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Imagination, Emotion, and Adolescent Socialization in German Literature
from Romanticism to 1901

by

Brooke Shafar

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts & Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2016
St. Louis, Missouri

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation would certainly not have come to be without the assistance and support of those around me. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Lynne Tatlock. Her tireless encouragement has been both a comfort and an inspiration and she has often demonstrated an uncanny ability to provide that which I did not even know I needed. I have greatly appreciated her counsel and feedback not just on the many drafts of this project, but on the seminar work and comprehensive exams that started us both down this path. I am not sure anything that I say in English or German will properly convey my appreciation and gratitude, so I will give it a try in Elvish: *Ma serannas, lethallan. Ma melava halani.*

Jennifer Kapczynski and Erin McGlothlin have both contributed a great deal to this undertaking and I am indebted to them for their involvement. I have appreciated their willingness to serve on this committee, their careful reading of the dissertation chapters and discussing them together, and their humor and good cheer that makes working with them such a pleasure. Most importantly, I am grateful for their encouragement to do things I have needed to do but might never have done otherwise and to embrace avenues of academic inquiry that might have seemed too far afield.

Thanks are also due to Matt Erlin, both for agreeing to serve as a member of the dissertation committee and for providing me with unique learning opportunities and funding through his participation in the Text Mining the Novel grant – experiences that have and will continue to shape my research. I am grateful to Joe Loewenstein, who has, in addition to agreeing to serve on this committee, positively influenced and supported me and my research via the Humanities Digital Workshop. I appreciated having the opportunity to participate in his Mellon seminar on the digital humanities.

I have benefited a great deal from my time spent in the Humanities Digital Workshop. To that end, I want to thank Doug Knox and Steve Pentecost. I learned a great deal from them, and that knowledge has served me both as a research assistant and for my own work. They consulted with me on the text mining project that appears in the third chapter of this dissertation, and I would have been unable to complete that portion of the dissertation without them.

I have been fortunate to have great friends and colleagues at Washington University. I am grateful to Necia Chronister, Ervin Malakaj, Shane Peterson, Sarah and Erik Varela, Alex Wille, and Julia Wu, who helped me in various ways to find my way and feel at home here and who have more recently been supportive from afar. To Alex I am particularly thankful for our Sunday brunchtime game sessions and talks. Closer to home, Heidi Grek, Mikael Olsson-Berggren, and Claire Ross have been terrific and supportive friends; I will miss the dinners and trips to Three Kings. I owe a special thank you to Empress Sanders, who has always offered encouragement, a friendly ear, or a side-splitting laugh at just the right moment.

I would be remiss if I did not express my gratitude to Laura McGee, who has remained a supportive and encouraging friend and mentor since I left Western Kentucky University. She is the reason I am here in the first place and I am always humbled by the fact that she still takes the time to believe in me.

Finally, I would like to thank Jaina for her company during these last few years. Her affection, sass, and fierceness both confound and inspire me.

For Hattie and Buck

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Imagination, Emotion, and Adolescent Socialization in German Literature
from Romanticism to 1901

by

Brooke Shafar

Doctor of Philosophy in Germanic Languages and Literatures

Washington University in St. Louis, 2016

Professor Lynne Tatlock, Chair

This dissertation explores the representation of imagination, emotion, and adolescent socialization in German literature of the nineteenth century, in both canonical and popular texts, beginning with the work of E. T. A. Hoffmann in the early part of the century and ending with Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in 1901. I examine my topic through a number of lenses. The dissertation is divided into two parts, each with two chapters. In the first part, I show how these representations of character imagination and emotion are variously tied to historical questions of adolescence and socialization that appear in the literature of the period. In the first chapter, I analyze the importance of toys and miniatures in depicting imagination and emotion. As I show, disruptions in scale between these miniatures and the real world reflect characters' struggles with the transition into adulthood. In the second chapter, I address books and the importance of reading and listening to texts; I show that "good" and "bad" forms of reading affect imagination and the maturation process. Concerned primarily with language and the construction of character thought and emotion, the second half of the dissertation traces how language affects the representation of adolescence. In the last two chapters, I use cognitive narrative theory and digital text mining to examine both the failure to express one's thoughts and feelings and the

blurring of boundaries between individual character minds. My investigation of imagination and affect in these texts sheds light on nineteenth-century understandings of socialization, adolescence, and the formation (and criticism) of social groups as reflected in literature – particularly the bourgeoisie; I am particularly interested in how these texts see questions of conformity – how the individual was meant to fit within the contemporary social world and how the individual chose to resist or question social norms. This dissertation shows how authors contributed to the modern, developing understandings of childhood and adolescence and tried to find ways to narrate the experience of this time of life, which was in some ways a new phenomenon.

Introduction

In the frame narrative of E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Serapionsbrüder*, storyteller Lothar is taken to task by the other members of the group after he recounts his fairy tale, *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*. His listeners are mystified by the uncanny elements of the story and assure Lothar that no child could ever understand the fairy tale and master its numerous threads or multilayered meanings. Despite the unanimous skepticism of the others, Lothar remains resolute in his assertion that his story is a good fairy tale and appropriate for children:

“Es ist,” fuhr er fort, “überhaupt meines Bedünkens ein großer Irrtum, wenn man glaubt, daß lebhaft phantasiereiche Kinder, von denen hier nur die Rede sein kann, sich mit inhaltsleeren Fasseleien, wie sie oft unter dem Namen Märchen vorkommen, begnügen. Ei — sie verlangen wohl was Besseres, und es ist zum erstaunen, wie richtig, wie lebendig sie manches im Geiste auffassen, das manchem grundgescheiten Papa gänzlich entgeht. Erfahrt es und habt Respekt!”¹

Lothar defends his story because he believes that children have a gift for imagination and fantasy that allows them to see something that differentiates their reading from that of adults; he believes that they are sophisticated readers in their own right and that adults are prone to miss the most important points – much as his audience appears to have missed the point with his telling of *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*.

¹ Hoffmann, E. T. A. “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” in *Poetische Werke*. Vol. 3. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 318.

Hoffmann addresses this difference between children and adults in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* itself. After telling Marie the fairy tale about the hard nut in which the origins of the nutcracker are explained, Droßelmeier confirms for Marie that she must be the one to help the nutcracker defeat the mouse king and return to his true form. She is, in fact, the only one capable of providing this assistance. Upon hearing this strange conversation, Marie's father more or less suggests that Droßelmeier needs to have his head examined, having little knowledge of what has transpired under his own roof since designating Marie the special caretaker of the nutcracker. Marie's mother, on the other hand, despite her admonishments of Marie's previous behavior in the living room during the toy battle, shows that she may have some idea of what Droßelmeier is trying to tell the young and determined Marie: "Nur die Medizinalrätin schüttelte bedächtig den Kopf und sprach leise: 'Ich ahne wohl, was der Obergerichtsrat meint, doch mit deutlichen Worten sagen kann ich's nicht.'" ² While her father remains completely oblivious, Marie's mother shows that she at least at one time might have understood what is happening in Marie's world – be it fantasy or reality – but she has since lost that connection.

Hoffmann's text foregrounds the ways in which children and adults appear to operate with very different understandings of the world and emphasizes in the story of *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* the experiences of young Marie and her development and growth from imaginative child to something approaching an adult by the story's end who, if only in the realm of her own fantasies, still has "Augen darnach" for that which confounds adult understandings of reality. ³ In a sense, if one believes in the possibility of Marie's happy ending, the text is about her socialization into the bourgeois ideal of wife and future mother despite the fact that she must defy gender expectations by helping the nutcracker stand up to the mouse king in order to do so.

² Ibid 295

³ Ibid 318

This concern for narrating and depicting the experience of children and adolescents is not, however, limited to Hoffman.

This dissertation examines representations of imagination, affect, and adolescent socialization in predominantly bourgeois literature of the nineteenth century. It seeks to explore how these texts both contributed to and reflected the reality of growing up and the difficulties that emerged as a result of the bourgeois social norms and the resulting prevailing anxieties about raising children and adolescents to become productive, respectable adults. My investigation of imagination and affect in these texts sheds light on nineteenth-century understandings of socialization, adolescence, and the formation (and criticism) of social groups – particularly the bourgeoisie; I am especially interested in conformity, deviance, and dissent as expressed in literary evocations of mind and emotion. In order to carry out my analysis, I examine theories of play and pedagogy with regard to toys, the importance of reading in the century that saw the greatest overall increase in literacy, as well as the ways in which literary texts narrate the struggles of language and the ways in which communities exert an influence over their most impressionable members.

This introduction will first offer an overview of the relevant social and historical developments in the nineteenth century with regard to bourgeois culture, in particular the debates surrounding children's education and the emergence of the book market. Understanding the social expectations of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture offers a backdrop for considering the ways in which adolescent imagination and emotion are depicted in the literary texts of the century. These texts respond to the fears surrounding proper socialization of adolescents in varying ways, and each suggests a judgment in how one should understand the social norms and

their importance in the maturation process. I conclude the introduction with a brief overview of each of the individual chapters and explain what aspect of this topic is addressed.

Bourgeois Culture, Education, and Reading

The nineteenth century was one of rapid change that occurred in all major aspects of life – from the impact of industrialization and urban migration to the emergence of the middle-class family. The notion of family in particular saw many changes from the late-eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Specifically, the “Bürgerliche Kleinfamilie” became the dominant image of the family during this period.⁴ With this development, the modern notion of a protracted childhood and adolescence begins to take hold, changing the way adults and children interacted within society and with each other.⁵ As more attention was paid to the way children were raised, questions about proper pedagogy and socialization for both boys and girls followed. This preparation for adulthood involved both official and unofficial educational channels.

The set gender roles for men and women were quite rigid and left little room for those being brought up in these roles to deviate from expected behaviors. Wolfgang Kaschuba has remarked on “...the extent to which the children were already being prepared for their later roles in public life....There was, at the same time, a clear preparation for specific gender roles.”⁶

⁴ See, for example, Reiner Wild, “Aufklärung,” in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild, 43-95. (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008); Hans-Heino Ewers, “Romantik,” in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild, 96-130. (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008); Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die Familie: Geschichte, Geschichten und Bilder*. (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1976).

⁵ Heidi Rosenbaum addresses some ways in which ideas about the raising of children were changing. See Heidi Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie: Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Familienverhältnissen, Sozialstruktur und sozialem Wandel in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982), 267-71.

⁶ Wolfgang Kaschuba. “German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800: Culture as Symbolic Practice,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (London: Berg Publishers, 1993), 408.

Different expectations were placed on boys and girls growing up in this social stratum, just as men and women had different roles to play in adult society.⁷ According to Ute Frevert, “Frauen, lautete die Botschaft, gehörten einer anderen Welt als Männer: der Welt der Liebe und Familie, der Kultur und Ästhetik.”⁸ Women's attentions were to be directed internally into the home. Thus, the end goal for girls in this period was ultimately to marry suitable men, become mothers, and raise their children appropriately so that they could follow in their parents' footsteps, and girls were educated to fit into this role.⁹ Part of this education was carried out through the reading of books specifically designed to explain proper female behavior. These books, which will be discussed further below, were meant to serve as a blueprint for success. According to Nancy Armstrong, “...pedagogical literature for women mapped out a field of knowledge that would produce a specifically female form of subjectivity. To gender this field, things within the field itself had to be gendered.”¹⁰

The expansion of the book market and rapid increase in the number of literate individuals in the nineteenth century is an important part of the development of bourgeois cultural norms.¹¹ Lynne Tatlock explains, “...that books both addressed and helped to form a national community of readers,”¹² a community that would see many developments in the years to come. Thomas Nipperdey has written about the “Verbürgerlichung der Künste” in the nineteenth century,

⁷ See, for example, Matthew Jeffries, *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871-1918* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 18-91; and Peter Gay, *Schnitzler's Century: The Making of Middle-Class Culture, 1815-1914* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 47-49.

⁸ Ute Frevert. “Kulturfrauen und Geschäftsmänner,” in “*Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann.*” *Geschlechter-Differenz in der Moderne* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 157.

⁹ Lynne Tatlock, “Introduction,” in *From a Good Family*, trans. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 1999), xx.

¹⁰ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987), 14.

¹¹ See David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: a History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), xiii.

¹² Lynne Tatlock, “Introduction,” in *Publishing Culture and the “Reading Nation”*: *German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 3.

referring both to the expansion of the literary market as well as the increased ease of access to theater, music, and other forms of art; this “Verbürgerlichung der Künste” brings with it reflection on the self and the inner world.¹³ The reading habits of this era were based to a certain degree on the new capabilities of the industry itself and what it was able to offer potential readers, and partially on cultural and social influences that emerged as part of the changing landscape of reading in Imperial Germany.

In the realm of technology, book production, trade, and reading were influenced by both directly and indirectly related factors that enabled the expansion of the book industry as well as changes to personal reading practices. The emergence of gas lighting into everyday use, for example, had already in the early years of the century paved the way for easier and more protracted reading into the darker hours of the day.¹⁴ The presence of both the railway and the telegraph had also made trading easier¹⁵ because of the expedited transportation and communication between cities; the increased use of trains for personal transportation also invited a new opportunity for reading as a pastime during travel.¹⁶ These factors would have impacted mostly the urban areas from which they initially emerged, and may have been somewhat less noticed in more rural areas. Cities were, however, seeing an influx of inhabitants, with some populations doubling and even tripling in the span of twenty-five years. This growth was due both to migration and to the overall increase in the population of Germany, which grew from about forty-one million in 1871 to around 65 million in 1910.¹⁷

¹³ Thomas Nipperdey, *Wie das Bürgertum die Moderne fand* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1998), 7-40.

¹⁴ David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 114

¹⁵ Charlotte Woodford, “Introduction,” in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, eds. Charlotte Woodford and Benedict Schofield (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), 3.

¹⁶ Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 114

¹⁷ Alberto Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756-1914)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 290.

The technology of book making also saw a multitude of breakthroughs and changes throughout the century that were further facilitated by the harnessing of steam power and (later) electricity to operate the presses and other necessary machines.¹⁸ The industrial printing press, or *Schnellpresse*, was invented by Friedrich Koenig in 1814, but it was not employed in Germany until a few years later.¹⁹ The 1860s saw the advent of the rotary press, which enabled publishers to produce mass editions of their books much more cost effectively than in the past. Print runs thus increased in size, and though books generally remained too expensive for the average German to buy a large number, publishers were able to offer some cheaper editions and other types of publications that made literature (widely construed) available and affordable to more people than ever before.²⁰ There were also changes in paper production, which benefited from steam power as well. In 1844, Friedrich Gottlob Keller invented a method of processing paper from wood pulp instead of rags. Paper became even less expensive once sulfite pulp entered the equation in the 1870s. (Of course, this paper was also much more acidic and is the reason many books did not stand the test of time.)²¹ Toward the end of the century, the typesetting machine, put into use in 1884, and the folding machine developed around 1890 also helped further to streamline the production process.²² Gabriele Scheidt has also identified the overall growth of the book trade from the 1870s to the first World War due to the

¹⁸ Peter Neumann, "Industrielle Buchproduktion," in *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Georg Jäger (Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, 2001): 177.

¹⁹ There is a bit of a discrepancy in the information here with regard to actual dates of invention and actual implementation. See Woodford, "Introduction," 3 and Neumann, "Industrielle Buchproduktion," 170. Additionally, see Ernst-Peter Biesalski, "Die Entwicklung der industriellen Buchbinderei im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Gebunden in der Dampfbuchbinderei: Buchbinden im Wandel des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 61-98. Wolfenbüttler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens 20. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 62.

²⁰ Tatlock, "Introduction," *Publishing Culture*, 5

²¹ See Neumann, "Industrielle Buchproduktion," 179 and Woodford, "Introduction," 3-4

²² Jochen Schulte-Sasse, "Toward a 'Culture' for the Masses: The Socio-Psychological Function of Popular Literature in Germany and the U.S., 1880-1920." *New German Critique* 29 (1983): 86.

“Akkumulation” of these various forms of technological improvements, and describes it as a period of “Hochindustrialisierung” for the book industry.²³

By the time of German unification, the reading population of Germany looked quite different from that of the previous century. For one thing, the literacy rate had increased significantly. These rates varied by region, but by 1871 Germany, scholars have estimated, was around 88 to 90 per cent literate, and by the turn of the century that number was higher.²⁴ One of the most extensive collections of data on literacy belongs to the work of Rolf Engelsing, who traces literacy rates in Germany and other nearby countries based on enlistment and marriage records according to region.²⁵ Rudolf Schenda’s book, *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoff 1770-1910*, is largely concerned with parsing out the makeup of the reading public during both the first and second reading “revolutions,” and establishing some sense of reader habits and preferences. He identifies Prussia and the Catholic areas of Germany as regions where literacy rates remained lower than average. His statistics also point to the relatively rapid change in literacy for the population in Germany. In 1770, around the time of the first major increase in reading in Europe, he estimates that only fifteen per cent of the population of central Europe were potential readers. By 1900, he estimates literacy jumps to ninety per cent.²⁶

²³ Gabriele Scheidt, *Der Kolportagebuchhandel (1869-1905)* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), 132-33.

²⁴ Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 313. See also Rudolf Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoff 1770-1910*. Studien zur Philosophie und Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 5. (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1970), 444.

²⁵ See Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft*. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973), 96-101 for his assessment of literacy rate increases throughout the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*, 444

Aside from the fact that there were more people who were capable of reading, there were other factors that contributed to the upsurge in reading. The shortening of the average work day allowed for more leisure time²⁷ for activities such as reading. As readers were increasing, limitations on publishing were also reduced. Censorship of print-based materials had been (relatively speaking) reduced after 1848, though writers of texts deemed subversive could still be tried under the criminal code for certain kinds of transgressions (such as libel).²⁸ With the unification of Germany, the copyright laws were also conformed to national standards and further improved upon in 1901, thus encouraging authors to publish their writing with the assurance of the better (relatively speaking) protection of their work.²⁹

Many of the literary classics were also taken out of copyright in 1867, which allowed publishers to print affordable editions of the classic texts as well, therefore returning them to wider circulation amongst other more contemporary texts and contributing to the formation of a literary canon.³⁰ Perhaps one of the best examples of this development would be the publisher Reclam, who capitalized on this release from copyright in order to establish the *Universalbibliothek*, which offered readers more affordable editions of these classic works.³¹ One sees this engagement with the classics reflected in the literary works, as the protagonists of novels are frequently described as reading these older texts alongside more contemporary fare.

²⁷ Martyn Lyons, "New Readers," 314

²⁸ Gary Stark, *Banned in Berlin: Literary Censorship in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 2.

²⁹ Reinhard Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels: Ein Überblick*. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1991), 274.

³⁰ Tatlock "Introduction" 10

³¹ Lynne Tatlock, "The Afterlife of Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction and the German Imaginary: The Illustrated Collected Novels of E. Marlitt, W. Heimbürg, and E. Werner," in *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Lynne Tatlock. (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010): 118.

The way people were reading and what they chose to read were also changing. Many scholars have pointed to the difference between “intensive vs extensive” reading.³² This development has also been documented as part of the change in reading taking place at the end of the eighteenth century. The 1770s are often cited as the first extensive expansion of popular reading and literature that took place in Germany as well as in other countries in Europe.³³ Numbers of readers began to increase across classes, level of education, and gender, but perhaps not to the extent that this pattern continues into the nineteenth century.³⁴ Instead of readers limiting themselves to a few texts that they read over and over again (intensive), they began to read a wider variety of texts fewer times (extensive). This change in behavior made the expansion of a mass market all the more sustainable for producers, as readers were waiting for the next installment of a serialized novel or the next book by their author of choice. Moreover, there were relatively affordable ways for readers to practice this type of reading even if they did not have excessive amounts of disposable income. Lower income readers still did not have the resources to purchase a great deal of books, but there were other forms of reading such as periodicals and pamphlets that gave them access to some reading material.³⁵ Reading societies and commercial lending libraries (which allowed one to borrow books for a small fee) increased in popularity, though by the end of the century lending libraries were eventually overtaken by the growth of public libraries.³⁶ *Volksbibliotheken* and *Büchereien* frequently operated by religious

³² For more on this topic, see William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004): 11. St. Clair cites Rolf Engelsing’s *Der Bürger als Leser 1500-1800* as the originator of this distinction. See also Tatlock “Introduction” 6 and Alberto Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756-1914)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 9.

³³ Schulte-Sasse, “Toward a ‘Culture,’” 86

³⁴ St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 10-11

³⁵ Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*, 452

³⁶ See Robin Lenman, John Osborne and Eda Sagarra, “Imperial Germany: Towards the Commercialization of Culture,” in *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Rob Burns (Oxford:

groups also offered another method to obtain books.³⁷ For those who could afford them, collectible and illustrated editions of books and boxed sets also became more prominent in the market and could serve a decorative function and were also emblematic of the emerging consumer culture.³⁸

While the number of readers across classes increased after unification and through to the turn of the century, the majority of the popular literature published during the last three decades of the nineteenth century tended to reflect the ideals and values of the German middle class, and at least initially most readers were of the middle class.³⁹ A very small percentage of highly educated readers were interested in the “classics,” but by and large *Unterhaltungsliteratur* was the most prominent form of literature in Imperial Germany. According to Schenda, the average reader generally sought out “billige Lesestoffe” and tended to favor choosing a known quantity such as a well-known, favorite author over something new.⁴⁰ Variety and the desire for information and learning were also not completely out of the question, however, as far as reading preferences were concerned.⁴¹ Aside from providing entertainment and the occasional novelty, popular literature, as scholars have argued, also had farther-reaching impacts on culture and society. Schulte-Sasse sees the literature of this period as taking on a “function of socialization. . . and acculturation. . .” for its readers.⁴² Furthermore, he states that, “The successful popular

Oxford UP, 1995), 23; see also Monika Estermann and Jäger, “Voraussetzungen und Entwicklungstendenzen,” in *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Georg Jäger. (Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, 2001), 23.

³⁷ Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek*, 304-305

³⁸ Lynne Tatlock looks at such editions of books by popular writers Eugenie Marlitt, Wilhelmine Heimbürg, and E. Werner. See “The Afterlife of Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction and the German Imaginary: The Illustrated Collected Novels of E. Marlitt, W. Heimbürg, and E. Werner,” in *Publishing Culture and the “Reading Nation”: German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 123-132.

³⁹ Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*, 458 and Schulte-Sasse, “Toward a ‘Culture,’” 87

⁴⁰ Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*, 458, 467, 473

⁴¹ *Ibid* 475-76

⁴² Schulte-Sasse, “Toward a ‘Culture,’” 96

literature of this period helped economically and ideologically destabilized social classes to once again secure and legitimize their crumbling identity through imaginary experiences.”⁴³ The implication that this literature was somehow instructive or at least re-affirming of certain ideals leads to another important aspect of understanding reading in the last two decades or so of the nineteenth century: its role as a form of education.

As a result of the growth in number of readers and amount (and types) of reading material available, debates emerged about what was appropriate material for different types of audiences, what made for “real” literature versus *Trivial-* and *Schundliteratur*, and what would best enable readers to better themselves from their current cultural and intellectual standpoint. Many thought that reading could enable people of all stations to improve themselves, if they were reading appropriate content that would not lead them astray. Völkner, who writes about the latter part of the century, explains, “Faced with the rise of modern consumer culture and its new forms of entertainment, conservative, communist, and liberal leaders alike called on every German to frequent local libraries and bookstores in order to seek out Goethe, Schiller, and other highlights of German *Bildung*. The broadly accepted belief was that ‘reading up’ and engaging in Germany’s cultural traditions would not only improve every individual but bolster the young nation’s strength by steeling the masses against the influences of mass culture and by displaying Germany’s cultural power.”⁴⁴ Readers were left somewhere in the divide between the “Kulturbuch” and the “Massenbuch.”⁴⁵

⁴³ Ibid 93

⁴⁴ Katrin Völkner, “*Bildung* for Sale: Karl Robert Langewiesche’s *Blaue Bücher* and the Business of ‘Reading Up,’” in *Publishing Culture and the “Reading Nation”*: German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century, ed. Lynne Tatlock. (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 251.

⁴⁵ Wittmann, *Geschichte*, 277

Following this desire from various community leaders to guide readers and young children both to better sources of information and to better reading habits, educational texts also emerged as a prominent and newly widespread genre of book. With the changes and increased regulations over the German education system for both boys and girls, there was an increase in the demand for school books.⁴⁶ Certain book publishers began to specialize in the production of these school books, and some, such as Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and Velhagen and Klasing, came to occupy a large share of the market in certain regions of Germany.⁴⁷

Children's literature in general was also on the rise, which further contributed to the identification of "childhood."⁴⁸ In the eighteenth century, there were approximately 3000 books produced for children, including school books, according to Reiner Wild. This equated to roughly two percent of the total book production. As the notion of childhood changed and was gradually extended, a need for more literature for children arose.⁴⁹ Children's literature was at home in the *Kinderstube*, as adults began spatially separating from their children within the household.

Of particular importance during this era (and of interest when assessing the connection between reading and education) was women and girls' reading. Women were increasingly regarded as a viable audience for print material, and many publishers and publications such as *Die Gartenlaube* began to capitalize on that fact and to publish texts tailored to the female audience.⁵⁰ Aside from periodical publications, the genre of choice for women appeared to be

⁴⁶ Lyons, "New Readers," 324

⁴⁷ Jennifer Askey, "A Library for Girls: Publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and the Novels of Brigitte Augusti," in *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 162.

⁴⁸ Lyons, "New Readers," 324

⁴⁹ Wild, "Aufklärung," 43

⁵⁰ Tatlock, "Introduction," *Publishing Culture*, 7

the novel. Lyons claims, “Novels were held suitable for women, because they were seen as creatures of the imagination, of limited intellectual capacity, both frivolous and emotional. The novel was the antithesis of practical and instructive literature. It demanded little, and its sole purpose was to amuse readers with time on their hands. Above all, the novel belonged to the domain of the imagination.”⁵¹ One might dispute the assertion that all the novels women were reading were exclusively “frivolous and emotional;” and the nineteenth century is not the first moment in which the novel is considered suspect – one need only look at *Don Quixote*. The connection to the imagination is in any case one that will be explored in greater depth in chapter two of this dissertation, and though a number of female protagonists in certain novels are depicted as possessing a vivid imagination, the imagination and its potential (and difficulties) are by no means limited to female experience – as we will see.

Of course, this increase in women’s reading (and specifically novel reading) caused a certain amount of anxiety because of the potential for girls and young women to internalize a mindset that did not reflect bourgeois ideology. According to Albisetti, “Two major themes dominate much of the prescriptive literature about female education published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: a deep fear about the possibility of the miseducation (*Verbildung*) of girls and a conviction that women required formal preparation for their ‘natural’ calling to be wives, mothers, and housekeepers.”⁵² This fear first emerges at the end of the previous century, but it persists through the nineteenth century well into Imperial German. Jennifer Askey addresses the importance of girls’ reading for bourgeois society and the ideal didactic purpose behind:

⁵¹ Lyons, “New Readers,” 319

⁵² James Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 10.

However, the primacy of reading as a middle-class girl's avenue to self-improvement and the attainment of cultural knowledge points to the important function of these books about social behavior in helping girls negotiate the private and public sides of their representative role in the middle-class family. In an environment that placed a premium on respectability and public decorum, reading and books fulfilled crucial functions in relating political, sexual, and emotional information to a young, female population not easily granted access to the world of mature adult discourse.⁵³

Girls were not meant to have fantastic adventures, according to Askey, but rather they were limited to what Wilkending refers to as "Beschränkte Abenteuer" – stories that are curtailed by their focus on domestic subject matter and adherence to proper social norms.⁵⁴

The emergence of advice literature for young women and girls appears to be a countermeasure or contrast to the novels described above and a way to assuage fears about reading interfering too much with the education of girls and young women. These books were meant to instruct girls and women on topics such as the transition into adulthood, the proper managing of the family household, and the raising of children -- essentially providing a form of what has been called "Lesesozialization."⁵⁵ Häntzschel notes that there is a certain amount of uniformity in the visual presentation of these materials. As he explains, "Die meisten Büchern ähneln einander in ihrer äußeren Gestaltung. Es sind gefällig aufgemachte, mit Goldschnitt und Titelverzierung ausgeschmückte, durch idyllische Illustrationen angereicherte Bände im Duodez- bis Oktavformat."⁵⁶ The similarities in the exterior design of the books would serve to make these books recognizable as a distinct genre. The titles of these books also tended to give away

⁵³ Jennifer Askey, *Good Girls, Good Germans: Girls' Education and Emotional Nationalism in Wilhelminian Germany* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 2.

⁵⁴ Askey, *Good Girls*, 13

⁵⁵ Jana Mikota, "For the Love of Words and Works: Tailoring the Reader for Higher Girls' Schools in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany," in *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock. (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 181.

⁵⁶ Günter Häntzschel, "'Für fromme, reine und stille Seelen': Literarischer Markt und 'weibliche' Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*, ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler, 2:119-28. (Munich: Beck, 1988), 122.

the pedagogical angles: included among them were titles such as “Vom Schulmädels bis zur Großmutter” by Tony Schumacher and “Uns’re Pilgerfahrt von der Kinderstube bis zum eigenen Heerd” by Elise Polko. As Häntzschel also emphasizes, these books were not meant necessarily to be a one-time read. “Dementsprechend sind diese Bücher nicht zur einmaligen Lektüre bestimmt, sie wollen ‘durchgelebt’ werden, die Leserin soll sie in den verschiedensten Situationen zur Hand nehmen und darin Trost finden wie in einem Gebetbuch oder in der Bibel.”⁵⁷ These books represent one case in which “intensive” reading would better characterize how these books were (at least meant to be) experienced. In a similar vein, Häntzschel also identifies books such as “gereinigte Ausgaben” of certain literary works (such as the poetry of Heine), “Frauenspezifische Fachbücher” (often related to the problems of the home), and collections of quotations as other forms of “educational” texts produced specifically with women in mind.⁵⁸

The increase in reading was further served by the rapid expansion of the periodical press, particularly in the latter half of the century. The most prominent of these magazines was *Die Gartenlaube*, founded by Ernst Keil in 1853 and started with a circulation of around 6,000.⁵⁹ By 1875, the circulation of the magazine had grown to 385,000 copies. The number of actual readers of the magazine is estimated to be in the millions, based on hypotheses about how many people might have read each printed copy of *Die Gartenlaube* -- both in Germany and abroad.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Häntzschel, “Literarischer Markt,” 123

⁵⁸ See Häntzschel, “Literarischer Markt,” 125 and Günter Häntzschel, *Bildung und Kultur bürgerlicher Frauen 1850-1918* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), 31-38.

⁵⁹ Kirsten Belgum, “A Nation for the Masses: Production of German Identity in the Late-Nineteenth-Century Popular Press,” in *A User’s Guide to German Cultural Studies*, eds. Scott Denham, Irene Kacandes, and Jonathan Petropoulos, 163-80 (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1997), 165.

⁶⁰ See Belgum “Nation” 165 and Katrin Kohl, “E. Marlitt’s Bestselling Poetics,” in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, eds. Charlotte Woodford and Benedict Schofield (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), 183. Estimates reach around five million for the total number of readers of *Die Gartenlaube*.

Much of the magazine's success and wider circulation is attributed to the serialized works of Eugenie Marlitt, a selection of whose works will be analyzed alongside the more canonical texts.⁶¹ Keil actually changed the plan for the format of his magazine in order to accommodate Marlitt's texts; he had initially not wanted to include lengthier works that would need to be serialized, but decided to do so and did reap the benefit of Marlitt's appeal.⁶² Bonter explains, "Marlitts Bücher fanden dankbare Leser in allen Gruppen der Gesellschaft, wobei das interessierte Lesepublikum vom Kleinbürgertum, stellenweise sogar Proletariat, bis zum gebildeten Großbürgertum und Adel reichte."⁶³ Her cross-class appeal made her into a great success in this era, and she will be discussed in chapters one and three of this dissertation.

Scholars stress the importance of *Die Gartenlaube* both for its role in expanding the press in Germany as well as for its intentions to include the largest readership possible by reaching out to the entire family. Barth writes, "Als im Herbst des Jahres 1853 die erste Nummer der "Gartenlaube" erschien, begann gleichsam die publizistische Epoche einer Zeitschriftengattung, die den eigentlichen Grundstein für die Massenpresse in Deutschland legte."⁶⁴ The importance of these magazines for mass communication is echoed by Andreas Graf: "Mit ihr begann das Zeitalter der Massenkommunikation mit den Möglichkeiten zu einer breiten Unterhaltung."⁶⁵ Aside from being a blueprint for other magazines to follow, *Die Gartenlaube* also served a larger

⁶¹ Kohl, "E. Marlitt's Bestselling Poetics," 183

⁶² Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres has noted Marlitt's influence on popular serialized fiction in the nineteenth century. See Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8.

⁶³ Ursula Bonter, *Der Populärroman in der Nachfolge von E. Marlitt* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 10-11.

⁶⁴ Dieter Barth, "Das Familienblatt – ein Phänomen der Unterhaltungspresses des 19. Jahrhunderts. Beispiele zur Grundungs- und Verlagsgeschichte." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*. 15 (1975): 124.

⁶⁵ Andreas Graf, "Familien- und Unterhaltungszeitschriften," in *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Georg Jäger. Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, 2001), 409.

cultural function — that of creating a sense of a united “German” audience. Kit Belgum has argued that *Die Gartenlaube* was instrumental in helping to forge a new image of what it meant to be German: “In the first place, the magazine’s explicitly stated goal was to reach the entire middle-class family. This appeal to the family was a central, but as yet not fully explored, aspect of the magazine’s program of becoming a mouthpiece for an emergent ‘main-stream’ German society. And, beyond this, the *Gartenlaube* was a space in which a national identity was constructed and mediated in late nineteenth-century Germany for a broad audience.”⁶⁶

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into four chapters, each of which examines the topic of imagination, emotion, and adolescent socialization from a different perspective. In the first two chapters, I show how these representations of character imagination and emotion are variously tied to historical questions of adolescence and socialization that appear in the literature of the period. In the last two chapters, I use cognitive narrative theory and digital text mining to examine the failure to express one’s thoughts and feelings and the blurring of boundaries between individual character minds.

The texts I have chosen to analyze in this dissertation span in publication dates from 1816 to 1901. They all focus on at least one character, usually the protagonist, who is in some stage of childhood or adolescence, and follow at least part of these characters’ maturation and growth into adulthood. The topic of adolescence and socialization is therefore a central component to each of the works that appear here. While the majority of the characters I address are female,

⁶⁶ Kirsten Belgum, “Domesticating the Reader: Women and ‘Die Gartenlaube.’” *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature and Culture*. 9 (1993): 91.

there are also male characters represented by the text selection; I show that the struggles of adolescence are not limited by gender.

In the first chapter, I analyze the importance of toys and miniatures for adolescent socialization. Toys and miniatures were considered by some to be important pedagogical tools for children to learn to be adults. Their presence in the literature of the period reinforces this point but the ways in which they are treated suggest that play is not such a straightforward activity. Instead, the moments where the scale between the miniature and the real world reflects the inner turmoil that the characters endure as they attempt in the process of growing up to reconcile their own wants and needs with those of their society, with both successes and failures. I turn first to E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* and *Das fremde Kind* because these novellas, often considered fairy tales and sometimes as fairy tales for children, pose questions that remain relevant throughout the century. I follow this first look at Hoffmann with a comparison of the female protagonists in Eugenie Marlitt's *Blaubart* and Gabriele Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*, and conclude with an assessment the male characters of Gottfried Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich* and Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in order to offer a comparison to the way in which female imagination and emotion is depicted in conjunction with toys and miniatures.

The second chapter takes an in-depth look at the importance of reading and listening to narratives as mentioned already. In addition to toys, books were also the subject of much debate as to their potential pedagogical uses. An entire genre of guide books emerged for the sole purpose of priming young adolescents for their future gender-specific roles in society. This chapter looks at the ways in which reading is depicted in literature and how that depiction is tied to character imagination and the transition to adulthood. There is a great deal of anxiety expressed in these texts about what constitutes "good" and "bad" reading for both girls and boys,

and this anxiety, generally felt by the adults, has an influence on how the protagonists understand and relate to their own reading. Here, I discuss *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* in conjunction with *Buddenbrooks*, *Der grüne Heinrich* as compared with *Aus guter Familie*, and conclude with an assessment of Wilhelm Raabe's *Prinzessin Fisch*.

In the third chapter, I turn to the question of language and its importance for the socialization and maturation process. In particular, I focus on moments in which language appears to fail the protagonists and character thought and emotion are instead represented via interjections such as “ach” and “o” or with ellipses and dashes. To analyze these phenomena, I draw upon a combined approach of digital text mining in conjunction with narrative theory. I first identify through text mining authors who appear to be heavier users of interjections than their contemporaries as well as the specific texts where this usage appears to be highest. I then explore the ways in which these interjections and the use of ellipses and dashes contribute to the way in which emotions and the lack of language are represented in the narration of these texts. *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, Eugenie Marlitt's *Das Heideprinzesschen*, and *Aus guter Familie* serve as example texts.

The final chapter examines representations of character mind more broadly as a part of a “social mind” or collective. I employ Alan Palmer's work on the subject of social mind and what he terms “intermental thinking” to look at how the adult characters surrounding the protagonists in the texts in question are able to influence the thinking of these adolescent characters and change how they see themselves and the world around them. While at some points the protagonists are able to resist this influence, many of the examples discussed in the chapter show how this mental marking by the community serves as a push for social conformity that often interferes with the characters' maturation. For some, this pressure proves to be too

great and contributes to the character's failure to integrate herself into the adult social world. For this chapter, I analyze E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann*, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's *Das Gemeindegeld*, and *Aus guter Familie*.

Taken together, the chapters of this dissertation show how nineteenth-century authors sought ways to narrate the experience of childhood and adolescence as new understandings of these phases of life were developing and changing over the course of the century.

Chapter One

The Secret Life Unseen: The Miniature and the Imagination

Introduction¹

E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* begins with the Stahlbaum family gathering on Christmas Eve. After waiting around all day in another room, the Stahlbaum children, Marie and Fritz, are ushered into the living room to see what presents have been left for them. They are initially overwhelmed by the brightness and appearance of the room, but these feelings quickly give way to happiness once they see the Christmas tree and the gifts underneath it. Marie marvels over her new dolls and a new dress she cannot wait to try on. Fritz is excited to see new toy soldiers awaiting him on their white horses. After Pate Droßelmeier comes with his mechanical castle and the excitement of the evening ebbs, Marie discovers "ein sehr vortrefflicher kleiner Mann" still hiding under the tree.² She is instantly taken with the nutcracker and his rather peculiar appearance, and assumes the role of his caretaker despite the fact that he has been gifted to all three Stahlbaum children. Marie's feelings for the nutcracker and her imaginative play spark her fantastic adventure about the nutcracker and her toys coming to life to battle the seven-headed mouse king and his horde of mice; much of the narrative is therefore centered on her toys and the cabinet in which she and Fritz keep them. As the story

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Jennifer Kapczynski, Dr. Kurt Beals, Ervin Malakaj, Angineh Djavadghazaryans, Melissa Olson Meeks, and Erik Varela for their insights and suggestions that came out of a workshop on a draft of this chapter.

² Hoffmann, E. T. A., "Nußknacker und Mausekönig," in *Poetische Werke*, vol 3. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 257.

unfolds, her spatial relationship to the nutcracker and the world around her grows ever more confused, as changes to size and scale of herself and her environment reveal an emotionally conflicted young girl attempting to navigate the perilous path to adulthood.

This chapter will engage with space in the context of the miniature and problems of scale in Hoffmann's text as well as other exemplary literary depictions of characters attempting to manage childhood and adolescence, spanning roughly eighty-five years of the nineteenth century. Specifically, the existence of the miniature, or the space-within-a-space, plays an important role in depicting the turmoil and change surrounding the protagonists and the difficulties they experience transitioning to adulthood. I will draw on the work of Susan Stewart as a theoretical starting point for discussing the importance of the miniature. In her book, *On Longing*, she provides a detailed overview of studies of the miniature (as well as the gigantic) in its various forms, ranging from tiny book editions to dollhouses and Tom Thumb weddings. She argues that the miniature may "reveal a secret life" otherwise unseen.³ Of particular interest is her assertion about the balance of scale: the miniature must remain true to its original in scale or it otherwise becomes "grotesque," an apparently negative trait.⁴ My interest departs from Stewart's at the point where miniatures are either not properly scaled or have nebulous boundaries or do not represent a perfect miniature of their real-world referents.

The notion of miniatures being disproportionate or unconfined and therefore confused in their scale is precisely what is at play in the following examples from E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* and *Das fremde Kind*, Eugenie Marlitt's *Blaubart*, and Gabriele Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*, as well as in Gottfried Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich* and Thomas

³ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 47.

⁴ Stewart, *Longing*, 46

Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. In each text, the protagonists engage with a miniature or space-within-space that becomes disproportionate or off-balance, or influences their world and throws everything off kilter. Within these confused spaces (where time is also sometimes in flux) we find the characters' expression of their imaginations and signs of their emotional development. The fluctuating nature of these spaces and the miniatures that are a part of them render them sites of transition – both real and fantastic.

Toys, as Stewart underlines, are important examples of the miniature. She writes, “The toy is the physical embodiment of the fiction: it is a device for fantasy, a point of beginning for narrative. The toy opens an interior world, lending itself to fantasy and privacy in a way that the abstract space, the playground, of social play does not. To toy with something is to manipulate it, to try it out within sets of contexts, none of which is determinative.”⁵ Many of the characters to be discussed in this chapter are using their toys to act out scenarios, to practice what they see as proper adult behavior, or to tell and re-tell stories important to them. But when the boundaries between the toys or miniatures and the real world become unclear (such as when the toys come to life before Marie's eyes), the stakes become much higher for the characters. The implications of their imaginative play also become greater, threatening the characters' ability to overcome this spatial and emotional confusion and successfully transition into adulthood – in other words, integrating themselves as functional, productive adults that can operate within society's given parameters. Some characters never succeed. As previously mentioned, Stewart would see these moments as examples of the grotesque (and for some instances, this would certainly be true), but more important than the presence of the grotesque is how the protagonists are shown to navigate

⁵ Stewart *Longing*, 56

their perils and the impact events have on their emotional development and (potential) maturation – whether positive or negative.

Toys became objects of contention for pedagogues, concerned parents, and other authority figures throughout the nineteenth century in Germany on account of their perceived benefits and hindrances in contributing to the socially acceptable education of children into responsible adults; they are, moreover, generally an important part of Germany's cultural heritage from the century. According to Ganaway, "...Germany was the original home of modern toys and the marketing of youth culture."⁶ Toys became ever more popular throughout the nineteenth century, but the industry took off after unification, and by the end of the century German toy companies claimed sixty percent of the world toy market, and the industry was growing at a rate faster than the rest of the economy.⁷ The industry itself was responsible – especially toward the end of the century – for “promoting the notion of the educational benefits of toys,” but this discussion about the role of toys in the home and in the education of children began earlier.⁸

While the use of toys for the socialization of children in some social classes appears as early as the Renaissance, according to Kuznets, the connection between toys and education and their potential didactic uses begins to be further explored at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries as part of the growing interest in two competing educational movements that gained prominence during the period.⁹ On the one hand, the work

⁶ Bryan Ganaway, *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-Class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), 2.

⁷ Ganaway, *Toys*, 2, and David D. Hamlin, *Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 5.

⁸ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 144

⁹ Lois Rostow Kuznets, *When Toys Come Alive: Narratives of Animation, Metamorphosis, and Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 12-13.

of John Locke and Enlightenment ideals suggested that toys could be used to teach reason and responsibility. On the other hand, the influence of Romanticism inspired detractors of that view, who argued instead that the most important aspects of play were creativity and the formation of subjectivity.¹⁰ By the end of the nineteenth century in Germany, however, it was largely considered to be a fact that children were learning while playing and that toys should in some fashion be able to prepare them for their future (gender-specific) social roles.¹¹ This development was the result of a trend beginning at the start of the century, when the single-family home became more and more the norm for the middle-class family and the place of play gradually migrated from outside in the untamed wide world to the newly anointed *Kinderstube*,¹² or at least to a room of the home under the parents' (most specifically the mother's) careful supervision.¹³ Kuznets even suggests "...that adults, rather than finding toys trivial, are involved in a sometimes buried, sometimes obvious, struggle with children to keep control over them."¹⁴ This underlying anxiety about play and adolescence finds its way into the literature and the representations of relationships between parents and children. The texts to be addressed in this chapter all reflect and help to shape, in one way or another, the ongoing social debates surrounding the socialization of children that took place in the nineteenth century and the ever-

¹⁰ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 127-30

¹¹ See Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die Familie: Geschichte, Geschichten und Bilder* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1976): 97, 100; Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, "Spielzeugbefragung: Überlegungen anlässlich einer Marburger Ausstellung: Spielzeug als Indikator eines sozialen Systems." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 70, no. 2 (1974): 201; Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 140; and Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 20-21.

