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The Case of the Missing Literary Tradition: Reassessing Four Assumptions of Crime and Detective Novels in the German-Speaking World (1900-1933)

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The Case of the Missing Literary Tradition: Reassessing Four Assumptions of Crime and Detective Novels in the German-Speaking World (1900–1933)

I. Introduction

Since the 1970s, German-language literary scholars have made crime and detective fiction a subject of study. Despite some scholarship on German-language crime stories from the 19th century2 and a multitude of studies on the Anglo-American crime-novel tradition,1 there have been few attempts to reconstruct the history of the German-language crime and detective novel in the early 20th century. For many scholars for many years, the reason for this lack was obvious: there was no history to explore. As Erhard Schiitz observed in 1978: "Detective novels were always read in Germany, even in the 'Third Reich.' But relatively few were written; they have all been forgotten today" (79).4 In 1990, little had changed in German-language scholarship; Ulrike Leonhardt echoed Schiitz that "Germany cannot, like other countries, reflect on a crime-novel tradition" (274).

These assertions themselves claim a long tradition. Indeed, until very recently, much of the existing secondary literature on the German-language detective novel established a fairly unanimous discourse with respect to the relative absence until after 1945 of home-grown examples of the genre. In this essay, I examine four crucial assumptions in the literary histories written post-World War II as to what a literary tradition comprises and thus why no tradition was believed to exist in the German-speaking world before then. First, post-1945 literary historians assume that a literary tradition involves a high concentration of works, but that few German-language crime and detec-tive novels existed between 1900 and 1933. Second, they assume that if a literary tradition had really existed, its authors would still be well known today, but few early authors of German-language crime and detective novels are. Third, post-1945 scholars assume that only works of high literature con-stitute a tradition, but most German-language crime and detective novels were trashy. Fourth, German-language crime and detective novels should have con-

formed to Golden Age rules, but did not.[5] Precisely such an implicit understanding of a literary tradition caused scholars to overlook or outright deny the presence of hundreds of German-language crime and detective novels.

I treat the above assumptions in turn and thus offer revisions to how one might understand a literary tradition instead. I begin by arguing that, drawing on data derived from Mirko Schadel's comprehensive 2006 bibliography of crime and detective literature in the German-speaking world, the evidence suggests the presence of many novels. With respect to the remaining three assumptions, I contend that they must be considered in the context in which this genre emerged. Instead of focusing on how German-language crime and detective fiction failed to fulfill expectations of the genre as it developed in England and America, I propose a reading that situates its rise within the literary landscape of the German-speaking world. My approach is thus to consider early German-language crime and detective novels in relation to a concurrent debate on *Schundliteratur* (trashy literature) and domestic critical responses to the emerging genre. As I demonstrate, this approach highlights patterns in how the works appeared, were received contemporarily, and were subsequently historicized in literary studies.

II. Parameters of this Study

Before embarking on this analysis, an explanation of the timeframe, terminology, and selection of primary texts is essential. General consensus is that the English-language term "detective story" first emerges at the turn of the last century,[6] and in the German-language publishing world, the terms *Detektivroman* (detective novel) and *Kriminalroman* (crime novel) were likewise gaining currency in the first years of the new century.[7] In order to examine the representation of early crime and detective novels, I set the other temporal boundary of my study at 1933, given changes in the German-language literary landscape with the National Socialists' ascent to public office. While a number of detective novels were published between 1933 and 1945 in German-speaking countries and there are certainly consistencies in the genre before and after National Socialist cultural policy took definite form,[8] the terms of the debate were altered significantly in the years that followed.[9]

This project seeks to reframe the rise of the crime and detective novel in the German-speaking world, but even naming the genre is a challenge. Throughout the period in question, the terms *Detektivroman* and *Kriminalroman* are used either synonymously or without consistent categorical distinctions. By comparison, "detective novel" during the Golden Age in England tended to refer to a work featuring a clue-based investigation and the identification of the perpetrator from a limited number of suspects (Knight 77-8). In the German-speaking world, a *Detektivroman* might have involved either a psychological and scientific investigation of the crime to identify a

perpetrator, or the thrilling pursuit of an unknown or known criminal. Thus, of those works labeled *Detektivromane,* not all would involve solving a clue-puzzle. Because authors and publishing houses did not consistently assert generic differences between *Kriminalromane* and *Detektivromane*, I treat works that are identified as either, referring to the general body of works as *Kriminalromane.*

For the purposes of this study, I further limit my analysis to specific works that could be seen as comparable to those popular among the middle classes in other language areas during this period. Highly formulaic, mass-produced trivial crime and detective literature abounded in the German-speaking world, but while it may have responded to and reflected the existence of more respectable literature, it would be difficult to argue that trivial works were the cornerstone of a larger tradition. To the extent possible, I analyze first-edition *Kriminalromane,* with a particular emphasis on novels that appeared 1900-33 in better-respected publishing houses, such as Robert Lutz's in Stuttgart.[10] Excluded are short-format crime novels with standardized page lengths produced by several German-language publishing houses during the first decades of the 20th century, given their possible associations with working-class readers and a greater focus on mass production and consumption.[11] For instance, short-format stories from the Verlagshaus fiir Volksliteratur und Kunst (Publishing House for Folk Literature and Art) in Berlin were frequently associated with trivial literature, stemming from—among other things—their unauthorized use of the Sherlock Holmes character (Schultze, "Kriminal-Literatur" 110; Fronemann 8). Finally, I do not consider serialized colportage novels, which feature sensationalist criminal content sometimes labeled to suggest detection. As Knut Hickethier and Wolf Dieter Liitzen have convincingly argued, the content and production of these works were closely intertwined and thus merit consideration in their own right; such a consideration exceeds the focus of this current essay. Having established the focus of this essay with respect to primary sources, I now turn my discussion to the secondary literature published post-World War II.

III. Literary Histories of Crime and Detective Fiction after 1945: An Overview

Since the end of World War II, approximately a dozen German-language literary histories of crime and detective fiction have appeared. With the exception of two unpublished dissertations,[12] the first substantial German-language analyses of the genre after the end of World War II emerge only in 1953. In that year, Fritz Wolcken's *Der literarische Mord: Eine Untersuchung iiher die englische und amerikanische Detektivliteratur* and Walter Gerteis s *Detektive: Ihre Geschichte im Leben und in der Literatur* appeared. Despite the publication of these two works, it appears that no monographs

treated crime and detective fiction as a literary genre again until the 1970s, when scholars from German-speaking countries increasingly turned a critical gaze to folk and popular-cultural products. Many of these literary histories appeared in scholarly presses and have since become oft-quoted, seminal works, such as those by Edgar Marsch (1983), Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus (1975), Hans-Otto Hiigel (1978), and Peter Nusser (1992). In the last two decades, scholarly monographs on the detective novel have yielded to book-length treatments published through more popular presses and appealing to a broader audience, such as those by Waltraud Woeller (1984), Jochen Schmidt (1989), Ulrike Leonhardt (1990), Nina Schindler (1997), and Jorg von Uthmann (2006).

