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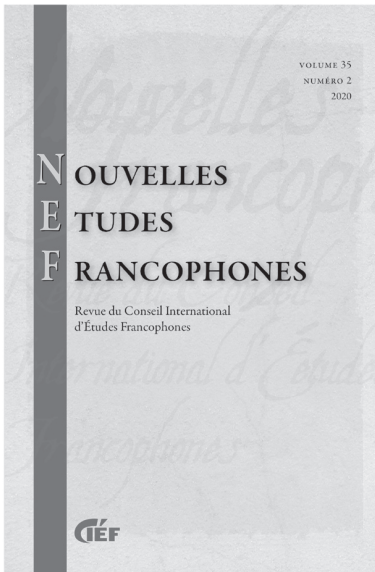
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- 9 Habsburg Colonial Redux: Reconsidering Colonialism and Postcolonialism in Habsburg/Austrian History

DIRK RUPNOW AND JONATHAN SINGERTON

Colonial and postcolonial approaches to both Austrian and Habsburg history represent an opportunity to reconfigure not only Habsburg but also modern Austrian history and its relation to the wider world. In many ways, postcolonial perspectives force us to reconcile with internal dynamics within Central Europe, while expanding upon our understandings of colonial entanglements in the Habsburg lands leads us to consider the global elements in a region too often neglected in imperial and world historiography. By bringing together recent developments in both fields, this article argues for greater inclusion and adaptation of these perspectives in Austrian/Habsburg history.

- 21 What is Austro-Hungarian History to the Eurasianist?

OREL BEILINSON

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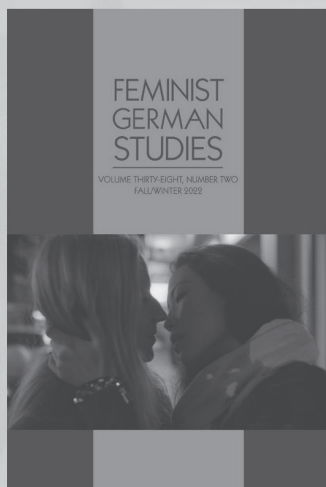
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Introduction

Empire and (Post-)Colonialism in Austrian Studies

Tim Corbett

Globalization, migration, transnationalism, empire/imperialism, (post-)colonialism/decolonization, heterogeneity, diversity, interculturality, cosmopolitanism: These are some of the most influential concepts that have shaped not only academic research but also public and political discourses across the globe in recent years.

The field of Austrian studies has already been engaging innovatively and productively with these issues for quite some time now. With a number of pioneering research institutions and corresponding journals on both sides of the Atlantic,¹ the field of Austrian studies has since its inception in the postwar period been rooted in a transnational, intercultural, and multilingual context (see most recently Lorenz). Unlike many comparable fields, Austrian studies has therefore from the outset been largely unfettered by the artificial boundaries imposed by language, by the often linguistically imagined “nation-state,” or by “culture” however defined in the past century or more (see for example Arens; “Forum: Austrian Studies”). Indeed, it is the very polysemy of the concept “Austria” in multiple geographical, political, cultural, and historical contexts that makes the field of Austrian studies—and its practitioners—so diverse and dynamic.

It has been a decade since, in 2012, one of the flagship organizations in the field of Austrian studies, the Association of Modern Austrian Literature, was renamed the Austrian Studies Association, with the association’s journal being renamed accordingly, in order to reflect the growing interdisciplinarity of the field. When the journal’s former editors, Hillary Hope Herzog and Todd Herzog, handed the baton over to the current editors during the course of

2021, I saw this as a momentous opportunity to take stock of this vibrant and expanding field and the range of exciting research being conducted therein. Hence the idea for a special volume of the *Journal of Austrian Studies* dedicated to “New Directions in Austrian Studies” arose, with a call for articles going out in November 2021.

The aim of this special volume was to solicit short pieces of no more than about 3,500 words in length, with a twofold reasoning: First, this would allow for a greater number of contributions to the volume, thus offering a more diverse overview of current research being conducted in the field of Austrian studies. Second, this would allow the authors to offer ludic overviews of broad yet incisive concepts, methods, or themes rather than in-depth research articles including expansive references to source materials, which might only have appealed to specialists in their particular areas. This editorial concept was inspired by the 2016 volume *Habsburg neu denken* (Feichtinger and Uhl), which comprises thirty snapshot articles from the field of Habsburg studies and managed to total only 250 pages. This struck me as an innovative approach to making large research fields accessible to a broad readership.

We—the journal editors and I—were astounded by the response we received to our call. As a stocktaking of the current state of the field, the disciplinary and thematic range of the proposals in itself made for interesting reading. We received altogether 42 submissions from 48 authors based in ten different countries, reflecting research projects of an exceptionally high quality across the board. About half the proposals came from scholars based in Austria itself, the rest spread across (East-)Central and Western Europe and the United States, including all career levels, from PhD candidates to professors as well as a number of independent scholars.

There was a conspicuous disciplinary concentration on history (albeit with a great diversity of thematic and geographical foci therein), but we also received numerous submissions from the fields of literature studies, film studies, ethnology, musicology, educational studies, political science, and sociology. Given the overarching theme of “Austrian” studies, the geographic scope of the proposed topics was also astounding, covering not only the territory of the modern Austrian Republic and the many disparate lands connected to the former Habsburg Empire but also extending to Eastern, Southern/Southeastern, and Western Europe as well as to North and South America and even further afield to Africa and Asia.

The pool of submissions also revealed certain glaring absences. For ex-

ample, while we received several contributions focusing on the history and/or culture of Jews and Romani peoples in modern Central Europe as well as on contemporary black history in Austria, there were no submissions discussing Islam, Muslims, or related topics such as the large population of people of Turkish origin living in the Republic of Austria today. It also bears repeating that the predominance of historiographic proposals was surprising, given that the call had also specifically been aimed at Austrian studies in its contemporary dimensions, for example, with regard to present-day migration, globalization, and international sociopolitical developments.

The absence of scholars based in or focusing on certain countries formerly connected to the Habsburg Empire was also conspicuous, especially compared to the surprisingly large number of submissions focusing on the Balkans. This is presumably a reflection, among other things, of the difficulty of transcending multiple linguistic boundaries in such an international, polyglot field. Aside from the members' newsletter of the Austrian Studies Association, the call for papers was published on the major academic portals H-Net and H-Soz-Kult, reflecting the journal's bilingual English/German orientation. Perhaps this invites reflection on how to reach and forge deeper connections with scholars working on "Austrian" topics in other linguistic and cultural contexts in the future, a direction the association has been actively pursuing as a matter of policy for a number of years now.

Not only the quantity but also the exceptional quality of the proposals we received quickly led to the decision to publish not one but two special volumes broadly dedicated to "New Directions in Austrian Studies." Given the growing global visibility in recent years of discussions relating to decolonization, antiracism, and multifaceted struggles for equality and inclusion, a correspondingly large number of excellent proposals explored these issues within the historical "Austrian" context. Hence, the first of these twin special volumes ended up focusing, as the title states, on "Empire and (Post-)Colonialism in Austrian Studies."

The volume opens with a succinct overview of the history of colonialism and the application of the concept of "postcolonialism" in the Austrian context by Dirk Rupnow and Jonathan Singerton. Although Austria's numerous colonial endeavors across the globe in various centuries failed to establish Austria alongside the other European powers as a colonial empire, the authors' examination of Austria's manifold entanglements (and those of its associated neighbors) with the global colonial economy decisively refutes

the belief still held by some historians and the broader public today that Austria was entirely uninvolved in the crimes of colonial exploitation. The authors subsequently bring the discussion into the postwar context, turning the gaze inward upon the domestic situation in the Second Austrian Republic to reveal that a postcolonial as well as post-migratory perspective is sorely needed to properly understand the diverse demographic makeup of present-day Austria. This opening article thus serves not least to frame the discussions that follow throughout the volume.

The second contribution is comparably broad in scope. Orel Beilinson here considers the epistemological pitfalls of geographical framing devices used in the writing of historiography in the Austrian context, specifically the notion of a distinctly “Central European” or more broadly a “European” perspective. Following an overview of current debates in numerous different geographical contexts relating to the concepts of “empire” and “imperialism,” Beilinson argues for the adoption of a more comparative perspective with regard to both geographies and epistemologies. He questions, for example, why an Austrian discussion of demography or education should not be compared with the situation in the Balkans or Central or Eastern Asia rather than Western Europe, thus highlighting what an epistemological turn toward a “Eurasian” historiography might reveal by contrast to the Eurocentric perspective usually employed in Austrianist historiography to date.

The third contribution follows neatly from both the preceding articles with a detailed examination of Austria-Hungary’s ultimately failed attempts to establish itself as a colonial power in China in the late nineteenth century. Mathieu Gotteland here demonstrates that colonial ambitions were not merely material in nature but also a question of prestige and influence. To this end, Austria-Hungary engaged not only in a kind of “informal imperialism” through subtler methods of economic bargaining and diplomacy but also participated in the more aggressive military campaigns for imperial supremacy that peaked in the Boxer Rebellion and led to the establishment of a Habsburg “microcolony” in Tianjin that would persist until World War I.

The fourth contribution turns the colonial gaze inwards onto the domestic situation—in more sense than one—in Habsburg Austria around the turn of the twentieth century. Amy Millet here focuses on the cookbook *Die österreichische Küche* authored by Baroness Marie von Rokitsky, which went through fourteen editions spanning three decades and which thus opens a fascinating perspective on what was being cooked and eaten

in innumerable Austrian households during this period. Millet reveals that the collected recipes not only featured the predictable plethora of Central European goodies, from Bohemian *Powidltscherl* to Hungarian goulash, but also included ingredients and recipes from across the colonial world. She thus succeeds not only in introducing an exciting research perspective in Austrian studies—namely food anthropology—but also demonstrates through this specific case study the kinds of economic, material, and cultural entanglements between Austria and the wider colonial world addressed more universally in the opening article in this volume.

The fifth contribution tackles the multifaceted phenomenon of migration in modern Central Europe, demonstrating that migratory movements were neither unidirectional nor permanent, that they were prompted by an array of socioeconomic factors, and that they exerted a transformative impact not only on the destination countries but also on the countries of origin. Through a case study of Sephardic Jewish merchants migrating from Salonica to Vienna in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Lida-Maria Dodou demonstrates how a close focus on migration and migrants reveals the economic and demographic entanglements between empires as well as the pivotal role that Jewish merchants played specifically in transnational networks between the Habsburg Empire and the Balkans.

The next set of articles focuses on the cultural dimensions of empire in historical Austria, beginning with a contribution by Salvatore Pappalardo and Saskia Ziolkowski on literature studies from an Austro-Italian perspective. Examining a range of Italian-language authors as well as “Austrian” authors of other languages engaging with Italian culture, whose biographies and works reveal a dense cultural entanglement in the formerly polyglot and nationally ambiguous Adriatic territories of the Habsburg Empire, Trieste in particular, the authors argue that the Italian nationalist tradition and the widespread predication of a “nation-state” perspective in literature studies has to date precluded scholarly attention to what they propose calling the field of “Austro-Italian literary studies.” This new perspective, they argue, opens up a new appreciation for previously overlooked influences and interactions between Italian and Austrian literary cultures that persist into the present day.

Following in this literary vein, Christian S. Davis offers a close reading of *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, a weekly edited by Hugo Bettauer until his murder in 1925. While Bettauer is best known as an early “Jewish” victim of a Nazi sympathizer (Bettauer was in fact Protestant) and is otherwise celebrated as a pio-

neer of women's and (homo-)sexual rights in the interwar period, Davis here explores the engagements with the non-white world in this weekly, revealing the at times exoticizing, at times downright racist colonial perspective proffered here on peoples constructed as non-white across the globe. This contribution sheds new light not only on the ways in which colonial discourses and the colonial world were very much present and visible in interwar Austria but also on the complex and ambiguous ways in which liberal, progressive agendas intersected with prejudicial, repressive worldviews.

Pursuing a similar perspective but moving into the realm of musicology, Dylan Price in his contribution examines the salience of the concept of "*Stimmung*" and the function of the notion of "Gypsiness" in Antonín Dvořák's *Cigánské melodie* (Gypsy Songs). Following a discussion of the application of *Stimmung* in musicological analyses, the author proposes that the concept also entails a less explored political dimension that can manifest itself as a problematic romanticization and essentialization of nationalist sentiments. This is demonstrated specifically by recourse to Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs*, in which the concept of "Gypsiness" bears little resemblance to the lived realities of Romani peoples in late-nineteenth-century Central Europe, serving instead to conjure idyllic notions of the natural landscape and rural life while at the same time speaking to the pervasive sense of rootlessness and the evils of modernity as perceived by Dvořák's largely urban, cosmopolitan target audience.

The final contribution to this volume brings us firmly back into the present, with Christian Hütterer exploring Austria's place in contemporary Europe as well as the question of what role, if any, the concept of "Central Europe" still plays in this radically transformed political landscape thirty years after the end of the Cold War. To this end, the author explores a range of initiatives for regional cooperation to which Austria has been party in recent decades as well as the role played by the republic's policy of neutrality and its relationship especially to its largest neighbor, Germany, in this context. Questioning why cooperation initiatives have to date failed to cultivate any meaningful political alliances between Austria and the other successor states of the Habsburg Empire from the former East Bloc, the author points to the manifold cultural, demographic, and economic entanglements that continue to tie Austria to the Central European region, concluding that a foreign policy shift toward closer regional cooperation is today more pertinent than ever.

As I write these words, the production of the second special volume dedicated to “New Directions in Austrian Studies” is already underway. While this first volume is broadly historical, global, and imperial in scope and perspective, the second volume places a greater focus on the twentieth- and twenty-first-century Austrian Republic and contemporary Austrian society, with a particular emphasis on migration and diversity and drawing on various humanities and social science perspectives—which is all I am willing to divulge at this stage! The second volume, which will appear as the Winter 2023 edition of the *Journal of Austrian Studies*, will be entitled “Interdisciplinarity and Diversity in Austrian Studies.”

All that remains is for me to thank the editors, Anita McChesney and Peter Meilaender, as well as Béla Rásky, for sharing a plenitude of tips and insights into how to organize, administrate, and produce an edited volume of this scope, which ensured an (almost) frictionless editorial process from the moment the call was published all the way through to the submission of the completed manuscripts to the press. The authors I thank for undertaking work of such exceptional quality, which serves to showcase the excellent standards and the vibrancy of research being conducted in our field, as well as for their conspicuous punctuality in submitting and revising their manuscripts. I especially thank the more than dozen anonymous peers working in many different fields and countries who agreed to review the articles—while they as individuals remain invisible in this publication, their contribution to honing, refining, and producing the best possible work is tangible across the board. Finally, I thank Caroline Kita for encouraging me to undertake such an ambitious editorial project in the first place.

Tim Corbett, Vienna, December 2022

Tim Corbett is a historian and independent scholar based in Vienna. He is the author of a monograph and over twenty essays on Jewish history, the Holocaust, and the culture of memory in modern Austria. He has held numerous visiting research and teaching positions in Austria and the United States, including at the Center for Jewish History in New York and the Institute for Contemporary History at Vienna University. In 2021, his scholarship was recognized with a Michael Mitterauer Prize from Vienna University and a Prize of the City of Vienna for Outstanding Achievements in the Humanities.

Notes

1. In the English-speaking world, these include the Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities with its flagship publications *Austrian History Yearbook* and its newer *Central Europe Yearbook*, the Center Austria at the University of New Orleans with its flagship publication *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, and the annual publication *Austrian Studies* of the Modern Humanities Research Association in the United Kingdom.

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Habsburg Colonial Redux

*Reconsidering Colonialism and Postcolonialism
in Habsburg/Austrian History*

Dirk Rupnow and Jonathan Singerton

Ten years have passed since the publication of a forum in the *Austrian Studies* journal dedicated to the theme of Austrian colonialism.¹ Then and now, there can be no doubt about the existence of colonial projects and persuasions within the former territories of the Habsburg monarchy. Central European subjects willingly participated in colonial activities either as explicit agents of the Habsburg dynasty, private and public, or as interlopers within other imperial regimes that often rebounded onto Central Europe. As the previous forum demonstrated, these aspirants involved themselves within a wide variety of undertakings, ranging from supporting scientific expeditions to fueling the market of leisure travel for exotic places that conveyed European superiority and native inferiority. To this a more extensive cast of actors can be added, those who collectively drove the respective Habsburg, Austrian, and Austro-Hungarian efforts to project power overseas. Across the breadth of Habsburg history, the dynasty, its subjects, and subalterns assiduously participated in carving out a colonial niche for Central Europe to the best of their ability. Often this colonial reality proved difficult to master, with ventures failing to provide a return on investment. Habsburg colonialism took on numerous inchoate or indirect forms ranging from nominally religious, commercial, or scientific expeditions to contributions toward wider colonial projects and discourses (see Wendt; Haider-Wilson 25; Weiss). In the last decade, Habsburg colonial studies have gathered pace, unearthing further insights into the regions, dynamics, and legacies for the Central European experience of empire beyond Europe. Recently, another forum—this time

taking place in the *Hungarian Historical Review*—has renewed questions of colonially inspired activities within the Balkans.² Most importantly, postcolonial and decolonial imperatives remind us of these enduring consequences. In this short piece, we suggest it is time to take stock again of the colonial past in Habsburg history and argue that its further development represents an opportunity to reconfigure not only Habsburg but also modern Austrian history and its relation to the wider world.

Habsburg Colonialism in the Early Modern Period

From the early modern period onwards, Europeans became increasingly entangled with the wider world through the expansion of overseas exploration, commercial interaction, and later (forced) resettlement of peoples to new imperial sites (see Werner and Zimmermann; Fernández-Armesto). Europe's worldwide connection and the reverberations it caused followed an uneven path of distribution. Western European states benefited and engaged overwhelmingly in such enterprises compared to the central and eastern parts of the continent. British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish empires took a pre-eminent role in the colonization of foreign lands through conquest and contract. In the early modern period, however, colonial ventures tied Habsburg economies into the emerging world system (Kaps). Tyrolean miners worked copper ore in the Welser family's colony of *Klein-Venedig* (Venezuela) during the sixteenth century, when at the same time Silesian linen production became increasingly intertwined with West African markets as an indispensable barter commodity displacing local clothes, much as Bohemian glass products reached peak desirability in North American markets throughout the eighteenth century (see Haebler 60–70; Steffan; Klíma 520). Central European markets in turn became sensitive to the wider economic fluctuations in colonial spaces. Revolution in the late eighteenth century simultaneously forged and broke connections for Habsburg subjects. Hungarian tobacconists faced ruin in the face of plentiful Virginian tobacco once the colonial monopoly formerly preserved by the British had been overturned by rebellious colonists and, subsequently, renewed imperial missions to tea markets in India and China became viable thanks to the spike in tea prices owing to Britain's war against the American colonies and several European powers (see Singerton, *The American Revolution* 121–26, 135–65; Mérei 378; Marczali 28–29, 78).

Colonial economies were not Western European phenomena but rather affected the whole of the European continent. Commodity chains reaching across the world led to encounters with colonial worlds for everyday individuals. Central Europeans were among the earliest to cultivate potatoes, corn, tomatoes, sunflowers, and tobacco (Sandgruber 158–60; Drace-Francis 19–23). New fashions and exotic products created novel markets in coffee, tea, sugar, and furs (Hyden-Hanscho). In Prague, an imperial feather-maker established a shop to cater to the demand for colorful feathers inspired by depictions of birds in the Americas as worn by its indigenous inhabitants (Hanß 148). Exposure to colonial goods affected Central European society and reshaped tastes via material fashions and consumption patterns.

For many inhabitants of Central Europe, extra-European encounters occurred through material connections before personal exchanges broadened mental horizons. Curiosity cabinets and, in turn, museum collections across Central Europe housed tens of thousands of artifacts taken—often without consent—from other cultures, allowing observers to study such paraphernalia up close (Klemun; Feest). Knowledge of foreign peoples followed established lines of colonial discourse with a clear sense of European superiority over natives in regions beyond Europe. Habsburg subjects participated in processes of othering foreigners, particularly on the margins of Europe such as the Ottoman Empire, but quickly adopted imperial scripts from western empires about peoples overseas as means of justification for European political and spiritual dominance over them (Křížová). Initial contacts with new peoples, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, followed similar scripts of othering; seventeenth-century Habsburg Jesuits focused on the distinctive qualities of Native American “savagery” in much the same way as nineteenth-century travel authors identified “primitivism” within the inhabitants of Central Asia and the Pacific islands (Kristóf). Contributions in writing by Habsburg subjects confirmed and undergirded wider European perspectives on non-Europeans. Although devoid of a permanent and formal colonial empire, Habsburg inhabitants still crafted a colonial gaze similar to other European empires. Such an outlook often crystallized upon direct encounters with non-European others in the Habsburg lands. From the famous case of the Kanuri prince Angelo Soliman to visiting sovereigns such as Naser al-Din Shah of Persia or King Kalakaua of Hawaii, Viennese onlookers described their guests with a mixture of perplexity and exoticism (Blom

and Kos; Wernhart; Charouz). Material and interpersonal encounters such as these enabled Habsburg subjects to create their own Eurocentric understandings of world order.

From Colonial to Postcolonial

The Habsburg monarchy and subsequent successor states are often thought of as lands without a colonial lineage. The myth of no Austrian Habsburg colonies persists to this day, ignoring the claims to land issued by intrepid colonial agents on behalf of the Habsburgs in the late-eighteenth-century South Atlantic and Indian oceans (Singerton, “An Austrian Atlantic”). Even by obfuscating the territorial linkages that connected Central Europe to the wider world—such as the concession of Tianjin or the colonies of the Nicobar Islands, Maputo Bay, Inchapur, and Bankibazar—colonial acquisition remained a tantalizing prospect for Central Europeans (Parmentier; Falser). Indulgence in colonial fantasies was commonplace among Habsburg rulers and ruled alike. At various points, Habsburg officials planned to acquire islands in the Caribbean and off the coast of Brazil, parts of the Sudan, and tracts of the Western Sahara (Huisman 28; Dept 53; Sondhaus 147–48). Devoid of any durable territorial presence overseas, Habsburg subjects succumbed to the continual aspiration to own an overseas empire in emulation of other European states. Denial of this colonial reality led to fantasies in some quarters that manifested into a wider public yearning for colonial ventures under the guise of scientific expeditions or Catholic missions. In this regard, Austria-Hungary in the nineteenth century embraced a form of colonialism without colonies as imperial agents pursued the dream of formal empire (Kleinschmidt; Houtman-De Smedt). By the end of this period, there were also those who envisaged Central Europe as the great crossroads between East and West as a supplement for the lack of overseas colonies (Judson, *The Habsburg Empire* 318–19).

Habsburg attempts at colonialism were short-lived or remained purely aspirational. Truncated forays into colonial projects either met with stiff European competition that prevented the Habsburgs from realizing any colonial machinations beyond Europe or succumbed to inexperience and misfortune, as in the case of the ill-fated naval expeditions to the Solomon Islands in the 1890s (Dhondt). From foiled pursuits came the ruin of colonial appetites for formal overseas territories. The greatest trick of Habsburg

history, therefore, has resulted from its own perceived misfortune as a colonial power that allowed a string of twentieth-century figures to claim the absence of a comparable overseas Austrian Empire (Lüthi, Falk, and Purtschert). The denialist instinct has, however, run its course and in its place lies the chance for the reintegration of the early modern and modern colonial experience within Habsburg history. Casting a wider, more exact view upon colonialism serves to redress the historical entanglements hidden from view as well as preparing the way for greater postcolonial and decolonizing efforts within the past and present of Central Europe.

In charting the routes ahead, we are fortunate to have much groundwork laid before us. The 2003 volume *Habsburg postcolonial* constituted the first attempt to apply postcolonial theory to the analysis of power structures and the construction of (collective) identities in the composite Habsburg state. The focus here lay on “the multiple layers of quasi-colonial power relations” in this “state without a notable colonial past” (Feichtinger, Prutsch, and Csáky 186; see in particular Feichtinger and Surman). The volume also included the post-imperial historical imagination of the Austrofascist Dollfuß-Schuschnigg regime, which ascribed a civilizing mission to the “homo austriacus” in East-Central and Southeastern Europe under Habsburg rule—an attempt to underscore both the historical and contemporary significance of Austria and above all its superiority vis-à-vis the German culture of the “Reich” (Suppanz 312). Original though this approach was, the basic assumption remained that Austria had no actual colonial past of its own, with the exception of interior colonization and the later annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yet the volume argued that postcolonial theory could still be fruitfully applied to earlier periods, since these lands were also shaped by diversity, multiculturalism, and hybridity. Naturally, this approach received criticism, particularly the fact that difference had been taken as the basis of all further consideration—while difference in the Habsburg lands was first invented and then established as fact by national activists (Judson, “Do Multiple Languages Mean a Multicultural Society?” 79).

As early as 2002, Walter Sauer addressed various Habsburg colonial ambitions in an edited volume simply entitled “k. u. k. colonial,” albeit without recourse to postcolonial theory. This volume focused above all on involvement in both a “collective” and an “informal imperialism,” thereby refuting the popular narrative that the Habsburgs had not participated in colonialism or had even been to some extent an anticolonial force *avant la lettre* (Sauer,

K. u. k. kolonial; Sauer, “Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika” 17–18). This type of exculpation has become untenable nowadays, given that states like Switzerland are now seen to have engaged in colonialism without colonies (Purtschert, Lüthi, and Falk). The possibilities for participation and above all for making a profit within colonialism were too many, and Habsburg involvement too clear, to be simply denied (Buettner 29, 32–34).

Implications for Modern Austrian History

Perspectives on the history of the Habsburg monarchy differ significantly. Regardless, an engagement with postcolonial theory leads to a fresh perspective on its interior dynamics, while a focus on its colonial entanglements leads to a more global history. But what implications does this have for the small Austrian republic that came after Habsburg rule? Following previously mentioned lines of argumentation, the republic certainly must be regarded not only as a post-imperial but also as a postcolonial entity. Yet Austrian contemporary history has hesitantly engaged with postcolonial approaches (Burton).

The impact of postcolonial approaches is perhaps most evident in migration history, which has flourished in the past decade and revealed not only direct connections to Habsburg (interior) colonialism but also transnational phenomena and relationships, stereotypes and sensitivities, questions about diversity and multiculturalism, and marginalized groups that have hitherto remained largely invisible and voiceless in Austrian history. These are all issues, approaches, and perspectives that are fundamental to postcolonial theory (Rupnow).

Indeed, the migration history of the Second Republic evinces clear links to the late Habsburg monarchy. In 1973, the Austrian advertising industry commissioned a poster campaign that has since become legendary. With its slogan “I haaß Kolaric, du haaßt Kolaric, warum sogns’ zu dir Tschusch?” (I’m called Kolaric, you’re called Kolaric, why do they call you ‘Tschusch’?—*Tschusch* being a xenophobic expletive), the campaign was launched at the height of “guest worker” employment (and right before its official termination), which from the 1960s onward had transformed Austria (statistically) into a country of immigration. The poster can be read as a call for humanitarian concern and equal rights, albeit (when viewed today through the lens of postcolonial theory) one employing problematic imagery. Yet the use of the Slavic name “Kolaric” was also a reference to the interior migration

that took place in the Habsburg monarchy in the late nineteenth century, when hundreds of thousands of people migrated to the imperial capital Vienna, and the subsequent process of integration and normalization, which may have taken several generations but was ultimately successful (Hemetek). This history became a central point of reference for labor migration in the Second Republic, right down to the literal reference in a common joke to the numerous Slavic names that can be found in the Viennese telephone book. The Habsburg past also occasionally resonated in early social science studies emerging in the context of the “discovery of immigration,” for example in the finding that only 10 percent of the Viennese population approved of the “permanent integration of guest workers in the local population,” even though “a historical integration process of the greatest order of magnitude still lives on in memory there” (Arbeitskreis für ökonomische und soziologische Studien Wien 93).

The Habsburg monarchy and its experiences of multiculturalism and diversity, migration and integration was at the time understood as a positive point of reference for the current situation in the Second Republic. As the later politicization of the “foreigner” in the 1980s and 1990s (and today) revealed, however, this history ultimately turned out not to be all that usable after all.³ As Pieter Judson recently argued by explicit reference to the constant growth of ethnonationalism and the increasing rejection of pluralism and migrants, transnational and global connections should not be lost from sight when examining the narrowly defined national histories of the successor states of the Habsburg monarchy, above all Austria, nor should the manifold continuities beyond the rupture of 1918 be forgotten (Judson, “Eine kleine Republik mit zu großer Geschichte?” 53). This plea applies not only to scholarship but also to politics and society.

Irrespective of further differentiations that could of course also be undertaken as well as innumerable other topics that have to date been largely neglected or overlooked, the colonial and postcolonial perspectives on the Habsburg monarchy, and thus on Austria too, have two decisive consequences. These appear at first to point in different directions but are actually closely intertwined: The first is the opening of a European and above all global historical perspective with all the transnational connections and entanglements that entails, both in the Habsburg and later republican contexts, while the second relates to making visible the pluralism and diversity within Austria, making audible the hitherto marginalized or unheard

voices, while also reflecting on forms of anti-diversity, sensitivities, and stereotypes as well as discrimination and racism/antisemitism. This process entails both a postcolonial “provincialization” (Dipesh Chakrabarty) of the Habsburg lands and Austria, as of Europe generally, and its simultaneous “deprovincialization”—another pair of seemingly opposed dynamics that is nevertheless interconnected. The latter dynamic challenges and subverts the in many respects convenient self-provincialization of Austria, which was secured through a range of established narratives such as the hypothesis of “voluntary abnegation” of colonies, of Austria as the “first victim of Nazi Germany,” or of neutrality and Austria as an “isle of the blessed.” These narratives freed Austria from its history of conquest, violence, and warfare and stylized it as a peaceful land of Phaeacians—as in the famous dictum of Habsburg marriage policy, “*Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube*” (Let others wage war; you, happy Austria, marry). And then, of course, there is also Austria’s involvement in the Nazi politics of conquest and annihilation and its colonial dimensions.

