

Book Reviews

Wellbery, David E., editor-in-chief. Judith Ryan, general ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Anton Kaes, Joseph Leo Koerner, Dorothea E. von Mücke, eds. *A New History of German Literature*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004. 1004 pp. \$45.00 hardcover.

Auf den ersten Blick möchte man aufstöhnen, nicht schon wieder eine deutsche Literaturgeschichte, als ob der Markt nicht längst damit gesättigt wäre! Dieser mächtige Band beansprucht freilich, die gesamte deutsche Literaturgeschichte abzudecken, erstreckt sich also auf 975 Seiten von den Jahren 744 (Zaubersprüche) bis 2001 (W. G. Sebalds *Austerlitz*). Außerdem verfolgt der Herausgeber, der entscheidend von Judith Ryan, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Anton Kaes, Joseph Leo Koerner und Dorothea E. von Mücke unterstützt wurde, eine neue Konzeption, die faszinierend wirkt, zugleich aber auch Probleme aufwirft. Anstatt sich nach Epochen, Gattungen, Dichtergruppen oder -schulen zu richten, ist dieser Band nach historischen Daten orientiert, auch wenn diese manchmal nicht so präzise zu bestimmen sind oder einen längeren Zeitraum umfassen. Es soll also, erstaunlich, vielleicht aber auch erfrischend traditionell gedacht, die historische Dimension erneut in die Literaturwissenschaft integriert werden, wobei allerdings nicht bloß der geschichtliche Hintergrund ausgeleuchtet, sondern der literarische Text als Reflex sozialer, politischer, religiöser u.a. Entwicklungen beschrieben wird. Wellbery erklärt seinen Ansatz damit, dass zwar auch das wissenschaftliche bzw. studentische Publikum angesprochen werden soll, diese Literaturgeschichte sich aber primär an den generellen, wenngleich gebildeten Leser wendet. Von daher erscheint es sinnvoll, *Reinhart Fuchs* als Ausdruck der höfischen Korruption, das *Nibelungenlied* als Spiegel der politischen Übergangsphase von der heroischen, gewaltbestimmten Welt zur höfischen Kultur, Hans von Stadens Reisebeschreibung als Reflex der Eroberung Südamerikas, Kleists Werke insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit dem Guerillakrieg gegen Napoleon, Raabes *Stopfleuchen* als Protest gegen den deutschen Kolonialismus etc. zu deuten. Nur z. T. haben jedoch die einzelnen Autoren ihre Interpretationen stringent nach einer historischen Schiene ausgerichtet, und vielmals handelt es sich—notgedrungen—um relativ schlichte Inhaltszusammenfassungen mitsamt knappen Deutungen. Sowohl das 13. und 14. als auch das 16. und frühe 17. Jahrhundert sind nicht genügend berücksichtigt worden und nur durch relativ wenige Dichter vertreten. Dafür stößt man öfters auf Beiträge, die sprach- und kulturhistorische Aspekte berücksichtigen, womit der weitere Kontext in den Blick gerät und der Leser die Möglichkeit besitzt, Informationen auch über nichtfiktionale Texte bzw. Ereignisse zu erhalten (z.B. Chroniken, mystische Berichte, technische Entwicklungen [Buchdruck], philosophische Auseinandersetzungen, pädagogische Fragen, Opern, Filme, Kunstausstellungen, der Historikerstreit etc.).

Priorität scheint letztlich der historische Werdegang der deutschen Kultur zu haben, wofür die literarischen Werke als Zeugen einstehen sollen. Gerade für die Moderne wirkt dieses Modell sehr überzeugend, vor allem weil das 20. Jahrhundert sehr dicht behandelt wird (ein Text fast für jedes Jahr), während die älteren Epochen insgesamt schlechter bedient sind. Einerseits werden oftmals geradezu beliebige Daten gewählt, andererseits entdeckt man z.T. erschreckende Lücken (zwar das *Nibelungenlied*, nicht jedoch *Diu Klage* und *Kudrun* [abgesehen von namentlicher Erwähnung]) und gewinnt dort der historische, politische und soziale Hintergrund nicht den gleichen Stellenwert wie besonders die Zeit nach den napoleonischen Kriegen.

Dennoch erweist sich diese Literaturgeschichte als zündend, reizt ständig zum Weiterlesen, macht neugierig auf Querverbindungen und deckt Beziehungen auf, die eindrucksvoll die tatsächliche Bedeutung der deutschen Dichtung und Kultur seit dem Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart dem englischsprachigen Leser nahebringt. Jeder Beitrag beginnt mit einem Datum, gefolgt von einem erklärenden Satz, dann von einer Art Überschrift, die aber meistens eher verschleiern denn erhellend wirkt. Die Autoren bemühen sich eindrucksvoll, den jeweiligen Text literarhistorisch einzubinden, aber speziell in der Vormoderne gerät dies gelegentlich zu einem Ratespiel (*Fortunatus*, gedruckt 1509, wird in seiner handschriftlichen Fassung ohne weiteres auf 1478 festgelegt), und am Ende verweisen sie sogar auf andere Einträge, die für das spezielle Thema Relevanz besitzen. Den Abschluss bildet stets eine knappe Bibliografie, die freilich oftmals sehr unterschiedlichen Wert besitzt. Das Inhaltsverzeichnis berücksichtigt fast ausschließlich die historischen Daten und die Namen der Beiträge, während die Namen der Dichter bzw. die Werktitel weitgehend ausgespart bleiben. Um fündig zu werden, falls man nicht das genaue Datum kennt, muss man also stets auf den Index zurückgreifen.

Wenngleich die getroffene Auswahl im Wesentlichen den etablierten Kanon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte umfasst, wären doch häufiger andere oder zusätzliche Dichter zur Berücksichtigung gewesen. Unverständlich, wieso solche Namen bzw. Texte wie Frau Ava, Michel Behaim, Charitas Pirckheimer, Gertrud die Große, Luise Gottsched, Friedrich Hagedorn, Hugo von Montfort, Anna Luisa Karsch, Elisabeth Charlotte von der Pfalz, Sophie Mereau, der anonym überlieferte *Mauritius von Craûn*, Nelly Sachs, Bernhard Schlink, Heinrich Seuse, Patrick Süskind, Thüring von Ringoltingen, Christian Vulpius, Georg Weerth, Peter Weiss' *Ästhetik des Widerstands*, Heinrich Wittenwiler etc. fehlen. Andererseits ist unverhohlen anzuerkennen, dass es sich bei den Beiträgen keineswegs um schlichte biografisch-interpretative Abrisse handelt, sondern meistens um eigenständige, klug durchdachte Analysen, die erheblich mehr an Aussagekraft besitzen als man dies von vergleichbaren Literaturgeschichten gewohnt ist. Mit Zustimmung konstatiert man, dass auch jiddische Werke wie die Lieder im Cambridge Codex, Autoren wie Glikl von Hameln und Salomon Maimon, dazu einige türkisch-deutsche Autoren wie Emine Sevgi Özdamar berücksichtigt wurden, hingegen vermisst man dafür solche Namen wie André Kaminski und Rafael Seligmann. Zugestanden, eine Auswahl musste getroffen werden, aber die Rolle von Autorinnen hätte doch stärker berücksichtigt werden sollen. Hingegen kann man dem Herausgeber nur dafür danken, mit seinem kultur- und philosophiehistorischen Ansatz einen sehr ernstzunehmenden Versuch unternommen zu haben, die deutsche Literaturgeschichte aus dem Prokrustesbett des bisherigen Kanons gehoben und sie außerordentlich interessant

gerade für den Nichtexperten gemacht zu haben. Dass sich etwas tut in German Studies bestätigt auch die erstrangige Garnitur von Beiträgern, die mit ihren eigenständig konzipierten Essays faszinierende Schlaglichter auf die von ihnen behandelten Werke werfen.

ALBRECHT CLASSEN
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Medieval Literature and Culture

Classen, Albrecht. *Late-Medieval German Women's Poetry: Secular and Religious Songs*. Translated from the German with Introduction, Notes and Interpretive Essay. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004. 157 pp. \$65.00 hardcover.

In his text, Classen makes several calls for an expansion of the canon of medieval women writers. He contributes to this task by expanding the scope of medieval German literature beyond the so-called *Blütezeit* into the later medieval period of the 15th and 16th centuries. In his examination of secular songbooks (*Völkliedbücher*) and collections of religious songs (*Kirchenlieder*), Classen claims to have found evidence for a continuing female contribution to medieval German literature.

In his introductory essay, Classen discusses the current level of scholarship on medieval women writers as well as recent research by feminist medievalists, and provides an introduction to the texts. The 34 secular and 13 religious poems are grouped separately by manuscript or early print source, and are followed by an interpretive essay.

Although written in the female voice and generally found in manuscripts composed for or collected by a female reader, all of the authors of the secular poems remain anonymous to both their medieval and modern readers. This requires of the modern scholar the extremely difficult task of interpreting authorial gender from a limited number of stanzas. Within Middle High German lyrics, this conundrum is compounded by the tradition of *Frauenlieder*, that is, men composing songs in women's voice. Indeed, Classen determines within his interpretive essay that a number of the poems he includes were probably written by men, such as those which appear within the tradition of cleric versus merchant as lovers, the anti-monastic song, and those which include fairly explicit sexual references. The criteria for determining whether a song was composed by a woman appear to be "references to woman's concern," "aggressive criticism" of or bitterness towards the disloyal male lover, "discomfort" on the part of a male poet singing "such passionate expressions," and references to woman's marital ideals and/or pregnancy. As only one-third of the songs are discussed in the interpretive essay, and because the criteria for determining female authorship are vague, the burden of interpretation is placed upon the reader.

With regard to these secular songs, skepticism remains about an effort which is based upon such short texts and which evinces the scholar's own biases as to what a medieval man or woman would be comfortable in uttering. Comparing the numerous

anonymous female speakers with the *Frauenlieder* of Reinmar remains unproductive, as this is a comparison of a corpus of texts (Reinmar's) with a number of random texts, none of which are grouped together in the manuscripts, which might indicate a scribal identification of a single author. Neither do they show similarities of stanzaic structure, syntax, or narrative persona; they remain poems spoken or sung in the female voice.

Unlike the secular poems, the religious songs all have textual and historical evidence of female authorship. Classen makes his greatest contribution to the recovery of medieval women writers here. In the interpretation of these texts, Classen writes a thoughtful discussion about the difficulties in determining authorship, even when textually attested, due to the biases of past centuries of scholarship. He also briefly discusses the problem of content, as only a few of these texts reveal a highly gendered viewpoint.

Classen's desire to link these religious songs to mysticism, however, falls short: like the poems of Frau Ava, these songs reveal the authors' intimate knowledge of the bible, as they rework imagery from the Psalms, the books of Lamentations, Proverbs, and the minor prophets. The direct addresses to the divine, which Classen interprets as evidence of a direct (mystical) connection with the Godhead, reveal a deep religiosity on the part of the author, but not a mystical experience. However, as evidence of women's non-mystical religious experience, these songs expand our knowledge of medieval and early modern women's religious beliefs, and Classen's recovery of these texts should be applauded on those lines.

The volume concludes with an annotated bibliography which provides helpful information about the primary literature, provenance, types of texts, production history, and the major secondary studies on medieval women writers. However, fully half of the secondary literature cited in the footnotes is not included, causing the appearance that rather less scholarship has been done on medieval women writers than is actually the case. It also becomes difficult to find studies on individual authors or topics within the text, as neither the bibliography nor the index include all such references. The footnotes, bibliography, and index also contain a number of errors, some minor, some egregious.

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Independent Scholar

Fasbender, Christoph, ed. *Nibelungenlied und Nibelungenklage. Neue Wege der Forschung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgemeinschaft, 2005. 237 pp. €34.90 hardcover.

