

Reviews

Stefan Hanß and Dorothea McEwan, eds., *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800*. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte Band 145. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2021. 404 pp.

The Mediterranean looms large in the history of the Western World. It longs to have its praises sung. Odysseus and the Argonauts sailed upon its wine-dark waves. The armies of Xerxes and Themistocles clashed at Salamis. Rome thought of it as her pleasure ground, a lake at the heart of her imperial grandeur. Then came the Arabs, uniting the world from Iberia to India. Then the crusaders, landing on Levantine shores. Then the Ottomans, crown of the East. Then the French. But Lord Nelson at Trafalgar put an end to that—though the British kept a few choice rubies, like lovely Gibraltar, perpetually chafing the Spaniards' ego. Even the Nazis sought its domination. El Alamein will ring forever in Allied ears. Its shores are bejeweled with cities left over from these distant empires, their names calling forth romance, mystery, power. Istanbul. Alexandria. Marseille. Beirut. Barcelona. Naples.

And Trieste. Little, forgotten Trieste. The only major Mediterranean port of the Austrian Habsburgs. Home at one point to James Joyce. But how many people know that? Its two most brilliant contemporary chroniclers, Jan Morris and Claudio Magris, have tried to raise its profile, but I haven't met one American in a hundred who has even heard of the place.

And that, intellectually if not geographically, is where this wonderful volume of essays begins: to make us notice again something that once was important but is now overlooked. In the words of Stefan Hanß and Dorothea McEwan, that means presenting “the Mediterranean as a crucial part of the social and cultural fabric of the early modern Habsburg world” (11), of

reconnecting the Great Sea with Vienna, Budapest, and Prague. Underpinning this work is the fusion of “assemblage theory,” in which parts of a whole are in constant fluid relation to one another (theorized by Deleuze and Guattari in *Mille plateaux*, 1980), and “thalassography,” the study of the human interactions with and around the sea (as opposed to oceanography, the study of the physical and zoological aspects of the sea). Bringing these together, the volume’s authors have all written about the varied and often underappreciated ways in which the peoples and lands of the Austrian Habsburgs (the Spanish branch of the family will need its own volume) were inexorably a part of the to-ing and fro-ing of events in and around the Mediterranean. Not just a (mostly) landlocked empire (the Habsburgs acquired Trieste all the way back in 1382, remember), Habsburg domains and the people who lived within them experienced the Mediterranean, the editors argue, as “spaces that engendered opportunities, exchange, and interaction as much as encounters and conflict” (21).

The volume is divided into three parts. Part One, “Negotiating the Habsburg Mediterranean,” includes three essays which are, in many ways, traditional military histories of Habsburg interaction with other territorial or political powers: the first discusses Charles V and his son Philip’s negotiations over the status of Genoa; the second chronicles the Habsburg’s (failed) 1596 campaign to take the fortress of Clissa in Dalmatia; and the third traces the Habsburg’s complex relations with the Uskoks, a “pirate” nation under the protection of Vienna. Taken together, they suggest sustained Habsburg military and diplomatic engagement in the Mediterranean region, perhaps similar to the way in our own time France maintains a seat on the Security Council even though it doesn’t service an overseas fleet.

Part Two, “Flows of People,” includes six essays, the largest of the three sections, and really begins to express the surprising possibilities of a “Habsburg Mediterranean.” The works in this section, as the overall title suggestions, tend more often to focus on “ordinary” people (though anyone who traveled the world before the ease of modern aircraft is, in a sense, far from ordinary), that is, folks without aristocratic title, who through profession (one essay discusses the interactions between Habsburg subjects and the Hospitallers/Knights of Malta; another a private soldier in Charles V’s army who collected images of the various peoples bordering the Mediterranean; a third an Italian

mercenary fighting for Austria against the Ottomans in Hungary) or personal determination (two essays discuss pilgrims to the Holy Land; one the various so-called Arabian Princes who found their way into Central Europe thanks to Habsburg travel passports) drew together different aspects of the Habsburg and Mediterranean worlds. Part Two makes the strongest case for something approaching a “Habsburg Mediterranean,” the many strange and convoluted roads along which the cultures of the sea reached into the heart of Europe.

Part Three, “Flows of Material and Intellectual Culture,” again includes three essays, all focused on the physicality and exchange of things; it would certainly make a fascinating museum exhibition all its own. The first essay discusses the collection and study of Ottoman objects at the Habsburg ambassadorial compound in Istanbul; the second on the use of maritime trade networks, and the “symbolic communications” they carried, such as elephants; and the third on the legal theories and diplomatic relationships necessary for maintaining Catholic properties in Ottoman lands. These three essays round out the volume, offering examples of the myriad ways objects and ideas are as much a part of exchange as the humans who carry or conceive them.

Does the volume succeed? In a sense, yes. Did I leave thinking I will now more often reference the Habsburgs as a Mediterranean power? No, probably not. But at its core, this volume isn’t really about trying to shift us away from understanding the Austrian Habsburgs as essentially continental. Rather, it’s about the joy of the Great Sea and the tangled web of overlapping lives that—surprisingly, joyously, vibrantly—allowed Vienna to seem, even for a moment, like a neighbor of İzmir or Jaffa, just another of the twinkling cities on the great necklace of Western history that is the Mediterranean. Likely as not, considering the Habsburgs as important Mediterranean players will remain a niche subject, an enlightened opinion for those who have read and thought as widely as the authors of these essays. But in the end, if Morris and Magris cannot make Trieste famous again, they are at no fault for having tried. Sometimes the most interesting things are not those that are the best known.

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Klaas Van Gelder, ed., *More Than Mere Spectacle: Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. New York: Berghahn, 2021. 326 pp.

Klaas Van Gelder's new edited volume offers a first-rate exploration of what its subtitle announces: "Coronations and Inaugurations in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century." After an effective and valuable introduction, Van Gelder provides ten individual chapters by mostly younger historians from Austria, Hungary, Czechia, Germany, Belgium, and England. Senior colleague Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly rounds off the book in her afterword by summarily emphasizing the differences between the contractual *Huldigung* (inauguration) and the *Krönung* (coronation), the latter being a religious ceremony in which the *Salbung* (anointing) transformed the ruler into God's representative on earth (4, 303). In regard to the latter's enactment of a *Gottesgnadentum* one can, of course, still rely on Ernst Kantorowicz's magisterial investigation in his 1957 study on the French monarchy, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*.

Maybe because this concept of a theologically founded monarchial society is from a bygone era, and the long-ruling Habsburg dynasty ceased to exist more than a century ago, older literature claimed that by the eighteenth century, inaugural rites turned into nothing but spectacles. This book convincingly corrects this reductive notion, instead stressing that "these performances were not merely dazzling trivialities; they carried constitutional, political, and social meaning" (1).

Since I am not an expert on this given topic, I cannot verify to what extent there is an upsurge of research on inaugural rituals in premodern times, as Van Gelder credibly outlines. Likewise, I trust the editor's judgment that despite this renewed interest in the subject matter by historians and art historians alike, the Habsburg monarchy has been "largely neglected" (2). This is all the more surprising given that the composite monarchy participated in more inaugural rites than any other dynasty—"a rough estimation yields some one hundred of them between 1700 and 1848" (2)—the latter year marking a caesura for these public rites of empowerment since the estates-based society formally ended in 1848. In the first chapter, Petr Mata substantiates in a chronological overview the major ceremonies that secured Habsburg power over its multiple estates. The ensuing chapters show the specific roles for each of the major ceremonies in the different lands and estates of the Habsburg monarchy.

Whereas Leopold I and even more so Joseph II forewent many of the investiture rites and thereby demonstrated their independence as absolute sovereigns over their vast estates, it did not signify their elimination—far from it, as Emperor Francis II/I's long rulership (1792–1835) shows. In his case, the turmoil of the Napoleonic wars led to a revival of such rituals, as William D. Godsey shows. And Milos Reznik's essay even explains the significance of such political and social events for the Galician inauguration in 1772: since it had no ceremonial precursor, the adoption of such a ritual act was even more necessary in order to integrate the new territory into the Austrian state system.

What becomes obvious in these essays is how much different political groups and subjects used the enthronements as a way to represent and enact their privileges vis-à-vis the Habsburg king/emperor, such that Van Gelder can summarize: "The extent to which groups of subjects had a say in the organization varied considerably from one region to another" (10). Petra Vokáčová, for example, elaborates how Charles VI's Bohemian coronation in 1723 was a top-down event, whereas Klaas van Gelder and Thomas Cambrelin explain in their respective essays how the estates of the Austrian Netherlands swore the oath of homage only after lengthy negotiations with the Habsburg monarchs. The latter participatory power relations also apply for the Hungarian Estates, as Fanni Hende details.

Each of these essays outlining individual circumstances in the vast conglomerate of the Habsburg empire appears comprehensive to a novice such as myself. Yet Van Gelder closes his introduction by stating that the book does not claim to be exhaustive since it leaves out some important Habsburg lands such as Upper and Lower Austria and the Italian possessions. Likewise, this volume does not include the wider reception by different social groups and how they ascribed different meanings to these glamorous political spectacles (17).

While the editor Van Gelder considers these two areas as lacunae for the subject at hand, I find, from the perspective of a cultural historian, some other worthy aspects deserving of mention. While the authors for example refer to panegyric leaflets and to musical-theatrical performances, for example, these references are only cursory. Lacking is an interpretation of cultural productions as integral parts of these rituals that by definition lend meaning to the various public and official acts of empowering the Habsburg dynasty. Nonetheless, this call for a more expansive view on inaugurations and coronations in the Habsburg monarchy is just another way of complimenting

this excellent research by a younger cadre of historians, for it testifies that they lay the important groundwork for interdisciplinary research at the intersection of culture and power. These prospects will also be possible thanks to the visual reproductions, the index, and the general care by the editor and publisher, as each essay closes with meticulous notes and a bibliography.

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Salvatore Pappalardo, *Modernism in Trieste: The Habsburg Mediterranean and the Literary Invention of Europe, 1870–1945*. *New Directions in German Studies* 31. New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021. 261 pp.