Conclusions

The colonial and postcolonial perspectives bring Austria back into European and global history—and does justice to its diversity and pluralism that has been so often maligned, especially in the present. Integrating the Austrian—and by extension the Habsburg or Central European—global experience not only forces us to reckon with the negative aspects of colonialism from Central Europe but also calls for a modification of our historical frameworks. Embracing the global in Austrian Habsburg history allows us to reimagine how indirect colonialism occurred, whether through colonial and postcolonial imaginaries, contemporary commodity chains, or maverick escapades into other sovereign realms. Locating the global, in other words, presents us with renewed opportunities and challenges ahead. The reward for doing so not only enlivens the prospects of Habsburg history considering the (on-going) Global Turn but also helps, as Elizabeth Buettner has phrased it, to “Europeanize the imperial turn” by including the blind spots of European colonial history. In correcting such omissions, scholars of the Habsburg lands and their successor states may wish to turn comparative if not totally global. Inspiring work, not least in the case of Switzerland’s “colonialism without col-

onies,” offers a useful point of comparison; so too do recent efforts to apply this Swiss approach as a means to deconstruct Finnish myths of exceptionalism as a noncolonial state that echo other Eastern European denialist voices (Merivirta, Koivunen, and Särkkä). In all cases, the road ahead for Austrian/Habsburg studies should be expansive, honest, and mindful of the colonial and postcolonial legacies at play in the rich history of a complex region at the heart of Europe.

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Notes

1. See *Austrian Studies*, vol. 20, “Colonial Austrian: Austria and the Overseas” (2012), *passim*.

2. See *The Hungarian Historical Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, “Austria-Hungary and the Balkans— from the Perspectives of New Imperial History,” 2022.

3. “One can therefore surely not accuse the Austrian trade unions of xenophobia. That would be downright absurd anyway in a country that only at the beginning of this century took in hundreds of thousands of people from Eastern Europe and ultimately integrated them into the population” (Hofstetter 59).

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What is Austro-Hungarian History to the Eurasianist?

Orel Beilinson

Habsburg history is part of European history in the academic hierarchy of knowledge. However, recent work in the field has undermined this connection. Historians of the empire engage in comparative work and study the empire's entanglements in global processes. European history, too, has undergone significant transformations in the meantime. Some Europeanists went global or imperial. Others have shown how the grand narratives of European history are too centered on Northwestern Europe to portray the lived experience of most Europeans. What is European history, then?

This essay rethinks the role of Austrian history within bigger narratives. It is a new research direction beyond Austrian Studies. Instead of focusing on Austria's advantages to the historian, it suggests subjecting Austria to a systematic comparison with a wide range of territories from Portugal to Turkmenistan, Iceland to Yemen. Such a research design can help us see Austria anew. Instead of forcing Austria into one box with its geographic neighbors, such research creates new categorizations, exposes lacunae, and teases out dynamics visible only through the lens of macro-history. Above all, this essay invites a conversation about the genre of synthesis, the integration of macro- and comparative history, and the blind spots of historiographical conventions.

I. Historiographies in Flux

Comparativists should find Habsburg history an inviting field. The “imperial turn” it underwent, in tandem with the Ottoman and Russian empires,

yielded a deluge of works around a close-knit series of problems. The resulting change in historiography occasioned exciting new syntheses (Judson; Connelly; Keller; Khalid, *Central Asia*). That these syntheses often took names like *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* reflects what historians might see as self-evident: a single research question, answered by the synthesis, becomes synonymous with the geography under study. How rare is it to study the Habsburg Empire without an interest in imperial rule or nationalism?

There is no reason to stop at the Habsburg-Ottoman-Russian triangle. Sablin and Moniz Bandeira collected studies on parliamentarism “between the eastern edge of Asia and Eastern Europe, including the former Russian, Ottoman, Qing, and Japanese Empires as well as their successor states” (back cover). They named this region “Eurasia.” Comparing nationalism, imperialism, or modernity might make Eurasia grow even more. The range of territories grouped as Eurasian stretched as far as the Dutch Empire, the Indian Ocean, Kyoto, Lyon, and Pomerania (Stanziani; Freddolini and Musillo). While some indeed study (Central) Eurasia as the space locked between the Russian and Chinese empires, the Eurasia of edited volumes became a make-shift historiographical frontier.

The turn away from Europe reflects a crisis of identity, too. The core of European history has always been metropolitan Britain, France, and Germany. Ongoing shifts—from the metropole to the colonies, from national to international history—undermine this hegemony, letting new units of analysis vie for dominance. Historians outside European history’s core countries find new frames of reference to avoid the consistent marginalization of their field: Méhilli and Dragostinova both anchor their monographs within the non-territorial “Cold War Studies” as much as within European history. Another line of scholarship, most recently heralded by Emily Greble, convincingly argued that much of Europe’s modern history is Ottoman and post-Ottoman. Is European history still a coherent field of study?

To be sure, Austrian history has already broken free from its shackles. Historians like Nancy M. Wingfield—after decades of writing about minority politics, ethnic relations and conflicts, and “nationalization” processes—use lenses like gender and topics like prostitution to link the Habsburg Empire with the world. Natasha Wheatley and Quinn Slobodian made Austria a central node in developing international law and economic thought, respectively. These works write Austria into new grand narratives but sideline the unsolved question: What is European history?

A more insidious attack on its coherence comes from new global histories of European modernity. The grand narrative of European history seems to be not so grand. As a recent volume on the “global bourgeoisie” showed, “bourgeois social formations were most visible in Western Europe and its (current and former settler colonies)” in the early nineteenth century—and not in Northern, Southern, or Eastern Europe. The same volume also admits that the supposed “golden age of the bourgeoisie,” a firm historiographical model widely taught in survey classes, does not even fit European history’s “core” countries very well (Dejung et al. 2, 20–21). What happens when European history as a grand narrative is written based on the lived experience of its majority? This is a dangerous project: the European specificity might disappear altogether. But this is also an opportunity.

II. The Possibility of Starting Anew

Historians are often socialized into an existing historical meso-region. This term, which comes from interwar Europe, refers to the historiographical project of demarcating a geographical region for writing meaningful histories. It is “meso” because it is micro compared to the world but macro compared to the single state (Troebst). Southeastern Europe, Central Europe, and East-Central Europe are all historical meso-regions, and historians often have strong opinions about conflicting titles for similar regions. If regional divisions have been “more salient and their meaning more contested in Europe than in any other part of the world,” perhaps one way to find new questions is to come up with new historical meso-regions (Arnason 387).

Demography is a good start in reconstructing the European experience as an aggregate whole. Historical demographers often work with local sources but debate macro-level narratives. This is encapsulated in the example of the Hajnal line, which divides Europe along an imaginary axis that runs from Trieste to St. Petersburg. East of the line is a region where most people marry and do so at a young age, as opposed to the higher age at first marriage and a higher share of never-married people to the west. We now know this division is far from perfect, and communities with similar demographic behavior can be found on both sides of the line.

Still, thinking about classification according to demographic variables is enticing. Could someone write a history based on societies in which most women marry and do so at a young age, where most young people do not

work outside of the household before getting married, and where married couples join an existing household instead of starting one of their own? This history would include parts of Russia, the Baltics, and—curiously enough—Croatia. Russianists would find Croatian easy to learn and Baltic history familiar. But an enthusiastic reader taking notes for a potential dissertation must use only sources from communities that fulfill the three criteria listed above. The interest is in demographic behavior, not the state that happened to tax these communities.

Choosing a nonconventional classification still allows thinking about states. Why did such demographic behavior emerge predominantly in these communities? How did changing regimes and policies impact demographic behavior? After decades of communist rule in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, how did demographic behavior change in these communities? Do Croatia and Latvia belong to different demographic regions after 1991? One can sense the artificiality of the project. It starts in the abstract: not with a burning question or an archival find but with the intense desire to find new grand narratives—indeed, almost to engineer them. Such a methodology relies on synthesis, a type of project not taught or encouraged in graduate programs.

III. The Artificiality of Eurasianization

Starting from an Austrian observation is perfectly fine. How come Austria had so many children born out of wedlock, amounting to over 50 percent in some regions around 1920 (Haslinger)? How did Hungary's "bachelor guilds," an organization of all the villages' eligible bachelors that regulated their socialization and courting, come into being? What made it a "guild" in the first place (Németh)? The first step was systematic comparison. What was illegitimacy like outside of Austria? How do historical demographers map patterns of illegitimacy? What other societies have organizations akin to the bachelors' guild? Or to the journeymen's associations? Looking at the ethnographic literature is essential. Only then can patterns emerge, and only then can I lessen the impact of what I know from Western Europe. It was the Hungarian *legénycéh*, for example, that began my discussion of youth organizations instead of well-known international organizations.

Youth historians may associate the Hungarian bachelors' guilds with the youth groups Natalie Zemon Davis identified as agents of managed misrule in early modern Europe. The Hungarian example sheds light on how communi-

ties integrated such groups into their shared governance. For example, some villages tasked their elected “first bachelor” with enforcing seasonal bans on grazing, not only on fellow bachelors but on the entire population (Jankó 25). How were young people organized before international youth organizations arrived, and how did they come about? What did they displace? These questions open a substantial number of threads, some leading to journeymen’s associations in China that did not have, as far as I know, rural equivalents for bachelors. By contrast, others lead to the German origins of the Hungarian *legénycéh* in medieval colonization processes. The diffusion of organizational mechanisms, their community functions, and their relationship with others became a research outline for one chapter.

Asking these new questions systematically also surfaced an understudied Ottoman institution that shares some structural similarities with the bachelors’ guild in Hungary. For example, both had villages that elected their head bachelor (Neyzi 40). There is much that is unknown about this institution. It is mentioned briefly in memoirs and recollections more than in any systematic historical study. Some evidence suggests that its spread in the Ottoman Empire was perhaps limited to, or at least more prevalent in, Christian villages in the Levant. The head bachelor also seems significantly more potent in the Ottoman countryside than in Hungary. In 1859, the “leader of the youth” led the Greek Catholics of Mount Lebanon in a rebellion, and a year later, Jews turned to his equivalent in Safed to seek refuge from harassment (Schölch 203). Who was this “leader of the youth”? What historical conditions allowed or even necessitated the emergence of such youthful leadership positions?

Eurasianization may begin with serendipity but must continue systematically. It may start with a particular Austrian trait sought across Eurasia: its absence, appearance, or resemblance to a phenomenon of different origins in another society soon generates a typology (of youth organizations, for example) and new theoretical questions. Integrating typology and theory is essential. It is not my goal to propose a research method that yields catalogs of human diversity—typology should lead to categorization, which should allow for analysis, for exploration, for the discovery of patterns and dynamics that exceed the case study.

IV. Reorienting the Literature

Youth historians cannot evade the history of schooling. However, reading about the history of education in imperial Austria and Central Asia opens

two very different historiographical worlds. The gymnasium and the madrasa differ in many respects, but where can the bridges between them be? An easy path to follow is the history of curricular reforms. Reformers—though of a different character—decried both schools as anachronistic, sharing some points about the role of ancient languages and the need to teach science (Cohen; Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*). As I have argued elsewhere, however, these points of comparison outshine the vast systematic knowledge extant in one area but not the other. Based on previous work on the relationship between schooling and the labor market, I have previously argued that applying questions from the history of education in Europe to Central Asia and vice versa can reinvigorate both fields (Beilinson).

Borrowing questions is possible through *reorienting* bibliographies. Historians of education in imperial Austria are often more familiar with the history of education in England, France, Germany, and perhaps the United States at the expense of Japan, China, or even Russia. Europe’s “core” lingers in the writings of non-Western Europeanists. Western Europe becomes a model against which local histories are measured, even if this model (as already mentioned) is flawed even in the territories it aims to describe. On the other extreme are works that remain an island, where the history of education or youth in each region is compared to nothing. These works are often innovative, exciting, and deeply researched. But they only rarely make it into bigger narratives. The challenge of Eurasianization is reading about China when writing about Austria. It means thinking about Greece and Albania even when not writing “a global history of education.”

Western Europe will not perish as a result. Jürgen Osterhammel’s global history of the nineteenth century still acknowledges that the link between students and politics was probably born in 1817 Germany (Osterhammel 799). This is likely true. Universities were much smaller east of the Rhine. It is impossible to ignore the role of studying abroad, specifically in Germany and France, when writing about the history of youth politics in Yugoslavia and the Ottoman Empire, for example. But the Ottoman Empire also shows how students from Istanbul’s higher *madrasas* often participated in demonstrations (Riedler 15). In Ottoman and post-Ottoman Palestine, youth power was significant but even less institutionalized than in Istanbul and Vienna. The Palestinian pattern was not unique, nor did it disappear when youth movements tried to temper youth power (Chorev-Halewa).

Eurasianization can start with reading Austria alongside post-Ottoman

Palestine. Monographs tend to balance an archival deep dive contextualized against a model, be it European, Ottoman, Chinese, or other. It is against these models that new findings gain significance, as historians strive to show not only how their writing on, say, secondary school reform fits within the history of Austria but also how it fits in a broader pattern. This pattern, regrettably, is too often British-French-German. The typical monograph contextualizes the results of deep archival work into one case against this master narrative. Eurasianization upsets this model by painting a new canvas with multiple cases grouped and regrouped as necessary. Doing so also undermines a “best practice” of historical comparison: keeping the number of compared cases and the essential abstracts to a minimum (Haupt and Kocka 15).

V. The Synthesis and its Limits

Writing Eurasian history is a synthetic exercise. The Eurasianist synthesizes to generate questions, not to replace a downtrodden scholarly consensus. In other words, instead of summarizing two decades of work on nationalism in the Habsburg Empire, the Eurasianist seeks new directions for Austrian history as much as for Uzbek history by looking at the fields’ scholarship in tandem. The former sections presented two complementary parts: studying the same phenomenon across all territorial components, which has the effect of disseminating research questions across subfields, and reading one’s sources within a different bibliographical environment. A study of youth, therefore, will have to go beyond Gillis’s focus on Britain, France, and Germany. Gillis’s book studies “European age relations”: Eurasianization assumes no “European” pattern of age relations and supposes that comprehensive research will yield other categorizations.

Aggregate history will have to remain an unachieved ideal. After all, synthesis can only succeed if it has enough source material to build on: archival research across twenty countries or so is virtually impossible. If no one wrote on real estate and housing in pre-independent Albania, how can one synthesize Albania into such a project? Yet, the discipline’s preference for unpublished documents leaves behind mountains of books. Particularly crucial is life writing and contemporary social science. These genres have limitations. Europe’s writing cultures produced different types of autobiographies, ranging from intimate confessions to recollections about others. Switzerland produced more peasant autobiographies than elsewhere on the continent,

whereas autobiographies (particularly by female authors) are scarce in Albania. The ease of access to a printing press also determined the extent to which, for example, youth periodicals were available. But such limitations also exist when working archivally, as bureaucratic cultures and their archival practices differ.

Eurasianists must make intensive use of local scholarship. This is a utilitarian principle as much as an ethical imperative. Sometimes, different academic cultures lead to divergent norms of knowledge production—articles that privilege thick descriptions necessitate a weaker argumentative force or merely recount archival findings without robust interpretation—thus adding to yet another mountain of uncited works. The artificiality of Eurasianization calls for bibliographic attention. Going through the works written by Turkmen, Georgian, Bulgarian, or Portuguese scholars and constructing an extensive database of secondary sources would be a fantastic project of Eurasianization. There is enough knowledge on how the Western-Eurocentric model of industrialization does not fit most other industrializing economies on the continent: What can the collated body of knowledge produced in these other economies teach those who ignore the need to compare to Germany or France?

In short, deriving *lux ex oriente* can also contribute much to European history. This short essay has advocated for question-generating projects that study phenomena across large territories through synthesis. This artificial, exploratory method holds great potential for seeing beyond the field's current preoccupations and commitments. Eurasianizing counterbalances the prevalent trend of looking at micro-level stories of transnational encounters. Instead, this project returns to historical-comparative sociology. Its excitement comes from the consistent production of historically meaningful units of analysis that were not there before. The Austria that might emerge from this project will necessarily be tentative, but Eurasianizing can unravel new ways to learn from the history of Austria.

This imaginary place, Eurasia, is a land of opportunities. The quest to discover it is an exercise in creating possibilities and eliminating borders. This exercise may also transform the synthesis as a genre and lead to a more thorough utilization of printed sources. Such a project demands a different set of skills than the one graduate programs tend to prize. Eurasianists should master a wide range of languages (and not handwriting styles), know their way around bibliographies (more than archival catalogs), and develop a style of

writing suitable for making convincing arguments in a high degree of abstraction (instead of storytelling). This short essay is a research agenda more than a proof of concept. I hope it will bring fruit to Austrianists, Europeanists, and other historians, too.

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Austro-Hungarian Informal Imperialism in China, 1869–1917

Mathieu Gotteland

Despite the fact that colonialism permeated Austrian society, the fact that Austrians served other colonial administrations, or the existence of the debates on “interior colonization,” Austria-Hungary is not commonly considered a proper colonial power. This is a mistake. Apart from the European territories of the Dual Monarchy, Austria participated in the wider European trend of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, establishing chartered companies and factories (notably in modern-day India, in Ichhapur and Covelong, and China, in Guangzhou) as well as launching maritime expeditions to seize the island of Socotra and the Nicobar islands in 1857.¹ The myth of a noncolonial Austria mainly subsists thanks to repeated failures and lack of governmental consistency in their rather weak financial, military, and political support to those colonial projects.²

During the nineteenth century, and contrary to the other European powers, questions of power and prestige, not trade, were paramount to the Austrian state. Austrian foreign policy focused first on *Dualismus* and then, after the alliance with Prussia-led Germany, on the rivalry with Russia for influence in the Balkans. Austrian capitalism developed slowly and rather late, its industrialization was based on the exploitation of Czech mineral deposits, and the small bourgeoisie appeared mostly in Vienna, Prague, and Trieste.

The Petz Expedition to East Asia, 1867–1869

The Austrian maritime expedition to East Asia was launched as late as 1868, one year after the signing of the Compromise, under the command of Anton

Freiherr von Petz. It led to tensions with newly autonomous Hungary, which saw no trade advantages to the signing of treaties with China, Japan, and Siam, the ostensible aim of the expedition. After the Opium War (1839–1842), China gradually opened up to foreign trade and residence. Until the wars between China, on the one hand, and France and the United Kingdom, on the other, that followed in 1858 and 1860, all European states benefited from the opening of China's ports to foreign trade and residence, regardless of whether the respective state had signed a treaty with China or not. However, when Prussia and the *Zollverein* signed a special treaty with China in 1861, it became urgent and necessary for non-treaty powers to sign treaties of their own (see Gotteland, *L'Allemagne et l'Autriche-Hongrie en Chine, 1895–1918*, 18–21). Five European countries imitated the Prussian example between 1862 and 1866, making Austria-Hungary the only European country, along with Switzerland, not to have signed a bilateral treaty with China at this time.

The obstacles to Austria-Hungary's colonial ambitions were considerable. The dual monarchy sent on this expedition two outdated ships of the Austro-Hungarian navy, which were barely sufficient to keep pirates at bay. Compared to other European states, Austro-Hungarian trade in the region was negligible, with fourteen ships visiting China in 1865 and only one visiting Siam (Jósza, "Bemerkungen zu den ostasiatischen Beziehungen der österreichisch ungarischen Monarchie," 240). Unsurprisingly, this made negotiations difficult. Nevertheless bilateral treaties were signed with Siam on May 17, China on September 2, and Japan on October 18 of 1869.

The result was a rather balanced treaty compared to the new tenor set by the main colonial powers, including Prussia.³ Concessions made by Freiherr von Petz, as well as the last-minute support of the British representative in Beijing, made the signing possible.⁴ It took the Austrian Parliament up to 1871 to ratify a treaty, which benefited only a small Austrian and Hungarian community of traders in China. Austro-Hungarian foreign trade was for the main part in the hands of Germany and to a lesser extent other European countries. The only major extra-European trade partners were the United States and the Ottoman Empire. The Chinese market was of little interest to Austrian industry, as China had better alternatives. As a consequence, the maximum count of Austro-Hungarian ships reaching Chinese ports annually between 1869 and 1895 was thirteen, and there were never more than ninety-eight Austrian and Hungarian traders and four Austrian and Hungarian companies in China at any one time (Lee Chinyun; Skřivan 191–208; Sauer, "Habsburg Colonial" 17).

Nevertheless, by the treaty of 1869, Austria-Hungary formally acquired the most important tools of foreign informal imperialism in China: the privilege of extraterritoriality and “most favored nation” status, understood as covering not only trade tariffs but also imperial privileges of all kinds obtained by other states in China past, present and future, to which now the dual monarchy was also entitled.

The Goluchowski Era, 1895–1906

The tenure of Count Agenor Goluchowski at the Foreign Ministry was the high point of Austro-Hungarian imperialism abroad. After the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), China once again became the center of international attention. Germany and Japan obtained “concessions” in Chinese cities, to which they gave a decisively colonial character, in 1895 and 1898, respectively. In 1897, the forts of Qingdao were occupied by the German navy, and in the following year Germany obtained a “leased territory,” that is a naval base as well as a small colony. Goluchowski was eager that Austria-Hungary not lag behind the other great European powers.

In October 1895, he decided to open an Austro-Hungarian legation in Beijing; until then the dual monarchy was only represented by a general consulate in Shanghai. The decision was ratified by Emperor Franz Joseph on June 23, 1896 (M. Lehner 126, 133, 136–38; Denison 105–6). The foreign legations were the object of the first military landing in China to which Austria-Hungary was a party. After the Hundred Days of Reform, a coup put the Empress Dowager Cixi back in power, and fifteen thousand Chinese soldiers were deployed in the capital to prevent foreign aggression. On September 30, 1898, members of the American and British legations were attacked, and on the following day the legations decided that marine detachments should land from ships in Chinese waters. Symbolic marine delegations from the German, French, Japanese, British, and Russian navies reached their respective legations in Beijing. Austria-Hungary landed its own party of thirty-two men under Lieutenant Karl Prica on November 10, mainly as a question of prestige: after all, the Austro-Hungarian legation must not be protected by foreign marines. Nevertheless, this is the first truly imperialistic step taken by Austria-Hungary in China. The small occupation corps left for Europe in April 1899.⁵

Meanwhile, Italy, another imperial latecomer on the Chinese stage, demanded for itself Sanmen Bay on China’s eastern coast on conditions

similar to those obtained by Germany in the bay of Jiaozhou a year before. China resisted the attempt, the Italian minister in Beijing was recalled, and on May 3, 1899, the Italian government of Luigi Pelloux resigned over the issue. Nevertheless, and on Gólurowski's initiative, two ships of the Austro-Hungarian navy went on a reconnaissance mission along the coast of Fujian and Zhejiang. In September 1899, the captain of one of those ships and Baron Moritz Czirkann von Wahlborn, the minister in Beijing, took the opportunity to demand a lease on the bay of Nangan. Count Gólurowski thus hoped to make Austria-Hungary a political and military power in China. But despite the great care taken not to provoke the resistance of other colonial powers, Gólurowski finally gave in to Japan, who categorically refused that any foreign power have a naval base on the coast of Fujian, their designated zone of influence.⁶

During the first half of 1900, when the troubles caused by the Boxer movement began to threaten the capital and the foreign settlements in Tianjin, the Austro-Hungarian minister Arthur von Rosthorn decided yet again on a landing of a small corps of thirty men and five officers to participate in the defense of the foreign legations in Beijing along other imperial states. In Vienna, as always, the debate was fierce. Count Gólurowski, a staunch advocate of intervention, had to overcome the opposition of his vice-minister, Count Szécsen von Temerin. The Hungarian count argued that this Chinese adventure did not serve the immediate interests of Austria-Hungary, the dual monarchy having few ties and next to no trade interests in the Middle Kingdom. But for Gólurowski, intervening alongside other great powers was a question of power and prestige. The emperor decided in his favor on June 9, 1900, and sent ships to the Chinese waters, bringing the Austro-Hungarian flotilla to four ships in total. They reached Northern China on August 7, too late to participate in the actual fighting, and returned to Europe on June 22, 1901.

However, 382 marines were positioned in Beijing, Tianjin, and Tanggu. A flag bearer joined the international column that had come to the rescue of the foreign legations in Beijing. And Austro-Hungarian forces participated in two punitive expeditions in the Chinese countryside between 1900 and 1901.⁷

The Austro-Hungarian Concession in Tianjin, 1902–1917

The Boxer War brought China to its weakest state in several centuries, and while no imperial state had an interest in trying to partition China, it did en-

courage Russia to increase military and political pressure on Manchuria and Mongolia. Likewise, the Boxer trauma brought foreigners to adopt a much sterner stance as far as the safety of the foreign legations in Beijing and concessions in Tianjin were concerned, setting up a semi-colonial system that would exist until the 1940s. The Legation Quarter in Beijing was given a status somewhere between an international concession and a fortress, and numerous points along the Beijing-Shanhaiguan railway were occupied by garrisons of various nationalities, as were the cities of Beijing and Tianjin.

Russia took the initiative among imperial powers in Tianjin when it tried to annex a tract of land its forces had contributed to “liberate,” including the train station. This brought Russia and the United Kingdom to a standoff in Tianjin and to the brink of war between June and November 1900, a crisis resolved by the Russian claim of the disputed land as a new foreign concession, excluding the train station. A rush for similar claims ensued, those states already leasing territories in Tianjin seeking their extension, while others seized the occasion to obtain a concession of their own. After the initial Russian and Belgian claims on November 6, 1900, Austria-Hungary was the first to follow suit, on November 28. Indeed, it is likely that this was one of the primary goals on the part of Gołuchowski when he sent marines to Northern China.⁸

A formal treaty was later signed between Baron Czikkann, minister for Austria-Hungary, Karl Bernauer, vice-consul in Tianjin, and Yuan Shikai, vice-roy of Zhili, in Tianjin, on June 20, 1902. Austro-Hungarian civil and military authorities formally took possession on August 4.⁹

This microcolony of around a quarter of a square mile and covering the Chinese quarter of Hedong (German: Hotung) thus became the only overseas territory Austria-Hungary ever held. At the time of its establishment, the concession counted around forty thousand Chinese inhabitants and only three foreigners, excluding consular and military personnel. None of them held either Austrian or Hungarian citizenship.¹⁰

The conflicts with China and Italy over the borders of the territory, the regularly downsized occupation corps, the absence of foreign residents, the lack of interest on the part of Austro-Hungarian companies, and widespread corruption were difficult flaws to overcome. The end of Gołuchowski’s tenure at the foreign ministry in 1906 also brought pressure on the concession to become financially autonomous, the heavy taxes then crushing any hope even for small industry and Chinese businesses to thrive.¹¹

The War Years, 1914–1917

During the first years of the First World War, China stayed neutral. As far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, it meant that Austrian and Hungarian citizens were still entitled to the privilege of extraterritoriality, that Austria-Hungary still enjoyed all privileges normally enjoyed by imperial states in China, and that it retained its concession in Tianjin. Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary participated in the Siege of Tsingtao waged by Japan for the control of the German-leased territory. This had an unexpected upside, as despite the loss of life and the number of marines wounded or taken prisoner, the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian marine corps stationed in Northern China, added to those of the crew of the SMS *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (which was sunk near Qingdao), made a stronger occupation corps than existed before the hostilities. To this must be added that many Austrian, Hungarian, and German refugees arrived in the concessions held by Germany and Austria-Hungary in China and that German and Austro-Hungarian businesses located in Entente concessions before the war massively relocated in the concessions of the Central Powers.¹²

The period from 1914 to 1917 was in fact a flourishing era for the Austro-Hungarian concession of Tianjin and one of great works aimed at attracting a clientele of rich Chinese. During the year 1914 alone, massive expropriations in the southern part of the concession forced ten thousand Chinese out of the territory. Expensive works were undertaken to level the terrain, running water was installed, and streets were paved. By 1917, nearly all lots had been sold to Chinese of a “higher class.” In 1915, Austro-Hungarian authorities, taking an interest in the northern part of their concession for the first time since 1902, began filling and leveling works that attested to a faith in the future of Austro-Hungarian rule.

Nevertheless, difficulties accumulated, due to the distance to the mainland, the termination of German and Austro-Hungarian shipping to Chinese waters, the lack of German solidarity with its Austrian ally, Allied blacklisting, and secret war endeavors against Austro-Hungarian interests. Bilateral trade with China was nullified in the first months of the war.¹³

Meanwhile, the Austro-Hungarian concession became a focal point of secret war in China and in Asia. With the help of Slavic marines, Russian espionage especially gathered intelligence on the territory, its administration, and the prevailing military corps.¹⁴ Together with the German concession

in Tianjin and the Legation Quarter in Beijing, it was the refuge of many German, Austrian, and Hungarian prisoners of war who escaped from Russian camps in Siberia. The Russian authorities, on their side, endeavored to arrest the escapees and send them back to POW camps.¹⁵ Bhagwan Singh, an Indian and head of the independentist Ghadar Party in Asia, took refuge in that same Austro-Hungarian concession at the end of 1915. He was joined there by another famous Indian independentist then collaborating with Germany by the name of M. N. Roy.¹⁶ Finally, in August 1917, the last days of China's neutrality, the concession and the other Austro-Hungarian civil and military authorities in China survived a plot by a secret society with British support to overcome the territory and the consulates and legation, hoist the red flag, proclaim the republic and join the Entente (Gotteland, "The Goennert Plot").

On August 14, 1917, to the relative surprise of Austrian diplomats, China declared war on both Germany and Austria-Hungary. Left without instructions, they allowed for the retrocession of the concession to China and the internment of Austrian and Hungarian marines, and had to leave the country.¹⁷

Conclusion

Despite the obvious shortcomings, the history of Austro-Hungarian informal imperialism in China was not only one of failure. Thanks to the impulse given by Count Gołuchowski, Austria-Hungary, a country without colonial tradition, with no significant bilateral trade with China, and without immediate political interest in Asian affairs, managed to gain a foothold in northern China.

Other imperial agents, namely Arthur von Rosthorn, Austro-Hungarian minister in Beijing, and Hugo Accurti, secretary to the Austro-Hungarian concession, actively participated in all successes recorded by Austro-Hungarian political and commercial policy in China as well as the continuation of its informal imperialism up to 1917.

These successes were the product of the voluntarism of a few men among Austro-Hungarian military and diplomats and of the underlying flaws that doomed Austria-Hungary to remain in China an imperialist power of the second rank, none was more grave than the ultimate lack of interest from the metropole and its insistence on considering this Chinese adventure as a financial burden.

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Notes

1. During the expedition of the SMS Novara around the world, including in Southern Chinese ports.

2. See *Austrian Studies*, vol. 20; Sauer, *K. u. k. colonial*.

3. Apart from the disposition on extraterritoriality, the treaty was balanced, including on the “most-favoured nation clause” which was one of the main tools for foreign imperialism in China. Only Spain (in the Philippines only) in 1864, Peru in 1874, Korea in 1899 and Sweden in 1908 followed suit on this particular and then controversial point.