Hochwillkommen ist der Band, weil in der Tat in den letzten 25 Jahren "neue Wege der Forschung" zu *Nibelungenlied* und *Klage* beschritten wurden; die Auswahl der Aufsätze repräsentiert diese weitgehend angemessen. Die Einleitung von Christoph Fasbender gibt als Orientierung die beiden Extreme vom Verständnis des Nibelungene-pikers vor: "Schalten" mit der Sagentradition oder "Verwalten" derselben. Für erstere stehen v.a. die Beiträge von Walter Haug (1987), Peter Strohschneider (1997) und Jan-Dirk Müller (2001). Die Bedeutung der Sagentradition für die Interpretation des

Liedes wird ganz unterschiedlich gesehen: als notwendige Folie oder als ausdrücklich nicht zu beachtende Dimension, da die Rekonstruktion der Sage mit zu viel Unsicherheiten und Willkürlichkeiten behaftet ist (Müller). Haug öffnet einen weiten intertextuellen Verständnishorizont, vor dem die Modernität des Nibelungenliedes deutlich wird: verschiedene Erzählmuster aus der nibelungischen und heldenepischen Tradition, dem Brautwerbungsschema und dem höfischen Roman werden "montiert" und damit dekonstruiert. Der Text experimentiert auf beispiellose Weise mit Subjektivität. Fritz Peter Knapp (1987) sieht das Nibelungenlied vor dem Hintergrund der antiken Dichtung, die das Verständnis als *tragedia* vorgab und damit die Verschriftlichung des Nibelungenliedes ermöglichte. Jan-Dirk Müller stellt das Lied vor den Horizont des kulturellen Kontextes und der Gattung und betrachtet das Überschießende: den Sog der Katastrophe und seine "Spielregeln" als einen "Problematisierungsversuch" sondern gleich. Peter Strohschneider geht radikal textimmanent vor und deutet in faszinierender Stringenz den 1. Teil als strukturelle Konstruktionen von Superiorität und Hegemonie mit Hilfe u.a. des Brautwerbungsschemas. Während bei diesen Interpreten die Akzente auf der Konstruktionsleistung des Epikers um 1200 liegen, der im souveränen Umgang mit der Sage eine bewußt brüchige *conjointure* geschaffen habe, vertritt v.a. Joachim Heinzle die Gegenposition, den Zwang zur Integration des Sagenmaterials, der zu Notlösungen geführt hat, die nicht "interpretierbar" sind. Wichtig wird neben dieser Produktionsebene die der Rezeption in der Einbeziehung der (fast immer im Überlieferungsverbund des Liedes stehenden) *Klage* als Verständnisgenerator. Michael Curschmann problematisiert in seinem klassischen Aufsatz die übliche Abfolge und -experimentiert mit der Annahme, die *Klage* könne älter sein, um die spezifische Situation der Verschriftlichung im Kontext der höfischen Literatur zu erhellen. Nikolaus Henkel (1999) nimmt eine Extremposition ein: "nur" in diesem Kontext sei das Nibelungenlied zu verstehen. Einzelaspekten sind die Beiträge von Ursula Schulze (1997) und Cordula Kropik (2005) gewidmet. Schulze untersucht die sozialhistorischen Grundlagen der Terminologie bei Ständeslüge und im Frauenstreit und kommt zur Revision gängiger Meinungen. Kropik beschäftigt sich mit dem Frauenstreit und den Empfangsszenen am Etzelhof und sieht das bewußte Arbeiten mit Erzählvarianten; eine eingehendere Auseinandersetzung mit der Forschung bleibt hier Desiderat. Die Aufnahme des Beitrags erscheint daher als nicht recht verständlich. Alle Abhandlungen setzen die schriftliterarische Produktion der überlieferten Text mehr oder weniger unreflektiert voraus, den Einspruch, den Harald Haferland in seinem Buch (*Mündlichkeit, Gedächtnis und Medialität*, 2004) und in Aufsätzen erhoben hat, hätte ich gern in diesem Band dokumentiert gesehen. Auch Untersuchungen zu Autor/Erzähler und stilistischen Fragen fehlen. Die Auswahl konzentriert sich auf die "Klassiker." Die Anordnung ist allerdings nicht recht einsichtig; Heinzles Beitrag hätte wegen seiner luziden Darstellung des Forschungsstandes einen guten Einstieg geboten. Insgesamt handelt es sich um eine etwas eng begrenzte, aber insgesamt sinnvolle Auswahl.

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Hafner, Susanne. *Maskulinität in der höfischen Erzählliteratur.* Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2004. 209 pp. €32.20 paperback.

With this book, Susanne Hafner has made a valuable contribution both to Medieval German Studies and to Gender Studies. She has done so in the best tradition of scholarship by building upon the work of generations of scholars, augmenting and extending their work through beneficial criticism while providing well-documented and convincingly argued new insights. Her study of masculinity in courtly narrative derives a useful working definition of what constitutes the “masculine” by considering salient articles on Gottfried’s *Tristan* from Rüdiger Krohn (1978), C. Stephen Jaeger (1989), and James Schultz (1997). Hafner premises her inquiry on an insight from Schultz that sexual identity is contingent not upon the subject, but rather the object of love. She remarks: “Wen er liebt, macht den Mann zum Mann. Als Auswahlkriterium hierbei diene die fehlgeleitete *libido*: Die Liebe zum *falschen* Objekt” (21) and structures her study around the *gendering* of protagonists who fulfill this criterion. Following perfunctory comments on Gottfried’s *Tristan* as a methodological point of departure, she exemplifies and refines the definition of masculinity in four complementary chapters.

In the first of these, “Eneas und Sodomie,” Hafner aptly chooses a comparative approach by looking first at Virgil’s *Aeneas*, then the *Roman d’Eneas*, and finally Heinrich von Veldeke’s *Eneasroman*. She approaches the definition of masculinity with subtlety and an impressive command of a wide range of scholarship on Latin antiquity, medieval theological perspectives, and Romance and Germanic medieval studies. Hafner insightfully inquires why “Sodomie” should play such an essential role in the Eneas narrative tradition and concludes: “Die Bedeutsamkeit des Sodomievorwurfs als Verstoß gegen das Reproduktionsdispositiv wird in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters besonders deutlich” (65). Accordingly, Veldeke lends historical contour and authority to his Eneas narrative by positioning it within the historical context of his time—the rise of a new dynasty in Friedrichs I. Barbarossa (73–74). Hafner thus shows the significance of *gendering* as legitimizing Veldeke’s narrative representation of Eneas’s masculinity.

Next, Hafner turns to the Gregorius tradition and its medieval representations in regard to incest, especially in Hartmann’s *Gregorius* as “guoter sūndaere” and Arnold von Lübeck’s *Gesta Gregorii Peccatoris*. While differentiating the brother/sister incest as “geschlechtsspezifisch,” Hafner views the mother/son incest “ganz im Sinne einer herkömmlichen höfischen Brautwerbung geschildert, die die Ehe vorrangig als Instrument zur Sicherung von Herrschaft versteht und in der Mutter und Sohn die ihnen zugewiesenen Rollen fatal vorbildhaft ausfüllen” (77). She demonstrates convincingly how Hartmann’s version is unique among *Gregorius* narratives by virtue of its re-definition of mother and son as children of God with a joint future in holiness, before which secular family relations, hierarchical, and political concerns pale.

Hafner continues her study of masculinity and its narrative *gendering* by examining another work of Hartmann under the rubric: “Iwein und der Wahnsinn.” She looks first at Laudine’s motivation for marriage before considering Iwein’s motivation for love: “Bedeutsam ist dabei nicht nur das Beharren Laudines auf ihrem Recht nach freier Gattenwahl, sondern auch die Aufwertung der Frauenfigur zur Landesherrin” (120). Laudine does not marry out of love as does Iwein who is captivated by her physical

beauty; rather, she marries to demonstrate her “weibliche güete” as queen by marrying appropriately, i.e., to become defined “als Frau eines Königs” who can deliver all a king must provide (121). In her examination of Iwein’s madness, Hafner consults scholarship not only in Medieval German Studies, but also Medieval French and Middle English Studies. She accurately determines Iwein’s gendered masculine perspective by observing: “Während Frau und Schönheit dem Mann zur Gefahr werden können, läßt sich der neu erworbene Reichtum vorteilhaft verwenden. Muß jedoch eine Wahl getroffen werden, so Gawein, dann ist es besser, auf beides zu verzichten als in Schande zu leben. Wie schon der bereits erwähnte Wunsch Laudines, Ehe und Herrschaft doch trennen zu können, ist auch diese Diskussion eine Innovation Hartmanns” (142–43). Unable to follow Gawein’s advice against *verligen*, namely, to renounce beauty and wealth rather than having to choose between them, Iwein’s desire for both leads him to madness and loss of his former masculine identity. After the highly evocative “Salbung”-episode and his restoration to health, Iwein begins as *tabula rasa*, as “Bild eines neuen Adams,” while Laudine remains “die Konstante, die sich nicht ändert. An ihrem veränderten Verhalten läßt sich ihr verändertes Gegenüber ausmachen” (146). The protagonist can make good his previous failings and become re-defined through Laudine as the ultimate goal of his longing. Hafner completes her study by looking at the theme of “Gahmuret und Fetischismus” from Wolfram’s *Parzival*, and in particular, the gendering of Gahmuret’s masculinity as represented by “Herzeloyses Hemd” (155).

In sum, Hafner’s book merits high praise for its contribution to Gender- and Medieval German Studies. She offers a comparative approach and new insights likely to inspire scholars to further research for many years.

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Thomas, Neil. *Wirnt von Grafenberg’s ‘Wigalois’. Intertextuality and Interpretation.* Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. 184 pp. \$75.00 hardcover.

Study of the later or “minor” medieval German Arthurian romances has undergone a marked change in recent decades. Once often dismissed as paler imitations of Hartmann, Gottfried, and Wolfram, the works of the putative *Epigonen* have not only been rehabilitated as subjects of appreciative study in their own right, but they have been in some cases proposed for inclusion in a new, more differentiated canon of medieval German literature. Neil Thomas’s study of *Wirnt von Grafenberg’s Wigalois* represents one such attempt to promote a more discerning reading of the work in context.

Following an introduction which outlines the “problematic reception” of *Wigalois*, the work’s five chapters deal with “Contesting the Canon,” “Knights of Fortune,” “Saint and Sinner,” “Realism and Realpolitik,” and “Romance and Exemplum,” respectively. Appended is a summary of plots of ten related romances, including *Durmart le Galois* and *Les Merveilles de Rigomer*. A bibliography and index conclude the study.

Thomas proceeds along well-delineated lines to advance his central arguments: first, that *Wigalois* is consciously engaged in “literary dissent” (7), not only from the

larger European “Fair Unknown” tradition, but also more particularly from Wolfram’s *Parzival*; and second, that “the narrator’s undaunted partisanship for Gawan permits him to undergo a moral rehabilitation” (8). The central reservation which Thomas purports to later writers, including Wirnt, is that “many works of the classical generation were adjudged to be problematical in either a formal or moral sense” (13).

The call to “remove the works of Hartmann and Wolfram from their privileged position” (21) is prominent in advancing a critical reading of Wirnt. According to Thomas, Wirnt “rejects the bipartite structure” of *Parzival* in favor of a “linear sequence ... better suited to his pedagogic aims, evidently wishing to show his protagonist as being *morally* superior to Erec, Iwein and Parzival” (37–38). In arguing, rather too self-evidently, that Wolfram’s *Willehalm* was “his [Wolfram’s] literary self-criticism” (101), Thomas conjectures that *Wigalois* “will have arisen as a literary anticipation of the master’s self-criticism” (101). Referring to the conclusion of *Wigalois*, Thomas argues that Wirnt’s “ecumenical finale is more convincing, and in that sense, morally superior both to *Parzival* and *Willehalm*” (102).

Thomas argues most cogently when promoting a differentiated reading of *Wigalois*, when posing challenging questions, e.g., on issues of genre, and when providing a broader context for interpreting the work’s ethos. In other words, the study is most effective, and persuasive, when it advances the cause of *Wigalois* on its own not inconsiderable merits. The effect is less compelling when the cause is advanced at the expense of what, for better or worse, still remain the premier members of the classic tradition. One senses at times that Wirnt is being elevated on the backs, rather than shoulders, of his predecessors. Wirnt’s own fulsome praise of Wolfram, *laien munt nie baz gesprâch* (no layman ever spoke more effectively, 41), is thus qualified to suggest that it may have “contained an element of *zwivellop*” (dubious praise, 41).

Matters of difference in Wirnt are not of necessity, and barring more compelling evidence, *ipso facto* evidence for conscious criticism of the Wolfram. Wirnt is different in matters of conception, themes, execution and, not least, a moral(izing) point of view, and this is a point which Thomas makes most successfully.

The study has been edited well, with few typographical errors. A reference to George Fenwick Jones’s *Honor in German Literature* is, however, cited without publication information (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

Thomas’s contribution to a greater appreciation of the *Wigalois*, as well as to questions on “canon” and genre, is a valuable and often thought-provoking one.

SIEGFRIED CHRISTOPH

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18th and 19th Century Literature and Culture

Becker-Cantarino, Barbara, ed. *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. The Enlightenment and Sensibility.* Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005. 368 pp. \$90.00 hardcover.

The series on German literary history, to which this volume edited by Barbara Becker-Cantarino represents one of the newest additions, has devoted separate volumes to the literatures of the Storm and Stress, of Weimar Classicism, and German Romanticism. Thus, the 18th-century literatures and cultures that come into focus for the twelve essays gathered in this volume are limited to those that can be associated with the Enlightenment. This decision should make space for more detailed coverage, yet the omission of partially contemporaneous literary movements that took an oppositional or critical stance to certain aspects of Enlightenment culture contributes to this volume's tendency to treat literary and cultural phenomena as safely distant, unproblematic historical entities or "data."

The volume focuses on a set of intellectual, philosophical, stylistic, and artistic trends and innovations that found their specific articulation within 18th-century German-speaking territories. Particular attention is given to the important changes in the media landscape of the 18th century, ranging from the streamlining of German as a literary language, the immense expansion and differentiation of printed matter, and the attempts to reform the dramatic stage by establishing independently funded repertory theaters. The concise and lively essay by Katherine Goodman on Johann Christoph Gottsched, for instance, represents an excellent contribution to these concerns. The author manages to set the stage for Gottsched's literary reforms by vividly sketching both the historical context of early 18th-century Leipzig and by outlining the dominant stylistic and poetic norms of the time. Aptly chosen quotes provide the reader with first-hand glimpses of what exactly Gottsched tried to counter with his reforms. The individual essays are each written as surveys covering wide areas, e.g., they cover the development of all kinds of poetic styles and genres, including secular and religious poetry, and, the development of novelistic styles that can be grouped under the heading of sensibility, ranging from Schnabel to Wieland and Unger. This kind of scope does not always yield insights into the specificity of the literary texts in question. There is a risk that the literary works remain just titles, and where there is an attempt at paying more attention to specific texts they tend to be reduced to plot summaries. As a reference work, the volume has much to offer. The bibliography is extensive and well organized. However, the list of primary sources would be even more helpful if it included references to the best available editions, not just titles and publication dates, and if the references to English translations would have been critically evaluated.

