in Händen hatten. (3,53)

This does not work well, as ‘ein jeder [...] seinen blos eigensüchtigen Zwecken [folgt]’ (3,54), and the company is on the brink of collapse when Bodenlos saves the day.

Two institutions experienced by Alfred in his search for employment as actor represent opposite ends of a spectrum: the court theatre of the *Residenzstadt*, an outworn and corrupt relic of aristocratic privilege, and the new would-be reformative and inclusive ‘Actientheater’ in Kallenbach, its aim to set new standards and educate the public to share them in a united community. Both theatres are undermined by the same factors: ineffectual leadership and the vanity and self-interest of its members.

The court theatre building is of a splendour disproportionate to its funds, its audience, or the quality of the performances staged in it. Its director’s room ‘zeigte vornehme Eleganz’ (1,155), but the room’s contents betray the ‘Faulheit, Dünkel, Unverstand’ which resist anything new — manuscripts representing ‘begrabene Hoffnungen junger, strebsame Geister’ are heaped in a corner; miniature models of complex stage sets have become toys for the director to play with (1,156–157). The director himself, ‘Freiherr Pisjahn von Hegelfingen aus dem Hause Kotzeluch, eines der ältesten und erlauchtesten Geschlechter des Landes’ (1,88), is as physically sickly and incontinent as his name suggests, his voice not commanding, but ‘die zirpendste aller menschlicher Stimmen’ (1,159), his teeth as false as his unfashionable wig putting the effectiveness of his bite in doubt. His name, with its echo of the outmoded dramatist Kotzebue and the philosopher Hegel, suggests that he is both hopelessly old fashioned and dry. He relies on the services of obsequious and manipulative self-seekers, chief among them the *Regisseur* and principal actor Leinweber, with whom others curry favour in turn. Leinweber’s celebrity status — he even has a sort of pancake named after him (1,137) — gives him the power to make or break reputations. He takes Alfred under his wing as long as it soothes his ego (1,194–99), then rejects him out of injured vanity when he suspects disloyalty (2,Chapters 9 and 11).

Rumours implying a threat to employment or status are spread recklessly with more or less malice: by Leinweber’s wife, for instance, that the newcomer Alfred is a famous actor, and more damagingly by the actor Mosburg, that Alfred is plotting against Leinweber (2,215). A culture of mistrustful

watchfulness thrives, as 'der spähende Mosburg' (2,27) in particular demonstrates: a member of the theatre whose antipathy for the new is satirised in his criticism of Gutzkow's play *Richard Savage* and its 'spottschlechten Dialog' (1,151), Mosburg observes comings and goings and draws his own wrong conclusions. The theatre critic Ladewitz teaches Alfred the prevailing 'Hauptstadt' ethos:

> man äußerte sich anders als man fühlte; man ehrte das Herkömmliche, man lobte das Anerkannte, man schätzte das Theuere, nämlich das, was viel Gage bezog. (1,99)

Anything new or unknown is reviewed according to favours received, but in a non-committal way to allow retreat if the new is rejected by the public. An aesthetic standard plays no part, hypocrisy and opportunism rule. Alfred writes in his diary 'Welch ein leeres Schattenspiel der Eitelkeit und Anmaßung enthüllte sich vor mir?' (I, 293). The narrator comments:

> er hat in ein [...] nichtiges Gewebe von Intriken geschaut; es hat sich ihm eine [...] Masse von Schwächen enthüllt und neben diesen Schwächen ein [...] Uebergewicht von Schlechtigkeit. (1,295)

Intended as the antithesis of the court theatre's apathy, corrupt standards and tired tradition, the Kallenbach enterprise is conceived as a nursery from which to propagate innovation throughout German theatre, 'eine Pepinière[307] für alle Theater Deutschlands', a 'Musterbühne' (3,296). It is an 'Actientheater', a share company of 'Kunstfreunde'. Its chief *Regisseur* is Lucile, Alfred's driven childhood friend and ward of Krauthöfer, sponsor of Pogenwinkel's amateur theatre. Unlike Alfred who left his home town with his father's blessing, Lucile disappeared against Krauthöfer's wishes, determined to forge his own destiny. To make himself desirable to the 'Mustertheater' and its over-learned, over-ambitious members, he has tailored a fresh identity as Herr Schröder-Eckhof von Gerning: Schröder-Eckhof from two great founders in the eighteenth century of a new school of life-like acting, von Gerning from the poet and versatile scholar of the Frankfurt locality, with connections, like Eckhof, to Goethe. It is in this guise that Alfred meets him by chance. Lucile declares

[307] The French word pépinière, suitably *recherché* in its German context for the model theatre, is defined by *Collins-Robert French-English English-French Dictionary*, 2nd edition (London, Glasgow, Toronto: Collins, 1987) as: '*(lit)* tree nursery; *(fig)* breeding-ground, nursery'.

optimistically to Alfred, '[d]ie reinste Liebe zur Sache mit gründlichster Einsicht gepaart, wird hier das Scepter führen' (3,296). With imagery reminiscent of the romantic and gastronomic excesses described with distaste by the banker in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, Lucile enthuses: 'Die Stadt schwimmt in einem Meere von Kunst und Künstlerwonne'. The narrator holds the Kallenbach theatre with its vague pseudo-idealism up to his own ideal of theatre governance, and finds it wanting. In order to point up how far the Kallenbach 'model' falls short, he provides a detailed blueprint for the perfect director (4,109–112), which could be read with minimal adjustment as a profile of the perfect leader in any field. Having established that an absolute monarchy is the only workable system, he details the monarch's necessary attributes. He must be above reproach — '[d]ie strengste Moral muß ihn unantastbar machen'; he must avoid close relationships that might affect his impartiality, and be impervious to flattery: 'Er strebe durchaus nicht darnach, beliebt seyn zu wollen'; he must be firm and consistent in his dealings, 'ordnungsliebend über Alles', and thoroughly prepared for the task in hand. Egoism and vanity must not be tolerated. He must strive to rise above those in his charge, and will earn more respect this way than if he tries to be their equal. He must be 'der feinste Menschenkenner', able to judge the management of his company 'daß er nicht genöthigt werde, auch nur einen halben Schritt zurückthun zu müssen' — loss of face must be avoided. Only one character in the novel lives up to these demands — the court theatre actor Balder, whose integrity is beyond question from the start. When he replaces the discredited Pisjahn as director, Balder manages to revive the moribund court theatre through selfless, incorruptible dedication to a workable ideal. The nobleness of his behaviour is reflected in the exalted alliterative prose in which it is described:

> Vielfach verkannt, oft in seinen schönsten Fortschritten gehemmt, verwünscht, wo er Gutes schuf, verfolgt, wo er weise waltete, nur von den Wenigsten gewürdigt, nur von den Edelsten erfaßt und werth gehalten — stärkten ihn dennoch Bewußtseyn und Vertrauen. Er hatte das Theaterschiff immer glücklich durch drohende Klippen zu lenken gewußt, das Gemeine abgewehrt, dem Ungeschmack gesteuert, und das Allgemeine oft mit Gewalt, dem mächtigsten Widerstreben trotzend, zum Bessern erhoben. (5,257)

The ‘Actientheater’ is a far cry from this embodiment of monarchist perfection. It lacks not money but unity, order, and any sense for the practical. It is oversubscribed by would-be leaders in matters of culture and theatre practice. Many of the members are amateur writers and scholars each favouring their own particular specialism, their artistic pretension and presumption far exceeding the humbler amateur theatre in Pogenwinkel, though the ‘Musterbühne’ too has a constitution ‘welche an die ehemalige polnische erinnerte’ (4,113), resulting in absurd and supremely tasteless compromises. The public whose taste the theatre is meant to educate does not like the new regime. Its dissatisfaction at first focuses on the substitution of ‘allerlei neue[r] Erfindungen und Surrogate’ for their well-loved, familiar opera, but soon spreads to anything at all that issues from the theatre committee. ‘Wie in Staaten, so auch bei Theatern’ (4,114): the committee displays the same self-deceiving obliviousness to the general discontent that produced ‘[d]as leichtsinnige Wort der verderbten Aristokratie von 1789, “Après nous le déluge”’(4,114). The theatre becomes the hub of public life, the substitute for engaged political action claimed for it in the author’s foreword and endorsed by the novel’s critics. The fomentation of rebellion is described in terms of political revolution: from a ‘Murren, das hie und da schon unverholen laut wurde’ (4,259), to an outbreak ‘des allgemeinsten Mißbehagens und Mißfallens’ (4,260), the unrest escalates. Waiting to see whether a particular target of their displeasure will appear that night, ‘standen die Gruppen der Mißvergnügten [...] mit unzweideutigen Gesichtern an den Straßenecken’ (4,268). ‘Das Volk’ makes loud its objections, unites to consolidate its demands, and a leader emerges. The ultimate scene of confrontation and uproar in the theatre stalls forms the novel’s central climax, ending in the model theatre’s overthrow. Unlike the uprisings of 1789 and 1830, however, this rebellion is a contradiction in terms, a reactionary revolution, its aim to overthrow the new and reinstate the old, ‘den früheren Zustand der Dinge wieder herbeizuführen’ (4,269):

> wir wollen die alte Verfassung, wir wollen zum Alten zurückkehren, fort mit dem neuen Unwesen, mit dem jungen Deutschland, Menzel hat Recht! (4,268)

In alluding to the vituperative feud of the mid-1830s between the so-called Young German writers, particularly Gutzkow, and the writer and editor Wolfgang

Menzel, the author behind the narrator enjoys the impunity of making one of his characteristic jokes at the expense of both sides. A model theatre that is the opposite of model, and a retrograde uprising to restore the comfortable, well-known system that preceded the 'Musterbühne' — the vain excesses of the new and the mediocrity of the old, pretension and apathy, are ridiculed simultaneously.

It is significant that England, with its admired parliamentary system and perceived greater potential for involvement in public life, should be home to the institution that provides the final most convincing model of governance in *Theater-Roman*, and it is in keeping with the novel's subversions of the expected that the institution should be an asylum for the insane. Its innovative doctor-director runs a theatre involving all his patients as part of their therapy: they take turns as actors and audience, equally important protagonists in the theatrical process in both roles. Like the Kallenbach company, the doctor 'huldigte der neuen Methode' (5,65), but unlike them his aims and his leadership are clear. There is no doubt that he is in control, but his despotism is benevolent, led by the needs of those over whom he has power, and he involves everyone as he thinks fit. He takes responsibility for all stages of the dramatic process from writing the play to prompting during its performances, protecting his patients from excessively sensual or fantastical elements that might give rise to emotions too strong to contain, and drawing from his actors industry and enthusiasm and the most natural of performances. With the aim of causing a 'gleichsam electrische Wirkung, wohlthuende Folgen auf das Gemüth der Kranken', the doctor mirrors in his plays some of his patients' own behaviours in comic guise: 'Verspottungen des eigenen Zustandes', 'Schilderungen von komischem Wahnsinn, von sogenannten fixen Ideen' (5,66–67). The doctor of the asylum thus ironically mirrors the author of the whole novel, whose professed aim is to bring about a change of attitude in his reader-spectators by showing them the 'Thorheiten und Schwächen' (1,iv) of society at large. The 'madhouse' sets an example for 'sane' society where it might be least expected: the asylum as a 'Staat im Staate' presents another inverted image, reflecting not the more or less chaotic free-for-all of isolated or self-centred individuals that has been seen so far, but a well-ordered community run according to the needs and capabilities of its members as understood by a leader committed to their

best interests. Here at last, in the final part of the novel, are the qualities of leadership and governance lacking in the institutions of 'normal' society portrayed so far:

> So befinden wir uns denn hier [...] vor den Hallen eines zwar bescheidenen, aber sehr wirksamen und auf sein Publicum eine große Macht übenden Theaters, das mit vollerem Rechte in dieser Beziehung "Musterbühne" genannt zu werden verdiente, als jene, die wir schon kennen lernten. (5,68)

Finally in this Section, the culture of spying mentioned above in connection with the court theatre seems particularly relevant to a discussion of the treatment of governance models in *Theater-Roman* because of its prevalence in the *Vormärz* and its wider significance in the period. The author of *Theater-Roman* describes in his foreword the attraction of going behind the scenes in the theatre. 'Dort belauscht man [...]' (1,v): the word's connotation of eavesdropping makes the opportunity the *coulisses* provide for studying human nature akin to spying, suggesting that the novel will observe activity that is not meant to be seen, that is not part of the observed's public act, while they are unaware of being watched. The novel's characters will be stripped of their disguises and what lies beneath laid bare: acts and acting of a different kind that reveal truths about nineteenth-century social behaviour. In a discussion of Gutzkow's 1850 novel *Die Ritter vom Geiste*, Olaf Briese makes the connection between forms of spying and modes of observation, whether authorial, scientific, or by state and police. He gives examples of the many official information-gathering bodies that existed in the *Vormärz* period, citing the title of an 1844 German version of Sue's *Les mystères de Paris — Das Auge der Polizei —* as evidence of widespread consciousness of a spying culture.[308] As already mentioned, Lewald's own movements were subject to scrutiny. The portrayal of spying and information-gathering of various kinds among the characters of *Theater-Roman*, and the prominence in the narrative of spying's inevitable counterpart, concealment, reflect in safely distanced form these aspects of *Vormärz* life. In the continuous circularity they entail of watching and being watched, 'reading'

[308] Olaf Briese, '"Das Auge der Polizei". Großstadtpolitik um 1850', in *Gutzkow lesen!*, ed. by Gustav Frank and Detlev Kopp (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2001), pp. 263–97.

and being 'read', second-guessing and adjusting to make a desired impression, they mirror the processes discussed in the interpretation of *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, and which will be discussed further in the context of theatricality and performance.

Hidden watchers and eavesdroppers, fatal betrayal and discovery are a feature of early cloak-and-dagger tales by Lewald: in a Venice of times past, Giulia Fanarotti's masked husband, hidden by a curtain, overhears the 'so leise gehauchten Worte' she exchanges with her lover, 'trotz der Heimlichkeit der Beiden', and in spite of the playing 'des hundertstimmigen Orchesters' and the merry-making of a ball. Hoping to anticipate her husband's revenge, Giulia delivers, masked and under cover of darkness, a written note of false accusation into the jaws of the Venetian lion 'der die Denunciationen aufnimmt und dafür Folter und Tod wiedergibt'.[309] In its less gothic contemporary context *Theater-Roman* too is full of secrets and mysteries, as the Sue-echoing title of the second edition, *Die Geheimnisse des Theaters*, emphasises. The words 'Geheimnis' or 'Geheimnisse' occur numerous times in the novel. Concealment is accepted practice in the climate of gossip and intrigue among theatre companies: actors do not reveal their provenance, either hiding it 'wie der Nil in unzugängliches Dunkel' or falsely claiming descent 'von einem erlauchten Geschlechte' (3,287). In Zempelburg where Alfred joins the town theatre, 'Baronet Johnson', his own origins a mystery, is a one-man intelligence system. Fear of challenges to his dominant position among the town's officer circles motivates him to maintain a vigorous and exhaustive supply chain of information: 'man glaubte an ein weit verzweigtes Bestechungssystem und an die dadurch hervorgerufene Spionage' (3,208). He exploits his knowledge with ruthless malevolence and self-interest. For the court theatre actor Mosburg, spying is a habit which feeds enjoyable rumour, enables favour-currying and potentially also warns of threats to the *status quo*. He is variously named during the course of the novel as Mosburg, Moosburg, and Mosbach, perhaps unintentionally underlining the novel's concern with the elusiveness of identity. It is he who tells Leinweber, the vain favourite of the directorate, that Alfred has been spending time with Balder, the blameless man of integrity seen by Leinweber and his wife as rival and arch-enemy. Leinweber's wife accuses Alfred wrongly of treachery, on the evidence of a

[309] Lewald, 'Giulia Fanarotti' in *Der Divan*, II, 41–52 (pp. 46 and 42).

garbled report: 'Er [Mosburg] stand versteckt hinter Ihnen und hörte Alles mit an' (2,215). That Mosburg's is an easily recognisable stereotype is endorsed by Gutzkow's summary of him: 'wer verkenne den halb harmlosen, halb gefährlichen artistischen Vaurien?'[310] Mosburg's misinformation proves fatal to Alfred's career with the court theatre. Balder warns Alfred against trying to justify himself, in a cautionary tale that ends at the office of a journal called 'der erheiternde Spion', whose material turns out to be based on nothing but slips of paper posted into a letterbox along with cigarette butts, fruit peel, buttons — all kinds of worthless rubbish, from which to seek redress is futile (2,248–262).

The English asylum doctor spys in the name of science. He makes his mysterious patient, 'die Stumme', 'zu seinem eifrigsten, anhaltendsten Studium' (5,69) as well as setting up 'ein förmlich organisirtes Spähsystem nach außen' (5,71) in order to discover more about her. Within the asylum he places her in a purpose-built room equipped with listening tubes and spy holes that enable him to watch her when she is alone, without her knowing (5,69–70). He desires to learn objectively from his study of her, and uses his observations to provide her with some relief and happiness. He recognises the limitations of his knowledge, warning his patient's long-lost daughter Hortense that a reunion may be too much for her mother (5,103–104;112): ultimately his interventions cannot save 'die Stumme' from her own nature. His 'research' is benignly paternalistic, though still motivated by a desire for greater control over his patients. For him it is also scientific research. Though his technology is not sophisticated, its appearance in the novel fits both with Lewald's pleasure in unusual devices, and with the developing contemporary interest in new ways of looking and seeing, for scientific, entertainment and surveillance purposes. Jonathan Crary places these new 'techniques of observation' in the context of the modernising nineteenth century, highlighting the destabilisation of recognised codes and values:

> In a sense, what occurs is a new valuation of visual experience: it is given an unprecedented mobility and exchangeability, abstracted from any founding site or referent.[311]

[310] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Erster und zweiter Band', p. 2.
[311] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer. On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), p. 14.

The visual and the social coincide, a new repertoire of observational skills developing in tandem with a new and unpredictable repertoire of behaviour and the need to interpret it.

2. Theatre, society and theatricality

The author asserts in his dedicatory foreword to *Theater-Roman* that in contemporary society the theatre *is* public life: 'Das Theater bildet in unsern gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen im engern Sinne das einzige öffentliche Element' (1,iii). In the absence of broadly elected political representation in Germany, opportunities for participation in public life, for debate between different sections of society, were restricted, and access to influential public service positions was still often the preserve of the high-born or otherwise favoured by the establishment. Censorship and the culture of information-gathering by the state about citizens considered threatening or undesirable inhibited freedom of expression. The theatre's long-standing potential for presenting censurable views behind the mask of a different age or place, or behind the distortions of farce and satire, was exploited: as Gutzkow asks rhetorically in 1844, 'was ist preßfreier als die Bühne, der Dichter und der Schauspieler?'[312] Two reviewers of *Theater-Roman* acknowledge the quasi-political function of the theatre. The first asserts that a five-volume novel about the theatre is possible only in Germany,

> wo das öffentliche Leben, das gesellschaftliche Gespräch — in den constitutionellen Staaten vielleicht etwas weniger, in den rein Monarchischen dagegen desto mehr — sich hauptsächlich um die Bühne wie um ihre Axe dreht.[313]

In France or England, he continues, the theatre would be experienced as a retreat, a rest from strenuous political debate, while in Germany it is primarily the theatre that stimulates vigorous social dialogue. The second reviewer slips into the metaphorical language and irony of Lewald's own theatre–society paradigm, presenting society at large as audience, the politically involved as actors. The French and English

> spielen selbst auf der Bühne der vaterländischen Geschichte mit, ohne wie die Deutschen [...] aus dem Lande weggetrommelt und weggepfiffen zu werden. In England und Frankreich ist jeder Minister ein

[312] Karl Gutzkow, 'Vierzig Jahre von Karl von Holtei', ed. by Wolfgang Rasch, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Literatur und zum Theater, Literaturkritik, Rezensionen und literaturkritische Essays (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2008), p. 3.
[313] 'Theater-Roman', *Repertorium der deutschen Literatur*, 30 (1841), p. 379.

> Schauspieler [...]; in Deutschland ist eben das Theater selbst der Abzugskanal für die stürmischen Empfindungen des Parterre.[314]

The greater freedoms of the English and French allow them to play an active role in their countries' history that is denied to Germans, for whom the attempt could result in exile, their words suppressed — the stamping and whistling of the metaphorical audience that quells their public voice parallel the harshness of military drums and pipes. In Germany the theatre acts as a sort of safety valve: it alone provides a legitimate vehicle in which, or about which, strong, potentially disruptive opinion can be publicly expressed. The scene of rebellion in the stalls of the Kallenbach model theatre both reflects and subverts this idea.

In spite of the parallels in *Theater-Roman* between styles of theatre government and political systems, the novel's main focus is social, rather than political, behaviour. Wechsler explains how, in the wake of severe censorship in the mid-1830s, even Parisian caricaturists were forced to

> shift their focus from public events, individual politicians and specific laws and policies, to their sources and consequences in social conditions.[315]

French caricaturists turned to the 'theatre of life' for their subjects. Lewald was well aware of this development and its wider applications, which chimed with his natural strengths as observer of social manners rather than as philosopher or theoretician. Lauster discusses how nineteenth-century sketches (and writers more broadly, including Thackeray in *Vanity Fair*) developed a modern version of the approach of sixteenth and seventeenth century 'moralist' writers who:

> considered [...] actual human behaviour, that is to say, the 'diguises' and 'vanities' of their contemporaries, rather than measuring people's actions against absolute moral standards, as moral philosophers would.[316]

The approach, which favours the representation of social manners as spectacle, the world as a stage, again makes Lewald and *Theater-Roman* of their time.

The author portrays the theatre as a sort of social magnet, claiming: 'um das Theater gruppirt sich unser ganzes modernes Leben' (1,iii–iv). The novel's

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[314] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), p. 289, col. 2.
[315] Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, p. 82.
[316] Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p.129.

review in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* endorses the inclusiveness of the theatre's popularity across social groups:

> Es ist wahr, wir Deutschen fallen aus den Wolken der erhabensten Abstractionen, von den Gipfeln der gelehrtesten Combinationen, von der Montblanc-Spitze der Weltgeschichte selbst immer wieder auf die geduldigen Breter der Bühne zurück, welche nur für uns Deutsche die Welt bedeuten. [...] [J]a selbst manche preussische Gardelieutenants sehen lieber die 'Sieben' oder 'Vierzehn Mädchen in Uniform' als ihre Compagnie aufmarschieren.[317]

The author's own list of theatre devotees encompasses broadly the whole of modern middle-class society, including, besides the highly educated, industry and the whole spectrum of the arts, anyone simply out to make some money. There is 'bittre Ironie' (1,iii) in the attracting power of the theatre, an irony that seems to have several causes. It alone can bring together disparate social groups for a common cause. Everyone is keen to take what can be got from it, 'sein bescheiden oder unbescheiden Theil daran zu nehmen, zu behaupten' (1,iv), whether in material or artistic self-furtherance — this is the scenario of 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters', and fits with the egoistic individualism portrayed in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*. Chiefly, though, there is irony in the fact that all throng to see reflected back to them on stage, made palatable and pleasing by theatrical illusion, their own foibles — *modern* foibles. Those the theatre attracts not only constitute in themselves, but see represented there, 'die ganze gesellschaftliche Welt in einer Nuß' (1,iv), and a portrayal of the theatre world has the potential to depict 'de[n] Roman unsers Lebens, mit allen seinen modernen Thorheiten und Schwächen' (1,iv). The author, elaborating on these, explicitly places them 'in der civilisirten Gesellschaft zu Mitte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts' (1,xi).

Having made his strong case for the actual theatre as a hub and reflection of modern society, the author performs a sleight of hand, turning his focus away from the boards that represent the world onto the social theatre that surrounds

[317] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), p. 289, col. 1. Louis Angely's 1825 one-act *Sieben Mädchen in Uniform*, enjoyed an escalated version, *Vierzehn Mädchen in Uniform* (Riga: Häcker, 1840).

them. Rich as the overview of the workings of contemporary theatre is in *Theater-Roman*, very little is seen of actors on stage. Instead, the narrator follows them backstage, where he reveals the mundane reality beneath their stage make-up, but at the same time shows how much acting they are obliged, or choose, to do off-stage in order to survive or thrive in society, to control their circumstances and pursue their goals. They don disguises, assume false identities, out-act each other, express views inconsistent with their behaviour elsewhere. The illusion created by the rehearsed performances of actors in the theatre is translated in the novel into social performances, an off-stage theatricality. Characters project, or seek to project, an illusion that parallels that of theatre both in its bravado — its daring, risk, and adventurousness — and its inauthenticity. '[W]ir bildeten uns ein, das Leben sei ein Spiel und könne in Impromptüs ausgegeben werden', writes the actor Eduard Devrient, remembering his time in Düsseldorf under Immermann's direction, and contrasting theatre life with that of others who live more soberly 'ihrem bürgerlichen Beruf'.[318]

Andrew Cusack points out that the word 'theatricality' is 'burdened in English and French by the connotations of insincerity and dissimulation'.[319] These connotations are evident in the use of the word by the harsh social critic Thomas Carlyle, who is attributed with its coinage in English in 1837. Tracy C. Davis makes explicit Carlyle's broad application of the word to 'the public sphere, including but not limited to the theatre'. Extending the Oxford English Dictionary's attributions, Davis further differentiates Carlyle's usages, which cover what is performed on stage; spectacle and self-conscious performance in a broader sense; showy behaviour, as well as inauthenticity ('theatricality' as opposed to 'sincerity').[320] These weighted interpretations of the word, contemporary with the *Vormärz* period, seem highly relevant to a society in which codes once seen as motivational were felt to have degenerated into empty forms beneath which an appearance of worth could be sustained and acted out without inner substance in the service of individual material and social ambition. This is the society depicted in *Theater-Roman*. Its author hopes his novel will stimulate thoughts

[318] Eduard Devrient, *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst*, p. 385.
[319] Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei', p. 322.
[320] Tracy C. Davis, 'Theatricality and Civil Society', in *Theatricality*, ed. by Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 127–55 (p. 145).