4. German *Bundesarchiv* (hereafter BA) R901 16845.

5. Moritz baron von Czikan, minister of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, to Agenor count Goluchowski, foreign minister, November 6, 1898, *Oesterreichisches Staatsarchiv—Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* (hereafter: OESTA-HHSTA) PA XXIX 5; *id.*, April 14, 1899, OESTA-HHSTA PA XXIX 6; *Präger Abendblatt*, 1899, no. 8 (January 11, 1899), p. 1; *Salzburger Volksblatt*, 22nd year, nr 9 (January 12, 1899), p. 4; *Österreichische illustrierte Zeitung*, 8th year, nr 3 (January 15, 1899), p. 8; *Südsteirische Post*, vol. 19, no. 6 (January 21, 1899), p. 5; Morse 151; Kaminski 19–22, 111; Lehner and Lehner 33–49.

6. Moritz Czikan, minister of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, to Agenor count Goluchowski, foreign minister, April 27, 1899, OESTA-HHSTA PA XXIX 6; A. Józsa, “Die Bemühungen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie um die Ewerbung eines Settlements in China” 157–59; Chinyun Lee 90; Cabiš 27–28.

7. Kutschera, consul general of Austria-Hungary in Shanghai, to Goluchowski, foreign minister, January 2nd 1902, OESTA-HHSTA PA XXXVIII 323; Von Winterhalder; Morse 292; Lehner and Lehner; Cabiš 35, 42–43, 54–56.

8. Czikan, minister of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, circular, November 28, 1900, BA R901 30912; Morse 325–26.

9. Text of the treaty, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 36.

10. Bernauer, consul of Austria-Hungary in Tianjin, to legation of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, August 4, 1902, OESTA HHSTA Peking 100; Report of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Tianjin, January 31, 1903, OESTA-HHSTA F63 Tientsin.

11. Accurti to consul of Austria-Hungary in Tianjin, January 10, 1906, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 68; trade report of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Tianjin for the year 1910, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 67.
12. Bofras, military chancellor, to the marine section of the ministry of war, March 2nd 1915, OESTA-HHSTA PA XXIX 27; *The North China Herald*, June 26, 1915, p. 944.
13. Trade report of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Tianjin for the year 1914, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 71; *id.* for the year 1915, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 67; *id.* for the year 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 72.
14. Commanding officer of the Austro-Hungarian marine detachment in Beijing to the Austro-Hungarian minister in Beijing, December 4, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 43; December 5, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 43.
15. Consul of Austria-Hungary in Tianjin to minister of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, December 2nd, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; December 5, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82, December 6, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; December 8, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; December 10, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; December 13, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; January 25, 1917, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82; P. H. Tiedemann, consul of Russia in Tianjin to F. D. Fisher, consul general of the United States of America in Tianjin, December 11, 1916, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 82.
16. Notes on accused, “Bhagwan Singh,” American National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter: NARA) M1868-2 ; Memorandum regarding Hindus convicted in the German-Hindu conspiracy case, “Bhagwan Singh,” NARA M1868-2; Roy 5–13.
17. Schumpeter, consul of Austria-Hungary in Tianjin to minister of Austria-Hungary in Beijing, August 14, 1917, OESTA-HHSTA Peking 83; *The North-China Herald*, August 18, 1917, pp. 363–67; August 25, 1917, pp. 1, 421–22, 426–27; September 1, 1917, pp. 475–76, 479–81, 500; September 8, 1917, p. 533; September 15, 1917, pp. 580, 591; September 29, 1917, p. 734; October 6, 1917, p. 43; Ariga 268–69, 278–94.

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Global Connections and Culinary Conceptions of Cultural Identity in Austrian Food Literature of the Nineteenth Century

Amy Millet

In 1897, Baroness Marie von Rokitansky (1848–1924) published a volume of several hundred recipes as *Die österreichische Küche*, all of which she had tried in her own kitchen in Innsbruck. Critics praised her book, a bestseller of its time, for including the finest dishes the Habsburg lands had to offer (“Aus dem Reiche der Küche”). Certainly, the book contained many predictable favorites: Hungarian goulash, Polish beet soup, Linzer Torte, and, of course, several pages of Viennese pastries. Along with the schnitzels and strudels, however, the volume also showcased recipes from other parts of Europe, the Americas, and Asia, regions far removed from the alpine climes of Central Europe. With this in mind, the book’s title may seem a bit misleading. Rokitansky had selected each recipe herself, however, and each new edition of the book reaffirmed her interpretation of its contents.¹

Rokitansky’s choice of title was therefore significant. In his analysis of cookbooks from Austria, Roman Sandgruber argues that cookbook titles often reflected political attitudes toward considerations of national identification and proposes that cookbooks invoking “österreichisch” cuisine in their titles rather than specific nationalist designations may have been addressed to Austrians with *großdeutsch* sentiments (189). Here I argue that the inclusion of foreign recipes and ingredients in a book dedicated to “Austrian” cuisine suggested a conception of Austrian-ness that was grounded in Central Europe but that incorporated elements from beyond the Habsburg lands to create a more cosmopolitan cultural identity.

Rokitansky's cookbook and other culinary writings of the late nineteenth century illustrate how food culture provided a space for cultivating and expressing notions of collective belonging that were more expansive than the political discourses of the day. Contemporary rhetoric generally emphasized exclusive national identification, often based on language, religion, and other cultural factors, as the most salient form of collective identity. In contrast, conceptions of belonging expressed through food incorporated national, imperial, and global elements. In addition, that Austrians were connecting with other areas of the world through food was itself an international trend. By showcasing recipes and ingredients from abroad and highlighting their foreignness, culinary writings invited readers to reimagine the contours of "Austrian-ness" and expand them to include tastes and flavors from a broader swath of the globe.

A rich body of literature explores the nature and workings of national identification in the Habsburg lands as well as the relationships between nationalist loyalties and other types of belonging, such as regional, religious, imperial, or urban affinities (see for example Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire, King*; Stauter-Halsted; Unowsky; Vushko; Wood; Zahra). Existing scholarship also examines the mechanisms through which collective identities were negotiated, including language-use regulations, religious and civic celebrations, associations, and the shared experiences of city life in an era of modernization. These studies, however, tend to focus on patterns of public life or draw attention to official institutions Habsburg rulers cultivated to ensure loyalty to the imperial state. In contrast, this article shifts the focus to private preferences and decisions that were centered in individual households. By looking beyond official narratives and exploring an often-overlooked realm of cultural expression and production—food—a study of culinary culture offers fresh perspectives on collective cultural identification in Habsburg Central Europe.

In its international scope, Rokitansky's book was consistent with contemporary Austrian culinary magazines that likewise featured foreign foods in their menus and advice columns. These publications were addressed to middle-class women, who were expected to master "die Geheimnisse der kulinarischen Künste" in order to manage their households properly (*Illustrierte Wiener Küchen-Zeitung* 2; see also Danielczyk and Wasner-Peter 80). The wife of a distinguished professor and the daughter and daughter-in-law of well-known titled government appointees in Vienna, Rokitansky started giving cooking lessons in her home in Innsbruck, then later compiled

a cookbook based on that experience (Pataky 199). She addressed her book to “jungen Hausfrauen, denen daran liegt, eine gute, schmackhafte, nicht allzu verkünstelte Zubereitung der Speisen durchzuführen” (Rokitansky, “Vorrede zur ersten Auflage”). Yet while these women were learning the ins and outs of home economy—“Hantirung mit den Küchengeräthschaften,” “Einkaufe und [die] Bereitung der täglichen Nahrungsmittel”—they were also receiving instruction on cultural identification (*Illustrierte Wiener Küchen-Zeitung* 1–2). As Sandgruber argues, “Speisen und Getränke sollen die Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Gruppen signalisieren. . . . Sie erstreben durch Geschmacksgleichheit Identität. . . . Daß das Essen eines der stärksten Mittel ist, Identität zu bestimmen, ist klar” (185). Ken Albala further notes that cookbooks reflected consumers’ aspirations and efforts at “social emulation” (229, 234). As instruction booklets on belonging, cookbooks and magazines enabled consumers to both imagine and aspire to an expanded, more cosmopolitan form of Austrian identity. They also invited readers to achieve this identity by imitating foreign food practices. Such writings suggested that middle-class Austrian-ness encompassed the ability to access global goods and ideas and blend them with existing practices to produce a newly concocted cultural identity.

This pattern of borrowing and blending ways of cooking (and consuming) from disparate geographical regions reflected the multinational and multicultural character of the Habsburg state itself and underscored Habsburg officials’ aspirations as imperial actors on the world stage. Although Austria-Hungary had no export-producing overseas colonies of its own, through global networks of commercial trade its subjects had access to foods from other powers’ colonies that subsequently landed on Central European tables, enabling Habsburg subjects to enjoy the fruits of others’ imperial endeavors. In this way, day-to-day practices such as cooking and eating melded household routines with the Habsburg project of becoming imperial. Culinary culture thus embodied Austria’s participation in the imperial project and solidified its location at a crossroads of the nineteenth century’s global exchange of goods and ideas.

Sampling the Globe: Ingredients for Austrian-ness

The first way culinary writings invited readers to expand their notions of Austrian-ness was by including foreign ingredients and recipes. For example, Rokitansky’s cookbook contained an extensive list of herbs and spices

with an explanation accompanying each entry on the item's place of origin and recommendations for its use (24–29). Many of the herbs were local to the Habsburg lands, but roughly half of the spices originated from outside of Europe. In addition to seasonings from Spain, Italy, and England, the list included Spanish pepper grown in India, vanilla from the East and West Indies, cinnamon from Ceylon, coriander from “the Orient,” and star anise from China. The commentary even linked onions, which were frequently used and likely quite familiar to local readers, to the remote coasts of Africa (29). The careful explanations and emphasis on the products' places of origin highlighted their foreign nature.

In addition to individual ingredients, the names of the cookbook's recipes also covered a broad swath of the globe. Typical Viennese dishes such as *Knödel*, *Powidl*, *Kaiserschmarren*, and *schnitzel* made a fair appearance, and *strudel* had its own section. *Laibacher* scrambled eggs, Bohemian *dalken*, Styrian cabbage, and Hungarian *halászlé* paid homage to other regions of the Habsburg Empire. Additional recipes were attributed to Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, France, the United Kingdom, Greece, and the Turkish lands of the Ottoman Empire. Other recipes, however, stretched the meaning of “Austria” even further, including Armenian pilaf made with pistachios, shellfish, and tomatoes; Chinese bread; Indian curry; and *Stschy-Suppe*, annotated as “Russian National Soup” (Rokitansky 303, 456, 100, 97). These entries suggest that even dishes that represented other national traditions could make contributions to Austrian cuisine. Even the font selections emphasized the foreign nature of many dishes. For English, French, and Italian recipes, Rokitansky generally included the original name of the food along with its German translation. For many dishes from the British Isles, such as “Ham and Eggs,” or “Irish Stew,” the titles were simply printed in English, without any translation—though “Mock Turtle Soup” did require a translation (299, 223, 103). Non-German terms or foreign names were typically typeset in a different font, which further distinguished them. Thus, simply perusing the cookbook's pages provided a visual indication of the multicultural nature of its contents.

Two additional recipes were particularly revealing. The section on “warm appetizers” included “Quäker Oats consommé,” complete with German diacritic marks to assist with proper pronunciation (Rokitansky 136).² The American brand name underscored the emphasis on foreign products manifest in the earlier list of herbs and spices. Oats were not uncommon

in Central Europe; Rokitansky could easily have titled the recipe *Haferbrei*. Using the American name, however, emphasized the foreign nature of the dish, distinguishing it from a run-of-the-mill local mush. Invoking a foreign brand highlighted its origin and gave the impression of a more sophisticated dish than just a regular bowl of hot porridge. Finally, tucked among Greek, American, Spanish, and Provençal dishes, the section on seafood listed “snails, in the Austrian manner” (159). Given the cookbook’s title, ostensibly, at least, all the recipes were part of Austrian fare. Specifically designating this particular dish as “Austrian” underscored the fact that many of the other recipes came from foreign locations.

By highlighting these foreign connections, the cookbook became a source of geographical knowledge as well as a handbook on skillful cooking. As Kristin Hoganson notes in her analysis of culinary writings in North America, allusions to foreign names and locations expanded readers’ knowledge of the globe and became sources of “popular geography” (111). In the case of Rokitansky’s volume, readers from Austria could learn about countries far removed from Central Europe simply by perusing recipes and considering new menu items. Furthermore, incorporating those foreign ingredients into their meals provided a new conception of the boundaries of “Austria” itself. In this case, the cookbook did not draw borders around certain crownlands or provinces, as a statesman might. Instead, it incorporated as much of the known world as possible, regardless of proximity to the Habsburg lands. The descriptions thus oriented Austria both spatially and culinarily, placing Austria at the crossroads of global culinary culture, not just in the center of Europe.

In addition to its contents, the book’s organization and layout also communicated a message of a blended and inclusive cultural identity. Throughout the volume, recipes from various countries appear jumbled together on the same page without any explicit reference to geographical location other than the titles themselves. The cookbook’s contents were arranged by types of food, such as soups, salads, meats, baked goods, and so forth, without any sections specifically designated for recipes from abroad. Rather, all of the recipes for each type of dish were presented side by side, without any apparent order, and without regard to country of origin. This placement seems to indicate that all the recipes, regardless of origin, were of equal relevance and stature in the book. As with its recipes, the cookbook’s organization reconfigured perceptions of national and cultural boundaries by

including items from vastly different corners of the globe in the same visual space, without enforcing separations according to geographical location.

Participating in Transatlantic Currents

Culinary writings offered expanded conceptions of Austrian-ness not only by incorporating foreign foods into Austrian cuisine but also by enabling readers to participate in global food trends. The very fascination with foreign foods that characterized middle-class culinary culture in Austria was itself a transatlantic trend and led to active efforts to collect and share new knowledge obtained from overseas. In North America, a March 1880 *New York Tribune* article noted the “growing interest and even enthusiasm of housekeepers in all parts of the country in acquiring the secrets of foreign cooks” (quoted in Hoganson 107). Expanding international commerce connected middle-class households with remote locations around the world. In addition, growing numbers of individuals had the time and means to make trips abroad. They returned with new recipes and accounts of the fine delicacies they had encountered overseas. Partaking of foreign food became a symbol of social standing, offering “an opportunity to experience the exotic” (136). Both trade and travel facilitated the culinary exchange. Those who cooked, traveled; and those who traveled wrote about the foods they experienced. Food writers traveled internationally, and international travelers wrote about food.

Cookbooks and other publications demonstrated the internationalization of cooking knowledge and customs. U.S. cookbooks included foreign recipes from a range of countries but showed a particular preference for French recipes. Although *haute cuisine* was in high fashion in both North America and Europe, French chefs also demonstrated increased interest in foreign culinary practices.³ In the 1890s, the leading Parisian culinary magazine *L'Art culinaire* published Persian and Tunisian recipes, and a U.S.-based correspondent contributed instructions for cooking codfish steaks, chicken hash, and brown turkey hash. In the following years, the magazine also included articles on Wiener schnitzel and Italian polenta (Mennell 175–76). Other publications were dedicated entirely to cuisine from a particular location. In 1894, Alfred Suzanne published *La Cuisine Anglaise*, a book on English cooking written by a French chef for a French audience. Suzanne’s primary audience was French food professionals working in England who were struggling to master new cooking methods. He advised they could use “good” English dishes

to their advantage, though that might partially entail “Frenchifying them” (quoted in Mennell 176). Despite this advice, fellow gastronome Philéas Gilbert commented that France seemed to be in the grip of “Anglomania,” noting that “even English food itself [was] enjoying a certain favour . . . so it was important that the profession know how to respond to this demand” (Mennell 176–77). Even for much-admired French aficionados, then, foreign foods held some appeal.

In spite of this new “Anglomania,” cooks in England could also look abroad for inspiration. *German National Cookery for English Kitchens*, published in London in 1873, explicitly encouraged its readers to expand their culinary tastes. The author asked readers to examine their existing habits, telling them, “We are apt to despise things to which we are unaccustomed; and, from reluctance to try strange flavours, many an excellent dish remains unknown to us.” Despite this initial reluctance, however, many travelers were returning home with “recollections of agreeable dishes which they would like to have produced at their own tables, but of the preparation they are ignorant” (vi). To address this deficiency in expertise, the author presented over 1,100 recipes plus a special section on “the manufacture of the various German sausages,” as a guidebook on German cuisine for English-speaking audiences. With recipes, instruction manuals, and preparation methods circling across the north Atlantic and western Europe, the art of cooking transcended national divisions.

Rokitansky’s cookbook also contained explicit connections with culinary writings from overseas. The author’s note that tapioca was harvested from “the manihot root on plantations in Brazil and India” was nearly identical to the explanation in an 1869 American housekeeping manual on the origins of the same ingredient (86; Lyman and Lyman 31; also quoted in Hoganson 111). In addition, the sections on desserts included two pages of frozen bombes, popular frozen desserts around the turn of the century. One particular recipe, “tutti frutti bombe,” was especially well loved, appearing in a New York literary magazine in 1834; a celebration of Shakespeare’s birthday held in London in 1860; a Chicago cooking school handbook in 1883, French chef Auguste Escoffier’s culinary guide in 1907; hotel menus in New York, San Francisco, and Kansas City; and aboard a Japanese cruise ship sailing the Pacific in 1900 (“Literary Notices” 232; “A Festival Commemorative of the Birth of the Immortal ‘Bard of Avon’” 174; *The Chicago Herald Cooking School* 40; Escoffier 809; “What’s on the Menu?”).⁴ These passages underscored

the intercontinental flavor of late nineteenth-century culinary trends as knowledge and practices circulated among food enthusiasts in Europe and North America. They also demonstrate that Austria was participating in these currents. The inclusion of well-traveled recipes and ingredients in a book dedicated to “Austrian” cuisine suggests an expanded meaning of the term and presents a conception of Austrian-ness unconfined by Habsburg borders or linguistic barriers.

In addition to printed material perused in private households, large public events also reflected and perpetuated global interest in foreign foods on both sides of the Atlantic. The French chef’s union started organizing annual cooking competitions in Paris in 1882, and the English chef’s union started its own competition in 1885. The trend caught on quickly and spread to other areas of the Continent in the form of culinary exhibitions: Vienna hosted exhibitions in 1884, 1899, and 1906, as did Brussels in 1887 (Mennell 172; “Internationale Kochkunstausstellung”). Frankfurt am Main and Mainz hosted exhibitions in 1900 and 1902, respectively (Beutel vi). Rokitansky’s own volume received the gold medallion at Vienna’s Kochkunst-Ausstellung in 1899 and again at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. Foreign food became a popular sensation that drew books, foods, fairs, and people across international boundaries.

Conclusion: The Contribution of Culinary Culture

A study of culinary culture provides new ways of thinking about cultural identity and the ways Habsburg subjects cultivated those identities. It moves the discussion beyond the realms of official narratives to examine individual decisions and preferences as they played out in private homes. Culinary writings and practices also illuminate the connections between (nearly) landlocked Austria and the rest of the world and shed light on how Habsburg subjects participated in an international exchange of goods and ideas during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through perusing cookbooks and magazines, readers in Austria expanded their knowledge of foreign lands and customs. Applying that knowledge brought new flavors into their households and new ways of blending foreign and familiar ideas and practices. This intercontinental circulation led to common experiences with other readers and eaters, who were also hunting for fresh produce and concocting new seasonings for the midday meal. Not only did food transmit common knowledge

and ideas about how to blend certain ingredients, it also transmitted shared experiences of cooking, consuming, and tasting those ingredients. Habsburg subjects forged tangible, kinetic, and cognitive ties with individuals in other areas of the world through food.

Applied to other historical questions, culinary culture also provides insights regarding lived experiences with industrialization, urbanization, and other elements of modernization that transformed life during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These changes brought new technologies, large-scale migration, concerns regarding human health, and the rise of mass culture, all of which also changed the ways humans accessed and consumed food as well as the food itself. Through culinary consumption, Habsburg subjects assimilated the effects of large-scale phenomena on a personal level. An exploration of culinary culture thus integrates Austria into its global context and situates the inhabitants of Central Europe at a crossroads of global trends and transformations.

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Notes

1. Rokitansky's cookbook was published in fourteen editions between 1897 and 1929.
2. The Quaker Oats brand was patented in the United States in 1877 ("Our Oat History").
3. On the reputation of French cuisine, see Hoganson 107; on "French hegemony" in culinary matters, see Mennell 187. As a demonstration of French influence in Habsburg Europe, in F. J. Beutel's *Die Freie Österreichische Kochkunst*, first published in 1898, the author followed the German names for each of the recipes with a French translation.
4. Rokitansky listed both "Tutti Frutti Gefrorenes" (500) and "Tutti-Frutti-Bombe" (506). A search for "tutti frutti ice cream" between 1880 and 1915 in the New York Public Library's digital collection of menus yields 116 results.

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Emigration to the Habsburg Empire

The Case of Salonica Jews, 1867–1918

Lida-Maria Dodou

Introduction

When it comes to the issue of migration in the fin-de-siècle period, the Habsburg Empire is usually regarded as an emigration rather than an immigration country. Numerous studies have focused on the multiple waves of migrants, mostly from the rural areas of the empire toward the West, particularly across the Atlantic (Steidl, Stockhammer, and Zeitlhofer). Moreover, there were extensive currents of internal migration, particularly toward Vienna. Both these trends were comprised to a large extent of Jews as well (Wistrich 58–59). While there undoubtedly were extensive flows of emigrants, such a perception of the Habsburg Empire obscures the fact that it also was an immigration country, which, during its approximately last fifty years, was the destination of numerous immigrants from the Balkans. Among these migrants were approximately five hundred Jews, mostly merchants, originating from Salonica (today Greece, previously the Ottoman Empire), who settled for longer or shorter periods in the Habsburg Empire. This paper examines the characteristics of their migration and their settlement in the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire from 1867, when the December Constitution was proclaimed, until 1918, when the empire collapsed. It offers new perspectives on the issue of migration in the Habsburg Empire as well as the interconnectedness of various areas, like Central and Southeastern Europe and fields like Austrian, Jewish, Ottoman, and modern Greek Studies.

The period from 1867 until 1914 (the beginning of the First World War) was also a period of increased Austro-Hungarian financial influence in the city of Salonica and the surrounding region. This fact challenges our usual

perceptions about Austrian and Ottoman relations, which often focus on the competition and the disputes over contested territories, the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina being the best known (Schmitt). This paper, by examining the financial relations and the formation of the conditions that led to the migration of Salonica Jews to the Habsburg lands, also offers a nuanced perception of Austro-Ottoman relations at the time. It highlights the rapprochement, which subsequently led to the formation of continuous relations between Salonica and the Habsburg Empire, as well as the significant role Salonica Jews had as actors spearheading the formation of these relations.

As it will be demonstrated, the migration of Salonica Jews to the Habsburg Empire in those years consisted of two distinct currents, each with its own characteristics. The first wave lasted until approximately 1903 (and the peak of what has been framed as the Macedonian Struggle) and was mainly directed to Vienna, while the second began during the Italo-Ottoman War of 1911 and was mainly directed toward other regions, particularly Moravia. The main hypothesis is that the preestablished financial links that a part of Salonica's Jewry had with the Habsburg lands affected its decision to emigrate there. Because of the economic influence, the Habsburg Empire also exercised political influence over the region of Salonica. When the region entered a period of political instability caused by successive wars and sovereignty disputes, the Habsburg Empire presented itself as an attractive destination for migrants from Salonica. The conditions prevalent in Salonica at any given time affected the characteristics of the distinct migration patterns.

The Links Between Salonica and the Habsburg Empire

The presence of Austrian commercial interests in the region of Salonica dates back to the end of the eighteenth century—quite late compared to other European countries. However, by 1885, a century after the foundation of the first Habsburg diplomatic mission in Salonica, Austro-Hungarian investments controlled fully a third of the port's activity (Moskof 79–93). Already since the eighteenth century, the main niches of trade between the region of Macedonia and Austria were wool, cereals, and tobacco; these goods would maintain the majority of the trade until the collapse of the empire and allowed the predominance of the Austrian and Hungarian capital in the city, as can be monitored in several commercial reports by Austrian (*Handelsbericht des k.u.k. Generalkonsulates in Salonich pro 1913*), English (*Report for the year*

1909 on the trade of the consular district of Salonica) and French (de Lacretelle) sources, which all reach the conclusion that by the end of the nineteenth century the Austro-Hungarian capital controlled a large part of Salonica's economy. The increase of the Habsburg influence in the region can be monitored not only through the economic reports of the time but from the consular registries of subjects as well.

The lists of subjects and/or protégés¹ listed in the Habsburg consulates' registries offer a view of the augmentation of the Habsburg Empire's significance for the city's economy, since the protection of a European Great Power mostly concerned those who could afford it (Ginio 290). According to the oldest available registry of Habsburg subjects in Salonica that is to be found in the consular archives, dating back to 1833, there were seventeen Austrian subjects and protégés. What is particularly interesting is that all Austrian subjects were Jews ("Matrikel"), at a time when the Jews within the territory of Austria still had not obtained equal rights. We can therefore conclude that the Jews in question were vital for the promotion of the Habsburg interests in the city and the subsequent economic growth. Among the people registered, one can find persons from all social classes; people who left their mark on the city's history, like Lazzar Allatini, a pioneering entrepreneur; and people with humble occupations such as lemon salesmen. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the picture changed considerably. The people encountered in the consular registries were members of the financial and political elite of the city, and the lower strata were no longer to be found. As the influence of the Habsburg Empire increased, so did its subjects as well as their diversity in ethnoreligious terms. In the 1880s the sixty-three Jews constituted approximately a third of the registry's entries, in which members of all the other ethnoreligious groups present in the city were to be found (*Verzeichnis der "Untertanen de facto" 1885–1890*). Thus, we can deduce that the Austrian citizenship and/or protection carried significant prestige related to the prominent financial position the Habsburg investments had started to have by that time in the city. The subjecthood, consequently, was enjoyed by those who could afford that privilege and whom the Austrian bureaucracy deemed useful for the promotion of its interests.

That an influential part of Salonica's Jewry was so closely connected with the Habsburg interests in the region alters the impression that has been prevalent so far in the historiography concerning the Jews of the city; the migratory movements and the overall connections of this prosperous Jewish commu-

nity, which gave the nickname “Madre d’Israel” to Salonica, have often been studied in relation to the Italian peninsula and France, while its connections with the Habsburg Empire are seldom mentioned.² That is quite striking not only because of the prestigious and significant place the Austrian subjects/protégés had in the Salonican Jewish society but also because its connections impacted the connections of the entire city with Central Europe. The creation of the railways in particular, which connected Salonica via Serbia to Vienna and from there to western Europe, significantly altered the city’s commercial orientation as well as the cultural affinities of its elite and upper middle classes. Many examples could be given, the most relevant of which is the Austrian diplomacy’s support in 1913, during the Peace Treaty conference in London, to the plan promoted by the Jewish community that the city would not become part of any of the Balkan countries and would instead become autonomous, with a Jewish mayor (Gelber 106). The plan was never realized since the Second Balkan War broke out among the formerly allied Balkan states, and the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913), which ended this conflict, consolidated Salonica’s annexation by Greece.

Salonica Jews’ Emigration to the Habsburg Empire

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Salonica Jews had developed close connections with the Habsburg Empire. We will now examine how these connections impacted the emigration patterns of Salonica Jews toward the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire. This will be demonstrated through two case studies, one from each of the two distinct waves mentioned briefly above.

FIRST PHASE OF EMIGRATION

The first wave of migration consisted mostly of people who were registered in the Habsburg consulate’s list of protégés; it lasted from 1867 until 1903. The intensification of the armed clashes in the framework of the Macedonian Struggle that lasted from 1903 until 1908, when the new Young Turks regime was established, put obstacles in the continuation of the contacts between Salonica and Vienna, mainly because of the sporadic operation of the railways. The people that migrated in that period were mostly merchants who wished to set up a branch of their enterprise in Vienna, usually after some years of preexisting contacts with local businesses. The basis of the enterprise

remained in Salonica, and someone, often a family member with no other obligation, took over the branch in Vienna. That they maintained entrepreneurial activities in both cities meant that they were also quite mobile, commuting often between the two cities.

Since the preexisting links with businesses in Vienna were a central issue in the foundation of the branches, it becomes clear that the networks the merchants had were significant for their decision. Given that the Salonica Jews were mostly Sephardim, the presence of fellow Sephardic Jews in Vienna, organized in their own community, separate from the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* for a significant part of the period under consideration, offered a crucial link that helped forge relations (Stechauner 65, 72). Archival sources demonstrate that the Salonican Jews who resided in Vienna participated to a large extent in the Sephardic social life by being neighbors, joining social clubs, even contributing to the community's social work, such as the erection of a new Sephardic synagogue. However, the people in question do not appear to have been part of the community's life, a fact that is drastically different from their active involvement in communal affairs in Salonica. They, therefore, preserved a Sephardic identity, distinct from the Ashkenazi, as well as a strong regionalism associated with their birthplace. Even if some people ended up living for many years in Vienna, they nonetheless continued to perceive Salonica as the center of their lives.

This is illustrated through the example of Elie Asseo, born in Salonica around 1850 and died in Vienna on 27 April 1910. Until his death, he was the owner of multiple firms, most notably trading "Turkish products" as a part of various joint-stock companies, mainly involving members of his own family. His brothers Mordochai and Isak had also lived and died in Vienna. Elie opened his business in Vienna in 1903, originally at the outskirts (Lehmann [1903] 328) and then in the city center, at Postgasse, just around the corner of Fleischmarkt where two members of the Adutt family, prominent members of the Viennese Sephardic community, had their businesses (Lehmann [1908] 117, 288, 489).³ Elie and his siblings' connections with Vienna dated back to when they worked for the family business, often commuting between Vienna and Salonica, while their father Juda ran the business in Salonica. After Elie's death, there is no record of any store owned by the Asseos in Vienna, while the firm in Salonica continued its activities. Hence, we can assume that, despite the business's success testified by Elie Asseo's bequest to his heirs, they decided to continue the business in its original form.

Elie Asseo's example is indicative of the overall trends as he gradually established his connections with Vienna, particularly with the local Sephardim, which eventually led him to move there permanently. He remained until the end of his life closely associated with Salonica, registering himself every year in the consulate's registry as a protégé even though he continued to reside in Vienna. As his death proved, though, the links to Vienna weren't always passed on to the next generations. As in multiple cases from that time, the eventual death of the family member that fostered the links often loosened the links of the other family members to the city.

Elie Asseo died in 1910. This year marks also the end of the first phase of Salonica Jews' migration to the Habsburg Empire, as a new phase with distinct characteristics would begin in 1911. This second phase started as a response to the Italo-Ottoman War of 1911 but was soon fueled by the Balkan Wars. At the end of 1915 the Habsburg consulate in the city was forced to shut down as the Entente forces fighting in the region had set up their camps on the outskirts of Salonica. While the emigration from Salonica to the Habsburg lands came to a stop after 1915 as a result of the consulate's closure, the repercussions of this migratory wave had a significant impact on Salonica Jews until the 1930s.