As Becker-Cantarino's introduction to the volume states, the underlying historical narrative sees the Enlightenment in Germany particularly marked by "the rise of the bourgeoisie" and a persistent influence of religion, especially pietism. Given the volume's express commitment to historical scholarship it is a pity that there is no engagement with the lively impulses that have been provided during the past two decades by

such prominent North American historians as Robert Darnton, Isabel Hull, Lynn Hunt, and Jonathan Israel to those areas of 18th-century studies that are concerned with issues of publishing, censorship, the family, gender, sexuality, and radical religiosity. Within a more literary historical context the total lack of engagement with the path-breaking work by Friedrich Kittler, who has brought out the immediate impact of the history of education, literacy, and motherhood on the trajectory of German literary history of that period, seems like a glaring oversight, especially if one considers the fact that the volume's most innovative aspect lies with the special attention it gives to women as readers and writers. The increasing concern with a bourgeois woman's responsibility within the nuclear family, with breast-feeding and early childhood education, culminating in the banning of the use of wet-nurses by the Prussian Territorial Law of 1794, might go a long way in explaining why the century that started off granting women relatively good chances of asserting themselves as writers and intellectuals saw their access to professional careers actually wane rather than increase.

DOROTHEA E. VON MÜCKE
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Hart, Gail K. *Friedrich Schiller: Crime, Aesthetics, and the Poetics of Punishment*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005. 183 pp. \$42.50 hardcover.

Hart's study, part of the relatively contained Schiller-boom commemorating the 200th anniversary of his death, concerns itself with Schiller's attitude towards crime and punishment as expressed in one theoretical essay and some of his fiction. Since its aim is not to document a development in Schiller's thinking on the subject, the study does not proceed chronologically. The introductory chapter discusses Schiller's admiration for aberrants; chapter 2 reads his early work "Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?" as an essay informing Schiller's entire dramatic practice and cites the execution scene in *Maria Stuart* as a reflection of the essay's judicial principles. The following chapters describe crime in plays (*Fiesko* and *Die Räuber*), incarceration as punishment (the narrative *Spiel des Schicksals*), understandable or justifiable instances of murder (*Wilhelm Tell* and *Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre*), gender transgression as crime (*Die Jungfrau von Orleans*) and 20th-century Schiller-inspired texts (by Böll, Burgess, and Kubrick in chapter 7, which also includes a brief conclusion).

Hart's theory and conclusions can be boiled down to the statement that Schiller refuses to punish. Her goal is to document his avoidance of retributive punishment as advocated by Kant and Schiller's suggestion, gleaned from a close reading of the *Schaubühne*-essay, that theater can "educate, and thus obviate those actions that provoke punishment" (13). Evidence comes from various plot strands of Schiller's texts (examples: his "Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre" is pushed into ever-deeper spirals of crime by unjust punishment; Schiller avoids staging the executions of both Maria Stuart and Joan of Arc in his plays; Tell's murder of Geßler goes unpunished and is re-interpreted, in the final scene with Parricida, as an act of justifiable homicide). Hart ends by reading Schiller's ideal of aesthetic education and his striving for Classical "harmony" in direct opposition to the retributive actions of the absolutist state.

As Hart fails to advance an organizing principle, her chapters stand by themselves and do not contribute to a whole that could transcend the purely additive. Her interpretations are limited to close readings and seem to add little to previous interpretations. Hart's project would have benefited significantly from more background reading in areas of scholarship that are of central importance to some of her claims. To cite just one instance: As background for her chapter on Schiller's *Jungfrau*, in which Hart claims that Schiller feminizes the character to diminish the appearance of the "crime" of gender-transgression, one would have expected to see some engagement with the extensive scholarship on cross-dressed women in literature of the time or, at the very least, on ideas of gender around 1800. Instead, Hart provides us with close readings of some of Schiller's poems ("Die berühmte Frau," "Würde der Frauen," "Das Lied von der Glocke") as documentation of how Schiller understood gender. Methodologically, this approach seems unrefined; bibliographically, little of the vast and recent Schiller scholarship, few of the sources on the 18th-century penal system and contemporary reform debates have found their way into Hart's list of works consulted. Consequently, the bibliography for her book is both brief and outdated. Only six sources listed in it were published in the 21st century. At one point, an essay published in 1979 is recommended, without any qualification or contextualization, as "a very thorough discussion on the interpretive literature on *Maria Stuart*" (167, note 14). Such lack of engagement with recent scholarship seems far more troubling than the book's lack of sophistication. Hart's is certainly an interesting project; as presented, though, she missed the opportunity to make a significant contribution to the topic.

SUSANNE KORD

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Pusse, Tina-Karen. *Von Fall zu Fall: Lektüren zum Lachen. Kleist, Hoffmann, Nietzsche, Kafka & Strauß.* Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2004. 214 pp. €32.00 paperback.

In den letzten 15 Jahren hat das Thema Lachen in verschiedenen Wissenschaften an Gewicht gewonnen und die ältere philologische Komik- und Humorforschung, die ihren Ursprung im 19. Jahrhundert hat, in einen kulturellen Horizont erweitert. Diese kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektive kann sich auf einen berühmten spiritus rector berufen, den die Verfasserin der vorliegenden Dissertation unmittelbar in den Blick nimmt — auf Nietzsche, der in der *Fröhlichen Wissenschaft* forderte, das Lachen selbst, also die körperliche Antwort auf alle Formen von Witz, Komik und Humor, zu untersuchen, weil eines ohne das andere eben nur eine halbe Sache sei.

"Kleist, Hoffmann, Nietzsche, Kafka & Strauß," so werden im Untertitel die "Lektüren zum Lachen" konkretisiert (zusätzlich zu diesen fünf geht es aber auch noch um Baudelaire's berühmten Essay vom Lachen), womit nun eindeutig das hochkulturelle Lachen bezeichnet ist, obgleich man doch denken könnte, dass der Titel der Abhandlung nicht ganz unabhängig vom Gernhardtschen Terminus der "Fallhöhe" gefunden wurde — und Robert Gernhardt hat sich von den Niederungen der satirischen

Popularkultur (*Pardon, Titanic*) in die Höhen der seriösen Literaturpreise und -freunde geschrieben. Insofern handelt es sich hier um eine Arbeit, die die klassische Humor-, Ironie- und Witz-Philologie mit einer starken Anreicherung durch die französische Theorie (Derrida, Deleuze) fortsetzt und den "Fall" in das Lachen als grundsätzlichen Fall aus der Höhe auch der großen Literatur nicht thematisiert — Bachtin wird zwar verwendet, spielt aber eine bescheidene Rolle.

Freunde und Forscher dieses Themas werden gern in dieses Buch "fallen" und mit Genuß und Gewinn an Erkenntnis darin herumschwimmen, es ist ein reicher Zitat- und Gedankensee, in dem man auf immer neue Seiten des Lachens und seiner Bezüge zum Fallen stößt und daraus eine auch längerfristige Inspiration ziehen kann, wenn man sich mit den behandelten Autoren oder mit der "Hochkomik" im allgemeinen beschäftigt. Ergebnisse zusammenzufassen oder auch nur Linien der Gedankengänge zu ziehen, sieht sich der Rezensent außer Stande. Die Autorin hat sich nämlich, ganz im Gegensatz zu Hegel, bemüht, die eben doch zwangsläufig chaotischen Bewegungen des Lachens in die Methode ihres Forschens und auch in ihre Darstellung mit aufzunehmen. Ob z.B. der folgende Satz ernst oder komisch ist, daran mag der Leser seinen Verstand selbst wetzen: "Zu lachen bedeutet, angesichts dieser unendlichen Negationsbewegung, die absolute Sinnlosigkeit des Komischen bejahen und in der Affirmation dieser Negation ein prekäres Simulacrum des Absoluten herzustellen" (186). Das ist mutig, hebt gewissermaßen den Skatphilosophen Hegel (Dialektik als Dreischritt) auf und gibt dem Denken die Eigenschaft zurück, die der preußische Staatsphilosoph wie kein anderer Aufklärer ihm entzogen hatte: den Humor. Lachen geschieht eigentlich über unlösbare Widersprüche (von denen der ursprüngliche die kitzelnde mütterliche Hand ist) — wenn man fällt, hat die Gravitation als Widerspruch zum aufrechten Gang zugeschnappt —, und von allen ernstesten (deutschen) Philosophen hat keiner so wie Hegel den Widerspruch zur Domäne des reinen Denkens gemacht, d.h. dem Lachen den Stoff entzogen. Dass dies ebenso für einen Antidialektiker wie Heidegger (aber gar nicht für Nietzsche) gilt, läßt sich in Pusses Arbeit nachlesen.

Man kann nun Pusses Untersuchung mit Gewinn daraufhin studieren, wie die unterschiedlichsten Dichter (oder Dichterdenker wie Nietzsche und Strauß), denen Hegel ja fast ihre Existenzberechtigung abspricht, auch dann an der Wiedereroberung des an die Vernunft verlorengegangenen Lachens arbeiten, wenn man das nicht (wie bei Strauß, auch bei Kleist und Kafka) auf den ersten Blick erkennen kann. Das eben ist das Interessante an der Konzentration auf die literarische Hochkomik, sie bietet der Philosophie und der Wissenschaft geistig paroli unter Beibehaltung der Beziehung zum Lachen!

Hier sind Arbeiten wie die vorliegende fruchtbar — für Regisseure, Leser, Dramaturgen —, wenn doch der falsche Ernst sich in der Rezeption oder Inszenierung von selbst einzuschleichen droht, dann braucht man die fundierte, ausgewiesene Erinnerung daran, wie sehr Literatur und Theater an sich, vom Ursprung her dem Komischen und Humoristischen benachbart oder verwandt sind.

Die Freiheit, die sich eine junge Wissenschaftlerin in ihrer Dissertation nimmt, ist bewundernswert und sei der Nachahmung empfohlen. Nicht ganz empfehlen kann der Rezensent eine gewisse Tendenz zur selbstverliebten Reflexion, die als Dekoration diese geistige Unabhängigkeit begleitet.

RAINER STOLLMANN

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Wilson, W. Daniel, ed. *Goethes Weimar und die Französische Revolution. Dokumente der Krisenjahre.* Köln: Böhlau, 2004. 741 pp. €74.90 hardcover.

Archives are not only the musty, dusty receptacles of the past; they also contain the essential materials for making the past come alive and speak to us. They hold both pleasant and unpleasant surprises and contain much that must be overlooked or explained away in order not to upset ideological apple carts. The era that began with the fall of Communism in 1989 has been a boon to archival scholars everywhere, for it facilitated both the (eventual) opening up of many previously closely held archives, and the re-unification of many collections that had been scattered through the accidents of 20th-century history. Nowhere has this been more the case than with many German archival holdings of great political, historical, and cultural significance; and no North American scholar has been more assiduous in the enterprise than W. Daniel Wilson, with his studies of Goethe, Duke Carl August, and revolutionary-era Weimar in the light of newly accessible holdings.

Prior to the present publication Wilson had published a volume of documents relating to the Weimar court and the secret societies of the age (*Geheimräte gegen Geheimbünde. Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der klassisch-romantischen Geschichte Weimars*, 1991), two monographs (*Das Goethe-Tabu. Protest und Menschenrechte im klassischen Weimar*, 1999, and *Unterirdische Gänge. Goethe, Freimaurerei und Politik*, also 1999), along with several important articles, all dependent on new findings in the various archives and/or new readings of previously published documents. Wilson has not shied from controversy, in fact willfully provoking more traditional Goethe scholars by insisting on what he interprets as the repressive nature of the government of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach headed by Carl August and his privy councillors, including Goethe and especially Christian Gottlob Voigt, whom he has tended to make into the principal heavy.

Wilson has concentrated his attentions largely on the years 1792–1793 when Carl August was away playing the role of a general in the Prussian army on the first campaigns against the French Republic. One of his main topics has been the student unrest of 1792, which began with an effort among the students themselves, supported by the government, to stamp out dueling at the university, and degenerated into episodes of student hi-jinks, processions, and window-smashing. This led to government efforts to contain the situation by application of insufficient military force (a severe affront to the students' "Ehre"), and to a short-lived desertion of the university by students threatening to take their tuition money and allowances to nearby Erfurt. Other topics of interest to Wilson have been governmental oversight of, spying on, and repression of liberal thinkers (both Masonic/Illuminati and student secret societies, and intellectuals like Herder and Knebel, to some extent also Wieland); the persistent and long-standing exploitation of the Apolda stocking-makers by the factors; and the hardships and unrest, especially in the Eisenach area, caused by repeated marches by allied Prussian forces on their way to the front in 1792 and 1793. Much of this is documented in the correspondence between Carl August and his Privy Council and among the councillors themselves, occasioned by the necessity of keeping the absent ruler informed of the situation on the home front.

