

Jews. A Challenge to Hitlerism' eisig zurücksandte, ist freilich für ihr Verhalten vom Schicksal bereits hart gezüchtigt worden: als die Redaktion nach einem historischen Roman zum Preise ihres hochheiligen Fridericus suchte, versagte ihr unfehlbarer Rasseinstinkt . . . so gründlich, daß sie das Erzeugnis einer volljüdischen Feder erkor . . . !" (July 1937: 2).

⁶Parallels to Günther Wallraff's investigation of the Bild Zeitung are striking. Wallraff tries to prove that the political message of the paper is to be found in the sports section.

Ludwig Tieck and the Renaissance: Questions of Canon on the Cusp of Realism

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Over the years, scholars have bestowed a plethora of names and titles upon Ludwig Tieck, including, but certainly not limited to, "König der Romantik," "Vater der Romantik," "das Schulbeispiel für den romantischen Character" (Stopp 256), "the 'inventor' of *Waldeinsamkeit*" and "the originator of the *mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht*" (Gries 157). What arises from this listing is an informal confirmation of the commonly held notion that Tieck's oeuvre belongs part and parcel to the Romantic movement. Yet for all of the seeming agreement about Tieck's role as an originator and main proponent of the Romantic spirit, there is still a lot of controversy among scholars about his works. One pithy summation of the problem claims that Tieck has never been "als geistige Einheit erfaßt worden, sondern immer romantischer Torso geblieben" (Thalmann 117).

This image of the torso, something broken and incomplete, refers to the status of Tieck criticism in which his early works, with their *Waldeinsamkeit* and *Zaubernacht*, have come to be so far privileged above his later production as to leave his most mature writings in a shadow of comparative critical neglect. To give yet another critical summation: "*Vittoria Accorombona*, Ludwig Tieck's Meisterwerk . . . ist heute fast vergessen" (Taraba 329). This may seem to be an oxymoron, that a "Meisterwerk" can be "vergessen," but a quick look at the criticism bears this out. For example: in two of the standard literary biographies of Tieck, Edwin Zeydel's 1935 *Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist* and Roger Paulin's 1985 *Ludwig Tieck, a Literary Biography*, a total of seven pages are devoted to discussion of *Vittoria Accorombona*. Perhaps even more disturbing is the fact that these seven pages also happen to be riddled with incorrect summaries of the action of the book and serious misrepresentations of its style and goals.¹ In spite of Tieck's position as a recognizably "canonized" writer, this

appellation seems to apply only to the well-known early works, such as *Der gestiefelte Kater*, *Der blonde Eckbert*, and *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*. What is excluded, or as it were, "forgotten," are the works of Tieck's maturity like *Vittoria Accorombona*, but also including *Des Lebens Überfluß* and *Der junge Tischlermeister*. These works are seldom read and even less often discussed in undergraduate courses and scholarly journals. Many theories exist as to why the mature production of such a well-known writer would attract so little interest: some readers locate the problem in the financial pressures Tieck experienced during his later years, which they feel forced him to produce inferior works; others point to a general lack of, or at least waning, talent, a lack of "character," growing artistic and political conservatism, or his increased focus on editing and critical writing. But the crux of the problem, which none of these explanations takes into account, is the difficulties inherent in presenting a unified reading of a polarized production. Tieck's late works simply do not resemble the Romanticism of his earlier works: they show instead a move toward realism and historical narrative.

Some critics make it very clear that they cannot accept this seemingly innocuous description of the modulation in Tieck's style over the course of his career. Others recognize that something is wrong with the state of Tieck research, but cannot seem to pinpoint, much less overcome, the difficulties. But before this problem can be properly interpreted in terms of its causes, it is first necessary to establish a firm understanding of the change in Tieck's style which lies at the root of this critical disagreement. One of the most fruitful methods for choosing examples in this context is based not only upon the historical progression of Tieck's career as a writer, but also on the author's depiction of history in his works, more specifically the period of the Italian Renaissance and the ways in which his attitude toward this era and his use of historical material changes drastically over the course of fifty years. The two works which provide the most elaborate and contrasting depictions of this period are the early *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, published in 1798, and the much later *Vittoria Accorombona*, published in 1840.

Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen is easily recognizable as a work which fits into any basic definition of Romantic style. The prose is hybridized with the inclusion of numerous poetic insertions, and all

of the most common Romantic tropes, like art, nature, *Phantasie*, *Sehnsucht*, and *Wanderlust* figure prominently in the story. The novel opens in Germany, but from the beginning of the book it is made clear that the eponymous protagonist, a young painter, is bound for Italy, the land of Raphael and Michelangelo. The action of the novel takes place around 1520, which can be determined by the references to the death of Raphael, but one does not get much of a sense of Italy or the Renaissance from the book, as it is only in the last ten pages or so of the existing fragment that Franz Sternbald actually reaches Rome, his goal. Furthermore, Franz's only eyewitness description of the eternal city is actually quite pale in comparison with the fantasies and dreams of Rome related in the first part of the novel. A blazing sunset and a view of St. Peter's are the only details which are given as a culmination for all of Sternbald's visions.

Rome, and Italy by extension, are abstracted instead into a generalized utopia, a sort of Valhalla for the gods of the *Kunstreligion*, and realistic details are never given the chance to prove or disprove this characterization. Rome is "Frühling," a place which is in its "glänzendste Epoche," and where experiences transform the artist (especially the German artist) so that he may truly appreciate art. It is a place without cares, which refreshes the soul, where "Wollust die Vögel zum Singen abtreibt, wo jeder kühle Baumschatten Liebe duftet, wo es dem Bache in den Mund gelegt ist, von Wonne zu rieseln und zu scherzen" (380). It is also the place where Franz finds the woman whose image has haunted him, and who, he had been told, was dead. But none of these positive characterizations give the reader any sense of place and time as anything other than an artistic utopia.

This attitude is confirmed in a chapter authored by Tieck in the nearly contemporaneous work, *Herzensergießungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*. The chapter is entitled "Sehnsucht nach Italien," but the narrator's longing for this place is stated only in terms of its role as a "Kunsth Heimat" and little else. In fact, this short chapter repeatedly undermines the concept of actually traveling to Italy: the entire passage is said to have been written by someone who has never been there, and the narrative voice of the monk characterizes those who have been to Italy with a dismissive "so mancher reist hin und kommt zurück und weiß dann nicht wo er gewesen ist und was er gesehen hat . . ." (12). The narrator continues in this vein, expressing

a childish disbelief that this place could be so far away, yet when someone spreads a map out before him he loses himself in reveries: "ich durchwandere mit meinem Geiste die Städte, Flecken und Dörfer—ach! und fühle nur zu bald, daß alles Einbildung sei" (12). *Einbildung* it is indeed, not just the trip, but the entire concept of the perfect "gelobte Land der Kunst" (12).

One of the very few elements that lend any sense of the historical place and time to *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* are the numerous names of contemporary artists given in the book. The most important of these is Raphael, but Franz is informed early in his journey that Raphael is dead, which makes the question of historically accurate portrayal a moot one. Although copious real names of Italian artists of the period are given, none of the other characters among the Italians is featured and developed, aside from certain cliché attributes such as their lust for life and love of art. In fact, the only one to whom any characterization is attached is Francesco Rustici, about whom the anecdote is related that his "Gutherzigkeit" causes him to give all of his money away. Even if this anecdote were historically accurate, it would still be a unicum in the text in this respect.