None of these literary histories makes the *Kriminalroman* its primary subject. Instead, they have most often analyzed the history and structure of the genre across national boundaries, and so scholars generally speak of German-language crime and detective fiction in broad terms and in the context of international developments. To date, the only essay that treats the early 20th-century German-language *Kriminalroman* in depth is a 1986 article by Knut Hickethier.

IV. Assumption Number One: Few German-language Crime and Detective Novels Existed Between 1900 and 1933

Despite their express focus on other national manifestations of crime and detective fiction, most of the literary historians mentioned above name some early 20th-century German-language detective novels and also address the seeming lack of a tradition among them. One of the most obvious explanations of why the German-speaking world (or more frequently: Germany specifically) cannot claim a tradition of the detective novel is that there weren't any. To offer one particularly succinct assessment: Nusser's observations are limited to a single sentence, "There are countless *Kriminalromane*, and the least of them are in the German language" (vii).

Some scholars have agitated for re-thinking the existence of detective novels in general in the German-speaking world. Writing in 2005, Volker Neuhaus speculates why significant inroads had yet to be made:

> For a spell it was even considered common opinion that German had no tradition of detective literature. The reason for it is the same as—according to Lichtenberg—the name of the millipede. In the latter case, our colleagues were too lazy to count to eighteen; in the former, they had no desire to page through contemporary magazines or even publishing house catalogs. (11)

As Neuhaus suggests, identifying examples of early twentieth-century *Kriminalromane* has itself required some detection. In 2006, Mirko Schadel offered one of the most significant contributions to the investigation: a bibliography

of nearly 9000 works of German-language crime literature appearing between 1796 and 1945. In bis foreword, Schadel describes his challenges in finding concrete evidence of the genre and offers a glimpse into why so few post-war scholars were likely even aware of certain texts, “Sometimes I heard from sellers that they had just dumped *Krimis* by the boxful from an old lending library into the paper recycling” (7). As Schadel laments, the very status of crime and detective fiction in the German-speaking world as a disposable entertainment product has rendered research into it more challenging.[13]

Excluding translations into German or multiple editions of the same work, reprints of works published before 1900, and books of fewer than 200 pages in order to eliminate the likelihood of counting the aforementioned mass-produced short-format works,[14] Schadel’s bibliography provides the titles of over 800 new works by German-language authors between 1900 and 1933 (Figure 1).[15] This fact should put to rest assertions that there were no German-language crime and detective novels between 1900 and 1933. Moreover, when one charts the number of works by year of publication, it becomes clear that the number of *Kriminalromane* appearing annually increased over this period, with half of all production occurring from 1922 onward, and the highest per annum production in 1933.

The demonstrable existence of a growing corpus of *Kriminalromane* offers the first challenge to a prevailing assumption in post-1945 literary histories. Yet perhaps the failure of scholars to engage in the *Kriminalroman*-equivalent of counting the legs of the millipede was less a product of the endeavor being prohibitively time-consuming, and more of the absence of other obvious indicators of a tradition. That is to say, in a world of literary

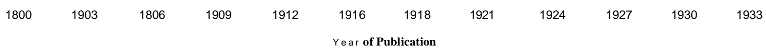

Figure 1: Number of Crime and Detective Novels Published 1900-1933 (n = 810).

scholarship where close readings of individual, extraordinary cases are, to speak with Franco Moretti, “still by far the dominant figure” (3), the lack of individual, extraordinary cases in the German-speaking world akin to Arthur Conan Doyle’s or Agatha Christie’s stories meant that the only work to be done was to explain their absence. In a later section of this essay, I show how literary scholars after 1945 would review early *Kriminalromane,* find them to fall short of generic expectations, and thus use them as proof that no “real” tradition existed. Before doing so, however, I offer tentative reasons for why so few authors of *Kriminalromane* gained prominence in the first place.

V. Assumption Number Two: If a Literary Tradition Had Existed, the Authors Would Still Be Known Today

A second assumption of post-World War II scholars is that if the German-speaking world had possessed a tradition of *Kriminalromane,* its contributing authors would still be known today. Given the number of works of crime and detective novels published in the first third of the twentieth century, it is legitimate to ask why more authors’ names have not endured to the present day. One reason may be the sheer dominance of Anglo-American and Scandinavian authors in the marketplace both during the period in question as well as after World War II. According to Anselm Schlosser’s 1937 study, 1150 German translations of English-language adventure and crime novels alone were published in Germany between 1900 and 1934 (170); Schadel’s bibliography suggests that an equal or greater number were translated from Scandinavian languages as well. Clearly, English- and Scandinavian-language texts translated into German dominated the market in the German-speaking world until the mid-1930s (cf. Biihler 63). Indeed, in published literary discussions between 1900 and 1933, the contemporary author most consistently mentioned is Arthur Conan Doyle, followed in later years by Edgar Wallace. In addition to the significant presence of translated works in the German-speaking market, Hiigel suggests that postwar attitudes toward Anglo-American culture may have further impeded recognition of a home-grown variety, “[...] the American influence in the area of mass culture after World War II [sufficed] in Germany to allow its own tradition of the genre to fade nearly into oblivion” (9).

Another probable factor leading to the postwar obscurity of early authors of crime and detective fiction is that the over 800 works listed in Schadel’s bibliography are attributable to approximately 420 different names, or an average of only 1.9 books per author name, pseudonym or otherwise. While there were certainly several prolific German-language authors of crime, over 250 authors’ names are associated with first-time publications during the period, of them 147 ultimately only publishing one long-format crime novel.[16] Alongside the multitude of translated works and pieces by prolific German-

Figure 2: Number of Crime and Detective Novels Published by a One-Time Author, 1900-1933 (n = 147).

language authors, then, publishers consistently—and increasingly—introduced works by German-language authors not yet established in the genre. Figure 2 illustrates the number of works that appeared by authors who,"based on Schadel s data, published only one long-format *Kriminalroman* between 1900 and 1933.