SECOND PHASE OF EMIGRATION

The distinctive traits of the second phase of migration were its permanent character and the fact that it also affected the citizenship of the actors. In this period the Habsburg Empire as well as the Ottoman bureaucracy overcame the traditional designation of protégés, transcending completely into the modern forms of political belonging. During the Italo-Ottoman War, the Ottoman government ordered the expulsion of all Italian subjects. Many Salonica Jews who were either citizens or protégés of the Italian state renounced their affiliation and tried to obtain the protection of other European states. Many turned to the Habsburg Empire. However, in order for the association with the new state to be completed, a person had to officially acquire the new citizenship. In other words, the Italo-Ottoman War brought the de facto end of "protection" as a form of affiliation with a state. The Greek army's administration of Salonica from 1912 also ended the Capitulations, signed by the European States and the Ottoman Empire and therefore the protection that derived from them. So, in order to avoid becoming Greek citizens, many Salonica Jews had to become the official citizens of another state. The incor-

poration of Salonica into the Greek state was seen as a negative prospect by a substantial portion of the city's Jewish population, irrespective of their class or ideological affiliation, from the liberal entrepreneurial elite to the socialist dockworkers, because it would limit the possible financial development of the city and worsen the conditions of minorities. Hence, a process that in 1911 had started as a way to avoid expulsion by 1912 had become a choice of settlement, which concerned many more people. This change occurred due to the drastic changes that took place, like the change of Salonica's sovereignty and the fragmentation of its hinterland among different states. This characteristic also differentiates the first and the second phase of emigration. Not only did it concern the official nationality of the people in question, but the settlement happened in order to leave Salonica completely, and not to maintain a base in the city, as was the case in the first period.

The case of Emanuel Salem illustrates these major differences. Emanuel Salem, born in 1865, was a high-ranking clerk at the Austro-Hungarian post office in Salonica. In 1913 he applied for and acquired Austrian citizenship (Protokoll). Based on the available data, Emanuel had never before lived in the Habsburg Empire. He obtained his "homeland rights" (*Heimatrecht*), which were crucial to acquiring Austrian citizenship (Komlosy 89–91), in the community of Zara/Zadar, the capital of the Crownland of Dalmatia. From 1914 on there are only scarce traces of him. However, we can establish that he left Salonica, presumably in 1915, when the Habsburg consulate closed and a few Austrian citizens were arrested by the Entente forces. At any rate, he was not in the city when, in 1916, the French military command compiled a list of German and Austrian citizens that were to be interrogated and/or expelled ("Liste de sujets autrichiens résidant à Salonique"). Later on, he settled in Vienna, probably after the collapse of the Empire, where his family continued to live during the interwar period.

Salem's case demonstrates that, when someone perceived their interests to be threatened from a change of the city's status, they applied for Austrian citizenship. After the city's incorporation into the Greek state and especially after its involvement in the First World War, many Austrians were left with no other choice but to emigrate. As with Salem, almost none of those who were naturalized between 1911 and 1914 were given "homeland's rights" in Vienna. However, even after the dissolution of the Empire, people who might have found themselves outside the smaller new borders of Austria moved to the former imperial capital. Yet, the collapse of the Habsburg Empire did have

consequences that could not have been foreseen by the people who just a few years earlier had opted to become its citizens. As a result, and despite their efforts to avoid incorporation into the Greek nation-state, they ended up citizens of newly formed states such as Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, even in those cases, the settlement for many of them proved permanent, as did the change of their citizenship status.

Conclusion

This paper analyzed the characteristics of Salonica Jews' emigration patterns to the Habsburg Empire. Through this analysis, we can enrich our knowledge regarding migration patterns not only emanating from but also heading to Austria-Hungary. Moreover, this paper contributes to studies that offer a nuanced perspective of the Habsburg Jewry's multiplicity of relations and affinities with the Empire.

A third aspect this article illuminates is the relations between the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires. In particular, and despite prevalent perceptions, this paper demonstrates that beyond the clashes, there were periods and fields of close cooperation. The economic interests of all parties involved affected the nature of those relationships. There was cooperation in the administrative sector as well, as indicated by the Ottoman authorities' agreement to facilitate the Austrian naturalization processes in 1913 ("Einbürgerung ottomanischer Staatsangehöriger"). Despite the turmoil caused on several occasions, such as during the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, the case of those Salonica Jews that emigrated to the Habsburg Empire demonstrates that the Ottoman and Habsburg entanglements were much more multifaceted than has been considered so far. Thus, continuing research within the framework set by works that view the Austro-Ottoman relationships as something beyond the expansion of the former to the disadvantage of the latter (Pittioni 145), this paper argues that a certain *modus vivendi* had been achieved, which, in Salonica, relied heavily on Jews.

In an era of drastic change, it is only natural that migratory patterns change according to the transformation of the broader framework. Thus, in our case, two distinct phases have been presented: one rather mobile, directed to Vienna but with close contacts with Salonica, and another one, which resulted in permanent settlements outside Vienna (at least originally), altering the actors' national belonging. By examining these trends, we offer a new

perspective on migration and belonging at the time of transition from empires to nation-states. At the same time, the examination of this particular case can be considered as part of a wider trend in area studies which has reconceptualized them, challenging strict divisions and boundaries between them and examining them through their interrelation (Schäfer 34).

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Notes

1. This term describes the residents of the Ottoman Empire who were under the protection of European states during the roughly final two centuries of the Empire’s existence (Ginio 292). In the Austrian archival sources, the equivalent is “Schutzgenosse” when the source is in German and “protetto” when in Italian.

2. “Madre d’Israel” means “Mother of Israel” in the Judeo-Spanish language that the Sephardi Jews primarily spoke.

3. The choice of the “Griechenviertel” for their enterprises wasn’t coincidental, since it was the district in which the merchants of “Turkish products” (predominantly Greek Orthodox but Jewish as well) had their shops. Ransmayr 286, Lehmann [1908] 1304.

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The Emergence of Austro-Italian Literary Studies

Salvatore Pappalardo and Saskia Elizabeth Ziolkowski

The publication of Claudio Magris's *Il mito absburgico nella letteratura austriaca moderna* in 1963—followed, three years later, by its German translation *Der habsburgische Mythos in der modernen österreichischen Literatur*—was soon recognized as a turning point in the study of modern Austrian literature and the Habsburg legacy. Crucial to the development of his groundbreaking monograph, Magris later explained, were his upbringing and education in the former Habsburg port city of Trieste, his hometown that later came to occupy a more central position in his scholarship. Published in 1982 with the historian Angelo Ara, *Trieste: Un'identità di frontiera*, a volume translated into German some years later with the revealing title *Triest: Eine literarische Hauptstadt in Mitteleuropa*, emphasized the Central European character of Trieste but also argued that the city's literature and culture were unmistakably Italian and decidedly neither German nor Austrian. At the time, this critical framework made sense as it coherently reflected disciplinary categorizations. Critics understood that Triestine authors writing in Italian, which was considered a “historical language” in the polyglot Habsburg state, did so to inscribe themselves within the prestigious literary tradition of Italy. After all, before and especially after 1918, the literary culture of Italian-speaking Austrians had been absorbed by an Italian national tradition.

In part because of this nation-based formation of disciplines, literary scholars kept Austrian and Italian aesthetic expressions separate. Since then, the coordinates of scholarly debates in Austrian and Habsburg Studies have shifted. Although the postcolonial expansion of Habsburg Studies' scope of inquiry to non-German parts of the empire focuses more on Slavic, Balkanic,

and Hungarian areas, the work of historians such as Pamela Ballinger, Marina Cattaruzza, Lois Dubin, Maura Hametz, Dominique Kirchner Reill, and Glenda Sluga has provided insights into the processes of ethnic, cultural, and national identity formation in the Italian-speaking territories of the empire. Building on the work of these historians, the scholarship in English about an Italian-inflected Habsburg literary culture has developed into a new disciplinary direction, one that fills what was a lacuna in Austrian Studies. In the wake of earlier monographs by Thomas Harrison, Katia Pizzi, and Elizabeth Schächter, recent scholarship has engaged the Italian authors of *Mittleuropa* and their distinctive Habsburg Italianness. The writings of Mimmo Cangiano, Elena Coda, Sandra Parmegiani, and Nicoletta Pireddu, as well as our own work, intersect with studies about the Mediterranean, world literature, language philosophy, and European identities. Read together, this research shows how the category of Austro-Italian literature contributes to our understanding of transcultural, transnational, and global histories of Austria and Italy.

The aim of this short article is to chart the emergence of Austro-Italian Literary Studies with a focus on the tensions, complexities, and nuances that such a categorization entails. The works referenced offer only brief snapshots of larger fields and therefore cannot do justice to all of the scholarship involved. Our overview identifies the geography and chronology of Austro-Italian terminology and authorship in order to call attention to its existence in English, illustrate its contribution to Austrian and Italian Studies, and invite further study.

Habsburg Italian and Austro-Italian Literature

The profound transformations and shifting borders in Central Europe and the northern Adriatic region in the first half of the twentieth century require distinctions in the nomenclature of partially overlapping literary chronologies. With the expression “Habsburg Italian,” we refer to the literary production of Italian-speaking authors in Cisleithania, the northern Adriatic seaboard and its hinterlands, and Italoophone Transleithania with Fiume/Rijeka, stretching from roughly the early nineteenth century to the end of the First World War. The hyphenated term “Austro-Italian,” while subsuming the former in terms of cultural geography, designates the literary expressions that originate after the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. The aesthetic expressions of a

Habsburg Italian literary culture and an Austro-Italian literature obviously develop in different political contexts and according to their own specific historical processes. A continued reflection upon the legacy of the multicultural empire, however, inscribes both periods within a shared Central European mental cartography that survives long after the *finis Austriae* and still informs contemporary literature in both Italy and Austria.

Reading across these divides exposes the tensions and challenges within the politics of literary linguistics. Historians of the Habsburg Empire and Mitteleuropa are often trained in a variety of Central European languages. Yet, in the context of literary studies, such disciplinary multilingualism has traditionally been less common. Even though literature's boundaries do not precisely map onto national ones, the disciplinary shape of literary studies was often determined by twentieth-century political borders. Conducting research in Austrian literature by reading authors who write in Italian counters the linguistic essentialism of nation-based literary histories. Studies in Austro-Italian literary history, following the above-mentioned Habsburg historiography, have emphasized that the use of a particular language does not neatly translate into indications of straightforward or unproblematic ethnic or national allegiances. This decoupling of literary language from national identities has led to politically more nuanced readings of Austro-Italian authors and the manifold taxonomies of regional and supranational forms of patriotism that underlie their aesthetic projects.

The Mediterranean port city of Trieste, under Habsburg rule from 1382 to 1918, is the capital of the Habsburg Italian modernism that informs much of the comparative, transnational, and multicultural dimensions of Austro-Italian Literary Studies. Together with other Italian-speaking communities in Istria, Dalmatia, and Tyrol, the "little Vienna on the Adriatic Sea" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the stage of shifting identity politics. As in other Habsburg territories, an exclusionary model of the nation had to compete with a sense of community based upon ethnic, religious, and linguistic plurality. The national indifference and indeterminacy of many modern Triestine intellectuals originated in the manifold collection of social and political allegiances that include the commercial transnationalism of the mercantile elite, a municipal multicultural patriotism rooted in the local traditions of linguistically and culturally heterogeneous areas in the empire, and the dynastic loyalty to the House of Habsburg.¹ The Italian nationalist minority notwithstanding, the cultivation of Italian culture within

this Habsburg context was often not the means for the secessionism of Italian irredentists but a strategy to guarantee larger political autonomy for local elite (see Millo).

In Habsburg Trieste, the literary landscape in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is densely populated by multilingual authors who inscribe themselves in a myriad of both parallel and intersecting contexts that include German, Austrian, Slovene, Croat, and Jewish (and, with James Joyce, even Irish) cultures and traditions (see Klopp and Pizzi). Space limitations do not allow us to discuss Trieste's rich literary production in Slovene, the poetry in Hebrew, or German-language authors such as the Expressionist poet Theodor Däubler and nature writer Julius Kugy. For our current purposes, we will mention the literary corpus of Austro-Italian authors writing in Italian who have begun to be considered part of a broadly defined Habsburg literary canon. These authors include, among others, Italo Svevo, literary pseudonym of Aron Hector Schmitz; writer and essayist Scipio Slataper; the poet Umberto Saba; the brothers Carlo and Giani Stuparich; Giuseppina Martinuzzi; Carlo Michelstaedter; Roberto (Bobi) Bazlen; Virgilio Giotti, pseudonym of Virgilio Schönbeck; and Ferruccio Fölkel. Although national literary categorizations assign these writers to an Italian tradition, such allocation is neither straightforward nor exclusive. Even irredentist writers such as Ida Finzi, alias Haydée; Pia Rimini; and Fortuna Morpurgo, alias Willy Dias; or those who survived the Great War such as Elody Oblath and Anita Pittoni cannot be extricated from the Habsburg heritage that shaped their intellectual trajectories.

Whether they regarded Austria as the constitutive otherness of their national identity, translated German classics, blurred linguistic boundaries in their prose, introduced Freudian psychoanalysis into Italy, or indulged in imperial nostalgia in the postwar period, these authors and intellectuals are best understood when studied under the rubric of Austro-Italian Literary Studies. This is not to suggest that their role in Italian cultural history should be discounted. On the contrary, this subfield integrates rather than replaces critical frameworks, rewriting the cultural and intellectual histories not only of Trieste but also of Austria and Italy and offering a more nuanced vision of competing political imaginaries and aesthetic traditions that eschew inadequate national literary categories. Austro-Italian Literary Studies is a key contributor to the growing transnational emphasis in Italian Studies.

Austro-Italian Literary Studies also encompasses Habsburg authors who

explore and are inspired by Italian locations beyond Trieste and who write not just in Italian but also German, Czech, Yiddish, Slovene, Hungarian, and other Habsburg languages. Focusing on authors writing in German, for reasons of space and balance, the representations of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Kafka, Robert Musil, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Joseph Roth reflect in various ways their Italian travels—for pleasure, because of war, or due to politics. While the Italian peninsula has long been a site of discovery for international travelers, Habsburg authors often came to Italian spaces (Trieste, Brescia) that were part of their own geopolitical landscape and key sites of conflict for their governing body. Later authors, such as Thomas Bernhard and Ingeborg Bachmann, engaged this Austrian tradition of depicting Habsburg Italian places while also drawing on their own Italian experiences. These literary works were, in turn, of special interest to Italian readers. From Franz Kafka's *Gli aeroplani a Brescia: Diari di viaggio 1909–1912* (*The Airplanes of Brescia: Travel Diaries, 1909–1912*) to Thomas Bernhard's *L'italiano* (*The Italian*), Italian publications often provide their collections with titles differing from those in English translation or German, emphasizing these authors' relationships with Italy.

As the aforementioned lists of Italian and Austrian writers indicate, Austro-Italian connections contributed to the shape of Austrian and Italian modernism, which were also influenced by multilingualism, Jewishness, and Catholicism, the dominant religion of both Italy and Austria-Hungary. The Italian Marxist readings of many Austro-Hungarian authors (thanks in part to Lukács) then influenced Italian literary Marxism and interpretations of these German-language authors (see Bevilacqua; Haas; Lunzer). Earlier literary works, like those of Kafka, also contributed to later movements in Italy, including its postmodernism. Because of the complexity of Trieste, its literature has at times been reduced to its historical significance, but as the development of Italian postmodernism suggests, Austro-Italian literary history engages but is distinct from Austro-Italian history. Authors' writings find moments of greater reception in different periods, with for instance Joseph Roth's notable Italian audience of the 1970s (see Schneider-Paccanelli). The dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the German annexations of the Second World War, and individual literary works return to the collective imaginary in a way that does not perfectly align with the development of social history.

Italians, like Austrians, tended to avoid analyzing their complicity in the Shoah. Postwar twentieth-century Italian works often positively differentiated

Austrians from Germans, as evidenced by the only “good” German—in fact an Austrian—in *Rome, Open City* (1945) and the raw description of the roundup of the Jews in Giacomo Debenedetti’s *October 16th, 1943*: “in this raid there will be kindhearted SS men. These two, for example. The tale that formed about them subsequently in the Ghetto has it that they were Austrian” (43). Robert Dassanowsky has argued that a range of important Austrians in films, including the Austrian of *Rome, Open City*, in fact represented Italian fascists, in a sublimation of Italy’s own complex role in the Second World War. Austrian works exploring the legacies of the Shoah have held particular appeal in Italy.

The Development of Austro-Italian Literary Studies

Despite the long tradition of Austrian and Italian cultural cross-pollinations, for most of the twentieth century scholars tended to overlook them. Studies of Triestine literature often separated the authors, locating them “nowhere” or as distinct, rather than as Austro-Italian. Before 1945, minimizing Austrian and Italian interrelationships could be attributed to continuing processes of nationalization and a need for Italy to distinguish itself from former occupiers. After the Second World War, the reasons could be ascribed, among other causes, to a desire to avoid German-Austrian-Italian associations after the Axis alliance and the need to forge a new national self-consciousness that did not emphasize the persecution of Jews and fascist violence in the Adriatic border region. With, for instance, the founding of the journal *Studi austriaci* (*Austrian Studies*), the 1990s marked a key moment of scholarly recognition of Austrian literature’s significance for Italy: the publications of two significant volumes, Paolo Chiarini and Herbert Zeman’s *Italia-Austria: Alla ricerca del passato comune* (*Italy-Austria: In Search of a Shared Past*) and Alida Fliri’s *Miti e Contromiti: Cent’anni di relazioni culturali italo-austriache* (*Myths and Countermyths: One-Hundred Years of Italo-Austrian Cultural Relations*), brought together a range of scholarship on Austro-Italian cultural, historical, and literary connections, building on earlier scholarship, such as Giuseppe Antonio Camerino’s analyses of Italo Svevo, that had generally focused on a single author’s relationship to *Mitteleuropa* (see also Gargani; Ricaldone; Schneider-Paccanelli).

Anglophone scholarship, meanwhile, continued to generally neglect Austro-Italian literary intersections. *Global Austria: Austria’s Place in Europe*

and the World (2011) includes Austrian Studies in Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Japan in the section, “The Globalization of Austrian Studies” (Bischof et al.), indicating how field formations are partly determined by geopolitical power rather than historical connections, continuing a tradition that began after the Second World War, when national traditions from places with diminished geopolitical influence (the defeated Austria and Italy) were more likely to be compared to countries with clearer roles in modern power dynamics. The hegemony of anglophone perspectives has contributed to minimizing the significance of Austro-Italian work. Many Austro-Italian works have not been published in English, from twentieth-century Italian scholarship (such as Magris’s *Il mito asburgico* and the works of the 1990s just mentioned) to contemporary German fiction (such as Veit Heinichen and Günter Neuwirth’s popular crime novels set in Trieste).

A sign of the current emergence of Austro-Italian Studies in the Anglo-American academy is the recent English translation of previously overlooked Austro-Italian works from the past century, including Roberto Bazlen’s *Notes without a Text* (2019), Scipio Slataper’s *My Karst* (2021), and Giani Stuparich’s *One Year of School and The Island* (2021). These Triestine literary publications prompt new scholarship that call attention to Trieste as a transnational, hybrid representative of broader cultural interconnections. The growing corpus is complemented by contemporary novels that explore Austro-Italian cross-pollinations and have also been quickly rendered into English, such as Andrea Molesini’s *Not All Bastards Are from Vienna*, Francesca Melandri’s *Eva Sleeps*, and Hans von Trotha’s *Pollak’s Arm*, which show how far beyond Trieste Austro-Italian connections extend, since none of them are set in the port city.

Italian intellectuals have described Austrian literature, as opposed to its German counterpart, as growing in significance. The Italian author Roberto Calasso characterizes the presence of German-language literature as follows: “Today is a difficult moment for that culture: the Frankfurt School, after the death of Adorno, survives only as a parody of itself, and the rare recent surprises in narrative have come from Austrian writers such as Thomas Bernhard, heirs of a tradition that is in many respects incompatible with Germany” (110). Calasso, who worked at Adelphi Edizioni starting in 1962, recounts how Italian publications inspired new formats of German editions (see Bernhard’s *In der Höhe* or Kafka’s *Die Zürauer Aphorismen*), revealing how Austro-Italian literary connections influenced editorial histories.²

The contributors to *The German Quarterly* of 2016 examined how German Studies is often positioned as the primary point of reference for Austrian Studies. Austro-Italian Literary Studies removes the idea of a “center” with a comparison between two “margins” (Arens). Though the debated German-Austrian overlaps become more complicated with the addition of Italy, which has had so much contact with the two cultures, Austro-Italian as opposed to German-Italian exchanges can be distinguished in multiple ways, including those noted—multilingualism, Catholicism, Austro-Marxism, avoiding the legacies of the Shoah, and Habsburg and transnational representations—which also contributes to understandings of German and Austrian differences.

Austro-Italian encounters offer sites of inquiry that align with other efforts to address what critical formations concealed in the past. Trieste’s place in Austria-Hungary highlights the fictions needed to form a nation, national identity, and ideas of race. In *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere*, Jan Morris stated: “If race is a fraud, as I often think in Trieste, then nationality is a cruel pretence” (122). Austro-Italian Literary Studies reveal the constructed nature of national, and other, identities. While less likely to be formulated as an area of study in the twentieth century, Austro-Italian intersections now contribute to transnational explorations of identity that are ever more central in literary studies, as part of an increased focus on concepts of mobility, including tourism, migration, and colonialism. With globalism as a key concept, analyses of how marginalized spaces interact, not always through a “central” power, have increased.

Conclusion

We end where we began, with Claudio Magris, who has shaped investigations of Austro-Italian affairs with both his literature and literary criticism. His recent novels such as *Blindly* and *Blameless* turn the historical vicissitudes of the upper Adriatic border lands under former Habsburg rule into a metaphor of global affairs. Scholarship that builds on his novels brings together Austria, Italy, colonial violence, slavery, Jewish deportations, and multidirectional memory (see Pellegrini and Pireddu). The emergence of Austro-Italian Literary Studies owes much to the disciplinary expansions of Habsburg and Austrian Studies, fields that in turn build upon the multicultural, polyglot, and multiethnic heritage of Central Europe. While historians have long been attentive to the political developments between Austria and Italy, including

the role Italians played in the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, more recently literary scholars have brought the mutual development of the two cultures to the fore, contributing to our understanding of transnational Italy and Global Austria.

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Notes

1. Historians (Judson, King, Reill, and Zahra) have shown how national indifference and non-national allegiances represented an essential challenge to the rise of nationalism in Habsburg territories and along the shores of the Adriatic Sea.

2. Adelphi has published Altenberg, Bachmann, Bernhard, Polgar, Rilke, and Stifter, among other Austrian authors.

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Hugo Bettauer, Feminism, and the Non-White World in Interwar Vienna

Christian S. Davis

Introduction

In early 1925, a letter appeared in the advice column of the extremely popular Viennese magazine *Bettauers Wochenschrift: Probleme des Lebens*, purportedly by a widow who had seen her happy family life shattered by the arrival of her daughter's "elegant, witty, twenty-eight-year-old" fiancé on the scene. The widow confessed "a love to the point of madness" for the young man, as well as a burning jealousy of the love that her daughter showed him. She implored the *Wochenschrift's* editor for a solution, and as was customary, the editor followed the letter with a brief reply, offering perspective and guidance. "There are so-called 'wild' peoples among whom the mother-in-law is forbidden ever to see the son-in-law," he wrote. "This primitive law is likely based on a profound feeling," he continued, before advising the mother to separate herself from her daughter until her feelings had changed ("Probleme des Lebens" [1925]). The *Wochenschrift* returned to the matter of mothers-in-law and "wild" peoples two weeks later in an article titled "The Problem of the Mother-in-Law" by "Z." There are "wild people," Z. wrote, like "Australian peoples" who observe "so-called avoidance taboos" that prohibit superficial contact between a daughter's husband and mother. Z. argued that much conflict could have been avoided had prohibitions concerning the interaction of mothers- and sons-in-law existed among "the civilized white peoples" as they did among "the primitives."

The non-White world was not the focus of *Bettauers Wochenschrift*. Instead, in its editorials, fictive pieces, and advice columns, the *Wochenschrift*

concentrated on the emotional lives and lived realities of its largely female Viennese readership, lives that, from the magazine's perspective, were hemmed in by misguided Austrian cultural and social mores about marriage, sex, and family relationships—mores that its publisher, Hugo Bettauer, spent much of his career attacking.¹ But as the above excerpts show, the non-White world did have a place in this successful but short-lived interwar Viennese magazine, which ran from 1924 until late 1927. Bettauer and his contributors sometimes used non-White peoples and non-European places as frames of reference for their analyses of Austrian culture and society. As in the case of the mothers-in-law, they occasionally urged readers to emulate certain non-White ways. Other times, Bettauer and his contributors repeated negative racial stereotypes that affirmed the existence of a racial hierarchy, one with Black people firmly on the bottom. To attract eyeballs and readers, the magazine also used large photos featuring exoticizing, essentializing imagery of non-Whites. Representations of and mixed messages about non-Whites appeared in the publisher's many novels as well, some serialized in his magazine.

Over the past decade or so, a number of scholars have analyzed depictions of non-White peoples in *The Blue Stain*, Bettauer's one book with a Black protagonist, which has recently received an English translation. These scholars identify a privileging of White civilizational standards and the use of anti-Black tropes in the novel, despite its overt championing of the plight of racially oppressed African Americans—revealing a tension between sympathy for and discomfort with non-Whites also found in Bettauer's magazine output.² But this existing scholarship does not examine the intersection of Bettauer's racial imagination with his advocacy of women's emancipation. It elides the question: how, why, and to what extent did this self-declared Viennese feminist and advocate of human freedom and individual agency mobilize representations of the non-White world in service of Austrian female liberation? As this essay will argue, *Bettauers Wochenschrift* used images of and information about non-Whites for enlightenment about women's issues at home and abroad as well as entertainment. In so doing, the magazine made colonial discourses about race relevant to the interwar Austrian women's liberation movement while providing its readers with a type of racial education.³

Imagining Blackness and a Racial Scale

Hugo Bettauer was a novelist, journalist, and publisher—and a Christian convert from Judaism—who is perhaps best known today for being an early victim of Nazi violence: a Nazi sympathizer assassinated Bettauer in his Vienna office in March of 1925, and the ensuing murder trial was a public sensation, heavily followed in the Viennese press (Hall). Before his death, Bettauer was widely attacked by both antisemitic and conservative forces for promoting what he openly called an “erotic revolution,” which Bettauer identified as an ongoing movement of liberation from the sexual conventions that limited personal fulfillment, for women especially. Among other things, Bettauer advocated for abortion rights, homosexual rights, premarital sex and the forgiving of infidelity, using his magazines’ articles, editorials, stories, and advice columns to this end. Conservative anger over Bettauer’s ideas led to the termination of his first magazine, *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik*, after only five weeks in early 1924, and although his subsequent periodical, *Bettauers Wochenschrift*, was slightly more subdued, it too generated outrage. Following his death, Bettauer’s enemies coded him as a Jew and used this to excuse his murder: antisemites cast him as an archetypal Jewish peddler of pornographic filth and immorality (Silverman 55–59). Some went further, painting him as an agent of not just the moral but also the racial ruin of the “Aryan” race.

Shortly after Bettauer died, Austrian antisemite Herwig Hartner published the book *Erotik und Rasse* and in its pages closely considered the *Wochenschrift* for what it revealed about Bettauer’s supposedly nefarious aims. According to Hartner, the *Wochenschrift* demonstrated the immorality of Bettauer’s erotic revolution—that Bettauer perceived sexual pleasure as, in Hartner’s words, “not only the highest joy of living, the fulfillment of true manhood, but also a source of healthy rejuvenating power” (Hartner 149). But it was not just Bettauer’s advocacy of sexual liberation that angered Hartner. As indicated by his book’s title, Hartner identified what he saw as an inextricable link between eroticism and “race”; he accused Bettauer of subverting White European racial purity and sexual morality by championing in his work racially-foreign bodies and sexual attitudes. Hartner paid particular attention to the presence of Black figures in Bettauer’s publications. He argued that “colored women”

played “an unusually large role” in “both magazines” (164). Bettauer’s texts represented “an impassioned partisanship for the Negro,” Hartner claimed, and “a declaration of war against racial thinking” via the promotion of racial mixing (169).

Black people did indeed appear in *Bettauers Wochenschrift* and Bettauer’s other publications. Moreover, discussions of Black people and their customs were sometimes sympathetic. This was especially true with Bettauer’s 1922 novel *The Blue Stain*, with its partially Black protagonist. But despite these and other examples of positive or sympathetic depictions, representations of Black people and partially Black so-called “mulattos” in Bettauer’s works are in fact frequently negative, often showing Africans and people of African descent as lacking culture and civilization whose base instincts are frighteningly primitive and primarily sexual—far from the “impassioned partisanship for the Negro” that Hartner claimed. Their presence in the fiction that Bettauer wrote or published was often titillating and sometimes anticipated or signified an eroticized death. *Bettauers Wochenschrift* established some of these stereotypes in its very first issue with a short story by the French novelist Claude Farrère that tells of a sea cadet’s adventure on the island of Martinique who is taken on a drunken search by another White for beautiful “Mulatinnen.” The story ends with the cadet’s horrified discovery while in bed with an apparently asleep partially-Black woman that the object of his desire was a corpse, dead for several days.

A year later, the *Wochenschrift* printed one of Bettauer’s own novels in serialized format, and here again the author connected Blackness with eroticism, horror, and death. A sort of gothic romance story, “Die Liebe eines Knaben” recounts an adolescent boy’s frantic search for his missing female neighbor. After many chapters, readers discover that a nefarious Doctor Frederic Morton has kidnapped the twelve-year-old Gertie and that she was one of many female victims whom he has abducted from city streets, anesthetized, and almost invariably murdered by using their blood as a rejuvenating therapy, transferring it into his veins. Morton’s assistants in this dreadful task are two Black Americans, Sam and Sarah, who exhibit a “dog-like loyalty” to him. They carried out the kidnappings and helped with the murders. Other pieces in the *Wochenschrift* likewise linked Blackness to sexuality and primitivism. In a vignette set in Africa titled “The Dance,” music spills out from the veranda of a White “Massa” house during the “African night” and flows “to the Blacks who sit in front of their huts.” The African girls there have “eyes of



Fig. 1. "Fellachische Schönheit," in: Bettauers Wochenschrift No. 23, 16 October 1924, p. 1. Copyright Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna: 608.078-C.

gentle animals,” and they anticipate becoming “women . . . under the brush” where they will “conceive their children” (Margot). The *Wochenschrift*, therefore, both essentialized and sexualized Black people in its pages, presenting them at as objects of attraction, revulsion, or both, and as primitives easily led astray.