Although the documents tend to be clustered, they are arranged chronologically rather than according to topic. Wilson has not confined himself to publishing new

material from the archives; rather, in the effort to broaden the picture, he has included much previously published material both from the archives and from volumes of correspondence (for example Herder, Duchess Luise, Charlotte von Stein, Wieland, and others). Much of the material, for example the truly interesting correspondence between Voigt and Carl August, is new; some of it, however, only claims to correct, re-read, or re-contextualize previously published material (but of course the accuracy of such claims can only be checked by a recourse to the archives not enjoyed by the reader). As always, the reader is totally dependent on the editor, and as always a basic problem remains the lack of space to offer everything of interest (much too much is excerpts, sometimes only a sentence or two, often strung together by paraphrase and description of what remains unpublished). Much of the material published at greatest length seems to me not to be at all as interesting as Wilson believes, for example the documentation of the students' situation in Jena and of the unrest in Eisenach and Apolda. A lot of what is contained towards the end seems to be dragged in. This reader, in accord with his own biases, would have liked to see much more space devoted to Carl August's participation in the 1792 invasion of France and the 1793 siege of Mainz, but the amount of coverage Wilson gives to this topic is disappointing. This is not an easy book to read, but it is hard to imagine it, alternatively, as a reference work. It is a work of intense dedication and perseverance, an obvious labor of love, which one would have wished to be able to greet with more enthusiasm. But now perhaps the task is finished and Wilson can move on to other things.

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20th and 21st Century Literature and Culture

Arnason, Johann P., and David Roberts. *Elias Canetti's Counter-Image of Society: Crowds, Power, Transformation*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004. 166 pp. \$65.00 hardcover.

The authors open their study with the fairly uncontroversial observation that Elias Canetti “remains an outsider whose significance as a seminal cultural-diagnostic thinker of our century has not been adequately recognized” (1). Accordingly, their goal is to “open up his hermetic oeuvre by tracing his cryptic and often concealed dialogue with major figures and tendencies within the Western tradition and by situating him within the intellectual context of his time” (1). In assigning themselves this ambitious task, they themselves whet a voracious appetite that can hardly be sated by such a slim volume. Further, one could bicker about the formulation of their task: I am not at all sure, for example, that “hermetic” applies to much of Canetti’s work; on the contrary, it strikes me as astonishingly accessible. But they are certainly right about the fundamental need to bring Canetti into dialogue with other major thinkers, though they might acknowledge—more than they do—that they are not quite the first to join this

endeavor. Nevertheless, this study presents a meaningful down payment on the worthy project of contextualizing Canetti within sociology and social theory.

David Roberts fruitfully places Canetti's central conceptions of crowds and power within a larger discussion of postwar social theory, principally that of Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* and Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*. In so doing he helpfully challenges Canetti's apparent polarization of crowds and power: "What Canetti juxtaposes—the biology of the natural crowd and of power, which is only fully revealed in modernity—needs to be brought together" (45). The comparison with Arendt furthermore allows him to notice Canetti's failure to develop specifically *political* alternatives to the crises so forcefully depicted in *Crowds and Power* (and here he puts Canetti in the same boat as Horkheimer and Adorno). Later in the study (chapter four), however, Johann Arnason will argue precisely that *Crowds and Power*, which has been Roberts's focus in chapter two, "is too incomplete to bear comparison with more systematic—albeit thematically related—works such as *Dialectic of Enlightenment* or *Origins of Totalitarianism*" (86). We thus ready ourselves for a potentially stimulating debate—but one that unfortunately never materializes.

The authors in fact fail to engage directly on this or any other point of contention (or similarity, for that matter). As a result, there is some redundancy, as for example when both turn their attention to intriguing matters of religion, "transformation" (*Verwandlung*), and Canetti's relationship to other major thinkers (such as Freud, Nietzsche, and Hobbes). The book reads more a like an anthology than an integrated argument. To exemplify one missed opportunity: the dichotomy that Roberts cites above between crowds and power is directly challenged by Arnason's very insightful demonstration of how these terms are linked, if not inter-penetrated (see especially chapter five). Both may be right. As an armchair activist—that is, as someone who wanted not only to diagnose the century's ills but also cure them—Canetti did tend to oppose these terms (one point for Roberts). But a careful reading of *Crowds and Power* indeed reveals the author's understanding of their intimate interrelationship (one point for Arnason).

It may be that I have misconceived the target audience of this book. If it is not meant for Canetti scholars, perhaps it does not much matter that the volume's two most substantial chapters, including the one that lends its title to the book as a whole, appeared eight years ago in the journal *Thesis Eleven* (Number 45, 1996) in virtually the same form as they do here, that is, without placing themselves in explicit dialogue with one another or subsequent scholarship. Nor would it matter that Roberts studiously avoids engaging recent scholarship on *Die Blendung*, despite the fact that Canetti's novel plays a not insignificant role in chapter one and elsewhere in this book. Such concerns are obviously more aggravating to specialists—and for purposes of full disclosure, I should note that my own study appears in the Works Cited, yet nowhere in the argument is, as far as I can see, actually refuted or engaged—than to students seeking a broader answer to the question of Canetti's place in social theory. But if the latter group is in fact the intended readership, then I worry that it will be scared off by a style of hypercitation that, especially in the first chapter, multiplies the interpretive frames at a rate that far outstrips the pace of effective elucidation. Within just ten lines of text, for example, one encounters substantial references to Lukács, Schopenhauer, Leibniz, Costoridis, and Heraclitus (p. 9; cf. 22). At times the authors make us work too hard.

But readers should push beyond these difficulties, because the volume offers, in its more lucid moments, an insightful overview (and critique) of Canetti's place within

social analysis as well as intriguing, if preliminary, observations about Canetti's view of institutionalized religion. In this latter regard, Roberts's use of Gauchet to clarify Canetti's view of secular modernity as released from the "closed crowds" of monotheistic religion is particularly illuminating. New, and of particular value, is their creative exegesis of Canetti's key term "transformation." If the book does not achieve all that it sets out to do, it is not entirely due to the authors' overweening ambition, but also, surely, to the perplexing and seemingly inexhaustible riches of Canetti's oeuvre.

WILLIAM COLLINS DONAHUE

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Brunnhuber, Nicole. *The Faces of Janus. English-Language Fiction by German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain, 1933–45.* Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005. 240 pp. \$52.95 paperback.

Dass es einer erstaunlich große Zahl deutscher Autoren, die vor dem Naziregime nach Großbritannien geflohen waren, gelungen war, in englischer Sprache zu schreiben und sich so als englische Autoren zu etablieren, ist in der Exilforschung nichts Neues. Neu ist jedoch die germanistische Beschäftigung mit ihrem englischsprachigen Werk, das in der Vergangenheit allzu leicht als weder der deutschen noch der angelsächsischen Literatur zugehörig ignoriert worden ist. Sylvia Parsch hatte 1985 mit *Österreichische Schriftsteller im Exil in Großbritannien* eine erste Bresche geschlagen, Dirk Wiemann war ihr 1998 mit seiner Dissertation *Exilliteratur in Großbritannien 1933–1945* gefolgt und Richard Dove gebührt das Verdienst mit *Journey of No Return: Five German-Speaking Literary Exiles in Britain, 1933–45* (2000) pointiert das Exilwerk von Alfred Kerr, Robert Neumann, Max Hermann-Neiße, Karl Otten und Stefan Zweig, das allerdings nur zum geringen Teil auf Englisch geschrieben worden ist, zum Gegenstand seiner Untersuchung gemacht zu haben.

Nicole Brunnhuber hat andere Autoren im Visier: Sie untersucht die von vornherein in Englisch verfassten Werke von Ernest Borneman, Robert Neumann, Ruth Feiner, Lilo Linke und George Tabori, Werke, die, vielleicht mit Ausnahme des Romans *Beneath the Stone the Scorpion* (dt. zumeist u.d.T. *Das Opfer*) des heute vor allem als Dramatiker berühmten Tabori, heute im deutschsprachigen Raum kaum bekannt sind. Aber es geht ja nicht um den Bekanntheitsgrad der Schriftsteller, sondern um Sprache, um Exilerfahrung und Assimilierung an die Kultur des Gastlandes Großbritannien. Den Sprachwechsel hatte schon Klaus Mann in seinem Essay "Das Sprach-Problem" (1947) als linguistische Metamorphose bezeichnet, als tiefgreifende Transformation die zur Wiedergeburt in einer neuen Kultur führe. Das Schreiben in der neu erlernten Sprache ist für die behandelten Autor(inn)en Ausdruck der Assimilation, Mittel der Vermittlung des eigenen Standpunktes an das Gastland. Brunnhuber zeigt, dass diese Assimilation vor allem durch die Aneignung populärer Gattungen gelang, bei den männlichen Autoren vor allem durch die Benutzung der in Großbritannien besonders beliebten Gattung des Detektivromans, bei den Autorinnen durch die Benutzung des viel gelesenen Liebesromans. In beiden Fällen wird verstärkt auf aktuelle politische Ereignisse Bezug

genommen und die Exilerfahrung thematisiert. Es geht den Autor(inn)en dabei darum, "to make a minority perspective and culture, increasingly demonized, more palatable to the host country (34)."

Über die Auswahl der behandelten Autoren mag man streiten. Das Werk von Arthur Koestler, Hilde Spiel, Hans Flesch-Brunningen, Anna Sebastian und Peter de Mendelssohn wurde bewusst ausgelassen ("... since this book seeks to contribute to exile research by addressing lesser known authors..." [14]), das von Ruth Feiner und Lilo Linke bewusst aufgenommen, um den geschlechtsspezifischen Diskurs der Exilerfahrung verstärkt ansprechen zu können. Offensichtlich geht es der Autorin auch darum, Werke "ihrer" Autor(inn)en dem Vergessen zu entreißen, da es sich um "primary documents of cultural transfer" handle (13) "and to restore their biographical and literary legacies to the cultural history of German-speaking exile" (14). Ja, vielleicht lässt sich das Typische sogar besser an Romanen von Nichtberühmten zeigen. Bedenklich ist nur, wenn zahlreiche allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen auf einer doch reichlich schmalen Textbasis gezogen werden.

Die Interpretation der einzelnen Romantexte unter dem Aspekt der sprachlichen Assimilation, des kulturellen Transfers, der Kommunikation der eigenen Exilerfahrung an das Lesepublikum des Exillandes ist nicht nur gründlich und ergiebig, sondern deckt in der Tat Beziehungen und Aussagen auf, die bei oberflächlichem Lesen der Texte selbst dem geübten Auge leicht entgehen können. Vor allem der weiblichen Exilerfahrung ("gender-based differences in survival mechanisms" [170]) und ihrer Vermittlung wird dabei verstärkt Rechnung getragen, ohne dass der feministische Aspekt vordringlich würde. Manchmal sind Vermutungen, immer als solche gekennzeichnet, allerdings etwas spekulativ. Man mag das damit entschuldigen, dass das Buch voller neuer Ideen steckt und in keiner Weise im Positivistischen stecken bleibt.

Einiges Positivistische hätte das Verständnis jedoch erleichtert, z.B. kurze Inhaltangaben der behandelten Romane. Auch hätte man sich wegen des geringen Bekanntheitsgrades der meisten Autor(innen) jeweils einen kurzen, einführenden biographischen Abriss gewünscht, zumal das Autobiographische in den meisten behandelten Werken eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Wenn die Autorin in einer Anmerkung (S. 82, Anm. 6) den Eindruck vermittelt, Robert Neumann sei nur drei Wochen lang interniert gewesen, so ist dies irreführend: er wurde am 15. Mai 1940 festgenommen und am 14. August frei gelassen.

Doch das sind Kleinigkeiten: alles in allem handelt es sich um eine gut geschriebene, gedankenreiche Arbeit, in der ein fast vergessenes Kapitel deutscher Exilliteratur kompetent aufgearbeitet worden ist.

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Dueck, Cheryl. *Rifts in Time and in the Self. The Female Subject in Two Generations of East German Women Writers.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004. 238 pp. \$60.00 paperback.

“Rifts in time, place and person, and the quest for unity—of the subject, of life and literature, of the personal and the political, of the individual and the collective—haunt the fictive women protagonists within the socialist project” (1) of the GDR, and also their creators, East German women authors. With this premise Cheryl Dueck sets out to delineate the rifts in time, i.e., the non-synchronicity of sociopolitical conditions and citizen consciousness, characteristic of East Germany throughout GDR history and the post-*Wende* years, and the accompanying rifts in East German women’s sense of self. Postulating that literature may “more closely approximate and locate understandings of subjectivity” (5–6) than theoretical constructs have been able to do, Dueck examines female protagonists in the works of four authors (Christa Wolf, Brigitte Reimann, Helga Königsdorf, and Helga Schubert), and traces the progression of female subjectivity—i.e., the evolution of responses to the question “This coming-to-oneself—what is it?”—from the late 1950s into the new millennium.

Cheryl Dueck’s project entails holding the reins of several divergent forces. To establish the rifts in time she describes the historical development of the GDR, the changing sociopolitical situation, the ups and downs of state control over cultural production, the state’s *Frauenpolitik* and the evolving emancipation of women. She assesses the two opposing frameworks of subjectivity that informed women’s sense of self in the GDR: the socialist and the psychoanalytic, both of which, adapting the Freudian-Marxist approach of Julia Kristeva, she incorporates in her study. To establish the rifts in women’s sense of self, her declared primary goal, Dueck closely studies the female characters in most of the major and some minor works of her four authors. It is a large agenda, and Dueck accomplishes it with remarkable control and concision. She successfully distills the wide-ranging material to its essentials, which she presents with calm circumspection and political impartiality.