¹² According to Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, the word 'Kinderstube' first takes on its multiple meanings of room for play as well as upbringing in the nineteenth century. See Weber-Kellermann, *Die Familie*, 99.

¹³ Ganaway, *Toys*, 28, 42, 47; Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 24-25

¹⁴ Kuznets, *Toys*, 10-11

increasing importance of toys and other miniatures for children and the pedagogy of childhood in the nineteenth century.

This chapter will begin with a discussion E. T. A. Hoffmann's so-called *Kindermärchen*.¹⁵ An analysis of his texts will serve as a foundation for examining the works of Marlitt and Reuter, which appeared later in the century but exhibit preoccupations with miniatures similar to Hoffmann's works, in different forms and with (at least in the case of Reuter) different outcomes for the character in question. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of novels by Keller and Mann. *Der grüne Heinrich* and *Buddenbrooks* also feature important miniatures, but differ from the other texts in this chapter in that they feature male protagonists interacting with said miniatures. The male protagonists' play reads somewhat differently from that of the other protagonists featured in the chapter and offers a useful comparison for considering the role of the miniature and imagination in a larger social context. The overarching goal of the chapter is to trace the appearance of the miniature (sometimes as a toy) and its importance to the depiction of imagination and affect in literature concerning the tumultuous period of adolescence.

¹⁵ I say 'so-called' here because the status of Hoffmann's texts as *Kindermärchen*, particularly *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, is a matter of debate. Hoffmann addresses the issue himself via the framing narrative of *Die Serapionsbrüder*, where Lothar (teller of both stories) debates with the other storytellers the merits of his 'Märchen' and ponders whether or not the stories are truly for children and what adults and children might take away from his tales. See Hoffmann, "Nußknacker und Mausekönig," 318-321. For a scholarly approach to this question, see Aline Le Berre, "Hoffmanns *Nußknacker und Mausekönig*, eine Parodie auf das Kindermärchen," in *Das Populäre: Untersuchungen zu Interaktionen und Differenzierungsstrategien in Literatur, Kultur, und Sprache* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2011), 93-107. Johannes Barth also questions the text's status as a *Kindermärchen*: "So etwas kann denn doch wohl der Onkel niemals zu Stande bringen.' Ästhetische Selbstreflexion in E.T.A. Hoffmanns Kindermärchen *Nußknacker und Mausekönig*." *E.T.A. Hoffmann Jahrbuch* 3 (1995), 7-14. See also Wulf Segebrecht, "E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Nußknacker und Mausekönig* – nicht nur ein Weihnachtsmärchen." *E.T.A. Hoffmann Jahrbuch* 17 (2009), 62-87 and Carl Pietzcker, "*Nußknacker und Mausekönig*: Gründungstext der Phantastischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur." in *Interpretationen: E.T.A. Hoffmann Romane und Erzählungen*, ed. Günter Saße, 182-198. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun. GmbH & Co, 2004).

Part One: Hoffmann's *Kindermärchen*

In *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, originally published in 1816 before appearing as part of *Die Serapionsbrüder* in 1819, Hoffmann provides the reader with an example of the miniature par excellence in the mechanized toy castle that Droßelmeier brings to Fritz and Marie on Christmas Eve:

Auf einem grünen, mit bunten Blumen geschmückten Rasenplatz stand ein sehr herrliches Schloss mit vielen Spiegelfenster und goldnen Türmen. Ein Glockenspiel ließ sich hören, Türen und Fenster gingen auf, und man sah, wie sehr kleine, aber zierliche Herrn und Damen mit Federhüten und langen Schleppekleidern in den Sälen herumspazierten. In dem Mittelsaal, der ganz in Feuer zu stehen schien — so viel Lichterchen brannten an silbernen Kronleuchtern —, tanzten Kinder in kurzen Wäschen und Söckchen nach dem Glockenspiel.¹⁶

The children first express excitement at Droßelmeier's latest creation; Fritz is so intrigued that he wishes to enter the castle. Droßelmeier explains to him that it is impossible for him to do so, obviously because of the difference in size, and when Fritz further prompts him to make the animated figures do something else, Droßelmeier explains that the mechanisms controlling the figures cannot be changed and that the figures are therefore trapped in their endless repetition of the same actions. Disappointed, Fritz expresses his preference for his toy soldiers and their unrestricted movement under his control, and even Marie quietly turns her attentions elsewhere so as not to hurt Droßelmeier's feelings further with her own lack of interest. Frustrated by their reactions, Droßelmeier insists his work is not "für unverständige Kinder"¹⁷ and begins to pack his things.

The castle, in all of its mechanical complexity, fails to stoke the imagination of the children perhaps precisely because it is too complete a model. Fixed as it is in the movements of

¹⁶ Hoffmann, "Nußknacker und Mausekönig," 255

¹⁷ Ibid 256

the figures inside, there is no way for them to engage and manipulate it, to experiment or reconfigure the space within a space. Stewart describes the miniature as a “world of arrested time,”¹⁸ and the castle certainly fits that description with its repetitive mechanical movements. The castle may also serve as a model for appropriate, non-deviant behavior — an allusion to the expectations of the larger bourgeois social world that exists beyond the confines of the Stahlbaum household that Marie manages to circumvent — to a certain extent, at least — within her familiar domestic world. By rejecting this representation of an ordered, simple, and idealized existence in miniature form, Marie is presented as resistant to the social norms that would otherwise trap her in circumscribed behavior patterns – a trait that fully emerges with the appearance of the mouse king.¹⁹

In comparison to the castle, Marie’s shelf in the glass cabinet provides a much livelier play space. She has decorated her shelf to resemble a room in a typical bourgeois household. The narrator describes her little room as “gut möbliert” and goes on to describe the “kleines schöngeblümtes Sofa, mehrere allerliebste Stühlchen, einen niedlichen Teetisch,” as well as its fashionably papered walls, and concludes, “dass in *diesem* Zimmer die neue Puppe, welche, wie Marie noch denselben Abend erfuhr, Mamsell Klärchen hieß, sich sehr wohl befinden musste.”²⁰ Indeed, Marie has taken her shelf in the cabinet (which, if one shelf is two feet high, according to the text, must be a rather imposing piece of furniture, considering that there are four shelves) and turned it into a dollhouse, a miniature version of her own surroundings, or “verkleinerte Spiegel

¹⁸ Stewart, *Longing*, 67

¹⁹ Yoko Tawada has identified the importance of toys and play in both “Nussknacker und Mausekönig” and “das fremde Kind.” Her interests, however, lie in offering a Freudian reading of the texts. See Yoko Tawada, *Spielzeug und Sprachmagie in der europäischen Literatur: eine ethnologische Poetologie* (Tübingen: Konkursbuchverlag, 2000). James McGlathery also offers a rather limited interpretation of this text that is based on Freudian theory. See James McGlathery, *Mysticism and Sexuality: E. T. A. Hoffmann, Part Two*. (Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1981), 95-98.

²⁰ Hoffmann, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” 261

der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft,” as Kümmerling-Meibauer puts it,²¹ that becomes the epicenter of her nighttime adventures. The fact that her decorated room is part of a cabinet is also reminiscent of the style of some dollhouses from the period and earlier, which were sometimes built to resemble a cabinet.²² It is also important that Marie’s shelf is a doll house of her own design. As opposed to Droßelmeier’s castle, Marie has control over the appearance of and action that takes place within her shelf; and while her presentation of this doll house may appear to be rather domestic, Marie’s decisions about the nutcracker and the action taken by the dolls that inhabit the shelf are not so typical.

As part of her study on miniatures, Stewart focuses specifically on the dollhouse:

“Occupying a space within an enclosed space, the dollhouse’s aptest analogy is the locket or the secret recesses of the heart: center within center, within within within. The dollhouse is a materialized secret; what we look for is the dollhouse within the dollhouse and its promise of an infinitely profound interiority.”²³ The dollhouse operates as a sort of *mise-en-abyme*, reflecting a representation of the real world in miniaturized form. One can see this aspect of secrecy and interiority in Marie’s case with her interest in caring for the nutcracker.²⁴ Eschewing the idea of leaving him with Fritz’s soldiers (where he might more logically fit in their toy collection), she instead asks her dolls’ forgiveness for placing him on her shelf so that he might better recover from his injuries resulting from Fritz’s overzealous use of him earlier in the evening. Alone at

²¹ Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer, “Das Puppenhaus in der Kinderliteratur: Miniaturwelten als Spiegelwelten,” in *Puppen: Menschenbegleiter in Kinderwelten und imaginären Räumen*, eds. Insa Fooker and Jana Mikota (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 149.

²² For some examples and images of such dollhouses, see Faith Eaton, *The Miniature House* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1990).

²³ Stewart, *Longing*, 61

²⁴ Stewart even refers to a “Nutcracker theme” in her study, making this text on one hand ideal for this discussion. However, based on her other comments on balance and the grotesque, I imagine she must be thinking more of the “pretty” version of the ballet and not of Hoffmann’s original text; Stewart, *Longing*, 55.

the cabinet, Marie further reveals her affection toward him, unsure why she feels the need to hide her deeds from her mother.

One might attribute Marie's feeling to the fact that Marie's shelf in the cabinet is a "box" in which she places all that she holds dear – what Bachelard,²⁵ who, in his seminal work, *The Poetics of Space*, offers a phenomenological approach to understanding the importance of certain kinds of spaces and objects within the home, would call a "[witness] of the *need for secrecy* [his emphasis]."²⁶ In other words, the form of the cabinet itself (it is not a box with a lid, but is still an object that holds important items and can be closed) might engender this feeling of its own accord. Marie's need to reveal sentiments she does not fully understand and cannot completely express may be in part brought about by her shelf – the little world she has created and the only place that appears to be entirely hers. There, her secrets are safe, for the moment.

While one can see Marie's dollhouse shelf on the one hand functioning as the "Sozialisationsagent"²⁷ that one might expect to see with a girl of her age, practicing to be an adult, her need to conceal it from her mother and the fact that she does so under the cover of darkness suggest that there is more to Marie's play (that she herself would probably view as anything but "play") than fulfilling pedagogical expectations. Her caring for the nutcracker and taking in this relative (male) stranger may be understood as a first encounter with her own sexuality. Although he is a doll, this instance is the first time Marie is "alone" with a male figure, and her unarticulated desire for her activities to remain secret might suggest that she is dealing with feelings she fears are inappropriate. His disproportionate physical appearance also

²⁵ Special thanks to Anna-Rebecca Nowicki, who directed me to Bachelard's text.

²⁶ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 81.

²⁷ Insa Fooker and Jana Mikota, "'Seht doch, da sitzt ja eine Puppe!': Einführende Anmerkungen zu einer ungewöhnlichen Tagung," in *Puppen: Menschenbegleiter in Kinderwelten und imaginären Räumen*, eds. Insa Fooker and Jana Mikota (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 15.

suggests that there is something odd or perhaps even threatening about his presence in her world, though Marie seems largely unafraid of his grotesque countenance or oversized head in comparison to his tiny, thin legs. His uncanny appearance may in fact be one of the aspects that draws her to him in the first place. Her behavior toward the nutcracker from the start suggests she feels a special sort of affection for him beyond the excitement of having a new toy – an affection she cannot yet fully articulate. Marie’s nighttime encounter suggests that Marie may be experiencing her first instance of privacy that is normally limited to adults – another signal that she has in all but age entered adolescence.

In addition to his uncanny appearance, the hybrid nature of the nutcracker, which bridges the toy gender gap that was a part of bourgeois social norms, may also be appealing to Marie. According to Kuznets, “The toy soldier and the doll symbolize most clearly the division society makes between girls and boys at play — as well as the gender separation assigned to nurturing and aggressive instincts. Toys thus become ideal tools for societal gender modeling.”²⁸ In Hoffmann’s story, the nutcracker serves as both doll (as the object of Marie’s concern and care) and soldier (as the hero of Marie’s fantastic adventure who vanquishes the mouse king and whisks her away to a happy ending). In this sense, he is representative of a possibility to circumvent gender norms because he embodies aspects of both. His form allows him to fit into Marie’s familiar world, yet he also offers a greater range of play opportunities than her other dolls do. His presence seems to inspire her own acts of bravery in the text (such as throwing her shoe at the mice, sacrificing her books and toys to the mouse king, and securing a sword for the nutcracker), and he seems to serve as the talisman that unlocks certain spaces that Marie has not had access to (or not possessed the bravery to access them) previously.

²⁸ Kuznets, *Toys*, 16

The nutcracker is not the only object that is disproportionate and uncanny in the text. This quality is seen in the house itself and the fantastic spaces Marie inhabits. Stewart claims that the dollhouse can freeze time and “present the illusion of a perfectly complete and hermetic world,” but Hoffmann’s text shows how these kinds of spaces within spaces and the miniatures that inhabit them can actually represent a world in flux, incomplete and disproportionate, both in time and space.²⁹ This capacity becomes clear for the first time when Marie is alone that night and the mice attack. Whether or not the attack happens merely in her head or not is not as important as what the passage tells us about Marie’s surroundings. The chapters containing the battle between the toys and the mice suggest that what ought to be a safe, known space for Marie contains darker elements secretly eating away at the home from the inside – that the normally innocuous bourgeois living room is rife with its own peril – whether literal or metaphorical vermin.

In the passages leading up to the battle between the toys and the mice, the narrator describes how the presence of the mice appears to be revealed in all the nooks and crannies of the room as well as within the walls and underneath the floorboards of the house. As Marie finishes tending to the nutcracker and her other toys in the cabinet, the room begins to come to life with other, more threatening noises: “Sie verschloss den Schrank und wollte ins Schlafzimmer, da — horcht auf, Kinder! — Da fing es an leise — leise zu wispern und zu flüstern und zu rascheln ringsherum, hinter dem Ofen, hinter den Stühlen, hinter den Schränken.”³⁰ After Marie sees a tiny version of Drobelsmeier perched on a clock in the room (yet another moment where scale appears to be off kilter) and finds her pleas for his help

²⁹ Stewart, *Longing*, 62

³⁰ Hoffmann, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” 263

unanswered, the mice reveal themselves: “Aber da ging ein tolles Kichern und Gepfeife los rund umher, und bald frottierte und lief es hinter den Wänden wie mit tausend kleinen Füßchen und tausend kleine Lichterchen blickten aus den Ritzen der Dielen. Aber nicht Lichterchen waren es, nein! kleine funkelnde Augen, und Marie wurde gewahr, dass überall Mäuse hervorguckten und sich hervorarbeiteten.”³¹ The very structure of the house and its foundation appear to come under attack as the mice attempt to break into the living room to reach the nutcracker. In addition, the sheer number of mice that appear to be emerging from the house is also out of scale; so many mice could not exist in the walls of the house, at least not without having drawn attention to themselves previously.

The mouse king’s arrival is also rendered as a physical impact on the house; he appears literally to tear the floor apart and rise up out of the unknown depths below the house: “...Vor ihren Füßen sprühte es, wie von unterirdischer Gewalt getrieben, Sand und Kalk und zerbröckelte Mauersteine hervor, und sieben Mäuseköpfe mit sieben hellfunkelnden Kronen erhoben sich, recht grässlich zischend und pfeifend, aus dem Boden.”³² The reader never learns how it comes to be that the mice exist within the walls or how long they have been there. The scene makes clear, however, that something strange and horrible is living just beneath the surface of this otherwise normal and secure bourgeois home. Indeed, what lies within the home may be just as dangerous if not more so than the potential threats that might lie beyond its walls, which turns the idea of the home as a “safe” play space completely on its head. This fact is especially true for Marie, whose experiences with the battle and her quest to rescue the nutcracker after the fact appear to be largely tied up with her own maturation and subconscious attempts at

³¹ Ibid 264

³² Ibid 265

negotiating between the expectations her family has of her as a young girl and what is proper behavior and her own desires and experiences that may not align with the social norms of the time.

The passage depicts this uncanniness in the very representation of a miniaturized toy battle happening in the living room. What was once confined to the glass cabinet and Marie's impromptu dollhouse takes over the space reserved for Marie and her family and "real" life; it is perhaps the product of Marie's imagination run amok. Whatever the case, the fact that the toys leave their enclosed miniature version of the space is indicative of Marie's emotional conflict and suggests that her distress reaches beyond the confines of her contained play world's ability to lead her to a solution. In other words, emotional upheaval (her need to conceal her care of the nutcracker and not knowing why) leads to a spatial upheaval as well, rendering scale (and eventually time as well) out of normal proportion and balance.

The influence of the toys in the glass cabinet and Marie's imagination – most specifically the nutcracker – appear, by the end of the text, to permeate the entire household. After vanquishing the mouse king with a sword borrowed from one of Fritz's toy soldiers, the nutcracker enters Marie's bedroom and offers to take Marie to the land of the dolls. Scale again comes into question here, as Marie appears suddenly to be the same size as the nutcracker, a miniature in her own right, as he leads her to a different cabinet in the house:

Er schritt voran, Marie ihm nach, bis er vor dem alten, mächtigen Kleiderschrank auf dem Hausflur stehen blieb. Marie wurde zu ihrem Erstaunen gewahr, dass die Türen dieses sonst wohl verschlossenen Schranks offen standen, so dass sie deutlich des Vaters Reisefuchspelz erblickte, der ganz vorne hing. Nussknacker kletterte sehr geschickt an den Leisten und Verzierungen herauf, dass er die große Troddel, die, an einer dicken Schnur befestigt, auf dem Rückteile jenes Pelzes hing, erfassen konnte. Sowie Nussknacker diese Troddel stark anzog, ließ sich schnell eine sehr zierliche Treppe von Zedernholz durch den Pelzärmel herab. 'Steigen Sie nur gefälligst aufwärts, teuerste Demoiselle', rief Nussknacker. Marie tat es, aber kaum war sie durch den Ärmel

gestiegen, kaum sah sie zum Kragen heraus, als ein blendendes Licht ihr entgegenstrahlte und sit mit einem Mal auf einer herrlich duftenden Wiese stand, von der Millionen Funken wie blinkende Edelsteine emporstrahlten.³³

Not only does Marie now become the proper size to climb up the staircase hidden in the sleeve of her father's traveling coat, but she appears to need the nutcracker in order to access areas she is normally not allowed to see and perhaps knows little about. This necessity may be due to his hybrid nature as both doll and soldier – he serves as the “chaperone” for Marie's adventure because he embodies both the domestic, private sphere as well as the public sphere and can therefore safely bridge the gap that for her might otherwise seem insurmountable or inappropriate. In addition to the cabinet holding a secret Marie has not previously known, it would seem that her father's traveling coat — an item from a public life to which, as a mere girl, she may not have much access — also, with the nutcracker as her guide, contains the passage through which she, too, can have her own adventure and travel beyond the boundaries of the home. The nutcracker's presence might suggest that she feels the need for his guidance (in her mind) or that the nutcracker is able to do something she cannot and possesses special powers that allow him to gain access to the house in ways she could not by herself. Either way, she finds in the transformation of the everyday object an uncanny way to escape her domestic confines.³⁴

According to Bachelard, “Wardrobes with their shelves, desks with their drawers, and chests with their false bottoms are veritable organs of the secret psychological life. Indeed, without these ‘objects’ and a few others in equally high favor, our intimate life would lack a model of intimacy.... A wardrobe's inner space is also *intimate space*, space that is not open to

³³ Ibid 302

³⁴ Detlef Kremer has identified Hoffmann's preoccupation with the “Konstruktion eines imaginären Raumes” and its connection to time and space being out of order. See Detlef Kremer, *Romantik* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2001), 173.

just anybody.”³⁵ As he further clarifies, “In the wardrobe there exists a center of order that protects the entire house against uncurbed disorder.”³⁶ Bachelard’s observations seem especially fitting with respect to this passage from *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, as they explain the importance of Marie’s entering the wardrobe. She gains access to her father’s coat, an object that represents travel and movement and links the world of the domestic interior to the outside world, but in a way she can only experience with the nutcracker. In this case, however, the center of order is perhaps not a center of order at all – at least not in the way Bachelard means. While as an object belonging to the head of the household, a traveling coat may suggest stability, the nutcracker is about to manipulate the coat and reveal it to have connections that, while not chaotic per se, do not reinforce an order related to the family’s everyday reality. It instead allows the nutcracker to show Marie his home (or her imagined idea of his home) whose prince is now saved from the mouse king.

This lack of order may also be tied to a general absence of Marie’s father in the text. He appears at the beginning of the story on Christmas Eve when the nutcracker is presented to the children, and he is present at the end of the text when Marie recounts her visit to the land of the dolls, leaving her family completely incredulous. Otherwise, Marie’s father is largely absent from the text; in fact, the above passage suggests his coat plays a larger role in the text than he does. The father’s absence along with the mother’s – though she seems to have more to say about Marie’s accounts of her nighttime escapades and plays a slightly larger role – allows Marie to have her adventures away from the prying eyes of adults. The lack of parental supervision means that she and the nutcracker are able to go places where she at least would otherwise never have the opportunity to go, crossing a boundary normally limited to her because she is not

³⁵ Bachelard, *Poetics*, 78

³⁶ *Ibid* 79

supposed to have interests beyond the domestic. That she and the nutcracker arrive at the land of the dolls via the traveling coat suggests that there are different rules for places where bourgeois social norms are out of order and that they understand these rules in a way that the parents cannot.

The dramatic shift in scale in this passage leads Marie to a place that is tethered to the Stahlbaum household via the strange connection to the coat but exists in some other space and time (and perhaps only in her mind). The land of the dolls is an entirely separate miniature world whose appearance is quite fantastic but whose norms are not entirely different from everyday reality. There, Marie mistakes herself for the Princess Pirlipat (from the story Droßelmeier tells her while she recovers from her fever resulting from the cut on her arm) while taking in the sights of a world that Droßelmeier “niemals zustande bringen [konnte].”³⁷ When the nutcracker explains her error, she feels shame at her misperception – an emotion tied perhaps to an emerging sexuality she does not yet fully understand. After she meets everyone in the land of the dolls, the nutcracker returns her to her bed at home, but she returns inexplicably older than before – a “großes Mädchen,” according to her mother, ready to marry the nephew she rescued and live as a queen.³⁸ Not only has she aged by the end of the story, but also seems to have achieved an inexplicable jump in social class, if only as ruler of her own fantasy world.

Fantastic flights and shifts in representations of scale are not limited to fairy tales and literature of the Romantic period; later authors may have drawn on works such as those of Hoffmann’s to find inspiration for their own descriptions of adolescent play. The passage about the land of the dolls in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* is similar to a segment of a text that was published forty years later – Wilhelm Raabe’s *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* (1856). The episode

³⁷ Hoffmann, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” 306

³⁸ Ibid 316

may offer an example of an intertextual reference between Hoffmann and Raabe's works. There is a precedent for comparing the two authors. Werner Schulz has identified points of commonality between the two and believes that Hoffmann had an influence on Raabe's work, citing multiple points that could be direct references to several works in Hoffmann's oeuvre in several of Raabe's works.³⁹ Additionally, Hermann Pongs has also cited similarities to Hoffmann specifically in *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse*.⁴⁰

Raabe's text in part tells the story of Elise, the narrator's adopted charge who grows up within the Berlin community of the Sperlingsgasse and whose story eventually ends in a socially acceptable, happy marriage. Elise's path to adulthood is significantly less harrowing than some of the other protagonists treated in this chapter, but her adventures still suggest an instability in the space and scale of her world. The narrator, Wachholder, recounts many of Elise's fantastic exploits, including the imaginative stories she tells as a young girl; in addition, he shares her diary entry describing a "Märchen" or "Traum" about a night in which she encounters a group of tiny spirits who come into her window, shrink her down to their size, and help her take flight out over the Sperlingsgasse – an event that, as Pongs points out, is similar to Hoffmann's "Verwandlungseinfälle."⁴¹

Elise's flight through the neighborhood allows her to see her world (or an imagined version of her world) from a new perspective. Most of her encounter is "zu hübsch" and rather innocuous in content as she peeks in on the various goings-on in her neighborhood, but the end of her adventure reveals that there could be something more sinister at work in her familiar

³⁹ Werner Schulz, "Einwirkungen des 'Romantikers' E. T. A. Hoffmann auf den 'Realisten' Wilhelm Raabe," *Jahrbuch der Raabe-Gesellschaft* 17 (1976): 133-150.

⁴⁰ Hermann Pongs, *Wilhelm Raabe: Leben und Werk*, (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1958), 92.

⁴¹ Wilhelm Raabe, *Sämtliche Werke. Im Auftrag der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, eds. Karl Hoppe and Max Carstenn. Vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 156. See also Pongs, *Raabe*, 92

Sperlingsgasse.⁴² Elise finds herself eventually caught in the middle of a gnome attack on the little spirits that are guiding her. While they all manage to escape, the presence of the gnomes within otherwise known surroundings functions similarly to that of Marie's mice – as a reminder that danger inheres in the community and Elise's bourgeois surroundings. But the threat is overcome with little doubt about the end result. Elise wakes up to find Gustav, her betrothed, waiting for her, and she claims that her "Märchen ist zu Ende."⁴³ Having had one last adventure and gained a new appreciation for her home (if only in her dreams), Elise is satisfied and ready to leave her childhood behind and enter into her new adult life – a happily ever after that lacks the ambiguity of Marie's fate, whose real-world status is left undefined. Shortly thereafter, Elise becomes a well-adjusted adult and finds herself at peace within the constraints of her social world and the role she has in it. The question of whether or not these protagonists are successful in their negotiations of this transition will remain an important one for the texts examined in the later portions of this chapter.

A comparison of Hoffmann's nutcracker story with his other *Kindermärchen*, *Das fremde Kind*, in which the protagonists do not appear to grow up, offers a counterpoint to my discussion of the role of the miniature and imagination in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*. *Das fremde Kind* was originally published together with *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* in a collection of *Kindermärchen* including stories from several authors in 1816 (both also ended up re-published in *Die Serapionsbrüder*).⁴⁴ Their shared publication history and similar subject matter prompt a comparison of miniatures and imagination in them. *Das fremde Kind* possesses a plot similar to *Nussknacker*, and its fantastic elements have been described as an "Auflösung des

⁴² Raabe, *SW*, 1, 156

⁴³ Raabe, *SW*, 1, 159

⁴⁴ See C. W. Contessa, Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué and E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Kinder-Mährchen*. (1816; reprint, Darmstadt: Freunde des Hauses fotokop GmbH, 1966).

Alltagslebens.”⁴⁵ This text, however, offers a slightly different look at the bourgeois social world, namely, as an exterior threat to an otherwise stabile environment. Furthermore, it does not convey the sense of maturation and growth in its protagonists that is present in the story of Marie.

Das fremde Kind tells the story of two siblings, Felix and Christlieb, who live in the forest with their parents. They know little of the world beyond it and lack the sophisticated bourgeois upbringing that is paraded before them when their father’s cousin, a count and minister to the king, comes to visit with his wife and two children. Felix and Christlieb are amazed by the appearance of the children. The son “...trug lange Pumfosen und ein Jäckchen von scharlachrotem Tuch, über und über mit goldenen Schnüren und Tressen besetzt, und einen kleinen blanken Säbel an der Seite...” and the daughter “...hatte zwar ein weißes Kleidchen an wie Christlieb, aber mit erschrecklich viel Bändern und Spitzen, auch waren ihre Haare ganz seltsam in Zöpfe geflochten und spitz in die Höhe heraufgewunden, oben funkelte aber ein blankes Krönchen.”⁴⁶ Felix and Christlieb are confronted with children who appear to be dressed like adults in miniature, or living dolls representing the ideal bourgeois existence. The count’s children demonstrate a grasp of science and history, reciting a litany of facts like little robots that leave Felix and Christlieb feeling flustered and insecure in their lack of knowledge and experience. The young guests also exhibit impeccable manners, in stark contrast to Felix in particular, who crunches candy loudly with his teeth, then takes it out of his mouth in front of everyone and finds his cousin’s abject fear of the family dog laughable.

⁴⁵ Urs Orland von Planta, *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Märchen ‘Das fremde Kind.’* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1958), 67.

⁴⁶ E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Das fremde Kind,” in *Poetische Werke*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1958), 597.

These children seem quite out of place to Felix and Christlieb, who are accustomed to spending their days playing in the forest as they see fit. The “mini adults” do not have a place in this untamed environment, and their presence sets off a chain reaction of events that throw the lives of Felix and Christlieb into disarray. In contrast to *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, here the problem is not so much a matter of scale being out of balance (though that happens as well) as it is that the miniatures representing the bourgeois world they know nothing of infiltrate Felix and Christlieb’s existence, sparking their imaginations and turning the forest upside down.

After deciding to cut their visit short due to the disturbance and distress it has caused both families, the visitors depart and leave behind gifts for Felix and Christlieb. The siblings find themselves the new owners of a handful of toys – most notably a doll for Christlieb, a harp player, and a hunter for Felix. While these gifts are cause for happiness at first, they quickly become problematic for the two children. The bourgeois relatives and their mini adult children have left them with even smaller miniature reminders of a world Felix and Christlieb do not know, sowing further discontent in the two, who would otherwise be quite satisfied to find their fun in the forest. It quickly becomes apparent that these toys also do not fit into Felix and Christlieb’s world, despite the children’s initial excitement at receiving the gifts. They determine to take their favorites into the forest with them to play. Before they get very far, Christlieb’s doll, the harp player, and the hunter (whom Felix dislikes and tries to alter because the toy can shoot only at the target that accompanies him – much as the mechanics of Droßelmeier’s castle keep its tiny figures from moving in any other way) all end up dirty, broken, and – eventually – tossed into a nearby thicket and forgotten.⁴⁷ Much like Droßelmeier’s

⁴⁷ Ibid 605-606

castle, these toys are too mechanical to inspire interest in Felix and Christlieb, who want more than figures who repeat the same action over and over.⁴⁸

Shortly thereafter, Felix and Christlieb meet “das fremde Kind,” a genderless, or gender-obscure child (Felix swears it is male and Christlieb is convinced it is female) who becomes their playmate, showing them secrets of the forest and telling them of its homeland where its mother is the fairy queen. Much as the nutcracker is able to whisk Marie away to the land of the dolls, das fremde Kind flies with the children over the forest, showing them a glimpse of its homeland far away, an ever-unreachable place for Felix and Christlieb. Of course, as is frequently the case in Hoffmann stories, there is an evil magister plotting against the mother of das fremde Kind, a dark double to their uncle, the count, who also advises royalty. Das fremde Kind relates all this to Felix and Christlieb, who wish to help, but they are told there is nothing they can do.

The appearance of das fremde Kind seems to be directly triggered by the disposal of the toys – its presence in the forest’s answer to their need of something familiar as well as a more animated playmate. It is never clear whether or not the child is real or merely the figment of Felix and Christlieb’s imagination, though the father eventually concedes to having seen this child himself when he was young. Unlike the toys, however, das fremde Kind is part of the forest and the world Felix and Christlieb know. The fact that they can never agree on the gender of das fremde Kind suggests that the two children are (at least in part) projecting themselves onto the child, creating their ideal companion via their imaginations to replace the toys they were not

⁴⁸ Beardsley also points out the similarities between the toys in this text and Droßelmeier’s castle. See Christa-Maria Beardsley, *E. T. A. Hoffmann: Die Gestalt des Meisters in seinen Märchen* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1975), 26. Additionally, Richter points out the mechanical nature of the toys as part of their lack of appeal; see Dieter Richter, *Das fremde Kind: Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1987), 273.

able to “use” as a proper form of socialization, as the bourgeois middle-class ideas about play would have it, ideas represented by the count, his wife, and his robot-like children.

Meanwhile, the count, who was shocked by the children’s lack of schooling during his visit, sends a teacher for Felix and Christlieb, who refuses to let them go into the forest and instead tries to make them memorize and recite meaningless lessons – an activity that does not interest the pair. Eventually, Felix and Christlieb discover that this teacher is actually the Magister Tinte who wishes to usurp the fairy queen, and they determine to thwart his plans. Tinte soon after reveals himself to be a fly, and he shrinks himself down to reveal his true form. Despite his tiny size, his ability to control and manipulate the world around him (and most importantly, the forest and objects within it) and his threat to the rule of the fairy mother of das fremde Kind remain quite powerful.

Tinte’s influence seems to reach the other artifacts of the bourgeois existence that become objects of fear that throw the world out of balance. The forest, once their safe haven and playground for their imagination, becomes a dangerous place as the gifts from the cousins emerge from their thicket graves and return to haunt Christlieb and Felix in zombie-like fashion:

Felix schaute sich um, und es wurde ihm ganz unheimlich zumute, wie er den Jäger und den Harfenden erblickte, die sich aus dem Gestrüpp, wo er sie hingeworfen, erhoben, ihn mit toten Augen anstarrten und mit den kleinen Händchen herumfuchteln und hantierten. Dazu griff der Harfenden in die Saiten, daß es recht widrig zwitscherte und klirrte, und der Jägersmann legte gar die kleine Flinte auf Felix an. Dazu krächzten beide: ‘Wart’ — Wart,’ du Junge, du Mädels, wir sind die gehorsamen Zöglinge des Herrn Magister Tinte, gleich wird er hier sein, und da wollen wir euch euren Trotz schon eintränken!’⁴⁹

Horrified that their toys have come under the control of an evil adult and are threatening their already-endangered forest, Christlieb and Felix flee from the woods back to the confines of their

⁴⁹ Hoffmann, “Das fremde Kind,” 635

home. Das fremde Kind disappears as a result of Tinte's invasion, and they are left to deal with their world out of balance alone. Whenever the children attempt to return to their wooded refuge, they are hounded by the zombie toys, who taunt them about their lack of experience: "Dumme Dinger, einfältig Volk, nun könnt ihr sitzen ohne Spielzeug — habt nichts mit uns artigen gebildeten Leuten anzufangen gewusst — dumme Dinger, einfältig Volk!"⁵⁰

Here, the artifacts of the bourgeois social world – the toys and Tinte's influence – present a threat to Christlieb and Felix precisely because the children do not belong to that world and do not know how to grapple with it. Planta has suggested that this text is partially concerned with the threat of the Enlightenment to the soul of das fremde Kind and what it represents. While that may be true, there is more going on – especially when one considers the place of the children in the text.⁵¹ In particular, one sees the education debate playing out in the contrast between the children's life of play in the forest (play that leaves them to their own devices and creativity) and the more structured, commanding ways of the disguised Tinte.⁵² Tinte's ability to revive the damaged toys and set them against the children also speaks to the children's anxieties about adults taking control of their world – a conflict mentioned previously, which Kuznets claims takes place via toys. In the end, with their father's help, the children are able to free the forest from Tinte and his reanimated toys, restoring the fairy queen in her far-away land and allowing for the return of das fremde Kind and all that they cherish. But they will soon be forced to leave it behind when their father becomes ill and dies, leaving them and their mother unable to support themselves alone in the forest.

⁵⁰ Ibid 637

⁵¹ Planta, *Das fremde Kind*, 68

⁵² Richter also refers to the text as an "Erziehungskritik." Richter, *Kind*, 274

Das fremde Kind differs from *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, as well as some of the other texts to be discussed in this chapter, in that there is no transition or growth in the children. Marie rather improbably becomes queen of a fantasy world after having started the text as a seven-year-old girl. Marlitt's and Reuter's protagonists also find their way into adulthood, though not without struggles or (in the case of Reuter) a desire to regress and return to the safety of childhood because ideal adulthood is never achieved. But Felix and Christlieb remain relatively static, having eventually had their fantastic experiences validated by both parents, who were at first inclined to credit the children's vivid imaginations as the source of the strange adventures. When their father dies, they are forced to leave their home in the forest, but *das fremde Kind* continues to visit them and helps to alleviate their emotional suffering from their circumstances. They succeed in banishing the influence of the frightening bourgeois world from their environment, only to be forced by circumstances beyond their control to leave their home and the forest. The fact that they "...noch in später Zeit spielten...in süßen Träumen mit dem fremden Kinde" implies that they, too, may be in a similar situation to Marie's at the end – a fantasy world that, unlike Marie's, did not require them to grow up.⁵³

Part Two: Marlitt and Reuter

A similar preoccupation with imagination, space, and the miniature occurs in Eugenie Marlitt's *Blaubart*, originally published in 1866. Here, Marlitt draws on the fairy tale by the same name as inspiration for a story about a girl who grows up and finds the quintessential domestic bliss of marriage and a happily ever after, righting a generations-old family feud in the process. Lilli comes to visit her aunt, Bärchen, only to find that there is a new house next door

⁵³ Hoffmann, "Das fremde Kind," 641

and that a new neighbor, who happens to be a relative of her aunt's, now lives there and cultivates a rather curious existence. There is a woman who lives in the house and is apparently not allowed to come outside. This mystery and the whisperings of her aunt's maid about it become the springboard for Lilli's imagination, and she begins piecing together her own version of the Blaubart narrative in order to explain the strange circumstances and paint herself as the would-be heroine challenging the sinister Blaubart.

Of particular importance to Lilli is the old pavilion that stands in her aunt's garden. She looks at it almost as a member of the family and upon her arrival is as excited to see it as she is her aunt. Having been unable to travel there for several years, she is anxious to revisit her happy childhood memories:

Sie hatte sich stets in dem alten, achteckigen Häuschen lieber aufgehalten, als drüben im großen Wohnhaus. Hier hatten sich die interessanten Lebensläufe ihrer Puppen abgewickelt, in dem gemüthlichen Salon was das kindliche Herz erfüllt gewesen von dem Selbstbewusstsein der gebietenden Hausfrau, denn sie durfte ihn benutzen als Empfangszimmer für ihre kleinen Besuche aus der Stadt, deshalb hieß er auch 'Lilli's Haus.' Die alten Wände waren Zeugen ihrer ganzen Kindesseligkeit gewesen, aber sie hatten auch ihr leidenschaftliches Weinen und Klagen gehört, wenn im Wohnhause gepackt worden war zur Heimreise.⁵⁴

The most pivotal events of the story take place within the pavilion – the site of her childhood playtime, where her imagination and curiosity lead her to the window to spy late at night on the woman in the house next door. When Lilli's presence disturbs the woman, Lilli sets in motion the events that will upend her comfortable place of play and push her toward her impending adulthood.

⁵⁴ Eugenie Marlitt, "Blaubart," in *Thüringer Erzählungen* (Leipzig: Verlag von Ernst Keil, 1869), 136.

The pavilion is not a “toy” per se in the same way that the dolls and other toys in the Hoffmann texts are, but its status as a place of play for Lilli and its relationship to the rest of Lilli’s surroundings makes it in effect a miniature form of the bourgeois home. Saskia Haag’s work on garden houses and other external structures in literature of the nineteenth century suggests why the pavilion deserves a closer look. In her book, *Auf wandelbarem Grund: Haus und Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert*, she explains, “Diese Gartenarchitekturen, wie sie vor allem seit dem 18. Jahrhundert auch neue kunsttheoretische Beachtung finden, präsentieren sich in der Literatur vielmehr in auffälliger Weise als Schauplätze von Konflikten katastrophischer, aber auch komischer Art.”⁵⁵ In addition to often being the focal point of the text, the garden house (in whatever form it takes), Haag points out, serves as a simplified “Diminutiv des Hauses” and potentially as a *locus amoenus* for the characters in a text.⁵⁶ While the pavilion may have been a paradise for Lilli when she was younger, that very soon changes once the feud between Dorn and Bärchen reaches its breaking point and she and her little house come under attack.

The pavilion serves many purposes and is also a location where one sees strange fluctuations of scale. As “Lilli’s Haus,” the pavilion is a model of bourgeois life in miniature. Child Lilli entertains her guests in the pavilion as an adult would do in the main house. The old furniture used during a time before the feud divided the family still resides there, and Lilli is quite fond of a large table where she has had parties with her dolls in the past. The walls of the pavilion are covered with the oil paintings of Bärchen’s ancestor, Erich – the source of the current feud. The pavilion is also perhaps a miniature rendering of the past and an ideal familial harmony that is lacking at the beginning of the text but will eventually be restored once Lilli

⁵⁵ Saskia Haag. *Auf wandelbarem Grund: Haus und Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2012): 172.

⁵⁶ *Ibid* 175, 177-78

steps into her rightful role, rendering the pavilion obsolete. In addition to already being a mini version of the main house in structure, the pavilion also houses Lilli's playful attempts to behave as the adults do in the main house, placing her (and Marlitt's text) firmly in the camp of those who believe that toys and play serve to teach children how to be adults. Lilli is the only human who has really entered the space and has made it her own. Her collection of dolls is there at the beginning of the text before the pavilion is damaged. Yet one might also consider whether or not Lilli's house is an oversized dollhouse as well because it is a life-sized space of "play" that becomes more than just a "harmlose Spielecke" where Lilli plays with dolls.⁵⁷

Indeed, Lilli may even be considered a doll herself, embodying a bourgeois existence played out in smaller scale. At least until the end of the text, she is the miniature adult who knows how to pretend to be an adult in her pavilion but has not actually succeeded in becoming one yet. Bärchen refers to her as a "Kindskopf" and chastises her for her occasional lack of seriousness and criticizes her for still holding on to her dolls after the pavilion is damaged and she is forced to bring them inside – a sign that her status as doll-like child is already in the process of changing, or should be.⁵⁸ (Dorn also seems to want to toy with Lilli during their initial repartees, including their first encounter in the pavilion when she is there attempting to rescue her playthings, treating her as a mere curiosity in comparison to the neighbor with whom he is already familiar.) Bärchen takes on the role of guide to the still-inexperienced Lilli, replacing the absent mother who is not there to teach Lilli how to behave. And while Bärchen's comments to Lilli may invoke the tension of adults attempting to control the play of children, Marlitt's text suggests Bärchen's observations about Lilli are accurate, and that an older, more

⁵⁷ Marlitt, "Blaubart," 157

⁵⁸ Ibid 133

experienced hand is needed to direct Lilli toward her future role as wife and mother – even if Bärchen is initially biased against the man who becomes Lilli’s suitor.

The pavilion comes under attack from the neighbor, Herr von Dorn, because it partially lies on his property and he has won the right in court to have it torn down. Lilli is inside when a hole is knocked into one wall, and she begins packing her belongings and removing the paintings. She very soon encounters Dorn for the first time: “Unwillkürlich hob Lilli die gesenkten Lider. Da standen sie sich gegenüber, Auge in Auge, der fürchterliche Blaubart und die junge Dame, die plötzlich ihre ganze, bedeutende Dosis Trotz und Willensstärke nöthig hatte, um in diesem wichtigen Augenblick nicht aus ihrer Heldenrolle zu fallen.”⁵⁹ That she is “playing a role” in the confrontation suggests that her behavior could be viewed as an extension of her childhood play – only now she is playing at trying to be an adult and hero in her fairy tale.

Indeed, she continues to be a doll of sorts, one that has been influenced by Bärchen and Dorte to behave a certain way toward Dorn. Dorn stands in for a reality breaking down Lilli’s childish fantasy, and his approach initiates the inevitable sexual awakening that has to happen before the story ends. That the scale is unclear and that the pavilion is “invaded” means that it is a space in flux. It becomes the center of Lilli’s conflicted emotions at the end of the text. No longer a place of private play, the pavilion becomes the place where Lilli engages in verbal dueling with Dorn – a sparring for which her time with her dolls did not prepare her. Dorn’s invasion of her space forces Lilli to come to terms with the fact that there are aspects of adulthood she does not yet know how to navigate. The destruction of the perfect miniature model prompts Lilli’s emotional development towards Dorn – from anger and resentment to understanding and sympathy to – eventually – love.