The magazine essentialized and sexualized other non-Whites as well, printing in its first year over a half-dozen large photos of non-White women, some topless, from Asia, North America, and the Middle East as well as from sub-Saharan Africa, sometimes on the magazine’s cover and other times in interior pages. While the *Wochenschrift* rarely ascribed physical beauty to its Black subjects, it did so regularly for these others: captions like “Beauty from Hawaii,” “Fellah Beauty” (see figure 1), and “A prize-winning Indian [Native American] Beauty” appear below portraits of non-Black non-Whites, but text accompanying photos depicting “dancing Kaffir girls” or brides in a “Kaffir wedding” lack this designation.⁴

This reluctance to ascribe beauty to Black people reinforced conventional racial hierarchies that placed Blacks at the bottom, as is apparent even in the stories that depict Blacks as objects of desire. In Farrère’s piece about Martinique, the author explains that the attractive dead woman was the type of light-skinned (and, in this case, blonde-haired) mixed-race individual whose “Negro blood” is imperceptible except for a bluish hue in the whites of her eyes and under her fingernails.⁵

In addition to readily ascribing physical beauty to non-Whites who were not Black, the *Wochenschrift* often attributed to non-White non-Black groups positive inner qualities and cultural traits. The Japanese are “a well-brought-up people,” readers learned, Siam is “distinguished by the politeness, indolence, and grace of its inhabitants,” and Burmese women “adapt quickly to English customs” as the wives of Englishmen (“Probleme des Lebens” [1924]; “Siam”; “Eine Junge Birmanerin bei ihrer Morgentoilette”). In contrast, the magazine accompanied a large photo spread of Fijians with the explanation that they were “a Negro-tribe” that “would immediately become cannibals again, if the English government didn’t prevent this through the most stringent punishments” (“Fiji-Eingeborenenhaus”). Indeed, while the *Wochenschrift* identified positive effects of White colonialism for Black people, it expressed anticolonial sentiment when discussing other human groups. In a paragraph accompanying large photos of a “Warrior” and a “Beauty” from “Southwest Africa”—one of the rare designations of a Black woman as beautiful—the

magazine proclaimed that before Whites arrived, the “Kaffirs” of South Africa had no culture because they dedicated their lives to war making (“Staat und Familie bei den Kaffern in Südwestafrika”). In a separate article on Native Americans, however, the *Wochenschrift* lamented that the “greedy Spanish” had “slaughtered” the “gentle, clever Mexicans,” destroying their magnificent buildings and culture (“Schokolade”). In the pages of the *Wochenschrift*, therefore, White colonialism benefited Black people but brought ruin to non-Blacks. The magazine made the latter point again when it claimed that the Hawaiians had been a “strong and cheerful race” before Whites arrived to devastate them with alcohol and that Hawaiians retained their “humane, natural, and wise customs” wherever White incursions had been evaded (“Die schöne Hawaïanerin”).

Lessons from the Non-White World

From the *Wochenschrift's* point of view, some non-White customs were worthy of adoption. As seen at the beginning of this essay, Bettauer and his collaborators at times pointed out the wisdom of non-White ways. Polygamous marriage practices and attitudes toward infidelity among certain non-White groups caught the magazine's attention, unsurprisingly, perhaps, insofar as Bettauer's vision for the future was an Austria liberated from the Christian concept of an eternal monogamous marriage that limited all sexual actions to its confines and inflicted social sanctions and a burden of guilt upon the unfaithful. In addition, Bettauer strongly opposed secular Austrian social conventions that excused infidelity for men but condemned it for women. The *Wochenschrift* repeatedly informed its readership that parts of the non-White world exhibited healthier attitudes toward these matters of sex and marriage. One short piece in 1924 revealed the existence of a custom among an unspecified “nomadic tribe” where the offense of infidelity was settled with the gift of a pig from the offending lover. The lover, wife, and husband ate the pig together in a common meal, thus resolving the conflict, the magazine claimed (Dr. A).

Several weeks later, a longer article detailed the alleged practice of “Eskimo” men taking a second or a third spouse with the approval of the first, and of Eskimo women doing the same. “And with this, the abolition of double standards—among Eskimos!,” the article exclaimed. The piece also noted that when an Eskimo wife aged, her influence within the family grew and she was

honored, which was “also a view that Europe cannot boast of.” In addition, the author recounted that if a married woman loved another married man, a temporary exchange of wives could occur, making divorce unnecessary. “If perhaps the form of married life of Eskimos doesn’t accord entirely with our ultimate ideal, it is worthy to note that the culture of married life” is centered “completely on a respect for the woman’s personality, on her rights and needs,” the author editorialized, “and that the Eskimos . . . could say when one thinks about the many evils of the sex life of our western European culture, ‘See, we wild ones are indeed better people!’” (“Eherecht der Eskimos”).

Other pieces applauded the acceptance by European women of common non-White cultural practices—celebrating the contemporary generation for joining non-Whites in better ways. One such article appeared in 1925 shortly before Bettauer’s murder. Titled “Modern Jewelry and from Where it Originates,” it noted the new tendency among interwar European women to wear inexpensive, unpretentious jewelry for pleasure—a healthier attitude, it claimed, than the fetishization of family heirlooms that were carefully guarded and passed from generation to generation. The article identified the former attitude toward jewelry as customary in the non-White world and applauded its European adoption: “The jewelry of the Negress, the Singhalese, the Indian woman, the Chinese woman, became at home in the European streets, coffeehouse, theater, the European salon,” the author wrote, “and gave it a more joyful, lively character than the oh-so expensive family jewelry was capable” (“Der moderne Schmuck und woher er stammt”).

Finally, the *Wochenschrift* used the non-White world to contextualize and illuminate problems facing contemporary Austrian women, sometimes mixing criticism of the non-White world with praise. In a long front-page editorial by Bettauer in 1924 titled “Am I a Feminist?,” the publisher compared the subjugation of women in “the Orient” with that “of the Occident and the Americas.” Bettauer wrote that in “the Orient,” a woman is passed from the father into marriage where she is fully deprived of rights and “is not treated much better than a slave and is handled almost as a lifeless thing or an animal.” But “despite this,” Bettauer insisted, “the women of the Orient have it much better than our women in one respect.” Their male guardians are duty-bound to provide for them and their children, with the result that they do not struggle for survival in horrible conditions. In Europe, Bettauer complained, women have recently gained the right to vote, yet still lack true equality with men. What is more, “Our girls and women must work just like the men,” he

wrote, “but they are paid only a fraction of what men earn” (Bettauer, “Bin ich Feminist?”).

In early 1925, the *Wochenschrift* compared Chinese female foot-binding to contemporary European shoe fashion. The first led to a “harmful effect” on the feet, deforming them in the name of “beauty or decency expectations,” the author wrote, before pointing out that “we needn’t go so far” to see something similar. The modern European female shoe “is so pointed as if our foot is a ‘writing quill’ and it has a heel as if we walk upon our toes,” the author claimed, before insisting that “the modern woman should free herself from this shackle.” Three photos accompany the article, one of an unremarkable pair of bare feet, a second of feet in pointed European shoes, and a third showing the deforming consequences of Chinese foot-binding (Truida). By presenting female readers with such a visually alarming example of patriarchal oppression in the non-White world, the author hoped to jolt them to the recognition that their own bodies were controlled in similar, if less extreme, ways.

Conclusion

In its approach to the non-White world, the *Wochenschrift* mirrored the *Völkerschauen* of a slightly earlier age. Both purported to lead European viewers to a better understanding of themselves through a controlled presentation of the lives and bodies of non-White “Others.” As with the *Völkerschauen*, the *Wochenschrift*’s presentations of non-Whites also served the purposes of voyeurism and racial education. Where the *Wochenschrift* differed was in its harnessing of representations of the non-White world to the cause of Austrian female liberation.⁶

As seen here, the magazine used photos to draw attention and, presumably, new readers, sporadically placing large pictures of non-White “beauties” on its cover and interior pages. The *Wochenschrift* also marshaled the non-White world for didactic purposes—to illuminate the confining nature of domestic social and cultural mores that harmed Austrian (and European) women—and it perpetuated contemporary notions of racial hierarchies along the way: although the magazine identified some non-White social and cultural practices as superior and urged readers to emulate them, it nevertheless advanced the idea of a racial scale within the non-White world and affirmed the existence of racial groups. And despite sometimes casting doubt

on the inferiority of “primitive” peoples, the magazine reified the idea of “cultured” and “primitive” races and regularly placed Black people among the latter. A further examination of *Bettauers Wochenschrift* shows that it brought the concepts of biological determinism and criminal anthropology to its readers as well—ideas in conflict with the magazine’s emphasis on individual agency. None of this stopped Bettauer’s antisemitic critics, however, from accusing him of undermining “Aryan” civilization through the promotion of non-White, and especially Black, ways. *Bettauers Wochenschrift* and the reactions against it represent intriguing—but largely overlooked—points of intersection in interwar Vienna of feminism, antisemitism, colonial discourses, and anti-Black racism.

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Notes

1. For an analysis of Bettauer’s worldview, see McEwen; see also Hwang.
2. See Peter Höyng, introduction to *The Blue Stain: A Novel of a Racial Outcast*, by Hugo Bettauer; Nenno; Mattl; Höyng, “A Dream of a White Vienna after World War I.”
3. There are striking parallels to the contemporaneous movement for gay rights; see Marhoefer.
4. “Kaffir” was commonly used by Whites in South Africa as an epithet for Blacks, while the term “Fellah” denotes an Egyptian or Arab peasant. Photos of women designated as “Kaffirs,” referenced above, appear in *Bettauers Wochenschrift* 29 (1924) and no. 21 (1924). Compare these to the photos of non-Black non-Whites on the fronts of issues 18, 23, and 24, whose captions ascribe beauty to the subjects.
5. This is also a signifier of Blackness in *The Blue Stain*.
6. On *Völkerschauen* in Vienna, see Schwarz; George.

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In the Presence of “Gypsiness”

Dvořák, Ecocriticism, Stimmung

Dylan Price

There are few categories as conducive to ecocriticism as *Stimmung*.¹ A prominent aesthetic trope of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Austrian culture, *Stimmung* was a reference point in the titles of landscape paintings by Alois Arnegger, Emil Jakob Schindler, and Anton Hlávaček, associated with murky gloaming and phantasmic idylls. It also found purchase in other parts of the Habsburg Empire and beyond. In Poland, see the trend toward *nastrojowy* paintings, a term derived from *nastrój* (a close equivalent to *Stimmung*).² So too was this trope prevalent in Czechia, and *Stimmung*'s Czech equivalent, *nálada*, was an unusually persistent feature of musical titles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pertinent examples include the four parts of Zdeněk Fibich's *Nálady, dojmy a upomínky* (H. 311, H. 315, H. 319 and H. 327, 1891–98), Ludvík Vítězslav Čelanský's *Nálady* (1895), and Bohuslav Martinů's *Náladová kresba* (H. 29, 1910): these musical manifestations were no less associated with landscape and place than the aforementioned paintings, as their constituent parts were often furnished with pastoral and folkloric titles. Suffice to say that *Stimmung* was ubiquitous in culture from the Habsburg regions, and it had clearly entered a common creative parlance. But to what idea or experience did it refer? What are its politics? And if *Stimmung* did tend to coincide with landscape imagery in multiple creative media, what kinds of insights might the concept now provide for scholars of ecocriticism? This short contribution explores these questions as they relate to Antonín Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs* (*Cigánské melodie*, Op. 55, 1880), a set of pieces for voice and piano. Acknowledging the role that *Stimmung* plays in these pieces, I fold the concept into a larger set of ecocritical interests in place, dwelling, and belonging. And

by tracing the competing politics that emerge from these songs' "Gypsiness" and *Stimmung*, I further seek to explore their imbrication in those imperial practices that are the focus of this special issue.

In pursuing these ideas, my discussion proceeds from existing debates that have occurred across a wide variety of academic fields. Studies of *Stimmung* have previously been conducted in fields as varied as philosophy, architecture studies, musicology, literature studies, and the history of science, to name but a few (see Jarnicki; Saunders). This widespread interest is commensurate with the expansive range of media in which *Stimmung* has historically been deployed, many of which I engage throughout this discussion. Yet regardless of field, studies of *Stimmung* have often come up against a similar set of challenges. Most fundamental of these has been the term's meaning, which has been a consistent quandary for many researchers—not least for reasons of translation. In German, *Stimmung* might literally suggest "mood." In this translation, it connotes a sense of affective immanence, granting access to the intimate, private, or enclosed. But as *Stimmung*'s etymology implies, given its *stimm*- ("voice") root, it could equally be translated as "envoicement." Hence, the concept may also point toward a form of emergent subjectivity, transforming interior mood into outwardly projected expression. Still another translation is "attunement," perhaps the most consequential for the current study. It is in this meaning that *Stimmung* starts to come into its own, pulling away from other kinds of romantic affect. This rendering is comparable to a musician tuning a string, as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has noted in his literary discussions of the concept. For him, *Stimmung* connotes a material "presence" (17), a term to which (as suggested by this study's title) I refer throughout the current discussion. But its qualities of "attunement" also overlap with the affective qualities of "mood": in this sense the attunement is double, suggesting both a literal material tuning and a more elusive, affective tuning-*in* to one's place. As Daniel Grimley has fruitfully explored in a Scandinavian context, this definitional complexity lies at the heart of much *Stimmungsmusik* from the nineteenth century (115). Much ink has previously been spilled attempting to restrict *Stimmung* to a single definition, but as Grimley's ecocritical study indicates, it is precisely in this ambivalence that its conceptual richness lies. Only by accommodating these multiple renderings can the reasons for *Stimmung*'s pervasiveness, particularly in music, more clearly come into focus.

As this precis suggests, the wide academic attention paid to *Stimmung*

also speaks to the alluring intellectual challenges that it poses. Of equal importance to these definitional issues, however, are the concept's political implications. These have received far less attention in prior scholarship, which has tended to describe *Stimmung* in terms that seem overly benign. We are sometimes left with this impression when reading work by Erik Wallrup. His monograph on this idea, *Being Musically Attuned*, doubtless has much to recommend it. A compelling and systematic historical survey, it illustrates the scope of *Stimmung*'s purchase beyond evocative titles alone (61–64). Only by recognizing the category's valence does it become possible to address *Stimmungen* in paintings by Julius Eduard Mařák (for instance, *Morning Song*, 1877) or, in Grimley's case, Edvard Grieg's *Peer Gynt* (Op. 23, 1875): while these examples do not mention *Stimmung* in their titles, they induce the same experience of affective sensitization. But although Wallrup's work usefully expands our zone of study, it occasionally seems to overlook the political purposes to which the concept may have been turned.³ Most obviously, these politics could entail the romanticization of nationalistic sentiment, as suggested by the landscape representations with which *Stimmung* tended to coincide. This kind of pastoral nostalgia was a common nationalist concern in the nineteenth century, a particular mode of response to the changes wrought by rapid industrialization: by resorting to tales of historical origins, ontogeny, and continuity, composers could seek refuge from modernity while imbuing nation-building projects with an authority derived from "nature" itself. Well-suited to this kind of study is Dvořák's own *Stimmungsmusik*, most notably the *Poetické nálady* (*Poetic Moods*, Op. 85). These miniatures' use of *Stimmung* to express their landscape scenes feels wistful in the extreme, an attempt to recover a capacity for affective immediacy that many believed to have been lost to modern life. As their presence invariably withdraws into absence, the miniatures come to reflect what Amanda Anderson has termed the "distancing effects of modernity" (4), and they are easily heard as sites in which representational and affective forms of nostalgia coincide. It is precisely these kinds of politics, often neglected by prior scholarship on *Stimmung*, that the current study seeks to address.

Permutations of *Stimmung* can equally be linked to political purposes that may be less immediately apparent. Especially challenging in this regard are Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs*. Less obviously paradigmatic than the romantic-nationalist examples already mentioned, these pieces adopt the syntax of attunement while subtly subverting its politics. Even without knowing the

songs' content, this subversive quality should come as no surprise, given how fraught and contested the troubling category of "Gypsiness" denoted by their title has been. That this "Gypsy" stereotype generally bears little resemblance to the lived experience of Romani communities should, one hopes, go without saying, but readers interested in this point can be directed to work by Shay Loya, Jonathan Bellman, and Anna G. Piotrowska. As Stewart Dearing has likewise observed, "Gypsiness" often functions less as a category of self-identification than an ideological gathering point, a focal point for anxieties about forms of transnational and modern alienation (165). Or, as Michael Beckerman has commented from another perspective, "selling is selling" and "what is really being sold is an imaginary Gypsiness" (32). Notably complicit in this mythmaking, Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs* leave a similarly uncomfortable legacy. Their ideological work happens partly at a poetic level, drawing upon poetry by Adolf Heyduk (for whom this exoticized "Gypsy" culture was a constant point of reference).⁴ That work also occurs contextually, participating in a larger tradition of exoticized "Gypsiness" in nineteenth-century music. For example, Dvořák would have known Michael William Balfe's *Bohemian Girl* (1843) through his work as a viola player for the Provisional Theatre in Prague, during the piece's Czech revival in 1863–64 (Smaczny 108). Exoticism is also at work in many pieces by Johannes Brahms, a mentor figure for Dvořák with whom an association had begun in earnest about three years prior to Dvořák's composition of these songs. Indeed, "Gypsiness" was also expressed in Brahms's own, later *Gypsy Songs* (*Zigeunerlieder*, Op. 103 and Op. 112 nos. 3–6, 1887 and 1891, respectively) and in the *Hungarian Dances* that predated Dvořák's songs by a year.

Beyond their context, however, the Op. 55 set's ideological work also occurs at the level of musical material. Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs* inherit from these earlier pieces a loaded essentialism, which begot an orientalist idiom far removed from the Romani practices to which it purported to relate. For the most part, the songs belong to a musical mainstream, but their syntax is differentiated by naively exoticized flourishes. These kinds of devices have already received discussion elsewhere (see, for example, Frolova-Walker 119) and, for reasons of space, the current article generally takes their self-othering provincialism as a given. Yet there is one exoticizing gesture that is worth scrutinizing more closely: the songs' poetic and musical depiction of the cimbalom. The cimbalom is a kind of metal-strung chordophone that gained popularity among Czech and Hungarian folk musicians in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It found prominent expression in music by Franz Liszt

and Zoltán Kodály as an auto-exoticizing symbol of national character, as in the *Hungarian Battle March* and the *Hary János Suite*, respectively.⁵ However, the instrument was also used by Romani communities and figured centrally in Heyduk's poetic depictions, however heavily mediated these surely were.⁶ From Dvořák's setting of this poetry, then, there arises an obvious question: does the cimbalom also find mimetic expression in this music?

An answer is quickly forthcoming, since an imitation of the cimbalom is heard in the very first of Dvořák's *Gypsy Songs*. The vibrant repetition heard at the beginning of this song is ubiquitous in cimbalom music across folk cultures, a means of sustaining volume despite the instrument's relatively quick rate of sonic decay. Similar devices recur throughout the Op. 55 set but, of its cimbalom references, those in the fifth song are surely the most overt. Here we find specific shifts in timbre, rhythm, and articulation. Or, to put the matter in more broadly exoticic terms, the piano evokes the cimbalom by imitating the instrument's distinctive sound. Of course, this kind of imitation is not unique to Dvořák's songs. We find similar instances in the first part of Brahms's Op. 103 and in Karel Bendl's *12 Gypsy Melodies* (*12 Zigeunermelodien*, 1881). Particularly interesting about Dvořák's fifth song, however, is the way that this evocative materiality coincides with its opening call to "Struna naladèna" ("Tune the strings").

As these lyrics suggest, there is more than a hint of *Stimmung* (Czech: *nálada*) about Dvořák's cimbalom imitations. The fifth song's opening is heard not just as an invitation to tune the cimbalom referenced by its lyrics but also for the listener to "tune in" affectively to the instrument's distinctive strains. Something similar is at work in the second song, this time imitating the sounds of a triangle (which the lyrics also reference repeatedly). We can thereby hear Dvořák's emphasis on material tuning as engaging with the generic expectations of *Stimmungsmusik*, and it is safe to suggest that the *Gypsy Songs* operate within this same tradition. Yet the hermeneutic consequences of this moment in the fifth song are less immediately clear. In part, it seems to invoke a familiar pastoral idyll, since the cimbalom was often associated with "nature" imagery (typically flowers or vines) in the popular imagination (Johnston 102–3). Insofar as the cimbalom was commonly associated with village music-making, these associations productively overlap with work by Christopher Campo-Bowen on the "village mode" in Czech music (especially opera), according to which the village became a microcosm of idealized "Czechness" (3). While this reading offers some insights into the songs' meanings, however, to read them as straightforwardly nationalistic

would be a mistake. Dvořák's songs were composed for a Viennese audience and an Austrian tenor and were originally in German without Czech translation. Though Viennese audiences may well have heard them in terms of "Czechness" by virtue of the composer's biography, the pieces are perhaps more generically "exotic" than they are nationalistic. Attending more closely to this "Gypsiness," another obvious reading might highlight the seductive lure with which "Gypsy" stereotypes have often been associated and which *Stimmung* (as an affective trope) here seems to buttress. This reading feels more than a little reductive, though, insofar as it eschews what makes *Stimmung* distinct from other affective categories.

Delving deeper into *Stimmung*'s intellectual history allows us to explore some of these interpretative problems further. Beyond its adoption by artists and musicians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *Stimmung* also found realization in a lengthy phenomenological tradition. Especially influential was Martin Heidegger, for whom *Stimmung* was irrevocably linked to human Being. For him, *Stimmung* was linked to a primordial, harmonious experience of being-in-place: no fleeting affective state, *Stimmung* hence became couched in overtly existential terms (Thonhauser 1251–52). These ideas were most prominently given form and focus by Heidegger in the 1920s—in which, we should note, they also became more ideologically tinged—but he arguably pulled at a lengthier strand of the concept's intellectual and creative history. It is no coincidence that *Stimmung*'s visual-artistic expressions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often depict the affective qualities of light at dawn or dusk, akin to an existential filter through which one's perception of a place becomes colored. We witness this in Carl Moll's *Stimmungsstudie Abend, Michelhausen (Plankenberg)* (1888) and Jakub Schikaneder's *Večerní nálada (Evening Mood, c. 1910)*. Their affects reside in the scenes' hazy glows, freezing sunset's liminal time into an eternal present. By way of this presence, they come to elide internal mood and external place, as existential distinctions between subject and object, Self and Other, inside and outside begin to collapse. We find a similar phenomenon in the sunrise hues of Mařák's *Morning Song*. It is as if a filter has descended upon both the scene and our perception of it and each begins to blur into the other. Or, as Grimley suggests more sweepingly, *Stimmung* "breaks down a monistic sense of autonomy or individual being into a more blended understanding of space, place, and time" (117).

To hear the *Gypsy Songs* in relation to this phenomenological tradition is to upend a long-held set of preconceptions about Dvořák's music, which

has more often been associated with representational than affective modes of expression. More interesting still are the ways that the *Gypsy Songs* transform this phenomenological trope in kind. Moving us far away from the mode of primordial dwelling that *Stimmung* tends to connote, these songs instead pair it with "Gypsiness." This was not only a prominent symbol of mobility but a distinctly modern one: in the nineteenth century, the "Gypsy" supplied itself as a convenient, ambiguous, and powerfully malleable symbol of modernity's perceived ills, what Dearing describes as "a generalized, residual category of society embodying various outcast, pariah elements of European modernity" (165). That is, the "Gypsy" served a clear characterological function according to which forms of modern otherness could be exiled under a shared ideological umbrella. In becoming attuned to this "Gypsiness," then, Dvořák's songs seem to depart from the experience of primordial dwelling with which *Stimmung* is more routinely associated. They instead come to elucidate dwelling's negative image, exploring the extent to which a mode of emplacement may be dialectically engaged with one of movement or even alienation. The set thereby shuttles between a pastoral idyll and, via the "Gypsy," precisely those forms of modern displacement to which pastoral nostalgia often served as a direct rebuke. In ecocritical terms, the music's representational qualities suggest one mode of engaging with place (an experience of movement) while its affective qualities suggest quite another (an experience of dwelling). Particularly for a composer whose music has often been assumed to deflect serious philosophical or political inquiry,⁷ the *Gypsy Songs* therefore comprise a startlingly fraught entry in the *Stimmungsmusik* tradition.

Of course, we should be cautious about setting attunement against "Gypsiness" too emphatically, since just as important are their areas of potential coherence. But if these constitutive tensions can be resolved at a conceptual level, then it may only be in ways that destabilize elsewhere. If *Stimmung* and "Gypsiness" are instead heard *together* in this music, then the latter's characterological function is firmly denied. Collapsing dichotomies of presence and absence, proximity and distance, the songs would instead seem to invoke a more unmediated engagement with alterity, in which any possibility of self-detachment from "Gypsiness" becomes affectively precluded. According to this reading, the songs seem to open a Pandora's box, blurring the distinction between Self and Other and bringing this stereotype's containment of otherness into jeopardy.

To hear *Stimmung* and "Gypsiness" concurrently, rather than in oppo-

sitional terms, is therefore the more powerfully destabilizing experience. Through these means, the *Gypsy Songs* move us far beyond the tranquil pastoralism discussed above, as *Stimmung*'s phenomenological qualities become nothing less than an existential threat to the imperial Self. They speak not just to a sense of nostalgic containment or reclusion, associated with *Stimmungsmusik* in the romantic-nationalist vein, but simultaneously to the more boundless and unmanageable experience of modernity that "Gypsiness" came to connote. This tension grants to *Stimmung* a sharper political edge than many scholars have tended to acknowledge. As the *Gypsy Songs* reveal, the concept forces us to contemplate a more charged set of questions surrounding (trans)nationalism, belonging, and exclusion, of crucial importance to scholars of Habsburg studies more widely. They illustrate *Stimmung*'s capacity to emplace, destabilize, and politically subvert—often in ways that feel uncomfortably reactionary. In Dvořák's music, *Stimmung* is heard as both an affective burst of nationalist expression and as a transgressive incursion upon the valorized realm of the Self. Here lies its political potential—and its possible dangers. And as the songs indicate, it is only by thinking ecocritically, attending to *Stimmung*'s intimate phenomenological encounters in place, that we can begin to denaturalize the music's challenging politics.

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Notes

1. I use the term "ecocriticism" to denote a body of research that traces how landscape and nature have been culturally imagined, particularly in relation to larger processes of space- and place-making.

2. This label was not uncontested, and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz distinguished between "nastrojowy" paintings (which he saw as an empty catchword rather than a marker of genre) and *Stimmungsmalerei* (Cavanaugh 116–17).

3. Those who read for *Stimmung*, Wallrup implies, "do not read in order to engage themselves in the political situation of today. They read because they want to be immersed in a world" (4).

4. For example, *Na potulkách* (*On Wanderings*, 1894); *Nové cigánské melodie* (*New Gypsy Melodies*, 1897); *Z deníku toulavého zpěváka* (*From the Diary of a Wandering Singer*, 1904).

5. Undoubtedly, the issue of Lizst's "Gypsiness" is complex, as Shay Loya's cited essay indicates.

6. Most notably, see Heyduk's *Cimbál a husle* (*Cimbalom and Violin*, 1876).

7. This assumption is evidenced partly by the relative lack of scholarship on Dvořák compared to many of his contemporaries, and partly by attitudes that widely persist in the popular imagination. Dvořák is rarely seen as an intellectual heavyweight: rather, as one of my students astutely noted, he is known as "a kind of Czech country bumpkin who came up with good tunes."

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From Idealistic Legacy to Pragmatic Cooperation? Central Europe, the European Union, and Austrian Foreign Policy

Christian Hütterer

In the years around the fall of the Iron Curtain, intellectuals and politicians advocated the idea that the countries of Central Europe might develop a specific regional identity and form networks of cultural and political cooperation in this area. More than thirty years later, the Central European states have become members of the European Union. This paper explores the question whether the idea of Central Europe still plays a role in Austrian foreign policy at a time when Central Europe is united in the EU.

There are numerous geographic definitions of Central Europe. In this paper, the term *Central Europe* shall cover the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Slovenia, that is, the neighboring states of Austria that were part of the Habsburg Monarchy and are now members of the EU. In addition, Croatia and Poland, which do not directly border Austria but were completely or partially on the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy and are now part of the EU, will also be included in the analysis. This essay will present several attempts of political cooperation in Central Europe with Austrian participation and ask why none of them has led to long-term and sustainable results. On this basis, the current state of cooperation between Austria and the Central European states will be presented. Finally, the paper will suggest a way to redefine the Austrian policy toward Central Europe and to identify foundations for a structured political cooperation with the Central European countries.

Formats of Central European Cooperation

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, Austria has participated in or even initiated various fora for cooperation in Central Europe. Some brought only limited results and others remained focused on specific policies, but none of them developed into a long-lasting and comprehensive framework for political cooperation.

Central European Initiative: In 1989, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Yugoslavia founded the Central European Initiative (CEI). By the year 2000, the organization had grown to eighteen members, but it remained loose and never managed to gain political weight. In 2018, Austria decided to withdraw from the CEI.

Regional cooperation: After the formation of a coalition government between the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) and the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) in early 2000, EU member states adopted sanctions and the Austrian government became more isolated. Against this background, Austria invited the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia to participate in the so-called Regional Partnership. Though it was explicitly stated that the partnership's aim was not to "establish Austria as the political centre of the region" (Ferrero-Waldner 481), Austria wanted to be seen as *primus inter pares* (Brix, "Man kann diese Region nur über die Kultur erneuern"). The Regional Partnership never gathered momentum and was soon abandoned.

Salzburg Forum: In 2000, Austria initiated the Salzburg Forum. The organization with nine member states, describing itself as "a Central European security partnership," focuses on questions of internal security.

Central European Defence Cooperation: In 2010, Austria launched the Central European Defence Cooperation. The six member states of the group have committed to enhancing cooperation among them in various security-related fields.

EU Strategy for the Danube Region: In order to better coordinate already existing cooperation efforts along the Danube, Austria and Romania in 2011 proposed an EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR). This strategy comprises fourteen states and deals with issues such as mobility, energy, environment, and socioeconomic disparities. In contrast to its high ambitions, the effectiveness of the EUSDR has frequently been put into question. A study concluded that "the overall impact of the strategy is not very high"

(“Evaluation of the Effectiveness, Communication, and Stakeholder Involvement of the EUSDR” 7).