Dueck begins her study of socialist female subjectivity with Christa Wolf’s *Moskauer Novelle* (1959) and Brigitte Reimann’s *Ankunft im Alltag* (1961). The woman protagonists in both works manifest the unity of socialism and self, the positively weighted socialization of individuality typical of their transitional generation during the *Aufbau* era of the GDR. Later, this ideal of socialist subjectivity—of the unified subject without any disjuncture between state and self—was called into question by the same authors in the late 1960s and early 1970s (*Christa T.* and *Franziska Linkerhand*) as they recognized the limitations placed on otherness and consequently began to explore individual fulfillment in socialist society. This turning point, which critics have often used to date the beginning of GDR literature, set the tone for women authors in the 1970s: the re-evaluation of the socialist self, subjectivity as a measure for reality, the critical portrayal of the gender gap, of the otherness of women within socialist society. At this point in time, then, new women writers such as Königsdorf and Schubert appeared on the scene.

Dueck documents a major paradigm shift in GDR women’s writing in the late 1970s: away from Marxism toward Freudianism, a point which she illustrates with dream stories by Königsdorf (*Meine ungehörigen Träume*) and short texts by Schubert.

This focus on the deeply subjective and the subconscious led to a common theme of death and dying in the 1980s. Dueck speaks of a death drive and “deathbed narratives” (Wolf’s *Kassandra*, Königsdorf’s *Respektloser Umgang* and *Ungelegener Befund*) and of the prevalence of fear as a motif in the 1990s: Wolf’s Medea is fearless as a result of her unity of self which society cannot break; Königsdorf’s post-*Wende* self-identical narrations provide *Lebenshilfe* for readers coping with fear in the changing society. Dueck concludes with a discussion of Wolf’s exploration of the female psyche and psychic healing in *Leibhaftig* (2002).

Dueck offers, as is her intent, a re-reading of East German women writers from a post-unification perspective. Hers is a double perspective which combines socio-political and psychoanalytic discourses. The result is a richly woven text. I can second Patricia Herminghouse’s evaluation on the back cover of Dueck’s book, that it is a “fascinating and provocative analysis for experts and non-experts alike.”

MARGY GERBER

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Heidelberger-Leonard, Irene. *Jean Améry. Revolte in der Resignation. Biographie.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2004. 408 pp. €24.00 hardcover.

Jean Améry war bis zu seinem Selbstmord 1978 eine der zeitkritischsten moralischen Stimmen der deutschen Nachkriegskultur. Bekannt wurde er in der Bundesrepublik durch die 1966 erschienene Essaysammlung *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, in der er es sich zum Ziel setzte, Einblick zu verschaffen in die besondere Lage des Intellektuellen in Auschwitz und in die Verfassung der Nazi-Opfer, von denen auch er eines war. Der 1912 in Wien als Hans Mayer geborene Sohn einer jüdischen Familie wurde ab 1938 zum Heimatlosen, als er im Zuge des österreichischen Anschlusses an Deutschland nach Belgien emigrierte. Nach dem zwischenzeitlichen Aufenthalt in einem französischen Internierungslager kehrte Améry nach Belgien zurück, wo er sich der Résistance anschloss und schließlich 1943 von der Gestapo verhaftet und in der Festung Breendonk gefoltert wurde. Der anschließenden Deportation folgte die Internierung in den Lagern von Auschwitz, Dora-Mittelbau und Bergen-Belsen, wo er 1945 von den Engländern befreit wurde.

In ihrem Buch, der ersten Biographie über den österreichischen Denker, Essayisten, Publizisten und Schriftsteller, zeichnet Irene Heidelberger-Leonard diesen Lebensweg in neun Kapiteln nach. Während die Autorin uns durch die bekannteren Stationen von Amérys Leben führt—Emigration, Exil, Verlust der Heimat, Widerstand, Folter—und die Bedeutung von Amérys autobiographischen Schriften im damaligen deutschen Auschwitzdiskurs hervorhebt, zeichnet sich die Biographie vor allem durch die Verwendung von bisher wenig beachteteten Quellen aus, die uns wenig bekannte Aspekte von Amérys Leben und Werk vor Augen führen, wie etwa der umfangreiche Briefwechsel mit dem Jugendfreund Ernst Mayer. Von besonderem Interesse sind in diesem Zusammenhang die Ausführungen der Autorin zu Amérys erstem, noch unveröffentlichten Roman, dem Jugendwerk *Die Schiffbrüchigen*, eine in den 30er Jahren verfasste “fiktio-

nalisierte Biographie," die "mehr Auskunft über Amérys Weltbild [gibt] als irgendeine andere spätere Schrift" und zugleich zeigt, "wie früh ausgeprägt Amérys politisch-philosophische Positionen sind und keineswegs erst Ergebnis des Konzentrationslagers" (54; 56; 59–60). Geprägt vom Einfluss Thomas Manns, Hermann Brochs, sowie den Philosophen des Wiener Kreises, und geschrieben vor dem Hintergrund des Februaraufstandes 1934, erzählt der Roman "eine österreichische Mentalitätsgeschichte der dreißiger Jahre aus der Sicht eines arbeitslosen jüdischen Autodidakten und Intellektuellen" (52). Trotz der wenig ausgereiften formalen Gestaltung des Romans finden sich auch hier schon "Urthemen" wie der Freitod, jüdische Identität, und Heimatlosigkeit, mit denen sich Améry—wie sich Hans Mayer erst ab 1955 nennt—in seinen späteren Essays ausführlich auseinandersetzen wird (56–58). Auch der Vergleich der späteren Essays mit unmittelbar nach dem Krieg verfassten und noch relativ unbekanntem Texten ermöglicht wertvolle Einsichten in die Entwicklung von Amérys "autobiographischer Geschichtsschreibung" (66) vor dem Hintergrund seiner Leidenserfahrungen. So wird im Erzählfragment "Reise in den Tod. Die Festung Derloven" (1945) die Folter noch in aller Ausführlichkeit beschrieben, im 1966 erschienenen Aufsatz über die Tortur dagegen nur noch die Sinnlosigkeit jeglicher Beschreibungsversuche festgestellt. In der Gegenüberstellung der fiktionalen und deskriptiven Darstellung der Folter und der analytischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Erfahrung der Tortur zeigt sich, dass es Améry zunehmend darum ging, die Ursachen seines anhaltenden Leidens zu erforschen und gleichzeitig die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ihrer sprachlichen Darstellung zu hinterfragen. Allein vor diesem Hintergrund ist es erstaunlich, dass trotz der anhaltenden Proliferation von Diskursen und Studien zum Zusammenhang von Trauma, Sprache und Gedächtnis die Schriften von Améry, anders als z. B. die Bücher Primo Levis, nur sehr selten Beachtung finden.

In Anbetracht des Fachwissens der Autorin und ihrer langjährigen Beschäftigung mit dem Werk Amérys hätte man sich manchmal eingehendere Darstellungen der Rezeption von Amérys Schriften gewünscht, anstelle der vielen Verweise auf das Nachwort im jeweiligen Band der Gesamtausgabe. Dennoch sind diese Lücken leicht zu vergeben, denn das Anliegen der Autorin ist in erster Linie, uns wieder zu Lesern von Améry zu machen. Heidelberger-Leonard erinnert uns vor allem daran, dass Améry trotz seiner vorwiegend essayistischen und journalistischen Arbeit auch ein Erzähler war, und als solcher Ernst genommen werden wollte, wenn auch seine erzählerischen Arbeiten oft von der Kritik weitestgehend unbeachtet blieben und er letztendlich seinem Status als Auschwitz-Schriftsteller und "Parade-Opfer" (Améry, zit. 290) niemals vollständig entkommen konnte. Die Biographie ist in diesem Sinne eine wichtige Ergänzung zu der ebenfalls von Heidelberger-Leonard herausgegebenen und auf insgesamt neun Bände konzipierten Gesamtausgabe der Werke Amérys, von denen bereits vier Bände bei Klett-Cotta erschienen sind. *Jean Améry. Revolte in der Resignation* ist eine ernstzunehmende Einladung, die Schriften Amérys neu zu entdecken und vor allem auch das erzählerische Werk wahrzunehmen, denn "[d]ie Wiederentdeckung bzw. die Entdeckung des Erzählers Jean Améry ist schon längst fällig" (284).

MARKUS ZISSELSBERGER

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Lawson, Lewis A. *A Gorgon's Mask: The Mother in Thomas Mann's Fiction*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. 435pp. \$120.00

Sigmund Freud speaks in his essay "Creative Writers and Daydreaming" (1908) of the creative work as a form of wish fulfillment analogous to dreaming. As writers create, they unknowingly tap their psyche for specific experiences, both pleasurable and painful, turning them into art. Much as in dreams, the process does not rest on past impressions alone: Encounters in the present, which Freud called "date marks," awaken the dormant memories.

Lawson uses Freud's claim about the theory of creative writing for a psychoanalytic reading of most of Mann's fictional work. In over 400 pages, relying mostly on Mann's five most recent English-language biographers (Hamilton, Winston, Hayman, Prater, Heilbut), Lawson looks specifically for hidden reappearances of repressed childhood memories in Mann's works.

A childhood trauma in a well brought-up son of the Lübeck merchant elite? Yes, because Mann's mother, Ms. da Silva Bruhns, herself the victim of poor mothering, had infused her son with early childhood frustrations by a lack of nurturing. Lawson quotes Heilbut's (1996) interpretation of a late drawing by Heinrich Mann where a steely-spined Ms. da Silver Bruhns resembled nothing less than a "nineteenth-century Joan Crawford." Thus the young Thomas was saddled with a profound anxiety about maternal love and suffered from "frustration at the breast." The resulting oral dependency, with its alternating desire and resentment, found its way into his fiction as grotesque-comical sublimation, affecting the female figure. In "Der kleine Herr Friedemann," a luring but cold Gerda von Rinnlingen leads the willing Friedemann to his death; in *Der Zauberberg* Clavdia holds out a "pencil-nipple" to the willing Hans, while encouraging his break with bourgeois normalcy.

Lawson begins his discussion with "Der kleine Herr Friedemann" (1897), but precedes it with step-by-step analysis of Mann's earlier story "Vision" (1893, with full text). Studies about infant memory formation, part of the "dream screen" theory (Bertram D. Lewin, 1946), serve him to show how latent dream contents, here the desire for the breast, can become manifest and can be converted into symbols that enter literature. The theory holds that the image of a mother's breast—smooth as well as pale, one is asked to assume—is remembered by the infant, retained through life, and recalled in dreams. The surface of the recalled breast then functions as a screen upon which dream contents are projected. When repressions enter, the mind substitutes a symbol. In "Vision" (where the desired object projected on the breast is ironically the breast itself) the object of the dream becomes a goblet. Lawson also connects Mann's oral dependency to his homoerotic fantasies: A boy's inordinate affection for his mother can result both in an identification with her and in the projection of the self into her lover. Being mother, son, and lover all at once is a fantasy that is both narcissistic and incestuous. Both tendencies have found their way into Mann's fiction.

A Gorgon's Mask with its focus on the mother figure presents an innovative argument, refreshing after the preoccupation with Mann's homoerotic voyeurism since the publication of his diaries. Lawson is mercifully short on jargon, which helps the uninitiated follow the specialized discussion. Yet, one must wonder whether this exclusively psychoanalytic reading can really satisfy. For one thing, artists are not mere dreamers

despite Freud's assertion; they practice their art in daylight. Showing where and how manifestations of the unconscious and the purposeful application of ideas intersect or even overlap would have deepened the discussion. One might also wonder about the effect of contemporary events or figures, something Freud stressed. When "Vision" is discussed, the informed reader would have expected a reference to Art Nouveau and Hermann Bahr (the story is dedicated to him). Lastly, the book sidesteps almost all primary sources such as Mann's letters, diaries, and notebooks and with it most German language scholarship. While the interpretive method might invite the omission of such material, the book as a whole would have benefited from a source-supported investigation of Mann's relation to his mother, both in his own judgment and that of others.

EVA WESSELL

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Mazón, Patricia, and Reinhild Steingröver, eds. *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890–2000*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005. 272 pp. \$75.00 hardcover.

It is fitting that a field of such intercontinental scope be the site of such fertile exchange between *Germanistik* in North America and Europe. The first three contributions to this revealing volume expand on the half-dozen major periods in 20th-century Germany, and therefore Afro-German history. The final five fall under (self-) representations of Afro-Germans.

Krista Molly O'Donnell chronicles a radical shift in German South West Africa from 1891, when one in six male colonists "were wed to women labeled 'African'" (62), to 1905/1907, when all interracial marriages were banned, including ones long existent. Offspring of these unions, whom O'Donnell perspicaciously refers to as "the first *Besatzungskinder*" (67), were ejected from many white schools (just as their parents were being forced from most German social institutions there). Such actions went beyond those in colonies of other European powers. O'Donnell further relates how white and non-white children came to represent the face of sexual victims and perpetrators respectively in the German "protectorate," while adult-on-adult sexual violence dominated the discourse elsewhere.

Fatima El-Tayeb examines—from the colonial period to the present—the "racialized definition of nationality" (31) underlying most Germans' refusal to acknowledge that anyone darker than a certain skin tone could have a claim to Germanness. She cites how sports journalists constantly label German national soccer team star Gerald Asamoah as a "German passport holder" from Ghana (27) yet seldom mention the backgrounds of white foreign-born players. While most of this volume is accessible to readers from multiple disciplines, non-German-speaking readers will miss the further racial hierarchies imbedded in the untranslated titles of colonial postcards reproduced in this chapter.

