# Austrian Intellectual History and Bohemia

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This is an essay about the cultural, political, and geographical location of Austrian intellectual history and the special place of Bohemia and Moravia in that history.[1] A great deal has been written about the multinational and supranational quality of Austrian culture and intellectual life. In practice, however, the Austria referred to in such arguments is usually the Habsburg monarchy of the two generations before World War I. Austrian intellectual history has generally been either strongly centered in Vienna or oriented to a very broad concept of Austria that includes the monarchy as a whole in the late nineteenth century.[2] What is lost between the metropolis and the vast monarchy of many peoples is the centuries-long relationship between Austria and Bohemia that was the basis for Austrian intellectual life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I argue here that we should think of Bohemia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as part of Austrian intellectual history in a way that other regions and historic lands in the Habsburg monarchy were not.

The question of the location and limits of Austrian intellectual history arises for me in the context of writing a book on the intellectual history of German-speaking Austria since the eighteenth century. In *The Austrian Tradition in German Culture: An Intellectual History,* I aim to give historical shape to Austrian intellectual life by locating Austrian writers, philosophers, and other intellectuals within the wider context of language, culture, and politics in Central Europe. Eric Hobsbawm once asked why the intellectual histories "of Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century, [like those] of England and Scotland in the eighteenth century," were "so different, though linguistically and culturally each pair of countries belonged together."[3] This is roughly the problem I have in mind in this project, but nineteenth-century Austria was linguistically more complex than eighteenth-century Scotland, and my book will consider the

[1]Bohemia and Moravia are often referred to together as Bohemia, and I will follow that convention here for ease of reference. The Kingdom of Bohemia included Bohemia proper, Moravia, and Silesia—most of which was lost to Prussia in the 1740s. Bohemia and Moravia were the principal lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus and constituted roughly the area of today's Czech Republic. See Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, 2004).

[2]The question of what constitutes Austria for the purposes of intellectual history is rarely explicitly addressed. Many intellectual histories have concentrated simply on Vienna, in which case the question of the geographical limits of Austrian intellectual history need not arise. See, for example, Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980); and David S. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago, 2003). For a comparative approach to Vienna and Budapest, see Péter Hanak, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, 1998).

[3]Eric Hobsbawm, "Has History Made Progress?" in Hobsbawm, *On History* (New York, 1997), 69.

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intellectual history of Austria over the past three hundred years, a period when the geographical and constitutional forms of Austria frequently changed. My principal goal is to develop a contextual narrative for understanding Austrian intellectual history in relation to modern German culture, and I argue for a concept of modern German culture that emphasizes the German language since the eighteenth century. In the book, my central concern will be to distinguish an Austrian tradition in German culture, but in the present essay I am concerned primarily with clarifying the meaning of the words *Austria* and *Austrian* in ways that will be helpful both for Austrian intellectual history and for the intellectual history of Eastern Europe. I argue for the value of distinguishing the term *Austria* from *the Habsburg monarchy* in a consistent way in order to bring clarity to our discussion of intellectual life. This makes sense for political and social history as well as intellectual history, especially for the period of the Dual Monarchy.

The dominance of German intellectual history in discussions of Central European thought needs to be made more explicit and addressed more directly. From the point of view of Germany, Austrian intellectual history can be difficult to identify and easy to regard as somehow really German. The canon in German literature, philosophy, and even the *Geisteswissenschaften* has been tailored to a very large extent to conform to the story of German unification, and twentieth-century critics in Germany periodically rediscover that their favorite German writers actually came from another country.[4] Austrian intellectual history is often implicitly conceived as a part of German intellectual history, although these relationships are usually not spelled out. From the point of view of Austria, the temptation for the nineteenth century is to idealize a multicultural or supranational identity, which can be contrasted to German nationalism. The term *Austria* is sometimes conceived in an ideal way that is set polemically in opposition to German nationalism, rather than staying as close as possible to the realities of historical intellectual and social life. Such arguments often assume that Austrian intellectual life took place in German, but that assumption is made without much specific reference to the other languages and cultures of the empire. While Austrian accounts of Austrian and German culture have sometimes been ideological or apologetic, commentators on German history, literature, philosophy, and social science are frequently not even aware of perspectives that open up from the south.

Discussions of Austrian literature, philosophy, or social science too often avoid making explicit that the subject at hand is literature, philosophy, or social science *in German*—while at the same time leaving unclarified the scope of the term *Austrian.* These fields, which are central to intellectual history, frequently emphasize the context of the empire as a whole and yet ignore the other languages and cultures of the empire. This is even true sometimes of discussions that are devoted largely to Austria after 1918—after the demise of the multinational empire. For intellectual history, it is important to make the actual historical contexts as explicit as possible, especially the underlying assumption of Austrian literature and intellectual history—that these works were written in German.[5] But I also want to think from a twenty-first-century perspective about how to configure Austrian intellectual history in relation to national and imperial narratives in Central Europe. The underlying issue for me in this discussion is how to conceive

[4]Ulrich Greiner points to the delightful anomaly that half of German literature in the twentieth century came from Austria. See Ulrich Greiner, *Der Tod des Nachsommers* (Munich, 1979), 11. See also Franz Blei's playful remark about Robert Musil and Hermann Broch: "Strange, that it should be two Viennese writers who have written the fundamentally different novels, from which we will date a new epoch of the German novel." Blei, "Hermann Broch und seine Romantrilogie 'Die Schlafwandler'," in *Zwischen Orpheus und Don Juan,* ed. Ernst Schönwiese (Graz, 1965), 88.