When compared to Figure 1, the appearance of long-format *Kriminalromane* in the marketplace by first-time authors generally mirrors the larger publishing trend during the period, suggesting that it was a regular feature of the German-language genre from the beginning.[17] The phenomenon of lesser-known authors emerging into and disappearing from the literary landscape during this period may help explain why relatively few of these early authors are still known today: they simply did not publish enough novels to build up a lasting renown. At the least, this phenomenon may provide an explanation for why twenty-six different German authors of crime and detective fiction are mentioned in the literary histories after 1945, but only a handful of these authors are mentioned in any one scholarly study, and very few repeatedly. It appears that each literary scholar was familiar with a few authors from the period, but no one scholar could claim a comprehensive overview of the genre, or even realized the limits of his or her own view.

In the previous section, I argued that literary historians after 1945 seemed to suggest that a tradition presumed the presence of both a mass of works as well as a few individual, extraordinary cases. Yet even in the absence of prominent, trend-setting authors, generic consensus may have developed

in the works themselves over time, establishing a sense of tradition from the ground up. As Schadel's bibliography reveals, over fifty authors published four or more works during the period in question, several of which appeared in multiple editions. Surely these popular authors' works would make an ideal starting point for undertaking a descriptive analysis of crime and detective fiction in the German-speaking world.

Another useful lens for understanding how the genre developed during this period would be to look at the role of book series. Robert Lutz's *Sammlung ausgewdhlter Kriminal- und Delektivromane*, for example, was recognized by many critics as an esteemed book series.[18] Given the frequent introduction of new authors into the genre, book series may well have served to establish consistent standards and expectations with their readership. One could therefore explore whether different publishing houses embraced particular themes or sub-genres within the genre.

The most obvious reason that so few authors of early *Kriminalromane* are still known today relates, ironically, to the fact that the genre was a popular one. The stigma associated with crime fiction in the German-speaking world was hardly a clement environment for the emergence of a school of thought or leaders in the genre, which then creates a paradox in postwar literary histories: while these scholars tend to look for convincing examples of crime and detective fiction among the works of established authors, established authors did not tend to write *Kriminalromane.* As Waltraud Woeller writes in reference to Dorothy Sayers and Ronald Knox, two English authors who wrote crime fiction but maintained literary credibility: "In the German-speaking world, it would not be possible to reconcile these contradictions [i.e., between writing high and low literature]. Crime literature continued to be viewed as inferior; authors of renown did not engage in it" (132).

The view of crime fiction as inferior-and at times, dangerous-literature influenced public discussion of crime and detective fiction in the German-speaking world in the first third of the twentieth century. Indeed, I argue that this discussion determined the third assumption running through postwar literary histories: that the genre was dominated by trashy, mass-produced pulp and poor translations.

VI. Assumption Number Three: Most Early *Kriminalromane* Were Trashy

During the first third of the twentieth century, two phenomena were clearly discernible on the German-language literary horizon: the rise of the *Kriminalroman,* and the growing battle against *Schundliteratur* (trashy literature). Indeed, the two appear to be inextricably linked discourses between 1900 and the late 1920s. Certainly the presence of both positive and negative criticism of the *Kriminalroman* suggests that the genre was beginning to take a foothold

in the German-speaking world at the end of the first decade of the new century. Already in 1910, librarian K. Kilpper observes, "The value or lack of value of the crime novel has already been written and fought about much .. (201). Despite the concurrent debate on *Schundliteratur* as the *Kriminalroman* emerged in the German-speaking world, this relationship remains relatively unexplored today. Only a handful of essays have sought to understand the links between the two.[19] Yet as I argue below, the discourse on *Schundliteratur* does appear to have influenced perceptions of the German-language crime and detective novel during and after this period.

Around the same time as the first literary essays on crime and detective fiction emerge— 1908 seems to mark the first year in which multiple essays appear as monographs or as articles in newspapers and literary journals—Ernst Schultze sounded the modern battle cry against trashy literature with *Die Schundliteratur. Ihr Vordringen, ihre Folgen, ihre Bekdmpfung.*[20] In the twenty years that followed the initial publication of Schultze's essay in 1909, newspaper articles appeared on the subject of *Schundliteratur* (cf. Plaul 274-96; Bidder 149-58), traveling exhibits educated the public (Schultze, *Schundliteratur* 152-4, Tessendorff 12); and organizations fought against trashy literature (Schultze, *Schundliteratur* 164-5, Fronemann 2), working in some cases with police to ban works that allegedly were religiously or ethically offensive (Jager 178). One such organization, the "Verein zur Verbreitung guter volkstiimlicher Schriften" ("Organization for the Distribution of Good Popular Writings") debuted the journal *Hochwacht: Monatschrift zur Bekdmpfung des Schunds und Schmutzes in Wort undBild* (Lookout: A Monthly Publication Combating Smut and Trash in Word and Image) in 1910.[21] Perhaps the most outward accomplishment of sundry efforts to censor literature was that bans were enacted in 1915-1916 (Jager 180), and the "Law Protecting Youth from Smutty and Trashy Writings" was passed on December 18th, 1926, which required inspection authorities to index and limit literature deemed dangerous to youth (Barbian 49).[22]

Crime and detective fiction was front and center in the debate on *Schundliteratur.* In its first year of print, *Hochwacht* featured a series of articles exploring whether *Kriminalromane* should be considered trash ("Zur Frage der Kriminalliteratur" 35). While the most extreme voices argued that reading crime and detective fiction led directly to criminality and suicide,[23] some more moderate voices condemned trashy literature because it was a mass-produced commodity that denigrated reading to mere consumption. As Wilhelm Tessendorff asserts in a 1916 essay on wartime trashy literature *(Kriegsschundliteratur)*, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the genre was "that it was produced and distributed as a bulk good" (5; cf. Fronemann 3). Warriors against *Schundliteratur* thus do not usually condemn crime fiction outright, but are most interested in controlling the supply and demand of the popular, mass-produced, short-format dime novels that appeared from the

turn of the century onward (cf. Schultze, *Schundliteratur* 12, Fronemann 8). None of these critics sees long-format *Kriminalromane* as high literature (cf. Kilpper 201; Schultze, *Schundliteratur* 76-7), but their tolerance of the genre varies. Wilhelm Fronemann, for example, considers crime fiction such as the series "Kriminalromane aller Nationen" as belonging to the „lowest entertainment literature" (12), but does not call it *Schund.*[24] Notably, Schultze praises authors such as Edgar Allan Poe and Arthur Conan Doyle for their literary quality and defends them against charges of trashiness (*Schundliteratur* 76-7).