⁵⁹ Ibid 161

Lilli returns twice to the pavilion after her initial encounter there with Dorn. She finds herself displaced from her safe house, but is unable to resist returning to it: “Träumerisch schritt sie weiter. ... vor ihr lag der Pavillon, in demselben Augenblick wurde die Thür von innen rasch aufgestoßen, und der Blaubart trat heraus.”⁶⁰ The first time she returns, Dorn clarifies the mystery for her, explaining that the woman is his mentally ill sister and that Lilli has incorrectly labeled him “Blaubart.” His presence again perhaps foreshadows her inevitable loss of virginity and childhood innocence. Lilli is no longer in control of that space, and the word “träumerisch” suggests that she is perhaps not entirely in control of her imaginative world either – that her fantasies are in flux and have created confusion for her. The pavilion changes from private space for Lilli's imagination to the space in which she leaves her childhood and most vivid fantasies behind, as she finally accepts in her last return to the pavilion her place (literally) next to Herr von Dorn in front of Tante Bärchen: “Lilli näherte sich ihr nicht. Sie trat vielmehr dicht an die Seite des neben ihr Stehenden, als sei dies einzig ihr Platz und kein anderer auf der Welt.”⁶¹ Once Lilli has successfully transitioned to adulthood and marriage by the end of the text, there is no longer any confusion for her and no need for the pavilion, and it is torn down along with the hedge, cementing the reconciliation and happy ending.⁶²

While Marlitt offers a positive presentation of Lilli's maturation and happy ending (with the obligatory bumps in the road that make things interesting),⁶³ other authors have been much more critical of the expectations placed on women in bourgeois society and offer a dire perspective on what appears to be the untenable position of women and girls who, for whatever

⁶⁰ Ibid 217

⁶¹ Ibid 239

⁶² Ibid 242

⁶³ Weber-Kellermann points out the “soziales Gewissen und Edelmut” that one finds in Marlitt's works – that they are instructive in bourgeois ideals, *die Familie*, 101-02

reason, cannot fit the social and cultural mold set out for them. Gabriele Reuter's novel, *Aus guter Familie*, offers such a critical perspective, depicting the inner turmoil of Agathe Heidling as she tries but fails to become a proper adult woman and marry someone of appropriate standing and inclinations corresponding to her parents' bourgeois values. Agathe is thwarted at every turn by circumstance and her own desires, which do not align with the expectations of her family. Reuter may have been inspired by Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, a drama depicting a woman's dissatisfaction with her role as wife and mother, which appeared roughly fifteen years earlier. Agathe's example offers a glimpse of what happens when imagination and the presence of the miniature do not align in such a way as to enable the protagonist to make the successful transition into adulthood.

In contrast to the previous texts, *Aus guter Familie* only allows the reader to see the main character, Agathe, completely at play in passages describing the past. The time for play has, according to typical social norms, passed now that she has been confirmed, and Agathe, because she is not married, must subsist as something between girl and woman as she finds her chances for happiness thwarted repeatedly and ultimately suffers a psychotic break. The scale of her world is also out of kilter, largely due to the overwhelming activity of her imagination and its lack of a socially acceptable outlet once she is old enough and toys are no longer a viable option. She is cut off from her miniature pretend world because she is of an age at which she must box up her toys and wait for a child to whom she can pass them. The real world, offering little assuasion of her never-met desires, shrinks before her eyes, and she finds herself trapped in the social form of a dollhouse where she does not belong.

Early in the text, the reader learns that Agathe has a penchant for the imaginative. She is prone to spending her time wandering in nature, daydreaming about her surroundings, and

making up stories about them.⁶⁴ By contrast, her girlfriend, Eugenie, appears far less interested in play and playthings, even at a young age: “Eugenie konnte niemals ordentlich spielen. Sie hatte ihre Puppen nicht wirklich lieb und glaubte nicht, daß es eine Puppensprache gäbe, in der Holdewina, die große mit dem Porzellankopf, und Käthchen, das Wickelkind, munter zu plaudern begannen, sobald ihre kleinen Mütter außer Hörweite waren.”⁶⁵ This lack of interest sets Eugenie apart from Agathe, revealing her to be too pragmatic and literal for such play. By contrast, Agathe’s imaginative nature becomes visible in her interest in dolls and her tendency to daydream.

Even after outgrowing her dolls, Agathe has feelings of nostalgia toward them. In one passage of the text, she is packing them away, to be retrieved in the future when there are children in the family again:

Zu den köstlichen Andenken vergangener Zeiten begrub Agathe nun ihr Spielzeug....Die ganze Miniaturausgabe einer Kinderstube ging so noch einmal durch ihre Finger, bis zu den Wickeln und Windeln, der Badewanne und den Wärmflaschen, — den vielen zierlichen Gegenständen, die zur Pflege der Aller kleinsten nötig sind und durch deren Handhabung bei phantasievollem Spiel die geheimsten Empfindungsnerven des werdenden Weibes in erwartungsvoll zitternde Schwingungen versetzt werden. Träumerisch erinnerte sich Agathe, indem sie ihre Lieblingspuppe zum Abschied leise auf die Stirn küßte, des atemlosen Entzückens, mit dem sie oft ihr Kleid geöffnet hatte, um das harte kalte Wachsköpfchen an die winzigen Knospen ihrer Kinderbrust zu drücken und es trinken zu lassen. Verlegen lächelnd tastete sie nun über die weiche Rundung ihres Busens. Nie konnte ihr die Schneiderin die Taille eng genug machen, sie schämte sich der ungewohnten Fülle ihrer Formen.⁶⁶

Though she is too old actually to engage in the activity, her imagination draws on her memory to recreate her attempt at playing the role of a mother. The passage reveals Agathe’s discomfort

⁶⁴ Gabriele Reuter. *Aus guter Familie: Leidensgeschichte eines Mädchens*. (Marburg: Verlag Literaturwissenschaft.de, 2006): 27.

⁶⁵ Ibid 29

⁶⁶ Ibid 53-54

with her own body and signs of maturity and further suggests that she desires nothing more than to regress to the comfortable state of childhood where puberty, maturation, and coming to terms with her expected role in life cannot reach her. For Agathe, something has gone wrong in the process; whereas a character like Lilli (and even – rather disturbingly – Marie) manages to navigate the bumps in the road and enter into adulthood well adjusted, i.e., integrated into adult society via a satisfactory marriage and satisfied with her role within it, Agathe has missed something and cannot weather the transition.

Her distress is further emphasized later in the text, when she retrieves her old clothes and toys out of the attic to give them away. She takes the clothes to Eugenie for her children, only to find that Eugenie treats them with careless disdain:

Als sie anfang, die lieben Säckelchen gegen das Licht zu halten, schadhafte Stellen mit dem Nagel zu prüfen, und ihr vieles nicht mehr gut genug war, als sie wegwerfend bemerkte: 'Mützen trägt jetzt kein Kind mehr, die kannst Du Dir pietätvoll einbalsamieren,' hätte Agathe sie ins Gesicht schlagen mögen. Aber diese dumpfe Wut war thöricht — sie mußte auch überwinden werden.⁶⁷

She chastises herself for the anger she feels toward Eugenie, but her distress suggests just how attached she still is to the objects of her childhood. That they are outdated and out of style reinforces the notion that Agathe's childhood should be long behind her, and her emotional attachment is indicative of her inability to let go and fulfill adult expectations. She is at least able to put her toys to good use, taking them to her cousin, Mimi Bär, who is a nurse in charge of the children's wing at a hospital; there she is allowed to deliver the toys herself and see the children's wing, and she is jealous of her cousin's role as caretaker – the "friedliche Herrscherin" who goes diligently about her duties.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Ibid 226

⁶⁸ Ibid 227

While these toys may have at one time served as the playground for her imagination and offered a non-threatening look at what her future ideal role as a wife and mother would be (and the clothes are sentimental artifacts from a happier moment in Agathe's life), they are now painful reminders of what Agathe should have wanted and should have already achieved. Having so far (by the standards of her social world at least) entered into an unsuccessful position in which she is no longer a child but not really a true adult, Agathe can no longer rely on her toys to support her through her turmoil. At the same time she has no other outlet to express her feelings, being patently bad at most artistic endeavors she attempts.

Agathe finds some comfort when she temporarily escapes from her family and is allowed to visit her artist relatives. Their home, with its exotic décor and Wozzenski's painting, serves as a microcosm of the wide world that Agathe will never inhabit. Even Wozzenski's Egyptian cigarettes suggest that he is part of a world completely alien to her. Their home and Wozzenski's stories about their travels spark her imagination, and she ponders what it would be like to visit some of the many other places in the world she will never see. Agathe is particularly taken by Wozzenski's recounting of a burial of an artist. Wozzenski and a couple of other artists take his body out to sea; Agathe imagines the water while she lies awake in bed later, the vast unknowable body that will always remain a mystery to her.

In addition to being fascinated with the Wozzenskis in general, Agathe is also interested in their artwork. Wozzenski's wife, Mariechen, uses the cook as a model for some sketches when Agathe arrives, and Agathe knits and wonders at the faces Mariechen makes while she works. Wozzenski is working on a painting of a nun, for which he will eventually sketch Agathe as a study for the main figure: "Vor einem mit phantastischer Vergoldung prunkenden Altar, auf dem Kerzen im Weihrauchnebel flimmern und blutroter Sammt über weiße Marmorstufen flutet, ist

eine junge Nonne in die Knie gesunken....” The nun is further surrounded by “unzählige geflügelte Köpfchen, amorettengleiche Engelsgestalten vom Himmel...”⁶⁹ This painting functions as a miniature of Agathe. The image hearkens back to the fantasy Jesus Agathe conjures during her confirmation ceremony, and the amoretto hint at the erotic desires Agathe has confined to the realm of her fantasies – to her imagined Jesus and Byron. They may also point to her further failed attempts to find love in the real world with the artist Lutz, the assessor Raikendorf, and her cousin Martin.

At the end of the novel, Agathe and her father return for a second visit, and Agathe learns that Wozenski is still working on the very same painting. Only now it looks very different. The scenery has changed to a moonlight-filled cloister, and the nun’s demeanor has been greatly altered: “Im Starrkrampf lag sie am Boden, die Arme steif ausgestreckt, als sei sie ans Kreuz geschlagen – die roten Wundenmale an der blassen Stirn und den wächsernen Händen.”⁷⁰ In this image, Agathe’s avatar has become the martyr in miniature and reflects Agathe’s standing in her social world. With her attempts to fulfill her social obligations having failed and her desire to escape the entire system an impossibility, Agathe is on the path to emotional breakdown, and her happiness will very soon be sacrificed in her attempts to live up to her parents’ (and the rest of society’s) ideals.

Shortly after Martin departs for Switzerland, leaving her with some of his political writings, Agathe experiences a change of perspective and views her surroundings in a very different light:

Rings um sie her standen die zierlichen hellen Möbel still und ordentlich auf ihren Plätzen, der kleine Lampenschein glimmerte durch rosa Papierscheier auf den gläsernen und elfenbeinernen Nippsachen, den Photographieen und Kotillonandenken. Und die

⁶⁹ Ibid 89

⁷⁰ Ibid 230

ganze niedliche kleine Welt — ihre Welt sah sie verwundert an. — Die ausgebreiteten Arme sanken ihr nieder, ein wildes verzweifeltes Weinen beruhigte endlich den Krampf, der sie schüttelte.⁷¹

She sees her world as a miniature version of itself; everything is perfectly placed and looks just as it should: her “niedliche kleine Welt” is something akin to a dollhouse. But this realization and her emotional response to it reveal to her just how trapped Agathe is in this bourgeois world. Her life seems to exist in this moment in a smaller scale than is normal, and this distortion of the space (even if it is just in her mind) depicts Agathe’s distress at being contained in a space where she does not belong – at being unable to perform the roles expected of her and unable to do anything to find her freedom. There is something too cute, too small, and too orderly about her world, and it leads Agathe to an emotional break. While a character such as Lilli in *Blaubart* might be characterized (and can function as) a kind of “living doll” in part of her story, Agathe either does not know how to be that or cannot bring herself to play the role in the same way. In *Blaubart*, the dollhouse appears as an inherently safe space until it is invaded by the outside adult world; here, seeing her world as a miniature of itself reveals everything that is wrong with the bourgeois social world and suggests that it is a dangerous place for a girl like Agathe.

What Reuter’s text shows is the potential dark side to the way children (most specifically young girls) were raised to meet social norms, and the dire consequences for those girls who could not, for whatever reason, live up to the expectations. Agathe’s imagination and her curiosity about the world beyond her domestic surroundings (such as her interest in literature and science) are deemed deviant by her mother, who expresses embarrassment at Agathe’s behavior.⁷² According to Hamlin, “...girls were not to be left alone to their imaginations.

⁷¹ Ibid 133

⁷² Ibid 36

Rather, they were to be guided toward proper adult roles and identities.”⁷³ Because this behavior was seen as a danger in girls, the authority figures (in most cases the mothers) were meant to be on the lookout for inappropriate behavior and make sure that their daughters eventually learned how they were meant to behave.⁷⁴ Agathe suffocates under the efforts of her parents to push her into a socially acceptable role, and in the end is left to live out her days as an emotionless invalid. The miniature figures her entrapment in a society that has no place for her.

Part Three: Keller and Mann

The previous sections have been concerned primarily with the role of the miniature in texts featuring female protagonists (with the already-mentioned exception of Hoffmann’s Felix in *Das fremde Kind*). This final segment will shift focus to texts that feature male protagonists for the sake of comparing depictions of male and female adolescents in this literary epoch. The miniature remains an important component for inspiring the imaginative play of the young boys discussed here, but the types of miniatures, the contexts in which they are found, and their impacts figure somewhat differently in the texts, as they reflect the different expectations for young boys in bourgeois culture compared to those for girls and suggest different preoccupations for boys who are standing on the cusp of adulthood. This section will focus on Heinrich from Gottfried Keller’s *Der grüne Heinrich*⁷⁵ and Hanno (and, to a certain extent, Christian) from Thomas Mann’s *Buddenbrooks*.

⁷³ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 22

⁷⁴ Ganaway, *Toys*, 21

⁷⁵ I am referring to the first version of the text from 1854/55. See Gottfried Keller, “Der grüne Heinrich 1854/55 erster und zweiter Band,” In *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Peter Villwock, et al. Vol 11. (Basel: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2000).

As one might imagine, there were fewer limits for boys on the kinds of toys deemed appropriate in the nineteenth century. While girls had really no other alternatives to the dolls that made them miniature mothers in training, boys often had more choices that reflected possible future careers in the public sphere.⁷⁶ We see that tendency already with Fritz and his beloved toy soldiers in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*. As Hamlin points out, the imagined professions figured in toys for boys were sometimes very traditional or pre-modern. In other words, no one was playing clerk or banker.⁷⁷ But the perceived educational goal of boys' play was to prepare them for life in the public sphere, and this notion is often reflected in the literature on education and play from the period.

Friedrich Fröbel, a prominent pedagogue in the first half of the nineteenth century who is best-known for founding the first Kindergarten, addresses the role of play in his work, *Die Menschenerziehung, die Erziehungs-, Unterrichts- und Lehrkunst*, originally published in 1826. Here, he describes boys' play as falling into three categories: re-enacting the "real world," applying something learned in school, or "völlig freitätige Gebilde und Darstellungen des Geistes."⁷⁸ He concludes that play should be both physically and mentally stimulating, suggesting such activities as puzzles and games and other "Spiele des Nachdenkens."⁷⁹ He devotes little attention to domestic concerns in boys' education. Here, everything revolves around the exterior world (not the home) and learning for learning's sake. Fröbel does not seem

⁷⁶ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 54; Ganaway, *Toys*, 168

⁷⁷ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 141

⁷⁸ Friedrich Fröbel, *Die Menschenerziehung, Die Erziehungs-, Unterrichts- und Lehrkunst, angestrebt in der allgemeinen deutschen Erziehungsanstalt zu Keilhau*. (Leipzig: Phillip Reclam, 1926), 386-87. Because of his use of "der Knabe" in the text, I am concluding that he is only concerned with the play of young boys here.

⁷⁹ Ibid 388

to see imagination as a threat for boys. But we will see how it can, after all, come into play with the texts to be discussed in the following pages.

In *Der grüne Heinrich*, the first version of which was published mid-century in 1855, Heinrich does not enjoy the same childhood as some of the other protagonists discussed so far, largely because of his father's death and his mother's worry over family finances and his future. In his first person account of his youth, Heinrich writes, "Meine Mutter kaufte mir nur äußerst wenig Spielzeug, immer und einzig darauf bedacht, jeden Heller für meine Zukunft zu sparen, und erachtete in ihrem Sinne jede Ausgabe für überflüssig, welche nicht unmittelbar für das Notwendigste geopfert wurde."⁸⁰ In this text, there is no Christmas Eve passage where Heinrich receives toys to spark his imagination. Instead, Heinrich is left to his own devices to find objects with which he can play. Much as some of the pedagogues during this period might have predicted of children left without parental supervision and control over play, his search leads to some unfortunate results.

Like the female protagonists already discussed, Heinrich inherently wishes to re-enact some aspect of the real world in his play. Unlike some of these characters, however, he seems particularly drawn to the idea of the collection. Collecting was a popular pastime in the nineteenth century, figuring as a "Kulturleistung der Familien." The objects collected were quite varied, no longer limited to books, images or other items of cultural value, but also including "Steine, Pflanzen, Insekten."⁸¹ (Heinrich in fact begins by first collecting various kind of rocks and other shiny objects before trying his hand at collecting butterflies, which ends in disaster.)⁸² In her work on the miniature, Stewart theorizes the collection as well, explaining, "The

⁸⁰ Keller, "Der grüne Heinrich," 11, 144

⁸¹ Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848*. Vol. 1. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1971), 58, 35.

⁸² Keller, "Der grüne Heinrich," 11, 145-46

collection is a form of art as play, a form involving the reframing of objects within a world of attention and manipulation of context.”⁸³ She identifies the biblical story of Noah’s Ark as the original, archetypal collection. This archetypal collection resonates with *Der grüne Heinrich*, for Heinrich’s failed collection revolves around animals.⁸⁴ Heinrich describes some of the ways he tried to entertain and teach himself about the world outside of school. He becomes interested in animals after visiting a zoo:

Auch diese Unternehmung scheiterte endlich, als ich zum ersten Male eine große Menagerie sah. Sogleich faßte ich den Entschluß, eine solche anzulegen, und baute eine Menge Käfige und Zellen. Mit vielem Fleiße wandelte ich dazu kleine Kästchen um, verfertigte deren aus Pappe und Holz und spannte Gitter von Draht oder Faden davor, je nach der Stärke des Tieres, welches dafür bestimmt war...und ich fütterte sie sehr regelmäßig, führte auch andere Kinder herbei und erklärte ihnen die Bestien mit großem Pathos.⁸⁵

Heinrich attempts to recreate something he has seen in the world on a smaller scale and then pretends to share his expertise and entertain his friends with his creation. His collection appears to provide him with a “Gefühl des Stolzes” as Muensterberger describes it.⁸⁶ But he takes animals out of their natural environment without knowing how to care for them, and the animals gradually grow sick and begin to die. Frustrated at his failure, Heinrich determines to kill the surviving animals in his collection and bury them in order to be done with the entire enterprise. But his attempts to kill the animals frighten him, and he eventually resorts to digging a hole and burying the animals together, some of which are still alive. He regrets his action when his mother tells him he might have saved the animals had he only released them back into their natural habitats, but he otherwise has very little emotional response to what he has done,

⁸³ Stewart, *Longing*, 151

⁸⁴ *Ibid* 152

⁸⁵ Keller, “Der grüne Heinrich,” 11, 146-147

⁸⁶ Werner Muensterberger, *Sammeln: eine unbändige Leidenschaft* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1999), 21.

instead choosing to avoid the place where he buried them and put the entire endeavor out of his mind.

Heinrich's actions surrounding his attempt to recreate the menagerie reveal an aspect of childhood and adolescence not yet so prominently treated in any of the other texts – that of the potential for children to exhibit great cruelty and for their cruelty to be illuminated through their treatments of the miniatures in their lives – be they small living creatures or toys. While many of the other texts depict the children as sensitive and caring or at least somehow willing to help (Marie with the nutcracker, Felix and Christlieb with *das fremde Kind*, Lilli with the woman in the tower, etc.), Heinrich's play becomes destructive – much as the rest of his actions in the text are. His failure here is one among many that Heinrich experiences over the course of his life, and, much like Agathe in *Aus guter Familie*, he never finds a way to transition successfully into adulthood and assume the ideal role of independent, stable head of household expected of him by society.

The subject of childhood cruelty in miniature is also a factor in Keller's story "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe," part of his story collection, *Die Leute von Seldwyla*. In the beginning, Vrenchen, daughter of one of the farmers who will eventually feud with one another over a field, has a doll with her that is missing a leg. Sali, the son of the other farmer, takes it away from her and makes a hole in the remaining leg, emptying it of its stuffing. At first, Vrenchen is angry at him and hits him with the doll. But then they together begin tearing the doll apart, emptying it of its innards until all that is left is the head. Sali captures a fly and traps it inside the doll head. Initially, they set it on a stone and admire their work, but they soon become uncomfortable with their creation, and decide to dispose of it:

Aber jeder Prophet erweckt Schrecken und Undank; das wenige Leben in dem dürftig geformten Bilde erregte die menschliche Grausamkeit in den Kindern, und es wurde

beschlossen, das Haupt zu begraben. So machten sie ein Grab und legten den Kopf, ohne die gefangene Fliege um ihre Meinung zu befragen, hinein, und errichteten über dem Grabe ein ansehnliches Denkmal von Feldsteinen. Dann empfanden sie einiges Grauen, da sie etwas Geformtes und Belebtes begraben hatten, und entfernten sich ein gutes Stück von der unheimlichen Stätte.⁸⁷

Much like Heinrich, Sali and Vrenchen feel compelled to hide their abuse of the toy and the fly, but in contrast to Heinrich, they (at least initially) react more violently to what they have done. That the place of their play becomes “unheimlich” to them suggests a certain alienation and that a transition in them has taken place; their shame or potential guilt about their actions has robbed them of their childhood too early. Unlike many of the other characters discussed in this chapter, their “play,” while facilitating a bond between them, seems to have little purpose other than violence. Heinrich is at least motivated to create his own miniature menagerie, and the others also have some goal they are attempting to achieve (even if it is through imaginative and fantastic means). Marie’s brother Fritz in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* handles the nutcracker roughly when he breaks its jaw on a particularly large nut, but he does eventually redeem himself to a certain degree by finding the nutcracker a sword with which to challenge the mouse king. In Keller’s text, by contrast, there is no sense to the violent destruction of an already battered doll – a miniature that serves as a reminder to the myriad woes of village life and perhaps foreshadows the unhappy ending that awaits Sali and Vrenchen.

This passage also alludes to fears that many adults in this period shared about the play of children. Many parents worried that unsupervised play would lead to unwanted behaviors – thus the need for some to bring play into the home and keep it monitored. In some instances, toys may have been taken away from children when they were not being used “properly” (i.e., in

⁸⁷ Gottfried Keller, “Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe,” in *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*. Eds. Peter Villwock et al. Vol 4. (Basel: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2000), 81.

whatever intended form the parents had, most likely that of learning adulthood and not damaging or breaking them).⁸⁸ Of course, children did not always adhere to the behaviors their parents wished to see. There are accounts of children maiming or “killing” their dolls or toys and having funerals for them; sometimes toys became objects upon which children took out their displaced anger or other feelings and were somehow “abusive” toward them, which was sometimes unfortunately a sign that they themselves were being abused.⁸⁹ Vrenchen and Sali are a slightly different case because they do not belong to the bourgeois middle class that was the source of many of the developments surrounding the socialization of children, but their behavior illuminates some of the anxieties surrounding children and maturation as well as their own hopeless position in the village.

Keller’s works reveal how imagination can take a dark turn. While Heinrich may have learned something in his endeavor to recreate a menagerie that inspired him, it required the suffering of animals and thus exemplifies how he fails at every turn to exit his protracted adolescence and enter something resembling responsible adulthood. Additionally, the unprompted nature of Vrenchen and Sali’s destruction of the doll recounted in gruesome detail suggests an outright rejection of social norms that hints at the inevitable destruction of the two protagonists.

These unsettling miniatures differ somewhat from the miniature in Thomas Mann’s *Buddenbrooks*, published in 1901, though Mann’s protagonists do not experience better outcomes. In the novel, a passage detailing a Christmas Eve for the Buddenbrook family is reminiscent of the Stahlbaum Christmas in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*.⁹⁰ Here, the

⁸⁸ Kuznets, *Toys*, 18

⁸⁹ Ganaway, *Toys*, 178-79

⁹⁰ The common theme of Christmas Eve and gift-giving in more than one of these texts also shows how the celebration of Christmas changed over the course of the century, gradually becoming more family-

excitement centers on Hanno, the youngest of the Buddenbrooks, as he contemplates what gifts might await him in the next room. More specifically, his thoughts are focused on his desire for a toy theater, a desire recently born out of his having seen an opera with his parents at the local theater. He is absolutely certain that he will receive a toy version, having dutifully underlined it on a list to his grandmother. He contemplates its appearance and makes his plans for his first private production:

Wird sein Puppentheater groß sein? Groß und breit? Wie wird der Vorhang aussehen? Man muß baldmöglichst ein kleines Loch hineinschneiden, denn auch im Vorhang des Stadttheaters war ein Guckloch ... Ob Großmama oder Mamsell Severin...die nötigen Dekorationen zum »Fidelio« gefunden hatte? Gleich morgen wird er sich irgendwo einschließen und ganz allein eine Vorstellung geben ... Und schon ließ er seine Figuren im Geiste singen; denn die Musik hatte sich ihm mit dem Theater sofort aufs engste verbunden ...⁹¹

When the moment comes, Hanno is led into the room where his gifts await him. In addition to the toy theater and all the necessary figures and accoutrements for reproducing *Fidelio*, which he immediately notices, he also receives a book of Greek mythology and a small organ – a surprise that delights and overwhelms him.⁹² His gifts speak to his interest in art, music, and performance, and the toy theater offers a miniature version of a real-life experience, one that he can now reproduce and control as it suits him. Hanno seems quite fascinated by his model of the theater, and his gift is fitting for a young boy in this time period. Understanding the importance of the toy theater to male education in the nineteenth century helps to clarify further why Hanno's encounter with the toy theater is so important to the overarching themes of Mann's novel.

centered and commercialized in the presents given to children. See Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 28-30. See also Richter, *Kind*, 270.

⁹¹ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 2002), 587.

⁹² *Ibid* 590-91

Toy theaters came in many different forms and designs, and became gradually more popular throughout the nineteenth century. Liz Farr offers an analysis of the nineteenth-century toy theater and its importance to young boys. She emphasizes how child's play at the time was seen as not only a source of recreation, but a "strenuous psychological workout" that "...shed light on the late-nineteenth-century investment in boyishness less as a form of nostalgic escapism than as the site for the realization of a profoundly visual model of aesthetic practice involving the production and consumption of spectacular fantasies."⁹³ The stage was seen as a particularly male pursuit, and Farr indicates that boys were usually the ones in charge of the production when it came to toy theaters. Girls could sometimes join in on the fun, but they were always designated assistants to their male companions.⁹⁴ Farr's assessment makes clear that objects such as the toy theater were meant to be an educational tool, much as dolls were meant to teach young girls how to become mothers. In the case of toy theaters, however, the education is for the world beyond the home and a potential career. For boys, this kind of learning through play was meant to be serious business as much as entertainment, perhaps even more so than was the case for girls and their playthings.

Hanno's uncle, Christian, is also intrigued by the toy theater. And while he sees the appeal for Hanno, he also presents Hanno with a warning about his interest in the theater:

Bist du schon mal im Theater gewesen?... Im Fidelio? Ja, das wird gut gegeben ... Und nun willst du das nachmachen, wie? nachahmen, selbst Opern aufführen?... Hat es solchen Eindruck auf dich gemacht?... Hör' mal, Kind, laß dir raten, hänge deine Gedanken nur nicht zu sehr an solche Sachen ... Theater ... und sowas ... Das taugt nichts, glaube deinem Onkel. Ich habe mich auch immer viel zu sehr für diese Dinge interessiert, und darum ist auch nicht viel aus mir geworden. Ich habe große Fehler begangen, mußt du wissen ...⁹⁵

⁹³ Liz Farr, "Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections: The Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater, Boyhood, and Aesthetic Play," in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. Dennis Denisoff, 43-62. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008): 44.

⁹⁴ Ibid 45

⁹⁵ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 592-3

Of course, soon after he warns Hanno away from such interests, Christian beats Hanno to the punch and begins to play with the toy theater himself, mimicking voices of the characters and singing songs. The family gathers around to listen to his silly antics, until he stops abruptly due to one of his many ailments.⁹⁶ Christian's moment with the toy theater is a regressive one, suggesting that he has never fully accepted his position as an adult. His characteristic behavior, spending most of his time at the theater and usually doing everything in his power to avoid working, further casts him as an overgrown adolescent and puts the act of playing with the toy theater out of proportion because he is already a grown man who has taken over a child's toy. Kirsten Belgum (among others) has argued that the increasing presence of the aesthetic and artistic talent (as in Christian and Hanno, for example) also signals the decline of the burgher.⁹⁷ Christian's interest in the toy theater is a perfect example, and his interest foreshadows not only the general fall of the family, but also Hanno's fate.

Hanno's Christmas gifts suggest his overwhelmingly artistic interests. The toy theater, coupled with the small organ, suggest the family wants Hanno to cultivate his talents and that he might possibly have a future career, but Christian's taking over for him before he can get started casts a shadow on that notion. Hanno's interrupted play does not in fact presage a successful transition into adulthood. Instead, he becomes ill and dies, signaling the end of the Buddenbrook line and leaving the surviving women to their respective fates. As Hamlin puts it, "The play of Hanno appeared to forecast precisely his end."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ibid 593

⁹⁷ See Kirsten Belgum, *Interior Meaning: Design of the Bourgeois Home in the Realist Novel* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 188.

⁹⁸ Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 21

Mann was probably influenced by Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* in his choice to have Hanno interested in the toy theater. Connections have been drawn between the two writers, mostly centering on Mann's novel, *Lotte in Weimar*, a work about a fictionalized Goethe and his beloved, Charlotte, who likely served as a model for the character Lotte in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. Mann was likely familiar with *Wilhelm Meister* as well, and other intertextual references between *Buddenbrooks* and *Wilhelm Meister* have been noted.⁹⁹ The two authors have also been compared because they both work in the genre of the *Bildungsroman* (though, in the case of *Buddenbrooks*, the *Bildung* is not so successful).¹⁰⁰ The importance of the theater to Wilhelm and the impression it leaves on him in his childhood, however, is a point at which Mann could be drawing on details of Goethe's work to depict a failed education.

In *Wilhelm Meister*, Wilhelm recounts stories of his childhood to Mariane, detailing the first time he ever saw a toy theater:

Es waren die ersten vergnügten Augenblicke, die ich in dem neuen leeren Hause genoss, ich sehe es diesen Augenblick noch vor mir, ich weiß, wie sonderbar es mir vorkam, als man uns, nach Empfang der gewöhnlichen Christgeschenke, vor einer Türe niedersitzen hieß, die aus einem andern Zimmer herein ging. Sie eröffnete sich; allein nicht wie sonst zum hin und wiederlaufen, der Eingang war durch eine unerwartete Festlichkeit ausgefüllt. Es baute sich ein Portal in die Höhe, das von einem mystischen Vorhang verdeckt war. Erst standen wir alle von ferne, und wie unsre Neugierde größer ward, um zu sehen was wohl blinkendes und rasselndes sich hinter der halb durchsichtigen Hülle verbergen möchte, wies man jedem sein Stühlchen an und gebot uns in Geduld zu warten.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks Kommentar*, eds. Eckhard Heftrich and Stephan Stachorski, (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 2002), 318.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Bernhard Blume, *Thomas Mann und Goethe* (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1949); Klaus-Dieter Sorg, *Gebrochene Teleologie: Studien zum Bildungsroman von Goethe bis Thomas Mann* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 1983); or Fritz Erpel, "Thomas Mann's Knowledge of Goethe," *Germanic Review* 32, no. 4 (1957): 311-13.

¹⁰¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre," in *Sämtliche Werke: Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche*, eds. Friedmar Apel, et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992), 362-63.

Wilhelm shows his old figures from the theater to Mariane and tells her how he became obsessed with the theater, asking for another performance and wanting to take part in the fun himself. As a boy, he eventually finds the figures hidden away in the kitchen pantry and takes them up to the attic in order to play with them. He eventually gets the chance to perform in front of his friends and quickly becomes embarrassed when he makes a mistake and briefly drops one of the characters, disturbing the performance and breaking the illusion of the ideal miniature version of the play. Wilhelm's childhood obsession follows him into adulthood, where he continues to pursue a career within the theater. While Wilhelm may feel he is leaving his bourgeois upbringing behind, this is not entirely the case; regardless, Goethe's depiction of Wilhelm and his interest in the theater serving as one path into adulthood may in any case have inspired the character of young Hanno, whose enthusiasm mirrors Wilhelm's. The major difference is that Hanno is stopped before he can really begin, interrupted by the failed example of Christian and left with no way to integrate his love of the arts into the failing family business. The miniature toy theater does not assist him in finding his way into the public sphere.

Conclusion

As this chapter has attempted to make clear, the miniature plays a central role in the literary construction of childhood imagination and children's maturation in the literature of the nineteenth century. In many ways, the protagonists' growth is tied to their interactions with these miniatures and to the ways in which these interactions affect them. Their emotional states, moreover, appear to have a significant impact on whether or not they are able to transition successfully into adulthood (real or imagined). These relationships between children and their toy miniatures are often complicated by the sometimes well-intentioned, sometimes meddling

parents who – in a reflection of the debates amongst and fears of parents and pedagogues in the nineteenth century about toys and children’s play – insist on controlling or influencing how the protagonists play with their toys and in determining what type of play and behavior is appropriate for said protagonists, largely based on gender and the implied future social roles these characters will eventually have to inhabit (if they succeed in making it to adulthood). While Hoffmann’s Marie seems to enjoy fewer constraints and is empowered by her imagination, other characters – particularly those that emerge in literature later in the century – find there are more obstacles between them and the fulfillment of their desires. Some (such as Lilli) are able to navigate these challenges and reach an acceptable adulthood, while others (such as Agathe and Hanno) are not able to reconcile their desires with their social stations and eventually are eliminated.

The miniatures makes visible the normally secret, unseen lives of children’s play and imagination. Regardless of whether or not the characters end up as successful adults at the end, their interactions with their toy miniatures reveal emotions – both positive and negative – that might otherwise be hidden not only from those around them, but from the protagonists themselves. Their miniatures are often the catalyst to upheaval. They force a confrontation between the contents of the protagonists’ imaginations and the discrepancies with the real worlds around them. They throw the children’s and adolescents’ lives and emotions out of balance until these young characters either succeed in overcoming whatever challenges they are facing or are conquered by them.

Chapter Two

Reading Readers Reading in the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

In Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* (1901), the Buddenbrook family spends a summer afternoon in the garden and for the first time Tony meets Grünlich, the first of her two future husbands. Before his fateful arrival, however, each family member is preoccupied with a different activity. Of particular interest here is Tony. She sits with her elbows propped up on a table, completely absorbed in the book in front of her – none other than E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Serapionsbrüder*. Mann's choice of reading material for Tony and the subsequent moments in the novel in which reading is thematized offer a multilayered look into the importance of reading and its connection to Tony's imagination – as well as demonstrate an awareness of the larger cultural questions surrounding reading and the “afterlife” of texts that continues long after the initial publication date. These aspects of Mann's novel will serve as a guide to investigating the investment of *Buddenbrooks* in reading and imagination, but also to looking back at this theme in examples of literature that were published over the course of the century, much as Mann's novel itself looks back at the nineteenth century at the cusp of the twentieth.

This chapter will focus on depictions of reading and imagination in a set of works from the nineteenth century and will consider how concerns about the content of adolescent reading in the nineteenth century are reflected in the characterization of reading as an activity. As over the course of the century books became easier to afford and consume and the market diversified to include more and more offerings targeted at younger readers, the question of appropriate reading material (in the pedagogical as well as moral sense) for both boys and girls remained at the forefront of debates among parents, pedagogues, and parishioners alike. The texts considered in this chapter all address in some way the anxieties (as well as some positive aspects) surrounding the influence of the book (most often the novel), and examine how reading and the exercise of the imagination affect the maturation process and the often difficult, sometimes impossible or untenable transition from childhood and adolescence to adulthood. The chapter addresses authors who took on the self-reflexive task of creating literary works that are in part meditations on the act of reading itself. These writers comment to varying degrees on the changing social and cultural norms surrounding the consumption of literary and not so literary texts and draw their own conclusions about these norms through the fates of their respective characters.

Nineteenth-century Germany is not the first context in which reading has been both upheld as important and criticized for its possible ill effects. Scholars cite Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, one of the earliest novels, as the literary origin of the theme of reading and more specifically, misreading as a potential hazard to one's well-being.¹ While questions about the impact of reading are not new in the period this dissertation covers, these questions took on new salience where the book industry and the make-up of the social world and reading's place within

¹ See, for example, Gail Hart, "The Function of Fictions: Imagination and Socialization in Both Versions of Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*." *The German Quarterly* 59.4 (1986): 595, as well as Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 64.

it were rapidly changing. More people were reading more than ever before – and not just in the German context. The novel in particular, according to Littau, evoked fears because of its tendency to reflect the real world of which readers were a part (as opposed to the epics about gods and heroes that could not be found in real life). The sense of being directly addressed was a relatively new feeling to readers, which Littau believes contributed to an increase in identification between readers and the characters in novels and thus led pedagogues, clergymen, and others frequently to vilify these characters as “wicked, sentimental and delusional, at once the object of blame for inflaming readers’ passions and the explanation for readers’ evasion of, or escape from, societal duties.”²

This chapter will begin with a treatment of *Buddenbrooks* and Hoffmann’s *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* side by side in order to explore the intertextual reference (*Nussknacker und Mausekönig* belonging to the collection *Die Serapionsbrüder*) as well as literary representations of reading change from the beginning of the century to the end. The next section will examine texts in which the protagonists suffer in part due to circumstances surrounding their reading – Gottfried Keller’s *Der grüne Heinrich* and Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie*. Treating these two texts together offers the chance to assess how literary works from the period depicted anxieties (as well as some positive aspects) about reading and its place as part of childhood socialization, and how these anxieties both emanate from and manifest gender difference. The final section will offer an analysis of Wilhelm Raabe’s *Prinzessin Fisch*. Raabe’s text provides an ambivalent look at the book industry in general and presents concerns about adolescent reading. While the protagonist, Theodor, is eventually able to overcome his fantasies and leave for the university (and presumably a successful career), the text offers little consolation to the

² Littau, *Reading*, 40, 64

young man (or the reader) who has survived the ordeal – leaving Theodor to take on the world alone. Additionally, the cultural and historical considerations about reading and book history in the nineteenth century outlined in the introduction to this dissertation will offer a touchstone for assessing how the literary works in question demonstrate an awareness of the ideas and concerns of their contemporaries, draw conclusions about the nature of reading and imagination, and either confirm or condemn attempts to regulate reading.

Part One: Hoffmann and Mann

In the early chapters of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, Mann acquaints the reader not just with the Buddenbrook family narrative, but also with the importance of narrative and story to certain family members and other characters. More specifically, he includes passages in which the act of reading is portrayed and discussed — mostly focused on Tony and her fascination not just with the perpetuation of the successful Buddenbrook family line, i.e., its story, but also with her own reading habits, which appear to center on her reading of E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Serapionsbrüder*. The fact that this detail is mentioned at all and that other characters around her comment on her reading choices and behavior indicate the importance of reading and the reflection on it — both in Mann's time and earlier in the nineteenth century. The scenes in which Tony reads allow Mann to depict and participate in a discourse on reading, particularly women's reading. His engagement with the topic of reading is multilayered in that he discusses the importance of reading in multiple moments in the nineteenth century. Beginning some time before the revolution of 1848, *Buddenbrooks* looks back at reading at an earlier moment in the century. On the other hand, tied up in his assessment of the past is also to some extent an assessment of his present moment. His contemporary readers might have viewed

texts such as Hoffmann's differently from readers in the middle of the century – a historical fact that further enriches the consideration of reading in Mann's novel.

With his specific inclusion of Hoffmann in *Buddenbrooks*, Mann also makes a gesture toward works of literature having an “afterlife” and toward acknowledging that readers were not just reading contemporary texts. William St. Clair, in his book on reading in the Romantic period, explains that books have a reading history that lies beyond the period in which they were published: “...Any study of the consequences of the reading of the past ought to consider the print which was actually read, not some modern selection, whether that selection is derived from judgements of canon or from other modern criteria.”³ The referencing of Hoffmann also suggests that Mann knew Hoffmann's work, and indeed scholars such as Lieb and Meteling have cited several connections between their respective works proposing that Mann may have been generally influenced by Hoffmann.⁴

Buddenbrooks is noteworthy as a work that transcends the divide between canonical and popular literature. As Schonfield explains, “*Buddenbrooks* is one of the few novels written around 1900 to have achieved both critical acclaim and widespread popularity, canonical status and a mass audience.”⁵ Mann's success on both fronts was perhaps not immediately evident after the book's publication in 1901, as the book was somewhat slow to take off with readers. With the printing in 1903 of a cheaper edition that kept the novel to one volume and had a cover illustration, sales of the novel immediately improved, and they improved further still when Mann won the Nobel Prize two decades later.⁶ Though it is perhaps most often cited for the drama and

³ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 3.

⁴ Claudia Lieb and Arno Meteling, “E. T. A. Hoffmann und Thomas Mann. Das Vermächtnis des ‘Don Juan’.” *E. T. A. Hoffmann Jahrbuch* 11 (2003): 34-5.

⁵ Ernest Schonfield, “*Buddenbrooks* as Bestseller” in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, eds. Charlotte Woodford and Benedict Schofield. (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), 95.

⁶ *Ibid* 95

excitement of the family's infamous decline or for Mann's literary craft in all of its facets, *Buddenbrooks* also tells us something about the reading world of which the book was a part.

Over the course of Mann's novel, the character Tony appears to be enamored of two texts in particular, the first being the collection of documents that constitute the Buddenbrook family history and documentation of previous success stories to which the affairs of the current generation will never compare, the second being E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Serapionsbrüder*, a collection of his stories bound together by a framing narrative. Her reading of Hoffmann eventually gives way to her focus on the family (or is at least no longer explicitly named in later chapters of the novel), but she is frequently connected to story-telling, references to fairy tales and literary tropes, and (day)dreaming.⁷ This dreaming often appears to be prompted by the texts she reads, especially when it comes to the family documents. She is most vocal about the products of her imagination when it comes to her dream of upholding the family legacy — a dream that diverges more and more from reality as time passes and she finds herself twice divorced and her brothers faring no better at achieving the family ideal. Although her reading is not always directly associated with her daydreams and fantasies of success, the depictions of her engagements with books (and particularly with her reading of Hoffmann) also suggest that she does make some connections between her real world and the worlds of her books.

Before getting too far into the discussion of *Buddenbrooks*, I would like to turn to Hoffmann's text. *Die Serapionsbrüder* is a collection that frequently thematizes the question of who makes the best audience for a given text and the importance of the imagination and reading — particularly when Lothar presents the two *Kindermärchen* in the collection, *Nussknacker und*

⁷ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie*. (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 2010). See, for example, 155, 170, 232, 284, 373, 489.

Mausekönig and *Das fremde Kind*. The other characters are critical of the stories, insisting that they cannot possibly be for children and that they are perhaps too “fiebrig” in their construction. Lothar maintains that children may be able to see in his texts what adults cannot, and that they deserve more than what the average “fairy tale” offers them.⁸

Hoffman thematizes the link between reading and imagination in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* (1816), a story that has been referred to as a “Wirklichkeitsmärchen.”⁹ Books are an important part of the Stahlbaum household, and before Drosselmeier arrives with his miniature castle Fritz and Marie spend part of their Christmas Eve with their noses in the “Bilderbücher” they received as gifts earlier in the evening.¹⁰ The books occupy a prominent spot in the family’s living room, having an entire shelf to themselves in the glass cabinet just above Fritz and Marie’s toys.¹¹ Later, when the mouse king threatens to hurt the nutcracker, he forces Marie to give up her books (among other things) to him – suggesting that they are important enough to her that losing them causes her to suffer (and while she laments how difficult it is, she still willingly does it in an effort to keep the nutcracker from harm).