[5]See Katherine Arens, "For Want of a Word…: The Case for Germanophone," *Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German* 32, no. 2 (1999): 130–42.

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an intellectual history of Austria that is not determined by traditional Habsburg historiography, by the Dual Monarchy, by German nationalism, or by the conventions of Austro-German literature.

As a field of knowledge, intellectual history is concerned with the history of intellectuals and ordinarily stays close to the definition of intellectuals provided by Ralf Dahrendorf: those who are concerned with "the independent and deliberate use of the word."[6] In practice, this means the history of literature, philosophy, and the human sciences. One can imagine a broader definition that would include everyone involved in culture and the symbolic world, including music, the arts, and science.[7] Such an approach would have a certain appeal for a tradition in which the Baroque and music have been emphasized in cultural and even literary histories.[8] For these fields, the broad, inclusive context of the Habsburg monarchy has often worked very well, allowing scholars to emphasize aspects of cultural unity in the empire. But for fields that are concerned primarily with "the independent and deliberate use of the word," this conception of Austrian culture is more problematic—whether we think of an Austrian literature, an Austrian philosophy, or an Austrian social science. In these fields, language plays a central role.

Because of the scope and complexity of the the field of Austrian intellectual history, it has often been treated collaboratively, in large, even multivolume studies.[9] These comprehensive approaches are usually described as literature, philosophy, or the human sciences, but they frequently address the full range of issues and authors that intellectual historians are concerned with. The editors of these collections usually set a tone, but leave contributors free to develop their arguments in distinctive ways. Thus, essays may adopt quite varied points of view, and general questions of overview are often set aside, particularly in light of the *Unübersichtlichkeit* of the field. This is understandable, but it means that, in the midst of so many different informing conceptions and perspectives, important questions often remain implicit and unclarified. For a non-Austrian or someone outside the field, it is extremely difficult to gain a coherent overview of the subject. Moreover, since intellectual history touches on so many fields, problems often arise simply from variations of usage in literature, philosophy, and social science.

Even if we grant the value of clarifying the place of the Austrian tradition in German culture, we still must ask what we mean by *Austria,* and whether this term means something clear and consistent historically. In 1843, in the context of the relative unity of Metternich's empire, Victor Andrian-Werburg argued that "Austria is a purely imaginary name, which does not signify an enclosed [*abgeschlossenes*] people or a land or a nation; it is a conventional term for a complex of sharply different nationalities."[10] The diplomatic history of the nineteenth century has powerfully shaped our conventions about *Austria* as a term, and it is understandable that scholars of Austro-German literature, especially before World War I, were inclined to follow the broadest

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[6]Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (New York, 1969), 267.

[7]Seymour M. Lipset defines intellectuals as "those who create, distribute, and apply culture, that is, the symbolic world of man, including art, science, and religion." See Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, 1960), 311.

[8]Indeed, for Austria, cultural historians have been especially concerned with the history of music, architecture, and the visual arts.

[9]See, for example, Herbert Zeman, ed., *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs* (Graz, 1996); Michael Benedikt et al., eds., *Verdrängter Humanismus—verzögerte Aufklärung: Philosophie in Österreich,* 4 vols. (Vienna, 1992); Karl Acham, ed., *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften,* 6 vols. (Vienna, 1999– ).

[10]Victor Freiherr von Andrian-Werburg, *Oesterreich und dessen Zukunft* (Hamburg, 1843), 6–7. See Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), 1:chapter 1.

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understanding of these conventions.[11] Before the emergence of a modern state under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, *Austria* had meant the Archduchies of Upper and Lower Austria, or even just Lower Austria and Vienna, but usually Austria above and below the Enns.[12] Today, scholars of Austrian literature typically take the word to mean either the little Austria of the republics or the entire empire of the Habsburgs, while historians often use the term to refer to Cisleithanian Austria after 1867. In his multinational account of the empire after 1848, Robert A. Kann decided to let *Austria* mean Cisleithanian Austria, that is, the non-Hungarian Habsburg lands after 1867. Here he followed constitutional usage, but he called this an expedient, even for the political history of the Dual Monarchy.[13] And Kann used the term *Habsburg* to refer to the empire as a whole, as he did in his comprehensive narrative of the monarchy: *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918*.[14] For the years before 1526 and after 1918, it is reasonably clear where Austria was. For the period from 1526 to 1918, however, the terminology, whether for political or intellectual history, becomes more difficult.[15]

As a scholarly field, Austrian literature has played an important role in shaping the conventions of intellectual history, especially for fin-de-siècle Vienna, but also more broadly for Austrian intellectual history from Franz Grillparzer and Adalbert Stifter to Franz Kafka and Robert Musil. In the forward to his now standard *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs* of 1996, Herbert Zeman explains the usage of the term *Austria* in this multiauthored volume: "The concepts 'Austria' and 'Austrian' are related, in the spirit of good old traditions of literary and cultural history since the 18th century, to that political territory and its cultural emanation that has flowed since the Middle Ages through the rule of the Babenbergs and the Habsburgs and finally into Republican Austria."[16] Thus, Zeman explains that the volume's authors will follow the long-standing convention of allowing *Austria* and *Austrian* to mean a variety of things over the centuries, beginning with the little Austria of the Babenbergs and the Habsburgs, moving to the crowns of 1526, and finally to little Austria since 1918. This means that the word *Austria* does not refer to something continuous and specific from a linguistic or social perspective. For a discussion of Austria's relationship to German culture since the eighteenth century, this definition leaves a great deal to be clarified. It is this good old convention of Austrian literary and cultural history that I want to reconsider here.