When we think of Habsburg Studies, we do not immediately think of the Mediterranean. Yet Salvatore Pappalardo's richly provocative new book—a work of “disciplinary expansion,” in his own terms—encourages us to do precisely that. He explores ideas of membership, belonging, identity, nationhood, and the meaning of “Europe” itself as they appear in the literature of (or inspired by) Trieste in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because Trieste is now a part of Italy, Pappalardo points out, the research on his topic “is usually conducted in the domain of Italian Studies.” But that very fact reflects a retrospective national perspective that the Triestine literature and history under consideration challenge. Pappalardo describes his own goal in very different terms: “this book reclaims Trieste for Austrian and Habsburg Studies and, more generally, calls for the incorporation of Austro-Italian affairs into the canon of literary studies concerning Central Europe” (7). In so doing, it challenges us to consider a non-national vision of a Europe that might have developed along alternative lines, becoming (as it were) a Habsburgian collection of crosscutting local, regional, ethnic, and linguistic identities and allegiances.

After a lengthy introduction laying out the literary and historical background to debates about (non-)national belonging in late nineteenth-century Trieste, the book consists primarily of four chapters. First is a discussion of *fin de siècle* debates in Trieste (though not only there) about the sources of European identity. In particular, Pappalardo confronts the dominant classicist narrative of Europe's Greco-Roman origins with a competing account of Europe as arising from a “Phoenician Mediterranean.” As a seafaring,

commercial people who settled in cities around the Mediterranean coast but lacked a single imperial center, the Phoenicians offered a fluid model of cultural and economic exchange across a broad network of local allegiances. Furthermore, as an African and Semitic people—whose city of Carthage had been Rome’s great, and ultimately defeated, rival—they supplied an intrinsically subversive narrative about European origins, one that celebrated the marginal underdog (my word, not Pappalardo’s). Pappalardo persuasively shows that this Phoenician narrative, though ultimately unsubstantiated, nevertheless influenced the thought of figures such as Sigmund Freud, Theodor Däubler, and Srećko Kosovel.

It also became one thread in the web of ideas linking the three authors who are Pappalardo’s primary focus and the subjects of the three succeeding chapters: Robert Musil, Italo Svevo, and James Joyce. These chapters are small tours de force, each of them nicely combining attention to the book’s broad themes with close, careful readings of multiple texts. The chapter on Musil begins with a fascinating discussion of Vienna’s Adria-Ausstellung in 1913, stressing the empire’s Mediterranean reach on the brink of the war that would ultimately sever Trieste from Austria, and it leads into a discussion of Musil’s work by examining the visual propaganda supporting that exhibition, especially its use of the myth of Europa (a myth that re-emerges in subsequent chapters). In discussing Svevo, Pappalardo argues that the author’s imperfect and often criticized Italian, along with his attraction to Triestine dialect, represents a deliberate strategy of resistance to Italian irredentism and a subtle gesture of support for non-national forms of allegiance. The chapter on Joyce—which was most challenging for me, no doubt because of my limited familiarity with Joyce’s work, but which left me bound and determined to read *Finnegans Wake*—returns us to the idea of an Irish-Phoenician-Triestine model for a United States of Europe and highlights Joyce’s at once playful and serious linguistic experimentation as an aspect of his broader cultural and political vision. The book ends with a brief concluding reflection on how its themes reverberate into the late twentieth century in the thought of Claudio Magris and Jacques Derrida.

Modernism in Trieste is a thoroughly enjoyable read, pulling together a diverse cast of characters and illuminating the Habsburg legacy for European consciousness from a stimulating range of ethnic, national, cultural and linguistic perspectives—Austrian, German, Italian, Slavic, Jewish, and even Irish. Pappalardo succeeds admirably in his stated goal of reclaiming

Trieste for Austrian and Habsburg studies. He also highlights the continuing relevance of his literary subjects and their non-national allegiances for our own moment in history: the book begins with a reference to contemporary migration and refugee crises in Europe, and it ends by returning to this theme: “The current refugee crisis and other forced migrations from the global South suggests [*sic*] that Europe may need to return to one of its many origins—the literary invention of Europe, the product of an unlikely Habsburg southern thought—to imagine its future” (240).

At the same time, if the book has a weakness, it is the reverse of these very strengths: a sometimes overly partisan enthusiasm for the non-national, and a concomitant hesitation to recognize the real virtues and achievements of nationalism and its positive contributions to the development of stable liberal democracies. Habsburg scholars perhaps incline congenitally toward an under-appreciation of national traditions—a not insignificant blind spot in a world where arguably no other ideology exceeds nationalism in its emotional and inspirational force. Be that as it may, this is a learned, wide-ranging, and stimulating study that explores a fascinating cast of characters (including not only Musil, Svevo, and Joyce, but also a range of less-known figures not discussed here), challenges conventional understandings of European and national identity, and expands our conception of “Austrian Studies” in valuable and suggestive ways. It will be read profitably by all those interested in thinking creatively about the Habsburg legacy for Europe.

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Alicia E. Ellis, *Gender and Identity in Franz Grillparzer's Classical Dramas*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2021. 175 pp.

The new study of Grillparzer by Alicia E. Ellis discusses the female protagonists in three of his classical dramas. The study emphasizes gender, identity, and related issues such as women’s social standing and constraints in ancient Greek culture. The three are Grillparzer’s versions of familiar figures from classical texts (myths and dramas), analyzed here with the benefit of applicable contemporary feminist views, particularly the theories of Judith Butler and Sara Ahmed. Ellis states in her introduction, “I do not explicitly argue

that Grillparzer was a feminist [. . .] but rather that his work can be read as a feminist intervention where gender and difference become the site of the constitution of his subjects” (3). She emphasizes the significance of “female speech,” which in these dramas “resists the negating power of containment, regulation and punishment” (1). All three women are willful and rebellious, all are treated unjustly by authorities and circumstances, and all “eventually leave the lives that have alienated them” (9). Ellis identifies the women as Sappho “the alienated poetess,” Medea “the rejected witch,” and Hero “the isolated priestess” (23).

The chapter on the 1818 play *Sappho* is “organized around the categories of inclusion and exclusion” (31). The play opens with Sappho returning home from Olympia triumphant after winning the highest laurels for her poetry. As Ellis states, “She appears to have considerable autonomy,” but she must face a hard choice. “She must be either artist or woman; one precludes the other” (37). Sappho must choose between “a commonplace and domestic life with her lover Phaon” (55) and her role in the male-dominated and socially exalted world of poetry. She decides to choose love over her art. Ellis asserts, “Sappho’s decision to retreat from the lofty heights of poesy is the dream of integration, [. . .] the exchange of the laurel wreath of fame (the public sphere) for the myrtle (the domestic sphere)” (35). Tragically for her, Phaon falls in love with Melitta, a slave, and Sappho is left with emptiness. As Ellis concludes, “The final three acts [. . .] depict rapid unraveling of Sappho’s world, embodied in rejection by Melitta and Phaon and loss of belief in her identity as both poetess and woman” (52). Sappho commits suicide.

Medea, in the 1821 play named for her, is an outsider for several reasons. As Ellis notes, “Even as a princess of Colchis, Medea existed on the periphery as a barbarian witch disobedient to the sovereignty of her father, the king” (70). She longs for social belonging but instead is marginalized as a foreigner and a witch with strange magical powers. Willful and outspoken, she condemns her father for defying the ideal of hospitality by putting a foreigner to death, rebelling against the man who “as both sovereign and patriarch is invested with a dual power which should restrict Medea in all ways—domestic, civic, and psychological” (77). She speaks up boldly, rejecting the silence expected of her. As in the familiar story, Medea is betrayed by her husband Jason and destroys his new family, murdering his new beloved and Medea’s own estranged sons. Yet, as Ellis states, “Grillparzer creates a sympathetic character in his interpretation of Medea” (80). According to Ellis, “Grillparzer takes

the *muthos* and reimagines Medea as both victim and victimizer. She has been repeatedly wounded by the men in her life [. . .] she has absorbed the knowledge of her own apartness and uses her alterity to demonstrate that she also wields a power than can expel, curse, and lay waste” (96).

Grillparzer’s drama *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* (1831), subject of Ellis’s third chapter, is based on the Greek myth about the pair of lovers, Hero and Leander, known for their nocturnal swims to meet each other, guided by lamps. Eventually a storm puts out the light and Leander drowns. When Hero sees his body, she commits suicide by throwing herself from a tower. Of the three heroines discussed in Ellis’s book, Hero is the most human. She is “a good but naïve young woman who struggles with desires” (108–9), a priestess of Aphrodite who violates her duty to remain chaste. “Hero’s flight into the sacred life is a form of urgent escape rather than a path that she takes with focused intentionality” (107). According to Ellis, “her feminist impulse is about the content of her speech and the relationship between desire and meaning. This discourse is about desire in all of its manifestations—a bodily desire and a longing to be free from the constraints of a life barely understood. Language creates these experiences” (109). Like Sappho and Medea, Hero is constrained from developing her own identity or determining her life course.

In her conclusion, Ellis states, “Language is a cultural, political, and religious mechanism that structures the way that identity and subjectivity are verbalized and performed as gendered categories” in the three dramas analyzed. She asserts that “Sappho, Medea, and Hero defied the ways in which women were expected to articulate themselves as they struggled with restraints on their self-expression” (151). After positing that the content of their speech was desire, she concludes, “Grillparzer’s achievement was to create a space in which these desires were voiced—even if [. . .] the tragic conclusions of the ancient materials were known to us as modern readers” (152). In this book Ellis deftly brings together not only “ancient materials” and “modern readers” but Grillparzer’s nineteenth-century dramatic art and contemporary feminism.

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Stefan Haderer, *Im Schatten Homers: Kaiserin Elisabeth in Griechenland*.
Vienna: Stefan Haderer epubli, 2021. 256 pp.

When studying the life of Empress Elisabeth, one is virtually fated to do battle with the thick haze of Sissi mythology that surrounds it. The romantic topoi of generations both dead and living often weigh like headaches on the brain of the historian. *Im Schatten Homers*, Stefan Haderer's biography of the Kaiserin, laser-focused on her frequent travels to Greece, offers a rewarding new twist on this theme. As its title suggests, the volume not only "closes the holes" (14) in our knowledge of Elisabeth's Mediterranean sojourns but also reveals how thoroughly bound up they were in her intimate engagement with the myths of others. Olympian deities and Bronze Age heroes, filtered through Homer, modern poetry, and contemporary archaeology, shone for her as cultural touchstones—even, to some degree, filling in as parasocial companions. While her alienation from the Habsburg court deepened and family tragedies ripped holes in her heart, Elisabeth found a "dream world" (39) in Greece, a "self-selected exile" (194) that soothed her emotionally, stimulated her intellectually, and gave respite from the stifling expectations of life at the center of the monarchy.