By arguing for the authorial adeptness of Poe and Conan Doyle and the literarily valuable aspects of their works, Schultze attempts to carve out a third space for crime fiction between high and low literature. What advocates such as Schultze frequently fail to do, however, is to populate this middle ground with very many acceptable works. Schultze, for example, tends to champion the great narratives of the 19th century such as Friedrich Schiller's *Rauber,* Heinrich von Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas*, and Theodor Fontane's *Quitt,* leaving one with the sense that there is not much to recommend in the twentieth century beyond Conan Doyle (cf. Schultze, "Kriminal-Literatur").

The failure of defenders of crime fiction to overcome the taint of the trivial and to establish a socially-acceptable space for any *Kriminalromane* may, indeed, be part of the lasting legacy of the debate on *Schundliteratur.* Already in the first decade of the twentieth century, the place of crime and detective fiction in the German speaking world was asserted in literary criticism. In 1908, A. Baumgartner observed that Conan Doyle's works were considered literature in England (481);[25] on the other hand, Grace Colbron, writing a year later, already perceived that in the German-speaking world crime fiction was not:

> The best writer of detective stories in Germany today is undoubtedly Augusta Groner [sic: Groner], of Vienna. Her name is never mentioned in the magazines that set a standard of criticism, and the essayists who discourse on modem literature know not her fame. This is natural, for detective stories are not literature, according to German ideas. But Augusta Groner's novels are sold in cheap editions in enormous quantity, and there is a steady demand for her work. (407)

In 1920, little had changed. Karl Diesel still reports the discomfort with which literary magazines treated crime and detective fiction as if they needed to say, "Forgive us, dear reader, that we present you with a *Kriminalroman* ' (1280). Indeed, the 1928 *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* entry for "Kriminalnovelle, -roman," opens by contextualizing the genre in the "era of the battle against trashy literature," and concludes by referring the reader to the entry on *Schundliteratur* (Beyer 143).[26] As this last example shows, even a literary reference work from the period could not consider crime novels (and their merits) independently from the debate on trash and smut.

The stigma persistently associated with *Kriminalromane* also likely discouraged respectable German-language authors from writing them. Instead of established authors of high literature dipping into crime and detective fiction, Schadel's bibliography suggests that it was more common for dime-novel authors to also write some long-format works, or for single, popular works to be reprinted as short-format pieces.[27] For authors, the boundary between trivial short-format works and long-format popular works was clearly more porous than between the latter and high literature.

For literary scholars after 1945, the rhetoric promulgated in the *Schundliteratur* debate appears to have had lasting implications. In 1953, Wolcken does not waste much ink discussing German manifestations of the genre. In his treatment of the "national character of detective literature," he concludes: "in Germany the *Detektivromane* are almost exclusively written for the lending libraries or the trashy-literature market, and English or American authors, who in their native countries are known as serious trend-setters, appear in miserable German" (223). The assumptions governing Wolcken's dismissal of the genre in Germany are telling. According to him, works written for lending libraries or the trashy-literature market are effectively the same. While it is true that *Kriminalromane* were frequently discussed in the context of lending and public libraries between 1900 and 1933 (and, in fact, often praised), the substance of this discussion is not a matter that Wolcken details, nor does he even mention a single German-language author by name. Similarly, Gerteis does admit in a footnote to "a passel of individual German detective novels" and mentions a few names, though for him they are not worth further consideration (133n).

Although these early scholars do not yet entertain the existence of socially acceptable popular literature, Robert Hippe suggests that it was precisely in the 1950s that a more accommodating "tripartition" appears in scholarly thinking about German-language literature, in which a middle ground between high and low literature was first seriously entertained (5). In the early 1970s, as scholars become increasingly interested in these popular forms, Edgar Marsch explicitly problematizes the genre's presumed triviality as a cause for its previous neglect in scholarship (12). Ironically, while Marsch notes that "the German-speaking area experienced a blossoming in the production of *Kriminalliteratur* in the 1920s and early 1930s at the same time as the United States" (90), the first German-language work that he treats is Friedrich Diirrenmatt's *Der Richter und sein Henker (The Judge and his Hangman*), which only appeared as a book in 1952 (252-3). Thus, Marsch, like Wolcken and Gerteis before him, does not endeavor to rehabilitate long-format works that may have been conflated with mass-produced dime novels, admittedly a task that no literary historian—Hickethier notwithstanding—undertakes. Instead, the general trend is to leave dominant assertions unchallenged.

In this section, I have argued that the opposition between high and low literature in the early decades of the twentieth century precluded the *Kriminal-roman* from establishing credibility in the literary canon in the first place. Because it was seen as disposable, low entertainment, few long-format works were remembered into the postwar period. Because few long-format works were known to literary scholars after 1945, most concluded that there were few works written that were not trivial.[28] Postwar literary histories thus perpetuated an attitude that further analysis into the specific cultural context of the emerging *Kriminalromane* was unnecessary. My counterargument in this section has been that precisely because the debate on *Schundliteratur* clearly exerted influence over the reception of *Kriminalromane*, the nature of this influence both before and after World War II demands consideration.

VII. Assumption Number Four: German Crime and Detective Fiction Did Not Conform to Generic Rules

The final assumption that prevails in postwar literary histories was that German-language crime and detective fiction should have conformed to generic rules established during the Golden Age in the United States and England in order to be considered legitimate. In this section, I show how literary scholars after 1945 would cite potential exemplars of early *Kriminalromane* not to prove the existence of a tradition, but rather to show that novels from the German-speaking world failed to live up to a generic standard. I then examine the particular aspects of the novels to which postwar scholars objected, exploring—in contrast to previous scholarship—how these aspects are treated in contemporary criticism on crime and detective fiction. My contention is that these aspects reflect certain continuities with earlier popular English and French works, but also mark an attempt to create a specifically German *Kriminalroman.*

The sentiment that German-language literature has missed the generic mark already appears in Gerteis, when he observes that "Germany does not possess a real [detective-novel] tradition. [. . .] Just because a criminal commissioner appears in stories does not make them a detective story" (133n). While it was certainly the case that in the German-speaking world the term *Detektivroman* was not consistently defined,[29] Gerteis implies that the investigation of a puzzling crime, a criminal, the discovery of the perpetrator and his or her method are all missing from German-language works (36-7). Thus, for Gerteis, it was not the absence of any works; rather, the German-speaking world had featured works with detectives, but with respect to other conventions, these pieces had failed to deliver.