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[11]For an example of an explicitly German-Austrian literary history of the Dual Monarchy, see Johann Willibald, Jakob Zeidler, and Eduard Castle, eds., *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn,* 4 vols. (Vienna, 1937).

[12]In "The meanings of 'Austria' and 'Austrian' in the Eighteenth Century," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Robert Oresko et al. (Cambridge, 1997), 423–78, Grete Klingenstein contrasts a variety of older usages of the word *Austrian* with our contemporary meanings. R. J. W. Evans uses the term *Habsburg Monarchy* for the great power that emerged in the seventeenth century, and he emphasizes that it was "not a 'state' but a mildly centripetal agglutination of bewilderingly heterogeneous elements." R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979), 447.

[13]Kann, *The Multinational Empire,* 1:28.

[14]Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918* (Berkeley, 1980).

[15]See David S. Luft, "Cultural Memory and Intellectual History: Locating Austrian Literature," in *Austrian Literature: Gender, History, and Memory,* ed. Regina Kecht, *Studies in Twenty-First Century Literature* 1 (Summer 2007): 25–45.

[16]Zeman, "Vorwort" to *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs*. Zeman characterizes this collaborative volume as the fourth attempt at a comprehensive literary history of Austria—and as the first since Nadler. See Josef Nadler's *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs* (Linz, 1948). For the history of Austrian Germanistik from 1848 to 1914, see Werner Michler and Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, "Germanistik in Österreich: Neuere deutsche und österreichische Literatur," in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften,* ed. Karl Acham, vol. 5 (Vienna, 2003), 193–228.

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At the heart of any historical conception of *Austria* are the German hereditary lands of the Habsburgs, which roughly correspond to the area of the First and Second Austrian Republics. But the term *Austria* is sometimes used very broadly to refer to the Habsburg monarchy at its widest extent, whether in 1804 or after 1867. This equation of *Austrian* and *Habsburg* is problematic for political and constitutional history: in many respects it is simply incorrect and certainly misleading. But it raises even more significant problems for intellectual history, especially for an intellectual history that is concerned with German culture and the place of an Austrian tradition within it. Too often the historical context of Austrian intellectual life has been lost between the conventional narrative of German culture and expansive claims about the multinational monarchy of the Habsburgs and the "supranationalism"[17] of Austria.

For the purposes of intellectual history, I am arguing for a conception of *Austria* that makes explicit the connection to the German language and culture and emphasizes the hereditary lands of Austria and Bohemia as the historical core of this intellectual tradition.[18] My account of the Austrian tradition in German culture will concentrate primarily on the geographical region marked by the historical overlap between the Habsburg monarchy and the German Reich (and later the German Confederation) before 1866. My argument emphasizes the close ties within Cisleithanian Austria between the Habsburgs' German hereditary lands and the Bohemian hereditary lands, especially after 1749.[19] This conception of Austria is Cisleithanian in the geographical sense—west of the Leitha River—though not in the strictly constitutional sense of the Ausgleich of 1867, in which Galicia, Bukovina, and Dalmatia were included. A glance at a map of Germany on the eve of the Reformation makes clear the area that belongs to my story (see Figure 1). Here we have the core of a German-speaking region that remained under Habsburg rule and within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation into the nineteenth century. This area of Habsburg rule in Germany had hardly changed down to the time of the French Revolution (see Figure 2). The Napoleonic era consolidated and clarified these relationships and replaced the Holy Roman Empire with the German Confederation until 1866. We might describe this region as the part of Central Europe that was represented in the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848, but not included in the German Empire of 1871 (see Figure 3). Thus, for the period before World War I, I will take *Austria* to mean not the area of the twentieth-century republics, but the region that seems to disappear from view in 1867 or 1871 as the new distinction crystalized between the German nation and the multinational Habsburg monarchy.

The inclusion of Bohemia as part of the Austrian tradition is crucial for understanding the nature of Austrian intellectual life since the eighteenth century, especially the Enlightenment and Josephinism, but also the wider reception of German culture. This conception of Austria is essential for locating and understanding central figures of Austrian intellectual history such as Bernard Bolzano, Adalbert Stifter, and Ernst Mach. Indeed, there is no way to adequately tell the story of Austrian philosophy without Bohemia. Austria's connection to Bohemia was much more fundamental and enduring in intellectual terms than its connection to Hungary or Gali-

[17]This word was often used in discussions of Austrian literature in the early twentieth century.

[18]This region was the historical core of German-speaking culture and social life in the Habsburg monarchy. Here I emphasize region and language, although a fuller account would, of course, need to say more about class, gender, and religious difference in Austrian intellectual history.

[19]See P. G. M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia 1740–1780,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987), 1:20–22. In the eighteenth century, "the Austrian lands and those of the Bohemian Crown were spoken of as 'the Hereditary Lands' *(die Erbländer),* or, again confusingly, 'the German Hereditary lands'." Dickson refers to these lands together as "the central lands of the Monarchy."