Haderer's meticulous narrative, constructed from extensive periodical, archival, and biographical sources, fluently examines the fifteen visits the Empress made to Greece, beginning with her first landing on Corfu in 1861 and ending with her final departure from that same island in 1896. Although she ranged widely throughout the Ionian, the Aegean, the west coast of Asia Minor, plus a few hotspots along the Gulf of Corinth, usually lodging aboard her yacht, Corfu became Elisabeth's geographical and spiritual home base. It was there she built herself a new palace, the Achilleion. Shattered by the 1889 death of her son, Crown Prince Rudolf, Elisabeth retreated to this inner sanctum throughout the early 1890s. It monumentalized her identification with the eponymous Homeric figure, whose story brought a measure of solace. "In the myth of Achilles were reflected all those themes that had occupied and moved Elisabeth her whole life: the fulfillment of duty, willpower, but also the tragedy of bereavement, death, and ultimately the omnipotence of Fate, which can strike entirely unexpectedly at any time" (89). Elisabeth's deeply personal connection to the landscape, history, and symbolic appeal of Greece punctuates the book, especially in the form of poems she composed while on her travels, which appear at the end of each chapter.

The Empress did not spend her time in Greece, however, only in the company of distant legends. One of Haderer's main objectives is to shed light on the importance of Elisabeth's relationships with the string of learned men who guided her, beginning with her so-called Reisemarschall, the diplomat Alexander von Warsberg, and then the ten Greek "readers" (*Vorleser*) who served her between 1888 and 1898. Warsberg, onetime Habsburg consul to Greece, was Elisabeth's beloved mentor throughout the 1880s, whose travel writings and personal tours unlocked "the secrets of Homeric Greece" (62). After his death, this role fell to a series of (for the most part) young gentlemen, who also instructed the Empress in Greek. Like most who met her, these tutor-confidants fell under her spell: thanks to her charm and beauty, yes, but also because she was a diligent pupil and a quick study (114). The readers' memoirs and papers constitute an important segment of Haderer's documentation (as a bonus, eight pages of reader Konstantin Christomanos's diaries are appended), and the prominence in the book of the men themselves does much to help contextualize Elisabeth's social life in Greece from (elite) Greek perspectives.

The way that Franz Joseph lurks on the margins of Elisabeth's ebullient, artistic Hellenophilia is a subtle yet remarkable feature of this book. Although Haderer sticks up for him, particularly against charges of jealousy (120), the Kaiser often comes across as a tedious philistine. To wit: while von Warsberg regales an enraptured Elisabeth with lectures on Heinrich Schliemann's excavations of Troy, Franz Joseph sits in boredom (62); during her escapes to Greece, the Empress hikes to ancient ruins and pens elegies; the Emperor spends his holidays on the French Riviera, hitting the Casino with his mistress (180). It seems little wonder, then, that the Hermesvilla in Vienna—which he designed in hopes of keeping the Kaiserin closer to home—could only fail to do its job, a feeble substitute for all that Elisabeth found enchanting about Greece.

Im Schatten Homers is engaging and well sourced, painted with the fine brush of an author committed to getting all the details of the composition just right. At times, however, one wishes that the canvas were a bit larger. Haderer does an appreciable job establishing the political and cultural contexts of the events in question, particularly when it comes to the Kingdom of Greece. But how do Elisabeth's journeys fit into the bigger picture of nineteenth-century travel, royal or otherwise? How does her fascination with the classical past connect to the broader discourses of Orientalism, imperialism,

and competitive archaeological nationalism? Is her worship of Homer idiosyncratic, or does it speak to something more generally true among the European aristocracy? It would have been welcome, in other words, to receive additional “hooks” for this research beyond its specific biographic scope. That said, scholars and enthusiasts who already know what to do with this story will find it a trove of intimate treasures.

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Ursula Butz, *Habsburg als Touristenmagnet: Monarchie und Fremdenverkehr in den Ostalpen 1820–1910*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2021. 204 pp.

Tourism history is popular these days. *Habsburg als Touristenmagnet*, Ursula Butz’s University of Lucerne dissertation on the development of three famous spa destinations (Ischl in the Salzkammergut, Meran in South Tyrol, Reichenau/Semmering in Lower Austria, very close to Vienna) in the Eastern Alps of the Habsburg Monarchy during the nineteenth century is part of a larger University of Lucerne project financed by the Swiss National Fund on “majestic mountains,” monarchy, and tourism in the Alps. Butz’s specific interest is how much the presence of members of the Habsburg family in these budding resort towns served as a “magnet” to draw the monarchy’s nobility and, eventually, common citizens to these destinations. The book seems to be a direct publication of her dissertation with the usual dissertation features (“*Forschungsfragen und Gliederung*,” etc.), with no effort made to present the raw research results to a broader audience.

Bad Ischl began to take off as a spa town after the Archbishop of Olomouc, the Habsburg Archduke Rudolf, came to take the waters for a number of years in the 1820s and was “cured.” This gave Ischl prestige as a spa town (55). When Prince Metternich and his advisor, Friedrich von Gentz, along with Count Kolowrat came to Ischl and sang its praises, members of the Habsburg family soon showed up too. Emperor Francis Joseph made it his “summer residence” (67), coming regularly to Ischl to enjoy the mountains and vistas and going hunting. This drew other Habsburg family members and crowned heads of Europe, along with the monarchy’s elite aristocracy. By the 1840s, Bad Ischl was a well-known spa town. The turn towards twentieth-century mass tourism in the Salzkammergut is described by Christian Dirninger in

Kurt Luger and Franz Rest, eds., *Alpenreisen: Erlebnis, Raumtransformationen, Imagination* (2017).

Writers, scientists, and artists discovered Meran in the 1830s; even a popular London Magazine wrote about it. Habsburg family members soon came on short official visits. What was attractive for visitors to Meran was “the wine, the mild climate and the beautiful mountain scene” around it (69). Tourism (“*Fremdenverkehr*”) is said to have started in 1836. Meran quickly became a spa town too with wine and water cures. When Empress Elisabeth visited Meran in 1871 with her sickly daughter Marie Valerie and an entourage of 113 persons, Meran soon attracted big crowds of visitors—it became a popular “*Sommerfrische*” resort (72). The royals returned in 1889.

Scientists discovered Reichenau and it soon became “base camp” for those who climbed the nearby Schneeberg (76; see the poster of the Schneebergbahn in the Wolfgang Kos essay in Luger and Rest, eds., *Alpenreisen*). Soon aristocrats came but also *Bildungsbürger*. When members of the imperial family opened the famous railroad line across the Semmering in 1854, Reichenau and the Semmering became favorite destinations for the Viennese, who often visited for a day trip (77). In the early 1860s Emperor Franz Joseph’s children spent their summers in Reichenau, and soon the emperor’s brother Karl Ludwig and his family came to town regularly and built a villa there. Reichenau became a spa town and, due to the Semmering railroad, the Semmering became a favorite tourist destination for the Viennese. The big hotels built on the Semmering attracted thousands of people (see the poster on the *Südbahnhotel*, in Luger and West, eds., *Alpenreisen*).

The heart of Butz’s dissertation is an analysis of the almost ten thousand *Kur- und Fremdenlisten* in the three spa towns under investigation (for her methodology, see 197–201). Amazingly, every visitor and his/her party was listed individually, along with where he/she stayed. From these lists Butz established quantitative graphs showing guest frequencies from year to year. These allow one to follow the regular growth of tourism in all three spa towns. Meran’s growth at the turn of the century was the steepest (89–91, 96). In its case, Butz identified spikes after Empress Elisabeth’s 1871 and 1889 visits (93); no such spikes show up in the cases of Ischl and Reichenau, where the royals visited more regularly. Butz also covers improvements in traffic (97–102), as the building of the railroads in the later nineteenth century in the monarchy made reaching these spa towns easier. The result was the advent of mass tourism. At the same time basic tourist offerings improved from year to year (hotels, *Gasthöfe*, etc.). The spa offerings improved, as did basic infrastructure

(gas, electricity, water). All three towns also needed to add entertainment. Ischl's theater performances at their peak are said to have matched Vienna's (113), but this is difficult to credit. From these lists, Butz also figured out the exact percentage of aristocrats who visited. Her conclusion is that their numbers declined precipitously in the later nineteenth century (118).

Butz has done prodigious research to establish microhistories of these three spa towns in the Eastern Alps. Next to the lists cited above, she has looked at many tourist guide books on these areas, as well as a vast array of newspapers of the late monarchy, to study the "resonance" of royal and aristocratic visits to these spas (139). It should also be said that the book is very nicely illustrated, with rare photos and artwork from many different archives in Austria covering the holdings of the monarchy. Her research in these Austrian archives is impeccable. What is missing is the rich Anglo-American literature on tourism and spa towns in nineteenth-century Europe, for example *Taking the Cure: A History of Intrigue, Politics, Art and Healing*, David Clay Large's 2015 book on famous European spa towns in the nineteenth century.

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Björn Hayer, *Utopielyrik. Möglichkeitsdimensionen im poetischen Werk. Friedrich Hölderlin—Rainer Maria Rilke—Paul Celan*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021. 288 S.

Utopien stehen in keinem guten Ruf, sie altern schlecht, zumal, was wie ein großes Versprechen daherkommt, rückblickend vielleicht eine Dystopie geworden ist. Zugleich lotet diese Gattung aus, wofür die Gesellschaft offen sein solle—und: wozu. Die "signifikante Fokussierung auf Sozialutopien" (7) ist in der Literatur deutlich.

Dabei gibt es zunächst Idealstaaten, später wird der Prozess dorthin ins Licht gerückt, und zwar auch als einer, der nicht dort abbricht, wo man erreicht hat, was zu erreichen gewesen sei. Gerade die Literatur kann das dynamische Moment abbilden, das bleiben möge, damit nicht die Frage bleibt, die etwa Slavoj Žižek formuliert: Wie es denn bei beispielsweise dem plakativen Film *V for Vendetta* auch nur am nächsten Tage weitergehen könne, dann, wenn der Abspann Zusehern diese Frage erspart.