Austerlitz/Slavkov Triangle: In 1991, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia formed the Visegrád Group (V₄) to facilitate the negotiations of the four states with the European Union. In recent years, frictions within the V₄ became apparent because on more and more issues, the governments of Poland and Hungary were in conflict with the European institutions. The integration-friendly V₄ members Czech Republic and Slovakia therefore sought alternative partners for regional cooperation and founded the Austerlitz/Slavkov Triangle with Austria in 2015. The Austerlitz/Slavkov Triangle is a loose “framework of strengthened co-operation in neighbourhood issues and European affairs, and in fostering growth and employment.” Cooperation in this format is supposed to “contribute to increased public awareness of common interests and to growing confidence in regional co-operation” (“Austerlitz Declaration”).

Central Five: Following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Austria initiated the “Central Five” (C₅) in June 2020 together with the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, and Slovakia. The aim of this forum was to coordinate measures against the pandemic and to address common concerns in the context of the European Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (“Außen- und europapolitischer Bericht 2020,” 34).

None of the initiatives mentioned developed into a long-term and comprehensive model of regional cooperation. Why did these Austrian initiatives fail or remain limited to specific policy areas? In spite of its frequent lip service to the Central European idea, Austria was never wholeheartedly committed to cooperation with the Central European states. The main proponents of cooperation in Central Europe came from the ÖVP (especially Erhard Busek and Alois Mock), but even they prioritized integration in the EU to other foreign policy aspects. The SPÖ was very reluctant to embrace the idea of cooperation in Central Europe and also emphasized the importance of integration in the European Union. Among the prevailing Austrian parties, the FPÖ was opposed to cooperation in Central Europe and depicted the Central European neighbor countries as a threat rather than possible partners.

The lack of interest in cooperation with its Central European neighbors became even more evident after Austria had joined the EU in 1995. The Austrian government then concentrated its foreign policy toward Brussels and “more or less neglected the neighboring Central European states” (Luif 89).

Erhard Busek, who in Austria was regarded as *the* representative of the idea of Central Europe, later stated that Austria had “made too little use of the opportunities offered by the neighborhood in Central Europe, probably out of disinterest and a one-sided orientation stemming from the West-East-conflict” (Busek 17). Busek’s general assessment about Austria’s lack of interest vis-à-vis Central Europe does not mention that there are several political topics in which Austria and its Central European neighbors have different approaches and in which cooperation remains difficult:

- Austria, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia have adopted the euro, while the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland continue to use their national currencies.
- Austria vehemently opposes the use of nuclear energy. In contrast, the other countries in Central Europe have a positive attitude toward this form of energy supply.
- In security policy, Austria maintains its neutrality, while all of the other Central European countries are members of NATO.
- There is a major economic difference between Austria and its Central European neighbors. Austria is a net contributor to the European Union budget and therefore pursues other fiscal policies at the EU level than the Central European states, which are net beneficiaries. In this context it has to be noted that due to its positive economic development, the Czech Republic might soon become a net contributor.
- Finally, the current governments of Hungary and Poland are in significant conflict with European institutions. Cooperation between the Central European states on EU issues will be difficult as long as the tensions between these two governments and the institutions in Brussels persist.

Whether due to a general lack of interest in cooperation or due to differing views on specific political issues, the Austrian commitment to cooperation in Central Europe has fallen short of its potential. Conversely, one could ask which stance the other Central European countries take on cooperation with Austria.

When a think tank analyzed forms of bilateral cooperation among EU member states and possible coalitions between them, it came to some surprising conclusions. The survey among decision-makers depicted an over-

whelming focus of Austrian politics on Germany, a degree of attention that was not reciprocated by Berlin. At the same time, the survey showed that Central European countries attach much importance to cooperation with Austria but only get limited responses. Two points stand out in particular. The answers to the questions “Which EU₂₇ member state(s) does your country’s government generally contact most on European policy matters?” show surprisingly little overlap between Austria and its neighboring countries. The replies to the question indicate that the four countries most interested in cooperation with Austria are Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, and Slovakia. When the question was put to Austrian decision-makers, Germany ranked as the clear number one followed by France and the Netherlands, while Hungary, the highest-ranking Central European country, finished only fourth (Busse et al.). An interpretation of the study came to the following conclusion, one that contradicts Austria’s official positive attitude toward cooperation with Central European countries: “Austria’s immediate neighbours to the east and south look to Vienna, but Vienna rarely looks back” (Janning).

Are There Alternatives to Cooperation with Central Europe for Austria?

Political cooperation in Central Europe has fallen short of its potential. But are there alternatives in which Austria closely and continuously collaborated with EU member states outside Central Europe? Three examples show that such efforts did not result in long-lasting collaborations.

Seven dwarfs: In 2003, before the EU’s expansion into Central Europe, Austria played a major role in the group known as “the seven dwarfs.” Seven rather small EU member states (Austria, Belgium, Finland, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal) then opposed proposals for a reorganization of the EU’s structure that were considered to favor the larger member states. The group was successful but did not form any structures for ongoing cooperation.

Frugal Four: Following debates about the EU budget and fiscal rules in 2020, Austria sided with like-minded countries Denmark, the Netherlands, and Sweden to create “the frugal four.” The four countries were in favor of tight fiscal policies in the Eurozone and opposed collective EU debts. Even though the cooperation in this format received much public attention, the frugal four remained an ad-hoc initiative and has not provided a long-lasting

framework for institutionalized cooperation between these EU member states. Unlike Austria, the Netherlands (in the Benelux group) and the two Scandinavian states Denmark and Sweden (in Nordic cooperation) are integrated in regional institutions that can look back on a long history of regional cooperation and look forward to working effectively.

Neutral states: Another group of states that is relevant for Austrian foreign policy are the neutral EU member states. This group has recently been reduced: Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Sweden and Finland abandoned their neutrality and applied for NATO membership. The group of neutral member states in the EU now only includes Austria, Cyprus, Ireland, and Malta. Given their geographic locations and their geopolitical interests, the four neutral states pursue very different foreign policies. Neutrality is their only uniting factor, and therefore it is very unlikely that cooperation in this grouping will be very efficient. In view of the overall geopolitical situation in Europe, it can be assumed that security cooperation in the EU will gain in importance over the coming years. This development will entail numerous challenges for the dwindling group of neutral states.

None of the three initiatives that went beyond Central Europe led to the development of an institutionalized or structured cooperation. In view of these disappointing experiences, Austria's foreign policy orientation falls back to Central Europe.

Pragmatic Cooperation without a Central European Ideology

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, Austria has not managed to adopt a comprehensive policy toward its neighbors. At the same time and although there is no overall Austrian strategy for Central Europe, a dense network of cooperation programs has developed at the national, regional, and local levels and in various policy fields. The Foreign Policy Report of the Ministry for European and International Affairs states: "Exchange and cooperation with neighboring countries plays a special role in Austria's foreign policy, as it affects a large number of people and a wide range of areas such as cross-border labour and services, joint cultural projects, environmental issues or the economy" ("Außen- und europapolitischer Bericht 2020" 33).

While political cooperation has not always been easy and straightforward, Austria's economic cooperation with the countries of Central Europe has intensified from year to year. If one adds up Austrian foreign trade with

Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia, this group of countries constitutes the second most important trading partner of the Austrian economy after Germany, in terms of both imports and exports. Furthermore, Austria has become a new home for many persons from Central European countries, and even more cross the border to Austria to work there. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020 highlighted the economic interdependency in Central Europe. When the borders between the Central European countries were closed due to the pandemic, numerous workers could no longer get to their workplaces. This posed major challenges to many sectors of the Austrian economy, especially to the Austrian health care system.

While practical and everyday cooperation in Central Europe has increased over the last thirty years, the references to the concept of Central Europe as a specific cultural entity have decreased. The high expectations in the reconstruction of a specific Central European identity that were so popular at the end of the Cold War and in the years after the fall of the Iron Curtain have given way to a pragmatic cooperation.

This pragmatism is also reflected in Austrian politics. In the Austrian political scene, cooperation with the Central European states was mainly driven by the ÖVP. In contrast, the SPÖ took a very distanced view of Central Europe (Luif 295). These ideological attitudes of the Austrian political parties toward cooperation in Central Europe have changed. For example, despite his party's traditional skepticism toward regional cooperation in Central Europe, it was the Social Democratic chancellor Werner Faymann who in 2015 founded the Austerlitz/Slavkov Triangle with his (also Social Democratic) counterparts from the Czech Republic and Slovakia. After a change in government, cooperation in this format has continued under ÖVP-led governments.

Does the Concept of Central Europe Still Exist?

Cooperation in Central Europe in recent years has taken on new forms. It is less based on cultural or historic concepts of Central Europe but is more pragmatic in the sense that cross-border cooperation on a wide array of political, economic, and social issues has increased considerably without referring to an ideology or idea of Central Europe. Given these developments, one has to ask whether the concept of Central Europe as a cultur-

al unity based on a common history is still relevant for today's regional cooperation.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed more than a century ago, but to a certain degree post-imperial memories of the Habsburg Empire remain important because “both the emergence of modern structures and ethnic legitimisation took place in the 19th century and thus in the period of the late Habsburg monarchy” (Brix, “Geschichtsinterpretation und Gedächtnispolitik” 86). Although the collective memories of the multinational Habsburg monarchy are seen and interpreted in quite different ways, they may have a “lasting effect on bilateral relations and future attitudes toward the further development of European integration” (86).

The assessment whether the legacy of the Habsburg empire is still relevant for today's regional cooperation also depends on which generation is discussing the issue. The generations that lived through the separation of the continent and experienced the events of 1989 understandably have a different image of the region than those generations who have grown up with open borders and cross-border cooperation. For the first group, there may still be a touch of Habsburg nostalgia and cultural belonging when the term *Central Europe* is mentioned. Criticism of this rather nostalgic view is justified, but it is probably a bit harsh to describe this interpretation of Central Europe as “meaningless lip service” that “at best still serves the self-awareness of a small group of gradually aging experts” (Hye 275). It remains to be seen how the collective memory of a Central European region will be interpreted by generations that have no remembrance of a divided Central European but have grown up in a Central Europe that is united within the European Union.

Central Europe is criss-crossed by numerous dividing lines: historical experiences, socioeconomic developments, security policy, threats to democracy, the relationship to the EU institutions, views on environmental and climate protection, reactions to external threats—there are no comprehensive Central European answers to all or even any of these questions; instead there are often very strongly divergent views among the Central European states. At the same time, Austria and the states of Central Europe are economically and socially intertwined. It has already been shown that in political cooperation in the region, various fora for collaboration were created, but a comprehensive and lasting political framework (as in the case of the Nordic countries or in Benelux) has not yet emerged.

In spite of the divergent views in many issues, Austria and the Central

European countries share numerous political interests due to their comparable size, their geographical location, and their overlapping views in certain policy fields. In addition to these topics of common interest and to economic interdependency, there is also a Central European historical and cultural heritage (which is, one has to add, not without frictions and can be interpreted differently). Could this common heritage be used to give the region more political weight within a united Europe?

Masterminds of the Central European idea came to a conclusion that may—at least from their perspective—sound disappointing: “Today the dynamic has disappeared, perhaps the normality of a small border traffic has returned, but not the feeling of a commonality” (Busek and Brix 178). But precisely this “normality of small border traffic,” which is almost regretfully and resignedly stated here, would have been seen as a great success in the time when the authors were elaborating their idea of Central Europe decades ago.

As Busek and Brix rightly stated, “Since 1989, however, there has been insufficient success in transforming the potential of cultural proximity into a real common policy” (181). In order to rekindle cooperation in the region, Austria could define a new comprehensive approach toward cooperation in Central Europe. To do so, one could take a (albeit not Central European) neighbor as an example: Switzerland adopted a ten-year foreign policy vision called AVIS28. In this document, a group of experts consisting of civil servants and also representatives of think tanks and managers of major enterprises defined the long-term goals of the country’s foreign policy as well as the means to achieve them. This document was presented to the Swiss government, which then developed action plans for certain geographic areas or specific policies based on AVIS28. Following the Swiss example, Austria could launch a discussion about the future relations and cooperation with its Central European neighbors. There would be no shortage of topics to be considered: Are there long-term perspectives for structured cooperation of the Central European countries in the EU? How could a cooperation format with Austrian participation in Central Europe be organized? Which EU member states could participate in such a format? How could a Central European cooperation in the EU function in a time when some of the Central European countries are at odds with EU institutions?

Following the Swiss example, a high-ranking working group—diplomats, members of national and regional parliaments, representatives of cultural institutions and major companies—could address these questions and even-

tually draft a strategy to define Austria's policy vis-à-vis Central Europe. After the successful regional integration in the economic, cultural, and social sphere, such a strategy could revive the effort to achieve political cooperation in Central Europe.

Conclusion

The concept of Central Europe was drafted during the final stage of the Cold War. Since then, the region has grown together in an economic, cultural, and social sense, and Austria has benefited enormously from this development. However, Austria did not manage to create a long-lasting and comprehensive format of political cooperation in Central Europe. More than three decades after the end of the Iron Curtain, Austria should develop a coherent strategy for dealing with the neighboring states in the region. This comprehensive strategy would not only improve Austria's standing within the region and the EU but also allow to make better use the potential of the region.

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Reviews

Monika Czernin, *Der Kaiser reist inkognito: Joseph II und das Europa der Aufklärung*. Munich: Penguin Random House Verlagsgruppe, 2021. 383 pp.

As the Habsburg monarchy's first Enlightenment-era monarch, Emperor Joseph II is well remembered for his twenty-five-year reign (1765–90), fifteen years of which he ruled alongside his mother Maria Theresia (1765–80). Most of his ambitious reforms were enacted in the ten years of his sole rule (1780–90)—he ultimately laid the foundation for the modern Austrian state administration during his reign. Of course, this raises the question how Joseph II was able to understand the complexities of his multicultural realm and the challenging changes on the European political landscape during his reign. Unlike his mother and previous Habsburg monarchs, Joseph II was an avid traveler attempting to understand his vast empire that had been recently enlarged by conquests gained from the Ottoman Empire. Monika Czernin provides answers to how Joseph II came to understand his empire in *Der Kaiser reist inkognito: Joseph II und das Europa der Aufklärung*. In this book, we get a picture of a ruler trying to understand the world he lived in, in order to preserve the monarchy he ruled over, rather than complacently letting time pass him by from his palace in Vienna, as had been his mother's practice. He traveled incognito across his empire and Europe, trying to avoid seeing fake displays of servility, which would have impeded him from acquiring an understanding of the various countries he ruled over. Traveling as "Count von Falkenstein," he didn't always succeed in concealing his identity, but he managed to rule Austria from afar on these trips with an efficient network of couriers supplying him with all the necessary correspondence.

Czernin based her book on Joseph II's original writings that are stored in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. While the book is not a scholarly text based exclusively on historical sources, Czernin does offer her readers an historically accurate picture of Joseph II's travels by citing correct dates as well as direct quotes from Joseph II's writings. Very little attention has hitherto been paid to Joseph II's travels, making this book a welcome contribution to Habsburg history.

The book starts with Joseph II's trip to Frankfurt in 1764 for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. This was an official trip (*Hofreise*) alongside his father Franz I, who died the following year during another official trip in Innsbruck. Joseph II decided to travel incognito in 1768 to visit the Banat region that had only recently been captured from the Ottoman Empire. Then in 1769 he traveled to Italy, many of whose northern states were still under Habsburg rule, but he went south to Rome and Naples as well. In the same year, he traveled in the opposite direction to meet his mother's nemesis, King Frederick II of Prussia, at the Neisse River. In 1771, he visited Bohemia and Moravia, which was suffering from a famine due to failed harvests and the troubling system of serfdom. Then, in 1773, he visited both Transylvania and Austrian Galicia in the same trip, much to the displeasure of his mother, who could not see any value in these itinerant endeavors. In 1777, he visited his sister Marie Antoinette in Paris, where he presciently observed that unreformed absolutist rule had no future in Europe. He visited the Austrian Netherlands in 1781, which had a complicated relationship with the Austrian mainland and in fact would not remain under Habsburg rule much beyond Joseph II's life. The final trip that Czernin chronicles is Joseph II's trip to Russia in 1787 to visit with Empress Catherine the Great, during which she showed off Russia's newest acquisitions in the South, including Crimea.

Ultimately, the book is more than just a travel chronicle, because Czernin skillfully demonstrates the logistics of long-distance travel across the European continent in the second half of the eighteenth century but also the dire need for the emperor and his administration in Vienna to better understand the diversity of the Habsburg Empire, especially after the Ottomans had been defeated in Serbia and Poland had been partitioned, resulting in a vast East Central European Empire with a myriad of different languages and challenges that were not fully understood in Vienna until Joseph II commissioned maps, statistics, and intelligence on these territories. When he was recognized on his

trips as the emperor, which happened quite often, he accepted thousands of *Bitschriften*, which he collected and which his bureaucrats in Vienna worked through after his return. As an Enlightenment ruler, he created schools throughout his monarchy and created a civil administration that laid the effective foundation for Austrian rule over Central Europe in the following nineteenth century.

The only criticism of this fascinating book is that it tends to focus on Joseph II's achievements more than his failures to comprehend all complexities of his realm, though the author concedes that his reforms were not aimed at democratizing Austria as much as at making it more efficient and livable for its people. In Hungary, Joseph II's suggestion to reform languages in Hungary by doing away with the written Latin and spoken Hungarian and replace it with German contributed significantly to the eventual renewal of the Hungarian language in opposition to the imposition of German as a hegemonic lingua franca. Clearly, not all of Joseph II's proposed reforms were advisable or even in the interest of the various peoples of the monarchy.

Nonetheless, this book is a must-read for any scholar interested in eighteenth-century Austria and its crown lands as well as the Habsburg Empire's relationship with neighboring countries.

Joseph W. Moser
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Jonathan Singerton, *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2022. 366 pp.

Jonathan Singerton's *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy* accomplishes a revolutionary feat: centering agents and actors from Habsburg lands within the transoceanic processes and upheavals that marked the early revolutionary Atlantic. Singerton argues that Habsburg inhabitants were neither diametrically opposed to the ideals and movements of the revolutionary era nor hermetically sealed off from them. He thus overturns any teleological assumptions that this dynasty—which would wage war against Revolutionary France and would come to embody post-Napoleonic conservatism—rejected outright the American revolutionary project and the fledgling United States. Instead, Singerton argues that merchants, trade representatives, diplomats,

bureaucrats, royals, soldiers, and everyday subjects were integral to the story of the new republic's foundation. Singerton also successfully identifies, narrates, and interprets the bi- and even multilateral dynamics at play, showing how American revolutionaries shaped Habsburg imperial calculations, capital speculations, and material transactions. Singerton succeeds in his main goal of reorienting our sense of who, what, and where constitutes Atlantic history, but he also succeeds in a much more nuanced way: taking what might lend itself to a "traditional," top-down story of high-stakes diplomacy and presenting it from economic and cultural perspectives.

Singerton's economic and cultural emphases shed light on the multifaceted sinews stitching together international with intercontinental connections and domestic with foreign affairs across the two sides of the Atlantic. Each chapter examines the topic from a particular optic, ranging from Habsburg intellectual and religious discourses concerning the Americas before the revolution to legal histories of neutrality and neutral shipping that turned the Austrian Netherlands into a wartime commercial nexus. The military stories on offer explore epistolary evidence of eager volunteers from Habsburg Europe seeking to place themselves under Benjamin Franklin's command, while Singerton also presents convincing data concerning commodity exchange between American ports and the Habsburg entrepôts of Ostend, Trieste, and Livorno. His work also rightfully places cultural history front and center, diving deeply into the intricacies of statecraft protocols and etiquette, the perceived breach of which could have had monumental ramifications. His focus on regional histories reveals fascinating tensions between bureaucrats in the Austrian Netherlands and ministers in the metropole of Vienna. What's more, he uncovers the complex international elements at play, as many of these conversations and networks played out via Tuscan networks (among others) in Paris. The resulting book is a tour de force, one that showcases the plurality of ways in which Habsburg inhabitants not just flirted with American revolutionary ideas and overtures but often actively sought to capitalize on new opportunities for mercantile gain and diplomatic prestige. Regardless of a given reader's research focus or interest, one can find in Singerton's work a multitude of fresh ways to conceptualize Habsburg and Atlantic histories.

While *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy* certainly soars, there are a few ways in which Singerton could have elevated the work to new heights. At times he seems at risk of overplaying his hand regarding the roles of Habsburg inhabitants in the early revolutionary Atlantic. The

extent to which the trade bubble at Ostend burst when the American War of Independence concluded, when other ports again became viable nodes of exchange, could suggest this U.S.-Habsburg trade was neither sustainable nor as desired as is suggested. Indeed, the monograph seems to have a tone of “opportunities lost” by the failure to solidify diplomatic recognition and formal trade agreements between the Habsburg realms and the United States until the nineteenth century. But perhaps in context, these agents saw a rejection of such options as their best strategies for advancement. It would also be interesting to read more about how internal fissures and distinctions within Habsburg holdings—territorial, legal, administrative, and customary—influenced the American Revolution or were in turn influenced by the American Revolution. Singerton addresses these in detail regarding the Austrian Netherlands and Vienna, plus the intra-imperial jockeying for trade between agents in Ostend and Trieste. And he excels at showing personal divides within the Habsburg governing bureaucracies. Yet, other divides and regions within the Habsburg system seem conspicuously absent. The role of Hungary looms large but only in the epilogue, at which point these lands seem to enter the narrative out of nowhere. It would be productive to learn more about the different responses of everyday inhabitants and merchants in Buda versus Pest versus Lviv/Lwów/Lemberg versus Prague, for example. He also touches upon distinctions between Habsburg policies in the Holy Roman Empire versus policies in their ancestral lands, but it would be informative to read a chapter about the two-way street of influence between transatlantic processes and intra-imperial tensions in the hinterlands.

But all things considered, these suggestions are indeed very minor. Singerton’s monograph is a true triumph that Americanists, Europeanists, and scholars of the Atlantic world should read and celebrate. Historians from each of these disciplinary silos would benefit immensely from this book, which advances the historical conversation further by bringing into conversation topics, agents, processes, and historiographies that at first glance might seem either unrelated or even outright antithetical. To accomplish all those things while presenting such compelling narratives truly deserves commendation.

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Régine Bonnefoit and Bernadette Reinhold, eds., *Oskar Kokoschka: Neue Einblicke und Perspektiven/New Insights and Perspectives*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2021. 450 pp.

Régine Bonnefoit and Bernadette Reinhold's volume *Oskar Kokoschka: Neue Einblicke und Perspektiven: New Insights and Perspectives* tells of the proceedings of an international conference bearing the same title, which was held at the University of Applied Arts Vienna on February 27, 2020. All articles are alternately in German and English. The conference organizers and editors of the book are well-known figures in the field: Bonnefoit, now a full professor at the Institute for Art History and Museology at the University of Neuchâtel, served as a curator for the Fondation Oskar Kokoschka in Vevey for ten years from 2006 to 2016. Reinhold has been the director of the Oskar Kokoschka Center at the University of Applied Arts in Vienna since 2008 and authored the 2022 biography on the artist under the title *Oskar Kokoschka und Österreich*. Both editors have contributed significantly to the scholarly discourse on the artist and have taken part in shaping the basis they now can build on to explore "new insights and perspectives" on Kokoschka. Equally distinguished in their fields of expertise are the contributors to this volume. As is made clear in the introduction, the main intention was to confront the myths surrounding Oskar Kokoschka, of which there are many. The guiding question was whether and to what extent Kokoschka himself was the creator of these legends about his life and thus whether these are basically the result of self-promotion.

The authors take up this approach and deliver manifold studies on Kokoschka's art and biography. The eleven articles are grouped in five chapters. Under the title "Self-positioning and Marketing Strategies," Birgit Kirchmayr analyzes how the artist contrived his autobiographical writings to represent the *topos* of an artist's life. Keith Holz meticulously lays out Kokoschka's efforts to gain ground in the US art market. Oskar Kokoschka's famous doll that was modeled after his former lover, Alma Mahler, demands contextualization in gender discourse, a task fulfilled by Reinhold herself, who interprets dolls as a "figuration of Modernism." Katharina Prager elucidates the whirling gender discourses in Vienna at the turn of the century, fortunately guiding the reader away from the misogynistic writings of Oskar Weininger, which have long dominated the retrospective perception of the

period (primarily for their shock potential) and instead offers more diverse elaborations of the subject. Anna Stuhlpfarrer and Barbara Lesák portray in their texts Oskar Kokoschka in other roles, as playwright, director, and set designer, again showing Kokoschka's constant efforts to shape his image retrospectively (Stuhlpfarrer) and the artist's struggle with gender relations in his expressionist plays (Lesák). Aglaja Kempf analyzes the influence of "Japonisme," so fashionable in Vienna at the time of Kokoschka's work, which is actually the only art-historical text on the artist's paintings. Whereas the text on Japanese aesthetics as well as those that deal with gender questions look at theories and concepts that emerged from society as a whole, the text on the sixteenth-century reformer and educator Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky), written by Bonnefoit, shows Kokoschka's very personal source of inspiration. Based on Comenius' writings, Kokoschka developed his concept of "seeing," as realized in his annual seminars held at the International Summer Academy for Visual Arts in Salzburg, called "Schule des Sehens." Kokoschka's postulate of the artist's role as "eye-opener" also derives from Comenius. Günter Berghaus explores the reception of German Expressionism in Brazil exemplified in a production of "Murderer, Hope of Women" in Rio de Janeiro in 1997, directed by the author himself. This broad approach that allows multiple perspectives on the artist and his oeuvre has proven fruitful. Likewise, new hitherto unexplored archival sources enable interpretations from different angles, as shown in the first chapter, on Kokoschka's political engagement. Ines Rotermund-Reynard draws from her research in the Moscow Special Archive to depict the artist's professional relationship with Paul Westheim and Charlotte Weidler, both of whom were engaged in political resistance against the Nazi regime. One topic that still remains to be addressed, however, is Kokoschka's antisemitism. Everyone who has studied Kokoschka's estate papers is aware of antisemitic tendencies in his correspondence. This is also evident in some of the quotes in this volume. Although this is not ignored, but rightly pointed out, it seems to be a topic for which the right time has not yet come. Admittedly, the editors and the contributors are already going far to take Kokoschka off the pedestal on which the artist had placed himself. The volume is structured along the lines of the conference program. One might wonder if this was also necessary for publication, since the proposed structure limits the number of intersections to a single way, while these texts, in their own complexity, offer multiple ways to relate to each other. This is not to lessen the value of the texts, as the reader

is free to draw those lines on their own. In fact, each contribution opens new avenues to an understanding of Kokoschka's art and life. This book delivers in abundance what its title promises: new insights and perspectives.

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Marcel Krings, *Franz Kafka: "Der Hungerkünstler"-Zyklus und die kleine Prosa von 1920–1924: Freiheit-Judentum-Kunst*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2022. 497pp.

Taking up the same idea as in his earlier book *Franz Kafka: Der "Landarzt"-Zyklus: Freiheit-Schrift-Judentum* (2017) of reading various texts written within a specific time period as a unit, Marcel Krings focuses in this volume on Kafka's late writings, starting with the "Er" aphorisms from 1920 and progressing through his last period of creativity before his death in 1924. The amount of research and innovative thought that has gone into this volume is breathtaking. Krings is an excellent scholar, and his extensive readings provide the basis for his overarching perspective of Kafka's oeuvre as circling around two main themes—freedom and Judaism. His approach is, however, both the strength and the weakness of this volume. I will explain my ambivalence below.

In his first chapter, Krings lays out his thesis: to read Kafka's individual texts without the context of the larger oeuvre, in Krings's opinion, is to miss that Kafka's works have an underlying unity—that it is incorrect to think of his works as open-ended. Krings believes that the theme of death that was already prevalent in the earlier *Landarzt* volume takes on far greater intensity in Kafka's later work. The idea of wanting to leave this world behind clearly permeates the late stories like "Investigations of a Dog," "Josephine," and "The Hunger Artist." Furthermore, Krings sees Kafka's literary project as messianic, since his interest is in a new Judaism that reveals the decline of true religion as practiced by the assimilated Jews, whom he imagines, for example, as dogs or mice. Kafka's new Judaism does away with concrete images and obscures the referent. Therefore, so much of the late writing is in the form of parable whose point is to critique any kind of earthbound religion.

The rest of Krings's book presents close readings of the late texts, including the "Er" aphorisms, a collection of various pieces called *Das Konvolut 1920*, *Das "Hungerkünstler"-Heft*, and finally, *Der "Hungerkünstler"-Zyklus*, to support his thesis of a unified thematic. Each successive reading alludes to other scholarly interpretations of the work but then settles in to explain the particular text in light of the two main themes Krings understands to be omnipresent in Kafka's works. He dismisses any kind of biographical or philological approach as missing Kafka's true meaning.

As an example, I would like to focus on his reading of "Ein Kommentar (Gib's Auf)": a short text that I personally always begin with when I teach Kafka to students. Because the text is short and easily understood at the literal level, it is ideal for presenting to students the open-ended, multidirectional Kafka that makes his works so fascinating, puzzling, and ultimately enjoyable to read and re-read. Krings is, of course, familiar with the reading so brilliantly laid out and explained by Heinz Politzer in his seminal work from 1962 on Kafka and paradox, but Krings contends that Politzer's reading of this text as a paradox is untenable, if not totally misleading. According to Krings, readers should instead be asking themselves about "Kafkas Diagnose über den Zustand des zeitgenössischen Judentums" (336). To my mind, this is not an obvious query that occurs to the reader when confronted with Kafka's short text. Over the years, it has been read many ways, and it is often interesting to compare readings, but Krings's view suggests there can be no correct reading other than his own. This is a position I, as a Kafka scholar, find very troubling. That is not to say that Krings's reading is wrong—it is viable and it fits well into his overall discussion. But to me, it is simply another way of reading the text—to Krings, it seems, it would be the only way.

That is what makes this volume so fascinating. Krings has read each text he includes, some of which have been, to date, largely ignored by the vast Kafka scholarship (among others, "Das Ehepaar" and "Eine kleine Frau"), and places them into a continuous dialogue that he argues Kafka maintained with himself throughout his life. In this way, this scholarly volume is a real tour de force that has incredibly illuminating insights, but at the same time, it is—for lack of a better word—maddening. Despite, or perhaps for, that reason, I recommend this amazing work to those interested in the enigma of Kafka's later works as well as in the art of interpreting them.

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Joachim Franz, *Die Negation von Solidarität: Selbstdarstellungs- und Interaktionsstrategien des Kleinbürgertums in den Dramen Zur schönen Aussicht, Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald und Kasimir und Karoline von Ödön von Horváth*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2022. 317 pp.