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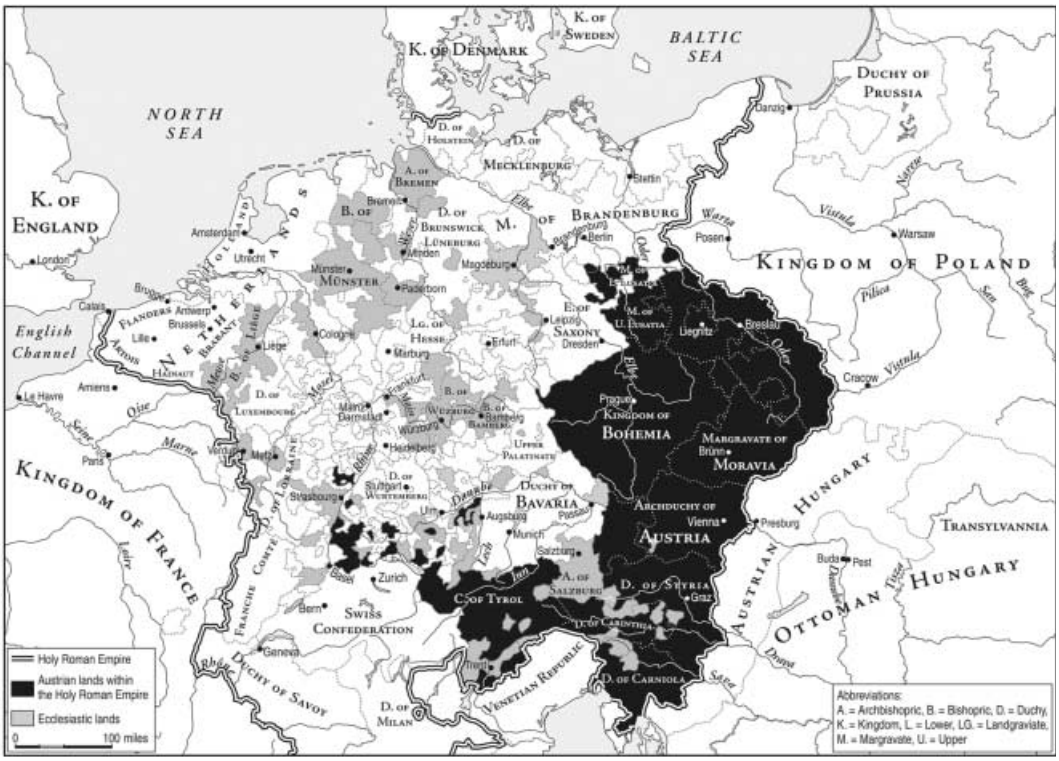



**Figure 1:** Principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, 1547. Cartography by Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis.

cia.[20] There is good reason to think of Hungary as primarily a separate story, whereas the narrative of Bohemia and Moravia is necessarily a hybrid, an integral part of Austria from 1749—and really much earlier—until 1918, but the core of the Czech state thereafter. And central nineteenth-century figures such as Stifter and Franz (František) Palacký cannot be understood apart from this context, to say nothing of the importance of Kafka and Rainer Maria Rilke for twentieth-century Austrian literature. Many other major intellectuals, from Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach to Robert Musil, belong to this frame of reference as well.

Johann Allmayer-Beck, in his discussion of the extent and variety of the Habsburg lands, emphasized the fundamental "structural distinctions" within the monarchy, especially "between the German and Bohemian hereditary lands on the one hand and the lands of the Crown of Stephan on the other."[21] This basic distinction is too often overlooked on the assumption that the monarchy was a coherent unity. The modern state did begin to consolidate the historically quite various Habsburg lands in the 1740s, but absolutism in Austria was only selectively successful, above all in unifying the administration of the German and Bohemian hereditary lands.

[20]Slovenia is less problematic for the question of locating Austria, since it was part of Austria from the Middle Ages to the end of World War I, and the Slovene language continued to play a significant role in the intellectual and political life of the Austrian republics. Although Slovenia was unambiguously part of Austria and the original hereditary lands, it was less important than Bohemia for nineteenth-century Austrian intellectual life.

[21]Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, *Der Konservatismus in Österreich* (Munich, 1959), 13.

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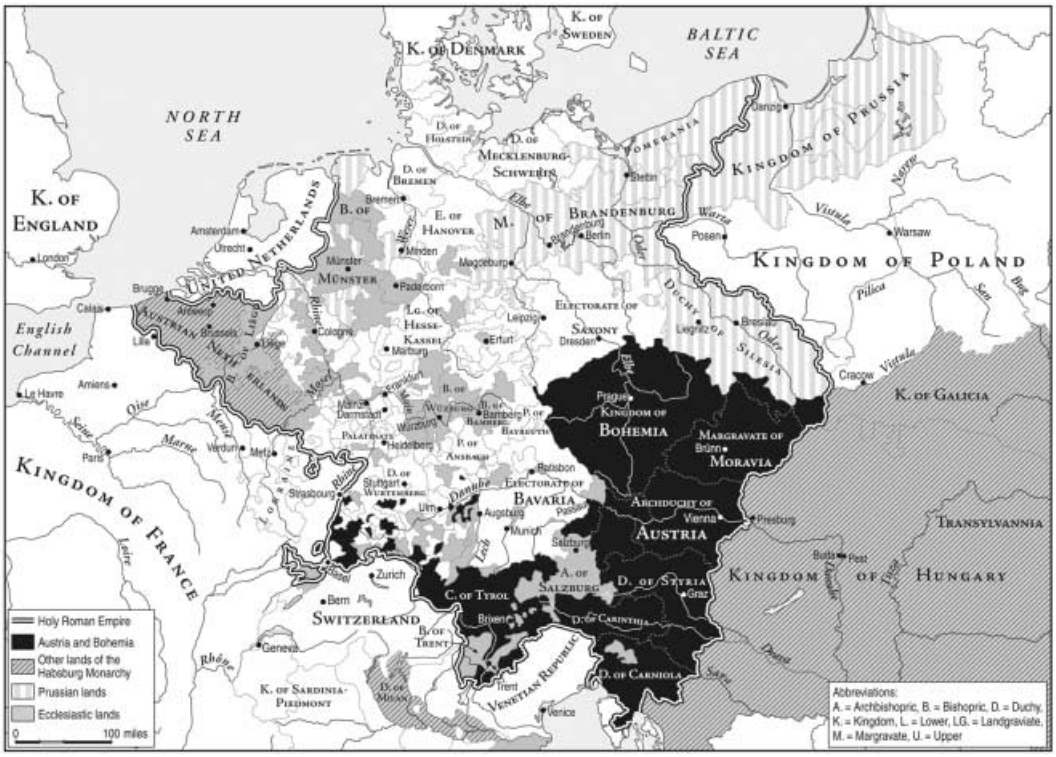



**Figure 2:** Austria and Bohemia at the End of the Eighteenth Century. Cartography by Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis.

