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CENSORSHIP, SECRETS, CORRESPONDENCES, AND FREEDOM: THE LITERARY PUBLIC IN THE VIENNESE BIEDERMEIER

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TAMARA KAMATOVIC

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For Mathilda Ildikó

Acknowledgments

My introduction to German literature was through Bertolt Brecht's dramas and poems. His poem "An die Nachgeborenen" is one of the reasons I decided to spend more time reading German, in particular the last verses:

> Ach, wir
> Die wir den Boden bereiten wollten für Freundlichkeit
> Konnten selber nicht freundlich sein.
>
> Ihr aber, wenn es so weit sein wird
> Dass der Mensch dem Menschen ein Helfer ist
> Gedenkt unserer
> Mit Nachsicht.[1]

These lines were written in the hope that future generations would understand that relations of friendship are founded on acts of solidarity. I have been fortunate to have many friends during my time as a graduate student at the University of Chicago, and this dissertation would not have been possible without them.

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[1] Bertolt Brecht, "An die Nachgeborenen," 1934-1938.

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Introduction: The Biedermeier and the Literary Public

This dissertation is about two things: it is about a period called the "Biedermeier," which spanned the years between the Vienna Congress and the European Spring of Nations and it is about the development of a literary public in Central Europe in the nineteenth century. The term "Biedermeier" can be parsed in many different ways. It has loosely-related meanings in different European languages: in German, the meaning rests on the root "*bieder*," an adjective that denotes the character traits of loyalty and uprightness, but through association with the political project of Restoration in post-revolutionary Europe has come to mean "boring person," "petty bourgeois," or "conformist." In Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, the word "*bidermajer*" is most often used to refer to a type of wedding bouquet, derived from a period style that emphasized domesticity, comfort, and practicality. It was first introduced to the world in the pages of the *Fliegende Blätter*, a humorist satirical magazine based in Munich, which featured the character Weiland Gottlieb Biedermeier.[2] Beyond these meanings, the word "Biedermeier" contains within it a historical narrative about the decades following the French Revolution and its extension into the Napoleonic Wars. It tells a story about a withdrawal from the public sphere, a fear of politics, and weak, despised chancellors and ministers who failed to stem the tides of change. It ends with the 1848 revolutions, which inaugurated the second half of the nineteenth

[2] "Willst wissen du, mein lieber Christ?
wer das geplagte Männlein ist?
Die Antwort lautet allgemein:
ein armes Dorfschulmeisterlein

Bei einem kargen Stückchen Brod,
umgeben von Sorgen, Mühe, und Noth,
Sollte es dem Staate nützlich sein,
das arme Dorfschulmeisterlein…"
"Auserlesene Gedichte von Weiland Gottlieb Biedermaier. Das arme Dorfschulmeisterlein." *Fliegende Blätter*, 1855, Nr. 511, 49, University Library of Heidelberg.

century, bringing Europe forward into the modern age of the Industrial Revolution and paving the way for the freedom of the press.

I tell a different story about the Biedermeier. I begin in Chaper One with censors in 1810 and investigate the extent to which their intervention into the literary market was influenced by theories about literature, including a theory of genre, reader response, and the role of fantasy in fiction. Those theories are considered together with individual censorship practices, which can be reconstituted through the evaluations that censors wrote about texts and literary works. I argue that these documents show that they paid scrupulous attention to the formal features of analysis and writing and demonstrate the ways in which their normative conceptions about literature and other disciplines of knowledge influenced their analysis of the suitability of books for circulation.

Chapter Two investigates the pornographers of Vienna's literary underground through a discussion of a secret society called the "Ludlamshöhle." It shows how members of that society responded to state censorship through pornographic distortion and parody and refracted hierarchies, forms of address, and honorifics into a "caliphate" in which they configured authority around the figure of obscenity. Through a close reading of a pornographic work *Die Sauglocke* (1840), I show how the society embedded references to politics and censorship in an obscene register.

Chapter Three takes a sharp detour from these two masculine spheres of the literary public to look at Caroline Pichler, an Austrian salonière who would later be known under the epithet "Madame Biedermeier." It explores the continuities between her biographical person and her vast literary oeuvre, where she conceived of an Austrian identity in which she suggested that bourgeois women should play a role.

Chapter Four ends with the mid-century revolutions through a discussion of three poems printed in the first days of March of 1848, contrasting the attitudes expressed to the theme of freedom in these texts with Franz Grillparzer's famous novella *Der arme Spielmann*, which he wrote more than a decade prior to the revolutions. I argue that Grillparzer's novella already contained reflections on the role of the artist to freedom, both in his relation to the state and his audience.

The new story that this dissertation tells is about a period of contradiction and instability in Central European history that has frequently been the object of ridicule. This is in part because the word "Biedermeier" (when it does not refer to a style in the fine arts and furniture) is almost always a pejorative ascription from the Other. Much like Slavoj Žižek has argued about the instability of the location "the Balkans," the Biedermeier often lies (or has its origins) elsewhere, and few want to be included in the movement.[3] This is especially true about its supposed geographical origin in Europe. I have chosen Vienna as a site of literary production in which features —both historical and formal— of the Biedermeier are indisputable. A *bon mot* (incorrectly) ascribed to Metternich says that the Balkans began at the entrance to his palace on Rennweg, referring to the "wilderness" that lay outside of the inner walls of Vienna. In the same way, the Biedermeier is widely believed to have begun inside those city walls while he was Chancellor of the Habsburg Empire.

The word "literary public" comes from Jürgen Habermas's landmark study on transformations in the public sphere, which describes the development of interrelated social phenomena that emerged from literary communication, including salons, secret societies, journalism, pamphlets, and diverse media from the newspaper to the television.[4] Habermas

[3] Slavoj Žižek. "The Spectre of Balkan." *The Journal of the International Institute*, Volume 6, Issue 2, Winter 1999.
[4] Jürgen Habermas. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1990).

placed the literary public in a direct relationship with the political public, noting the difference between the private and the public as a difference that emerged first in the private sphere: "Innerhalb des den Privatleuten vorbehaltenen Bereichs unterscheiden wir deshalb Privatsphäre und Öffentlichkeit."[5] The private sphere refers to the foundations of bourgeois life: the trade of goods and other economic forms of exchange in which the family was embedded through relations of production and consumption. The political sphere or the political public is related to statecraft, which requires the use of literary media in order to communicate the needs of the state to the social body and the needs of the social body back to the state: "Die politische Öffentlichkeit geht aus der literarischen hervor."[6] Thus the literary public constitutes a landscape shaped by the force of literature and its media, for example, by the activities of reading and spectatorship, which are embedded in the geography of European cities:

> Le public heißen im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts die lecteurs, spectateurs, auditeurs als Adressaten, Konsumenten und Kritiker der Kunst und Literatur; noch verstand man darunter in erster Linie den Hof, dann auch die Teile des städtischen Adels samt einer schmalen bürgerlichen Obersicht, die in den Logen der Pariser Theater sitzen. Zu diesem frühen Publikum gehören also Hof und "Stadt".[7]

My dissertation uses the framework of the literary public and its relation to the politics of statecraft in order to lay the foundation for a reassessment of the Biedermeier. My four case studies explore the interweaving activities of different groups segmented across the capital of the Habsburg Empire, the heart of Central Europe.

This study considers itself a contribution to the literary history of Central Europe. It is based on research on primary sources including censorship vota, letters, and images that were uncovered in the holdings of the Austrian State Archives (the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*), the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, and the *Wien Bibliothek*. It combines that research with

[5] Ibid, 90.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

close readings of canonical and non-canonical texts in order to uncover new territories of literary communication in Viennese society between 1810 and 1848. I consider those territories through different literary personalities or types: from Caroline Pichler, the self-styled bourgeois homemaker and unlikely vessel for a new Austrian national identity, to the nineteenth-century hybrid author-civil servant represented both by the biographical person of Franz Grillparzer and his work. I examine the extent to which literary texts and documents about reading, literature, and literacy can provide a glimpse into the inner lives of these Biedermeier subjects — both into their self-understanding in relation to formal, definable features like class and profession, but also in relation to their hopes, desires, fears, and disappointments. Literature is not the primary source for "everyday history" (*Alltagsgeschichte*) but it can represent the collective aspirations and fears of a generation. Within literature there are traces of writing, reading, and exegesis stemming from historical persons, and I see the archival task as an effort to reflect that world (however remote).

The forms and conventions found in the source material, most directly in the censorship documents, have shaped the narrative of this dissertation. The censorship evaluations I discuss in the first chapter have endured for over two centuries as manuscripts in holdings that document communications between the state chancellery and the police. They survived a fire that changed the course of Austrian history in 1926 at the Palace of Justice (*Justizpalastbrand*), in which many censorship documents were destroyed. Censorship evaluations are genuine palimpsests. Many are illegible to those without extensive training in reading *Kurrent*. They are written in many hands, sometimes scrawled over each other. They often feature blocks of texts that are crossed out with notes above and along the sides of the body text. These superscriptions, erasures, and insertions underline the fragility of censorship judgments and recall the subjectivity inherent in

the act of censoring. They also, however, show the extent to which censorship was a collective effort. Even with a perspective that highlights the ideas underlying state censorship, the documents that I discuss reveal how capricious and unpredictable censorship decisions could be. It is, thus, difficult to speak of a "programmatic" approach to censorship. Instead, the act of censoring and the foundational — more deliberate — state theories on which censorship practices during the period were built meet somewhere in the middle, revealing a moment in which the production of literature and the sale of books caused apprehension and solicited efforts to enforce new standards of publishing.

A reading of censorship literature has, further, brought to my attention the many ways in it has been discussed in history and literature. The celebrated novelist Salman Rushdie compared it to a knife, writing that censorship, which is not good for art or artists, cuts across works and once it intrudes onto art it "becomes the subject … The censor labels the work immoral, or blasphemous, or pornographic, or controversial, and those words are forever hung like albatrosses around the necks of those cursed mariners, the censored works."[8] This warning about censorship resonates with anyone who has read and loved *Ulysses* or *Moby Dick*. But what Rushdie's poignant account excludes is not only the extent to which censorship often aimed to improve works, but the almost unnavigable vastness of censorship documents: from the Vatican to Vienna to East Berlin and British India, censorship history implies centuries of (often impenetrable) bureaucracy and diligent interventions, which were framed as corrections, editorial remarks, and (sometimes) correspondence with authors. Censorship, this dissertation argues, is a manifestation of a constraint or limitation on literature, but it is also a method of reading and understanding books. My approach to censorship does not relativize it, but rather argues that a

[8] Salman Rushdie. "On Censorship." *The New Yorker* (May 11, 2012).

richer and deeper understanding of censorship history provides a better understanding of the conditions under which literature is (often) produced.

A genre that has further impacted this dissertation's methodology is represented by the autobiographical fiction in the prolific memoir writing of the period. Biedermeier authors — from statesmen to forgotten one-time celebrities —left behind a vast wealth of writing about themselves they sought to canonize under the unassuming, generic title of "*Denkwürdigkeiten*." These memoirs brim with anecdotes from long ago: from tales of strict schoolmasters, to personal romances, life in the Viennese underground, tea with the Schlegels at a summer home, and the events of the 1848 revolutions. They describe a world that very likely never existed: a place called "Alt-Wien," which represents a pre-industrial, provincialized projection of a capital. The memoirs are an indispensable resource and ubiquitous in investigations on the Biedermeier, most prominently in musicology. I have made an effort at a judicious selection of this genre. I have been able to fact check some of the claims made in them: for example, I was able to uncover a letter from the musician and Ludlamite Julius Benedict to the "Ludlamshöhle," which confirmed accounts left by the provocateur Ignaz Franz Castelli regarding honorifics and titles assigned to several members in the group. It has also been possible to crosscheck some of the anecdotes in memoirs with articles published in feuilletons and daily newspapers to assess whether the author of the memoir was relating factual information, or indulging in fantasy.

These memoirs represent more than mere source material. They share so many commonplaces that it is possible to speak of them as a "genre," and they demonstrate the extent to which this generation of writers was shaped by similar experiences and shared attitudes towards art and life. The playwright Eduard Bauernfeld's "schoolhouse" is thus transformed into

a repository of fear, resentment, and insecurity, which returns in Grillparzer's fictional work in refracted form, and Castelli's "Ludlamshöhle" finds a strange correspondent in Pichler's salon.

This dissertation is in conversation with methodologies that view literary criticism and literary-historical research as a broad field of investigation that should include timeless masterworks alongside forgotten bestsellers, obscene poems, feuilleton articles, memoirs, and correspondences. This is one of the reasons for my selection of texts, which have not been well studied outside of the context of "Austrian studies." Caroline Pichler, who published sixty volumes of prose, essays, novels, and historical dramas, has, for example, mostly been forgotten outside of a few critical investigations of her contributions to women's writing and Austrian-focused studies in German studies. Ignaz Franz Castelli, the primary stenographer of the "Ludlamshöhle" in the years after 1848, has also not been regarded much outside of Austria, where he is best known for his patronage and founding of different animal sanctuaries and clubs (*Tierschutzvereine*), and he makes only fleeting appearances in musicological studies due to his association with Franz Schubert. My dissertation makes a case for why perspectives like those of Pichler and Castelli add nuance to a period that has been both understudied and poorly understood.

Inevitably, a dissertation on literature approaches historical questions from the point of view of texts. This means that I have not been able to include a view of the Biedermeier "from below." Diaries of tradesmen, letters, and the household budgets of farm workers or merchants might give a very different picture of the 1848 revolutions than the one that I have provided, which tells the story of freedom from the point of view of a ragged fiddler in Franz Grillparzer's famous novella. One way at which to get at a broader social geography of the period is through a reconstruction of readership. My dissertation focuses on the construction of "spheres" in the

literary public more than the interactions between readers and writers. This could be expanded through a history of the feuilleton during the first decades of the nineteenth century with a view to reconstructing its circulation, or by approaching alleged surges in literacy in Austria or in Europe over the period through documents held in university archives, or other educational institutions.

Another way to broaden the scope of this study would be to look at the three theater houses outside of the city walls (the *Vorstadttheater*), which became a new space in the nineteenth century in which censors and playwrights and audiences each played a role. Given the specificity of Austrian theater censorship, which has its own unique history dating back to the Karl Hägelin censorship directives of 1795 and the singularity of theater as a medium, I have chosen to forsake study of the most compelling Biedermeier artists: the playwrights Johann Nestroy and Ferdinand Raimund. They are, however, present in the background of this dissertation, and an extension of this study would include them in combination with a discussion on theater censorship independently of the censorship history I have uncovered thus far. In his paean to the playwright Johann Nestroy, the famously rancorous Austrian writer and journalist Karl Kraus wrote about the significance of the theater house (in all of its physicality) and the crucial role of improvisation for Nestroy's work, chiding the literary historian for failing to note these aspects in their politicized reconstructions of his life:

> Daß auch die niedrige Theaterwirkung hier irgendwie der tieferen Bedeutung zugute kam, indem sie das Publikum von ihr separierte, und daß es selbst wieder tiefere Bedeutung hat, wenn das Orchester die Philosophie mit Tusch verabschiedet, spüren die Literaturhistoriker nicht, die wohl fähig sind Nestroy zu einer politischen Überzeugung aber nicht, ihm zu dem Text verhelfen, der sein unsterblich Teil deckt. […] Er schrieb im Stehgreif, aber er wußte nicht, daß der Ritt übers Repertoire hinausgehen werde.[9]

[9] Karl Kraus. *Nestroy und die Nachwelt zum 50. Todestage. Gesprochen im Grossen Musikvereinssaal in Wien* (Vienna: Jahoda & Siegel), 7.

This literary-historical study, however, has aimed to lay the foundation for studies that look at Biedermeier artists less as prisoners of their restrictive environment (whether trapped by censorship, or the limits of their chosen medium) to underline the emerging contradictions they harnessed for their art.

I have focused on Vienna as the center of the Habsburg Empire, and I have looked at Austrian or German authors writing in German. My approach to the center is not defined by a philosophy of literature that contrasts the center with the periphery, or looks at the geographical segmentation of literature as a distribution of political power. Instead, my approach implies that the politics of statecraft and its relationship to literature are best represented in the capital. Thus, one reason that I am able to cite statesmen like Friedrich von Gentz alongside pornographers like Ignaz Castelli, or place the Chancellor of Austria's views on censorship in a dialogue with those of a self-professed "housewife" are because they all lived in the Empire's capital. Moreover, the authors and censors who were active during this period did not consider themselves a part of a narrow German-speaking minority in Europe, but as citizens of a cosmopolitan Empire. Censors and authors in the Biedermeier were much less restricted by the limitations of language or identity than their successors at the end of the nineteenth century. I show that even Caroline Pichler, who made moral arguments for the necessity of an Austrian identity, did not base her claims in notions of German cultural superiority, but rather in the embracive language of Empire. Potential expansions of this dissertation would look, thus, at the relationship between different segments of the Habsburg Empire and consider the extent to which cosmopolitanism shaped the lives and works of authors. They would also study the relationship between the center and the periphery — both in and outside of Austria — and track the significant differences or aberrations between different censorship practices and literary populations across geography and language.

The study of the "Biedermeier" has mostly taken place within the context of investigations researching the nineteenth-century zeitgeist. These investigations were the subject of an exhaustive undertaking by the German literary historian Friedrich Sengle, who coined the term "Biedermeierzeit" in his three-volume study.[10] Sengle argued that "anxiety" played a key role in shaping cultural production from 1815-1848. He showed how disappointment and resignation were spread across artworks of the period and were reflected in accounts documenting everyday life. He argued that anxiety was related both to "national disappointment," including sentiments of xenophobia that resulted from confrontation with the French during the Napoleonic Wars, but also extended to a general feeling of "constriction" and lack of freedom due to state censorship and extensive poverty. He described related phenomena in the politics of the era, which included the restoration of the nobility and a precipitous rise in collectivism (here he cites the institutionalization of clubs salons, and journals).

New research on the Biedermeier has suggested, however, that study of the period is diminished by its relationship to Sengle.[11] His involvement in the National Socialist Party, which included significant years during which he was building his academic career in Germany, casts some of his theories in a new light, particularly a tendency in his work to romanticize the first decades of the nineteenth century and his emphasis on the inevitability of the "Metternich era." The lasting effect of Sengle's work on current studies of the Biedermeier has had the effect of tarring that research with the same brush, and real contradictions emerging from the period, both

[10] Friedrich Sengle. *Die Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1971-1980).

[11] An article published in 2017 by Tilman Venzl and Yvonne Zimmermann on the reception of the German Biedermeier author Annette Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848) has uncovered these details. Tilman Venzl and Yvonne Zimmermann, "Die Biedermeierzeit als verfallenes Forschungsmoment. Anmerkungen zu Friedrich Sengle am Beispiel der Droste-Forschung." *Scientia Poetica*. 2017. 21(1): 64-98.

in its literature and politics, are blurred and overshadowed by conservative biases.[12] There has, moreover, not yet been an extensive investigation into the relation between Sengle's later studies on the nineteenth century and his activities during National Socialism, when he engaged in anti-Semitic research ("*Judenforschung*").

Given the extent and the depth of the ties to Sengle's influence on reception of the Biedermeier period, these criticisms cannot be taken lightly. Sengle's views emerged, in part, out of debates taking place in the 1930s, which were influenced by attempts to reclaim the Biedermeier as a cultural period that conformed to Nazi-era social practices.[13] Virgil Nemoinau, whose book *The Taming of Romanticism* (1984) investigates formal features of the literary Biedermeier across the European continent and discusses its relationship to Romanticism, concisely summed up the chronology of Biedermeier research in its various phases. The first attempts to exalt the literary and cultural era into an autonomous period began in the 1920s and spread into the 1930s under the mantle of scholars writing the "great histories" of the Third Reich. Those scholars stressed continuities between Metternich's Austria and the Nazi regime and praised the era's "nativist" cultural and artistic production

> The interrelations that bind together the years between 1815 and 1848 were too obvious in the literature and the culture of German-speaking areas to be missed … Much like their British counterparts, the proponents of both the Goethezeit and the traditional periodizations are slightly fuzzy about the decades after 1820, sometimes labeling them as "poetischer Realismus." This fuzziness in turn encouraged a rival theory that held the 1815-1848 in German literature represented a unit that can be called "Biedermeier." This

[12] Friedrich Sengle. "Grundstimmung. Fundamentalgeschichtliche Situation. Die Form der Weltdeutung." *Die Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1971), 9-25.

[13] One of the major actors and early theorists of the Biedermeier, Paul Kluckhhohn, was an advisor of Sengle's. Kluckhhohn pioneered debate on the Biedermeier period in the 1920s. He, however, distanced himself from the Nationalist Socialist Party and described himself as a "nationalist." Kluckhhohn was, moreover, disappointed by Sengle's first attempts to contribute to the field of scholarship he had inaugurated: "Denn als Schüler Paul Kluckhhohns, der die erste Hochphase der literaturwissenschaftlichen Biedermeier-Forschung in den 1920er Jahren maßgeblich organisierte, suchte er die Ansätze seines Lehrers zu erneuern […] Dass Kluckhhohn, zu dessen '70. Geburtstag' der Aufsatz vorgesehen war, 'enttäuscht' reagierte, ist wohl nicht zuletzt dem dezidierten sozialgeschichtlichen Ansatz Sengles zuzuschreiben […]" Venzl and Zimmermann, *Op cit*, 68-69.

> point of view was put forward in the 1920s by Paul Kluckhohn, Julius Wiegand, and others, and more systematically after 1931 by Günther Weydt and Wilhelm Beitak, who triggered a substantial scholarly debate in the 1930s. The participants seemed to agree that the writings of the period they discussed had a number of common features: inclination toward morality, a mixture of realism and idealism, peaceful domestic values, idyllic intimacy, lack of passion, coziness, contentedness, innocent drollery, conservatism, resignation. … The debate of the 1930s is now viewed with distrust for three reasons. First, there was widespread suspicion that the reappraisal of the figures of the 1820s and 1830s was nationalistically motivated. The debaters sometimes resorted to ideological arguments meant to bring this period in line with official thinking (for instance underlining that the authors they discussed were "rooted in native soil" and in small communities). Much earlier Adolf Bartels, an anti-Semitic populist, had tried to use Austrian Biedermeier writers as a weapon against the "degenerate" modernisms of pre-World War I literature. Biedermeier writing may well have appealed to the more philistine Nazi *Parteigenossen* for reasons that had little to do with aesthetic values. [14]

Nemoinau's book, which appeared shortly after Sengle's three-volume study, does not address Sengle's potential ties to the 1930s, but he addresses the crucial role that "anxiety" played as a metaphor in organizing the different systems that Sengle discusses in his analysis of the cultural and literary achievements of the *Vormärz* period.

Periodization combines historical methodologies with literary analysis with the aim of describing a dominant "mood" in the culture. It is typically suffused with notions of "destiny," which obscure the concrete conditions of cultural production in favor of understanding the zeitgeist. In light of the conservative-racist biases that have emerged from studies on the Biedermeier, it is important to question how useful the term "Biedermeier" is in providing access to the historical persons considered in those investigations. Nemoianu argues for holding onto it as an epochal placeholder, since it refers not only to a chain of events, or disparate cultural themes, but also to the interplay of various major developments in aesthetic theory and literary practice. These, he argues, include didacticism, a retreat from Romanticism, and the renewal of Enlightenment traditions, which were, for the first time on the continent, "disseminated by the first systematic, modern network of popularization. In the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, in Germany

[14] Virgil Nemoianu, *The Taming of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 3-4.

no less than in the rest of Europe …"[15] Nemoianu uses this question as a point of departure to compare the Austrian (or Central European) Biedermeier to other forms that it took in England and elsewhere on the European continent.

The aesthetic ideology of both early and late German Romanticism lingers in the background of this dissertation. Several of my protagonists defined themselves against the Romantics and Romantic ideology, most notably Caroline Pichler, who considered it a "German Protestant" belief system, which she disassembled in her four-part novel *Frauenwürde*. Friedrich Schlegel famously turned away from early Romanticism after his conversion to Catholicism and his migration to Vienna. These and other stories have formed the basis of scholarship that investigates the relationship of German Romantics to Austria, representing a type of conversation between different parts of German-speaking Europe.[16] My dissertation adds to these conversations through discussions of the censorship regime's views of Romanticism as a movement, together with its categorical rejection of certain Romantic "genres," and through a discussion of Pichler.

The narrative of "interiority" and the story of a flight from politics into the parlor, I argue, belie an understanding of politics that is simplistic. My dissertation shows that criticism of the state was not limited to the political pamphlets or manifestos that circulated (despite censorship) over the course of the first few decades of the nineteenth century, but was also present in novels, novellas, and poetry. My discussion of Pichler's *Frauenwürde* and Castelli's *Die Sauglocke* demonstrates that both housewives and pornographers felt equal to the task of political reflection and put forward substantive critiques and imaginative visions for a shared

[15] Ibid, 7.
[16] See essays on this subject that relate these conversations to Vienna in: Christian Aspalter, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Edith Saurer, Wendelin Schmidt Dengler, Anton Tantner, ed.. *Paradoxien der Romantik,Gesellschaft, Kultur und Wissenschaft in Wien im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 2016).

politics and culture in the Habsburg Empire. Beyond calls for reform in censorship and increased transparency in the state, authors of the period criticized everything from poverty to the lottery and styles of dress and clothing. My notion of politics, thus, is not based in a narrative that contrasts liberal and conservative "values," but rather relies on an interpretation of the self-understanding articulated by authors in relation to each other and in relation to the state. The concepts that I use to discuss these relationships relate back to the notion of "statecraft" and its relationship to literary media.

I owe much of my thinking on literature, archival research, and cultural history to the lucid, imaginative work of Robert Darnton and his many volumes exploring the history of books: from his foundational work on censorship in the Ancien Régime to his contributions on the publishing history of the Enlightenment and his research on the histories of pornography and libel.[17] These are all tools and references for literary historians who want to go beyond "canonical" books to investigate literature as a social force. Darnton's work has uncovered an entire world of censors, readers, publishers, booksellers, and literary middlemen, whose contributions to the literary public in the years leading to the French Revolution were equally important to the work of the most celebrated French enlightenment thinkers. I look at Central Europe from the other side of the Revolution to tell the stories of forgotten Austrians in the decades following that event.

Finally, this dissertation represents an effort to reframe the literary contributions of the nineteenth century and to connect the two halves that have been divided by the midcentury revolutions. An expansion of the study would include aspects that I have mentioned above, but might also look at the development of genres like poetic realism to the literary public that I have laid out. This dissertation shows that censors, pornographers, writers, and housewives tell a very

[17] Darnton's relevant works are appropriately cited in the bibliography and throughout these chapters.

different story about the period than traditional literary histories and argues for their perspectives to come to the fore in the reconstruction of the Biedermeier.

Chapter One: Reading and Writing in Metternich's State: Censorship Philosophy and Practices in Austria (1810-1848)

The first modern censor in Austria was a Dutch physician: Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772), personal doctor to Maria Theresia (1717-1780) and acting coordinator for the Habsburg regent's censorship reform.[18] Beginning with that reform, censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy assumed an administrative character that remained largely consistent in its practices until its abrupt abolition on March 15, 1848.[19] Over the period of almost a century, Austrian censors played a visible role in regulating the literary market and delivering judgments about the suitability of literary works via censorship "vota."[20] These were evaluations in which censors incorporated criteria issued either by decree or outlined in internal state documents to determine whether a work would be banned from or permitted into the homes of the Empire's subjects. Interpretation of those criteria would change over the course of that century, reflecting a shift in ideas from the enlightened absolutism that prevailed during the reign of Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II to the restorationism that characterized the first half of the nineteenth century. While organization around censorship became more efficient and centralized, the primary philosophy underlying censorship practices remained much the same. Censors elaborated a system that sought to guard the health of the body politic from pernicious influences that undermined the Catholic Church, the monarchy, the Austrian state, and morality.

[18] Van Swieten published his ideas on censorship in a manuscript held by the Austrian State Archives titled "Quelques Remarques sur la Censure des Livres" Gerard van Swieten, "Quelques Remarques sur la Censure des Livres." Austrian State Archives Wien Haus – Hof-und Staatsarchiv (HHSA), "Verwaltungsarchiv, Inneres, Hofkanzlei, Allgemeine Reihe, A 1331, Zensur Niederösterreich 1550-1779.

[19] The most thorough overview on the subject of literary censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy (1751 and 1848) is the recent monograph: Norbert Bachleitner. *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

[20] Much of the primary source material from the *Polizeihofstelle* held in the "Österreichisches Verwaltungsarchiv" was either destroyed or damaged in the fire of Vienna's *Justizpalast* during the July Revolt of 1927. This is one reason that Metternich's censorship regime is not as well studied as preceding and succeeding censorship regimes in Austria, or censorship regimes in the German States.

Under Franz II/I (1768-1835) and the Austrian Chancellor Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859), censorship in Austria assumed a "reactionary" character that has influenced perception of the Biedermeier. Definitions and interpretation of pernicious content became more capacious after the French Revolution, which unleashed anxiety at the court in Vienna culminating in the Jacobin Trials (1794-1795). Rumors of Jacobin sympathizers and conspirators who wished to turn Austria into revolutionary France forced a turn to a more guarded literary politics resulting in a regime of censorship that viewed any text of a "political" nature with mistrust. The legacy of the Jacobin Trials was further amplified by revolts around the Habsburg territories and in other parts of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century and by a fear of *Vormärz*-liberalism in the German States.[21]

This chapter looks at censorship under Metternich through the perspective of the censors. I view Metternich's censorship regime as a determinative system that exercised major influence on the development of literary history in the region, both through its regulation of the literary market as well as through its ability to impose definitions and categories on literary genres and media.[22] My view derives from a theory of censorship that looks at censorship interventions as "dialogical practices" existing within the fabric of literary production. I do not seek to minimize

[21] For an overview on censorship in nineteenth-century Europe see: Robert Goldstein. *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), Robert Goldstein. *The Frightful Stage: Political Censorship of the Theater in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), Katy Heady. *Literature and Censorship in Restoration Germany: Repression and Rhetoric* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), Jan Lazardzig. "Der Geschmack der Polizei." *Geschmack und Öffentlichkeit*, ed. Mathias Grottkopp, Hermann Kappelhoff, Benjamin Wihstutz (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2019), 139-163, and Gary Stark. *Banned in Berlin: Literary Censorship in Imperial Germany 1871-1918* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

[22] Censorship history and censorship studies are, therefore, also always media histories. "Zensur, verstanden als 'Prüfung und Beurteilung' einer Äußerung, ist von Anfang an auf das Medium dieser Äußerung fixiert." Klaus Kanzog. "Zensur, literarische." *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*. Second Edition, Vol. 4. (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1984), 1003.

censorship as an expression of state power, but rather to understand how censorship practices constitute "state power."[23]

To begin, I consider an internal document that was published as guidelines to the censors: the 1810 "Vorschrift für die Leitung des Censorwesens" (hereafter referred to as the VLC), which I regard as a foundational statement about censorship under Metternich. The VLC was the principal guiding censorship document until its repeal in 1840. As such, it provides the most consistent example of censorship criteria for a period of three decades: from just before the Vienna Congress to the decade of the mid-century revolutions. It not only directed the categorization of different types of works – literary, medicinal, philosophical, political, historical—but contained within it a social theory about writing and reading through which it conceptualized the body politic and through which it viewed literary genres. As a normative statement about literature, it influenced the development of the Carlsbad Decrees (*Karlsbader Beschlüsse 1819*), which regulated the trade, sale, and printing of literature in the German Confederation.

In the second part of this chapter, I focus on texts written and circulated among the censors themselves through analysis of selected censorship vota. I begin with a paradigmatic example in a censorship document written by Friedrich von Gentz (1764-1832), one of the architects of post-Napoleonic Europe. This material is especially important for understanding the mechanism of censorship, because it exposes the level of interpretation that censors were capable of including in evaluating works they censored, which they used as justification to either permit or forbid their circulation. Overall, this chapter reconstructs the terms in which Metternich's censors viewed things, their set of values, and their shared horizon of expectations.

[23] For a discussion of state censorship and a theory of censorship that seeks to bridge postmodern approaches and historical ones see the first chapter of: Robert Darnton. *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014).

1.1 Literary Accounts of Metternich's Regime and New Censorship Narratives

Metternich's system of censorship famously led the French writer Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855) to call Austria the "China of Europe" during a visit to Vienna, referring to its cloistered political culture.[24] Many of the most vivid accounts of censorship from the period come directly from authors embattled with the censors.[25] They are tendentious and target the dilettantism of the regime, reflecting contempt at the indignity of being submitted to the state's idea of literary value and worth.[26]

In his memoirs, the dramatist Eduard von Bauernfeld (1802-1890) gives an account of a dramatization of Adolf Bäuerle's (1786-1859) play *Die Bürger in Wien* (1813). Bäuerle had made his reputation with this play, a satirical account of Viennese bourgeois life. Bauernfeld notes that the piece had been played to great popular acclaim until the censors realized that it was poking fun at them. Taking direct aim at the censors, Bauernfeld writes that the actors, Bäuerle, and the audience were all "in on the joke" at the censors' expense. He revels in the play's takedown of the cultural philistinism promoted by the state and denounces the "respectable Viennese bourgeoisie with their naïve patriotism" for their lack of taste and their devotion to tradition:

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[24] "Tout ce régime est extrêmement despotique, j'en conviens, mais il faut bien se persuader que l'Autriche est la Chine de l'Europe. J'en ai dépassé la grande muraille … et je regrette seulement qu'elle manque de mandarins lettrés." Gérard de Nerval. *Voyage en Orient, tome I, Europe Centrale, Egypte* (Paris: Juillard, 1964), 78-79

[25] "Die Rhetorik und kritische Ausdrucksweise, die den Reiz der Korrespondenzen, Tagebücher und Texte der Intellektuellen zur Zensur ausmachen, statten den Historiker mit vorzüglichem Quellenmaterial aus für eine spannende Erzählung über Staatliche Repression in der Zeit zwischen den Karlsbader Beschlüssen 1819 und der Revolution 1848 […] Obwohl Autoren gern und glaubhaft ihren Status als Opfer betonten, hatten sie doch andere Rollen gespielt. James M. Brophy. "Grautöne: Verleger und Zensurregime in Mitteleuropa." *Historische Zeitschrift*. Volume 301, Issue 2, 2015, 298-300.

[26] Recent historical contributions have, however, deemphasized the focus on Metternich's tyranny, pointing to the regime's budgetary and manpower difficulties: "Austrian society was hardly isolated behind what derisive contemporaries and later historians referred to as a "Chinese wall" of censorship, police spies, and general repression. And although the regime regularly sought to quash initiatives from civil society, as well as to limit the influence of so-called "foreign ideas" in Austria, it could hardly muster the financial resources or the manpower to do so effectively – not with the daunting fiscal crisis the regime inherited from the period of the Napoleonic Wars and the limits on technologies of social control in the period after 1815." Pieter M. Judson. "An Empire of Contradictions." *The Habsburg Empire. A New History.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 106.

> … das Stück hatte in Wien bereits weit über hundert Vorstellungen erlebt, als die Zensur plötzlich dahinterkam, dass sich die Posse über die ehrsame Wiener Bürgerschaft und ihren naiven Patriotismus lustig machte.[27]

Ignaz Castelli (1780-1862), a Viennese author and prominent figure of the literary underground of the period, also derided the regime of censorship and expressed his contempt for the censors in his memoirs. In a letter dated October 23, 1838 to the court councilor and literary critic in Dresden, Theodor Hell, Castelli writes of the censors as fools, complaining about the arbitrariness of the administration:

> Wir müssen leider unseren ehrlichen, mit Schweiß erworbenen Namen verleugnen und uns einen neuen geben. Die Niederträchtigkeit unserer Zensur ist nun auf das höchste gestiegen. Einzelheiten kann ich Dir nicht erzählen, allein, es geht über alle Begriffe, was sie treiben…es herrscht bei einer Ignoranz zugleich eine Willkür, welche gräßlich ist…O Stupiditas!"[28]

Emerging from authors' memoirs, more generally, is a view of the censor as an interloper. This perspective places the censor between an author and his or her audience and blames the censor for interrupting or foreclosing reception of works. Although such claims may validate the experience of authors and their perception of poetic production — and this experience constitutes a vital component of the historical experience of censorship — the relationship of authors to censors is not one-sided, nor is the projected relationship between authors and their audiences always as direct as suggested. Censorship often insinuated itself into authorial practice and audience reception in ways not accounted for in these bitter testimonials: for example, many of Metternich's censors were, themselves, authors, theater directors, or involved in shaping the literary public outside of their work in the censorship office. Censors working for Metternich, further, interceded to "improve" a work, altering it to adhere to

[27] Eduard Bauernfeld. *Aus Alt-und-Neu-Wien.Gesammelte Schriften von Bauernfeld*, Volume 12 (Wien: W Braumüller, 1873), 42.
[28] Ignaz Castelli. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Alt-Österreich*. Vol.9. *Memoiren meines Lebens; Gefundenes und Empfundenes, Erlebtes und Erstrebtes* (München: G. Müller, 1914), 483-484.

scientific, historical, or technical standards. It is, thus, necessary to also consider the censors and the texts that they produced in order to arrive at a dialogical understanding of censorship practices and literature.[29]

Under the supervision of the *Polizeipräsident* Count Josef von Sedlnitzky (1788-1855), who presided over the office of censorship from 1817 until 1848, practices of censorship were organized into an incipient bureaucratic apparatus that turned out work for civil servants and upwardly mobile members of the bourgeois class.[30] Sedlnitzky, who came from a Polish noble family, had begun his career in the police force in the Austrian state service in Lemberg (Lvov), after which he was transferred to Brünn (Brno), Weißkirchen, and then Troppau (Opava). He arrived in Vienna in 1815, where he served first as vice-president to the *Polizei- und Censurfhostelle,* becoming president of that office in 1817.[31] He was unpopular with Viennese authors, who considered him stupid and narrow-minded. Ignaz Castelli wrote in his memoirs that Sedlnitzky was sent to Vienna to punish Austrian authors and is said to have named his two dogs Sedl and Nitzky to call out tauntingly when the police were nearby.[32]

Censorship was not only an expression of repression, but rather constituted its own cultural program. Under Sedlnitzky's direction, censors were responsible for controlling the entire book trade in the Empire and halting the distribution of new dangerous media, including

[29] "Man hat die Sache bisher zumeist vom Standpunkt der Betroffenen gesehen und selten daran gedacht, daß auch die Behörden einen Standpunkt hatten, dessen Berechtigung zumindest abzuwägen wäre." Julius Marx. *Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz* (München, R. Oldenbourg, 1959), 10.
[30] Though quite close to Metternich, Sedlnitzky has long been considered an enigmatic figure of the Biedermeier: "dieser merkwürdige Mann verstand es so gut, sich im Hintergrund zu halten, daß wir nicht einmal ein authentisches Bild von ihm besitzen."Julius Marx. "Die Amtslaufbahn des Grafen Sedlnitzky bis 1817." *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich.* Volume 27, 1938, 189-208.
[31] Michal Chvojka. *Josef Graf Sedlnitzky als Präsident und der Polizei-und Zensurhofstelle in Wien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Staatspolizei in der Habsburgermonarchie (1817-1848)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2010)
[32] See Figure 1.1 in the appendix for a satirical picture of Castelli with his dogs; Ignaz Franz Castelli. *Memoiren meines Lebens: Gefundenes und Empfundenes, Erlebtes und Erstrebtes*, Vol 1 (Vienna and Prague: Kober und Markgraf, 1861) 283.

illicit political pamphlets.[33] The pamphlets became almost impossible to hold back with the advent of the "Jung Österreich" movement that echoed the aspirations of the *Vormärz* revolutionaries in the German States.[34] He oversaw the conception of a literary program, which he elaborated in his correspondences with Metternich. Their correspondence reveals the ways in which theories and practical knowledge of state stewardship were connected with practices of reading and writing, as well as Sedlnitzky's misgivings about the cultural legitimacy of a censorship program and how such a program might adversely affect the standing of the Empire in Europe. In a note to Metternich, Sedlnitzky, for example, expressed his worry that the Monarchy would fall behind the German territories in literacy and in cultural matters— a concern he feels made all the more justified by the cultural mission of the German-speaking peoples of the Empire to non-German peoples.[35]

Often, censors working under Metternich were, themselves, aspiring authors or worked in related fields, and they sought to advance their careers within the newly minted censorship bureau organized under the "*Polizeihofstelle*." That office, which was later renamed the "*K.k Oberste Polizei - und Censurhofstelle*," employed between thirteen tenured (full-time) censors and seventeen part-time censors (*Aushilfszensoren*) between 1804 and 1840.[36] Censorship salaries were furnished as supplementary income, and regular censors earned between four to

[33] The "political pamphlet" was the subject of Viennese police discussions as early as 1790: "Die Preßfreiheit verursachte eine Flut von inhaltsleeren Broschüren und Flugschriften, daß sich der Kaiser schließlich tief enttäuscht veranlaßt sah, noch kurz vor seinem Tode, am 20. I. 1790, die Begünstigung zurückzuziehen und die Aufsicht über das geschriebene Wort zu verschärfen. Hermann Oberhummer. *Die Wiener Polizei: neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sicherheitswesens in den Ländern der ehemaligen österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna: Gerold, 1937), 4-5.

[34] Madeleine Rietra. *Jung Österreich: Dokumente und Materialien zur liberalen österreichischen Opposition* 1835-1848 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989).

[35] "Er meint [...] daß die Monarchie zum Teil noch auf niedriger Kulturstufe stehe als mehrere deutsche Staaten, daß aber keine wahrhaft interessierte Staatsverwaltung wünschen könne, daß ihre Untertanen in Künsten und Wissenschaften anderen nachstünden. Österreich wolle seinen nichtdeutschen Völkern deutsche Kultur und Sprache vermitteln, zu welchem Zwecke einzig der Nachdruck nützlicher ausländischer Schriften führen könne." Julius Marx. *Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz*. Op cit, 41.

[36] Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur*, Op cit, 97.

five hundred gulden a year, while assistant censors earned between three hundred to four hundred gulden a year.[37]

In contrast to authorial testimonies that highlight the parochial nature of the Austrian state's censorship program, the scope of censorship under Metternich was vast and international. Censors working under Sedlnitzky examined over ten thousand different works a year.[38] They were, additionally, tasked with patrolling incoming and outgoing literature in the Empire, fighting clandestine bookseller circuits, and confiscating works from sellers, printers, and private residences.[39] Censors and the police were also in charge of interrupting the activities of secret societies. In addition to Sedlnitzky's team of employed censors, Metternich employed a cadre of spies and informants to monitor artists and authors. They shadowed visitors to the city and kept a close watch on Habsburg subjects travelling to cities like Stuttgart and Leipzig, where so-called "Austrian print refugees" were able to print their works unencumbered by Austrian censors.[40]

The censors who worked under Sedlnitzky were not career functionaries in the "modern sense," who kept themselves out of the eye of the public and exercised their power behind the

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[37] Norbert Bachleitner. "The Politics of the Book Trade in Nineteenth-Century Austria."*Austrian History Yearbook*, (Volume 27, 1997), 95-113.

[38] "Jedenfalls war die österreichische Zensur die umfassendste, die man sich denken kann. Von der Grabinschrift bis zum Lexikon wurde alles Geschriebene oder Gedruckte,von Manschettenknopf bis zum Kupferstich jede Abbildung geprüft. Bei Bildern auf Ringen, Busennadeln oder Pfeifenköpfen war auch das Bestreben, jedes Abzeichen geheimer Gesellschaften zu verhindern, mitbeteiligt." Juius Marx, *Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz*, Op cit, 55.

[39] Maybe one of the most famous examples is the confiscation of Franz Grillparzer's poem "Campo Vaccino." The censor Joseph Friedrich Freiherr von Retzer wrote of the event, alleging that it was denounced by Zacharias Werner: "Es wurde seinerzeit viel davon gesprochen, daß, nachdem Grillparzers Gedicht: 'Campo Vaccino' im Taschenbuche 'Aglaja' in Wien gedruckt erschienen, auf Befehl der Zensur das Buch überall abgefordert wurde, wo man dessen habhaft werden konnte. Das Gedicht wurde bekanntlich herausgeschnitten und das Taschenbuch den Eigentümern wieder zurückgestellt. Nicht bekannt aber ist es, wer das Gedicht, vielleicht absichtslos in einem Gespräche, denunziert hat. Kein anderer als der berühmte Dichter und Augustinermönch Zacharias Werner." Madeleine Rietra, *Dokumente und Materialien zur liberalen österreichischen Opposition 1835-1848*, Op cit, 84.

[40] Hans Adler. *Literarische Geheimberichte. Protokolle der Metternich-Agenten* (Cologne: C.W. Leske, 1981). This volume contains revisions and accurate transcriptions that had been inaccurate in the original Glossy version. For the original secondary literature, see: Karl Glossy. *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz*. (Wien: Carl Konegen, 1913). Also, for more on the situation of Austrian "print refugees" in Leipzig, and, more specifically, for information on the case of Groß-Hoffinger, a rebel turned Metternich biographer, see: Andreas Macho. "Von Hans Normann zu A.J. Groß-Hoffinger. *Zum politischen Wandel eines Vormärzschriftstellers*." (Thesis, University of Vienna, 2007).

scenes. They were, themselves, authors, journalists, statesmen, and lawyers with public reputations that extended well beyond their censorship activities. They were further expected to bring their knowledge from their work as authors and intellectuals into their censors.

In his recent study, Norbert Bachleitner divides censors into two groups.[41] The first constitutes a broad association of scholars (*Gelehrten*). Some had backgrounds in jurisprudence: Johann Bernhard Fölsch (active between 1798-1820), Anton Gustermann (active between 1807-1823), and Anton Plappart (active between 1838-1847).[42] It also included university professors, for example the orientalist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (active between 1811-1825), the philosopher and natural scientist Cassian Hallaschka (active between 1833-1847), a professor of aesthetics Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein (1842-1848) among others (philologists, theologians, and private tutors).[43]

The second group constituted the so-called "*Beamtendichter*" whose work as civil servants often provided them the political capital they needed in order to publish, on the one hand, while also providing them with a supplementary income to support their writing on the other. That group included Joseph Friedrich Freiherr von Retzer (1782-1824), who worked for a long time in the state's employ and was a prolific author, editor, and translator, and Johann Michael Armbruster, the author of anti-French and antirevolutionary screeds from Württemberg who had acted as police commissary in Bresgau before moving to Vienna where he was an editor and librarian until his suicide in 1814.[44]

One could add to Bachleitner's list a "third" group of censors: statesmen like Friedrich von Gentz and—even—Metternich. One example of an intervention by Gentz, a chief architect

[41] Norbert Bachleitner. *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848*, 98-100.
[42] Ibid, 98.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, 99.

of the Austrian post-revolutionary state, was his censoring of Franz Julius Schneller's work *Oesterreichs Einfluß auf Deutschland und Europa, seit der Reformation bis zu den Revolutionen unserer Geschichte*. Schneller was an Austrian historian and professor of history in Graz and Linz, who was suspected by the Austrian police of harboring Napoleonic sympathies. Schneller eventually left Austria for Freiburg im Bresgau, where he became a rector at the university.[45]

Until recently, the historical literature on Metternich's censorship administration has regarded it as an efficient and brutal system, comparing it to the totalitarian regimes of state censorship that followed in the twentieth century.[46] In his sensational "eyewitness" account of life in Austria, the Austrian-American author, Charles Sealsfield (1794-1864) (Karl Anton Postl) wrote of the plight of authors in his native land and the fetters of censorship:

> A more fettered being than an Austrian author surely never existed. A writer in Austria must not offend against any Government; nor against any minister; nor against any hierarchy; nor against the aristocracy. He must not be liberal — nor philosophical — nor humorous — in short he must be nothing at all. Under the catalogue of offences, are comprehended not only satires, and witticisms; —nay, he must not explain things at all, because they might lead to serious thoughts. If he venture to say any thing upon these subjects, it must be done in that devout and reverential tone which befits an Austrian subject, who presumes to lift the veil from these *ticklish secrets*! What would have become of Shakespeare he had been doomed to live or write in Austria?[47]

Overwhelmingly, accounts of Metternich's regime from the authors that found themselves in the censors' crosshairs echo Sealsfield's testimony: they denounce censors as dull-witted and represent literary life in Austria as a never-ending struggle against an illiberal state that had no interest in the arts and repressed culture by stifling individual and intellectual pursuits.

In the past few years, however, historians and literary scholars have uncovered information about Metternich's system that indicate that it was too cash-strapped to be efficient

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[45] Ibid, 124.
[46] "La censure autrichienne passe désormais pour l'une des plus efficaces d'Europe et n'a rien à envier à la censure tsariste." Jacques le Rider. *La censure à l'œuvre: Freud, Kraus, Schnitzler* (Paris: Hermann, 2015), 11.
[47] Charles Sealsfield. *Austria as it is; or Sketches of Continental Courts* (London: Hurst, Chance, and co, 1828), 209-210.

to the degree suggested in authorial testimonies. Norbert Bachleitner's comprehensive study of censorship has, furthermore, articulated a narrative of censorship that looks at its history in Austria as indelibly tied to the history of books and literary production, not as an external constraint. Thus, a view of literary production that looks at censorship as not only a restriction on literature, but as a formative element of literary production further enhances an understanding of the period in general.

1.2 The 1810 "Vorschrift für die Leitung des Censorwesens": A Theory of Reading in Metternich's State [48]

The VLC is an historically layered legal document, which flows from the theater censorship directives written by the state councilor and theater censor Karl Hägelin in 1795 and the first censorship directive to be written in post-revolutionary Austria: the September 12th 1803 guidelines (these were followed by specific guidelines for the theater in December 1803).[49] It can also be read as a statement about the practices of censorship under Metternich, particularly with regard to its categorization and approach to different styles and genres of writing. The body of the document contains regulations for censors to guide their censorship practices.[50] It was relatively brief and provided a platform from which successive decrees could be created and issued.[51] The VLC was, thus, a flexible structure that allowed for reimplementation of both old and new, provisional censorship laws. After 1810, it formed the backbone of Metternich's censorship regime that lasted until 1848.

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[48] See Figure 1.2 in the appendix for a copy of the first page of the manuscript of the VLC.

[49] Lisa De Alwis uncovered the original Hägelin directives in the Austrian State Archives (HHSA), which, until recently, were regarded as missing and had been published only by the theater historian Karl Glossy (himself, a censor). Her dissertation shows how Glossy censored the censor. Lisa De Alwis. "Censorship and Magical Opera in Early Nineteenth-Century Vienna" Dissertation. University of Southern California, 2012, UMI. For more on the Hägelin directives and its significance for the development of Viennese theater, also see: W.E. Yates. *Theater in Vienna: A Critical History, 1776-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[50] A full transcription of the manuscript is produced in Julius Marx's *Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz*, 73-76.

[51] An example of such a decree is the *Hofdekret* dated October 2 1819, which simply extended the application of the VLC's guidelines to images, musical pieces, and land maps.

The VLC can be divided into two different parts. It outlines guidelines to censorship in twenty-two paragraphs with regard to literary content, the reading public, advertisement of literary works, and the different possible degrees of censoring. These paragraphs give shape to the censorship organization and provide practical recommendations and instructions to the censors writing vota. The second part is the preface, a more florid statement about censorship, which adapts a theory of moral education and aesthetics for the purposes of a paternalistic state, transforming serious doctrines about knowledge, literature, and philosophy into practical rules for reading and writing. The preface also provides a hierarchy of authority, which gives the Emperor a final veto over all censorship matters.

Generally, the VLC distinguishes between specialized and non-specialized texts, extending that distinction to the Monarchy's readership, which it divides into scholars and the general public. In the first paragraph, the rights of scholars (*Gelehrten*) are declared together with the VLC's division of specialized texts from genres of non-serious literature:

> Bey der Beurtheilung der Bücher und Handschriften muß vor Allem genau unterschieden werden zwischen Werken, welche ihr Inhalt und die Behandlung des Gegenstandes nur für Gelehrte und den Wissenschaften sich widmende Menschen bestimmt, und zwischen Broschüren, Volksschriften, Unterhaltungsbüchern, und den Erzeugnißen des Witzes.[52]

This paragraph instructed censors to strictly differentiate between scientific and specialized (*wissenschaftlich*) content and non-serious writing and to regard with caution brochures, pamphlets, humorous writing, and other types of writing for the people (*Volksschriften*).

In the second paragraph, this focus is extended to style. Censors are instructed to concentrate on the way in which a subject is treated in any given work: "Zu einem sogenannten

[52] "Vorschrift für die Leitung der Censur und für des Bemühen der Censoren, in Folge a.h. zum 14. September 1810 erlassen." Manuscript. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei-Polizeihofstelle," Box 58.

gelehrten Werke qualificirt…die Wichtigkeit und Beschaffenheit des behandelten Gegenstandes, und die Art der Behandlung desselben."[53]

In the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs, specialized works are, themselves, divided into two categories: those that contain innovative contributions to a given field of knowledge and "repetitive" literature that offers no new or original contributions:

> Die gelehrten Werke selbst theilen sich wieder in zwey Klaßen. In die erste gehören jene Schriften, welche durch neue Entdeckungen, durch eine bündige und lichtvolle Darstellung, durch die Auffindung neuer Ansichten u.s.w. sich auszeichnen; in die zweyte die saft- und marklosen Wiederhohlungen des hundertmahl Gesagten u.d.gl [54]

Paragraph six instructs censors on how to deal with *Volksschriften*, advising them to apply themselves with rigor to brochures and other "entertainment literature" (*Unterhaltungsbücher*). It contains a specific warning about humorous literature and novels:

> Broschüren, Jugend- und Volksschriften, Unterhaltungsbücher, müßen nach der ganzen Strenge der bestehenden Censurgesetze behandelt werden. Hier muß nicht nur alles entfernt werden, was der Religion, der Sittlichkeit, der Achtung und Anhänglichkeit an das regierende Haus, die bestehende Regierungsform u.s.w. geradezu, oder mehr gedeckt entgegen ist, sondern es sind auch alle Schriften der Art zu entfernen, welche weder auf den Verstand noch auf das Herz vortheilhaft wirken, und deren einzige Tendenz ist, die Sinnlichkeit zu wiegen.[55]

Paragraph seven makes a case for differentiation between types of humorous literature, which could fall into two classes: classical or popular. The classical texts were viewed with leniency, while popular humorous literature was considered dangerous: "Sind aber auch die klaßischen Werke der Art nicht nach der ganzen Strenge der §. 6 gegebenen Grundregel zu behandeln, so können sie doch auch nicht mit der §. 4 angezeigten Nachsicht behandelt werden."[56] Paragraph eight of the VLC gave censors the right to edit works with errors. They

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

were encouraged to make improvements on such works, as long as the works they were editing did not contain anything that undermined religion, morals, or the state.