> über lächerliche Satzungen, die wir uns gegeben, um unsere naturgemäße Freiheit zu beschränken und denen wir uns jetzt nur mit Widerstreben und mit Aufopferung unserer edelsten Gefühle unterwerfen — über verfehlte Stellungen, die uns mangelhafte Erziehung, Vorurtheile oder Eigensinn einnehmen lassen — über die Anmaßungen sogenannter kluger Leute, die Alles nach ihrem Kopfe einrichten wollen — über das, was man Charakter im Leben benennt — über die vagen Begriffe, die man von Ehre und Schande hegt — über die freche Lüge, die unsere socialen Beziehungen übertüncht und endlich über das Daseyn wirklicher Parias in der civilisirten Gesellschaft. (1,x–xi)

His list of 'modernen Thorheiten und Schwächen' highlights the hypocrisy and lies, posturing and pretension practised in order to maintain or improve one's standing or to keep up appearances, while a clear idea of what constitutes moral behaviour has been lost, and an artificiality of manners inhibits or smothers any impulse towards natural goodness and nobler feelings.

That Gutzkow too was 'keenly aware of the theatricality of public life' is clear in his comment on Börne, quoted by Cusack:

> Börne gab sich nicht, sondern er wollte genommen sein. Es fehlte ihm das Talent, mit sich selbst Komödie zu spielen, sich als der, der er war, auch in Scene zu setzen [...].

Gutzkow, Cusack explains, suggests that Börne 'failed adequately to recognise that the public sphere is a process constituted in the acts of self-staging and performance'.[321] Gutzkow found Börne incapable of inauthenticity, of the adaptive role-playing that seemed required to make one's mark in contemporary society. *Theater-Roman* depicts these actor's skills of self-presentation as essential social tools for survival and betterment, and in this the novel shares significant common ground with two roughly contemporary English novels, Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* — further evidence of how current ideas of social acting and the illusoriness of modern life were in the 1830s and 1840s.

German translations of the early novels of Dickens appeared very quickly and were much reviewed. Lewald's journal *Europa* noticed *The Pickwick Papers* in

[321] Gutzkow, *Börne's Leben*, p. 4; Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei', p. 324.

1838 — the novel had a rapturous reception in Germany as in England — and reviewed *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* in 1839 and *Nicholas Nickleby* again in 1840. The publisher Krabbe began issuing a series of Dickens translations in the same year in which it published *Theater-Roman* — the edition was duly noted in *Europa*.[322] In Germany Dickens started with the advantage of being English when that was an admired quality: in *Theater-Roman* Fizmeier, dedicated emulator of 'English' manners, attempts to associate his own name with Dickens when he announces his new play: 'Ein modernes Melodrama von Fiz. Nichts weiter! Boz, Phiz, Fiz, das ist so Mode!' (5,144). Dickens and Lewald were both steeped in knowledge of theatre practices and the actor's craft, and both found the language and forms of the theatre apt to portray the society of their day in prose narrative. Lytton Bulwer's comment on Dickens, that 'he is not without theatrical arts off the stage',[323] could be applied to Lewald also. Michael Slater in his 1978 introduction to its Penguin edition writes: 'theatricality and role-playing are the living heart of *Nicholas Nickleby*':[324] the comment applies equally well to *Theater-Roman*. As in *Nicholas Nickleby*, characters in *Theater-Roman* are driven by self-interest and manipulate each other shamelessly: dissimulation is the norm. Within this 'normality' concealment and pretence are made necessary for the well-intentioned too. The need to break with their immediate past prompts both Nicholas and the relatively naive Alfred to present an alias to Crummles and Goldammer respectively: the resourceful Nicholas becomes the anonymously plain 'Mr Johnson', a name that has already served to disguise his true identity,[325] while the somewhat pedestrian Alfred adopts for his pseudonym the

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[322] 'Charles Dikens. Herausgeber der Jahrbücher des Pikwiks Clubbs', *Europa*, 2 (1838), 231; 'Briefe aus London', *Europa*, 1 (1839), 23–25; 'Oliver Twist, oder Laufbahn eines Waisenknaben. Von Boz, Verfasser der Pickwicker. Aus dem Englischen, von Diezemann. Drei Bände. Braunschweig, Verlag von Georg Westermann. Leben und Abenteuer des Nicolaus Nikleby; herausgegeben von Boz, übersetzt von Hermez und Diezemann. (Bis jetzt acht Lieferungen.) Braunschweig bei Westermann', *Europa*, 2 (1839), 37–39; 'Abenteuer des Nicolaus Nickleby, von Boz, mit Federzeichnungen von Phiz. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Braunschweig, bei Westermann. 7 Theile', *Europa*, 2 (1840), 419–20; Charles Dickens, *Boz's sämtliche Werke*. *Neu aus dem Englischen von Dr. Carl Kolb. Mit Federzeichnungen nach Cruikshank, Phiz und Seymour* (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1841–48); 'Boz's Sämmtliche Werke, neue Ausgabe', *Europa*, 3 (1841), 183–84

[323] Quoted in Simon Callow, *Charles Dickens and the Great Theatre of the World* (London: HarperPress, 2012), p. 203.

[324] Michael Slater, 'Introduction', in Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 13–31 (p. 16). References to the novel in this dissertation will be to the later Penguin edition, ed. with an Introduction by Mark Ford (London: Penguin, 2003).

[325] Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (2003), p. 281.

more fantastic, and fantastically inappropriate, 'Klingsohr'(3,69), after the mythical magician-poet.

Like Bodenlos, Crummles is practical and adaptable, making maximum use of all members of his troupe, including his performing pony,[326] which is as versatile as Bodenlos's dog. The dog's performances had fed the family during hard times, and 'ein großer Dichter in Wien' had written a special work for him, *Adam und sein Pudel* (3,24).[327] Both Vincent Crummles's company and Goldammer's troupe keep their spirits up by the exuberance with which they carry the heightened gestures and diction of the stage over into their materially impoverished lives, as well as by the zest with which they transport themselves into their roles on stage. Crummles's troupe 'are constantly getting up little off-stage dramas for their own sake',[328] as when they create a wedding on a grand scale for one of their members out of tat from their store of stage costumes and props. Goldammer's company too fall happily into off-stage improvisations. When Alfred is spied from a window and there is hope that he might be a substitute for a player of young heroic parts who has absconded, 'begannen [sie] die tollsten Streiche zu treiben, eine improvisirte Posse aufzuführen' (3,64):

> Miauz fiel Krach um den Hals und that als ob sie in Rührung zerschmölze; Lanze und Goldammer tanzten eine Gavotte, die Jüngern machten Stellungen als wollten sie ihren Director bekränzen [...]. (3,65)

The high spirits of both troupes are their main asset, though the English troupe is the more canny. It combines a clear-sighted reading of its potential public with a willingness to work hard to keep it loyal, playing its individual supporters' particular vanities effectively in carefully tailored attentions. By contrast, Goldammer's troupe have overstayed their host town's welcome and exhausted their credit, and have run out of survival strategies when Bodenlos arrives to save the day.

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[326] Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (2003), p. 277.

[327] Witness to Lewald's wide-ranging enjoyment of oddities, as well as his irresistible urge to share it: the Viennese composer Ferdinand Kauer, whose 1798 opera *Das Donauweibchen* had been highly popular early in the nineteenth century, wrote a 'musikalische Posse' entitled *Herr Adam Kratzerl und sein Pudel*, libretto by Joseph Alois Gleich, which was performed in the Josefstadt and Leopoldstadt theatres in 1815 and 1816 respectively. Bodenlos's dog has also performed the title role in *Der Hund des Aubry* in its youth: an originally French 1814 melodrama by Guilbert de Pixérécourt, translated into German by Ignaz Castelli and highly popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

[328] Slater, p. 19. See Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (2003), pp. 314–15.

Crummles's troupe are 'only the most obvious actors' in *Nicholas Nickleby*:

> Nearly everyone else in this crowded book is playing a role. Many are putting on acts to make themselves seem more intellectual, more sensitive, more cultivated or more upper-class than they really are.[329]

Mr and Mrs Curdle, for instance, lament that 'the drama is gone — perfectly gone'. Mr Curdle, pedant enough to have proposed a re-interpretation of Shakespeare based on 'altering the received mode of punctuation', expounds with wonderful absence of precision on the dramatic unities, which he understands as 'a sort of general oneness, if I may be allowed to use so strong an expression'.[330] The pretension that is satirised throughout *Theater-Roman* reaches the heights of fatuousness when members of the 'Mustertheater' parade their supposedly superior sensitivity and cultivation in self-conscious, pseudo-poetic language and pose-striking during their 'dramatisch-ästhetische Theegesellschaften' (4,78). Their well-to-do president has noticed since her involvement with the theatre 'daß große Armuth bei dem Stande der Künstler herrscht' (4,12) — the reader infers that till then she has been oblivious to the widespread condition of poverty. She announces, in the precious, inflated language characteristic of the gatherings, her intention to support worthy actors financially: 'Wo der Künste mildes Scepter waltet, dürfen Töne der Klage, die das Leiden erpreßt, nicht vernommen werden.' The company responds fulsomely with unthinking paradox: '— O wie schön! wie schön! Wie rein menschlich und deßhalb göttlich!' (4,12). Their mutual self-congratulation is nauseating: on another occasion, 'Alles schwamm in Lob wie in einer fetten Sauce' (4,141). Each member looks down on 'den literarischen Cretinismus im Volk' (4,144) with condescension from separate ivory towers: the company's *Regisseur* believes the model theatre capable of its aim 'die Masse zu erheben und zu bilden' (4,146), another member, dedicated to the theatre of antiquity, implies that their theatre will contribute to the 'Veredlung der Menschen' and be instrumental in this 'ungeheuern Revolution' (4,145) — heavy dramatic irony in view of the nature of the backward-looking revolution the model theatre does

[329] Slater, p. 16.
[330] Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (2003), pp. 300–01.

bring about. Their inflated view of themselves as cultured taste-formers contrasts with their practical incompetence.

Like *Theater-Roman*, *Nicholas Nickleby* is theatrical in form as well as content, with, in the view of one present-day actor, 'the sweep and gusto of a great melodrama'. It is a

> glorious celebration of the theatre, not just in the episodes concerning Vincent Crummles and his troupe of down-at-heal showpeople, but in the whole form and structure of the book.[331]

It is the element of 'glorious celebration' in Dickens's novel, both of the theatre and in the narrative's melodramatic excess, that distinguishes it from *Theater-Roman*. *Nicholas Nickleby* has the enthusiasm and energy of its young, newly lionised author, *Theater-Roman* the jaded outlook of the disenchanted man of experience that Gutzkow diagnoses in his review of the novel. Though it is not fair to expect Lewald's comic gifts to equal those of Dickens, even the actors in *Theater-Roman* are less likeable. The Zempelburg actors' condemnation of Henriette — a member of the theatre chorus whose fall into disrepute causes righteous indignation among the other theatre members — are crudely prejudiced (3,221–239), and the exchanges between the Kallenbach theatre members, with their combination of competitiveness and mutual ego-flattering, are informative but their tedium convincingly communicated (4,94–105, for example). It is as if the author himself struggles at times to make the manners he is describing entertaining.

Dickens's arch-villains Squeers and Ralph Nickleby give rise to extreme emotions and necessitate extreme measures involving concealment, false identities, and dissimulation, with tear-jerking resolutions, but whereas Dickens allows his readers to devour the narrative dramas at face value, however exaggerated they seem, the elements of melodrama and 'Rührstück' in *Theater-Roman* are deflated by satire. The off-stage 'recognition scene' mentioned in Section 1, a parody of exaggerated sentimentality and further mocked by Bodenlos's false pathos, is an example (4, particularly 243–249). The scene in which Erlinde and Alfred part, after having lived together as lovers, is poignant but self-mocking in its high-toned dialogue, couched in the cadences and

[331] Simon Callow, '*The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (monthly serial, April 1838–October 1839)' in 'Among the greats', *Saturday Guardian*, 24 September 2011, p. 5.

archaisms of Goethe-like classical verse drama that contrasts with more robust scenes around it (5,242–253). The scenes' stylistic pastiche has the effect of putting them at one remove, as if the narrator is undermining the credibility of their sentiment by placing it in self-conscious inverted commas.

Leaving aside the novel's deeper negativity discussed later on, intrigue in *Theater-Roman* feels unpleasant rather than enjoyably evil as in Dickens's novel. There is little fun, for instance, in the narrator's characterisation of the scheming horse dealer Bonaventura Kolzick, clearly the kind of adventurer Lewald wishes young people in *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*[332] to learn to recognise. The reader of *Theater-Roman* is not encouraged to enjoy Kolzick despite his badness: instead attempts such as his to fit in with more cultivated society are straightforwardly condemned:

> Es giebt einige Existenzen in der Welt; Leute, die auf vornehmem Fuße mit den Vornehmsten leben, obgleich sie arme, lumpige Schufte sind, die sich schämen müßten, wenn man ihnen in honnetter Gesellschaft einen Spiegel vorhalten würde; die roth werden müßten, wenn sie sich selber die Frage stellten: wie bist Du denn eigentlich dazu gekommen, hier zu seyn? und die sich förmlich nur wie Komödianten betrachten sollten, die sich die Qual auferlegt haben, Zeit ihres Lebens eine ihnen nicht zusagende Rolle zu spielen. Wie drückend! Kolzick empfand nun freilich nichts davon, weil er zu roh war. (3,167)

Rhetorically pseudo-sympathetic though it is, the depiction of the discomfort of trying to sustain a misfitting social role fits with a situation in which many who had previously found a livelihood, legitimate or not, in Napoleonic Europe, tried to find new ways of existing in and beyond the Restoration period — but the narrator is not amused by the social corruption he sees caused by Kolzick and others like him.

In its manipulation of the metaphor of society as theatre, *Theater-Roman* homes in more explicitly than *Nicholas Nickleby* on the theatricality and role-playing of modern social interaction: six years later Thackeray takes the theatrical model a stage further still in his satire on contemporary society, bringing vanity and egoism centre-stage in his updated version of Bunyan's

[332] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, p. 5 (see the quotation at the start of my Introduction).

1678 allegorical Vanity Fair.[333] Both *Theater-Roman* and *Vanity Fair* present their characters as actors on a stage, or as puppets manipulated by an unseen hand. The author of *Theater-Roman* announces the start of his novel as if it were a play (1,ix) on which he is about to raise the curtain (1,viii): in the foreword to *Vanity Fair*, 'Before the Curtain', the author appears as the 'Manager of the Performance', his characters are 'Puppets'; at the end of the foreword the Manager 'retires, and the curtain rises'; at the end of the novel the puppets are put back in their box.[334] The novels' framework of theatrical illusion imparts a larger vanity to the characters' pursuit of their individual vain ends, their narratives' fragility underlined from the start by the all-embracing 'seemingness' of the whole.

Bunyan's fair, already 'no new erected business, but a thing of Ancient standing', is a recognisable precursor of Thackeray's nineteenth-century version. The merchandise at Bunyan's fair is as all-inclusive: material wealth represented, in Bunyan's capitals, by Houses, Lands, Silver, Gold; social status (Honours, Preferments, Titles, Masters, Servants); sensual indulgence (Lusts, Pleasures, Whores, Bawds); families (Wives, Husbands, Children); humanity in its widest application (Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls) — 'and what not?'. At this fair, as in its later versions, 'there is at all times to be seen Juglings, Cheats, Games, Plays, Fools, Apes, Knaves, and Rogues, and that of all sorts.'[335] Human nature as portrayed in *Theater-Roman* and *Vanity Fair* has not changed from Bunyan's early modern scene, but its terms of reference are different, those of an increasingly materialist society. Most of the characters in both novels seek social betterment rather than a better life in a moral sense. John Carey's summary fits *Theater-Roman* as well as *Vanity Fair*:

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[333] William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair. A Novel without a Hero*, first published in serial form from 1847 to 1848, and in book form in 1848 (London: Bradbury & Evans). References below are to the Penguin edition, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by John Carey (London: Penguin, 2001, repr. 2003); John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress From This World To That which is to come: Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream, Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey; And safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey* (London: Ponder, 1678). References below are to John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by N.H. Keeble, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[334] Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, pp. 5–6; p. 809.

[335] Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 72–73.

> The difference between Thackeray and Bunyan is that Bunyan thinks the world is vain by comparison with God and heaven. But Thackeray thinks it is vain, period.[336]

With a directness characteristic of its author *Theater-Roman* brings to its logical home, the theatre itself, the interactive relationship between actor and spectator — of watching and being watched, 'reading' and being 'read' — that is integral to the sketches and *Memoiren eines Banquiers*. Erika Fischer-Lichte's exposition of theatricality as a neutral concept, without the moral overtones of the English word, seems helpful for an interpretation of *Theater-Roman*, and to underline the aptness of the theatre as a metaphor for the new conditions of post-Napoleonic society. Three concepts seem particularly relevant to the discussion in the next Sections: performance as interaction; its essential transience, and its potential to override boundaries by creating a 'Schwellenerfahrung'.[337]

Fischer-Lichte explores the live interaction between a consciously projected and contextualised performance designed to convey a specific impression, and the perception of that performance by an audience. The notion of performance as a fixed entity capable of one interpretation is rejected: instead, actors and spectators unite as participants in a continuous process created by both, a complex interaction of role-play and response. Its participants come together:

> entweder als Akteur oder als Zuschauer, wobei die Rollen von Akteuren und Zuschauern wechseln können, so dass dieselbe Person für eine bestimmte Zeitspanne als Akteur und für eine andere als Zuschauer agiert. Die Aufführung entsteht aus ihrer Begegnung, ihren Interaktionen, ihrem Zusammenwirken.[338]

This fits with 'improvisations' in *Theater-Roman* where actors and spectators participate in scenarios that are adjusted as response answers response, and passages in which characters appear as actors in their own dramas.

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[336] John Carey, 'Introduction', in *Vanity Fair*, pp. ix – xl (p. xxi).
[337] Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Theaterwissenschaft. Eine Einführung in die Grundlagen des Faches* (Tübingen, Basle: Francke, 2010).
[338] Fischer-Lichte, *Theaterwissenschaft,* p. 24.

According to Fischer-Lichte, performances are characterised by their transience ('Flüchtigkeit'), their ephemeral existence only in the moment in which they occur — an important issue in *Theater-Roman* which explores the instability of social roles, the problems of projecting and sustaining selfhood, as well as the degrees of improvisation inherent in the circularity of observation, response and adaptation mentioned in the previous paragraph. Performances are unpredictable as well as fleeting: because they are interactive processes, it is not possible to know how they will unfold, however deliberately planned, nor what effect they will have. As group occurrences, 'das Gesamt der Wechselwirkungen von Bühnengeschehen und Zuschauerreaktionen', no one participant can completely control a performance:

> ihr Ablauf vor oder bei ihrem Beginn oder zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt ihrer Dauer [ist] [...] nicht vollständig planbar und vorhersagbar.
>
> [K]einer der an ihr Beteiligten [hat] volle Verfügungsgewalt über sie.[339]

A recurring theme that emerges from *Theater-Roman* is the uncertain balance between control and unpredictability.

Particularly interesting for a perspective on Lewald's *Vormärz* novel, though harder to exemplify, is Fischer-Lichte's exposition of what seems to be a development of the concept of catharsis. Involvement in the constantly fluctuating interactive process of performance can destabilise perceptions — particularly the specator's, who presumably can be any participant in the 'Gesamt der Wechselwirkungen'. Concepts that are traditionally polarised can seem less distinct: of control and being controlled; of the aesthetic and the social or political; of immediate physical as opposed to symbolic modes of perception, or what Fischer-Lichte distinguishes as 'Wahrnehmungsordnung der Präsenz' and 'Wahrnehmungsordnung der Repräsentation'. Instead of responding in 'either-or' terms, the spectator can discover a 'Sowohl-als-auch' which causes perceived borders between seemingly conflicting areas to disappear ('Entgrenzungen') for the duration of the performance. A performance can be seen as producing the discovery of a 'threshold' space which opens up the possibility of change:

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[339] Fischer-Lichte, *Theaterwissenschaft*, pp. 27; 26; 60.

> Immer wieder hat sich gezeigt, dass die spezifische Erfahrung, die Aufführungen ermöglichen, sich am ehesten als eine Schwellenerfahrung beschreiben lässt, die für den, der sie durchläuft, Transformationen herbeizuführen vermag.[340]

The idea of a 'Schwellenerfahrung' brought about by performance seems almost to describe post-Napoleonic society's experience of itself, or at any rate, the way in which some contemporary writers represented it: as a fluid work-in-progress — Stein's '"Labor"-Zeit' — in which old rigidities were shifting and new modes of response were being generated. In a discussion in *Theater-Roman* among the members of the would-be model theatre, one speaker asserts, '[d]ie Neuzeit ist noch nicht reif dazu, daß man ihre Geschichte schreiben könnte', to which Lucile replies, 'Wir sind noch nicht reif dazu, vollendete Geschichtschreiber unserer Zeit abzugeben' (4,156): pretentious hair-splitting, but also a comment on the protagonists of modern life, shifting the concept of immaturity away from the times themselves to those that live in them, unable as yet to give a full account of a new kind of history in the making which it will take a new breed of historian to interpret. Though only partly free from society's rigidities, many of the theatre groups portrayed in *Theater-Roman* exist on the borders of conventional society, calling into question where social boundaries do, should or could lie. 'Entgrenzung' could be applied also to *Vormärz* writers' idea of a life-writing continuum and to their crossing of formal boundaries, amply exemplified in the form of *Theater-Roman*.

Fischer-Lichte stresses that any post-performance effect of the 'Schwellenerfahrung' is a separate matter from the experience itself. K. Scott Baker's interpretation of the play-within-the-play scene in Gutzkow's *Richard Savage*, first performed in 1838, seems to suggest that Gutzkow sensed the phenomenon and sought to manipulate any potential it might have to carry a shift of attitude over beyond the performance, in keeping with his view of the theatre as one of the 'mächtigsten Bildungshebel des Volkes'.[341] In the scene in the theatre-within-the-play, an idealised tribute to sacrificial motherhood voiced in an off-stage play arouses its on-stage audience to revile Lady Macclesfield, whom they see as the ideal's antithesis because she has refused

[340] Fischer-Lichte, *Theaterwissenschaft*, pp. 60–61.
[341] Gutzkow, 'Theater Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 8.

to accept her newly discovered natural son.[342] According to Scott Baker's interpretation, it is not the ideal itself Gutzkow hoped to implant in his 'actual' audience, but theatre's potential for indirect impact. The play-within-the-play

> models the influence that dramatic performances can ideally have on an audience. [...] Gutzkow implies that the response of the audience will have socio-political repercussions outside of the theater.[343]

The *mise-en-abîme* of the asylum theatre in *Theater-Roman* might be seen also as modelling the theatre's potential to change perceptions. Reading about the therapeutic value of reflecting the asylum patients' own foibles back to them might enhance the receptivity of the novel's readers to the possibility that a similarly salutory impact could come from their own reading of the whole work, an impact the author makes clear is his goal in his dedication and epilogue.

[342] Karl Gutzkow, *Richard Savage*, ed. by Susanne Hesse and Parthier, in *GWB*,*DG*, Dramatische Werke (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, htm version 1.1, 2009), II. 3.
[343] K. Scott Baker, *Drama and "Ideenschmuggel". Inserted Performance as Communicative Strategy in Karl Gutzkow's Plays 1839–1849* (Oxford: Lang, 2008), p. 73.

3. *Theater-Roman* and experimentation

i) The form of *Theater-Roman*

A work called *Theater-Roman* courts comparison with *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–1796),[344] and the later author plays to the connection. *Theater-Roman* subverts through parallels and allusions that are often deflationary the poetic seriousness of its 'model', of which it becomes at times almost a parody, as if to announce how thoroughly it belongs to a post-Goethe generation seeking ways appropriate to its own time of following the literary Olympian.