After the mice attack and she cuts her arm on the door of the glass cabinet during the fray, Marie is forced to stay in bed. This is a nearly unbearable fate for her not only because she is concerned for the nutcracker, but also because her imagination is left with few stimuli. She tries to read on her own, but appears not to be well enough to do so: “...Und wollte sie lesen

⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig” in *Poetische Werke*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 318-19. For further discussion of this passage, see Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer.

Kinderliteratur, Kanonbildung und literarische Wertung (Stuttgart: JB Metzler Verlag, 2003), 256.

⁹ Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 251. See also Hans-Heino Ewers, “Romantik,” in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008), 119, as well as Isa Schikorsky, “Im Labyrinth der Phantasie: Ernst Theodor Hoffmanns Wirklichkeitsmärchen *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*,” in *Klassiker der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Bettina Hurrelmann. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1995).

¹⁰ Hoffmann, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” 253

¹¹ *Ibid* 260

oder in den Bilderbücher blättern, so flimmerte es ihr seltsam vor den Augen, und sie musste davon ablassen. So musste ihr nun wohl die Zeit recht herzlich lang werden, und sie konnte kaum die Dämmerung erwarten, weil dann die Mutter sich an ihr Bett setzte und ihr sehr viel Schönes vorlas und erzählte.”¹² The visual disturbance she experiences may be a side effect of her illness and loss of her sanity (if one is inclined to read the text that way), but could also be read as a symptom of the ongoing blending of reality and fantasy in the text. Reading becomes difficult because she cannot discern where her real world ends and the products of her imaginative fantasy world begin.

Given her temporary inability to read, Marie is forced to rely on her mother, who reads to her, and on Droßelmeier, who returns to apologize for not helping her during the mice attack and begins to tell her the tale of the hard nut. Marie models here a different form of reading prominent in the nineteenth century – that of the listener. While listeners do not “read” in a literal sense, they are still consumers of texts, and Marie’s listening to Droßelmeier’s fairy tale sparks her imagination and leads her to the missing link in her story, namely, the fact that the nutcracker is Droßelmeier’s cursed nephew in disguise. With knowledge in hand from the story of how to overcome the magic that has turned him into the nutcracker, Marie is eventually able to free him from the curse after the mouse king is vanquished.

While Hoffmann hints at the concerns of reading and imagination via the reactions of Marie’s parents, his assessment of Marie’s reading is left somewhat ambiguous. At least from her perspective, her reading is necessary and unproblematic. But her parents’ feelings suggest Marie may be suffering from a madness brought on partially by illness, partially by her overactive imagination. The text remains ambiguous as to who should be believed and presents

¹² Ibid 273-74

conflicting evidence that would support both Marie and her parents. Compared to the texts that were published later in the century, however, Hoffmann's portrayal of Marie seems quite forgiving. He goes so far as to lampoon fears about reading in some of his later works such as *Klein Zaches genannt Zinnober* (1819) and *Das Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* (1820), in which fantastic critters jump out of book pages to run around and the tomcat Murr is locked out of a book cabinet for fear he is getting too many ideas, respectively.¹³ Depending on how one interprets *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, Hoffmann either reveals that reading (and with it, listening) is an empowering act that sparks the imagination and helps Marie save the nutcracker, or that Marie's reading is just one of many stepping stones on her path to insanity. In either case, the mixed portraits of "unsupervised" reading and the exercise of the imagination sets him apart from the rest of the authors to be discussed here.

Hoffmann's fairy tale holds a unique place amongst contemporary works of the canon. Kümmerling-Meibauer claims that there is no other text published in the rest of the nineteenth century that is quite like *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* when one considers it as children's literature.¹⁴ Schikorsky identifies the text's lack of clear boundary between fantasy and reality as the center of its uniqueness.¹⁵ Hoffmann was, however, not highly regarded through the remainder of the century; literary critics writing in the initial decades after the end of the Romantic period were critical of the Romantics in general, and Hoffmann's work was dismissed for not being pedagogical or patriotic enough. His conflicted status as writer for both children and adults may have also contributed to his decline, though critics are kinder to him near the end

¹³ See E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Klein Zaches, genannt Zinnober," in *Poetische Werke*, vol. 5 (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 69-70, as well as E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Die Lebensansichten des Katers Murr," in *Poetische Werke*, vol. 5 (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 220-21.

¹⁴ Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 254

¹⁵ Schikorsky, "Phantasie," 528

of the century and he experiences a revival in the twentieth century. Because of his later resonance with twentieth-century readers, Kümmerling-Meibauer sees Hoffmann's work as being ahead of its time.¹⁶ But Hoffmann's work – *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* and the rest of *Die Serapionsbrüder* in particular – illuminates contemporary concerns that will continue to appear in literary works through the end of the century and beyond. And thus we are brought back to Thomas Mann.

Returning to *Buddenbrooks* after this look at Hoffmann, I would like first to revisit the passage mentioned in the introduction: Tony's reading of Hoffmann in the garden in the summertime. The entire family spends the afternoon outside, and "Tony hatte den Kopf in beide Hände gestützt und las versunken in Hoffmanns "Serapionsbrüdern," während Tom sie mit einem Grashalm ganz vorsichtig im Nacken kitzelte, was sie aus Klugheit aber durchaus nicht bemerkte."¹⁷ The use of the word "versunken" suggests Tony's complete absorption in Hoffmann's text and her indifference to what is happening around her; Tom's attempts to distract and irritate her go unacknowledged. The word also ties her to the Romantic tradition and their interest in other states of mind. Both Hoffmann and Tieck, for example, use the word to describe internally preoccupied characters.¹⁸ Tony's mother takes note of Tony's posture and makes a point of scolding her for her impropriety: "'Tony, deine Haltung ist nicht comme il faut,' bemerkte die Konsulin, worauf Tony, ohne die Augen von ihrem Buche zu erheben, einen Ellbogen vom Tische nahm."¹⁹ Tony is so engrossed that she forgets to observe proper manners; this depiction establishes her as the quintessential woman reader as she was viewed in the

¹⁶ Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 554-55

¹⁷ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 100

¹⁸ See *Prinzessin Brambilla*, for example, in which one of the characters stands "in tiefe Träume versunken."

¹⁹ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 101

nineteenth century -- someone who has taken up a novel and is lost in the imaginative world. Klothilde, who sits nearby with her own book, provides a point of contrast to Tony. She reads a story entitled “Blind, taub, stumm und dennoch glücklich”²⁰ and also appears to be multitasking, collecting and consuming cookie crumbs as she reads. The title of the work sounds as though there were some overwrought didactic message to be had at the end, and Klothilde models the mindless consumer, both in her choice of work and in the fact that she is eating. Her deliberate gathering of the cookie crumbs suggests that consumption is more important than the intellectual quality of the experience; eating while reading would be one thing, but the painstaking work of eating crumbs requires more effort than the payoff is worth.²¹ Her choice of reading material is also contrasted with Tony’s; whereas Tony reads what we would consider to be a canonical author (though his status at the time of Mann’s writing may not have been as firm as it is today), Klothilde reads what is certainly an example of *Erbauungsliteratur*.²² The portrayal of Klothilde shows how her mindless reading appetite reflects her endless appetite for food. The text often depicts her eating, though she never gains weight. Littau has described reading as “a form of eating,” and in this case Klothilde’s consumption of both food and literature seems to offer little in the way of nourishment.²³

That both of them are reading in this passage also indicates that they enjoy a certain level of privilege; their social standing is such that they have leisure time to fill with the reading of literature. As mentioned above, reading was a favorite pastime of the middle class (and, later, more of the population). In this way, the text also reflects the cultural moment of a Germany

²⁰ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 100

²¹ Lieb and Meteling have also analyzed this passage of *Buddenbrooks* and discussed Tony’s reading, but in the interest of making an argument about another of Hoffmann’s texts, 35-36.

²² Lieb and Meteling claim that *Die Serapionsbrüder* “kaum rezipiert wurde” at the time Mann is portraying in the novel. See page 36.

²³ Littau, *Reading*, 40

whose literacy rates skyrocketed in the nineteenth century and hints at the extent to which Tony's reading and pleasure in stories are going to influence her throughout the novel.

In a later chapter of the novel, when Grünlich returns to Tony and first approaches her to make a second marriage proposal, she is reading a novel (the name of which is never revealed). After he leaves, Tony thinks about the exchange between the two of them as similar to what typically happens in the plots of novels.²⁴ The timing of the proposal is certainly ironic, since Tony was just preoccupied with what was most likely a romance novel. Unlike those kinds of novels, however, there is not much in the way of love to be found between Tony and her suitor. Tony is playing a role that she deems necessary for the sake of the family, and the love and happy ending typical of a romance novel have nothing to do with her present moment (and, as the reader will see, will have nothing to do with the actual marriage, which ends in divorce). Her musings also point to the fact that she envisions herself as a protagonist in a grander narrative, and in this case, one might conclude that her behavior reflects her conviction that her life choices are key for the Buddenbrook narrative. The fact that her inspiration comes from a novel she is reading also paints her as the type of reader that aroused anxieties during both the contemporary moment in which she was supposed to have lived as well as Mann's present: she appears unable to separate fiction from reality. This depiction of Tony certainly associates her with the concerns about women reading the likes of romance literature.²⁵

The most direct comment on reading habits and gender-appropriate reading comes during Tony's stay at the shore in the wake of her distress over Grünlich's unwanted proposal. There she is cared for by the Schwarzkopfs, and their son, Morten, becomes her companion and first

²⁴ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 117, 121

²⁵ See Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford UP, 1993), 263.

love. In one chapter they both walk through the local gardens carrying books with them. When Tony asks Morten what he is reading, he replies, “Ach, das ist nichts für Sie, Fräulein Buddenbrook!”²⁶ He briefly describes the content of what is surely a medical book for his education as a doctor, and then asks Tony what she is reading. When she asks him if he is familiar with Hoffmann, Morten responds, “Den mit dem Kappellmeister und dem goldenen Topf? Ja, das ist sehr hübsch. . . Aber, wissen Sie, es ist doch wohl mehr für Damen. Männer müssen heute etwas anderes lesen.” He soon thereafter calls her a romantic and tells her, “Sie haben zu viel Hoffmann gelesen.”²⁷ His tone suggests that he, at least, does not view Hoffmann as reading for anyone other than children and naive women captivated by works from a bygone era. His characterization is, however, inaccurate. Aside from some potential exceptions (such as *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, if one chooses to view the ending there as a happy one), the majority of Hoffmann’s works often contain violent and grotesque content, that is, if at times ironic, not exactly “hübsch.”

But Morton is right about the fact that Hoffmann’s works were sometimes viewed as overly sentimental, old-fashioned, and sometimes as downright terrible examples of literature by mid-century critics. But that is only one facet of the issue. How is one, then, supposed to understand Mann’s and his characters’ judgment of this sort of reading? The choice of reading and Morten’s disapproval do suggest that Hoffmann’s works were still being read (if not always highly regarded, as Lieb and Meteling and Kümmerling-Meibauer suggest), both in Tony’s time at that phase of the novel, some time mid-century and immediately pre-revolution, as well as in Mann’s time at the turn of the century.²⁸ Indeed, investigation of book catalogues from the

²⁶ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 140

²⁷ Ibid 141

²⁸ See Lieb and Meteling, 36, and Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 254

middle and end of the century reveal that many of E. T. A. Hoffmann's stories — many of which belong to *Die Serapionsbrüder* — were being kept in print by various publishers throughout the century in editions geared toward young and adult readers alike.²⁹

Returning to the interaction between Morten and Tony, one can potentially find multiple layers of reading reception. The first issue is Morten's reaction to Tony's preference for Hoffmann. His disdain appears to be tied to his associations of Hoffmann with Romanticism and a past that has nothing to do with the real world in front of them. Historically speaking, this incident occurs at the brink of political upheaval, and Morten accuses Tony of being much like the system of government that he finds antiquated and inadequate.³⁰ The suggested divide implies that Tony's interest in fiction is trivial compared to Morten's engagement with the real world; the text thereby evokes notions that what women of Tony's social class were reading was of no importance and reveals a disdain for fantasy and a preference for the real.

The fact that another layer of reading is inherent in the text complicates the question — namely, that of the reader who picked up Mann's novel around the turn of the century. This reader may have had a reaction to the presence of Hoffmann in the text different from the judgment Morten makes. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to delve deeply into this issue, and it would be very difficult to reconstruct how late nineteenth century readers actually

²⁹ There is evidence to suggest that E. T. A. Hoffmann was a part of the reading material of Imperial Germany for both young and adult readers. Book catalogues and reference texts devoted to collecting information on actual published editions reveal that Hoffmann's works were often part of story collections containing multiple authors, as well as being stand-alone works. For more information, see Aiga Klotz, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in Deutschland 1840-1950; Gesamtverzeichnis der Veröffentlichungen in deutscher Sprache*. 5 Bde. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1990), 2.275. Additionally, one can also see Richardt Haupt, *Hinrichs' Fünfjähriger Bücher-Catalog. 1881-1885*. 7. Band. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1886), Heinrich Weise, *Hinrichs' Fünfjähriger Bücher-Catalog. 1896-1900*. 10. Band. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901), and Heinrich Weise and Adolf Schäfer. *Hinrichs' Fünfjähriger Bücher-Catalog. 1901-1905*. 11. Band. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906).

³⁰ Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 150

responded to Hoffmann's presence in the novel -- whether his work was viewed as nothing but fairy tales for children (which would reinforce the reading of Tony as naive and oblivious) or as a more canonical German author, which might change the light in which Tony's reading is understood. An example of a book catalogue from the turn of the century suggests that, compared to the few years prior, the frequency of publication of Hoffmann's texts at the turn of the century increased, which might indicate a moment of "rediscovery" for the author. Whatever the case, Tony's reading of Hoffmann speaks to the notion that readers in Germany would not have limited themselves to contemporary works. While this would have been true at earlier points in the century as well, it becomes especially true after the change in the copyright laws that moved much of the classic literature into the public domain and resulted in affordable editions such as those offered by Reclam.³¹ Hoffmann's presence for Tony and others in the mid-nineteenth century and for Mann's readers at the turn of the century illustrates that texts have a reading history that extends beyond the initial date of their publication, and that these works become part of a reading culture long after their publication. As William St. Clair so succinctly puts it, "Readers have never confined their reading to contemporary texts."³² This fact suggests that older literature still managed to capture the imaginations of readers decades after it was written, offering glimpses into worlds otherwise lost to time.

Part Two: Heinrich and Agathe

Gottfried Keller and Gabriele Reuter were not exactly contemporaries, but their works share a preoccupation with the social expectations for children and adolescents during those

³¹ Tatlock, "Introduction," *Publishing Culture* 10

³² St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, 3

tumultuous transition years. Both *Der grüne Heinrich* (here meaning principally the first version from 1854/55) and *Aus guter Familie* (1895) serve as cautionary tales for the consequences of unchecked reading and imagination, albeit for different reasons. While Keller's novel chronicles the failed education of Heinrich that is due largely to a lack of parental (or rather: paternal) oversight and his mother's inability to guide him, Reuter's novel details Agathe's unjust fate at the hands of a social milieu that is unaccepting of her quest for experience beyond the domestic and leaves her emotional needs unmet because she never realizes the idealized feminine adulthood of her era.

Keller in particular takes up the topic of reading again and again in his texts. Gail Hart has described his protagonists as frequently being "...an ordinary person, seized by extraordinary ideals or aspirations, [who] constructs an alternative world of the imagination and lives according to its values until he is enlightened or eliminated by the 'reality' he has chosen to ignore."³³ The prevalence of these reading characters is often connected to a didactic message – though at times this didacticism gives way to ambiguity.³⁴ The first version of *Der grüne Heinrich*, completed mid-century, tells the story of Heinrich from a third-person perspective, though much of the first part of the novel is taken up with the reading of his own autobiography; this autobiography reveals the reading interests that follow Heinrich into adulthood.

Heinrich is depicted as having knowledge of the works of classical German literature and a great appreciation for the "deutsche Sanger" (including the Swiss Germans as opposed to other Swiss authors) and few others: "Er schwarmte nur fur die deutsche Kunst, von welcher er allerlei Wundersames erzahlen horte und verachtete alles Andere."³⁵ (However, he later mentions

³³ Gail Hart, "Keller's Fictional Readers: Heinrich, Pankraz, and Jacques." *Seminar* 23.2 (1987): 115.

³⁴ *Ibid* 119

³⁵ Gottfried Keller, "Der grune Heinrich 1854/55 erster und zweiter Band," in *Samtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Peter Villwock, et al. vol. 11 (Basel: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2005), 43, 56.

reading works by Diderot, Rousseau, and Byron as well.)³⁶ In particular, Heinrich is described as having a love for German Romanticism, and he recounts reading the work of Romantic writers such as Jean Paul as well as the Swiss poet Geßner.³⁷ This love for the Romantics proves to be problematic and sets him at odds with current social and intellectual norms. Over the course of the novel, he reads various texts by (the more highly regarded) Goethe and Schiller, most prominently *Wilhelm Tell*, which will be discussed in greater depth below. Unfortunately for Heinrich, even reading the classics cannot help him to reconcile the contents of his imagination with the real world around him.

One of his first significant encounters with books comes from his contact with Frau Margreth, an older woman who lives what Caroline von Loewenich calls an “Ausnahmestand.”³⁸ She represents a bygone age and serves as an impossible role model for Heinrich; like Tony, whom Morten judges to be behind the times, Frau Margreth seems connected to another time out of step with her actual world. She is a collector of all sorts of things and has her own shop for peddling her wares. Many of the poor members of the community come to her, and Heinrich spends time with her, listening to her tell stories about her collected objects. The pride of her collection is the books she has accumulated “mit großem Eifer.”³⁹ The books contain all sorts of different texts, from bibles and other religious writings to travel descriptions and old folk stories. The fairy tale and the fantastic thrive in her domain, and she takes most of it at face value; in this she recalls Tony and her desire for the ideal family narrative and Marie’s belief in Droßelmeier’s fairy tale:

³⁶ Ibid 340-41

³⁷ Ibid 249-50, 320, 340-41

³⁸ Caroline von Loewenich, *Gottfried Keller: Frauenbild und Frauengestalten im erzählerischen Werk* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), 42.

³⁹ Keller, “Heinrich,” 11, 111

Für Frau Margret hatte ohne Unterschied alles, was gedruckt war, sowohl wie die mündlichen Ueberlieferungen des Volkes, eine gewisse Wahrheit, und die ganze Welt in allen ihren Spiegelungen, das fernste sowohl wie ihr eigenes Leben, waren ihr gleich wunderbar und bedeutungsvoll; sie trug noch den lebendigen ungebrochenen Aberglauben vergangener kräftiger Zeiten an sich ohne Verfeinerung und Schliff. Mit neugieriger Liebe erfaßte sie alles und nahm es als bare Münze, was ihrer wogenden Phantasie dargeboten wurde...⁴⁰

This passage suggests that Frau Margreth reads indiscriminantly and does not worry about reconciling what she reads with the real world. Heinrich helps Margreth with her books where her own education falls short. He reads aloud to her, explains the texts that have Latin passages or numerals that she cannot understand, and writes up notes about them for her to read at her leisure, becoming, as he calls it, her “Geheimsschreiber.”⁴¹ He also reads on his own there and uses some of the subject matter he encounters (including in the Bible) to continue with his own “profane Compositionen.”⁴² But Frau Margreth also expresses worries about Heinrich and the reading he is doing, revealing her own anxieties about her lack of ability to understand what he gleans from her books:

Sie befürchtete, daß ich am Ende in ihren Büchern gefährliche Geheimnisse geschöpft hätte, welche bei ihrem mangelhaften Lesen ihr selbst unzugänglich wären, und verschloss die bedenklichsten Bücher mit höchst bedeutungsvollem Ernste.... Sie war der festen Meinung, daß ich auf dem besten Wege gewesen sei, durch ihre Bücher ein angehender Zaubermann zu werden.⁴³

Margreth’s fear that Heinrich is dabbling in something dark speaks both to the insecurities surrounding her own lack of knowledge (seeing as she cannot understand everything that is in her books) as well as her concern about the influence she thinks the books may have on a young, impressionable Heinrich (who is actually, as the reader can gather, very impressionable). Her

⁴⁰ Ibid 112

⁴¹ Ibid 139

⁴² Ibid 143

⁴³ Ibid 151-52

anxiety about his working with the texts speaks to larger, more general fears that parental figures had about adolescents' reading and its shaping of their intellectual and moral development. Her collection is dismantled after her death, with her sole heir taking everything of value, leaving those close to her to carry off whatever little souvenir they can.⁴⁴ Her death and the disintegration of her book collection suggest her lack of a place within the real, modern world, and it robs Heinrich of a safe haven.

The most blatantly negative (from the standpoint of moral development) encounter Heinrich has with books in his youth occurs when he befriends a boy who brings him home after school, whose "erwachsene, lesebegierige Schwestern eine Unzahl schlechter Romane zusammengetragen hatten." Keller further describes the family's rather dubious book collection and the rest of the family's reading behavior:

Verloren gegangene Bände aus Leihbibliotheken, niedriger Abfall aus vornehmen Häusern oder von Trödlern um wenige Pfennige erstanden, lagen in der Wohnung dieser Leute auf Gesimsen, Bänken und Tischen umher, und an Sonntagen konnte man nicht nur die Geschwister und ihre Liebhaber, sondern Vater und Mutter und wer sonst noch da war, in die Lektüre dieser schmutzig aussehenden Bücher vertieft finden."⁴⁵

In this case, the adults in the household participate in this kind of reading of "Verführungsgeschichten" and "Ritterromanen," implicitly condoning it despite the fact that it contributes to the socially deviant outcomes of the children's lives. Heinrich notes the instincts of the children to search in these less than morally sound texts for a better world than what reality has offered them, but it becomes clear that this desire is completely misguided. Yet, Heinrich joins in – at least temporarily – and the stories he and the other children read directly influence their imagination and play:

⁴⁴ Ibid 128-29

⁴⁵ Ibid 164-65

Wir wußten die schönsten Geschichten bald auswendig und spielten sie, wo wir gingen und standen, mit immer neuer Lust ab, auf Estrichen und Höfen, in Wald und Berg, und ergänzten das Personal vorweg aus willfähigen Jungen, die in der Eile abgerichtet wurden. Aus diesen Spielen gingen nach und nach selbst erfundene, fortlaufende Geschichten und Abenteuer hervor, welche zuletzt dahin ausarteten, daß Jeder seine große Herzens- und Rittergeschichte besaß, deren Verlauf er den Andern mit allem Ernste berichtete, so daß wir uns in ein ungeheures Lügennetz verwoben und verstrickt sahen...⁴⁶

This “Lügennetz,” as Heinrich describes it, might offer the children a temporary escape into romanticized fantasies of times past and provide a spark to their play, but Heinrich sees this web of lies as contributing directly to the depraved character and dubious moral choices of the children – choices for which the parents show no disapproval:

In dem lesebeflissenen Hause wurden indessen der Vorrath an schlechten Büchern und die Torheit immer größer. Die Alten sahen mit seltsamer Freude zu, wie die armen Töchter immer tiefer in ein einfältig verbuhtes Wesen hineingerieten, Liebhaber auf Liebhaber wechselten und doch von Keinem heimgeführt wurden, so daß die mitten in der übelriechenden Bibliothek sitzen blieben mit einer Herde kleiner Kinder, welche mit den zerlesenen Büchern spielten und dieselben zerrissen. Die Lesewuth wuchs nichts destominder fortwährend, weil sie nun Zank, Noth und Sorge vergessen ließ, so daß man in der Behausung nichts sah, als Bücher, aufgehängte Windeln und die vielfältigen Erinnerungen an die Galanterie der ungetreuen Ritter, als gemalte Blumenkränze mit Sprüchen, Stammbücher, voll verliebter Verse und Freundschaftstempel, künstliche Ostereier, in welchen ein kleiner Amor verborgen lag u. Dgl.⁴⁷

The boy Heinrich befriends fares no better, eventually becoming obsessed with gambling and other “öffentliche Vergnügen” that occupy all of his time.⁴⁸ He constantly comes up with new made-up stories and schemes in order to get the money his habit requires, a trait Heinrich sees as a continuation of his younger days reading alongside his sisters and making up stories based on those books. While Heinrich may describe this family to tell a sort of cautionary tale against certain kinds of reading, he does not manage to take his own advice. He may not become a

⁴⁶ Ibid 165

⁴⁷ Ibid 171

⁴⁸ Ibid 172

hardened criminal in the novel, but – as will be discussed in greater depth below – his own reading habits often lead him astray and contribute to his inability to become a functional adult in his social world.

This chapter of *Der grüne Heinrich* has been previously identified for its overtly pedagogical and pedantic nature. According to Gail Hart,

The ‘*Leserfamilie*’ chapter is an instance of straightforward didacticism, its message thunderously clear. The books are most emphatically bad books, and the parents who encourage their children to read them are clearly perverse, experiencing strange delight at the sight of ruined daughters and illegitimate grandchildren. The family library smells and the reading of such novels is directly connected to dishonesty, promiscuity, and civil crimes.⁴⁹

Hart compares the effect of the episode in Keller’s novel to the didactic intentions of the stories contained in *Der Struwwelpeter*, a collection known for its grotesque scenarios and the (rather darkly comical) tragic fates of the children within them who fail to do as their parents tell them. Heinrich is perhaps luckier than the children in the *Struwwelpeter* stories because he manages to extricate himself from that life before suffering the fates of the other children. But Keller’s message suggests that the damage has already been done and that even though Heinrich does not become a gambler or father illegitimate children, this kind of reading has a negative impact on his ability to function as an adult later in life.

In contrast to the subject matter of the *Leserfamilie* episode, the most important text for Heinrich appears to be Friedrich Schiller’s dramatic version of the Wilhelm Tell legend, which was first performed in 1804. (Heinrich also later thinks of Schiller as a model for emulation because of his perceived dedication to his work and his apparent far-reaching appeal to readers, both rural and urban).⁵⁰ Despite the fact that there is much debate surrounding his very

⁴⁹ Hart, “Fictional Readers,” 123

⁵⁰ Keller, “Heinrich,” 12, 272

existence, Wilhelm Tell is an important figure not only in Swiss history, but also in other historical contexts. He has been mythologized to the point that ascertaining what is fact and fiction may be impossible at this point.⁵¹ But given the books Schiller had available to him regarding Swiss history, one can assume that Wilhelm Tell's story was taken as historical fact.⁵²

As a boy, Heinrich reads Schiller's play and writes an essay in which he recounts the narrative of Tell. He makes a point of describing the love story between Ulrich von Rudenz and Bertha von Brunneck. Heinrich's teacher, a "patriotischer Mann," appears to be quite intrigued by Heinrich's work, and – when Heinrich is unable to answer any questions directly in class for fear of having done something wrong – asks Heinrich to come by his home to talk to him. Heinrich is too shy to do so, and his teacher dies soon afterward.⁵³ Of interest here is the fact that Heinrich is already preoccupied with this love story – an element of the play that has nothing to do with the title figure. This aspect of the play becomes important again much later, as he attempts to find a model to express his feelings toward Anna and subtly recreates this scene, only to have his plans end in disappointment.

Much later, when Heinrich is visiting his cousins in the country, he learns that a neighboring village is putting on a big production of Schiller's play. He is asked to take part in the planning and performance because of his perceived expertise in such things compared to the other rural residents of the nearby villages. He soon learns that the edition the villagers have is a "Volksschulenausgabe" and that the romance between Bertha von Brunneck and Ulrich von Rudenz is completely missing.⁵⁴ But the villagers are not interested in the dramatic elements of

⁵¹ For more information about the legacy of Wilhelm Tell, see Jean-François Bergier, *Wilhelm Tell: Realität und Mythos*, Tr. Josef Winiger. (München: List Verlag, 1990), 7-8.

⁵² For more information regarding the history of the play, see Friedrich Schiller, "Wilhelm Tell," in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 5 ed. Matthias Oehme. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 2005), 1061-1071.

⁵³ Keller, "Heinrich," 11, 204-05

⁵⁴ Ibid 409-10

the play so much, as Heinrich learns; they only want to emphasize the historical facts contained in the drama and leave out the rest. But Heinrich remains fascinated by the love story, and plans to play the role of Ulrich with Anna as his Bertha, even if the connection between his knowledge of the “secret” part of the text and the real-world performance is of significance only in his mind. While he sees to it that the costumes for the men are as historically accurate as possible and that the young girls do not dress according to modern fashion trends, he devises a way to get Anna involved in the performance.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that the role of Bertha is not needed at all for this rendition of the play, he finds a role for her that requires no speaking.⁵⁶

His plan meets with no resistance: “Zufällig war die Originalausgabe von Schiller gar nicht bekannt im Hause, und selbst der Schulmeister las diesen Dichter nicht, weil seine Bildung nach anderen Seiten hin strebte; also ahnte kein Mensch die Beziehungen, welche ich in meinen Plan legte, und Anna ging arglos in die ihr gestellte Falle.”⁵⁷ He appears to take pleasure in the fact that he has his own special secret: there is additional meaning to events that only he knows and can enjoy without the judgment or scrutiny of the other people involved in the production. His imagination can therefore operate without interference from the real world, and he thinks he does not have to worry about some discovering his ulterior motive.

Of course, Heinrich discovers he is not the only person present who knows the full version of the play. After it is over, Heinrich prepares to accompany Anna home. He fetches their horses and they begin to head out of town when they encounter the philosopher. Seeing the two of them together, the philosopher asks if they are about to perform the “Jagdscene” from

⁵⁵ Ibid 412

⁵⁶ Brenner reads the play as a way to ritualize gender roles in the text. See Anne Brenner, *Leseräume: Untersuchungen zu Lektüre-verfahren und -funktionen in Gottfried Kellers Roman ‘Der grüne Heinrich’* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), 128.

⁵⁷ Keller, “Heinrich,” 11, 413

Schiller's play because they seem dressed for the parts and because he feels it is time for something more exciting. Heinrich blushes at the not-so-subtle insinuation, and Anna demands to know what the philosopher is talking about and why Heinrich seems so embarrassed: "Da reichte [der Philosoph] ihr das aufgeschlagene Buch, und während mein Brauner und ihr Schimmel behaglich sich beschnupperten, ich aber wie auf Kohlen saß, las sie, das Buch auf dem rechten Knie haltende, aufmerksam die Scene, wo Rudenz und Bertha ihr schönes Bündnis schließen, von Anfang bis zu Ende, mehr und mehr errötend."⁵⁸ Once she finishes reading, she throws the book back in the philosopher's face, announces that she wants to return home immediately, and leaves. Heinrich initially hesitates, but soon pursues her into the forest. When he follows her, his actions resemble much more closely the scene from Schiller's play, in which Ulrich and Bertha meet in the forest, fearful that they will be discovered at any moment.

For Heinrich, traveling into the forest seems like something out of a fairy tale. He describes it as "als ob wir im Traume in einen geträumten Traum träten."⁵⁹ He has perhaps stepped out of the real world into a place where his desires can be expressed and his fantasy brought to life. But the happiness he feels is short lived. Anna is initially receptive to his advances and returns his kisses with her own. But she suddenly wishes to be free from Heinrich's embrace. He eventually releases her, both of them staring at the ground in shame after the fact. Their tumultuous encounter stands in contrast to the scene from Schiller's play, in which Ulrich makes an impassioned plea for Bertha's love and she reciprocates his affections against her better judgment but tells him he must help his people and defy her father.⁶⁰ While Bertha and Ulrich eventually find a happy ending amidst the upheaval at the end of the play,

⁵⁸ Ibid 443

⁵⁹ Ibid 444

⁶⁰ See Schiller, "Tell," 154

Heinrich and Anna never find their way past their passionate outburst in the forest, and Heinrich misses his chance to find love and enter into a socially acceptable marriage.

Heinrich's obsession with the Jagdszene from Schiller's play points to several conclusions. On the one hand, Heinrich appears to have misread; his attention is focused not on the main event of the play (the potentially historical aspects that the villagers were most concerned with), but rather is completely engrossed in the love story. His idol is not the revolutionary Tell, who saves his fellow men from an unjust ruler, but rather Ulrich von Rudenz, whose behavior in pursuing Bertha is practically traitorous to his father and his cause – though he is put on the right track by Bertha and redeems himself in the end. This chapter of the novel also makes clear that it is not just the “bad books” (such as the ones he encounters with the *Leserfamilie*) that are problematic for Heinrich. Even when he reads classical literature, he gets it wrong.

Heinrich carries his reading habits with him into adulthood, and they continue to interfere with his being a successful adult. Later, once Heinrich has determined to be an artist and is living in Munich trying to make a living through his art, his reading interrupts his work:

Dagegen las ich fort und fort, vom Morgen bis zum Abend und tief in die Nacht hinein. Ich las immer deutsche Bücher und auf die seltsamste Weise. Jeden Abend nahm ich mir vor, den nächsten Morgen, und jeden Morgen, den nächsten Mittag die Bücher bei Seite zu werfen und an meine Arbeit zu gehen; selbst von Stunde zu Stunde setzte ich den Termin; aber die Stunden stahlen sich fort, indem ich die Buchseiten umschlug, ich vergaß sie buchstäblich; die Tage, Wochen und Monate vergingen so sachte und heimtückisch, als ob sie, leise sich drängend, sich selbst entwendeten und zu meiner fortwährenden Beunruhigung lachend verschwänden.⁶¹

Heinrich is perhaps the quintessential procrastinator, as he seems incapable of turning away from books in order to focus on other tasks as the days and weeks pass by. But the above passage also

⁶¹ Gottfried Keller, “Der grüne Heinrich 1854/55 dritter und vierter Band,” in *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Karl Grob, et al. Vol 12. (Basel: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2005), 101.

reveals his obsession with Goethe's texts.⁶² His reading is an example of uncontrolled *Lesewut*, though his inability to part with his books also suggests that they fulfill something missing in his life.⁶³ Much like Reuter's Agathe (who will be analyzed below), Heinrich longs for talent and experience he does not and will never have. He attempts to fill that need via his reading, at the expense of his real adult life, which languishes without him. He later casts himself as a Robinson Crusoe figure with a need to reach out beyond his island (a motif that will be especially important later to Wilhelm Raabe's *Prinzessin Fisch* and will be analyzed in greater depth below).⁶⁴ Ultimately, he never figures out how to reconcile his desires and fantasies with his real-world needs and dies following the discovery that he did not make it home in time to say goodbye to his ailing mother.

At the very beginning of *Aus guter Familie*, Gabriele Reuter establishes the heart of the conflict between Agathe and her world that will eventually lead to her mental and emotional unraveling. At the same time, she reveals how much Agathe's imagination is tied to her reading and the expression of her subversive desires in reading material, as well as how that reading is frequently contested. Her parents' (particularly her father's) concerns about whether or not she is reading something "appropriate" (based largely on her gender and her age) illustrate the importance attributed to reading and its potential influence on the thinking and behavior of an

⁶² Hart sees Heinrich's reading of Goethe as a sort of "corrective" to his earlier reading of Jean Paul; see Hart, *Function*, 602

⁶³ For more information about the fears surrounding *Lesewut*, see Littau, *Reading*, 42; Klaus-Ulrich Pech, "Vom Biedermeier zum Realismus," in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008), 134; also Alberto Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756-1914)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 14.

⁶⁴ Keller, "Heinrich," 12, 283

individual – especially when these individuals are young and purportedly learning (both directly and indirectly) how to conform to overarching social norms.

Reuter's work met with a divided reception after its release in 1895. While some considered it to be a sobering look at middle-class society, others wrote it off as just a piece of *Tendenzliteratur* doomed to be lost to history as yet another voice in the women's movement, also a polarizing aspect of German middle-class culture at the turn of the century. Thomas Mann, whose novel *Buddenbrooks* shares some similarities with and may very well have been influenced by *Aus guter Familie*, defended Reuter in 1904 when he wrote about her talent as a writer, leaving the political ramifications of her work unacknowledged.⁶⁵

At her confirmation at the start of the novel, Agathe is conscious of her position at the altar and center of attention and plagued by doubts about her ability to fulfill her religious obligations. She mentally chastises herself repeatedly for being unable to focus on the moment and pray when she is supposed to become an adult in the eyes of the church – the one place where prayer is expected of her. Instead, "...Sie mußte an ein Buch denken, an eine anstößige Stelle, die sie verfolgte . . . Tränen quollen unter ihren gesenkten Lidern hervor, krampfhaft falteten sich ihre Hände, auf den schwarzen Handschuhen sah sie die Tränentropfen nasse Flecke bilden — sie konnte nicht beten . . ." ⁶⁶ Her distress in this passage reveals, on the one hand, how large reading looms in her own mind and the impact it has on her imagination – for better or

⁶⁵ For more information and for an analysis of Reuter and Mann, see Linda Krauss Worley, "Girls from Good Families: Tony Buddenbrook and Agathe Heidling," *The German Quarterly*. 76.2 (2003). For additional information about Gabriele Reuter and the women's movement, see Linda S. Pickle, "Female Freedom in Late Nineteenth Century Germany: Helene Böhlau and Gabriele Reuter." *Publications of the Missouri Philological Association*. 16 (1991): 78-84; also Katja Mellmann, "Die Mädchenfrage. Zum historischen Bezugsproblem von Gabriele Reuters "Aus guter Familie." *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 33 (2008): 1-25.

⁶⁶ Gabriele Reuter, *Aus guter Familie: Leidensgeschichte eines Mädchens*. (Marburg: Verlag Literaturwissenschaft.de, 2006), 12.

worse. Though she attempts to reign in her train of thought, the passage from the book has rooted itself in her mind and she is unable to ignore it. Additionally, the passage shows us from the very beginning the extent to which Agathe's inner world is at odds with her outer world – a conflict that never finds resolution until Agathe has no inner world left. Her experience at her confirmation also highlights her anxieties about the impending adulthood for which she is ill suited, and sets the stage for her struggles in the rest of the text.

Reuter highlights how important books and reading are for Agathe and her maturation in the passages following the confirmation. The family returns home with some of their friends to eat and celebrate. Agathe receives gifts to mark the occasion, and she eagerly opens them in front of the company. She receives a copy of Rückert's *Liebesfrühling*, a collection of love poems from her friend, Eugenie, which her father feels has been given to Agathe "etwas früh." She also receives Gerock's *Palmbblätter*, a collection of religious poems, as well as a guidebook for girls on how to be wives and mothers – a genre that enjoyed a great deal of popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷

The trouble arises for Agathe when she opens a gift from her cousin Martin to discover a copy of *Herweghs Gedichte*, written by Vormärz poet Georg Herwegh. The pastor takes the book from her and shows it to her father, and they determine that it must be exchanged for something more appropriate and less politically charged.⁶⁸ Eventually, Agathe is left with a

⁶⁷ Reuter, *Familie*, 17; the title of the guide book Reuter mentions is either made up or a misremembered title; see Gabriele Reuter, *From a Good Family*, trans. Lynne Tatlock. (Rochester: Camden House, 1999), 211. As previously mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Häntschel offers a good resource for information about this genre of book for girls: see Günter Häntschel, *Bildung und Kultur bürgerlicher Frauen 1850-1918* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), as well as "Für fromme, reine und stille Seelen": Literarischer Markt und 'weibliche' Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*, edited by Gisela Brinker-Gabler. 2:119-28. (Munich: Beck, 1988).

⁶⁸ Reuter, *Familie*, 22-25

collection of poetry called *Fromme Minne* as a far less subversive substitute.⁶⁹ This passage highlights the adult fears about Agathe's reading. As Jennifer Askey so aptly puts it, "All of the adults present agree . . . on the symbolic and actual importance of literature for Agathe's education. Their attention to Agathe's reading material and the possible messages it conveyed about Agathe's commitment to the nationalist and gendered ideology of her class and era reflect their belief in the significance of literature and reading in the lives of middle-class girls during this period."⁷⁰ In other words, the adults see larger implications in Agathe's reading than merely her own development; the very foundation of their social structure is at risk.

In many ways, the act of reading pervades Reuter's entire novel. Not only does Agathe read a great deal, but many of the (particularly female) characters in her social circle are also reading at various points in the text. When Agathe is sent to boarding school because her mother feels she is not able to give Agathe a proper education due to Agathe's temperament, she finds the other girls are reading texts of all sorts: "Am Tage lasen die jungen Mädchen Otilie Wildermuth und die Polko, des Nachts im Bett lasen sie Eugen Sue. Auch ein schmutziger Leihbibliothekband mit herausgerissenem Titelblatt machte die heimliche Runde."⁷¹ The girls are reading a variety of texts, both appropriate and "inappropriate" by the reigning social standards. The inappropriate clandestine reading comes with the pleasure of doing something taboo and getting away with it, and the girls' reactions externally reflect that: "Und was die Mädchen für rote Köpfe bekamen, wenn sie die Bücher in verborgenen Lauben verschlangen."⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid 52

⁷⁰ Jennifer Askey, "A Library for Girls: Publisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and the Novels of Brigitte Augusti," in *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), 1.

⁷¹ Reuter, *Familie*, 45

⁷² Ibid 45

While this kind of reading seems to be the dominant mode for the other girls at the boarding school, Agathe's experiences do not match up with theirs.

Agathe, however, does not appear to get the same pleasure from the kinds of books her friends are reading in their hiding places or under the cover of darkness and is instead much more interested in the edifying literature of no interest to her peers – at least at this point in the novel. She finds the above-mentioned books, so titillating to her peers, “dumm und eklig,” and her disapproval eventually creates a rift between her and the rest of the girls at boarding school, leading to more feelings of isolation and the sense that she does not belong.⁷³ In many ways, the problem is not so much that Agathe reads at all, but that the kinds of books she wants to read (ones that offer her solace and mental stimulation in the absence of other possibilities) are not supposed to be of interest to her gender and age group. She eventually reads more popular novels later in her life, “solche, die man jungen Mädchen nicht erlaubt, und die sie verbarg, sobald jemand kam,” perhaps in a half-hearted attempt to conform to social trends, but perhaps more so in an attempt to meet needs she cannot express otherwise. She discovers her mother is also an avid reader of these popular books, despite their being “unsinniges Zeug.”⁷⁴ Like her friends at boarding school, she, too, hides the books away, but unlike her friends, she never acknowledges to anyone that she reads them: “War in Gesellschaft von einem der Bücher die Rede, und wurde Agathe gefragt, ob sie es gelesen, so antwortete sie, ohne zu erröten: ‘Nein, ich denke, das kann man nicht.’”⁷⁵ While she on one hand reads what is expected of her and may be trying to conform, her need to conceal her reading suggests that she feels shame or embarrassment about the effects of the content on her inner, mental world. She cannot reconcile

⁷³ Ibid 45

⁷⁴ Ibid 193

⁷⁵ Ibid 193

the image of adult relationships (presumably of a sexual nature) with the idealizations of marriage she has constructed through other texts she has read.

Of particular importance to Agathe are her feelings toward Lord Byron and his literary works – feelings that she manages to conceal from her controlling parents: “Zu Haus las sie Byrons Werke — alle, vom Anfang bis zu Ende. Die Freude daran war schon schmerzliche Leidenschaft. Vieles erfuhr sie hier, aber die natürlichen Beziehungen der Geschlechter zu einander erschienen in einer wilden Gewitterstimmung, durch die ihr dann doch alles wieder den Eindruck eines phantastischen Märchens machte.”⁷⁶ Just as Tony’s reading of Hoffmann connects her to Romanticism, Agathe is tied to Romanticism via Lord Byron, a figure who was well known in German literary circles in the nineteenth century. As Cedric Henschel points out, Byron’s social ideas did not fit with the cultural status quo in Germany during the latter half of the century.⁷⁷ In this way, Byron may be closer to Herwegh than Goethe, and Agathe’s clandestine reading of him would most likely incense vigilant adults. As Worley asserts, these texts become the basis of Agathe’s “cognitive framework, which in turn determines how Agathe is able to interpret her experiences of the world”; Agathe tries to forge a connection between herself and her imagined version of his life.⁷⁸

Agathe’s fascination with Byron is not limited solely to the reading of his work. Agathe begins constructing her own imagined, idealized image of Byron in her mind. She visits an art exhibit with her father, where he proceeds to explain to her the various artistic styles and movements found in the works. But her tastes differ quite a bit from her father’s. When they

⁷⁶ Ibid 76

⁷⁷ Cedric Henschel, “Byron and Germany: The Shadow of Euphorion,” in *Byron’s Political and Cultural Influence in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Graham Trueblood (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981), 87.