Several later scholars apply a similar litmus test to potential early *Kriminalromane* in order to prove that no literary tradition existed before 1945. For example, Schmidt cites Ricarda Huch's *Der Fall Deruga* (1917) and

Jakob Wassermann's *Der Fall Maurizius* (1928) as examples of potential German-language *Kriminalromane.* Yet Schmidt dismisses both of these works as not truly belonging to the genre, given that they undertake grand themes beyond the scope of a crime novel, namely ideas of justice and freedom (554). Leonhardt similarly concludes that Huch's and Wassermann's works do not qualify as crime novels. Leonhardt faults Huch for drawing our attention to the perpetrator too early, ultimately concluding that Huch's novel is a despairing story of two people who love each other but can't get along (120). In Leonhardt's opinion, Wassermann's *Maurizius* is a treatment of a troubled father-son relationship (121).30

Though neither Gerteis, Schmidt, nor Leonhardt indicate as much, the litmus test that they use to determine if German-language novels would qualify as *Kriminalromane* seems to be whether a work adheres to the Anglo-American rules for writing detective stories that were emerging in the mid-late 1920s. During that period, a wealth of essays appeared that began to weigh in on conventions and aesthetics of the genre (Knight 80). Although not the first to emerge, one of the most formative was the American S.S. Van Dine's "Twenty Rules for Writing Detective Stories" from 1928. Rule number three states, for example, that "There must be no love interests" (189), and number sixteen, "A detective novel should contain no long descriptive passages, no literary dallying with side-issues . . ." (192). In the same year, the Englishman Ronald Knox issued the "Detective Story Decalogue," and the "Detection Club" was founded by Anthony Berkeley, with illustrious members such as Gilbert] K[eith] Chesterton and E[dmund] C[lerihew] Bentley (Haycraft 197). The result of these initiatives was, as American literary critic Howard Haycraft observes in 1946, that no other genre has been subject "inescapably to the propagation of canons of play" as has the detective novel (187).

While the significance of Golden-Age rules for American and English crime and detective fiction cannot be denied, the application of these rules to the German-language examples is anachronistic. *Der Fall Deruga* was written eleven years before Van Dine's rules were published; *Der Fall Maurizius* was published in Germany the same year the rules appeared in an American magazine. Yet Schmidt and Leonhardt seem to dismiss *Der Fall Deruga* and *Der Fall Maurizius* precisely for the failure to follow Golden-Age rules regarding romance, side-plots, and another notable convention, that "[t]he identification of the criminal is usually at the end of the story" (Knight 79). Schmidt's and Leonhardt's observations are indicative of prevailing sentiments in literary histories after 1945. The rules established during the Golden Age have come to dominate the genre even retrospectively, such that only the works that align with these expectations are seen as being crime and detective fiction. Measured against the dominant Anglo-American rulebook, post-World War II scholars frequently found German-language forays into the genre wanting.

I propose instead to take three aspects of early German crime and detective fiction that surface in literary histories after 1945—the inclusion of romance, the engagement with themes other than detection, and the problem of a loosely-defined genre—which are seen as disqualifying these works from having created a genre of *Kriminalromane,* and consider how these features were treated in the criticism and literature of the time. Between 1908 and the end of World War I, a handful of monographs and shorter essays in German on modem crime and detective fiction appeared. The most significant among these early publications are Alfred Lichtenstein's 1908 *Der Kriminalroman,* followed in the same year by Arthur Schimmelpfennig's *Beitrdge zur Geschichte des Kriminalromans,* Friedrich Depken's 1914 *Sherlock Holmes, Raffles und ihre Vorbilder,* and Albert Ludwig's "Der Detektiv" in 1918.

Woeller observes that the first critics to take note of the genre were authors in their own right such as G.K. Chesterton (8), but in the German-speaking world, early positions on the *Kriminalroman* are staked out by an Expressionist poet (Lichtenstein), a translator—and likely publisher—(Schimmelpfennig),[31] and a doctoral student (Depken); other contributions include those by the psychologist (and trashy literature warrior) Ernst Schultze, criminologists,[32] and librarians (or those who publish in journals for librarians). While Marsch observes tersely that there was no scholarly debate at this time (47), it is clear that the authors know each others' work and seek to build on it. It would therefore not be accurate to suggest that there was no discourse to provide a contemporary, domestic lens through which to view the *Kriminalroman.* However, as the debate on *Schundliteratur* and the professional interest of criminologists attest, the discourse is fueled by different sources than in England.[33]

Writers of such monographs and essays begin relatively early to offer descriptions—if not strict prescriptions—of the genre. While the distinction between *Kriminalromane* and *Detektivromane* continues to be ambiguous in German, it is simply not accurate to conclude—as Gerteis and Marsch suggest—that early critics therefore undertook only a facile engagement with this emerging genre *qua* genre. One must nevertheless concede that the German-language criticism of this time diverges from its English-language counterpart in the conclusions that it reaches regarding acceptable content.

One contested issue is whether romance has a place in the *Kriminalroman.* While Lichtenstein, likely taking his cue from the bachelor detectives Auguste Dupin and Sherlock Holmes, argues that there should be no romance in a real detective story (7),[34] Schimmelpfennig sees romance as a regular component in the modern *Kriminalroman* such that "the whole thing is infused with a heartfelt love story, itself frequently inseparable from the other [i.e., criminal] narrative" (6). As Schimmelpfennig suggests, the crime authors whom he and his contemporaries praise frequently integrate romance not only as a motive (i.e., jealousy), but as a complicating factor in their plots. To

offer a few examples, in works such as Dietrich Theden's *Advokatenbauer* (1900), Margarethe KoBak's *Die Erbtante* (1906), Karl Rosner's *Der Puppenspieler* (1907), Adolf Stark's *Im Banne der Leidenschaften* (1913), Isidore Kaulbach's *Schatten* (1913) and *Der blaue Schmetterling* (1920), Stefan von Kotze's *Schwarze Perlen* (1919), Hans Hyan's *Edelsteine* (1929), and Theo von Blankensee's *Rdtsel zweier Erauenseelen* (1931), resolving the crime removes a critical obstacle to a romantic relationship, enabling a young couple to be united (or reunited).