The remaining paragraphs contain specific instructions on how to handle texts and manuscripts. They guarantee a quick turnover for manuscript revision, noting that no document should be held too long at the "*Revisionsamt*" where censors wrote vota and assigned texts the right censorship category.

Censors conferred one of four titles to a work: *admittur*, *transeat*, *erga schedam conced*, and *damnatur*. A designation of *admittur* allowed the free circulation of the book and its announcement in the press and dailies. The circulation of works receiving the title *transeat* regulated advertisement of works, which could limit its exposure to the public. Works receiving the designation *erga schedam* were available only to tradesmen and professional scholars, who could obtain them by special permission. Finally, any writing that could be perceived to undermine the state, religion, or morals was given the title of *damnatur* and banned from circulation on the literary market. Such works were, however, also obtainable by special permission:

> Damnatur ist als der höchste Grad des Verbothes nur solchen Schriften vorbehalten, welche den Staat oder die Sittlichkeit untergraben. Die Erlaubniß, solche Schriften zu lesen, ertheilt ebenfalls die Polizeyhofstelle, und sie wird vierteljährlich Sr. Majestät ein Verzeichniß der Personen, welcher der Art Bücher, und der Schriften, welche ihnen zugestanden wurden, vorlegen.[57]

Preceding censorship guidelines contained similar requirements with regard to the processing and handling of texts, such that there are areas of censorship application where the VLC only elaborated on procedure where it wasn't fully concretized yet. For example, preceding Austria censorship policy drew similar limits with regard to works assigned the category *damnatur*. Hägelin's censorship directives of 1795 forbade works that contained attacks on the

[57] Ibid.

Catholic Church, criticism of the Austrian Monarchy, or representations of immoral and illicit acts.[58] The September 1803 censorship guidelines gave consistent categories for censors in determining which works deserved the assignation *damnatur*: "Die Hauptrücksichten sind immer nach dem a.h. Willen Sr. Majestät: Beförderung der Religion, der Sittlichkeit, der ernsten Wissenschaften und alles dessen, was wirklich gut, wahr, schön und gemeinnützig ist."[59]

The VLC segregates the reading public into two groups: the common people ("*Volk*") and specialized readers and scholars ("*Gelehrten*"). The 1803 directives contained remarks pertaining to the distinction between specialized and non-specialized texts, recommending that censors pay especial attention to "Volksschriften" such as "kleinere Broschüren vermischten Inhalts…Gedichte, Romane, Kalender für das Volk und die elegante Welt…"[60] The concept of the "*Volksschrift*" emerged out of the apprehension about rising literacy rates (described in the 1803 censorship policy as "*Lesewut*") and the proliferation of new genres written specifically for a non-specialized reading public.

Volksschriften necessitated a particularly strong intervention of the state, in particular because of the discrepancies perceived between a technically "literate" reading public and an "educated" reading public. In other words, though the people may be able to read, the state could not guarantee that they could correctly interpret what they read, or that what they read was written by discerning authors. It was, therefore, the function of state censorship to maintain certain standards, even in the realm of specialized texts, where it considered the repetition of established knowledge to fall short of rigorous criteria.

One area in which the VLC differs from preceding censorship guidelines is its classification of specialized texts into two groups. It adopts a particularly severe attitude towards

[58] Norbert Bachleitner. *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich*, Op cit, 245.
[59] Ibid, 469.
[60] Ibid, 467.

literature lacking in scientific rigor and expands on preceding censorship guidelines in order to provide censors with a more robust incentive to intervene into specialized texts as editors. The guidelines outlined above give an impression of censorship practices under Metternich that diverges starkly from several key statements in authorial testimonies discussed in the first section of this chapter. In particular, the special provisions made for specialized classes of readers contrasts with Bauernfeld and Castelli's characterizations of the regime as bourgeois and backwards, and Sealsfield's pronouncement that genius in Austria could not flourish clashes with the strong emphasis placed in the VLC on education. Furthermore, the consistency between the various censorship documents with regard to the assignation of the title *damnatur* and division of the body politic into the "*Volk*" and the "*Gelehrten*" suggests similarities between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that have often been repressed in assessments of the Biedermeier more generally.

As discussed, the segregation of the reading public outlined in the VLC flows from a paternalistic, protective approach that it took to "*Volksschriften*." Furthermore, that approach was premised on a fear about the correlation between poor standards in scientific theory and its extension into practice, particularly in the domains of medicine and husbandry.[61] Between the periods 1792-1820 and 1821-1848, for example, the number of natural scientific texts — including medical texts —that were assigned *damnatur* more than doubled from 1.5 to 3.7% of the total forbidden works.[62]

The category of literature that was most consistently assigned the title "damnatur" was "Erzählprosa" (it lay at 17.0% of the total forbidden works between 1792-1820 and at 17.3 % of

[61]"Medizinische Artikel in Zeitungen zensurierten die Landesregierungen, medizinische Werke kamen mit dem Gutachten des Fachzensors der Universität unmittelbar zur Entscheidung der Hofstelle. Bei theologischen Schriften entschied der Kaiser, wenn sich Ordinariat und Polizei nicht hatten einigen können." Julius Marx. *Die politische Zensur in Österreich,* Op cit*,* 23.
[62] Norbert Bachleitner. *Die literarische Zensur*, Op cit, 169.

the total forbidden works between 1821-1848), followed second by religious texts (the only other category censored more was a catchall "Sonstiges"). One clarification given for the overrepresentation of fiction on the forbidden lists relates to the VLC's approach to what it calls "*Romanen-Lektüre*," a mode of reading fiction that confuses rather than ennobles and educates and breaks with a principle of "reality" represented by "reason" in order to turn to operations of the fantasy and the heart:

> Es soll daher allen Ernstes getrachtet werden, der so nachtheiligen Romanen-Lektüre ein Ende zu machen. Dabey versteht sich von selbst, daß hier jene wenigen guten Romane, welche zur Aufklärung des Verstandes und zur Veredlung des Herzens dienen, nicht gemeint seyn können, wohl aber der endlose Wust von Romanen, welche einzig um Liebeleyen als ihre ewige Achse sich drehen, oder die Einbildungskraft mit Hirngespinsten füllen.[63]

Built into the VLC is a theory of reading and genre that views the act of reading novels as a social trend that threatened the body politic. The regulation makes a distinction between individual good novels and the dominant group of bad novels that make up that trend ("die so nachtheilige Romanen-Lektüre"). Good novels, it argues, serve to elevate reason and ennoble the heart, while bad novels orient themselves towards inferior and chimerical orders: romances and fantasy "*Liebeleyen*" and "*Hirngespinsten*." The regulation provides no criteria for the distinction between "*Einbildungskraft*" (imagination) and "*Hirngespinsten*" (fantasy), and the passage indicates that censorship of fiction was more or less a subjective practice in which a censor could judge a work to fall short of certain criteria based on its inclusion of fantastical elements or "*Liebeleyen*."[64]

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[63] VLC, Op cit.

[64] Georg Lukács made a similar argument about "Unterhaltungsliteratur" in his discussion of *Don Quixote*, which he argued evolved out of lesser, more trivial forms of the novel: "Die Vorfahren und die Erben seiner Form, die Ritterepik und der Abenteuerroman, zeigen die Gefahr dieser Form, die aus ihrem Transzendieren zur Epopöe, aus ihrem Nichtgestaltenkönnen der durée entspringt: die Trivialität, die Tendenz zur Unterhaltungslektüre. Georg Lukács. *Theorie des Romans* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1971), 117.

The remarks on fiction in the VLC provide a bridge from the guidelines to its preface. Novels involving "*Liebeleyen*" were, naturally, published in Austria during the period in which the VLC was in place (an example of such a novel is given in the third chapter), and censors were not expected to improve the *form* of the novel, or raise the genre to a level that would "enlighten the mind and ennoble the heart," but rather to censor works that fell short of the criteria laid out in the guidelines. The VLC's remarks on fiction, specifically the move between "reason" to the territory of "imagination" (from *Verstand* to *Einbildungskraft*) expresses a theory of reading and writing laid out explicitly in the document's preface.

The preface to the VLC lays out the key terms of its argument in its clarification of the role of censorship with regard to morality and virtues:

> Seine Majestät, unabläßig bemüht, das Wohl aller und der Einzelnen auf jedem Wege zu befördern, überzeugt, daß die Verbreitung nützlicher Kenntniße, die Vervollkommung der Einsichten, verbunden mit der Veredlung der Gesinnungen, zu den vorzüglichsten Mitteln gehören, ersteres zu bewirken; wohl wißend, daß eine zweckmäßig geleitete Lese- und Schreib Freyheit besonders geeignet sei, diese herbeyzuführen; dabey aber ganz eingedenk der obersten Regenten- und Vaterspflichten, welche die intellektuelle und sittliche Bildung, wie die Sorge für den physischen Wohlstand umfaßen, und es eben so wenig gestatten, die Unterthanen am Geiste und Herzen, als an ihrem Körper verderben zu laßen, haben allergnädigst geruht, folgende Grundsätze für die künftige Leitung des Censurwesens, und als Maßregeln für das Benehmen der Censoren zu bestimmen. Kein Lichtstrahl, er komme woher er wolle, soll in Hinkunft unbeachtet und unerkannt in der Monarchie bleiben, oder seiner möglichen nützlichen Wirksamkeit entzogen werden; aber mit vorsichtiger Hand sollen auch Herz und Kopf der Unmündigen vor den verderblichen Ausgeburten einer scheußlichen Phantasie, vor dem giftigen Hauche selbstsüchtiger Verführer, und vor den gefährlichen Hirngespinsten verschrobener Köpfe gesichert werden.[65]

Similar to the twenty-two paragraphs, which divide the reading public into the *Volk* and the *Gelehrten*, the preface conceptualizes the Empire through a corporeal language that places some of its subjects at the "head" of the body, and others at the body's "heart." Motivated by paternal responsibilities (*Vaterspflichten*), the Emperor stands outside of that body, while the

[65] "Vorschrift für die Leitung des Censorwesens" 1810, Op cit.

censors that work in his employ represent the gentle and careful hand that guide the head (*die Gelehrten*) and the heart (*das Volk*) through acts of writing and reading ("*mit vorsichtiger Hand*"). "Bad literature" and harmful ideas are invoked through metaphors of illness and madness: "*giftiger Hauch selbstsüchtiger Verführer*," and "*gefährliche Hirngespinsten verschrobener Köpfe*." The contrast to these explicit images is given in the "*Verbreitung nützlicher Kenntniße*," the "*Vervollkommnung der Einsichten*," and a "*zweckmäßig geleitete Lese-und Schreib Freyheit*." "*Freyheit*" here is not freedom in the emphatic, individualist sense, but the freedom to be useful and the "freedom" to develop in a manner consistent with attitudes that are both moral and upstanding. That freedom is contrasted with the terrors represented by "*eine scheußliche Phantasie*" and "*Hirngespinsten*." The preface further draws on the contrast between health and growth, and illness and decay: *der physische Wohlstand* is contrasted with *das Verderben* of the mind and the heart (*der Geist und das Herz*).

The emphatic conceptualization of the reading public as the "flesh" and the "body" enforces an attitude about the connectedness of the constitutive parts of the Empire (*die Unterthanen*) in their relation to the higher authority of *Seine Majestät*. Without the hands of the censors, the preface shows how interloping deceivers can pry away these parts of the body, causing them to decay away from the whole. The interlopers — "*selbstüchtige Verführer*" — are, contrasted with His Majesty, *selfish* seducers, incapable of understanding the needs of the different parts of the body, or how they best work together. The first relationship — that of the Emperor to his subjects —connects all of the different elements of the Empire together and is physical and perceptible, while the second relationship is steeped in abstractions that have an almost atmospheric quality. The interlopers seduce through their "*giftiger Hauch*," from which "*gefährliche Hirngespinsten*" (dangerous whims) and "*scheußliche Phantasie*" emanate.

Through these two different forms of literary transmission, which allude to the actual exchange of texts on the market and the printing and sale of literature, the preface argues for censorship not only as a regulatory measure, but also as a necessity for the maintenance of the health of the political body. Without censorship, the preface argues that a vacuum in the chain of literary transmission would allow debauchers to disrupt the organic harmony holding the state together and interfere with the (righteous) authority that flows from the Emperor. Such disruption would, furthermore, direct the different parts that work together in a useful way away from each other. Those debauchers are, themselves, not properly assembled, and the VLC describes them as beings out of joint, with their heads are screwed on the wrong way: "*verschrobene Köpfe.*"

The only kind of "fictional" writing not associated with the debauchery of fantasy appears in the paragraph instructing censors on how to read novels, which refers to "*Einbildungskraft*" as a positive term. However, the VLC does not clarify what makes "*Einbildung*" useful or good, but rather stipulates that the censor would be able to differentiate *Einbildung* from *Phantasie*. Contrasted with *Einbildungskraft*, which is implied as a more *moral* type of fiction writing, the document makes a powerful argument against fiction as fantasy through its invocation of two types of bodies and two types of literary exchange. The first body is the body that uses censorship for the good of the whole and places the Emperor as a super-authority above it. In that body, all of the parts are in the right place, and everything works efficiently and correctly: "*eine mögliche nützliche Wirksamkeit*," leading to the proper growth of moral faculties: "*Veredlung der Gesinnungen*." The other body is only a partial body that has no working parts and is not interested in the functioning of the whole: it is an "*Ausgeburt*" of fantasy that invokes decay.

The moral argument laid out in the preface, thus, not only extends to the necessity of censorship in order to maintain the Empire's different parts, but also relates to a specific "genre" of writing that is in and of itself undesirable: fantastical writing that dislocates the reader from the body, thus perverting his or her usefulness. This may account for one of the reasons that "Erzählprosa" was both among the most widely censored category of texts in the Monarchy during the period between the 1790s and 1848 and, on the other hand, why Metternich's censorship regime inspired overwhelmingly negative authorial testimonies and incurred the wrath of authors like Eduard Bauernfeld and Ignaz Castelli.

On the one hand, the negative associations with fantasy laid out in the VLC represent an aesthetic commentary on German Romanticism and its attitude toward morality, nature, and aesthetics. Fantasy was not only an element of drama or plot, but actively shaped literary genres, such as the "*Kunstmärchen*" and the "*Schauerroman.*" Franz Grillparzer's drama *Die Ahnfrau*, which premiered at the *Theater an der Wien* in 1817, is an example of a "*Schauerdrama*" which may have only passed the censors due to the influence of Joseph Schreyvogel (1768-1832), a mentor to Grillparzer and a theater secretary, who also worked as a censor.[66] On the other hand, the VLC goes beyond the issue of genre and the question of "fantasy" to articulate a theory of state that explicitly rejected Romanticism and put "useful" literature at the heart of moral education.

One significant interlocutor who bridges both the early years of German Romanticism and the development of a theory of state articulated in the VLC was Friedrich Schlegel.[67]

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[66] Gabriele Geml. "Franz Grillparzer: Zugänge zu Kant." Umwege: Annäherungen an Immanuel Kant in Wien, in Österreich und in Osteuropa, ed. Violetta L. Waibel (Vienna: V&R unipress, 2015), 302-314.

[67] Schlegel himself is not believed to have written the VLC: "Dass der erzkonservative Friedrich Schlegel an der Vorschrift von 1810 beteiligt war, ist zwar eher unwahrscheinlich. Dennoch ist im Hinblick auf das Überwachungssystem, das Metternich in den folgenden Jahren aufgebaut hat, insgesamt weiter von der Verschärfung der Gangart gegenüber politischen Gegnern und Unruhestiftern auszugehen." Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur*, Op cit, 107.

Schlegel left Germany for Vienna after his conversion to Catholicism in 1808. In 1809, Schlegel printed a passionate defense of censorship "Über die neue Wiener Preßfreiheit" in *die Österreichische Zeitung*, a military journal that he edited during Napoleon's occupation of Vienna. He argued that "*Vielschreiber-und-Leserei*" was a major contributor to the decline in the male German national character: "trägt dazu bei, den sonst so männlichen deutschen Nationalcharakter zu erschlaffen," and predicted that as long as the trend of excessive writing and reading persisted, censorship would be necessary.[68] Much like the preface to the VLC and its disparaging comments about "*Romanen-Lektüre*," Schlegel couches this critique of a specific kind of writing in a language of moral education: "daher ist Sorge für Erhaltung der Religion die erste Bedingung der Kraft und Gesundheit des Staats; Möglichkeit einer bloß mechanischen und physischen Staatsfestigkeit bleibt aus."

In an 1820 essay titled "Signatur des Zeitalters," Schlegel further places the origins of revolution in the moment of dislocation of one part from the organic body:

> Es kann nichts wahrhaft Neues und dauerhaft Lebendiges aus dem Leeren hervorgehen; und wenn der Zusammenhang der organischen Entwicklung einmal unterbrochen ward, so bleibt, wo noch Kraft und Leben vorhanden ist, nur die revolutionäre Unruhe zurück …[69]

As articulated in the VLC, Schlegel's theory of state hinges on a notion of the organic unity and harmony of the body — one that permits continual growth and development. Revolution and terror, under this reading, emerge out of the perversion of "Kraft und Leben," or the dislocation of parts from the body, which inhibit its growth.

The conventional reading of the censorship regime under Metternich points to its rejection of eighteenth century enlightenment intellectualism, which had enjoyed a high point in

[68] Friedrich Schlegel. "Über die neue Wiener Preßfreiheit." *Studien zur Geschichte und Politik*. Ernst Behler, ed. Vol. 7 (München: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1966), 97-98.
[69] Friedrich Schlegel. "Die Signatur der Zeitalters." *Studien zur Geschichte und Politik*. Ernst Behler, ed. Volume 7 (München: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1966), 537.

Central Europe during the reign of Joseph II and highlights the historical experience of the Terror in France and the Napoleonic Wars as a source for Franz I regime's turn to a conservative, dogmatic approach to political texts. However, this view neglects to account for the aesthetic philosophy that was in place under Metternich's censorship regime. That aesthetic philosophy was very much tied to a rejection of fantasy as a basis for writing. Fantasy, in turn, was implicitly connected with a kind of "mad writing" (*Viel Leserei und Schreiberei*) and "*nachteilige Romanen-Lektüre*," which the censorship regime sought to curb through the advancement of literature that emphasized education. As Schlegel's own remarks make clear, fantasy was, at its core, linked with disruptive "revolutionary" energies that could be politicized or were in an of themselves undesirable.

The VLC was written after an extended period of crisis, directly after the withdrawal of French troops from Vienna, which had been under occupation since 1809. Under Napoleonic occupation, the Austrian press had also been rigorously censored. The drafting of the VLC thus presented a patriotic occasion and was taken up with the aim of restoring some degree of legitimacy to the Austrian Monarchy and reaffirming the authority of Emperor Franz I. Its contents were, however, never made known to the public while it was in function. According to Adolf Wiesner, who wrote about censorship in Austria in his memoirs *Denkwürdigkeiten der österreichischen Zensur* (1847), rumors of its contents spread to the public in 1810, and the document was warmly welcomed as a restoration of Austrian native rule. Wiesner gives a sense of the mood of Habsburg subjects after the disastrous Napoleonic wars:

> Die unermeßlichen Opfer, die langjährigen Kriege forderten, das Glück der Napoleonischen Waffen, das die heldenmüthigsten Anstrengungen fruchtlos gemacht hatte, die so lang haltende Unterdrückung der geistigen Thätigkeit der Nazion durch die Uebergewalt der Zensur, die Aussicht auf neue Opfer und eine verhängnisvolle Zukunft, drohten im Jahr 1810 die moralische Kraft der unter dem österreichischen stehenden

Völker zu erschöpfen, und eine völlige Herabstimmung der Geister vorzubereiten.[70]

Nevertheless, the rejoicing over the new laws did not correlate with knowledge of the document itself and its warm reception proved premature: "Diese sanguinischen Urtheile entsprangen, merkwürdig genug, nicht aus der genauen Kenntniß der neuen Vorschrift, sondern geradezu aus der Unkenntniß derselben."[71]After three decades of the VLC's centrality to the censorship administration, authors abandoned their patriotic celebration of it, calling its legitimacy as a legal document into question. Uncertainty about its legality led to a debate among the document's opponents, who attempted to pressure Metternich to institute sweeping censorship reforms. In 1845, Eduard Bauernfeld wrote and circulated a petition "Eine Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der österreichischen Zensur," which was delivered to Metternich and signed by many authors. The authors did not call for a ban on censorship, but for its reform, listing a number of demands, including a plea for transparent censorship laws, which would make the enforcement of censorship legitimate. The petition, widely considered to be one of the precursors to the revolution in 1848, based its legal argument for reform of censorship on the basis of opposition to the VLC.[72]

Next to the Carlsbad Decrees, the VLC was one of the most formative documents to emerge out of the practice of nineteenth-century censorship in Central Europe.

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[70] Adolf Wiesner. *Denkwürdigkeiten der österreichischen Zensur vom Zeitalter der Reformazion bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: A. Krabbe, 1847), 220-221.
[71] Ibid.
[72] "Diese und andere humane Bestimmungen […] bilden den Hauptinhalt der Österreichischen Zensurvorschrift vom 10. September 1810, welche jedoch nur als Instruktion für die Zensoren, nicht aber als Gesetz gelten zu sollen scheint, und die daher niemals öffentlich kundgemacht wurde, denn der Umstand, daß sie in mehreren Privatwerken (in Graf=Barth-Barthemheins [sic]) System der österreichischen Polizeiadministration, Faullers Polizeigesetzkunde, Kankas Handbuch der Gesetze über schwere Polizeiübertretungen) abgedruckt ist, gestattet noch keineswegs, diese Zensurvorschrift als offiziell kundgemacht zu betrachten." Eduard Bauernfeld. "Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Oesterreich." *Der österreichische Vormärz. 1816-1847*. Otto Rommel, ed. (Leipzig: Reclam 1931).

It laid the foundation for a theory of state that was linked to practices of reading and writing. Much like the dual duties of Gerard van Swieten, who assisted at court as a physician and a censor, censors working under Metternich participated in a broad program in which their censorship duties were meant to extend beyond the rote mechanics of censoring to consider the organic unity of the state and the health of its subjects: both moral and physical. Although it is not possible to completely reconstruct the subjective evaluations of the works they judged, a view to the ways in which censorship was tied to state philosophy provides a good foundation for understanding censorship vota. These two elements of censorship— its philosophy and its practice — open up a history that gives an account of its dialogical relationship with literature.

1.3 Model Censor: Friedrich von Gentz and the "European Situation"

In 1821, a book titled *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa, ein Bericht dem Prinzen ** vorgelegt* was published anonymously under the name Freiherr von X in Frankfurt and Leipzig by Carl Heinrich von Kollmanner, the book's publisher and guarantor.[73] Although still relatively unburdened by Austrian "print refugees," by the 1840s Leipzig had become a haven for authors who considered themselves part of an Austrian opposition.[74] In Austria, the book was assigned the category *damnatur* in 1822 by the censors working at the *Polizeihofstelle*.

Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa is a forty-page essay containing historical analysis and political commentary. It contrasts three different European powers (Russia, Austria, and England) and offers a way forward for the German States in Europe outside of the "Austrian

[73] Anonymous publication was raised as an important issue for authors in relation to censorship. German natural scientist Johann Friedrich Benzenberg, for example, notes: "Wenn die Censur abgeschafft werden sollte, so kann es nur dadurch geschehen, dass Jedermann seinen Namen nennt." Article manuscript, 1841. Johann Friedrich Benzenberg. "Ueber Pressfreiheit und Censur." Manuscript, 1841. Austrian State Archives (HHSA), "Notenwechsel Polizeihofstelle," Box 58.

[74] "Nirgends erschienen aber soviel Schriften wie unter den freiheitlicheren Verhältnissen Leipzigs, das in den verziger Jahren das wichtigste Zentrum der österreichischen Opposition wurde." Madeleine Rietra. *Die politische Opposition in Österreich*, Op cit, 9.

system." In its assessment of the relations of the great powers, the author makes a pointed remark about Austria's reactionary regime and its unpopularity with the other European countries:

> Merkwürdig ist…daß Oesterreich zugleich seine geistigen Grenzen enger zusammenzieht…erfolgte Oesterreich ein entgegengesetzes System, so würde es, ohne an Furchtbarkeit zu verlieren, zugleich die Anhänglichkeit, das Vertrauen und die Liebe aller civilisirten Völker gewinnen[75]

At the same time, the book makes strong overtures to Austria as a Central European power: "Oesterreich, im geschloßenen Besitz fruchtbare, reicher, sich selbst genügender Länder, von treuen, ruhigen, der Kriegszucht gewohnten Völkern bewohnt…kann sich als die erste rein europäische Macht des Festlandes ansehen."[76] The book discusses in detail the fate of the German States through internal criticism of their governing structures and through its analysis of the "European situation." That analysis draws on a comparison of two different forms of government: a system of stability, representing Austria, and an "English" system of representation.

Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa is representative of a political philosophy adopted by early nineteenth century German (liberal) nationalists. It takes a scathing view of censorship, particularly as represented by the Carlsbad Decrees, determining that it was Austria's influence that led the German States to adopt such a strong position against the freedom of the press:

> Die Freiheit der Presse, glaubte man in Carlsbad, könne alle Staaten beunruhigen…Folglich war überall auf den Rath und die Zustimmung Oesterreichs zu achten. Daher hatte Fürst Metternich Recht, sich zu den glänzenden Resultaten des Carlsbader Congresses Glück zu wünschen.[77]

[75] Carl Heinrich von Kollmanner. *Über die gegenwärtige Lage in Europa* (Leipzig: Kollmanner, 1822), 8.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid, 21-23.

The author further praises the Greek Wars of Independence fought against the Ottoman Empire in 1820, describing them as a world-historical event that would shake Europe out of its sleepiness:

> Der Freiheits=Sturm ging über die Halbinseln des südlichen Europa. Kaum hatte er in Spanien die Stabilität der Inquisition erschüttert; kaum hatte man sich mit der Isolirung Spaniens getröstet; kaum waren die Anhänger der Freiheit in Italien zum Gespötte geworden; —als in Griechenland der lange verhaltene Haß der Sklaven gegen ihre Tyrannen zu Flammen emporschlug, die in ganz Europa wiederleuchteten. Dieses welthistorische Ereigniß weckte Europa aus seinem Schlafe und aus seinen stabilen, wie aus seinen liberalen Träumen.[78]

The book argues that if the remaining German States did not heed the example of Prussia, they would risk being absorbed by Austria. The author bases this claim on the Napoleonic Wars, noting that the States should have joined Prussia (and not Austria) for protection:

> Die andern deutschen Bundes=Staaten mußten auf demselben Wege nachfolgen, den die Politik Preußens ihnen vorgezeichnet hatte. Mit ihnen hätte Preußen sich zu einem selbständigen System verbinden können. Da es dies nicht gethan, blieb ihnen nichts übrig, als sich gleichfalls dem Schutze Oesterreichs zu empfehlen. Baiern, dessen Adel ohnehin sich zu dem österreichischen System hingezogen fühlte, weil es eine Schutzwehr gegen revolutionäre Beraubungen ihrer Rechte anbietet, —Baiern vergaß die Beschwerde, zu welcher die Nichterfüllung des Vertrags von Ried hätte Anlaß geben können, und ward wahrhaft österreichisch gesinnt.[79]

The framing narrative behind the political analysis is an outlandish tale. The book claims it attracted the urgent commission of an unnamed prince, who serves as the narrative's "addressee."

> Der von Ew. Hoheit mir ertheilte Befehl, einen treuen Bericht über meine Ansicht der gegenwärtigen Lage von Europa zu erstatten, muß mir den Muth geben, eine solche Arbeit zu unternehmen, wenn gleich die Schwierigkeiten, die sich beim Nachdenken über die Aufgabe darstellen, geeigenet sind, davon abzuschrecken.[80]

The mystery behind the tale lends the book an allure that is underscored by the double anonymity in its title and the absence of the identity of the book's commissioner (the title "Freiherr"

[78] Ibid, 25.
[79] Ibid, 17.
[80] Ibid, 5.

suggests that the author wants to be considered a nobleman). The "tale" behind the narrative very likely increased its value on the literary market as a "scandalous" product. Furthermore, the frame through which the story is told situates the book in an antiquated system of approbations and privileges, very likely with the intention of highlighting its "authenticity," but perhaps also as an attempt to draw attention to the legal basis for its publication and its copyright.[81]

Casting some doubt on the veracity of the book's backstory, the publisher "Carl Heinrich von Kollmanner" remarks in the preface that the story of the anonymous prince and the anonymity of the author are not relevant to its argument. He stresses that he was within his legal rights to print the book:

> Zu meiner Rechtfertigung, als Herausgeber, muß ich hinzufügen, daß ich durchaus rechtliche Weise in den Besitz des Berichts gekommen bin. Ob die nachfolgende Schrift, deren Bekanntmachung das Publikum hoffentlich billigen wird, der wirkliche Bericht eines Staatsmannes sey, ob sie einem Fürsten vorgelegt wurde, oder ob der Verfasser nur die Einkleidung wählte, um die Nothwendigkeit eins solchen Berichts zu zeigen;— über diese Fragen mich zu erklären, finde ich um so weniger nothwendig, als die Antwort, zur Verständlichkeit und Beurtheilung der Schrift nichts beitragen würde.[82]

Kollmanner further alleges that the book was never meant to be printed and makes excuses for its hurried style, drawing attention to the urgency of the historical moment as grounds for the book's premature appearance:

> Nur dieß glaub ich sagen zu müssen; daß sie ursprünglich nicht für den Druck bestimmt war; daher einige Nachlässigkeiten des Styls ihre Entschuldigungen finden. Nicht ein schriftstellerisches Kunstwerk sollte geliefert werden. Wie eine unbefangene Betrachtung der Welt auf das lebendige Gefühl gewirkt, und wie dieses, im Moment der Wirkung, sich ausgesprochen; — nur dieses sollte in diesen Blättern niedergelegt werden.[83]

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[81] Book privileges, permissions, and authorizations to print were based in a state philosophy that extended protection to authors under the auspices of noble patronage. They blur the distinctions around the "legality" of literature. They also refer to a system regulating literature outside of state censorship. For more see: Raymond Birn. "Profit of Ideas: Privilèges en librarie in Eighteenth-Century France." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 4, 2 (1970-1971), 131-168; also see Robert Darnton's illuminating discussion of privileges in relation to the "legality" of literature in: Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, ed. *Revolution in Print: the Press in France 1775-1800* (Los Angeles: University of California Print, 1989).

[82] Carl Heinrich von Kollmanner. *Über die gegenwärtige Lage in Europa*, 3.

[83] Ibid.

The insistent prefatory remarks by the publisher and the strange story of the anonymous prince suggest a self-consciousness of the book in relation to censorship that prefigures its eventual reception. Indeed, it attracted the attention of Friedrich von Gentz, one of the most influential statesmen of the period, who was a major architect of the "system of stability" that the author of *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa* excoriates.

Friedrich von Gentz was a German diplomat born into a Prussian civil servant's family. His father was the director of the treasury in Berlin, and his mother was related to Jean Pierre Frédéric Ancillon, a Prussian statesman and philosopher. He became a war councilor in the Prussian civil service (*Kriegsrat*) and divided his time between his official state duties and writing and editing. His translation and commentary of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* brought him notoriety and established his reputation as one of the leading German conservative intellectuals of the period.[84] He left Prussia for Austria in 1802, where he continued his work as a diplomat and a writer, eventually becoming one of Metternich's most trusted advisors, who bestowed on him the title of *außerordentlicher Hofrat*. Gentz also helped found and edit the pro-Austrian journal the *Österreischischer Beobachter* and worked closely with Metternich on issues pertaining to censorship. He played an influential role at the Vienna Congress and was a great defender of European censorship and the laws providing for censorship in the Carlsbad Decrees. His correspondents included Adam Müller, Rahel and Karl Varnhagen von Ense, Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, James Mackintosh, Earl Philip Henry Stanhope, Johann Friedrich von Cotta, Chateaubriand, and Goethe.

Among his many political texts, one of Gentz's most famous contributions was his *Der Ursprung und die Grundsätze der Amerikanischen Revolution, verglichen mit dem Ursprung und*

[84] Friedrich von Gentz. *Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution; nach dem Englischen des Herrn Burke*. (Berlin: F. Vieweg, 1793).

den Grundsätzen der Französischen, which he published in 1800. In that essay, Gentz echoes Burke's criticisms of the violence of the French Revolution. He legitimizes the American Revolution as a constitutional break with Britain due to the latter's violation of its original charter over the colonies and argues that Britain's system of unfair taxation gave the Americans not only good reason, but the right to revolt against the British and declare independence. In contrast, the deputies of the third state in France abrogated all of France's laws and institutions and declared themselves the national assembly based on a weak application of the notion of "inalienable rights."

Like *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa*, which viewed the situation of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era as a contest between representative liberalism and continental "stability" (represented by Austria), Gentz saw the future of Europe as a conflict between constitutionalism (liberal English values) and a universal doctrine of "inalienable rights" and its application through violent means (French Revolution). His essay is a defense of legalism, constitutionalism, and state sovereignty.[85] His commitment to the Austrian project and his work for Metternich was, thus, based not only in a defense of "stability" that Austria represented, but in a legal, historical, and philosophical conception of prerevolutionary European institutions.

In twenty-two pages of elegant script, Gentz laid out a detailed response to *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa*, which he titled *Bemerkungen zu der Schrift: Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa*.[86] The manuscript was included in a correspondence between the state chancellery (*Staatskanzlei*) and the censorship offices at the *Polizeihofstelle* and was given

[85] Friedrich von Gentz. "Der Ursprung und die Grundsätze der Amerikanischen Revolution, verglichen mit dem Ursprung und den Grundsätzen der Französischen (1800)." *Amerika im Spiegel des politischen Denkens*, ed. Ernst Fraenkel (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959).
[86] See Figure 1.3 in the appendix for a copy of the first page of the manuscript.

the superscript "Censur" in the archival holdings.[87]Whether his reflections reflect the conventional generic requirements of a censorship "votum" or not, it is clear that they set out to model the "ideal" censorship response to a political work. They were eventually even published in 1822 in Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* with a note to the editor and published again in a volume of collected works in 1839.[88] Given the manuscript's placement in a correspondence between the state chancellery and the censorship offices, it is safe to assume that Gentz's remarks played a key role in the assignation of the title of *damnatur* to the book in Austria in 1822.

Gentz was not convinced by the story of the prince, nor was he able to find the "Kollmanner" who published the work. In an accompanying letter that he wrote with his reflections printed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, he speculates that the editor was writing under a pseudonym and writes that the book's main target made it abundantly clear why the author went to such measures to hide his real identity: "Nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit ist der Name des Herausgebers erdichtet. Der wahre Verfasser hat aus sehr begreiflichen Ursachen nicht gewagt sich zu nennen. —Es ist nicht schwer zu bestimmen, gegen was und gegen wen die Schrift besonders gerichtet ist."[89]

Gentz's analysis investigates much of the work through the book's style. In his appended letter to *the Allgemeine Zeitung*, Gentz concedes — in contrast to the editor — that the book is well written: "Ich habe daher geglaubt …der nicht ohne Talent abgefaßten Schrift einige Aufmerksamkeit widmen zu müssen."[90] He comments on the book's sharp tone, its brevity, and its particular "panache," concluding that the book would have drawn in a wide readership:

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[87] Friedrich von Gentz. "Bemerkungen zu der Schrift Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa." Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei- Polizeihofstelle. Vota und Varia." Box 59.
[88] Friedrich von Gentz. *Politische Schriften*. *Ausgewählte Schriften von Friedrich von* Gentz, ed. Wilderich Weick. Vol 5 (Stuttgart: L.J. Rieger & Comp, 1839).
[89] Friedrich von Gentz. "Bemerkungen zu der Schrift über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa." *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 43. March 21, 1822.
[90] Ibid.

"...diese Schrift, die durch einen eigenthümlichen Schwung, schneidenden Ton, und bedeutungsvolle Kürze, viel Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen geeignet ist..."[91]

These remarks on style draw a connection between the book's readability (its capacity to move its reader) and its circulation potential. Gentz's observations on the book's concise wit invoke the guidelines laid out in the sixth paragraph of the VLC. Censors were instructed to pay particularly close attention to texts (brochures and political texts) with a powerful emotional appeal: "es sind auch alle Schriften der Art zu entfernen, welche weder auf den Verstand noch auf das Herz vortheilhaft wirken, und deren einzige Tendenz ist, die Sinnlichkeit zu wiegen."[92] Gentz's analysis thus moves beyond the text itself to hypothesize about its readership and its effectiveness as a political text.

Instead of merely denouncing the book as a "revolutionary" text, he addresses its significance and its unique status in relationship to other texts of the same genre. Gentz's analytic commentary focuses on the intertextual situation of the book and its participation in a broader movement of "revolutionary" texts current in Germany at the time. His comments aim to evaluate this book within a field of political texts. He distinguishes the text from others through his observation of its stylistic qualities — some which make it elusive or difficult to grasp on a first reading:

> ...aus ihrem wahren Standpunkte, der sich vielleicht nicht beim ersten Blicke darbietet zu beurteilen, muss man vor allem sich Rechenschaft geben, in welchem Sinn, und in welchen Richtungen sie von anderen, die neuerlich der revolutionäre Geist in Deutschland erzeugt hat, mehr oder weniger abweicht. Hinzu mögen folgende Bemerkungen dienen. [93]

[91] Friedrich von Gentz. "Bemerkungen zu der Schrift Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa." Manuscript. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei und Polizeihofstelle. Vota und Varia," Box 59.
[92] VLC, Op cit.
[93] Ibid.

Gentz critique of liberalism and the "liberal mindset" is not an ad hominem attack, but rather forms the basis for his assessment of the book's hypothesis. Thus, the book's dismissal of the representative system as a model for government in the German States leads Gentz to question the author's earnest attachment to a liberal philosophy, and he notes that there are some "types" willing to dispense with their ideological commitments once they outlive their political usefulness:

> Der Verfasser, obgleich ein entschiedener Anbeter des Zeitgeistes und warmer Verehrer aller Bestrebungen desselben gibt das Repräsentativ- System auf. Er spricht sogar verächtlich davon...Was auch hinter diesen seltsamen Geständnissen verborgen liegen möge, sie sind immer merkwürdig als ein Beweis, wie leicht ein von Neuerungslust besessener Kopf, ein System, worin bisher die ganze Stärke seiner Partey zu liegen schien, sobald es in seine weiteren Plane nicht taugt, fallen läßt.[94]

Gentz further scrutinizes the book's main thesis: the argument that the German States need a "third" system of governance outside of the Austrian system of stability and a representative system based in English liberalism. He finds the author's own system to fall short of clarity and writes that he insufficiently describes this "third system." Gentz remarks that the characteristics of this third system—a direct representation of agrarian workers and tradesmen—are neither new nor original, and he criticizes the author for his rhetorical clumsiness and his use of commonplaces:

> Da alle hier ausgeführten Zwecke aber mit jeder Staatsverfassung und jeder Regierung zugänglich, mithin so, wie sie ausgesprochen werden, nichts als leere Gemeinplätze sind, so bleibt immer noch zu wissen, worin denn das Eigenthümliche jenes neuen Systems besteht, und wo und wie, und von wem es gebildet werden soll? [95]

Wading through the author's "vague and bombastic claims" (*diese dunkle und schwülstige Erklärung*), Gentz identifies the book's major weakness. Despite the author's self-professed

[94] Underlining appears in the manuscript. Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

liberalism, the books calls for a charismatic despot—or a party representing despotic national interests—to take over stewardship of the state to lead the new state:

> Diese dunkle und schwülstige Erklärung scheint auf einen Stand der Dinge zu deuten, worin ein, durch persönliche Eigenschaften vorragender, und von der Natur zur Herrschaft berufener Regent, mit ungeschränkter und ungetheilter Macht bekleidet, nach eigener Einsicht und mit eigenen Mitteln, alle Wünsche eines "aufgeklärten Jahrhunderts", — mit anderen Worten —der Partei, die diesem Jahrhundert ihre Wünsche als das höchste Gut, und ihre Meinungen als die ewige Wahrheit aufdringt — zu befriedigen vermöchte.[96]

Ultimately, Gentz concludes that the major object of the book was not to plan for a third system of government, but to excoriate Austria. Gentz bases his claim on inference and comparison. When, for example, the author calls the Greek revolt of 1820 a great world-historical event, Gentz infers that he is referring not to the Ottoman Empire, but the Austrian one: "Der Zusammenhang dieser Tirade mit dem Ganzen verräth jedoch, daß sein Enthusiasmus für die griechische Sache nichts als ein falsches Spiel ist, welches ganz andern Absichten zum Deckmantel dient."[97] Gentz thus concludes that the author's remarks on the Greek uprising were an indirect call for an uprising of Austrian subjects against the monarchy:

> Jetzt müssen die von Österreich Unterdrückten "sich zum Gefühl ihrer Kraft, zur Behauptung ihrer Würde zu erheben suchen." — Dies ist das eigentliche Thema des Verfassers, und zugleich der Schlüssel zu seinen oft räthselhaften Äußerungen, die er durch eine geflissentlich falsche Darstellung, und heuchlerische Bewunderung der Politik des österreichischen Kabinets in ein künstliches Dunkel verhüllt war. Aus diesem Gesichtspunkt fällt das Licht über das Ganze; und Sinn und Absicht jeder einzelnen,[98] wenn auch so paradox klingenden Behauptung klären sich auf.[99]

Overall, Gentz's reading of *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa* reveals an approach committed to interpretation and inference. His analysis leads him to his conclusions about the author's self-interested motivations and his hypocrisies. His wariness of the author's

[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

"dangerous" political message is, thus, reflected in his comments on the book's pithy style. He further demonstrates a critical engagement with the author's claims through intertextual analysis.

Furthermore, Gentz's analysis of the work is focused on the legitimacy of the historical claims that the author of the text makes. For Gentz, the call for despotism represents a paradox that is hypocritical in light of the author's statements about the system of "stability" that he attacks. Gentz, thus, aims to uncover the systemic weaknesses of the work in his analysis, not only to convince the censors and Metternich's regime of its heresy against the Austrian state, but also to reveal a certain tendency of thought in the contemporary European political context.

One reason that Gentz might have favored a broader approach to analysis is that he was trying to uncover the author's identity. His thorough survey of the political field was, thus, guided by a process of elimination based on authorial style, which could lead him straight to the author. Thus, he notes that a real expert could not fail to miss some of the continuities between *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa* and other works written in the same vein: "dessen nahe Verwandtschaft mit der gegenwärtigen nichtsdestoweniger keinem Kennerauge entgehen wird."[100]

Gentz was no ordinary censor: he was an experienced and influential statesman, whose intervention into European literary affairs was motivated by the defense of a political system that he helped create. His remarks on this forgotten treatise on the "European situation," together with the eventual publication in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* thus constitute not merely a literary act, but a political one. Nevertheless, given the uniqueness of Gentz's position within the censorship administration and the singularity of his contributions to the European canon, his approach to analyzing and critiquing *Die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa* is marked by a surprising intellectual curiosity. His analysis shows that he endeavored to understand the general arguments

[100] Ibid.

that the author made in order to take them apart. It reveals the hypocrisy of a self-professed liberal invoking the necessity of despotism. Gentz was, furthermore, committed to issues of style and form, which he considered an important factor in surmising its effect on the general readership.

Gentz's *Bemerkungen* ensured that *Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa* would not attain a wider circulation of readers, although the publication of his remarks in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* indicates that he was interested in reaching a public who might have come across it in the German States, or through illegal means. Gentz's commitments as a censor were based not only in blank loyalty to Metternich's regime, but were grounded in a belief system that he articulated in historical and political analysis of constitutionalism and in his analysis of recent European political events. Beyond mere "stability," Gentz defended that system as a foundation for justice throughout his life.

In a letter to Metternich dated November 14, 1810, Gentz argued to the Chancellor that the Monarchy needed its own court newspaper ("*Hofzeitung*"). He wrote that that newspaper should be politically sound and mitigate the influence of the excesses of journalism in a literary age dominated by mercantilism and profit ("*merkantilisch-litterarisches Zeitalter").* He suggested modeling it on English newspapers like the "Daily papers," "The Courier," and the "Morning-Chronicle" and spoke in an approbatory fashion of Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung*: "Für das Gedeihen dieses Blattes scheint mir nun die Idee Euer Excellenz, mit der bisherigen Redaction der Allgemeinen Zeitung in Unterhandlung zu treten…"[101] He opined that a smart political organ for the state and the monarchy would render unnecessary the existence of a "literary-political-statistical-philosophical-compilatory office" ("literarisch-politisch-statistisch-

[101] Friedrich von Gentz. "Brief an Metternich, November 14, 1810." *Aus der alten Registratur der Staatskanzlei. Briefe politischen Inhalts von und an Friedrich von Gentz aus den Jahren 1799-1827*, ed. Clemens von Klinkowström (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1870), 50.

philosophisch-compilatorisches Bureau") and spare its harried civil servants accusations of arbitrariness and hypocrisy:

> …es kann eine solche Prätention nur zu Halbheit und Oberflächlichkeit führen. Und warum so verwickelte Maschinerie? Eine gute politische Zeitung — und ein gutes Intelligenz-Blatt —die sind die einzigen wahren Bedürfnisse…Von den übrigen, einer solchen Behörde zugedachten Geschäften, der Einsammlung statistischer, technologischer, polizeylicher, legislativer, scientisischer, und Gott weiß, welchen anderen Notizen, sage ich weiter nichts, mit solchem Ballast sind wir ohnein schon überladen. [102]

However, censorship in the form of a "literary-political-statistical-philosophical-compilatory office" had already been inaugurated under the auspices of the VLC, which laid out the duties for censors in September of the year that Gentz wrote to Metternich. For the next three decades, censors worked dutifully behind the scenes critiquing and sizing up the "ballast" of literature published for an expanding readership. Gentz's own position guaranteed him a degree of transparency as a "model censor" that was not the privilege of regular censors, who worked without public acclaim or visibility. The vota that they left behind gives insight into the way in which they approached and read literature.

1.4 Admittur, Erga Schedam, Damnatur: Censorship Vota

The final section of this chapter examines three instances of censorship intervention as recorded in vota left behind by censors. These texts represent the most robust evidence of individual censorship practices and interventions as they occurred "behind the scenes" at the *Polizeihofstelle* and give valuable insight into how censors might have thought about their practices and their work. My selections for this section of the chapter were made with a view to understanding the way in which 1) censors read texts 2) what motivated them (religious,

[102] Ibid, 50-51.

political, or other considerations)? and 3) the censorship "process" that is laid out in vota (hierarchies in the administration, disputes, assignation of censorship categories).

The first votum to be considered was a response to the submission of a partial manuscript to the censorship office at the state chancellery.[103] The censor gives as the title *Statistische Übersicht der Germanischen Staaten des deutschen Bundes* and notes the author as a "Freiherr von Liechtenstern." The submitted manuscript contained tables and data pertaining to the different states in the German Confederation, including historical information on borders, and general demographic and geographical data. Its author was Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern (1765-1828), a Viennese geographer and statistician. The work was published a year later as *Statistische Übersicht aller europäischen Staaten nach ihrem neusten Zustande* by the publisher Johann Baptist Wallishausen in Vienna. It contained a dedication to Metternich on the first page:

> dem erhabenen Beschützer vaterländischer Kunst —dem Kenner der grossen Gegenstände menschlicher Wissenschaft — und dem Schätzer und eifrigen Beförder des Forschens im weiten Gebeite der Staatskunde
> widmet diesen Versuch, als Symbol der Huldigung der Verfasser [104]

The work that Liechtenstern submitted was evaluated by a zealous censor, who makes many suggestions for revisions in order to improve the work as a whole. The votum is a paradigmatic example of an application of the VLC in relation to specialized (*wissenschaftlich*) works and treatises. Although the censor assigned Liechtenstern's book the category "admittur," he makes three critical interventions, which he enumerates systematically in the votum.

[103] The full transcription of the votum is included in the appendix to this chapter together with a digitized copy of the manuscript in Figure 1.4.
Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern. Votum, "Statistische Übersicht der Germanischen Staaten des deutschen Bundes." Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59.
[104] Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern. *Statistische Übersicht aller europäischen Staaten nach ihrem neusten Zustande* (Vienna: Johann Baptist Wallishausen, 1819).

However, he writes that these revisions are only suggestions and implies that Liechtenstern is free to make his own adjustments:

> Da die vom Freiherrn von Liechtenstern bearbeitete, hier rückliegende Tabelle nur eine Teil=Arbeit ist, so kann man sich von Seite der Staatskanzlei alle Bemerkungen über denjenigen Inhalt desselben enthalten, wobei keine politischen Rücksichten eintreten, sondern welche nur eine literarische Würdigung unterliegen und folglich ganz der eigenen Darstellung des Herrn Verfassers überlassen bleiben.[105]

The revisions the censor makes, and his notes on the manuscript's different technical or historical errors, improve the work in two ways. The censor writes that the author might eliminate (*"ganz weglassen"*) a section entirely, or change the work to reflect the censor's input. Significantly, the votum implies that the author and the censor were in communication about the revisions, noting in one spot that the censor "had heard" that a misnomer in one of the manuscript's tables' titles was *meant* to merely be a typographical error and would be adjusted accordingly: "Die Durchschrift der Tabelle Rheingemanische Staaten des deutschen Bundes ist zwar — wie ich höre — nur ein Schreibfehler."[106]

The votum contains scrupulous notes on the tables, figures, and data in the manuscript. The censor pays especial attention to the relationship of "Austria" to the states of the German Confederation, noting in one place that the author should revise a statement about the Austrian territories in accordance with a statement that the Austrian Emperor had made at the *Bundestagsitzung*:

> In Besehung der zum deutschen Bunde gehörenden Grenzen und Theile der österreichischen Monarchie wäre bestimmt zu bemerken, daß Freiherr von Liechtenstern diese ganz nach der auf die ausdrückliche Entschließung Sr. Majestät zu beachtenden in der Budestagssitzung abgelegten Erklärung zu fassen habe[107]

[105] Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern. Votum, Op cit.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

The censor's notes further suggest adjustments to a section pertaining to the medieval borders between Bavaria and territories to its East, and he notes that the river Enns did not constitute the legal border at the time, since Bavarian dukes shared sovereignty with bishops and nobility living in their lands in accordance with laws laid out by the Holy Roman Emperor.

The censor also comments on the tone of the work, noting that such an analytical and technical genre should not be overlaid with too much authorial interpretation:

> Es sagt daher Freiherr von Liechtenstern nach meinem Ermessen zu viel und zu wenig und da hier ohnehin nur eine tabellische und summarische Angabe beabsichtigt wird, so folglich nicht eine solche umständliche Herdeutung gleichzeitig eingebracht werden kann, so scheint es mir jedoch angemessen, daß dieser Punct der früheren Grenze Baierns gegen Osten wenigstens anders zugelassen.[108]

Finally, although the votum granted "admittur" and the censor writes that the manuscript contains no "political considerations" (*politische Rücksichten*), he implies that without the implementation of the suggested revisions, the work would expose its eventual readers to "erroneous" views and historical misunderstandings:

> Aus demselben Grunde bin ich der Meinung daß auch des weiteren wegzulassen oder abermal zu fassen wäre…eine andere Fassung ist durchaus ebenso zur Verhütung von Mißverständnissen und Mißbrauch auch deshalb angemessen, weil sonst allen eine irrige Ansicht und Vorstellung aus den frühsten Zeiten im Vergleich mit den späteren stattfindet.[109]

Although the votum is an example of a censorship decision that granted full privileges to a work, it contains surprisingly detailed analysis of the work as a technical text and looks at the manuscript as a work "in process," very similar to the editorial work undertaken at a publishing house. Furthermore, the censor suggests revisions in line with a normative application of historical methods, suggesting that he may have been an expert in the field, or was widely read in geography and history. His relationship with the author is alluded to in the section that suggests

[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

that the two of them had corresponded over a typographical error in one of the titles, suggesting an exchange more intimate than might otherwise be anticipated between censors and writers. Finally, the votum communicates that the censor felt it his task to discern the work for "political content" first. Failing to find anything that would mark it as a questionable, the censor notes that only these areas of technical inaccuracies would need to be adjusted for the eventual publication of the work and gives the author of the manuscript full sovereignty over his text.

The second votum, which also granted the category *admittur*, shows that Austrian censors were willing to concede full privileges to works containing political criticism of the Austrian Monarchy as long as that criticism was voiced by the right person and in the right tone.[110] The censor in charge of evaluating the work signs with the name "Menßhengen, " who is listed as a censor in documents contained in the State Archives on the state chancellery's personnel ("*personalia*") in charge of the direction of books and brochures.[111]

The subject of Menßhengen's votum was a historical manuscript titled the *Pragmatische Geschichte der Wiedergeburt Griechenlands*, which was published in Frankfurt in 1835. The author of the work was a German law professor, author, and state official Johann Ludwig Klüber (1762-1837). Klüber had ties to the state in Austria and had resided in Vienna during the Vienna Congress, leaving behind an eight-volume work on the subject titled *Acten des Wiener Congresses in den Jahren 1814 und 1815* (1815).

[110] The full transcription of the votum is included in the appendix to this chapter together with a digitized copy of the manuscript in Figure 1.5; Johann Ludwig Klüber. *Pragmatische Geschichte der Wiedergeburt Griechenland*s. Votum written by Baron Menßhengen. December 18, 1835. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59.
[111] Vienna State Archives (HHSA) – Staatskanzlei, Interiora, Menßhengen, Personalia, K 7.