⁷⁸ Linda Krauss Worley, “Gabriele Reuter: Reading Women in the “Kaisereich.” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 31-33 (1990/91), 429-30.

come upon a painting of Byron, her father asks her to provide him the basic biographical details of the poet while he makes a few cursory judgments about the merits of the painting itself before moving on to the next piece. But Agathe hangs back and falls into reverie: “Mit schwermütig erstaunten Augen träumte sie von dem englischen Lord. — Sie hatte doch früher Bilder von ihm gesehen Was ergriff sie denn plötzlich?” She also determines to return to the exhibit the next day “nur für ihn.”⁷⁹ Her reaction to the painting in conjunction with her experience reading his works reveals what Worley would refer to as Agathe’s “indeterminate longing.”⁸⁰ Agathe possesses desires that her constricted social world does not allow her to express properly. In fact, she may not have the ability to express them at all. But her experience of reading and seeing and thinking about Byron may have at least alerted her to the presence of those desires, even if she is currently incapable of verbally expressing the feelings that grip her or the needs that Byron’s work might begin to fill. While her father may only see a portrait at the art gallery, Agathe sees a story she wishes were her own.

Agathe fantasizes about taking a trip to England to visit Byron’s grave. She has saved up some money and wonders whether or not she could save enough to pay for the trip on her own and escape – if only briefly – her parents’ watchful eyes and their social world. Her plans fall through, however, when she finds out she is to visit her artist cousins, and she decides that the idea of somehow sneaking off and finding passage to London is just too implausible to work. She determines that she will make do with the respite the visit to the Woszenskis can offer. And while this visit does open Agathe’s eyes to experience beyond her everyday domesticity, she is frustrated at her own lack of ability to be creative. Eventually, she must return home, and is

⁷⁹ Reuter, *Familie*, 75

⁸⁰ Worley, “Reuter,” 428. Lisabeth Hock has also attributed Agathe’s feelings to melancholy; see Lisabeth Hock, “Shades of Melancholy in Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie*.” *The German Quarterly* 79.4 (2006): 443-464.

perhaps only tortured all the more for having experienced another kind of life and no longer having access to it.

In addition to her love affair with Byron, Agathe relies heavily on the tropes of fairy tales to validate of her struggles and the hope that she will find a way to have her happy ending and find love (and potentially get married), despite the fact that she does not fit in to her social world and that her social world does not actually offer her the kind of happy ending that she desires:

Unbestimmte Erinnerungen alter Volksmärchen, die aus tiefen, verborgenen Quellen ihre Phantasie tränkten, weil sie des kleinen Mädchens erste Geistesnahrung gewesen, redeten ihr nun tröstlich von den Prüfungen zur Treue, zum Ausharren, der der König die Geliebte unterwirft — durch brennendes Feuer und stechende Dornen muß sie wandern und durch tiefe, dunkle Nacht — alles muß sie verlassen, was ihr lieb war — an der Hand der Anderen, der Falschen, tritt er ihr entgegen . . . Und am Schlusse läuten doch die Hochzeitsglocken und er hebt sie zu sich empor — sie, die nicht an ihm gezweifelt hat.⁸¹

Agathe tells herself that her patience will be rewarded – that she must endure the fire, thorns, darkness, and heartache because her true love and happiness will be waiting for her on the other side of her trial if only she believes. Above all, Agathe wants to experience love and (later in the text) a happy marriage. What she does not realize is that marriage is not so simple. She cannot marry the first man she loves because he is an actor and has already fathered an illegitimate child. The marriage with Raikendorf falls through because her family no longer has the money for her dowry; her brother's debts rob her of that. Her fairy tale is precisely that.

Martin also plays a role in Agathe's reading fantasies. She falls in love with the banned books he leaves with her before his hasty departure from Germany. Agathe reads ravenously, eager to experience the "wild" and "herrlich" words that open up new avenues of feeling for her and make her wish she could escape the world in which she currently lives: "Sie war brennend durstig und aß und trank, während sie las und las – von dem Elend und dem Hunger und der Not

⁸¹ Reuter, *Familie*, 125

des Volkes und von ihrem Haß und dem Ringen nach Befreiung.”⁸² Like Klothilde, Agathe is also depicted as eating and drinking at the same time as she consumes the revolutionary narratives – quickly aligning herself with the cause that her father and the other adults have previously shunned. But this consumption, in contrast to Klothilde’s, seems to emerge out of an actual extreme need for sustenance. Agathe is mentally and emotionally starving; her physical hunger and thirst mirror her inner longings for fulfillment. Only after she reads these poems does she realize that Martin is gone from her world, and with that her potential for expanding her horizons with him; she sees herself in a “ganze niedliche kleine Welt” – a world that is too contained and constrained in its expectations for her to be happy.⁸³

The battle for Agathe’s (reading) independence reaches its apex later in the text, when she stumbles upon “ein wundervolles Buch in Papas Bibliothek.”⁸⁴ The book is *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* by Ernst Häckel, known for proliferating the teachings of Darwin in the German-speaking world at the time. She reads in secret at night in bed and becomes preoccupied with its contents – to the extent that she “bei ihren Beschäftigungen das Gelesene in ihrem Kopfe sinnend zu bewegen.”⁸⁵ This example is somewhat different from the others in that Agathe is reading nonfiction (that is also not explicitly political like the texts Martin gives her). This kind of reading offers her a glimpse into the kind of education she might have had, had she been a boy, as well as to current scientific thought. What she is able to read is merely the tip of the iceberg when compared to a character such as Morton from *Buddenbrooks*, who possesses the kind of knowledge Agathe desires. She reaches the “public sphere” indirectly via her reading – a

⁸² Ibid 132

⁸³ Ibid 133

⁸⁴ Ibid 215

⁸⁵ Ibid

feat she would never be able to accomplish otherwise. It also engages her mind in thoughts about the real world – perhaps grounding her in a way the other kinds of books she read cannot.

Upon finding that there are more works by Häckel and other complementary works in a listing in the back of the book, she asks for a few of the titles for Christmas. But her excitement for learning more about science and continuing her education are met with a summary dismissal from her father: ““So — die hast Du also gelesen. Das war recht überflüssig. Ein andermal fragst Du mich, ehe Du Dir etwas aus meinem Bücherschrank holst? Verstanden? Junge Mädchen fassen derartige Werke oft ganz falsch auf.””⁸⁶ Agathe finds an outlet for her curiosity, only to have it put tantalizingly just out of reach; “ — — Jedesmal, wenn Agathe durch ihres Vaters Zimmer ging und ihr Blick den Bücherschrank streifte, der nun verschlossen war, stieg heißer Zorn gegen ihren Vater in ihr auf.”⁸⁷ She rages because she knows there is a level of experience and interaction with the world that is being actively denied her because others feel the need to control her access to that experience. As Worley puts it, “The pattern is clear: patriarchal authority seeks to limit the worlds of knowledge available to women so that they may better conform to the Wilhelminian ideal — a woman whose entire life is to be devoted to a selfless love of parents, husband, and children in the private sphere.”⁸⁸ Rahaman also calls this aspect of Reuter’s novel a form of “Entlebendigung.”⁸⁹ Agathe has already failed in two out of the three categories, and not being allowed to step outside the boundaries set before her is the beginning of her end.

⁸⁶ Ibid 217

⁸⁷ Ibid 219

⁸⁸ Worley, “Reuter,” 429

⁸⁹ Gabriele Rahaman, “Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie* in the Light of Klaus Theweleit’s Concept of ‘Entlebendigung,’” *German Life and Letters*. 44.5 (1991): 459.

When Christmas arrives, her father explains that he found something better for her that will not be so difficult for her to understand (tellingly, he assumes she misunderstood the Häckel text), and that she can still learn to do something new. Agathe finds a book about flowers in Germany next to a flower press lying in wait for her. She is devastated to realize that her wishes have been once again ignored in favor of social ideals about what her interests should be: “Agathe sah stumm vor sich nieder. Sie mußte an den Herwegh denken, den man ihr einst gegen die fromme Minne eingetauscht . . . Wiederholte sich denn jedes Ereignis immer aufs neue in ihrem Leben?”⁹⁰ The repetition of her earlier experience emphasizes Agathe’s entrapment in a state between childhood and adulthood; despite her being older, her father still controls what she reads, and she has little hope for extricating herself from his control or the expectations she is failing to fulfill. After seeing Martin again while traveling with her father and realizing that he also cannot fulfill her desires, Agathe has an emotional and psychological breakdown that leads to the utter destruction of her inner self. Having no fantasies and no will left, Agathe is resigned to live out her days as an invalid, and “sie ist noch nicht vierzig Jahre alt.”⁹¹

Keller and Reuter’s novels illustrate the dangers and anxieties associated with adolescent reading. While both novels end negatively for the protagonists, they do so for different reasons. Heinrich fails to make proper use of his education and is instead lost to his reading and his fantasy of becoming a great artist at great cost to his mother, who does her best to cover his debts. In the end, he loses her as well as his own life for failing to assimilate into adult society and fulfill social expectations. In Agathe’s case, Reuter’s novel explores how the social standards make life for women and young girls untenable. Unlike Heinrich, who receives most of the blame for his failures, Agathe is the product of unjust cultural values and norms, as well as

⁹⁰ Reuter, *Familie*, 218

⁹¹ *Ibid* 268

the victim of parents who insist on forcing her into a mold that does not suit her. Her attempts to explore the world beyond her domestic confines are thwarted at every turn, even when she is only reading, and she is doomed to a life of emotionless, unstimulating existence with her aging father. While Keller's novel confirms that the worries about reading are warranted, Reuter's asks that these anxieties and the society that permeates them be re-examined.

Part Three: *Prinzessin Fisch*

Wilhelm Raabe had a rather checkered relationship with his reading public, as well as with his critics and his publishers. Jeffrey Sammons has theorized that this strain partially had to do with Raabe having too many conflicting needs to be able to attend to everything; that is, Raabe attempted to strike a balance between "fidelity to his own artistic integrity, desire to affect the public and even be a preceptor to the nation, and the need to earn money from his pen."⁹² Making his works more successful and endearing to the public (a fame that he experienced with his first novel, *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse*) would have meant in many cases leaving his artistic vision behind, and Raabe was usually unwilling to compromise. Reviews of his works were often mixed at best, and even when they were positive, there tended to be little reaction from the actual reading world, though he did experience a sort of revival at the end of his lifetime when some of his writings were rediscovered and his place within the canon at least was secured. *Prinzessin Fisch* was written after he had lost his popularity with his reading public, and one can find some of his frustrations with the book industry and the emergence of popular culture

⁹² Jeffrey Sammons, *Wilhelm Raabe: The Fiction of the Alternative Community*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987), 36.

embedded in this text in his representations of certain characters and issues.⁹³ In particular, his ambivalent characterization of Theodor's fate at the end of the text is perhaps indicative of his own ambivalence about the role that reading plays in the socialization of adolescents as well as society in general.

The process of creating texts and reading them is present in many of Raabe's works from his earliest to his later novels. His very first novel, *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* (1856), takes up the topic via the creation of the chronicle. The narrator, Wachholder, is concerned with telling the story of his neighborhood and has collected such items as letters, diary entries, and pictures, as well as his own accounts. In addition to being a compiler, Wachholder must also be a reader in order to organize what he finds. This novel paints the act of assembling and reading the text in a mostly positive light – a view lost by the time Raabe writes *Prinzessin Fisch*. In addition to *Chronik*, *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* (1896), for example, also thematizes childhood reading, but in the form of an adult character looking back at the past and the concern adults around him expressed about the books he read. In this final section of the chapter, I will focus on *Prinzessin Fisch*, a novel that is considered somewhat exceptional in the context of Raabe's larger oeuvre, because it reflects on adolescent reading in the moment when that reading is happening and depicts how strongly childhood reading was tied to socialization and education practices in the nineteenth century.⁹⁴

⁹³ Jeffrey Sammons *The Shifting Fortunes of Wilhelm Raabe: A History of Criticism as a Cautionary Tale*. (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992): 1-16; See also Rosemarie Schillemeit, "Vom bekenntnishaften zum humoristischen Ton: *Prinzessin Fisch*." *Text + Kritik*. 172 (2006): 73. – Raabe waited twenty years to see a second edition of this novel, which further underscores the lack of success he experienced compared to some of his contemporaries.

⁹⁴ W. Hanson, "Florentine and 'Die dicke Dame' — The Function of Female Figures in Raabe's *Prinzessin Fisch*," *German Life and Letters* 44.4 (1991): 307.

In *Prinzessin Fisch*, the reader is introduced to Theodor Rodburg, the youngest child who has unfortunately arrived “zu spät im Jahr,” for his parents are older and his siblings already adults who have little to do with him.⁹⁵ After both of his parents die, his surviving relatives determine that Theodor will remain in Ilmenthal with Mutter Schubach and Bruseberger, a local woman and a book binder, who live next door to the Rodburg house. The house and Theodor’s beloved garden will be sold. Theodor is depicted as a child with a vivid imagination and a knowledge of and interest specifically in *Robinson Crusoe*. When the decision is made to let Theodor stay with Mutter Schubach and Bruseberger, his imagination reinvents his reality as a voyage:

Nach Ablauf dieser halben Stunde stand es dann aber auch in einer vollständig veränderten Welt. Das buntbewimpelte Schiff, welches diesen unmündigen Mr. Krusoe von seiner Insel aus seiner Vereinsamung abholen sollte, war in the offing erschienen und hatte sein Boot mit dem Bruseberger am Steuerruder an den Zauberstrand abgeschickt, um den kindlichen Träumer wieder ‘unter Menschen zu bringen.’⁹⁶

Bruseberger makes it clear that he thinks Theodor spends too much time lost in his Robinson Crusoe fantasies, and he intends to rectify the behavior. This plan seems to work smoothly for Bruseberger and his charge until Theodor’s long-lost older brother, Alexander, returns to Ilmenthal and brings with him new people who move into the former Rodburg house.

Raabe’s choice of *Robinson Crusoe* as Theodor’s story of choice could hardly have been accidental. As a story that was often abridged or adapted during this period for younger audiences, this novel embodies many of the debates surrounding appropriate reading for children and the question of what role books should play in the socialization of children. The Robinsonade as a genre first emerged around the end of the eighteenth century – a moment when

⁹⁵ Wilhelm Raabe, “Prinzessin Fisch.” *Wilhelm Raabe: Sämtliche Werke*. Bd 15. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 195. Raabe is here quoting Goethe.

⁹⁶ Raabe, “Fisch,” 218

there was renewed interest in pedagogy and children's learning.⁹⁷ This dispute was partially influenced by Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Erziehungsroman" *Emile ou de L'Education* (1762). The only book Emile is allowed to have is Defoe's story of survival as the lone man on the island – a model of education that Rousseau thought was best-suited for children. In fact, he did not think children should be reading many books before the age of twelve. He backpedals to an extent when he suggests they could read *Robinson Crusoe* earlier, but only with certain modifications to the text.⁹⁸

Defoe's novel saw a number of adaptations near the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. One of the best known is perhaps Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779/80). Campe's version had clearly didactic and moralistic intentions for his young readers as seen, for example, in his framing narrative, which guides the reader through the contents of the novel; his version is meant to instruct from the "pädagogischen Insel."⁹⁹ But Campe was not alone. Another prominent adaptation written by Johann Karl Wezel was much more concerned with the idea that both the fantastic and a pedagogical message should exist side-by-side in an adaptation for children; his work then took the source material in a direction contrary to Campe's.¹⁰⁰ Raabe's choice a text that was a battleground for childhood education indicates that Theodor is in for a battle of his own and that the answer to the question of what pedagogical method yielded the best results is not particularly clear. Indeed, Theodor becomes Robinson Crusoe in his own right; cast adrift from his home and left to survive with nothing

⁹⁷ For more information about the form of the *Robinsonade*, see Jürgen Fohrmann, "Das innere und das äußere Fremde: Blick auf die deutsche Robinsonadenliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Internationaler Germanisten-Kongress in Tokyo: Sektion 15 Erfahrene und imaginierte Fremde*, ed. Yoshinori Shichiji (München: iudicium verlag, 1991), 8.

⁹⁸ See Reiner Wild, "Aufklärung," in *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, ed. Reiner Wild (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2008), 50, 61, and Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 40-41.

⁹⁹ Wild, "Aufklärung," 62, 76

¹⁰⁰ Kümmerling-Meibauer, *Kinderliteratur*, 41

beyond the guidance of Bruseberger, Theodor lives out an existence similar to the one imagined for Emile in Rousseau's work, though he has access to more books than just those he needs for school. These become the incentive that leads him astray.

Herr Tieffenbacher and his Mexican wife, Romana, become the new owners of the old Rodburg home. With their arrival, the site of Theodor's childhood fantasies is immediately further exoticized. Theodor is instantly captivated by Romana, whom he sees frequently spending time in the garden. Now separated from the place that was home to his childhood fantasies, Theodor finds himself less interested in his schoolwork and more interested in telling the story of the woman next door who is free to belong to the world of his imagination. His ability to study suffers: "So versuchte er es jetzt doch, ein Buch aufzuschlagen, aber auch das ging nicht. Die Buchstaben schwammen und tanzten zu sehr vor seinen Augen; er brachte keinen Sinn in irgendeine Zeile oder fand vielmehr keinen irgend drin liegenden heraus."¹⁰¹ Much like Marie in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, Theodor exhibits a physical inability to read. His lack of concentration on the pages in front of him may also signal the blurrings of the lines between fantasy and reality; he soon after dubs Romana Prinzessin Fisch.

"Prinzessin Fisch" is not new to Raabe and is not Theodor's original invention. Theodor is sitting at his desk looking out over the garden when he decides to trade his schoolbooks for a book of poetry. More specifically, he reads Goethe's "Der neue Amadis."¹⁰² Eventually, he comes across the stanza: "Ritterlich befreit ich dann / Die Prinzessin Fisch; / Sie war gar zu obligeant, / Führte mich zu Tisch, / Und ich war galant."¹⁰³ He uses the classic poetry to continue with his own vivid fantasies and casts himself as the savior of the princess, his damsel

¹⁰¹ Raabe, "Fisch," 282

¹⁰² Hanson and Schillemeit make the connection. See Hanson, "Function," 308 and Schillemeit, "Prinzessin Fisch," 63.

¹⁰³ Raabe, "Fisch," 285

in distress. He uses his imagination to cross the gap back into his “Phantasie-Insel”¹⁰⁴ made manifest in the real world by his parents’ old garden – the otherwise unattainable paradise that again glorifies the Robinson Crusoe story. His imagined world takes over most of his cognitive energy, and he loses his connection to the real world. Similar to Heinrich, who gets lost in his reading of Goethe’s collected works and neglects every other aspect of his life, Theodor is also quick to set aside his other tasks in favor of Goethe’s poetry. He ignores his schoolwork and alienates both Mutter Schubach and Bruseberger, who ultimately determine to throw him out of the house.

The name “Romana” looks suspiciously like the German word for novel, *Roman*. In a sense, she appears to embody all that Theodor seeks. She lives in his garden and has her own stories to tell, coming from a far off land that Theodor can only dream about. His gazing at her through the window is a form of consumption, but he can only “read” her from a distance and mediated through his brother, Alexander. But these circumstances add to her exotic quality, making her an ideal template for Theodor’s imaginative contemplation. He compares her to Hera, and characterizes her smile as encompassing a great deal of literary and legendary material: “. . . aber er sah sie lächeln, und sie lächelte so selten. . . aber ganz Hellas und die ganze deutsche Poesie und alle Meere und alle Zauberinseln drin, und vor allem Zypera, Lesbos, Kos, Cyprus und sämtliche Zykladen, lagen bei diesem Lächeln im Sonnenglanze in seiner Seele.”¹⁰⁵ Romana becomes the unattainable ideal, the real-world manifestation of Theodor’s reading history that resides in his old play space – a “Zauberinsel” in its own right.

In contrast to Romana, Bruseberger serves as a constant reminder of the real world and the practical aspects of the book trade, as he is a bookbinder who spends most of his days in his

¹⁰⁴ Ibid 220-221

¹⁰⁵ Ibid 309-10

workshop, binding texts by classic authors such as Lessing. He is glad that Theodor is coming to live with Mutter Schubach and him, as it means that he will be forced to see his beloved garden every day. As he tells Theodor, “Da kannst du dir also mit aller Bequemlichkeit von früh an gebildete Passivité zu allen sonstigen Vorzügen des Menschen aneignen.”¹⁰⁶ His obsession with seeing to it that Theodor looks at the garden he can no longer enter makes him seem at times rather cruel, as he offers Theodor little in the way of solace for what must have been a terrible loss, neither at the funeral at the beginning of the novel nor later on when he tells Theodor to look with him at “deinen alten Robinson- und Karnickelgarten.”¹⁰⁷ Bruseberger attempts to take Theodor under his wing and make him his “halben Buchbinder,”¹⁰⁸ but Theodor resists, finding more excitement in his brother Alexander’s stories and the life he himself hopes to reclaim by befriending Alexander’s otherworldly acquaintances.

Theodor does not reconnect to reality until he discovers the truth about Alexander and Romana. From his room in Mutter Schubach and Bruseberger’s house, he spies Romana in the garden. He is lost again to his imagination until he sees his brother approach her alone. As Theodor observes, “. . . Neigte sich Mr. A. Redburgh zu der Prinzessin Fisch und küßte sie auf das schwarze Stirnhaar. In diesem Augenblick veränderte sich alles drunten vor den Augen des Knaben, eine ganze Welt versank und andere stieg an ihre Stelle empor.”¹⁰⁹ Initially painted as the brave adventurer and exotic princess by Theodor, Alexander and Romana strip away Theodor’s fantasy narrative. In discovering Alexander’s affair, Theodor finally sees Alexander not as the brave adventurer, but as the immoral double-crosser he really is (which is also

¹⁰⁶ Ibid 230

¹⁰⁷ Ibid 345

¹⁰⁸ Ibid 237

¹⁰⁹ Ibid 310-11

suggested by his plans to turn the village into a spa town). The kiss, while relatively chaste, also takes the erotic out of Theodor's imagination and makes it real: Theodor is forced to confront his own feelings for Romana while seeing her as the object of someone else's affection. Raabe connects Theodor to Genesis in this passage, and Theodor promptly hides himself in his studies in response to his shame.¹¹⁰ This disconnect from the product of his imagination appears to release Theodor back into the real world, and he finishes his school exams and departs Ilmenthal to study in Leipzig.

Theodor once attempts to return to Ilmenthal at the end of the story. On his journey he encounters Bruseberger, pushing his cart full of unsold books back home after visiting a market. Their conversation eventually drifts to what appears to be the source of all the trouble in this life story. Bruseberger tells Theodor: ““Es wiederholt sich alles in der Welt, auch die Geschichte von der Zauberprinzessin in euerm alten Homer, und selbst die gelehrtesten Gymnasiumsprofessoren können noch für einen Moment in die Falle gehen und alle ihre neun Musen aus Sumpfe auffischen wollen.””¹¹¹ Bruseberger identifies the nature of these recurring literary motifs: they become dangerous as a result of the very ease with which they are conjured/evoked. Much as his earlier fears indicated, Bruseberger maintains that there can be corrupting elements in all of these imaginative stories -- a mindset that echoes that of critics of popular literature in Imperial Germany.¹¹²

Majors sums up Raabe's novel nicely when she writes, “*Prinzessin Fisch*. . ., like many works in Raabe's oeuvre, are stories about *how* stories are told, books about how people read

¹¹⁰ Hanson also characterizes the importance of the erotic to Theodor's experience – the “Experience of the erotic aspect of life by a young, developing boy,” Hanson, “Function,” 307-08

¹¹¹ Raabe, “Fisch,” 374

¹¹² Fears about adolescent readers often centered around concerns about sexuality or the overdevelopment of imagination that would prevent the young reader from developing a grounded sense of reason and reality. For more info, see Wild, “Aufklärung,” 70.

books and to what ends.”¹¹³ But how shall we judge these relationships when thinking about the reading culture of Imperial Germany? Throughout the novel, Raabe makes references to the changing world of which these characters are a part. The village is changing. The world outside the village is changing. Much of this change has to do with the inevitable modernization and industrialization of the final decades of the nineteenth century. In Ilmenthal, the plan to turn the sleepy town into a renowned *Kurort* is largely led by none other than Alexander, a representative of the new and changing world. In the end his actions do not leave one with much hope for that new world. The corruption and deception surrounding Alexander and Romana’s affair and Alexander’s underhanded business dealings bring an end to Theodor’s fantasies because Theodor learns that they are not what they appear to be and not deserving of his idolization. Raabe’s text makes it clear that the Robinson Crusoe stories of the world lead one down untenable paths that can destroy one’s sense of the real world. Theodor appears to have narrowly escaped a fate he can now only imagine.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyze ways in which nineteenth-century authors addressed concerns about the changing role of reading in German society and culture through self-reflexive representations of characters reading. The novels discussed in this chapter all – to varying degrees – reflect on their historical moment and the underlying assumptions about reading as pastime, educational tool, and social activity. In particular, these novels consider the importance of adolescent reading and the widespread concerns about what kind of reading was

¹¹³ Magdalen Majors, “Lost Between Campe and Cooper: Youth, Travel, and (Im)mobile Readers in the Late Works of Wilhelm Raabe,” in “Reading, Travel, and the Pedagogy of Growing Up in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany.” (PhD diss., Washington University, 2013).

appropriate for younger readers. While Hoffmann's fairy tale presents a somewhat more empowering look at reading (that is at the same time brought under scrutiny because of the uncertain nature of the ending), Keller, Reuter, Mann, and Raabe offer a much bleaker outlook. Heinrich suffers from a lack of guidance, on the one hand, while Agathe suffers from too much involvement from her parents. Tony also grows old chasing a dream that will never be, and Theodor barely escapes his fantasy island. The fates of the protagonists discussed here offer a sample of the ways in which reading was lauded and condemned and otherwise held in suspicion, as well as how these attempts to censor adolescent reading harmed adolescents.

In addition to this question of censored reading, these novels also suggest different sources of blame for these "failed" readers. Heinrich, as already mentioned, has no one to guide his reading, yet he seems to have some sense of what "good" reading when he judges the *Leserfamilie*, and faults the parents for not teaching their immoral children. By the end of the novel, however, the fault for his failures seems to be primarily his. Even Goethe (a symbol of the canonical German classics) cannot enlighten him. On the other hand, the control of her parents and the influence of the outside world impede Agathe Heidling's development; her only failure is not being what the reigning social order would have her be.

Most all of the novels depict characters engaging with older texts – Tony with Hoffmann, Heinrich with Goethe, Schiller, and the Romantics, Agathe with Byron, and Theodor with Goethe and *Robinson Crusoe*. The other characters in the novels criticize them for their reading of these older works— particularly Tony, Heinrich, and Theodor. Typically, the reading of canonical, classic literature is viewed as an educational and edifying activity. But for these characters, the benefits of reading these classic texts are not so clear. Turning to the past seems to hurt them in the present. While the works do not condemn reading older literature outright,

they do suggest that simply reading the “good” books alone is not going to produce “good” readers or well-adjusted adults.

Finally, this chapter has also attempted to assess how reading affects these protagonists, their imagination, and feelings. For more or less all of the protagonists, reading offers a chance to find comfort or distraction and it sparks imaginative adventures. Their experiences with imagination and the reception of their reading vary a great deal. While Marie is able to escape to the ambiguous happiness of the doll kingdom and become queen of her fantasy, characters such as Tony, Heinrich, and Agathe cannot reconcile their reading and imagination with the real-world expectations adulthood brings with it; their imagination is their undoing. While Theodor has a chance at adulthood, having to give up his books, his Robinson Crusoe fantasies, and his garden leaves him with little hope of happiness, and he remains alone at the end of the novel, perhaps fated to become the next Bruseberger. Reading, these novels tell us, was a fraught activity.

Chapter Three

Beyond Words: Imagination, Emotion, and the Inexpressible

Introduction

In Eugenie Marlitt's *Das Heideprinzesschen*, protagonist Lenore is forced to leave her home in the moorland and move into the city where her father lives in order to tame her impetuous personality and learn how to behave properly. Shortly upon her arrival, she and her chaperone Ilse discover a staircase to the upper floor of the house behind a secret door hidden by a large cabinet that they move. Ilse tells Lenore that they should not explore the staircase and the cabinet should be returned to its proper place. Lenore, however, has other ideas, and decides to explore:

Leise öffnete ich die kleine Tür wieder . . . Es war durchaus nicht mein Wille, neugierig zu sein oder wohl gar zu lauschen, aber ehe ich mich dessen selbst versah, standen meine eigenmächtige Füße auf der untersten Stufe; ich reckte den Kopf nach Kräften aufwärts, trat auf die äußersten Zehenspitzen und sah und horchte gespannt in das Dunkel hinein. Kein Laut drang von oben her . . . Ach, wie es mir in den Füßen zuckte, weiter zu schlüpfen!¹

The passage reveals her conflicted feelings about entering into a space she is obviously not meant to inhabit. The use of ellipses in the passage suggest that there is some hesitation on her part and that she struggles to articulate the desire she feels to see that which has been forbidden

¹ Eugenie Marlitt, *Das Heideprinzesschen*, (München: Langen Müller, 1994), 70.

to her. The use of “ach” implies an emotional response to the situation, though its presence alongside the ellipses hints that there is more happening in Lenore’s mind than she is able to express. In this case, her desire to explore may be dampened by an unmentioned feeling of shame. The passage conveys Lenore’s inability to express herself easily in language. Such instances will be the focus of this chapter.

The previous chapters have focused on the ways in which the contents of characters’ imaginations have been expressed via their engagements with toys and miniatures as well as with books and with either reading or listening to stories. As the previous two chapters have shown, the texts in question have offered very different depictions and judgments about the importance of imagination and character expression as well as the importance of reading and its contents. Of particular interest is how the interactions with miniatures and books either help or hinder the characters from articulating themselves and weathering the transition from childhood and adolescence into adulthood. The current chapter also seeks to explore further the challenges of imagination and adolescence as they are depicted in the literature of the nineteenth century, but from a different angle.

This chapter will investigate instances in which characters’ imaginations and minds are not fully articulated within the text – the moments where language, both verbal and nonverbal, originating from both character and narrator, appears to fail. Specifically, I will look at the presence of the interjections “ach” and “o” and also moments of silence or incomplete expression set off by ellipses or dashes (sometimes suggestively called the *Gedankenstrich* in German). These words and typographical devices, which perhaps normally escape one’s careful observation, suggest moments in which emotion is so overwhelming as to be inexpressible, while at the same time functioning as a kind of “tag” for character sentiment. The punctuation also

hints at more happening within a character's mind than is presented and leaves the reader to imagine what is happening beneath the surface. These moments are especially important in the representation of character socialization and the difficulties of adolescence, and insinuate that there is more happening in the characters' minds than they can explain. Indeed, there may be more happening between the lines of the text that is important to their respective success or failure at entering adulthood.

The use of these interjections and typographical devices occurs on a variety of narratological levels. At times, the interjections and punctuation appear in dialogue spoken by the characters in the novel. However, they also appear in unvoiced character thought, sometimes directly cited and other times summarized by the narrator. In addition, some of the passages I will examine relate the thoughts of both heterodiegetic and homodiegetic narrators. At times, it is unclear whether the originator of the interjections and linguistic pauses is the narrator or the character. While there are reasons one might separate these varied instances as different narratological scenarios, I treat them together because they all contribute to the representation of a given character's thoughts and emotions.

This inability of a character to articulate herself completely also points to the importance of and failure of language in the bourgeois context. As Angelika Linke has argued, learning proper ways to express oneself was part of the socialization process for middle-class children. In *Sprachkultur und Bürgertum*, she contends that the bourgeoisie possessed a certain "Mentalität," and that the middle class experience and the proper expression of feelings and emotions were tied to language.² She explains, "dass der Sprache bzw. der *sprachlichen* Kodierung von Gefühlen bei der Konstitution einer sozialspezifischen Gefühlsgrammatik

² Angelika Linke, *Sprachkultur und Bürgertum: zur Mentalitätsgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 25, 265.

eine zentrale Rolle zukommt, und zwar nicht nur in der *Erfassung* und *Benennung* von *Gefühlen* im Sinne einer kollektiven und gleichzeitig gruppenspezifischen Erfahrung, sondern auch in Bezug auf das soziale “*Lernen*” von *Gefühlen* bzw. von spezifischen emotionalen Dispositionen.”³ In other words, like everything else, the socially appropriate experience and expression of emotions were skills that children needed to learn as part of their integration into middle-class society. These lessons began in the *Kinderstube*, as Linke outlines, with the ultimate goal for children being “eine sichere Sprachbeherrschung sowie ein versiertes sprachliches Auftreten bei bürgerlichen Jugendlichen beiderlei Geschlechts....”⁴ Learning to communicate, therefore, was just as important for socialization as other forms of learning. The fact that several of the characters discussed in this chapter (Agathe from *Aus guter Familie* in particular, which Linke also cites) struggle with articulating their thoughts and emotions further marks their struggle to become adults.⁵

In order to assess the use of interjections and verbal and mental gaps in the texts, I will use a combined approach of digital text mining and narrative theory – in particular work by theorists who consider the representation of character thinking in literary texts. Digital text mining has emerged as one of many interests and techniques that fall within the rubric of the “digital humanities” – an umbrella term that encompasses different methodologies and practices concerning the use of technology and computers to enhance literary research and text preservation. In using digital text mining for this chapter, I aim to gather information about a broader range of texts as a means of strengthening my argument and justifying the selection of

³ Linke, *Sprachkultur*, 266. All italics are her emphasis.

⁴ Angelika Linke, “Zur Rekonstruierbarkeit sprachlicher Vergangenheit: auf der Suche nach der bürgerlichen Sprachkultur im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Sprachgeschichte des Neuhochdeutschen: Gegenstände, Methoden, Theorien*. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 385.

⁵ Linke, *Sprachkultur*, 283-4

works I have chosen to discuss in this chapter. By contrast, the narratologically driven theoretical works provide frameworks with which one can examine the language and formal elements of a text in greater detail, especially representations of character mind. Understanding the formal elements that comprise these texts is important for determining how gaps in character expression are presented in the text and will assist my close readings of passages identified by the text mining. Using these two approaches together offers a way to investigate failed character expression from both a “distant” and “close” perspective.

I begin by analyzing how the words “ach” and “o” have been previously assessed in both primary and secondary texts. I then recount the digital text-mining that first called my attention to the presence of “ach” and “o” in some of the texts in question. In fact, this chapter is partially predicated on features that were illuminated through the use of text-mining software that I might otherwise never have noticed. In addition to the digital methods I outline, I will also draw upon work by a number of narrative theorists who offer approaches to assessing the non- and sub-verbal representations of character thought. With these two approaches in mind, I will offer a close analysis of how these moments of inexpressible thought and sentiment work in Eugenie Marlitt’s *Das Heideprinzesschen*, Hoffmann’s *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, and Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie*, as well as how these moments relate to representations of socialization and the bridging of the gap between adolescence and adulthood.

On the Words “Ach” and “O”

How have interjections such as “ach” and “o” been treated in both primary and secondary texts? Theorists and philosophers have previously connected these words, frequently referred to as *Seufzer* in German, to the expression of emotion. Meaningless on their own, these words

combined with the context in which they emerge offers a signal that a character is experiencing some kind of emotional response – though precisely what emotions, and the mental processing behind them, may not always be obvious.

In *Aufschreibesysteme 1800 1900*, Friedrich Kittler brings up the word “ach” (as well as “o”) and its function as a sign that is both part of and beyond the power of language.⁶ He explains, “Dieses *ach!* ist ein Wort und kein Wort; es spricht die und widerspricht der Sprache; es macht ihren Anfang, den aber alles Sprechen verrät.”⁷ Kittler points to the way “ach” exists as part of a language as well as outside of it, how it is at once speech and yet contains no inherent meaning on its own. It “betrays” speech in that it somehow works within it but also reveals the limitations of language. He mentions Goethe’s *Faust* as an important example, yet also suggests that the word may be linked to women. This connection certainly requires further scrutiny.⁸

Kittler also refers to Herder, whose work on the origins of language includes explanations of interjections such as “ach” and “o.” Herder elucidates the polyvalent potential of these words and their usage as well:

Nun sind freilich *diese Töne sehr einfach* [his emphasis]; und wenn sie artikuliert, und als Interjektionen aufs Papier hinbuchstabiert werden; so haben die entgegengesetztesten Empfindungen fast Einen Ausdruck. Das matte Ach! ist sowohl Laut der zerschmelzenden Liebe, als der sinkenden Verzweiflung; das feurige O! sowohl Ausbruch der plötzlichen Freude, als der auffahrenden Wut; der steigenden Bewunderung, als des zufallenden Bejammern; allein sind denn diese Laute da, um als Interjektionen aufs Papier gemalt zu werden? ... Kann mit den Tönen der Empfindung anders sein?⁹

⁶ I am indebted to Juliane Prade-Weiss, who suggested I look into Kittler’s work after listening to my conference paper about Hoffmann and “ach” at the German Studies Association conference in 2014.

⁷ Friedrich Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800 1900*. (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1985), 53.

⁸ Ibid 52

⁹ Johann Gottfried Herder, “Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache,” in *Werke*. Vol 1, edited by Ulrich Gaier. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985), 699-700.

For Herder, “ach” and “o” can carry directly contradictory sentiment. They are universal in the fact that they signal some kind of emotional coloring to whatever is being said, but their meaning is determined by the emotion being expressed and not by a meaning the words in and of themselves carry.

Theodor von Hippel comments on the expressive power of “ach” as well, if somewhat ironically: “Seufzer, halb erdrückter Achs nennt nicht tote Worte, ihr Wortkrämer! Denn die gelten mir mehr als eure Klagelieder und Kondolenzen. Wenn es auf Achs kommt, löst der Geist den verstummten Leid ab, drängt sich vor, vertritt ihn und läßt sich allein hören. Es gibt unaussprechliche Achs!”¹⁰ Hippel suggests that this “Seufzer” can carry more meaning than a complete text meant to express the same emotion and that there is something ineffable connected to the word. He is not alone in that sentiment. As Friedrich Schiller writes in his *Tabulae Votivae*, “*Spricht die Seele, so spricht, ach! schon die Seele nicht mehr.*”¹¹ These ideas, along with the observations of Kittler and Herder, will serve as part of the basis for my argument below.

There have been some more modern analyses of the word “ach” in German literature. László Földényi has investigated the use of “ach” (along with other important words) in the work of Heinrich von Kleist. He characterizes the usage of “ach” as well as the dash as often hinting at what cannot be said, that there is more to be said that characters or the narrator cannot put into words.¹² He outlines, furthermore, how the uses of the word vary in their emotional tone across

¹⁰ Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, *Lebensläufe nach aufsteigender Linie*. Vol 3. (Leipzig: G. J. Gösche'sche Verlag, 1859), 1.

¹¹ Friedrich Schiller, “*Tabulae Votivae*,” in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 1 eds. Hans-Günther Thalheim, et al. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 2005), 359.

¹² See also Dorrit Cohn's analysis of Kleist's text: “Kleist's ‘Marquise von O...’: The Problem of Knowledge,” *Monatshefte* 67.2 (1975): 129-144.

instances as well as differences between texts.¹³ Földényi's work is concerned, however, with what he claims are singular occurrences of the word; and while it is true that "ach" appears in many works by many authors, my aim is to investigate authors who appear to use these kinds of expressions more frequently.

While my interest in "ach" and "o" is largely a literary one, the usage of such words also raises linguistic questions. Andrea Golato has conducted research on the modern usage of "ach." While her endeavors are not at all literary in nature and concern a time period well after the novels I analyze were produced, her emphasis on the relevance for "ach" in social interaction is important to keep in mind.¹⁴ Many of the occurrences of "ach" and "o" in literature are connected in some way to dialogue or character internal monologue, which often (though not always) mimics spoken communication in literature. I will come back to this point and examine instances of spoken (and thought) usage of "ach" in the close readings below.

In the following pages, I build upon these assessments of words such as "ach" and show that the use of these words, coupled with certain forms of punctuation, both suggests the emotional tone of character interactions and also defies categorization. It signals that something is occurring but leaves the reader to infer precisely what is happening in a character's mind. Before examining text passages in greater detail, I first will explain how digital text mining influenced my reading and shaped my understanding of the presence of these words in nineteenth-century literature.

¹³ László F. Földényi, *Heinrich von Kleist: Im Netz der Wörter*, translated by Amos Doma. (München: Matthes und Seitz Verlag, 1999), 15-19.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Friederike Fichtner, who pointed me to the following two articles: Andrea Golato, "Marking Understanding Versus Receipting Information in Talk: Achso and Ach in German Interaction." *Discourse Studies* 12.2 (2010): 147-176; and Andrea Golato "German Oh: Marking an Emotional Change of State," *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45.3 (2012), 245-268.

Voyant and Digital Tools for Text-Mining

My investigation of “ach” (and later “o”) began somewhat serendipitously, as a result of experiments with digital tools that prompted the questions guiding this chapter. “Text mining” typically refers to the act of using software or processing scripts in order to read texts (either by themselves or together as a larger corpus) and offers information about those texts as a result. Sometimes, these data can be very basic details, such as the frequencies of words, the length of the texts, and number of unique words in a text. Other kinds of analysis are more interpretive in nature and use mathematical algorithms to make calculations about a group of texts.¹⁵ Using text mining tools like the ones I will describe below offer a means by which one can gain a different perspective on a collection of texts, particularly if the collection is large. Franco Moretti and others have (in)famously labeled this kind of work “distant reading” because it does not require the individual, concentrated engagement with each single text, instead offering aggregate data derived from a larger set of texts that a human reader alone could not process – at least not easily.¹⁶

While my argument about the texts to be discussed below also relies heavily on the close reading of certain passages, using text mining allows me to situate my findings about these texts in a larger context and offer some comparisons, if broad, between the authors in question here and their contemporaries. I would also never have come to the questions I am posing in this

¹⁵ Topic modeling is a fairly common example. For an introduction to it, see this issue of the *Journal of Digital Humanities*. 2.1 (2012) <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/2-1/> and well as Matt Erlin and Lynne Tatlock, eds. *Distant Readings: Topologies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2014).

¹⁶ See for example Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, and Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*, (London: Verso, 2005); Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, (London: Verso, 2013); Matthew Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Stephen Ramsay, *Reading Machines: Toward an Algorithmic Criticism*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

chapter had I not used this approach at the outset. Because this method of digital text mining is not as widely employed in the humanities as are more traditional methods, I will outline the process involved and will explain in further detail the reasoning behind the decisions I made and clarify each step of the process and the results I subsequently gleaned from it.¹⁷

The first phase of my project employed the Voyeur Tools Collection – in particular, Voyant, a web-based collection of text-mining tools developed by Stéfán Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell. Voyant allows one to upload texts and then receive various kinds of data about them, such as the number of words in each text and the frequencies of those words, as well as to generate graphs and other visual aids.¹⁸ The interface offers multiple settings for working with the data, such as the ability to differentiate between raw and relative frequency counts (to account for differences in text length), the capacity to collapse multiple words into one item on the graph (helpful with German because the verb conjugations and adjective endings can be accounted for), and the option to eliminate stop words from the results. Stop words are typically the most common words, such as pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions, that, depending on what kind of analysis one wishes to carry out, may be a hindrance to seeing what other kinds of words would otherwise rise to the top.

The work of E. T. A. Hoffmann clued me in to the unusually high presence of “ach” in some of my texts of interest. When I analyzed a set of his texts via Voyant, I was surprised to see “ach” appear as one of the higher-frequency words after I eliminated the stop words from the corpus. Intrigued to know more, I decided to generate a graph of the frequency of “ach” across

¹⁷ I am grateful to the participants of the Mellon Vertical Seminar in the Digital Humanities, which took place in the spring semester 2014. Our lively discussions were instrumental to some of the thinking about my own research interests.