Tina Camppt cogently traces the "echoes" of the "specter of racial mixture associated with the Afro-German population" (83), with crescendos first in the 1912 marriage

debates involving children of African mothers, then a decade later, when African soldiers in the French occupation of the Rhineland fathered children with German women.

Tobias Nagl's contribution focuses on Blacks "on display" in the entertainment industry, where they were economically marginalized as individuals, yet sought after as symbols, especially of Germany's colonial past. Thus, their names seldom appeared in the credits and they often played multiple characters in the same film series. Louis Brody, an exception, found fame and financial security even in the Nazi period. Nagl deftly chronicles Brody's improbable 1915–1950 career, deconstructing Brody's roles such as the servant in *Genuine* (Robert Wiene, 1920) whose offer of his own blood to a white female vampire is refused in disgust as a racially impure body fluid.

Heidi Fehrenbach compares three films starring Elfie Fiegert, who took to calling herself "Toxi," the name of her title character in her first film, produced in 1952 during the wave of interest in the eldest of the 3,000 (Black GI-fathered West German) *Besatzungskinder* reaching school age. Fehrenbach rightly observes that even today's Afro-German children are repeatedly "assigned a homogenous racialized group identity that assume[s] their affinity for things African, or more typically, African American" without regard to their fathers' ethnic/national heritage (137).

Randall Halle situates *Alles wird gut* (Angelina Maccarone, 1997) within the non-art film Germany Comedy Wave as well as within queer cinema. His analysis of the film's Afro-German insights succeeds in breadth and depth but many sentences suffer from awkward phrasing that should have been caught in editing.

Leroy Hopkins traces the history of Afro-German literature since the term's coining in the 1980s. He analyzes, among others, Hans Massaquoi's *Neger, Neger, Schornsteinfeger* (1999), the most discussed Black-themed book in Germany since that of Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose *Onkel Toms Hütte* is even enshrined as a station in Berlin's U-Bahn system.

Finally, Anne Adams reflects on the ways the African diaspora echoes among Afro-Germans. She highlights how several aspects of African-American culture, such as Black History Month, Kwanzaa, and the broader use of "sister" and "brother," have been embraced by their *community*, which pointedly uses this English term.

May Ayim and W.E.B. DuBois, two diaspora voices invoked throughout this collection, journeyed to Africa late in their lives. The shifting mosaic of Afro-Germans in the 21st century portends a further wave of scholars of this subject from Germany, Africa, and North America.

JASON OWENS

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Murray, Nicholas. *Kafka: A Biography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. 432 pp. 31 illustrations. \$30.00 cloth.

Biographies of Franz Kafka have become so common that their publication seems self-evident: a sub-genre whose further propagation requires no particular explanation. Gone are the days when a Kafka biography needed to rationalize its existence by point-

ing out the limitations of existing works and the originality of its new approach. The present book, as its generic title hints, does not introduce any major discoveries, revisions, or otherwise surprising new perspectives to what is known about Kafka's life. (The press release justifies the book as "the first biography of Kafka in English for 20 years," but even this is not correct.) Nonetheless, for the general reader Murray has produced an excellent book: well informed, sensitive, and highly readable.

The major strength of this biography lies in the pervasive fairness and sound judgment of its account. Those characteristics may sound modest or old-fashioned, but it is no small feat to maneuver between the stereotypes and myths that have accumulated around Kafka's life. Murray does this with considerable skill: Kafka appears here neither as the representative man of modernist alienation, nor as the prophet of impending social catastrophe, nor as a guilt-ridden neurotic. Rather, Murray's Kafka is a fascinating and attractive individual who was able to produce works of genius out of and despite his complex emotional constitution. This refreshing tone is set early on: Murray writes that "... to see Kafka as a quivering neurasthenic, someone who knew only how to suffer, would be a travesty. [...] However much he was tormented by private fears and lonely anxieties, he was loved by all who came into contact with him" (4-5). Certainly, the fears and the fletcherizing are all here, but Murray scrupulously avoids condescension and often follows such incidents with a corrective comment, such as when he balances accounts of some of Kafka's more ascetic personal habits with observations about his occasionally bold romantic encounters (48), or balances Kafka's merciless view of his own emotional failures with a litany of Kafka's very real accomplishments at particular moments (79 and 153). This fairness extends to those figures who often cut a less than flattering figure in Kafka biographies; thus Murray ends a description of the *Letter to the Father* with the laconic remark: "One would very much like to hear from the other side" (37).

There are occasional glosses that jar. Describing the socio-cultural make-up of late Hapsburg Bohemia, for example, Murray writes that "the rural Sudeten Germans [...] were probably just as much alienated from the Prague Germans and their cosmopolitan, avant-garde tastes as were the Czechs" (24), implying that Czech society produced only self-engrossed nationalism and had no cosmopolitan or avant-garde artists of its own. The later, implicit equation of Kafka's remorseless "hectoring" of Felice Bauer with "the rabbinical side of Kafka" (211) is also unfortunate. But such moments stand out as exceptions within a text characterized by remarkably balanced assessments.

Murray's account is highly focused on the figure of Kafka himself. While he provides succinct and (for the most part) accurate sketches of social or historical contexts when needed, this is a "life" rather than "life and times" biography. Kafka's closest friends—Oskar Baum, Felix Weltsch, even Max Brod—appear only when absolutely necessary for the account of Kafka. Titling the divisions of the book after the names of women who were particularly influential at certain periods of Kafka's life—the major sections are "Prague," "Felice," "Milena," and "Dora"—does not so much widen the account as transform those women into symbols of the phases of Kafka's life.

Murray is well informed of recent developments in the secondary literature on Kafka, although he does not flaunt his research. Footnotes are terse, and there is no bibliography. In general his sources are canonical: the diaries, letters, and primary works themselves. Even the decision to exclude Gustav Janouch as a source is unsurprising. This streamlining clearly reflects the biography's being intended for a general reader-

ship rather than a scholarly audience. Indeed, the general reader looking for a fair and readable account of Kafka's life will find Murray's biography extremely rewarding.

PETER ZUSI

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Sokel, Walter H. *The Myth of Power and the Self: Essays on Franz Kafka*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002. 334pp. \$39.95 hardcover.

The mark of great criticism is its timelessness. It remains as relevant and fresh when you read it twenty, thirty, even forty years after it was first published, as it was when it first appeared. So many of Walter Sokel's essays on Kafka fit this description, and that is why the appearance of his *The Myth of Power and the Self: Essays on Franz Kafka* was greeted with such enthusiasm by the world of Kafka scholarship when it appeared in 2002. In addition to the significant essays that have become essential commentaries on Kafka's work, among them "Franz Kafka," "Kafka's Poetics of the Inner Self," "Freud and the Magic of Kafka's Writing," and "From Marx to Myth: The Structure and Function of Self-Alienation in Kafka's 'The Metamorphosis,'" Sokel has completed his volume with three previously unpublished pieces that bring us some new insights, which are often modifications and expansions of his favorite topic of study.

Sokel's grasp of Kafka is total. His affinity for this author has led him to knowledge of every detail in Kafka's work. Although one of the first principles of teaching Kafka to students is to explain that there are no definitive readings of this highly enigmatic author, Sokel's elegant and erudite essays come as close to that absolute as is possible. His deeply personal first chapter attributes his desire "to get to know the secret of Kafka's power"—a response to his first reading "The Metamorphosis"—as the cause of his becoming a Germanist, a result from which we, his colleagues, have profoundly benefited. In this chapter, Sokel also explains his overarching view of Kafka's oeuvre and why the present volume is a companion to his masterful first book from the early 1960s, *Franz Kafka: Tragik und Ironie*, which was never translated into English. In that first book the concept of Kafka's writing was understood as primarily a negation of the self and an undoing of selfhood. In that way Kafka's writing process was interpreted as having a negating function serving to undo the individuated being. With re-readings and by responding to the theoretical approaches like poststructuralism, intertextuality, cultural studies, and reader theory that have emerged in the decades since his first study, Sokel has come to see Kafka's writing as actually having given expression to the true self. Contrary to his earlier view, Sokel now understands that for Kafka writing is an affirmative process that helps the author find his true ego. Kafka's inner world is the self escaping from a censor and thus becomes the realm of truth. Sokel continues to adhere to the work-imminent method that he prefers and always presents close readings of the actual Kafkan text. Each of the essays is thus both comprehensive and detailed at once, presenting the reader with invaluable and illuminating insights into the theory *and* practice of a master critic.

Since several of the previously published essays will be familiar to readers, I would like to comment in this necessarily brief review on two of the previously unpublished chapters. In "Symbol, Allegory, Existential Sign: Three Approaches to Kafka," Sokel reviews and explains with great clarity the larger critical debate regarding the terms "allegory" and "symbol." Citing the work of some of the most important Kafka critics, such as Max Brod, Erich Heller, Walter Benjamin, Heinz Politzer, Wilhelm Emrich, Theodor Adorno, and Stanley Corngold, Sokel shows how Kafka criticism has developed and been changed over the decades by the arguments of these scholars—starting from the classical Goethean conception of allegory in Brod's interpretation of Kafka's work and ending with Corngold's poststructural readings based on the incompatibility of sign and meaning. At the end of the essay, Sokel explains how his Aristotelian approach of finding an overarching myth in Kafka (i.e., finding existential signs that keep a constant semiotic function throughout the whole), fits into this panoply.

In the last chapter of the book, "Freedom and Authority in the Fiction of Franz Kafka," Sokel takes up a theme with which he has often dealt, Kafka's preoccupation with authority. In a discussion that begins with "Letter to his Father" and then takes up Kafka's stories and novels from his early ("The Urban World"), middle (*The Trial* and its metaphoric parable "Before the Law,"), and late periods ("The Problem of Our Laws," and *The Castle*), Sokel traces Kafka's tendency to bifurcate authority into its actual and ideal aspects and sees the division in authority reflected in a split in the attitudes of the protagonists towards authority. Power and the self are in conflict in a most antagonistic drama. Sokel's essays are Kafka criticism at the highest level, bringing both deep understanding and great pleasure to their reader.

RUTH V. GROSS

North Carolina State University

Weinzierl, Ulrich. *Hofmannsthal. Skizzen zu seinem Bild.* Wien: Paul Zsolnay, 2005. 319 pp. €21.50 hardcover.

Kaum ein Fin-de-Siècle-Autor von Rang, über den es inzwischen nicht eine ausführliche Lebensbeschreibung gibt — nicht so bei Hofmannsthal. Der hat Biographen und Biographismus gleichermaßen gehasst, und diese Einstellung hat offenbar ihre Wirkung auf die Forschung nicht verfehlt. Ulrich Weinzierl hat sein neues Buch mit dem postmodernen Untertitel "Skizzen zu seinem Bild" versehen, eine Gattungsbezeichnung, die auf den Werkprozess in der Porträtmalerei verweist. Ein "fertiges" Konterfei wird nicht angestrebt, vielmehr werden Entwürfe über den Autor in unterschiedlichen Lebenszusammenhängen angefertigt. Dahinter steht die Einsicht, dass es "definitive" Biographien nicht geben kann. Ulrich Weinzierls Studie ist ein glänzend geschriebenes Meisterwerk der Kritik und der Recherche, das, was Stil und Scharfblick betrifft, viel jenen österreichischen Autoren verdankt, mit denen er sich als Wissenschaftler beschäftigt hat: Alfred Polgar, Karl Kraus und Arthur Schnitzler. In drei Ansätzen nähert sich Weinzierl der Lebensgeschichte Hofmannsthal. Zuerst geht es um das Selbstverständnis des Dichters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Wiener Judentum, dann folgt ein

Essay über aristokratische Attitüden und Nobilitätsideen des Autors, und schließlich werden — was den größten Teil des Buches ausmacht — Freundschafts- und Liebesbeziehungen analysiert.

Weinzierl berichtet über den "Wahnsinn," den "unendlichen Krampf" des Blut- und Abstammungsdiskurses zu Hofmannsthals Lebzeiten. Die Einstellung des Dichters zum Judentum war ambivalent. Er hatte selbst jüdische Vorfahren, war glücklich mit der Jüdin Gerty Schlesinger verheiratet, und trotzdem sind deutliche Spuren antijüdischen Ressentiments in seinen Briefen nicht zu übersehen. Auf seine adlige Abstammung, seine aristokratische Haltung und Gesinnung hielt Hofmannsthal sich viel zu gute. Für Weinzierl ist er ein Beispiel für die Kultivierung jener "feinen Unterschiede," die Bourdieu als symbolisches — in Karrieren Zinsen abwerfendes — Kapital bezeichnet hat. Die Konnektionen zur Hocharistokratie verhalfen ihm 1914 dazu, die Rolle des Heldentodverweigerers zu spielen. Jakob Wassermann meinte, Hofmannsthal sei "wie keiner zur Freundschaft" geschaffen. Eine Reihe seiner Vertrauten (etwa Leopold von Andrian) waren Homosexuelle, und in homophilen, aristokratisch-konservativen Kreisen fühlte der "Graf v. Rodaun" sich am wohlsten; man denke an die frühe Zuneigung zu Edgar Freiherr Karg von Bebenburg und an die komplizierte Beziehung zu Harry Graf Kessler. In den zwanziger Jahren war der Basler Patriziersohn Carl J. Burckhardt ein Freund der Familie. Einige seiner Bekannten (wie Karl Anton Prinz Rohan und Max Mell) drifteten ab in den Nationalsozialismus. Nicht selten zerschneit Hofmannsthal durch Brüskierungen alte Verbindungen (wie im Fall Rudolf Borchardts und Richard Beer-Hofmanns). Weinzierl schildert ausführlich die Liebe des Autors zu Ottonie Gräfin Degenfeld-Schonburg. Der Briefwechsel zwischen den beiden wird von ihm zu Recht als "der schönste in Hofmannsthals epistolographischem Werk" bezeichnet. Der Dichter als Pygmalion: die Gräfin sollte sich in "eine Hofmannsthalsche Figur" verwandeln; ihr habe er die Rolle der edel verzichtenden Feldmarschallin Fürstin Werdenberg aus dem "Rosenkavalier" zugeordnet, und zudem sei sie zum Vorbild der "Ariadne" geworden. Solche Relationen taten offenbar der Liebe zu Frau Gerty keinen Abbruch, lobte er doch aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen als Gatte wiederholt das "Institut der Ehe."