How can one account for the regular presence of romance in German-language crime and detective fiction? While Conan Doyle's style was certainly dominant during this period particularly with respect to short-format works, one must recall that internationally popular novels were likewise providing German-language authors (and readers) other long-format works. An author frequently mentioned by scholars (such as Lichtenstein 12), Emile Gaboriau's *L 'affaire Lerouge* (1866) was translated in 1867 and 1887. Another name that appears in contemporary criticism is Anna Katherine Green, whose 1878 novel, *The Leavenworth Case,* appeared as *Schein und Schuld* in 1882, 1895 and 1909 (the latter two times in Robert Lutz's *Sammlung ausgewdhlter Kriminal- und Detektivromane,* which published a number of her other works as well [Schadel 1:318]). Finally, Gaston Leroux's *Lemystere de la chambre jaune* (1907) appeared in 1911, 1920, and 1927. All of these works have been classified as detective novels, but the crimes that they depict take place in a familial context, and each involves a couple that can only be united through resolution of the crime. There is, therefore, continuity across these works and many *Kriminalromane* of the first third of the twentieth century and, one could postulate, an acceptance of this feature as a generic convention. Yet authors during the Golden Age asserted that romance should not appear crime and detective fiction,[35] attitudes that may have led post-World War II critics to reject German *Kriminalromane* as true exemplars of the genre. Instead of dismissing the genre wholesale because of this narrative feature, perhaps one should recognize the adherence of the *Kriminalroman* to an older tradition, and consider instead how the romantic aspect evolves over time.[36]

Similarly criticized by post-World War II scholars was that the plots of *Kriminalromane* did not focus exclusively on the detection of a crime. Already in Lichtenstein's essay, however, there is a sense that focusing on the psychological aspects of criminality in the *Kriminalroman* could raise the reputation of the genre into high—and notably, edifying—literature:

> Poe's crime stories don't just possess the advantage of an incomparably higher literary form, they also demonstrate a psychological depth as with none of his imitators. The modern crime novel must link itself to this principle if it is to achieve a higher literary value and provide an educational impact on its widening readership. (49)

This sentiment is echoed by writers such as Rudolf Fiirst, who suggests in 1908 that the focus on the psychological is already a distinguishing characteristic of the German *Kriminalroman?1* Fiirst likewise links psychological novels with high literature and edification (614); indeed, he believes that the psychological elements in German-language crime and detective fiction distinguish the genre from the mere “excrescence of the Wild West story”.[38] While it is impossible to determine to what extent the debate on *Schundliteratur* influenced German-language authors of crime and detective fiction to attempt to elevate the genre through a more thorough treatment of the psyche, the assertion that (good) *Kriminalromane* should plumb the depth of their characters recurs enough to suggest a trend.

Given the persistent interest in criminology during this period and broad discussions on criminality and legal reform—we will recall the active participation of criminologists in discussions of the *Kriminalroman*—it is not surprising that the psychological becomes foregrounded in the modernist crime novel during the Weimar Republic. As Todd Herzog writes:

> Unlike the analytical detective story that dominated English, French, and American literature in the 1920s, the German crime story dispensed with the figure of the detective (the very incarnation of reason and logic) and crossed over to a focus on the figure of the criminal (often the very incarnation of inexplicability and illogic). The German *crime* novel, in contrast to the English, French, and American *detective* novel, situated itself in a realm outside of reason, logic and order, thus making it a central concern of both the political and aesthetic avant-gardes after World War I. (15)

While I have been approaching the perceived absence of crime and detective fiction in the German-speaking world differently from Herzog, there certainly appears to be continuity between a 1931 description of the best *Kriminalromane* as “the psychological interest of the purely criminal” (Fritz 87),[39] and Herzog’s understanding of the modernist crime novel as “more interested in exploring the relationship between criminals and legitimate society than in identifying criminals and resurrecting boundaries between law and outlaw” (27). Herzog’s analysis of crime stories during the Weimar Republic thus offers another lens through which to understand the unique evolution of the German-language *Kriminalroman* in the nexus between literary and larger cultural, social, and political discourses of the time. As the *Schundliteratur* warriors advocated, precisely this refinement of the *Kriminalroman* may have enabled its move into the realm of more serious literature.

When advocating for a crime novel that explores the psychology of the criminal, it is noteworthy that two German-language works are frequently mentioned by contemporary critics: Huch’s *Deruga* and Wassermann’s *Maurizius,* the two works frequently mentioned in postwar literary histories, but always dismissed as failed attempts at *Kriminalromane*. Writing in 1926,

Ignatz Gentges calls *Deruga* a failed attempt by a real poet to capture a thrilling plot (16); Bernhard Rang suggests in 1929 that *Maurizius* is not consistently strong but that both novels mark an effort in the direction of high-literature crime fiction (4); in 1930, Hanns Martin Elster sees *Maurizius* as evidence that Germans are capable of this kind of deep and clear literature, though the effort is not an entirely successful one (38); only G. Fritz praises *Maurizius* and *Deruga* unconditionally for reaching the heights of intellectual analysis in 1931 (87).

As these reviews suggest, Huch's and Wassermann's works are read by contemporary critics as attempts to elevate the *Kriminalroman,* and are reviewed with ambivalence. No reviewer pinpoints specific shortcomings, but most perceive the works as failures. While I believe that the reviews of Huch's and Wassermann's books promulgate views consistent with the linked discourses during this period, literary historians after 1945 do not consider this context when analyzing the novels. Indeed, in light of such contemporary reviews, it is all the more surprising that *Deruga* and *Maurizius* would be taken up as potential representatives of all *Kriminalromane* of the first third of the twentieth century. It would seem a more sensible approach to investigate authors more consistently praised (and more abundantly prolific in the genre) than these two. Huch's and Wassermann's novels may be ill-positioned to serve as exemplary German-language *Kriminalromane* for the reasons mentioned above, but in the expanding parameters of the modernist crime novel as Herzog characterizes it, they would seem to find a fitting home.

While I do not agree with Herzog's conclusion that there was no German-language detective novel during this period (26), I believe that his argument regarding the rise of the modernist crime novel can be reconciled with mine. My focus here has primarily been on popular works, which were not of interest to Herzog in his study. What the concurrent developments of a modernist German crime novel and a more traditionally-cast detective novel suggest is that the genre in the German-speaking world involved a degree of diversity that may have rendered it more difficult to characterize for later scholars.