Es geht also um eine Hoffnung, die aber nicht subjektiv bleiben solle,

die vor allem dialektisch das Subjekt, das was auch immer hoffe, einbegreifen müsse, so schreibt Björn Hayer in seiner nun als Buch vorliegenden Habilitation mit Ernst Bloch: “Das Eigentliche dämmert so im gesamten Potenzial der Materie” (23), wie jener in *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* schreibt. Das Medium hierfür ist die Kunst, deren Prozess sich “seiner Fixierung [. . .] widersetzt” (27), wie mit Adorno gesagt wird. Zumindest entzieht er sich derlei.

Ästhetik wird hier ethisch und Ethik ästhetisch, parallel konstatiert der Verfasser eine Synergie von “Lyrik und Utopie” (36), die ihn zu den Autoren führt, welche im Mittelpunkt stehen: Friedrich Hölderlin, Rainer Maria Rilke sowie Paul Celan.

Hölderlins Werk entsteht aus dem Rückzug, aber auch dem demokratischen oder egalitären Traum, so Hayer. Die Ästhetik ist dabei dem Bereich zugeordnet, wo die Utopie “erst begründet, wovon sie spricht,” wodurch sie “Dauer versprechen kann” (47), im Ringen mit dem, was Natur sei, aber nicht ist, so wird mit Geisenhanslücke analysiert. Das heißt, es wird hier zugleich “die Brücke zwischen einem Gestern und einem Heute geschlagen” (47)—das *Jetzt* ist schon radikal neu, es ist schon nicht mehr das notorisch Falsche, aus dem sich die Utopie ex negativo speist.

Wie kommt die Natur gegenüber dem zu ihrem Recht, was Natur zu sein vorgibt?—“Der Dichter gibt der Natur eine sprachliche Gestalt” (58). Die Aporien dieser einmal personifizierten, dann wieder begrifflich gefassten und insofern sehr kultürlichen Natur ließen sich mit Hölderlin verfolgen, aber stattdessen wird das Griechische als jener “Ursprung, der sich selbst nicht erst rekonstruieren muss” (62), ausgemacht. Hier besteht eine problematische Polarität, die konstatiert wird, aber in ihrer Dynamik nicht ernstgenommen. Vielleicht ist es symptomatisch, dass die Beschreibung Hölderlins in Parataxe erfolgt, was des Diskurses harrt, das bleibt hier doch statisch. “Während Hölderlins Poeme auf der einen Seite präzise ein sozialutopisches Programm ausgestalten, fördern sie auf der anderen eine elementare Offenheit zutage” (83)—und genau diese gründliche Teilung entspricht den Ambivalenzen nicht, wie sich eigentlich aus dem von Hayer formulierten Grundriss ergeben müsste. “Der Leser ist dazu angehalten, die Andeutungen des Textes auf die Zukunft hin imaginär weiter auszugestalten” (85), doch nur aufgrund dessen, dass “die stimmige Vereinigung von Oppositionen [. . .] noch Utopie ist”

(84), was indes in einer gewissen Stimmigkeit doch im Text Hölderlins formuliert sein muss.

Diese Sprachbewegung schildert Hayer bei Rilke. “Performative Utopien” (99) bietet dieser. Auch da gehe es um eine Imagination der “noch ungebrochenen Welt” (101), die aber in die Zukunft projiziert wird. Mit zahllosen Belegstellen, die immer in extenso zitiert werden, beschreibt der Verfasser so Nostalgien, die einem “erweiterten Welt-Horizont” (161), wie er mit Görner beschworen wird, doch zuarbeiten sollen. Die Spannungen, die sich entwickeln ließen—und zu entwickeln wären, auch aufgrund der Grundthesen—werden einem utopischen Entspannungsprogramm geopfert.

Bei Celan wiederholt sich das Plastisch-Antithetische. Manchmal gelingen Hayer auch da programmatische Bestimmungen, aber dann ist man wieder ratlos in der “transitorische(n) Zone” (169), die dem Verfasser aufgeht—oder die er eben doch auch entwirft. “Der Tod wird [. . .] seiner brachialen Endlichkeit entledigt” (174), das stimmt, aber es stimmt zugleich nicht. Die Sprache, mit der etwas die überdauert, deren Endlösungsphantasien scheiterten, an der Sprache und jedem Menschen, der noch spricht, und zwar kein *Officialese*, wie Hannah Arendt Eichmanns Unsprache nennt, lässt diesem Tod nicht das letzte Wort—aber die Toten bleiben tot und “die Aufhebung der [. . .] modernen Entfremdung” (174) erreicht sie nicht. Vielleicht ist sie so formuliert auch Kitsch, der die Entfremdung als überwindbare darstellend sie permaniert. Die Formulierung, dass Celan “die Toten revitalisiert” (185), ist jedenfalls problematisch. “Sprache als performative Heimatutopie” (205) kommt so zum Stillstand, auch dadurch, dass Hayer immer wieder Positives verortet, bis hin zu Kolumbus, der für die “nötige Bereitschaft des Erkunders” (185) stehe, offenbar nicht aber für die Kälte dessen, der eine Form der Aufklärung vertritt, die imperialistische Züge deutlich aufweist. Die Feststellung, dass “sich Celans Lyrik [. . .] statischer Fixierungen verweigert” (205), steht insofern als Behauptung zwischen allerlei Fixierungen, denen diese Dichtung aber in der Tat fremd ist. Deren “Hermetik” (210), so oft schon bemüht und widerlegt, ist wie ein Reflex auf die Deutung, die so verfährt.

Ein kursorischer Blick auf Utopien in neueren Dichtungen schließt an. Man lernt hier neue Stimmen kennen, was nicht ohne Reiz ist. Abgerundet wird der Band mit einem Literaturverzeichnis, das leider u.a. aus Vivian “Vivien” Liska macht.

Insgesamt liegt eine Monographie vor, die spannend anhebt, dann aber nicht immer zielsicher wirkt und einer Bloch'schen Zuversicht und einem allzu generösen Formulieren—zu Dichtern, über die schon ungleich differenzierter geschrieben wurde—das opfert, was an philologischer Genauigkeit zuweilen gerade um der so nur behaupteten Utopie willen vonnöten wäre.

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Artur Pelka and Christian Poik, eds., *Joseph Roth unterwegs in Europa*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2021. 171 pp.

Joseph Roth is still a household name in modern German and Austrian Studies in part because so much of what he wrote lends itself very well to the debates around nationhood, religion, modernity, and identity in the twenty-first century. The recurring presence of his name in a multitude of studies devoted to migration, mobility, postcolonialism, exile, political identity, otherness, etc. in the last five years alone bears testimony to this fact. It is therefore understandable that Artur Pelka and Christian Poik frame their edited volume *Joseph Roth unterwegs in Europa* around the theme of movement. The articles themselves, however, are thematically heterogeneous and only partially reflect the purported main theme.

Heinz Lunzer addresses the need for a new, annotated, and updated edition of Roth's works, one structured along chronological lines and not by genre. This edition would incorporate organically the princeps and subsequent editions of his works, as well as the manuscripts, annotations, editorial comments, author's own notes, critical-historical notes, and so forth. The purpose is to both correct the textual errors that occurred at the publication of the texts and to offer the reader a better sense of the historical Roth, not a modernized, updated one. The International Joseph Roth Society in Vienna's anniversary booklets of 2018 and 2019 offer an example of this approach. Similarly, Armin Eidherr supports a new edition of Roth's works, emphasizing the importance of Roth's Jewish background and his constant dialogue with the Yiddish and Judaic traditions. It is, however, questionable whether a new edition that highlights Roth's Yiddish and Hebrew intertextuality would be justified, since Judaism and the Jewish identity played a role for Roth mostly as fictional loci in a dialogue with a primarily Western, non-Jewish readership.

Roth's own biography demonstrates that, as an assimilated German-speaking Jew with cosmopolitan aspirations, his own familiarity with the world of the shtetl and Judaism was fairly limited.

Iris Hermann and Aneta Jachimowicz offer a comparative interpretation of Roth's novels *Job* and *The Hundred Days*. For Hermann, the tragedy of the Eastern European Jewish migration in the twentieth century, which Roth depicts in *Job* and *Wandering Jews*, strikes similar notes to the one present in Jenny Erpenbeck's *Aller Tage Abend*. Jachimowicz considers the similarities and differences between *The Hundred Days* and the identically titled play co-written by none other than the Italian "duce," Benito Mussolini. The author argues that while Roth's novel hovers between conservative-Catholic ideas about humility and power and the modern preoccupations with subjectivity, time, and mass psychology, Mussolini's play offers a justification for the "strongman" theory of charismatic leadership.

Hans Richard Brittnacher's article takes a point of departure in Walter Benjamin's essay "The Storyteller." Brittnacher looks at three narrative genres that Roth favored in his later career—confession, tale, and legend—with examples from *The Confession of a Murderer*, *The Tale of the 1002nd Night*, and "The Legend of the Holy Drinker" and concludes that they are not what they pretend to be. The confession is lacking in contrition, the tale has no happy ending, and the legend fails to entrench an exemplary story. Hence, Brittnacher argues that Roth's late narratives fail the storytelling test: they offer no meaningful experience, no existential fulfillment, but live on as empty forms, as ghosts of a bygone age in a modern era of meaningless ruin. Although Brittnacher's argument is solid, there also exists a possibility that Roth deceived the reader's expectations intentionally, in the tradition of the Hasidic tales and legends. As Martin Buber points out, the Hasidic tales assert the possibility of redemption "from the midst of uncleanness," through the purification not of the world but of the soul.

Rainer-Joachim Siegel makes an interesting argument about Roth's complex relationship with film, based on newly discovered documents that reveal that although Roth notoriously associated film, especially Hollywood-style commercial films, with the demonology of modernity, he always fostered an interest in the possibilities of film as a medium and even strove to obtain film or script contracts throughout his life.

Katarzyna Jaśtał shows that Roth followed Max Picard in considering the modern disinterest in the human face and the industrial focus on individu-

al body parts (including through advertisement, especially cosmetics) as a disinterest in the uniqueness of human beings. Unfortunately, Jaśtał's article does not go into the substance of Roth's critique of modern technological rationality, which still remains a controversial topic in the Roth scholarship. Bastian Lasse tries to demonstrate, via a heavy and often unnecessary barrage of critical theory terms, that the hotel in Roth's works is a space of loneliness because its homeliness is undermined by capitalism. However, he fails to account for Roth's fascination with the world of the hotels.