¹⁸ Stéfán Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell. “Voyant Tools: Reveal Your Texts.” Voyant. 2 Sep. 2015 <http://voyeurtools.org/>

each of the texts I had uploaded. Despite being one of the shorter texts I had available, *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* had the highest relative frequency of “ach” (a ratio of the number of occurrences of a word among the total words in a given text). Only a couple of his other works – *Der goldne Topf* and *Der Sandmann*¹⁹ – registered anywhere nearly as high frequencies as his *Kindermärchen*. While my first instinct had been to write off the use of “ach” as tied to Romanticism or as a simple quirk of Hoffmann’s writing style, the relative frequencies of “ach” is not uniform across Hoffmann’s larger oeuvre. Something else may be at work in these texts (Figure 1).

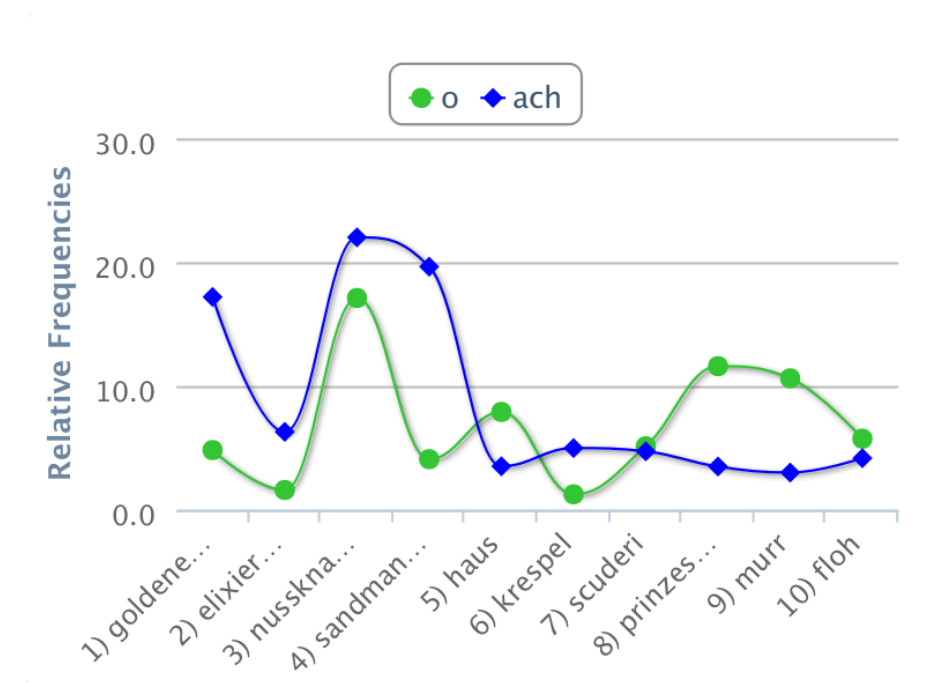


Figure 1: Relative Frequencies of “ach” and “o” in works by E. T. A. Hoffmann

¹⁹ While I do not have the space to go into depth here about it, it is worth pointing out that Olympia is a major reason for the presence of “ach” in *Der Sandmann*. While some of the occurrences belong to Nathanael and his inability to fully express his own overwhelming feelings, many belong to her in her endless repetition of the word when Nathanael attempts to talk to her. The fact that she says it three times in one response perhaps inflates the presence of the word in the text (thus making it appear to be more present than it actually is if one removes the immediate repetition of “ach, ach, ach”), but also further underscores the way that Olympia performs and lampoons the humanity and affect she most definitely lacks because of the robotic nature of her response.

The graph of Hoffmann’s “ach” in figure 1 prompted me to investigate the other authors of interest to my dissertation in order to see whether Hoffmann was singular in his use of “ach” or whether others also registered high frequencies. I uploaded in chronological order a separate set of the works of interest to my project that were available in a digital format and then searched again for “ach.” For Keller, Raabe, and Mann, this search yielded very low frequencies and appeared to offer little information about the texts.²⁰ But for Marlitt (Figure 3) and Reuter (Figure 2), Voyant revealed high frequencies of “ach” and “o” in certain texts:

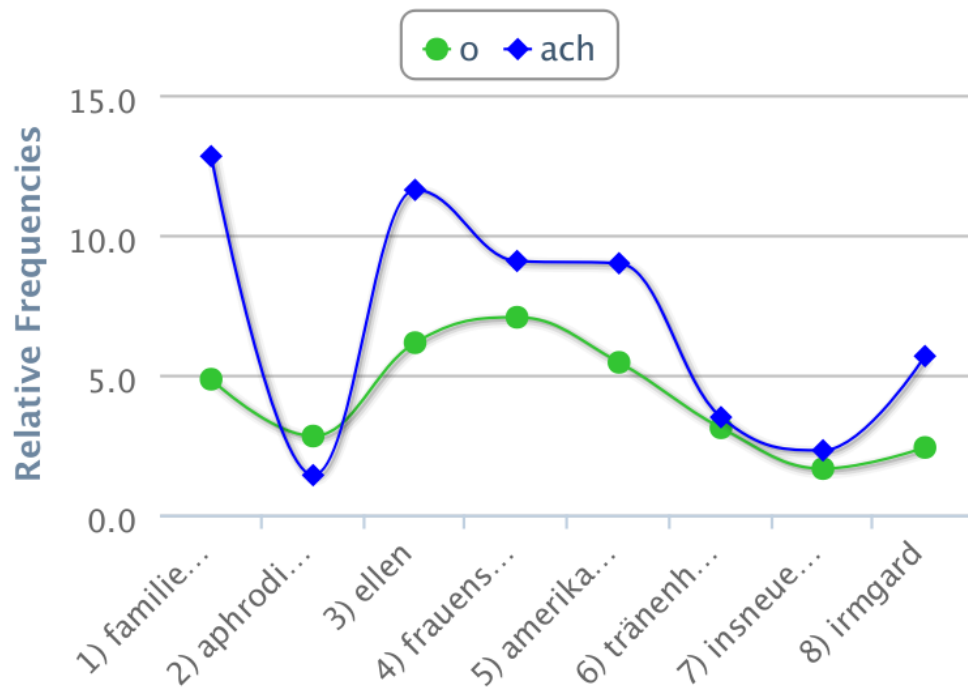


Figure 2: “Ach” and “o” in the works of Reuter

²⁰ In Raabe’s case, two of his works did register fairly high with “o” once I started looking in to that word as well. However, the texts that exhibited high occurrences were somewhat different in subject matter from the texts with which I have been working in that they do not foreground adolescent and young adult characters to the same degree, and I have therefore left them out of this discussion for the moment in order to keep with the overall themes of the dissertation. Raabe’s works will certainly offer fruitful discussion on another occasion.

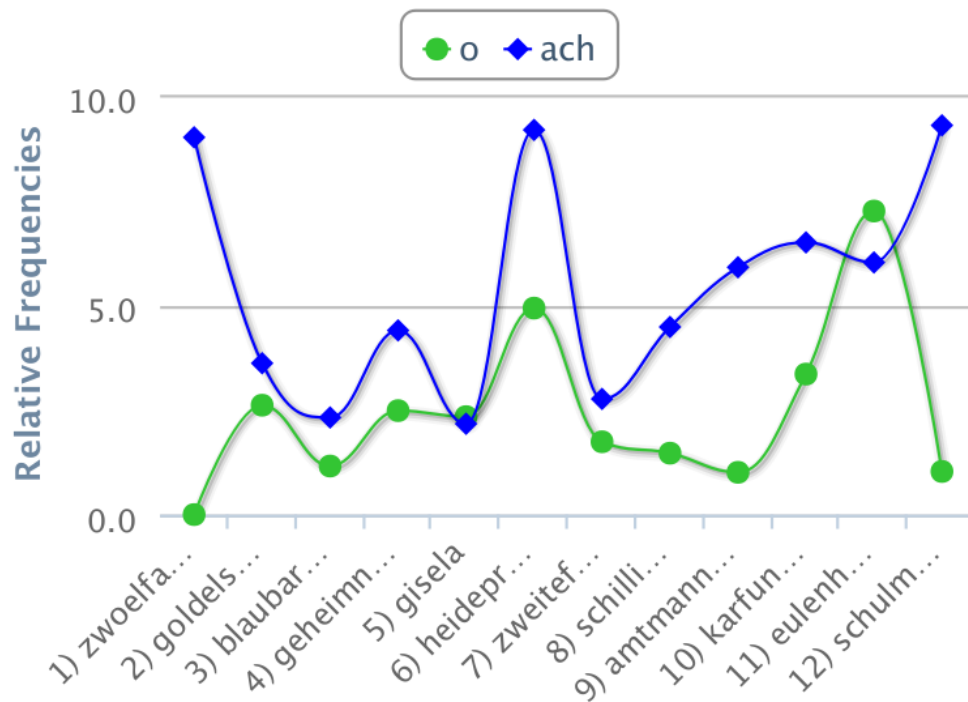


Figure 3: “Ach” and “o” in the works of Marlitt

For Reuter, as indicated in figure 2, the text with the highest relative frequency was *Aus guter Familie*, one of her earlier novels. The word’s presence otherwise mostly declines in her works after that. Marlitt’s graph, on the other hand, looks quite different. Her highest-frequency texts are, as shown in figure 3, *Das Heideprinzesschen* (the middle spike), *Die zwölf Apostel* (the first spike), and *Schulmeisters Marie* (the last spike).²¹ While these results suggest that there might be reason to explore these texts further to determine how “ach” and “o” function in the texts with the higher frequencies, these Voyant graphs could not tell me whether or not this high relative presence of “ach” and “o” was unique to these authors or whether it was part of some other larger trend that might be connected to genre, literary epoch, or some other factor.

²¹ Though *Schulmeisters Marie* was published quite late, it was actually written around the same time as *Die zwölf Apostel*.

Based on the Voyant results, the three novels chosen for analysis in this chapter stand out when compared to the other texts that I have discussed in previous chapters. I have therefore chosen to leave out works by Keller, Raabe, and Thomas Mann; the interjections in question did not appear to play a significant role in these texts. In both *Der grüne Heinrich* and *Prinzessin Fisch*, there are only two occurrences of the word “ach” in the entire novel. *Buddenbrooks* has a higher frequency of “ach” than Keller and Raabe, but the relative frequency is so low as to be almost nil compared to the relative frequencies of the texts by Hoffmann, Marlitt, and Reuter. A closer inspection of the texts by Keller, Raabe, and Mann confirms that these interjections do not occur as often as in the texts by Hoffmann, Marlitt, and Reuter.

In order to contextualize my Voyant findings further, I compared the presence of “ach” and “o” in works by Hoffmann, Marlitt, and Reuter with a larger collection of writings (357 in total) published between 1780-1923, with the majority of the texts published in the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century. These digital text files were in part files that I created myself via Project Gutenberg. The rest were already digitized and available from other projects in progress.²² For the comparison, I modified Python scripts that were used on another project first to separate the texts into similarly sized chunks.^{23,24} Splitting the text files into chunks offered tangible units that could be counted. Then, I used another script to count both chunks that had some occurrence of “ach” and “o” and those that did not and to compare the results from Hoffmann, Marlitt, and Reuter individually against the rest of the texts in the corpus. I compared

²² I am indebted to both Matt Erlin and Lynne Tatlock, who offered to let me use text files from their projects as part of my corpus for each stage of this project.

²³ I am grateful both to Stephen Pentecost and Lynne Tatlock. Pentecost was the author of the original versions of the scripts, which were originally designed for a project of Tatlock’s. They generously shared work that provided a frame for my own.

²⁴ Python is a programming language that offers many capabilities for working with text files. For more information, please see <https://www.python.org>.

each author against both the “master” corpus that contained all the texts and also against selections of the corpus that included texts published roughly twenty years before and after the dates of publication for the three authors’ works. For Hoffmann, this meant a comparison of ninety-six texts published between 1795 and 1840; for Marlitt, I included 170 texts published between 1845 and 1908; for Reuter, there were 159 texts published between 1869 and 1923. The Marlitt and Reuter miniature corpora, of course, contained a great deal of overlap.

The following tables represent the results of my calculations.²⁵ The first column contains the number of occurrences of “ach” and “o” per chunk from zero to seven or more. The second column shows the percentage of chunks by each author that contain those number of occurrences. The third and fourth columns contain the percentages of chunks not by the selected author that have those number of occurrences; the third column includes the entire corpus while the fourth has only the contemporary selections of the corpus as outlined above. The numbers show that the majority of the text chunks have no occurrences of “ach” and “o” or only have one. This is not so surprising because these words are not “high frequency” words when compared to conjunctions, pronouns, or other words that naturally occur often and whose graphs would look quite different.²⁶ While the drop off seems a bit extreme, the graphs are still able to show comparisons between the authors of interest here and the rest of the corpus.

²⁵ I am once again indebted to Stephen Pentecost and Doug Knox, who consulted with me about how best to represent the findings from the python script calculations.

²⁶ Lynne Tatlock has undertaken similar calculations, but with the appearance of “und” – a very high frequency word – in texts by Raabe compared to other nineteenth-century texts. For more information, see her article, “Sammeln, Katalogisieren, Serialisieren, Aufbewahren, Verbindungen erstellen: Wilhelm Raabes *Vom alten Proteus* a.k.a. *Krähenfelder Geschichten*,” in *Archiv/Fictionen: Verfahren des Archivierens in Literatur und Kultur des langen 19. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Daniela Grets and Nicolas Pethes. Reihe Litterae 217. (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, in press).

Number of Occurrences of “ach” and “o” per chunk	Percentage of Marlitt Chunks	Percentage of Non-Marlitt Chunks (entire corpus)	Percentage of Non-Marlitt Chunks (contemporaries only)
0	81.4	71.0	76.7
1	14.7	17.0	15.7
2	2.8	6.2	4.6
3	0.6	2.7	1.7
4	0.3	1.4	0.7
5	0.1	0.7	0.3
6	0	0.4	0.1
7+	0	0.4	0.1

Table 1: Comparison of “ach” and “o” occurrences for Eugenie Marlitt

The results among the three authors were varied. In the graphs of her works Marlitt does not appear to have a higher than average usage of the words “ach” and “o” compared to either the entire corpus or the targeted corpus. It is, however, perhaps worth acknowledging that the difference between Marlitt and others decreases when she is compared with her contemporaries. These results at first made me consider dropping her from the chapter because it appears that her works may not have the same level of saturation as those of Hoffmann and Reuter. But several of her works do have unusually high frequencies compared to the rest of her novels and thus prove worth investigating. Additionally, I felt her use of the term functions somewhat differently from that of Hoffmann and Reuter because of the presence of an autodiegetic narrator. For that reason alone I decided she can serve as an enlightening case study.

Number of Occurrences of “ach” and “o” per chunk	Percent of Hoffmann Chunks	Percent of Non-Hoffmann Chunks (entire corpus)	Percent of Non-Hoffman Chunks (contemporaries)
0	57.1	71.4	59.8
1	22.5	16.9	19.9
2	9.9	6.1	8.8
3	5.0	2.7	4.9
4	2.1	1.4	2.7
5	0.8	0.7	1.7
6	1.8	0.4	0.9
7+	0.8	0.4	1.2

Table 2: Comparison of “ach” and “o” appearances for E. T. A. Hoffmann

When his works are compared to the entire corpus (Figure 4), Hoffmann stands out as having a greater percent of text chunks with some presence of “ach” and “o.” This difference is clear in the third column above. When compared to the selected corpus, however, his case is somewhat borderline; when occurrences of “ach” alone are compared (my initial step), Hoffmann does not evidence a higher usage than his contemporaries, but he stands out against the corpus as a whole. There are perhaps historical reasons why this is the case, which I will discuss more in depth below. Once I included “o,” however, he also stood out against even his contemporaries, if only slightly, as the table above indicates.

Number of Occurrences of “ach” and “o” per chunk	Percent of Reuter Chunks	Percent of Non-Reuter Chunks (entire corpus)	Percent of Non-Reuter Chunks (contemporaries only)
0	57.5	71.3	77.3
1	27.0	16.8	15.3
2	8.5	6.1	4.4
3	4.4	2.7	1.7
4	2.2	1.4	0.7
5	0.3	0.7	0.3
6	0	0.4	0.1
7+	0	0.4	0.1

Table 3: Comparison of “ach” and “o” for Gabriele Reuter

The most surprising results came from comparing Gabriele Reuter's works to the rest of the texts. Compared with both the entire corpus and the selected one, Reuter has significantly fewer text chunks registering with no occurrences of "ach" and "o."

For the sake of eliminating potential bias from the number and lengths of texts by any one author, I decided to re-run a different version of the Python script that, instead of counting each chunk of each text file, could take random samplings of ten thousand chunks from the corpus and do the same counts. This step generally confirmed the results from the first calculation. When I counted "ach" alone, Hoffmann did not show a higher frequency of usage than his contemporaries, but did show higher usage against the entire corpus. Once I included "o" in the calculations as well, Hoffmann rose even above his contemporaries. Marlitt, on the other hand, despite what appears to be relatively high frequencies of both "ach" and "o" in some of her texts, did not appear to have higher frequencies than works in the entire corpus contemporary with hers. Reuter did register as having higher frequencies than her contemporaries and against the average of the corpus at large.

These results revealed that, while these authors are by no means the exclusive users of these interjections, their works exhibit an unusual saturation of these words. With this information as a basis, I proceeded to investigate how this language appears in the texts in question and assess how it is related to the expression of sentiment and imagination.

The Importance of Punctuation and Narration

In addition to the words "ach" and "o," certain forms of punctuation also point to the inexpressible or that which is left unsaid by a character or narrator. In her analysis of English literature, Anne Toner claims that punctuation marks such as ellipses and dashes are "symbols

that express communicative dependence on the non-verbal” and that “Ellipsis marks have long served as a means of providing access to emotional or psychological states.”²⁷ Much as the presence of “ach” or “o” may signal characters’ emotional state (or at least the fact that they are expressing some aspect of their feelings whether internally or externally), the presence of ellipses and other similar punctuation signal the working of a character’s inner world that the reader may not be able to access completely. As Toner further explains,

From a sign of interruption, ellipsis marks evolve into tokens of passion, interiority and complexity. Crucial to this development is their absorption into novels where they present difficulties in speech, but also obscurities in characters’ thoughts, as well as irresolution in narrative explication. The novel in particular has aspired through its history to reach closer to realizations of human interiority, including its incoherencies and blanks.²⁸

As we will see in the texts discussed below, the novels do draw, to varying degrees, on the unfinished thoughts, unspoken words, and moments of failed articulation in order to hint at the interiors of characters to which readers and other characters do not have complete access. While giving the reader less, they hint that there is more to the story. As Toner claims, “Ellipsis marks proved to be usefully multivalent. They mark the truncation of the story and yet draw it out indefinitely.”²⁹ This tension between the finite and the infinite will be important for thinking about the possible interpretations of character mind.

Thinking about ellipses and dashes in conjunction with “ach” and “o” is thus important for considering these texts as examples of nineteenth-century literary depictions of the mind. According to Toner, while the ellipsis had long been used in literary texts, the dash only became an accepted form of punctuation in the nineteenth century and came with a number of variations

²⁷ Anne Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature: Signs of Omission*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1.

²⁸ Ibid 14

²⁹ Ibid 93

– at least in the realm of English literature.³⁰ The printing industry made possible the development of punctuation guides. According to Toner, common perception held that it was a “feminine culpability” to be unable to express oneself completely, and to some extent the texts I discuss confirm that suspicion. But there are also some male figures who use these forms of punctuation (or for whom they are used by the narrator) as well.³¹

In Germany, by the end of the nineteenth century, Naturalism had appropriated the use of dashes and ellipses in its attempts to replicate actual human speech. The opening lines of Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf’s *Papa Hamlet* offer a straightforward example.³² The use of ellipses and dashes in the footnoted passage combined with the repetition of words and several starts and stops suggest the disjointed, incomplete nature of human speech and the struggle to articulate oneself.

These gaps in the representation of thought and feeling – created through punctuation or by interjection – are important to narration and have been taken up by narrative theorists as well as those concerned with reader-response theory. Wolfgang Iser explains the function of what he calls *Leerstellen* in literary texts in the following way:

Zwischen den ‘schematisierten Ansichten’ entsteht eine Leerstelle, die sich durch die Bestimmtheit der aneinander stoßenden Ansichten ergibt. Solche Leerstellen eröffnen dann einen Auslegungsspielraum für die Art, in der man die in den Ansichten vorgestellten Aspekte aufeinander beziehen kann. Sie sind durch den Text selbst überhaupt nicht zu beseitigen. Im Gegenteil, je mehr ein Text seinen Darstellungsraster

³⁰ Anne C. Henry cites usage of the ellipses at least as far back as the Middle Ages. See: Anne C. Henry, “Ellipsis Marks in a Historical Perspective,” in *The Motivated Sign: Iconicity in Language and Literature* 2, edited by Olga Fischer and Max Nänny, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001), 136-38.

³¹ Toner, *Ellipsis*, 118-19, 144

³² “N...nein! Das heist...” / “ -- Donnerwetter nochmal! Das, das ist ja eine, eine – Badewanne!” See Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf, *Papa Hamlet*, (Leipzig: Verlag von Carl Reissner, 1889), 12.

verfeinert, und das heißt, je mannigfaltiger die ‘schematischen Ansichten’ sind, die den Gegenstand des Textes hervorbringen, desto mehr nehmen die Leerstellen zu.³³

Iser claims that the appearance of such “Leerstellen” has been on the rise in literature since the eighteenth century and that this change has an influence on how readers interact with texts. He points to writers such as Joyce who take this practice to the extreme. As Iser asserts, however, “Der Leser wird die Leerstellen dauernd auffüllen beziehungsweise beseitigen. Indem er sie beseitigt, nutzt er den Auslegungsspielraum und stellt selbst die nicht formulierten Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Ansichten her.”³⁴ In other words, it is in fact the reader’s task to piece together what is missing to draw meaning from the text – hence the notion that texts only exist when they are being read because the reader brings her individual experiences and knowledge to the reading. The “Leerstellen” in the works discussed in this chapter do ask precisely this; thus readers contemplate the unsaid and the ineffable, imagining what a character has left unvoiced and unexpressed.

In the realm of narrative theory, many theorists and scholars have taken up the presence of “gaps” or ellipses in narrative. Gérard Genette explains ellipsis in his seminal work, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, where he offers examples of different kinds of ellipses that can occur with narrative events to different effects.³⁵ However, he is primarily concerned with ellipses as a temporal phenomenon and not as an opaque representation of a character’s inner world, though his description of their effects can largely be carried over to the second phenomenon as well. Rimmon-Kenan in *Narrative Fiction* and Martinez and Scheffel in

³³ Wolfgang Iser, *Die Appellstruktur der Texte: Unbestimmtheit als Wirkungsbedingung Literarischer Prosa* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1970), 15.

³⁴ Ibid 15

³⁵ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1980), 51-54.

Einführung in der Erzähltheorie in turn also show how ellipses force readers to fill in the blanks that are missing from the text. According to Martinez and Scheffel, “Die unvermeidlichen Leerstellen der Textoberfläche — denn kein Text kann vollständig explizit sein — müssen durch den Leser aufgefüllt werden. Dabei beschränkt sich die konstruktive Tätigkeit des Lesers nicht nur auf das Nachvollziehen logischer Implikationen des explizit Gesagten, sondern sie ergänzt auch aufgrund lebensweltlicher und literaturhistorischer Muster.”³⁶ Both Martinez and Scheffel and Rimmon-Kenan mention Heinrich von Kleist’s *Die Marquise von O.* as a quintessential example of the importance of ellipses in literary texts.³⁷

In her discussion of what she terms *psycho-narration* in her book, *Transparent Minds*, Dorrit Cohn addresses characters’ inability to express themselves fully. For her, psycho-narration is the close equivalent of what Genette calls indirect discourse; in other words, the thoughts and sometimes verbal comments of a character are summarized by the narrator of the text and not directly quoted. There is a sense of mediation between reader and character; as Cohn tells us, psycho-narration is “independen[t] from self-articulation.”³⁸ In some instances, she explains, psycho-narration can help articulate what the character cannot fully explain on her own. She clarifies, “When narration does descend to the subliminal level, less elaborate justification is needed for authorial intervention. But narrators frequently draw explicit attention to the sub- or unconscious nature of the psychic states they narrate or to the impossibility of their self-articulation.”³⁹ While some of the texts to be discussed in the chapter do sometimes offer

³⁶ Matias Martinez and Michael Scheffel, *Einführung in die Erzähltheorie* (München: C. H. Beck, 2002), 149.

³⁷ Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 56; and Martinez and Scheffel, *Einführung*, 42-3

³⁸ Dorrit Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 46.

³⁹ Cohn, *Transparent*, 48

signals through the narration of the thoughts occurring in the characters' minds, I am interested in looking at moments where there is less narrational direction.

Cognitive narrative theory offers a useful concept for thinking about the presence of gaps in literary works: theory of mind, a way of understanding narrative and reading most famously advocated by Lisa Zunshine. According to Zunshine, theory of mind and the term *mind reading* "...describe our ability to explain people's behavior in terms of their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and desires."⁴⁰ Put another way, "Theory of Mind (ToM) ... enables us to 'put ourselves in another's shoes.' It is mind reading, empathy, creative imagination of another's perspective: in short, it is simultaneously a highly sophisticated ability, and a very basic necessity for human communication."⁴¹ In other words, we as readers bring everyday real-life skills of reading real minds into our reading habits because we (perhaps unconsciously) believe that doing so will help us better understand a character's motivations, thoughts, and feelings, as well as allow us to know what is happening inside a character's mind when the text does not tell us directly. And while readers or persons in the real world may not be right about what they assume is happening in someone else's mind, they operate as if their understanding of the mind in question were correct because, as Zunshine asserts, "Attributing states of mind is the default way by which we construct and navigate our social environment, incorrect though our attributions frequently are."⁴² While the system might not lead us to accurate results, we still rely on it for understanding the thoughts and behaviors of others because we have no other reliable way to get inside a person (or character's) head.

⁴⁰ Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 6.

⁴¹ Paula Leverage, et al, "Introduction," in *Theory of Mind and Literature*, eds. Paula Leverage, Howard Mancing, Richard Schweikert and Jennifer William (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 1.

⁴² Zunshine, *Why We Read*, 6

This act of attributing states of mind to particular characters, according to Zunshine, is part of the pleasure associated with reading. As she explains, “fiction engages, teases, and pushes to its tentative limits our mind-reading capacity.”⁴³ Many a plot hangs on a misunderstanding between two characters or some other failure to know what a character is really thinking, Zunshine claims, and part of the pleasure a reader derives from fiction is knowing the misunderstanding has occurred and anticipating the ways in which it might be resolved by the end of the text. Whether or not assuming a character’s mind operates exactly the same way as a human mind is the proper way to look at characters in fiction, a reader’s default mode is typically to “treat characters as if they were real people, and... ascribe to them a ToM.”⁴⁴ The assumption that a literary character’s mind functions *exactly* the same way as a real person’s mind is a big one, and there are examples within the literary canon that would quickly undermine this paradigm. I will take up this question again in the following chapter when I use alternative theories of literary minds to reassess some examples from my collection of texts. For now, Zunshine’s argument that readers are instinctively inclined to interpret a character’s mental state even if there is not enough evidence to confirm their theories usefully aids consideration of the appeal of the gap or the unsaid in literature.

Some of the passages I will discuss in the next section – particularly from *Aus guter Familie* – are dependent on the use of free indirect discourse. Free indirect discourse lacks an explicit tag to inform the reader whether or not the thought expressed in a given sentence or passage belongs to the narrator of the story or a character within it.⁴⁵ Monika Fludernik’s exhaustive treatment of free indirect discourse, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of*

⁴³ Zunshine, *Why We Read*, 4

⁴⁴ Leverage et al, “Introduction,” 2

⁴⁵ For example, see Brian McHale, “Speech Representation,” *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, last modified April 8, 2014, <http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/speech-representation>.

Fiction: The Linguistic Representation of Speech and Consciousness provides a thorough analysis of the way in which free indirect discourse functions in literature and addresses the notion that speech and consciousness are related. As she explains,

free indirect discourse and speech and thought representation in general need to be related to a number of macro-textual and interpretative aspects of the reading process in general. Some of the contexts involved are more restrictedly literary, as for example the question of point of view, the narrative situation, mood or voice; others are of a more conceptual nature, involving, for instance, the reading conventions that trigger an interpretation in terms of speech or thought representation.⁴⁶

While a great deal of her argument is linguistically driven, Fludernik is also concerned with the narratological implications for representations of speech and consciousness via free indirect discourse, a question that is relevant both for this chapter and the next one as well.

Fludernik addresses how thought is not explicitly limited to language and may therefore emerge through other forms of perception. She claims, “One part of consciousness which may or may not be fully articulated in terms of verbalization consists in visual, aural, gustatory or tactile perception. Perception itself is generally taken to be non-verbal, ‘non-reflective’...although it can give rise to thought processes and emotions, even to exclamatory utterance...”⁴⁷ Her suggestion that there can be a struggle to articulate thought through verbal means recalls Cohn’s work, in particular, and her idea that there is a sub-verbal level of consciousness that may only be accessed through indirect means. The close readings in the next section will explore some of the indirect ways in which consciousness and thought are represented or suggested.

⁴⁶Monika Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction: The Linguistic Representation of Speech and Consciousness* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7.

⁴⁷ Ibid 305

Scholars such as David Herman have also taken up the idea that there are parts of one's consciousness that may not be verbally expressed. In his book *Basic Elements of Narrative*, Herman emphasizes the importance of narrative for the understanding of consciousness. As he notes, "The research at issue suggests not only that the narrative is centrally concerned with *qualia*, a term used by philosophers of mind to refer to the sense of what it's like for someone or something to have a particular experience, but also that narrative bears importantly on debates concerning the nature of consciousness itself."⁴⁸ Alan Palmer also discusses the idea of "qualia" as a means of describing non-verbal forms of consciousness.⁴⁹ This term is used by cognitive scientists, whose work has influenced recent studies in narratology. While one also runs the risk here of equating real minds with fictional minds and not taking the representations of fictional minds on their own terms (much as has happened with theory of mind), this interest in the sub- and non-verbal points to readers' need to know how incomplete presentations of character thought should be understood. And while I do not have a clear answer to this question either, investigating the use of interjections and gaps in literature can show how the text sets up the reader to look for what lies beyond the words on the page and how this kind of lack of expression may be linked to certain states of being. In the case of the works examined in this chapter, the connection lies between moments of overwhelming emotion that may be tied to adolescence and the difficulties in reaching adulthood.

Having provided an overview first of text mining and now questions of punctuation and representations of consciousness and thought in narrative, I will use these tools and insights to examine passages from a few selected texts. Moving from distant reading and results that

⁴⁸ David Herman, *Basic Elements of Narrative*, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 144.

⁴⁹ Alan Palmer, *Fictional Minds*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 97

pinpoint “ach” and “o” as important to these authors, I will shift to a more traditional close reading of the novels.

A Closer look at *Heideprinzesschen*, *Nussknacker*, and *Aus guter Familie*

In this section of the chapter, I will rely on the material previously explained to look at three exemplary texts from the three authors whose works exhibited a relatively high density of interjections “ach” and “o”: Eugenie Marlitt’s *Das Heideprinzesschen*, E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, and Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie*. While each of these three texts registers the highest presence of “ach” in each author’s respective collection of works, they employ these words in conjunction with dashes and ellipses to somewhat different effects. What remains common among them, however, is that some aspect of character emotion and thought is repeatedly left unsaid by the characters or narrators relating the thoughts of said characters, requiring the reader to fill in the gaps. Although it chronologically appears in between Hoffmann and Reuter’s works, I have chosen to begin this analysis with Marlitt’s novel because her use of “ach” and “o” registers somewhat differently from the other two and therefore offers a point of comparison for Hoffmann and Reuter’s texts.

Marlitt’s novel *Das Heideprinzesschen* differs from the other texts discussed here and also the rest of her oeuvre in that the story is told by a first-person narrator, Lenore. In this case, the reader has more direct access to the mind of the narrator, the older version of herself who looks back on her childhood from a different point of view from the one she possessed when she was the tomboyish and wild seventeen-year-old *Heideprinzesschen*. The novel recounts the death of Lenore’s grandmother, who fears that Lenore will “verkommen” in the moorland.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Marlitt, *Heideprinzesschen*, 43.

Ilse, Lenore's caretaker, determines to take her to the city to reunite her with her father, a scholar who is so engrossed in his work that he frequently forgets to eat, and see to it that she receives proper education for a young girl. Lenore's father lives and works under the roof of Herr Claudius, a man Lenore initially fears; but, as Marlitt plots often go, she comes to appreciate and care for him yet believes he could never love her the same way. Here, under the (mis)guidance of Claudius' niece, Charlotte, and Fräulein Fliedner, Lenore's tutor, Lenore evolves from the untamed "Heideprinzesschen," as she is called at the beginning of the novel, to a properly dressed, well-mannered young adult who overcomes the adversity of family secrets and drama and finds happiness in marriage and child-rearing. Much like Lilli's transition to adulthood in *Blaubart*, Lenore's involves some bumps along the way, but the notion that she will outgrow her adolescent wildness and wind up with the feminine ideal of happily ever after is never seriously in question.

When I performed the analysis on Marlitt's *Das Heideprinzesschen* using Voyant's "Links" tool, which is a separate webpage from the main collection of tools I described earlier in the chapter with the first set of word frequency graphs, I was not surprised to find that with both "ach" and "o," one of the highest co-occurring words is "ich."⁵¹ Considering the frequency of pronouns compared to other kinds of words (such as the interjections themselves), one should perhaps not read as much into this pairing as one might the connections between the interjections and the character names. In fact, allowing "ich" to figure in the graph may very well be drowning out other kinds of words, but because *Das Heideprinzesschen* is told by an autodiegetic narrator, it seemed pertinent to see if there would be a connection. Also of note is

⁵¹ Stéfan Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell, "Links," *Voyant*. 2 Sep. 2015 <http://voyeurtools.org/tool/links>

the fact that both words are subsequently connected to other characters in the text; I will address this aspect below.

Comparing the other words shown in the two visuals offers some points to contemplate. Aside from the character names, “ach” is largely connected to words such as “sagte,” “fragte,” “ja,” and “nein,” suggesting that the majority of its occurrences figure in dialogue. “O,” on the other hand, seems to be far more connected with words that would suggest emotional turmoil. Particularly amusing is the fact that “schreiben” appears in this cluster – an activity that is initially loathsome for the rambunctious Lenore, who balks at the task of writing her first letter upon her arrival in the city and has no desire to improve her writing skills. “O” is also linked to Ilse and Claudius; both characters cause Lenore a great deal of distress throughout the novel.



Figure 4: Links visualization of “ach” in *Das Heideprinzesschen*



Figure 5: Links visualization of “o” in *Das Heideprinzesschen*

This text has the highest relative frequency of the words “ach” and second highest of “o” of all the Marlitt texts (though “o” is not as much of a factor in this one).⁵² Here, the occurrences of “ach” are not limited to the protagonist. While Lenore the character and Lenore the narrator occasionally use it as part of spoken conversation or as part of their respective inner reflection, other characters become frequent users of the word, especially when they encounter Lenore. Indeed, the other characters use “ach” as a way to respond – or not respond – to the behavior and appearance of Lenore. And, considering that the narrator is supposed to be an older Lenore,

⁵² Both *Schulmeisters Marie* and *Die zwölf Apostel* were very close to the same level of frequency as *Heideprinzesschen*. I have omitted them here because, much like the Raabe texts I mentioned in an earlier footnote, they are a different kind of narrative, and I wanted to keep the focus of this chapter on narratives dealing with adolescence and the adulthood transition.

these uses of the word “ach” may represent the narrator Lenore’s sighing over her former self. With the benefit of hindsight, narrator Lenore knows that her behavior was inappropriate in many of the circumstances she recounts. The presence of the word “ach” partially stands in for the other characters’ thoughts and feelings about Lenore, but also serves as a performative expression of narrator Lenore’s disdain for her former self, hinting at the existence of the more mature, sophisticated mind that would most likely feel different than her younger self about her story.

From the very beginning, the use of the word “ach” in this novel differs from that in the other two. It occurs more frequently in dialogue than in any kind of inner monologue, and “ach” is often part of a two-word expression such as “ach ja” and “ach so” that functions differently semantically. These occurrences are not as much of interest here as the appearances of “ach” alone, which are less semantically determined and may or may not contain additional clues to interpret their meaning. As previously mentioned, Galato identifies the importance of interjections such as “ach” for spoken interaction in modern contemporary speech and suggests that these words do have value for communication even if their usage may be ambiguous.⁵³ This assertion also holds true for the uses of “ach” in dialogue in Marlitt’s novel. The occurrences make visible Marlitt’s intention in recreating social interaction.

The use of “ach” in the novel is often connected to the narrator Lenore’s reflection on her younger self. At the very beginning of the novel, when the research team comes to the moorland to unearth an ancient grave, Lenore learns that they are working for her father, Doktor von Sassen. Thereupon, she shouts his name in surprise, drawing the confused attention of the other characters. The narrator relates her embarrassment, and declares, “Ach, welcher Kindskopf war

⁵³ See the Golato texts cited previously in this chapter.

und blieb ich doch!”⁵⁴ Lenore the narrator uses this moment to sigh over her younger self, a sort of linguistic head shaking at her inexperience and naiveté in social situations. This narration leaves to the imagination, however, the explicit acknowledgment that the adult Lenore now knows better (or at least feels that she knows better) than her younger self.

In town, the locals greet Ilse and Lenore with laughter because of their outdated clothing. Lenore immediately becomes self-conscious and ashamed of their appearance once she realizes the laughter she hears is directed at them. Passersby shout, “Ach, eine kleine Zigeunerin!” Ilse amusingly enough does not pick up on her lack of fashion sense. When they meet for the first time, Charlotte also reacts to Lenore with an “Ach wie reizend.”⁵⁵ Lenore is a small spectacle for the fashionable city dwellers. Their use of the word “ach” suggests on the one hand that they cannot fully articulate their reactions to Lenore (and Ilse, as the case may be). But one could also read these occurrences of “ach” not merely as a character’s response to Lenore in the moment, but also as the narrator Lenore’s echoing of the explicitly narrated sighs such as the example mentioned in the previous chapter. Viewed this way, the use of “ach” may stand in not only for a moment where language fails, but also as an instance in which the characters surrounding Lenore reflect narrator Lenore’s exasperation with herself as she recounts the story – a vague form of eye-rolling over a younger, immature self that may actually suggest a great deal without actually saying anything.

Lenore’s behavior toward Claudius comes under a great deal of scrutiny in the novel – in particular from the princess and from Claudius himself. Lenore makes the mistake of vocalizing her disdain of Claudius to the princess, and the princess reacts negatively to Lenore’s claims:

“Ach, gehen Sie doch, ich kann mir gar nicht denken, daß es Ihnen mit dieser Abneigung gar so

⁵⁴ Marlitt, *Heideprinzesschen*, 13

⁵⁵ Ibid 59-60

ernst ist!’ setzte sie hinzu.”⁵⁶ Lenore is at first indignant at the rebuttal, but eventually comes to regret her actions. Her interactions with Claudius vary over the course of the novel as Lenore’s feelings toward him shift and she is at times angry at him or herself for previous encounters. Near the end of the novel, Lenore confesses that she belittled Claudius in front of the princess and regrets having done so: “Ich bemerkte, wie er in sich hineinlachte. ‘Ach, solch eine bitterböse Zunge ist die kleine Lenore?’ sagte er.”⁵⁷ While the princess’ use of “ach” is most certainly an admonishment, Claudius seems less distressed by her confession. Both of these instances also signal the narrator Lenore’s acknowledgement that her younger self was not yet socialized into adult bourgeois society; yet the tone of the interaction with Claudius suggests that both he and the narrator are able to be lenient and forgiving since she is still becoming an adult.

Marlitt’s novel is different from the other two novels because of how “ach” is connected to many characters in the novel and not tied more strongly to the protagonist. The fact that the novel is told from the first-person perspective of an older, wiser Lenore and that the conflict is resolved in typical Marlitt fashion with a happy marriage and children suggests that Lenore learns how to behave properly according to the bourgeois social norms of which she has no concept at the outset as the *Heideprinzesschen*. Unlike the protagonists in Hoffmann and Reuter’s works, Lenore is eventually able to reveal her secret feelings and achieve the expected romance happy ending. Reuter’s novel from the end of the century in particular presents a much different and bleaker depiction of the struggles of young girls to adapt to bourgeois cultural demands and the consequences of not succeeding.

⁵⁶ Ibid 143

⁵⁷ Ibid 254

Hoffmann's *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* appears to have the highest overall saturation and relative frequency (accounting for differences in text length) of the interjections “ach” and “o” among the texts discussed in this chapter. Part of the reason for this high frequency could be explained by the conventions of Romanticism, namely its tendency to highlight characters' emotional outbursts and subjective experience. (The works of Kleist, particularly his usage of “ach” and his infamous ellipsis, reinforce this assertion.) But there is more to explore in the use of interjections and the kinds of thoughts and feelings they suggest that are present but that remain only partially expressed – whether mentally or verbally.

Using Voyant's clustering tool, “Links,” I was able to determine that the use of “ach” and “o” in *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* is largely (but not exclusively) demarcated along gender lines. The clustering tool reveals words that occur near to one another in sequence and the frequency with which these combinations appear. The distance between words does not matter and is merely a randomized arrangement that the user can adjust in Voyant's live interface. The size of the node, however, is directly dependent upon the word's frequency in the text. With stop words eliminated, the names of characters are typically some of the most frequent words in any text. The following two visualizations suggest differences in how the characters are linked to these words: while Marie clusters with the word “ach,” she does not to the same extent with the word “o.”

The two resulting clusters show the word “ach” as the center of the image. This effect was achieved by actively searching for the word in the Links tool and then repeatedly double-clicking on the “ach” node in order to reveal what words occur most frequently alongside it. The largest words in the image – Marie, Nußknacker, and Droßelmeier – have the highest relative frequencies of any of the words in the grouping, with Marie having a slightly higher relative

frequency than the two male characters. As previously mentioned, the fact that the names occur most frequently is not surprising, considering that the stop words (such as conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, etc.) have been removed and that character names by default become some of the top-occurring “unique words” in a given text. The remaining words also indicate that “ach” is also associated not only with speech (in the case of “sprach”) but also to some extent with words of motion (“los,” “fort,” “fuhr,” “ging”), potentially suggesting a physical rather than verbal response in some text passages.

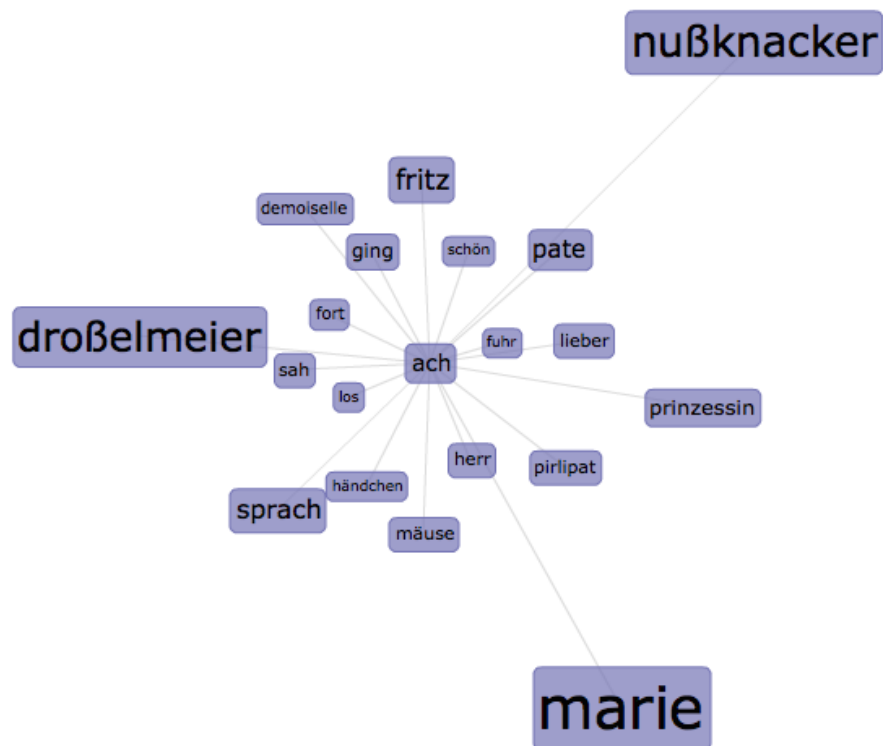


Figure 6: “Marie” is the largest node and has more hits with “ach.”