Menßhengen is effusive in his praise of Klüber's book, describing it as full of expert knowledge on the Greek matter and noting that it would bring its author renown among historians:

> Das vorliegende Werk ist mit tiefer Sachkenntniß mit einer Genauigkeit und Vollständigkeit geschrieben, die dem Geschichtsforscher kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig lassen dürfte. — dasselbe wird — es ist nicht zu zweifeln, den ausgezeichneten Ruf den der Verfasser bereits als publicistischer Schriftsteller in Europa besitzt demselben nicht in geringerem Grade auch in historischer Literatur begründen

However, Menßhengen also observes a political "quarrel" with Austria. He notes that the work contained a philhellenic strain, which led Klüber to celebrate the Greek victory over the Ottoman Empire. Klüber was critical of the European position on the Greek cause, especially the Austrian intervention in favor of the Ottoman Empire:

> Dagegen kommt aber auch zu bemerken, daß derselbe in diesem Werke als erklärter Philhellene auftritt in demselben (besonders in der Einleitung und in den ersten Abschnitten) gegen die Türkei und ihren Beherrschern schonungslos zu Felde zieht und gleichsam im prophetischen Geiste (Seite 17) die Befreyung Griechenlands als den Anfang der Auflösung des Osmanischen Reiches verkündet;—daß er den Aufstand der Griechen nicht bloß zu entschuldigen sondern als vollberechtigt begründet und gewißermaßen als eine heilige Sache darzustellen sucht;- daß er —so es nur immer seyn kann —seine Unzufriedenheit mit der Politik welche die europäischen Großmächte in Ansehung der griechischen Sache befolgt haben, an den Tag legt, und endlich in spezieller Beziehung auf Oesterreich die von diesem Staate den Türken geleistete Hülfe und dagegen den Griechen in den Weg gelegten Hinderniße —wenn auch oft nur mit einigen hingeworfenen Worten aber dennoch herauszuheben bemüht ist. Belege hiezu sind S. 23, 83, 86, 89, 114, 187 zu finden.[112]

Menßhengen poses the question of whether Klüber's work should be permitted full privileges in Austria, or given the category *transeat* (this would have regulated its advertisement and made obtaining it more difficult). Menßhengen makes the case that the work should be granted *admittur* given its "modest" and "dignified" style. He also bases his arguments for admittur on unnamed censorship proscriptions (not contained in the VLC) that authors of historical works need not share the same political views as accepted state doctrine: "Da nach den bestehenden

[112] Klüber. Votum, Op cit.

Grundsätzen Werke welche vergangenen Ereigniße aufhellen auch dann den Grundsätzen und Ansichten des Autors nicht immer diejenigen der Staatsverwaltung sind nicht zu verbiethen sind insofern sie mit Würde und Bescheidenheit abgefaßt."[113]

The votum further shows that Menßhengen consulted with his superior in the matter, Ottenfels.[114] The votum grants the work admittur: "O. Ex der Herr Staatsrath Ottenfels hat mir ermächtigt im Namen der Staatskanzley für das Admittur zu stimmen."[115]

Menßhengen's votum is striking for several reasons, not least for its demonstration of the censorship administration's willingness to overlook a potentially politically challenging work in favor of its style. For this reason, it confirms both the earlier remarks about the VLC and its particular focus on issues of "academic rigor" as established practice. However, it also suggests that the reputation of the author, who had ties to Austrian state, was more important than his book's political tendencies, and Menßhengen notes that the criticisms of Austrian intervention in the Greek Wars of Independence were only "far and few between": "hingeworfen." The document further gives insight into the processual nature of censorship decisions in its outlining of the censorship hierarchy, in particular the concession granted by Ottenfels, and it shows Menßhengen's scrupulous annotation of the pages of the work in his outlining of the book's argument.

The final censored work to be noted here was assigned the category "damnatur," although the votum evaluating it — this time by several censors— indicated that it could have been assigned both "transeat" and "erga schedam."[116] The book was titled *Ueber den einzig wahren*

[113] Ibid.
[114] The reference is to the censor and "*Staatsrat*" Baron Franz Xaver von Ottenfels-Gschwind.
[115] Klüber. Votum, Op cit.
[116] See figure 1.6 in the appendix. Über den einzig wahren Ehescheidungsgrund in der christlichen Kirche so wie in christlichen Staaten." Votum, 1835. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59.

Ehescheidungsgrund in der christlichen Kirche so wie in christlichen Staaten, and it was published in 1835 in Bayreuth. The published book's title page lists its author as a lawyer ("*Jurist*"), and the votum gives no name for the author. Another name that occurs with the text in the list of forbidden works is the obvious pseudonym "Hans von und zu Aufsess." The lack of the author's name on the title page indicates that he knew the book would encounter difficulties with censorship.

The votum, which is shorter than the other examples appended here, makes a distinction between two normative approaches to this text. Menßhengen, one of the censors, argues that the book deserved the assignation "erga schedam," and he bases his argument for that category on the book's heretical inclinations and its eventual readership: "Ich würde mich der Meinung des letzteren anschließen, da auf Seite 35 die Sakramentalität der Ehe angegriffen wird; daher sich dieses Buch nicht für jeden eignet."[117]

The argument for "damnatur" in the votum does not consider its eventual readers, but declares it a wholly bad work (*Machwerk*) belonging to a certain class of literature that must be condemned out of hand: "Wegen der entschiedenen feindseligen Tendenz gegen die Kirche und die Absurditäten dieses Machwerkes auch daßelbe zu der Classe der Bücher gezählt welche mit Damnatur belegt wissen wollen."[118] Finally, the document also lists one other opinion in the censorship office, which considered the book wholly undangerous and considered assigning it the category "transeat."

This votum provides an interesting glimpse into the deliberative process and discussions among censors and it exhibits two approaches to censoring "illicit" texts. The book's content material, its attacks on the sacrament of marriage, and its criticism of the church, made it an

[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

obvious candidate for the title "damnatur." Nevertheless, the censors could not assign this title without clarifying why it deserved it. Thus, Menßhengen argues against forbidding it entirely, since he does not consider it an illicit work in and of itself and draws attention only to some of its troubling tendencies, which he annotates. Although he does not consider the work to be universally suitable, he draws a distinction between the book's contents — its attack on the sacraments of marriage — and its effect as a whole, arguing that there may be *some* readers on whom the book might have a bad effect, but not everyone. The argument for "damnatur," on the other hand, makes clear that the book does not rise up to the standards of the censorship regime and condemns it categorically for its adversarial stance on the Church. Finally, it is significant that the category "transeat" was suggested for a book that was eventually put on the forbidden lists and reveals the ambiguity underlying the strongest prohibitive measures the state undertook to forbid the circulation of works.

Taken together, these vota give a brief glimpse into the everyday work of censors, particularly with regard to their dogged approach to literary evaluation. They are paradigmatic documents that also provide evidence of the scrupulous efforts that censors undertook to balance their interpretation of censorship guidelines with external considerations. These ranged from the reputation of important persons (as the votum about Klüber's work shows) to expectations about the reading public. More often than not, vota circulated among censors for discussion of assignation. They show that censorship was not an isolated process limited to purging texts of offensive material, but that individual censors harbored aspirations to shaping literature in accordance with their own normative conceptions about rigor, quality, and correctness.

1.5: Conclusion: New Questions for Literary History

In a section of his memoirs to which he gave the title "My Political Testament," Metternich writes that he is unsure whether any country other than England can tolerate the scourge of the modern free press: "Ich bin gewiß nicht der einzige, der sich fragt, ob die Gesellschaft mit der Preßfreiheit, jener Geißel, die der Welt vor der letzten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts unbekannt und die bis zum Ende des 18. mit nur wenigen Ausnahmen auf England allein beschränkt war, existieren kann."[119] Isolated statements like these have shaped retrospective perceptions of Metternich's long and tumultuous tenure as Chancellor and have persuaded many to regard his system of censorship as an overbearing intrusion of the state into literary production and circulation. Metternich's legacy led the Austrian historian Viktor Bibl in 1936 to blame him for the end of the Habsburg Empire after the First World War and he called him the "Demon of Austria," describing the police state that Metternich thuggishly wielded against his own people with the help of brutes with bayonets as an "end in itself."[120] Bibl's designation echoes some of the period's more chagrined authors and playwrights, who saw in Metternich and his censors nothing more than mercurial authoritarians.

This reception of Metternich and his "system," which underlines his uniquely tyrannical approach to curbing the freedom of the press and controlling the trade and circulation of literature, has very likely obstructed attempts to regard censorship practices in Austria in the first half of the nineteenth century as anything other than ideological. However, such statements insufficiently grasp the reality of literary production during that period, in which I argue censorship played a formative role. In his extensive survey of censorship in the Ancien Régime, Robert Darnton writes that censorship "went far beyond the blue-penciling of texts. It extended

[119] Klemens von Metternich. *Denkwürdigkeiten* (München: G. Müller, 1921), 84.
[120] "…Polizeistaat als Selbstzweck, gegen das eigene Volk gerichtet, durch die brutalsten Helfer, durch Kerker und Bajonette geschützt." Viktor Bibl. *Metternich: Der Dämon* Österreichs (Leipzig: Johannes Günther, 1936), 14-15.

to the shaping of literature itself as a force at work throughout the social order."[121]The same is true of censorship in Metternich's regime, regardless of his individual political aims and goals, which may (indeed) have been repressive to many. Censorship regulations, like the VLC, the vota discussed in this chapter, and model critiques of literary works, like that of Friedrich von Gentz, show that censorship saw itself as a vital component of the social order and as necessary to the maintenance of literary standards. Both Metternich and Gentz considered themselves architects of a new (and fragile) European system that depended on a notion of "stability" and continuity with prerevolutionary European institutions and laws. They both further saw themselves as the last bulwark defending Europe against "evil" (which they believed was brought into the world through the French Revolution).[122]

The history of censorship under Metternich has been difficult to assess for many reasons, not least because essential documents—vota, correspondences, and other censorship protocols — retained in the holdings of the state chancellery went up in flames in 1926 in a fire that destroyed or damaged many of the documents held in the Palace of Justice. However, researchers have gone to some lengths to reconstruct the period through memoirs, correspondences, and the documents that remain. Norbert Bachleitner's recent comprehensive contribution to the subject lays a thorough foundation of censorship and its many actors in Austria between 1751 and 1848 and has made it possible for researchers to engage with those documents in a more nuanced way.

This chapter has gone "beyond the books" of the Biedermeier period in order to develop a new set of questions about literary production and the literary market in early nineteenth-century Austria.[123] One question that it asks is: to what extent did censors play a role in establishing genres of literature? My discussion of the VLC and censorship vota shows that the

[121] Robert Darnton. *Censors at Work*. Op cit, 20.
[122] "Das Böse existiert und dieses Böse ist ungeheuer. "Klemens von Metternich. *Denkwürdigkeiten*. Op cit, 76.
[123] Robert Darnton. *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), viii.

administration aspired to hold literature to exacting scientific standards, and that they applied their normative conceptions to the evaluation of texts—both in the conceptualization of literary genre and in their critiques of literary style. I have also revealed that censorship under Metternich theorized reading practices in combination with its rejection of Romantic aesthetics in favor of Enlightenment aesthetics in relation to novels and fictional works. Finally, without wanting to make a value statement about censorship, this chapter interrogates the problem of censorship's arbitrary nature. At its heart, censorship is a subjective process involving the opinions and judgments of individuals, who were authorized to make categorical statements about literature and prohibit some works from ever being printed, read, or even written. Thus, this chapter asks whether censorship and censorship documents should be included alongside works of art and literature in literary history. Given the richness of censorship history and the extent to which censors shaped the horizons of literary production, I have argued that it *should*.

Chapter Two: The "Ludlamshöhle": Pornography, Parody, and Secrets in Biedermeier Vienna

"Strotzend, steif empor gerichtet,/ Steht der Schwanz in stolzer Kraft" ("Bristling, upwardly erect/ in proud might stands the cock"): these opening lines announce the proclivities of the poem *Die Sauglocke* (*The Sow's Bell*). Although it was first published (illegally) in 1840, its bawdy message coursed through Vienna throughout the 1820s and 1830s. Its reputed author, Ignaz Franz Castelli (1770-1862), wrote poems, plays, songs, and recollections of life during the Austrian "Age of Roast Chicken" (*Backhendlzeit*), a period that began around the end of the eighteenth century and was characterized by excess, decadence, and political quiescence.[124] His memoirs document his involvement with the "Ludlamshöhle," a secret society that sponsored the publication of five journals, boasted over one hundred and six members (self-described "*Ludlamiten*") and provided a jovial setting for the production of collaborative parody and erotic texts from 1818 until 1826 when it was raided by the police.[125] After its dissolution, its members carried the group's ethos into different Viennese literary societies and publishing circles, among them, the "Concordia" (1840-1848), founded by the Austrian poet and actor Friedrich Kaiser (1814-1874), the "Larkfield Messenger," the "Soupiritum," and the "Jour Fix-Sterne."[126] They

[124] In his description of a European "Wert-Vakuum," the twentieth-century Austrian writer Hermann Broch was critical of this period of Austrian cultural production, particularly in the capital, describing Viennese art as "decorative" and its literature as "feuilltonism": "Entsprechend seiner Dekorativität war Wien heiter, oft schwachsinnig heiter, aber von eigentlichem Humor oder gar von Bissigkeit und Selbstironie war da wenig zu spüren." Hermann Broch. *Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit* (München: R. Piper, 1964), 51.

[125] In her article on Franz Schubert's involvement with the secret society, Lucia Porhansl draws on unpublished material from Castelli's estate that exists in a private collection in Vienna. That estate contains material containing lists of members: "Wie eine kürzlich in Wiener Privatbesitz aufgefundene, aus dem Nachlaß von Ignaz Franz Castelli stammende Liste … zeigt, hatte die Gesellschaft zuletzt einhundertundsechs Mitglieder." Lucia Porhansl. "Auf Schuberts Spuren in der Ludlamshöhle," *Schubert durch die Brille. Internationales Franz Schubert Institut.Mitteilungen*, no. 7 (June 1991), 53.

[126] Fragments of the "Larkfield Messenger" and the "Jour-Fix-Sterne" are located in Ludwig August Frankl's holdings at the Vienna City Library. They contain many lithographs. Castelli's editor Josef Bindtner also mentions: the "Concordia," the Aurora, and the "Helperus" as groups (*Vereine*) that were associated with the "Ludlamshöhle." Ignaz Franz Castelli. *Memoiren meines Lebens: Erfundenes und Empfundenes*, ed. Josef Bindtner, Vol. 2 (München: G. Müller, 1914), XXIV.

represented collaborative, long-term literary and artistic projects with members from Vienna's glittering theater world, lithographers and painters, and a growing caste of *Beamtendichter*.

Given the censorship regime's regulation of the publication and possession of tendentious vernacular and popular works (*Unterhaltungsliteratur*), this preponderance of erotic and parodic texts, often written in a comical Viennese patois, suggests a productive and dynamic relationship between literature and censorship and a reconfiguration of authority around the figure of obscenity.[127] Fragments produced in the groups' meetings surfaced in published journals, in standalone literary works that were eventually published, and in correspondence between group members. They were also reprised in memoirs and personal testimonials that reflect on the period. *Die Sauglocke* is a product of what can be called a "literary underground," a constellation of Viennese clubs and societies that sponsored collaborative artistic production, exchanged writings that were frequently erotic in nature, and sought to develop new hierarchies independent of the state, the police, and the censors. The reality of such an underground implies complex networks of exchange—both linguistic and economic—that give a new perspective on the life and activities of early nineteenth-century Viennese authors. It also raises important questions regarding the various classificatory systems that inhered at every level of "Metternich's System."

In the first chapter of my dissertation, I placed an emphasis on the ability of censors to make meaningful distinctions between different types and genres of literature and explored the relationship between "popular literature" and "specialized literature" in the VLC and in the state's conceptualization of the reading public. I argue in this chapter that the secret society

[127] Norbert Bachleitner observes an "affective" similarity between political and erotic literature, as they both stimulate the reader into active modes of reading: "Wenn pornographische dazu bestimmt sind, bei der Lektüre sexuell stimulierend zu wirken, so ruft die ausführliche Darstellung politischer Fehler zur Veränderung der Herrschaftsverhältnisse oder zumindest zur Ablöse der Herrscher auf." Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2017), 269.

represents an effort to reorient those genres through parody that depend on inversions of authority in the social body. This chapter further examines attitudes towards that authority and the "literary logic" in which it was formulated. I give an account of the Viennese literary public around the 1820s that looks at the distinct role played by secret societies in its formal and historical constitution. Crucial to understanding that role is a reading that surveys the production and exchange of erotic literature. I focalize this through a discussion of the role of pleasure and the Orient in the "Ludlamshöhle" and through a reading of *Die Sauglocke*.

Seen from the point of view of Viennese pornographers, the penumbral "business" of literature takes on a very different meaning than the one that was articulated by censors and the state. This chapter uncovers these forbidden territories of the literary public, addressing the environment in which parodic, erotic texts and works arose. To cite Robert Darnton, one must "look under the cloak" to uncover this literary history.[128]

2.1. The "Backhendlzeit" and the Science of Frivolity

The story of the "Ludlamshöhle" begins with a fairy tale. The group borrowed its name from a play written by the Danish playwright, Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger.[129] A dramatic "fairytale in five acts," it dramatizes themes of guilt, penance, fate, and financial debt through its eponymous figure, Mother Ludlam, a ghost who haunts a castle and can grant anyone she comes across a wish under the condition they pay her back their debt. The play had its premiere in Vienna on December 15, 1817, at the *Theater an der Wien*. It received a critical review from Franz Xaver Schlechta (1796-1875), who wrote for the *Wiener Theater Zeitung*. Schlechta gave

[128] Robert Darnton shows how booksellers made a connection between eroticism and liberalism in his study of the *livres philosophiques*, which circulated "off the books" during the Ancien Régime: "Liberty and libertinism appear to be linked, and we can find affinities among all the best-sellers in the clandestine catalogues. For once we learn to look for philosophy under the cloak, anything seems possible, even the French Revolution." Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 21.
[129] Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger. *Adam Oehlenschläger's Schriften* (Breslau: J. Max, 1829).

laudatory comments to the cast, writing that they did what they could with the material, but he underlined the disappointment palpable in the audience. He noted the play's theatrical bombshells (*theatralische Knalleffekte*) as a source of disappointment and criticized the story's inclination toward a form of "cheap fatalism" that relied on artificial devices and fantasy.[130]

As both Anschütz and Castelli insist in their memoirs, the "origin" of the "Ludlamshöhle" was decided by chance. Both the name that the Ludlamites chose for their society and the location where they met were entirely coincidental. Between the years 1817 and 1826, members met in the inn "Zum Blumenstöcken" in the narrow "Schlossergäßchen" in Vienna. Castelli wrote that some members who had attended the play chanced on the inn, which had spacious enough rooms to accommodate them, and they brought Oehlenschläger, who was visiting Vienna, along with them for the first meeting.[131] During those roughly eight to nine years, the group convened regularly until the society was dissolved by Metternich's police, who either grew tired of the rowdy carelessness of its members, or sensed something much more pernicious developing at the core of its activities.

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[130] "Am 15. zum ersten Mahl: "Ludlams Höhle," dramatisches Mährchen von Oehlenschläger. Der so allgemein verehrte Nahme des Dichters spannte unsere Erwartungen, wie natürlich, sehr hoch, und doch würden diese nicht befriedigt worden seyn, wären sie auch sehr geringe gewesen […] Blitzt wohl hier und da in einigen Monologen des Dichters unsterblicher Genius unverkennbar hervor, so können wir dennoch das Ganze eines Oehlenschlägers nicht würdig nennen. Es ist auf theatralische Knalleffekte berechnet, die Handlung ist sehr *matt* und der wandelnde und erlöste Geist stückweise in Spiesischen Romanen wieder zu finden. Spielt die Handlung gleich im alten Zauberlande im Norden, so hat doch weder der Geist noch die andern Personen jene herrliche Norderkraft, die uns solche Dichtungen den de la Motte Foqué so sehr reizend macht. Der Held des Stückes wird hier gar von einem Geisterfatalismus gezwungen, auch er müßte unfehlbar der Macht des Fatums erliegen, würde nicht zum Glücke (als er im Begriff ist, nicht wie ein Held und den Sieg, mit was immer wie einem Fatum zu ringen) die fatale Silberglocke geläutet! Wir freuen uns der allgemeinen geäußerten Mißstimmung, weil sie ein Verweis ist, daß ein wenig Romantik auf Kosten besserer Gefühle unser Gemüth nicht bestechen könne — Was die Aufführung betrifft, so war sie gelungen zu nennen. " Franx Xaver Schlechta. "Neuigkeiten." *Wiener Theater Zeitung*. December 23, 1817, 612.

[131] "Diese Runde besuchte die Premiere der Ludlamshöhle und versammelte sich anschließend, einschließend den Autor, in Bonifaz Haidvogels Gasthaus im Schlossergäßchen, um 'einen lebhaften Kunststreit für und dawider zu entflammen' (Castelli). Dieses Gäßchen, als eines der engsten in Wien, stellte bis 1866 eine Verbindung vom Graben zur Goldschmiedgasse her. Die günstige Fügung, daß das kulinarische Angebot bei Haidvogel überzeugend und der Wirt ein 'höflicher, zuvorkommender Mann' (Lewald) war, zudem ein separierter Raum zur Verfügung stand, begeisterte die Gruppe vermutlich, zumal sie schon länger nach geeigneten Räumlichkeiten suchte, wo ungestörte Treffen möglich, und gegebenenfalls gewagte Scherze unbeobachtet blieben." Andrea Traxler. "Privatpläsier im Biedermeier." *Wiener Zeitung*. August 7, 1998.

The historical literature on this society cites Ignaz Castelli's memoirs as the most expansive (and generous) source of information on the group's activities. His account laid a framework for the narration of funny anecdotes and rowdy gossip, which were particularly appealing to later generations and eventually prompted successors to recoup the spirit of "Ludlam" and establish their own secret societies[132]:

> Sie zählte die vorzüglichsten literarischen und künstlerischen Notabilitäten zu ihren Mitgliedern, man hat sich nirgends heimischer gefühlt, als zwischen den vier weiß übertünchten Wänden dieser Schenke, und auch die Furchen auf den Stirnen der größeren Misanthropen glätteten sich bei den mitunter geistreichen, mitunter auch bloß barocken Scherzen, welche hier vorgebracht wurden [...] Kurz, es gab nur eine Ludlamshöhle, hat früher nie eine solche gegeben und wird nie mehr eine solche geben.[133]

Although Castelli highlights the society's native (Austrian) attitude towards good living, mirth and conviviality, he notes that the group drew an international crowd and attracted the attention of foreign journalists: "Es ist in auswärtigen Zeitungen manches darüber berichtet worden […]." His memoirs brim with praise and self-congratulation in anecdotes recounting convivial pranks and jokes played by the group on society and the police.[134]

However, Castelli's memoirs also serve to exonerate the society from any suspicion that it might have incurred through disfavor with Metternich's regime: "Es hat nie und nirgends eine fröhlichere, lebenslustigere und dabei doch auch harmlosere Gesellschaft als die sogenannte Ludlamsgesellschaft in Wien."[135] Castelli writes that the group's code of conduct forbade any discussion of politics or business: "…und auch andere Gesellschaftsbestimmungen wurden festgesetzt. Die erste und vorzüglichste darunter war, daß kein Wort von Politik oder

[132] One notable attempt was made by the librarian, philologist, and Nazi sympathizer Karl Wache, who resurrected the society in postwar Austria, calling it the "Neue Ludlamshöhle." For more see: Karl Wache. "Die neue Ludlamshöhle" (Vienna: Self-Published, 1972).
[133] Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens: Erfundenes und Empfundenes*, Vol. 2, Op cit, 2.
[134] Castelli recounts an anecdote where Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein teases a police officer and guard. Ibid, 5.
[135] Ibid, XXIV.

Handelsangelegenheiten gesprochen werden durfte."[136] Such comments show a willingness on the part of the group's members to disavow any association with "politics" and are suggestive in their approach to separating political content from "entertainment," echoing the 1810 VLC in its distinctions of political and entertainment genres. They also suggest that the group self-regulated through codes of conduct that resembled Metternich's censors and police and their efforts to track down political groups in the larger society.

In his cataloguing of these codes of conduct, Castelli divides Ludlam rituals into three different types: initiation procedures (*Aufnahme in Ludlam*), naming customs (*Namen der Ludlamiten*), and collective singing activities (*Ludlamsgesänge*). The German-Austrian actor and Ludlamite Heinrich Anschütz (1785-1865) described the society's mission as: "Zerstreuung durch Unterhaltung, Unterhaltung durch geistreichen Scherz und Erleichterung der Verdauung durch Lachen."[137] Anschütz's approving description of the society draws attention to the group's intended goal of combining the mind (*Geist*), entertainment (*Unterhaltung*), and the baser appetites through ritualized acts of amusement and collaborative projects. Those appetites, which Anschütz invokes through reference to "digestion," further reflect the society's emphasis on a Rabelaisian corporeality that it articulated through songs and nonsense rhymes.

Besides the prominent Ludlamites that garnish his anecdotes, Castelli's account of the Ludlamshöhle tracks the group's evolution as it became more popular within a segment of the Viennese bourgeoisie and transformed from a rowdy boy's club into a more serious enterprise, while retaining pleasure and distraction as its principle goal: "Wie sich nun auf diese Gesellschaft vergrößerte, so wurde auch die Unterhaltung in derselben immer bedeutender. Das Sprichwort sagt zwar; "Viel Köpfe, viel Sinne … hier hatten alle Köpfe nur einen Sinn … sich

[136] Ibid, 13.
[137] Heinrich Anschütz. *Erinnerungen aus dessen Leben und Wirken* (Vienna: Leopold Sommer, 1866), 323.

zu vergnügen."[138] When the group had reached a membership of one hundred, it moved into larger rooms to accommodate them (provided by Joseph Biedermann, a wholesale merchant). The society began to collect dues, purchasing furniture, a piano, and equipment for better lighting for its meetings: "Hievon wurden ein Pianoforte, eine bessere Beleuchtung, eine schwarze Tafel zu den allwöchentlichen Verkündigungen und ein paar Schränke für Aufsätze und Musikalien angeschafft."[139]

Castelli also describes five journals that were published by its members: the "Trattnerhofer-Zeitung," named after the "Trattnerhof," a prominent building in Vienna's Graben where the prominent court actor and member Carl Schwarz lived, the "Fliegende Blätter für Magen und Herz," "Der Wächter," "Der Kellersitzer," and "Die Wische."[140] All of those papers are, regrettably, lost, although Lucia Porhansl's discovery of a small book titled "Ludlams Postbüchel für 1826" in a private residence (cited in the second footnote in this chapter), suggests that some fragments may yet be recovered in the future for research. Their mention in Castelli's anecdotes, however, underscores the "literary" nature of the society and connects its activities as a club with a collective literary project that its members pursued both inside and outside of the context of the group.

Castelli highlights the importance of "arts of distraction" (*Zerstreuungskünste*) as a way of life for his generation. He and Anschütz link distraction and pleasure seeking to a mode of artistic production outside of the confines of state power (and censorship) and beyond the

[138] Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*, Op cit, 15.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid, 16.

standards enshrined in officially-sanctioned art: the tranquil landscapes and domestic scenes (still) associated with the Biedermeier as a period style.[141]

Frustrated with the constraints of censorship and the relative economic instability of the 1820s and 1830s, many Viennese authors pointed to the state as the reason for their failure to advance both financially and socially. Gambling and the social phenomenon of the "lottery" recurred in works throughout the period (in the fine arts and in literature), and the devastation caused by the Napoleonic Wars and the occupation of Vienna by French troops in 1805 and 1809 left deep scars on an entire generation of artists.[142] Johann Nestroy (1801-1863) captured this atmosphere in his play *Zu ebener Erde und erster Stock oder die Launen des Glücks* (1835), which contains an examination of the "ludic condition" that had emerged in post-revolutionary Europe and discusses new social phenomena that include the consumption of goods in coffeehouses, habits of leisure, gambling, and a capitalist mode of production and wealth extraction founded on wage-based labor:

> Ich habe auch einmal g'spielt, sehr stark, wie ich noch kein Geld hab' g'habt. Jetzt aber seitdem ich was hab', ist mir das Geld eine viel zu ernsthafte Sache, als daß ich d'rum spielen könnt'. Und 's ist was Fades, das Kartenspielen. Ich begreif' nicht, wie man was d'ran finden kann. Man verliert Geld und Zeit. Zeitverlust ist auch Geldverlust, also verliert man doppeltes Geld, und kann nur einfaches gewinnen. Wo ist da die Raison? Und doch behaupten so Viele, sie spielen nach der Raison. Wie ist das möglich, da das Spiel an und für sich keine Raison ist? Daß das Spiel nicht Sache des Verstandes ist, das zeigt sich ja schon aus dem ganz klar, daß die g'scheidtesten Leut' beim Spiel oft so dumm daherreden. Man muß nur ins Kaffeehaus gehen, und zuschau'n, da muß man dann ein Degout kriegen, da begreift man gar nicht, wie's möglich war, daß man selber jemals mitg'spielt hat.[143]

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[141] The most famous exhibitions and collections of Biedermeier art are held in the Liechtenstein Museum in Vienna and the Belvedere. For more see: Johann Kräftner, Theresia Gabriel, *Liechtenstein Museum Wien: Biedermeier im Haus Liechtenstein : Die Epoche im Licht der fürstlichen Sammlungen : Kunstmuseum Liechtenstein Vaduz* (München; New York: Prestel, 2005).

[142] For an example of a scene of the lottery in painting see: Peter Fendi's (1796-1842) "Mädchen vor dem Lotteriegewölbe" (housed now in the "Unteres Belvedere").

[143] Johann Nestroy. *Zu ebener Erde und erster Stock oder die Launen des Glücks*. (Vienna: J.V. Wallishauser, 1838), 47.

In *Aus Alt-und Neu Wien* (1872), Eduard Bauernfeld characterized the Austrian system as anti-intellectual and provincial, placing the blame for its backwardness on the "clerical classes" and others united against progress: "Heuchelei, Pfaffenwesen und Brutalität im Bunde gegen das Wissen, gegen die Gedankenwelt!"[144] Bauernfeld also lambasted the state for its hypocrisy in encouraging lethargy through its sponsorship of gambling and the levying of a tax on consumption (*Verzehrungssteuer*), which raised prices on consumer goods and luxury items inside the city walls, driving consumers to establishments in the city's growing *Vorstädte* (the districts outside the city walls)[145]:

> Ins Wirtshaus gehen, nichts arbeiten, sich über alles lustig machen und in der Lotterie gewinnen — das war von heute an das Ideal der Volksmassen und die Regierung mit ihrer Verzehrungssteuer, ihrem Lotogefäll und ihrem sogenannten 'System' schien vollkommen damit einverstanden.[146]

The pervasiveness of everyday philistinism, hedonism, and dilettantism—both as pursuits in themselves and a form of escapism—was evidence of an increasing populist trend in the cultural environment of the period, visible in the Viennese "Vorstadttheater" (*das Theater in der Leopoldstadt, das Theater in der Josefstadt, das Wiedner Theater im Starhemergischen Freihaus*), where allegorical dialect plays like Nestroy's and Ferdinand Raimund's (1790-1836) packed in audiences, or in the taverns that dotted the city landscape. It also reveals a type of precariousness based in the articulation of "transient appetites." The "Ludlamshöhle" grew out of a reaction to Metternich's state and represented an articulation of a new society of artists and underground provocateurs. It translated "pleasure" into a particular language that formed the

[144] Eduard Bauernfeld, *Aus Alt-und Neu Wien. Gesammelte Schriften von Bauernfeld*. Vol. 12 (Vienna: Braumüller, 1873), 19.
[145] The "Verzehrungssteur" was introduced in 1829 and constituted an indirect tax on consumption (primarily of comestibles). For more see: Friedrich Hauer, ed. *Die Versorgung Wiens 1829-1913. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte*, Volume 59 (Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2014.)
[146] Eduard Bauernfeld, *Aus Alt-und Neu Wien*, Op cit, 51.

basis for the society's self-constitution, its rules, and its rituals, and it elevated those transient appetites into an aesthetic project.

The identity and legal status of secret societies hinges both on the extent of the state's intrusion into the lives of its subjects and the relative autonomy of its subjects. After the "Ludlamshöhle" was officially dissolved by the police, the notable Ludlamite Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872) raised these and related issues in a fragment sketched out as a preliminary defense of the "Ludlamshöhle": "Entwurf einer Verteidigungsschrift nach der Aufhebung der Ludlamshöhle." In that fragment, he interrogates the state's regulation of clubs and organizations and the implications of "secrets" for legal practice. He advocated for the "Ludlamshöhle's" sovereignty, arguing that the police had no cause to dissolve it, as the group was within its rights to create its own laws ("Regeln des Verhaltens") and to establish codes of conduct for its members:

> Es ist im Gesetze nirgends verboten, daß Personen sich vereinigen in einer unschuldigen Absicht, als die ist, sich anständig zu unterhalten. Es ist nirgends verboten, daß ein solcher Verein sich über gewisse Regeln des Verhaltens vereinige, die bloß Unordnung verhüten und Ausartung in Ungezogenheit und Roheit vorbeugen sollen.[147]

Grillparzer questioned the state's interference in organizations (*Vereine*), writing that although the police had grounds to investigate societies and clubs where they suspected that those groups were withholding information from the state, the law did not extend to individual members of those clubs, who were not required by law to report anything about their organization to the police. Grillparzer also alleges that the "Ludlamshöhle" was *not* a secret society by legal definition, writing that it paid taxes and that its membership went about its business transparently, since the group advertised meetings and events in the papers:

[147] Franz Grillparzer. "Entwurf einer Verteidigungsschrift nach der Aufhebung der Ludlamshöhle." *Sämtliche Werke historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann, Part 1, Vol 13 (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co, 1909), 161.

> Das Ganze beruht auf einem Fehler der Polizei: da die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft eine Pflicht zur Anzeige nicht hatten, wohl aber die Polizei eine Pflicht, sich um die Verhältnisse eines Vereines zu bekümmern, der mit ihrem Vorwissen sich versammelte, als Gesellschaft Geld an sie abführte, so hätte sie, bevor sie das Bestehen des Vereines durch Aufführung in der Zeitung anerkannte, früher seine Einrichtung genauer untersuchen und sich von deren Unbedenklichkeit überzeugen müssen.[148]

Grillparzer's fragment is interesting for two reasons: to begin, his defense of the "Ludlamshöhle" as an organization hinges on its sovereignty and its authority to apply rules to its members. Tellingly, he describes the society's code of conduct as a measure to control and prevent behaviors of obscenity and rudeness ("Ausartung in Ungezogenheit und Roheit"), a fact very much contradicted by other testimonials and accounts of the group and by its professed motto as echoed by Anschütz. Another significant point that Grillparzer raises regards the legitimacy of the state to persuade members of societies into providing information about them. Grillparzer's short defense of the "Ludlamshöhle" reflects the group's own aspirations towards autonomy in the literary public, which he bases in an argument about its right to govern its members and exist beyond the scope of influence of the police and the state.

In his *Der Zauberflöte, zweiter Theil* (1826), which was written in the same year of the dissolution of the "Ludlamshöhle," Grillparzer further comments on secret societies and the status of the artist in public life, pondering the divided, paradoxical existence of authors of his generation. He described artists who masqueraded as underground aristocrats in Vienna's secret societies, who were simultaneously punished for their hubris with *damnaturs* and meager earnings. Venerated artists could act as small kings in secret societies, while condemned to penury in public life. Grillparzer poked fun at this condition through a satirical fragment, a parody of Emmanuel Schickaneder's (1751-1812) famous libretto. In Grillparzer's version, the "High Priest of the Sun" Sarastro is stripped of his eighteenth-century freemasonic glory and

[148] Ibid

reduced to a "*Kanzleisekretär*": "Nun, wenn irgend ein Mensch tief gefallen ist, so bin ich's. Kalif, Vorsteher der Eingeweihten, Besitzer des mächtigen Sonnenkreises, und nun! — Kanzleisekretär mit dreihundert Gulden Gehalt."[149]

Grillparzer's Sarastro embodied the strangeness of a new public life in which two competing forms of authority could exist simultaneously. The development of this binary artist—a "caliph" in private and a chancellery secretary in public—shows how the secret society functioned and was regarded in the public sphere, revealing the tension between the "Ludlamshöhle" and the "state" against which it defined itself. It, moreover, adds nuance to conceptions of Biedermeier "interiority" and escapism: the "intimacy" into which Grillparzer and other Ludlamite authors fled was not represented by the four walls of the Biedermeier parlor, but by thriving, jovial societies that offered their members a powerful ersatz-authority in the form of rude jokes and crude pranks.

The authority these authors yearned for was further embedded in an intellectual project that Castelli describes in his memoirs as a "science" of frivolity: "*Frivolitätswissenschaft*." However, the pleasure that Castelli and others elevated into a "means in itself" was less a science (a methodology with a goal of knowledge acquisition) than it was a formulation of new laws based in an inversion and a mimicking of the social order. From rituals, customs, and crude traditions (the rules of conduct that Grillparzer references, or the "*Bestimmungen*" that Castelli discussed in his memoirs), one can derive a mirror image of Metternich's "System." Moreover, the ends that they pursued with regard to literature were different: where the state pursued the aims of holding its "body" together through regulation of reading practices, the

[149] Franz Grillparzer. *Der Zauberflöte, zweiter Teil*. *Sämtliche Werke historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann, Part 1, Vol 8-9 (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co, 1909), 175.

"Ludlamshöhle's" literary philosophy was rooted in the corporeality of the body, which it expressed through rhymes that glorified sexual acts and defecation.

The Ludlamshöhle's customs and rules were written with the intent to take apart the self-seriousness of its perceived social antagonists. They were further articulated with a view to revealing the irrational desires inherent within parody and nonsense, which they acted out through performative rhymes and songs that drew on a historically specific language of "pleasure." The memoirs referencing the "Ludlamshöhle" thus always include mention of these two features: the society's self-governance through its codes of conduct, which refracted elements of Metternich's state, and the group's fixation on pleasure.

2.2: Ludlam as "Caliphate" and "Mother": The Laws of Pleasure

The Ludlamshöhle chose to organize themselves as a "caliphate," electing as their leader the court actor Carl Schwarz (biographical dates unknown), who went by the name "caliph" or the "red Moor."[150] In addition to the title of "caliph," Italianate and Greek names were granted to high-ranking, important members. Grillparzer, for example, went by the secret name "Saphokles der Istrianer," a reference to his dramatic work *Sappho*.[151] Castelli further describes a symbolic object that adorned the halls of the society: a calendar featuring sixteen different panorama drawings that he described as a "Meisterstück von Humor." The second drawing depicted a lion as a "caliph" with a "Turkish turban" on his head holding a scepter in his paws: "Der Löwe als

[150] "Schwarz war groß und stämmig, er hatte schon mit Grau durchmischtes Haar und einen dicken Bauch, sein Oberkörper samt seinem dicken Kopf war etwas auf die linke Seite gebogen, sein Piedestal war besonders groß, und wenn er in seinen plumpen Stiefeln und etwa auch noch mit Überschuhen daherschritt, so hätte man darauf wetten wollen, er könne sich derselben als kleiner Kähne bedienen […] Das Auffallendste aber an Schwarz war sein Gesicht. Mit kleinen, stechenden, wasserblauen Augen und einer wahren Pfundnase begabt, war dasselbe rot, und zwar so rot, daß man hätte glauben können, es sei mit Zinnober überstrichen, daher man ihm auch neben seinem Gesellschaftsnamen: "Rauchmar der Zirranger" noch den Spottnamen: "Der rote Mohr" beilegte und den Ludlamswahlspruch wählte: "Rot ist Schwarz und Schwarz ist rot." Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*, Vol 2 Op cit, 10.

[151] *Sappho* was written during the years in which the "Ludlamshöhle" was active, in 1818. It is about Sappho's unrequited love for Phaon.

Kalife, er hat einen Türkenbund auf dem Kopf und einen Szepter in den Klauen, in seinem Reigerbusch sieht man das planetarische Zeichen."[152]

These accounts uncover certain peculiar orientalist tendencies in the group's self-understanding. The secret society's orientalism owes, in part, to Vienna's historically close contact to the Muslim world and the two Ottoman sieges on the Monarchy's capital in 1529 and 1683.[153] Those sieges shaped popular culture, simultaneously horrifying and stimulating the popular imagination. During the early nineteenth century, orientalist attitudes and representations invoked themes of leisure, harmless amusement, and pleasure in everyday life. The "Turk" came to embody a lifestyle that exemplified the nineteenth-century man of leisure, a bon vivant, or the paterfamilias who enjoyed all of the privileges and gildings of a pasha in his own domicile.[154]

The widespread inclusion of oriental themes in everyday life in Biedermeier Vienna points to the crucial role that both domestication and consumption of orientalized images, symbols, and decorative motifs played for the self-conception of the bourgeois male in the early nineteenth century.[155] Consumption of goods like tobacco and coffee was linked with Oriental

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[152] Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*, Vol 2, Op cit, 112.

[153] A few examples of the influence of both sieges on the popular imagination in Vienna include its effect on the graphic arts, domestic items like calendars, ceramics, and other house items: "Unmittelbar nach den kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen des Jahres 1683 wurde in der populären Druckgraphik der Sieg über die osmanische Macht symbolisch dargestellt. Motive mit formelhaftem Charakter wie z.B. der auf dem Boden liegende, gefesselte Türke gehörten in der Volkskunst ebenso zum Bildrepertoire wie er Türkenreiter, der in seiner erhobenen Rechten ein Krummschwert schwingt […] Der Türkenreiter ist wiederum auf Flugblättern über die erste Wiener Türkenbelagerung von 1529 zu einem besonders anschaulichen Bild geformt werden, das von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben wurde. Diese Motive […] dienten als Dekoration auf Kalenderblättern, Keramiken, aber auch als Vorlagen für Hauszeiche." Reinhard Witzmann. "Der Wandel des Türkenbildes in der Volkskunst — vom Verlierer zum orientalischen Pascha," *Die Türken vor Wien, Europa und die Entscheideung an der Donau 1683* (Vienna: Wien Kultur, Sonderaustellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 1983), 288.

[154] "Gebrauchsgegestände wurden mit türkischen Motiven verziert, wie Lebzeltmodel, Spazierstöcke oder Tabakspfeife. Hatte sich im Barock der Adel festlich beim Maskenball als Türke verkleidet, so spielt im Biedermeier der bürgerliche Hausvater im morgenländisch nachempfundenen Hausrock mit einem Fes als Hauskappe den "Pascha." In den Wiener Straßen warben Türken auf Reklameschildern für Tabak und Kaffee." Ibid, 289.

[155] Castelli is rumored to have been an ardent smoker of tobacco and to have collected numerous snuffboxes (Tabakdosen): "Die Dosensammlung Castelli's ist wirklich nicht nur originell, sondern auch werthvoll. Es sind Dosen aller Formen und aus allem nur möglichen Material darunter, viele *unica*." "Ignaz Franz Castelli." *Von Haus zu Haus: Illustrierte Blätter für geistige Erholung und Anregung,*No. 1 (Vienna: 1861), 11.

clichés and stereotypes, and the donning of a fez granted its possessor a paternal authority.[156] Thus, the domestication of the Orient is bound up with the "domestic" in general—a principle that can also be applied to the interior staging of secret societies like "die Ludlamshöhle."

In his landmark study *Orientalism*, Edward Said highlighted the important role that domestication played in motivating representations of the Orient in the Western literary canon. Orientalism, he argued, always entails the desire to overcome the unknown and subdue (or domesticate) "the assault … of untreated strangeness."[157] The constant threat of the "Ottoman peril," which lingered in the Viennese imagination for centuries, underwent many different transformations that represented attempts to tame the "redoubtable Orient."[158] Said understood the task of this representation as a stage in a "didactic process," which flowed from centuries-long work of systematic organization and institutionalization of Orientalist works and themes. The "Orientalist stage" was the highest expression of this work of intellectual organization, which emerged as a "system of moral and epistemological rigor" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[159]

From the Orientalist stage, it is possible to arrive at an understanding of the Orient took as a three-way force, including the way in which Orientalism began to define Europe and impact

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[156] "Istanbul war wohl der wichtigste Ausgangspunkt für die weitere Verbreitung des Tabak-Genusses im Osmanischen Reich, und innerhalb weniger Jahrzehnte hielt der neue Brauch Einzug in den entlegensten Regionen. Die Zentren der muslimischen Welt erreichte er natürlich rascher: so soll etwa in Sofia bereits im Jahre 1604 eine eigene Pfeifenmacherzunft bestanden haben […] Nur wenig später schreibt William Lithgow (1632: 205) über die Maultiertreiber, die ihn 1612 bei einer Reise von Aleppo nach Damaskus begleiteten: "Sie sind dem Rachen ebensosehr verfallen wie die Holländer dem Bier." Sabine Hölmann and Thomas O. Höllmann, "Teuflische Gelüste: Einige Anmerkungen zum Tabakgenuß im Osmanischen Reich," *Diplomaten und Wesire: Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*, ed. Peter W. Schienerl and Christine Stelzig, (Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München, 1988), 161.

[157] Edward B. Said, *Orientalism* (Vintage Books: New York, 1978), 67.

[158] "For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma. Until the end of the seventeenth century the 'Ottoman peril' lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger […] the European representation of the Muslim, Ottoman, or Arab was always a way of controlling the redoubtable Orient, and to a certain extent the same is true of the methods of contemporary learned Orientalists, whose subject is not so much the East itself as the East made known, and therefore less fearsome, to the Western reading public." Ibid, 59-60.

[159] Ibid, 68.

"the Western consumer of Orientalism."[160] Under this view, the consumer is tasked with making meaningful conversions of Orientalist images and motifs into dispositives in order to organize his own social reality.[161] This "process of conversion" is disciplined: "it is taught, it has its own societies, periodicals, traditions, vocabulary, rhetoric, all in basic ways connected to and supplied by the prevailing cultural and political norms of the West."[162] For members of the "Ludlamshöhle," these dispositives, which distributed power within the group, were represented by ritualized practices that included the naming of members, birthday songs, and playful memoranda that adhered to the logic of parody and mobilized wordplay as a means of achieving linguistic gratification.

The traditions, vocabulary, and rhetoric that Said highlights as the primary organizing tools of the Orientalist stage in the West were converted in the "Ludlamshöhle" into playful and ironic word games (nonsense games and intentional malapropisms) that constituted ritualized activities. The process of conversion of Orientalist themes into language played a meaningful role in the society's self-understanding. As discussed earlier, Ludlamites described themselves and their work primarily through the language of pleasure. "Pleasure" went by many different names and associations for the society's members—*Lust, Geselligkeit, Heiterkeit, Fröhlichkeit*, and *Gemütlichkeit*. It made up the very core of the group's self-conceptualization and ideology, which insisted on a lack of "political motives," and invoked the language of pleasure (particularly within the sphere of the corporeal) to defend itself against eventual state (or external) criticism.

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[160] Ibid. 67.
[161] I borrow the term "dispositif" from Michel Foucault. The term can be understood to relate modalities of power (apparatuses of social power) to human subjectivity. These apparatuses can be fixed in institutions, or function as "a specific distribution and organization of power, a process of subjection (assujettissement) as well as subjectification […]" Miguel de Bestigui, "Philosophy," *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*, ed. Leonard Lawlor and John Nale (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 351.
[162] Edward B. Said, *Orientalism*, Op cit, 67-68.

Castelli insisted on the primacy of "Heiterkeit, Witz, und Scherz" as the defining spirit of the group: "Alles, die ernsthaftesten wie die gewöhnlichsten Vorgänge, trugen den Stempel der Fröhlichkeit an sich. Das Närrischeste, was man sich denken kann, war diesen echten Priestern des Komos das Willkommenste."[163] In his defense, Franz Grillparzer also points to the naïve and "innocent" nature of the secret society. "Pleasure" in the society, however, was not accidental ribaldry or the excess of gratification. It was constructed through a sophisticated language that favored certain rhetorical devices—repetition, parody, and often employed Orientalist motifs.

One example of such ritualized, Orientalist language occurs in the songs that Ludlamshöhle members sang on different occasions during their meetings. In his memoirs, Castelli catalogues forty-three of the members' favorite songs, organized around simple rhyming choruses. He relates the practice of the group's ritualized singing to the principle of pleasure: "Nichts steigert die Heiterkeit einer Gesellschaft mehr als froher Gesang."[164] The Italian composer Antonio Salieri (1750-1824), another esteemed member of the society who went by the name "Don Tarare di Palmira" (a reference to two of his operas), wrote the text for six different canons, which he set to music with the title "Es lebe Ludlam" for a male trio.[165] Castelli wrote another text for a birthday song that was sung on the occasion of the "caliph" Karl Schwarz's birthday and set to music by Julius Benedict (1804-1885), a student of Carl Maria Weber's and a fellow Ludlamite, who worked in Vienna from 1823-1825 as a *Kapellmeister* at the *Wiener Hoftheater*. The birthday song rhymed "Mohr" and "Chor" for its chorus.

A fragment of a letter between Julius Benedict to members of the society, which he addresses to the "Mother Ludlam" (both a reference to Oehlenschläger's play and a formal

[163] Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Memoiren meines Lebens*: *Gefundenes und Empfundenes, Erlebtes und Erstrebtes,* Volume 2, Op cit, 10.
[164] Ibid, 44.
[165] See figure 2.1 in the appendix for a copy of Salieri's score.

address applied to the "Ludlamshöhle" as a whole), is a demonstration of the way in which Ludlamites mobilized peculiar forms of address and writing, and how they functioned in relation to the larger project of Orientalism:

> Erhabene, unaussprechliche Mutter!
> Zwar bin ich schuldig — doch du Göttliche mußt als solche schon dem treuen Sohn verzeihen. Tacitus Lachelberger der Ludlams Knödel Hogarth hat ein genial erfundenes oder nacherzähltes Lied von der Suhle, dieses leider ist in seiner großen Ganzheit meinem Gedächtnis entfallen und auf der weiten Reise ins Leben — oder vielmehr in den Tod—denn in der Höhle ist ja doch nur das eigentliche Leben —verloren gegangen. Ich habe daher daß die Gabe der Poesie mir mangelt, folgend erhabener Text zum Gegenstand eines Liedes für die Gesellschaft gewählt
>
> Schicksal ist das Höchste
> Es lebe Ludlam
> Es lebe der Kalif[166]
> …

The letter is a vivid representation of the unique idiom in which the society's members formulated their internal communications. Its forms of address and its exaggerated use of titles and honorifics mimic correspondences retained by the state chancellery and mocks the complex hierarchical organization of counselors and civil servants that served within the modern Austrian state. The names "Tacitus Lachelberger" and "Knödel Hogarth" are references to Franz Eugen Stubenrauch (1787-1856), an author and caricature artist, whose son, Moritz von Stubenrauch, would later study "Oriental" languages and become a professor of law.

The role of Orientalism for the "Ludlamshöhle" was, thus, not only related to the consumption of goods like tobacco and coffee, or an expression of the "ornament" as a feature of a luxurious bourgeois lifestyle: it served to entrench the society as a sovereign organization parallel with the external social order. In the "Ludlamshöhle" there was "life"—sovereignty, access to power, productive forces—while outside of it there was "death." Benedict's statement

[166] See figure 2.2 in the appendix for a copy of the fragment. Julius Benedict. "Brief an Franz Castelli. Zum Geburtstag des Kalifen" Wien Bibliothek: "Musikhandschriften, ID: LQH0260750.

"Denn in der Höhle ist ja doch nur das eigentliche Leben" reaffirms the society's particular aims regarding sovereignty, which it realized through its code of conduct and its efforts to grant authority to authors and artists (and other elect members) outside of the perceived punitive reality of Metternich's state.

Furthermore, Benedict's address to the "sublime, unspeakable mother" invokes an eighteenth-century formulation of the classical aesthetic of the sublime that is explicitly contradicted by the performative rituals of the "Ludlamshöhle," whose aesthetic project was grounded in a corporeal language that realized itself through crude rhymes and rude speech. This allusion to sublime aesthetics can be understood as a joke at its expense. The eighteenth-century sublime, which refers to the "ineffable" lying beyond human understanding, reason, and articulation, is transformed in Benedict's letter into the organization whose motto was expressed with the digestive-defecatory statement (which Castelli notes was redacted for posterity): "Erleichterung des Magens ist das Höchste."

The institutionalization of Orientalism through ritual and the self-styled organization of the "Ludlamshöhle" as the "caliphate" recalls Grillparzer's satirical commentary on Sarastro and his fate in the early nineteenth century: a caliph in private and a chancellery secretary in public. Although Castelli and others deployed the word "pleasure" as an antidote to the toxic word "politics," claiming the innocence of their pursuits as a means to vindicate themselves of charges of social recalcitrance, the group's mobilization of Orientalist metaphors shows the extent to which it attempted to stake out a new territory for itself complete with its own hierarchies, titles, and important roles outside of the Empire of which it was a part.

The vocabulary of pleasure was, furthermore, centrally connected to the aestheticization, representation, and trade of human desire and lust epitomized by the genre of "erotica." The

capacity of erotica to create new distinctions between high and low forms of art, as well as its ability to shock or stimulate through the substitution and insertion of pornographic material, was fundamentally important to the group's collaborative project and gives a sense of the way in which the "Ludlamshöhle" attempted to carve out its territory through parody and generic perversions.