Maria Kłańska's article discusses Soma Morgenstern's (auto)biographical *Joseph Roths Flucht und Ende* in order to show the affinities and differences between the two Galician writers. Certain controversial episodes related to Roth's Jewish identity and his fictional work are analyzed from a more detached, objective perspective that corroborates biographical details provided by other Roth biographers. Victoria Lunzer-Talos provides a very interesting biographical investigation of the relationship between Joseph Roth and Helene Szajnocha-Schenk, an Austrian-Polish mentor and French teacher who molded Roth's interest in all things French. Lunzer-Talos's archival research shows not only the warm friendship that united Szajnocha-Schenk and Roth but also the role Szajnocha-Schenk's classical education and refined literary taste played in encouraging and guiding the development of the young writer and journalist.

Joseph Roth unterwegs in Europa is a notable contribution to the Roth scholarship, although the quality of the articles is somewhat uneven.

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Stefan Zweig, *Diaries (1931–1940)*. Annotated by Jesús Blázquez. Trans. Ediciones 98, S.L. Madrid: Ediciones 98, 2021. 156 pp.

Zweig's *Tagebücher*, the diaries that he kept sporadically between 1912 and 1940, first came out in the original German in 1984. With this publication by the Spanish publisher Ediciones 98, we have the first translation of the Zweig diaries into English. This volume contains the later entries, starting in the year 1931; the editor promises that a second volume with the entries from 1912 to 1918 translated into English is in the works and will also be published soon.

Zweig was not a diligent diarist—he kept diaries only occasionally, at

times of change or emotional upheaval. That makes the entries we have that much more interesting. The present volume begins with Zweig's resumption of his journaling after a thirteen-year hiatus in October 1931, at a time when he sensed that the political situation in Austria—and Europe, as a whole—was taking a dangerous direction, and when he was also fully engaged in work on his biography of Marie Antoinette. The precipitating event for his return to diary writing, however, seems to have been the death of his colleague, the Austrian writer Arthur Schnitzler, who at the age of 69 had succumbed to a brain hemorrhage. Zweig notes that Schnitzler had been depressed—"sick and tired of living" (15)—and because Zweig himself gets to that point by the end of these diaries, it is a telling place, in hindsight, for this chronicling to begin. Whatever Zweig's intentions were as he took up recording his daily thoughts and activities again, he continued entries only through December 6. The diaries then resume in January 1935 for approximately two weeks when Zweig visits New York during a time he describes as a "profound artistic and personal crisis." Except for his comment about some Jewish reporters who at an event at which he was present seemed "unpleasant," probably because—as the editor of the volume notes—they may have addressed his "tepid condemnation of Hitler's anti-semitic policies," there is no mention of any political situation. It is well known that Zweig was often criticized because he failed to speak out loudly against the rising tide of Nazism, whatever his reasons may have been. This may have caused his increasing discomfort and fear of public events—he recognizes at the end of this set of entries that he wishes no longer "to compete" in that arena (perhaps with people like Thomas Mann and others) to achieve success.

The next date on which he entered into his diaries was September 27, 1935, recording a trip from Paris to London, his home at the time. This entry reminds the present-day reader of some of the musings in Zweig's *The World of Yesterday*; he laments the current state of the world, remembering a time when borders were crossed without having to wait in line for bureaucrats to stamp documents that attest to one's citizenship. A year later, in August 1936, Zweig journals for three weeks about his ocean crossing to (and first impressions of) Brazil—the country that he would return to four years later to live and ultimately die in. The editor, in an endnote, has supplied the reader with a description of Zweig's unhappy circumstances at the time—the breakup of his marriage, the dismantling of his Austrian home and writing haven, his necessary flight to a temporary abode in London, a sick mother in

Vienna, and the lack of any female companion with whom he might travel. In that state of mind, it is no wonder that to Zweig Brazil seemed like a land of opportunity—it might provide a new beginning. Compared with the entries he recorded on visiting New York almost two years earlier in which he seemed to distance himself from the city, it is as if Zweig is already trying to see himself living in Brazil. He sees, rather idealistically, an integrated society of blacks and whites—unlike New York—and a country that is endlessly colorful and varied.

The last two sections of the *Diaries* take up after the Second World War has begun in Europe—from September 1 to December 17, 1939, and for a further month from May 19 to June 19, 1940. In 1939 Zweig was living in Bath with his secretary and soon-to-be second wife, Lotte Altman. Once again, he felt he had to keep a journal as the threats to life as he knew it became more intense with Germany's declaration of war on Poland. The three months of chronicling in 1939 are interesting because Zweig wrote them in English, sometimes in a quite Germanic syntax, e.g., "I have still hope and we go to a lawyer to speak over the marriage possibilities and from him to the office" (89). Although the declaration of war affected all aspects of life, Zweig was most concerned about the effect on his persona as a writer: "I regret only to have no opportunity to write as I am unable to do it in English and have nobody here to rectify my mistakes and to give more colour to what I want to say; that what me oppresses most, that I am imprisoned in a language, which I cannot use—how different was it in those times in Austria and Switzerland; where I could speak in my own language and even encourage others" (92). This passage expresses Zweig's anxieties as a German-language writer in a foreign world, and they foreshadowed what would become a major depression for him once he settled in Brazil, where he continued to write in German but came to feel utterly foreign and to finally give up hope that he would ever see a world in which he could again be happy and productive. Among these entries of 1939 are Zweig's reactions to the death of Sigmund Freud and his report of the funeral. The final section deals with Zweig's last month on European soil and his growing depression about the advance of the Germans on the continent as well as the increasing attacks on England. In several of the entries he mentions having "a little vial of morphine at hand" (114), and his tone is one of hopelessness and despair. Although Zweig would live two more years, we see in these last diary entries that he was preparing himself for the end.

There are some infelicities in the translation and a couple of typos in the volume, but none that really interfere with the flow of Zweig's perceptions and impressions. The editor's endnotes are helpful, but, in my opinion, also sometimes annoyingly repetitive without always being really informative. We know that Zweig had a huge readership, many of whom could only read him in translation, and I suspect that is still the case today. This translation of his *Diaries* provides these non-German-speaking readers with access to and information about Zweig's more personal reflections and, as such, is a useful addition to the world of Zweig scholarship.

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Heidemarie Uhl, Richard Hufschmied, and Dieter Binder, eds.,
*Gedächtnisort der Republik: Das Österreichische Heldendenkmal im Äußeren
Burgtor der Wiener Hofburg*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2021. 464 pp.

Austria's politics of history seems to be in a state of perpetual flux. The Heeresgeschichtliche Museum in Vienna is currently the focus of intense debates over Austria's fraught military history and the endurance of antidemocratic, authoritarian traditions in the Second Republic. The museum's management—which is closely linked to both the Federal Ministry of Defense (BMLV) and the conservative to radical right wing of the political spectrum—stands accused of lionizing war generally and the Austrian participation in the Wehrmacht specifically while marginalizing the manifold victims of Nazi persecution. Following the renaming of the Karl-Lueger-Ring in 2012, the former mayor's statue on his eponymous square is now also coming under increasing fire for its belittlement or even glorification of antisemitism, exacerbated since 2020 by the globally growing appetite to topple problematic statues and erase egregious pasts from the cityscape.

It is to a third such problematic site of memory in the Viennese cityscape that *Gedächtnisort der Republik*, edited by Heidemarie Uhl, Richard Hufschmied, and Dieter Binder, is dedicated, namely the Äußere Burgtor or "Heldentor" on the Heldenplatz. The volume was commissioned by the BMLV in order to analyze and present the origins of the memorial, its 200-year history, its contested political associations, and the current debates concerning the future transformation and usage of this central site of

memory. All in all, this work offers a critical overview of this key battleground (sometimes literally) of modern Austrian history, elucidating some of the darkest aspects of the country's political culture through successive iterations of statehood, from the Habsburg Empire through the First Republic, Austrofascism, National Socialism, and into the Second Republic. In sum, it highlights the seismic generational shift that has occurred in the republic over the more than three decades since the Waldheim affair.

What is particularly impressive about this volume is its visual presentation. A hardcover including hundreds of images both archival and photographic, it is reminiscent rather of a high-quality exhibition catalogue than a standard work of historiography. In text and image, it presents manifold aspects of this well-known memorial's past and present with which most readers will probably not be familiar, for example the various architectural competitions held to construct the memorial in the 1820s and to redesign it following the destruction of the city walls in the 1860s, under Austrofascism in the 1930s, and again following World War II in the 1960s, alongside visual analyses of interior spaces in the memorial not open to the public. The most frightening, if not necessarily surprising revelation of this volume is the site's repeated use across different regimes for the perpetuation in almost unbroken continuity of dubious traditions of militarism, authoritarianism, and antidemocratic agitation, including most egregiously in the Second Republic. As Aleida Assmann is quoted in the introduction, this site, perhaps more than any other, represents a "Buch der österreichischen Geschichte" (8).

Of particular interest is the detailed article by Richard Kurdiovsky on the memorial's origins in the nineteenth century, when it emerged as a military structure in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars; its architectural relationship to comparable memorials erected simultaneously in other European states; and the repeated superscription of ideologies over the subsequent decades, typically of an authoritarian and antidemocratic nature. Similarly, the chapter on the redesign of the memorial under Austrofascism by Anna Stuhlpfarrer provides a fascinating insight into the reinvention of Austrian identity in fascist guise and explicit Habsburg continuity in the 1930s.

The farthest-reaching and most salient contribution to the volume is Peter Pirker's fifty-page discussion of the concept of "Opfer" in the Second Republic as it was constructed and negotiated at the Heldentor. Pirker here shows that the much-cited "victim myth" is essentially an invention of the 1980s that could only properly apply to communists, resistance fighters, and

other left-wing groups after 1945. On the broader state level, the reintegration and veneration of Wehrmacht veterans, coupled with the questionable relationship of the right wing to Austria's militant, authoritarian, and fascist pasts, reflected rather a focus on "Opferbringen" than "Opferwerden": making sacrifices over being victimized. Pirker's important, well-researched, and well-argued revision of this dominant narrative of contemporary Austrian history should be widely read and disseminated.