Given the satirical-comic cast of *Theater-Roman* from its opening pseudo-scholarly 'guidebook' description of small-town Pogenwinkel onwards (1,3–4), there is a mischievous feel as parallels to Goethe's novel become apparent: two young friends with contrasting temperaments, Alfred and Lucile like Wilhelm and Werner; friendship between their fathers; theatre a strong presence. Alfred, 'Unser Jüngling' (1,119, for instance), like Wilhelm, 'Unser Freund',[345] sets out from home and learns from encounters with varieties of theatrical experience. The characters of the Harfenspieler and Mignon, their origin mysterious, their histories interlinked, are shadowed in *Theater-Roman* by the mute pantomime dancer 'die Stumme' and her long-lost children Lucile, Erlinde and the court theatre dancer Hortense — but whereas Mignon and the Harfenspieler express themselves in lyrics of enduring great beauty, significantly for the *Vormärz* and its rejection of the old aesthetic of finished perfection, the performances of 'die Stumme' and her children are essentially immediate and transient. Most notably, the pantomime and dance of 'die Stumme' and Hortense are wordless, consisting of signs and gestures of their own invention, suited to *Vormärz* experimentation and the search for new means of expression.[346] Though the art of 'die Stumme' and Hortense is described with respect, the scenes in which they are involved lack the earnest of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and belong in the satirical mould of *Theater-Roman* —

[344] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, in *Goethes Werke*, ed. by Erich Trunz, 14 vols (Munich: Beck, 1981), VII.
[345] Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, in *Goethes Werke*, VII, 79, for instance.
[346] See 1,50–51 for the pantomime dance of 'die Stumme', and 5,5 for Hortense's invention of a new language of dance gestures. Both characters' place in the novel will be discussed below.

Hortense initiates farce-like situations (1,Chapters 21 and 22), while throughout the novel the fate of 'die Stumme' is conveyed with over-the-top pathos.

Passing allusions to Goethe's novel trivialise what they echo. Shortly after a reference to Goethe at one of the model theatre's tea parties, for instance, an interruption to a gossipy anecdote about two actors is cut short by a member crying: 'Stille! stille! [...] jetzt kommen Bekenntnisse zweier schönen Seelen' (4,176), inappropriately alluding to the deeply reflective episode that constitutes Book Six of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.[347] Alfred's lack of resolution calls forth references to Hamlet, but far from the profound reflection of Meister's immersion in Shakespeare's play, the references in *Theater-Roman* are brief and light-hearted. Balder draws a parallel between Alfred's hesitations and Hamlet's, but turns it into a joke: he claims Alfred would be a 'Hamlet der Komödie' (2,187).

Allusions to Goethe's works in *Theater-Roman* play on mixed attitudes to the poet in the *Vormärz*, at the same time delivering another blow at modern middle-class pretension, accentuating what the later novel's author sees as rampant philistinism in much modern artistic endeavour, and implying how far short of the master it falls. When the Kallenbach model theatre considers what to perform for its opening night, it rejects *Egmont* and *Faust* out of hand because female roles would not flatter the company's older actresses, deciding instead to make an adaptation of a poem wildly unsuitable for the purpose. 'Das allbekannte, burlesk-naive, oder ironisch-lascive Gedicht' — 'Lili's Park'[348] — is given a tasteless, over-complicated treatment incomprehensible to its audience (4,117–121). Later in Pogenwinkel, the amateur playwright Fizmeier plagiarises and distorts a passage from *Clavigo*, the Pogenwinkel native speaking the borrowed lines unaware either of the plagiarism or the distortion, though Bodenlos, acting as prompter, is quite aware of both (5,201–02). The reading during a model theatre members' tea-party of the old actor Jacob's memoirs is interrupted at a point where *Götz von Berlichingen*, 'das neue Stück vom jungen Doctor Göthe', is mentioned, by a snatch of conversation that points up ironically the changed literary scene:

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[347] Goethe, 'Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele', in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, in *Goethes Werke*, VII, 350–420.

[348] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Lilis Park', in *Goethes Werke*, ed. by Erich Trunz, 14 vols (Munich: Beck, 1981), I, 98.

– Der junge Doctor Göthe —
– Gerade wie man Heute von Gutzkow spricht —
– Das ist denn doch etwas Anderes — (4,49)

In 1802, a so-called translation of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* into French appeared in Paris, in which Wilhelm is renamed Alfred, Philine Clotilde. The translator's foreword shows a Frenchman's lack of respect for the great German poet. He criticises the interruption of the narrative — 'cette marche irregulière' — by leisurely digressions. He sees the theatre as Goethe's main focus, and feels free to abridge the novel's extended analysis and *mise-en-scène* of Hamlet — 'que pourraient avoir ces conseils de neuf ou d'utile, pour une nation qui possède des *Molé*, des *Fleury*, des *Talma* [...]'. The translator confirms that he has called 'l'ouvrage français, Alfred, et l'on voit que c'est le moindre des changemens qu'il s'est cru autorisé à faire'.[349] It must remain speculation whether Lewald knew this work, though it is not unlikely given his alertness to both French literature and oddities. In any case the connection fits with the strong French influence on the style and approach of Lewald's *Vormärz* writing, and his novel shares with Sevelinges's a non-reverential attitude to his model.

Lewald chose to keep for his novel the provisional-sounding, generic title he used in his letter to Gutzkow. The title signals with its hyphenated baldness an ambiguity of genre, an axis around which might revolve, without clear-cut distinction, a blend of drama and narrative, an exploration of performance on- and off-stage, of illusion and fantasy. Both instruction and entertainment are suggested. Given the popularity of the theatre, and Lewald's reputation as an expert on the subject, anything by him with 'Theater' in its title is guaranteed a readership, as the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* reviewer acknowledges. That the work is also a 'Roman' distinguishes it from Lewald's factual theatre writing and promises the kind of enjoyment to which readers have become accustomed in his amusing sketches and *Genrebilder*, and his earlier eventful novels, often with a gothic element. A comment from the foreword on the extent to which the theatre might, in the hands of a more gifted writer, present a picture

[349] *Alfred, ou les années d'apprentissage de Wilhelm Meister, Par Goethe, auteur de Werther; Traduit de l'allemand, par C.L. Sevelinges. Avec figures et romances gravée*, 3 vols (Paris: Louis, 1802), I, pp. iv; vi; xii.

of all of modern society underlines the novel's fluid form and its blurred boundaries between reality and illusion: the passage starts with a metaphor from one medium and ends in one from another:

> eine größere Kraft als die meinige dürfte hier nur mit mächtiger Hand den Thon erfassen, um ihn bildnerisch zu gestalten und der Roman unsers Lebens [...] wäre für alle Zeiten gedichtet. (1,iv)

Vocabulary borrowed from the plastic art of sculpture — 'Thon', 'bildnerisch zu gestalten' — seems to refer to the dramatist's art of moulding and peopling his own world, as if recreating life, while 'Roman' and 'gedichtet' belong to written fiction, and the phrase 'Roman unsers Lebens' combines fantasy with the everyday.

In his foreword, the author reinforces the theatre model for his work: as he is about to raise 'meinen Vorhang' (1,viii), he begs his dedicatee: 'Schenken Sie meinem Drama geneigtes Auge und Ohr!' (1,ix). Many of the novel's analyses of theatre institutions are presented in quasi-dramatic scenes, and much of its predominantly off-stage action is related in narrative that strongly resembles different theatrical genres. A novel masquerading as theatre, theatre masquerading as a novel: the form of *Theater-Roman* eludes definition and assumes many guises, like its characters, whose lives are presented as a compendium of varying kinds of drama. As is the case in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, the novel's form is inextricable from its content. Its fluidity across genres mirrors what is explored in it: the elusive borders between reality and illusion, authenticity and dissimulation, control and chance.

The '*Theater-*' promise of the title is well fulfilled. Some episodes in the novel are almost entirely in dialogue, with brief 'stage directions'. In an early scene (1,Chapter 4) furthering the exposition and laying down foundations for the metaphor of life as theatre, Lucile confides his present plans and past history to Alfred. The 'scene' opens 'Abends im Garten hinter Mindelsheims [Alfred's father's] Hause', sets the friends walking, later sitting on a bench, and finally has Lucile exiting backstage 'durch die hintere Pforte des Gartens'. The friends' sixteen-page conversation is in direct speech, interrupted sparsely by brief insertions — a secretive smile, the manner of delivery of a speech, a final handshake. After Lucile's exit there is a monologue in direct speech as Alfred

digests what he has been told. Other scenes combine direct speech with what reads like comic 'stage business': a dialogue between Fizmeier and a servant is interspersed with precise details of Fizmeier's progressive mismanagement of a toast-making procedure he believes dignifies him in its high-class Englishness (2,Chapter 1).

Some episodes parallel dramatic genres identifiable according to Lewald's own definitions elsewhere. *Possen* are well represented, particularly suited to a comic novel riddled with mistaken, switched and disguised identities and false situations. In his 1846 *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, Lewald defines *Possen* as, 'Schlechte Lustspiele, mit unwahrscheinlichen Verwickelungen und gewaltsamen Auflösungen, mit übertriebenen frazzenhaften Charakteren' pushed into the 'Grelle und Groteske', but with humour, imagination and a light touch.[350] Examples in *Theater-Roman* might include the scenes in the *Residenzstadt* in Parts I and II, much of them written as dialogue with 'stage directions', in which Hortense's friend Hulda poses as Hortense to receive Lucile's guardian Krauthöfer, who adopts a false identity and, wrongly believing Lucile, disguised as an English Lord, to be in love with Hortense, and wishing to deter him, pretends to court her himself — a web of deception culminating in a would-be entrapment scene in which the Pogenwinkel visitors dress up in exaggerated disguises, which in turn results in their arrest, and Lucile's escape (1,Chapters 21 and 22, and 2,Chapters 2–5). Of the scene of chaos and indignity in which the Kallenbach public rebels against its 'model' theatre, the narrator comments: 'Es war im Ganzen die lächerlichste Posse [...] bei der das erzürnte [...] Publicum eine komische Rolle mit übernommen hatte' (4,278) — though later on '[fing] [d]er Spektakel [...] an bedenklich zu werden' (4, 282).

Melodrama, suited to adventure, dark crimes, and awful punishment, with accompanying music conveying 'Schleichen, Horchen, Spähen, Schreiten',[351] is represented in Alfred's and Bodenlos's secret, night-time visit in a darkened theatre to the mysterious old actor Jacob's secret hide-out behind the stage. A highly emotional scene is accompanied, as night gives way to morning, by music wafting from the orchestra rehearsing unseen with the on-stage actors including, right on cue, a beautiful violin solo. After revealing the

[350] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, pp. 284–85.
[351] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 285.

story of his life and the parentage of Lucile and Erlinde, Jacob himself declares: 'Mein Leben war ein vollständiges Melodrama und dies hier scheint die Entwickelung werden zu sollen' (4,245). Eventually Lucile himself appears and is recognised by Jacob as his long-lost foster-son: 'Alle standen verwundert; Lucile wie vom Blitze getroffen; Orchester und Stretto unten, der Act war geendet' (4,249). The actors Jacob, Bodenlos, Alfred and Lucile both perform in and are spectators of an off-stage drama that out-performs anything on-stage. In the theatre and the town what the narrator calls '[d]ie Erkennungsscene, das Familienbild mit melodramatischen Effecten' (4,251) stirs up more interest than the model company's own poorly attended productions have attracted so far.

At the end of the novel, Jacob hopes to tie up loose ends of his life in a meeting with Lucile's guardian Krauthöfer:

> er kam, ausgerüstet mit einem weiten Herzen voll melodramatischer Requisiten, in das kleine Pogenwinkel, festen Willens, den Einwohnern ein rührendes Schauspiel zu geben, wozu seine hagere, krankhafte Gestalt und die langen weißen Locken, die seinen Nacken deckten, ein treffliches Costüm boten. (5,148)

Jacob's 'rührendes Schauspiel' is not the only one in the novel. There are heart-wrenching scenes in Part 5 that fit the definition of the ever-popular 'Rührstücke' as 'sentimental plays with tense emotional situations'[352] — above all Hortense's reunion with her long-lost mother. 'Die Stumme' recognises her daughter and speaks for just one day and night before dying at dawn, in a scene part dialogue, part narration, the effort and emotion bound up in her utterances when she breaks her silence made almost audible, as they might be enacted on stage (5,Chapter 8).

An entire 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' (3,Chapters 11–18) is played out in the story of Henriette, daughter of Kanter who is a musician in the Zempelburg town theatre's orchestra. Henriette is a member of the theatre chorus, and leads a pleasant enough life within restricted means when Alfred gets to know her, encouraged by Kanter who sees in him a potential husband for her. Things go badly wrong when she becomes the target of a plot set in train by the envy of an ageing actor Alfred has displaced (3,Chapter 11) and carried further by the

[352] Henry and Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, 2nd edn by Mary Garland (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 771.

self-interest of the ruthless horse dealer Kolzick and the pique of bored officers Alfred has displaced in Henriette's favour. Henriette is seduced by Fürst *** (3,Chapter 12) and her reputation is ruined by malicious gossip that she is working as a prostitute (3,especially Chapters 13 and 16). Fürst *** eventually tires of her, she is passed on down a decreasingly wealthy chain of men and dies in penury (3,Chapter 18). Her illegitimate son returns to Kanter and plays in the theatre orchestra. Within the 'Trauerspiel', Henriette's gradual downfall is given a chapter to itself (3,Chapter 18), a masterpiece of economic prose without a single word of dialogue, in which 'facts' as selected by the narrator carry eloquence in themselves. The contrast in style of the chapter gives it a dramatic quality of its own, making it stand out as if the spotlight were full on Henriette for its duration.

When, after meeting Henriette, Alfred decides to take music lessons from Kanter to legitimise his frequent visits, an explicit allusion to *Kabale und Liebe*,[353] dripping with dramatic irony, underlines the parallel:

> Unwillkührlich fiel ihm [...] die furchtbare Katastrophe des Schiller'schen Trauerspiels ein und Ferdinand's herzzerreißender Ausruf: Unglückseliges Flötenspiel! aber er lachte seiner Grille und der Unterricht begann unter den glücklichsten Auspicien. (3,172)

Inevitably after this preparation, Alfred has cause to echo Ferdinand's cry (3,263 and 283). The contexts of its two repetitions are subtly nuanced: Alfred's role is after all not tragic but satirical. The first echo comes to him unbidden when he still feels anguish at Henriette's betrayal and the scandal surrounding her. Later he hears that she has left town, and he repeats the words 'mit stiller Wehmuth' — a more comfortable sort of grief — while watching as his devoted follower Erlinde 'sein Bischen Wäsche sorglich zusammenlegte und den Namen in der Ecke seines Tuches, so freundlich an die Lippen drückte' (3,283). Clearly Alfred will recover from Henriette.

The first visit of Fürst *** to Henriette again consists mostly of dialogue with 'stage directions' that could easily be followed in a dramatic production. Wishing to impress Henriette by his rank as if inadvertently, the prince

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[353] Friedrich Schiller, *Kabale und Liebe*, in *Schillers Werke. Nationalausgabe*, V: *Kabale und Liebe. Kleine Dramen*, ed. by Herbert Kraft, Claudia Pilling und Gert Vonhoff (2000), p. 168, V. 3. 9.

> lüftete [...] ein wenig den Mantel und die Ordenssterne blitzten dem Mädchen in die Augen; allein als ob er es wie in der Zerstreuung gethan und seinen Stand noch nicht verrathen wollte, knöpfte er den Rock sogleich wieder zu. Henriette war erstaunt einen Schritt zurückgetreten. (3,193)

The whole episode is overlayed with further allusions to other dramas that give it the feeling of a play within a play, acted self-consciously, again making questionable the authenticity of its actors, and of the tale itself. Like Faust and Mephistopheles in Margarete's bedroom, the prince lets himself unseen into Henriette's house, and as he looks around '[mochten] ihm vielleicht die Worte durch den Kopf ziehen [...]: "Nicht jedes Mädchen hält so rein" (3,192).[354] Like Faust, Fürst *** speeds seduction by presenting Henriette with jewels. Urged to guess his standing, she works her way with astonishment up the aristocratic ranks, 'wie es in den ländlichen Scenen auf dem Theater zu geschehen pflegt' (3,195), finally reaching the top, with a gesture identical to one associated with role of the innocent country girl Margarethe in Iffland's play *Die Hagestolzen*: 'Also Fürst! rief sie, die Hände vor's Gesicht schlagend, gerade als ob sie die Margarethe in den Hagestolzen spielte' (3,195).[355]

Even where the style of writing is not so clearly dramatic the narrator and characters in *Theater-Roman* are given to classifying episodes in terms of drama genres, giving the narrative a layer of self-reflectivity, as if its characters are consciously aware of the theatricality of their own lives and can see themselves enacting roles which they analyse even as they enact them. Krauthöfer's plan to save Lucile from himself seems 'einer alten sogenannten Besserungskomödie nicht unähnlich' (2,17), while Hulda, pretending to be Hortense, affects great dignity in her role as helper in his scheme: 'Es war eine Lustspielscene der originellsten Art' (1,319). The blurring between acting on- and off-stage and questions about conscious role-play and improvisation explored in the novel are neatly summarised in the way Krauthöfer — somewhat condescendingly — presents his plea for help and Hulda agrees to it:

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[354] Goethe, *Faust. Erster Teil*, in *Goethes Werke*, III, 86, line 2686.
[355] August Wilhelm Iffland, *Die Hagestolzen: ein Lustspiel* (Leipzig, 1793).

> [Krauthöfer:] es ist vielleicht das erstemal, daß Sie in den Fall kommen, im wirklichen Leben eine edle That zu üben, wozu Ihnen sonst nur das Theater die Gelegenheit bot —
> [Hulda:] — Sie haben eine zu vortheilhafte Meinung von mir. Jedoch muß ich offen bekennen, daß diese Geschichte einer Melodramenentwicklung nicht unähnlich sieht und dies spornt mich nicht wenig an, meine Kunst zu zeigen. (I, 317)

Stylistic pastiche enhances the theatrical resonance of many of the drama-like scenes in *Theater-Roman*, and gives a satirical edge to even the most plot-forwarding or moving scenes. An example is the dialogue set-piece in which Krauthöfer's servant Caspar reports that he has seen and spoken to his master's runaway ward Lucile (1,Chapter 19). Caspar's speech has the hallmarks of the well-worn comic type he represents: the keen, garrulous subordinate with original native wit. By contrast, the final dialogue between Erlinde and Alfred before they separate, with its elevated diction, archaisms and mellifluously balanced sentences, is redolent of classical tragedy, or its would-be emulators (5,242–53).

At the 'micro' level, unattributed snatches of famous quotations from well-known plays scattered throughout the novel are a running reminder, if it were needed, of the '*Theater-'* element of the novel, giving the reader the enjoyment of recognition: 'Knurre nicht, Pudel!' (1,119); 'die Loose des Seyns oder Nichtseyns' (4,229), and the slightly misquoted 'es war jetzt, als ob der Wald von Dunsinam sich vor ihnen bewegte' (5,182) are examples.

To a novel that is itself largely drama in disguise, and that further undermines its own illusion with self-conscious references to drama, the presence of 'actual' plays within the narrative adds further seemingly unfathomable layers of theatricality, a *mise-en-abîme* effect that compounds the problem of identifying where, if anywhere, authenticity lies, and what reality, if any, is at the centre. Each 'inner' play is even more absurd and insubstantial than the encompassing outer setting in which it originates and whose essence it reflects. In the court theatre's performance of a parody, '"das Universalgenie" oder "Musen und Grazien nach der Mode"', visitors from Pogenwinkel who have been led to expect Alfred's stage debut see another actor dressed as Alfred — 'Es war Alfred und er war es nicht.' (2,268). His 'lächerliche[.] Rolle' in the sarcastically titled parody is designed to humiliate its subject and ridicule his

high ideals. The play — none of its words are given — is born of the court theatre's cliquish malevolence and destructive insularity.

Balder's friend Stein's surreal sixteen-second one-act comedy, 'Die über Nichts Lachenden oder das strenge Verbot', is the creative end-product of a life spent, after an initial enthusiasm for the stage, as a reluctant and largely ineffectual actor in extreme poverty, his grip on reality slipping. The entire dialogue is exactly as long as the title, which it echoes: 'Worüber lacht Ihr?' 'Ueber nichts!' 'So seyd ruhig!' (2, 205). Most of the work consists in a *dramatis personae* including someone never seen on stage, and in detailed, gloriously irrelevant stage directions and background information about the characters. Stein's play suggests the negation both of drama and comedy, and seems to be a crystallisation of his life in which acting has come to represent futility and emptiness.

Fizmeier writes a play for the Pogenwinkel amateur theatre, to be performed in honour of the return of Pogenwinkel's son Alfred and his actor companions. Fizmeier breaks his own rule to allow outsiders, the experienced Bodenlos and Jacob, to attend a rehearsal: 'er fühlte sich stark in seinem Dilettantismus' (5,189). Uniquely in the novel, the rehearsal dialogue is presented in the format of a drama script. However, the words are attributed not to the play's characters but to the Pogenwinkel people acting its roles: it is the small-town drama acted out among the players and the director that is the real subject of the chapter. The actors keep breaking out of the script to register criticism of it or offence at criticism of their delivery. They themselves do not distinguish clearly between their everyday roles and those in the play, and cannot perform the imaginative feat of switching from one to the other. In response to the director's criticism of a mistake on the part of the down-to-earth Klotilde: 'Nicht doch, das zerstört ja Ihren ganzen Karakter!', the bewildered Klotilde replies, 'was hat denn mein ehrlicher Karakter mit Ihrem Stück zu schaffen?' (5,195–96). The reader is granted only a fraction of the play's script, but its inflated diction riddled with syntactical and conceptual blemishes and guilelessly disguised plagiarisms display the knowledge and parodying skill the novel's author has at his disposal, and the merciless relish with which he uses them. In a novel whose aim is to unmask society's foolishnesses, the chapter reveals the pedestrian provinciality that lies beneath Pogenwinkel pretensions in a play that itself sets out to strip away pretence, 'einen Verräther zu entlarven'

(5,201), borrowing out of context and distorting lines from Goethe's *Clavigo*.[356] Like the other 'plays', Fizmeier's 'modernes Melodrama' has the required double title, on which its creator has lavished much thought. It aptly sums up its provenance: 'Thee und Butterbrod, oder: was vermögen schlechte Bücher nicht?' (5,189).

The forms and styles of drama represented in the novel range from farce to high tragedy. The same inclusivity is manifest in the novel's descriptions of all kinds of theatre — among them the improvised acts of a travelling showman; court, town and share-holders' theatres; dance and pantomime. Expected assumptions about their relative worth are often inverted. Apart from demonstrating the author's own broad-minded impartiality, such inclusiveness reflects the contemporary trend, implicit in the life-writing continuum, that rejected the 'ivory tower' concept of 'high' art. The idea of an elite art incompatible with popular forms was itself incompatible with the idea of writing that arose directly from life. Almost a whole chapter (4,Chapter 6) is devoted to a debate within the so-called model theatre on 'den jetzigen Zustand der Bühne' (4,141) in which differing views are put forward on the potential for a theatre of quality which could appeal to all, and be both popular and edifying. The discussion functions on several levels, both as a rounding up of commonly held viewpoints, and as a satire pointing up the gap between the speakers' actual effectiveness and their high-faluting ideas. At the same time the debate reflects hope that contemporary theatre can play a part in the development of a new, more all-inclusive, society, that it is involved in something experimental, as yet unclear, with untapped potential that could have an ennobling effect on society: 'das Theater ist der mächtigste Hebel zu dieser ungeheuren Revolution' (4,145), as one speaker asserts. Gutzkow's echo of this hope for the novel itself in his review of *Theater-Roman*, focuses on its theatre rather than its social critique:

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356 Beaumarchais. Ich komme, bewaffnet mit der besten Sache und aller Entschlossenheit, einen Verräter zu entlarven, mit blutigen Zügen seine Seele auf sein Gesicht zu zeichnen, und der Verräter — bist du!

Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Clavigo*, in *Goethes Werke*, ed. by Erich Trunz,14 vols (Munich: Beck, 1981), IV: *Dramatische Dichtungen*, ed. by Wolfgang Kayser, p. 272, II. 36-39.

Fizmeier's garbled version runs:

ich komme nun bewaffnet mit meinem guten Rechte und mit Standhaftigkeit, um einen Verräther zu entlarven und sein Inneres mit blutigen Zügen ihm in sein Gesicht zu schreiben.

Bodenlos, acting as prompter, assumes wrongly that the next line (slightly misquoted by him) will be 'Und dieser Verräther bist Du!' (5,201).

> Wenn dies Buch dazu beiträgt, den gedankenlosen Anlauf zum Theater zu mindern, Jünglinge und Mädchen von dem papiernen Glanze und erträumten Glücke dieses Berufes, wenn nicht wahre Nöthigung des innern Dranges da ist, abzuschrecken, wenn es endlich alle Freunde des Bühnenwesens spornt, dem Theater, einem der mächtigsten Bildungshebel des Volkes, eine organischere Stellung in unserer Gesellschaft zu sichern, so hat es einen schönen, dankenswerthen und dem Verfasser Ehre bringenden Zweck erreicht.[357]

There is a consensus among reviews of *Theater-Roman* that its theatrical element dominates at the expense of qualities they might expect of a novel. These qualities seem to be: a continuously developed story line, characters with whom one can feel involved, and a poetic or ideal element that imbues the story with an extra dimension. The reviewers' criticisms suggest a preconceived idea of criteria a novel is expected to fulfil, and that *Theater-Roman* does not fall easily into any traditional category. A genre with coherent, poetic inner meaning in which plot and character are consistently developed and integrated is not what Lewald's 'komischer Roman'[358] — his own classification — delivers.

Gutzkow interprets the whole of *Theater-Roman* as born of its author's own 'romance' with the theatre, of the spell it casts that can inspire and disappoint equally:

> Theater! Du Zauberwort, das zu lodernden Flammen entzünden, zu kalter Asche enttäuschen kann!