PAUL MICHAEL LÜTZELER

Washington University

Georg Trakl: Poems and Prose. A Bilingual Edition. Translated from the German and with an introduction by Alexander Stillmark. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005. 192 pp. \$17.95 paperback.

Translations of poetry are as necessary as they are impossible. Alexander Stillmark's translation is a perfect case in point. It serves multiple essential purposes. Among them is rendering a poet whose recognition rarely extends beyond the boundaries of German-speaking lands accessible to readers of English, for whom Trakl should serve as a unique and important gloss on 20th-century verse. If bilingual editions are always welcome, this one is particularly. Trakl's poems possess, as Stillmark writes, an "evocativeness" that is "charged and empowered with [...] significance beyond conven-

tional usage or expectation" (xviii). That power, as any reader of Trakl has noticed, results from the "strangeness of his diction and syntax" as well as the "particular resonance and intensity" of language's non-semantic traits (xxi). So, while Stillmark opted to ignore rhyme, for example, in favor of rendering the "general 'feel' of [Trakl's] distinctive style" (xxi) the German version opposite the translation allows one to recognize what cannot be rendered in the generality of such feelings: "The poet's predilection for elevated poetic terms like "Antlitz," "Odem," or "Woge," needed to be respected where possible, but it is scarcely feasible to reproduce in English every original compound coinage, the dynamics of certain prefixes [...] or a number of indefinite abstract substantives" (xxii). And even that which accounts for general feeling—"alliterative effects," "languid cadences," and "the melancholy music of his vowel sounds"—"can never be properly recreated" (xxii). In some instances, Stillmark seems to hit the mark as closely as possible, as in the following citation from Trakl's second version of "Grodek":

Am Abend tönen die herbstlichen Wälder	At evening the autumn woods resound
von tödlichen Waffen, die goldnen Ebenen	With deadly weapons, the golden plains
Und blauen Seen, darüber die Sonne	And blue lakes, the sun overhead
Düstrer hinrollt, umfängt die Nacht	Rolls more darkly on; night embraces
Sterbende Krieger, die wilde Klage	Dying warriors, the wild lament
Ihrer zerbrochenen Mänder.	Of their broken mouths (126–27).

Even if the "melancholy music" of the vowels strikes a slightly different chord in English, the translation gestures towards what is most elusive and captivating about Trakl's poetry.

Beyond the merits of the individual translations is the breadth of the offering. This volume contains the bulk of *Gedichte* (1913), the complete collection *Sebastian im Traum* (1915), all the poems that appeared in *Der Brenner* (1914–15), twenty-one other poems written between 1912–14, the entire prose (four short pieces) for the first time, an agreeable introduction by the translator, and some helpful endnotes. The presentation of complete collections permits exploration of Heidegger's controversial claim that all of Trakl's work was really one poem. Of course, any such consideration demands consulting the original, which regrettably is lacking in the four short prose pieces. And for those relying primarily on the translations, all of the work presented here would be at least two poems. That is nonetheless the inestimable pleasure and value of these accomplished translations. They touch the original without disturbing it and offer a sustained reading that inevitably summons others. The final verses of the third version of "Elis" are such an example: "Immer tönt/An schwarzen Mauern Gottes einsamer Wind" ("By black walls/For ever resounds God's solitary wind") (46–47). The merits or faithfulness of the translation is apparent. But the translation also calls attention to the proximity of God's wind to the black walls by the impossibility of preserving in English the original word order. That difference is all the more telling since it brings one to consider the possibility of "Gottes" modifying "Mauern." In other words, the translation serves to enrich the original.

These translations will thus serve the concerns of all kinds of readers. Students of German will recognize inimitable characteristics of the language. Students of poetry will see how Trakl realigns and disturbs the constellations of 20th-century verse. Those attracted by the intersections of poetry and philosophy will have access to a figure argu-

ably central to Heidegger's engagements with poetry. And English readers in general will find their own language called forth to imagine new possibilities of expression.

RICHARD BLOCK

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German Studies across the Disciplines

Bennett, Benjamin. *All Theater Is Revolutionary Theater*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. 241 pp. \$39.95 hardcover.

Benjamin Bennett, the author of several important studies of modern European (chiefly German) literature, has long combined great erudition with a willingness to overturn the applecart. To the good fortune of theater scholars in particular, one of the central questions of his career has been the relationship between literature and drama. In *All Theater Is Revolutionary Theater*, which serves as something of a sequel to his earlier *Theater As Problem*, Bennett offers further reflections on this troubled and troubling relationship.

The argument of this provocative book rests on two fundamental assertions, each of which Bennett elaborates and defends. The first is that Western drama has always been regarded as a discrete literary or poetic type, and the second is that drama has always been distinguished from other types of writing in ways that trouble the whole system of literary classification. From Aristotle onwards, theorists and practitioners have attempted to incorporate drama into a larger system of the written word (whether under the sign of "poetry" or "literature"), and yet drama has consistently resisted such incorporation even as it has attracted it. The reason for the confusion is simple: drama both *is* and *is not* a literary type. Strongly inspired by Artaud and Brecht, Bennett develops a performance theory that makes drama the incurably rebellious child of the written word.

Bennett's book derives much of its substance and subtlety from his close readings of a wide variety of sources. Beginning with Aristotle's *Poetics* (the shadow of which hangs over the entirety of this book), Bennett shows how Aristotle attempts to incorporate physical performance into his larger definition of drama as a poetic genre. It is an impossible project, marking the *Poetics* as the first of a long line of noble failures of Western dramatic theory. Leaping ahead to the modern stage, Bennett brings together Brecht and Artaud, emphasizing the commonality of their work (especially their challenges to the written word) against their more obvious differences. Further chapters offer readings of a host of theater artists: Büchner, Wedekind, Shaw, Eliot, Beckett, and Robert Wilson, among others. Bennett's close readings of individual works are at least as valuable as his broader theoretical arguments. His discussion of *Leben des Galilei*, which elucidates the ways in which Brecht's text grapples with long-standing problems of the relation of writing to performance, is a significant contribution to critical understanding of that play. His chapter on Hofmannsthal's "Theater of Adaptation" is a superb

study of this playwright whose contributions have been somewhat neglected by theater scholars. As such, the chapter provides a useful addition to Bennett's own *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: The Theaters of Consciousness* (1988). Similarly, Bennett's closing chapter on Robert Wilson provides a nuanced and persuasive response to Hans-Thies Lehmann's important *Postdramatisches Theater* (1999).

It is when the book turns from particular readings to the general claims that some problems emerge. Elements of the argument, including the provocative thesis implied by the book's title, rely on a distinction between literature and drama that at times overstates the case. Throughout the book, Bennett juxtaposes the "inevitable conservative tendency" of literature with the "enduring revolutionary character" of drama. And yet the distinction is less clear-cut than Bennett would have it. Where Bennett associates literature *tout court* with realism ("nothing can be done to block the transparency of mind in literature, to make literature opaque, to prevent the operation of psychological realism"), one wants to see greater attention to the ambiguous, opaque, and performative aspects of written texts. Where Bennett argues for the revolutionary nature of drama *qua* drama, one longs for more focus on the range of dramatic conventions that produce—even "in the long run"—drama's own forms of conservatism. Bennett's argument is most convincing when he writes, as he generally does, of experimental playwrights and directors: Brecht, Beckett, Genet, Wilson, etc. For his argument to convince fully, however, he would have to show that the "all" of the book's title also includes such long-lived, convention-bound theatrical forms as neoclassicism, melodrama, the "well-made play," society comedy, operetta, and musical theater.

Despite this trouble, *All Theater Is Revolutionary Theater* is a provocative, deeply learned, and wide-ranging study of the relationship between literature and drama. It will offer much to scholars of modern drama, modern German literature, comparative modernism, aesthetics, and genre theory.

MATTHEW SMITH
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Berghahn, Daniela. *Hollywood Behind the Wall: The Cinema of East Germany*. Manchester, UK: University of Manchester Press, 2005. 294 pp. \$24.95 paperback.

The opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 arguably made research on the literature and culture of the former East Germany both more appealing to a larger array of scholars and arguably more difficult to conduct. Writing on the films of DEFA (Deutsche Film AG), the East German film production company, offers a case in point. The dissolution of the German Democratic Republic brought about the dissolution of the company, the departure from the industry of many of the personnel who once worked there and a dispersal of the resources, prints, and archives once held by the studio. Yet, in the past ten years, numerous books and many articles have appeared both in English and in German telling histories of various aspects of filmmaking in the GDR. Daniela Berghahn's new book offers the first history of DEFA from its founding in 1946 to its closing in 1990 available in English. Moreover, the book provides an account of filmmaking originating in eastern Germany since DEFA closed its doors.

Hollywood Behind the Wall is encyclopedic in format. Rather than providing sustained arguments about particular films, it attempts to cover the cinema as institution in East Germany. In this approach lie both the book's greatest strengths and its weaknesses. The book is divided into six chapters, organized topically. It begins with an extensive history of the role of film in the East German state that provides, at the same time, an overview of the relationship between the cinema and the state in both East and West Germany. As the founding of DEFA actually preceded the founding of the German Democratic Republic, the GDR inherited a film company that had already become the strongest in all of Germany. This strength came, in great part, through DEFA's ability to consolidate its talents and resources, whereas West German film companies remained divided and dispersed throughout the three western zones of occupation. Moreover, while audiences tired quickly of rubble films, some of DEFA's earliest films, including *Die Mörder sind unter uns* (Wolfgang Staudte, 1946) and *Ehe im Schatten* (Kurt Mätzig, 1948), did quite well at the box-office. These and other early DEFA products including *Die Affäre Blum* (Erich Engel, 1948) mark the start of what would become known as the DEFA anti-fascist films. As Berghahn notes "the centrality of the anti-fascist myth of origin for East German national identity is reflected in the prominence accorded this subject in its national film production" (72–73). It is a theme that Berghahn traces through to the 1980s.

The book dedicates a chapter to the discussion of costume dramas, with respect to which Berghahn argues "DEFA's heritage films reflect the two-pronged approach to its cultural identity, which aimed to amalgamate the pre-socialist tradition with communist internationalism" (101). As with almost all costume dramas of any community and era, these films attempt to make historical narratives relevant to contemporary situations. This was made more acute in the Cold War German situation as both countries strived to become the legitimate heir to German cultural traditions.

Chapter four treats censorship and the 40-plus shelved films of DEFA. The chapter abounds with anecdotes about the intrigues of censorship in the GDR. The most famous wave of censorship came in the wake of the eleventh plenary session of the ruling German Socialist Unity Party (SED) in December 1964. Among the twelve that went under lock and key in the wake of the SED cultural crackdown, Frank Beyer's *Spur der Steine* (1966) has enjoyed the greatest success since its post-1989 re-release.

The final two chapters of the book deal with women in GDR cinema and film in eastern Germany since 1989. Chapter five begins by placing the production of women's films in context with West German production of the time and then provides brief sketches of films representative of each decade's attempt to produce filmic narratives inclusive of the experiences of women in East Germany. The final chapter discusses the legacy of DEFA beyond its dissolution and up to the most recent wave of *Ostalgie* films such as *Sonnenallee* (Leander Haußmann, 1999) and *Goodbye Lenin!* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003).

While Berghahn performs a meticulous task of cataloging important trends in East German filmmaking, *Hollywood Behind the Wall* makes very few arguments about the films themselves. In essence, the book provides a descriptive narrative about the phenomenon of DEFA without participating in a committed engagement about what either the films mean or what the cinematic legacy of the German Democratic Republic is. Despite the book's unfortunate homage in the title to filmmaking in southern California, Berghahn concludes the book with the suggestion that the few legacies of

East German cinema have been lost in the futile competition with Hollywood. It seems like the small but elegant stories and carefully constructed films of DEFA may well have more to tell us about the possibilities of cinema than Berghahn has dared to suggest.

ROBERT R. SHANDLEY
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Frevert, Ute. *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Military Conscription and Civil Society.* Translated by Andrew Boreham with Daniel Brückenhaus. Oxford: Berg, 2004. 322 pp. \$26.95 paperback.