Gary B. Cohen and Pieter Judson have drawn attention to the important place of Bohemia in our conception of nineteenth-century Austria, especially for German-speaking liberals.[22] This view of Bohemia's special relationship to Austria in the nineteenth century is implicit—or even explicit—in much recent historical work, but it has for the most part not been integrated into discussions of Austrian literature, philosophy, and social science.[23]

In *The Austrian Mind,* William Johnston argued that, despite the linguistic variety within the empire, it was possible to understand the intellectual history of the Habsburg monarchy by

[22]See Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton, 1981); and Pieter Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1996). My concern in the present discussion is *not* whether German speakers in Prague and Bohemia had developed a conscious ethnic identity in the early nineteenth century. They were rather, as Cohen argues, "Bohemians and Austrians not Germans." It was only beginning in 1848 that "the German-speaking middle and upper strata transformed themselves from Bohemians to Germans." Ibid., 26.

[23]Galicia is a more problematic periphery, but it was geographically, institutionally, and historically more separate from the German Crownlands than Bohemia was—and much closer to the context of Polish culture than to German or Austrian culture. See, for example, Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria: 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, 1996), 8. Cohen's argument about education distinguishes Hungary and Galicia in terms of the social and economic basis for intellectual life in the late nineteenth century: "In analyzing the social functions of advanced education and the recruitment of the educated elites during the second half of the nineteenth century, there are good reasons to treat the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy separately from Hungary and, within Austria, to focus primarily on the Alpine and Bohemian lands."

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**Figure 3:** Central Europe, 1871. Cartography by Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis.

relying only on texts in German. Johnston treated both Bohemia and Hungary as problematic national regions that were parts of a story that was centered in Vienna. He saved these sub-narratives for the end of his book and discussed them for a period in which the two regions were institutionally quite different and separate from one another. His organization seemed to imply that Bohemia and Hungary were at once both part of Austria and not part of it, whether politically or intellectually. At the same time, Johnston's account made it clear that Hungarian intellectual history was very different from Austrian intellectual history, whereas Bohemia was deeply and closely related to Austrian thought.[24] Other discussions of Austrian literature, philosophy, and social science have often taken *Austria* to refer to the Habsburg monarchy as a whole, often in the late nineteenth century.[25] This approach would make sense if it were multilingual, that is to say, the prehistory of Eastern or Central Europe today, as we see in a book like Robert A. Kann's *Multinational Empire.* But Austrian literature and philosophy nearly always turn out to mean texts in German, which can be located anywhere in the Habsburg monarchy at any historical moment.

[24]See William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History* (Berkeley, 1972), 269. Johnston emphasized the "astonishing" number of intellectuals from Bohemia and Moravia who settled in Vienna, including Viktor Adler, Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, Sigmund Freud, Edmund Husserl, Hans Kelsen, Karl Kraus, Adolf Loos, Gustav Mahler, Josef Popper-Lynkeus, Joseph Schumpeter, Bertha von Suttner, and Robert Zimmermann. Ibid.

[25]Michael Benedikt, for example, identifies Austria with the House of Austria for the purposes of the history of philosophy. Michael Benedikt, ed., Wilhelm Baum, Reinhold Knoll, co-editors, *Verdrängter Humanismus—Verzögerte Aufklärung*, *Österreichische Philosophie zur Zeit der Revolution und Restauration (1750–1820)* (Vienna, 1992), 2:10.

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In the 1960s, Claudio Magris wrote an influential account of what he called "the Habsburg myth," which dealt with the attitudes of interwar Austrian writers toward the lost empire.[26] Magris explicitly problematized the relationship between the twentieth-century republics and the Dual Monarchy, and his book was important for identifying the issue of the Habsburg myth in interwar literature, but the specific historical context of his argument has not always been kept in mind, and the limitations of this perspective are sometimes preserved in other contexts as permanent givens of Austrian intellectual life. The histories of literature, philosophy, and the social sciences have frequently been shaped by this Habsburg myth—by assuming German as the language of Austrian intellectual life in a way that refers to the entire empire, by assuming broad commonalities of culture across the many regions and traditions of Austria-Hungary, and by freezing the late nineteenth century as a model for understanding what came before and after. These assumptions are themselves, of course, important aspects of the intellectual history of Austria. But this approach often seems to assume an intellectual life that had no real location—as opposed to the kind of literature Virginia Woolf described that is "attached to life at all four corners."[27]

It is tempting to assume that the Habsburg monarchy was a unified state, and that this unity applied to intellectual life as well. A study of intellectual life in the Habsburg monarchy since the eighteenth century would, of course, need to include Italy and the Austrian Netherlands, as well as Hungary and Bohemia, and, from the 1770s, Galicia and Bukovina as well. In such an account, the German language would be prominent for the eighteenth century, but not dominant. It is true that many of the administrators of the empire lived in Vienna after 1749, but it does not follow that these officials represented an intellectual life that expressed the many languages and cultures of the empire.[28] This is a legitimate concern here, since individuals moved among the various regions of the monarchy as a whole in ways that varied from period to period, but this problem has rarely been treated in a consistent way.