The title and lengthy subtitle of Joachim Franz's *Die Negation von Solidarität* seem at first dutifully indebted to the kind of academic language obligatory for dissertations, but they prove reliable markers for this provocative and thorough work. The author shows how Ödön von Horváth draws on every aspect of self-representation to illustrate denial of communality and shared purpose. Clothing, furnishings, leisure pursuits, music, and above all language—every artifact, every utterance is geared toward pretension, toward exploitation and power plays, toward false jollity and camaraderie masking a selfishness and self-absorption of which the characters themselves are hardly aware, if at all, thanks to their capacity to believe their own life lies. There is no facet of what we see and hear in these plays by Horváth that does not reveal depths of hypocrisy and toxicity. “Heiterkeit, Lebensfreude, Stärke und Leidenschaftlichkeit” are a mere “Tünche”—provided, for instance, by Viennese waltzes—to paper over “Gewinndenken, Egoismus, patriarchaler Gewalt und bigotte[r] Sittenstrenge” in a brittle and false atmosphere of champagne-drinking conviviality (189). The discrepancies are obvious enough to have caused something of an uproar at the Viennese premiere of *Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald* in 1948, as Fritz rightly points out (189–90).

While the quotation above pertains specifically to *Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald*, the same atmosphere pervades the other two plays under discussion, if not the whole of Horváth's oeuvre. Attempts to domesticate this author or to make him an affable alternative to the distanced, intellectualized Brecht have never worked, because Horváth's relentless and stinging irony always resurfaces; it is the very atmosphere of his early plays. As one commentator noted, Horváth so successfully pursues his trademark “Demaskierung des Bewusstseins” that he often rips the skin away with the mask. He so successfully pillories “eben spezifisch österreichische Dispositionen” that he “erntet [. . .] noch nach dem 2. Weltkrieg den Vorwurf, sein Stück speise sich nur aus Ressentiment gegen eine Stadt und ihre Bewohner” (190).

Language is of course the chief vehicle of conveying the ironic discrepancy between conscious intention and unconscious revelation. Critics from

Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler to Marjorie Perloff have identified irony as the chief device of Austrian writers, who exercise political and social criticism through attention to language, not to current issues or events. Fritz thus rightly compares Horváth's use of language and atmosphere to that of Karl Kraus in *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* (190–93); Kraus writes a terrifying and apocalyptic indictment of evil by doing “nothing more” than quoting his characters directly to reveal the full iniquity and hypocrisy of warmongering.

Fritz anchors discussion of each play within pertinent, admirably thorough background study adapting the methods of sociologists Erving Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, “ein Modell, das soziale Interaktionen als für- und miteinander aufgeführte Schauspiele beschreibt” (12) and Pierre Bourdieu in *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* and *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques* (13). These sociological categories yield analyses of types and tropes, mimicry and masquerade, that would not be as fully compassed by standard psychological analysis of character, since whole milieux can be considered along with separate individuals and groups. After all, Fritz argues, “Horváth nimmt gewisse Gesellschaftsausschnitte seiner Zeit mit größter Genauigkeit und intensivem individuellen Interesse in Beschlag, um an ihnen umfassendere soziale Muster aufzuzeigen” (19), beginning with “Horváths eigenartige[m] Begriff vom Kleinbürgertum” (9), often remarked on but seldom parsed systematically. The method is, then, aptly matched to the material.

Zur schönen Aussicht is studied, in this sociological reading, against the backdrop of “Das Grand Hotel als Bühne” (21–27), not failing to mention Vicki Baum's bestselling *Menschen im Hotel*. “Zur schönen Aussicht” is what Krishna Winston calls a “Not-so-Grand Hotel” (27–31), and the contrasts are very telling about the general nature of the “inszenierte Salon-Gesellschaft” occupying the place (65–68). In between are cogent analyses of the individual characters (33–63) in their falsity and insecurity.

Considering the very title, music in its social meaning, in its power to manipulate and create sham joviality, is prominent in *Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald*. The relevant history of the Viennese waltz (111–16) and the analysis of “Die Struktur des Wiener Walzers als Formschema von Horváths *Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald*” (123–34) lead to character studies and to a closer look at the “Ideologie des Wienerlieds” (149–60) as a blithe cover for aggressive political stances. Human life—think what happens to the child—counts for

little in this exploitative society, where only Marianne can reveal her true feelings, and only then in the privacy of prayer.

Music plays its part in *Kasimir und Karoline* as well (the “*Mailüfterl-Lied*” as part of the musical background at the circus; 272), but it is not the main dramatic device as much as the general unmasking of “Kitsch” (273), which distorts reality and tries to make all of life seem as jolly as the circus. Fritz sees this play primarily as a “gesellschaftspolitisches Lehrstück” with an ironic effort at “solving” the problems it addresses (195–203), and he focuses on larger issues by linking them to the various characters’ ways of addressing what they see as reality. Between Kasimir and Schürzinger, for example, there prevails a “Dominanz des Bildungsjargons” (219–34) that naturally hampers communication instead of advancing it. Fritz equates the “Krise des Mannes und Krise des Kleinbürgers” (267–79) and concludes by reverting to his main idea in a chapter called “Alles was fehlt, ist die Solidarität” (285–95).

The author has done well to draw on the sociologists named earlier, because they give an overall system to his analyses of issues and problems that have not been treated with quite so much consistency. The background studies—of hotels, of Viennese waltzes, for instances—add a dimension of solid understanding.

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Brett E. Sterling, *Hermann Broch and Mass Hysteria. Theory and Representation in the Age of Extremes*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2022. 256 S.

Das ist eine der besten und klarsten Untersuchungen, die in den letzten Jahren über Hermann Brochs Werk erschienen sind. Brett Sterling beginnt sein Buch zum Thema Massenwahn mit einem Hinweis auf Hannah Arendt. Nach ihr bestand Brochs intellektuelle Lebensleistung darin, beim “Dichten” die Forderung nach “Erkennen” in den Vordergrund zu rücken und dabei das “Handeln,” die Praxis, nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren. Diese These wird durch Sterlings Studie erneut bestätigt. Es ist die erste Monografie, die sich der Darstellung bzw. Analyse der modernen Masse sowohl im erzählerischen wie essayistischen Werk Brochs widmet.

Am Anfang des Buches erwähnt Sterling grundlegende massenpsychologische Studien aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, die Broch kannte. Von Gustave Le Bon hat Broch etwas über die Beziehung von Masse und Führer gelernt, jedoch dessen Konstrukt einer "Massenseele" abgelehnt. Wie Sigmund Freud wählte er stattdessen den individualpsychologischen Ansatz. Theodor Geiger betonte die destruktive Seite beim Aufstand der Massen, die er auf ökonomische Verelendung zurückführte. Bei Broch spielten wirtschaftliche Prækariatsverhältnisse zur Erklärung von Gewaltexzessen ebenfalls eine Rolle, doch rückte er eine fundamentale kulturelle Verunsicherung als Ergebnis von Wertzerfall und Religionskrise in den Vordergrund. Anders als Geiger blieb Broch skeptisch gegenüber der revolutionären Leistung der Masse. Ortegas anti-intellektueller und gewaltbereiter "Massenmensch," der repräsentativ ist für die rechtsradikal-diktatorischen Regime in Europa, ist auch in Brochs Schriften der Hauptgegner. Sterling erwähnt ferner "Masse und Macht" von Elias Canetti, doch blieb diese anthropologisch beschreibende Studie Broch unbekannt, da sie erst nach seinem Tod erschien. Zwischen Brochs und Canettis Ansatz gibt es kaum Überschneidungen.

Im November 1918 musste in Wien die Monarchie der Demokratie weichen. Sterling zeigt, wie Broch in "Die Straße," einem offenen Brief an Franz Blei, seine kritische Grundposition gegenüber den Massenaufmäufen an der Ringstraße zu Papier brachte. Er erinnerte an die chauvinistischen Massenszenen zu Beginn des Weltkriegs, die ihm Ausdruck einer "billigen Ekstase" waren. Die sei auch jetzt im Spiel und könne nicht als Ausdruck einer Wende gewertet werden, die auf eine neue politische Ethik abziele. Broch hatte in der zweiten Hälfte der 1920er Jahre bei Vertretern des Wiener Kreises Philosophie studiert, u.a. bei Moritz Schlick und Rudolf Carnap. Sie waren der Meinung, dass vom neo-positivistischen Standpunkt aus Bereiche wie Ethik oder Werttheorie nicht mehr in ihren Seminaren behandelt werden könnten. Dafür war offenbar die Literatur zuständig. Da Broch Fragen der Ethik in den Bereichen zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen, des sozialen Lebens und der Politik umtrieb, war es nur logisch, dass er seinen ohnehin gegebenen dichterischen Neigungen nachgab. Sterling schiebt eine erhellende Analyse von Brochs Konzept des "Erweiterten Naturalismus" ein. Es ist eine Romanästhetik, die Broch in der Auseinandersetzung mit Goethes "Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahren" und dem "Ulysses" von James Joyce entwickelte, eine Poetik, die durch ein Simultaneitätsverfahren Rationales

und Irrationales, Sinnliches und Übersinnliches, Wissenschaftliches und Mystisches zur Sprache zu bringen versucht.

Danach folgen Analysen von Massenszenen in Brochs Werken: etwa im “Esch”-Teil der “Schlafwandler,” wo es um Streiks und Proteste geht; in dem Industriedrama “Die Entsöhnung,” wo in der militanten Konfrontation zwischen entlassenen Arbeitern und Unternehmervertretern Menschen ums Leben kommen; im Roman “Die Unbekannte Größe,” wo ein Fußballspiel mit ekstatischen Zuschauern geschildert wird; vor allem aber im “Tod des Vergil,” wo das “Massentier,” sich “selbstanbetend in der Person des Einen” (KW4, 21), des Cäsar Augustus, zujubelt.

Ein Ergebnis des Exils in Amerika ist Brochs “Massenwahntheorie,” die den Untertitel “Beiträge zu einer Psychologie der Politik” trägt. Sterling lässt sich in seiner gründlichen Untersuchung auf die Entdeckungen Brochs ein, zu denen auch der erkenntnistheoretische Begriff des “Dämmerzustandes” gehört. “Irrationalbereicherung,” “Ekstase” und “Heilsbringer” sind Termini, die eingeführt werden, um positive Gemeinschaftserlebnisse abgrenzen zu können von wahnartigen “Superbefriedigungen,” die mit Begriffen wie “Rationalverarmung,” “Pani” und “Demagogie” charakterisiert werden. Brochs Studie zielte in der Nachkriegszeit auf eine demokratische Umerziehung in den ehemaligen Diktaturen ab, wobei die Respektierung der Menschenrechte im Mittelpunkt stehen sollte.

Das wichtigste Kapitel in Sterlings Buch ist das über den Massenwahn, der von Marius Ratti im Roman “Die Verzauberung” inszeniert wird. Hatte Broch bisher Massengeschehen von außen aus objektivierender Distanz beschrieben, wird nun die inszenierte Hysterie “von innen” her geschildert: Der erzählende Landarzt verfällt—trotz anfänglicher rationaler und emotionaler Distanz—dem hysterischen Massengeschehen, das ihn überwältigt. Nirgendwo ist bisher so deutlich gezeigt worden, wie stark der Landarzt selbst in das Geschehen des Massenwahns samt Menschenopfer verwickelt ist und wie er auch nach der allgemeinen Ernüchterung keine Kraft zum Widerstand gegen das neue diktatorische Regime des Marius Ratti aufbringt.

Das Buch gipfelt in einer “Conclusion,” in der Sterling zeigt, wie aktuell Brochs “Psychologie der Politik” ist: Er zeigt, wie genau man mit deren Termini den massenwahnhaften Angriff auf die Demokratie am 6. Januar 2021 in Washington, D.C. analysieren kann.

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Dorothy James, *Voll Hunger und voll Brot: Die Welt des Jura Soyfer 1912–1939*. Translated from English by Irmtrud Wojak. Bochum: Buxus Edition, 2021. 178 pp.

Dorothy James, *Full of Hunger and Full of Bread: The World of Jura Soyfer, 1912–1939*. Bochum: Buxus Edition, 2021. 164 pp.

When Friederike Caroline Neuber (“die Neuberin”) ritually banished the figure of ribald Hanswurst and his dialect language from the German stage in 1737 in favor of classics performed in High German, she was supported by writers as eminent as Johann Christoph Gottsched and was later hailed in a memorial as the “Urheberin des guten Geschmacks auf der deutschen Bühne.” She was responding to currents of Enlightenment sensibility with its rationalist ethics and its quest for normative social ethics, which declared war on what was judged as lewd vulgarity and low taste. By contrast, it is not possible to understand a brilliant theater phenomenon like Jura Soyfer without realizing that Austrian theater never underwent this “reform.” Folk plays, dialect drama, farces and parodies, mixtures of music, dance, and speech, improvisation, and pure spectacle—emphatically lauded by Hofmannsthal—continued in a tradition that was centuries old by the time of Neuber’s cleansing action. Plays like Raimund’s *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* virtually disappeared in Germany, whereas Nestroy became the acclaimed embodiment and apotheosis of Hanswurst. Ödön von Horváth did not so much revive the folk play as continue its tradition, one that had been lost elsewhere and had to be artificially revived. Even today, theaters like Adi Hirschal’s Lustspielhaus present the same kinds of tributes, parodies, and adaptations as did Nestroy.

This unbroken tradition was a living entity readily available to Jura Soyfer, who was—in a brief career of inspired creativity—continuing what had come before. With no sharp division between the casualness of the *Pawlatschenbühne* and the loftiness of the Burgtheater, Soyfer drew on a rich, living heritage in which clowning, innuendo, and double entendre could be deployed as effectively as formal declamation.

As Dorothy James reminds us throughout *Full of Hunger and Full of Bread*, Soyfer was motivated by politics in every phase of his writing; there was never a writer more *engagé* than he. And while he would not, then, have thought primarily in these historical terms, he was versed enough in theater to provide

helpful hints to a friend who was writing a seminar paper on Raimund (80), and he reflects his tradition at every turn. His “Song of the Comet” (5), which was also requisitioned by Peter Henisch, is a direct rebuttal to the fatalism of the “Kometenlied” in Nestroy’s *Der böse Geist Lumpazivagabundus*. Again, these considerations are not primary in James’s study, but they are essential secondary explanations of how a writer still in his teens could emerge as a fully mature, sophisticated talent by tapping into his tradition. They explain, moreover, how Soyfer could be political but not doctrinaire, human rather than ideological, disciplined without regimentation, his vision of the world and of humanity always filled with hope, so much so that he could even turn the infamous phrase “Arbeit macht frei” into a positive statement in his “Dachau Song.” As James points out, the song is a final expression of “the freedom that Jura sang throughout his short life, the freedom to be alive in a better world, a better world that human beings must work to build together” (150). Well after the prospects of freedom dimmed in Austria, Soyfer continued to uphold freedom, daunted but not silenced by growing totalitarianism (37–45).

Two features make James’s book especially successful. She furnishes ample biography but creates cohesion by departing from chronology in favor of coherent analysis by genre and theme. After a brisk overview (13–15), James divides her study into five parts. Each of the first two concentrates on Soyfer’s incomplete novel, *So starb eine Partei*, skillfully tracing background in sections titled “Framing February 1934” (17–49) and “The Hard-Pressed Year 1934” (51–81). This method of organization allows her to foreground the novel, Soyfer’s main project in attempting to dramatize through fully rounded characters the defeat of Social Democracy, the practical result for Soyfer being that he had to go underground (68–74). The internal opposition to party lethargy combined with other factors to make the political struggle come alive in fully human terms.

In the next two divisions, James traces Soyfer’s actions as a dramatist, cabaret artist, actor, and overall participant in the life of the stage, with special attention to the brilliant “Vagabond Song” sung by Hupka and Pistoletti in *Astoria* and performed at the Cabaret ABC (103–12) in 1937. James is especially adept, here and throughout her study, at encapsulating the large currents of political and social history, the tensions of contemporary life, in the details of the songs. The second of the latter two sections, shorter than the rest—suitably—is titled “Life Cut Short 1938–1939” (125–40). In Dachau, Soyfer found himself in the company of other cabaret artists like Hermann

Leopoldi and Fritz Grünbaum (135–36), and his last days, before his death from typhoid, were made more bearable by the company of Max Hoffenberg and composer-performer Herbert Zipper, who took the “Dachau Song” with him when he left and, in that way, saved it from oblivion.

The concluding chapter, “The Dachau Song” (140–50), places the poignancy of Soyfer’s early death at age 26 and its effect on friends within the context of the author’s unrelenting purpose, making a better world not in spite of but because of an art that forfeits none of its aesthetic and formal power while remaining always resolutely political. A timeline and selected bibliography, with suitable reference to Horst Jarka and John Lehmann, follow the main text, as does a set of acknowledgments (151–62).

Lucidity is the other especially admirable feature of James’s book. While in no way short on scholarship and specialist knowledge, it entirely avoids jargon and complication, combining biography and analysis of works with dexterous structural skill. This book is a fine example of an ideal not often reached, that of “learning worn lightly.” It is a strong introduction to Jura Soyfer, his life, his times, his work, and it joins with the work of Jarka (156) to bring knowledge of this brilliant author closer to general readers and specialists alike.

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Ruoyu Zhang, ed., *Weltliteratur in der Shanghaier jüdischen Exilpresse (1939–1947)*. Munich: Iudicum Verlag, 2022. 282 pp.

The coming-into-existence of the Jewish exile community in Shanghai was one of the most fascinating consequences of the rise of fascism in 1930s Germany and the subsequent dislocation (for those who would or could escape) of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe. Its creation is a story whose reality feels as fantastical as any movie, and its short-lived existence has lent its memory an air of magical realism: a world of German and East European Jewry arising whole cloth in the Far East, only to vanish entirely within a decade. Yet there it was, an island of European Judaism in an ancient Chinese city, complete with newspapers, yeshivas, and a Yiddish-speaking underworld.

How did this most peculiar of Ashkenazic cultures end up in Shanghai, and what did it feel like to live there? While most nations had officially closed their borders to Jewish immigration by the late 1930s (a policy made condescendingly clear at the now-notorious Evian Conference of July 1938), a handful—often because of the actions of just one or two diplomats or politicians, in this case, chief among them those of Chiune Sugihara, a Japanese consul in Lithuania—became unexpected destinations for Jews desperately seeking to leave Europe. One of these places was Shanghai, the Chinese port city at the mouth of the Yangtze River. Divided among various colonial trading concessions since the mid-nineteenth century, the city after 1932 was under partial, then full Japanese occupation. Yet throughout the war it remained home to an international community of Europeans, Russians, and Central and East Asians. And because in the 1930s Shanghai did not require entry visas, this wealthy, cosmopolitan, deeply contested city, occupied by an ally of Nazi Germany and located on the farthest coast of the Eurasian continent, became home to a quixotic Jewish community of, at its height, some twenty thousand souls, from urban former German and Austrian citizens—trained as physicians, artists, musicians, journalists, and engineers—to the four hundred rabbis and students of the Mir Yeshiva, one of the most famous in Eastern Europe.

In *Weltliteratur in der Shanghaier jüdischen Exilpresse (1939–1947)*, Ruoyu Zhang gives us a sense of just what those German-educated Jews living in exile in Shanghai were reading and thinking about. Culling extracts from the German-Jewish newspapers printed in the city, this anthology presents the wide variety of international journalism, speeches, and political documents published so that the community could stay abreast of world events and the opinions of important persons. Zhang includes writings by Jews and non-Jews living around the world, from the most famous—Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Sigrid Undset, Albert Einstein—to the less familiar though still widely respected—Max Eitingon, Max Nordau, Emil Ludwig. As Zhang writes, much of what appeared in these periodicals directly represented the experiences of the community in Shanghai: “Die [. . .] Werke standen alle mehr oder weniger in Übereinstimmung mit den Anliegen, Exilerfahrungen, Erwartungen, dem seelischen Verlust und den sozialen Problemen der jüdischen Emigranten in Shanghai” (10). Yet this was by no means a parochial press, and while the content might have reflected the present situation (which is, of course, the primary purpose of journalism and popular periodicals),

the range of authorship and geography was perhaps surprising, suggesting a community that, though marooned far from home, was anything but disconnected from world events: “der vorliegende Band [ist] ein guter Beleg dafür, dass die jüdischen Exilperiodika in Shanghai im Zeitraum von 1939 bis 1949 keineswegs von der Außenwelt isoliert blieben, sondern stets in enger Verbindung mit den weltweiten Medien standen” (10).

This book is the follow-up to Zhang’s first edited volume, *“Wir in Shanghai”: Presstexte deutscher und österreichischer Journalisten im Exil (1939–1949)* (Iudicum 2021), which, together with this new work, contain the selection of the primary sources that formed the basis for Zhang’s monograph on the subject, *“Orient und Okzident / Sind nicht mehr zu trennen”: Zur Rezeption der deutschsprachigen Literatur in der Shanghaier Presse (1939–1945) am Beispiel von “Ostasiatischer Lloyd”* (Iudicum 2019). As Zhang discusses briefly in the introduction to the current volume, the exiled Jews in Shanghai produced so many of its own journalists that one could be forgiven for thinking that the community read only its own correspondents. In *“Wir in Shanghai,”* Zhang supplies extracts from these Jewish journalists, and in *“Orient und Okzident”* made the fascinating comparison between the Jewish writings and those of the other German-speakers living in Shanghai: Nazi propagandists. *Weltliteratur in der Shanghaier jüdischen Exilpresse* is, therefore, both an expansion and a broadening of the themes that were brought to the fore in *“Wir in Shanghai.”*

Unfortunately, this volume’s usefulness is rather unexpectedly limited, and any sense for Zhang’s own important historical scholarship is largely absent. Owing either to publisher insistence or editorial oversight, this anthology has neither a subject index nor a bibliography of sources. The selections are not in chronological order, and the thematic order itself is unclear. In addition, its introduction is spare, giving no account of the Shanghai Jewish community, the culture or context of German Jewish publishing, or any sense of the main figures or periodicals or their background or readerships. (This is strange, since Zhang wrote a book on this very subject and could easily have included summary materials here.) Finally, only some of the selections include introductory remarks, and none of the selections themselves contain notes, leaving readers to make connections and search for basic reference information on their own.

All this makes for a text that’s difficult to use at a professional level and even more so to employ in the classroom. Which is a shame, since the thesis

of the volume itself—that the Jewish exile community in Shanghai was interested in reading about the broader world of politics and literature and, in the midst of massive displacement, created a periodical culture in which to do so—is, if not particularly surprising for scholars of modern Jewish culture, at least noteworthy for general readers, whose familiarity with Jewish communal life and reading habits is probably quite limited. This feels like a missed opportunity, given the fascinating nature of this material and the possible audiences for this anthology.

Today, there is a Shanghai Jewish Refugee Museum, located in and around the original Ohel Moshe Synagogue, the main religious building at the heart of the Jewish neighborhood. The synagogue itself dates from the early twentieth century, when the Jewish community in Shanghai was mainly of Russian origin, having moved to the city for work, upward mobility, and the enjoyment of freedoms unavailable in Tsarist, then Soviet lands. But both that community and the one that sprang up in the shadow of Nazism are gone, having dispersed in the years after the war's end to the new centers of world Jewry—Israel, North America, and Australia. Today there are no German Jewish newspapers left in Shanghai, and the old Jewish neighborhood sits in the shadow of the city's enormous skyline. But as Zhang's volume reminds us, even in exile, communities will find ways to remain connected with their home nations and cultures, and the statelessness of language and values is the affirmative, hopeful inverse of the terror and fear that statelessness inflicts on actual human beings.

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Erika Rummel, *Prison Elite: How Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg Survived Nazi Captivity*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2021. 215 pp.

It is undeniably true that both academics and the general public have a thirst for stories of resistance to the Nazi machine and that consequently a tremendous amount of media on the topic is produced every year. Historians increasingly endeavor to look at the ways in which Nazism impacted Europe through diverse lenses, continuing to examine stories of Jewish victimization in death camps but also analyzing the lives of non-Jewish people who were oppressed

by German fascism. Erika Rummel's book *Prison Elite* does just that by looking at the writings of the Austrian chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg, who was imprisoned by the Nazis after the 1938 *Anschluss*.

This book largely focuses on how Schuschnigg dealt with the conditions of his incarceration and the coping mechanisms he used to survive the experience. The author dives deep into the details of how he found comfort in religion, music, and books. She details how Schuschnigg was initially held in solitary confinement, although she also notes that he was allowed to marry and then receive visits from his new wife in this period. It is undeniable that Rummel has spent a great deal of time with Schuschnigg's writings, which form the core materials consulted for this text. The question this leaves us with is: what will we learn from this material? As she acknowledges, Kurt von Schuschnigg was not a typical prisoner and his treatment at the hands of his Nazi jailers was indeed exceptional. It does, in fact, make the reader wonder if his experiences were so unusual as to be unhelpful in understanding the functioning of the Nazi political machine. Most camp internees lived lives of terror and life-threatening deprivation, whereas Schuschnigg, by the time of his transfer to Sachsenhausen, lived in relative comfort with his family and many privileges. His experiences are somewhat comparable to those of French politician Leon Blum, who was also a VIP political prisoner of the Nazis, but Blum, as a Jewish Socialist, had the specter of the Holocaust hanging over his imprisonment. Is there value in a detailed examination of the imprisonment of a figure who had himself led a dictatorial, illiberal regime and who by all admissions fared well under Nazi incarceration? Additionally, because this text hangs so thoroughly on Schuschnigg's own writings we do not learn why his experiences were so singular. Why is it that the Nazis chose to imprison him rather than execute him? Why did they transfer him first from Vienna to Munich and then on to Sachsenhausen? Why was his family allowed to accompany him on that final move? These are just a few of the questions raised by this account but not answered in any meaningful way.

One of the challenges inherent in any examination of this period in Central European history is that Nazism's singular fixation on genocide colors our view of all other contemporary political movements. It is tempting to look at Austrofascism, the clerico-fascism of Slovakia, the nominal regency under Hungarian dictator Miklós Horthy, or any of the other radical right-wing governments to be found in this region in the 1930s and see them as benign compared with the incomparable evil taking power in Germany. As histori-

ans we must resist this urge, however. It is undeniably true that the genocide perpetrated against Europe's Jews by the Nazi regime was unique in its cruelty as well as its pervasiveness, but when we look at the Austrofascist government in isolation rather than in comparison, we see that it was a murderous movement in its own right. Anyone who is interested in the interwar history of Austria must acknowledge the 1934 Civil War as a violent turning point, after which the country was undoubtedly no longer a liberal democracy. Additionally, we need to increase our awareness of the state-sanctioned murders of political opponents, particularly Communists and Social Democrats, under the governments of both Engelbert Dollfuss and Schuschnigg. This is a history that has long been obscured by our focus on Austrofascism as a bulwark against the German-nationalist Nazi regime, and it is high time that we as historians turn our attention to the ways in which Austria's domestic fascist movement suppressed political dissent. This is all to say that, if we view Kurt von Schuschnigg as a victim of Nazism and use his writings as a window into life as a prisoner of that vile regime, then we must also understand his biases and how his interpretation of life within Sachsenhausen was colored by his opinions on his fellow inmates. To bring this line of thought back to Rummel's text, in her conclusion she tries to situate her work within the context of other writings on the life of Schuschnigg. In doing so she talks about how both before his arrest and after the postwar restoration of Austria, Socialists critiqued Schuschnigg as a dictator. She then goes on to say that none of those critiques invalidate her study because she is interested in how he coped with his incarceration. The questions remain: What is gained from reading this text? What does this examination of Schuschnigg teach us? It remains unclear who the intended audience for this book is and what greater conclusions about the tumultuous history of twentieth-century Central Europe we can make from this close reading of a tendentious figure in the absence of a deeper examination of his own role in the history of that period.

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Desiree Hebenstreit, *Die Zeitschrift "PLAN": Österreichischer Identitätskurs, individuelles und kollektives Gedächtnis in der Nachkriegszeit*. Schriften der Wiener Germanistik 7. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2022. 261 pp.

It was a long way from the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 and the onset of the first Austrian Republic, dubbed as the “state which no one wanted,” as Hellmut Andics titled his book on the first Austrian Republic, to the last decades of the twentieth century, when a solid national Austrian consciousness existed, one not shaken by the crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and its consequences for Austria, which lost its highly appreciated role as “neutral” mediator between the former blocs of East and West and found itself as merely one among many small European states.

Nothing illustrates the delicate situation of the new beginning in 1945 more than the activities of Karl Renner in the days before and after the end of World War II in reestablishing Austria, seven years after he had declared to vote for the *Anschluss* on April 10, 1938. It was probably thanks to his experience as politician that the turbulent weeks of late spring and early summer 1945 ended in a comparatively smooth outcome securing a new beginning.

Otto Basil, inspired by Karl Kraus’s *Fackel*, had edited three issues of his newly founded literary journal *PLAN* in 1938. When he revived the venture in October 1945—despite all the difficult circumstances—*PLAN* became one of the most important journals during its brief existence until early 1948. It contained articles of artists who had not been allowed to publish during the Nazi period and literary texts of young writers who only two decades later belonged to the best known in the German-speaking world. Basil made certain that the contributions were innovatively future-oriented, on the one hand, and that many of them discussed the tormenting question of how to deal with the horrible past, on the other.

Desiree Hebenstreit’s investigation of the journal *PLAN* focuses on its role as a platform for the discourse on Austrian identity. It is based on her thesis, published in 2015. Some chapters of the introduction are simply too short to take into consideration all the necessary aspects, such as the one on the discourse about an “Austrian identity and an Austrian nation,” which aroused controversy (not only among historians) in the middle of the nineteenth century that never vanished until 1938 and was resumed after World War II. Nonetheless, these sections of the book are well-written overviews.

The main part, however, is simply perfect. Hebenstreit thoroughly looks through all the issues concerning the central problem, starting with the editor Otto Basil, the members of the editorial department, including the indispensable editors Rudolf Geist and Theodor Kramer. Although Basil was most interested in the verbal form of literature and valued expressionism and surrealism above all, he included political topics as well. Questions were also raised about such issues as whether there were such things as specific aesthetic aspects or formal characteristics in “Austrian” literature.

In the first years of the reestablished republic, politicians as well as intellectuals from many different cultural circles felt an urgent need to create and promote a consciousness about the Austrian state and its culture on which partisans of the different political parties could agree. There were the agonizing problems of the status of those who had found a way to coexist with the National Socialist dictatorship during the previous seven years as well as the denazification of the numerous members of the former NSDAP.

In 1946 the Austrian government decided to support celebrations on the anniversary of the first mentioning of “Österreich,” which had been used 970 years earlier for the first time to denote a small territory located in today’s Lower Austria. In five of *PLAN*’s issues, contributions to the ongoing social-political discussions were published in a separate category entitled “Austriaca.”

In the following chapters of her book, Hebenstreit looks into the discussions about complicity with National Socialism, specifically the share of responsibility to be apportioned to literary specialist Josef Nadler and the writers Hans Carossa, Heimito von Doderer, Josef Weinheber, Karl Heinrich Waggerl, and Arnolt Bronnen. Another interesting section of the book focuses on the problem of whether “Austrian complicity” with National Socialism had existed and what the resulting consequences might be for an Austria accepting its share of responsibility for wartime actions.