This second image shows a different language network for the use of “o.” Marie has all but disappeared from the image, and the names “Nußknacker” and “Droßelmeier” clearly have

werde ich wirklich anziehen dürfen!”⁵⁸ The repetition of the word “ach” and the dashes in the sentence suggest her inability to articulate her feelings fully. Her disbelief about being allowed to wear the dress hints at other emotions of which she may not be conscious, at least in the moment. These emotions may be connected to her struggle with and eventual transition into adulthood. Though she cannot fully express what is happening in her mind at the moment, the passage suggests she feels – perhaps for the first time – taken seriously as a person and not a simple child who is perhaps too rambunctious or immature to wear such nice clothing. Her struggle to find the right words also shows that she still lacks the language to articulate herself fully – that she has not yet learned and internalized the proper responses and ways of displaying her emotions. In other words, she has not yet fully adopted the bourgeois “Mentalität” to which Linke refers.

Marie also exclaims “ach” when she sees the nutcracker for the very first time. In fact, at first that is all she can say, and it requires some time for her to say even that much: “Ach!” rief Marie endlich aus, “ach, lieber Vater, wem gehört denn der allerliebste kleine Mann dort am Baum?”⁵⁹ The tone of her usage is somewhat more difficult to distinguish in this passage than in the previous one. She is certainly surprised by the unexpected nutcracker, but the initial response of “ach” says very little about what is happening in Marie’s mind. Her question suggests curiosity, and perhaps an uncertainty regarding how she should behave or feel because she knows nothing about the nutcracker. But with that uncertainty there is also the suggestion of unarticulated desire to interact with him and to know more about him. Her surprise and confusion suggest innocence, and her inability to convey her emotions more concretely in this

⁵⁸ E. T. A. Hoffman, “Nußknacker und Mausekönig,” in *Poetische Werke*, Vol. 3. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 254.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* 258

moment when she first sees the nutcracker mirrors other feelings she reveals in later chapters without necessarily being cognizant of them. She, for example, tries to hide her nighttime play from her mother for unexplained reasons (a passage I analyzed in chapter one as part of Marie's fantastic transition to adulthood).⁶⁰ Here, the reader is left to wonder what Marie is thinking and feeling because the depiction of Marie's response to the nutcracker does not contain explicit clues to explain her reaction.

Marie frequently uses "ach" when expressing her feelings about the nutcracker. After the initial encounter in the living room, the mouse king comes to Marie in the night and threatens to do more harm to the nutcracker unless she hands over all of the other possessions she holds dear. As the demands from the mouse king continue to grow, Marie reveals her distress to the nutcracker: "'Ach', rief sie, sich zu dem Nussknacker wendend, 'ach, lieber Herr Droßelmeier, was will ich nicht alles tun, um Sie zu retten; aber es ist doch sehr hart!' — Nussknacker sah indessen so weinerlich aus, dass Marie, das es überdem ihr war, als sähe sie Mausekönigs sieben Rachen geöffnet, den unglücklichen Jüngling zu verschlingen, alles aufzuopfern beschloss."⁶¹ Here, Marie is in distress over her predicament, but she does not manage to put into words what exactly she feels for the nutcracker that has her so determined to sacrifice everything she owns. "Ach" appears to represent both this distress as well as stand in for the missing language that would explain the feelings Marie has not yet fully acknowledged in herself: namely, emerging desire and love.

The nutcracker is the primary user of "O" in the text, and these occurrences are frequently linked to his expressions of affection and admiration for Marie. For example, he more

⁶⁰ Ibid 261-63

⁶¹ Ibid 297

than once refers to her as “O, beste/vortreffliche Demoiselle Stahlbaum.”⁶² This use of “o” appears to be used less as an interjection and more so as a vocative; while the vocative use may make the intention of the use of “o” less ambiguous than if it were a mere interjection, its presence still expresses an emotional charge to the nutcracker’s exclamation. Marie also uses the word in certain moments. During the toy battle in the living room, Marie becomes upset when she sees the mice near to capturing the nutcracker: “Marie wusste sich nicht mehr zu fassen. ‘O mein armer Nussknacker! — mein armer Nussknacker!’ , so reif sie schluchzend, fasste, ohne sich deutlich ihres Tuns bewusst zu sein, nach ihrem linken Schuh und warf ihn mit Gewalt in den dicksten Haufen der Mäuse hinein auf ihren König.”⁶³ The combined use of “o” (in this case also as a vocative) and the dash in the passage point to her distress but leave the impression that there is more that needs to be said. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the setup of this passage invites the reading of Marie’s play as the catalyst to her emerging sexuality and an imagination that is not quite capable of articulating what it is she feels. The gap in the language represented in the dash reinforces this notion that there is a great deal happening in her mind that she does not possess the language to explain.

Hoffmann’s novella offers an ambiguous ending in which Marie has either lost her mind or has conquered her fears together with the nutcracker, who turns out to be a prince and sweeps her away to become queen of his kingdom. In the latter case, her problem of articulation appears to be resolved at the end, when she is finally able to tell the nutcracker she will marry him regardless of his appearance, accepting her predetermined adult female role of marriage and, one could conclude eventually, children. The former interpretation, however, suggests that Marie never learns to express her emotions fully and remains locked in a fantasy world in which she

⁶² Ibid 307

⁶³ Ibid 271-72

has no need to do so. These possible readings anticipate the polarized outcomes for the protagonists in Marlitt's and Reuter's novels.

Unlike those for *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* or *Das Heideprinzesschen*, the Voyant clusters of Gabriele Reuter's *Aus guter Familie* reveal that the appearance of interjections such as "ach" and "o" is concerned primarily with female characters and the feminine. Indeed, most of the occurrences of the words are in some way connected to the novel's protagonist, Agathe.

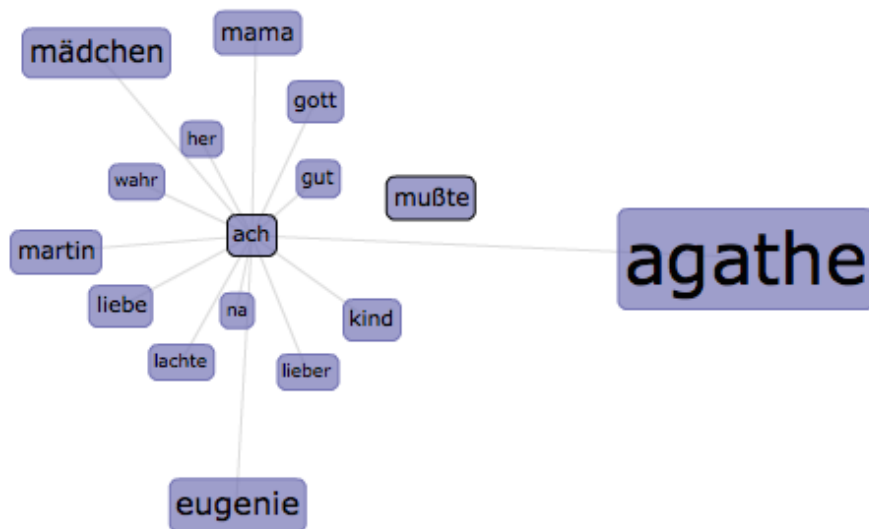


Figure 8: "Ach" cluster for *Aus guter Familie*

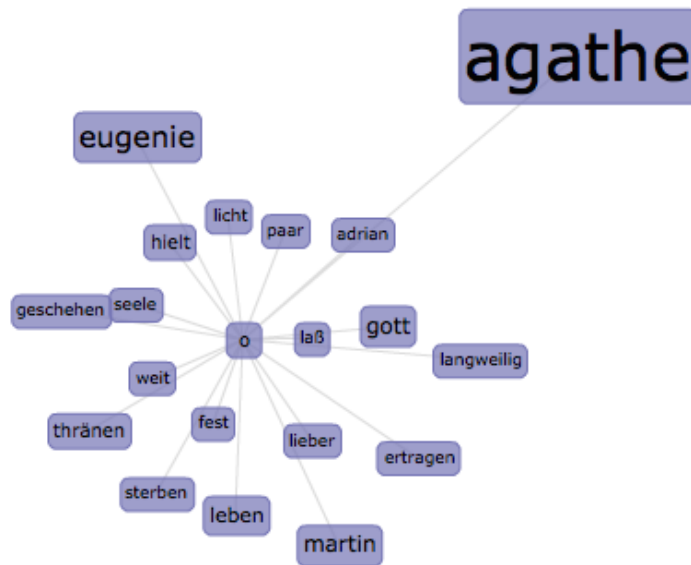


Figure 9: “O” in *Aus guter Familie*

Agathe Heidling’s use of the words “ach” and “o” in *Aus guter Familie* is perhaps the most ambiguous of that of all the characters discussed here. Her inner thoughts and mental processing are foregrounded more than those of characters in the other texts as well, especially in the form of free indirect discourse. The use of ellipses and dashes points to thoughts and feelings left unvoiced by Agathe and the narrator, who at times clearly lacks the language necessary to navigate her bourgeois social world successfully. This inability to express her desires and needs and to communicate in an acceptable way for her social standing eats away at her from the inside out and shows the extent to which Agathe cannot adhere to the expected social codes. She has no artistic or crafting skills whatsoever, leaving her with no alternative outlet for her feelings; furthermore, her inability to fit in isolates her even from her family and friends, situating her as the person who is constantly on the outside looking in, trying to find a way in which she, too, can participate in her social milieu in a meaningful way. Agathe is incapable of the socialization

needed to function as society expects her to, and the resulting emotional distress and isolation contribute to her suffering.

Reuter frequently evokes the inner workings of Agathe's mind and her desire to change her way of thinking and curtail her feelings of shame and despair in the text. From the very first pages of the novel, Agathe's life is shaped by the struggle to reconcile the demands of her social world (which she internalizes) with her own desires. As she awaits her confirmation in the first chapter, she becomes distracted by thoughts of an inappropriate book passage: “. . . Jetzt nicht daran denken . . . Nur nicht denken. Wie war es denn anzustellen, um Macht über das Denken zu bekommen? Sie dachte doch immer . . . Alles war so geheimnisvoll schrecklich bei diesem christlichen Glaubensleben.”⁶⁴ In this passage, the ellipses highlight the fact that there is more to Agathe's struggle – that her mind is obviously preoccupied, but she does not or cannot provide the details of what about the book passage distresses her. The use of free indirect discourse in the passage conveys the sense of being closer to Agathe's thoughts and feelings, but the gaps remain, leaving the reader at once inside and outside of Agathe's mind.

Many of Agathe's difficulties pertain to her fear of fitting in to society and becoming an adult, her lack of artistic talent, her emerging sexuality, her inability to find an appropriate husband, and the judgment and control her parents exercise over her. Because of the narrow scope of expected outcomes for young women in bourgeois society (i.e. marriage, children), Agathe is by default left with little sense of purpose. Behavior that seems to come naturally to her peers never quite fits for her, and Agathe is left behind with no models of an alternate way to contribute to society. She is also reluctant to let go of her childhood for fear of an adulthood in which she must struggle to find purpose. As I explained in chapter two, her anxieties become

⁶⁴ Gabriele Reuter, *Aus guter Familie: Leidensgeschichte eines Mädchens* (Marburg: Verlag Literaturwissenschaft.de, 2006), 12-13.

visible, for example, in how she treats the toys and dolls of her youth. At the end of the passage in question, having laid her toys (and presumably, her childhood) to rest, Agathe is troubled by both her thoughts and dreams: “– – War das alles rätselhaft, seltsam – ein tiefes Wunder ... Und was sie hörte, was sie träumte, machte alles nur unbegreiflicher ... Ach, die schweigsam selige Erwartung in ihr – Tag und Nacht – Tag und Nacht – – – –”⁶⁵ She packs up her playthings in order to preserve them for future children she will never have; she mourns her loss while at the same time balking at the curves of her grown-up body that remind her she is no longer a child. She seems unfit for the stage of life she is in and displays a great deal of confusion about her own maturation, sexuality, and future role in life.

The dashes and ellipses in this passage reveal the incompleteness of her thoughts as they are narrated. It is unclear what exactly is puzzling and strange to her, but the passage’s emphasis on her confusion and the knowledge that she must become an adult suggest that she is at least partially fixated on the expectation that she marry and have children. The repetition of “Tag und Nacht” and the trailing dashes indicate emotional turmoil that Agathe cannot express in words. She appears to be conflicted over her own contradictory desires. Perhaps she is too ashamed to verbalize it – even to herself. As her reaction to her physical development suggests, Agathe is not entirely comfortable with adulthood and the prospect of a sexual relationship with a man, yet she is later overcome with desire and has no language to articulate it. Her initial disbelief when Eugenie explained the birds and the bees to her has developed into both anxiety and unfulfilled desire. More broadly understood, Agathe does not see adulthood and her potential future as a goal as easily obtainable as Eugenie and others have presented it to her, and her other unmet needs, such as her artistic and intellectual curiosity, leave her feeling unfulfilled and trapped. On

⁶⁵ Ibid 54

top of having these unmet needs, she is incapable of finding language to express them because she has no model and no hope of the understanding of her family and friends.

Agathe's emotional struggles center partially (though not exclusively) in the erotic, which in this novel exists beyond the verbal. In order to think about how Agathe's desire is depicted both in words and in the ellipses, I return to the work of Dorrit Cohn. Cohn highlights the erotic in narration and the need for mediation in her work on psychonarration in *Transparent Minds*. Here, she claims, "...An inner realm peculiarly in need of narrative mediation is erotic experience, with its singularly simultaneous involvement of psyche and soma."⁶⁶ It is true that the narrator in *Aus guter Familie* does provide some mediation of Agathe's inner world to the reader, such as when the narrator describes her imagined fairy tale scenarios or her obsession with Byron. But while the narrator offers some explanation of Agathe's conflicted desires, in many passages the explanations are left incomplete. Sometimes the reader is presented only with Agathe's "surface thoughts," which hint at feelings of distress or excitement but do not actually reach the source or do not articulate clearly the mental activity that has put her in her current emotional state.

Later, after she has moved on from Lutz and is instead enamored of Raikendorf, Agathe also struggles to find words to express her thoughts and feelings. Once she becomes serious about him and he (thinking more about a potential dowry than about Agathe) determines to ask her father for her hand in marriage, Agathe talks to her mother about it:

Mama – meine liebe, liebe Mama! Er kommt – morgen früh – zu Papa ... Ach – mein Herzensmütterchen ... Ich bin ja so froh! So froh! – Ich dachte ja gar nicht ... Ach freust Du Dich auch? – Er ist lieb – nicht wahr? Weißt Du – er ... Ich kann's Dir nicht sagen ... wie er zu mir ist – so gut!
....Agathe lachte leise.

⁶⁶ Cohn, *Transparent*, 49

Nichts! Ich dachte nur ... Nein – so weit will ich gar nicht denken, sonst werd' ich noch nährisch vor Freude.⁶⁷

In this passage, Agathe is obviously happy about the potential engagement and the chance to marry and have a home. In her mind, with marriage comes the purpose she has been lacking and she will finally have a place within the bourgeois social community that is expected of her, even if her desire for knowledge and artistic talent go unmet. One could read the passage as her fear of expressing this desire to get married that she is afraid will never be met. The dashes and ellipses in the text indicate that her mouth cannot even keep up with her mind as she contemplates what she sees as the potential solution to her problems. Yet within this excitement she also admits to being incapable of adequately verbalizing her feelings. In the end, her desire not to think too far ahead is also telling. While she does not say so per se, the ellipses and dashes here hint at her imagining the kind of happy ending she will never have. Perhaps she realizes on some level that entering into this agreement with Raikendorf, where affection does not translate into love, may offer only one part of the happy ending. Deep down, she is also aware that a marriage will not fulfill the other intellectual needs that have no outlet for women in this social world. The fact that she does not vocalize that hope suggests either that she is afraid of doing so for fear of being overwhelmed by her own emotional response, or that she still cannot fully explain what exactly the ideal image is that hovers in her mind's eye. Because of her interests, which reach beyond the expected scope of a young woman her age, it may be the latter; Agathe would not feel complete with marriage alone.

Near the end of the novel, as Agathe's world begins to unravel and she is crushed by Martin's flirting with the waitress, her thoughts become ever more fragmented and disjointed as

⁶⁷ Reuter, *Familie*, 186-87

she attempts to police her own thinking to the point that she has a mental breakdown. She contemplates what might have happened to her if circumstances had been different with Lutz: “— — Wenn Adrian sie verführt hätte — wie die Daniel? / O mein Gott!”⁶⁸ The consequences of being an unwed mother are unspeakable and perhaps incomprehensible to Agathe, who has tried everything to integrate herself into the ideal adulthood of the bourgeois habitus and repeatedly failed.⁶⁹ Her exclamation of “O mein Gott” stands in for whatever shame she might have been subjected to as the parent of a child born out of wedlock.

Much like the opening chapter, where she is determined to keep herself from thinking of unseemly things while in church, Agathe is still obsessed with controlling and censoring her own thoughts at the end of the novel, to the point of near madness: “— — Anständigen Mädchen kamen gewiss keine blasphemischen Gedanken Anständige Mädchen sind nicht mit dreißig Jahren noch eifersüchtig auf eine Kellnerin / Anständige Mädchen — betragen sich die so, wie sie sich betragen hatte? Was war denn nur in ihr? / Sie ist gar kein anständiges Mädchen. Sie hat nur geheuchelt, Zeit ihres Lebens.”⁷⁰ The flirtation between her cousin, Martin, and the waitress has ruined Agathe’s faith in Martin as her last chance for happiness or at least a way to be functional in her social world. The ellipses and dashes separating the obsessive repetition of what society tells her suggest the presence of frantic mental activity beneath these pronouncements about “anständige Mädchen.” An emotional and mental turmoil is temporarily resolved with the statement that she is not “anständig.” The presentation of the last few sentences in free indirect discourse makes it possible to read that passage as the narrator’s judgment of her, but they are more likely Agathe’s conflicted judgments of herself. In any case,

⁶⁸ Ibid 233

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the bourgeois habitus, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁷⁰ Reuter, *Familie*, 259 (Slashes represent line breaks.)

she is uselessly reciting the judgments of her society as her mind races with the socially unacceptable emotions she cannot articulate.

At the end of the text, Agathe is determined to flee Martin, her father, and everything else that has caused her distress: “— — Nur fort — fort von hier . . . Ein Ort, ein dunkler, stiller Winkel, dahin die Stimmen sie nicht verfolgten, — dahin keine Farbe — kein Licht und kein Klang dringen konnte. Dort sich verbergen und schlafen — schlafen — traumlos schlafen . . .”⁷¹ Again, Agathe’s mind appears to be racing and yet the source of her anguish and fear remains largely unspoken. The punctuation once again highlights the disjointed nature of her thought process. The frequency of the dashes indicate her struggle to explain her feelings. That these scattered thoughts are partially nonsensical (such as the desire for no color, light, and sound) suggests that Agathe’s mind has already unraveled from the constant tension that her inability to voice her thoughts and emotions has produced. Unlike Lenore (or perhaps Marie), Reuter leaves no space for a happy ending for Agathe, who suffers a breakdown and in the end has no thoughts and feelings that reach beyond her daily needs and health. Even in moments of sadness, she cannot explain what troubles her.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the ways in which character thoughts and emotions are not always expressed fully. The use of interjections such as “ach” and “o” and ellipses and dashes offer clues to the reader that there is more happening beneath the surface than the protagonists are able to articulate in words. At once revealing and obfuscating, these words and punctuation marks hint at what lies beneath the surface without ever completely articulating precisely what

⁷¹ Ibid 262

the characters are thinking and feeling. This inability to formulate thoughts fully, whether verbal or internal, at least in Marie and Agathe's case, suggests the ways in which acquiring language – in particular the language of bourgeois society – plays a critical role in childhood and adolescent socialization. While Marie's fate is left ambiguous, Agathe's story is a cautionary tale about the dangers of rigid social norms. Her social milieu does not provide her with language to express anything beyond what is necessary for fulfilling the expectations for young women her age, which contributes to her isolation and fear of not finding her way into society as an adult. Unable to communicate in a socially appropriate way and grappling with emotions that she needs to express for the sake of her mental and emotional well-being, Agathe spirals into despair once all possibilities for happiness (or at minimum an escape from her constrained world) are lost; even Martin appears repulsive to her.⁷²

Marlitt's novel, on the other hand, offers a success story and the possibility of a character looking back on her own missteps from the perspective of having cleared the hurdles and become fully socialized in the adult bourgeois habitus. The investigation of these texts, the interjections, and punctuation has made clear that in these texts learning to express oneself in words is a crucial step in childhood socialization and the process of growing up. The points where language fails or is unclear are moments in which new thoughts and emotions occupy the protagonists' minds. All three female protagonists must grapple with these new emotions and

⁷² While being able to put her thoughts and emotions into words would be a first step for Agathe, that would certainly not completely solve her problems of isolation and lack of purpose. But the apparent need to express her desires is suggestive. Though Reuter would likely have not known his work, Sigmund Freud (together with Josef Breuer) was known for his coinage of the "talking cure" at the turn of the century. Indeed, Agathe's behavior has been described in terms of hysteria, a popular diagnosis for women in this period who exhibited inexplicable physical symptoms. For more information see Sigmund Freud, "Studien über Hysterie," in *Gesammelte Werke*. Vol. 1, edited by Anna Freud, et al. (London: Imago Publishing, 1952); Lynne Tatlock, "Introduction," in *Publishing Culture and the "Reading Nation": German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), xxiv-xxv.

desires and find ways to verbalize those feelings to transition into adulthood. When they do not, lack of language to express the contents of their minds and their emotions becomes the ultimate stumbling block. The texts show that there are limits to language – even that which can be learned – and its powers of expression. To return to Schiller’s words cited at the beginning of this chapter, “*Spricht die Seele, so spricht, ach! schon die Seele nicht mehr.*”⁷³

⁷³ Friedrich Schiller, “*Tabulae Votivae*,” 359.

Chapter Four

Blurred Boundaries of Character Mind: Intermental Thinking in the Work of Hoffmann, Ebner-Eschenbach, and Reuter

Introduction¹

In the first chapter of Gabriele Reuter's *Aus Guter Familie*, Agathe Heidling celebrates her recent confirmation with her relatives. Her boisterous and uninhibited behavior, exhibited in her excitement over her gifts, reveals a child-like and innocent demeanor that will soon be lost to a perilous adulthood. Agathe's mood turns somber, however, with the arrival of the pastor, who, at the family's dinner table, gives a short speech about the great (socially appropriate) things awaiting her as a pious bourgeois woman – namely, family and children. The paragraph concludes with the phrase “Alles ist Euer,” which rings hollow considering Agathe's ultimate fate of losing her mind and spending her life alone with her father. The pastor's speech is not rendered as explicit dialogue, but rather as reported speech and thought by the narrator.² The paragraph that follows the speech initially questions the pastor's message but then includes a

¹ I would like to thank the members of the department's thesis writing workshop for their suggestions on the first few pages of this chapter that helped to shape the rest of it.

² Here I am drawing on Alan Palmer's description of third person narration that summarizes but does not directly quote a character. Other scholars have referred to it as indirect discourse: Alan Palmer, *Fictional Minds* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

litany of imperatives reinforcing the expected social behaviors implicit in the pastor's talk. What the paragraph does not do, however, is make explicit who is producing this language:

Aber wie soll dieses "Alles" benutzt werden? Besitzt als besäße Ihr nicht – genießt als genösset Ihr nicht! -- Auch der Tanz – auch das Theater sind erlaubt, aber der Tanz geschehe in Ehren, das Vergnügen an der Kunst beschränke sich auf die reine gottgeweihte Kunst. Bildung ist nicht zu verachten – doch hüte Dich, mein Kind, vor der modernen Wissenschaft, die zu Zweifeln, zum Unglauben führt. Zügle Deine Phantasie, daß sie Dir nicht unzüchtige Bilder vorspiegele! Liebe – Liebe – Liebe sei Dein ganzes Leben – aber die Liebe bleibe frei von Selbstsucht, begehre nicht das Ihre. Du darfst nach Glück verlangen – Du darfst auch glücklich sein – aber in berechtigter Weise denn Du bist Christi Nachfolgerin, und Christus starb am Kreuz! Nur wer das Irdische ganz überwunden hat, wird durch die dornenumsäumte Pforte eingehen zur ewigen Freude – zur Hochzeit des Lammes!³

The opening question of the paragraph forces the reader to ask to whom this question belongs. Is this passage a rhetorical move on the part of the pastor, whose words are not quoted because they are partially summarized (or perhaps are an example of what Brian McHale calls free direct discourse, namely unquoted dialogue)?⁴ Is it the narrator offering further explanation about the expectations for young women to practice piety while living fulfilling bourgeois lives as wives and mothers? Is this paragraph a representation of Agathe's mind mulling over the pastor's words and remembering the advice she has been offered in the past and repeating it to herself in an attempt to convince herself to follow those conventions? Or perhaps a combination of all three? In other words, whose mind is at work here?

This chapter will investigate the blurry boundaries between character minds in works by E. T. A. Hoffmann, Gabriele Reuter, and Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. While the previous

³ Gabriele Reuter, *Aus guter Familie: Leidengeschichte eines Mädchens*, (Marburg: Verlag Literaturwissenschaft.de, 2006), 20.

⁴ See Brian McHale's scale in Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 110-11.

chapter focused on the importance of language to adolescent socialization by way of its absence and the struggle to express thoughts and emotions, this chapter will instead explore instances in which language expressing mental activity is present and seemingly “complete” while the source of that language is ambiguous. Drawing upon the notions of the “social mind” and “intermental thinking” that have emerged in recent work in cognitive narrative theory, I will examine how representations of thought may in fact be attributable to more than one character, representing in some cases a form of social “group think” that affects the protagonists of the novels in question and the way they relate to social worlds that have very specific expectations of them.

Additionally, I will address how the thoughts of other characters influence the thoughts and emotions of the protagonists as they at times internalize the dominant social norms and behaviors that have been presented to them while attempting to navigate their impending adulthood.

Similar to the way in which the community of Ebner’s *Das Gemeindegeld* leaves Pavel physically battered and bruised, the social minds of the communities in these novels inflict mental marks on the protagonists that are difficult to separate from their own independent thinking and have lasting consequences.

The previous chapters have addressed character imagination in relation to adolescent socialization and the ways in which these struggles to grow up are sometimes expressed – via toys and miniatures, reading, and (sometimes failed) language. This chapter approaches the mental activity of literary characters from a broader view: that of “mind” in general terms and the ways in which the mental processing of characters is narrated. As I will show, these narratives reveal the influence of social groups on the protagonists via representations of character mind and intermental thinking that determines the ways in which these characters conceive of themselves and the world around them.

In order to contextualize this discussion of character minds, I will first outline some concepts from narrative theory that are relevant to my argument, namely the ideas of social minds and intermental thinking as well as the importance of reported thought, a category of narration that is often overlooked in favor of the more linguistically complex free indirect discourse. This “default” mode of narration, as it is sometimes perceived, is important for the representation of character mental activity that is not verbalized. This mode also offers the potential for the blending of more than just the narrator and an individual character’s voice, which sets it apart at least from the traditional understanding of narration such as free indirect discourse. With these concepts in mind, I will then undertake close readings of E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Der Sandmann* (1816), Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach’s *Das Gemeindekind* (1887), and Gabriele Reuter’s *Aus guter Familie* (1895). While Hoffmann’s novella shows ways in which individuals can both embrace and resist the social groups around them, *Das Gemeindekind* and *Aus guter Familie* present protagonists who are inseparable from their social milieu and therefore much more susceptible to the influence of the collective community.

Cognitive Narratology, Thought Report, and Intermental Thinking

Early narratologists embraced the structuralist beginnings of narrative theory in their attempts to categorize aspects of narrative and develop a working vocabulary for analyzing the various parts. One of these tasks was to delineate different modes of narration, their defining characteristics, and the impact they have on a person’s understanding of a story. Theorists have presented various taxonomies to tackle this problem, all varying to some degree. But they all have more or less one category in common, what might best be described as the traditional mode of narrator-directed narration that tells rather than shows – that privileges diegesis over mimesis,

to use Genette's terms.⁵ Genette refers to his first of three kinds of narration as "narratized, or narrated speech."⁶ Brian McHale, who presents a sliding scale approach that contains many more modes of narration, refers to it as "indirect discourse."⁷ Because this form of narration is typically viewed as the traditional or default mode of storytelling, it typically receives less attention than its counterparts such as stream-of-consciousness and free indirect discourse, among others. Gerald Prince even refers to it as "normal indirect discourse" in his book on narratology.⁸ Some scholars have taken greater interest in analyzing the potential of this kind of narration.

A few years after Genette published *Narrative Discourse*, Dorrit Cohn developed her own method for categorizing forms of character speech and thought and understanding the representations of character minds in literature. In the introduction to *Transparent Minds*, Cohn considers the differences between fiction and the real world and what fiction can offer the reader in the form of access to a fictional character's mind that is impossible in real life. She asserts, "If the real world becomes fiction only by revealing the hidden side of the human beings who inhabit it, the reverse is equally true: the most real, the 'rounder' characters of fiction are those we know most intimately, precisely in ways we could never know people in real life."⁹ As she further explains, this aspect of fictional texts is part of what creates its genre specificity in relationship to other modes of storytelling: "But this means that the special life-likeness of

⁵ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, translated by Jane E. Lewin. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1980), 170

⁶ Ibid 171.

⁷ See Brian McHale's scale in Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 110-11.

⁸ Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative*, (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1982), 47.

⁹ Dorrit Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978), 5.

narrative fiction — as compared to dramatic and cinematic fictions — depends on what writers and readers know least in life: how another mind thinks, another body feels.”¹⁰ Her assertion is important for considering more recent work in narrative theory on theory of mind, which I will discuss in greater depth below.

Cohn calls the “most indirect technique” for “rendering consciousness” psycho-narration, a term she chooses “in order to focus attention on the most neglected of the basic techniques.”¹¹ In her understanding, psycho-narration is primarily narrator-driven and makes possible the presence of the all-knowing and sometimes very vocal narrator, at times limiting the depths to which readers get to know the minds of the characters in the text. On the other hand, the use of psycho-narration also makes it possible to explore that which occurs in characters’ mind beyond the level of language; in other words, psycho-narration allows for the expression of that which the characters would otherwise be unable to express on their own. As Cohn explains, “When narration does descend to the subliminal level, less elaborate justification is needed for authorial intervention. But narrators frequently draw explicit attention to the sub- or unconscious nature of the psychic states they narrate, or to the impossibility of their self-articulation.”¹² This kind of narration also makes possible the blending of character minds.

In his review of Cohn’s *Transparent Minds*, Brian McHale refers to this kind of authorial narration as the “poor relation, neglected in favor of the more glamorous, more mimetic techniques of quoted interior monologue and narrated monologue.” McHale applauds Cohn for “put[ting] [psycho-narration] on the map of psychological techniques once and for all.”¹³ Alan

¹⁰ Ibid 5-6

¹¹ Ibid 11-12

¹² Ibid 48

¹³ Brian McHale, “Islands in the Stream of Consciousness: Dorrit Cohn’s *Transparent Minds*.” *Poetics Today* 2.2 (1981), 186

Palmer, whom I will discuss in greater detail below, also praises Cohn in his own work on fictional minds for her (at the time) unprecedented elucidation of authorial, indirect forms of narration and their potential for the depiction of character minds that exceeds the limitations of other forms (such as quoted, direct discourse) that are bound to language for their expression.

Some of the most recent work in cognitive narrative theory attempts to provide new frameworks for understanding the ways in which character minds operate in literary works. In order to contextualize the work on social minds and intermental thinking and explain its usefulness, I will recount some of the more general questions, theories, and developments that have emerged within the discipline at large.

Lisa Zunshine is perhaps one of the most high-profile scholars associated with work on Theory of Mind, and she is different from some narratologists in that she does attempt to develop a working theory that she applies across her book projects and articles to literature as well as film, theater, and other media. Describing the goal of her project in the introduction, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel*, she clarifies, “It [the book] makes a case for admitting the recent findings of cognitive psychologists into literary studies by showing how their research into the ability to explain behavior in terms of the underlying states of mind — or *mind-reading* ability — can furnish us with a series of surprising insights into our interaction with literary texts.”¹⁴ She believes that fiction is the ideal medium through which one exercises one’s mind-reading ability and that this activity is part of what makes the reading of literature so engaging. She points out, “that the attribution of mental states to literary characters is crucially mediated by the workings of our metarepresentational ability. Fictional narratives, from *Beowulf*

¹⁴ Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2006): 4.

to *Pride and Prejudice*, rely on, manipulate, and titillate our tendency to keep track of *who* thought, wanted, and felt what and *when*.”¹⁵ Texts become then a sort of interpretive game in which readers are drawn into the narrative world by the access the reader is given to the minds of the characters and experience the pleasure that comes from knowing the minds of the characters and keeping track of who is thinking what.

As a way of showing how these mind-reading skills function, Zunshine explores research on mental impairments such as autism and schizophrenia — situations in which these mind-reading abilities break down in human beings. By showing what happens when the mind does not work as intended, she illustrates her point about the importance of mind reading in both real life and in reading literature.

Of course, according to Zunshine, readers and fictional characters alike are not always accurate mind readers. This fact is also part of the appeal of literature — both for the reading process and in the development of plot and the potential discrepancies that may emerge between reader and character knowledge. In an article on Theory of Mind, Zunshine writes, “Works of fiction magnify and vivify various points on the continuum of our imperfect mutual knowledge: Spectacular feats and failures of mind reading are the hinges on which many a fictional plot turns.”¹⁶ This process of reading and managing information about thoughts is complicated by the multiple levels of intentionality she discusses in *Why We Read Fiction*.¹⁷ She explains that readers attempt to “tag” the origins of mind readings in texts in order to keep track of who is thinking what about whom, and this tagging often develops into multiple layers: in other words,

¹⁵ Ibid 5

¹⁶ Lisa Zunshine, “Theory of Mind and Fictions of Embodied Transparency,” in *Theory of Mind and Literature*, edited by Paula Leverage, Howard Mancing, Richard Schweikert and Jennifer William (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 2001), 69-70.

¹⁷ Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction*, 28

one character is thinking that someone else is thinking about something that he or she may or may not actually be thinking about. Keeping track of these different levels of attribution, Zunshine claims, is part of our real-life mental processing as well, and it offers part of the pleasure associated with reading and interpreting minds of characters.

In her latest book, Zunshine proposes another term for a related phenomenon concerning body language in literature, film, and theater as a means of gaining access to the inner states of characters. As she elucidates, “I came up with a special term to describe the moments in fictional narratives when characters’ body language involuntarily betrays their feelings, particularly if they want to conceal them from others, as Frederick Wentworth [in Jane Austen’s *Persuasion*] does. I call it *embodied transparency* and believe that the pleasure that we as readers derive from such moments is best explained by thinking about what they do to our theory of mind.”¹⁸ Zunshine offers several case studies across multiple media to show how character bodies can inadvertently reveal something about the mind during moments in which characters lose control of their composure or otherwise appears to reveal what they are thinking through body language.

What Zunshine offers is an attempt to take up the interests of cognitive science, find ways to apply them to literature, and draw new conclusions about the reading process. Her methods merit a caveat or two. In particular, the supposition that real and fictional minds work in the same way bears further attention. The notion that a social mind or intermental thinking can even exist in literature challenges her assumption, which inherently assumes that fictional minds are to some degree unique and able to function in a way that human minds do not. But she does make

¹⁸ Lisa Zunshine, *Getting Inside Your Head: What Cognitive Science Can Tell Us about Popular Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2012), 23.

a good case for the fact that cognitive and narratological approaches can complement one another and she makes some productive suggestions about the fictional representation of consciousness and cognition.

Not everyone is satisfied with operating on the assumption that human and literary minds work exactly alike, and these scholars have taken other approaches to understanding cognition and narrative. In her essay on the construction and reading of fictional minds in literature, Maria Mäkelä, for example, has reassessed some of the assumptions that have emerged as part of cognitive narratology. She identifies what for her is a problem with some research (most likely referring to some of the work of Zunshine and others who work with Theory of Mind). As she maintains, “The main task of cognitive narratology, the description and analysis of the cognitive mechanisms behind our reading and understanding of narratives (a perfectly profitable project as such), has led to a tendency to consider fictional and actual human minds as being based on the same cognitive schemata.”¹⁹ She finds the conflation of the two (what she calls a “mimetic illusion”)²⁰ problematic and argues for the existence of specific methods for depicting consciousness in fiction: “In this paper, I wish to avoid such referential biases and concentrate on the peculiarly novelistic ways of thematizing human consciousness.”²¹ Having a connection to the real world is unimportant, according to Mäkelä, because a fictional mind cannot be a real, human mind.

¹⁹ Maria Mäkelä, “Possible Minds: Constructing – and Reading – Another Consciousness as Fiction,” in *FREE Language INDIRECT Translation DISCOURSE Narratology: Linguistic, Translatological and Literary-Theoretical Encounters*, eds. Pekka Tammi and Hannu Tommola (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2006), 233

²⁰ Ibid 232

²¹ Ibid 233

Mäkelä's approach is partially linguistic in nature, as she chooses to focus on the role of free indirect discourse in narrative. She describes her argument as having the goal "to highlight the functions of free indirect discourse (and related techniques of rendering fictional mental activity) in *embedded or recursive representation of consciousness*."²² In other words, she is not just interested in the representation of fictional minds in literature, but is also concerned with how literature does not necessarily provide "direct access" to a character's mind, as some scholars have suggested. As she demonstrates, other "fictional agents" (or focalizers) in a text may use the same techniques of reconstructing the minds of other characters as the narrator or other "omniscient" entity. The depiction of minds are then layered in a text, embedded one within another; one may be reading not a direct depiction of a character's thoughts, but rather the representation of a representation of a representation of a character's mind.²³

While some scholars have focused on specific issues related to cognition and narrative, others have been concerned with identifying the major contours of the discipline in relation to both other fields and the history of narratological approaches to literature. In much of his recent work, David Herman has attempted to take stock of the field and to understand how cognitive narrative theory fits into the broader scope of narratology, as well as how narratologically inspired approaches to understanding the mind and narrative inform cross-disciplinary discussions. He has also acknowledged, in the world of narrative theory, current postclassical approaches' indebtedness to earlier theorists, and has described the development in the discipline over time: "In the intervening years *narratology* has in fact ramified into *narratologies*; structuralist theorizing about stories has evolved into a plurality of models for narrative analysis.

²² Ibid 233

²³ Ibid 234, 242

These models stand in a more or less critical and reflexive relation to the structuralist position, borrowing more or less extensively from the analytical heritage they aim to surpass.”²⁴ He considers his work to fall into a group that attempts to build on the earlier theoretical texts (such as Genette and Cohn and the speech category approach) by integrating methodologies from other disciplines.²⁵

Herman uses at various points studies from cognitive science, philosophy, and various sub-disciplines of psychology, among others. One of his contributions to the study of literature is his explication of the notion of *qualia* in relationship to literature. In relating this term, originating from philosophy, to narrative, he writes, “The research at issue suggests not only that the narrative is centrally concerned with *qualia*, a term used by philosophers of mind to refer to the sense of what it’s like for someone or something to have a particular experience, but also that narrative bears importantly on debates concerning the nature of consciousness itself.”²⁶ He argues that narrative is specifically suited to presenting the quality of “what it’s like” for a mind experiencing the (narrative) world (perhaps also moving into the realm of emotion and affect, which will be discussed shortly), and suggests that narrative might provide the basis for a reader’s ability to know minds at all. Here he also addresses the idea that literature and narrative can reproduce minds that are similar enough to real-world human minds that readers will not

²⁴ David Herman, “Introduction: Narratologies,” in *Narratologies: New Perspectives on Narrative Analysis*, ed. David Herman (Columbus: The Ohio State UP, 1999), 1.

²⁵ David Herman, “Introduction,” in *Emergence of Mind: Representations of Consciousness in Narrative Discourse in English*, ed. David Herman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 5, 19.

²⁶ David Herman, *Basic Elements of Narrative* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 144. Herman is not the only one who takes up this idea in relationship to literature. See also Uri Margolin, “Cognitive Science, the Thinking Mind, and Literary Narrative,” in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003) and David Lodge, “Consciousness and the Novel,” in *Consciousness and the Novel: Connected Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002).

make a significant distinction between the two and claims that narrative “constitutes a basis for having — for knowing — a mind at all.”²⁷

More recently, Herman has attempted to find new ways of understanding how the various disciplines interested in mind and narrative are meant to interact with one another. In his most recent book, *Storytelling and the Sciences of the Mind*, Herman outlines some categories of approaches that are the most prominent in cognitive narrative work (such as the differences between using cognitive science to talk about literature and using literature to discuss cognitive science) and attempts to present ways in which these approaches might be successfully combined to yield a productive synthesis of disciplines. He calls this a “transdisciplinary approach.” As he explains, “In such an approach, multiple disciplines all converge on the mind-narrative nexus, with each discipline bringing its own field-specific concepts and methods to bear on the questions at hand, in a way that fosters genuine dialogue and exchange rather than the subordination of any of Kagan’s three cultures [natural sciences, social sciences, humanities] to any of the others.”²⁸ Herman seeks a term different from the typical usage of ‘interdisciplinary’ because of the sometimes inadequate results of work falling under this category, namely “unidirectional borrowing” — meaning that a scholar borrows ideas from another discipline without really engaging with the discipline in question. This practice has the potential to have negative results, if concepts are borrowed haphazardly or without full understanding of what it means for the discipline. Herman asserts, “Because unidirectional borrowing, though commonly conflated with interdisciplinarity, in fact undermines efforts to foster genuine dialogue and exchange across fields of study, it is crucial to foster a diversity of analytic perspectives on the

²⁷ Herman, *Basic Elements*, 154

²⁸ David Herman, *Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 311.

mind-narrative nexus.”²⁹ His desire to encourage a more rigorous form of exchange is encouraging in that it suggests that the various approaches discussed in this section (and the body of cognitive narrative theory scholarship in general) might eventually find more common ground with the disciplines upon which they are drawing as well as with each other. This branch of narratology will evolve as scholars continue to re-evaluate their approaches and relationships to other disciplines.

While the work mentioned above suggests that there has been convincing work emerging in the intersection between narratology and the cognitive sciences, others believe that the combination of disciplines has its limitations. In “Narratology and Cognitive Science: A Problematic Relation,” Marie-Laure Ryan expresses skepticism about what cognitive sciences have been able to contribute to the study of narrative. She suggests that some studies about reading and imagining done with MRIs do not tell a discerning narratologist anything she does not already know, but rather merely confirm what narratologists have already suspected about the mental activity associated with reading. While Ryan is critical of the benefits narratology has reaped from being paired with the “experimental differences,” she does not wish to condemn the endeavor outright, instead asking that we contemplate the questions “What does it take for speculative and experimental disciplines to learn from each other? Under what conditions is interdisciplinary cooperation possible – in narratology as well as in other matters?”³⁰ And while she sees potential for narratology and the cognitive sciences to influence one another positively, she concludes, “cognitive narratology is most productive when it proceeds bottom-up, getting its

²⁹ Ibid 312-13

³⁰ Marie-Laure Ryan, “Narratology and Cognitive Science: A Problematic Relation,” *Style* 44, no. 4 (2010), 474.

insights from the texts themselves.”³¹ Ryan’s desire to see literature direct interdisciplinary inquiry is satisfied by some of the work on social minds that I will employ in this chapter.