Following from this, the historian Heidemarie Uhl's contribution on the uses and abuses of the Heldenor since 1945, including by far-right activists and neo-Nazis, offers a succinct overview of Austria's contested culture and politics of history over the past seven decades, coming finally full circle to explain why this central site of memory has become the focus of a profound historical, political, and social revision in recent years.

One potential criticism of the volume is its sometimes obsessive focus on details, for example a thirty-page chapter on the origin of the laurel wreaths along the memorial's cornice and a chapter enumerating every single wreath ever laid in the memorial during National Socialism. It bears asking whether anyone needs to know the times of day that the memorial was cleaned in the interwar period or how much overtime the caretaker had accrued by 1939 (302). The BMLV as the funding body may be pleased they got so much bang for their buck, but one wonders whether a concise summary and salient analysis in a smaller, more affordable format might not have achieved a greater public impact.

Nevertheless, this is a timely and critical engagement with a salient site of modern Austrian history that both fills a lacuna in historical research and offers a nuanced insight into the vagaries of Austria's contemporary politics of history.

Tim Corbett
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Enikő Dác and Réka Jakabházi, eds., *Literarische Rauminszenierungen in Zentraleuropa: Kronstad/Braşov/Brassó in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2020. 341 pp.

In his preface to *Literarische Rauminszenierungen in Zentraleuropa*, edited by Enikő Dác and Réka Jakabházi, Wolfgang Müller-Funk (University

of Vienna) situates the approach taken by the editors and contributors along a triple methodological axis: Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach, complemented by postimperial studies (developed in the field of Central European studies), and what he calls "die spatiale Gestaltung, die symbolische Architektur einer zentraleuropäischen Provinz" (10). The editors selected Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó for their inquiry into the ways this multilingual city and its space were imagined and performatively constructed in literary texts since the early twentieth century. They justify their choice of Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó with the fact that at the turn of the twentieth century, the city was rather atypical for Transylvania given its balanced ethnic and linguistic composition, with roughly one third of the population each speaking German, Hungarian, and Romanian as their native language, respectively. In addition, Kronstadt was an important economic and cultural center that went through a number of significant political shifts concerning its position as either on the periphery or at the center of a state or territory.

Most chapters in the volume are authored or co-authored by the two editors, Enikő Dác and Réka Jakabházi (both of the Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas, Munich) with one co-authored chapter by Dác and Ion Lihaciu (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iaşi/Jassy), two contributions by Raluca Cernahoschi (Bates College, Lewiston, Maine), and one each by Noémi Hegyi (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca/Klausenburg/Kolozsvár) and Ana-Maria Pălimariu (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iaşi/Jassy). In the introductory section, methodological and theoretical approaches are discussed by Müller-Funk and the editors, Dác and Jakabházi. Jakabházi and Dác describe the literary and cultural space of Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó as one that elides any essentialist concept of culture and is characterized by pluri- or multiculturalism rather than transculturality, something they see as characteristic for Transylvanian society, in particular in the region to which this city belongs, the Burzenland/Ţara Bârsei/Barcaság, situated between East and West. As such, in the words of Dác, the volume "leistet einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Erforschung postimperialer Narrative im zentraleuropäischen Raum" (31). It does so by exploring newspapers (the Hungarian-language *Brassói lapok*) and literary magazines (the German-language *Die Karpathen*, *Das Ziel*, and *Klingsor* as well as the Romanian-language *Ţara Bârsei*) in the first part, while the second part is dedicated to a comparative analysis of literary anthologies and the poetry and prose by

both well-known (i.e., “central”) and lesser-known (i.e., “peripheral”) writers who wrote in one of the three languages (e.g., Adolf Meschendörfer, Heinrich Zillich, Lilla Szépréti, and Mihail Sebastian). Some of the works were written in the interwar years, others are more recent, but they all thematize Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó during the first half of the twentieth century. How do they create “imaginary geographies” (Edward Said) of the city? Do they construct or rather deconstruct “imagined communities” (Benedict Anderson) defined along exclusionary ethnic identity lines or embrace hybridity? These are the questions that the authors of the individual chapters are posing. After 1918, images of the self and the other become more strictly delineated in the works under scrutiny with the consequence of establishing fictional borders that very much reflected factual political developments. In the 1940s, the literary players of Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó were particularly influenced, albeit to varying degrees, by the political ideologies of the time.

In both German- and Romanian-language anthologies from the first half of the twentieth century (1930 and 1945), Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó is presented through a projected imaginary single national identity, one that excludes other ethnicities and reduces the city’s plurinational reality to stereotypical representations at the very best while offering allegorical constructions of the city and its spaces along national division lines. In poetry that was written in all three languages in the first half of the twentieth century, representations of the landscape around Kronstadt appear as projections of historical and political developments. Irrespective of the language in which it was written, poetry from this period cannot eschew a nostalgic reminiscing of a past that becomes idealized and opposed to a very uncertain-looking future. By extension, everything seen as foreign becomes a threat. In German-language novels from the first half of the twentieth century, Kronstadt becomes increasingly perceived as a colonized space following World War I, to be followed by a reception and influence of Nazi ideologies in the 1930s and 1940s, with the obvious marginalization of non-German ethnic groups. In some writers, bipolar oppositions become magnified between East and West that foster single-line national belonging, bypassing hybrid spaces.

A different vision of the city is presented in more recent anthologies (published in the new millennium) through poetry and prose that looks back at Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó in the first half of the twentieth century. These anthologies do attempt to construct an image of the city as a multicultural literary and cultural space for a twenty-first century in which the city is

experiencing a shrinking of its multilingualism. However, what ultimately transpires in most recent texts is the desire to make literary Kronstadt/Braşov/Brassó into a divided central European *lieu de mémoire* (Pierre Nora) that, rather than labor toward the creation of cultural hybridity, reflects diverging power relations. Where national boundaries ultimately become challenged and at least partly deconstructed is in narratives that focus on food, highlighting the hybrid cultural communication space around Kronstadt and the Burzenland that breaks through linguistic and national borders while still keeping some ethnic categories.

Regarding literary texts included from the new millennium, the chapter by Ana-Maria Pălimariu dedicated to the 2015 debut novel by Ursula Ackrill, *Zeiden, im Januar*, that thematizes the lesser known Romanian Holocaust deserves special mention. While set in the small town of Zeiden in Transylvania/Siebenbürgen, the novel positions Kronstadt in different constellations of center versus periphery, depending on the perspective of the characters.

In conclusion, the volume is an important contribution to the transcultural exploration of cultural spaces that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were considered and treated for a long time as peripheral (such as Galicia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the Vojvodina), but whose literary output allows for fascinating insights into the functioning and imaginary of a both multicultural and hybrid community.

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Lina Užukauskaitė, *Das Schöne im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Zur Aktualität einer zentralen ästhetischen Kategorie nach 1945*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 2021. 288 pp.

In the introduction to the book *Das Schöne im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Zur Aktualität einer zentralen ästhetischen Kategorie nach 1945*, the author Lina Užukauskaitė asserts that the word and concept of *schön* “sich durch das gesamte Werk Bachmanns in auffallender Weise als ein Leitgedanke zieht.” She adds that the word had been seen “seit dem 19. Jahrhundert als äußerst problematisch” and had further lost legitimacy after the political, social, and cultural catastrophes of the twentieth century. She goes on to say, “Angesichts

der ideologischen Instrumentalisierung des ‘Schönen’ seit dem Futurismus, die im Nationalsozialismus ihre gefährlichste Potenzierung erfahren hat, ist dies [. . .] als Bachmanns Bemühen um eine ‘Rettung’ und ästhetische Affirmation des ‘Schönen’ aufzufassen” (8–9). Defending artistic creation “nach Auschwitz,” Bachmann expresses faith in “den großen Anspruch einer humanen Kunst nach 1945 und die epochale lebensgeschichtliche Erfahrung der Befreiung vom Nationalsozialismus” (16). In the book’s conclusion, Užukauskaitė expresses a similar thought: “Erschien vielen Kunstschaffenden nach 1945 bereits die Nennung [von Schönheit] als reaktionär, überholt und ideologieverdächtig, so wird es am Beispiel der Werke Bachmanns offenkundig, dass sie sich gegen einen solchen tabuisierten Gebrauch des Wortes ‘schön’ auflehnt und ganz im Sinne ihres ästhetischen’ Programms verfährt” (225). In this historical context, Užukauskaitė analyzes references to beauty, both explicit and implicit, in a well-chosen selection of Bachmann’s literary works, at times using quotations of such philosophers as Benjamin, Wittgenstein, and Adorno. Most of the items in the book’s table of contents are titles of representative poems, radio plays, short stories, and Bachmann’s only finished novel, *Malina*.

The concluding chapter presents, with some definitions and brief explanations, twenty enumerated aspects of beauty in Bachmann’s works. Included are entities typically associated with beauty, such as memory, exceptionality, authenticity, affinity with nature, sensual experience, love, longing, and utopian aspirations, as well as less expected negative associations, such as ugliness, sadness, and pain. Other aspects mentioned are abstract ideals, including freedom, truth, justice, morality, social criticism, resistance, and humanism. In the final chapter Užukauskaitė also contrasts the presentation of beauty in Bachmann’s early and late work. In the former she cites examples of beauty in dreams, epiphanic moments, and recognitions of truth; in the latter, more often quotidian contexts and “die Thematisierung der körperlichen Schönheit” (230), whether functioning as escapist flight from reality or as a survival strategy. Human bodies in the late works reveal suffering and injury as well as artificial efforts at beautification through cosmetics and dress.

Unfortunately omitted from the book’s title is mention of interesting segments of the book on Bachmann’s correspondence, particularly its discussions of beauty, with three men with whom she was romantically involved. These correspondents, all of them very successful in their artistic fields, were

the poet Paul Celan, the composer Hans Werner Henze, and the novelist and poet Hans Magnus Enzensberger.

Celan's letters contain references to beauty applied to Bachmann herself, her literary works, geographical places the two visited, and works of art, especially certain literary pieces and translations. Both letter writers associate beauty with memory and the past, home, nature, and aspirations toward the utopian. According to Užukauskaitė, the pair also shared a commitment to the aim of saving the ideal of beauty that had been so discredited in the years of war, the Holocaust, and widespread loss of faith in beauty and art.