2.3 *Die Sauglocke*: Contraband and Provocation

A key text to emerge from the "Ludlamshöhle" was *Die Sauglocke*, a cycle of profane poetry attributed to "Ignaz Franz Castelli and others" by the *Wiener Stadt-und Landesbibliothek*, which acquired its copy from Eduard Nikola (1823-1905), a coffeehouse proprietor and one of the most notorious collectors of erotic fiction in Vienna (mostly of French origin). [167] His collection forms the bulk of the world's most extensive holding of erotica: the "biblioteca secreta" at the Vienna City Library. Other versions of the manuscript exist as reprints—each featuring a different series of illustrations of unknown provenance. *Die Sauglocke. Travestie v. Schiller* appeared as a lithograph print with a neatly written manuscript. It was published illegally around 1840 at an unknown location. The book took its name from the title of the first poem and was included together with a drama titled *Schlande und Lumpella* and other poems. This book, and the poem in particular, represent the most prominent example of erotic literature traded in the "Viennese "underground" during the period before the 1848 revolutions.[168]

[167] "Die Sauglocke" nach Schillers "Lied von der Glocke" und ein kleines Opernlibretto "Schlande und Lumpella" benannt, das Schillers Werk in Originalzitaten ausbeutet. Beide erschienen um 1840 in Wien, sind mit 7 erotischen Vollbildern illustriert, mit einem origenellen Kartonumschlag versehen und in einer schönen, kursiv lithographierten Schreibschrift gedruckt. Ihre Verfasserschaft wird über die Wiener Stadt-und Landesbibliothek Ignaz Franz Castelli zugeschrieben." Ed. Joseph Kiermeier-Debre and Fritz Franz Vogel, *Der Volks-Schiller: Gesänge aus der Ludlamshöhle. Pornographische Parodien aus dem Biedermeier*. (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 1998), 149-150.
[168] Because the book was published "underground" and it is unclear where it was first printed or how it was printed, there is not much information about the publication history. The Viennese City Library and Austrian National Library both have copies of the manuscript and a digital version is available through the Bavarian State Library München.

One particularly mobile reprint of the book (copies of which are held by both the Bavarian State Library as well as the Austrian National Library) runs at sixty-five pages and features erotic illustrations that include captions from the poem.[169] The poem is a remarkable representation of one-dimensional male sexual desire that relishes in obscene wordplay and metonymic substitution. The word "Sauglocke" is a play on words referring to the medical instrument "Saugglocke," a vacuum extraction or ventouse, which is used during childbirth to assist delivery. The poem inserts synonyms for "penis" into almost every verse, e.g. "der Meister," "der Schwanz," "der Sammethanse," "die Spritze," etc. It represents a strand of literature that is now considered a part of the umbrella genre of "pornography," but which at the time was referred to variously by euphemisms and through reference to other metrical and generic traditions, e.g. "sotadic," "priapic," "curiosa," or "erotica."[170] Both the narrative of the poem and its obscene lexicon root it firmly within ancient and modern genres of satire, travesty, and parody. Although nineteenth-century German-language erotica (both in literature and painting) was generally considered derivative of French erotica, especially by the collectors who were filling their libraries with different curiosities, *Die Sauglocke* is revealing for its ties to the "Ludlamshöhle" and to the world of Viennese censorship in the early decades of the nineteenth century. It bears the distinct historical traces of a rowdy men's club: a secret society that was quietly dominating the literary public sphere during the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, it

[169] The copy held by Eduard Nikola varies only in the illustrations. The famous "bell" image is also featured in that copy. The title page is missing, which may owe to the binding of the book. *Die Sauglocke.* Published Manuscript. Vienna City Library, "Secr-Ja 50. Nik."

[170] "Die polemischen Urteile über Castelli und auch die Maßnahmen gegen die *Ludlamshöhle* sind dennoch nicht unverständlich, sie erklären sich daraus, daß Castelli zu einem Feld der Literatur gehört, das aus der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung mehr oder weniger ausgegrenzt wird: zur Pornographie, auch wenn dieser Begriff im 19. Jahrhundert nochnicht gebräuchlich ist, sondern durch Bezeichnungen, wie "sotadisch", "priapeisch", "curios" abgedeckt wird." Bernhard Doppler, "Die Ludlamshöhle und ihr Verbot," *Konflikte – Skandale -Dichterfehden in der österreichischen Literatur*, ed. Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, Johann Sonnleitner, and Klaus Zeyringer (Berlin: Eric Schmidt, 1995), 82.

contains within it inscriptions of Metternich's censorship regime and reflections on the trade of illicit literature.[171]

The cover page of *Die Sauglocke* is unsubtly allegorical.[172] It features an oblong-shaped circle recalling a mirror, in which an eye, a mouth, an ear, and a hand are framed. The eye holds direct contact with the reader, the ear is framed by a wisp of curly (feminine) hair, while the mouth is covered by the index and middle fingers of a hand that are pinched together to form the sign of a covenant. The cover is an address to the reader, communicating to him that he may look and listen, but he may not speak about the book's contents. The oval image is further framed on the top by two cornucopias and two ribbons flowing underneath. These decorative motifs invoke the symbolism of fertility and fruitfulness.

On the next page, another illustration follows: a silver bell with engravings of different mythological and oriental motifs. These include, at the top of the bell, two Satyrs positioned in a kind of "Turkish-style squat," who frame three ejaculating penises. Beneath them, at the mid-level of the bell, there are three different scenes of sexual coitus—a Satyr on the left is pictured with a goat, the rape scene of Leda and the swan from Greek mythology is placed in the middle and, on the right, there is a man penetrating a woman who is not seen.[173] At the base of the bell there is a sow, which is framed on either side by pairs of perpendicularly crossed penises.

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[171] Paul Englisch lamented the predictability of printed German erotica in the nineteenth century. Although he examined erotica in its relationship to new types of entertainment literary media, he did not see anything in that erotica besides slanderous chatter ("Klatsch"). See: Paul Englisch, *Geschichte der erotischen Literatur*, 235-239. Although Englisch is dismissive of "slanderous" erotica, Robert Darnton makes a compelling case for the literary-historical significance of slanderous and erotic works in a book where he traces out the tradition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. See: Robert Darnton, *The Devil in the Holy Water, or the Art of Slander from Louis IV to Napoleon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[172] See figure 2.3 in the appendix.

[173] See figure 2.4 in the appendix. Fauns, nymphs, and the scene of Leda and the swan are frequently recurring themes in erotica. See: Eduard Fuchs. *Geschichte der erotischen Kunst: das individuelle Problem*, Vol. 1 and vol. 2 (Munich: Albert Langen, 1923).

Both the title cover drawing and the drawing of the bell inside represent forms of direct address to the reader and replace the more conventional "foreword" or "page of contents" with allegorical images that communicate specific information about the author's intended message as well as directions for reading. The sign of the covenant repositions the reading experience into a new medium, framing it as an act of voyeurism. It gives a hint about what the book offers: a glimpse into an intimate and sexualized fictional world, which the reader must protect and kept secret.

Die Sauglocke is a parody poem of Friedrich Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke* (1799). For collectors of erotic literature and literary historians, the poem's title became a catchword that described the entirety of the erotic literature flowing out of Vienna and Lower Austria in the early nineteenth century. In his *Geschichte der erotischen Literatur,* Paul Englisch notes the confluence of different strands of erotica stemming from different folk genres and oral traditions in Lower Austria (military, student, and soldiers' songs). He writes of an untold number of "Sauglocken" being published in Vienna, which he attributed to the journalist Moritz Gottlob Saphir, who disseminated them as manuscripts and as print copies between 1830 until 1836.[174]

Die Sauglocke is twenty-two pages long in the original manuscript and contains three hundred and five lines in total. Each stanza crudely parodies Schiller's original verses and rhyme schemes, frequently drawing on Schiller's own turns of phrase only to invert them for the purpose of describing sexual acts. Schiller's poem, frequently the subject of parody, apostrophized a bell, and it narrates the bell's making through evocative descriptions of its casting. The poem ends with the completion of the bell and the sound of it ringing out over a

[174] "…allein er brauchte nur einen Auszug aus den vier Jahrgängen der von Saphir in Wien in den Jahren 1830 bis 1836 herausgegebenen "Sauglocken", die in vielen tausenden Exemplaren im Druck oder handschriftlich verbreitet sind." Paul Englisch, *Geschichte der erotischen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann Verlag, 1927), 168.

tranquil French village.[175] Schiller's poem contrasts violent, dramatic scenes from the French revolution with the quiet public-spiritedness of work, treating the bell as an object of mediation between God and mankind and praising peaceful domesticity over violent revolt.

Like *Das Lied von der Glocke*, *Die Sauglocke* focuses on a single object: the penis, which keeps it within the tradition of other Schiller parodies, where the bell is substituted by "coffee" or some other mundane household item. Unlike Schiller's poem, it does not take from its treatment of the penis any reflection or meditation on political or social life, but rather keeps the narrative of the poem focused closely on the act of coitus.

The narrative of the *Die Sauglocke* proceeds as a sequence of unrelated descriptions of different possible types of sexual union, mimicking the act of "coitus interruptus" through the narrative interruption of individual scenes. This interruption gives an impression of omniscient male sexual power, keeping the narrative "in motion" throughout the poem. The scenes of coitus are left (sexually) unresolved, but achieve a final climax at the end of the poem, where ejaculation leads to conception: "Feurig, Stoß auf Stoß, Nur recht tüchtig nachgejuckt, Frisch den Saamen eingeschluckt, Ein Bube sey sein erst Produkt!" The poem suggests that if the reader makes it to the end of the poem, he will be rewarded with a helpful sense of his own purpose. In other words, if he takes the sexual act correctly into hand, he will succeed in producing a male child. The result is the reproduction of a (male) reader within the text as an instance of a never-ending chain of male orgasm, lust, and pleasure. The poem, like the image on the title page, enfolds this reader in a secret male world, simultaneously provoking, chastising, advising, and applauding him.

[175] Examples of parodies of the poem include Johan Karl Schuller's "Das Lied vom Pfarrer" (1831), F.K. Urach's "Das Lied vom Hopfen" (1867), Emil Jacobsen's "Das Lied von der Apotheke" (1864), Lichtenberg's Das Lied von der Kneipe (1874), Theodor Sievers' "Die Thorsperre in Hamburg" (1846), and G.G. Röllers' "Der Kaffee: ein humoristisches Gedicht" (1879).

The poem describes multiple aspects of the act of coitus over its length, satirizing the homiletic register of Schiller's original and presenting itself as a source of helpful, paternal advice to young men. It offers this idealized (and inexperienced) male reader tips on a range of different themes, including the mechanics of the male orgasm, the physiognomy of the male sexual organ, its "compatibility" with the female sexual organ, how to bring a woman to orgasm, how to overcome one's shame before commencing the sexual act, what kind of woman to seek out for coitus, what kind of woman to avoid, how to handle venereal disease, and, finally, how to impregnate a woman.[176]

173 Im Vögeln giebts Verschiedenheiten,
Nicht jede mopselt jedem recht,
Die will die Stöße nicht begleiten,
Und jene juckt, und 's geht doch schlecht;
Die and're liegt gleich einem Klotz,
178 Und spürt den Schwanz kaum in der Votz.
Drum sey behutsam in der Wahl,
Und wähle keine Virtuosen,
Nimm aus der Dilettanten Zahl,
Mit diesen läßt sich trefflich kosen.[177]

A view of the poem that treats each verse as a piece of helpful advice, or as a lesson, makes it possible to develop the narrative arc of the poem beyond the focused, male-oriented pornographic perspective. In the first verse, the "bell" in Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke* is transformed via a crude and obvious comparison into a penis. That verse introduces the penis—the subject of the poem—as a humorous moment of parodic substitution. It also focuses the

[176] On veneral disease, the poem offers these lines:
"Doch wehe, wenn venerischer Saft
Den Weg zum Schwanze sich verschafft,
Bald zeigt sich seine gift'ge Spur
Selbst an der kräftigsten Natur.
Wehe, wenn Du angestecket
Von irgend einem Saumensch bist,
Nur der Schmerz wird noch erweket,
Und die Freud entschwunden ist;"
Franz Castelli et al. *Die Sauglocke* (1840)
[177] Ibid.

mode of narration as a repetition of "lessons" addressed to the reader, drawn out of the domain of sexuality. These are communicated by the repetition of the modal verb "sollen." It emphasizes to the reader that a man must learn to make good use of his penis, which it suggests contains the "seed" from which all creativity flows:

> **1** Strozend, steif empor gerichtet
> Steht der Schwanz in stolzer Kraft
> Deine Jungfrauschaft zernichtet
> Er, und heilt mit Lebenssaft.
> **5** Aus dem Schwanze heiß
> Sprizt es in die Gaiß
> Soll das Werk den Meister loben, [the same as in Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke*]*
> Nur recht tüchtig nachgeschoben.[178]

These verses proffer up practical know-how together with tips and advice to the reader. In one verse, for example, the poem implores its reader to seek out a prostitute on whom to practice, only to add later at several moments the risks associated with incurring venereal disease ("Wehe, wenn Du angestecket/Von irgend einem Saumensch bist, Nur der Schmerz wird noch erwecket,/Und die Freud entschwunden ist," 146-149).[179] It additionally gives advice to male readers on how to tempt a virgin, clarifying that one must be assertive in social situations with young women if one is to win them over: "Hole sie, führe sie zum Tanz; Und wenn sie erhitzt vom Walzen; Schmachtend an die Brust Dir sinkt; Mußt du feurig sie umhalsen, 97-100)."[180]

Reading *Die Sauglocke* as a pornographic variation of a "guidebook" enables a comparison with other strands of popular literature published, disseminated, and censored in the early nineteenth century. These guidebooks were part of the literature of "*Volksaufklärung*," which constituted pamphlets and texts containing tips on practical matters that ranged from

[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

husbandry to healing and medicine, cookbooks, rules for tarot games, and other subjects.[181] In presenting itself as a joke "handbook" on the subject of sexual experience, or as a book containing practical wisdom and tips on the relations between men and women (from the male perspective), the book stylizes itself not only as an explicitly pornographic work, but also as a source of illicit practical knowledge. In addition to narrating what were sure to be considered obscene and depraved stories to the public, which it frames as "curiosas," *Die Sauglocke* positions itself within a current of populist literature that placed it in a double-tension with the censorship regime. Thus, it was not only a pornographic work, it was also a work that purported to educate its reader with lessons that would be considered immoral: both its content and its intent were absolute rejections of a system of censorship that embedded its mission in the project of education (*Erziehung*).

Die Sauglocke's addresses to the reader establish a line of communication wherein practical advice accompanies the description of sexual acts. The pornographic elements in the poem—the vivid description of sexual organs, coital acts, etc.—are amplified with a frequency of appeals to the reader. These are insinuated within the scenes with the intent to produce humorous effects, but are also, at times, characterized by a note of pleading urgency. They proceed through direct and ardent overtures, alternating between the informal "Du" and "ihr." The poem's action is, further, narrated through verbs of modality and through imperative verbs. As a parody poem, the continuity of this narrative address is disrupted through humorous insertions that destabilize its perspectival stability. At times, the "Du" that the text addresses is a

[181] "Die Erkenntnisse der Wissenschaft blieben […] nicht mehr auf den engen Kreis des Fachpublikums beschränkt. Neben den verschiedenen Formen von Reiseliteratur, die nun in vielen Verlagskatalogen an Bedeutung gewann, stellten populäre Handbücher für alle Lebenslagen wichtige Brotartikel für jeden Buchhändler dar. Von Sprachlehren, Stilfibeln und Kochbüchern über die Regeln des Tarockspiels und die unfehlbare Methode, beim Lotto zu gewinnen, bis hin zu Ratgebern zum Erlenen des Tanzens oder Schlittschuhlaufens und zur Bekämpfung von Hühneraugen, Frostbeuteln und anderen Geißeln der Menschheit reicht die Pallete dieser Ausläufer der Volksaufklärung." Norbert Bachleitner, Franz M. Eybl, Ernst Fischer. *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2000), 184.

"Du" at the periphery. At other times, the "Du" is given in mid-action, while, at others, the "Du" transforms into an "er," distancing the narration from the addressee through the third-person.[182] The confusion of different perspectival attitudes in the poem combined with the diegetic continuity of address to the reader blends generic expectations and conventions typical of travesty and parody, bringing erotic literature into dialogue with other forms of popular nineteenth-century popular literary media, particularly the magazines and single publications issuing out of different "scientific" publishing houses that were coming into being in the 1820s in Central Europe.[183]

Perhaps the most central theme treated over the course of this poem is the issue of fruitfulness and (male) fecundity. This is signaled immediately by the decorative motif of the "cornucopia" on the work's title cover, but is also extensively explored throughout the lexical architecture of the poem. The words "Saft" and "Kraft" form a rhyming couplet three times in its entirety, and the "masculinized" style is reinforced through a vigorous movement of narration that invokes "thrusting" ("Stoß auf Stoß") and other patterned behaviors of male sexual dominance.

The relationship between male sexual fecundity and the "fertile imagination" are not absent from the poem, and *Die Sauglocke* indulges in comparisons between writing practices and sexual acts. It makes an unsubtle connection between artistic genius and the mechanics of the act

[182] "Jetzt naht der Geliebte, sie fühlt ihn beginnen/Er grubelt und kitzelt zuerst mit dem Finger." (128-129) Ignaz Franz Castelli et al., *Die Sauglocke.*

[183] See, for example, the figure of Joseph Geistinger: "Einer der aktivsten österreichischen Verleger wissenschaftlicher Werke in den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts, der mit seiner Produktion zeitweise sogar Cotta überflügelte, war Joseph Geistinger. Nicht nur auf dem Gebiet des Nachdrucks trat er das Erbe Trattners an, sondern auch dadurch, daß er fast alle wissenshaftlichen Disziplinen betreute […] Nach Geistinger trat auf dem Gebiet des wissenschaftlichen Verlags die Firma Gerold in den Vordergrund, bei der so gut wie alle bedeutenden Gelehrten der Zeit publizierten […] Die zahlreichen wichtigen Einzelpublikationen aufzuzählen, würde hier zu weit führen. Daher sei nur auf einige bedeutendere und langlebige Zeitschriften verwiesen, wie die Medizinischen Jahrbücher der k.k. österreichischen Staaten, die Neue militärische Zeitschrift, die Jahrbücher des k.k. polytechnischen Insitutes in Wien, die Zeitschrift für Rechtsgelehrsamkeit und politishe Gesetzeskunde und die Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien. Norbert Bachleitner, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich*, Op cit, 184.

of reproduction, literalizing the vocabulary of aesthetic creation and invoking the language of vigor, energy, and the notion of "striving" as guiding metaphors for sexual pursuits and conquests. When removing the pornographic content from a verse, as in the following example, the verses in the poem could easily be read as a commentary that explores the relationship between the artist and the world, or the relationship between thought, writing, and creation. The insertion of the (relatively blunt) pornographic content, however, undermines any expectation of the poem's capacity to reflect meaningfully on the work of *poesis*.

> **102** Der *[Saft]* entflieht, [A]
> Die Kraft muß bleiben, [B]
> Das [*Kränzchen*] verblüht [A]
> **105** Noch vor dem Beweiben [B]
> **Du nimmst sie hinaus X**
> Aus dem bunten Leben – [C]
> Und mußt Dich bestreben –[C] [muß wirken und streben]* Schiller
> *[Den Schwanz, den schlaffen]* – [D]
> Empor zu raffen -E
> **111** Die Kraft muß erwachen E
> *[Ihn stehend zu machen*.] –[D][184]

The verse hovers between two different levels or worlds of narration, attending to different issues that it intertwines through rhyme and parody—its pornographic substance (male erection) and reflections on the process of making something, later explored in the poem as an act of writing or trading illicit literature. It blends the language of "just efforts and rewards" with a description of a sexual act and male erection.

The rhyme scheme aids in the establishing of a semantic continuity between individual lines of verse. As a result, the pornographic material is separated formally from the non-pornographic material: the lines "aus dem bunten Leben" and "und mußt Dich bestreben" form a single semantic unit that is non-pornographic in nature, whereas the final rhyming couplet are absolutely pornographic in substance, depicting the physicality of the male erection. The

[184] Ignaz Franz Castelli et al., *Die Sauglocke*.

pornographic material in those lines of verse signifies much less than the non-pornographic material, where the latter, through the extension of metaphor, can also denote the process of artistic craftsmanship. Nevertheless, the line "du nimmst sie hinaus," occurring in the middle, represents an ambiguity for both possible extensions of the verse's meaning. It could refer to a woman being "led out" during the sexual act, but it could also refer to the "energy" that is sapped from a man during sexual intercourse or through erection. This line does not rhyme with any of the other lines, isolating it within the verse from the other rhyming couplets. What it intentionally communicates is a meta-reflection on the poem's own process, which is the act of taking "something out" and "putting it back in." The mechanical trick of this verse and the poem as a whole is precisely this: what could be considered the pornographer's poetic strategy of "insertion."

The verse juxtaposes two different themes: artistic creation and male erection. This juxtaposition represents, in turn, the contrasting of the "high" register of artistic creation with the "low" register of representations of sexual acts characteristic of travesties. The head-on collision of these two distinct vocabularies is brought into being through the insertion of pornographic material. The practice of "pornographic insertion," as given in the previous examples from *Die Sauglocke* is essentially a practice of distortion and travesty (*travestire*), which transforms conventional scenes through the insertion of obscene detail. The effect of this "insertion" is not one of complete transformation, but mere adjustment or distortion. In other words, the insertion of obscene material does not completely efface the scene being represented, but merely adds "obscene" detail. Thus, it invokes stimulation, which simultaneously produces humorous effects and undermines conventional literary generic expectations. The poem's undermining of these expectations further reflects an ironic rejection of the period, in which the state and its

bureaucrats were deeply invested in the control of literature's effect on the moral health of readers.

The mechanical—or formal—resemblance between the work of the censor and the strategies of the pornographer is indisputable and has not gone unnoticed in the scholarly literature on the "Ludlamshöhle." In an essay on the subject, Bernhard Doppler notes that "Gleich dem Pornographen erweckt der Zensor erst duch seine entstellenden Eingriffe die erotische Dimension des Texts."[185] Both the censor and the pornographer operate in relation to a formal set of rules or expectations about the emotional response that a text can potentially elicit. They both, naturally, make decisions about the relationship of literature to greater moral projects, but, while these decisions are often rooted in ideological projects, they tend to have small consequences, i.e. the removal of one detail, or the substitution of one word. Whereas the censor makes decisions about the removal (or even outright condemnation) of language that could offend any number of rules regarding the production of literature, the pornographer re-inserts what the obviously obscene and the patently depraved (*Sittenverderbliches*) in order to produce the opposite effect.

Although the two strategies are distinctly related, they, nevertheless, flow out of a set of different concerns and out of a different form of symbolic authority. The relationship of the Austrian censor to the text in the early nineteenth century was defined primarily through bureaucratic procedures embedded in the authority represented by the Emperor-Father. Imperial authority in relationship to censorship and censorial decision-making was later codified in the Monarchy's laws, which empowered the Emperor to overturn censorship decisions made by the censorship administration. The relationship of the censor to literature was, thus, primarily

[185] Bernhard Doppler, "Die Ludlamshöhle und ihr Verbot," *Konflikte – Skandale -Dichterfehden in der österreichischen Literatur*, ed. Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, Johann Sonnleitner, and Klaus Zeyringer (Berlin: Eric Schmidt, 1995), 90.

articulated in a language of administrative hierarchy that was further legitimized by the divine right granted by imperial authority.[186] As explored in the first chapter, a votum declaring *damnatur* could overturn and eliminate a work because of a misplaced phrase, or a displeasing statement.

The writer turned pornographer, on the other hand, had no divine right, nor did he, like the policeman or the censor, have any access to a form of publicly visible authority. He, instead, relied on a vast array of strategies of provocation and disorientation learnt in the underground and in the secret societies in which illegal literature was traded, nonsense songs were rhymed, and caliphates were created. The intended goal of these rituals and the literary strategies was the confusion, disruption, and thwarting of public authority (the censor, the policeman, etc.). This substratum of motivations provided the impetus for provocative tricks that members of the "Ludamshöhle" played on the public, whether through nonsense riddles and taunts, or through pornographic parody and travesty.[187]

These strategies of travesty and pornographic insertion and distortion are further enforced in *Die Sauglocke* through a comparison developed in the narrative between sexual acts and the literary trade and literary economy. From the beginning of the poem, coitus is mockingly set in juxtaposition to Schiller's notion of a "Werk." Where "Werk" is present in Schiller's text, it is repeated in the *Sauglocke*, e.g. "Soll das Werk den Meister loben," and "Zum Werke, das wir nun bereiten" (7-8). As mentioned above, the parodistic inversions of Schiller's original lines and verses represent a collision of two registers—the high and the low—and this collision is

[186] These authorities were not separate, but self-enforcing. Two famous examples are the arrests of Johann Nestroy, occurring in 1825 and 1836, which were initiated by the police who were concerned that Nestroy's plays were endangering the security of the public sphere. The Emperor himself, however, complained that Nestroy was a subversive and that his plays were having a poor effect on the working classes. See: Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich*, Op cit, 247.

[187] "Die Ludlamiten reden so lange auf einen Polizisten ein, bis dieser glaubt, "vier" und "drei" nebeneinander geschrieben, sei vierunddreißig und nicht dreiundvierzig und auf diese Weise an seiner Dienstnummer und an seiner Identität völlig irre wird." Bernhard Doppler, "Die Ludlamshöhle und ihr Verbot," Op cit, 88.

further inflected through masculine buffoonery. In the following, verse, for example, the two versions contrast two entirely different scenes:

Schiller: *Das Lied von der Glocke*	**Castelli et al.: Ludlamshöhle *Die Sauglocke***
21 Nehmet Holz vom Fichtenstamme,	Greifet ihr zum Sammethanse,
Doch recht trocken laßt es sein,	Lasst ihn groß und strozend seyn,
Daß die eingepreßte Flamme	**Traur'ges Surrogat** vom Schwanze,
Schlage zu dem Schwalch hinein.	Ohne Leben, Fleisch, und Bein
Kocht des Kupfers Brei,	'S ist nicht einerlei
Schnell das Zinn herbei,	Welch ein Glied es sey,
Daß die zähe Glockenspeise	Denn die wahre Himmelsspeise
27 Fließe nach der rechten Weise.	**Fließe nach der rechten Weise**[188]

As in various other instances throughout the poem, *Die Sauglocke* perverts Schiller's original verses on the humility and the virtues inherent in craft and "making," while intentionally carrying over some of Schiller's verse in order to poke fun at it through pornographic allusion. In this verse, the narration of the making of the bell is re-written into a scene of male erection in which two different types of penises (a limp, sad surrogate penis and an erect, proud one) are compared, and one is superior to the other. The dissonant effect of the re-embedding of Schiller's original line "Fließe nach der rechten Weise" is achieved through reducing the verb "fließen" to its corporeal meaning.[189] In isolation, this verse would appear fairly straightforward: it is a pornographic subversion of Schiller's poem and signifies nothing beyond that. However, the verse does not end on that note, but carries on with a new comparison — this time between the ways of bringing about female orgasm:

29 Was in des Dammes tiefer Grube	Was in der Votze tiefer Grube
Die Hand mit Feuers Hülfe baut,	Du Dir entlockst mit der Hand,
Hoch auf des Turmes Glockenstube	Es fließt aus Deiner Brunnenstube
32 Da wird es von uns zeugen laut.	**Verächtlich fort als Contraband**

[188] *Die Sauglocke*

[189] This is a joke throughout the poem, whether through scenes of sexual acts or passing waste. Towards the end of the poem, however, the *Sauglocke* becomes less exact about applying Schiller's original verses to these acts, or satirizing the original verse with any carefulness. For example, Schiller's original "Und äschert Städt und Länder ein" becomes "Leichter ist's , Dukaten scheißen," Ibid.

Noch dauern wird's in späten Tagen	Es wird dich reu'n in späten Tagen
Und rühren vieler Menschen Ohr	Und kommt es zu der Menschen Ohr,
Und wird mit dem Betrübten klagen	So wird, statt schmerzvoll Dich beklagen,
36 Und stimmen zu der Andacht Chor.	**Verachten Dich der Männer Chor**[190]

The first few lines of this verse continue the pattern already established in the poem of inverting Schiller's language (especially where a body part or anatomical connection is given in Schiller's original—Grube, Hand, and Ohr) into a rude pornographic scene, which requires no further analytical rigor or analysis.

However, this is not all that is taking place in this verse. The pornographic material conceals and obscures another scene staged. Schiller's verse follows the course of the bell, from its material existence in the depths of the Earth to its dematerialization into acoustic waves and its abstract capacity to affect all who hear it. *Die Sauglocke* re-inscribes Schiller's "devotional choir" into a scene of a "trial," implying that charges can be brought against "contraband," just like ill rumors of ill-begotten sexual pleasure. In the preceding verse, the coital act is achieved in such a way that it may "flow in the right way." In this verse, where the act is not executed properly, the "flowing" is transformed into a form of public spectacle, or a trial, in which the "contraband" examined is both contemptible and despicable ("*verächtlich*"). Should this "false" product—previously a surrogate, now a form of illicit sexual aggregate—reach the ears of other men ("Und kommt es zu der Menschen Ohr"), it would be sure to arouse their scorn and bring down their condemnation. This condemnation leads, in the poem, to an internalization of guilt that is expressed as a form of regret: "Es wird dich reu'n in späten Tagen."

From the clues that the poem offers, it is not clear whether the scene refers to public censorship, such that the "Männer Chor" could stand in for the censors at the *Polizeihofstelle* who engaged in the systematic destruction of illicit contraband. The scene could also refer to

[190] Ibid.

another type of "Männer Chor": one that drank, made merry, and wrote obscene verses, while testing the boundaries of good taste, relishing in the exhibitionism of private desire and lust, and challenging the tenacity of other members through strategies of pornographic provocation. Just like the censors who were legally authorized to judge the legitimacy of different literary works, the "Ludlamshöhle" itself constituted a self-regulating male society, where men regularly engaged in examining and testing one another through provocation, ritual, and hierarchy.

The poem, however, does not offer real clues to what scene this verse could refer and to try to map this lexicon onto one institution or the other would be a fool's errand. Nevertheless, it is possible to dwell somewhere in the middle. Although the poem cannot concretize what it buries through pornographic allusion into an articulate defense of its literary mission, these verses seem to take a stake in a debate on the nature of the illicit and the allowed. *Die Sauglocke* stacks various different jokes and provocations through literary and pornographic allusion. At its very surface, it is a crude parody of Schiller's *Das Lied von der Glocke*, presenting itself to the reader as a clever form of erotic satire. As a parody, *Die Sauglocke* distorts the "Schillerian" lexicon through a displacement of original verses into an obscene context.

At the same time, however, the poem buries deep beneath its obscenity a provocative reflection on the distinctions between the right and the wrong, the efficacious and the lazy, and what can or won't be tolerated by male society. These reflections all underline the strong emotional mood of "shame," which defines *Die Sauglocke* more than its sexual libertinism. Perhaps the greatest anxiety of the authors of this poem—more than the fear of its being censored—was precisely this slippery area between being right and wrong, whether in relation to the performance of masculinity through sexual acts, or through defeat by greater forms of wit.

This slippery area is what makes this work of erotica so definitively a product of the Viennese "Ludlamshöhle."

2.4: Conclusion: Secrets as Strategy and the Biedermeier "Wertvakuum"

In his general investigation of social forms, the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858-1915) identifies the "secret" as an important and constitutive type of relation between individuals in the social body.[191] For Simmel, secrets constitute a type of "action," and he wrote that both the keeping of secrets and the exchange of secrets were fundamental to *Verkehr* (relation in the economic sense) and *Verhältnis* (relation in the social sense):

> Die Verwendung des Geheimnisses als einer soziologischen Technik, als eine Form des Handelns, ohne die angesichts unseres sozialen Umgebenseins gewisse Zwecke überhaupt nicht erreichbar sind — ist ohne weiteres einzusehen […] Das Geheimnis bietet sozusagen die Möglichkeit einer zweiten Welt neben der offenbaren, und diese wird von jener auf das stärkste beeinflußt. [192]

Simmel's analysis posits the existence of two worlds: the publicly revealed world *("das Offenbare"*) and the possibility of a second (secret) world existing alongside it. As a form, Simmel writes that the "secret" becomes most complex when it reaches a stage of group organization known as the "secret society." Secret societies are characterized by the relationship that they develop to the external world of the uninitiated ("*Nichteingeweihten*"). Simmel defines the secret society's relationship to the external world as "unstable," writing that for the secret society to be successful it must not be entirely *secret* and is required to borrow and introject elements from the public in order to take advantage of certain forms of "visibility" that it needed to function as a group:

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[191] For Simmel, social action can be distilled from stable, organizing forms (like the "lie" or the "secret") that are further entrenched as forms when they undergo instances of individual (empirical) deviation.

[192]" Georg Simmel, "Das Geheimnis und die geheime Gesellschaft," *Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, (Duncker & Humblot: Berlin, 1908), 273.

> Dagegen haben diese relative geheimen Gesellschaften oft den Vorteil einer gewissen Labilität; weil sie von vornherein auf ein Maß von Offenbarkeit eingerichtet sind, können sie sich auch mit weiterem Enthülltsein eher abfinden, als diejenigen, die überhaupt schon als Gesellschaften geheim sind.[193]

The "Ludlamshöhle" was just such a "non-secret secret society": it defined itself in opposition to a state that exercised visible control over its subjects and was explicit in its aims to curb the secret appetites and ideologies threatening to disrupt it. Although Metternich's state also retained elements of "secrecy," with its unpublished censorship regulations (the VLC) and its "secret police," the visible order of the Biedermeier world was aligned with a state ideology that aimed to permeate every level of society. It extended from the highest levels of the state chancellery to taverns, theater houses, and the parlor rooms and private libraries that guarded their own "secrets" in the forms of erotica. It also sought to prevent the publication of journals that have eluded the public to this very day.

The "Ludlamshöhle," thus, represents a secret society that borrowed elements from Metternich's state—its insistent hierarchies, its forms of address, and its obsessive control of secret appetites—in order to mock and invert it. It did so with the aim of staking out new territory to reflect on and reformulate the period's reigning values without interference from state censors. It jokingly named that territory a "Caliphate," providing its browbeaten members with compensatory titles and vestiges of authority they were denied in other spheres of their lives. Its Orientalist vocabulary was both an expression of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture and a process and system through which it litigated symbolic authority. The "Ludlamshöhle" was, moreover, defined by a type of ludic linguistic-erotic production that it expressed through music and poetry, best represented by the strange work attributed to Ignaz Franz Castelli "and others": *Die Sauglocke*. The "and others" that collaborated on this work may not have been the

[193] Ibid, 283.

biographical members of the "Ludlamshöhle"—its court actors, lithographers, and theater directors—but this chapter has revealed that they can be assumed to represent the efforts of an entire generation of underground provocateurs, who attained their most paradigmatic expression in that society.

The dominant language of pleasure that both formed the basis for the group's self-understanding and informed its aesthetic project represents an absorption and distortion of the prevailing values of Metternich's System. Their distortion was achieved through rhetorical strategies inherited from the classical genres of travesty and parody. These strategies were deployed with the goal of explicit contradiction—taunting the policemen in Metternich's State—but they were also used to interrogate Enlightenment traditions passed down from the eighteenth century: among them, for example, the aesthetic of the "sublime" that was crucially reformulated by German thinkers from Kant to Schiller. Thus, *Die Sauglocke* represents one of the nineteenth century's most explicit rebuttals to eighteenth century aesthetics, particularly where the latter was appropriated by the state in the domains of morality and education.

I have shown in this chapter the way in which the "political" and genres of parody blended into each other. Although the "Ludlamshöhle's" members—from Grillparzer to Castelli—insisted on the absence of any outward political motivations, referring to the group's statutes that forbade the articulation of political goals (doubtlessly articulated with the goal of defending the society both before and after it was dissolved), *Die Sauglocke* shows the way in which it was possible to question the integrity of literary trade and the state's regulation of art and literature without resorting to an overtly "political" language. It, thus, reflects on the problem of censorship and the abuse of power by the state by burying its political references in an obscene and erotic vocabulary. Although *Die Sauglocke* does not make appeals to its readers to take up

their weapons and march on the barricades, it lays a framework for questioning the value system codified in the state philosophy on literature represented by decades of censorship rule (from Maria Theresia to Franz I/II).

In his assessment of the "Backhendlzeit" in Vienna, Hermann Broch was moved to remark on the European entropy of values. He described the ideological system that had prevailed during the nineteenth century as a "*Wertvakuum*," referring primarily with a decades-long obsession with "kitsch" in Central Europe, where "ornamentalism" was substituted for art and "feuilltonism" and journalism were substituted for literature. The Biedermeier is, indeed, haunted by such retrospective judgments about the system of values championed during the cultural production of that period, whether explicitly by the state or implicitly in moralistic aesthetic works. This chapter has tried to show that that system was more complex than has otherwise been assumed. It has revealed that the "intimacy" represented by the Biedermeier was not only found in the four walls of the parlor or salons, but could also be uncovered in alehouses sheltering secret societies. Those societies articulated competing visions of art and social hierarchies in an attempt to interrogate the dominant ideological system.

More than anything, this chapter challenges the conventional image of the Biedermeier as a placid period of relative insignificance and quiescence, dominated and clobbered into submission by the authority of state censorship. In tracing out a short sketch of the origins and self-understanding of the "Ludlamshöhle," I have shown that it is possible to excavate essential features of the Metternich era without resorting to a dichotomization of the literary sphere that relies on a narrative of authors resisting censors or censors oppressing authors. Although this chapter has not argued that Ludlamites should be treated as visionary liberals with a substantive

political platform, it has showed how, in their efforts to become great men, they created their own world using a secret language.

Chapter Three: The Biedermeier Salon: Caroline Pichler and Correspondences

In 1815, a short article titled "Ueber eine Nationalkleidung für deutsche Frauen" was published in the *Friedensblätter*.[194] Its author was Caroline Pichler (1769-1843), an Austrian dramatist, novelist, and salonière. In it, she admonishes her female compatriots for wearing French silks and laces and exhorts them to adopt simple German wardrobes.[195] Her argument about fashion quickly turns political and the article plays on the fears of a German-speaking population of a renewed Napoleonic invasion:

> … und es wäre, glaube ich, Pflicht für Jeden, der das Unglück der letzten Jahre gefühlt und sich über sein Ende gefreut hat, darüber zu wachen, daß wir nicht, durch Sicherheit eingeschläfert und durch das freundschaftliche Verhältnis unserer Fürsten mit dem gegenwärtigen Beherrscher Frankreichs beruhigt, wieder unmerklich dahin kämen, wo wir, zu unserem Jammer und Elend, uns vor fünfzehn Jahren befunden haben. [196]

Contemptuous of "cosmopolitanism," Pichler fulminates against French fashion among European aristocrats, attacking its introduction into the lives of bourgeois women. The popularity of French manners and styles at court, she concludes, had led to the spread of more pernicious doctrines of universalism. Equally important for Pichler were the moral and financial costs bourgeois women paid for expensive French cloth.[197] With its focus on the everyday lives of bourgeois women, Pichler's argument put forward a unique version of Austrian patriotism among her generation of writers. This article on nationalism and clothing, written during the

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194 The Viennese journal was only in issue during that year (1814-1815) and had a primary focus on the arts. Its regular contributors included Joseph von Eichendorff, Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel, Adam Müller, and Clemens Brentano.

195 "Die Uniformirung der Männer von Stand, der Staatsbeamten und ihrer Abstufungen nach dem Range würde eine gute Gelegenheit darbieten, etwas Aehnliches auch bey dem weiblichen Geschlechte einzuführen." Caroline Pichler. *Ueber eine Nationalkleidung für deutsche Frauen* (Freiburg: In der Herderschen Buchhandlung, 1815), 15.

196 Ibid, 8.

197 Pichler's argument draws a distinction between aristocratic women and bourgeois women. For her, the former category was a lost cause, as aristocrats were too enamored with themselves and prone to reckless consumption, making them unfit to fulfill their duties to the nation. Her argument for national dress precedes the phenomenon of "Trachtenmode," which began to develop in the late nineteenth century around the 1880s. For more on the history of "Tracht," see: Franz Lipp. "Trachtenmode, Modetrachten und modische Strömungen innerhalb lebendiger Tracht," *Kleidung, Mode, Tracht*, ed. Klaus Beitl and Olaf Bockhorn (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1987), 65-76.

watershed year of the Vienna Congress, brings together two salient features of Pichler's writing: a focus on women's visibility in the public sphere and the turn to a national Austrian identity as a safe harbor for women's morality and education.

The first two chapters of this project investigate the bureaucracy of censorship and the literary underworld that developed in response to it. I argue that both groups understood authority and the leveraging of power in the public sphere through a literary logic of addition or subtraction. Where the censor worked through a process of omission, subtracting that which was considered offensive or disreputable, the pornographer worked through a process of addition and substitution, inserting pornographic material in the place of the more ordinary. More than this structural similarity, these groups — censors and pornographers — were no strangers to each other professionally. In addition to overlaps in social milieu, their participation in the literary sphere was built on presuppositions about gender that were reflected in the privilege to author the literary goods that were regulated by the censors and distributed by publishers and in access to the literary market, laying the grounds for the reading habits of the Empire's male and female subjects.

"Masculinity" as a generative dynamic of cultural production was thus not only evident in the committees and councils of male censors, or in a literary trade dominated by men, but rather provided the material conditions for the production and circulation of literary texts. One crucial example of the way in which gender played a role in structuring the literary market lies in the application of the category *erga schedam* by Metternich's censors to specialized texts, which effectively restricted women's access to scientific or technical literature (since they didn't hold the necessary titles that would enable them to access that literature). Secret societies like the "Ludlamshöhle" represent another extreme case of gendering in the literary sphere, as they

generated a performative literature of hyper-masculine sexuality enacted through pornographic parody that treated women as objects of erotic projection — a stark juxtaposition to a culture that anointed women as matriarchal figures in the domestic sphere.[198]

For this reason, Caroline Pichler, whose literary salon is an example of a matrilineal, woman-led institution (it had been passed down to her from her mother who lived her life in the shadow of Maria Theresia, the most powerful female regent in Central European history), stands out as an example of a vital third sphere of the Biedermeier literary public, and her literary activity points to an often-overlooked reality of women's participation in writing and reading in early nineteenth century Central Europe. This chapter seeks to extend the scope of the present study to include the role of the bourgeois woman as a writer and as an object of literary (self)-representation. For this, I turn to selections from her memoirs, the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, for representations of her salon and to a semi-autobiographical, theoretical text "Über die Art der geselligen Unterhaltungen." I show how Pichler, whose role as the impresario of one of Vienna's best-known literary and cultural salons made her an institutional heavyweight in her own right, should be considered a type of woman author who embedded her public persona in the register of the "private."

The epistolary form was a popular genre for novels around the time that Pichler wrote her four-part epistolary novel *Frauenwürde*. It found one of its most forceful exponents in Madame de Staël with whom Pichler was personally acquainted and in whom she saw a type of rival.[199] This chapter thus goes beyond the public and biographical figure of Pichler to look at the way

[198] In an article that evaluates Pichler's contributions to women's writing through analysis of her memoirs and correspondences, feminist scholar Susanne Kord observes that Pichler was consciously writing for a male audience that was emphatically unwilling to accept her into its ranks. My reading of Pichler differs slightly in that I emphasize Pichler's autonomy within her own "sphere" of the literary public. Susanne Kord. "'Und drinnen waltet die züchtige Hausfrau?' Caroline Pichler's Fictional Auto/Biographies." *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature and Culture* vol. 8 (1992): 141-58.

[199] For more on the relationship between letters and the epistolary novel see: Rainer Bassner, ed. *Briefkultur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999).

that Pichler uses "correspondence" not only as an epistolary form, but as a relational concept that bridges the private and the public in *Frauenwürde*. I argue that where the censors and the pornographers drew on a thinking of subtraction, or addition, Pichler's attitude to literature is defined by that correspondence, which represents an important convergence of ideas between her salon and her own literary works.

3.1. Pichler as a Public Figure

Pichler's oeuvre is unique in the Central European literary canon. Her conservatism, piety, and views about domesticity and the rewards of motherhood predictably make her a less than ideal candidate for inclusion in a history of women's literature that regards its achievements through the lens of emancipatory feminism.[200] Nevertheless, her oeuvre represents a staggering accomplishment for any author of the period, male or female: it consists of sixty volumes including a number of lengthy, scrupulously researched historical novels.[201] The publisher of her works was her brother-in-law Anton Pichler. Owing to this personal connection, Pichler was one of few authors to see her complete works, the *Sämmtliche Werke*, published during her lifetime, with the exception of her memoirs, which were published posthumously. Her writings also

[200] No critical monograph on her life and work is available in English or German, and a critical edition of her works has never been published. Much of the more recent rigorous scholarly investigation into her work appears in articles. A paradigmatic article on these topics is: Barbara Becker-Cantarino. "Caroline Pichler und die Frauendichtung." *Modern Austrian Literature* Vol. 12, No. 3/4, Special Issue on Austrian Women Writers (1979) and, more recently, Ritchie Richerson: The Complexities of Caroline Pichler: Conflicting Role Models, Patriotic Commitment, and The Swedes in Prague (1827)." *Women in German Yearbook* Vol. 23 (2007).

[201] To name a few to demonstrate the depth and variety of her largely Central European historical interest: *Ferdinand der Zweite* (1822), a monograph on the sixteenth-century Habsburg Emperor; *Die Belagerung Wiens 1683* (1824), on the second Ottoman siege of Vienna; *Die Schweden in Prag* (1827), on the Thirty Years' War; *Die Wiedereroberung von Ofen* (1829), on the Great Turkish War and the Holy League's Victory over the Ottomans in Hungary; *Friedrich der Streitbare* (1831), on the thirteenth-century Duke of Austria from the Babenberg Dynasty; and *Henriette von England* (1832), on seventeenth-century Duchess of Orléans.

provided her family with a livelihood after her husband lost all of his money in a risky loan to his brother.[202]

Pichler grew up in a glittering household and was surrounded from an early age by prominent figures. Her mother, Charlotte von Greiner, was a personal reader and secretary to Maria Theresia and presided over an important literary salon. Her father and her husband served as privy councilors to the Habsburg court, and her family had close ties to the imperial family.[203] In her childhood, she was close to Austrian statesman and historian Joseph von Hormayr, dramatist Heinrich Joseph von Collin, Austrian Enlightenment thinker Johann Baptist von Alxinger, and Lorenz Leopold Haschka, the author of the Austrian national anthem "Gott erhalte den Kaiser."[204] Throughout her life, she entertained numerous acquaintances among the early-nineteenth century literary and cultural elite, including Franz Schubert, Ludwig Tieck, the brothers Schlegel, Franz Grillparzer, Zacharias Werner, and Adam Müller. Thus, although she is not often considered a "political figure," her entire persona — especially as projected through her autobiography— was built out of the accrued symbolic capital of social relationships, making her one of the most influential women in Biedermeier Vienna.

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[202] Johann Sonnleitner. "Krasse Sinnlichkeit und frömmelnde Tendenzen. Wiener Salonszenen und Ansichten der Romantik." *Paradoxien der Romantik. Gesellschaft, Kultur, und Wissenschaft in Wien im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christian Aspalter, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Edith Saurer, Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, Anton Tantner (Vienna: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 2006), 263.

[203] "Caroline Pichler-Greiner saw her fortune tied to the political fate of her native Austria. The Greiner family was closely allied to the Habsburg monarchy and belonged to the enlightened cultural elite in eighteenth-century Vienna." Karin Baumgartner. "Staging the German Nation: Caroline Pichler's 'Heinrich von Hohenstaufen und 'Ferdinand der Zweite.'" *Modern Austrian Literature*, Vol. 37. No.1/2 (2004), 2.

[204] Caroline Pichler's relationship to Hormayr was of great interest to the literary historian and later censor Karl Glossy, who believed Pichler to be one of his greatest friends and confidantes: "Unter allen Mitarbeitern hat Hormayr seine Freundin Karoline Pichler am höchsten geschätzt; er nennt sie die erste und edelste Genossin und Gehilfin auf der Bahn seines vaterländischen Strebens. Sie dankt ihm dagegen, daß er ihr das Vaterland mit ganz anderen Blicken betrachten gelehrt und sie veranlaßt habe, aus der Geschichte Österreichs ihre dichterischen Arbeiten zu wählen. "So wurzelte" —fährt sie fort — "auch tief in meiner Seele die Liebe zu meinem Geburtslande und zu dem Fürstenhause, dessen hohe, schöne Gestalten in ihrer herablassenden Milde mir aus früher Kindheit vorschweben, wo ich so oft nach Hofe gekommen war mit meiner Mutter." Hormayrs Briefe bekunden das lebhafte Interesse, das der österreichische Geschichtsforscher ihrem poetischen Wirken entgegengebrachte." Karl Glossy. "Hormayr und Karoline Pichler," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft* Vol 12 (1902), 223.

Praise and recognition for Pichler's robust literary output among her contemporaries is abundant: it can be found in correspondences, literary reviews, and in memoirs. In the 1840 Vienna almanac, Pichler's birthday, the seventh of September in 1769, is included under a section titled "memorable" events alongside an entry on the coronation of Emperor Ferdinand I as the King of Bohemia in Prague in 1836.[205] An obituary published shortly after her death in 1843 in the feuilleton column of the *Österreichisches Morgenblatt*, a periodical devoted to literature and cultural gossip, sets her up as a special — if odd — figure in the public imagination, one that had been especially "groomed" for the role through her acquaintance with great men, and whose contributions were original and instructive (although doctrinaire):

> Seit dem Jahre 1799 war sie in die Öffentlichkeit getreten und wirkte hiermit unter dem lobenswerthen Streben beinahe 44 Jahre, während sie schon früher bei ihrem Umgange mit den geistreichen Männern ihrer Zeit, worunter wir bloß der beiden Schlegel erwähnen wollen, und durch eifrige Selbststudien zu sehr vielen und für uns sehr werthvollen literarischen Versuchen angeeifert wurde. Ihre Productionen zeichnen sich durch eine selten verständige ruhige und würdevolle Darstellung aus, mit welcher sie ihre sonst sehr doctrinellen Stoffe dem Publicum an's Herz zu legen wußte.[206]

Going beyond these literary achievements, Pichler's talents included measured political calculation. The standard consensus on salonières looks specifically at their unique ability to bring persons of cultural significance together.[207] However, Pichler was not only a cultural luminary with a wide personal network of acquaintances among the educated bourgeois and the elite, she was also a resourceful diplomat, who knew how to maneuver the censorship authorities to her own ends and how to leverage the censorship administration through the right channels.[208]

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[205] Karl Rohr, ed. *Wiener Bürger-Almanach für das Jahr 1840* (Vienna: Leopold Grund, 1840), 53.
[206] Franz Vincenz Schindler. "Nekrolog." Feuilleton. Österreichisches Morgenblatt, ed. Johann Nep. Vogl. 83. (Vienna: Wednesday July 12, 1843). *Jahrband des Österreichischen Morgenblatts* 1843, 330.
[207] One particularly florid formulation of this idea stems from an approbatory dissertation on Pichler written by a doctoral candidate at the University of Vienna in 1946, who compared Pichler to a "refractory mirror": "Die Dame des Salons ist das Zentrum ihres Kreises […] aber nur im Sinne eines Strahlenbrechungspunkts." Gertrude Prohaska. "Der literarische Salon der Karoline Pichler." (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1946), 2.
[208] Caroline Pichler is only mentioned once in Bachleitner's recent monograph on Austrian censorship in connection with her memoirs and the censoring of Goethe's *Leiden des jungen Werther* in Austria. Bachleitner speculates that

Pichler reveals information about her negotiations with censors in her memoirs, recounting the controversy surrounding her historical play *Ferdinand der II* (1816), which had ruffled the feathers of the censor Baron von Bretfeld for its portrayal of the "rebellious" nature of the Bohemian regent: "Hier fand es an dem böhmischen Patriotismus des Barons von Bretfeld, der die Ahnen seiner Landsleute nicht gern als Rebellen und Unruhstifter auf dem Theater sehen mochte."[209] In response, Pichler writes that she was given the advice to go to Metternich directly to plead for her play:

> Man ersuchte mich, selbst zum Staatskanzler Fürst Metternich zu gehen und ihn um die Bewilligung zur Aufführung des Stückes zu bitten, das bereits einstudiert und probiert war worden. Ich tat es ungern. Sollizitieren war mir von jeher ein sehr widerndes Geschäft, und wenn es mir selbst galt, am widrigsten."[210]

Although it may be true that Pichler abhorred the necessity of making direct appeals to the censorship authorities (it is difficult to prove or disprove her personal distaste for the politics involved), she was no ingénue when it came to petitioning the censors. One critical example of Pichler's experience can be found in a votum on her other major historical drama, published and performed three years prior to *Ferdinand der II: Heinrich von Hohenstaufen* (1813).[211] The drama was written in the same year of Napoleon's defeat at the battle of Leipzig and it stands out for its strong appeals to a "nationalism" defined through a budding consciousness around a community of German speakers and thinkers. The play premiered at the *Hofburgtheater* on October 27th, 1813 and enjoyed over twenty-seven performances between October 1813 and January 1814.[212]

Pichler's loyalism would have most likely prevented her owning the book in the nineteenth century and that her familiarity with Goethe's work stemmed from her Josephinist education: "Auch kann man ausschließen, dass im biederen Hause Pichler der Tochter verbotene Bücher verabreicht wurde." Norbert Bachleitner. *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848*, Op cit, 296.

[209] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten meines Lebens*. Volume 2 (München: Georg Müller, 1914), 52.

[210] Ibid.

[211] See figure 3.1 for a copy of the manuscript with the embedded letter.

[212] Karin Baumgartner, Op cit, 1.