Ute Frevert has written a fascinating history of conscription in modern Germany. The account surveys the impact of the draft on concepts of citizenship, social integration, and gender in the 19th and 20th centuries. The thematic motor of the account is the tension between civil and military institutions. The “aims and governing principles” of the latter, Frevert writes, stood “far removed from the nature of civil society (2).” While the one set of institutions required rigid discipline, obedience, and hierarchy for its functioning, the other was based on the civic equality of its participants and the virtues of a free exchange of opinion. The Prussian reformers of the early 19th century were convinced nonetheless that a fruitful synthesis was possible, that the army could become the “school of the nation,” in which civic and military virtues were nurtured in harmony to the benefit of both.

Much of the book is devoted to the heated controversies over compulsory military service in Prussia and elsewhere in Germany during the first two-thirds of the 19th century. While the connection between military service and citizenship was accepted broadly, the debates focused on the institutional designs best suited to realize it. The Prussian system, in which every male was liable at least in theory for short-term service either in the regular army or the *Landwehr*, was but one of several German models, but the success of Prussian arms in the wars of unification ensured its triumph in the nation-state that emerged in 1871. The result was the militarization of civil society. The chapter that Frevert devotes to this problem is the richest in the book. It analyzes the impact of compulsory male military service on civic ideals, gender roles, and ideas about civic inclusion and exclusion in the authoritarian German empire. The same chapter also provides cautions about easy generalizations, however. “The institution of conscription,” she concludes of the *Kaiserreich*, “placed the army so much at the heart of civil society, directly affecting every family with growing sons, that it also became subject to dissenting inquiry and public monitoring, with parliament and the press both developing into vigilant watchdogs over military practices” (220).

The 19th century represents the core of the book. At the chronological edges the account is much weaker. The institutional origins of the Prussian system during the Napoleonic period are difficult to follow, although the translators bear some of the blame for this problem. The treatment of the 20th century is cursory. The First World War is practically absent, despite the fact that it witnessed the culmination of women’s claims to citizenship on grounds that were related to military service. The Weimar and

National Socialist eras are the topics only of short essays, arguably because the dynamics of military recruitment made the relationship between military institutions and civil society, at least as defined in this book, less pertinent. There was no conscription in the *Reichswehr*; and by the time compulsory service was reintroduced in 1935, the Nazis had transformed civil society in a way that mocked 19th-century civic ideals. In the final part of the book, Frevert turns to the military institutions of post-war Germany. She argues persuasively that the *Bundeswehr* was more successful than its East German counterpart in anchoring military institutions in civic values.

Particularly in its analysis of the 19th century, the book presents a rich synthesis of military, social, and cultural history. It is based on a broad assortment of archival materials, memoirs, and secondary literature. In addition to the political debates over conscription, it analyzes life in the barracks, the importance of military service to class and gender identities, and the difficult encounter of German's Jews with both the burdens and promises of conscription. Ute Frevert first published this study in 2001 with the Beck Verlag as *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*. While it is welcome to have a competent English-language version, the translation is a little wooden. Readers of German will likely prefer the original.

ROGER CHICKERING

Georgetown University

Leonard, Amy. *Nails in the Wall. Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. 213 pp. \$45.00 hardcover.

A revised dissertation written at the University of California, Berkeley, *Nails in the Wall* focuses on the history of three Dominican convents in Strasbourg during the 16th century. The rapid expansion of female religious communities in the High Middle Ages represented "a religious women's movement," to use Herbert Grundmann's term; it also met the needs of urban elites of finding an alternative to the increasingly expensive marriage market for their daughters. No fewer than 250 girls and women entered Strasbourg's eight Dominican convents in the 15th and early 16th centuries; the Dominican mystics Eckhardt, Suso, and Tauler were all closely associated with these prestigious communities, some of which undertook internal reforms that were to serve them well in the storm years of the Reformation.

The Protestant Reformation battered monastic life like a storm, blowing open enclosures, closing down houses, and raining a downpour of pamphlets against conventual life. In Strasbourg, a center of reform, all Catholic institutions succumbed to the Protestant onslaught, except for St. Agnes, St. Margaret, and St. Nicholas-in-Undis, all of which successfully implemented Observant rules during the 15th century. Those cloisters that failed to reform fell prey to the combined political pressure exerted by the city council and vehement anti-monastic sermons by supporters of the evangelical movement. In the first three chapters of her book, Leonard discusses these and other issues, and advances a persuasive argument for the survival of the three Dominican

cloisters in Strasbourg. First, the successful cloister reforms of the 15th century endowed the convents with a strong Catholic identity and institutional solidarity, factors crucial in resisting the religious-political pressures of the Protestants. More importantly still, the urban elites in Strasbourg saw these convents primarily as institutions under civic control that served the needs of leading families in educating their daughters. Both Catholic and Protestant families of the ruling civic regime placed female family members in these prestigious convents, long after Strasbourg became a bulwark of the Protestant Reformation.

In Chapter Four, "The Ties that Bind," Leonard skillfully analyzes this symbiosis by reconstructing the social networks of nuns. Their survival after 1529 gave Strasbourg a kernel of Catholicism: the three convents served as rallying points for the city's minority Catholic population; vocations continued in spite of the city council's opposition; and visiting Catholic clerics maintained the continuity of Catholic liturgy throughout the years of reform, all occurring without the enclosure prescribed by the edicts of the Council of Trent. A constant source of irritation for Strasbourg's Protestant clergy, the three Dominican convents survived thanks to their close links with the urban elites. Irrespective of infractions of civic rules governing their operations, the three convents were never penalized by the city council until 1592, when an internal struggle at St. Nicolas-in-Undis and the sexual scandal that emerged subsequently gave the city councilors the excuse to shut it down. St. Agnes and St. Margaret survived nevertheless until the incorporation of Alsace into the French realm, when Catholic monasticism was given a new lease of life.

Amy Leonard tells this story with skill and clarity, carefully constructing it from archival sources in Strasbourg and pamphlets of the early Reformation. She places her local history in the larger context signified by the subtitle of her book, "Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany" and challenges, in the process, assumptions about confessionalization and the formation of religious identities in the Holy Roman Empire. A useful and solid contribution to the field of Reformation history, *Nails in the Wall* offers many subtle insights that will benefit scholars of religious history and historians of Germany.

R. PO-CHIA HSIA

Pennsylvania State University

Rampelmann, Katja. *Im Licht der Vernunft: Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878–1901.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 313pp. €38.00. Hardcover.

One of the best arguments for history is that accounts of the past force us to acknowledge how different things used to be. For example, while very few of us really want to return to the days before indoor plumbing and central heating, it is refreshing to learn that Christian fundamentalism was not always a dominant force in American religion. For much of the 19th century, intellectual excitement and fervor was on religion's left wing; both the separation of church and state and the testing of religious

dogma against new discoveries in science were topics of reasoned debate. Not that the belligerently pious kept quiet. As Katja Rampelmann informs us in her extremely useful survey of German free-thinkers in America, some early opponents of rationalism and materialism reacted with invective that could have been written yesterday rather than in an outraged reader's letter to the editor of *Der Humanist* in 1852: "Herr Satan! Ich habe Ihren Schmutzklappen empfangen und beeile mich sehr, Ihnen denselben wieder zurückzuschicken. Aus der Hölle selbst kann nichts Abscheulicheres, Schlechteres, Gotteslästerlicheres und Verworfeneneres kommen, als aus Ihrer Feder—welcher Unsinn!" (99).

Fortunately, Rampelmann is not much interested in the controversy; instead she concentrates on the history of the free-thinker movement and its development in the US. While she is quick to point out that no single doctrine united all free thinkers, the movement essentially united the political liberals and radicals of *Vormärz* with their counterparts among theologians, pastors, and the laity. Of course, the fact of established religion in Germany meant that it was difficult to draw a line between the church and the state, but we tend to think of religious dissidents in the mold of New England Puritans rather than the German *Lichtfreunde*. Rationalist Protestants and Catholics wanted to reform or replace existing churches not by returning to biblical values but rather by applying human reason to questions of theology and morality. Their heroes were men like Ludwig Feuerbach, David Friedrich Strauß, and Charles Darwin, and since they had no more success changing German churches than they had changing politics in the years after 1848, a not inconsiderable number of leaders and followers ended up in the US, initially on the East Coast but later in the Midwest. By the 1870s, *Der Milwaukee Freidenker* served as the movement's unofficial mouthpiece, while, building on traditions that stretched back to the 17th century, the Dörflinger and later Freidenker Publishing Company, also of Milwaukee, issued the *Freidenker-Almanach* from 1871 to 1901. By the early 20th century very little remained of the *Freidenker*. The national organization lasted until 1946, and the nominally Unitarian *Freidenker Gemeinde* of Sauk City, WI, still exists. But accounts of 1848 or the *Turner* in America often fail to include the religious skepticism that was once part of a vibrant German-American cultural landscape.

In what seems to have been a pragmatic decision to set some kind of limit on the mountains of material that she could have included, Rampelmann focuses on the *Freidenker-Almanach*. To be fair, she includes a staggering amount of background material, so much so that the book sometimes feels like more frame than picture, but it is a story well worth telling. And it is particularly useful to see how intellectuals including the "speakers" of various congregations, for there were no pastors, attempted to satisfy, enlighten, and broaden their base. To that end the *Almanach* contained articles criticizing religion, promoting rational-ethical rather than biblical morality, explaining scientific discoveries, and chronicling the lives of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Charles Darwin, Karl Heinzen, and other prominent free thinkers. The book contains the table of contents of every issue of the *Almanach* as well as bio-bibliographies of the authors who appeared there. We also learn that articles normally filled the upper three quarters of the page. "Das untere Viertel war mit Anekdoten und polemischen Bemerkungen über Religion und die christliche Kirchen gefüllt. Diese Beiträge hatten lediglich eine unterhaltende Funktion" (149). One could wish for more of what was clearly not "mere entertainment," a few anti-clerical jokes to post on the internet, for example,

would be a welcome addition, as would access to this information in English for students and others whose horizons need broadening. However, despite a few weaknesses, Rampelmann has done an excellent job of pointing readers and researchers in a productive direction.

BRENT PETERSON

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Speirs, Ronald, and John Breuilly, eds. *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, Responses*. Chippenham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. 340 pp. \$95.00 hardcover.

This volume, a collection of papers presented at an interdisciplinary conference in Birmingham, England in 2002, brings together articles by historians, political scientists, and literary critics, who participated in an international research project on the two German unifications. The papers are roughly divided into three categories, the first dealing with the unification of 1871, the second dealing with the unification of 1989, and the third comparing and contrasting the two. For scholars and students interested in the historical context of the two unifications and their ramifications on all aspects of society, this volume has a wealth of information.

In the early stages of the research project, the scholars analyzed the situations after the two unifications in terms of "winners" and "losers." On a political level, Prussia was the winner in 1871 and Austria the loser, while in 1989 the BRD was the winner and the GDR the loser. On another level, Protestants and liberals won over Catholics and conservatives in the first unification, whereas liberals and conservatives won over communists and socialists in the second unification. In both instances, the free market and capitalism won over regulated markets and in both cases contested elections to parliament won over authoritarian or one-party rule. Even though many of the papers present their results in terms of winners and losers, the editors come to the conclusion that such a dichotomy is far too simplified and that it fails to capture other important dimensions.

In the first chapter, "The Concept of National Unification," the editors point out that Germany's neighbors accepted both unifications, even though they came about in fundamentally different ways. While the unification of 1871 was imposed from the top by Prussia, that of 1989 was a result of internal opposition inside the GDR and a realignment of international forces. And whereas the first unification had been anticipated for decades, the second took nearly everyone by surprise. One of the more intriguing questions posed in several of the papers is to what extent the two unifications politically unified what was already culturally unified by the notion of a German *Kulturnation*.

Space does not permit discussion of all seventeen papers that comprise this volume. For the literary critic, the articles addressing literary responses to the two unifications are of particular interest. Stephen Brockmann compares the critiques of the two unifications and demonstrates the similarity between the left-wing critique (Grass et al.) of 1989 with the right-wing critique (Nietzsche, Wagner) of 1871. Several papers an-

alyze the effects of 1871 on the intellectual and literary life of Germany concentrating in particular on the works of Wilhelm Raabe, Theodor Fontane, Theodor Storm, Gustav Freytag, Friedrich Spielhagen, and Paul Heyse. Even though all of these authors supported unification, their literary responses varied widely. The literary responses to the second unification are limited to a single paper analyzing the well-known stances of Günter Grass, Christa Wolf, and Martin Walser. For the literary critic it is unfortunate that there are not more papers addressing this highly interesting topic.

In addition to the articles concerned with literary responses to the two unifications, this reviewer found two other articles especially interesting and well written. Abigail Green describes how German federalism shaped the first unification. She demonstrates the importance of the Prussian model of public education and the development of a comprehensive railway system in overcoming the tension between the center (Prussia) and the periphery (the 34 other sovereign states in the German Confederation). Green shows how these two simultaneous developments contributed to connecting the states physically and culturally in the years leading up to 1871 and to the building of an integrated nation state after 1871.

Erwin Fink examines of the role of the Bavarian Patriots' Party during and after the first unification. This party, which we today would call a protest party, set out to defend the Bavarian state and its dynastic independence, the Catholic Church, and local traditions and customs. The popularity of the Patriots' Party speaks for the particularity of the Bavarian identity. Even though Bavaria was integrated into the new, second *Reich*, present-day Bavaria has kept its distinct local identity to a much higher degree than any other state, something Fink traces back to the Bavarian Patriots' Party.

Overall, this volume provides a wealth of information and perspectives for scholars and students interested in the historical context of the two unifications and their ramifications for all aspects of society.

KERSTIN GADDY

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