In the end however, regretting the novel's negative view of the theatre, Gutzkow seems to find it too much a reflection of the author's experience, suggesting that it would have been better to call it 'Ein Bühnenleben'. He finds it rich in comedy and tragic pathos, but 'weniger reich an rührenden Momenten'.[359] The *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* complains that 'der romanhafte Faden' is often broken. It likes the portrayal of Erlinde's relationship with Alfred, which it finds 'von dem Verf. tief gefühlt, innig dargestellt', almost the only part of the novel over which hovers 'ein gewisser poetischer Anhauch', destroyed, however, by

[357] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 8.
[358] Letter from Lewald to Heine, 15 September 1841, in *HSA*, XXV, 341.
[359] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', pp. 1 and 8.

the constant changes of style and subject matter, which 'dem Buch gleichsam wie einem Schmetterling den farbigen Schmelz von den Flügeln wischt'. In the last three volumes, only the convoluted family secrets 'regen noch hier und da das Interesse des Lesers am Buch als Roman wieder an, ohne es ganz zu befriedigen'.[360] The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* seems to agree: the mysterious characters could have been made into the main subject, the theatre element reduced. A 'recht vollendete Kunstform' could have been made of the work's material — but has not, the reviewer implies. There is too much description of 'der idealen Bedeutung oft ermangelnde[n] Gestalten', though the Stein episode 'streift [...] tief ins Poetische hinein'.[361]

The narrative thread does indeed suffer breaks, notably in the case of Lucile, who is set up in Part I to be as important a protagonist as Alfred, disappears from the story, reappears, expends great energy discovering his half-sister and successfully persuading her to go with him to England to find their long-lost mother, disappears again having given up the project, reappears still in Germany promising to explain himself but never doing so, disappears abruptly at a key moment, and is finally dispatched, a loose end to be tied up at the end of the novel, as an unidentified suicide at Krauthöfer's grave in Pogenwinkel. Bodenlos's treatment of Erlinde, about which the narrator raises dark imputations, is hardly borne out by events in the text nor by what we see of Bodenlos. The author seems almost deliberately cavalier about story lines, apparently neglectful in places, fantastically elaborate and detailed over the course of the novel about the convoluted history surrounding 'die Stumme' and her family. As 'der Roman unsers Lebens', a comment on the illusoriness of reality and the theatricality of life, the novel bears out its title's claim.

Reviews of *Theater-Roman* are united in their condemnation of the details of Henriette's downfall, finding particularly offensive references to a physical examination by the theatre doctor to establish whether rumours of her prostitution are true (3,Chapter 14). The doctor insists that obtaining proof is the only way to decide the matter and the conditions of an examination are discussed — the director's smile as he asks who would undertake and witness it hinting at salaciousness (3,231). The chapter ends with the examination, while

[360] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), pp. 290–92.
[361] 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), pp. 222, col. 2–223, col. 1.

those responsible for initiating the scandal are planning a dinner to celebrate their success:

> Während die Unterschriften [for the dinner] [...] gesammelt wurden, hatte sich der Theaterarzt mit seinem Antrage so schonend als möglich der Unglücklichen genähert und hielt sie jetzt ohnmächtig in seinen Armen. (3,239)

The whole chapter is full of references to venereal disease, some more mealy-mouthed than others. Assumptions that Henriette is, according to the theatre director 'schändlich krank' are answered by the doctor's assurance 'Wir haben [...] Mittel, solche Krankheiten ganz radical zu curiren'. (The significance of the doctor will be discussed further on in this section.) Theatre members gossip about a servant who had to leave Kanter's household and became ill 'an einer sogenannten Galanterie' (3,227), claiming to have been infected by her former mistress who worked in the theatre and who had given her mercury ointment, the cure for venereal disease.

One reviewer objects to the author's 'lästernde Prüderie', and judges that his moral indignation 'reißt [...] weit über das ästhetische Wohlgefallen hinaus';[362] another feels that 'ein keusches Gemüth oder ein ästhetisch gebildeter Geschmack' must turn away from parts of the novel with 'Erröthen und Widerwillen';[363] Gutzkow feels 'dieses chirurgische Kapitel' would have been better left out.[364] The *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* sums up the general judgement: though there may be truth in the Henriette incident,

> glauben wir kaum, daß diese ungeschminkte Darstellung, die oft an das Ekelhafte streift, einem Romanschreiber vom ästhetischen Standpunkte erlaubt werden könne.[365]

Again, objections that the prurient realism of the 'surgical chapter' jars presuppose an aesthetic to which the author is not subscribing. As already mentioned, Lewald himself relished the fact that his novel 'Scandal [macht]',[366] and Henriette's story makes a convincing polemic. According to Edward McInnes, the stark portrayal of 'suffering and squalor' in the novels of Dickens

[362] 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), p. 222, col. 2.
[363] 'Theater-Roman', *Repertorium der deutschen Literatur*, 30 (1841), pp. 380–81.
[364] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 7.
[365] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), p. 290, col. 2.
[366] Letter from Lewald to Heine, 15 September 1841, in *HSA*, XXV, 341.

published immediately after the jovial *Pickwick Papers* at the end of the 1830s and in the early 1840s also met the disapproval of German critics: 'almost all were outspoken in condemning it as morbid and ugly and often as grossly exaggerated as well.'[367] Praise for specific passages almost always ended 'in the fundamental rejection of Dickens's attempt to use the novel as a means of changing society'. Gutzkow himself in 1839 added an editorial note to the critic Levin Schücking's comments on the disharmony between Dickens's humour and his realism, emphasising his, Gutzkow's, own dislike of Dickens's ugly creations and the 'stinkige, ordinäre Unfläterei [der] pseudo-humoristischen Romane [Englands] and their total lack 'aller idealischen Färbung'.[368] By contrast, a reviewer of *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* in Lewald's *Europa* has no trouble enjoying Dickens's 'humoristische Genrebilder', while acknowledging, in relation to *Oliver Twist*: '[m]an sieht dem Verfasser eine Erbitterung gegen das neue Armengesetz deutlich an', though he adds a qualifier: 'Im Uebrigen ist keine Parteifarbe zu erkennen, vielleicht eben ein Grund, weßhalb Dickens überall und so schnell Eingang gefunden hat'.[369] The author of *Theater-Roman* appears to see no conflict or lack of taste in uniting fantasy and polemic in the same work, or presenting stark realities lightly cloaked in satire, and his foreword and epilogue make it clear that he will be pleased if his novel does bring about a change in social attitudes.

In his foreword the author rhetorically disavows his intention to expose through his portrayal of theatre life the weaknesses and faults of modern society. He claims his first aim is to entertain idle people: 'Ein bescheidenes Ziel! [...] Wie wenig ist doch ein Unterhaltungsschriftsteller!' (1,x). If however his portrayal makes his anonymous dedicatee aware of society's foibles, and perhaps stimulates her to action or reflection:

> ja führte Sie dann diese Anregung weiter, so sind es Resultate, deren ich mich nicht rühmen darf, da Sie Ihnen nur allein gehören werden. Es würde ein Zufall seyn; nichts weiter! aber ich will ihm und Ihnen danken! (1,xi)

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[367] Edward McInnes, *'Eine untergeordnete Meisterschaft?' The Critical Reception of Dickens in Germany 1837–1870* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991), p. 57.
[368] Karl Gutzkow, ['Redaktionelle Anmerkung zu Hieronymus Lorm: "Charles Dickens"'], ed. by Martina Lauster, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zur Literatur (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2009), Globalkommentar 6.1.
[369] 'Oliver Twist, oder Laufbahn eines Waisenknaben', *Europa*, 2 (1839), p. 39.

His authorial modesty passes responsibility for engagement with the novel's issues firmly back to the dedicatee-reader. Modest disavowal is shed in his epilogue (5,275–76), where he refers to writers' custom of attaching an explanatory note to their work, 'ein leichteres Verständniß unsern versteckten Absichten zu sichern', and urges a reading, or re-reading, of his foreword. Significantly, instead of the singular dedicatory 'Sie' of the foreword he now addresses 'meine Leser' collectively. The hoped-for progression from passive enjoyment to active involvement on the part of the reader parallels the process boasted of a year earlier by Douglas Jerrold in a 'Preface' to the collection of humorous sketches of English social types, *Heads of the People*, of which he was editor, quoted by Lauster in *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*: 'Many took up the first portion only to laugh and, we are proud to say, read on to think'.[370] In *Memoiren eines Banquiers* the narrator involves the reader in constantly shifting possible interpetations of the banker's role and point of view, of what may or may not be face-value. Clearer guidance is provided in *Theater-Roman*. What is mask and what behind it is made plain to the reader, though some mysteries of identity are unravelled only late in the novel: it is the characters themselves who must wrestle with problems of changing roles, their own and others'. Yet if the reader's experience is less ambiguous than in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, it is not static or uniform, as the novel itself assumes a variety of roles over its five volumes, to which the reader must respond adaptively, submitting to instruction in one passage, being carried along by a narrative description in another, or becoming a 'spectator' of scenes that resemble startlingly juxtaposed dramatic genres.

Boundary crossing is exemplified too in transparently discursive or polemic passages in the novel that cover matters both within and outside the narrative's immediate scope: they are judged in general by Gutzkow to be 'die zweckmäßigsten Excurse und lehrreichsten Einschläge'.[371] They include an almost sixty-page dialogue detailing and critiquing Iffland's performances, for example (2,116–175); a polemic against the piracy of the manuscripts of new plays (4,131–134), and an analytic polemic on the causes of prostitution (3,252–259).

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[370] [Douglas Jerrold], 'Preface', in *Heads of the People, or: Portraits of the English*, 2 vols (London: Tyas, 1840–41), I (1840), pp. iii–vi (p. iii), quoted in Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 306–07.

[371] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 7.

The *Europa* Dickens review quoted above emphasises both the theatrical aspect of *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* and their quality as *Genrebilder*. It claims both that the fast pace of their narration and dialogue make it understandable that the novels 'leicht mit nur wenigen Abänderungen in Schauspiele verwendet werden konnten', and that their plots, particularly in the case of *Nicholas Nickleby*, are 'gewissermaßen nur ein Faden, der sich durch die Genrebilder hindurchzieht'.[372] So also *Theater-Roman*, though it does not appear to have been actually dramatised. The close relationship between word-painting and theatre's medium of visual representation is manifest in scenes and episodes that are both all but 'staged', and in the *Genrebild* style recognised by Lewald's critics as his *forte*. In his review of Parts 1 and 2 of the novel Gutzkow praises particularly those parts 'wo Lewald in sein eigentliches Genre, in die Manier seiner Aquarelle kommt'; another review, already quoted with reference to Lewald's sketches, refers to Lewald's earlier love of painting, and comments that 'die Feder ist an die Stelle des Pinsels getreten'.[373] A closely imagined scene describing Alfred's mock-heroic struggle through a rainstorm to call for the first time on the court theatre actor-director Leinweber, for instance, has pace as highly visualised prose, and could also transfer readily into a stage scene with wind machine and sound effects:

> Seine Haare, die sonst zu beiden Seiten der Ohren lang herabhingen, flatterten jetzt weit nach hinten im Winde, die kleine Kappe, die kaum den obern Theil des Schädels bedeckte, hatte ein lackirtes Leder, dessen Enden er im Munde hielt, welches jedoch nicht verhinderte, daß das Käppchen, von jedem neuen Windstoß gepackt und emporgerissen, wie ein Vogel über dem Haupte schwebte. (1,118)

The *Genrebild* without its cosier connotations but with its power of analytic observation of surfaces could still in the 1830s and 1840s be a close relation to the genre discussed in my first chapter of humorous pseudo-scientific *Physiologies* highly fashionable in Paris. In his foreword, the author cites the Parisian journalist Jules Janin's description of the lure of theatre life behind the scenes, where one can be an unobserved, closely observing onlooker and

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[372] 'Oliver Twist, oder Laufbahn eines Waisenknaben', *Europa*, 2 (1839), pp. 38; 39.
[373] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Erster und zweiter Band', p. 2; 'A. Lewald und sein Theaterroman', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 56 (1842), p. 222, col 1.

listener. The author too feels the lure of the *coulisses*. What goes on there provides material for an analysis of human behaviour: 'eine unversiegbare Fundgrube der Forschungen', 'ein Studium', 'eine humoristische Lasur' on life (1,vi): the phrases fit the *Physiologie* well. Couailhac's *Physiologie du théâtre*, published in the same year as *Theater-Roman*, focuses chiefly, like *Theater-Roman*, on 'ce qu'il y a derrière la toile de fond'. His *Physiologie* has little to do with stagecraft, but watches the 'actors' off-stage: the theatre personnel from the least to the greatest, and how they deport themselves behind the curtain. Couailhac ironically presents the backstage world as 'une espèce de terre promise', 'le sanctuaire'.[374] This is the audience's perception of it, an illusion of which his readers are disabused in what follows, as the reality beneath the make-up is exposed. For Janin as reported in the foreword to *Theater-Roman*, the 'Coulissen' are far from being a holy place. Their heady atmosphere threatens peace of mind:

> Sich hineinwagen [...] heißt, sich auf Tod und Leben in eine dumpfige Atmosphäre stürzen, die jeder um sein inneres Glück besorgte Mensch ängstlich vermeiden, oder nur mit ernster Vorsicht sich ihr nähern soll. (1,vi)

The author of *Theater-Roman* endorses this view: for sensitive people 'hat der Umgang mit Künstlern Beunruhigendes, Aufregendes — ja er kann unter gewissen Umständen sogar verderblich wirken' (1,vi). The novel explores these dangers. Observing the life of actors can, however, offer 'einen poetischen Lüstre um die schaalen Ereignisse des bürgerlichen Lebens' (1,vi). For Couailhac, as for Jules Janin and the author of *Theater-Roman*, the most amusing spectacle, and the one most worth watching, is everyday life, which is given an enhanced colour, even after the stage make-up has been removed, when enacted by those whose profession is already mimicry, disguise and role-play.

The close proximity and relative lack of inhibition between the members of a troupe as they prepare behind the scenes for rehearsal and performance engenders a lifestyle less bound by the constrictions of bourgeois morality: love affairs, friendships and rivalries are easily engaged in and easily dropped. The narrator's view of the effect the theatre has on impressionable young people like

[374] [Louis Couailhac], *Physiologie du théâtre*, p. 5.

Alfred could be applied to the uncharted nature of *Vormärz* society as a whole, allied perhaps to the concept described by Fischer-Lichte, a threshold experience where previously held certainties become blurred:

> Alles ist so abweichend von dem was man früher gesehen und erfahren, was uns gelehrt und gepriesen wurde, was uns zu thun und unterlassen befohlen, daß man sich unaufhaltsam den Eindrücken hingiebt und nicht im Stande ist, den Augenblick zu beherrschen. (3,284)

The theatre lays bare each person's true condition, but behind the scenes, where actors see each other literally both stripping and dressing up:

> Dinge, die der Arme, der Unordentliche, der Liederliche sonst sorgfältig vor seinem Nebenmenschen verbirgt, werden hier mit einer naiven Offenheit [...] zur Schau gelegt, daß darüber kein Zweifel obwalten kann. (3,286)

It is a paradox in *Theater-Roman* that in spite of actors knowing what lies behind the front each of them assumes, each persists in their chosen off-stage role in order to keep up appearances or to keep some control over their identities after all. The novel's backstage focus turns the spotlight onto the continuous act of social behaviour.

Couailhac's *Physiologie* is mostly of one typical, conglomerate, Paris theatre, while Lewald's novel provides a comprehensive 'natural history', classifying and analysing many species of the genus 'German theatre'. It is notable that one reviewer of *Theater-Roman* uses the language of anatomy to describe Lewald's close dissection of his subject: 'Er zerlegt eine Welt', and seems to perform what is all but a post mortem on the diseased body of German theatre. The reviewer describes:

> Seine Tendenz [...] den Körper der Bühnenwelt langsam zu skelettiren, die kranken und faulen Stellen im Organismus derselben aufzudecken und zu zeigen, wie wenig Mark in den Knochen dieses Körpers, wie wenig Saft in seinen Gefässen, wie wenig echtes Lebensblut in seinen Adern ist.[375]

[375] 'Theaterroman', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 72 (1842), p. 289, col. 2.

In key scenarios, three contrasting doctor figures in *Theater-Roman* embody the clear-sighted, ironic observation of the *Physiologie* and demonstrate how the medical paradigm of the *Physiologies* is apt for an analysis of surface phenomena that penetrates beyond them to yield a deeper understanding of society. One doctor is a quack, one represents an unprejudiced, non-judgemental view that cuts through social double standards, a third attempts to help those unfitted for the norms of contemporary society. Each highlights mistaken, malicious or hypocritical attitudes, and each inverts a social orthodoxy.

The first, Ladewitz, is a theatre critic who has bought his 'Doctor' title, not having the stomach for the 'Blutvergießen und Ekel' of medicine. He exchanges 'das anatomische' for 'das Hoftheater' where he 'dissects' the highly agreeable female dancers and singers he places 'unter das kritische Messer' (1,97). 'Doctor Ladewitz sollte unserem Alfred [...] den Staar stechen': he aims to cure Alfred of the idealist's cataract that clouds the newcomer's vision, and give him the clear sight of cynical self-interest. From Ladewitz Alfred learns the real state of corrupt interdependence between theatre cliques and critic: he learns how to favour influence over talent ('die großen Namen' over 'die namenlosen Größen'), how to influence opinion about a play by writing a review of it without actually watching it. The novel portrays Ladewitz's charlatanism and the corruption within which it flourishes as normal behaviour, a portrayal endorsed by Gutzkow in his review: 'das Intendanten-Cliquen-Rezensentenwesen ist mit köstlicher Laune und unwiderleglicher Wahrheit wiedergegeben'.[376]

As the *Physiologie* exposes by close examination the social body's hidden workings, the doctor attached to Wagner's town theatre company performs a physical examination of the most private and taboo in order to establish whether rumours of the singer Henriette's seduction and prostitution are true. The theatre's director is concerned only with the scandal Henriette's alleged behaviour has caused his troupe. He is willing to accept without proof that she is 'schändlich krank' with venereal disease, to which the doctor replies:

[376] Gutzkow, 'Theater Roman. Erster und zweiter Band', p. 2.

> Es giebt keine schändlichen Krankheiten, mein Vortrefflichster! Wir kennen chronische, acute, ansteckende, endemische, epidemische u.s.w., aber von schändlichen wissen die Lehrbücher nichts. (3,225)

The doctor, 'dem [...] diese Unterredung [...] Spaß zu machen schien' (3,228), stands alone as the voice of scientific impartiality and amused, tolerant knowledge of human nature. He counters the director's ready acceptance of what 'Alle Welt sagt' with 'Alle Welt lügt oft' (3, 226), offering an explanation of the rumours based on his understanding of petty jealousy and malice — a correct understanding. He stresses: 'Ein giltiger Beweis kann in solchem Falle nur auf den Grund und Boden der Wissenschaft geführt werden'. To this the gathered company respond, 'Was hat die Geschichte mit der Wissenschaft zu thun?' (3,231). The company members express hypocritical moral outrage at the still unproven rumours, refusing to perform with the prejudged Henriette, or to allow their wives to perform with her, because of the scandal:

> Männer, die bei gewissen Stellen in ihrem Ehekatechismus zu erröthen hatten, machten die eifrigsten Sittenprediger; Andere, die aller Sitte längst Hohn gesprochen hatten und die Gefälligkeit gegen Untreue und Verführung ohne Schaam zur Schau trugen, waren frech genug, von der Tugend ihrer Frauen zu sprechen. (3,241)

The doctor throws one actress's righteous indignation at Henriette's alleged behaviour back in her face by drawing a parallel between the stomach upsets from which she frequently suffers and Henriette's supposed offence: 'Die Art des Genusses macht, medizinisch betrachtet, keinen wesentlichen Unterschied' (3,232). It is the lies by which the brothel-keeper tries to keep alive false rumours that Henriette works there which makes the doctor himself at last echo the ubiquitous cries of 'Schändlich, schändlich' (3,235) — countering the prevailing hypocritical moral orthodoxy.

The third doctor is the director of the English asylum, whose close study and understanding of his patients' behaviour turns his 'madhouse' into a haven of sane practices: once more it is a 'scientific' doctor — unbiased and non-judgemental — who is instrumental in inverting accepted social orthodoxies.

For the analyst of surfaces, the relationship between theatrical and visual, written and graphic media is close. In his foreword, the author of *Theater-*

Roman depicts a poet behind the scenes, stripped of all romance as he tries to find rhymes and counts out syllables (1,v). The image matches Carl Spitzweg's 1839 portrait of a bespectacled, rather pitiable figure counting syllables on his fingers, metre chalked on the wall above the mattress on which he is hunched trying to keep warm.[377] Both shatter the illusion of a 'high art' existing in an exalted sphere separate from the mundane, and both are near-caricature images, though one is expressed in words, and one in paint.

iii. Carl Spitzweg, 'Der arme Poet' (1839), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek.

Wechsler describes through the example of Robert Macaire the process of cross-fertilisation between graphic art and writing, caricature and theatre that took place in France during the 1830s. Macaire starts out as a character in a 'bland melodrama' which evolves into a satire, and is taken over by the artist Daumier, who makes him into a figure caricaturing ubiquitous greed and manipulative self-interest in a series of drawings published, with words by Charles Philipon, in *Le Charivari* in Paris between 1836–1838.[378] Daumier's depiction of Macaire's gestures and grimaces transfers the actor's stock-in-

[377] Carl Spitzweg, 'Der arme Poet' (1839), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek. See Illustration iii.
[378] See *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 311 note 7, and Wechsler, *A Human Comedy*, pp. 85–91.

trade from the theatre to the social stage, the captions supplying miniature dramatic scripts. Lewald knew the series: he published eighteen of them, with a brief history of their origin, in *Europa* in 1837.[379]

Theater-Roman shares this cross-fertilisation between theatre, written description and graphics. The portrayal of the joyful but overwhelming emotions expressed by 'die Stumme' on finding writing materials left for her unexpectedly in her asylum room exemplifies how the narrator describes, in words, gestures as histrionic as those Daumier depicts graphically:

> Zuerst prallte sie zurück; dann stürzte sie auf den Tisch zu, ergriff eines nach dem Andern, was darauf stand, hielt es nah vor die Augen, drückte es an sich, küßte es, klatschte in die Hände, hüpfte umher, weinte, lachte, kniete nieder mit gefalteten Händen und sprang dann lachend wieder auf, um mit einer Hast die Feder zu ergreifen und zu schreiben. (5,79)

E. Hochdanz's pen drawings that illustrate *Theater-Roman* form a continuum from the visual writing of the text. They represent a current trend in publishing — Stuttgart led the way in exploiting book illustration as a selling point, a profit-led development that Gutzkow welcomed as a way to popularise good art and to make it more widely accessible and marketable without a lowering of standards, another means of reducing a perceived gap between the elite and the popular:

> so wird hier der Kunst eine neue Provinz, in der sie mit Ehren "nach Brod gehen" kann, zugewandt. [...] Die Industrie [publishing] tritt hier nicht mit dem Säckel allein auf, um Geld einzustreichen, sondern sie gibt den Künsten Gelegenheit, sich in geistvollen und ihre Popularität befördernden Arbeiten zu ergehen.[380]

In *Theater-Roman*, Hochdanz's drawings form frontispieces to each volume and are sparsely distributed throughout the novel. They are not the most up-to-date method of book illustration — wood engravings printed within the text as an integral part of it, as in Couailhac's *Physiologie du théâtre*, where

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[379] 'Robert-Macaire's', *Europa*, 2 (1837), 607–12 and 'die artistischen Beilagen', opposite p. 620. Lewald attributes both the drawings and the words to Philipon.

[380] Karl Gutzkow, 'Der neue Don-Quixote mit Holzschnitten', ed. by Martina Lauster, in *GWB*,*DG*, Schriften zum Buchhandel und zur literarischen Praxis (Exeter, Berlin: www.gutzkow.de, pdf version 1.0, 2008), p. 1.

they appear close to the text to which they immediately refer, as diagrams might in an anatomy book. By contrast the more conservative whole-page illustrations (steel plate engravings) in *Theater-Roman* reinforce the novel's theatrical mode, each illustration depicting a complete tableau with detailed faithfulness, as it might be presented by a stage designer or director. The illustrations match the novel's displacement of the theatrical from on- to off-stage events. Only three out of fourteen drawings depict a scene taking place on the actual stage, and even of these the real subject is a drama that lies behind the stage drama pictured. One captures the moment when offended vanity causes an older actress to strike a younger male colleague, turning a performance of *Kabale und Liebe* from tragedy to farce (1,opposite p. 265, see Illustration iv); one depicts a rigged benefit performance designed to move the audience to generosity, visibly orchestrated off-stage from the pit, in which an impoverished troupe presents its oldest-looking member with a tankard from the props to a script of moving speeches (frontispiece to 2, see Illustration v). The third shows up the ridiculously bad taste the supposedly taste-leading model theatre members display in their opening production (frontispiece to 4). In each of the three, the audience's responses are clearly shown; they are as much a part of the act as those on the stage. At least as much of the drama depicted takes place off-stage as on, an inversion epitomised in Daumier's painting 'Le Drame', where the stage becomes a background patch of light in which a stereotypical melodrama is being rather stiffly enacted, while the energy of the painting is in its portrayal of the spectators' spontaneous expressions of extreme emotion. Far from sitting in passive ranks, they are the painting's real protagonists.[381] A visual *mise-en-abîme* is set up, an interlocked sequence of watching and responding — the artist/observer watching the spectators/observers watching the stage show — in which the responses of the public are the most 'theatrical' (see Illustration vi).