For my close readings of the texts below, I will apply research that treats the ideas of the social mind or intermental thinking and assess the representations thereof in the work of Hoffmann, Ebner, and Reuter. While until recently these topics have remained undertreated in the scholarship on narrative and cognition, there have been some attempts to assess the minds of groups in literature. A recent special issue of *Narrative* focuses on the issue of the social mind and communal thinking. In his introduction to the issue, Maximilian Alders explains that the “techniques for representing the agents of shared experience...still remain underexplored.”³² The special issue was in part inspired by the work of Alan Palmer, to which I turn below. Alders recounts some of the previous studies that have broached the concept of a social mind or communal thinking, some of which I will also address in the following paragraphs.

While none of the earliest narratologists theorize a collective mind in literature in any significant way, several of them suggest the possibility that it exists. Genette mentions in *Figures of Literary Discourse* the existence of a “collective psychology...the literary implications of which deserve to be explored systematically.”³³ Furthermore, he acknowledges the fact that “modern criticism” has understood psychology in “overly individualistic” ways, suggesting that the importance of collective thinking has been underappreciated. In *Narratology*,

³¹ Ibid 489

³² Maximilian Alders, “Introduction: Social Minds in Factual and Fictional Narration,” *Narrative*. 23, no. 2 (2015), 114.

³³ Gérard Genette, *Figures of Literary Discourse*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 16-17.

the Form and Functioning of Narrative, Gerald Prince proposes the concept of the group narratee, explaining its potential importance for certain kinds of narrators.³⁴

Some of the works addressing the issue of the social in the novel are not inherently narratological in nature; yet they examine the importance of society and community to narrative and the telling of stories. According to Elizabeth Langland in her work, *Society in the Novel*, “society plays essentially the same formal role: antagonist to individual protagonists, a context, if not an obstacle, to a characters’ growth and self-realization.”³⁵ As I will discuss below, this sentiment certainly describes the situations in the works by Hoffmann, Ebner, and Reuter. Additionally, Langland observes, “A character does not act independently of the social forces in his or her milieu.”³⁶ Her statement suggests that, in some ways, all character actions are socially determined, a disturbing concept considering that Langland also asserts that “Society can be depicted as inevitably destructive of human possibility.”³⁷ While she does not account for the formal elements of narrative as explicitly as others have, her sense of the importance of society in the novel affirms why considerations of how society and communal thinking operate in literature is a relevant avenue of investigation.

Feminist criticism has also played a role in the understanding of social minds. Susan Lanser, in *Fictions of Authority: Women Writers and Narrative Voice*, outlines the concept of the “communal voice.” As she explains, “communal narrative voices are produced from intersections of social and formal possibilities.”³⁸ In other words, not only does the presence of a

³⁴ Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1982), 23-4.

³⁵ Elizabeth Langland, *Society in the Novel* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 7.

³⁶ *Ibid* 7

³⁷ *Ibid* 12

³⁸ Susan Lanser, *Fictions of Authority: Women Writers and Narrative Voice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 267.

communal voice influence the formal elements of a narrative and the way a story is told, but through those formal elements it also shapes the way that the social concerns of a text are represented. In a similar vein, Pamela Bromberg writes about “communal protagonists” in the work of Margaret Drabble, suggesting it is possible to narrate collective experience and have a group as the focal point of a novel.³⁹

For some, the existence of communal narratives and characters is part of a larger trend. Sandra Zagarell, for example, identifies the “narrative of community” as its own genre. These narratives “take as their subject the life of a community...and portray the minute and quite ordinary processes through which the community maintains itself as an entity. The self exists here as part of the interdependent network of the community rather than as an individual.”⁴⁰ Zagarell claims these narratives emerged (at least in an English-language context) in the early half of the nineteenth century, partially as a result of the changing social and economic situation of so many people as a result of industrialization and urbanization.

The historical and social reasons for this emergence of communal narrative are best investigated in conjunction with the formal elements at work in the rendering of social minds and intermental thinking in literature. In order to make this connection, I will draw considerably on the work of Alan Palmer, who is generally concerned with the representation of fictional minds. His work picks up the thread where Dorrit Cohn left off twenty years earlier, particularly with his notions of the social mind and intermental thinking. In *Fictional Minds*, he argues that mental functioning is imperative to literature: “My thesis is a fundamental one: narrative fiction

³⁹ Pamela Bromberg, “Margaret Drabble’s ‘The Radiant Way’: Feminist Metafiction.” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*. 24, no. 1 (1990), 9.

⁴⁰ Sandra Zagarell, “Narrative of Community: The Identification of a Genre.” *Signs* 13, no. 3 (1988), 499.

is, in essence, the presentation of fictional mental functioning.”⁴¹ His assessment is related to Cohn’s notion that there is genre specificity in fiction’s ability to reveal the inner workings of a character’s mind that are normally not accessible. He, however, claims more explicitly that the mental functioning of characters is the core of literary narrative. Palmer is interested in better contextualizing this representation within individual narratives. He believes that fictional minds must be understood as part of a larger whole: “My argument lays great stress on the need to examine how fictional minds work within the contexts of the story worlds to which they belong.”⁴² He understands fictional minds to be the product of a reader’s assembling of a consistent consciousness out of the pieces that are provided as the narrative progresses, and these “minds” are thus an integral part of the story world in which they take shape.

Palmer does not assume that fictional minds are limited to existing and behaving exactly as we conceive of minds functioning in real life, in contrast to much of the work connected to Theory of Mind and Lisa Zunshine’s work in particular. He takes the Theory of the Mind in narrative in a new direction with his desire to acknowledge the importance of social context when considering the workings of minds in literature. The concept of consciousness is, by default, a subjective, individualized experience that conventionally relies on a character’s awareness of and communing with the self. Yet, according to Palmer, “This study suggests that narrative theory has been concerned for too long primarily with the privacy of consciousness and that an emphasis on the social nature of thought might form an informative and suggestive perspective on fictional minds.”⁴³ He expands this concept of thought as social activity in a series of articles and a subsequent book in which he argues for the existence of the

⁴¹ Palmer, *Fictional Minds*, 5

⁴² Ibid 8

⁴³ Ibid 11

“Middlemarch Mind” in George Eliot’s *Middlemarch*, indeed, that a “group mind” can exist in fiction (partially explained through some linguistic markers as well as the makeup of the story world) and, in this case, represents a mindset of the inhabitants of a town that is able to influence individual minds in the novel.⁴⁴ These instances of minds blending, on both a large and a small scale, are what he refers to as examples of intermental thinking.⁴⁵

While Palmer criticizes what he refers to as the “speech category approach” for categorizing forms of narration because it is so verbal-centric and neglects the sub-verbal aspects of consciousness, he asserts that the representation of fictional minds and in particular of social minds and intermental thinking “privileges the mode of thought report.”⁴⁶ In other words, social minds do not necessarily emerge from free indirect discourse or monologue, but rather from the narration of thought at a distance – Dorrit Cohn’s psycho-narration, indirect discourse, or narrated speech. In an attempt to get away from the terminology of the speech category approach, Palmer chooses to use the phrase “thought report” and insists that the “default” mode of narration needs more scholarly attention than it has received in the past precisely because of its potential for narrating fictional minds that are not singular entities.⁴⁷ Below I will analyze passages containing thought report in order to understand the role of social minds and their effects on the young protagonists in the texts.

Having outlined the concepts of the social mind and intermental thinking and the importance of thought report for identifying and understanding them, I will now examine representations of thought report and intermental thinking in works by Hoffmann, Ebner-

⁴⁴ Alan Palmer, *Social Minds in the Novel*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2010), 65, 73.

⁴⁵ Palmer, *Fictional Minds*, 218

⁴⁶ Ibid 76

⁴⁷ Many narratologists have recently responded to Palmer’s work. See the entire issue of *Style*, 45, no. 2 (2011).

Eschenbach, and Reuter. These texts provide examples of how the fears surrounding adolescence and maturation are rendered as part of the narration of characters' inner mental worlds and show how there is a social component to the way character thought is conceived of, not only at the level of the plot, but also in the way the texts are narrated. Hoffmann's text, as I will demonstrate, contrasts with the later texts by Ebner and Reuter in how the individual interacts with the collective.

Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann*

The notion of the self is crucial in literature of the Romantic period. Protagonists of Romantic texts are often treated as unique individuals who stand out from the crowd through their talents and actions. One sees this trend in the works of Hoffmann as well, though perhaps to varying degrees and with different outcomes – from the adventurous and determined Marie of *Nussknacker und Mausekönig* to the overly serious and self-congratulatory Tomcat Murr from *Die Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*. Hoffmann's characters frequently find themselves at odds with those around them, often because their experiences of the world do not line up with those of their peers, relatives, and community leaders. Of course, at the same time as he presents the reader with individuals like Tomcat Murr or Nathanael, who are so sure of themselves, Hoffmann illuminates the ways in which their perceptions of reality may indeed be suspect. Or at least the absolute truth of reality is left ambiguous, calling into question the nature of the entire story world.

This emphasis on the self does not, however, preclude the existence of a community or a form of social mind, though its appearance and functioning in Hoffmann's work is quite different from that of the other authors I discuss below. Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann* (1816) may serve here

as an example of how individuals interact with their social community in his oeuvre in general. This text is somewhat different from the others I have treated in this dissertation in that the protagonist, Nathanael, is already a young adult. Nevertheless it is clear that he has still not reconciled events from his childhood and that he has not yet fully integrated himself into the bourgeois notion of adulthood. He is in fact waylaid by his obsession with Olympia. While Nathanael clearly resists the opinions of those around him with regard to Olympia and refuses to see any other version of events than that which he has contrived for himself, his death at the end of the text calls into question his sanity. It is not, however, completely clear whether or not everything that happened emerges from his imagination.

The conflicted nature of Nathanael's character can be seen in his feelings for both Clara, the woman who initially captivates him, and Olympia, the automaton, as well as how the two women (or, in Olympia's case, machine-woman) are viewed by others as well. Early in the section of the story narrated by a friend of Nathanael's, the narrator recalls Clara's appearance:

Nun könnte ich getrost in der Erzählung fortfahren; aber in dem Augenblick steht Claras Bild so lebendig mir vor Augen, dass ich nicht wegschauen kann, so wie es immer geschah, wenn sie mich hold lächelnd anblickte. – Für schön konnte Clara keineswegs gelten; das meinten alle, die sich von Amts wegen auf Schönheit verstehen. Doch lobten die Architekten die reinen Verhältnisse ihres Wuchses, die Maler fanden Nacken, Schultern und Brust beinahe zu keusch geformt, verliebten sich dagegen sämtlich in das wunderbare Magdalenenhaar und faselten überhaupt viel von Battonischem Kolorit. Einer von ihnen, ein wirklicher Fantast, verglich aber höchstseltsamer Weise Claras Augen mit einem See von Ruisdael, in dem sich des wolkenlosen Himmels reines Azur, Wald und Blumenflur, der reichen Landschaft ganzes buntes, heitres Leben spiegelt. Dichter und Meister gingen aber weiter und sprachen: 'Was See – was Spiegel! – Können wir denn das Mädchen anschauen, ohne dass uns aus ihrem Blick wunderbare himmlische Gesänge und Klänge entgegenstrahlen, die in unser Innerstes dringen, dass das alles wach und rege wird?'⁴⁸

⁴⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Der Sandmann," in *Poetische Werke*, Vol. 2, (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1958), 388-89.

The passage presents a complex blending of minds that paints Clara as a larger-than-life figure, despite her apparent lack of beauty. We begin in the mind of the narrator, who recalls Clara's appearance in his own mind. The narrator then recounts the thoughts of an anonymous group whose members all seem to reinforce his image of Clara. The reported reactions of the "Architekten," "Maler," "Dichter," and "Meister" indicate a consensus among these artists about Clara's admirable qualities. But who these artist figures are beyond their titles and how they came to these unanimous opinions is left ambiguous.

The passage then shifts to reference one "von ihnen, ein wirklicher Fantast." This individual is highlighted separately from the others, though his opinion appears to fall in line with the other various artists who praise individual aspects of Clara's appearance, if not her overall beauty. The emphasis on her eyes of course connects to the larger themes of the text dealing with vision and eyes, but the inclusion of this detail might suggest that the person here could be Nathanael, especially since this individual is a "Fantast." Including him as part of this aesthetically oriented collective emphasizes his own artistic leanings.

Finally, the last sentence shifts into a first-person plural quotation that further solidifies the existence of this group opinion of Clara. Yet the quotation, much like the entire passage, is strange because it suggests that a group of poets and musicians actually spoke and expressed a uniform thought about her as a singular, unified entity. This "community" does not appear to be a literal one, but rather a metaphorical, idealized one comprised of those well versed in the arts and appreciate of aesthetics.

Nathanael appears to share the opinion of this artistic collective as well as unspecified others who are able to grasp an apparently deeper understanding of life: "Clara wurde deshalb von vielen kalt, gefühllos, prosaisch gescholten; aber andere, die das Leben in klarer Tiefe

aufgefasst, liebten ungemein das gemüthvolle, verständige, kindliche Mädchen, doch keiner so sehr, als Nathanael, der sich in Wissenschaft und Kunst kräftig und heiter bewegte.”⁴⁹ This passage reinforces the idea that Nathanael could be the “Fantast” from the previous excerpt and that he possesses a certain intellect and mindset that align him with those concerned with lofty artistic pursuits. Of course, the fact that he is singled out suggests that there is still some aspect of his nature that makes it impossible for him to integrate fully into this metaphorical community, a fact that becomes clear when Nathanael abandons his life with Clara and therefore his connection to the real world in his obsession with Olimpia.

Nathanael eventually becomes frustrated with Clara because she rejects his writings and assures him that the events Nathanael remembers from his childhood never really happened in the first place. Rejected on both a personal and artistic level, Nathanael becomes angry and calls her a “lebloses, verdammtes Automat.”⁵⁰ As Birgit Röder, in her study of Hoffmann’s novellas, explains, “His desire to articulate his feelings and the products of his imagination is so strong that he is unable to check his creative instincts and stop himself from seeking out a new audience.”⁵¹ In rejecting Clara, Nathanael appears to separate himself from this idealized artistic collective mind that views Clara as a praiseworthy figure.

With Olimpia, on the other hand, Nathanael simply refuses to believe and accept the collective wisdom of his peers; his mental state may make him incapable of doing so. When Spalanzani hosts a ball to introduce his “daughter,” Olimpia, Nathanael is overcome with excitement. Before the dancing begins, Olimpia performs a song that captivates Nathanael to the point that he cries out her name, much to the amusement of the other students and the irritation

⁴⁹ Ibid 389

⁵⁰ Ibid 393

⁵¹ Birgit Röder, *A Study of the Major Novellas of E. T. A. Hoffmann* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), 59.

of the organist. After her performance, Nathanael considers what it would be like to dance with Olimpia and doubts he will even have the chance to, because he assumes that she will be the focus of everyone's attention; he soon realizes, much to his delight, that she is unattended and he asks her to dance. Unbeknownst to Nathanael, his enthusiasm for Olimpia is not shared by anyone else in the room: "Hätte Nathanael außer der schönen Olimpia noch etwas anders zu sehen vermocht, so wäre allerlei fataler Zank und Streit unvermeidlich gewesen; denn offenbar ging das halbleise, mühsam unterdrückte Gelächter, was sich in diesem und jenem Winkel unter den jungen Leuten erhob, auf die schöne Olimpia, die sie mit ganz kuriosen Blicken verfolgten...."⁵² Here, the narration hints at the fact that the rest of the crowd has a different reaction to Olimpia to which Nathanael is blissfully oblivious throughout the evening. The pervasive laughter, constrained though it may be, hints at the skepticism of the rest of the party, a skepticism that Nathanael obviously lacks.

After the party is over, the narrator suggests a general consensus among the majority of the ball attendees in their impressions of Olimpia and Spalanzani: "Unerachtet der Professor alles getan hatte, recht splendid zu erscheinen, so wussten doch die lustigen Köpfe von allerlei Unschicklichem und Sonderbarem zu erzählen, das sich begeben, und vorzüglich fiel man über die todstarre, stumme Olimpia her, der man, ihres schönen Äußern unerachtet, totalen Stumpfsinn andichten und darin die Ursache finden wollte, warum Spalanzani sie so lange verborgen gehalten."⁵³ "Die lustigen Köpfe" suggests an indeterminate group that shares the same level of information and agreement about the events of the evening. The use of "man" also contributes to a sense of a mental collective at work because of its undefined singular nature.

⁵² Hoffmann, "Sandmann," 401

⁵³ Ibid 402

According to this passage, there is little room for variation in opinion about the strange character and behavior of Olimpia as well as the reluctance of Spalanzani to introduce her to the community/society sooner.

Of course, Nathanael refuses to be convinced by his companions that Olimpia is anything other than a rare, talented beauty deserving of every ounce of his admiration. His friend, Siegmund, eventually confronts him about his feelings for and aberrant reaction to her. He tells Nathanael, “Wunderlich ist es doch, dass viele von uns über Olimpia ziemlich gleich urteilen. Sie ist uns – nimm es nicht übel, Bruder! – auf seltsame Weise starr und seelenlos erschienen...Uns ist diese Olimpia ganz unheimlich geworden, wir mochten nichts mit ihr zu schaffen haben, es war uns als tue sie nur so wie ein lebendiges Wesen und doch habe es mit ihr eine eigne Bewandtnis.”⁵⁴ Here, Siegmund speaks in the first-person plural, thereby evoking a communal judgment. He also serves as a narrator of sorts to the rest of their friends’ thoughts and feelings, relating that which exists in more than one character mind. Nathanael, unmoved and irritated by his friend’s condemnation of the automaton, rebukes Siegmund’s claims, assuring him that he and the others merely lack the proper sense for truly understanding Olimpia and her inner emotional world.

The previous passages make clear that Nathanael exists to a certain extent outside of the community of his peer group. While the others, who appear to have a better grip on reality, all see through the illusion of Olimpia and realize that something is not quite right, Nathanael remains caught up in the illusion of Olimpia as an ideal woman instead of an uncannily perfect machine. While he earlier appeared to share a mindset with a metaphorical, abstract community of artists, he has by the end abandoned that collective in his pursuit of Olimpia. Despite their

⁵⁴ Ibid 403

efforts to the contrary, Nathanael's peers have little ability to influence his thinking in the matter. Their judgment of him encourages one to read Nathanael as an outsider to the community who is such largely because he appears to have a confused understanding of his reality. Nathanael's capacity to resist the collective, while potentially more harmful than beneficial, distinguishes him from the other protagonists to be discussed in this chapter because, as I outline below, they appear to be inseparable from their social milieu.

Ebner-Eschenbach's *Das Gemeindegeld*

Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's novel, *Das Gemeindegeld*, first published as a single volume in 1887, concerns the life of Pavel Holub, a boy who is left in the care of the local community after his father is executed and his mother sent to prison for the murder of the village's priest. His sister is taken in by the local baroness, who eventually sends her to a nearby convent to dedicate herself to the church. Pavel suffers at the hands of the community and is frequently blamed for crimes he did not commit solely because the villagers believe him capable of committing them; as he grows up, Pavel, with the help of his mentor, Habrecht, gradually wins respectability despite the actions of those around him. Habrecht warns him that believing what the others say about him will only make him into that which he is not. At the heart of the novel are themes of adolescence and socialization as well as the mental influence of others on an impressionable individual. For this discussion of intermental thinking, I will concentrate on the ways in which a social, communal mind is established within the text as a representation of the community's ability to influence (and hurt) its members. Further, I will trace how Pavel grows and is eventually able to contribute to the changing of this conglomerate mind in both subtle and dramatic fashion.

Pavel endures a great deal of physical suffering, especially in the earlier chapters of the novel, before his relationship with the rest of the community begins to evolve. His suffering is exacerbated by his determination to perform the behavior the locals expect of him. In the introduction to her English translation of *Das Gemeindegeld*, Lynne Tatlock explains, “By acquiescing to his public role as community scapegoat, he, too, shoulders the burden of a complex set of social relations; his abused body —like Milada’s emaciated one — thus figures the stunted corporation.”⁵⁵ Playing the scapegoat also reinforces Pavel’s mindset because he seems to confirm the community’s assumptions about him. The derision and disdain that prompt his bad behavior leave an impression not only on his body, but on his mind as well, appearing to exert such power over him at least initially that he does nothing to save himself and simply endures the abuse and manipulations of others.

Moreover, while Pavel begins his life in the village as the perpetual villain, eventually he is able to change the community’s perceptions about him and earn respectability in it. As Tatlock further points out, “this novel not only pursues Pavel’s moral maturation but also considers the maturation of a rudimentary polity.”⁵⁶ In other words, much as Pavel and Milada undergo a period of maturation in the novel, there is also the sense of a “civic adolescence,” as Tatlock calls it, happening at the same time. These developments are seen at least in part in the way that character minds are represented in the text.

From the earliest pages of the novel, the narrator establishes the mental uniformity and unquestioning certainty of the community, first in Kunovic, where Martin commits his crime, then later in Soleschau, to which Pavel and Milada return after their father’s death and mother’s

⁵⁵ Lynne Tatlock, “Introduction,” in *Their Pavel*, trans. Lynne Tatlock, (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996), xi.

⁵⁶ Tatlock, “Introduction,” xii

imprisonment. When items go missing from the local church in Kunovic, everyone is quick to blame Pavel's father, Martin, for the crime: "Die allgemeine Meinung war, in der Sache gebe es nur einen Schuldigen — den Ziegelschläger — und man solle keine Umstände mit ihm machen."⁵⁷ This "allgemeine Meinung" is pervasive. It encompasses more than any single character's mind and suggests that there is a mind that both is comprised of and exists separately from the individual minds of the characters within the community. The use of the subjunctive in this case further establishes a sense of narrative distance in the sentence that emphasizes the lack of one attributable character or entity. Individual reactions appear to be subsumed and influenced by the nebulous "general opinion."

Not only does this social mind appear to represent a uniform response from the entire community, but it also shows how rapidly these opinions can be spread among its members. When the local pastor is then found murdered, it takes very little time for the rest of the community to learn of the news and to form an unwavering (and, in this case, correct) opinion that Martin is the perpetrator: "Eine Viertelstunde später weiß das ganze Dorf: der geistliche Herr ist heute nacht überfallen und, offenbar im Kampf um die Kirchenschlüssel, ermordet worden, im schweren Kampf, das sieht man, darauf deutet Alles hin."⁵⁸ The whole village appears to receive information at a rate faster even than word of mouth. The last clauses of the sentence also shift into the present tense. From a narratological standpoint, one can see this as an example of Cohn's psycho-narration; the shifting of tenses mid-sentence suggests a change in focalization, but the owner of those thoughts is ambiguous and could very well refer to the community at large.⁵⁹ The community members are immediately certain of Holub's guilt as

⁵⁷ Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, *Das Gemeindegeld*, ed. Rainer Baasner (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1983), 6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid* 7

⁵⁹ Cohn, *Transparent*, 11-12

well, with or without actual evidence to confirm their suspicions: “Ueber den Urheber der gräßlichen That ist niemand im Zweifel. Auch wenn die Aussagen der Magd nicht wären, wüßte jeder: der Martin Holub hat’s gethan.”⁶⁰ In this particular case, the community is correct in its assessment of Holub; and once the villagers in Soleschau learn of his guilt, they transfer their suspicions rather easily to Pavel – the last reminder of Martin Holub left in the village.

The villagers’ treatment of Pavel lacks the regard that another is not tied to a criminal might receive. When Pavel is left to the villagers after the baroness takes his sister into her home, the community members express little concern about leaving Pavel with Virgil, the local herdsman, and his family, despite the fact that they offer little in the way of physical or emotional security: “Ein anderes Kind diesen Leuten zu überliefern, wäre auch niemandem eingefallen; aber der Pavel, der sieht bei ihnen nichts Schlechtes, das er nicht schon zu Hause hundertmal gesehen hat.”⁶¹ This sentence appears to include a shift in speaker. The first clause before the semicolon most likely belongs to the narrator of the novel, with its use of the subjunctive mood and the distanced, past tense report on the disposition of the characters. The clause after the semicolon, by contrast, seems much more likely to belong to the mind(s) of the community members deciding Pavel’s fate. The shift to the present tense and the sense of immediacy it brings suggests that the thought belongs to someone who is part of the diegetic narrative. But the reported thought has no identifying tag to associate it with a particular character.

As the above passage suggests, the narrator of the novel criticizes the collective thinking (or rather the profound lack of thinking) of the community with regard to its plans for Pavel.

⁶⁰ Ebner-Eschenbach, *Gemeindekind*, 7

⁶¹ *Ibid* 11

After explaining the decision to leave Pavel in the hands of the local shepherd, the narrator expresses disdain at the cruelty of the decision: “Freilich, wenn die Gemeinde sich den Luxus eines Gewissens gestatten dürfte, würde es gegen dieses Auskunftsmittel protestiren.”⁶² The lack of conscience appears to be evidence of the “civic adolescence” Tatlock mentions, a collective refusal to acknowledge the village’s duty to care for the – at this stage – helpless Pavel.

Community suspicions about Pavel’s behavior soon escalate; his father’s actions have paved the way for Pavel’s assumed guilt. Having been recently separated from his sister, Milada, Pavel determines to try to get into the castle to see her, still feeling responsible for her well-being as he was when their parents were alive. When he is caught, Pavel refuses to explain his reasons for being near the castle, and those around him naturally leap to the worst conclusions: “Was Pavel im Schlosse gewollt, erfuhr niemand; aber die Hartnäckigkeit, mit welcher er jede Auskunft verweigerte, bewies deutlich genug, daß er die schlechtesten Absichten gehabt haben mußte. Einbrechen wahrscheinlich oder Feuer anlegen, dem Kerl ist Alles zuzutrauen. So sprach die öffentliche Meinung...”⁶³ Again, the shifting between tenses contributes to the narrative ambiguity; it is unclear whose mind is at work. The idea that public opinion can somehow speak of its own accord without being attached to a particular body also suggests that this passage narrates a social, collective mind. The situation is complicated by the fact that Pavel does nothing to help his cause; then again, the behavior of the adults around him and the condemnations of the narrator do not provide much hope that Pavel would be fairly heard even if he tried to explain himself.

⁶² Ibid 10

⁶³ Ibid 14

The effects of the community's disregard and disdain toward Pavel appear to influence his overall well-being and state of mind throughout the text. One day he sees a carriage at the castle and discovers that Milada is being sent away to the city. Milada calls to him when she recognizes him, and he attempts to comfort her from afar until her tears turn to laughter. Thereafter he watches the carriage fade into the distance and later reflects on his loss, knowing that his sister is no longer close by:

Gern hätte er geweint, aber er konnte nicht; er wäre auch gern gestorben, gleich hier auf dem Fleck. Er hatte oft seine Existenz verwünschen gehört, von seinem eigenen Vater wie von fremden Menschen, und nie ohne innerste Entrüstung dabei zu empfinden; jetzt sehnte er sich selbst nach dem Tod: und wenn es einmal so weit gekommen ist mit einem Menschen, kann auch das Ende nicht mehr ferne sein, meinte er. Und steht es einem nicht frei, es zu beschleunigen?⁶⁴

Pavel appears to have lost the inner fire that stirred him to resist the wishes of others. Furthermore, the disapprobation of his father and "fremden Menschen" has caught up with him at a moment when the community has separated him from the last family member he has. The reported opinions of the adults around him via indirect discourse lump their thoughts together as a collective opinion that Pavel now appears to share. The indeterminate nature of the reported thought makes it inescapable for Pavel.

Pavel's mindset shifts as he becomes the target of the community members anytime something bad happens. He begins to take pleasure in inciting the anger of the villagers:

Daß Pavel hundert Hände und die Kraft eines Riesen hätte haben müssen, um die zahllosen Schelmenstreiche, die ihm zugeschrieben wurden, wirklich auszuführen, überlegten seine Mitbürger nicht; er aber kam langsam dahinter, und ihn erfüllte eine grenzenlose Verachtung der Dummheit, die das Unsinnigste von ihm glaube, wenn es nur etwas Schlechtes war. Er fand einen Genuss darin, das blöde und ihm übelgesinnte Volk bei jeder Gelegenheit von neuem aufzubringen, und wie ein Anderer im Bewußtsein der

⁶⁴ Ibid 22

Würdigung schwelgt, die ihm zu Theil wird, so schwelgte er in dem Bewußtsein der Feindseligkeit, die er einflößte.⁶⁵

The people around him do not reflect on their prejudice and assume that he means ill no matter the circumstances. According to the community, “Der kommt ins Zuchthaus wie die Mutter, der stirbt am Galgen wie der Vater.”⁶⁶ The repeated use of the present tense makes the opinion seem inevitable and pervasive. When Pavel kills a peacock and is eventually apprehended for it, people gather to shout at him and throw stones. While Pavel is physically trapped and injured by the crowd, he is also mentally trapped by the never-ending refrain of the community’s collective condemnation of his character and belief in his guilt. Hearing these cruel and often baseless accusations makes Pavel believe that he can do nothing other than live up to their expectations. His only role in the community is to be the one who terrorizes it.

By the end of the novel, Pavel’s relationship to the community changes. Having received a plot of land to farm and build a house upon, Pavel begins to make a life for himself as a young adult. His mindset about the community and his place within it changes, and he finds himself wishing that the baroness (and especially his sister) would hear nothing bad about him, and this wish develops into a general concern for his reputation: “Eine große Aengstlichkeit um seinen Ruf begann sich seiner zu bemächtigen. Die Sehnsucht, gelobt zu werden, die Freude an der Anerkennung erwachte in ihm, und er ahnte nicht, daß sie ihn so schwach machte, wie einst sein Trotz gegen die Menschen und seine herausfordernde Gleichgültigkeit gegen ihr Urtheil ihn stark gemacht hatten.”⁶⁷ This passage is not an example of intermental thinking per se at the level of narration, but it does reveal how the community has influenced his thinking. His newfound

⁶⁵ Ibid 24

⁶⁶ Ibid 37

⁶⁷ Ibid 133

concern for what others think of him suggests a shift in how he perceives himself as well as his fellow villagers. Instead of shying away from the community, he wishes to embrace it. Important to note in this passage is that his desire to be respected by the community weakens him. In other words, in order to accept his place within the collective, he must give up a part of himself and accept – at least to some degree – the at times rather dubious characters that make up his social world.

Carl Steiner argues that *Das Gemeindegeld* operates in opposition to Naturalism in the fact that Pavel is not completely externally determined.⁶⁸ And it is true that Pavel defies the community's expectations and turns into a respectable adult, though it would appear at the expense of at least part of himself. When he was a boy, the collective opinion of the community served to spur his negative behavior and prevent him from seeing himself in any other light. By the end of the novel, his concern over his reputation brings him into the fold in a different way, not entirely in consensus with those around him, but enough so that he is no longer held up as the villain threatening the rest of the community. This development is in part made visible by the use of indirect discourse and the representation of intermental thought and the villager's social mind.

Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*

In the final section of this chapter, I return to its beginning to examine in greater detail Reuter's *Aus guter Familie*. In the previous chapters, I have addressed Agathe's imagination, her relationship to books and toys, and her inability to articulate herself as part of the struggles

⁶⁸ Carl Steiner, *Of Reason and Love: The Life and Works of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1994), 44.

she endures in trying and failing to operate as a functional adult in the social world in which she is trapped. In this chapter, I wish to call attention to the way that the minds of those around her manage to sneak into and sometimes alter her own thoughts and how the narration makes possible the blending of minds.

At Agathe's confirmation the opinion of the bourgeois social world is already reflected in thinking that is not attributed to any one person, suggesting its universal nature within the storyworld. While Agathe opens her gifts and excitedly talks to the guests prior to the pastor's arrival, the adults in the room look on with amusement: "Die erwachsenen Leute auf dem Sofa und in den Lehnstühlen lächelten wieder. Wie reizend sie war! Ach ja – die Jugend ist etwas schönes!"⁶⁹ The exclamations about Agathe as "reizend" and youth as "etwas schönes" cannot be attributed to a single individual. Similar to some of the passages in *Das Gemeindegeld*, here there is also a tense shift from past to present. The first sentence is in past tense and establishes that the adults are physically collected together. The second sentence is also in free indirect discourse; however, whether this sentiment is expressed by one or more of the adults in the room or the narrator of the text is ambiguous and contributes to the plurality of narrative voices. Finally, the shift to present tense follows in the final sentence. The change in tense between the three sentences suggests that these thoughts belong to the adults as a group and not one specific person. Their collective judgment of Agathe helps establish the existence of a bourgeois mentality that Agathe both internalizes and resists in the rest of the novel. This mode of thinking exhibited by the other characters in the novel causes much of Agathe's distress and contributes to her feeling that she lacks purpose.

⁶⁹ Reuter, *Familie*, 18

The passage quoted at the beginning of the chapter operates somewhat differently. After the pastor lectures Agathe on being a good Christian woman, the following paragraph appears:

Aber wie soll dieses “Alles” benutzt werden? Besitzt als besäBet Ihr nicht – genieBet als genösset Ihr nicht! -- Auch der Tanz – auch das Theater sind erlaubt, aber der Tanz geschehe in Ehren, das Vergnügen an der Kunst beschränke sich auf die reine gottgeweihte Kunst. Bildung ist nicht zu verachten – doch hüte Dich, mein Kind, vor der modernen Wissenschaft, die zu Zweifeln, zum Unglauben führt. Zügle Deine Phantasie, daß sie Dir nicht unzüchtige Bilder vorspiegele! Liebe – Liebe – Liebe sei Dein ganzes Leben – aber die Liebe bleibe frei von Selbstsucht, begehre nicht das Ihre. Du darfst nach Glück verlangen – Du darfst auch glücklich sein – aber in berechtigter Weise denn Du bist Christi Nachfolgerin, und Christus starb am Kreuz! Nur wer das Irdische ganz überwunden hat, wird durch die dornenumsäumte Pforte eingehen zur ewigen Freude – zur Hochzeit des Lammes!⁷⁰

The passage, with its initial posed question and the eventual use of the second person address, makes clear that the reader is privy to someone’s mind. But whose? The monologue lacks any kind of attribution and is not quoted as dialogue. The lack of an attribute tag means that this passage could be the thoughts of the pastor, the musings of Agathe, or even the observations of the narrator. The blending of these character minds shows how the mindset of the others around her can influence Agathe and eventually become her own. And Agathe, who is already plagued by guilt that she was not able to focus her attention and pray at the appropriate moment during the ceremony, is mentally drawn into the social world the adults around her represent through their perceptions of what she should want and how she should behave.

After the pastor finishes his conversation with Agathe and the others, Agathe’s father takes a turn as advice giver and emphasizes the importance of her role as a female member of society. The text then offers the following paragraph: “Denn das Weib, die Mutter künftiger Geschlechter, die Gründerin der Familie, ist ein wichtiges Glied der Gesellschaft, wenn sie sich

⁷⁰ Ibid 20

ihrer Stellung als unscheinbarer, verborgener Wurzel recht bewusst bleibt.”⁷¹ The narration shifts into the present tense and is not quoted as dialogue belonging to the father or any other character and possesses no other tag to connect the words to a specific character. The reader is left to determine if this is the voice of the narrator, Agathe’s father, or someone else. The lack of attribution suggests that the sentence can be understood as belonging not just to the father, but to those characters who represent the larger social world that Agathe is meant to join. The sentiment appears to be a universal that Agathe is supposed to absorb and internalize in order to mature and take her adult place in society.

And Agathe appears compliant, at least at first. Similar to Pavel in *Das Gemeindkind*, Agathe finds herself at least initially changing her thoughts and opinions based on the thoughts and expectations of those around her. After her father and pastor confiscate her gift from her cousin Martin – a copy of *Herweghs Gedichte* – Agathe chastises herself for upsetting the adults and no longer finds the poetry desirable: “Es war doch zu schrecklich, daß sie heut, am Konfirmationstag, ihrem Pastor und ihrem Vater böse war! Hier fing gewiß die Selbstüberwindung und die Entsagung an. Sie war doch noch recht dumm! Ein so gefährliches Gift für schön zu halten....”⁷² This is a far cry from the Agathe at the party, who informs her guests and relatives that she has wanted a copy of the book and found it beautiful. She bends to the will of her male elders and changes her mind because her thoughts are not in line with the collective opinion represented in the thoughts of the adults around her.

Agathe reacts differently when later her father takes a book away from her once again. Because of the social pressure placed upon her by the community and her inability to meet their

⁷¹ Ibid 21

⁷² Ibid 25

expectations, Agathe later exhibits a desire to lose her sense of self in service to something greater – be that intellectual stimulation or the care of those who cannot care for themselves. When she discovers the Häckel text in her father’s library – a passage I discussed in chapter two – she finds the book captivating; reading it allows for the “Vergessen des Ich.”⁷³ Later, when she visits her cousin, Mimi, who is a nurse at the local hospital, she becomes jealous when she sees Mimi in her element. This observation is followed by: “Sich überwinden – glücklich sein mit anderen – bis zur Selbstvergessenheit – bis zur Selbstvernichtung – das ist das Einzige – das Wahre!”⁷⁴ The shift to present tense, as in the passages following Agathe’s confirmation, makes it impossible to know whether this is Agathe’s mind alone, the intervention of the narrator, or a sort of universal “truth” that operates beyond the confines of any one character’s mind. Agathe’s earlier wish to lose herself in something else suggests that the minds around her have an influence over her and that she wishes somehow to lose a part of herself so that she can fit into the community. By the end of the novel, when she flees from Martin after watching him flirt with a waitress, she has nothing left but empty platitudes about what makes “anständige Mädchen” – a passage I analyzed in chapter three – and the fear that she is not one. Her community has left a mental mark she is unable to bear or erase.

Conclusion

The existence of intermental thinking and social minds in these nineteenth-century literary texts reveal the concerns and anxieties tied to adolescent socialization and the minds of those who are shaped by the societies around them. As I have shown in this chapter, this worry

⁷³ Ibid 215

⁷⁴ Ibid 227

about the maturation of these adolescent characters is not only apparent at the level of plot in these texts, but at the level of narration as well. The influence of the collective can vary but, as I have demonstrated, it remains important in all three texts to the adolescent or young adult character's development – both for good and ill. Nathanael only finds a like-minded community in a figurative, artistically motivated collective that does not exist as a real social group. When he gives up on his ideal and becomes infatuated with Olimipa, he is able to reject the concerns and beliefs of his fellow students, to his own detriment.

Unlike Nathanael, Pavel and Agathe are tied to their communities in such a way as to make it impossible for them to exist outside of them. In *Das Gemeindegeld*, the village community's cruel collective mind influences Pavel negatively when he is young, altering his perception of himself as well as altering his behavior to his own detriment. While this change comes at the expense of his strength, he eventually grows into an accepted place within the village that does not require him to maintain the bad reputation of his youth. By the time his mother arrives after her release from prison, he has established himself and is mentally ready to accept her. Agathe, on the other hand, can never reconcile the demands of her social world and the thoughts of everyone around her with her own desires and needs. Her fate suggests society's potential for destruction when the collective exerts its influence in ways with which the individual cannot cope. In attempting to find a different life for herself other than the one prescribed to her, Agathe ends up mentally and emotionally torn between her own needs and the thoughts of her community that have swirled in her mind for so long. Intermental thinking is both her undoing and Reuter's narrative artistry.

Conclusion

At the end of *Nussknacker und Mausekönig*, Marie helps the nutcracker defeat the mouse king and returns the nutcracker to his human form by expressing her love for him. Despite her family's rejection of her story and the proof she offers in the mouse king's seven crowns, Marie is vindicated by Droßelmeier and his nephew's arrival, who confirms her suspicion that he was trapped in the nutcracker's form. The younger Droßelmeier expresses his gratitude to Marie for saving him and asks her to marry him. Marie happily agrees:

Hierauf wurde Marie sogleich Droßelmeiers Braut. Nach Jahresfrist hat er sie, wie man sagt, auf einem goldnen, von silbernen Pferden gezogenen Wagen abgeholt. Auf der Hochzeit tanzten zweiundzwanzigtausend der glänzendsten, mit Perlen und Diamanten geschmückten Figuren, und Marie soll noch zur Stunde Königin eines Landes sein, in dem man überall funkelnde Weihnachtswälder, durchsichtige Marzipanschlösser, kurz, die allerherrlichsten, wunderbarsten Dinge erblicken kann, wenn man nur Augen darnach hat.

Das war das Märchen vom Nußknacker und Mausekönig.⁴²⁸

On the one hand, Marie appears to have achieved her happy ending. Her love, loyalty, and bravery have triumphed over the mouse king's terror and her parent's dismissal of her

⁴²⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Nußknacker und Mausekönig," in *Poetische Werke*. Vol. 3. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1958), 318.

experience. The object of her fascination and unarticulated desire is now the person with whom she rules a kingdom – a rather impressive social leap for a girl of seven.

On the other hand, the ending of Hoffmann's novella leaves the reader with more questions than answers. Marie appears to have left the real world of her family behind in exchange for the land of the dolls, which she first saw with the nutcracker by climbing up her father's traveling cloak – suddenly impossibly small and standing before a wide world that exists both within and outside of her domestic confines. We as readers are left to question whether she has achieved a feat of magic or whether she has finally succumbed to madness, her vivid imagination gone awry to the point she no longer distinguishes reality from a fantasy born of fairy tales. The use of the modal "sollen" in the final sentence and the reference to needing a certain kind of eyes to see the wonderful sights of Marie's world contribute to the sense of doubt and suggests that not all may be as it seems.

Time appears to be out of order as well. The excited seven-year-old girl who appears in the early chapters of the novella seems to have been replaced by an older, bigger Marie who can marry and leave her parents behind, having successfully reached the ideal bourgeois adulthood that, for women, primarily involved marriage and the promise of children. Marie's maturation is therefore mostly elided in the text – a rather strange phenomenon for a story that seems to be so concerned with the challenges of growing up and finding one's voice and purpose. Marie manages this sudden development in an outwardly unproblematic way, which is perhaps the very reason her suspicious happy ending bears further scrutiny.

Hoffmann's text offers little in the way of clear-cut answers to the questions it poses through the strange depiction of Marie's fate and the conflicting behaviors of the adults involved in her life. This passage brings to the fore not only the importance for both character and reader

imagination, but also the problem of rendering and understanding adolescence and its implications. Hoffmann makes allusions to it via the cut to Marie's arm and her unarticulated desire for the nutcracker discussed in chapter one, but the actual moment where Marie becomes an adolescent or young adult happens without being acknowledged or even confirmed as really happening. While Hoffmann may be offering a critique of the bourgeois world view as an unattainable fairy tale with Marie's ending, he also suggests that adolescence is – to a certain extent – still an unknowable phenomenon. We see the final product of a married Marie acting as queen, but how she got to that point remains a mystery.

The texts that were published later in the century address more directly that which Hoffmann can only represent circumspectly. This change in the dynamic of literary depictions of adolescence may have been influenced by childhood and adolescence being acknowledged as something separate from adulthood over the course of the century. While the beginnings of modern understandings of childhood and adolescence appeared in the late-eighteenth century, these notions took root in the nineteenth century and coincided with the emergence of the nuclear family as the dominant mode of middle class life. As I discussed in the introduction, competing schools of thought developed surrounding what constituted adequate education for boys and girls. As the century continued, a great deal of emphasis was placed upon activities such as play and reading having a pedagogical component; parents, teachers, and other moral institutions worried about children and adolescents receiving both a proper intellectual and social education so that they would be able to integrate into society as mature, socialized adults.

The literary texts analyzed in this dissertation are all concerned with what would have therefore been the relatively new phenomenon of the protracted childhood and adolescence as it emerged in the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. The authors of these texts appear to be

concerned with finding ways to narrate the experience of this new and developing understanding of this phase of life and with considering how society shaped adolescents' view of themselves and the world around them – both to their benefit and detriment. In doing so, they highlight the importance of imagination and emotion to the adolescent experience and the struggle of the developing individual to become part of the group and retain some sense of self. Each chapter of this dissertation has identified a different way in which the experience of adolescence and socialization appears in these literary texts: the narrated experience of interacting with toys and playing, of reading and listening to narratives, of struggling to master emotive language and express one's internal thoughts and feelings, and of managing the influence of the community on one's own perceptions of oneself and the world. In focusing on the importance of imagination and the mental formulation of the self both by the individual and the social group, these authors and their literary works contributed to the shaping and narrating of childhood and adolescent experience as it was understood in the nineteenth century.

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