Some scholarship on crime and detective fiction has already challenged assertions of generic uniformity. Georg SeeBlen argues, for example, that as the "bastard child of melodrama and rationalization," the crime novel has had from the beginning of its development "a tendency to diversification, to splintering into diverse subgenres with very different narrative strategies, very different perspectives, very different heroes and ambiances" (26). Indeed, even in the Golden Age, where there has been a prevailing attitude of consistency, Stephen Knight observes:

> The term 'golden age' has been criticised as being unduly homogenous and seen as inappropriately 'replete with romantic associations': in fact the types of crime fiction produced in the era were far from uniform—the psychothriller

> and the procedural began, there was a wide range of practice in the mystery and the stories do regularly represent types of social and personal unease which would contradict a notion of an idyllic 'golden' period. (77)

Consistent with Knight's argument, Hickethier points out that a distinguishing characteristic of German *Kriminalromane* of the 1920s is that they mixed with other media (i.e., film), or other genres by thematizing the metropolis, the police, and romance, or by criticizing the legal system (17). The concurrent existence in the German-speaking world of detective fiction (following the 19th-century model of the family saga as described above) and the modernist crime novel offer one such manifestation of diversity and hybridity captured under the single title *Kriminalroman.* If one were not opposed to counting the legs of the millipede, one could undertake a more thorough exploration of prevailing themes across works and time to see how clusters emerge within subgenres. At the very least, revising the expectation that detective fiction of the 1920s must necessarily be homogeneous could go some distance in making crime and detective fiction of the German-speaking world more visible to scholars as a literary form.4"

Beyond SeeBlen's argument that crime and detective fiction accommodates variation, two other factors may have led to an even higher degree of variation within the *Kriminalroman* between 1900 and 1933. First, we recall there were many different authors writing long-format German-language crime and detective fiction during the period (see Figure 2 above). Second, there was no core group of authors emerging in the German-language *Kriminalroman* at the time and thus, to follow a line of argumentation by Moretti, "when a new genre first arises, and no 'central' convention has yet crystallized, its space-of-forms is usually open to the most varied experiments" (77). In the absence of rules, authors experimented. A remarkable consequence of this variation is that few scholars after 1945 could even reach consensus as to who the significant—if isolated—authors worthy of note were.

One focus of this study has been to analyze Post-World War II literary histories and to offer a much-needed corrective to them. Nearly every literary history of German-language crime and detective fiction echoes the sentiments established by Wolcken and Gerteis in 1953: that Germans voraciously read *Kriminalromane*, and yet that there was no home-grown tradition of the genre before 1945. As it appears, these two literary historians laid the groundwork for an attitude that persisted for decades with few exceptions.

In tandem with either refuting (in the case of the first) or revising (in the case of the latter three) the assumptions that prevail in these literary histories on the prerequisites for a literary tradition of crime and detective fiction, I have offered alternative readings in each of the areas. These alternative

readings point to a few places to look to fill in the contours of a tradition: that a number of authors wrote long-format crime and detective fiction, that there are explanations for their current obscurity, that one must consider the implications of the debate on *Schundliteratur,* and that *Kriminalromane* and contemporary criticism on the genre may offer a more authoritative view of the literary landscape at the time.

It has also been necessary to destabilize the dominance of Golden-Age Anglo-American criteria across time and space, which has relegated the German-speaking world to the margins while the detective novel took off elsewhere (cf. Leonhardt 117). By revealing the presence of a domestic tradition and a literary discourse that sought to contain—or at least strongly influence—its growth, we may be able to replace sweeping generalizations with more tempered reflection. The latter view, one that engages with the genre as a product of its own historical developments and a response to them, is consistent with approaches embraced by recent scholars such as Charles Rzepka.

Finally, undertaking a new look at early German-language crime and detective fiction might enable us to put into perspective the rise of crime literature in the period after World War II. To offer only one example, criticism of the legal system appears throughout early German-language works (Hickethier 17), and it continues in postwar German *Kriminalromane* known for their social criticism (Marsch 69-70). Thus, while Erhard Schiitz found it perplexing that, given the lack of a German-language tradition, a group of young German authors should suddenly begin writing detective novels at the end of the 1970s (79), we should no longer be surprised.

[1]My sincere gratitude to John McBratney, Professor of English at John Carroll University, and Patricia Brodsky, Professor Emerita of German at University of Missouri-Kansas City for serving as thoughtful readers of earlier drafts of this manuscript.

[2]Cf. Hans-Otto Hiigel.

[3]Cf. Dorrit Birman, Walter Gerteis, Ulrike Leonhardt, Edgar Marsch, Peter Nusser, Nina Schindler, Erhard Schiitz, Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus, Lucie Schulze, Jorg von Uthmann, and Waltraud Woeller.

[4]This and all subsequent translations are mine.

[5]Stephen Knight offers that, in general terms, this period is usually seen as taking place during the years between the two World Wars, though others expand it to include stories published as early as 1913 and as late as the 1940s. Literary devices associated with Golden Age crime and detective stories are the presence of multiple suspects, a focus on murder over other crimes, a spatially and "socially enclosed" investigation, and a focus on rational (versus intuitional) detection (77-8). I treat German-language crime and detective fiction with respect to the Golden Age in Section VII.

[6]Cf. Patrick Biihler 15; Mirko Schadel notably also first considered limiting his bibliography to the years 1900-33 (7).

[7]According to Schadel's bibliography, Robert Lutz published his *Sammlung ausgewahlter Kriminal- und Detektivromane (Collection of selected crime- and detective novels)* 1891-1928 (2:426), and thus may have been the first publisher to use these terms to name a

book series. While only a few other publishing houses titled their book series to explicitly include crime- and detective novels before 1900, the trend was well established by 1910.

[8]Todd Herzog, for example, suggests continuities before and after 1933 (142-53).

[9]Knut Hickethier alludes, for example, to English-language literature being shut out of Germany in the 1940s (21). Schadel also mentions a number of authors who left Germany, but only infrequently mentions a date of departure.

[10]Lutz published novels and collections of short stories, intermingling translations of established international authors with German-language ones. Lutz acquired the German translation rights to Arthur Conan Doyle's works and established his publishing house as a dominant presence in the genre early on (cf. Reimann, 66). In his 1908 study of the *Kriminalroman,* Alfred Lichtenstein mentions his debt to Lutz in providing material (8).

[11]Woeller, for instance, attributes the rise of short-format crime and detective novels at the turn of the 20th century to the needs of industrial workers as reader-consumers (97).

[12]Schulze (1948) and Birman (1949).

[13]Hiigel similarly reports in 1978 that more than one-third of the titles he considered were not available through libraries at the time of writing (16).