[381] Honoré Daumier, 'Das Drama' ('Le Drame') [c. 1860], Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek. See Illustration vi.

iv. E. Hochdanz, pen drawing, *Theater-Roman* (1,opposite p. 265).

v. E. Hochdanz, *Theater-Roman* (frontispiece to 2).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

vi. Honoré Daumier, Das Drama (Le Drame) [c. 1860], Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek.

ii) Experimentation as adventure

Experimentation with mixed media and new forms of writing parallels an adventurousness in the way those aspiring to find their place in their changing society's new middle classes lived their lives — inventing sequential versions of themselves, exercising adaptive flexibility and embracing a variety of experiences. The geographical and occupational diversity of Lewald's own life is an example generously acknowledged by Gutzkow in his 1844 review of Lewald's *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*:

> Wer die Bekanntschaft eines Schriftstellers machen will, den froher Muth und ein reines Herz beseelen, wer den Genuß zu würdigen versteht, an der Hand eines Schriftstellers, der kein Stubenmensch, sondern im besten Sinne Weltmann war, ein Leben voll Abwechselung, voll gesuchter oder gefundener Abenteuer, eine Pilgerfahrt nach dem Lande der Schönheit, der Freiheit und des Glückes mitzumachen, der greife nach A. Lewalds gesammelten Schriften.[382]

[382] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', pp. 3–4.

Gutzkow saw connections between Lewald and other contemporaries who wanted to forge a new life for themselves, risked changes of direction, and found opportunities and a livelihood in the theatre. Eduard Jerrmann (1798–1859) turned from agriculture to acting, directing, writing and editing. Gutzkow comments on the 'Wagnis' and 'Anstrengung' of his attempts at being accepted on the Paris stage, though unsuccessful, and wonders at the changes he observes in him over Jerrmann's lifetime. He calls Lewald '[e]ine Jerrmann geistesverwandte Natur', pointing out that both were Jewish and from North Germany, and both readers of men: Lewald 'der weltgewandte Mann', Jerrmann 'ein Kopf voll [...] praktischer Kenntniß vieler in der Welt und im Menschenleben geltenden Regeln und Verhältnisse'.[383] Both apparently felt the need to turn their backs on their origins and make what they could of themselves where they could, the theatre proving pivotal for both. According to Gutzkow, of the two men the laurels for self-presentation go to Lewald, 'dessen Umgangsformen gefälliger waren als die Jerrmann'schen'.[384]

Another contemporary for whose enterprise the theatre offered opportunities was Karl von Holtei (1798–1880). Like Lewald he turned from the military to the theatre after Napoleon's defeat, and the two became friends in Breslau. Like Lewald, Holtei turned from acting to directing and writing. As director, actor and recitalist his travels extended even further than Lewald's, from Riga to Graz. For models of both men, Gutzkow looks to *Wilhelm Meister*, the travelling gatherer of experience, and shadow presence in *Theater-Roman*. Holtei in his thirties, fixated on the theatre in general and a Volkstheater for Berlin in particular, is 'wie ein zweiter Wilhelm Meister'.[385] Cusack quotes Gutzkow's linking of Holtei with Chateaubriand in a comparison which picks out the restless, improvisatory quality of both their lives and the completeness with which they gave themselves to it: 'beide schlürfen zitternd, aber mit Wollust den Becher, den ihnen das Leben mit herbem Weine füllt. Beide werden ewig jung bleiben.'[386] Cusack sees Gutzkow's comparison of the two men as suggesting

[383] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, pp. 99–100.
[384] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, p. 100.
[385] Karl Gutzkow, *Geflügelte Worte aus dem Leben* (1873), quoted in H. H. Houben, 'Neues vom alten Holtei', in *Schlesien. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für die Pflege heimatlicher Kultur* (1909/1910 [January 1910]), 251–55, 303–08 (p. 252).
[386] Karl Gutzkow, 'Chateaubriand' in *Oeffentliche Charactere. Erster Theil* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1835), pp. 55–84 (p. 63), quoted in Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei', p. 326.

'an interesting "modernity" of characters who are flexible and constantly on the move'.[387] Of Lewald himself Gutzkow wrote:

> Goethe hat solche Naturen wie Lewald in dem Figurenreichthum seines "Wilhelm Meister" angedeutet. Es ist die Vielgeschäftigkeit des Einen, die Geheimnißsucht des Andern. [388]

The reference is not complimentary in the context of the attack that follows on Lewald as mere speculator, pretending what Gutzkow sees as a spurious attraction to mysticism, but the connection between Lewald and Goethe's travelling apprentice holds good.

According to Gutzkow's review of *Theater-Roman*, Lewald's novel is born directly out of his personal experience of the theatre, not as autobiography, but in the sense that it is indistinguishable from his theatre experiences. Gutzkow's summary of the parallel between Lewald's life and the feeling the novel conveys about the theatre is highly perceptive:

> Ein ursprünglich freier, gebildeter, weltmännisch frühgereifter Kopf wirft sich aus reiner Abentheuerlichkeit auf die Bühne, macht, ohne den Beruf, sich als Darsteller selbst zu bewähren, alle Höhen und Tiefen des Künstlerlebens mit durch, sieht dem ganzen bunten Spiel der Theatermusen in die Karten und wirft zuletzt eine ihm so wenig zusagende, seinen Stolz demüthigende, seine schönen Kenntnisse und Talente in eine falsche Stellung bringende Laufbahn mit Widerwillen, ja mit Abscheu und Ekel von sich. In dieser eignen Erfahrung wurzelt das ganze Buch. Es hat uns mit Bewunderung vor dem ausdauernden Fleiße des Vfs., mit Achtung vor seinem Urtheil erfüllt, es hat uns heitere Stunden, wahrfhaft komische Momente verschafft, und doch, selbst bei aller anscheinenden Harmlosigkeit der Erfindung und Laune der Ausführung nur einen aus Wehmuth und Nichtbefriedigung gemischten Eindruck hinterlassen.[389]

The strongly negative balance of *Theater-Roman* is undeniable, but it does not prevent the novel from conveying a sense of driving, driven, excitement and energy in its form and narrative and about the theatre's potential, in spite of the satirical treatment it is given. There is relish in some of

[387] Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei', p. 326
[388] Gutzkow, *Rückblicke auf mein Leben*, Chapter 2, p. 100.
[389] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', pp. 4–5.

the actors' acceptance of an at least partly nomadic life, in seizing chances where they can, in making the most of whatever roles come their way with conviction and bravado. Whether or not the theatre offers a livelihood, however meagre, it brings relief from boredom, providing novelty and fantasy in place of tedious mundanity. The infectious fog of boredom that hangs over Pogenwinkel is banished on the day their amateur theatre opens:

> an diesem Tage sollte [...] dem gesellschaftlichen Leben ein neuer Impuls gegeben werden, der [...] den Dämon der Langeweile für immer vertilgte. (1,16)

An actor in Goldammer's troupe who might be facing destitution,

> der einem trostlosen Elende entgegengeht, das bei der leisesten Annäherung ihm schon deutlich den Abgrund zeigt, in den er einst hineintaumeln wird — dieser arme, unglückliche Mensch — er läßt Alles weit hinter sich zurück, wenn er Abends in das Ankleidezimmer tritt; so wie er die Theaterlumpen anzieht, ist er ein anderer; er schreitet wie ein Held, er hebt den Kopf wie ein König, [...] er ist ganz glücklich in seinem Wahne!
>
> Ohne diese Täuschungen, ohne diese Eigenthümlichkeit des Schauspielerlebens, wie wäre wohl so viel Elend zu ertragen? (3,55)

Balder sums it up: the reward for his largely thankless dedication as theatre director is a life filled with broad and intense experience: 'Bunte Ereignisse, merkwürdige Schicksale, trübe Erfahrungen' (5,257).

The novel's arch-adventurer is Lucile. Like a tragic hero

> trieb ihn nur fort der ungestüme Drang, das Leben kennen zu lernen, den unbekannten Feind aufzusuchen, dessen gewisse Begegnung uns dereinst bevorsteht, und den man nur so lange fürchtet, bis daß man sich mit ihm messen konnte, dann hebt Sieg oder Unterliegen jede Furcht auf. (1,45)

When he and Alfred are still in Pogenwinkel and poised to begin careers on the stage, Alfred with his father's blessing, Lucile against his guardian Krauthöfer's wishes, Lucile tells Alfred: 'Ich muß einmal meine Kraft ganz erproben, und sehen, wohin es führen wird' (1,47). Prompted by the unimaginative Alfred, who

persists in hearing his comments only at face value, Lucile expresses his thirst for extreme challenge, self-discovery and self-reliance entirely in theatrical terms. He wants '[e]ine eigene Selbstdirection', to be a wandering director, or 'Director und Gesellschaft in einer Person'. Alfred understands him to mean that he will be obliged to take on several roles on his own, 'so eine Art von Schauspieler wider Willen' (an allusion to the title of a play by Kotzebue).[390] Lucile's agreement evokes a level of reckless desperation, setting the tone for his dark struggle in the novel to create and remain in control of his fate.

> Ja, den Schauspieler wider Willen werde ich machen — es wird eine königliche Posse werden, über die ich selbst vielleicht am meisten lache. (1,47–48)

Lucile, consciously courting danger, embraces outrageous deceit with flare as a positive force with which to 'corriger la fortune' (4,6),[391] and in quoting the cardsharp from *Minna von Barnhelm* makes explicit connections between adventure, risk and gambling. 'Corriger la fortune' was necessarily a common pursuit among those aspiring to improve their lot, the confidence trickster's arts of trying on, brazening out and carrying off implicit in the process of adopting any new role, on-stage or off. The fact that 'Spiel' can signify a game, an acted play, and gambling underlines the close relationship between the three: all suggest activities that are distinct from the habitual tasks of everyday, with rules of their own that involve players in unpredictability and risk. In the nineteenth-century English of *Vanity Fair*, the word 'play' is used for 'gambling', an activity which features particularly large in the life of the novel's character Rawdon Crawley. He is skilled at games of chance, acting the loser until he has lured others to try their luck with him, and then playing a winning hand. He and his wife possess, for a while, the secret of 'How to live well on Nothing a Year'.[392] Rawdon's gambling helps, but chiefly the couple gamble on the reputation of a rich relative, and on maintaining the outer show of a non-existent prosperity while paying no-one: a bluff made possible by the strength of social snobbery.

Lewald devotes two of his *Aquarelle* to gambling, in sketches which evoke both its staginess and the dramatic changes of fortune it brings about. In

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[390] August Kotzebue, *Der Schauspieler wider Willen* (Leipzig: Kummer, 1803).
[391] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Minna von Barnhelm oder das Soldatenglück* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), IV.2.17.
[392] Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, pp. 418–43.

one, ‘Das Glück in Baden’, the author describes how the spa’s combination of rural naivety ‘neben dem Glanz der großen Welt’ creates ‘eine Scenerie zu einem Shakespear’schen Lustspiele’. He combines a jibe at the dearth of contemporary playwrights with an appreciation of the theatricality of contemporary spa society:

> Hätten wir jetzt noch Theaterdichter, sie würden längst diese Poesie unsers modernen Lebensdrama’s gehörig erkannt und gewürdigt haben.[393]

The moral tale focuses on the glamour of the gaming room, contrasting the destructive lust for gold which takes hold of rich and poor alike with the superior blessing of money given away in acts of spontaneous generosity — a benign vision that contrasts with the ironic disillusion of both *Memoiren eines Banquiers* and *Theater-Roman*.

Another sketch, called simply ‘Spiel’, describes gambling’s irresistible lure, whether one wins or loses, its extremes of ecstasy and desperation, its secrets involving false identities and hidden, illicit locations — as well as the total penury to which it must lead. The tale is interesting for its empathetic portrayal of the narrator’s attraction to gambling as a carefree young man, and for his emphatic later rejection of it: ‘Glückliche Zeit der Jugend! — Ich habe seitdem nicht wieder gespielt’.[394] In the semi-autobiographical dedicatory passages in *Aquarelle* entitled ‘Ina’, mentioned earlier, the writer looks forward to enjoying the evening of life with the dedicatee, in domestic peace, having garnered his experiences. The passages evoke a world-weariness and a desire for a new, more settled life. and seem thinly disguised autobiography. The second, published in 1837, expands on designs for a modest but comfortable villa to retire to: in the same year Lewald reports to Heine about the ‘kleine, bescheidene Villa’ he is building, ‘um dort meine Tage zu beschließen’.[395] It is tempting to find in ‘Spiel’ and the ‘Ina’ passages a foretaste of the contrast between the driven adventurousness of Lucile and the home-loving compromise of Alfred in *Theater-Roman*, and, in all, the reflection of a conflict within Lewald himself.

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[393] Lewald, ‘Das Glück in Baden’, in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II, 140–49 (p. 140).
[394] Lewald, ‘Spiel’, in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, IV, 231–54 (p. 254).
[395] Lewald, ‘Ina’, in *Aquarelle aus dem Leben*, II and IV; Letter from Lewald to Heine, Stuttgart, 9 June 1837, in *HSA*, XXV, 53–54 (p. 54).

Intent on correcting fortune, Lucile twice assumes disguise in order to escape from a scandal-fraught past and maintain control of his life, awarding himself an inflated identity to suit court theatre snobbery and the model theatre's cultural pretension respectively. In the *Residenzstadt* Krauthöfer's servant meets Lucile who is disguised as the English Lord Puks, yet, even though Lucile's improvised acting is quite crude — he suddenly assumes a 'congenital' distortion of the mouth when he realises the servant recognises him (1,279) — the part he plays gives him time before he is discovered. After discovery he quickly readjusts, enlisting the servant's help as go-between with notes to his half-sister Hortense, pretending he is in love with her, as a cover for his plan to persuade her to flee from Krauthöfer and search for their mother together. As soon as one disguise's usefulness is past, he slips straight into another.

Hortense promises Krauthöfer to 'cure' Lucile of his (pretended) love for her. When she and Lucile finally meet, she has disguised herself as a pietist beggarwoman.

> Bald ward es ihm aber klar, daß hier eine Komödie mit ihm gespielt werden sollte; er erkannte die Maske und ging mit sich zu Rathe, welche er für sich zu wählen habe. (1,325)

Lucile decides to play along until he judges the moment right for his purpose:

> Hier gilt es — dachte er bei sich — wer den Andern zuerst nöthigt, die Maske abzunehmen und sich in seiner wahren Gestalt zu zeigen. (1,327)

In the end, one demasking brings on the other. Still maintaining his own mask as the infatuated Lord Puks, he demands: 'werfen Sie fort die Maske — die Sie entstellt', to which Hortense responds: 'So werfen Sie auch die Ihrige fort — Sie sind nicht Lord, nein! sondern ein Schauspieler' (1,332). Their collusion in each other's disguise is not the impartial 'willing suspension of disbelief' of a theatre audience, but an unspoken pact all the same to pretend to believe in the other's pretence, while each continuously adjusts and responds, resulting in interactions and mutual manipulations in order not to be wrong-footed and to maintain one's advantage. Each has the dual role of spectator and actor, and must keep up with an ever shifting situation through alert improvisation: a

process that fits Fischer-Lichte's description of theatre as a live interaction whose outcome can never be fixed and predictable.

When by chance Lucile, in his assumed identity as *Regisseur* Schröder-Eckhof von Gerning, meets Alfred and Erlinde on the run from scandal disastrous to their reputation, he extends to them the stage-manager's control he has been practising in his own life, promising them, 'Euer Glück ist gemacht, durch mich gemacht' (4,6). He intends to introduce them to the Mustertheater and find them employment in it. He soon has Alfred transformed into 'Alfred G....', suggesting a birth distantly connected in some way to the great man, and Erlinde into the daughter of some unnamed but famous singer married to a German aristocrat. Alfred's own black clothes and varnished boots are sufficient for his role, provided he adds 'die unerläßlichen Handschuhe von Frische-Butter-Farbe' (4,7) that signal the dandy, and of which Lucile keeps a supply at the ready. Erlinde must choose from a collection of fine women's clothes and jewellery which Lucile also happens to have — how he came by them unexplained. At first Alfred protests: 'Aber Lucile — diese Lügen — wozu denn solche Lügen?' (4,5), but very soon he comes to admire Lucile's bravado and inventiveness and to recognise that these characteristics, which he now sees as qualities, are indispensible if one wants to move up the social scale:

> Was für ein Mensch! sagte er zu sich. Stets in diesem Strome der abenteuerlichen Lüge — ein Dichter von nie versiegender Erfindungsgabe. Allein er hat Recht; wer es nicht so macht, wie er, schwingt sich nie zu den lichtern Höhen der Gesellschaft. (4,8)

The audition Alfred faces is not for any stage role he may be offered but for his off-stage role — his assumed credentials must convince his drawing-room audience of off-stage actors, who in turn are involved in impressing each other with acts of their own. Lucile impresses upon Alfred that his fate is in his own hands: 'Spiele nur Deine Rolle gut und keine Gefahr ist für Dich vorhanden. Zeige jetzt, daß Du ein Schauspieler bist' (4,6). The right choices in self-presentation are crucial, carrying them off needs conviction and skill, and involves a gambler's risk. Gutzkow picks up the gambling metaphor in his review: the novel's author 'sieht dem ganzen bunten Spiel der Theatermusen in

die Karten', and does not like what he sees.[396] The metaphor has wider implications in the novel. A gaming table, at first hidden under covers, then laid bare, is central to Krauthöfer's grand scheme to entrap Lucile, and seems to symbolise both the glamour and danger of any act risked. Krauthöfer loses the gamble at this point, while the less adventurous Alfred as yet plays no part: his father watches him, 'der als bloßer Zuschauer an der Glückstafel stand' (2,70). In *Memoiren eines Banquiers* business deals exemplify the risks associated with material gain: in *Theater-Roman* too the characters must participate in games of chance or, like Alfred, act out an onlooker's half-life.

Ultimately Lucile is unable to control fortune's wheel: his cover is blown by the discovery of the truth about his humble, scandal-ridden origins (4,252). However ready the model theatre company are to believe the absurdly incredible illustrious lineage Lucile has chosen for himself, once the mask is stripped off, his act and their belief in it are unsustainable. The reader is left guessing the reasons for Lucile's assumed suicide at the end of the novel: whether it is the loss of face that follows his unmasking, or the tedium of a life without the glamour and excitement with which he embellished it, or the effort of continuing the struggle, or perhaps that he had met 'den unbekannten Feind' face to face and there was nothing left worth challenging. In any case, his life to the last is characterised by the adventure, dark crimes and awful punishment Lewald's *Entwurf einer praktischen Schauspielerschule* ascribes to melodrama:[397] a man's body, recognisable 'an den elenden Kleidern' as the stranger who has recently been asking where in the graveyard Krauthöfer lies, is found one winter's day on Krauthöfer's grave, shot in the head. His identity is unconfirmable, but presumed. A suitable music is provided for his melodramatic end: 'Der wüthende Orkan, der die ganze Nacht über geheult hatte' drowns out the sound of the shot (5,273).

In one of the novel's inversions of the expected, it is in the sub-plot about Lucile and his family that extreme heights and depths of experience are portrayed, while the 'main' character Alfred, whose career the narrative follows most closely, is mediocrity incarnate. Alfred has none of Lucile's driven desire to write and act his own life's script. He seems enclosed in a happy romantic

[396] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 4.
[397] Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 285.

dream-cloud — ‘er war ganz Glück, ganz Liebe’ —, complacent in his good looks and fortunate background: ‘Nichts in der weiten Welt störte ihn: er erblickte vor sich eine geebnete Bahn, die ihn zum Ziele geleiten sollte’ (1,44). His role seems given and assured. Nothing suggests that he is prepared for major efforts of adaptation, and, in contrast to Lucile, whatever befalls him he remains ultimately an onlooker at fortune’s table. His onlooker status is a useful tool in the novel’s tour of different kinds of theatre, but beyond this technical function reveals a lack of the wholehearted commitment necessary if one is to test one’s strength, like Lucile, to create for oneself a more interesting or glamorous part in life, and act it to the full, for better or worse. Alfred vacillates. At one moment in the *Residenzstadt* he confides to his diary his envy of Lucile, whose ‘tolle[.] Laune’ has already driven him to the first bold steps of his career, and who has already tasted ‘den Schaum des süßen Bechers’ (1,292); Alfred expresses his own disillusion with the court theatre, and his resolve to throw over the opportunities he still believes await him there, seek out Lucile and try his luck with him. The sound of his visiting father’s voice wafting in through the window, expressing faith in his son’s career as a member of the court theatre, quickly makes Alfred reverse his decision, to please his father: ‘Nein, ich will Lucile’s abenteuerliche Bahn nicht einschlagen’ (1,297). His cry from the heart: ‘Du sollst stolz auf mich seyn [...] edles Pogenwinkel’ (1,298) expresses an ambition limited by provinciality. He delays his acting *début*, trying too late to enlist Leinweber’s help just when his erstwhile protector has turned against him. He admires Bodenlos and falls for his foster-daughter Erlinde, but cannot make the decision to throw in his lot with what he sees as a crude outfit, lacking respectability. He would like to see Bodenlos’s adaptive adventurousness tamed into something less offensive to convention:

> Wäre es denn nicht möglich, dachte er, den Alten in eine ordentliche Bahn zu bringen? ihm den siegenden Beweis zu führen, daß es praktischer sey, die mannigfachen Gaben und Talente, die ihm und den Seinigen zu Theil wurden, auf würdigere, der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft wohlgefälligere Weise auszubeuten, und am Ende größern Vortheil und mehr Ehre davon zu ziehen? (3,44)

Comparing Alfred to Hamlet, Balder sees a tendency to excessive analysis and a resulting lack of action as a disease of modern society:

> Vor lauter Untersuchen, Forschen und Ueberlegen kommen Sie gar nicht zur That. Das ist eine Art von Sucht oder Krankheit, die sich der heutigen jungen Welt überhaupt bemeistert. (2,187)

In this contemporary context Balder sees 'etwas Philiströses' in Hamlet's behaviour, suggesting that nothing strong or effective can come from a lack of commitment. He encourages Alfred, but fears the youngster knows what is good, 'ohne jedoch die Kraft zu besitzen, es um jeden Preis zu wollen' (2,186). His fear is confirmed when he and Alfred meet years later at a spa: Balder comments, 'Ich hätte Ihnen doch mehr Beharrlichkeit zugetraut' (5,259).

On leaving Pogenwinkel, Alfred appears as an archetypal impressionable young man from the provinces learning unexpected lessons about the falseness of the world, but his innocence is relative. He is capable of disingenuous behaviour in his own interest. When Lucile runs away from Pogenwinkel, Alfred keeps silent about it, worried it could affect his own plans, and keen to preserve what he sees as a potential future source of help: 'So meinte [...] der kluge, stets auf seinen augenblicklichen Vortheil bedachte Alfred' (1,64). He readily meets compromise and dissimulation half way when it is offered to him. After spending several weeks as spectator at the court theatre, 'ohne noch immer nicht den eigentlich entscheidenden Schritt gewagt zu haben' (1,95), he allows himself to be side-tracked from his acting ambition by the corrupt theatre critic Ladewitz, who offers him work of an attractively undemanding kind: 'ein freies, unabhängiges und leichtes Geschäft' made 'noch angenehmer und leichter' by the advice the old master gives him (1,98) — advice that teaches Alfred to fit in with the stale, sycophantic distortions of the truth which are the court theatre norm (1,99). As already described, Alfred quickly changes his attitude to Lucile's 'lies' when he sees the advantage in them to himself. He is as watchful for his own interests, as ready to act a part, as the novel's more blatantly self-seeking characters: it is lack of imagination and initiative that hold him back rather than integrity.

In his love-life Alfred follows the line of least resistance: he flirts in Pogenwinkel with his cousin Klotilde; in Zempelburg he embarks on what is understood to be a serious courtship of Henriette, recovering from her

abandonment of him quickly and adjusting to a life shared as man and wife with Erlinde while he is away from home, but whom he cannot acknowledge openly on his return to Pogenwinkel, obliging her to share a room in an inn with her father while he stays alone in his father's house. Erlinde notes, 'Was Gestern noch sich schickte, schickte sich Heute nicht mehr!' (5,162): the need to comply with convention overcomes Alfred in his home town, acme of narrow provinciality. Eventually his respectable cover becomes indistinguishable from his reality. On first returning to Pogenwinkel, everything about Klotilde jars on him, and he wonders at his early attraction to her: 'wie war das wohl möglich?' (5,157). Immediately after separating in tragic mode from Erlinde however — in a scene in which Erlinde represents dedication to her art above all else — he sees Klotilde in a different light: with distant echoes of Werther's Lotte, he glimpses her 'mit einer Kasserole in der Hand, in der sie Mehl und Butter zur Abendsuppe zusammenrührte'. This symbol of domesticity causes him to revise his earlier impression, thinking 'auch hier ist Poesie'. He recalls Goethe's poem,[398] which seems to endorse his narrower, cosier interpretation of happiness (5,253–54):

> Willst Du immer weiter schweifen?
> Sieh, das Gute liegt so nah –
> Lerne nur das Glück ergreifen –
> Denn das Glück ist immer da.