It is commonly held that this portrayal of the Italian Renaissance in *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* is derived not from any historical research but rather from another fictional portrayal of that famous place and time, namely Johann Jakob Wilhelm Heinse's *Ardinghella und die glückseligen Inseln* (1787), which is also credited as being the first German *Künstlerroman* (Paulin 263). This means that Tieck's early portrait of the Renaissance is adapted not from history, but rather from literature, at least once removed from the recorded events of the time. The inception of the novel *Vittoria Accorombona* is also in some ways based upon literature, as it is known that Tieck first heard of the figure Vittoria (or Virginia) Accorombona (or Corombona) through his research into English literature, the source being John Webster's 1612 play "The White Devil." Although Vittoria was probably attractive to Tieck because she was, according to several sources, a poet (Landau 312), Tieck makes it clear in his introduction to the novel that his method and goals in the composition of this novel are very different from those demonstrated in *Franz Sternbald*. First, he lists a number of sources in which he researched references to the historical Vittoria.² He admits that much in his version of the story is invented, but he seems to regret this need for fiction, explaining that these de-

partures from the historical record occur only because of gaps in the accounts of her life. Also in this introduction, Tieck sets forth what almost sounds like a Rankean program of representation "wie es eigentlich gewesen war": "Vieles in diesem Roman ist aber nicht erfunden, sondern der Wahrheit gemäß dargestellt . . . Ein Gemälde der Zeit, des Verfalls der Italienischen Staaten sollte das Seelengemälde als Schattenseite erhellen, und in das wahre Licht erheben" (541-2). Tieck also goes on to criticize Webster for his "Verleumdung" of Vittoria, and states his desire to rehabilitate this figure, while at the same time unflinchingly depicting the backdrop of a Renaissance society which is no longer an artist's utopia, but "Verfall" and "Schattenseite."

It is this "Gemälde der Zeit" and the linguistic style with which it is painted which sets *Vittoria Accorombona* so far apart from *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, and from Tieck's stylistic association with the Romantic school altogether. For this novel bears none of the standard markings of the Romantic prose work, such as one would find in Novalis, Eichendorff, or indeed Tieck's own early writings. Rather than following the spiritual journey of a single male protagonist, the main character is both female and fairly mature at the opening of the novel. Panegyrics to nature and springtime are subordinated to everyday life and the family crises brought about by the harshness of the times. Perhaps the most telling stylistic departure from the Romantic prose style, however, is the lack of any lyrical insertions in the novel at all. This is not to say that poetry does not play a role in the novel, for the poetry of Vittoria and her circle is often featured. But these poems are always given in prose form, often with the disclaimer "ein Gedicht dessen Inhalt ohngefähr dieses war . . ." (584). Tieck does not want to put words (and German words at that) into his re-creation's mouth, and he does not want to disrupt the prose flow of the novel with lyrical interjections, no matter how warranted they may be by the course of events. It can be conjectured that this shift in prose style stems not only from a change in representational goals, but also from a change in literary models, for the writing of this novel follows upon Tieck's discovery of Sir Walter Scott, whom he much admired, and whose stylistic influence can be seen in *Vittoria Accorombona*.

The technique through which the image of Italy is presented in the novel is also very different from that used in *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, which basically consisted of various characters saying

positive but abstract things which they attributed to Italy. In this novel, very little is actually said explicitly, with the one real exception of Vittoria's statement near the beginning of the novel:

. . . wie schrecklich und gespenstisch mir diesmal die Stadt vorkommt. Dies große ewige Rom, um das uns so viele Fremde beneiden, und den Aufenthalt dort als einen glückseligen preisen—o wie greulich, furchterfüllt, entsetzlich erscheinen mir diesmal seine Straßen und Plätze! Ich habe eine Vorempfindung, als wenn mir dort das allergrößte Unglück meines Lebens begegnen, als wenn ich dort untergehen müsse. (587-8)