Heinrich von Hohenstaufen takes place during the Middle Ages and is a fictional account of the struggle for power between the "German" king Heinrich and his father Friedrich II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The votum retained by the censorship administration assesses the suitability of the play for performance on the name day of Emperor Franz, which would have taken place on the eighth of October in 1813 (the play's premiere did not take place on that day, but this votum reveals that it had been considered for an earlier performance). The censor in charge of describing the play provides a thorough summary of the main plot of the drama, specifically the conflict between the Holy Roman Emperor and his son Heinrich:

> Kaiser Friedrich II aus dem Hause Hohenstaufen seines Sohnes Heinrich römischer König, kommt aus Italien nach Deutschland zurück, um neues Kriegsvolk und Geld zu seinen Römerzügen zu verlangen, der Sohn verweigert aber ihm sich, da sich die deutschen Stände auf einem Reichstage dagegen erklärt, und er diese Züge nach Italien dem Interesse Deutschlands und selbst seines Vaters zuwiderhält. Der Vater entsetzt dafür den Sohn auf einer Reichsversammlung der Königwürde, der Sohn aber mit der ihm anhängigen Fürsten fasst den Anschlag des Vaters mit Gewalt von der Rückkehr nach Italien zu hindern. Dieser Anschlag wird jedoch verraten und vereitelt und König Heinrich durch ein von dem Kaiser zusammengesetzes Gericht zum Tode verurtheilt; ein Urteil das den Kaiser, durch verschiedene Umstände über die rechtlichen Gesinnungen seines Sohnes aufgeklärt, zurücknimmt, das aber durch die Voreiligkeit der Feinde Heinrichs bereits vollzogen war.[213]

The play's contrast between the "German" Heinrich and his "Roman" father Friedrich is further sharpened in a prologue that Pichler wrote especially for the premiere, which made heavy references to recent events.[214] In the fifth and final act of the play, Pichler resolves the conflict between Heinrich and Friedrich II through the figure of Rudolf von Habsburg, a type of *deus ex machina*, which ends with the projection of a "miraculous German nation led by the Habsburg rulers."[215]

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[213] Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. Votum, Austrian State Archives (HHSA) "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei-Polizeihofstelle," Box 59.
[214] Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. 27 (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1829), 7-8.
[215] Karin Baumgartner, Op cit, 11.

Although the play passed the requirements of the censors, Pichler's fictionalized Habsburg-nationalist interpretation of these historical events made some skeptical of the drama's merits (including, in retrospect, Pichler herself).[216] Scenes depicting Heinrich's rebellion alongside the potentially unsettling representation of his parricidal desires did not go unnoticed. Nevertheless, due to the play's many patriotic sentiments and its praise for the Habsburg family, these "shortcomings" were pardoned and it was declared suitable for performance on the Emperor's name day:

> Mehrere Stellen zum Ruhm Österreichs … sind in das Stück eingewebt und die Ursache warum die Hoftheater Direktion es auf dem 4 Oktober als dem Namensfeste des Kaisers geben will obwohl die Haupthandlung des Stücks dahin geht die Widersetzlichkeit des Sohnes gegen den Vater des Königs gegen den Kaiser zu rechtfertigen, so glaubt man doch daß in politischer Hinsicht kein Aufstand gegen die Aufführung obwaltet, wenigstens in Bezug auf die gegenwärtigen Zeitumstände kommt nichts anstößiges darinnen vor.[217]

Embedded directly in the votum on this drama is a letter from Pichler to the censorship court secretary. The insertion of the letter into the censorship votum can be interpreted as documentation of substantiating evidence in the play's favor. The letter has not yet been uncovered or analyzed in the secondary scholarship on Pichler, and it presents a different view of the attitude of the author on behalf of her play.

In her memoirs, Pichler underplays *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen's* significance, and she relativizes the piece as a "product of its time," criticizing its flaws as a dramatic work and

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[216] In her memoirs, Pichler writes that she regretted taking certain historical liberties with the piece. In self-defense, she writes that she was overcome with emotions during the significant year in which she wrote it and that her original intent was to reprise the German national project from "Protestant" writers. Finally, she offers up the excuse of her gender and claiming that women should not have anything to do with the theater (she would nevertheless go on to write other historical dramas): "Es gibt viele Geschichtsschreiber, die diese Begebenheit anders berichten […] jetzt sehe ich die großen Fehler, die auch dieses Stück an sich hat, vollkommen ein, und bin durch eigene Erfahrung von dem oft gehörten Satze überzeugt worden, daß Frauenzimmer sich nicht auf den Kothurn wagen sollen." Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, 427-428.

[217] Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. Votum, Austrian State Archives (HHSA) Op cit.

shifting the blame for its "mediocrity" to the specifically tense historical period in which she wrote it:

> aber ich war mir wohl bewußt…daß das Stück in dramatischer Hinsicht viele Fehler hatte, und daß es hauptsächlich der Gelegenheit bei welcher, und den Umständen, der Stimmung des Publikums, unter welchen es aufgeführt wurde, zuzuschreiben war, daß ein an sich so mittelmäßiges Produkt so vielen Applaus hielt.[218]

Nevertheless, the letter to the court secretary (it is unclear to whom the letter is addressed and there are multiple candidates within the censorship bureau) that Pichler writes in July of that year in defense of her drama tells a very different story. To begin, it presents concrete evidence that Pichler made a very special effort to see her piece performed on one of the most glittering (and patriotic) occasions that year: the Emperor's name day. The second contradicting piece of evidence that the letter offers vis-à-vis her memoirs relates to the piece's "timeliness." Aware of potentially undermining political implications of the piece —in particular its staging of imperial unrest through familial conflict —Pichler convinces the censorship authorities that her play had "nothing to do with present times," and euphemizes the attempted parricide of Friedrich II to an "unfortunate misunderstanding." She further uses the fifth act as a pretext for its performance, referring in her letter to the piece's patriotic framing and invoking the figure of Rudolf von Habsburg as a "Günstling" in a narrative that saw the Habsburg family as a medieval precursor of German unification. Most significantly, the letter mixes two registers, the plaintive (and political) with the personal. Pichler ends her letter to the court secretary with best wishes and regards to his mother and wife:

> Wohlgeborener Herr Hofsekretär!
> Man hat mir gesagt daß mein Trauerspiel: Heinrich v. Hohenstaufen jetzt bei der k.k.: Hof und Staatskanzley, und in Ihren Händen sich befindet. Ich nehme mir daher die Freyheit mich an Sie zu wenden und Sie um die Beförderung desselben zu bitten, da mir sehr daran gelegen wäre, es bald aufgeführt zu sehen. Den Inhalt desselben ist ganz ohne Bezug auf die jetztige Zeit, bloß das unglückliche Mißverständnis zwischen Kaiser

[218] Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 2, 6.

> Friedrich I aus dem Hause Hohenstaufen und seinem Sohn Heinrich, der mit der Schwester des letzten Herzogs v. Oestereichs aus dem Babenbergischen Hause vermählt war. Die Irrungen zwischen Vater und Sohn, [weil] der Vater seine ganze Macht auf Italien, dieser aber auf die Einheit Deutschland zu bringen sucht, bringen endlich den Vater soweit daß er seinen Sohn zum Tod verurtheilt und dieses Urtheil, das der Vater gern wieder zurücknimmt wird durch bösgesinnte Mittelspersonen wider seinen Willen vollzogen. Fromme Wünsche für das Wohl und die Einigkeit Deutschlands, einige patriotische Beziehungen auf den stützenden Einfluß von Oestreich in die deutschen Angelegenheiten unter den Habsburgern, deren Stammvater hier der Günstling erscheint, sind es nun welche mich hoffen machen, daß dies nicht jetzt eine ungünstige Aufnahme finden würde als in einem anderen Augenblick und mich daher veranlassen, mich Sie mit meiner Bitte zu belästigen. Verzeihen Sie die Zuversicht mit der ich mich in dieser Angelegenheit … an Sie wende und nehmen Sie die Versicherung der wohlbesonnsten Achtung an womit ich die Ehre habe zu seyn
> Ihre
>
> den 22. Jul
> C. Pichler
>
> An Ihre Frau Mutter und Frau Gemahlin bitte ich Sie meine unterthänigsten Empfehlungen zu senden. [219]

Like the other correspondences that Pichler constructs in her fiction, this letter shows that Pichler understood power primarily through the lens of personal relationships and often turned to patriotism as a pretext to shield her work from scrutiny that would have kept it out of the public eye. The letter further displays her ability to manipulate the personal register and embed it strategically within the political and the public. Moreover, Pichler's correspondence with the court secretary and its inclusion in the votum shows her opinion to have been of standing enough that it was included as evidence and kept on file in the state chancellery, underlining the political prominence that she enjoyed in Biedermeier Vienna.

This letter is an important document, not only because it provides a glimpse into Pichler's negotiating strategies and highlights her personal connections with important statesmen in the interior ministry and the censorship administration, but also because it provides an alternative account of her play's genesis than the one given in her memoirs. Until now, these memoirs have

[219] Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. Votum, Austrian State Archives (HHSA) Op cit.

been the sole springboard for biographical analysis of her works and the only source used to legitimate her account of a number of persons that she knew and entertained. Although they represent an astonishingly rich compendium of a "who's who" in Biedermeier Vienna, they are limited by the presumptive self-censorship that Pichler undertook for their publication, whose motivation lay in the impetus to assist her daughter who was experiencing financial difficulty. Indeed, Pichler reworked substantial sections of her memoirs in order to pass the censorship administration's requirements.[220] Additionally, her letter provides a metaphorical framework through which her memoirs and her literary work can be further analyzed in relation to the construction of her public persona: the framework of correspondences, which relied on the strategic intersection of the "intimate" with the public.

Ten years later (1823), Franz Grillparzer wrote *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* about the conflict between Ottokar, the King of Bohemia, and Rudolf I. The drama contained similar praise for the first Habsburg monarch, and it was famously censored for its perceived hostility to the Bohemian nation (*Böhmenfeindlichkeit*) (it was first performed in 1825). In many ways, Pichler's dramas not only laid the foundation for an exploration of Austrian identity through a reprisal of Habsburg medieval history, they also provided a framework through which Austrian authors could perform a form of criticism through allusion to distant historical events.

3.2: "Gesellige Gesellschaften": Alt-Wien and the Salon

Out of all of her works, Pichler is perhaps best remembered for her memoirs, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, which were published posthumously in 1844 and republished and edited with a commentary by the musicologist and writer Emil Karl Blümml in

[220] Karin Baumgartner, Op cit, 18.

1912.[221] Like many of her Austrian contemporaries, Pichler was deeply influenced by the legacies of Theresian and Josephinist state doctrine and one of the challenges of narrating her life story lay in reconciling her "Enlightenment" education with the stricter doctrines emerging throughout the reign of Franz I. However, her views on history, which were deeply rooted in ideas of "continuity" and resistant to the notion of historical breaks, put her in a unique position to interpret the transition from Josephinism to the restoration regime of Franz I.[222]

Given this educational trajectory and despite her staunch Austrian nationalism and loyalty to the Habsburgs, Pichler's memoirs did not escape censorship when they were published. In his foreword, Blümml notes several interventions made by the censors, principally by Deinhardstein. For example, sections discussing the Austrian diplomat to Greece, Anton Prokesch Ritter von Osten, to whom Pichler was close, were censored despite not containing any references of a political nature, for fear that they communicated too much information about a notable person.[223] Her eulogistic remarks on Poland, and her hope for the political rebirth of the Polish nation were also censored.[224] Blümml also references a censorship votum written by Metternich on a potential misunderstanding in Pichler's remarks on the failed 1821 political revolution in Italy:

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[221] Pichler's social network and the anecdotal richness preserved in her memoirs have made them indispensable to cultural studies of the Viennese Biedermeier. Johann Sonnleitner's study on the German Romantics' struggle to find acceptance in the Catholic cultural milieu in Vienna, for example, makes generous use of Pichler's memoirs as a compendium of primary source material, contrasting the bombastic nationalism of the Romantics with Pichler's native Viennese prudence. Alice M. Hanson's landmark study *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* also references Pichler's memoirs for an authentic historical account of the period, even citing Pichler as a source on food shortages in Vienna during the Napoleonic Wars and regarding her as an expert witness on the literary and social life of the period. See: Alice M. Hanson. *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 16, 72.

[222] Sprünge geschehen nicht, weder in der physischen noch in der moralischen Welt, und jeder folgende Zustand des Einzelwesens wie des Ganzen liegt lange vorbereitet und eingehüllt im Vorhergenden, so daß er selten mit überraschender Neuheit plötzlich hervortritt, sondern sich meistens nur nach und nach entfaltet und jene Veränderungen sichtbar erscheinen läßt, welche gleichsam unsichtbar schon länger vorhanden warne. So war es damals mitjener Periode der Denk-und Preßfreieheit, Aufklärung, Neuerung und Philosophie, deren Wurzeln weit zurück in vergangenen Dezennien zu sehen waren. Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1., 63.

[223] Ibid., XLVII.

[224] Ibid., XLVIII.

> Da es gewiß nicht in der Absicht der Verfasserin der anliegenden Memoiren lag, das Mißlingen der im J. 1821 in Italien ausgeprochenen (!) Revolution zu bedauern, so dürfte die Seite 166 des 3. Bandes angestrichene Stelle wohl nur einer kleinen Abänderung bedürfen, um nicht mißverstanden zu werden.
> Wien, den 25. Oktober 1843
> Metternich [225]

Despite the difficulty in narrating her life story, which bridged two turbulent centuries, and the presumptive self-censorship that Pichler undertook in order to publish her memoirs, her expansive view of history combined with a strategic political acumen that had made her a key player in the competitive world of publishing and theater make her diagnosis of the period uncommonly voluminous in its scope. Although the memoirs should not be taken as a roadmap to her political views, or, indeed, as an example of a self-confessional literature from which it is possible to derive a picture of her as a biographical person, they contain unique insight into the social world that she inhabited and the salon that she led.[226]

Pichler's wide network of acquaintances along with the careful reconstruction of her social milieu refers back to the *topos* "Alt Wien": a Shangri-La of the Central European historical imagination that was notably defined by a constructed notion of sociability (*Geselligkeit*).[227] This "*Geselligkeit*" was part of a conceptual constellation in which Pichler embedded her correspondences — both fictional and real and they underpinned retrospective accounts of her salon.[228]

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[225] Ibid., L.
[226] "Susanne Kord calls the Denkwürdigkeiten a 'fictional Auto/Biography,' and Antonie Alm-Lequeux questions whether the memoirs should be viewed as a 'Selbstbekenntnis' at all." Karin Baumgartner. Op.cit., 18.
[227] The term "Geselligkeitskultur" and its role around 1800 has also been the subject of archival research that investigates the intake of different persons into literary societies and their intersections in broader social networks. "Die Geschichte deutscher Geselligkeitskultur um 1800 ist in den letzten Jahren unterschiedlich erforscht und interpretiert worden. Sie reicht von der Personenkunde, die mit einzelnen Namen arbeitet und deren besseren oder schlechteren Klang in entsprechende Tableaux umzusetzen versucht, bis zur Dokumentation historischer Quellenzeugnisse und sogar zu psycho-sozialen Theorien." Konrad Feilchenfeldt. "Rahel Varnhagens 'Geselligkeit' aus der Sicht Varnhagens," *Salons der Romantik*, ed. Hartwig Schultz (Berlin: de Gruyer, 1997), 150.
[228] "Geselligkeit" was a catchword of the medial landscape of the period. That landscape was constructed out of a connection between the "arts" and literature (with a focus on the theater), "social gossip," and didactic instruction in social mores and convention. It formed a lexicographical field reflected in feuilletons that featured columns under

Blümml's editorial remarks on Pichler's memoirs aim to capture this image of a "pre-urban" cityscape. According to his historical framing, Viennese society had not developed at an equal pace with Italian Renaissance society or French court culture. "Social life" ("*Geselligkeit*" or "*Gesellschaftsleben*")—which he defined as a synthesis of different antithetical pairings: "Geist mit Anmut, Scherz mit Ernst, Weisheit mit Genuß" —emerged in Vienna belatedly, beginning first with Maria Theresia and flourishing during the reign of Joseph II. Blümml differentiates between three different "spheres" (*Kreise*) of "*Geselligkeit*" during Josephinism. The first constituted the "scientific" cultural milieu that typified the freemasonic associations of Ignaz von Born and Nikolaus Joseph von Jacquin — both accomplished scientists.[229] The second group, Blümml argues, made "*Geselligkeit*" an end in itself and was represented by a loose association of "Wiener Spießer" whose appetite for decadence provided the main motivation for their gatherings: "Im Gegensatz dazu stand jener, der den Frohsinn pflege … die etwa heute im Rostbratelorden mittaten, morgen in der Ludlamshöhle gerade nicht immer feine Witze anhörten … Mitten zwischen Ernst und Scherz stand jener Kreis, der die Geselligkeit selbst zum Hauptzwecke hatte …"[230]

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the heading "geselliges Leben." "Geselliges Leben" inserted itself both as a frame and a leitmotif into all forms of print discussion: "gossip columns," editorials, and serialized literature. The most exemplary journal to print columns on "geselliges Leben" was the *Theaterzeitung*, which was founded and edited by the Austrian author and theater critic Adolf Bäuerle, who ran the paper from 1806 until his death in 1859.

[229] In his "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens" (1799), Friedrich Schleiermacher described "Geselligkeit" as a social necessity that had emerged out of the emancipation of a class of men from former, hierarchical bonds of social responsibility. Schleiermacher considered the need of educated (and free) men to socialize with each other both a primary and noble necessity. This type of "Geselligkeit" most corresponds with the first group described by Blümml. "Freie, durch keinen äußeren Zweck gebundene und bestimmte Geselligkeit wird von allen gebildeten Menschen als eins ihrer ersten und edelsten Bedürfnisse laut gefordert." Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens,"*Friedrichs Schleiermachers Schriften,* Andreas Arndt ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1996), 65.

[230] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, X. The "Rostbratel Orden" was supposedly another designation given to the "Ludlamshöhle."

Finally, there was the third group, whose command fell under the purview of the homemaker or matron: the "Hausfrau."[231] This group depended on the ingenuity of the woman-homemaker and her capacity to attract the right type of society into her home.[232] Blümml writes that Pichler's mother, Charlotte von Greiner, was just such a hostess:

> Charlotte von Greiner war eine solche Frau, die, mit scharfem Geiste, wenn auch nicht mit hübschen Zügen begabt, es verstand, in ihrem Heim während der ausgehenden siebziger, der achtziger und neunziger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts jene behagliche Gesellschaft zu schaffen, deren Mittelpunkt sie war.[233]

Pichler, who inherited the responsibility of "*Geselligkeit*" had a much more difficult task: her salon had to reconstitute itself after the Jacobin Trials in 1794, which provided the pretext for the rise of the "police state" in the Habsburg Empire. The Greiner Salon made a geographical shift: from the center to the periphery, to the Pichler residence at Alservorstadt 109 in an unpaved street on the Viennese "glacis," which formed the slopes around the city that provided a buffer zone between the city walls and the *Vorstädte*.[234]

Although not by any means reliable as historical fact, these comments provide the standard account of the genesis of the Pichler salon. According to this narrative, the salon came to birth during a major shift in the world of ideas, beginning under Josephinism, with its subculture of freemasonry and then adapting to a more reactionary Vienna post-Jacobin Trials.

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[231] For Schleiermacher, "Geselligkeit" could function only for freemen in the interstitial space between conventional "business" (the public) and "the home" (the domestic). The "domestic" or the "home" was not a space that welcomed forms of real "Geselligkeit," and he considered women's participation in such forms of elevated address and response impossible. This, he argued, resulted from women's incapacity to separate their home from their business.

[232] In his study on European literary salons, Peter Seibert considers "Salondamen" as necessary to a certain type of bourgeois literature, arguing that women were essential to the salon through their reception and consumption of literary products. "Daß der Literarische Salon Möglichkeiten direkter Kommunikation zwischen Autoren und Rezipienten eröffnet bzw. wahrt, verlangt allen Beteiligten als Zugangsvoraussetzung zwar rezeptive Fähigkeiten ab, aber nicht unbedingt literarisch produktive, die noch bei Gottscheds "Gesellschaft" in literarischen Objektivationen nachgewiesen werden mußten. Damit ist ein entscheidendes Hemmnis für den Zugang von Frauen zum Literarischen Leben, wie es sich im Salon organisierte, beseitigt." Peter Seibert. *Der literarische Salon: Literatur und Geselligkeit* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1993), 7.

[233] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, XI.

[234] Anton Ziegler. *Die kaiserl. königl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien mit ihren Vorstädten und nächsten Umgebungen* (Vienna: Christian Friedrich Schade, 1830), 92.

This shift, furthermore, coincides with the relocation of the salon from the Greiner residence in the Herrengasse in the inner city to the city peripheries.[235] In addition to these changes, it is widely accept that these decades saw the sharp rise of the bourgeois class, and aristocratic culture — reading habits included —trickled down from the court to the bourgeois home.[236] The view of Pichler as a bourgeois figure at the periphery has been further fastened in the cultural memory by an alleged comment made by Madame de Staël, who, while visiting Vienna, sardonically dubbed her: "La muse du faubourg."[237] Furthermore, Pichler's own conservative political views and her devotion to her family make her salon an ideal repository for anecdotes about Restoration Vienna and its fixation on the domestic.

In general terms, literary salons are established gatherings that facilitate conversation across the barriers of writing and the production and performance of texts and music: a space in which writers, musicians, and audiences interact with each other, conventionally in domestic settings. Salon practices are thus not only social phenomena, but also communicative practices.

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[235] Habermas' broader assessment of transformation in the public sphere supports this shift. No longer at the courts of the ruling European monarchs or aristocrats, the locus of public life had transferred resolutely to the cities and growing urban spaces, where the salon became a fixture in the residences of bourgeois families, in which the intimate and private merged with the public through the division of space in the home: "Die Sphäre des Publikums entsteht in den breiteren Schichten des Bürgertums zunächst als Erweiterung und gleichzeitig Ergänzung der Sphäre kleinfamilialer Intimität." Jürgen Habermas. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Op cit, 115.

[236] "Schon in der bürgerlichen 'Experimentierphase', im Zeitraum zwischen der Aufklärung und dem Biedermeier, kristallisierten sich jene beiden Momente heraus, die die kulturelle Praxis des Bürgertums maßgeblich bestimmen sollten: Erstens die symbolische Distanzierung des "Bürgertums" als sich homogenisierender "Stand" von anderen ständischen Gruppen und Klassen (Hofadel, "Unterschichten", Bauernschaft), und zweitens die symbolische Differenzierung zwischen den bürgerlichen Berufsgruppen und Fraktionen zum Zwecke der Verregelung ihres Verhältnisses innerhalb des Bürgertums. […] ließen sich Spezialkenntnisse in der "Hochkunst" ebenso verwenden wie detailreiche Erfahrungen von Reisen, war eine perfekt gebundene Frackmasche ebenso vorzeigbar wie das kunstvolle Rezitieren eines selbst verfaßten Verses oder das Wissen um die Ingredienzien einer delikaten Speise." Ulrike Döcker. "Bürgerlichkeit und Kultur — Bürgerlichkeit als Kultur." *Eine Einführung, Bürgertum in der Habsburger Monarchie*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller, Ulrike Döcker, Hannes Stekl, Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 96.

[237] It is not clear whether this was true, but the characterization was transmitted by the Romantic Swedish poet Per Daniel Ammadeus Atterbom, who visited Vienna while on travels through continental Europe and left behind anecdotes in his travel writings: "denn die bescheidene Caroline Pichler, eine gutmütige, verständige und fleißige Ehrenfrau, die in einer der Vorstädte wohnt und von Madame Staël recht witzig la Muse du faubourg genannt wurde. Per Daniel Ammadeus Atterbom. *Menschen und Städte: Begegnungen und Beobachtungen eines schwedischen Dichters in Deutschland, Italien und Österreich 1817-1819* (Hamburg: Tredition Books, 2011), 142.

Critical investigations of salon societies have reflected the complexity of these practices and have looked to correspondences, memoirs, and primary source documents (household budgets, for example) to try to reconstruct gatherings in order to understanding how they worked as "institutions" and how they functioned within a culture.

A great deal of information about the Pichler salon— both historical and social — can be found in her memoirs and correspondences, as well as anecdotes contained in memoirs of her contemporaries.[238] Accepting the earlier premise laid out in this chapter that Pichler's autobiographical writings are not reflective of historical "fact," but rather reflect strategic interests that she held both as a public figure and as an author redacting and editing her memoirs with the aim of circumventing censorship, these anecdotes should be viewed through a framework that sees Pichler in correspondence with different figures — both canonical (historical) and real — often cleverly advancing her own political and aesthetic agenda.

Pichler regularly entertained (on at least a biweekly basis) with her husband and daughter in her Alsergrund home, giving what she called soirées or "*Abendgesellschaften*." Comparing these to other literary salons of the 1830s, Pichler reflects that her home enjoyed the company of a diverse group of literary figures — foreign and local: "Überhaupt war unser Haus damals von Einheimischen und Fremden viel besucht, und die Literatoren fanden es nicht so beschwerlich und widrig wie jetzt in einen Salon oder gar in die Vorstadt zu gehen."[239] Her soirées were

[238] Not all of them are flattering. For example, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense compared reading Pichler's memoirs to a walk through a graveyard: "das Buch ist wie eine Wanderung über einen Kirchhof, die Verfasserin selbst hat solch ein Gefühl. So brav und tüchtig und auch talentvoll die Frau in ihrem Kreise ist, so gesund und wahr in den meisten Urteilen, so ist doch das Ganze mit einer besondern weiblichen Schwäche behaftet, die mich ganz herunter bringt." Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. "Tagebuchblätter*," Werke in 5 Bänden* (Frankfurt: Feilchenfeldt, 1987), 333.
[239] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 2, 146.

allegedly modest affairs and always ended by the "decent" hour of 10 PM.[240] One major attraction to the Pichler home was supposedly her garden, which Grillparzer famously praised:

> Eine Sehenswürdigkeit war der auch von Grillparzer bewunderte und besungene Garten, "voll Gebüsche, durch welche sich viele kleine, schmale Gänge schlängelten." Da gab es 2 Nußbäume, 7 Feigenbäume, 40 Obstbäme, 44 Weinstöcke, eine Linde, 26 Robinien, 40 Platanen und die zwei von Karoline geliebten Roßkastanien, in deren Schatten sie dichtete.[241]

Entertainments at the Pichler salon consisted of musical performance, literary declamations, and, on holidays, festive traditions.[242] Although she didn't write much about it (and was allegedly herself not a talented performer) music, in particular, seems to have played a significant role in Pichler's soirées and in her circle of acquaintances and three of her poems were set to music by Schubert: 1. Op 87, "Der Unglückliche" (1827), "Ferne von der großen Stadt," and "Der Sänger am Felsen."[243]

One vivid account of the Pichler salon is given in Viennese author Friedrich Anton von Schönholz's memoirs. In a tale-bearing anecdote, Schönholz alleges that the Pichler home had arranged for a confessional room to be placed next to the receiving room where guests would play whist, and that invitees would slip into the room to confess their sins to a priest. Beyond the (unverifiable) gossip about the confessional chambers, Schönholz's gossip reveals details about the projected image of the Pichler salon, which are significant. To begin, he places Pichler at the center of the salon, describing her not as a homemaker, but by her profession: "die Frau vom Hause als Schriftstellerin berühmt." Secondly, he highlights the importance of her guests.

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[240] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, XVII.
[241] Hans Heinz Hahnl. *Vergessene Literaten. Fünfzig österreichische Lebensschicksale* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984), 33.
[242] One Christmas tradition enjoyed in the Pichler home captured the public imagination well into the twentieth century: the so-called "Sabbathhindel," society games played before the Christmas mass, which the city gazette in Vienna reported on in 1972, referring to Pichler's memoirs and printing a portrait of her. "Ausg'steckt für den Weichselwein." Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien No. 52, December 23, 1972, 12.
[243] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, 564. Pichler is further mentioned as being a person who was connected to Schubert in one of the first authoritative biographies. See: Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn. *Franz Schubert* (Vienna: von C. Gerold's Sohn, 1865).

Invitation to the salon, which was described as an invitation "zu Thee und Spiel" was coveted, mostly because of the guests in attendance. Schönholz names Adam Müller, Friedrich Schlegel, and Friedrich von Gentz as regulars.[244] In her compendium of women authors of the nineteenth century, Lina Morgenstern, a Berlin author of social renown— among other achievements, she was the founder of the first public kitchen in Berlin — writes that the Vienna Congress brought many persons of prominence to Pichler's salon, among them the Prussian count Heinrich zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, and Baron Cotta. In addition to the aristocratic elite, Morgenstern notes Pichler's close association with Franz Grillparzer, Adam von Öhlenschläger (the playwright of the "Ludlamshöhle"), and the Schlegels.[245]

Beyond the notability of her guests and her own centrality to her salon, one other conspicuous detail Pichler shares in her memoirs relates to the age of her guests at her house in Alsergrund. Pichler's salon was not only open to men and women of different nationalities, but also to young people (Blümml writes that many of the guests were also friends of her daughter's). In a key passage, Pichler compares herself to a Roman matron, whose responsibility it was to supervise the activities of young people interested in entering the civil service (*Staatsdienst*) or the theater:

> So kam ich mir wie eine jener römischen Matronen, deren Cicero erwähnt, denen man Jünglinge, die sich dem Staatsdienst und der Rednerbühne widmen wollten, zur Aufsicht und zum Umgang übergab, damit sie sinceram latitinitatem, und wohlanständige Sitten im Hause solcher Frauen lernen sollten. Die Latinitas war bei mir nicht zu erlernen; aber feine Sitte und gebildeten Umgang fanden sie wohl in unserem Kreise.[246]

Pichler's self-description as a matronly educator, whose life mission lay in the instruction and transmission of proper tone and manners, does not stand out amongst her other autobiographical

[244] Friedrich Anton von Schönholz. *Traditionen zur Charakteristik Österreichs, seines Staats-und Volkslebens unter Franz I.,* (Leipzig: J.F. Hartknoch, 1844), 269.
[245] Lina Morgenstern. *Die Frauen des 19. Jahrhunderts: Biographische und culturhistorische Zeit-und Charaktergemälde* (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Hausfrauenzeitung, 1888), 49.
[246] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol 2, 87.

descriptions. It aligns with her general interest in moral education and corresponds to her specific focus on social manners. Words like "*gebildeter Umgang*," "*erlernen*," and *Sitte* permeate Pichler's oeuvre. This passage, further, echoes the intertwining registers that come to life in her letter to the court secretary, in which her direct interest in state affairs are embedded in a language of intimate cordialities.

Pichler's reference to Cicero (she provides no source for the reference) and her instruction of young future civil servants is, moreover, characteristically self-undermining, while also subtly self-empowering. Pichler hints that she was nothing more than a "matron" (a disciplined "*Hausfrau*") while, at the same time, she speculates that her salon was responsible for the education and moral manners of an entire generation of statesmen and artists. This dual characterization not only captures the contradictions that Pichler indulges throughout her work, but also refers back to the strategic maneuvering that Pichler engaged in as a public figure, or, more specifically, the rhetorical act of embedding her public persona in a domestic and intimate register.

In a fictional epistolary fragment titled "Über die Art der geselligen Unterhaltungen" (1823) Pichler develops her theories on the world of the salon through their extension into the domains of aesthetic and social criticism. Pichler's lays out a crisis of "*Geselligkeit*" in this piece, in which she outlines the social body as interconnected spheres of the "domestic" (home entertainment, like the salon), the "theater," and the "economy." It represents a fictional correspondence about later-age Viennese salons of the 1820s and was published in several different volumes of the *Sämmtliche Werke*: in a volume Pichler titled *Freundschaftliche Briefe*, fictional letters between female friends, and in another volume featuring retrospective social

commentary titled *Zerstreute Blätter aus meinem Schreibtische* (1837).[247] It was also published in a volume edited by Ignaz Castelli to which he gave the flattering title *Huldigung den Frauen*.

The fragment is a single letter written by Emilie to her friend Theodore. The conceit of the correspondence is a critique of a decline in living standards based in generational change: in other words, life "then" was better than it is "now." Emilie begins with a critique of the modern salon, recounting the experience of attending a soirée at her neighbor Araminta's home. Her letter contains scathing descriptions of the evening's entertainments, beginning with the number of guests invited, who cramp the space of the small apartment: "Doch das ist Ton; und der Glanz eines Festes wird sowohl nicht nach dem Vergnügen, das die Gäste empfinden, als nach der Pracht der Anstalten und der Zahl der Anwesenden beurtheilt."[248] The personal comfort of the guests is valued less than the salonière's status, which is contingent on the number of persons she attracts to her home. That number makes it impossible to enjoy the musical entertainment, which is drowned out by raucous applause and the stampeding of feet in and out of the different rooms of the apartment. Finally, after withdrawing to her home, Emilie is unable to fall asleep as the guests depart Araminta's salon, and the sounds of their vehicles on the road keep her awake into the late hours of the night. The effects of the evening's unpleasant society continue into the morning with a midday visit from Araminta. Despite suffering a migraine, the hostess declares the soirée a success: "Ein Gedräng, eine Eleganz der Societät! Etwas heiß und voll, das mußte sie gestehen, aber dafür hatte Alles sehr wohl gelungen!"[249]

[247] Pichler's work often featured female correspondence: a feature of her writing, which has been tied to her own exhaustive correspondences with other German women authors. These correspondences included the Hungarian-German author and good friend, Therese von Artner, Maria von Zay, Marianne von Meissenthal, Therese Huber and Louise Brachmann. See: Susanne Kord. Op cit., 144.
[248] Caroline Pichler, "Über die Art der geselligen Unterhaltungen," *Zerstreute Blätter aus meinem Schreibtische* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1836), 133.
[249] Ibid, 135.

Hinging her critique on the (allegedly) modern phenomenon of "*Schaulust*," the persistent social desire to see and be seen, Emilie extends her critique of Araminta's salon to the domain of the theater, where "*Schaulust*" is a key factor in attracting the public to the stage. She writes to her friend of the decline in theatrical tastes and standards, lamenting on the absence of "joy" in the racket and agitation of modern entertainment: "Man kam mit lebensfrohem Herzen, genoß die Freuden der Gegenwart, und freute sich noch im Rückblick durch mehrere Tage des entschwundenen Genußes. Warum ist es nicht mehr so?"[250] She focuses her wrath specifically on the externalities of production, examining the relationship of frivolous staging and wasteful costume to the inherent worth of a theatrical performance.

The letter concludes with a turn away from the aesthetic domain and domestic entertainment, with its specific focus on external appearance, to the problem of excess in general. Emilie argues that modern social excesses can be traced back to the underlying condition of social want and the unequal distribution of goods. The poor, who had previously lived in a condition of some basic comfort, were now forced to feel the pressures of an unequal economy, while the excessively wealthy choked on their luxury:

> Tausenderlei Ereignisse haben Reichthum und Überdruß auf eine kleine Anzahl von Menschen zusammengehäuft, während eine große Menge, die vorhin bei ruhigen Zeiten in behaglichem Wohlstande lebte, nun schweren Druck fühlt, der ihr den Genuß der Freuden und der Empfänglichkeit dafür benimmt, da hingegen jene Überreichen aber beinahe in Sättigung und Überdruß ersticken.[251]

Beyond her strong inclination towards moralism and didacticism, Pichler's social commentary suggests the possibility of another, better form of "*Geselligkeit*" than the one that predominated in the 1820s. On the one hand, she uses the not so distant, biographical past as a reference for when things worked better, while also relying heavily on the concept of

[250] Ibid, 139.
[251] Ibid, 144.

"*Unterhaltung*" — denoting both communication and entertainment at once — in order to contrast loud, raucous entertainment with more private, modest forms of exchange. "*Unterhaltung*," thus, refers both to the cultural entertainments on offer in Vienna in the 1820s and to a type of intimate exchange that Pichler models in the private correspondence between friends in her *Freundschaftliche Briefe*. She embeds her social criticism in a specific mode of communication that she implies is both more suitable to the development of a person's morality and more auspicious to the development of the arts and social manners in general.

The fragment mobilizes Pichler's notions of the function of the salon and "*Geselligkeit*" to critique society at large, thus moving beyond autobiographical representations of her salon as a model institution to a general theory of polite, intimate conversation as the basis for cultivated exchange and cultural development. Her pointed criticism of modern salons further entrenches an idealized image that she cultivated of her own salon as inherently modest and instructive. The indigenous salon criticism in this fragment foreshadows Adalbert Stifter's 1843 satirical essay on Viennese salons, the "Wiener Salonszenen," which he published in his collection of essays on life in Vienna, *Wien und die Wiener*. Both Pichler and Stifter agree on the role of the Viennese salon in the decline of conversational tone. Like Pichler, Stifter praises 'older' modes of politeness, decrying the salon's cultivation of individual narcissism:

> Der Salon soll eben gar nicht sein als ein Ort, wo man an gewissen Tagen sicher ist, dass man jemanden finde, der einen anzihen kann…Wer hier länger aus-und eingeht, empfindet in dieser jedes Äußerste vermeidenden Ebenmäßigkeit am reinsten, wie sehr schade es ist, dass jene Höflichkeit des alten Schlages immer mehr und mehr abnimmt.[252]

Pichler's Biedermeier salon is a unique instance of a Viennese literary institution that bridged two centuries with its changing attitudes towards social manners, aesthetic practices, and (even) economic equality and the social good. According to her own and contemporary accounts, it

[252]Adalbert Stifter. "Wiener Salonszenen," *Wien und die Wiener in Bildern aus meinem Leben* (Budapest: Gustav Heckenast, 1844), 448-449.

attracted an uncommonly wide network of notable persons and has featured in numerous anecdotes recounting life in "*Alt-Wien*," confirming, at times, the worst prejudices of the Biedermeier era as an illiberal, backwards time, where women were cast into the roles of mothers and housewives.

Although my account does not make any assessment of the relative liberalism or conservatism reflected in Pichler's salon, it also does not seek to contradict or confirm conventional framings of it as an inherently bourgeois or Biedermeier institution with its focus on domesticity and inwardness. Rather, it aims to reveal that Pichler's views on "*Geselligkeit*" were based in an embedding of the private in the public. Pichler's dual perspective on society is based in part in the contradiction of a public persona whose social renown owed largely to her reputation as a private person. As outlined in the section on Pichler as a public figure, this dual perspective was deployed in her political maneuvering of the censorship authorities as well—with some success. In the next section, I will turn to Pichler's four-volume epistolary novel *Frauenwürde* for a final look at the status of the "correspondence" in Pichler's writing and consider to what extent it played a hand in shaping the Austrian identity that she carved out as an anchor for bourgeois women.

3.3 The World as Correspondence: Pichler's *Frauenwürde*

Pichler published her four-volume epistolary novel *Frauenwürde* in 1818.[253] Despite her professed sharp distaste for French fashion and society, the only translation of the book was into French under the title *Coralie ou le danger de l'exaltation chez les femmes*.[254] Both titles signal the intended lesson of the novel: woman's dignity is a process, not a fixed character trait, and it requires a struggle against excesses. The German title likely references Schiller's 1796 poem

[253] It was published by her brother-in-law, Anton Pichler alongside four copper engravings by Joseph Schmidt.
[254] The translator was Elise Voïart (1786-1866), a French translator and author.

"Würde der Frauen": a paean to women as symbols of maternal virtue.[255] Writing of the novel in her memoirs, Pichler reflects that it represented the high-point of her literary career and that much of the material for the novel was based on her own observations and life experiences:

> Meine letzte große Arbeit bis jetzt, und wahrscheinlich wohl für mein Leben…war der Roman in vier Bänden: Frauenwürde, in welchem ich manche Beobachtung und Erfahrung meines ziemlich langen Lebens ebenfalls mit Veränderungen niedergelegt habe, welche Klugheit und poetische Behandlung unerläßlich machten.[256]

Each volume carries an epigraph from Schiller's drama "Braut von Messina": "Der Übel Größtes ist die Schuld".[257] Playing on the word "Schuld" and the verb "verschulden," Pichler draws a connection between the epigraph and the book in the foreword to the first volume, writing that the characters in her book represent imperfect humans, and that their flaws encumbered them with debts of sorrow (*verschulden*) that would either purge or discipline them: "Diese Eigenschaften verstricken sie in Mißverhältnisse und Leiden, sie haben diese Leiden verschuldet, sie werden durch sie gestraft oder gereinigt."[258]

The debts refer to the novel's many scandalous romances— both within and without the confines of marriage. It is a sprawling epistolary novel, with letters written by a cast of resplendent society characters representing the aristocratic, middle, and even servant classes during the Napoleonic Wars between 1810-1814. The society Pichler depicts is, moreover, international in character, and the correspondents come from France, Germany, Austria, and

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[255] Schiller's poem drew the scorn of some of his contemporaries in Jena, who derided him for his antiquated views on women. It begins with the verse:

Ehret die Frauen! Sie flechten und weben
Himmlische Rosen ins irdische Leben,
Flechten der Liebe beglückendes Band.
Sicher in ihren bewahrenden Händen
Ruht, was die Männer mit Leichtsinn verschwenden,
Ruhet der Menschheit geheiligtes Pfand.

Barbara Becker-Cantarino alleges that A.W. Schlegel wrote an (unpublished) parody of it. See: Friedrich Schlegel. "Dichtungen." *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe*, ed. Hans Eichner, Vol. 5 (Munich, 1962), XXVIII.

[256] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 2., 410.

[257] The full quotation is: "Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht, der Übel größtes aber ist die Schuld."

[258] Caroline Pichler. *Frauenwürde, Erster Theil. Sämmtliche Werke.* Vol. 20 (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1818), 6.

Italy. It contrasts two types of women: Leonore von Fahrnau and Rosalie von Sarewsky. Leonore is a baroness, mother of two children, and a virtuous woman. Rosalie is a Protestant from the "North of Germany," the (unfaithful) wife of a Polish nobleman, and a famous painter and renowned author, whose fantastic exploits involve the seduction of Leonore's husband.[259] The Baron von Fahrnau's feckless attraction to Rosalie invites the scorn of many of the novel's characters, which they express through pointed letters, while rallying around Leonore and her children.[260]

Rosalie eventually persuades Fahrnau to attend at court, successfully removing him from his wife and children. She then casts her lot with Lothar, a French liberal and political enemy of Fahrnau's. Lothar imprisons Fahrnau for treason against Napoleon. With the help of Julius von Tengenbach, a childhood friend of Leonore's, Fahrnau breaks out of prison. At the novel's conclusion, he has enlisted to fight in the Napoleonic wars, believing his wife to be in love with her childhood friend. Tengenbach also goes to battle and dies a hero's death, while Fahrnau returns and reconciles with his wife. Rosalie commits suicide by jumping from her window.

The novel's terrain is ponderously allegorical. It begins in a fictional bath resort in a mountain valley somewhere in the Alps, where the novel's characters meet for entertaining social conversation, baths, and healthful activities, setting the stage for a type of "salon society." It then alternates between Vienna and "Rosenstein," the Fahrnau country estate and pastoral paradise for the homemaker Leonore. When Baron von Fahrnau leaves his wife, he retires with Rosalie to the unambiguously named "Freudenwald." The fourth volume alternates between scenes of the different capitals and comes to a climax in Leipzig with the defeat of Napoleon.

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[259] Blümml speculates that the character of Rosalie was based on a Viennese actress Antonie von Kempelen, the wife of the son of a Hofrath. Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1., 602.

[260] Sophie von La Roche's *Fräulein von Sternheim*, the founding text of the epistolary novel (1771), and Ludwig Tieck's satirical *William Lovell* (1795) represent two pre-Napoleonic literary "interlocutors" of Pichler's epistolary novel with a similar emphasis on internationalism.

The letters and correspondences form a social carapace around these different locations, keeping the characters in constant conversation with each other regardless of their whereabouts.

Class relations and Napoleonic politics are threaded throughout the many correspondences. However, the novel has no interest in a realistic representation of life during this period and is instead both morally didactic and satirical, incorporating many of the biases and *idées fixes* that feature in Pichler's social commentary. For example, the characters in her novel excoriate the toothless aristocratism of her generation, while being viciously denunciatory of Napoleonic "liberalism." The correspondences, further, have the effect of delaying the action of the novel, distancing the narrated action from the narration itself and bloating the novel with letters that are, as one 1819 reviewer of the novel remarked, "remarkably repetitive."[261]

The novel further gives a picture of a world in crisis. Its political message has been received as generally "Restorationist" and "Biedermeier," while its means of representing that message, which it achieves through psychological portraits that it expresses through personal correspondence, is "progressive."[262] The novel is, at its core, dialectic, comparing and contrasting types and world ideologies, which has the effect of softening some of its more acrimonious moral lessons and indulging in theories on the perfectibility of human nature. It has been considered an Austrian extension of Madame de Staël's novels *Delphine* and *Corinne* for its use of the epistolary form and for its discussion of "female artistry" against the background of the political post-revolutionary era.[263] In contrast to de Staël's novels, however, *Frauenwürde* is an undisguised rejection of Romanticism as a worldview (that has its origins in Northern

[261] "Das ist gerade so, als ob man ein und dieselbe Notiz in verschiedenen Zeitungen erzählt wieder lesen müsste." "Schöne Literatur: Frauenwürde, von Caroline Pichler." *Chronik der östereichischen Literatur*. 78. Wednesday September 29, 1819. (Vienna: Anton Strauß), 306.
[262] "Die Tendenz ist reaktionär, die Problematik ist progressive." Barbara Becker-Cantarino. "Caroline Pichler und die Frauendichtung," Op cit, 17.
[263] Judith E. Martin. G*ermaine de Staël in Germany: Gender and Literary Authority (1800-1850)* (Lanham, Md: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011), 155.

Germany like her character Rosalie), and it provides a relentless critique of unbridled passion, which it regards as inherently foreign to the Habsburg-Austrian character.

Although Leonore is the novel's heroine, it is the character of Rosalie who takes up most of the novel's ink. Contemporary critics were not blind to the problem with Pichler's chosen virtuous protagonist, who found her an entirely unconvincing heroine and pronounced her quite ordinary: "Eine ganz gewöhliche Frau, die von ihrem Manne verlassen, in unendlichen Jammerbriefen ihr Schicksal beklagt."[264] In the first letter of the novel, written by one of the more moralizing female gossips: a countess von O'born, whose letters contain monotonous marital advice for her young daughter and anecdotes for other female family relations, Rosalie is immediately named the protagonist of the little Alpine spa town's gossip: "Aber nun kommt die Hauptfigur, die unter der ganzen Badegesellschaft die meiste Aufmerksamkeit erregt".[265]

Rosalie bears all of the unfavorable traits that Pichler ascribes to aristocratic women in her essay "Ueber eine Nationalkleidung für deutsche Frauen," best encapsulated by her fluency in French and her fondness for unnecessary trinkets: "Ein schönes Weib ohne Zweifel, vom besten Ton, die vortrefflich Französisch spricht, kränklich, voll Affectationen, voll Ziereреyen ist, und dieß bey den Männern trefflich geltend zu machen versteht!" On the other hand, she is not wholly a one-dimensional cliché, nor is she beyond the reach of moral consequence, or self-perspective. Instead, she is fatefully doomed to be at odds with the world, and her inability to recognize her moral responsibilities and resist her desires and urges (particularly her initial obsessive passion for the Baron von Fahrnau and her later betrayal of him) plunges her into a deep unhappiness that ends with her suicide. Rosalie's main correspondent throughout the novels is her friend, a Bertha von Selnitz. Bertha often replies to Rosalie's emotional missives with

[264] "Schöne Literatur: Frauenwürde, von Caroline Pichler." Op.cit., 306.
[265] Caroline Pichler. *Frauenwürde*, *Erster Theil*, 7.

instructive admonitions that are soft and imploring in tone. These are, nevertheless, tragically ignored by Rosalie.

Although her Protestantism and upbringing predestine her for Romantic afflictions that cannot be reconciled with the domesticity that Pichler considered key to women's virtue, Rosalie, like Pichler herself, is also a public female figure and a prolific author whose works are well known to all of the characters — a woman of unparalleled talents and energy, possessing outstanding talents and wit:

> Sie ist die Tochter eines protestantischen Predigers, der ihr nach dem frühzeitigen Tode ihrer Mutter eine sehr sorgfältige Erziehung gab. Sie hat erstaunlich viel Kenntnisse und eine reiche Gabe der Dichtung, die durch des Vaters Anleitung und durch eigenen Fleiß zu der künftigen Vollendung gelangte, welche die Welt in ihren Werken entzückt.[266]

Leonore, on the other hand, is not a public figure, but represents the sensible, Austrian antithesis to the Romanticism promoted by Rosalie. The metaphor used most frequently in the novel to compare and contrast the two women refers back to a standard opposition in eighteenth century German philosophy and letters, which draws a distinction between illusion (*Schein*) and presence (*Sein*). Rosalie, thus, is not the authentic article —illusory and even cheap — while Leonore possesses a solid, golden character. Leonore is simple, frugal, and devout: a "hübsches, junges, in ländlicher Gesundheitsfülle blühendes Weib," and is capable of holding conversation on any topic, including everyday domestic details: "sie ist im Stande, mit dem unbedeutendsten Weibe einen recht angelegentlichen Zweisprach zu führen, sich in alle Nichtigkeiten und Alltäglichkeiten des häuslichen Lebens zu vertiefen …"[267]. Although she is not without talent in painting and writing, she focuses her energies mostly on raising her children and is a faithful wife and an affectionate mother.

[266] Ibid, 96.
[267] Ibid, 23.

With the plot revolving around Rosalie, the Baron von Fahrnau, and Lothar, Leonore as a protagonist is frequently absent from the events that are recounted in the letters, occupying an isolated domestic position from which she issues plaintive defenses of the institution of marriage and self-defenses. She is either at home, or with her children:

> Leonore war an keinem der beiden Abende zugegen gewesen, wie sie denn überhaupt, seit die Rosalie so sichtbar nach ihrem Manne angelt, und er schwach genug ist, diesen Lockungen nicht zu widerstehen, aus einem begreiflichen Gefühl von Stolz, sich wenig mehr in der Welt zeigt…Aber sie war heiter und gelassen, wie immer.[268]

As the dangers surrounding her husband and Rosalie begin to intensify, Leonore contemplates withdrawing from society altogether and retiring to her home to commit herself exclusively to the care of her children. Like their mother, the children are simple and uncomplicated to the point of having no personality at all. They are, moreover — and in opposition to Catholic doctrine — without "original sin," representing a blank slate of human potential: "diese schuldlosen Seelen, in denen kein Arges sich regt, die noch nichts vom Verderben der Welt, den Verführungen des Lasters, den Gefahren der Leidenschaften kennen!"[269] Despite her husband's unfaithfulness, Leonore remains steadfast in his defense and is unfaltering in her belief in the institution of marriage.

Through the characters Rosalie and Leonore, the novel constructs two competing forms of inwardness. There is the flawed example of Rosalie, who projects onto the world and translates her inner confusion and emotions into fatal transgressions. Leonore, on the other hand, models "inwardness" in her renunciation of action and in her virtuous participation in domestic activities. Her withdrawal from society and life corresponds to her successful domestication of emotions, which is rewarded with praise from the other characters. These competing forms of inwardness are further amplified through the contrast of the "*schöne Welt*" (society) and "home."

[268] Ibid, 120.
[269] Ibid, 88.

Home is a safe bank from which the destructive forces of society can be regarded: "Jetzt, am sicheren Ufer, blicke ich mit geheimer Freude, doch nicht ohne Schauer auf die empörten Wellen zurück." Leonore's "home" stands as a bastion of womanly virtue, childrearing, thoughtful and prudent activity, and usefulness, while society is the terrain of political intrigue and marital infidelity.

Beyond the personal misadventures of the characters and the pointed lessons about feminine identity and maternal virtue, which form the bulk of the correspondences and plot, the novel puts forward a theory on the subject of destruction in general, which it views through the mode of historical criticism to which Pichler was devoted. Destruction, thus, is not limited to the vagaries of Rosalie's Romantic infidelities or the comings and goings of the "*schöne Welt*," but has a fixed origin in the French Revolution and the violent annihilation of European aristocratic culture of the late eighteenth century. This background lurks everywhere in the minds of the novel's characters. Pondering on the problem of this "lost world," the anti-revolutionary, aristocratic Fahrnau remarks that old Europe has been lost forever and that even Napoleon, whose project it was to replace the old ruling classes with his dynastic cult, was doomed to fail: "Selbst Napoleon, er müßte der kluge Kopf nicht seyn, der er sicher ist, hat das eingesehen. Er hat der Religion ihre alte Würde, der herrschenden Dynastie ihren neuen Glanz zu geben gesucht …".[270]

The French Revolution is further marked out as the origin of destruction of domestic institutions. Romance outside of marriage is compared to military assault. In a letter from Fahrnau to Rosalie, he reflects on her persistent attacks on his heart and implores her to cease her relentless attempts to conquer him: "O höre auf, mit Bitten und Vorwürfen ein Herz zu bestürme, das sich ohnedieß im steten Gewirre streitender Neigungen und feindseliger Beziehungen nicht

[270] Ibid, 29.

glücklich fühlt!"[271]. The incursions into the domestic tranquility of the Fahrnaus, and the attacks on Austria thus spring from the same source in the novel. In one letter written by Julius von Tengenbach, this is made explicit: "ich habe mit Theologen meiner und anderer christlicher Secten darüber gesprochen, ich habe über die Erscheinungen der neueren Zeit, über die Folgen der Trennbarkeit der Ehen in dem revolutionären Frankreich und im protestantischen Deutschland nachgedacht."[272]

The novel does not refer explicitly to Austria, or the Monarchy. Instead the characters embrace the term "*Vaterland*," and, more significantly, make appeals directly to the different nations and peoples of German-speaking Europe and its allies: "*die Völker*." Unlike *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*, which bases its argument for Habsburg rule and the legitimacy of the monarchy on (fictionalized) historical claims going back to the middle ages, the "*Staatsidee*" in *Frauenwürde* is broadly populist in its scope, and the argument that it makes is based less in issues of dynastic legitimacy than it is in notions of piety, sacrifice, and solidarity among nations. Pichler predicates her idea of "peoples" specifically on the participation of the different nations in battle against Napoleon, which constitute acts akin to good deeds: "Ein herrlicher Geist flammt in allen Völkern, die zur deutschen Zunge gehören, wie in den Auswärtigen, die sich mit uns zu dem großen Werke vereint haben."[273]

The example that the novel provides of sacrifice in the peoples' struggle is Julius von Tengenbach, whose death for the "*Vaterland*" is conspicuously foreshadowed in letters where he praises the soldiers fighting for freedom from Napoleonic tyrannical rule, likening the duty of defending these nations to the march of history and destiny and putting forward a path out of the destruction of society forged in the revolutionary years:

[271] Caroline Pichler. *Frauenwürde. Zweiter Theil. Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. 21 (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1818), 179.
[272] Ibid, 140.
[273] Ibid, 244.