[14]An admitted limitation to this survey is that many shorter works that were not written as mass-produced literature are not included, such as Gabriele von Schlippenbach's *Subotins Erbe* and Margarethe Kossak's *Erbtante.* While the data do not therefore reflect the full picture of domestic production, my intention here is to provide a first scan of works that cannot be summarily dismissed as mass-produced dime novels.

[15]I am indebted to Brendan Foreman. Professor of Mathematics at John Carroll University, for discussing these data with me and creating the graphs included here.

[16]This figure does not include authors who may have written one or more additional works in short format. The author H. A. Byern, for example, wrote a total of 19 works, but only one of them was over 200 pages. That work, *Der Tod, die Frauen und der Fremde* (1930), is included in my study, but he is not considered a single-work author. Authors with works written under another name were also not considered single-work authors.

[17]Based on Schadel's information, only about a tenth of one-time authors appear to have been rewarded with a second printing of their books. By contrast, seven other authors saw their works reprinted as short-format pieces.

[18]See above in Section II.

[19]Biihler writes on the *Schundliteratur* debate in his study of Friedrich Glauser's detective fiction (13-44); Marsch treats the topic in passing (47-9).

[20]Ernst Schultze's essay was reissued in 1911. at the time of the *Hochwacht* discussions, and again in 1925, the latter appearing in the year during which German parliamentary discussions regarding a law against trashy literature took place. I refer to the third edition, which, as Schultze indicates in the foreword, was unaltered from the second.

[21]In their premier issue, editors of *Hochwacht* proclaimed: "The battle against trashy literature and at the same time smut in word and image has become a popular movement. [...] [0]n the one hand, [it calls for] a consolidation, on the other hand, an unrelenting continuation of the battle! Additionally a third [goal]: a centralization of power!" "Was wir wollen." 1 (1910/11): 1-2 (qtd. in Dietzel and Hiigel 569).

[22]Jan-Pieter Barbian notes that the law did not appear to be as consequential as the heated discussions in public and in the Reichstag leading up to the vote had suggested it would be. By January 1933, only 188 publications had been banned; Georg Jiiger similarly notes that efforts to contain *Schundliteratur* mostly failed (188).

[23]This line of argumentation was a common thread running through the debate and provided critics ample justification for banning all *Kriminalromane.* Schultze numbers among those who agree that poorly written *Kriminalromane* could drive their readers to criminal acts ("Kriminal-Literatur" 114). Several essays during this period appeared in works related to criminology, the most telling instance of which is the *Handworterbuch der Kriminologie und der anderen strafrechtlichen Hilfswissenschajten* (1930) that included an entry on the *Kriminalroman* (Englisch).

[24]The series appeared in the Moewig & Hoffner publishing house 1903-31 and featured pieces by Anna Katherine Green, Jacques Futrelle, and Mary Roberts Rinehart as well as Ger-

man authors such as Theo von Blankensee [Matthias Blank], Margarethe Kossak, and Adolf Stark. See Schadel 2:410-11 for a list of works.

25Cf. Frank Chandler's 1907 treatment of the difference between high and low detective fiction in the English-speaking world (547).

26Authorities did not see long-format *Kriminalromane* as dangerous enough to censor categorically, and the laws enacted in 1916 or 1926 do not appear to have led to a reduction in the production of long-format *Kriminalromane* in the years immediately following. In fact, both 1917 and 1927 marked an increase in production. In the years leading up to the laws, the production of long-format admittedly *Kriminalromane* decreased, possibly as a result of speculation on the part of publishing houses that crime and detective fiction might be banned, although World War I most likely played the more significant determining factor of production in 1914 and 1915.

27According to Schadel's bibliography, some works that appear as both long- and short-format include: Matthias Blank, *Der Fall Sommer* (both 1912); Otto Elster, *Der Ring* (long: 1906, short: 1912-16); Ernst Grombeck, *Die indischen Opale* (both 1910); Wilhelm Herbert, *Schritte hinter ilun* (long: 1920, short: 1937); Adolf Hollerl, *Der Diamantenschmetterling* (long: 1906, short: 1912-16 [Berlin: Verlag Moderner Literatur], 1913 [Hanau: Waisenhausbuch-driickerei], 1920, 1929).

28Woeller, for example, overgeneralizes in her brief treatment of the *Schundliteratur* debate. When she writes of Schultze's efforts, she presents them as if they were directed against all crime and detective fiction (115).

29See Section I.

30Given the rediscovery in the 1960s of Swiss author Friedrich Glauser, his name recurs in literary histories by Schmidt, Leonhardt, Schindler, and Woeller. In the absence of other significant contributors to a tradition, though. Glauser is reduced to an outlier (cf. Schmidt 555). Glauser's works were published after 1933 and therefore are not considered in my study.

31Schadel suggests that behind this translator of works such as Mary Roberts Rinehart's is the publisher Arthur Moewig, co-owner of the publishing house Moewig & Hoffner, though his source is unclear (2:144).

32Marsch observes that practitioners of criminology and forensic medicine are interested in the crime narrative almost in equal amount as are literary studies during this period (48).

33In 1931, Henry Douglas Thomson notes that there are strikingly few essays on the English detective story beyond those written by authors (13), reinforcing the notion that that this broad range of engagement with the crime novel may have been a feature unique to the German-speaking world.

34Lichtenstein writes of Gaboriau that these works are romances and therefore not as much about the "analysis of psychological processes" (12).

35In addition to appearing as rule number three in S.S. Van Dine's "Twenty Rules" (189), Dorothy Sayers's introduction to *Great Short Stories ofDetection* from 1928 is frequently cited as another source of such an assertion (40); cf. Schulze (14). Sayers notably violates this principle in her 1930 detective story *Strong Poison.*

36Knut Hickethier, for example, notes that love stories remained a feature of *Kriminalromane* after 1938 in works by authors such as Frank Braun (21).

37Cf. G. Fritz 86; Hugo Beyer 144.

38Fiirst does not, however, mention any German authors from the twentieth century who actually achieve this goal. The works cited by Schultze in 1910 remain those repeated by subsequent authors: E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Fraulein von Scuderi.* Heinrich von Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas,* and Theodor Fontane's *Quitt.*

39Fritz is writing of Erich Wulffen's *Der Mann mit den sieben Masken* (1917).

40Cf. Franco Moretti's argument that the novel should be seen as the "*system of its genres:* the whole program, not one privileged part of it. Some genres are morphologically more significant of course, or more popular, or both—and we must account for this: but not by pretending that they are the only ones that exist" (30).

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