This utterance sets the tone for Tieck's development of the Italian state and society as an impersonal main character in the novel. Tieck carefully represents the various levels of this society, and shows how each of these groups lives its life in disharmony with the ideals of beauty and art embodied in his protagonist. The Church hierarchy, as represented in the figures of Cardinal Farnese and Vittoria's brother, Ottavio, is shown to be lustful and hypocritical, doling out favors when it suits them and withholding them when there is hope of personal gain. The nobility is characterized as idle, frivolous, morally lax, and violent. "Das Volk" is more concerned with folk tales than realities, spreading rumors during Vittoria's incarceration ". . . von Bezauberung, Gift, Gespenstern und Geständnissen auf der Folter" (764). In fact, of all the various levels of this society, the bandits receive the most sympathetic portrayal, for although they are posited as the enemies of the state and agents of chaos, they are primarily "good" citizens of the merchant middle class, driven by violent times to violent measures, who at least have the integrity to recognize honor in others and keep their word, once given. It is this vision of the entire spectrum of a fallen society that culminates in the murder of the extraordinarily talented and beautiful Vittoria. This reading is underscored by the fates of the other talented or good and innocent characters in the novel, such as Torquato Tasso, another artist figure whose fate is parallel to Vittoria's own, and Count Pepoli, whose indefatigable efforts to gain the release of his cousin from the custody of the bandits only leads to his arrest for complicity with them and his later murder in the Pope's jail.

Within this framework of the depiction of Renaissance society as a whole and the figure of Vittoria in particular, Tieck is faithful to his historical sources, while also achieving his goal of reversing the characterizations in Webster's drama.³ He does bend and adapt the historical record in some places, mostly in the omission of details such as Vittoria's reputation as a spendthrift with elaborate tastes, which would have impeded his goal of rehabilitating her character. It is also often pointed out that the "Salonkultur" portrayed in the novel is an anachronism out of the nineteenth century. But overall, when looked at in the wider perspective of the development of the historical novel in Germany, it is striking that Tieck produced a work so well constructed and so serious in its portrayal of history at this time with so little in the way of native examples.⁴

The questions that remain at the end of this discussion center around the issues of why these changes occurred in Tieck, and why they have attracted so little critical attention. The change is after all quite striking: in this novel Tieck has repudiated not only the tropes of Romanticism (such as the image of Renaissance Italy as a "Kunstheimat"), but also the language and the entire theoretical standpoint of the Romantics. Some evidence as to why and how this happened can be found in Tieck's letters, especially those exchanged with the Breslau history professor Friedrich von Raumer, in which Tieck writes of growing tensions with the Schlegels, a dislike for E.T.A. Hoffmann, and a growing sense that a poet like himself should approach history in the same manner as a historian (Zeydel 866). Another important source in this context are Tieck's essays, especially "Goethe und seine Zeit" (1828). In this essay, Tieck discusses the political and moral dimension of the work of art, that reflects the spirit of its time and makes visible the intersection of history and contemporary society, while also lifting society up to a higher form of existence. Tieck also expresses in the essay a view of art as interdependent with society, a concept which implies certain social and historical responsibilities for the artist. This commentary is underscored by Tieck's reaction to a review of *Vittoria Accorombona* written by C.J. Braniss, a professor of philosophy at Breslau. What Braniss saw in the novel was just such a contemporary resonance, a warning to Tieck's own time portrayed in the clash of revolutionary forces to the detriment of art and beauty. Tieck greeted this reading with the overwhelm-

ingly positive statement "Welche Freude, auf diese Art verstanden zu werden" (Lillyman 133), and saw to it that the essay was reprinted with the novel. Only one modern critic has made any further attempt to find political resonances in this text, but in order to do so he refers back to the horrors of revolutionary France occurring at the time of Tieck's first exposure to the Vittoria Accorombona material, in 1792, a point in time when Tieck would hardly have been receptive to this kind of thinking (Kern 185). One other critic has read the roughly contemporaneous work *Des Lebens Überfluß* (1839) as a political statement, but has not extended this reading to *Vittoria Accorombona* as Tieck seems to have wanted.