> …es schimmert ein Strahl durch, die Völker blicken begierig auf den lichten Punct, ihre leidensmüden Seelen öffnen sich dem milden Glänzen und Erwartung, Furcht, Angst und Hoffnung halten alles in gespannter Aufregung … Ob wir siegen, oder untergehen — wir werden Gottes Rathschluß erfüllen. Unsere Pflicht ist es, zu handeln, als ob wir das erste mit Zuversicht hofften, und jede Kraft anzustrengen, die der Schöpfer in uns gelegt hat.[274]

Personal sacrifice and national sacrifice are stitched together in the concept of the home or the "*Vaterland*." Contrary to an expression of paternalistic German nationalism current in Romantic circles of the time, Pichler's "*Vaterland*" is not based in ideas of Germanic cultural superiority, but rather should be literally understood as the "father's land." The term "*Vaterland*" provides an effective bridge for the novel between the national home and the home to which Baron von Fahrnau returns after battle: "Seit drey Jahren zum ersten Mahl begrüßte ich vor vierzehn Tagen mein geliebtes Eigenthum, das Schloß meiner Väter, wieder!"

Thus, the novel resolves the opposition it builds between the "private" and public in its domesticized interpretation of an Austrian "*Vaterland*," in which the "*Vater*" can be both the father of the family unit as well as the Emperor father (although this is not explicitly mentioned). It links national destiny unambiguously to the institution of marriage and to the family. The role that Leonore plays in liberating her husband through her emissary Tengenbach is a defeat of the "*schöne Gesellschaft*." Even from afar, her role in bringing an end to the Napoleonic intrigues at court represents a minor victory for a type of "housewife" diplomacy that Pichler otherwise practiced in her personal life and which she embraced as a salonière.

Like Pichler herself, the novel attempts to provide a process for female artistry that is simultaneously public and private. Pichler's interpretation of the nation as an extended family unit reveals these two things to no longer be in tension. Through correspondences that reconcile these forms of female artistry, the novel further provides a synthetic portrait of woman artists in

[274] Caroline Pichler. *Frauenwürde. Vierter Theil. Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. 23 (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1818), 259-262.

the figure of Rosalie, whose self-destruction follows from her attachment to the "*schöne Welt*" and in its sanctification of Leonore as a figure that constitutes a new possibility of female presence in the post-Napoleonic era.

Rosalie's suicide, thus, is not a mere vindication of Leonore, so much as it is an opportunity for the novel to reconcile these two figures and move beyond the example of authorship provided in Rosalie. Rosalie's suicide follows from the recognition that her new lover, Lothar, is unfaithful to her. When Rosalie seeks out the presence of Leonore, the two women embrace and reconcile. Leonore opines in a letter — in which Rosalie's suicide note is embedded — that Rosalie was not a malicious character, but rather born unlucky:

> Sie konnte nichts dafür. Sie war ein unglückliches Ziel, das jenes Wesen sich ersehen, um all seine Pfeile darauf zu versenden, weil es eben Glückliche und Unglückliche in der Welt gebe, und alles in die Wirklichkeit treten müsse, was in dieser Idee möglich sey. Darum sey ein Geschöpf wie sie geworden, dem all seine Bemühungen, dem Elend zu entfliehen, nur zu neuen Verstrickungen und Leiden wurden, und das jetzt mit einem siechen Körper und zerstörtem Geist einem düstern Ende der mühevollen Laufbahn entgegensehe.[275]

Rosalie's suicide not only represents the death of a specific kind of political Romanticism that Pichler abhorred, but also constitutes an object lesson about women's writing. Leonore, who tends to Rosalie as best as she can during a period of suffering that precedes her suicide, reads the author's last poem, which proves that the woman's trajectory toward self-destruction lay both in her unhappy existence and in her promotion of a consummately dangerous type of literature:

> Noch einmal las ich ihr letztes Gedicht, das sie vor Kurzem gedichtet hatte. Jetzt verstand ich erst ganz die düstere Gluth desselben. Der Pinsel ist in Feuer getaucht, aber es ist eine verzehrende Flamme; und so schön es ist, so hätte ein Weib es entweder nie machen, oder nie drucken lassen sollen.[276]

Despite these statements about Rosalie's misguided poetic project, Pichler's message about female identity does not constitute an absolute dictum about the perils of women as public

[275] Ibid, 181.
[276] Ibid, 185.

writers, nor is it a soft endorsement of stripping women of their public visibility by banishing them to the home. Rather, it argues that there is a "false" type of writing — beautiful though it might be— that must be rejected for the sake of women's own self-preservation. Although she does not provide in Leonore a strong, positive public figure, the answer that Pichler puts forward is built on her presuppositions about a new post-Napoleonic society in which women would no longer be endangered by reckless ideology. Women's identity lies, thus, at the core of a just and new national identity. In other words, the distinction between private and public that the novel constructs through its two female characters is dissolved through the emergence of a new society in which women's roles are justly configured. It regards as pernicious a type of "*schöne Gesellschaft*" that excludes from its company virtuous women in favor of reckless Romanticism or wanton destruction.

Rosalie's death is, furthermore, softened by the forgiveness that she seeks from Leonore, which the latter grants. The "sins" that she commits are atoned for in the suffering and sympathy of her opposite, ending with a scene of a visitation in which Leonore embraces her: "Ich fasste ihre kalte Hand, und drückte einen Kuß auf diese verblichenen Lippen." Their reconciliation, which is brought about and documented in the letters they write, achieves a synthesis of the two characters in the self-sacrifice of one character and the hopeful rejuvenation of the other.

In the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Pichler writes about a certain kind of public intellectual whose works may mark him or her out for greatness, but in whom she found no kindness or amiability:

> Bei dieser Gelegenheit kann ich nicht umhin, die Bemerkung beizufügen, daß so merkwürdig solche Männer auch oft als Gelehrte oder Künstler in der Welt durch ihre Werke erscheinen, nur sehr wenige sich im näheren Umgange auch als Menschen achtungs oder liebenswürdig bewährten. Noch weniger liebenswürdig aber, mit sehr seltenen Ausnahmen, fand ich von jeher die weiblichen ausgezeichneten Geister, die femmes supérieures, wie Frau v. Staël sie nannte und wich ihrer Annäherung immer gern aus…[277]

[277] Caroline Pichler. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. 1, 259.

Pichler's novel presents an alternative to de Staël's "*femme supérieure*": the Biedermeier woman that aspired to build a new society in which women could be both "*liebenswürdig*" and intellectual. To achieve this end, Pichler mobilizes "correspondence" in her four-volume novel to reconcile and balance two opposing female identities: the conspicuously "public" with the retiring "domestic." She depends on a concept of Austrian nationhood that derives its identity from the "private" and the "family" and constructs a composite image of womanhood around the idea of the home.

3.4: Conclusion: Madame Biedermeier and Austrian Women's Movements

For Pichler, the banal details of women's dress and the everyday realities of the housewife were equal in importance to the movement of troops across Europe and were necessary components of her Austrian national project. Her discussion of women's roles, politics, and culture was unique to the period, and her public presence was an undisputed fact of Viennese culture around the time of the Vienna Congress. Without articulating direct appeals for the elevation of women, her literary work provides a persuasive logic and reasoning in which women's accession to roles of greater responsibility lay implicit. That logic hinges on a notion of "correspondence," which she used to reconcile and synthesize different forms of female artistry. This type of correspondence can be found in her four-volume *Frauenwürde*, which outlines a national identity for the post-Napoleonic era that bases its argument in women's involvement in social, political, and artistic matters.

This chapter investigates and discloses the significance of the participation of a Biedermeier bourgeois woman in aesthetic and literary networks of the early nineteenth century. However, I do not suggest Pichler be considered within a narrative of politically conscious,

emancipatory feminism.[278] Although her prolific literary oeuvre makes her an interesting figure for studies that consider the longer *durée* of women's rights in Central Europe, scholars searching for signs of a consistent or coherent feminist message in her work will be disappointed.

It would, thus, be misguided to trace a direct political history of Central European women's rights that begins with Pichler's literary salon around the time of the Vienna Congress and ends with the Social Democratic women's groups that fought a century after the publication of *Frauenwürde* to achieve women's suffrage in postwar Austria in 1918. The Viennese women's political associations and unions that agitated and organized for better salaries and conditions for working women (teachers, factory workers, female postal officials, etc.), or support for mothers and wives would crystallize many decades after Pichler wrote in Vienna.[279] These groups articulated their goals and their *raison d'être* in a political language that was utterly foreign to the social actor — the censors, authors, and bourgeois women — of the Biedermeier period, relying on a language of rights and equality that had emerged within the rapidly changing and diversifying political and social environment of the Habsburg Monarchy.[280] Nevertheless, many of the motivations that guided these later associations, including questions

[278] Lucia Lauková has described Pichler as an "emancipated opponent of emancipation," arguing that, although Pichler was virulently opposed to figures arguing for women's emancipation, she was also critical of the male world that she inhabited. Lucia Lauková, "Die emanzipierte Emanzipationsgegnerin: Caroline Pichlers theoretische Schriften," *New German Review: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 24 (1), 2011, 95-111.

[279] Austrian middle class women's movements around the fin-de-siècle, represented by diverse political groups and women's constituencies like the *Wiener Frauen-Erwerbverein* (founded in 1866 and considered the first group to initiate the 'era of organized women' in Vienna), the *Verein der Schrifstellerinnen und Künstlerinnen* (founded in 1885), the *Verein der Lehrerinnen und Erzieherinnen* (founded in 1870), and the *Christlicher Wiener Frauenbund* (founded in 1897), represented different class interests and were also not always homogenous in the articulation of their agendas. See Harriet Anderson's groundbreaking work on middle-class feminist movements in fin de siècle Vienna: Harriet Anderson. U*topian Feminism*: *Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1992)

[280] Harriet Anderson's discussion of the "first wave" of feminist movements in Austria tracks the movement of these different groups and their absorption into the General Women's Association, which sought their political unification: "'The existing women's associations, although so numerous, could not satisfy our need to grasp the women's problem in its entirety, to uncover its roots, which extend to all spheres of human community, and to acknowledge the need to give the whole movement a theoretical basis. Our association therefore had to emerge.' Thus the committee of the General Austrian Women's Association presented its *raison d'être* and at the same time pointed out the three ways in which it was to differ fundamentally form the women's associations that already existed." Ibid, 39.

pertaining to the role and status of mothers, wives, and educators, or bourgeois women as members of the new labor market, surfaced in Pichler's own thoughts and writings on women. Thus, one could argue, as Barbara Becker-Cantarino has, that Pichler should be seen first and foremost as the most successful female author in a "first generation" of Austrian women authors. Her place in that genealogy, although not directly "causal" to successive generations, is undeniable.

As I have shown in this chapter, Pichler is an idiosyncratic figure: a public and private woman with a prominent stature in the literary public, who enjoyed a wide network of friends and acquaintances that amplified her reputation and position as a salonière in Biedermeier Austria. As a writer, Pichler drew on relevant political and aesthetic discourses of her time to draw out the contradictions in female's lived reality, and she viewed women and women's matters as indispensable to a new Austrian national identity. This chapter suggests that the moral, economic, and educational imperatives that motivated more recognizable and better studied women's groups in Austria can be recovered in part in her work and in debates on women and nationalism by a key woman author in the Viennese Biedermeier.

Chapter Four: March 1848, Freedom, and the Public Virtuoso in Grillparzer's *Armer Spielmann*

On the eve of March 13, 1848, Metternich resigned, ending a long and divisive stint as Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. His resignation came immediately on the heels of uprisings that had broken out over the course of that day in and around Vienna. Conventional accounts of events in the days known as the "Vienna March revolution" emphasize the enthusiasm with which the Chancellor's departure was met, most notably by the legion of students and workers who executed coordinated military attacks on the Monarchy's capital.[281] Their efforts elicited a salvo of thanks from all corners of the Empire. A message from the youths of Cracow (*die Krakauer Jugend*) to the students of Vienna communicates the gratitude of Poles for their liberation from the yoke of censorship.[282] The Hungarians sent a "farewell" message to Metternich, thanking the students of Vienna for bringing an end to tyranny and creating a foundation on which Austrian-Hungarian relations could flourish.[283] The citizens of Troppau (now Opava in the Czech Republic) also sent their blessings to those who carried the torch for many of the Empire's subjects in the provinces.[284]

Two days after Metternich's resignation, Emperor Ferdinand I repealed the Monarchy's censorship laws, acceding to increasingly clamorous demands for a free and uncensored press. Under the supervision of Sedlnitzky, the censors who had worked in the state's employ had long articulated moral, aesthetic, and political arguments for their authority over the intellectual

[281] The student legion was formed on the thirteenth and fourteenth of March. It formed part of the National Guard (*Nationalgarde*) and consisted of five corps.
[282] "Im Namen der Krakauer Jugend kommen wir, Euch Brüder den innigsten Dank auszusprechen für die Befreiung vom Joche der Zensur und des tyrannischen Systems, das ihr gestürzt habt." "Adresse der Krakauer Jugend an die Wiener Studenten." Pamphlet. Wien Bibliothek: "Flugschriften zur Revolution 1848, Digital Collection (Vienna: Edl v. Schmidbauer und Holzwarth, 1848) .
[283] Frigyes Szavardy. "Abschiedsworte der ungarischen Reichstagsjugend an die Wiener Universitätsjugend." Pamphlet. Wien Bibliothek, "Flugschriften zur Revolution," Digital Collection (Vienna: 1848). https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbr/nav/classification/1970961
[284] "Adresse der Troppauer Bürgerschaft an die Studirenden der Wiener Universität." Pamphlet. Wien Bibliothek: Flugschriften zur Revolution 1848 (Opava: 1848).

capital of the Empire's subjects through *vota* and enjoyed veto power over the products of a growing book trade that was fast expanding through reproducible print media.

For those who opposed the proscriptions of censorship, however, the issue of censorship was blankly about the freedom of speech, and they contested the authority of the state to regulate their ideas. They decried the tyranny of the regime, tying a number of their civic rights to the bastion of the free press. A pamphlet printed in Budapest in 1848 enumerating the "ABCs of political rights" puts the freedom of the press above all other goals, calling the press the right and true master of the state: "… die freie Presse ist die einzige Lehrmeisterin der Regierungen, weil sie allein aufrichtig zu ihnen spricht."[285] Nevertheless, censorship was not banished for long. Emperor Franz Joseph reintroduced it into the Monarchy only a year later in a law regulating the press ("Das Preßgesetz vom 13. März 1849"): exactly a year to the day of Metternich's resignation. Moreover, the missives of friendship and brotherhood exchanged among youth associations of the Empire seem also to have been overly optimistic, and the "bonds" uniting Hungarians, Czechs, Austrians, and Poles would be significantly tested in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[286]

Although the revolutions were seen as the culminating point of a decades-long collective effort to achieve liberal reforms in the administration of the Habsburg Monarchy, their legacy and the extent to which they had an impact on Austrian society remain contested.[287] For

[285] "Allgemeines politisches Bürger ABC." Pamphlet. Wien Bibliothek: "Flugschriften zur Revolution 1848," Digital Collection (Budapest: 1848).
[286] For a relatively recent English contribution of the role and legacy of nationalism in the 1848 revolutions in Central Europe see: Pieter M. Judson. *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996). For a standard contribution, see: Robert Kann. *The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Empire. Empire and Nationalities*, Vol 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).
[287] For a short overview of the essential historical literature in German, see: Julius Marx *Die wirtschaftlichen Ursachen der Revolution von 1848 in Österreich* (Graz: H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1965); Hans Mommsen: *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalitätenfrage im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaa*t (Vienna: Europa-Verlag, 1963);

contemporaries of the period, the revolts either did not go far enough to achieve meaningful change— Karl Marx famously dedicated himself to the study of capital and capitalism in his magnum opus *Kapital* after realizing that the revolutions in Germany and France would not change material class relations — while, for others, they went too far. Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872), who had appealed at various times to the Viennese public from March to mid-July of 1848, wrote disdainfully of the students that led the uprisings in his poem "Mein Vaterland (Nach dem 13. März 1848)". Grillparzer characterized the revolutionaries as facile and superficial and warned the Viennese away from prophets promising false freedom:

> Geh nicht zur Schule da und dort,
> Wo laute Redner lärmen,
> Wo der Gedanke nur im Wort,
> Zu leuchten statt zu wärmen;
>
> … Wo selbst die Freiheit, die zur Zeit
> Hinjauchzt in tausend Stimmen,
> Halb großgesäugt von Eitelkeit
> Und von der Lust am Schlimmen.[288]

These many viewpoints also reflected different perspectives about literature and attitudes towards its free circulation. In this chapter, I argue that the March uprisings in 1848 Vienna were a defining event in which "freedom of the press" was achieved, albeit for a short time. While it is not in the scope of this chapter to give an exhaustive account of the many, rich documents produced in March of 1848, I trace the publication histories and the narratives of three different paradigmatic poems printed as manifestos that were published in the first days of the uprisings: Ludwig August Frankl's "Universität," Friedrich Gerhard's "Die Presse Frei!," and Johann Peter Lyser's "Ein Frühlingstag vor dem Denkmale des Kaisers Joseph des Zweiten." All of these

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Eduard Winter. *Romantismus, Restauration und Frühliberalismus im österreichischen Vormärz* (Vienna: Europa-Verlag, 1968).

[288] Franz Grillparzer. "Mein Vaterland." *Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann (Vienna, 1909 ff.) Part 1, Vol. 10 (1917), 227-228.

poems claimed to be the first to be published without censorship. Now considered "ephemera" that are housed in archives and museums across Europe, these poems are not only a window into the activities of the day-by-day unfolding of the 1848 uprisings, but rather mark the first attempts of a cohort of revolutionary authors to inscribe themselves within a new literary canon articulating their own notion of freedom.

I further contextualize the discourse around the freedom of the press by comparing these pamphlets to a key literary text of the Austrian *Vormärz* period, which formulates its own conception of freedom in concert with "fate": Franz Grillparzer's novella *Der Arme Spielmann* (1847). A major critic of the efforts of the 1848 revolutionaries, Grillparzer had undersigned Eduard Bauernfeld's "Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Österreich" in 1845, which represented the critical attempt before the revolution to introduce reforms into the censorship laws of Metternich's administration. I argue that, for Grillparzer, "freedom" is rooted in issues of aesthetic autonomy that go beyond the problem of state censorship to critique the conformism of crowd aesthetics. I have, moreover, selected this canonical text as a representative of an indigenous Austrian current of the *Vormärz* movement and, as such, a significant interlocutor of the Vienna 1848 manifestos.

4.1 Censorship Free! Anthems for a New Vienna

Revolution broke out across Europe in the spring of 1848. Beginning in January in the Kingdom of Sicily, the uprisings quickly spread to France, then Prussia and Austria. The uprisings in Austria and Prussia had many causes, not least among them the issue of state censorship, which permeated all areas of print life in German-speaking Europe. In Austria, the state of the press was considered particularly dire. Over 5,000 titles had been placed on the

forbidden lists by the Austrian censorship authorities from 1835 until 1848.[289] Sedlnitykzy's police seized and confiscated the works of authors from outside the Empire — including many Austrian authors in exile.[290] In Berlin and in Vienna, students led the march on the barricades and demanded a constitution, a free press, and academic freedom. In Vienna they headed the uprising after a petition submitted to the Emperor calling for "freedom" in general terms went unanswered. Denied the privilege of an audience, students staged a demonstration that elicited the response of the Austrian troops, who fired on demonstrators and killed an eighteen-year old mathematics student.[291] The situation escalated quickly. Shortly thereafter, the students and other workers formed the Academic Legion, a revolutionary legion that would administer the city for months over the course of the revolution.

After many years of state censorship, which had formally begun in government with Maria Theresia's appointment of censors to a censorship commission in 1751 (it had previously existed under the control of the clergy, most notably the Jesuits), the Emperor's repeal on March 15th, 1848 generated an excited literary response visible in the quantity of pamphlets (*Flugblätter*) printed in the first days after the repeal from publishers all around the Empire.[292] Pamphlets were printed that responded to the key events that shaped the course of the march on the barricades, and they included funeral oratories as well as the hymns of the students' movement in Vienna.

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[289] Julius Marx. "Die amtlichen Verbotslisten. Zur Geschichte der vormärzlichen Zensur in Österreich." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchives*. Volume 11 (1958), 412-466

[290] For a recent contribution on smuggling under Metternich see: Michal Chvojka. "Buchhändler und Bücherschmuggel. Ausländische Druckschriften als Politikum im Österreichischen Vormärz*." Bohemia - Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder*, Volume. 50, Nr. 2 (2010), 351-366.

[291] For a short overview of the role of students in the German and Viennese uprisings of 1848 see: Priscilla Robertson. "Students on the Barricades: Germany and Austria, 1848." *Political Science Quarterly,* vol. 84, no. 2, 1969, 376.

[292] I am drawing from the extensive online collection digitized by the Austrian National Library called "Flugblätter 1848." For March alone, there are 422 digital copies of pamphlets together with other ephemera.

Joseph Alexander von Helfert, a prolific turn-of-the-century historian of the 1848 revolutions and an Austrian politician, writes about the astonishing number of songs and poems printed by the presses in the capital during the first days of the March revolutions in his three-volume book *Der Wiener Parnaß*.[293] In a retrospective account that abounds with praise for the revolutionaries and their creative output in those first days of the uprisings, Helfert describes this period in indulgent prose, speaking of a "thawing" of the hard winter of Metternich's reign. He compares that heady atmosphere to the second opera in Wagner's *Ring* cycle, characterizing the literary climate prior to the revolution with an ungenerous metaphor:

> Denn da war es, hart vor dem Aufspringen des Thores, das, wie in der berühmten Walküren – Scene Wagner's, mit einemmal den frohen frischen Ausblick, den erquickenden, herzstärkenden Hauch, den wonnigen Duft des voll aufblühenden Geister – und Dichter-Frühlings in die bisher eng und neidisch verschlossenen dumpfen Räume hereinbrechen ließ.[294]

Helfert recounts how the repeal of censorship brought with it a number of attempts to be the "first" to publish a manifesto — to be sung and declaimed —without the approbation of the censors. Those unable to lay claim on being the first to write the revolution's anthem from under the specter of censorship would proudly affix their poems with a note that they were the "second" or "third" poems written in this invigorating, new climate. Helfert calculates that at least 109 poems were published between the eve of March 15th and March 17th : more than all the songs and poems that had been published in the Monarchy in the month of February and the first half of March.[295] Many sought out the Viennese publishers Alexander Eurich and Ulrich Klopf, who ran a popular printing press from the 1830s in Vienna, to publish their poems and songs.[296]

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[293] Johannes Alexander Helfert. *Der Wiener Parnass im Jahre 1848* (Vienna: Manz'sche k.k. Hof-Verlags und Universitäts Buchhandlung), 1882. Helfert served as a minister of education in the Habsburg Empire from 1860-1861 and was a translator of Czech into German.

[294] Johannes Alexander Helfert. *Der Wiener Parnass im Jahre 1848*. Volume 2 (Vienna: Manz'sche k.k. Hof-Verlags und Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1882), XX.

[295] "Von dem einen 15. März, die Nacht zuvor und die Nacht darauf eingerechnet, datirin nicht weniger als 45 veröffentlichte Gedichte, also nahezu soviel als in der vorangegangen ersten Hälfte des Monats. Zählt man die 19

The repeal of censorship sent ripples through different layers of Viennese literary society. Austrian authors were further bolstered in their efforts by liberal authors from neighboring German-speaking states. The three poems considered in this chapter were all contenders for the "first" poem to be published without censorship. These include Ludwig Frankl's "Universität," Friedrich Gerhard's "Die Presse frei!," and Johann Peter Lyser's "Ein Frühlingstag vor dem Denkmale des Kaisers Joseph des Zweiten."

Ludwig August Frankl (1810-1894) was one of the March revolution's most visible supporters.[297] A Jewish medical doctor from Bohemia, Frankl was an important literary and public figure throughout the 1830s: he was the main editor of the *Österreichisches Morgenblatt* beginning in 1841, and he served as the secretary of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* in Vienna from 1838. Due to his reputation as a doyen of Viennese culture (which included contributions to both music and literature), he was awarded the status of "honorary citizen" by the city in 1880. Frankl was, furthermore, involved in the secret societies that predated the 1830s and 40s, among others, the "Ludlamshöhle." He corresponded with Petar II Petrović-Njegoš of Montenegro, the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro and poet and philosopher and translated the Serbian nationalist poet and lexicographer Vuk Karadžić's poetry into German. He was, furthermore, a great friend of the Austrian poet Nikolaus Lenau (1802-1850).

"Die Universität" was written on the night of March 14th. The verses were brought "still warm" to the printers and distributed the next day. According to Helfert, the poem was extremely

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vom 16. Und die 45 vom 17. dazu, so ist die Zahl der an den drei ersten censurfreien Tagen erschienenen Lieder, Dichtungen, Gesänge nur um 4 geringer als die von der ersten Hälfte März und vom ganzen Monat Februar zusammen." Ibid, XXII

[296] Euerich and Klopf later published the complete editions of signature dramatists of the Biedermeier period that included Castelli, Nestroy, and Bauernfeld Klopf had had trouble with the censors in 1844. For more see: Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel. *Buchwesen in Wien 1750-1850: Kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 102.

[297] For a recent biography see: Louise Hecht. *Ludwig August Frankl (1810-1894): Eine jüdische Biographie zwischen Okzident und Orient* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2016).

popular: it sold over 100,000 copies and prompted nineteen different musical settings. Its translation into French carried the subtitle "Marseillaise Autrichienne."[298] The poem dramatizes the bravery of the students' revolt in six verses that apostrophize the "Universität." A simple ABAB rhyme, it narrates the moment of 1848 through a rhetorically self-affirming form of "call and response," with each verse ending with the refrain "*die Universität*."

> Was kommt heran mit kühnem Gange?
> Die Waffe blinkt, die Fahne weht,
> Es naht mit hellem Trommelklange
> Die Universität
>
> Die Stunde ist des Lichts gekommen;
> Was wir ersehnt, umsonst erfleht,
> Im jungen Herzen ist's entglommen
> Die Universität
>
> Das freie Wort, das sie gefangen,
> Seit Joseph, arg verhöhnt, geschmäht,
> Vorkämpfend sprengte seine Spangen
> Die Universität
>
> Zugleich erwacht's mit Lerchenliedern,
> Horcht, wie es dythirambisch geht!
> Und wie die Herzen sich erwiedern
> Hoch die Universität
>
> Und wendet ihr Euch zu den bleichen
> Gefall'nen Freiheitsopfern, seht:
> Bezahlt hat mit den ersten Leichen
> Die Universität
>
> Doch wird dereinst die Nachwelt blättern
> Im Buche der Geschichte steht,
> Die lichte That, mit goldenen Lettern:
> Die Universität [299]

"Die Universität" begins mid-action on the barricades: "die Waffe blinkt, die Fahne weht/Es naht mit hellem Trommelklange." The scene depicted is impressionistic, conjuring an image of battle

[298] Johannes Alexander Helfert. Op Cit, XX.
[299] Ludwig August Frankl. "Die Universität." Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: "Revolution 1848," Digital Collection, F15087.

through haptic-acoustic imagery. Contrary to the epic expectation that might be suggested in the title "Marseillaise of the 1848 Vienna Uprisings," the remaining verses of the poem do not chronicle the specific feats accomplished by the students, nor do they draw the reader further into the fold of the action. Rather, the poem contrasts the protagonists of the revolution to which it alludes in the first verse with a different actor in each successive verse. In the second verse, that actor is represented by the antecedent generation with whom Frankl identifies: "was wir ersehnt, umsonst erfleht," a reference to a generation of liberals in Germany and Austria (*Vormärzler*) who were unable to achieve change. The third verse alludes to a "they" of the post-Josephinian era that include antagonists like Chancellor Metternich who had held free speech hostage: "das freie Wort, das sie gefangen" and from whom freedom was eventually wrested: "vorkämpfend sprengten seine Spangen." In the fourth verse, the poem becomes self-reflexive, directing attention to its own effects on readers: "erwacht's mit Lerchenliedern/horcht wie dythirambisch geht." In the next verse, it exhorts its reader (or sympathetic listener) to turn an eye to the sacrifices made by the students: "seht…die gefall'nen Freiheitsopfer." In the final verse, the poem turns to an audience of posterity, imagining the deeds of the March uprisings inscribed in "golden letters" in the "book of history"— to be read by successive generations.

As expected, this anthem to the university tells the story of heroic students, who succeed in overthrowing tyranny and sacrifice themselves in the process. More than just a paean to the university and the students, however, it gives an account of a struggle that borrows from a narrative about generational conflict that predominated in the writings of authors of the Austrian *Vormärz*. This narrative made no reference to the regimes of censorship that existed prior to Metternich's stewardship of the Empire and drew on a selective understanding of the Austrian Enlightenment and Josephinism, which many of the *Vormärz* authors regarded as a source of true

authorial inspiration and state authority. Even those opposed to the students' revolt in the 1848 revolution, like Franz Grillparzer, felt a kinship with the Josephinian era of absolutism and made ample reference to it in earlier calls for modification of censorship laws. [300]

Central to the conflict between *Vormärz* authors and the state was the issue of "literary freedom," conceived of in Frankl's poem as the personified word set free: "das freie Wort." By March 1848, the issue of the free press had grown into one of the central complaints of the Austrian class of civil servants and authors that included Frankl. They were eager to widen their movement to include others, like the young students on the barricades. Seen in this light, Frankl's anthem to the 1848 uprisings represents not only the valorization of student achievements and sacrifices of the first days, but also an effort to assert the contributions of his generation. Moreover, the poem represents an attempt at self-canonization in a genre of "uncensored" literature for a new age of broad and spirited opposition. "Die Universität" was not written *ex nihilo* on March 15th: its lines had been many years in the making and it embodied the old yearnings of the Vormärzler. These hopes were now being carried over into a new era — "the Nachwelt"— which Frankl hoped would treat words more reverently — as capital (gold).

Almost simultaneous with Frankl's poem, a copy of the poem "Die Presse Frei!" was published on March 15th. It too billed itself as the first official poem to be published free of censorship ("*erstes censurfreies Gedicht*") and carried that title in the copy published by Klopf and Euerich. Its author was a "Friedrich Gerhard from Danzig." Like Frankl's "Universität," it is a simple rhyming poem best suited to the medium of song. Unlike Frankl's poem, however, "Die

[300] Frankl was one of the many signatories of Eduard Bauernfeld's petition "Denkschrift über die gegenwärtigen Zustände der Zensur in Österreich."

Presse Frei!" puts the Viennese uprisings in the context of a broader European movement that connected Austrians to other German-speaking nations, including —significantly— Prussia.[301]

In the first verse, the poem articulates the key terms that dominate its lexical landscape: *die Presse, das Volk,* and *die Freiheit*. Beginning with a metaphor of bells, it argues that the liberation of the word will mobilize the people across great tracts of land, drawing Germany's farthest-flung sons together:

> Die Presse frei! Die Glocken lasst ertönen!
> Und lautet Jubel überall
> Und ruft hinaus zu Deutschlands fernsten Söhnen
> Die Presse frei! Erstürmt der Freiheit Wall!
> Was viele Jahre uns in Schach gehalten,
> Was uns erdrückt, erniedrigt und empört
> Das hat des Volkes heldenmüthig Walten,
> Das hat **ein** großer, schöner Tag zerstört![302]

The poem predicts that the free press would lead to the establishment of a nation uniting (German) brothers across borders. The very mention of the author's Prussian origins (Danzig) on the title page serve as a subtle provocation to decades of police monitoring and the control of illicit book smuggling overseen by Metternich and Sedlnitzky, who were committed to containing the contagion of the "Junges Deutschland" movement. The final verse includes a direct appeal to the nation "Deutschland" and "Oestreich's" place in it.

> O Oestreich Du, Dein Banner seh' ich glänzen,
> Dein Adler steigt empor zum Sonnenlicht;
> Bald wird ganz Deutschland deine Stirne kränzen
> Wenn dort hinein des Tages Kunde bricht
> Reich mir die Hand! Du Volk so brav und bieder
> Und lass uns Freunde, lass' uns Brüder sein!
> Ein Preuße jubelt mit Dir Freiheitslieder
> Und mischt in Deinen, seinen Jubel ein.[303]

[301] Friedrich Gerhard. "Die Presse frei!." Österreichische Nationalbiblioithek: "Revolution 1848," Digital Collection, F15134.
[302] Bolding appears in the document. Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

Unlike the "Vormärzler-wir" of Frankl's "Universität, the "wir" of Gerhard's poem is a fictional *Volk* of an imaginary nation that is represented as a wave of populist energy and potential and is formulated in a militaristic language. Like the "Universität," "Die Presse Frei" makes similar demands on the future, calling for a world free of censorship, and placing the blame of tyranny at the doorstep of the censors. In its second verse it makes the most direct connection between the censors and the new age:

> Nun redet frei, und leget groß und offen
> Die Wünsche eueres Herzens dar;
> Der Feind der Freiheit ist zum Tod' getroffen,
> Und siegend steht, was edel recht und wahr.
> Mag sich des Herzens Feuerstrom ergießen!
> Wir steh'n am Morgen einer neuen Zeit
> Kein Censor kann euch mehr den Mund verschließen;
> Der einz'ge Censor ist — die Redlichkeit[304]

"Die Presse Frei"'s Germanic patriotism is amplified by its vilification of censors as repressive agents. In it, the "censor" has been finally defeated — "zum Tod' getroffen" — by a victorious new age that stands for all that is "edel, recht und wahr." Both the censor and the new age to which it refers are blank projections. The concept of the free press is stripped bare of concrete associations with print history and the historical struggle to achieve literary freedom experienced by the *Vormärz* generation. The poem allows the concepts linked with "freedom of speech" to open up onto the more vast terrain of "freedom" in general. In this poem, it is the internalization of justice — the principle of "Redlichkeit" — that renders external prohibitions unnecessary, and thus, the state censor is replaced by the concept of internal prohibition.

The poem predicts that this internalization of justice and virtue will replace the relations of repressive censorship as they existed before. The word "*Redlichkeit*" allows Gerhard to equate the notion of speech ("*Rede*") with the notion of virtue ("*redlich*"), reinforcing the notion that

[304] Ibid.

speech is itself virtuous and that the maximization of virtuosity stands in a direct relationship with its freedom. As with Frankl's poem, such a conclusion should be anticipated in a text declaring itself the "first censorship free" poem and it similarly performs an act of "self-canonization" through its self-reference.

Unlike Frankl's poem, however, the "Die Presse Frei's" object does not lie in recounting a chronology of censorship history in Austria, and its reference to the uprisings in 1848 are chiefly metaphorical and are draped in nationalist imagery and the language of battle. Its insistence on the event-like nature of the revolution, which highlights the singularity of that "day," making the bold lettering of the first verse significant— **ein** großer, schöner Tag — stands in stark contrast to an attempt to draw out a wider chronology of the revolution. This is not surprising, given that the aim of this poem is not to glorify the students on the barricades, but to draw out the wider implications of a "free Austria" and its place in German Europe. Thus, this poem takes the concession of Emperor Ferdinand I and the repeal of censorship as the pretext to imagine a new kind of world: a world in which Austria belongs to the other German nations and a world in which the censor is no longer necessary, since all men will be virtuous by the very fact of their freedom of speech.

The final 1848 poem to be considered here, "Ein Frühlingstag vor dem Denkmale des Kaisers Joseph des Zweiten," was published on March 15th by Euerich and Klopf, with illustrated copies published by Blasius Höfel, an engraver from Salzburg who had achieved fame for his portraiture work and his woodcuttings.[305] Its author was a Johann Peter Lyser (Ludewig Peter August Burmeister 1804-1870), a German writer, painter, and musician, with ties to many

[305] Höfel had published illustrations in Bäuerle's *Theaterzeitung*. He published many pamphlets and illustrations in 1848. See: Frank and Frimmel. *Op.Cit*., 81.

nineteenth-century Romantics, including Robert and Clara Schumann.[306] It is the third to lay claim to the coveted status of the first censorship-free poem to circulate in Vienna during the March uprisings. Between the three poems, it is the most explicitly nostalgic and promotes a retrospective portrait of absolutist enlightenment rule.

The poem takes as its subject the famous monument to Joseph II (erected between 1795 and 1807) on the spring day on which censorship was repealed. Its verses do not build an arc from Joseph II to 1848, but rather convey a message of thanks in the style of a devotional, where each individual verse celebrates the end of censorship with renewed invocations of praise for Emperors Ferdinand and Joseph II. The subject of the poem is the colorless "we" of the mob, shifting its shape in each verse to represent a new revolutionary hero: students, citizens, the children, and all those on the barricades. The final verse of the poem reveals the real protagonist: the millions of Germans who have joined the people of Austria to celebrate the end of tyranny (the flight of Metternich); it achieves this through a contrast of the warm spring days of March in Vienna with the frosty storms to come from Germany:

> O haltet's fest! — Gleichwie im Frühlingstag
> So in dem Eisessturm, der dräut aus Norden!
> Ein starkes, freies Volk sind wir geworden,
> Und Millionen Deutsche – folgen nach!
> Oestreich voran! — Nur einig stets und wach![307]

Like "Die Presse Frei!" the poem derives its key terms from a nationalist idiom, and it puts forward vague claims about political rights. The poem makes hardly any concrete mention of the freedom of the press, focusing instead on the virtues of revolutionary action as a means for a return to benevolent rule. Thus, it mixes the rhetoric of republicanism with parochial loyalty. It invokes images of raised flags carried by the masses, marching "arm in arm" toward new

[306] Clara Schumann famously set Lyser's "Lieder eines wandernden Malers" to music.
[307] Johann Peter Lyser. "Ein Frühlingstag vor dem Denkmale des Kaisers Joseph des Zweiten." Österreichische National Bibliothek: "Revolution 1848," Digital Collection, 15126.

victories together with panegyrics to Emperor Joseph II (and Ferdinand) that are callow in tone. "Freedom of expression" and "free speech" are likened to collateral that guarantee a basis on which the legitimacy of a ruler can be judged: "Nie gab's Verrath, wo frei die Rede klang", echoing traditional views of the fourth estate as a system of checks and balances. It is, furthermore, full of direct citation that gives the impression of direct witness to the event, complete with dashes for pauses and exclamation marks for excitement:

> Nun aber stockt der bunte Zug — und „hoch!"
> Und drei Mal „hoch!" tönt's donnernd durch die Lüfte.
> O! Dieser Jubelruf zersprenget Grüfte!
> Wem gilt dies „Hoch!" dies donnernd freud'ge Hoch?
> Blickt hin! **Ihm** gilt's**,** Ihr kennt den Edlen doch,
> Deß großes Herz so schwer das Leben prüfte?—
> Laßt lauter, lauter schallen durch die Lüfte:
> „Dem größten Todten! Kaiser Joseph! Hoch!"[308]

Notwithstanding these rhetorical flourishes, the poem is not a republican anthem of the type that was produced in the French or American revolutions, nor, indeed, representative of February Revolution in France, which occurred only a month before. Instead, it bases the legitimacy of its theory of change on the omniscience and benevolence of an eighteenth-century Emperor. Like the statue that serves as a locus for the poem's action, however, the image given of Joseph II has no depth. He is reduced through direct lineage to a spiritual "grandfather" to Ferdinand, and his enlightenment legacy (a subject that the poem also does not describe at any length) is distorted for the purposes of a German nationalist program. Thus, the poem unwittingly reproduces the same paternalistic arguments that had been made by the censors in their defense of their duties to the literary market, likening the "Volk" of Austria and Germany to the children of the Father Emperor:

> Nimm, Vater Ferdinand, der Deinen Dank!

[308] Ibid.

Ja! **Dein** sind wir! **Fest** magst du auf uns bauen!
Nun wirst ein einig Kaiserreich Du schauen:
Das stark bewahret, was es sich errang.
...

Der Geist, den seine Mitwelt nicht verstand.
Schau Joseph nur Dein Wien im Lichtgewand!
Was du erstrebt, hat siegend dich erneuet!
Dein Volk — es hat's gewagt und nicht bereuet:
Ein freies Volk schützt nun sein freies Land. —[309]

The poem defines freedom in contrast to metaphors of repression: manacles ("*Fessel*"), false counsel ("*eine Macht…die Dich zu lange falsch berathen*"), tyranny, and "crypts" that can be destroyed by joyful outcries ("O*! dieser Jubelruf zerstört die Grüfte*!"). Moreover, the poem's view of freedom is curiously fragile, as it depends both on the superhuman qualities of an exceedingly benevolent emperor (Joseph II or Ferdinand) and the limitless strength of revolutionaries to defend it. This is echoed in the final verse, which represents an indefinite call to action in opposition to the hordes of "repressors" that threaten on the horizon:

Dann soll die junge Freiheit keiner morden,
Und nahten je der Unterdrücker Horden:
Die Schwerter h'raus — den Feinden Tod und Schmach. —[310]

Although Joseph II had resurfaced time and time again in the writings of Biedermeier authors, the invocation of his memory here serves mainly as a pretext to render thanks unto Emperor Ferdinand for his repeal of censorship. This overly devotional gesture might seem strange given the poem's proud declaration that it was the "first censorship free" poem to be published during the uprisings, but the poem suggests that this was a not an uncommon feature of revolutionary rhetoric in these first few days of the March uprisings. Even where the nationalist ideology of pan-Germanism intruded into the landscape of Viennese letters, the world envisioned immediately post-censorship had not much changed, and although "tyranny" in the

[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid.

form of Metternich had been expelled, the relationships of power were also by and large the same.

These three poems disclose different views of freedom and freedom of expression, each deriving its aims and suppositions about the future of the literary public from its unique assessment of the past. In the case of Frankl, that freedom was dependent on the topography of the Viennese Biedermeier with its intersecting interests in maintaining control of the public sphere described in the first and second chapters of this dissertation, and with the efforts of authors, dramatists, and artists to lobby for increased freedom of the press in the literary circles of the 1820s and 1830s. Those circles had not been prepared for the immediate caesura presented by the flight of Metternich, and they therefore reacted to the repeal of censorship with a fresh-faced optimism about their place in posterity. For Gerhard and Lyser, the aims are entirely different, as their world was not shaped by the same culture of the Viennese Biedermeier. Although both advance a view of the future in which German nationalism would play a greater role, Gerhard's vision ascribes greater importance to the free press, drawing connections between the internalization of virtue and the freedom to speak. Finally, Lyser's vision is based less in its assessment of the free press, and more on a fealty to the new Emperor that masquerades under the rhetoric of republicanism.

Notwithstanding the relative limitations of these first efforts, the first "censorship free" days of 1848 represent a unique literary-historical moment in Central Europe: a decisive event in the print media history of the region.[311] While the efforts of authors to write *the* national anthem

[311] More than three hundred periodicals (and eighty-six dailies) sprung into being in the early stages of the 1848 revolutions. Later, Prince Windisch-Grätz made all but the *Wiener Zeitung* illegal with his call for a siege in October of 1848. "In der Habsburgermonarchie war es die Revolution von 1848, die erstmals für kurze Zeit geeignete Rahmenbedingungen für das Entstehen einer räsonierenden Presse schuf." Gabriele Melischek and Josef Seethaler. "Von der Lokalzeitung zur Massenpresse: Zur Entwicklung der Tagespresse im österreichischen Teil der Habsburgermonarchie nach 1848." *Jahrbuch Für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 7 (2005), 56.

of the revolution would be lost to the genre of the "political manifesto," their optimistic belief in the figure of the "free" public intellectual betokens the extent to which they believed that literati were owed a say in the direction and management of the public sphere. Their optimism would find a major opponent in the literary giant of the region, Franz Grillparzer, who viewed the events of 1848 with horror, and whose vision of freedom was grounded in an understanding of both the barriers inherent in the authoritarianism of Biedermeier society as well as in the new challenges presented by crowds and an aesthetics of conformism.

4.2. Freedom to Speak and Jakob as Public Virtuoso: Grillparzer's *Der arme Spielmann*

Grillparzer began work on the novella *Der arme Spielmann* in 1831, publishing it in 1847, one year before the March revolutions. A subtle commentary on the hostile — even antagonistic —relationship of society to artistic inspiration and practice, Grillparzer's story has been of abiding interest for scholars from a range of different disciplines: biographical criticism, structuralism, text-immanent literary criticism, literary history, and musicology.

Through a double frame narrative and a plot structure that has been compared to a symphony for its interwoven and complex organization of the central action, the novella tells the story of a poor street musician, Jakob.[312] The narrator, who is an author, guaranteeing his claim to tell the life-story of his protagonist with the authority of a public intellectual, encounters Jakob at a midsummer festival in Vienna's crowded Prater district. Jakob is a non-professional, passionate amateur musician, whose music is painful for others to listen to. Piqued by Jakob's strange playing, the narrator asks for his address and seeks him out the next day at his apartment. Jakob recounts his life story and how he has fallen into poverty. He lives a solitary existence and

[312] See a detailed discussion of this musical structure in: Ernst Alker. 1926. "Komposition Und Stil von Grillparzers Novelle 'Der arme Spielmann'." *Neophilologus: An International Journal of Modern and Medieval Language and Literature* 11 (1): 15. December 1926: 15-27.

shares a cramped, rented room with two workers (*Handwerksgesellen*). He has, furthermore, lost the woman he loves, Barbara, to marriage to a butcher. After failing to find recognition in Vienna's closed societies, he earns a meager income through playing violin on the street and in public courtyards. A year passes between Jakob's story and the final events of the novella. The narrator returns to the neighborhood where Jakob lives. Spring floods have brought disaster to the city's outlying neighborhoods, and mourners surround Jakob's house. The narrator learns from a neighbor who recognizes him from prior visits that Jakob has died from a flu incurred while rescuing children in the neighborhood from drowning. Jakob's burial is attended by a number of mourners, including Barbara, the butcher, and their children. That Sunday, the narrator returns to the neighborhood to purchase Jakob's violin from Barbara. She refuses to sell him the violin and hides it in a dresser drawer. The novella ends with Barbara turning her face away from the drawer to the narrator, who sees that she is weeping.

The narration of the novella runs along a precise chronology, beginning on a Sunday in midsummer and ending on a Sunday in spring. It draws on both the canonical (Roman) and lunar calendars, reproducing the site of its action in secular and non-secular registers. The Sunday-to-Sunday narration gives the impression of a full revolution, and the framed narration of Jakob's biography coincides with the end of the external narration of the narrator.

Drawing the same references to the canonical and the lunar, the introductory scene of the folk-festival, which celebrates the anniversary of a church consecration shared by the Leopoldstadt and Brigittenau communities in the Prater district, is an unusual fusion of the ancient with the modern. It depicts the bucolic alongside an atmosphere of the "secular" evoked in descriptions of a nascent cityscape with its threatening infrastructure, overflowing crowd, and dangerous traffic:

> An diesem Tage feiert die mit dem Augarten, der Leopoldstadt, dem Prater in ununterbrochener Lustreihe zusammenhängende Brigittenau ihre Kirchweihe. Von Brigittenkirchtag zu Brigittenkirchtag zählt seine guten Tage das arbeitende Volk. Lange erwartet, erscheint endlich das saturnalische Fest. Da entsteht Aufruhr in der gutmütig ruhigen Stadt. Eine wogende Menge erfüllt die Straßen. Geräusch von Fußtritten, Gemurmel von Sprechenden, das hie und da ein lauter Ausruf durchzuckt. Der Unterschied der Stände ist verschwunden, Bürger und Soldat teilt die Bewegung.[313]

Set against the backdrop of a developing modern architecture and the emergence of the working and civil servants' classes, the festival is equalizing without being democratic. Thus, it is a "traffic jam" that brings the cultivated classes (*die Vornehmeren*) into contact with the working classes and not an appeal to solidarity or equality: "Von Sekunde zu Sekunde wird der Abstand zwischen Wagen und Wagen kleiner. Schon mischen sich einzelne Equipagen der Vornehmeren in den oft unterbrochenen Zug."[314] Moreover, the simple attractions of the folk-festival are suffused with a harmonizing pan-religiosity that draws on ancient and modern customs alike, uniting the individuals of the crowd with each other and dissolving their individual borders through mass participation:

> Ich versäume nicht leicht, diesem Feste beizuwohnen. Als ein leidenschaftlicher Liebhaber der Menschen, vorzüglich des Volkes, so daß mir selbst als dramatischen Dichter der rückhaltslose Ausbruch eines überfüllten Schauspielhauses immer zehnmal interessanter, ja belehrender war, als das zusammengeklügelte Urteil eines an Leib und Seele verkrüppelten, von dem Blut ausgesogener Autoren spinnenartig aufgeschwollenen literarischen Matadors; – als ein Liebhaber der Menschen, sage ich, besonders wenn sie in Massen für einige Zeit der einzelnen Zwecke vergessen und sich als Teile des Ganzen fühlen, in dem denn doch zuletzt das Göttliche liegt – als einem solchen ist mir jedes Volksfest ein eigentliches Seelenfest, eine Wallfahrt, eine Andacht.[315]

The revelry of Rome and the sacred mysteries of Ancient Greece are transported via the language of pleasure and merriment into the festivities of a deeply Catholic Vienna. The festival

[313] Franz Grillparzer. *Der arme Spielmann*. *Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann (Vienna, 1909 ff.) Part 1, Vol. 13 (1917), 37. Henceforward referred to as "*AS.*"
[314] *AS*, 38
[315] *AS*, 39.

has a saturnalian character, and the workers, referred to as "hierophants," are transformed into quasi-mystical figures.

The divinity described here draws on figures from antiquity that appear out of place, but are deeply embedded within the narrative perspective of the text. In addition to references to antiquity, the text deploys natural metaphors that evoke an intentionally sublime aesthetic. The awesome power of the working people ("das arbeitende Volk") is likened to streams, currents, tempestuous lakes, and the winding movement of the Danube, which seethes alongside the patter of the feet of the crowd:

> Auch hier siegreich, ziehen endlich zwei Ströme, die alte Donau und die geschwollnere Woge des Volks, sich kreuzend quer unter- und übereinander, die Donau ihrem alten Flußbette nach, der Strom des Volkes, der Eindämmung der Brücke entnommen, ein weiter, tosender See, sich ergießend in alles deckender Überschwemmung.[316]

Recalling the *topos* of the "shipwreck with spectator" passed down from Lucretius to Enlightenment authors, the narrator stakes out "classical ground" from which he can regard this vista: "ich befand mich in der Mitte des Dammes, bereits auf klassischem Boden, nur leider zu stets erneutem Stillestehen, Ausbeugen und Abwarten genötigt. Da war denn Zeit genug, das seitwärts am Wege Befindliche zu betrachten."[317]

The scene of this folk-festival constructs a notion of the "public" that is sublime (strange, awesome, and terrible to behold), but also represents a realistic attitude toward a developing public.[318] The relationship between the sublime and the urban phenomenon of the crowds is amplified by the narrative perspective, which emerges from classical traditions. The ground on

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[316] *AS*, 37.
[317] *AS,* 40.
[318] "*Der arme Spielmann* is marked by objective, unsentimental realism. There is nothing here of the false "romantic" picture of the Vienna of gaiety and music and gracious idleness which the movies of our own curiously sentimental age have fabricated. Grillparzer knew his "Alt-Wien" and its workaday reality as few men did, and for all his kinship with Romanticism he did not romanticize it. He saw its "wretched huts" … its inequities of class and privilege." Walter Silz. *Realism and Reality: Studies in the German Novelle of Poetic Realism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 71.

which the narrator builds his story sets up a triadic relation between the narrator, the protagonist Jakob, and a public "other."

Pleasure is the constitutive factor of this mass event. Speculating as to how a newcomer might react to the crowd phenomenon, the narrator concludes that such a person would be compelled to read its overall design in the ambulatory forces of merriment and desire, which, like a carnal drive, direct its winding path: "Ein neu Hinzugekommener fände die Zeichen bedenklich. Es ist aber der Aufruhr der Freude, die Losgebundenheit der Lust."[319]

The locus of this Viennese scene, the Prater, is chosen for its longstanding reputation in the Viennese cultural imagination as a site of desire (a "Lustort"). Once the imperial hunting grounds, the Prater was transformed into the city's site of public leisure after Joseph II opened it to the public in 1766. It is the ideal site for anthropological observation, representing a gallery of Viennese society, while also the only imaginable landscape in which the "Volk" can collide with such force with incipient social habits of pleasure-seeking. The "classical grounds" the narrator references emerge not only as a projection into an aestheticized past, or a vantage point from which to observe the crowds in action. Rather, they also represent a safe territory that is removed from desire:

> Schon waren die Hauptschwierigkeiten der Wanderung überwunden, und ich befand mich bereits am Ende des Augartens, die ersehnte Brigittenau hart vor mir liegend. Hier ist nun noch ein, wenngleich der letzte Kampf zu bestehen. Ein schmaler Damm, zwischen undurchdringlichen Befriedungen hindurchlaufend, bildet die einzige Verbindung der beiden Lustorte, deren gemeinschaftliche Grenze ein in der Mitte befindliches hölzernes Gittertor bezeichnet.[320]

The narrator's position in the novella is established as a neutral observer whose capacity for Spartan self-denial puts him in the "middle" of these two sites of pleasure and leisure. His path through the crowds is marked with the effort to overcome any urge to indulge primary desires

[319] *AS*, 37.
[320] *AS*, 39-40.

("hindurchlaufend … zwischen Befriedungen"). These efforts further set him apart from the "Volk." Unlike the "Volk" of "Die Presse frei!" which invokes a Germanic nationalist ideology that is altogether foreign to Grillparzer's novella (along with his other writings), and equally removed from the massive insurgencies lionized in the anthems of 1848, the "Volk" of this novella's first scene is not the revolutionary body. Instead, it represents an incipient consumer audience against which the protagonist Jakob struggles to define himself. [321]

This intersection of "pleasure" as a powerful social motivator with the phenomenon of the gathering crowds observed by the aloof narrator in these introductory passages introduces the essential tension underlying the triadic relationship in the novella: the tension between art as tradition and art for consumption. Across the nineteenth century, this tension resurfaced in many literary works across Europe—both Romantic and realist. In his groundbreaking book on the relationship of economic and social life to cultural imagination, Raymond Williams describes the indignant reaction of nineteenth century authors to the notion that art should be in the service of a public and, through analysis of a cross-section of English writers, shows how they argued for art to be considered as a kind of "imaginative truth," where the artist becomes a "special kind of person."[322]

Thus, the critical question that should be asked about the protagonist Jakob is what kind of a "special" person is he? This question investigates the relationships that he forms to others.