Klotilde is comfortably familiar, and on hand: Alfred marries her.

Theater-Roman begins with a parody of a guide-book history of Pogenwinkel and its somewhat swampy situation, to which the dread disease of boredom adds its lethal fumes. In Part 5, it draws its son Alfred back into its stifling small-town atmosphere in beautifully narrated stages. From the first sight of his home town's most visible landmark, its slightly out-of-true tower, Alfred becomes 'ungemein sentimental' (5,151). He starts to see his theatre companions with Pogenwinkel eyes — fearing the blunt Bodenlos's potential 'mich meiner theuren Vaterstadt auf ewig zu entfremden' (5,153), unable to acknowedge his relationship with Erlinde. His reclamation is complete when, back in his father's house, he hears the voices of old familiar objects speaking

[398] Goethe, 'Erinnerung', in *Goethe's Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand*, 40 vols (Stuttgart, Tübingen: Cotta, 1827–30), I (1827), 67.

to him in pathetic fallacy — each exemplifying, with the author's eye for accurate stage decoration, old or overdone provincial bad taste: the banisters 'mit den Löwenköpfen, die ihre Zunge herausstreckten', 'das räucherige Bild vom keuschen Joseph' (5,158). Everything seems to call to him:

> Sieh, wir haben uns so schön und blank hingestellt, um Dich zu begrüßen, damit es Dir bei uns wohlgefalle und Du nicht mehr ausziehest in die böse, kalte Welt, wo Dir Dein Herz so oft zerfleischt wurde und Deine schönsten Hoffnungen zerrannen und sich in trostlose Täuschungen auflösten. (5,159)

He paints an ideal version of a quiet life of domesticity lived without extremes of passion in the confines of a closed community, and persuades himself that this after all is the right role for him. For the reader, the passage conveys a powerful feeling of claustrophobia beneath spurious idealisation:

> Die Heimath, diese stille häusliche Glückseligkeit hat mich mächtig ergriffen; hier ist der wilde Brand der Leidenschaft zerstückt in kleine Flämmchen, die das Daseyn angenehm erwärmen; hier lodert kein Haß, hier schleicht keine Feindschaft; alle Menschen lieben sich wie Verwandte und kümmern sich um einander bis in's Kleinste; Nichts kann der Eine unternehmen, was nicht Alle wüßten, von dem nicht Alle sprächen — wie lieb und traut — [...]. Mir thut es wohl, meinen lieben Mitbürgern einen Gegenstand ihrer Neugier abzugeben [...]. Ich will ihnen darin nicht nachstehen und ihnen dafür eine gleiche Aufmerksamkeit widmen. (5,252–53)

The well-worn path of old routine does not bring Alfred happiness. His life of faint-hearted compromise can be only partially satisfying. He enjoys the pleasures of family life 'nur halb' (5,268). 'Das thatenlose Leben [...], die ruhige Langeweile, die ein kleinlicher Egoismus um ihn gewoben hatte' wear him out more quickly than 'das überhäufteste Geschäft mit Aerger und Zerstreuungen aller Art' could have done (5,256–57). As a young man Alfred has a dream after an inadequate stage performance: he sets out in a poor vessel for a beautiful distant shore, while others sail past him in magnificant ships. The hazards and vicious antagonism he must face to get to the shore drive him back to his starting point (3,99–102). During his life he is swept about on conflicting currents, as in his dream, the desired destination ever

beyond his reach, and on his death bed his dream recurs. Alfred cries out for applause in place of the barrage of stones that are hurled at him: his doctor humours him by leading Alfred's final audience, his wife and children, in clapping: 'er schlug laut die Hände zusammen und die Andern stimmten ein, wie man im Theater Beifall klatscht' (5,271). Alfred's last act is perhaps his truest performance, the recitation of an apt lament from a 'damals eben erschienenen Drama' on the realisation at death that strengths have been squandered. Its pathetic final words are also Alfred's: 'Kein Beifall? Noch kein Beifall? Tod und Verd...' (5,272). His family respond with more clapping, and Alfred dies to the sound of well-meaning but fake acclaim.

4. Illusion

Alfred and Lucile both lead lives that are illusory in different ways: Lucile acts out bold disguises; Alfred accommodates himself to dissimulation and compromise, plays no part with complete conviction, and settles with a degree of self-deception for the half-satisfaction of comfort and respectability. Both friends need the support of externals — the 'props' of clothes, objects, names — to sustain their acts and endorse their roles. With these props they can survive, without them — when the model theatre members see Lucile stripped of his assumed identity, or when Alfred is without his homely bearings, 'at sea', as in his dream — they are lost.

The social acting of Alfred and Lucile — and of most of the novel's characters — is contrasted in *Theater-Roman* with a different kind of performance that needs neither props nor words: the pantomime and dance of Lucile's mother 'die Stumme' and her daughter Hortense. Lucile describes to Alfred how his mother used to perform, 'das, was man den pantomimischen Tanz nennt [...]. Du kannst Dir nichts Ausdrucksvolleres denken' (1,50–51). Lewald uses the same term in his *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule* to describe 'Ballett': 'Kunstzweig, in welchem das ausdruckvollste Mimenspiel und die bezeichnendsten Bewegungen statt der Worte eine Handlung versinnlichen'.[399] The asylum doctor watches 'die Stumme' dancing, unobserved, in her room: her features are transformed 'zum wahrhaft Idealen', her expression 'von einem unendlichen Zauber umflossen', and he finds her solitary performance, 'ohne alle äußern Mittel', enormously affecting (5,70). In *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, 'Pantomime' is closely linked to 'Ballett', and is characterised as expressing wordlessly through gestures emotions of joy, enthusiasm, grief and pain. 'Die Stumme' can speak — she talks the night before her death when she is reunited with her daughter — but until then, consciously or subconsciously, she has dispensed altogether with speech, which in the novel is more often than not used to distort and disguise and is not to be trusted. She has found a means for conveying 'neat' emotion — the unadulterated and unqualified transmission of what she is feeling from moment to moment. Her daughter Hortense, 'die berühmsteste und schönste Tänzerin der Epoche', develops the medium of

[399] August Lewald, *Entwurf zu einer praktischen Schauspielerschule*, p. 287.

dance, systematically, to an even higher level of immediacy, where ‘Kunst und Künstler als eines und untheilbar erscheinen’ (5,3):

> Sie hatte den modernen Tanz reformirt, indem sie statt der banalen Tanzhieroglyphen, deren Entzifferung oft dem gereiftesten Kenner schwer werden muß, eine Zeichensprache setzte, die jede Leidenschaft wahrhaft durch Bewegung und Gesichtsausdruck zu verkörpern verstand. (5,5)

The spontaneity and continuously creative improvisation of Hortense’s dance eludes the attempts of those spectators who try to analyse and classify its choreography, while the tumultuous applause it receives testifies to its immediacy and power. Both dancers seem to model an alternative, ideal, form of communication that is the antithesis of the debased or downright false currency of contemporary social exchange — a system of signs that *reveals* natural feelings rather than concealing them. It has no need for outer masks or disguises, and does not demand of the watcher the canny ‘reading’ and second-guessing arising from the mutual mistrust or confusion of normal human interactions, since the interpretation of feelings transparently expressed is unambiguous. The performances of ‘die Stumme’ and of Hortense are described in detail as intensely affecting for performer and audience alike: alone among the novel’s cast of actors their stage appearances are given an importance in the narrative equal to their off-stage lives. When the narrator dwells on Alfred’s early stage appearance in *Preciosa*, it is in order to illuminate his off-stage character. In sharp contrast to the dancers, Alfred feels acutely self-conscious about his body on stage, nerves makes him clumsy: his ‘body language’ has none of the natural fluency and clarity of theirs.

If Alfred embodies a lack of conviction in his acting both on and off the stage, ‘die Stumme’ and her children represent the total commitment Balder knows that true art demands. He sums up to Alfred: ‘Die Verbindung mit der Kunst muß auf Tod und Leben seyn; man muß sich für sie in den Feuerpfuhl stürzen können’ (5,265). For ‘die Stumme’ there is no choice but to submit to immolation. In the asylum she writes a confessional memoir, fragmented and incoherent as a narrative, but joining together what for her is one indivisible passion: love, including the pain of jealousy and betrayal, art in general and her own art in particular. She decries vanity as folly, and the outer trappings of

social status as ‘Unnatürlich! Unnatürlich!’, compared with natural nobility and beauty:

> Was ist ein goldener Löwe gegen ein edles Herz? Was eine Krone gegen einen schönen Geist? Was ist Alles gegen die Liebe? gegen Schönheit — Würde — Anmuth! (5,84)

She feels herself to be art incarnate: ‘Nun war ich die Kunst!’ (5,85). She is incapable of the artificial behaviour practised by other characters in *Theater-Roman*, whether she is performing or not, and, paradoxically, her performances are more ‘natural’ than the artfulness of their everyday lives, more authentic, her whole being more coherent. She emphasises a contrast in the novel between art and artificiality, showing true art to be closer to the natural nobility the author sees repressed by the falseness of modern social norms, the ‘lächerliche Satzungen, [...] denen wir uns [...] mit Aufopferung unserer edelsten Gefühle unterwerfen’, of the the novel’s foreword (1,x). At the opposite extreme, Pisjahn, director of the most de-natured of theatrical institutions, believes artificial flowers superior to natural as a tribute to Hortense on her birthday:

> Natürliche — die schönsten, kann im Sommer jeder Bauer seiner Bäuerin schenken. [...] Aber Nachgemachte — o köstlich! Alles durch Kunst für die Kunst! (1,165-66)

In a world with such inverted values, the truth of ‘die Stumme’ is undervalued and misunderstood. She is overwhelmed by its power, driven towards madness by a world which sees in her art not the destructively consuming passion it is for her, but mere delight for themselves in the artistic illusion she creates: ‘ich verloderte an dem innern Feuer und die Welt hielt mein Verbrennen für Etwas, woran sie sich ergötzen sollte’ (5,85). ‘Die Stumme’ and her children demonstrate in different ways the unsustainability of idealism in the material world, and the dangers of self-revelation. ‘Die Stumme’ forfeits her sense of self and any control over her fate even more completely than those who perform artificial roles and interactions on the social stage. Her passion and her art consume her to the point where she wants out: she relinquishes responsibility and becomes completely passive, giving herself to anyone who wants her:

> Und ich wollte die Welt verlassen — aus der Welt gehen und machte mich auf den Weg. So reiste ich denn fort und fort und wer an der Straße harrte und mein begehrte, der sollte mich haben. (5,86)

She describes the children that result from this bleak policy — the symbolic prostitution of art — as 'Söhne und Töchter der Kunst' (5,86). Of her three children — Lucile, Erlinde and Hortense — Lucile seems to share his mother's possessed temperament, but he is driven by personal ambition rather than art. An aura of Lucifer rather than of light surrounds Lucile, suggesting a fall from whatever enables 'die Stumme' to raise herself 'zum wahrhaft Idealen' in performance, but both experience the 'wahrhaft dämonische Macht' (5,61) that can lie in the exercise of an actor's art, and neither mother nor son can find a tenable place within conventional society.

By contrast with their brother, Lucile's half-sisters Erlinde and Hortense represent aspects of artistic commitment. Hortense shares her mother's beauty and her gift for dance, and seems at first to be capable of achieving an equilibrium between giving her all in performance and keeping her head. She is canny and knows how to look after herself — 'Hortense war klug und kannte ihr Herz und die Welt' (1,200). In place of the outward 'Pracht und Glanz' of the tedious affairs that are a concomitant of her position at the court theatre, she yearns for light-hearted romance and adventure, 'stilles Glück, geheime Abenteuer, etwas Gefahr, Poesie, Romantismus'(1,201), and at first she fits the novel's comic modes, mischievously initiating switches of identity that result in false situations of farcical complexity, open to Lucile's plan to escape the *Residenzstadt* in search of their mother. As for Hortense's art, like 'die Stumme', she seems transfigured when she dances, and achieves 'Seligkeit' (5,47), but there is an underlying harmony to her expressiveness:

> den innern Harmonien, die sie durchströmten, allein folgend, vollendete sie ihre große, heilige Handlung, gleich einer reinen Priesterin der Gottheit. (5,48)

Unlike 'die Stumme', Hortense can retain her sense of self amid the tumultuous applause she receives. She accepts society's adulation, and submits to the necessary post-performance performance, in the expected bejewelled costume, without losing sight of her current mission to find her mother. In spite of this,

Hortense joins the cast of the narrative's off-stage 'Rührstück' in the novel's final part: she is reunited with 'die Stumme' in the asylum just long enough to witness the devastation her mother's career has wrought and to be present at her death. Her equilibrium is shattered:

> ich konnte wähnen, daß die Kunst da sey, die Menschen zu beglücken, und ich auch bildete mir ein, diese Zauberkraft zu besitzen! — O pfui, pfui! über die Selbstsucht und Täuschung! (5,119)

She now sees in art even of her own highest sort only vanity and illusion, and only its too great risks. She is appalled, for her mother and for herself: her mother's death will always remind her 'welche Gefahren mich umgaben, in der lachendsten, verlockendsten Gestalt' (5,119). She chooses to reject both art and society, finding refuge in a remote convent where she eventually becomes a respected and pious nun: 'Sie hatte sich Ruhe errungen, und Ruhe ist immer Gewinn' (5,130).

Erlinde, brought up to perform whatever role her guardian Bodenlos demands of her, but not primarily a dancer, appears until the final part of the novel as a rather pitiable, easily dominated character, but her role has also the tragic pathos of unadorned honesty in a world where pretence is the norm. She takes Alfred's infatuation for her at face value, as the love he declares it to be, but looks truth in the face when, having fled from Bodenlos, she sees Alfred does not love her as he did. She robustly discounts the prospect of marriage that Alfred, 'nicht ohne innern Schauer', feels duty bound to hold out for the future, asking only that he allow her to stay with him:

> Ich? Dein Weib? [...] O, warum dieser Hohn? oder — diese Falschheit? Lasse mich nur immer in Deiner Nähe; meine Wünsche reichen nicht so hoch. (3,268)

Her qualms about dressing up for their new identities to impress the model theatre company are greater than Alfred's: 'Sie bebte davor zurück' (4,8), and are overcome only by total submission to Alfred's will. Yet, though willing to share Alfred's uncertain nomadic life as long as its aim is artistic — a life in the theatre — she can no longer submit to him when she sees he has given up his quest in favour of the easy familiarity of small-town life. She at last expresses

her nature fully with mature self-knowledge in the extended speeches of a parting scene — a pastiche of high drama in suitably elevated language. Her honesty does not allow for self-deception once she sees the truth, however painful: she sees separation from Alfred is inevitable and it is she who takes the decisive step.

> Wir wollen einander nicht täuschen, [...] — ach es fällt genug Täuschung, absichtlich und unabsichtlich in unser armes Leben und auch das Unsere war nicht frei davon. (5,243)

She herself has willingly deluded herself: 'ich sah die Selbsttäuschung ein'. In another fleeting allusion to *Wilhelm Meister* she tells Alfred she can no longer play 'die Rolle der Entsagenden': 'Die Macht der ersten Täuschung ist dahin; sie kehrt nicht mehr wieder. Lebe wohl!' (5,246). Her bitter reply to Alfred's claim that she is irrevocably restricted by the ruinous influence of her upbringing, sets her unambiguously on the side of nature rather than artificiality:

> Was Gutes und Schlechtes an mir ist, ist mir angeboren, ich eignete mir nichts Fremdes an und entäußerte mich keiner einzigen meiner Eigenschaften. (5,249)

Unlike Alfred, Erlinde has the wit to separate reality from illusion. When Alfred acts the part of her lover in *Preciosa*, like Klotilde in Pogenwinkel he confuses poetic illusion and reality. He takes 'Alles für Wahrheit' (3,115), and gives Erlinde/Preciosa, with whom he is in love both in and out of role, a kiss too real for the stage. Now she sees that for him she is 'nur das Zigeunermädchen, nicht Preciosa, die Glanzumstrahlte' (5,245). It would be a tormenting enactment of falsehood for her to remain with him in Pogenwinkel trying to recreate the early illusion with which he fell in love, and to tolerate Pogenwinkel's travesty of art, an 'Afterbild der Kunst': 'Hier Komödie zu spielen, achte ich der Zwangsarbeit gleich, ja der Folter' (5,248). She sums up the impossibility of art flourishing within the petty restrictions of Pogenwinkel life:

> Wie kann die Kunst gedeihen, wenn wir sie aus dem freien, ihr ursprünglich angehörenden Bereich in die Engen des kleinlichen Lebens verpflanzen! (5,251)

Alfred too comes to see his recent experiences as 'Täuschung', but his view is the mirror image of Erlinde's. For him artistic endeavour itself is the illusion: he looks back on his theatre experience almost as a hallucination which has now vanished, revealing Pogenwinkel mundanity as the desired reality:

> Meine kurze Bahn, die ich durch's Kunstgehege that [...] hat meinen Sinn erhellt, meinen Kopf genüchtert. Wohl mir, daß ich die kurze Täuschung nicht theuerer erkaufte. (5,250)

Years later Alfred glimpses Erlinde on her way to work at a spa theatre, clearly living with children of her own in abject poverty on the fringes of society, but having remained faithful to her art whatever the cost. She dies, unnoticed and unremembered. The report of her death ends the novel: 'sie verschwand unbemerkt von der Scene; Niemand fragte nach ihr, Niemand gedachte ihrer' (5,274). Erlinde's whole life leaves no trace, of herself or her art, behind it: she embodies the 'Flüchtigkeit' Fischer-Lichte identifies as inherent in any performance, whose nature is of necessity 'transitorisch, ephemer und vergänglich'[400] since body and voice, the means through which it works, are no longer present after the performance ends — like Prospero's 'insubstantial pageant', whose spirit actors melt 'into air, into thin air'.[401] The narrator of *Theater-Roman* describes how the actor makes his very person 'zum Kunstwerk', 'wo der Moment es schafft, um es im nächsten Momente wieder vernichtet zu sehen' (5,60). The essence of the actor's art is the continuous creation of such fleeting, illusory, moments — 'eine Kunst der Täuschung' (3,76–77). In the novel, with the possible exception of its practice in the asylum, the illusory art lacks the benign, redemptive, quality of Prospero's revels. Apart from Hortense's dance and the early pantomime of 'die Stumme', even the morally neutral 'illusion' as an aesthetically convincing phenomenon is barely represented. Whether 'authentic' or 'inauthentic', acting is presented in a negative light: Erlinde and Hortense, who try to dedicate themselves to truth in their art, and 'die Stumme', who has no choice in her madness but to put her deepest feelings on show, fare no better than Alfred and Lucile who settle for compromise or deception on the social stage. All experience in some way the inconsequence or misguidedness of their efforts — Ecclesiastes' 'all is vanity',

[400] Fischer-Lichte, *Theaterwissenschaft*, p. 24.
[401] Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Methuen, 2011), IV.1.155; 150.

life as Bunyan's as well as Thackeray's Vanity Fair. Hortense, who at first seems best equipped among the novel's characters to exploit and enjoy fully the possibilities of performance both on- and off-stage, ultimately rejects most whole-heartedly the illusory distractions of both society and art, stripping her life of everything but religious devotion and service to others. She alone among the novel's cast finds the antidote to human vanity and delusion in rejection of the world according to religious faith. For the rest of the cast of *Theater-Roman*, as for that of *Vanity Fair*, the religious dimension is absent. Carey suggests 'ennui' as one name for the more general 'sense of worldly vanity' portrayed in *Vanity Fair.*[402] 'Langeweile' is the element from which the whole *Theater-Roman* narrative arises in Pogenwinkel, and into which Alfred at least sinks back at the end. Acting, first presented as a means of escape from tedium's demotivating grip, is shown by the end of the novel either as a fragile disguise covering layers of nothing much, or as a destructive, destabilising force which endangers those who practise it — leading again to nothingness. Hortense, Erlinde and Alfred use the word 'Täuschung' with negative connotations, to convey deception, self-deception and deliberate deceit; delusion; pretence; and, by implication, as illusion's after-effects, disillusion and disappointment.

Early in the novel Lucile's guardian Krauthöfer warns Alfred's father forcefully against encouraging Alfred to pursue a theatrical career. Krauthöfer's outburst helps to set up the novel's yoking of on- and off-stage acting by ascribing to actors many of the foolishnesses and weaknesses the author enumerates in his foreword as characteristic of mid-nineteenth century society:

> Wenn die Schauspieler mit dem Leben spielen, in ihm charakterlos und unbeständig erscheinen, so glaube nur sicher, daß sie es wirklich sind. Die Fähigkeit, die sie besitzen müssen, sich in jede Gemüthsverfassung augenblicklich werfen zu können, muß ihrem ganzen Nervensystem eine so besondere Reizbarkeit verschaffen, von der wir eben so wenig einen klaren Begriff uns machen können, als von dem Geruchssinn der Hunde. Sie müssen falsch seyn, wie wir es im gemeinen Leben benennen, ohne daß sie es selbst wissen, und ohne daß man's ihnen wie uns als ein Verbrechen anrechnen darf. [...] [W]er heißt uns mit Offenheit Schauspielern vertrauen. Sie sind lose Lästermäuler, Spötter,

[402] John Carey, 'Introduction' in *Vanity Fair*, p. xxi.

> Plaudertaschen, sie prahlen mit deiner Freundschaft, ohne Rücksicht darauf, was Dir daraus erwachsen könnte; sie verschließen kein Geheimniß, wenn sie Eitelkeit, verwundete Eigenliebe, Rachsucht antreibt, sie sind mißtrauisch — feig — kriechend — schlau.
>
> [...] Und nun erst ihre Stellung im Leben! [...] Die Schauspieler bilden einen Staat im Staate, eine Gesellschaft in der Gesellschaft. Sie werden von den andern Ständen nur in so weit geduldet, als sie zu ihrem Vergnügen beitragen müssen; darüber hinaus, hört ihre Geltung auf. Lädt man sie ein, so will man, daß sie ihre Kunstübungen auch dort fortsetzen, wo die Bretter der Bühne aufhören. Ihr eigentlicher Werth, wenn man davon überhaupt sprechen will, ist doch nur dort zu suchen, wo sie ihre Kunst üben, sie sind nur das, was sie eben vorstellen, wischen sie die Schminke ab und ziehen sie die Theatergarderobe aus, so hören sie eigentlich auf zu seyn und sind dazu verdammt ein gespenstisches Scheinleben zu führen. (1,34–35)

Krauthöfer's view of the theatre as a state within a state, a society within a society, rather than implying that actors are a breed apart, suggests they are all but indistinguishable from 'actors' whose performances on the social stage constitute most of the novel's narrative. An absence of inner substance; inability to distinguish between truth and invention; the need to project roles that have become expected of them; vanity, malice and self-interest — all are well represented among the novel's characters. Krauthöfer's exposition is wholly negative. He sees an actor's life as a 'närrische[s] Fratzenleben' (1,32), his role that of a grotesque fool. Actors 'play with life', like reckless gamblers, and what at first seems like a 'Spiel zur Unterhaltung' is a misery impossible to throw off once it becomes 'Lebenszweck' (1,32–33). The prodigious effort and commitment devoted to 'diesem Spiele' amount in the end to nothing more than insubstantial soap bubbles (1,33). Krauthöfer sees only a void beneath this game of pretence: continuously simulating observed and imagined feelings corrodes selfhood, trust and honesty, spawns falseness, and results in an altered sense of reality, the dividing line between deliberate deception and the pretence of assumed roles no longer clear. Discussing the concept of 'character' in Gutzkow's 1835 *Oeffentliche Charaktere*, Cusack identifies how it is used 'normatively, as an overarching term encompassing a range of desirable

qualities including integrity, resolve, purposiveness and constancy'.[403] Actors, as Krauthöfer depicts them, lack these qualities. They appear 'charakterlos und unbeständig' and lead nothing but a shadowy half-life once stripped of their make up. Their 'eigentlicher Werth' might be sought in vain, they are 'nur das, was sie eben vorstellen'. They may qualify as 'das, was man Charakter im Leben benennt' (1,xi) — namely the projection of something that is mistaken for character – but clearly are not the real thing.

The highly negative balance of Krauthöfer's outburst early in the novel foreshadows the overall outcome of *Theater-Roman*. There is relish and humour in the novel's depiction of its characters' absurdities, in its aptly applied varieties of pastiche, in its astutely witty critique of the court theatre institution and of pretension wherever it lies. There is affection in descriptions of the poorest travelling troupes, where some *esprit de corps* survives; respect in the portrayal of Balder's sustained integrity against the odds, and proselytising zeal in the novel's 'Excurse[n]', notably those relating to society's hypocritical attitude to 'fallen women'. There is enthusiasm in descriptions of the art of 'die Stumme' and Hortense, and even a glimpse of Utopia in the English asylum, though it is a Utopia threatened by the 'normality' of some of its residents who see in 'die Stumme', as a former professional performer, a threat to their amateur status, and express malice and jealousy: 'man hätte schwören sollen unter den vernünftigsten Zuschauern sich zu befinden' (5,75). Only those who combine single-mindedness with clear-sighted compromise survive. Balder, the real hero of the novel, sees his own integrity retained at a price so high and with results so intangible that he will not allow his sons to follow his calling. Bodenlos gets along, just, by rejecting pretension and snobbery, embracing the nomadic existence echoed in his name, and setting himself the practical ambition of simple survival for himself and his family, by means of ready adaptivity. He tells Alfred:

> In mir sind zwei Menschen, oft auch mehr [...]. Bin ich genöthigt meine Künste vor dem Pöbel zu zeigen, so versetze ich mich ganz in den Charakter; gebe ich mich mit etwas Besserem, Höherem ab, so werde ich selbst besser und höher. Ein Schauspieler oder Schausteller —

[403] Cusack, 'Gutzkow and Holtei', p. 325.