Bachmann and Henze not only wrote numerous letters to each other but also co-authored six works that demonstrated the connections between music and poetry, a subject on which both wrote theoretical essays. Like Bachmann, Henze wrote about "eine lebensbejahende Schönheit mit humanem Anspruch, die auf Freiheit, Wahrheit, Frieden und Gerechtigkeit ausgerichtet ist. [. . .] Bachmann und Henze gehen von einer anthropologisierten Schönheitsauffassung aus, die u.a. die 'Stimme des Menschen', seine Authentizität (z.B. emotional-körperliche Erregung) in den Vordergrund stellt. [. . .] Beide Künstler beziehen das Schöne eng auf die künstlerische Arbeit" (95).

The segment on Bachmann's correspondence with Enzensberger is based on *schreib alles was wahr ist auf*, a volume containing the extant letters between Bachmann and Enzensberger accompanied by ample commentary. It was published in 2018 by Suhrkamp/Piper. This book appeared during the publication process of Užukauskaitė's book. Her discussion of beauty in the trove of letters was appended to the volume in a "Post Scriptum," an unusual but fortuitous editorial decision taken to add important content to the volume. In their correspondence Bachmann and Enzensberger both associate beauty with such domains as humanity, nature, and abstraction. They differ, says Užukauskaitė, in that he is skeptical of the concept of utopia that was so beloved by her. Another difference is that she rejects his belief that practicality or usefulness is part of beauty.

The following quotation from the introduction sums up the challenge Užukauskaitė set herself and met in meticulously researching, organizing, and writing this excellent book: "Weil Bachmann das Schöne nicht explizit definiert, lässt sie es durch eine fragmentartige Verwendung des Wortes 'schön' in Form einer impliziten Theorie entstehen. Die Form des Wortgebrauchs wird zum Inhalt, von ihr her lässt sich der polyvalente

Bedeutungsgehalt des Schönen herausarbeiten. [. . .] Bachmann lässt das Schöne zu einem Teil ihres differenzierten utopischen Konzepts werden, das über ein Widerstandspotential, eine Ausrichtung auf Wahrheit, Hoffnung wie auch Humanität verfügt” (52–53).

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Bart Vervaeck, ed., *Neo-Avant-Gardes: Post-war Literary Experiments Across Borders*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. 416 pp.

Readers of Bart Vervaeck’s edited volume *Neo-Avant-Gardes* will find ample attention paid to Austrian literature, both in general and as to particular authors, but will also find contributions from familiar scholars (such as Thomas Eder, Roland Innerhofer, and Sabine Müller) placed against a successfully organized wider backdrop of comparative study. The range is broad and its editorial arrangement correspondingly admirable in relating topics and authors coherently. This compendium volume results from research conducted by members of the ENAG (European Neo-Avant-Garde Collective) and is divided into two parts. The first covers “Concepts, Genres and Techniques” (33–215) and the second “Movements and Authors” (219–397).

Building on observations by scholars of the avant-garde like Renato Poggioli and Marjorie Perloff for expanded understanding, the authors here are defining the new avant-garde as more formally and conceptually challenging than earlier practices had been. Movements like “Zero, Fluxus, *arte povera* [. . .] conceptual art, performance art, happenings and body art” represent a “new incarnation of the avant-garde” (1) that requires redefinition of terms and rearrangement of historical categories. “Based on the recognition that the term ‘neo-avant-garde’ helps to define specific national and transnational literary trends, this book purports to explore the relevance of the concept of a neo-avant-garde for the study of literary innovations in the long sixties and beyond” (3). The aim is no less ambitious than “prompting a new paradigm in literary historiography” (3).

Poggioli points out that the term *avant-garde* was first used disapprovingly by Baudelaire in *Mon cœur mis à nu* to chide the French predilection for applying military terms where they do not belong—a point worth remembering, because a theoretical concept like “avant-garde” can often live up to

its name by charging in and overrunning the terrain. That is, literary theory often claims the right to displace the works it should be serving and takes dominance as an autonomous power of its own, moving from ancillary status to hegemony.

The authors, aware that notably many avant-garde artists of the 1920s and '30s gravitated to fascism (5), espouse a non-hierarchical, non-ideological approach (11), but the nature of any discussion like theirs necessarily privileges some movements, writers, and works over others. They try dodging the implications of their inherent restrictiveness by saying that they are “Compiling a Corpus: Selecting the Literary Neo-Avant-Garde” (16), to quote one of the section headings, but what is this “compiling” except an effort to establish a canon, usually disparaged by theoreticians as an exercise of authoritarianism?

The volume is arranged with special clarity, with great care taken in the sequence of contributions. Before that, however, it would be evasive not to point out the weaknesses that the introduction, like so much work devoted to theory, cannot help exhibiting. The first is the echo chamber effect—one set of abstract observations, removed from any particular literary work, rebuts an earlier set of abstractions, resulting in the vagueness and imprecision of discussion inside a bubble with much terminological pedantry and over-specification. The effect is solipsistic, creating a hieratic system closed to the uninitiated. The second is constant resort to ungainly, imprecise terms. Is anything ever “reified” outside of theoretical “discourse”? Where else, outside this jargon, are ideas “valorized”? Who will explain “periodisation”? And can any literate person really accept “afterwardsness”—advanced here with a straight face—as an adequate translation of Freud’s term *Nachträglichkeit*? The introductory essay (1–30) is subtitled “Why Bother?” but it’s not clear that a convincing answer has emerged.

Mercifully, the rest of the essays are much more lucid, wary of needlessly specialized terminology. Moreover, the book moves logically from general to particular, from abstraction to example and illustration, dissipating the fog caused by hot air. The sequence of contributions follows a clear line from the discussion of concepts on their own to the illumination of specific works, authors, and movements based on those concepts. And while the index of a book seldom merits praise, this volume is so meticulously indexed and cross-referenced, so replete with topical subheadings, that it makes for great ease in consulting throughout; the index is in itself a highly lucid and comprehensive guide, in keeping with the clear arrangement overall. In the same way, the

exhaustive notes and bibliographies in the individual essays are full guides to elucidation and additional research.

This volume is a comparatist's delight, offering lucid insights, via new conceptual orientations and close-reading analysis, into a wide range of traditions, movements, and authors. Considering the locus of the ENAG collective, it is not surprising to find a preponderance of work about literature from Germany and Austria, from France, from Belgium and the Netherlands, but there are compelling studies of the Black Arts movement, of Latin American literature (Mario Bellatin), of Kamau Braithwaite and his use of creolized English, of experimental fiction by women in Great Britain, and more. Readers of German-language literature will find what look like definitive studies of Konrad Bayer (*the head of vitus bering*), of surrealism in immediate post-1945 Vienna (Andreas Okopenko playing a more prominent part than is often recognized), and a study of Peter Weiss's *The Shadow of the Body of the Coachman* using his speech (and Peter Handke's) at the famous meeting of Gruppe 47 in Princeton (1966) as its point of departure.

Once the dutifully establishing introduction is assimilated, the rest of the volume is a rich compilation of essays illuminating works and authors from a broad theoretical concept. Almost indispensable for comparatists, important for Germanists.

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Petra James und Helga Mitterbauer, Hrsg., *Vorstellungen vom Anderen in der tschechisch- und deutschsprachigen Literatur. Imaginationen und Interrelationen*. Literaturwissenschaft 95. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2021. 242 S.

Mit dem Titel *Vorstellungen vom Anderen* und dem Untertitel *Imaginationen und Interrelationen* rekurriert die Publikation auf den komparatistischen Begriff "Imagination" als "vorgestellte Gemeinschaften" und "soziales Konstrukt" (7), der zur Bildung von transitorischer Identität beiträgt. Illustriert am Beispiel von Funktionen der nationalen Identitätskonstruktionen in den wechselseitigen tschechisch-deutsch-österreichischen Beziehungen geht es vordergründig um die Untersuchung von Inklusions- und Exklusionsmechanismen, die den zentraleuropäischen Raum (Tschechien, Deutschland, Österreich) in Bezug auf die Geschichte und das kulturelle Gedächtnis prägen, das "neben zahlreichen nationalen Differenzen [. . .]

auch viele transnationale Ähnlichkeiten aufweist” (8). Dabei wird versucht, Zentraleuropa im Hinblick auf die “wesentlichen Meilensteine dieser Relation” (9) näher zu beleuchten. Die Wahl dieses Zeitraumes wird mit den umfassenden gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen des beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts begründet—mit der sich anbahnenden Industrialisierung und Modernisierung und der damit verbundenen nationalen Emanzipation des tschechischen Bürgertums, die sich in Nationalisierung und Radikalisierung der tschechischsprachigen Bevölkerung innerhalb der multikulturellen k.u.k. Monarchie niederschlägt und zunehmende Spannungen zwischen Tschechen und Österreichern zur Folge hat.

Die insgesamt elf Beiträge des Sammelbandes wurden in vier Abschnitte mit programmatischen Zwischenüberschriften geteilt (Trennung, Dialog, Verflechtung, Vertreibung und Migration). Das mag auf den ersten Blick für eine innere Strukturierung durchaus nützlich und auch hilfreich erscheinen, doch andererseits birgt eine solche Vorgehensweise die Gefahr einer zu großen Vereinfachung der hier angeschnittenen Problematik, denn genauso wie sich die divergierenden Auffassungen in den ausgewählten Fallstudien manifestieren, sind auch die konvergierenden Tendenzen nicht zu übersehen.