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[321] Drawing from historical and biographical data indicating when these scenes were written, Thomas Baltensweiser makes a case for the influence of the Paris July Revolution on Grillparzer while he writing the July festival scene. The argument does not contradict the one I am making, although the emphasis I make is directed towards the question of aesthetic consumption and not political energy: "Doch der Brigittenkirchtag liegt im Juli, und daraus ergibt sich ein direkter Bezug zur Revolution von 1830 … das wilde Treiben des Volkes zeigt die Aushöhlung der Tradition an." Thomas Baltensweiser. "Zu den politisch-sozialen Verweisen des Rahmens von Grillparzers "Der Arme Spielmann"." *Colloquia Germanica* 32, no. 4 (1999), 302.

[322] "Alongside the rejection of the Public and of Popularity as standards of worth, increasing complaint was made that literature had become a trade. The two things, in fact, were normally treated together […] It is a fact that in this same period in which the market and the idea of specialist production received increasing emphasis there grew up, also, a system of thinking about the arts of which the most important elements are, first, an emphasis on the special nature of art-activity as means to "imaginative truth," and second an emphasis on the artist as a special kind of person." Raymond Williams. *Culture and Society* (London: Vintage, 2017), 55-56

Embedded within these relationships is an idea about the role of art and the artist in the expanding new literary public that Grillparzer describes.

The first sentence uttered by Jakob in the novella is a line from Horace: "Sunt certi denique fines" ("there are certain limits").[323] It gives a shrewd first impression of him as a member of a class that has internalized tradition through classical education and as a performer aware of the limits imposed on art by the external pressures of earning money. Jakob utters the quotation at the folk-festival after realizing that the hat that he is using as a collection box is empty:

> Er spielte noch eine Weile fort. Endlich hielt er ein, blickte, wie aus einer langen Abwesenheit zu sich gekommen, nach dem Firmament, das schon die Spuren des nahenden Abends zu zeigen anfing; darauf abwärts in seinen Hut, fand ihn leer, setzte ihn mit ungetrübter Heiterkeit auf, steckte den Geigenbogen zwischen die Saiten; »sunt certi denique fines«, sagte er, ergriff sein Notenpult und arbeitete sich mühsam durch die dem Feste zuströmende Menge in entgegengesetzter Richtung, als einer der heimkehrt.[324]

The quotation also foreshadows a critical event in the novella's narration, where Jakob is condemned by his father to be a beggar after failing to correctly complete a citation from the same Roman poet in a school examination. These so-called limits represent the ways in which Jakob is ensnared by injunctions on his person, especially with regard to musical expression.

Driven by an anthropological appetite, the narrator describes himself as an author with a passion for people, particularly the crowds. He contrasts himself with "Romantic" authors, whose view of human nature is limited by the bounded emotional reservoir of the individual:

> … mir war der rückhaltslose Ausbruch eines überfüllten Schauspielhauses immer zehnmal interessanter, ja belehrender …,als das zusammengeklügelte Urteil eines an Leib und Seele verkrüppelten, von dem Blut ausgesogener Autoren spinnenartig

[323] The full quotation in Latin comes from Horace's Satires I.I.: "Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum." Trnsl.: "Let there be a measure in all things. In short, there are set limits beyond which, and short of which, the just man cannot remain." Horace; Alexander, Sidney, trnsl. *The Complete Odes and Satires of Horace* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 194.11-13.
[324] *AS*, 41.

aufgeschwollenen literarischen Matadors.[325]

Thus, the novella sets up an unrealistic expectation through its aloof narrator whose indifference to the fate of solitary individuals suggests that the novella will be about the pleasure seekers at the festival. That expectation is, nevertheless, undermined by his selection of a protagonist in Jakob, who is sought out precisely for his non-conformity and who, while not physically striking, is distinguished by his education and unique comportment. The other musicians, all physically encumbered in some way — a harpist with "widerlich starrenden Augen," an old invalid with a peg leg, and a young lame boy — vanish once the narrator's gaze alights on Jakob.[326] Unlike the others, he does not bear the physical marks of his poverty, but is a man around the age of seventy, small in stature, with drab (but clean) clothing: "ein alter, leicht siebzigjähriger Mann in einem faden scheinigen, aber nicht unreinlichen Moltonüberrock."[327] Later, the narrator observes the same contradiction in his living style when he visits him in his living quarters, which he shares with manual workers. The room is divided into two parts. Jakob's area is kept fastidiously clean, while the area shared by the two laymen is filthy. This distinction between poverty as a condition into which one is born and poverty as an accident of fate — a thing that happens to you —is kept relevant throughout with the intention of marking Jakob out as a special outsider.

Jakob is, further, distinguished among the crowd by his esoteric playing style. He makes no attempt to please his audiences, playing rather for himself. Asked by the narrator why he refuses a group of young boys a waltz tune they request, he counters that he was indeed playing a waltz, but that the children have no ear for music. Shaking his head regretfully, he acknowledges the pressures of the external market embodied by the fickle wishes of his public: "Ich spielte

[325] *AS*, 39.
[326] *AS*, 40.
[327] *AS,* 40.

einen Walzer … man muß derlei auch führen, der Menge wegen. Aber die Kinder haben kein Ohr, sagte er, indem er wehmütig den Kopf schüttelte."[328]

Jakob's countenance beams with solitary contentment and self-congratulation: "sich selbst Beifall gebender Miene." Physically, Jakob embodies his own (imaginary) audience, and his playing has absorbed the gestural qualities of the spectator. His figure reflects these efforts and his stooped frame contorts with the strain to keep a simple rhythm to his playing:

> und so bearbeitete er eine alte vielzersprungene Violine, wobei er den Takt nicht nur durch Aufheben und Niedersetzen des Fußes, sondern zugleich durch übereinstimmende Bewegung des ganzen gebückten Körpers markierte.[329]

Like his "*vielzersprungen*" instrument, the rhythm and melody of Jakob's playing are out of joint: "Aber all diese Bemühung, Einheit in seine Leistung zu bringen, war fruchtlos, denn was er spielte, schien eine unzusammenhängende Folge von Tönen ohne Zeitmaß und Melodie."[330] In contrast to the other players, who have memorized popular tunes by heart, Jakob reads music from a music stand. Jakob's musical stand is in disarray, and the sheet music is blotted and stained:

> Denn indes alle andern, ungleich mehr zu Dank spielenden Musiker sich auf ihr Gedächtnis verließen, hatte der alte Mann mitten in dem Gewühle ein kleines, leicht tragbares Pult vor sich hingestellt mit schmutzigen, zergriffenen Noten, die das in schönster Ordnung enthalten mochten, was er so außer allem Zusammenhange zu hören gab.[331]

Given the misunderstandings surrounding Jakob's performance alongside the incident of the waltz, criticism has largely focused on the comical aspects of Jakob's introduction. This is underlined by descriptions of Jakob's fussiness, his shabby violin, and the strange figure he cuts in the crowd of ragtag musicians. Such a reading, however, also invests the "crowds" —in

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[328] *AS*, 42.
[329] *AS*, 40-41.
[330] *AS,* 41.
[331] *AS, 41.*

alignment with the narrator — with credible authority over music, prioritizing their standards over Jakob's in order to safely place him in the role of the educated fool: a pedantic know-it-all who is "out of touch" with reality. However, Jakob avers that it is not he who fails to play properly, but rather that the fault lies with his public and the people around him, who "have no ear" for music, confessing that musicians like himself must remain misunderstood to the public.

The narrator's observations on Jakob's performance, i.e. his lack of rhythm and melody, his overly lively playing style, and the incongruity of sheet and notated music at a festival, neither confirm nor disprove Jakob's account that he was playing a waltz which his public couldn't understand. It is, moreover, not possible to judge Jakob's performance on the basis of the facts given by the narrator. The narrator's own claim to objectivity is secured only through the occupation of a neutral territory ("klassischer Boden") that puts him at a critical distance from the masses, but whose normative conception of musical aesthetics contravenes Jakob's own musical philosophy. Thus there are three mutually possible conclusions that one can draw about his waltz: a) Jakob plays a waltz that pleases him, but which is displeasing to his audience b) Jakob plays a waltz, which the narrator cannot recognize as such based on the formal features of the dance c) The public rejects Jakob's "waltz" as a waltz, because they do not like it (it does not conform to popular standards).

Leaving aside the question of the waltz and whether or not the music Jakob plays can be classified as one, his performance illustrates the difficulties of communication between the public and the artist and puts forward three conflicting perspectives on aesthetic practice: the idealist theory embodied by the narrator in which artistic expression is judged according to its ability to live up to its "idea," a popular theory represented by the boys who ask for a waltz with its dictum that art should please the majority, and Jakob's own argument that artistic practice

should be independent of both constraints. The conflict between these three perspectives puts the narrator's own normative judgments into question.

Although Jakob's repudiation might be seen as an application of a solipsistic strand of the philosophy of "l'art pour l'art," the following pages will show that his playing and his actions do not merely represent a "flight into himself," or expose his deafness to his public. Rather, they constitute defiance in the face of external prohibitions.

Jakob's life story is beset with hardship. It is defined by a contingency that is almost Baroque in nature. Asked by the narrator to relate how he became a poor musician, he responds that he has no history and no control over his own affairs: "»Geschichte?« wiederholte er. »Ich habe keine Geschichte. Heute wie gestern, und morgen wie heute. Übermorgen freilich und weiter hinaus, wer kann das wissen? Doch Gott wird sorgen, der weiß es.«" [332] Despite the stoicism that Jakob accepts as a governing philosophy of his life, he successfully relates his story to the narrator, which emerges in four distinct parts: a brutal childhood, a "coming of age" he experiences through musical imagination, a romantic encounter that is framed through the medium of song, and his final days as a poor musician. In the end, Jakob arrives at a point in his story where the narrator first meets him: as a musician who defies both popular and classical standards and appears less the object of arbitrary destiny than he does a hero.

The first part begins in his childhood and ends with the failure of a school examination — a threshold that conventionally marked the end of childhood for aspirational members of the bourgeois-liberal class of Habsburg civil servants. It is defined largely by the humiliations he suffers at the hands of his father and his two brothers.[333] Less a childhood and more an allegory

[332] *AS*, 50.
[333] This is reflected in a number of memoirs published during the period that conventionally begin with an account of their struggles in school. For two examples, see the chapters on "Jugenderinnerungen" in: Eduard Bauernfeld. *Aus*

of the difficulties of life at the bottom rung of the Habsburg civil service, the three of them represent the intrusion of the state into Jakob's private life, particularly in the sphere of musical (or free) expression.[334] Recounting one of his childhood's formative events, Jakob relates how his first attempts to play violin are thwarted by his brothers, who declare his playing grating on their ears and take away his violin from him:

> So hatten sie mir die Musik, die jetzt die Freude und zugleich der Stab meines Lebens ist, geradezu verhaßt gemacht. Wenn ich abends im Zwielicht die Violine ergriff, um mich nach meiner Art ohne Noten zu vergnügen, nahmen sie mir das Instrument und sagten, das verdirbt die Applikatur, klagten über Ohrfolter und verwiesen mich auf die Lehrstunde, wo die Folter für mich anging. Ich habe zeitlebens nichts und niemand so gehaßt, wie ich damals die Geige haßte.[335]

This anecdote suggests a strong kinship between the disciplinary musical "education" to which Jakob is subjected and the regulatory authority embodied by the bureaucracies of state censorship. That authority is not merely a sinister backdrop to *Der arme Spielmann*, but was an active economic and social factor that conditioned its writing in a materialist sense. The internalization of hatred and guilt that follow the injunctions to play "correctly," lest he be deprived of the instrument with which to play, further illustrates the well-known psychological dimensions of censorship, which necessitates self-censorship to prop up its external mechanisms. Jakob's struggle with the limits of music-making, thus, begins not where it ends when he is introduced in the novella, but rather with the well-defined limits that define state censorship and its exercise of power over an individual.

Alt- und Neu-Wien. Memoiren um 1900 (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1873), 19-31; Ignaz Franz Castelli. *Memoiren meines Lebens: Gefundenes und Empfundenes, Erlebtes und Erstrebtes* (Munich: Georg Müller), 1913.

[334] Dagmar Lorenz sees this as a problem of development in the character of Jakob, observing that he is stunted by a nuclear family that has introjected the authoritarian structure of the social world around him: "Jakob überlebt seinen mächtigen Vater und seine tatendurstigen Brüder, aber er kann sich weder beruflich noch persönlich entfalten, obwohl er ihrem unmittelbaren Einfluß entronnen ist, da die autoritären Strukturen der Familie in der Gesellschaft reflektiert sind." Dagmar Lorenz. "Franz Grillparzer und die alten und neuen Ordnungen." *Modern Austrian Literature* 28, no. 3/4 (1995), 31.

[335] *AS*, 51.

The parallels between state power, censorship, and Jakob's family life are made more conspicuous in this first part of the framed narrative through the scene of the failed school examination. The failure precipitates Jakob's forced withdrawal from school and his spiritual eviction from the family. As discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, censorship philosophy was conceived by those writing state doctrine as a wide-reaching educational project to measure and monitor the effect of writings on the Empire's expanding readership and to prevent "pernicious" (unwholesome, or merely flawed) texts from making their way into the public. That image of the public was, moreover, reproduced in paternalistic terms that placed the Emperor at the head of all censorship matters and gave him the power to intercede in the censors' deliberations, granting him the final authority to censor (or pardon) a text. For Jakob, school and classical learning resemble these limits, and his father exercises the same veto power over his person, rendering him silent.

The connection between Jakob's father and the state is explicit, given his position as an influential "Hofrat": "Hier nannte er den Namen eines Staatsmannes, der in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts unter dem bescheidenen Titel eines Bureauchefs einen ungeheuren, beinahe Minister-ähnlichen Einfluß ausgeübt hatte."[336] It is, therefore, not surprising that it is Jakob's father who stops a failed examination in its tracks, delivering with his interruption the final judgment of failure and casting Jakob out with a prophetic pronunciation that condemns him to poverty: "Ce gueux schalt er mich, was ich damals nicht war, aber jetzt bin. Die Eltern prophezeien, wenn sie reden!"[337] The father's presence at the examination is a further sign of the reach of his power, as it represents an attempt by the educational institution to mollify him. He brings the full weight of scornful judgment down on his son, deflecting the well-meaning efforts

[336] *AS,* 50-51.
[337] *AS*, 52.

of an unscrupulous schoolteacher who attempts to assist Jakob with the missing word from the passage from Horace:

> Endlich gab eine öffentliche Schulprüfung, der man, um ihn zu begütigen, meinen Vater beizuwohnen beredet hatte, den Ausschlag. Ein unredlicher Lehrer bestimmte im voraus, was er mich fragen werde, und so ging alles vor trefflich. Endlich aber fehlte mir, es waren auswendig zusagende Verse des Horaz – ein Wort. Mein Lehrer, der kopfnickend und meinen Vater anlächelnd zugehört hatte, kam meinem Stocken zu Hilfe und flüsterte es mir zu. Ich aber, der das Wort in meinem Innern und im Zusammenhange mit dem übrigen suchte, hörte ihn nicht. Er wiederholte es mehrere Male, umsonst. Endlich verlor mein Vater die Geduld. Cachinnum! (so hieß das Wort), schrie er mir donnernd zu. Nun wars geschehen.[338]

"Cachinnum," the Latin accusative singular for "cachinnus" or loud laughter, echoes the derisive upbringing that characterizes Jakob's uncanny childhood.[339] The first segment of Jakob's self-narration thus concludes with an exploration of the ireful limits embodied by the father and his two brothers.

Throughout the first part of the narrated autobiography in the framed narrative, Jakob reacts by not playing music at all. His brothers, who emblematize the virtues of the upwardly mobile bourgeois class, drive him away from performing by inflicting musical education as an instrument of repression on him. His resulting silence extends, moreover, to speech.[340] Although he privately harbors the desire to escape school and enter into a practical trade (as a lathe operator or a typesetter), he does not speak up for himself: "Ich wagte nicht zu sagen, wie glücklich mich das gemacht hätte."[341] His overall abjection is realized in an image of literal

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[338] *AS,* 53.
[339] The citation most likely comes from Horace's *Ars Poetica* in a section relating to decorum: "Si dicenti erunt absona dicta, Romani tollunt equites peditesque cachinnum": "If the speaker's word sound discordant with his fortunes, the Romans, in boxes and pit alike, will raise a loud guffaw." Horace, trnsl. H. Rushton Fairclough. *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936): lines 112-113, 459.
[340] I am supported in my reading by David J. Levin's persuasive essay on the discourse on language and its relationship to music in *Der arme Spielmann*. He notes that "perceived inadequacy of verbal language" was directly related to the elevation of music as a more "truer, and more direct language" See: David Levin. "The tone of truth? Music as counter-discourse in Der Arme Spielmann." Grillparzer's Der arme Spielmann: *New Directions in Criticism*, ed. Clifford Albrecht Bernd (Columbia: Camden House, 1988), 289.
[341] *AS*, 51.

debasement, which is met with a physical rebuke from his father:"Alle Mühe, mich auf die rechte Bahn zu bringen, war verloren. Ich mußte mit Schande aufstehen, und als ich, der Gewohnheit nach, hinging, meinem Vater die Hand zu küssen, stieß er mich zurück …".[342] In short, he is the perfectly censored subject: mute, repressed, and abject.

However, Jakob does not remain dumbstruck long. The second part of the framed narration, which largely recounts Jakob's first encounter with Barbara, brings about a renaissance in his musical life that results in an outpouring of speech. Driven out of the bosom of the family after the failed examination, Jakob is relegated to the status of servant in the home. He is moved to the back of the house, and he retains all communication from his father via his private secretary. Jakob resolves to substitute his lack of talent with industry in learning. He spends his days after the examination reciting Latin backwards and forwards: "Ich tat den ganzen Tag nichts, als weinen und dazwischen jene lateinischen Verse rezitieren, die ich nun aufs und wußte, mit den vorhergehenden und nachfolgenden dazu."[343] These learning exercises mimic the first stages of language acquisition, realized via practice in verbalization. They are further amplified by his new position (attained via his father) as an office copyist. The manual transcription of words, much like the rote memorization of Latin, introduces him to the first stages of language formation in which individual words are uttered (but not yet fully grasped). Nevertheless, these words do not make him an "initiate" in the domain of language and he is far from finding himself within the reach of virtuosic musical expression:

> Ich kam nun in die Kanzlei unter die Abschreiber. Da war ich recht an meinem Platze. Ich hatte immer das Schreiben mit Lust getrieben, und noch jetzt weiß ich mir keine angenehmere Unterhaltung, als mit guter Tinte auf gutem Papier Haar- und Schattenstriche aneinander zu fügen zu Worten oder auch nur zu Buchstaben. Musiknoten sind nun gar überaus schön. Damals dachte ich aber noch an keine Musik.[344]

[342] *AS,* 52.
[343] *AS*, 52.
[344] *AS*, 53.

Jakob's mastery over language is finally achieved with the introduction of Barbara to the novella. Jakob hears her singing, which reactivates his interest in music. Not only does she change the course of Jakob's life, the introduction of her character causes Jakob to change his narratological philosophy in his narration. He reverses his own initial position to the narrator, namely that he is ahistorical (without a story): "Um diese Zeit – Sieh nur«, unterbrach er sich, »es gibt denn doch eine Art. Erzählen wir die Geschichte!" Through Barbara and, more specifically, through the access that she provides him to music, he is granted the agency of a sovereign subject with mastery over his own story. This change coincides with the formal expulsion from his father's house:

> Um diese Zeit ereigneten sich zwei Begebenheiten: die traurigste und die freudigste meines Lebens. Meine Entfernung aus dem väterlichen Hause nämlich und das Wiederkehren zur holden Tonkunst, zu meiner Violine, die mir treu geblieben ist bis auf diesen Tag.[345]

It is no accident that the happiest day of his life is only possible through his "removal from his father's house," since his father represents a limit beyond which expression of any kind is impossible. That removal further reinforces the strong connection made between the abuse of paternal power and its noxious effect on imaginative artistic practice.

Jakob's romantic desire for Barbara is less the result of a physical attraction than it is the rekindling of his faith in music and musical imagination that she inspires. Before glimpsing her, Jakob hears her singing songs in a neighboring courtyard. Particularly drawn to one song, he tries to reproduce it for the narrator, asserting that "words" often interfere with the musical message: "Wie ich denn überhaupt glaube, die Worte verderben die Musik."[346] Jakob's assertion that music is superior to language is not surprising, given his inadequacies in verbalization (as

[345] *AS*, 53.
[346] *AS*, 54.

evident in his recitation of Latin) and the fear induced in him by his father, whose interdictions constitute an absolute legislation of Jakob's person in every sense. The sound of Barbara's song brings about, however, a complete transformation in Jakob's confidence about music. Once an instrument of "torture" and a hated object, his violin now appears as a weapon (Rüststück), paralleling his transformation out of submission into an active and self-possessed protagonist, a fact that is echoed in his reassurances to the narrator that he not "without a history."

After Barbara's introduction, Jakob begins to play music for himself for the first time in the novella. The first scene of his playing unfolds a process of anagnorisis: a dramatization of recognition, or a passage from ignorance to knowledge. More than just a passage from ignorance to knowledge, or from muteness to language, however, it effectively liberates him from a tyrannical, legislating father:

> Da fiel mir meine Geige in die Augen, die aus meiner Jugend her, wie ein altes Rüststück, ungebraucht an der Wand hing. Ich griff darnach, und—es mochte sie wohl der Bediente in meiner Abwesenheit benützt haben—sie fand sich richtig gestimmt. Als ich nun mit dem Bogen über die Saiten fuhr, Herr, da war es, als ob Gottes Finger mich angerührt hätte. Der Ton drang in mein Inneres hinein und aus dem Innern wieder heraus. Die Luft um mich war wie geschwängert mit Trunkenheit. Das Lied unten im Hofe und die Töne von meinen Fingern an mein Ohr, Mitbewohner meiner Einsamkeit. Ich fiel auf die Knie und betete laut und konnte nicht begreifen, daß ich das holde Gotteswesen einmal gering geschätzt, ja gehaßt in meiner Kindheit, und küßte die Violine und drückte sie an mein Herz und spielte wieder und fort.[347]

The process of anagnorisis unfolds through an interaction of Jakob's senses. It bears strong resemblance not to conversion, but to an epiphanic experience, where each step is accompanied by a revitalization of another sense. Hearing Barbara's music is thus almost invisibly connected to the sudden apparition of the violin. Reaching for the violin (a haptic act), Jakob finds it tuned. Like the instrument that Jakob plays, he himself is an instrument of God. Touching the violin and being touched by God sets off a mechanism resembling an acoustic wave, where the sound

[347] *AS,* 54.

penetrates from outside to emerge again from within. Jakob's new imaginative fecundity is brought about by the commingling of Barbara's music with Jakob's playing, reinforced through the description of the air that is "impregnated with intoxication" ("*geschwängert mit Trunkenheit*"). After playing, Jakob drops to his knees and begins to utter words of prayer. This scene represents the first moment in the framed narrative in which Jakob produces something akin to original speech.

With his epiphany, Jakob's life is changed unalterably. He begins to play music, pursue a life outside of the confines of his father's home, and act without regard to his father's wishes. This scene pierces the veil of Jakob's imagination and activates his creative faculties (as imperfect as they are). His newly rediscovered passion for music and for playing the violin diminishes the power that his father holds over him. Later, when Jakob seeks out the company of Barbara at her venal father's shop, he is barely able to state his father's name, even though he stands to benefit from the relation:

> Ich bin der Sohn des Hofrats, sagte ich, leise, als ob's eine Lüge wäre…Der Herr Hofrat—der Herr Sohn, wollt' ich sagen, praktizieren also auch die Musik? Singen vielleicht, wie meine Tochter, oder vielmehr ganz anders, nach Noten, nach der Kunst? Ich erklärte ihm, daß ich von Natur keine Stimme hätte. Oder schlagen Klavizimbel, wie die vornehmen Leute zu tun pflegen? Ich sagte, daß ich die Geige spiele.[348]

Jakob's transformation is imbued with the prodigious implications of "destiny" or "fate." Although it is structured as a *deus ex machina*, the turning point represented by Barbara's singing in the novella has little to do with an authoritarian divine presence, or divine intervention, and more to do with the liberation of Jakob's fantasy. In an essay written around the autumn of 1817 entitled "Über das Fatum," which clarified his view on the formal role of destiny in tragedy in the secular age and was written as a response to his critics' reception of his first drama *Die Ahnfrau*, Grillparzer writes that the tragedians of Ancient Greece interpreted destiny

[348] *AS,* 62.

in three ways: destiny as natural necessity (Naturnotwendigkeit), destiny as punitive justice (strafende Weltgerechtigkeit), and destiny as hostile intervention (feindselig einwirkende Macht).[349] They understood destiny as a necessary precondition of a divine system (Göttersystem), or as an unknown quantity = x, which underpinned the entirety of the moral universe: "eine unbekannte Größe =x, die den Erscheinungen der moralischen Welt zu Grunde liegt."[350] By contrast, Grillparzer notes that destiny does not reveal itself in modern drama through the intervention of a Christian God into the dramatic action, but rather through the actions of characters themselves:

> hier liegt es in der Macht des Dichters ihre Charaktere so zu stellen, den Sturm ihrer Leidenschaften so zu lenken, daß die Idee des Schicksals in ihnen entstehen muß. Wie das Wort ausgesprochen, oder die Idee rege gemacht worden ist, schlägt ein Blitz in die Seele des Zusehers.[351]

Grillparzer's Christian God is an omniscient creator. A God of the post-Kantian world, He is remote and represents the absolute limit of all that is knowable ("Wir kennen Gott als den letzten Ring in der Kette der Dinge, aber die Mittelglieder fehlen, und gerade eine Reihe sucht der Verstand").[352] Without God's direct mediation, Grillparzer argues that human reason and fantasy are the sources of "fate" in prose (where, he argues, it is the author's own opinions that appear as God's intervention) and drama. When reason reaches its limits, fantasy takes over: "Hat er [der Verstand] sich hier eine Weile vergebens abgemattet, so bricht die Phantasie …und verknüpft die hier und dort sichtbaren Ringe der in Dunkel gehüllten Kette mit ihrem Bande und — nihil novi in mundo!" Fate, for Grillparzer, is a premonition that reveals itself through plot, through the

[349] Franz Grillparzer. "Über das Fatum." *Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann (Vienna, 1909 ff.) Part 1, Vol. 14 (1917), 15.
[350] Ibid, 16.
[351] Ibid, 18.
[352] Ibid, 16.

agitations and movement of dramatic characters. [353] Representing a storm of passions, Jakob's passionate musical performance is, thus, not simply the casting off of one father for a new one, i.e. the patronage of a new spiritual father (in God), but is rather won through independence from both fathers — his own and God.

This question of destiny and its relationship to fantasy is compounded in the third part of the framed narrative. The third installment of Jakob's story is a quick succession of losses and gains that are epitomized in the prophetic sentence: "Das Glück unseres Hauses ging abwärts."[354] Jakob's youngest brother loses a bet in the army for which he pays with his life. His older brother flees the country after facing a criminal inquiry, and his father suddenly suffers a stroke and dies. Although Jakob is first afflicted with guilt about these events, reproaching himself with fratricide and avoiding his father's home ("Die väterliche Wohnung war mir dabei ein Schreckbild"), he quickly resolves those feelings. After inheriting the entire estate left by his father and on the advice of Barbara's father, Jakob puts his money in the hands of his father's secretary, who invests in a scrivener's office — "Auskunfts-, Kopier- und Übersetzungs-Comptoir —placing Jakob at the head of the enterprise. With a new position in life secured and the tyrannical father finally removed from his life, Jakob is, for the first time in his life, a "man": "Die Sache war abgetan und ich fühlte mich erleichtert, erhoben, zum ersten Male in meinem Leben selbständig, ein Mann."[355] These successes are, nevertheless, quickly turned into losses after Jakob learns that his secretary has placed bad investments, which cost Jakob almost the entirety of the fortune he has inherited. With the prospects of his wealth and influence gone, Barbara's father turns away from Jakob as a romantic prospect and she marries a butcher in another city, leaving Jakob to a solitary life as a beggar musician.

[353] Ibid, 17.
[354] *AS*, 64.
[355] *AS*, 66.

There is much that could be discussed in these passages of the framed narrative, in which events proceed with astonishing speed and the peripatetic course of the plot seems completely out of Jakob's control, giving the impression of a character drowning at sea. Indeed, the gambling away of Jakob's fortune by his father's secretary is evocative of a historically specific nineteenth century fixation on the "lottery" as a vehicle of destiny.[356] Nevertheless, Jakob is very much in control of one aspect of his destiny: his keen, yet utterly idiosyncratic and irreverent musical imagination, embedded in his romance with Barbara, which achieves a final "climax" in this phase of the narration. That romance and hits climactic moment is, again, disclosed through the medium of song.

Jakob finds Barbara in her father's shop. She is singing the song that he first heard from the courtyard: "—Es war das Lied, mein Lied!" The song transports him into fantasy — "Mir war, als ginge ich auf grünen Wiesen" — and he approaches her to embrace her: "Da konnte ich mich nicht mehr halten und faßte mit beiden Händen ihren in der Mitte nach vorn strebenden und mit den Schultern gegen mich gesenkten Leib."[357] Surprised, Barbara turns around and strikes him. Then, regretting her rebuke, she caresses him and kisses him:

> Ich stand wie vom Donner getroffen. Die Lichter tanzten mir vor den Augen.—Aber es waren Himmelslichter. Wie Sonne, Mond und Sterne; wie die Engelein, die Versteckens spielen und dazu singen. Ich hatte Erscheinungen, ich war verzückt. Sie aber, kaum minder erschrocken als ich, fuhr mit ihrer Hand wie begütigend über die geschlagene Stelle. Es mag wohl zu stark ausgefallen sein, sagte sie, und—wie ein zweiter Blitzstrahl—fühlte ich plötzlich ihren warmen Atem auf meiner Wange und ihre zwei Lippen, und sie küßte mich.[358]

This scene mirrors the scene of the courtyard singing, where Jakob emerges from his pre-verbal state of mechanical recitation into a state of full adulthood, realized through his playing. In that

[356] This motif found its perhaps most perfect expression in the opening scene of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* Eliot's novel famously begins with an iconic scene with Gwendolen Harleth losing all her winnings in a game of roulette. The scene foreshadows the loss of all her family's capital resulting from a risky investment.
[357] *AS*, 68.
[358] *AS,* 69.

scene, God's caress is returned with Jakob's caress of his violin, whereas, in this scene, Jakob returns her kiss, falling upon her and, when she shies away, kisses her through a screen behind which she hides:

> Was nun weiter geschah, weiß ich nicht", fuhr er fort. "Nur daß ich auf sie losstürzte und sie in die Wohnstube lief und die Glastüre zuhielt, während ich von der andern Seite nachdrängte. Wie sie nun zusammengekrümmt und mit aller Macht sich entgegenstemmend gleichsam an dem Türfenster klebte, nahm ich mir ein Herz, verehrtester Herr, und gab ihr ihren Kuß heftig zurück, durch das Glas.[359]

The thunderbolts, which are unambiguous metaphors of fate, are also metaphors of communication, representing the physical immediacy of "contact" that constitutes successful and meaningful exchange. Barbara's embrace and her tenderness suggest a reciprocity that is the counter-image to the scene of his father's abject rebuke in the examination. Although the prospects of a happy marriage are doomed by the loss of Jakob's fortune, their mutual connection, which is reinforced in this scene of the kiss and couched in a shared musical imagination, is a victory of sorts for Jakob. That victory is carried forward through the end of the novella in Jakob's hard-won independence from his family and in a stubborn assertion of his musical imagination, for which, as observed in his performance at the folk-festival, he makes no concessions.

At the conclusion of his story to the narrator —the fourth and final installment of the framed narrative — Jakob has fully accepted his lot. He accepts his secretary's bad investments, as well as the end of his prospects of happy marriage to the woman he loves. Many have read his stoicism as a sign of "fatalistic resignation" to a brutal world over which he has no control. Those readings differ slightly in their interpretations of fate, but, they all construe fate as either a symbol of authoritarian rule, or stress the dramatic mechanism of divine intervention over which the novella's characters have no control, pointing to the powerlessness of Jakob as a character. I

[359] *AS,* 69.

have shown, however, that "fate" plays a much different role in this novella and that to properly understand it is to look beyond the inevitability of external injunction to the actions of characters themselves. This means looking at Jakob as a character whose relationship to music constitutes an imaginative exploration of the world, and whose transition out of muteness into language — from silent terror to joyful playing — represents a successful attempt at self-emancipation through artistic expression. That Grillparzer would, moreover, choose to pin these achievements on a character that, admittedly, is so far lacking in musical genius is an indication of the extent to which he saw a "universality" in aspirations to self-emancipation through art and artistic practice.

Thus, although he freely admits to feeling "downcast," or unhappy about turns of events in his life, Jakob is not a powerless protagonist, but rather a self-proclaimed "virtuoso" of the public sphere. With characteristic generosity, he even notes his relief at his separation from Barbara, whose marriage to the butcher guarantees her safe harbor in life: "Da kam eine selige Empfindung über mich. Daß sie nun alles Kummers los war, Frau im eigenen Hause, und nicht nötig hatte, wie wenn sie ihre Tage an einen Herd- und Heimatlosen geknüpft hätte."[360] Jakob's acceptance of his lot is not based in the submission to the rule of others, but rather in his joy at finally being able to become the thing he desires most: a musician. He does not even despair at his eviction from the cultivated circles, noting that all virtuosos earn some form of money from their audience:

> Wie es nun mit mir immer mehr herabkam, beschloß ich durch Musik mein Fortkommen zu suchen; und solange der Rest meines Geldes währte, übte und studierte ich mir die Werke großer Meister, vorzüglich der alten, ein, welche ich abschrieb; und als nun der letzte Groschen ausgegeben war, schickte ich mich an, von meinen Kenntnissen Vorteil zu ziehen, und zwar anfangs in geschlossenen Gesellschaften, wozu ein Gastgebot im Hause meiner Mietfrau den ersten Anlaß gab. Als aber die von mir vorgetragenen Kompositionen dort keinen Anklang fanden, stellte ich mich in die Höfe der Häuser, da

[360] *AS*, 76.

> unter so vielen Bewohnern doch einige sein mochten, die das Ernste zu schätzen wußten—ja endlich auf die öffentlichen Spaziergänge, wo ich denn wirklich die Befriedigung hatte, daß einzelne stehenblieben, zuhörten, mich befragten und nicht ohne Anteil weitergingen. Daß sie mir dabei Geld hinlegten, beschämte mich nicht. Denn einmal war gerade das mein Zweck, dann sah ich auch, daß berühmte Virtuosen, welche erreicht zu haben ich mir nicht schmeicheln konnte, sich für ihre Leistungen, und mitunter sehr hoch, honorieren ließen. So habe ich mich, obzwar ärmlich, aber redlich fortgebracht bis diesen Tag.[361]

His father's condemnation to poverty is a curse that is only partially realized. The freedom to play what and how he likes comes at the price of his poverty, but his attitude toward his street playing is likened to the respectful, distant attitude any musician displays to his public. That happiness is amplified by the return of Barbara with her family, who employs Jakob as a music teacher for her son, whom she has named after him, guaranteeing him a legacy post-mortem. He teaches him the song that he and Barbara share.

> Und damit ergriff der Alte seine Geige und fing an, das Lied zu spielen, und spielte fort und fort, ohne sich weiter um mich zu kümmern. Endlich hatte ich's satt, stand auf, legte ein paar Silberstücke auf den nebenstehenden Tisch und ging, während der Alte eifrig immer fortgeigt.[362]

Jakob's indifference to the narrator resolves the triadic relationship established at the beginning of the novella between the public, the narrator, and the performer through one final emancipatory act of playing music. Thus, the narrator's claim to an "aloof" anthropological story is met with a final stubborn resistance in Jakob.

The novella ends with an image of floods that wreak havoc and claim the poor in Vienna's outer suburbs. This final scene mirrors the introductory folk-festival, where the winding path of the pleasure-seeking mass audience is likened to the river, threatening to disrupt the narrator's security and prompting him to seek out an aloof position — a classical ground — from which he can better view the events. Here the waters have returned, not to take the narrator,

[361] *AS,* 76-77.
[362] *AS,* 77.

but Jakob. Jakob's final act is properly heroic: he sacrifices himself for the children in the neighborhood. Relating how he died to the narrator, Jakob's neighbor observes that he is now playing music with the angels:

> Ja, unser armer Alter! der musiziert jetzt mit den lieben Engeln, die auch nicht viel besser sein können, als er es war. Die ehrliche Seele saß da oben sicher in seiner Kammer. Als aber das Wasser kam und er die Kinder schreien hörte, da sprang er herunter und rettete und schleppte und trug und brachte in Sicherheit, daß ihm der Atem ging wie ein Schmiedegebläs.[363]

Although it may appear an act of nostalgia, Barbara's refusal to sell Jakob's violin to the narrator constitutes a further act of stubbornness. Through that refusal, she assures Jakob a legacy, and her son guarantees him a place in posterity. In other words, his claim to an artistic afterlife is secured through her protection of the violin and through the transmission of their shared song through the generations.

Jakob's "passivity" has been considered the major catalyst of his descent into poverty throughout various generations of interpretive investigation of the novella. In this light, his demise seems to represent a resignation to the world from which only death can provide an escape. Many have linked Jakob and the narrator both to Grillparzer himself.[364] In an essay on the form of Grillparzer's novella, Ernst Alker projects the vicissitudes of Grillparzer's psychological life onto the character Jakob, concluding that the novella's fixation on resignation stems from a natural Austrian inclination toward that mood, drawing it into the orbit of the historical and political associations with "failed revolt."[365] Alker's condescending attitude to "Austrianness" should be read in the context of a nationalist school of interpretation, which

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[363] *AS*, 79.

[364] Ursula Mahlendorf speculated that the novella was written to resolve writing blocks during a period in which Grillparzer was struggling with writing his historical dramas: " He began writing the novella when he experienced agonizing troubles with his playwriting. The novella is probably an attempt to resolve his own creative dilemma by objectifying it." Ursula Mahlendorf. "Franz Grillparzer's 'The Poor Fiddler': The Terror of Rejection." *American Imago*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1979), 118-119.

[365] "Stärke und Schwäche, Tugend und Fehler des österreichischen Volkes ist es, daß die Grundstimmung seines Seins in Passivität ausklingt."Ernst Alker. Op Cit, 25.

disparaged minor literary canons. However, the line of inquiry fixated on the problem of Jakob's immaturity and his passivity has continued to engage critics of the novella.[366] In a classic essay on the novella's satirical message, Wolfgang Paulsen emphasizes *Der arme Spielmann's* message of renunciation.[367] John Walker argues that suffering and "passivity" are the major modes through which Jakob experiences the world.[368] Finally, in a foundational chapter on the novella's use of psychological realism, Walter Silz characterizes Jakob as a "non-hero…one of those obscure entities that stands at the lower end of the scale from the demigods — and yet are psychologically of a piece with them."[369]

Even where the critical literature has not focused on the biographical parallels in the text or eschewed connections with the historical context in which Grillparzer wrote it, the themes of "resignation" and "passivity" evoke their obverse idea in the political domain: the notion of "revolt" (*Auflehnung*) and its corresponding goal of freedom. That coagulation of terms, which appeared in their most strident form in the revolutionary pamphlets printed just a year later during the March uprisings, are realized more ideally through the figure of Jakob and, more specifically, through his struggle to break free of his bonds in *Der arme Spielmann*.[370] Unlike

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[366] A contribution on the subject of the Viennese Biedermeier to *A New History of German Literature* argues much the same: "Unlike Goethe and Schiller, who were rooted in the ideals of the German Enlightenment and tested by early Romanticism, Grillparzer, born more than a generation later, came from a cultural background in which the Baroque, with its keen sense of the temporality of human existence, seemed to veer directly into a melancholy variant of 19th-century historicism." Hinrich C. Seeba. "Viennese Biedermeier." *A New History of German Literature*. David E. Wellbery, Judith Ryan, and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 559.

[367] "Daß der Arme Spielmann darüber hinaus in der klassischen Tradition tief verwurzelt ist und deren Gebot: Entsagen sollst Du, entsagen! den Denkformen um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts angewandelt hat, konnte die Biedermeier-Forschung der letzten Zeit hinreichend belegen." Wolfgang Paulsen. "Der gute Bürger Jakob: zur Satire in Gillparzers "Armem Spielmann." *Colloquia Germanica* 2 (1968): 279.

[368] John Walker. "Poetic Realism, the German Novella and the Legacy of German Idealist Aesthetics: Franz Grillparzer's Der arme Spielmann." German Life and Letters 68, no. 4 (October 2015): 543–53.

[369] Silz, Op cit, 67-68

[370] Although I do not agree that Jakob represents "failure," I agree with the direction of Éric Leroy du Cardonnoy's contribution on this subject. He views the issue of failure as rooted in a "relational" dimension of the story, drawing on Blumenberg's analysis of the topos 'shipwreck with spectator,' namely that failure is defined through the relationship of a spectator and the "judged": "l'échec est aussi et avant tout une question de spectacle, de mise en scène: il n'est pas possible de parler d'échec s'il ne s'établit pas un rapport entre une personne regardée et une

previous readings of the novella, which have largely focused on the novella as a rejection of action and have considered it more a character study evocative of Dürer's melancholy portraiture, or have analyzed the development of the plot through a purely formalist lens (whether through emphasis on its musical form and structure, or its unique form of psychological realism), I show how the novella unfolds a conflict between the artist, as represented by Jakob, and authority, as represented by the character of the narrator, the public, and the state, in the public sphere.

In contrast to the blunt rhetoric of the 1848 pamphlets, *Der arme Spielmann* takes into full consideration the geography of the public sphere of Vienna as a terrain of stubborn challenges and structural difficulties. Finally, the novella offers a nuanced vision of what is at stake in freedom in the figure of Jakob, and what it means to break away from a social body, whether it is the family, the civil service, or the public that he defies. In the end, I show how Jakob's freedom is ultimately surpassed even in death through the transmission of his cultural inheritance, putting him in a much more privileged position than the manifesto authors of 1848, whose attempts to self-canonize were lost to the ephemera of history.

"Sunt certi denique fines": these lines from Horace introduce the general problem of the novella as embodied in the character of Jakob. The major challenge put to Jakob relates to the existence of limits and borders on artistic expression and the extent to which it is possible to transcend them. That problem is first posed to him in the form of a public that seeks pleasure and gratification above edification. His reaction to that public shows him, however, ready and able to play independently of standards of popular taste: he plays his music the way he likes, indifferent even to issues of compensation. His playing puts forward a general theory of aesthetics that seeks

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personne qui regarde, la position de jugement (esthétique, moral, politique, etc.)" Éric du Leroy Cardonnoy. "Le musician des rues de Franz Grillparzer: une rhétorique de l'échec." *Au nom de Goethe! hommage à Gerald Stieg.* Marc Lacheny and Jean-François Laplénie, ed (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), 226.

to liberate the artist from pressures imposed by the popular (the public) and the exacting standards of the classical (the narrator). In the story of the framed narrative, which contains allusions to the abuse of state power as represented in the characters of his father and brothers, as well as references to the difficulties inherent in artistic communication, Jakob transforms from a mute and repressed subject into a protagonist. The story of his death shows him capable of the greatest act of heroism: self-sacrifice.

My reading of the character "Jakob" breaks with a tradition in critical literature that views the character as a passive subject, whose abjection and poverty is written into his submission to a strong paternal figure, the state, and "fate" in general. My interpretation relies on Grillparzer's dramatic notion of fate, which he described as a fluid concept emerging from the actions of characters. Indeed, the notion of fate that he advances goes against the critic's natural inclination, which is to look at Jakob and his hardships as a realistic representation of an inevitable crushing weight on the poor and the dispossessed of the Biedermeier period. Incorporating Grillparzer's concept of fate means to see his novella in a new light: not as "Baroque" or antiquated, but as presenting a new interpretation on the nature of "emancipation."

4.3. Conclusion: A New Vision of Freedom for 1848

The month of March in 1848 represents an intermission from a decades-long negotiation between Austrian authors and the state regarding the modification of censorship and its reform in the Habsburg Empire. The most famous document to emerge from these negotiations was a "Denkschrift," which was attributed to Eduard Bauernfeld who distributed it to authors and others who were displeased with the state's handling of censorship. It was dated the eleventh of March 1845 and it made three demands:

> 1.Erlassung eines Zensur-Gesetzes auf Grundlage der Instruktion vom Jahre 1810 und öffentliche Kundmachung dieses Gesetzes

2. Verleihung einer unabhängigen Stellung für die Zensoren
3. Gründung eines wirksamen Rekurs-Zuges in Zensur-Angelegenheiten.[371]

The first demand (to which I alluded in the first chapter of this dissertation) calls for the publication of the VLC and for more transparency in the state's application of its own normative standards to texts. For decades, censors had worked diligently behind the scenes, applying proscriptions to their reading of manuscripts and books and rendering decisions at the *Revisionsamt* on the suitability of books for circulation. The second and the third demands both call for more transparency: the second demand aimed to make the censors less dependent on the office of censorship and the *Polizeibehörde*, and the third demand was made to ease negotiations between the state and authors. Above all, the "Denkschrift" petitions the state for the institution of clear and transparent censorship law for Austria, not for its abolishment:

> Diese exzeptionelle Stellung des österreichischen Schriftsteller ist es, welche die Unterzeichneten nicht aus persönlichen Rücksichten, sondern im Interesse der gesamten vaterländischen Literatur zu der vorliegenden Denkschrift veranlasste, welche sich insbesondere erlaubt, auf eine schmerzlich gefühlte Lücke unserer Gesetzgebung aufmerksam zu machen und von dem Standpunkte des Rechtes wie der Willigkeit darzustellen, wie dringend und notwendig die Verleihung eines Zensurgesetzes für Österreich erscheint.[372]

As I have discussed in the introduction and the first chapter to this dissertation, the fundamental problem with censorship, both as a practice and as a field of study, lies in the subjectivity of individual censorship decisions, and Bauernfeld et al. make well-considered recommendations for a stronger basis of negotiation between censors and authors. Although their demands would never be realized, their petition makes a persuasive case for an incremental approach to reform to censorship, laying out the authors' justifications in clear, legally based reasoning. It is unclear

[371] Eduard Bauernfeld, "Denkschrift über die gegenwärtige Lage der Zensur in Österreich." *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816-1847*, ed. Otto Rommel (Leipzig: P. Reclam, 1931), 152.
[372] Ibid, 146.

whether the signatories of the petition felt that the full repeal of censorship would ever be possible in 1845, although it would come to pass in just three short years.

The first signatory included in the petition was none other than Franz Grillparzer, who, by that time, was an éminence grise, whose plays had swept the Austrian stages and who had good enough standing to overturn censorship decisions through imperial intervention.[373] The placement of Grillparzer's signature was not accidental: two other names had been erased to make way for it. In his memoirs reflecting on the year 1848, Grillparzer notes his astonishment at his signature's location, describing himself as an accidental "ringleader" (*Rädelsführer*) of the movement for censorship reform:

> Da bemerkte nun ich zu meinem Erstaunen, daß ich in der Reihe der Unterzeichner der erste stand, indes ich mir bewußt war, der dritte unterschrieben zu haben. Ich erkundigte mich und erfuhr, daß Hofrat Hammer und Professor Endlicher ihre voranstehenden Namen durch einen Kunstradierer ausradieren lassen und sich in die Mitte des Haufens eingeschrieben hatten, so daß ich, der ich allein den Schritt mißbilligt, nun als Rädelsführer an der Spitze stand. Mir war dies ziemlich gleichgültig, aber, wie es scheint, den beiden Herren nicht.[374]

In much the same way, I argue that Grillparzer was an accidental "ringleader" in an articulation of "freedom" that went beyond the gospel of the free press articulated in the pamphlets and manifestos published in the first days of the March revolution of 1848. Those pamphlets represent a historical moment in which the literary public ruptured and made way for a sudden (and surprising) clearing within the state. This was most explicitly manifested in Metternich's flight from Vienna and soon afterward, the censorship regime that he had led and supervised for almost half a century was declared "defunct."

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[373] This was the case with *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, where Emperor Franz's wife, Princess Karoline Augusta von Bayern, read the play and interceded on his behalf. For more regarding the censoring of Grillparzer's play see: Norbert Bachleitner, *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich*, Op cit, 253.

[374] Franz Grillparzer. "Memoiren aus dem Jahre 1848." *Sämtliche Werke historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann, Volume 20 (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co, 1909), 193.

One possible way to understand the manifestos and poems discussed in this chapter is as reflecting an emancipatory moment in history that was made palpable in the frenzied publication of books and texts throughout the month of March of 1848. For decades, booksellers and publishers had been paradoxically pressured by the state to live up to invisible standards, and their presses sprung into action almost simultaneously with the repeal of censorship. Another way to regard those pamphlets is as the articulation of an impossible dream of a "free" literature, which would be crushed by the reinstitution of censorship in the Monarchy just a year later. Indeed, it didn't take long to stop the presses in Austria, and by October of 1848, the military siege had put the brakes on printing once again.

My discussion of the first poems printed in Austria in the month of March shows that they brought together various segments of revolutionary-liberal writers: from the German nationalists represented by Lyser and Friedrich to the quintessentially Viennese revolutionary represented by Frankl. Frankl, who also signed Bauernfeld's petition, represents perhaps the most continuous figure emerging out of the Biedermeier literary public (as laid out in this dissertation) through to the post-revolutionary period. His poem's last verse gestures outward into the *Nachwelt*, placing an optimistic (although hesitant) question mark over the future of a "free press."

In his memoirs on 1848, Grillparzer reflects tragically on his "passivity," a condition, which he claims, was brought about by years of living under Austrian despotism. He expresses skepticism toward the word "freedom," writing that freedom does not mean progress and that "progress" often brings with it incompetence, exaggeration, and faltering reason. Grillparzer's account of 1848 is characteristically skeptical of the "German" nationalist project, and he observes drily that years of Austrian censorship could not prevent German trends from arriving

in Austria. On a first reading, Grillparzer's comments on the 1848 revolutions suggest that "freedom" was not a desirable goal. However, his reflections on 1848 present another articulation of freedom. Freedom, he writes, lies in reason (*gesunder Verstand*) and self-restraint (*Selbstbeschränkung*):

> Hier wäre der Ort, mich über meinen Mangel an Begeisterung für die Freiheit zu rechtfertigen. Der Despotismus hat mein Leben, wenigstens mein litteratisches, zerstört, ich werde daher wohl Sinn für die Freiheit haben. Aber nebstdem, daß die Bewegung des Jahres 48 mein Vaterland zu zerstören drohte, das ich bis zum Kindischen liebte, schien mir auch überhaupt kein Zeitpunkt für die Freiheit ungünstiger als der damalige. In Deutschland, das immer von Fortschritten träumte, hatte die ganze Bildung einen solchen Charakter von Unfähigkeit, Unnatur, Uebertreibung und zugleich von Eigendünkel angenommen, daß an etwas Vernünftiges und Maßhaltendes gar nicht zu denken war, und doch war hundert auf eins zu wetten, daß die Litteratur, wenigstens anfangs, an der Spitze der Bestrebungen stehen werde, ich sage: anfangs, weil gerade durch das Unausführbare ihrer Theorien der im zweiten Gliede stehenden Schlechtigkeit Thür und Thor geöffnet werden mußte. Zur Freiheit gehört vor allem gesunder Verstand und Selbstbeschränkung, und gerade daran fehlte es in Deutschland. Oestreich hatte trotz seiner Zensur das Uebergreifen der deutschen litterarischen Absurditäten nicht verhindern können, und wenn die Wiener von »Aufgehen in Deutschland« träumten, so war es größtenteils, weil sie hofften, das deutsche wissenschaftliche Gebräu mit leichter Mühe und vollen Löffeln in sich hineinschlingen zu können. Deshalb war ich auch zur Passivität verdammt; denn hätte ich gesagt: Was ihr für Weisheit haltet, ist Unsinn: – es hätte mir niemand geglaubt. Vor allem, weil ich alt und der Fortschritt nur in der Jugend beglaubigt war. [375]

Grillparzer's characteristic self-description refers to his so-called passivity, which expresses itself through his skepticism of euphoria. Hinrich C. Seeba wrote that one should read the *Armer Spielmann* as an allegory of Austrian poetry: "der arme gescheiterte Spielmann als Allegorese der österreichischen Poesie zu verstehen. Zu dem eigentlichen literalen Textsinn gesellt sich eine transgredierende Textebene, die über die Verkettung der Leitbegriffe Stimme-Geschichte – Zusammenhang und Erzählung und deren Behinderungen sich formiert."[376] I agree with Seeba's assessment with regard to the "allegorical" and historical aspect of Grillparzer's tale, but I do not

[375] Ibid, 202.
[376] Hinrich C. Seeba."Franz Grillparzer. Der Arme Spielmann." *Romane und Erzählungen zwischen Romantik und Realismus. Neue Interpretationen*, ed. P.M. Lützeler(Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), 41.

read “Jakob” as a “failure” (and do not know what failure for Grillparzer would represent), but rather as the attempt to bring to life the idea of a freedom that dwells in self-restraint.

Throughout this dissertation, there has been a strong argument for continuity between the first decades of the 1800s with the momentous mid-century caesura that connects the first and second halves of the “long nineteenth century” in Central Europe. This former period, referred to as the “Biedermeier,” has been often dismissed as a deeply unliterary period, with an understanding that the post-Napoleonic politics of Chancellor Metternich were too repressive to foster a climate of artistic growth. In this chapter, I have recovered forgotten artifacts and texts and brought them into discussion with a key canonical work, which was written a decade before the revolution, in order to better assess the discourse of freedom around 1848. Therefore, this dissertation should be seen as a wider contribution to the literary history of nineteenth century Europe in which I show that Austria and its capital Vienna played a major role.