In the context of the constitution of the Dual Monarchy, it was perhaps natural for literary scholars to think of German literature in the Habsburg monarchy as a whole, that is to say, in Hungary as well as Austria. Those who want to emphasize the political and cultural unity of the Habsburg monarchy are understandably attracted to this model. It also makes sense as a broad context for looking at German-speaking Jewish intellectual life, although it is important to distinguish the very different situations of Jews in different parts of the empire.[29] Yet the Habsburg myth may not be the best model for intellectual history and how we might eventually come to think about the intellectual history of Eastern Europe. Moreover, it is by no means clear that the Habsburg monarchy ever provided a significant unity for intellectual history, except perhaps in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For intellectual history, a great deal is to be gained from simply distinguishing in a consistent way between Austria and the Habsburg monarchy, and from discussing the monarchy in ways that are sensitive to changes in form. Peter Urbanitsch, in his discussion of the literature on the Habsburg myth, has recently recalled the very different approaches of the states and societies of the Dual Monarchy to democracy and

[26]Claudio Magris, *Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur* (Salzburg, 1966). Magris's point was not that the Habsburgs had realized the ideal that interwar writers had in mind.

[27]Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York, 1929; San Diego, 1989), 41. The citation is to the 1989 edition.

[28]The distinction between core and periphery is most applicable to the context of imperial administration. But even this administration was not uniform throughout the empire, except perhaps briefly in the 1850s.

[29]See Marsha Rozenblit, *Reconstructing National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (Oxford, 2001); and Steven Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jews in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, 1982).

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nationalism—and even to the head of state.[30] It was quite possible under the Dual Monarchy for a Czech to speak of being a loyal Austrian, but a Hungarian would not have described himself in this way. It seems best in these matters—especially for intellectual historians—to distinguish clearly between *Habsburg* and *Austrian,* and at the same time to take some distance from the Habsburg ideology of state creation. In my account of the Austrian tradition in German culture, I distinguish between the ideal possibility that the Habsburg monarchy seems to represent and the intellectual history of German-speaking intellectuals in Austria and Bohemia.

The story of Hungary has nearly always been clearly distinct from Austria, ranging from Hungary's virtually complete separation from the rest of the monarchy during the occupation by the Ottoman Turks between 1526 and the 1680s to its nearly complete political independence under the terms of the Ausgleich between 1867 and 1918. Twice in the early eighteenth century, the Habsburgs acknowledged the special privileges of the Magyar aristocracy and gentry in return for the recognition of the dynasty. Intellectually, the difference between Hungary and Bohemia is still more dramatic because of the administrative role of Latin in Hungary down to the 1830s and the place of Magyar in politics thereafter.[31] The contrast to Bohemia could hardly be more striking: in Bohemia and Moravia, political independence was never achieved under the monarchy, and Czech language and culture only began to have real impact in the public sphere in the second half of the nineteenth century. What also gave Bohemia a special relationship to Austria and to German culture was its importance for the history of the Holy Roman Empire from the eleventh century and even earlier.

The fact is that for a large part of the modern era—at least for the period from 1749 to 1918—Bohemia was part of Austria politically, culturally, and intellectually in ways that Hungary and other areas of the Habsburg monarchy were not. Here the question is not so much one of political centrality to the empire as it is of cultural common ground over a long period of time. Scott Spector has characterized Prague as "this central-marginal space within the Habsburg realm," and much the same might be said of Bohemia and Moravia more generally.[32] Bohemian society was itself German-speaking to a degree that Hungary and other areas were not. The intellectual history of Austria from 1749 to 1918 simply cannot be told without taking Bohemia and Moravia into account in a systematic way.

The long historical connection between Austria and Bohemia since at least the eleventh century is a distinctive aspect of the Austrian tradition, portrayed most beautifully in Adalbert Stifter's historical novel, *Witiko: Eine Erzählung.*[33] This connection between Austria and Bohemia was built into the Holy Roman Empire and into the whole history of Austria and the Habsburgs, especially after Rudolf's defeat of Ottokar II in 1278. It is unlike any other national connection within the monarchy. This relationship continued to intensify with the Reformation and the Counter Reformation, and with the formal legal relationship between the two states, beginning with the personal union of 1526 and escalating to the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and the

[30]Peter Urbanitsch, "Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy—A Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?" *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 101–41.

[31]Georg Lukács, for example, belongs primarily to a Hungarian rather than an Austrian context. For the period of the Dual Monarchy, Hungarian thought may actually have had more affinities with Germany than with Austria, and there is perhaps a study to be done on the Hungarian tradition in German culture. On the distinctiveness of intellectual life in Budapest, see Mary Gluck, *Georg Lukács and His Generation 1900–1918* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), which concentrates mainly on sources in Hungarian.

[32]Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley, 2000), 37.

[33]Adalbert Stifter, *Witiko: Roman,* afterward by Fritz Krökel (Munich, 2001). This edition of Stifter's historical epic about the twelfth century follows the first edition of 1865–67 with notes by Karl Pörnbacher.