Der einleitende Beitrag von Peter Deutschmann stellt die Frage, ob der deutsch-tschechische Sprachenstreit zur Zeit der tschechischen Nationalbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert als eine “Kinderkrankheit” der Moderne zu betrachten sei. In Anlehnung an Ernest Gellner und Benedict Anderson sieht er die Forderung nach Berechtigung beider Sprachen in Böhmen (vgl. die Badeni’schen Sprachregelungen) eher als ein utopisches Ideal, welches im Endeffekt nicht zur gewünschten Zweisprachigkeit der staatlichen Institutionen geführt hätte, sondern vielmehr zur symmetrischen Zweisprachigkeit, die “einer administrativen Teilung des Staatsapparates gleichgekommen” wäre und letztendlich “zwei parallele Gesellschaften auf sprachlich unterschiedlicher Kommunikationsbasis bedeutet hätte” (45). Die folgenden zwei Beiträge sind Beispielstudien—die erstere, von Stefan Simonek, zeigt die höchst ambivalente Rezeption der Werke Hugo von Hofmannsthals durch tschechische Autoren, die eng mit den künstlerischen Differenzen zwischen Wiener und Tschechischer Moderne zusammenhängt. Die zweite Studie liefert einen Einblick in die paradoxen Alteritätsstrukturen in K. H. Stobls Essay *Tschechen*, eines sudetendeutschen Autors, der sich aus deutschnationaler Position übl(ich)er nationaler Stereotype bedient. Jan Budňák interpretiert Stobls zwanghafte Stereotypisierungen als

“binnenkakanische Eroberungsversuche” (81) und sieht darin, in Anlehnung an Bhabhas Konzept der Fixierung des Objekts (des Stereotyps) als Fetisch, das Bestreben um die Etablierung einer Hierarchie zwischen der privilegierten eigenen (Deutsche) und der subalternen anderen Gruppe (Tschechen).

Der zweite Abschnitt wurde als “Dialog” zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen konzipiert. Thomas Ort liest das Leben des tschechisch-deutschen Ehepaares in *Ein gewöhnliches Leben (Obyčejný život, 1934)* von Karel Čapek als ein Plädoyer für den Zusammenhalt der damals fragilen und ethnisch gespaltenen Tschechoslowakei. Dass die deutsche Sprache äußerst produktiv in einem tschechischen Text eingesetzt werden kann, zeigt Gertraude Zand am Beispiel des dichterischen Frühwerks von Egon Bondy, einem tschechischen Untergrund-Autor in den vom Stalinismus geprägten 1950er Jahren. Den Einfluss der Deutschen und ihrer Kultur in der literarischen Repräsentation bei ausgewählten tschechischen Autoren im 20. Jahrhundert (Josef Hora, Zbyněk Fišer, Jiří Kratochvíl) stellt Zbyněk Fišer dar—unabhängig von dem jeweils aktuell vorherrschenden Feindbild.

Im dritten Abschnitt, der den gegenseitigen “Verflechtungen” gewidmet ist, rekonstruiert Anja Tippner die Biographie der deutsch-tschechisch-jüdischen, heute in den USA lebenden Kulturhistorikerin Wilma Iggers (geb. 1921) und geht dabei der Frage nach, wie im böhmischen Kontext jüdische Identität und Zugehörigkeit zu der einen oder anderen Bevölkerungsgruppe konstruiert wurde. Anna Gnot untersucht im Roman *Das Café an der Straße zum Friedhof* von Ota Filip den hier dargestellten Kolonialisierungsvorgang in der Tschechoslowakei durch das Hitler-Regime. Dabei deutet sie Filip's Roman als eine “Warnung vor der Gefahr des Missbrauchs nationaler Antagonismen, die mit dem Übergang von der kolonialen zur postkolonialen Phase sozialer Bedingungen einhergeht” (167f.).

Im vierten Abschnitt “Vertreibung und Migration” schließt sich der Bogen, da es nach 1945 wieder zur deutsch-tschechischen “Trennung” kommt. Carolina ćwiek-Rogalska belegt mit ihrem Beitrag, dass das Thema der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus der Tschechoslowakei keineswegs ein Tabu-Thema, sondern in der tschechischen Literatur immer präsent war, wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Intensität. Basierend auf Marianne Hirschs Konzept von Postmemory können mittlerweile drei Schriftsteller/innengenerationen identifiziert werden. Xavier Galmiche macht auf die Asymmetrie in der Erinnerung nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs am Beispiel des Romans *Die Unvollendeten* (2003) von Reinhard Jirgl aufmerksam,

der bis heute nicht ins Tschechische übersetzt wurde—ob wegen seiner nichttraditionellen Darstellung des Vertreibungsdiskurses oder wegen seiner “außergewöhnlichen stilistischen Form” (217) bleibt allerdings unklar. Helga Mitterbauer (Mitherausgeberin) liest in ihrem den Band abschließenden Beitrag Stavaričs Roman *Gotland* (2018) als ein transkulturelles Werk, in dem sich im Sinne von Bhabhas Hybriditätsbegriff verschiedene Elemente ineinanderschieben und gegenseitig überlappen. Mitterbauer legt offen, wie fremdsprachige Passagen kunstvoll in den Roman integriert werden und wie Überlagerung der Figuren und des heterodiegetischen Erzählers narratologisch inszeniert werden.

Abschließend lässt sich sagen, dass die Herausgeberinnen mit dieser Publikation einen lesenswerten Sammelband vorgelegt haben, der interessante neue Einblicke in die deutsch-tschechischen literarischen Beziehungen vermittelt und neue Perspektiven durch den interdisziplinären Fokus (Slawistik, Germanistik, Bohemistik, Geschichte) eröffnet. Schade nur, dass die Einleitung und die einzelnen Abstracts nur auf Deutsch oder Englisch vorliegen, denn eine Übersetzung ins Tschechische wäre sicherlich ohne viel Aufwand möglich und hätte eine Rezeption der wichtigsten Gedanken auch in der tschechischen Bohemistik bzw. in Tschechien begünstigt.

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Sabine Scholl, *Lebendiges Erinnern: Wie Geschichte in Literatur verwandelt wird*. Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2021. 234 pp.

Readers can be daunted by the immense literature that draws on history and by the academic journals devoted to the connections between them, especially when emphases change. In recent decades, writers have traced the experience of second- and third-generation Holocaust survivors, narrators traumatized in the aftermath of genocide and extermination. Novels otherwise as different as Maja Haderlap’s *Der Engel des Vergessens* and Doron Rabinovici’s *Suche nach M.* give accounts of devastation long after the immediate horrors, just as Georges Perec’s great autobiography *W ou le souvenir d’enfance* documents the nightmarish disorientation caused by a child’s loss of his father in war and mother in the camps. These works are grounded in what Sabine Scholl in *Lebendiges Erinnern* calls “die sogenannte Generationenerzählung, eine

Darstellung der Vergangenheit vermittelt durch Geschehnisse der eigenen Familiengeschichte" (12).

The passage of time is erasing the possibility of so immediate an approach; events fade, but not their scars. Scholl links the work of this generation's writers, mostly women, to Marianne Hirsch's concept of "postmemory" (*The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*), whereby "Nach-Erinnerung bedeutet keine leibhaftige Verbindung zur Vergangenheit, sondern wird mittels Imagination, Projektion und Kreation hergestellt" (11). "Autorinnen der Nachfolgegeneration bewegen sich frei durchs Material, verfügen darüber wie ein Regisseur" (11).

Invention does not require the authority of documentation or depiction from sources; the imagination is a force powerful enough to recreate history as an author may experience it emotionally without personal involvement, as Hilary Mantel's novels set in Tudor England testify. Accordingly, Scholl provides a "*Kompendium*," an inventory of approaches and strategies that document the versatile means with which history is treated in literary contexts (10–11; 217–222). These range much more widely than would a commitment to documentary verifiability, from the relatively objective ("das Historische in Details, wie Farben, Kleidung [. . .] sichtbar machen," 219) to the admittedly subjective ("das Ich des Autors als Ausgangs- und Endpunkt einer sich entwickelnden Geschichte in den Text einbringen," 220). Clearly, then, Scholl's operative word is "verwandelt," accuracy being only one possible aim among a large array of strategies for requisitioning history. "Gerade die Leerstellen des Erinnerns fordern Autorinnen dazu auf, geschichtliche Ereignisse mit fiktionalen Mitteln zu rekonstruieren" (12), writes Scholl, as if this process were a brand-new development. But she might have traced an important continuity by referring to Perec's book (1975), brilliantly "answered" by Laurent Binet in *HHhH* (2009). Her more immediate concern, however, is to help break the silence, the persistent, crippling, deliberate amnesia. As children, she and her contemporaries "erlebten vor allem gesammeltes Schweigen, das es erschwerte, Beziehungen zwischen den Generationen aufzunehmen, die Auseinandersetzungen ermöglicht hätten" (9). Hence the need for free invention and imaginatively grounded filling of gaps.

This book is mainly the result of a series of conversations and interviews Scholl conducted at Vienna's Alte Schmiede from October 2020 through September 2021 (230), and she is continuing with this project. The "forerunners" of the authors interviewed are Heimrad Bäcker and Edmund De Waal, among others, whom she discusses in her section "Verfahren und Vorfahren" (17–

84) as examples of authors faithful to history through individually guided, strongly imaginative reordering and focused concentration on one strategy. Bäcker's approach in *nachschrift*, for instance, is "Sprache konzentrieren und ausstellen"—words come fully into their own when arranged as calligraphy and objects for display; De Waal draws on "Taktiles Erinnern" for historical truth in his acclaimed memoir *Der Hase mit den Bernsteinaugen*.

The section based on the interviews is titled "Aus der Werkstatt" (85–216). In each chapter, Scholl records her interview with the author and precedes it with a short essay of orientation and commentary. What emerges is admirable for her succinct but clear way of introducing each work and author and a sense that she has gone to the essential questions about form and structure in each case.

The range of topics, time periods, and narrative method can only elicit recognition that contemporary fiction is as rich as writing from most other periods, provided alert readers seek out work that often eludes publicity and star status. Inger-Maria Mahlke's novel *Archipel* is set in contemporary Tenerife but examines the "blue period" of Fascism, with its terrors and tortures, and its unacknowledged aftermath, the fiction made vivid by "Äußerlichkeiten, wie Speisen, Bräuche [...]" (94). Kehna Cusanit, "studierte Altorientalistin," creates a layered novel about excavations near Babylon as overseen by a German archeologist just before World War I; every level of the history reflects every other in the refractions of memory and image. Mojca Komerdej's novel *Chronos erntet* (arrestingly apt title), translated from Slovenian by Erwin Köstler, traces "den Prozess einer Disziplinierung von Untertanen durch die Herrschaftsgewalt von Adel und Klerus zur Zeit der Gegenreformation nach" (114). Religion is used to secure power and wealth, and witch trials are conducted for their ability to induce catharsis (shades of the Neudegg chapters in Doderer's *Die Dämonen*). This review includes only a sample of the many historical dimensions contemporary writers are exploring with imaginative mastery; Scholl's book covers more authors than I have taken up here. Her book is a rich source of discussion about literature and history and a valuable guide to frequently overlooked fiction.

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