> nennen Sie es wie Sie wollen — muß stets das ganz seyn, was er eben seyn will — seyn muß. (3,28–29)

He will admit to being either actor or showman as circumstance demands, unlike characters in the novel who put on a show but might not admit it to themselves**.** Bodenlos has no problem crossing from 'high' to 'low' art and back again. His conscious imperative to be able to respond efficiently to any opportunity does not blur his fundamental sense of purpose: he can play any role without losing himself in illusion or self-delusion. His robust outlook and versatility could be seen as a representation of one model for modest survival in contemporary society. It is a model of realist individualism rather than idealistic social co-operation, but one which allows Bodenlos a degree of both integrity and control over his circumstances.

Machol, a caricature Jewish moneylender at the court theatre, is also a survivor. He sustains a function and a living in his community by his skilful manipulation of its foolishnesses and weaknesses, based on an unblinkered reading of human nature and thorough information-gathering. If the borderline between honest trade and confidence-trick is blurred in his transactions, it is because society's folly allows it, indeed needs it — Machol is 'der Ordner der innern Angelegenheiten an der großen Theatermaschine' (1,203), without which, it is assumed, the machine might grind to a halt. In the face of sobriety and integrity he is powerless: Balder is the only member of the court theatre with whom he has no dealings, and Machol recognises him as 'eine Ausnahme — ein Revenant in unserer jetzigen Zeit' (1,212). Most are well aware that Machol's manoeuvres exploit their vanities, but willingly go along with them to keep up their own appearances, bluff feeding bluff.

In *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Meister complains with disillusionment:

> Man spricht viel vom Theater, aber wer nicht selbst darauf war, kann sich keine Vorstellung davon machen. Wie völlig diese Menschen mit sich selbst unbekannt sind, wie sie ihr Geschäft ohne Nachdenken treiben, wie ihre Anforderungen ohne Grenzen sind, davon hat man keinen Begriff. Nicht allein will jeder der erste, sondern auch der einzige sein, jeder möchte gerne alle übrigen ausschließen, und sieht nicht, daß er mit ihnen zusammen kaum etwas leistet: jeder dünkt sich wunderoriginal zu sein, und ist unfähig, sich in etwas zu finden was

> außer dem Schlendrian ist; dabei eine immerwährende Unruhe nach etwas Neuem. Mit welcher Heftigkeit wirken sie gegeneinander! und nur die kleinlichste Eigenliebe, der beschränkteste Eigennutz macht, daß sie sich miteinander verbinden. Vom wechselseitigen Betragen ist gar die Rede nicht; ein ewiges Mißtrauen wird durch heimliche Tücke und schändliche Reden unterhalten; wer nicht liederlich lebt, lebt albern. Jeder macht Anspruch auf die unbedingteste Achtung, jeder ist empfindlich gegen den mindesten Tadel.[404]

This is the world as presented in *Theater-Roman*: social actors who lack substance, have overblown ideas of their own importance and talent, yet resist anything new, who are hugely presumptuous, vain and pettily self-centred, co-operating with each other only when their own advantage depends upon it, who are mistrustful, treacherous, secretive, scandal-mongering, frivolous or debauched. Jarno sees in Meister's portrait of actors 'nicht das Theater, sondern die Welt', as the author of *Theater-Roman* sees the world at large as if it were theatre. In language closely echoed in Krauthöfer's words, Jarno finds unforgivable in society at large, but defensible in actors, the behaviour Meister has come to abhor:

> Wahrhaftig, ich verzeihe dem Schauspieler jeden Fehler, der aus dem Selbstbetrug und aus der Begierde zu gefallen entspringt; denn wenn er sich und andern nicht etwas scheint, so ist er nichts. Zum Schein ist er berufen, er muß den augenblicklichen Beifall hoch schätzen, denn er erhält keinen andern Lohn; er muß zu glänzen suchen denn deswegen steht er da.[405]

Once more, the behaviour of the characters in *Theater-Roman* is not in itself modern, but whereas *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* demonstrates an enlightenment trust in the possibility of growth and change for the better — in the novel and its sequel the theatre and acting are abandoned in a search for workable personal and social ideals — in *Theater-Roman* there is no abandoning the theatrical: acting, with all its inauthenticity and volatility, is the unavoidable condition in which modern society functions. A leisurely exploration of Utopian ways of being is not a viable response to the unpredictable demands

[404] Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, in *Goethes Werke*, VII, 433–34.
[405] Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, in *Goethes Werke*, VII, 435.

of a society whose old parameters are dissolving, whose new are increasingly material, and where each individual must come up with an appropriate performance from moment to moment to survive.

5. From *Vormärz* to *Nachmärz*

In his review of *Theater-Roman*, Gutzkow, for whom the theatre was becoming increasingly important, sees in the novel only an unjustly negative attack on actors and theatre life. He acknowledges that the novel's negativity about the theatre reflects the 'Abscheu und Ekel'[406] in which the author's own theatre experiences resulted, but he does not discuss the novel's wider target to which the author points in his foreword and epilogue — society at large. A letter from Lewald to Heine soon after the publication of *Theater-Roman* confirms that it was not only the theatre towards which Lewald came to feel such revulsion, but life in general. He feels alienated from his former activities and acquaintance, and disillusioned:

> Ach, lieber Heine, wie ist jetzt Alles so Anders. Ich bin erdrückt von Arbeit, Alter und Krankheit — ich bin nicht mehr wie sonst und es ist Alles nicht mehr so! Ich habe wenig Umgang und noch weniger Freunde. [...] Ich sehe keinen Menschen bei mir und Alles beschränkt sich nur auf Promenadenbekanntschaften. Ich bin sehr gemißbraucht worden und habe die wüschtesten Erfahrungen gemacht, und da ist's besser so zu leben. Meine Käthe [Lewald's wife] ist mein einziger Freund und Gesellschafter.[407]

Earlier in the letter he asks Heine for his opinion on 'meinen Theaterroman', a copy of which he is having sent to his friend direct from the publisher. He seems to expect Heine to see the novel's broader relevance: 'Ich höre so Viel darüber von Freunden Sie allein werden wissen was ich damit gewollt'. According to the editor's commentary on this letter, no critique of the novel by Heine has come to light.

Lewald's good humoured enthusiasm has become soured in the years since his 1838 letter to Gutzkow, in which he looks forward to writing his farewell novel 'con amore'. *Theater-Roman* seems to represent a turning point in Lewald's life: its satire and parody are ebullient, but present a fundamentally pessimistic view of a corrupt society in which it seems almost impossible to thrive without participating in its corruption. Whereas *Vanity Fair* and *Nicholas Nickleby* portray not only society's absurdities, but its malice and evil, with an

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[406] Gutzkow, 'Theater-Roman. Dritter, vierter und fünfter Band', p. 5.
[407] Letter from Lewald to Heine, Karlsruhe, 10 January 1842, in *HSA*, XXVI, ed. by Christa Stöcker (1975),15.

exhilarating relish, *Theater-Roman* does not. The narrator of *Vanity Fair* acknowledges that beside the exuberant public bustle of his Fair there exists a more sober reality, but declares it his 'amiable object' to walk with his 'brother wearers of motley' through the Fair

> to examine the shows and the shops there; and that we should all come home after the flare, and the noise, and the gaiety, and be perfectly miserable in private.[408]

His narrative is to be enjoyed. In *Theater-Roman*, even allowing for its author's delight in shocking, and the novel's satire, there is a strong feeling of distaste in the descriptions of the court theatre director Pisjahn and the critic Ladewitz, for instance, and a bitter flavour, as has been suggested, evident in the narration of the spiteful intrigues against Alfred and Henriette.

If the date Fanny Lewald records can be relied on, in 1845 she found her cousin in excellent spirits that belie his lament to Heine three years earlier, or perhaps represent his 'swan song' during a brief period of affluence which seems not to have lasted.[409] The villa he had designed for his and Käthe's retirement was near completion, he was about to withdraw from the editorship of *Europa* and from journalism altogether and was enjoying, according to Fanny, 'die Aussicht auf ein sorgenfreies und behagliches Alter'.[410] She describes him performing with zest his old favourite roles as refined cosmopolitan, good humoured *animateur*, and knowledgeable man of experience, changing from one to the next as if 'bei dem Schütteln eines aus vielfachen Elementen wunderbar zusammengesetzten Kaleidoskops'. He holds court among journalists and other writers, playing up 'mit komischer List' his avoidance of a woman he does not wish to talk to, while drawing in another he does; pronouncing on the nature of modern opera and the only right way to make coffee, swapping *risqué* theatre anecdotes with an old acquaintance. Then, alone with Fanny, he becomes 'der ältere Verwandte und der treue ehrliche Berater': the role he also adopted, in essence, towards Gutzkow. Fanny sees him as someone entirely at home in these roles:

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[408] Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, p. 211.
[409] Cruse gives 1841 as the date of the cousins' meeting. Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 21.
[410] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, III: *Befreiung und Wanderleben*, 82.

> Daß ein Mann von dieser Vielseitigkeit der Interessen, von einer solchen Fülle des Wissens und von dieser Leichtigkeit und Eleganz der Mitteilung zum Redakteur einer Zeitschrift wie geschaffen war, mußte jedem einleuchten. Er war nicht eigentlich gelehrt, aber er hatte sehr viel und mit Geist gesehen und erlebt, viel Menschen gekannt, war höchst unterrichtet, voll eigener scharfer Beobachtung und verstand das Zusammenfassen und das Folgern in der glücklichsten Weise.[411]

Yet during this same visit, Lewald expresses his belief, in Fanny's words, that the 'Hinblick auf ein Unendliches, Mächtiges und Allweises' was indispensible to emotional life ('Gemütsleben'). Fanny traces a 'Zug zu dem mystisch Unbegrenzten' in her cousin back to his youthful flirtations with secret societies such as the Illuminati or Rosicrucians. Writing after he became an ultramontane Catholic in 1860, she accepts that his conversion was strongly influenced by his Catholic wife, but sees it as a progression entirely in keeping with his nature:

> als ich später erfuhr, daß er auf den Wunsch seiner katholischen Gattin, an der er mit großer Liebe hängt, zum Katholizismus übergetreten sei, habe ich darin nur eine konsequente Entwicklung seiner Natur, nicht etwa eine Laune oder gar eine Berechnung gesehen. Er ist Katholik und Monarchist aus seiner innersten Natur heraus. Das konnte man später recht deutlich erkennen, als das Jahr achtundvierzig herangekommen war; und welche Wandlungen er auch durchgemacht, er ist sich, d.h. seiner Wesenheit, in denselben ganz entschieden treu geblieben.[412]

Fanny recognises a deep-seated conservative tendency in Lewald — a tendency which has its parallel in *Theater-Roman*, where strong effective leadership carries it off over ineffectual democracy. The tendency presupposes a hierachical system that balances submission to a higher authority with expectation of obedience from those with less authority. Lewald succeeded, with a struggle, in submitting to the directorate of the Stuttgart court opera in the 1850s, while demonstrating a rather over-sensitive awareness of the obedience owed to him from those of lower rank. His belief in a clear hierarchy makes his submission to papal authority as pious ultramontane credible: more difficult to take at face value is his complete submerging of the strongly independent

[411] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, III: *Befreiung und Wanderleben*, 283.
[412] Fanny Lewald, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, III: *Befreiung und Wanderleben*, 284.

outlook and ‘Menschenkenntnisse’ he himself valued so highly, hard won through experience, and expressed so vividly in his writings up to and including *Theater-Roman*.

Unlike Fanny, Gutzkow could not see any integrity in Lewald’s conversion. In his 1871 diatribe he charges Lewald with converting ‘aus Charakterschwäche und träger Nachgiebigkeit gegen die äußern Umstände des Lebens’. Unlike Fanny, Gutzkow gives the impression that Lewald succombed ignominiously to constant nagging from his wife, and he sees as ‘Selbstbetrug’ Lewald’s claim that his early attraction to mysticism and formative friendships with mystic Catholics were manifestations of a natural affinity with Catholicism. Gutzkow sees the conversion motivated wholly by self-interest: peace at home, and, perhaps most importantly, ‘eine Menge von hübschen Absatzquellen [...], die bei den Buchhändlern N.N. bereits versiegt waren’.[413] It is true that the kind of imaginatively observed writing of Lewald’s sketches, hailed by Gutzkow as the dawn of a new refinement in German letters in 1836, and the larger than life satire and free structures of *Memoiren eines Banquiers* and *Theater-Roman* were no longer in fashion. Even as a journalist Lewald seems to have lost his cutting edge. His reports from the Frankfurt parliament in 1848 and 1849 for Cotta’s *Morgenblatt* reveal his old strength as his new weakness: their genial tone of leisurely, almost *flâneur*-like observation characteristic of his earlier sketches now seems out of place among the pressing, fast-moving political concerns of the revolutionary period. He wrote to Cotta:

> Ich werde nicht das Detail der einzelnen Reden u Discussionen wiederzugeben suchen, für welche Dinge gewiß schon Vorsorge getroffen ist; sondern ich gedenke mehr die characteristische Seite einer jeden Sitzung aufzufassen, die Stimmung welche herrscht hervorzuheben, und anbei den hervorragendsten Persönlichkeiten auch der Darstellung ihr Recht widerfahren zu lassen.[414]

A glimpse of the pain of adjustment is provided when he complains angrily to Cotta that one of his reports has been passed over, making it no longer relevant. Cotta delegates the task of placating Lewald.[415]

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[413] Gutzkow, ‘Eine männliche Gräfin Hahn-Hahn’, p. 6.
[414] Letter from Lewald to Georg von Cotta, Frankfurt/Main, 14 May 1848, Marbach, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Cotta-Archiv (Stiftung der Stuttgarter Zeitung).
[415] Letter from Lewald to Cotta, Frankfurt/Main, 4 January 1849, Cotta-Archiv.

After nearly two decades of earning his living as a freelance through journalism and writing, it is unlikely that Lewald would have chosen to take up an appointment as *Regisseur* at the Stuttgart court opera if he had not needed a steady income. He held the post from 1849 until he was at last able to retire on a pension in 1863. His personal file confirms that the years were beset with illness and quarrels, with a few moments of his old relish, especially when in Paris, or elsewhere away from the *Residenzstadt*. His editor's instincts were still strong: he edited the conservative *Deutsche Chronik* during this time,[416] and was involved with the editorship of the *Frankfurter Oberpostamtszeitung* during the 1850s. In a letter to a contributor he shows his habitual awareness of the need to adapt, chameleon-like, to his public:

> Unsere Stellung ist in der Politik: grossdeutsch, conservativ (was man so nennt); dann Katholisch, aber durchaus nicht polemisch oder gar gehässig gegen andere Bekenntnisse. Dabei haben wir — in Frankfurt — sehr schonend u vorsichtig aufzutreten, um uns im Orte selbst Freunde zu werben.[417]

With permission from the King of Württemberg, he tried energetically to set up a serious arts journal, which appears to have come to nothing. His request to be allowed to carry out this project demonstrates the punctiliousness with which he had come to apply the letter of his contract as *Regisseur*, with how much irony or whether through gritted teeth must remain speculation:

> Der g. U. [gehorsamst Unterthänige] erlaubt sich die Bitte zu stellen, ihm zu gestatten die verantwortliche Redaction eines periodischen Werkes "Süddeutsche Hefte für die Kunst u ihre Litteratur" übernehmen zu dürfen, welches alle Zweige der Kunst u mithin auch die dramatische, auf dem Standpunkte des kunstgeschichtlichen Bodens u nach wissenschaftlichen Prinzipien in Betrachtung ziehen wird. Da es sich hierbei nur um wahrhafte Förderung des höhern Kunstinteresses handelt, so glaubt der

[416] Rosenthal, *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, I, 1012. According to the *Lexikon deutsch-jüdischer Autoren*, Lewald edited the *Deutsche Chronik* during the entire period of his post at the Stuttgart court opera, from 1849 to 1863. *Lexikon deutsch-jüdischer Autoren*, ed. by Renate Heuer, 21 vols (I–VI, Munich: Saur, 1992–2008; VII–XXI, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009–13), XV (2007), 356–81 (p. 357).

[417] Letter from Lewald to Hyacinth Holland, Stuttgart, 7 December 1858, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Hyacinth Holland (1827–1918) Nachlass: 29 Briefe von August Lewald an Hyacinth Holland — BSB Hollandiana A.1. Lewald, August (1855–1871).

> g. U. daß die von ihm nachgesuchte Bewilligung den im 41sten. § der Disciplinar-Gesetze vorgesehenen Fällen nicht widerspreche.[418]

Lewald's entry in Rosenthal's *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert* confirms that he was approaching Catholicism throughout this time, and cites as evidence that an edition of Brockhaus's *Conversations-lexikon* mistakenly brings his conversion forward eight years to 1852, the date given also by Cruse.[419] In 1861 Lewald's new role as writer of works with a conservative Catholic tendency was launched with the publication of *Tornister-Büchel. Dem Kaiserlichen Heere gewidmet*,[420] a specially designed volume of pious exhortations slim enough to fit into the knapsacks of Austrian soldiers. A series of novels and volumes of reflection and memoir followed. Most were brought out by the Catholic publishers Hurter in Schaffhausen and were reviewed most regularly in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, the journal founded by Joseph Görres, another liberal turned ultramontane, and carried on by his son Guido after Joseph's death in 1848. After 1861 Lewald was largely ignored by the journals that had reviewed his earlier works.

The failed 1848 revolution had made a repositioning inevitable as hope for liberal reform vanished and the main proposals for German unification became increasingly polarised: 'großdeutsch' to include both Austria and Prussia, 'kleindeutsch' excluding Austria and favouring Prussian control — the model provided by the Paulskirche constitution. Whatever the motivation for Lewald's conversion, it is likely to have been complex: part resignation — the desire for personal and domestic peace, a desire for a clearly defined and unchanging role in his old age; part material practicality, as Gutzkow suggests – the prospect of being able to make a living again by writing; but also part rebellion – a decision to continue to look outwards beyond the borders of 'Kleindeutschland' in a stand against what he experienced as intolerant, exclusive Prussian Protestantism, in solidarity with those resisting Prussian domination.

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[418] Letter from Lewald to Hohe Königliche Hoftheater-Intendanz, Stuttgart, 15 January 1855, Kgl. Hoftheater Stuttgart: Personalakten/1780-1915, E 18II, Bü 613

[419] Rosenthal, *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, I, 1014 note 2 (continued from previous page); Cruse, *August Lewald und seine zeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 22.

[420] August Lewald, *Tornister-Büchel. Dem Kaiserlichen Heere gewidmet* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1861).

The chapter in *Theater-Roman* in which Alfred prepares for his *début* with Wagner's theatre company is headed by a motto sending up the ease with which a change of costume can bring about a change of identity:

> Drauf zog ich mir Pluderhosen an
> Und war ein gläubiger Muselmann
> Ich wand mir den Turban um den Kopf,
> Und nahm mich vor Freuden selbst beim Schopf;
> Ich steckte die lange Pfeif' in's Gesicht
> Und rief erlöset: "Nun bin ich es nicht!" (3,146)

The lines are from a poem by Leopold Schefer (1784–1862), 'Der Ex-ewige Jude',[421] which satirises a nineteenth-century kind of free-thinking in which switching religion is as simple as switching clothes. Earlier in the poem, a disenchanted Muslim sets the weary eternal Jew an example by becoming a Christian in 'Halstuch, Frack und enger Hos', in place of his Turkish trousers. After the Jew's self-wrought salvation, he sinks happily into old age at last and settles down, becoming a Turkish stereotype, a tobacconist. How much Lewald's Catholic persona was based on conviction and how much was a performance executed with both aplomb and relief, like that of the 'Ex-ewige Jude', must remain an open question, but in any case his conversion could be seen as one man's way of dealing with the failed 1848 revolution.

[421] Leopold Schefer, 'Der Ex-ewige Jude. Bekanntmachung in der Smyrna'schen Zeitung' [unpublished, 1841], Bernd-Ingo Friedrich, kulturpixel.de, Der Dichter Leopold Schefer, 7. Scheferiana, <http://www.kulturpixel.de> [accessed 17 September 2013].

Conclusion

This chapter will offer a summary of my interpretation of Lewald as an analyst of *Vormärz* society who repays study both as innovator and as representative of his time, and for whom a claim that he was one of the period's key 'Kronzeugen und Akteure'[422] would not be unjustified. It will suggest possibilities for further research into Lewald's Vormärz writing and beyond, and towards a coherent biography, and highlight aspects of a broader overview of the period generated by my attempt to see Lewald's life and work in their contemporary context.

August Lewald's importance as journal editor in the 1830s and 1840s is already recognised. This dissertation has tried to show that his own writing also was in the vanguard during the *Vormärz* period. He was hailed by his contemporaries as master *Genremaler*, his style in the manner of the French *Physiologies* acknowledged as innovative and influential; he was ahead of the field in taking on controversial contemporary themes in bold fictional forms, and possessor of acclaimed expertise and experience in areas which equipped him exceptionally in these undertakings. His contribution has long been due for reassessment, especially since the development of interdisciplinary studies from the 1970s which in turn fed the holistic approaches of an increased focus on *Vormärz* writing over the last decades. Seen in its historical, social and cultural context, the experimental aspect of the *Vormärz* — Stein's '"Labor"-Zeit' again[423] — is salient. The proliferation of new kinds of writing, in particular of journalistic forms that depended on being of immediate topical relevance and interest, is witness to an intense, innovative literary activity that belies Robertson/Purdie's comment on Young Germany: 'in the history of literature it is an era of comparative depression'.[424] Their value judgement that dismisses Lewald and a fellow writer and editor of the younger generation in the same breath as 'little more than journalists'[425] becomes irrelevant in a literary climate where a

[422] Stein, '"Kunstperiode" und "Vormärz"', p. 50.
[423] Stein, '"Kunstperiode" und "Vormärz"', p. 49.
[424] J.G. Robertson and Edna Purdie, *A History of German Literature*, 4th edn (Edinburgh, London: Blackwood, 1962), p. 420.
[425] Robertson/Purdie, *A History of German Literature*, p. 431. Hermann Marggraff is the second writer thus dismissed.

preconceived idea of 'high' and 'low' art was being replaced by a non-hierarchical aesthetic of inclusiveness, and of immediacy of expression from life to page, from specific, lived, context to specific impact. From the perspective of current understanding of *Vormärz* writing, Lewald is at the cutting edge.

Lewald was credited with lifting German style towards the admired French model. Gutzkow acknowledges it in his review of *Panorama von München* quoted in my first chapter, when he describes Lewald's combination of elegant refinement and depth of insight into the human condition, seeing in his style 'die Hülle einer genialen Neuerung in der Literatur, welche wir wahrlich nur diesem Namen verdanken'.[426] He is repeating 'was über A. Lewald schon so oft gesagt worden ist' when he hails him as 'der beste Genremaler unserer Literatur'.[427] Lewald's gift for highly visual word-painting, combined with his 'Sinn, sich das Aeußere einzuprägen und ihm Bedeutung zuzumessen',[428] made him receptive to the close observations of surface phenomena that characterised nineteenth-century French *Physiologies*, a receptivity enhanced by his early schooling in French language and culture, and by his own wry humour. The influence of the *Physiologies*, their humorous examinations of social 'specimens' and behaviour, is felt in Lewald's *Album aus Paris*, making its author, in 1832, one of the earliest and best equipped German writers in a style and form whose influence would be felt in later *Vormärz* sketches, and in Lewald's own later writing. An unbroken, live continuity from what he is observing to its description, as if he were transmitting to his readers what he sees as he sees it, is recognised in his own and contemporary critics' comparisons of his sketch-writing technique to that of watercolour painting with its immediacy of transmission from object to paper.

Throughout the 1830s, Lewald continued to be a prolific writer of sketches. On the grounds of his mastery of the form alone, a broader study of his sketch output would be worthwhile and enjoyable: given Lewald's up-to-the-minute awareness of current trends, it would also contribute to knowledge and understanding of *Vormärz* contexts countless further insights into the tastes, concerns and personalities of the period. The sketches are currently available as microfiche facsimiles of first or early editions — original editions are rare,

[426] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur,* I, 308.
[427] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 310.
[428] Lewald, G*esammelte Schriften* / *Ein Menschenleben*, I, 17.

internet downloads from them random and unedited. A modern selection and edition is due.