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administrative union of 1749. Despite the antagonisms of the seventeenth century, which recall in some respects the American Civil War, Austria and Bohemia—which is to say, the German and Bohemian lands of the Habsburg monarchy—were closer than ever before. The relationship between Austria and Hungary is simply not comparable. The story of Hungary is for the most part external to Austria, while even conflicts with Bohemia after 1526 were increasingly internal. In the mid eighteenth century, Polish Galicia was still not part of the Austrian story, while the whole of Czech history was part of Austria from at least 1526. And there is another major reason to emphasize the special relationship between Austria and Bohemia: not only the enormous role of Germans in Prague, but the equally conspicuous role of Czechs in Vienna, especially in the nineteenth century. The sheer numbers alone underscore the difficulty of sorting out the two cultures and their borders, from Palacký to Tomáš Masaryk and from Stifter to Rilke.[34]

The importance of Bohemia for the Austrian tradition in German culture is apparent if we consider major works by the greatest Austrian novelist of the nineteenth century and the founding historian of Bohemia and the Czech people: Stifter's *Witiko* and Palacký's *Geschichte von Böhmen*.[35] Palacký's history of the Czech people originally appeared in German, and Stifter may deserve to be regarded as the Austrian Michelet, just as Palacký was the Czech Ranke.[36] *Witiko* is a wonderful book that rivals Stifter's more famous *Der Nachsommer* and ought to be better known than it is—because of the elegance of Stifter's classical prose and because of his imaginative representation of the world of Germans and Czechs in the twelfth century. *Witiko* is also an impressive attempt at social history by way of the novel.

This conception of Austria, emphasizing the special connection of Austrian literature, philosophy, and social science to Bohemia and Moravia, is implicit in many accounts of Austrian literature and intellectual history, and yet it has rarely been made explicit. In *Land im Strom der Zeit,* Friedrich Heer emphasized the multinational nature of Austria, but his implicit argument was Austria's close connection to Bohemia and the Czechs.[37] He argued that in 1900,

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[34]Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, 2002). The term *Habsburg* was sometimes used in the nineteenth century to describe what was not merely Czech national or German national, but it referred to Bohemia in a different sense than it referred to Hungary. Budweisers actually called their politics *Austrian.*

[35]Franz Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen: grösstentheils nach Urkunden und Handschriften*, 5 vols. (Prague, 1844–67). See also Joseph Dobrowsky, *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und älteren Literatur* (Prague, 1818). Dobrowsky referred to the early history of the Czech language as "deutschen und slawonischen (eigentlich böhmischen)." Ibid., 13. The modern Czech language and the modern conception of Czech nationalism grew to a large extent out of the modern German culture of the Enlightenment. My argument sets out from the cosmopolitan German culture that developed in the Enlightenment, which was not tied to a single nation-state. For my purposes, a writer—even a Czech nationalist—belongs to German culture if s/he writes in German. See Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, 1998), 56–62. Sayer emphasizes the attempts of Bolzano (1781–1848) to overcome linguistic difference in Bohemia and how unclear even patriots were in the early nineteenth century about what constituted the nation. On the complex evolution of the relationship between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, see Jan Křen, *Die Konfliktgemeinschaft Tschechen und Deutsche 1780–1918*, trans. Peter Heumos (Munich, 1996).

[36]In *Witiko* Stifter achieved what he had aimed at: "Der Roman hat eine wissenschaftliche Seite, die von vornherein in keines Menschen Seele liegt, sondern die er sich erwerben muss, das Geschichtliche. Dies muss so treu angeeignet werden, dass Dichter und Leser in der Luft jener vergangen Zeiten atmen und die Gegenwart für sie nicht ist, dies allein gibt Wahrheit. Aber zu dem is nicht das historische Wissen allein genug." This passage is cited by Krökel in the afterward to his *Witiko* edition, 885.

[37]Heer was a European intellectual historian who studied German history with Heinrich Ritter von Srbik and Otto Brunner. Part of Heer's appeal is that he began to develop an alternative master narrative of the history of Central Europe. See *Der Kampf um die österreichische Identität* (Vienna, 1981). For a more detailed discussion of this theme, see Friedrich Heer, *Die dritte Kraft: Der europäische Humanismus zwischen den Fronten des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1959).

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Vienna was still the largest Czech city,[38] and he pointed to the connections between Vienna and Masaryk, and to the unwise politics of German liberals in matters of language and nationalism. But when Heer referred to Austrian literature, he did not clarify the special place of the Czechs in German-speaking Austria, which would be significantly different from his explicit emphasis on a centralist, multinational, European monarchy. Heer underscored connections to Bohemia of the most varied kinds, but, finally, his Austrian literature turned out to mean a *German* literature in Austria and Bohemia: Grillparzer, Stifter, Lenau, Kubin, Bahr, Kafka, Broch, Musil, Saiko, Doderer, Werfel, and Brod.[39] Similarly, in "Das grosse Erbe: Die übernationale Struktur der österreichischen Dichtung," Ivar Ivask argued that Vienna was central to Austrian literature, but he did not return to this point when he characterized Kafka, Rilke, and Musil as the most important Austrian writers of the twentieth century.[40] Herbert Eisenreich's list of the great writers in the Austrian tradition was "Grillparzer, Stifter, Raimund, Kafka, Rilke, Roth"—but he did not mention the problems of location that are implicit in this selection, and he was not much concerned with the political and institutional changes and geographical realities that underlie the notion of an Austrian literature.[41] Once again, Austrian literature turns out to be a German literature—mainly in the German hereditary lands, but also in Bohemia and Moravia.