A certain group of writers had remained in Nazi Germany and had withdrawn from political and cultural life to express their opposition. *PLAN* launched discussions about their attitude. All those who had gone into exile, however, were forced to decide after the war whether to return or not. No doubt this was a difficult decision for all concerned, and all of the relevant questions were reflected in the journal.

Finally, the horrible distress suffered by the Jews during the Nazi period was brought up in *PLAN* by Rudolf Geist and Johann Muschik and by Georg

Knepler and Bruno Frei. One article dealt with the late Alfred Wolfenstein; the Jewish poet Felix Gräfe, who had been executed because of conspiracy in 1942, was also remembered and one of his poems was printed.

To make a long story short, Desiree Hebenstreit's analysis of the *PLAN* in respect to an "Austrian consciousness" and all the problems during the first years of the post-Nazi period is an stellar piece of work and will serve as an essential contribution to further discussions.

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Mark H. Gelber, ed., *The Legacy of Ruth Klüger and the End of the Auschwitz Century*. Perspectives on Jewish Texts and Contexts 20. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022. 190 pp.

Ruth Klüger's death in 2020 dealt an enormous blow to the fields of German, Jewish, and Austrian Studies. Her passing was not only a tremendous loss for these scholarly communities but represents a larger, inevitable conundrum for scholarship on the Holocaust: the dying out of survivors with living memory of the travesty. *The Legacy of Ruth Klüger and the End of the Auschwitz Century* aims to serve both as a tribute to Klüger and her memory as well as a springboard for meditation on how to discuss the Holocaust once the remaining survivors are gone. The volume's contributors—Mark H. Gelber (who edited the volume), Sander L. Gilman, Heinrich Detering, Stephan Braese, Irène Heidelberger-Leonard, Ulrike Offenber, Monica Tempian, Daniel P. Reynolds, and Vera Schwarcz—offer a mix of hits and misses in achieving these goals. I will look at each contribution based on how well they (1) memorialize Klüger and (2) make a compelling argument, starting from the weakest.

Reynold's chapter, which should be the most important for grappling with the question of Holocaust memory, disappoints in its argumentation. Propping up cultural critic Theodor Adorno as a straw man because of his famous declaration of poetry as barbaric after Auschwitz, Reynolds wants to argue for Holocaust memorial tourism and seems to know of Adorno for his critique of mass culture. I am unsure, as Reynolds never cites Adorno and refers to Adorno's position out of context, with a quote from Klüger on what

she viewed as an authoritarian perspective from Adorno as Reynolds's closest engagement with Adorno. Reynolds conflates Adorno's well-known critique of mass culture with his metacritique of cultural criticism itself and the malleability of total ideology to include criticism of total ideology within that ideology. This conflation glibly undermines his reading of Klüger to support Holocaust tourism.

Gelber's contribution, built on a long-standing professional friendship with Klüger and an almost unrivaled knowledge of her writings, argues that she is a Zionist. For all the circumstantial evidence Gelber compiles, none of it is a direct statement from Klüger affirming this argument. Gelber openly admits to a degree of speculation and, when one considers Gelber's role as editor and that Klüger is no longer around to dispute his claim, the lack of a direct statement stands out like a sore thumb, weakening his position.

Gilman's contribution does not so much advance an argument beyond "Names matter" (10) as provide us with a historical sketch of two Jewish Germanists in America. The chapter moves us through the significance of names and the magic behind them throughout various texts in a style expected from Gilman, as he also traces his professional friendship with Klüger. However, Gilman also rebukes Adorno out of context and, in the absence of a more specific argument to be made, the personal insights into Gilman and Klüger's professional friendship are the only silver lining.

Comparative analyses by Tempian and Schwarcz offer readers fresh perspectives on Klüger and Holocaust writing. Tempian's chapter gives readers a comparative look at Holocaust children's poetry and, with Klüger's scholarly and personal perspectives in the background, shows readers that the children of the Holocaust processed and appreciated trauma of the Holocaust no differently than their adult counterparts. Schwarcz holds Klüger's poetry up against poems on ghosts and mourning in a way that shows some important transcendental qualities to Klüger's poetry, while still respecting historical specificities.

Braese and Detering focus on closer readings of Klüger's language. Braese claims that the German *weiter leben* serves as a "Miteinandersprechen" (47), a settling of accounts. This is to say that writing *weiter leben* in German was not only to keep her mother from reading her memoir but also to push against the sensitivities and comfort gentile German culture in 1992 had in discussing the Holocaust with survivors. Detering persuasively argues that *Spannung*, "a tension or suspense" (32), acts as the stylistic principle of Klüger's writing. This

principle, Detering shows us, is what continuously welcomes dialogue within Klüger's rhetoric and rejects intellectually static positioning.

Shining above the other chapters, Heidelberger-Leonard and Offen-berg do the best work in memorializing Klüger in her contexts. On a gradient scale ranging from the self-expressed Jewish hero against the villain Nazis in the work of Jean Améry to the equally self-expressed repugnant victim complicit in his own suffering in the work of Imre Kertész, many years of careful research and insights into studying Holocaust writing comes together succinctly in Heidelberger-Leonard's chapter. Heidelberger-Leonard situates Klüger between these two other authors to show us exactly where and how Klüger broke new ground and still carried on the needed genre of Holocaust writing. Offenberg's meditation on Klüger and the recitation of the Kaddish, a Jewish mourning prayer, shows us much of what other authors in this volume have individually contended but also urges us to consider how we will mourn and continue the work and legacy of Klüger in her account of Klüger's relationship to the prayer in question.

In closing, two final points require emphasis. First, Klüger's Austrian roots come up only twice in this volume: once in Gelber's chapter, as Vienna was a launchpad for intellectual Zionism, and once in Heidelberger-Leonard's chapter, where she summarizes Gelber's 2021 article in this journal about Klüger's Austrian roots. One will get more out of reading Gelber's article on Klüger and Austria than from this volume. Second and finally, this volume is a must-read, regardless of how well the chapters pay tribute to Klüger or advance their own arguments. The insights into Klüger's thought and the need for further discussion on Klüger's intellectual and creative endeavors demand engagement with this volume.

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Martin Kagel and David Z. Saltz, eds., *Open Wounds: Holocaust Theater and the Legacy of George Tabori*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2022. 200 pp.

Scholarship on the Hungarian-born Jewish playwright and director George Tabori (1914–2007) is gaining new momentum, especially under the impulse of Martin Kagel, professor of German literature and culture at the University

of Georgia. After the 2018 publication of a substantial special section on Tabori in *Nexus*, the essay series in German Jewish Studies, Kagel has now co-edited with David Z. Saltz the book *Open Wounds: Holocaust Theater and the Legacy of George Tabori*.

So far, Tabori scholarship has predominantly addressed the generic and ethical specificities of Tabori's interaction with Holocaust remembrance culture, focusing on his provocative grotesque humor and his radically intertextual rewriting of dramatic and theatrical conventions. In her opening essay, eminent Tabori scholar Anat Feinberg stresses the need to look at other aspects of Tabori's work as well. Feinberg herself gives the example of Tabori's often overlooked experimental directorial practice in the 1970s and 1980s in Bremen and Vienna.

Tracing Tabori's legacy means asking how the dramaturgical specificities of Tabori's work relate to theater and performance of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. At stake is first of all the embodied form of the survivor-witness so central to Tabori's dramaturgy. Several contributions tackle this question in a comparative approach. Alice Le Trionnaire-Bolterauer convincingly shows Tabori's connection with the newer avant-garde in confronting the physicality of Tabori's ritual dramaturgy with two theater performances by Israeli artists, *Arbeit Macht Frei vom Totland Europa* (1991) by the Israeli Akko Theatre and Yael Ronen's *Third Generation: Work in Progress* (2008). Rebecca Rovit reads the drama of Tabori's contemporary Charlotte Delbo and two playwrights of the succeeding generation, Yehoshua Sobol and Peter Barnes, through the lens of Tabori's work. Rovit carefully outlines the quite diverse dramaturgical means with which these authors address the question of theater as a space to bear witness. Johanna Öttl, in her comparative reading of Tabori's *The Cannibals* with Robert Schindel's drama *Dunkelstein* (2010), shows how we can read Tabori's embodied theater as a way to present victims as singular self-determined subjects, whereas Schindel shows how this self-determination has been reduced to a mere convention in melodramatic cinema.

Tabori's nonrealistic aesthetics, including his disturbing and grotesque humor, present a second and maybe even bigger challenge, especially when transposing his work to the formats of popular culture. Peter Höyng's contribution on Urs Odermatt's film adaptation (2009) of Tabori's *Mein Kampf* shows, though Höyng is careful not to voice too strong a judgment, how the film nullifies every aspect of Tabori's aesthetics. Ironically, it is the failed adap-

tation that retrospectively makes Tabori's dramatic "palimpsest" (157) stand out as the highly complex and provocatively grotesque work it is. Barbara Wallace Grossman's chapter on so-called Holocaust musicals asks whether they can provide an equivalent for Tabori's disturbing laughter. The answer is nuanced: melodramatic Broadway productions do not pass the test at all, whereas some more stylized productions do explore musical theater "as an appropriate genre for presenting Holocaust narratives" (182).

The challenges of a transcultural transposition in performance practice are touched upon by the director Laura Forti, who discusses the difficulties she faced when staging *The Cannibals* in Italy in 2002. Her contribution indirectly indicates how rewarding a more encompassing transnational investigation into Tabori's work could be, an approach that would reflect on how Tabori addresses the legacy of the Holocaust as a European one.

Other contributions adopt a more historiographical and genealogical perspective. Klaus van den Berg compares two quite diverse stagings by Tabori of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* in 1966 and 1978. Van den Berg reads them in relation with Walter Benjamin's thoughts on "image-space" and "performing space," an approach very well suited to trace the shift from a more straightforward Brechtian dramaturgy in the earlier production to the multilayered second performance that recovers the history of antisemitic experiences through reenactment and improvisation. Freddie Rokem gives the historiographical approach a self-reflexive twist in considering theater as a space where the reappearance of history is reflected. He exemplifies this in his outline of the reappearance of *Antigone* in work by Bertolt Brecht, Tabori, and René Pollesch, a line that performs a journey from tragedy to farce to slapstick, with each staging commenting on the performance tradition it reworks. Jack Davis broadens the genealogical approach even further by reading Pollesch's ecological and commemorative concern with animals and animality in *Cappuccetto Rosso* (2005) through the lens of the victim-perpetrator constellation in Tabori's theater. Interestingly, Davis shows how Pollesch's reworking of the Holocaust discourse on the human-animal relation omits the embodied performance, situating the reworking purely on the discursive level.

Both as a whole and in its individual contributions, the volume clearly succeeds in shedding new light on Tabori's theater and its legacy. It does so in a decidedly relational way. To a varying degree, the touchstone of all contributions does remain Tabori's work, while at the same time situating it in a

broad relation to theater history and newer performance practices or to adaptation history and trends in popularized Holocaust culture. This relational approach, conducted in comparative close readings, foregrounds Tabori's singularity through the exploration of its connectivity with newer issues and challenges in Holocaust theater and culture more broadly. Without exception, these explorations are illuminating, especially in regard to the contemporary performance scene and the shifting remembrance culture. But they also show how easily Tabori is misread. His legacy does remain a "fragile" one, as Peter Höyng concludes (157). This volume constitutes an important step in strengthening the reflection on exactly that fragility.

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Stefan Neuhaus, Hrsg., *In den Plural setzen. Marlene Streeruwitz und ihr dramatisches Werk*. Baden-Baden: Tectum, 2022. 230 S.

Der vorliegende Sammelband ist im Rahmen von Marlene Streeruwitz' Poetikdozentur an der Universität Koblenz-Metternich entstanden. Während die Vorlesungen an anderer Stelle veröffentlicht wurden, beinhaltet dieser Band die Transkriptionen von Stefan Neuhaus' Begrüßungsrede zur ersten von zwei Lesungen am Koblenzer Theater, die Teil der Dozentur waren, die Transkriptionen zweier in die Lesungen eingebetteter Gespräche zwischen Streeruwitz und dem Theaterintendanten, acht theoretische Beiträge, die sich mit dem dramatischen und poetologischen Werk der Autorin befassen, sowie abschließend ein Lesedramolett, eine von Hamburger Gymnasiasten kreierte und aufgeführte eigene Fassung von *Sloan Square*. Diese Zusammenstellung verfolgt das Ziel, so Herausgeber Stefan Neuhaus, zusätzliche Anstöße "für eine produktive Diskussion in der Literaturwissenschaft und in der interessierten Öffentlichkeit" zu geben (2). Leider ist es hier unmöglich, alle im Sammelband enthaltenen Einzelbeiträge ausführlich zu besprechen. Deshalb wird im Folgenden nur auf Schwerpunkte und herausragende Stärken bzw. Schwächen eingegangen.

Was den vorliegenden Band besonders auszeichnet, sind die Transkriptionen der Gespräche zwischen Marlene Streeruwitz und dem Theaterintendanten Markus Dietze. Beispielsweise geht die Autorin auf die

Entstehung des Textes *Reigenversuch* ein, nimmt Bezug auf ihre Romane *So ist die Welt geworden* und *Flammenwand* und erklärt, wie Theater als Medium einer Demokratisierung der Sprache dienlich sein kann, “die einschließt anstatt auszuschließen oder wegzuschieben” (34). Sowohl WissenschaftlerInnen, die sich schon intensiv mit Streeruwitz beschäftigt haben als auch LeserInnen, die einen Zugang zu ihrem Werk suchen, hat dieser Teil des Buches etwas zu bieten. Allerdings sei angemerkt, dass die eigentlichen Texte, um die sich die Gespräche zwischen Streeruwitz und Dietze drehen, fehlen. LeserInnen, die nicht anderweitig Zugang zu den Texten haben, werden sich daher schwertun, der Diskussion in allen Teilen zu folgen.

Der sich anschließende theoretische Teil konzentriert sich im Wesentlichen auf das Zusammenspiel von Sprache, Macht, und Geschlecht in Streeruwitz’ Werk. Alexander Draxl’s Beitrag geht der Frage nach, welche Funktion der Begriff des Schicksals in Streeruwitz’ Dramen *Elysian Park*, *Sloan Square*, *Dentro-Was bei Lears wirklich geschah*, *Waikiki-Beach*, *Ocean Drive*, *Bagnacavallo* und *New York New York* erfüllt und kommt zum Schluß, es handle sich dabei um “ein Deckwort der Gewalt” (57), der man nur entkommen kann, wenn man sich in die Freiheit des Plurals flüchtet.

Der Diskursmacht zu entkommen ist auch Thema von Johannes Waßmer’s Arbeit. Er argumentiert, wie Streeruwitz beispielsweise in ihren Dramen *Brahmsplatz*, *Sloan Square* und *Waikiki-Beach* “den Zwang, sich dem tradierten patriarchalen Diskurs zu fügen,” thematisiert (65). Einen Ausweg aus letzterem zeigt die Autorin auf, so Waßmer, indem sie ihn mit ihrer sprachlichen Dekonstruktion historisiert und es so ermöglicht, sich in eine Zeit jenseits des Zwangs zu retten.

Stefan Neuhaus beschäftigt sich in seinem Aufsatz ebenfalls mit Streeruwitz’ Ablehnung grammatikalischer Geordnetheit. Anders als Waßmer zeigt Neuhaus jedoch, wie die Autorin strukturellen Ungleichheiten in der Geschlechterpolitik unserer Gesellschaft durch Bedeutungsoffenheit in ihren Texten entgegenwirken will. Diese Bedeutungsoffenheit als Plurale könnten, so Neuhaus, die heutige binäre Geschlechterstruktur erweitern und zukünftig die Machtverhältnisse ändern—zumindest, wenn Streeruwitz’ Romane und Dramen von einem breiteren Publikum rezipiert und diskutiert würden. Hierin aber sieht er ein Problem, denn “wer nicht die Voraussetzungen zum Verständnis dekonstruktivistischer Konzepte mitbringt,” kann mit den Texten

wenig anfangen (94). Leider ist Neuhaus' Beitrag der einzige, der sich auch wirklich kritisch mit Streeruwitz und ihrem Werk auseinandersetzt.

Die Arbeiten von Elena Panzeter und Franziska Zinn diskutieren beide ausführlich Figuren aus *New York New York*. Während Panzeters Ausführungen vom emanzipatorischen Potenzial der Figur Frau Horvath handeln und zeigen, dass dieser Charakter nicht nur eine Entwicklung durchmacht, sondern auch eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit vorherrschenden Geschlechterungleichheiten anregt, argumentiert Zinn, dass besonders die Figur der Hure Lulu auf gesellschaftliche Missstände aufmerksam machen und zur Reflexion anregen will. Was in Zinns Beitrag allerdings verwundert, ist ihr Hinweis darauf, dass Streeruwitz oft auf historische und fiktionale Figuren zurückgreift, in ihrer Diskussion von Lulu aber mit keinem Wort Frank Wedekinds Figur erwähnt, zu der es zahlreiche Parallelen gibt.

Yann Breunigs Untersuchung widmet sich dem "Stück *Waikiki-Beach* im Hinblick auf den hier dargestellten Kampf gegen das Patriarchat" (173) und belegt anhand zahlreicher Beispiele, inwiefern das Werk Merkmale postdramatischer Stücke aufweist und die feministische Einstellung der Autorin widerspiegelt. Dies alles ist gut dokumentiert, aber ähnlich wie bei Zinn, vermisst man wirklich neue wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse, was sich jedoch vielleicht dadurch erklären lässt, dass hier "Arbeiten von Studierenden neben Aufsätzen von Dozent*innen stehen" (2). Das funktioniert nicht immer, aber manchmal sogar gut, wie im Fall von Lena Becker, die in ihrer gelungenen Arbeit erörtert, wie Streeruwitz Sprache nutzt, um den Nationalsozialismus in ihren Stücken *Tomezzo* und *Brahmsplatz* zu thematisieren und so gegen dessen Vergessen zu schreiben, obwohl die Gesellschaft anscheinend kein Interesse an diesen Erinnerungen hat, weil sie zu sehr schmerzen.

Von "Macht ausgelöste Schmerzerfahrungen" werden auch von Nishant K. Narayanan als zentraler Punkt in Streeruwitz' Werk identifiziert (130), wobei sich dieser Artikel in seiner Analyse als erfrischender Gegensatz zu den anderen jedoch mehr auf ihre Peotikvorlesungen und Interviews als ihren Dramen stützt. Einen gelungenen Abschluss des Bandes stellt dann das abgedruckte Lesedramolett der Schüler dar, in dem es den Bogen der Theorie zurück zum Theater spannt.

Kollegen, die sich schon intensiv mit der Autorin auseinandergesetzt haben, dürften in diesem Band wenig neue Erkenntnisse gewinnen. Empfehlenswert ist dieses Buch aber für Einsteiger, die Streeruwitz' Werk und Grundlagen der Diskursanalyse kennenlernen möchten und zukünftig

vielleicht noch mehr neue Impulse für eine produktive Diskussion mit Streeruwitz' Œuvre liefern könnten.

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Markus Barnay and Andreas Rudigier, eds., *Vorarlberg: ein making-of in 50 Szenen—Objekte/Geschichte/Ausstellungspraxis*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022. 313 pp.

Most Americans probably don't know that Vorarlberg is the smallest of the nine states that make up Austria. Nestled against Switzerland and Germany in the very west of Austria, Vorarlberg is highly industrialized and very entrepreneurial. Its people have a reputation of being hard-working and frugal. Vorarlbergers are separated from the Tyrol through the Arlberg pass and far removed from Vienna; they are suspicious of centralism.

Markus Barnay and Andreas Rudigier's edited volume *Vorarlberg* is about the remaking of the Vorarlberg Museum in Bregenz. In 2011 a team of experts/curators were given the task by Rudigier, as the museum's new director, of coming up with a new exhibit on the entire 4th floor of the rebuilt facility, to be opened in 2013, with a relaunch in 2015 (294). The concept they came up with, and this is what this book is about, was the "making-of" Vorarlberg in 50 scenes. Accompanying the remaking of the museum exhibits was a public program on Friday evenings (*Freitags um 5*), discussing the history(-ies) of Vorarlberg with the public at large (292). What was exhibited in the new galleries were objects from the museum's collections as well as many loaned ones. The new museum won all kinds of Austrian and European prizes. The book features four main parts, called "episodes." It also features feedback from exhibit visitors from "wonderful" and "extraordinary" to "boring" and "a house full of banalities" (280–83).

Episode A is dedicated to the theme "Wer bestimmt über mich." The twelve scenes go back in history to the original borders of Vorarlberg, the Counts of Montfort, and Habsburg control. But these scenes also cover foreign occupations like the Bavarian one during the time of Napoleon and the French one after World War II. There is also the intriguing scene of a potential "Anschluss" to Switzerland after World War I (68–73), where the distin-

gished regional historian Meinrad Pichler portrays Ferdinand Riedmann, a teacher and propagandist for joining Switzerland.

Episode B, “Was mache ich hier?,” is dedicated to largely economic topics. Ingrid Böhler, a contemporary historian at the University of Innsbruck, sets the scenes with an essay about industrialization and migration (98–101). Scene 13 is dedicated to baroque-era construction workers, who seasonally migrated from the Bregenzerwald to build churches and monasteries from Switzerland to Southern Germany to Alsace. Scene 14 is set with the *Schwabenkinder*, children who migrated seasonally to Southern Germany to work as cheap farm labor. Additional scenes deal with industrial exploitation of working children, the Alpine cheese industry, the Alpine hydroelectric industry, and the advent of tourism as well as the rise of the Doppelmayr family business, as the world’s premier builder of ski lifts.

Episode C confronts the identity issue “Wer bin ich?” This part of the book deconstructs Vorarlberg myths. Marcus Barnay, a well-known regional historian, deconstructs the notion that Vorarlbergers originate from the South German tribe of Alemannen and that they have their own mentality (“hard working and frugal”; 162–65). Mathias Moosbrugger thoroughly deconstructs the myth of the *ur*-democratic “peasant republic” of the “Hintere Bregenzerwald” with their own parliament and a freely elected *Landammann* (186). Scene 32 deals with the unique local dialect, very popular among young people (my niece is an artist whose pictures are all about odd sayings in the local dialect). Vorarlberg developed its first institutions in the nineteenth century and became one of the nine Austrian states in 1918 (before some wanted to be part of Switzerland). After World War II Vorarlbergers increasingly called their region “Ländle”: Scene 37 (Christian Schützing) deconstructs Ländle-dwellers not taking Vorarlberg seriously with such a diminutive term, creating associations of “provincial, lazy, and well-meaning” (212).

Episode D deals with belonging (“Gehöre ich dazu?”). Eva Grabher starts this section with the longest introductory essay in the book, analyzing the construction of the only Muslim cemetery in Vorarlberg in the village of Altach (216–25). Vorarlberg experienced many immigration movements; for the past forty years Muslims from Turkey have come in large numbers. Is Vorarlberg their *Heimat*? “Heimat is dort, wo man gerne die letzte Ruhe finden möchte,” she quotes the leader of Austrian Muslims. While the first gener-

ation of immigrants prefers to be buried in Turkey, their children don't know Turkey and would rather be buried in Altach. They are finding their "emotional integration" (219) in Vorarlberg. Scenes 40 and 41 deal with the difficult integration of Protestants in predominantly Catholic Vorarlberg. Scene 42 deals with the Jewish community of Hohenems, wiped out by National Socialism during World War II. The 1968 generation had a hard time fitting in (Scene 45), as did the "Gastarbeiter," the guest workers who arrived from Turkey and Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s. Scene 47 deals with the issue of wearing national costumes ("Trachten"), initially for touristic purposes but increasingly out of pride. Peter Melichar deconstructs the elusive yet never implemented administrative directive by the deputy governor (and former Nazi) Elmar Grabher, giving preference to Vorarlbergers ("Alemannenerlass," Scene 44; 258–60).

In the final pages of this book the curators of this "Kernaustellung" battle with the notion how to design an exhibit that is not permanent but changing, in other words a "Wandelaustellung"; see the thoughtful e-mail exchange between the project coordinator Markus Barnay and the Swiss curator Beat Gugger (287). Clearly, their far-reaching ponderings indicate that the Vorarlberg Museum has the potential to be a model regional museum.

This is a beautifully illustrated book full of intriguing objects (the tooth of a mammoth, 170; the snowboard of Susanne Moll in her *Tracht*, 267) and remarkable biographies of less well-known Vorarlbergers (next to Riedmann, the textile entrepreneur and scholar John Sholto Douglas, 177; Paul Grüninger, the Swiss border guard who helped refugees during World War II, 251; and Auschwitz survivor Maria Sromberger, 261).

As a native of Vorarlberg myself, I love the intriguing playfulness of this book. Not having seen the exhibit documented in this book, I can still get an excellent idea of its construction and deconstruction of identities suggested in these pages and can't wait to see it. I don't like the English in the subtitle "making-of"—why not call it "Eine Darstellung in 50 Szenen"?

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Simon Ganahl, *Campus Medius: Digitales Kartografieren in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften/Digital Mapping in Cultural and Media Studies*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022. 360 pp.

The last decade witnessed the rise of Digital Humanities, a transdisciplinary research practice that seeks to apply new digital tools, techniques, and modes of scholarship to classic fields of research in the humanities. Funded projects have increasingly aimed at generating large and processable databases (e.g., linguistic corpora) and at making available and improving online editions and annotations of books or archival documents. Researchers in the DH were confronted with the importance and difficulty of, on the one hand, tying their investigations in with the multi-medial web culture and, on the other hand, ensuring the long-term storage and accessibility of scans and encoded data. Their goal was to remain independent of temporary (software) fashions. This was the impetus to the foundation of scientific alliances, such as the Austrian “Kompetenznetzwerk Digitale Edition” (KONDE, www.digitale-edition.at), in order to strengthen the exchange between projects of similar digital interests. While the opportunity presented by this development to bring about some urgent structural changes in the academic landscape was, unfortunately, missed and many technical parameters are still open (such as a stable interconnectivity between *back end* [server] and the *front end* [web browser] or the data processibility between various projects), nevertheless the awareness of living in a digital age entered into the main academic discourses and, contrary to some doom-laden scenarios, there are indeed important research gains arising from the digital turn that should not be ignored.

The digital mapping project *Campus Medius*, initiated, curated, and edited by Simon Ganahl, should perhaps be approached in this sense: that during these ten years, it remained on the periphery of DH’s institutionalization process and tried independently to make the most of the new digital opportunities—and succeeded in doing so throughout. A key factor in the project’s exemplary intersection of concept and technical implementation is its strong theoretical background, which avoids current gestures toward the somewhat neglectful abandonment of influential theoretical strands that has taken place in recent decades. In contrast, Ganahl tried to make some of these theories productive with the help of innovative hypertext and visual strategies.

Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of "chronotope," the Foucauldian-Deleuzian concept of "dispositif," and Bruno Latour's Actor-network theory are all used specifically to shape the way in which a rich selection of historical sources is presented in *Campus Medius*, according to the logic of information processing and with methods drawn from digital cartography. By pursuing "The database is the theory" (36) as a motto, the project demonstrates the importance of elementary information management work to properly trace the relational patterns of perceptions of space, time, and value. The book takes a time-space of twenty-four hours in Vienna in May 1933, marked by the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" organized by the Austrofascist regime in power as an "empirical laboratory."

Campus Medius tried to catch and reflect the "medial atmosphere" and narrativity of this very "chronotope" by concentrating on fifteen selected events and following a multi-perspective narrative technique. One quickly recognizes that *media experience* is at the heart of the project (44–52), with "reading" being only one practice among others, following Ganahl's thesis that "having a media experience in modern society essentially means using reason in sovereign signs, capturing life in examining gazes, or speaking up in governed transmission" (28–29). In the topological sections of the project, it not only reflects upon the networks of sovereign signs, gazes, and voices, which were manifested in the 1933 mass events, but ultimately also offers a media-archaeological perspective on different strands of power and knowledge spanning from the seventeenth century up to the present day. In this way, well-known places such as the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, the Burgtheater, or the Karl Marx-Hof, as well as media institutions like the national broadcasting company RAVAG, the cinema UFA Ton Kino, or the newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* are analyzed regarding their function in providing the setting of the agitations and counter-agitations that occurred during the "Turks Deliverance Celebration."

The results of the "experimental arrangement" are now documented in hybrid form: on the *Campus Medius* website (campusmedius.net), version 2.0, launched in April 2021 (software developed by Andreas Krimbacher et al.), and in the corresponding book—Ganahl's habilitation thesis at the Department of Philological and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna, which was published in both a German and an English version and is available in open access via the website of the publisher. Skimming the book for the first time, one quickly recognizes its transmedial character. However, it is

not so much the hypertextual character of the book that makes it both an animating and educational experience but its graphic design, which results in a unique convergence of the text sections, images, maps, diagrams, and icons (designed in reference to Otto Neurath's concept of ISOTYPE by Susanne Kiesenhofer et al.).

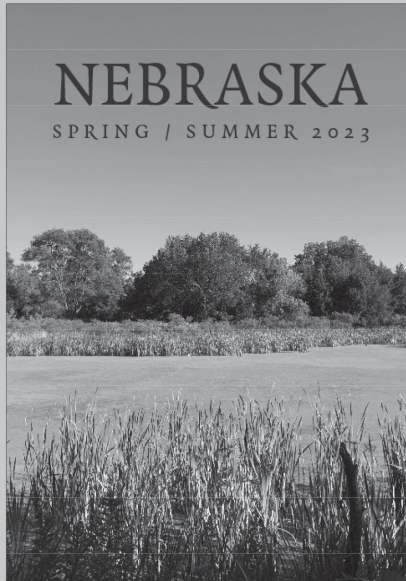
Having oriented oneself between the beginning of the book, the project description, and its end, a reference to Herman Melville's "Bartleby, the Scrivener" as an antagonist to modern communication habits, the reader/user encounters a fascinating panorama of Austrian cultural history between the wars. One is given a vivid impression of the explosive amalgam that was concentrated in the capital of an unstable republic and of how not just the Austrians but modern people in general had become medially conditioned in multiple ways. At some points, however, I would have expected more detailed information, e.g., concerning the importance of Karl Kraus's *Third Walpurgis Night* for the project or contemporary literary and artistic circles, and I cannot quite help feeling that the reader/user should have been rewarded with a proper conclusion. This expectation of closing remarks may be due to my own media conditioning.

Overall, *Campus Medius* offers a stimulating new approach to Austrian Studies and a very high level of fruitful theoretical insights and reflection. The project demonstrates the great potential of independent digital research in the humanities: We need more of this.

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