At least a further footnote to *Vormärz* culture, yielding information about currently popular and accessible literature, could be provided by tracking down the mottos in Lewald's writings and following up the contemporary significance of their sources. In the three works discussed in this dissertation Lewald makes use of an eclectic collection of mottos, some attributed, some not, that add ironical spice to what follows — the 'Altes Cours-Blatt' with its columns and figures that replaces a literary reference at the start of *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, for instance, and the reference to Schefer's 'Der Ex-ewige Jude' escaping from his unwanted identity in *Theater-Roman*, discussed at the end of my third chapter. *Theater-Roman* alone boasts seventy-nine mottos, including classics that might be assumed to be generally known, and some of the latest publications and translations.

Mottos in *Album aus Paris* refer to French writers from Montesquieu to the contemporary popular and controversial songwriter Béranger,[429] reflecting Lewald's immersion in a wide span of French culture. His status as transmitter to Germany of French stylistic elegance has been discussed: countless reports in his sketches and journals establish him also as up-to-date analyst of the broad French cultural scene. He made translations and adaptations of works by French authors, among them Beaumarchais and the leading contemporary Parisian critic Jules Janin: translation of an essay on Mirabeau is included in a collected works of Victor Hugo to which Beurmann, Laube and Büchner also contributed.[430] His role as mediator of European culture was not confined to France, as his journals, especially *Europa* and *Atlas* vividly demonstrate. Reviews in *Europa* following promptly on translations into German of Dickens's works testify to Lewald's awareness of, and contribution to, the author's enthusiastic reception in Germany — the narrator's satirising in *Theater-Roman* of enthusiasm for England and the English, and for Dickens in particular, is mentioned in my third chapter. A version of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* edited and translated by Lewald appeared in 1840;[431]

[429] Lewald, *Album aus Paris*, Part 1, title page; Part 4, title page.
[430] August Lewald, *Beaumarchais* (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1839); Jules Janin, trans. by August Lewald, *Ansichten der Zeit und des Lebens* (Quedlinburg: Hanewald, 1833); 'Mirabeau' in Victor Hugo, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 8 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer, 1835), IV, 133–202.
[431] Laurence Sterne, trans. by August Lewald, *Yorick's empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich*

his Polish novels and his adaptation of a Calderon play are examples of works that extend his reach to the east and south. His *Malerisches Reisehandbuch durch Deutschland und die angränzenden Gegenden* mentioned in my first chapter, his sketches about German spa life, and notably his *Panorama von München* are among analyses of disparate regions within (and beyond) a decentralised Germany itself, to which Beurmann's *Skizzen aus den Hansestädten* and Laube's *Reisenovellen* also contribute. Lewald was demonstrably an early and active protagonist in the rapid and vigorous European cultural exchange of the 1830s and 1840s described by Lauster in *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*.[432]

Lewald's own early commercial experience in his family business carried through to the canny editorship of his journals and the placing of his independent publications, and enabled him to earn a living as self-supporting writer and editor from leaving the Hamburg theatre in 1831 to his employment by the Stuttgart court opera in 1849, making him one of the new generation of professional writers for whom a degree at least of speculation on the literary market went with the job. His striking portrayal of the energy generated by the drive for material gain in 'Der Boulevard' and 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' is taken further in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*. As few could, and again as innovator, its author combines first-hand experience of both commerce and being Jewish to produce what is almost a text-book about his time. The power of money and the spread of materialism; attitudes to Jews and their emancipation; the broader problems of prejudice; the uncertainty of social roles and status and the pretension and vanity involved in attempting to sustain them: behind the distancing mask of his banker caricature Lewald takes on some of these most difficult and controversial issues of the day, paradoxically cutting through conventional bluster with startling directness. The novel could be described as a challenging alternative to numerous contemporary academic, polemic and popular views about the place of Jews in a modernising German society, exemplified by those of Riesser, Gutzkow, Weil, and the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* reviewer. *Memoiren eines Banquiers* foreshadows not only Marx's representation of commercial exchanges in terms of theatrical role-

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und Italien (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1840).
[432] Lauster, *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century*. See Note 10.

play and the commodification of human interactions, but also, in satirical form, Marx's symbolic equation of the egoistic drive for individual gain with Jewishness, as embodiment of, and inextricable from, the trend in contemporary, Christian, bourgeois society as a whole.

My second chapter has tried to show how the 'memoirs' both extend and subvert the *Vormärz* concept of life-writing, manipulating a currently popular genre to present provocative views beneath a layering of voices, setting up an interplay between reader, editor, narrator and author that seems to mimic the interpretative activity of correct 'reading' required in *Vormärz* society at large — the activity Lewald identifies as essential for thriving in fine society, demanding the exercise of highly developed 'Fühlfäden, Sinne und Nerven'[433] if one is to hold one's own and not to be taken in. The wider underlying problem satirised in the novel of finding a footing and an identity in changed conditions, especially as would-be cultured members of the new middle classes, finds expression also in the humorous sketches of Glaßbrenner's *Berlin wie es ist und — trinkt*, for instance. As an unresolvable search for personal integrity, presented from a specifically Jewish point of view, the problem is given tragic form in Gutzkow's *Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam* and Auerbach's *Spinoza*.

More directly too, Lewald's astute commentary on developments in the Restoration and beyond makes him a valuable witness for a social history of the period. Notable in *Memoiren eines Banquiers* are his observation of a surge in would-be professionals and writers in the Restoration period, and his chapter on the state of trades and crafts.[434] The documentary value of Lewald's analyses is acknowledged by Derré with reference to *Album aus Paris*. It applies to the panorama of kinds of theatre in *Theater-Roman*, as well as to the novel's panoramic scrutiny of contemporary social behaviour.

In *Theater-Roman* Lewald again homes in on a key preoccupation of the time, the theatre, and has the wit to see it as the most natural and 'obvious' setting for an *exposé* of the theatricality of life in the 1830s and 1840s — a theatricality underlined in the novels of Dickens and in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, and recognised by Gutzkow as essential when he implies that Börne was a victim of his own integrity, lacking 'das Talent, mit sich selbst Komödie zu

[433] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft*, p. 5.
[434] Lewald, *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, II, 10–12; 35–61.

spielen, sich als der, der er war, auch in Scene zu setzen'.[435] Lewald's outstanding practical knowledge of theatre management and broad experience as playwright and adaptor for the stage enable him to move his analysis of social behaviour to a metaphorical level through satire and pastiche, in an interpretation of the idea of the world as a stage aimed specifically at mid-nineteenth-century society. It takes to the limit perceptions of human behaviour as performance: the adventurousness of attempting new roles to improve one's fortunes and the risks of being unmasked; the dangers of self-revelation and unguarded artistic expression; the pressure to maintain an appearance of conventional morality and project a respectable social status and, as in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, the pretension and hypocrisy involved in keeping up these appearances — all are demonstrated by the novel's characters. They must use their social antennae as they participate in the circular activity of interpreting each other's disguises and projecting their own convincingly, improvising and adapting in order to steer a course through unpredictable and changeable conditions. The question whether any identity of substance or anything of worth lies behind all the performances, raised in Krauthöfer's pessimistic evaluation of acting and actors, hangs over the novel and is answered negatively. *Theater-Roman* represents the life-writing continuum in its reflection of Lewald's own outlook as he wrote it, in essence, though not in detail, as Gutzkow recognised in his review of the work: the novel is not 'autobiographical' as stated in the brief paragraph awarded to Lewald in another standard English history of German literature.[436]

Lewald shows himself in these works as 'Weltmann, dessen Werkstatt das Leben [...] war',[437] as Gutzkow approvingly asserts. Even as a new aesthetic was being thrashed out in the *Vormärz*, Lewald demonstrates in each of the works discussed another of the features that would characterise it — its all-inclusiveness, in the 'Nebeneinander' of detail encompassing all of society on the Boulevard, for instance; in the anecdotal style of *Memoiren eines Banquiers* that allows reflections on all kinds of subjects to 'crop up' without formal order, and in the 'Nebeneinander' of off-stage dramatic genres from the sublime to the ridiculous presented in *Theater-Roman*. The mixture of genres

[435] Gutzkow, *Börne's Leben*, p. 4.
[436] Henry and Mary Garland, *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, p. 558.
[437] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', p. 2.

within *Album aus Paris* and within some of its sketches, the blurring of memoir and fiction, narrative and reflection in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, and the 'cross-genre' nature of *Theater-Roman* testify too to Lewald's easy accommodation to the flexible forms of *Vormärz* writing. His strengths of visual observation, word-painting and episodic or anecdotal narration, combined with his own emphasis on experience over theory, seem made for the new aesthetic, and his facility in dramatic pastiche well suited to satirise the theatricality of *Vormärz* society.

In the first letter of Gutzkow's *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin*, the writer yearns for a fixed point from which an entire, regenerated, world might be viewed at once, but there is none: the boat on which he finds himself has no mast at all, and no rudder or sail for steering.[438] The features of Lewald's writing summarised in the previous paragraph — especially when considered with his work as journal editor — amount almost to a catalogue of new literary and stylistic developments in *Vormärz* prose writing, which sought through a combination of close observation and bold experimentation to understand and be relevant to a changed and changing 'rudderless' society.

The three works discussed demonstrate Lewald's credentials as important *Vormärz* analyst by their innovative conjunctions of style and contemporary relevance. Lewald is also a valuable focus for study as a 'typical' representative of the period in his life and works. Gutzkow carries this representativeness beyond the *Vormärz*, identifying Lewald's literary development from its beginnings in the 1810s and 1820s onwards as illustrative of the changing literary fashions of his time. While acknowledging Lewald's individual strengths as writer, he denies him the stature 'jener stürmenden und die Zeit in Unruhe versetzenden Charaktere' who appear as 'Gränz- und Marksteine'[439] in the history of literature. The turns Lewald's writing takes in the period up to the Restoration (the time span of the first three volumes of the *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* covered by Gutzkow's review) are 'ein[.] Leitfaden der intimeren deutschen Literaturgeschichte'. Gutzkow imagines that, when completed, the collection will constitute 'eine Geschichte der literarischen Moden seit 1806, von den Zeiten der romantischen Schule an bis zu den Irren

[438] Gutzkow, *Briefe eines Narren an einer Närrin*, pp. 5 and 6
[439] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', p. 2.

und Wirren der Gegenwart'. Lewald's collected works, he implies, *demonstrate* 'die Richtungen des Zeitgeschmacks, in dessen Strömungen er geraten war',[440] rather than changing them. Gutzkow's assessment fits a broad view of *Vormärz* writing in which Heine and Gutzkow himself could be seen as taking the literary world by storm and spreading unrest, while Lewald takes up the new literary currency that Fanny Lewald saw Heine and Börne as coining from the gold bars of classicism, and uses it in the service of his 'bindender, vermittelnder Fähigkeit', his strength in connecting and interpreting for his reader cultural and social strands of his time.

Shortly before Lewald left Königsberg, he experienced Kotzebue's sojourn there, the playwright whose name the stiflingly fusty court theatre director von Kotzeluch parodies in *Theater-Roman*. Among early works Lewald includes in his *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben* are plays that could be said still to reflect the old dramatist's influence. One, *Der Großpapa. Posse in einem Akte*,[441] performed in Breslau in 1817, is full of mistaken identities and grossly false situations: its title suggests an allusion to Kotzebue's recent one-act comedy, *Die Großmama*.[442] Another, *Der Vatersegen*,[443] 'gehört zu der Gattung der larmoyanten Dramen',[444] the popular genre of 'Rührstück' well represented in *Theater-Roman*, and to which Kotzebue also contributed. *Meine Heiligen* is a collection of adulatory sonnets addressed to poets, artists and composers mostly of the past, and is followed by a collection of verse riddles and lyrics in various forms, all competently executed and expressed in traditional poetic diction.[445] Reference has been made in this dissertation to Lewald's early cloak-and-dagger tales, some with touches of the supernatural, that gave way during the 1830s to writing with contemporary relevance and the analyses of contemporary society.

His large output and the variety of genres and mixed forms in which Lewald tried his hand in the *Vormärz*, as well as his lingering affection for folk- and ghost stories, to which *Blaue Märchen* (1837) and *Mörder und Gespenster*

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[440] Gutzkow, 'Winke für die Lesewelt', p. 3.
[441] Lewald, *Der Großpapa. Posse in einem Akte*, in *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, III, 156–88.
[442] August von Kotzebue, *Die Großmama*, in *Theater von Kotzebue*, 56 vols (Vienna: Doll, 1810–1820), xlvii (1816)
[443] Lewald, *Der Vatersegen*, in *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, IV, 92–127.
[444] August Lewald, *Seydelmann und das deutsche Schauspiel. Für Kenner und Freunde der Bühne* (Stuttgart: Liesching, 1835), pp. 148–9.
[445] Lewald, *Versuche in Versen*, in *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, III, 98–155.

(1840), for instance, are witness,[446] amount to what is almost an inventory of kinds of writing popular during the period.

Future research into the last period of Lewald's life might ask how far his Catholic writings of the 1860s, in their reversion to continuous narrative forms and in their moralising standpoint, represent a changed trend in German prose writing. In *Clarinette*, for instance, 'good' pious Catholic characters are set up in contrast to 'bad', Jewish, industrialists; in *Der Insurgent* tensions develop between a young Pole's violent rebellious drive and his mother, who originally spurred him on but changes to a position of subservience to God's will.[447]

If the 'Leitfaden' Gutzkow imagines running through Lewald's collected works is traced backwards to Lewald's earliest writings and forwards through the *Vormärz* and Catholic works to his last collection of reflections and reminiscences, *Letzte Fahrten* (1871), almost six decades of literary fashions might be exemplified.[448]

Lewald's life, also, shares characteristics of the early post-Napoleonic generation defined by Immermann as most affected by the Napoleonic era's turmoil. Seeing at first hand the horrors and unpredictablility of war, and taking part in military life; witnessing how war favours speculative wheeling and dealing that can make as well as destroy fortunes, and the greater freedoms enjoyed under the Napoleonic Code of the 'enemy' withdrawn in peacetime during the Restoration period: these were experiences likely to discourage a 'black and white' set of principles and beliefs — especially, in Lewald's case, combined with the othering effects of his Jewish birth — and to discourage optimism about consistent change for the better. His career after 1815 — as man of the theatre, travelling around Germany wherever opportunities arose, turning around 1830 increasingly away from gothic story writing to editing and journalism and to prose that reflected contemporary life — exemplifies the adaptivity, the risk and adventurousness with which the expanding middle classes met new challenges, and that made self-presentation and the correct reading of others so crucial. Less typically, Lewald relied on erudition acquired

[446] August Lewald, *Blaue Mährchen für alte und junge Kinder* (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1837); *Mörder und Gespenster* (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1840).
[447] August Lewald, *Clarinette* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1863); *Der Insurgent* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1865).
[448] August Lewald, *Letzte Fahrten* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1871).

through self-education rather than on the academic disciplines of university shared by many of the younger *Vormärz* writers. An updated biography could flesh out Lewald's life as both a typical and individual example of post-Napoleonic middle-class man, if the newly or more easily accessible sources of information about his life mentioned in my Introduction were matched with the many autobiographical or semi-autobiographical references garnered from his writings.

If Lewald is not a social or literary visionary, his social analyses are penetrating. The strength of the social criticism that lies behind his apparent mildness of manner can be underestimated if anaylsis of surfaces is confused with superficiality: some contemporary critics, unlike Gutzkow, read him only at surface level, taken in by his writing's elegance and lightness of touch. Lewald's own ambivalence can also confuse his message — the tension in his writing between a desire to please, to be popular, fashionable and respected, and a desire to be subversive, to shake his readers out of complacency and alert them to the harm caused by contemporary society's absurdities and weaknesses. He turned his hand — with genuine interest — to marketable genres such as travel-writing and the retelling of ghost and fairy stories, as well as writing that engaged with social issues. The playful tone and 'kleine Koketterie'[449] he assumes in his writing generally, of which his avoidance of self-revelation in *Memoiren eines Banquiers* is an extreme example, are far from the straightforward immediacy of Börne's pithy opinions in *Briefe aus Paris*, or Heine's biting social critique, and make it easier to miss the serious undertow of criticism that is there in Lewald's writing.

In 'Der Boulevard' and 'Savoyarden' harsh contrasts between wealth and poverty are drawn in seemingly non-judgemental, charming descriptions. In 'Savoyarden', the writer's sympathy with the underdog is evident in the apparently cosy portrayal of a poor, unassuming, minority barely noticed except as a nuisance or reason for a show of charity by Paris's wealthy *élégants*. Beneath its distancing disguise and comic cast, *Memoiren eines Banquiers* launches a hard-hitting attack on bigotry, prejudice and ruthlessly pursued personal advantage, and an exposition of human manners and habits that work against emancipation and effective change. Wrapped partly in satire and

[449] Gutzkow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur*, I, 308.

pastiche, partly in narrative that is left to speak for itself without moral gloss, Henriette's story in *Theater-Roman* is the vessel for a powerful defence of women with few means, vulnerable to abuse, and is used to attack the hypocrisy of men of every status who take advantage of such women while maintaining their own social standing, and of women who too readily condemn. The novel Lewald was pleased to report to Heine as causing scandal presents the episode of Henriette's rumoured prostitution, presumption of guilt, and physical examination with relished recklessness: Lewald was apparently willing to dice with his refined reputation to champion the cause, though as 'Schicksale eines namenlosen Bühnendichters' demonstrates, a *succès de scandale* never hurt the takings.

This dissertation has suggested that for Lewald himself the initial relish of his scrutiny of society had worn thin by the time he wrote *Theater-Roman*. His early sketches depict with fresh zest the drive and energy with which social systems pursue their interlocking material purposes. Even the futile over-activity of pedlars on the Boulevard or in the German playwright's Paris theatre seems enjoyably pointless, and fun to observe. Though *Memoiren eines Banquiers* has an agenda closer to home, its teasing convolutions still feel playful. The bold manipulation of the metaphorical basis in *Theater-Roman*, the flair of the novel's pastiche, the precision of some of its satire detailing manners and dress are entertaining, but there is a grimness in the novel's outlook which belies its playfulness: as if the society itself that it reflects were 'die lächerlichste Posse' (*Theater-Roman*, 4,278) which was beginning 'bedenklich zu werden' (*Theater-Roman*, 4,282).

Society seems not to have found a healthy new way. Whether perpetuating outworn codes, like the court theatre, attempting to instate a better, new culture, like the presumptuous members of the 'Mustertheater' equipped only with vacuous inanities, or simply stuck in mediocrity like Pogenwinkel and its citizens, there appear to be only distorted values, empty or sham appearances of substance and worth: integrity is all but unsustainable. Active benevolent rule is found only in a community protected from society at large, an asylum, and even then delivered in an authoritarian regime not without compromise and failure. Krauthöfer's view of the void behind actors' masks and the destructive effects of acting in general wins out. The novel's inverted revolution which demands the reinstatement of the outworn old in place of the

inadequate new seems almost to express the condition of a late *Vormärz* society heading for revolution, and to anticipate that revolution when it comes will be as unsustainable and unfruitful as those whose after-effects its author has already seen.

It is significant that Lewald chose to describe himself at birth as a 'Weltbürger'.[450] His cosmopolitan outlook as man of the world and of experience, and the fresh import into German writing of his refined French-influenced style earned him his reputation in the 1830s, and is reflected in the scope of his journals *Europa* and *Atlas zur Kunde fremder Welttheile*. The targets and nature of his criticism bear out — seem to play to — his reputation as broad- and clear-sighted cosmopolitan. The three works discussed enjoy turning ideas about 'normal' social order on their head. They show a liberal, open-minded sympathy towards those who break hide-bound social conventions and taboos and do not fit comfortably within them, and towards those at the bottom of the social heap. Enterprise, including bravado and invention, that seems to be admired and relatively harmless in the sketches involves ruthlessness that ruins lives in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*; malicious intrigue and rumour-mongering, and hypocritical claims to a baseless moral high ground of respectability are targeted in *Theater-Roman*. The ridiculing of pretension in social and cultural matters is particularly severe: of the posturing of pseudo-religious-artistic feeling and the *précieux ridicules* described in *Memoiren eines Banquiers*, and the ineffectual inanity of the supposedly learned and cultured members of the 'Mustertheater' in *Theater-Roman*, for instance. A low tolerance of ignorant philistinism and misplaced pretension is perhaps the stronger because Lewald's own refinement and culture were hard won. His conclusion to a chapter in his 1847 *Buch der Gesellschaft* outlining the nature and importance of the kind of education required to equip one for fine society seems to reflect this and suggest the weariness already felt in *Theater-Roman* (as well as emphasising the need for his guide):

> Eine solche Erziehung und Durchbildung kann auch das Leben gewähren. Allein eine oft sehr dornige Bahn leitet zu ihr [...]. Hat man sie dann [...] am Ende glücklich errungen, so sind die schönsten

[450] Lewald, *Gesammelte Schriften / Ein Menschenleben*, I, 4.

> Lebensjahre bereits im Kampfe dahin geschwunden, und das Glück kehrt erst mit der Ruhe des Alters bei dem Menschen ein.[451]

Lewald's claim in his letter to Heine of disinterest in political matters rings true:[452] his criticism is social. Even when expressed in political terms, as in *Theater-Roman*, it is applied metaphorically to social organisation. Politically he was no revolutionary, if the endorsement in *Theater-Roman* of firm leadership along monarchic principles can be taken as a reflection of Lewald's own position. In later life his attitude to authority, his own and his superiors', at the Stuttgart court opera does not bear witness to a belief in the ideal of equality. His life and work show him steering his own personal course without obvious political engagement.

In an apparent absence of outspoken political views, Lewald's response to the changed conditions of the *Nachmärz* could at least partly be explained as a cosmopolitan's act of defiance in its rejection of Protestant Prussian domination experienced as exclusive and oppressive, in favour of allegiance to Papal power based and holding sway beyond German boundaries. This intepretation does not preclude considerations mentioned in the last section of my third chapter of his Catholic wife's wishes and of self-preservation as writer. Involving the cultivation of a new role to suit new purposes, and acceptance of a strict hierarchy, it is in keeping both with Lewald's leaning towards a clear line of authority and with an ambivalence and a versatile adaptivity in his life and writing. Whatever loss of free thinking, and of humour, is evident in the late novels Lewald wrote as a committed ultramontane Catholic, the engagement with social issues and society at large remains.

Collectively, Lewald's analyses of manners, money and masks in the *Vormärz* vividly convey a view of contemporary social behaviour as theatrical — as involving skills as both actor and spectator, of adaptive self-presentation and aware observation — played out on a social stage where some sort of material advantage is the prime motivation. It seems apt to end this dissertation by

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[451] Lewald, *Das Buch der Gesellschaft* , pp. 15–16.

[452] As I discussed in my chapter on *Theater-Roman*, Lewald joked to Heine in 1832 about his lack of engagement in the political struggle for constitutional government: 'ich — friedfertige Person, die keine andere Konstitution als einen offenen Leib haben will'. Letter from Lewald to Heine, Munich, 11 September, in *HSA*, XXIV, 138.

reiterating the prevalence in the 1830s and 1840s of this view and Lewald's precocity in expressing it.

In the introduction to findings published in 2004 of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded investigation into the theatricality of life beyond the theatre, *Theatralität als Modell in den Kulturwissenschaften*,[453] Fischer-Lichte describes ways in which aspects of modern social culture are 'staged' — marketing that supports consumerism for instance, or the enactment of scenes for effect in public life. She contrasts this cultural 'Inszenierung' with the Baroque concept of the *theatrum mundi* in which human life is played out before God, its author, the absolute which gives surface appearances a deeper meaning beyond human comprehension, the 'Sein' behind the 'Schein'. The theatricality of modern society lacks this dimension. Social behaviour consists in interactions between individuals and groups in which all are themselves simultaneously participant/actor and observer/spectator: there is no deeper, or higher, level.

Fischer-Lichte traces back to the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century this shift from the Baroque concept to one in which the 'Sein' behind the 'Schein' is absent and in which traditional morally weighted concepts of reality and appearance, of authenticity and inauthenticity can no longer apply (making distinctions between these 'opposites' more complex and elusive). Yet Carey's formulation of the difference between Thackeray's mid-nineteenth-century and Bunyan's seventeenth-century interpretations of Vanity Fair, quoted in my third chapter — 'Bunyan thinks the world is vain by comparison with God and heaven. But Thackeray thinks it is vain, period'[454] — sums up a view of activity on a social stage that is exclusively worldly and on which the protagonists play exclusively to each other. The view informs *Vanity Fair* and the novels of Dickens and is already strong in the *Vormärz*, seventy years earlier than Fischer-Lichte suggests. It is the essence of Lewald's representations of the society of his time in his *Vormärz* analyses. It is also the apparent source of his ultimate disillusionment with contemporary society and his exploration of the potential for differently motivated behaviour in his Catholic works. It remains an open question whether Lewald found in his personal response to the new

[453] Erika Fischer-Lichte, 'Einleitung: Theatralität als kulturelles Modell', in *Theatralität als Modell in den Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. by Erika Fischer-Lichte and others (Tübingen, Basle: Francke, 2004), pp. 7–26 (here in particualr pp. 7–10).
[454] John Carey, 'Introduction', in *Vanity Fair*, p. xxi.

situation of the *Nachmärz* a satisfying new balance between surface and depth in the theatrical rituals of the Catholic church, in commitment to a given moral code, and as presenter in his late writings of characters with a new set of roles to play in which they seek to escape the masks and materialism of *Vormärz* society.

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