One of the possible reasons why this interesting problem has not attracted more scholarly attention could be the fact that there is no standard modern critical edition of Tieck's works and letters. This is a particular hindrance in the case of the letters, which exist in 50 separate places, and the critical essays, which have not been reprinted in full since the 1848 Leipzig edition. Compounding this is the strength of the long-standing perception of Tieck as a Romantic, discussed in the introduction above. This *Tieckbild* may well have been established as early as during Tieck's own lifetime, for as he became more and more distant from the Romantic circle, he also failed to endear himself to the Young Germans, who rejected him for his politics (Klett 38-39). Hence, the originally positive reception of *Vittoria Accorombona* was unable to maintain any momentum, and the late Tieck could soon be grouped with "den teilweisen vergessenen Dichtern des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Paulin 249) just like his Realist counterparts Auerbach, Alexis, Spielhagen, and a host of others.⁵ Forty years ago, Marianne Thalmann wrote about the state of Tieck criticism: "Tieck muß vor allem wiedergelesen werden. . . . Eine Gesamtschau braucht den Romantiker nicht zu morden, damit der Realist lebe, aber das Cliché vom Romantischen mag sich wandeln müssen" (123). This statement is as true today as when Thalmann first made it. Only through such a unified vision of his works can the conundrum of Tieck scholarship be rectified, and only then can the change in his literary style be studied and pursued as an important aspect of any understanding of this enigmatic and talented writer.

Notes

¹ It is in Zeydel's five pages that the misquotations of the text are found: for example he claims that Bracciano is in jail when Vittoria is killed (he is actually long dead) and that Tieck's main source of information is Webster (whom Tieck refutes in the preface). Paulin's two pages present a reading of the novel based on "das Wunderbare," which makes the text sound like a Hoffmann tale.

² Tieck lists his sources as including Quadrio, Tiraboschi, Riccoboni, Marosini, and Lebret.

³ This aspect of the novel can be best seen in the chart compiled by Christiane Keck in her book *Renaissance and Romanticism*, 20.

⁴ The appearance of this novel in 1840 is after all quite early, only three years after Berthold Auerbach's *Spinoza* novel and predating Willibald Alexis' *Die Hosen des Herrn von Bredow* by more than six.

⁵ The strength of this enduring one-sided reading of Tieck has also been demonstrated in modern scholarship, for a large number of dissertations and minor books dealing with this aspect of his writing cropped up in the early part of this century, only to be quickly discounted or outstripped by the standard, insufficient readings.

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Klopstock: National-patriotische Gedanken eines deutschen Poeten

Stefan Jux

Aus Anlaß seines zweihundertjährigen Geburtstags im Jahre 1924 wurde Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock zur Ehre in Deutschland eine Münze geprägt. Zwei Inschriften würdigen Klopstock als Poeten der Religion und des Patriotismus. Auf der einen Seite der Medaille ist der erste Vers des "Messias" eingraviert: "Sing, unsterbliche Muse, der sündigen Menschen Erlösung" (1: 1).¹ Auf der anderen Seite befinden sich Verse seiner patriotischen Ode "Mein Vaterland": "Ich sinne dem edlen, schreckenden Gedanken nach,/ Deiner wert zu sein, mein Vaterland" (4: 216).

Daß Klopstocks Patriotismus auf einem religiösen Fundament steht, bzw. seine Religiosität immer auch national ist, ist Grundvoraussetzung für das Verständnis von Klopstocks national-patriotischer Literatur und soll deshalb im folgenden erläutert werden. Die Isolierung von Klopstocks national-patriotischen Gedanken aus ihrem literarischen Kontext und die Trennung von ihrer pietistischen Grundlage führten dazu, daß Klopstock für die nationalistisch-militante Propaganda der Befreiungskriege, des wilhelminischen und faschistischen Deutschlands mißbraucht werden konnte. Ob die von einem Literaturwissenschaftler aufgezeigten "gefährlichsten Wirkungen aus dem Klopstockschen Laboratorium der Phantasie" (Kaiser 168) dem Dichter direkt anzulasten sind oder ob ihm die tragische Rolle eines "Zauberlehrlings" zukommt, sei dem individuellen Urteil des Lesers überlassen.

Die Forschungsliteratur der Nachkriegszeit hat sich jedenfalls mehr der poetologischen Fragestellungen in Klopstocks Lyrik angenommen und sich eher dem empfindsam-pietistischen Dichter der Liebe, der Freundschaft, der Natur und der Religion zugewandt. Diese Untersuchung soll sich auf drei Facetten von Klopstocks Patriotismus beschränken, wie sie sich in seinen Oden, Epen und Prosastücken