Conclusion

Not far from the *Wiener Arsenal*, a military complex of buildings that dominate the bank south of the *Landstraßer Gürtel*, lies one of Vienna's most understated attractions: the St. Marx Cemetery (*Sankt Marxer Friedhof*), which contains the unmarked grave of Mozart. More than just the repository of Mozart's final remains, however, the cemetery calls itself the "last Biedermeier" cemetery existing in the world and is protected by the cultural heritage management (*Denkmalschutz*). Burial practices during the Biedermeier were influenced by reforms initiated under Joseph II, which aimed to strip the religious orders of their autonomy, regulating everything from the location of burial sites to coffins used for interment. Located far from the city walls, the St. Marx Cemetery was a destination for mourners who were born around the 1770s and lived into the 1850s and 1860s (reflected in the dates on the headstones), and burial processions once formed a path from the *Landstraße* to the cemetery.

The St. Marx Cemetery is a site full of contradictions and premonition. The *Arsenal*, which was built between 1848-1856, was a direct result of the 1848 Revolutions and inaugurated an era in which the state was more skeptical about activities occurring inside its city walls than outside of them. The cemetery is dotted with monuments and headstones that bear the proud titles of civil servants, bakers, and the wives of professors, but it is mostly filled with the unmarked graves of the poor, underlining the contradictions inherent in posterity: commemorative headstones stand atop ground that covers the forgotten.

One headstone located at the St. Marx Cemetery contains the following description:

> "Hier ruht Herr Johann Leopold Stöger
> …Er war ein eifriger, gewißenhafter und gerechter Staatsdiener, ein treuer Freund, wohlthätiges Mitglied der Staatsgesellschaft, und ein liebevoller Vater.
> Gott gebe ihm die ewige Ruhe!"

My dissertation has the strange task common to all histories: to try and understand the world of those who are no longer among us. The stories contained in this dissertation are stories of a generation of authors, whose self-understanding and value system were curiously inflected by developing literary media that placed them into conversation and tension with the state in which they lived. I do not pretend to have offered a key to understanding the world of the persons laid to rest in the St. Marx Cemetery, but I do believe that their lives are interesting enough to warrant the attempt.

Appendix

Figure 1.1 "Castellis Hunde: “Sedl” und “Nitzky” Aquarell von Karl Fichtner aus der Dosensammlung." Austrian National Library

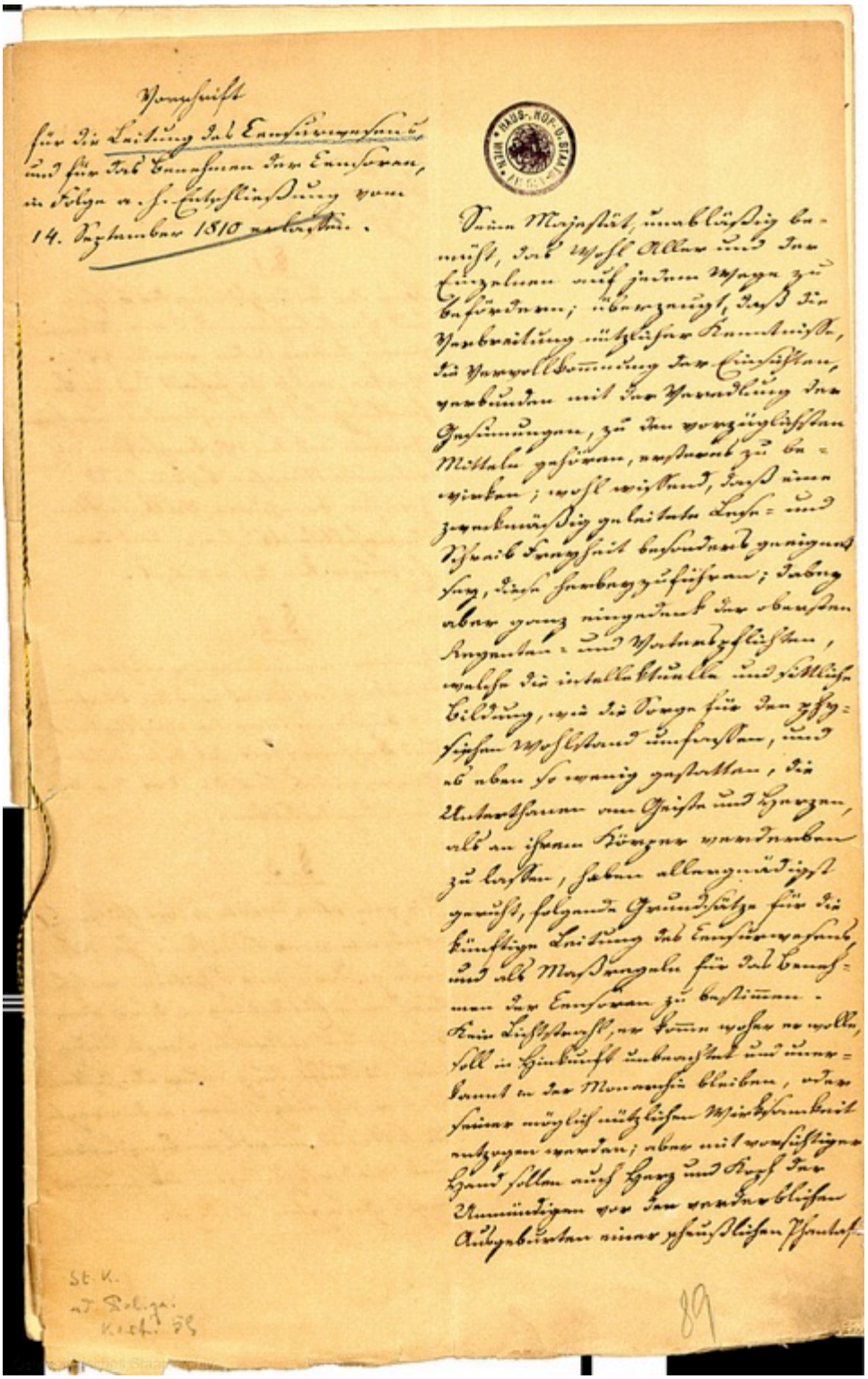
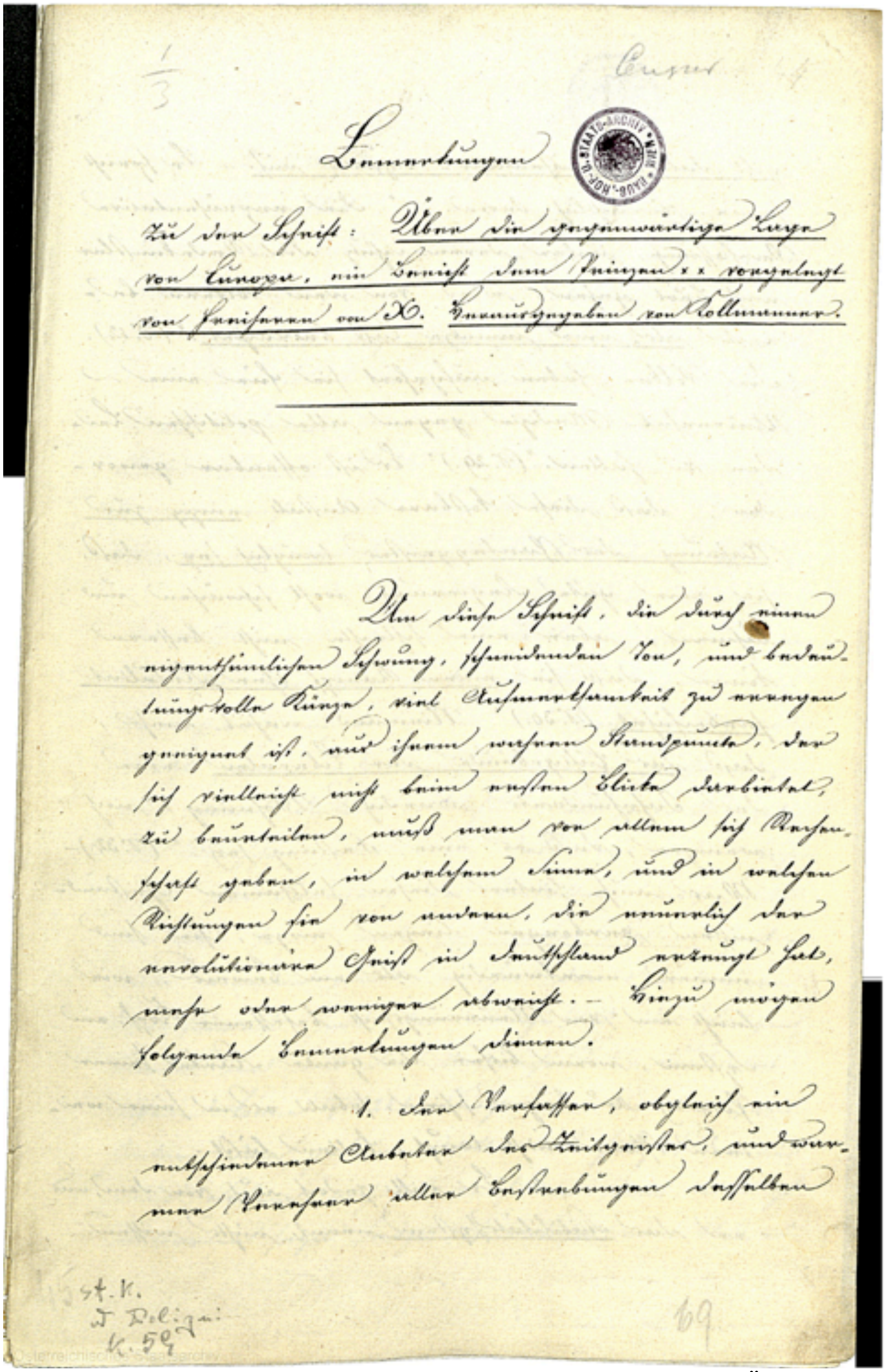


Figure 1.2: ""Vorschrift für die Leitung der Censur und für des Bemühen der Censoren , in Folge a.h. zum 14. September 1810 erlassen." Manuscript. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei-Polizeihofstelle," Box 58.



Bemerkungen

zu der Schrift: Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa, ein Bericht dem Prinzen x x vorgelegt von Freiherrn von X. Herausgegeben von Kollmann.

Um diese Schrift, die durch einen eigenthümlichen Schwung, schneidenden Ton, und bedeutungsvolle Kürze, viel Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen geeignet ist, aus ihrem wahren Standpuncte, der sich vielleicht nicht beim ersten Blicke darbietet, zu beurtheilen, muß man vor allem sich Rechenschaft geben, in welchem Sinne, und in welchen Richtungen sie von anderen, die neuerlich der revolutionaire Geist in Deutschland erzeugt hat, mehr oder weniger abweicht. – Hiezu mögen folgende Bemerkungen dienen.

1. Der Verfasser, obgleich ein entschiedener Anbeter des Zeitgeistes, und warmer Verehrer aller Bestrebungen desselben

Figure 1.3: Friedrich von Gentz. "Bemerkungen zu der Schrift Über die gegenwärtige Lage von Europa." Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei- Polizeihofstelle. Vota und Varia." Box 59.

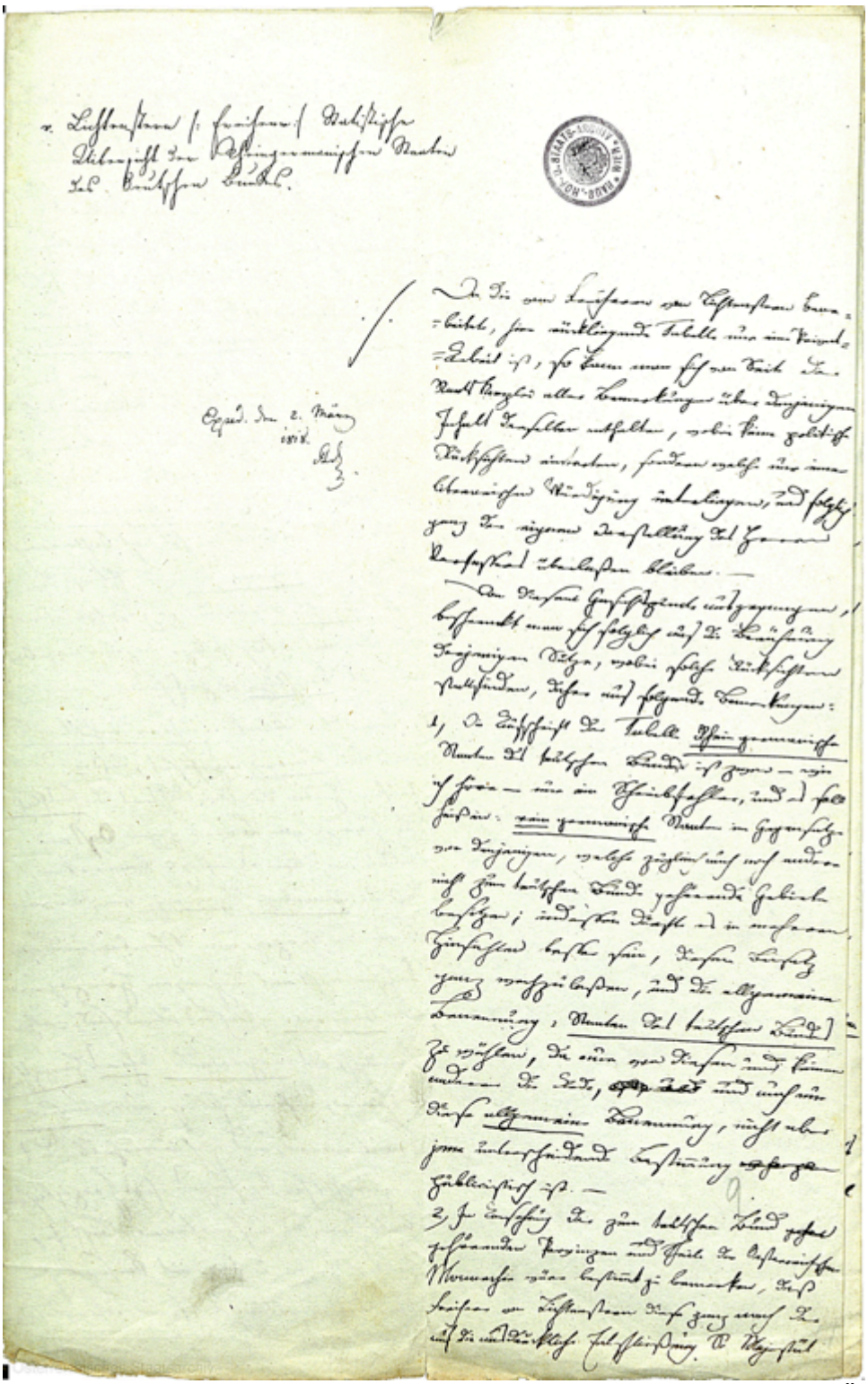


Figure 1.4 Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern. Votum, "Statistische Übersicht der Germanischen Staaten des deutschen Bundes." Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59, 1.

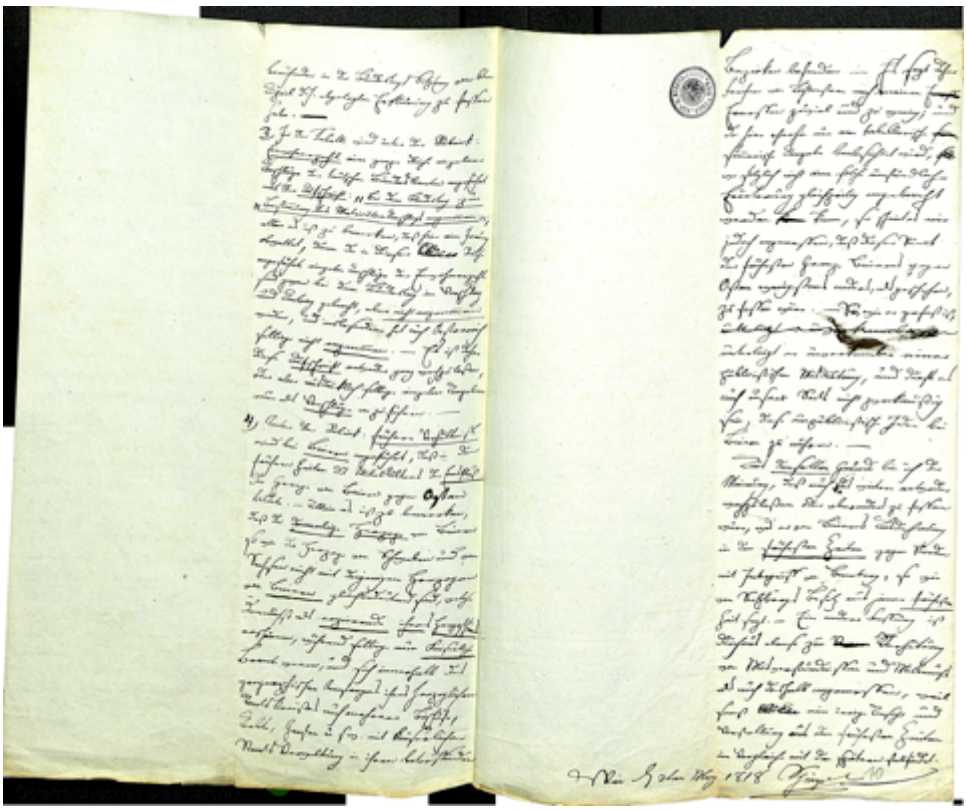


Figure 1.4: Joseph Max Freiherr von Liechtenstern. Votum, "Statistische Übersicht der Germanischen Staaten des deutschen Bundes." Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59, 2-3.

Figure 1.4 Transcription
v. Liechtenstern. Freiherr. Statistische Übersicht der Germanischen Staaten des deutschen Bundes

Exped der 2. März 1818
Admit.

Da die vom Freiherrn von Liechtenstern bearbeitete, hier rückliegende Tabelle nur eine Teil=Arbeit ist, so kann man sich von Seite der Staatskanzlei alle Bemerkungen über denjenigen Inhalt desselben enthalten, wobei keine politischen Rücksichten eintreten, sondern welche nur eine literarische Würdigung unterliegen und folglich ganz der eigenen Darstellung des Herrn Verfassers überlassen bleiben.

Aus diesem Gesichtspunkt ausgegangen beschränkt man sich folglich auf die Behandlung derjeingen Sätze, wobei solche Rücksichten stattfinden, daher auch folgende Bemerkungen

1. Die Durchschrift der Tabelle <u>Rhein</u>germanische Staaten des deutschen Bundes ist zwar — wie ich höre — nur ein Schreibfehler, und es soll heißen: nur germanische Staaten im Gegensatze zu denjenigen, welche zugleich auch noch andere nicht zum deutschen Bunde gehörenden Gebiete besitzen; indessen dürfte es in mehreren Hinsichten besser sein, diesen Beisatz ganz wegzulassen, und die allgemeine Benennung <u>Staaten des deutschen Bundes</u> zu wählen, da eine von diesen und keine anderen die Rede ist und auch nur diese allgemeine Benennung nicht über jene unterscheidende Benennung publicistisch ist —

2. In Besehung der zum deutschen Bunde gehörenden Grenzen und Theile der österreichischen Monarchie wäre bestimmt zu bemerken, daß Freiherr von Liechtenstern diese ganz nach der auf die ausdrückliche Entschließung Sr. Majestät zu beachtenden in der Budestagssitzung abgelegten Erklärung zu fassen habe
3. In der Tabelle wird unter der Rubrik Einwohnerzahl eine ganze Reihe einzelner Anschläge der deutschen Bundesstaaten angeführt mit der Aufschrift: "Bei dem Bundestag zur Bestimmung des Matrikulaantrags angenommen" allein ist zu bemerken, dass hier eine Irrung obwaltet; denn die in dieser Reihe angeführten einzelnen Anträge der Hohenzollern sind zwar bei dem Bundestag in Vorschlag und Antrag gebracht aber nicht angenommen worden und insbesonders hat noch Oesterreich selbige nicht angenommen. — Es ist daher diese Aufschrift entweder ganz wegzulassen oder aber ausdrücklich selbige einzelne Angaben und oder Anträge anzuführen.
4. Unter der Rubrik "frühere Verhältnisse" wird bei Baiern angeführt, daß in den früheren Zeiten des Mittelalters, der Ennsfluß die Grenze von Baiern gegen Osten bildete. — allein es ist zu bemerken, daß die damaligen Herzöge von Baiern sowie die Herzöge von Schwaben und Sachsen nicht mit denjenigen Herzögen von Baiern gleichbedeutend sind, welche demnächst als regierende ihrer Herzogthüme erscheinen, während selbige nur kaiserliche Beamten waren und sich innernhalb des Umfanges ihres herzöglichen Landes auch mehrere Bischöfe lebten, Grafen usw. mit kaiserlicher Staatsverwaltung in ihren betreffenden Bezirken befanden. Es sagt daher Freiherr von Liechtenstern nach meinem Ermessen zu viel und zu wenig und da hier ohnehin nur eine tabellische und summarische Angabe beabsichtigt wird, so folglich nicht eine solche umständliche Herdeutung gleichzeitig eingebracht werden kann, so scheint es mir jedoch angemessen, daß dieser Punct der früheren Grenze Baierns gegen Osten wenigstens anders zugelassen— So wie es verfasst ist, unterliegt es unverkennbar einer publizistishen Mißdeutung und dürfte auch unsererseits nicht zweckmäßig sein, diese unpublicistischen Ideen bei Lesern zu nähern.

Aus demselben Grunde bin ich der Meinung daß auch des weiteren wegzulassen oder abermal zu fassen wäre…eine andere Fassung ist durchaus ebenso zur Verhütung von Mißverständnissen und Mißbrauch auch deshalb angemessen, weil sonst allen eine irrige Ansicht und Vorstellung aus den frühsten Zeiten im Vergleich mit den späteren stattfindet.

Der 2. Mai 1818 St.

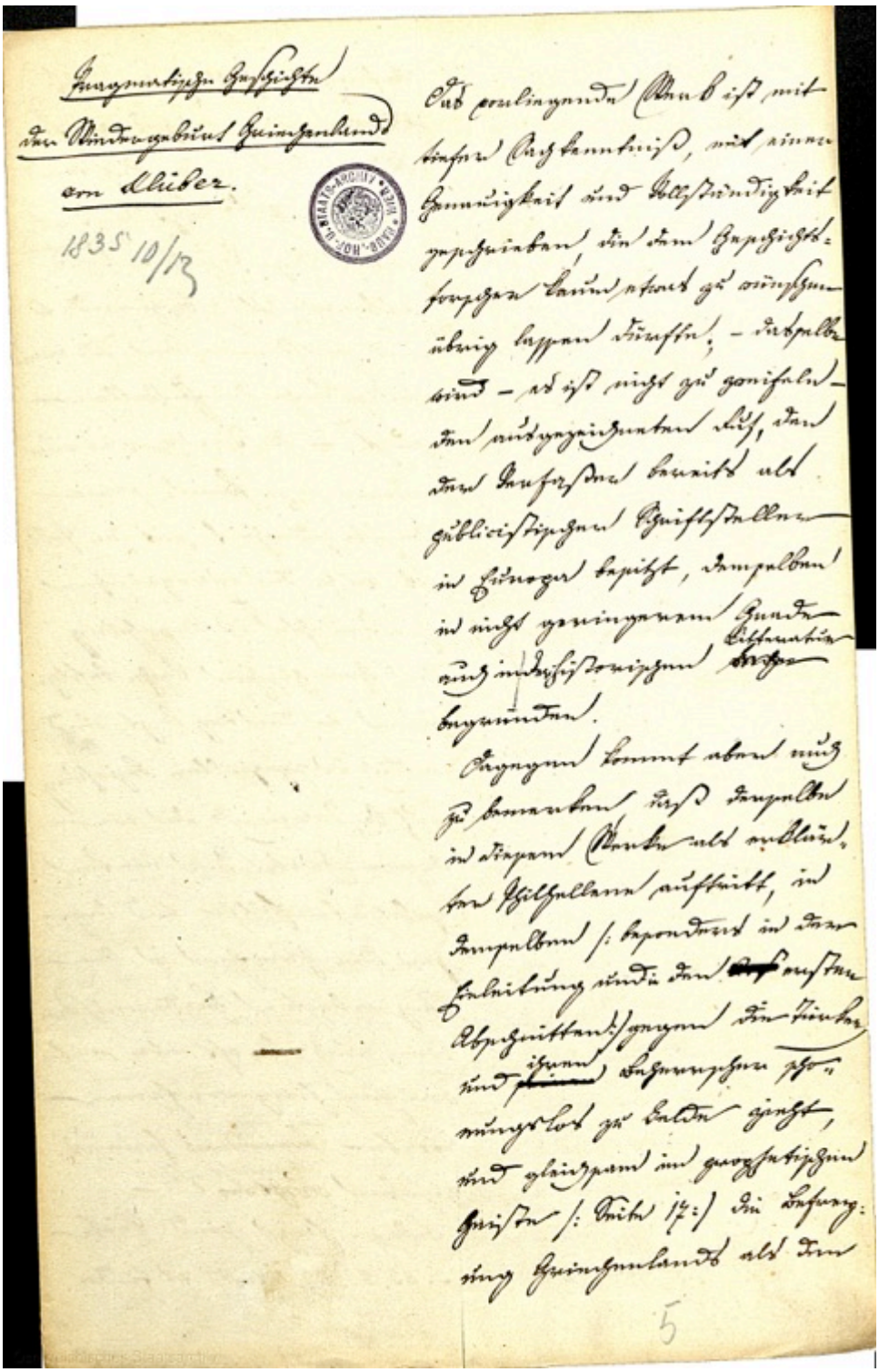


Figure 1.5: Johann Ludwig Klüber. *Pragmatische Geschichte der Wiedergeburt Griechenland*s. Votum written by Baron Menßhengen. December 18, 1835. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59, 1.

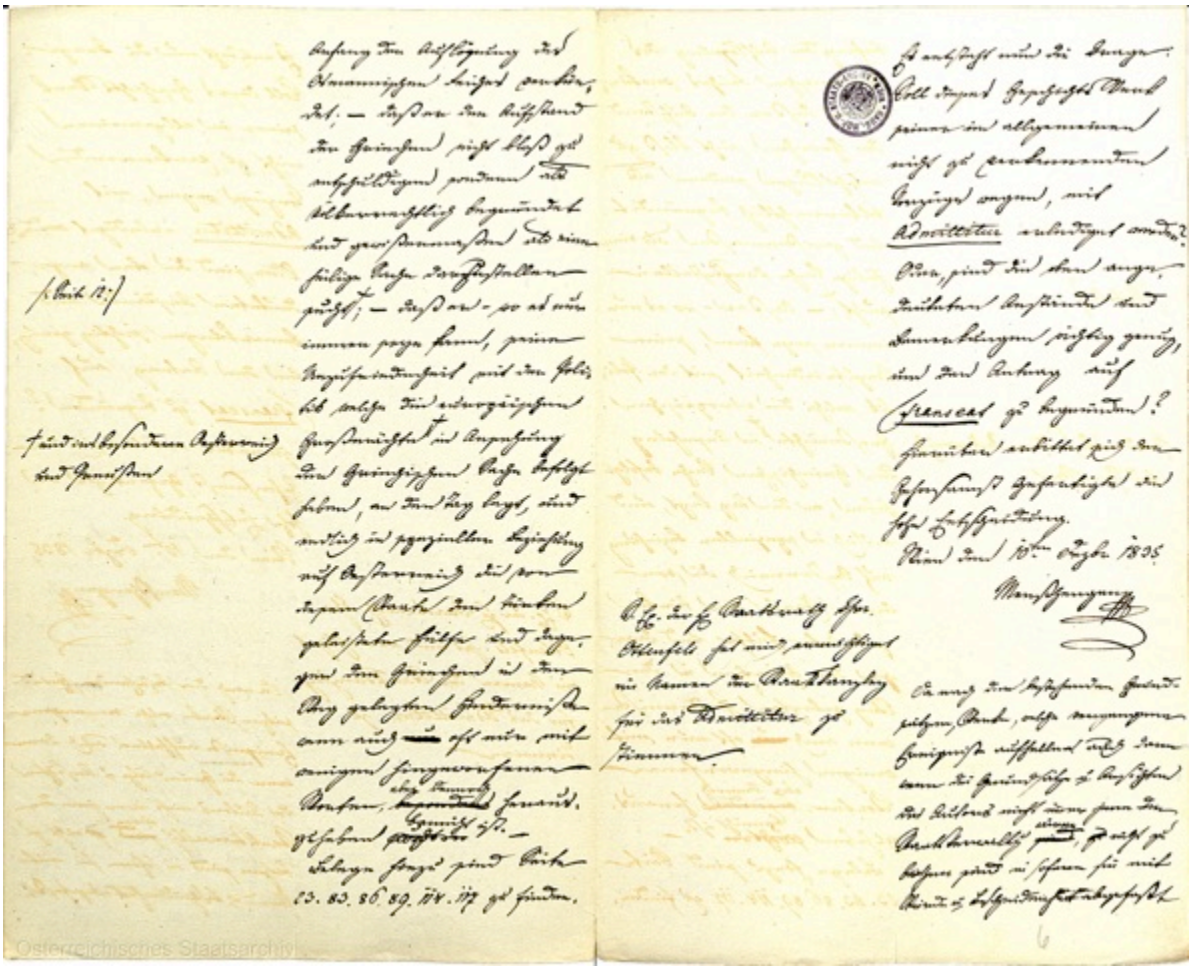


Figure 1.5: Johann Ludwig Klüber. *Pragmatische Geschichte der Wiedergeburt Griechenland*s. Votum written by Baron Menßhengen. December 18, 1835. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59, 2-3.

Figure 1.5 Transcription.
Johann Ludwig von Klüber "Pragmatische Geschichte der Wiedergeburt Griechenlands"

1835
Das vorliegende Werk ist mit tiefer Sachkenntniß mit einer Genauigkeit und Vollständigkeit geschrieben, die dem Geschichtsforscher kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig lassen dürfte. — dasselbe wird — es ist nicht zu zweifeln, den ausgezeichneten Ruf den der Verfasser bereits als publicistischer Schriftsteller in Europa besitzt demselben nicht in geringerem Grade auch in historischer Literatur begründen. Dagegen kommt aber auch zu bemerken, daß derselbe in diesem Werke als erklärter Philhellene auftritt in demselben (besonders in der Einleitung und in den ersten Abschnitten)gegen die Türkei und ihren Beherrschern schonungslos zu Felde zieht und gleichsam im prophetischen Geiste (Seite 17) die Befreyung Griechenlands als den Anfang der Auflösung des Osmanischen Reiches verkündet;—daß er den Aufstand der Griechen nicht bloß zu entschuldigen sondern als vollberechtigt begründet und gewißermaßen als eine heilige Sache darzustellen sucht;- daß er —so es nur immer seyn kann —seine Unzufriedenheit mit der Politik welche die europäischen Großmächte in Ansehung der griechischen Sache befolgt haben,

an den Tag legt, und endlich in spezieller Beziehung auf Oesterreich die von diesem Staate den Türken geleistete Hülfe und dagegen den Griechen in den Weg gelegten Hinderniße —wenn auch oft nur mit einigen hingeworfenen Worten aber dennoch herauszuheben bemüht ist. Belege hiezu sind S. 23, 83, 86, 89, 114, 187 zu finden.
Es entsteht nun die Frage soll dieses Geschichtswerk seiner im allgemeinen nicht zu verkennenden Vorzuge wegen mit Admittur erledigt werden? Oder sind die oben angedeuteten Umstände und Bemerkungen wichtig genug um den Antrag auf transeat zu begründen?
Hierüber erbittet sich der gehorsamst Gefertigte die hohe Entscheidung
Wien der 18. Dezember 1835
Menßhengen

Da nach den bestehenden Grundsätzen Werke welche vergangenen Ereigniße aufhellen auch dann den Grundsätzen und Ansichten des Autors nicht immer diejenigen der Staatsverwaltung sind nicht zu verbiethen sind insofern sie mit Würde und Bescheidenheit abgefaßt

O. Ex der Herr Staatsrath Ottenfels hat mir ermächtigt im Namen der Staatskanzley für das Admittur zu stimmen

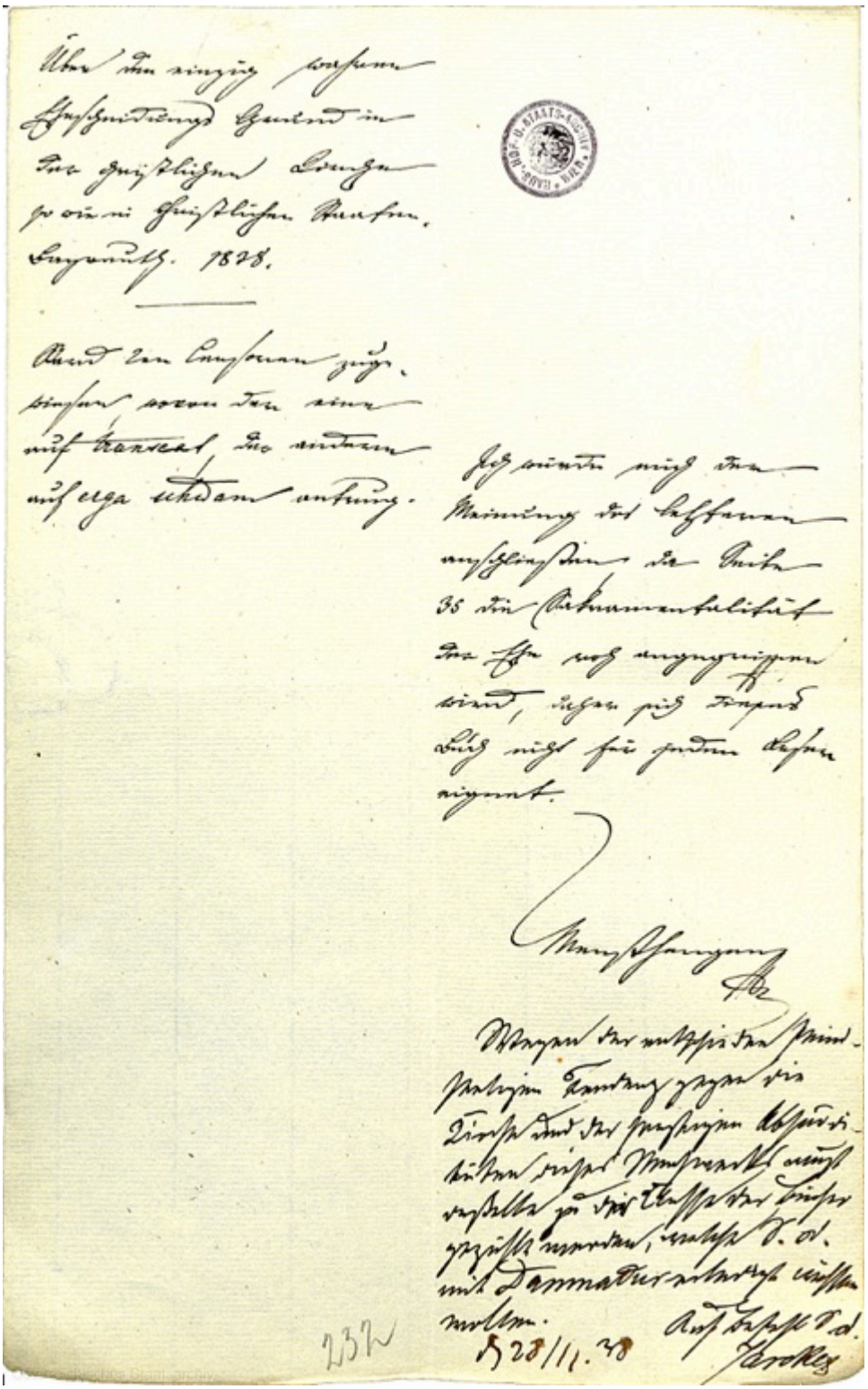


Figure 1.6: Über den einzig wahren Ehescheidungsgrund in der christlichen Kirche so wie in christlichen Staaten." Votum, 1835. Austrian State Archives (HHSA). "Staatskanzlei ad. Polizeizensur. Vota und Varia," Box 59.

Figure 1.6 Transcription
Über den einzig wahren Ehescheidungsgrund in der christlichen Kirche und sowie in christlichen Staaten
Bayreuth 1838

Band den Censoren zugewiesen, wovon der eine auf transeat, der andere auf erga schedam anträgt

Ich würde mich der Meinung des letzteren anschließen, da Seite 35 die Sakramentalität der Ehe angegriffen wird; daher sich dieses Buch nicht für jeden eignet.
Menßhengen

Wegen der entschiedenen feindseligen Tendenz gegen die Kirche und die Absurditäten dieses Machwerkes auch daßelbe zu der Classe der Bücher gezählt welche mit Damnatur belegt wissen wollen.

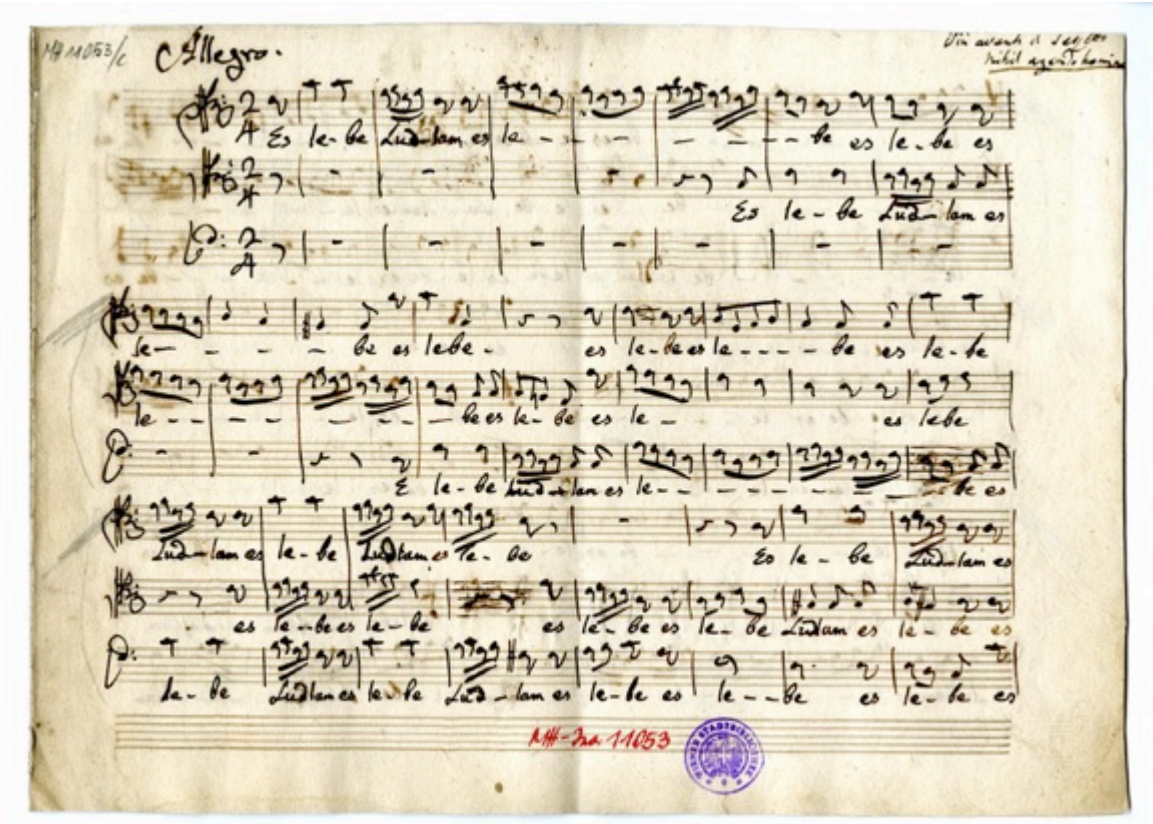


Figure 2.1: Salieri, Antonio: [Vier Terzette] : [für 3 Männerstimmen der Ludlamshöhle] “Es lebe Ludlam.” MHc-11053. Wien Bibliothek.

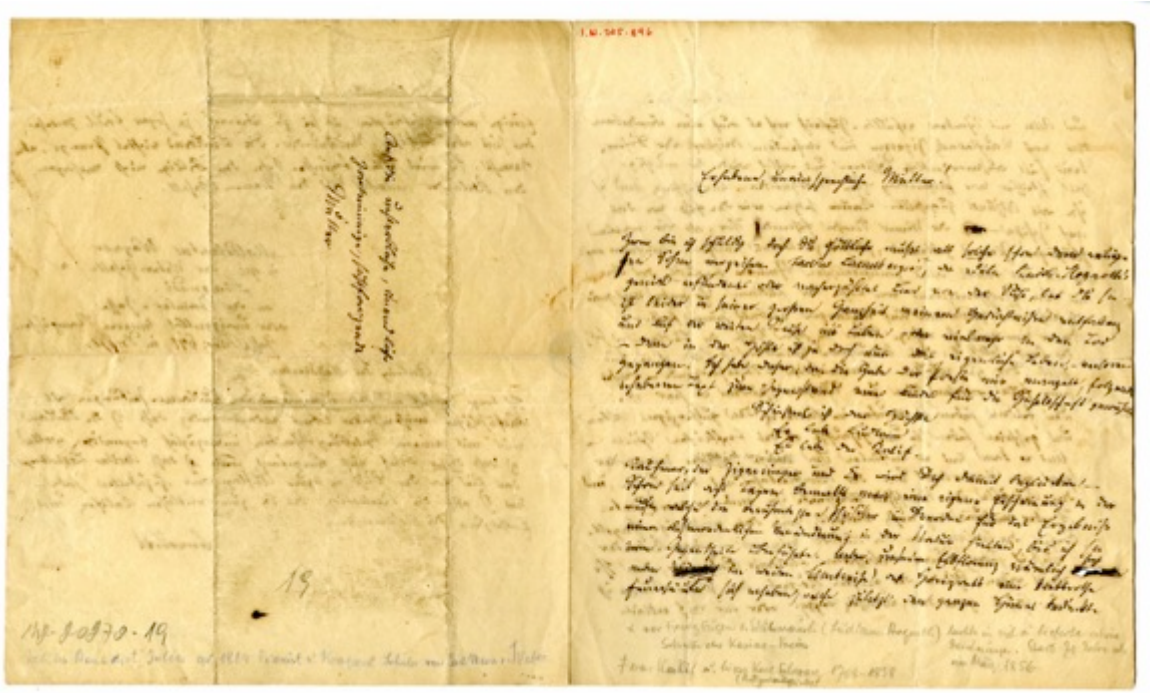


Figure 2.2: Benedict, Julius: Letter to Ignaz Franz Castelli. Wien Bbliothek. 1824.07.07. - 2 Bl., eh. H.I.N. 205.896.

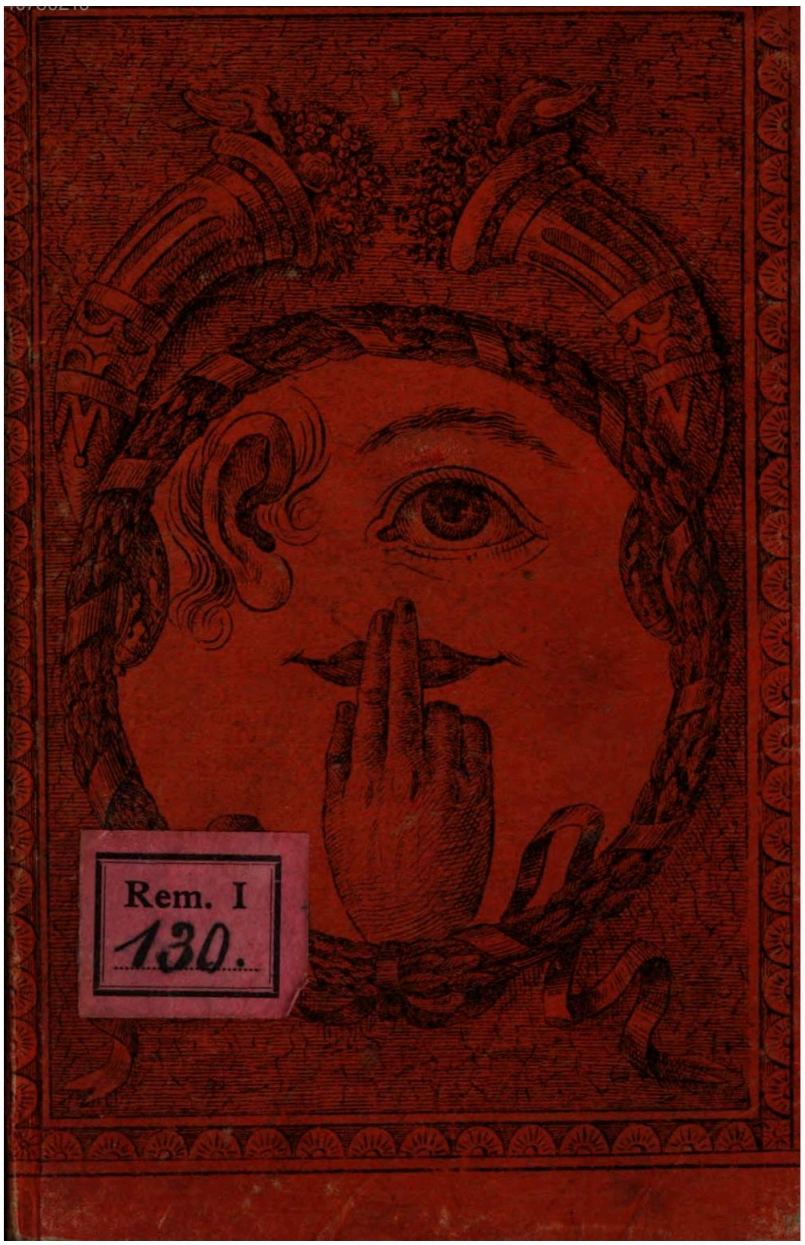


Figure 2.3: Die Sauglocke. Cover Page. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital Collection, “Rem.I 130”

Figure 2.4: Die Sauglocke. Illustration of the Bell.
http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Castelli,+Ignaz+Franz/Gedichte/Die+Sauglocke/Abbildungen

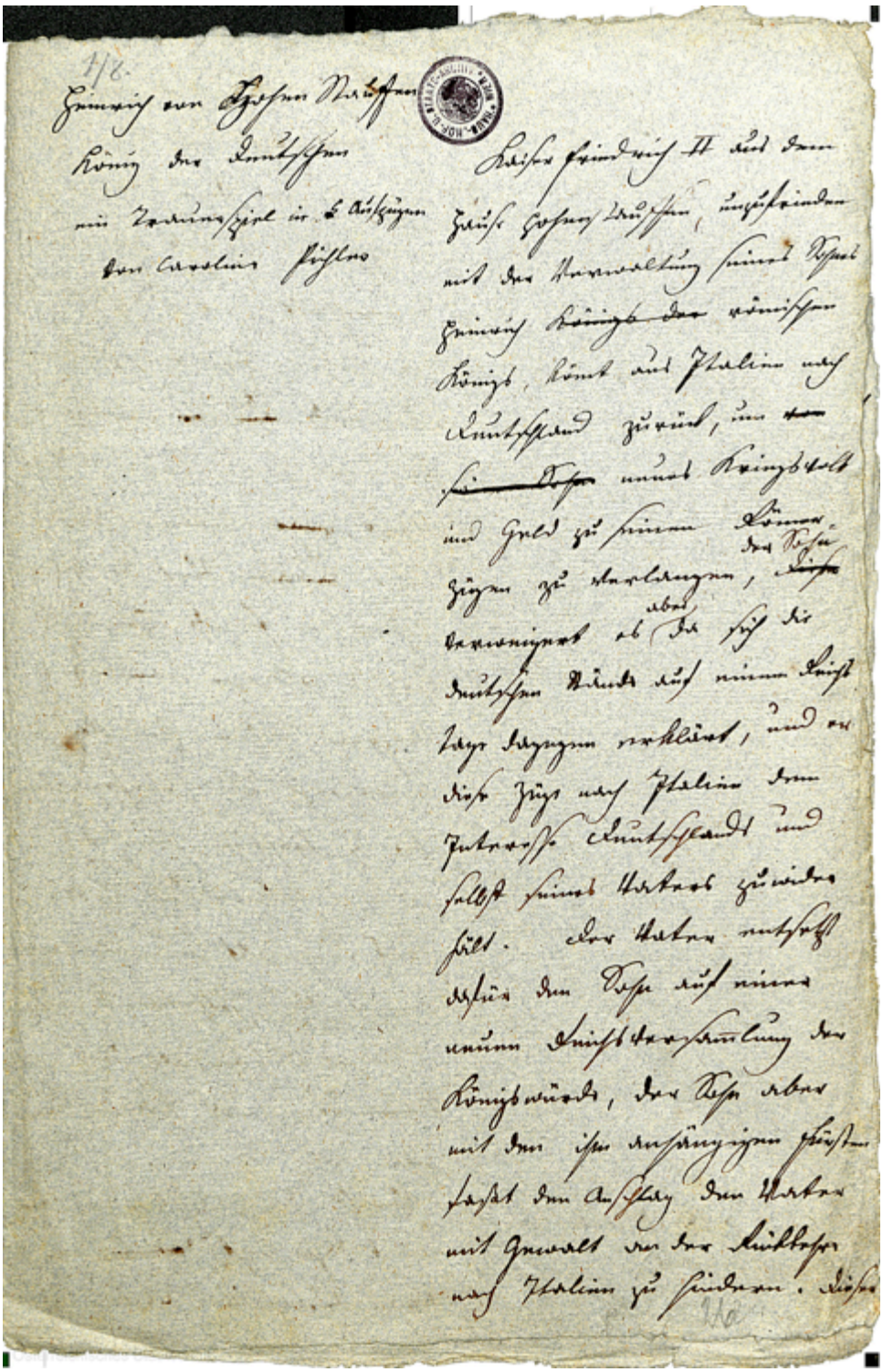


Figure 3.1: Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. Votum, Austrian State Archives (HHSA) "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei-Polizeihofstelle," Box 59, 1.

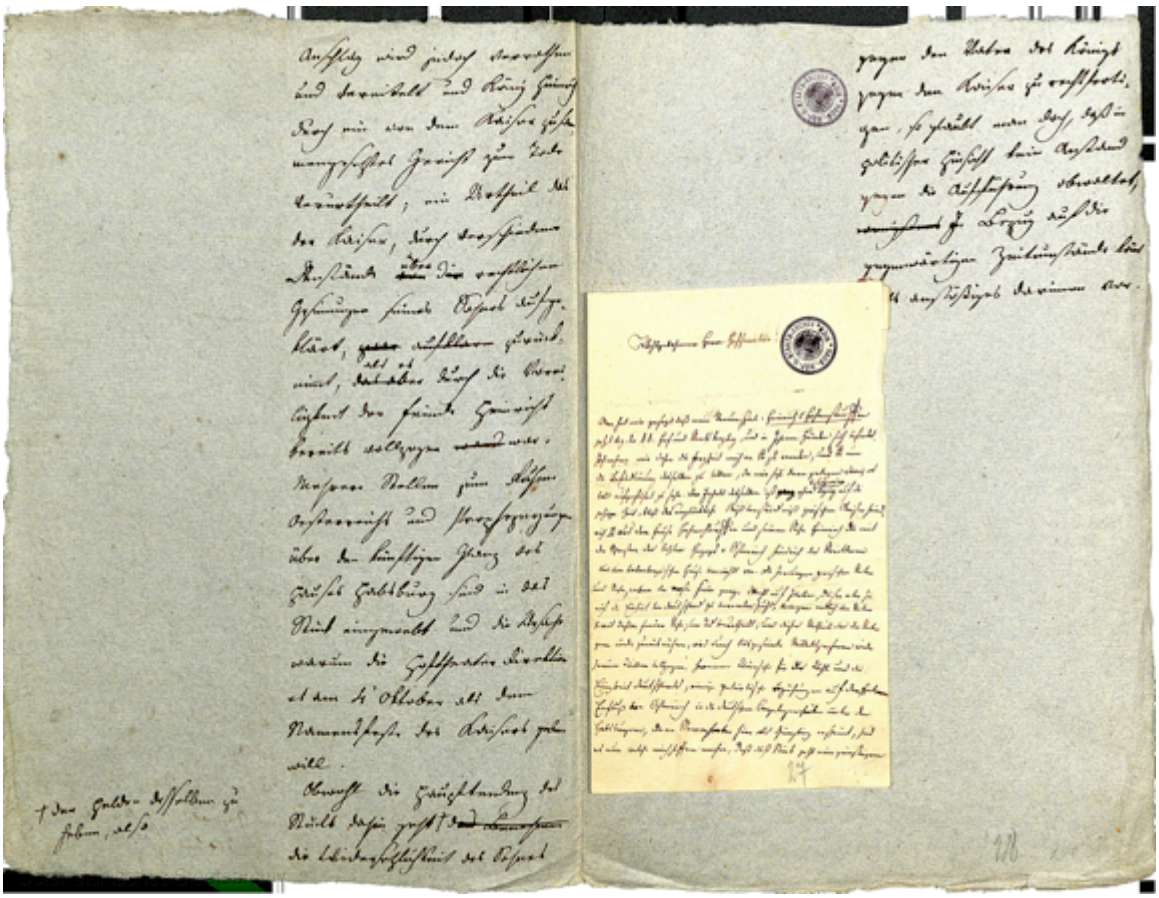


Figure 3.1: Caroline Pichler. *Heinrich von Hohenstaufen*. Votum, Austrian State Archives (HHSA) "Notenwechsel Staatskanzlei-Polizeihofstelle," Box 59, 2-3.

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