Students of other fields, such as Austrian philosophy and social science, often resort to somewhat ad hoc accounts of individual figures that are rarely presented in a coherent historical context. While a number of scholars have written important studies of Austrian philosophy and social science, these fields are not well integrated into accounts of political and literary history.[42] In most cases, historians of Austrian philosophy and social science have emphasized commonalities across the empire as a whole, even when they are concerned primarily with the twentieth century and with work that was written in German. The geographical and historical limits of these accounts are often not very precise, and this approach intersects with a host of national histories. Discussions of Austrian philosophy are also sometimes affected by the fact that philosophers are often looking for convenient terms to refer to abstract philosophical positions. As Barry Smith notes, "many of the purported marks of 'Austrian philosophy' are exemplified also by thinkers who have nothing whatsoever to do with Austria in any recognizable, geographical sense."[43] Austrian philosophy has most often been connected to logical positivism, the Vienna

[38]Our best estimates today suggest that Prague had passed Vienna in number of Czech speakers by 1900, but the large number of Viennese families from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia makes this very difficult to specify with precision. "Between 1856 and 1910 about a quarter of all the inhabitants of Vienna came immediately from the lands of the Bohemian crown [Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia], a further quarter shared these origins indirectly through their parents, and even greater percentage through their ancestors." See Monika Glettler, *Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900: Strukturanalyse einer nationalen Minderheit in der Großstadt* (Vienna, 1972), 32–33.

[39]Friedrich Heer, *Land im Strom der Zeit: Österreich gestern, heute, morgen* (Vienna, 1958), 61–63, passim. Lenau is the lone Hungarian in this list, although Lenau chose to spend his adult life in Swabia—and not in Austria or Hungary.

[40]In Otto Basil, Herbert Eisenreich, and Ivar Ivask, *Das grosse Erbe: Aufsätze zur österreichischen Literatur* (Graz, 1962), 5–59.

[41]Herbert Eisenreich, "Das schöpferische Misstrauen oder ist Österreichs Literatur eine österreichische Literatur?" in Basil et al., *Das grosse Erbe,* 94–126.

[42]See, for example, Barry Smith, *Austrian Philosophy: The Legacy of Franz Brentano* (Chicago, 1996); Rudolf Haller, *Studien zur österreichischen Philosophie: Variationen über ein Thema* (Amsterdam, 1979); Haller, *Questions on Wittgenstein* (London, 1988); J. Nyíri, *Am Rande Europas: Studien zur österreichisch-ungarischen Philosophiegeschichte* (Vienna, 1988); and Wolfgang Grassl and Barry Smith, eds., *Austrian Economics: Historical and Philosophical Background* (London, 1986).

[43]Smith, *Austrian Philosophy,* 3.

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Circle, and the Prague physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach, although Smith argues that the German philosopher, Franz Brentano, was the key figure in the Austrian tradition. In some approaches, philosophers who lived and worked in Austria are ignored, since they did not hold views that are regarded as "Austrian."

There are good reasons to study the German-speaking literature of the Habsburg monarchy as a whole, or to study the German-speaking intellectuals of Austria-Hungary between 1867 and 1918, or to explore comparisons within the Dual Monarchy for the period around 1900.[44] Even in this context, however, I believe it is important *not* to equate Austria with the monarchy and always to be explicit about what languages and cultures are under discussion, while resisting the temptation to discuss literature, culture, and texts without explicitly addressing questions of language and social location. For the special problem of the Austrian intellectual tradition in German culture, I believe that the most fruitful approach is to treat Austria and Bohemia together for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while leaving Hungary and even Galicia aside as somewhat different problems.[45]

What is needed is a better understanding of a German intellectual tradition that was located not in Berlin, Tübingen, and Weimar, but in Vienna, Prague, and the rest of the Habsburg monarchy to the west of the Leitha River. Particularly important for Austrian intellectual history is greater candor about the special place of Bohemia and Moravia in Austrian literature. But it is also important to provide a real historical and institutional context for works in philosophy and the human sciences, which are often either inadvertently assimilated or totally ignored in the traditional paradigm of German culture. Certainly, for the nineteenth century, more can be done to locate Vienna in relation to Bohemia, and to distinguish the centralized, Josephinist monarchy from the Dual Monarchy of 1867 to 1918. Sixty years after World War II and in the context of the new concerns of the European Union, it is possible now to locate Austrian intellectual history in a way that resists the temptations of idealizing Austria, stereotyping Germany, or obscuring the deep affinities between Austrian and Bohemian cultural traditions.

My aim in my book on *The Austrian Tradition in German Culture* is not a history of German literature and philosophy in the Habsburg monarchy, but rather an account of intellectual life in a context that is sufficiently continuous to be conceived as a tradition. In clarifying these issues, it is important to proceed in a way that is fruitful for the intellectual history of Eastern Europe and the Habsburg monarchy. Just as the standard narrative of German literature has tended to overlook or assimilate Austrian literature, Austrians writing about their own literature have often failed to be sufficiently explicit about the role of Bohemia (and Moravia) in the Austrian tradition, especially for the period before 1918. The peculiar location of Austrian intellectual history in relation to German culture has not been adequately clarified, and the issues that arise in this context are somewhat different from the concerns of diplomatic or economic historians, although closer to political and social history. In my view, Vienna was indeed central to Austrian literature and intellectual life, but, in this context, Vienna was central not so much to a continental, multinational monarchy as to a regional culture in the German and Bohemian hereditary lands. The value of this conception of Austria is clear for intellectual history, but especially for an intellectual history that attempts to locate Austria in relation to a broader concept of German culture.

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[44]See, for example, Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, and Magdolna Orosz, eds., *Verflechtungsfiguren: Intertextualität und Intermedialität in der Kultur Österreich-Ungarns* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003).

[45]By the end of the monarchy, the state turned out to be both surprisingly local and difficult to locate. See Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge, 2004). Healy is right to emphasize Prague's separateness from Vienna as a cultural and intellectual center during World War I, but the situation was more complex earlier.

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