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On Display Conditions of Critique in Austria

Jakob Norberg

Postwar Austrian literature features an unus ual number of outspok en writers whose literary attacks are frequently directed at Austria. There is a lon g tradition of sa tire in Austrian literary history, one that includes n ames such as Johann Nestroy and K arl Kraus.¹ Since 1945, however, befouling Austria has become a widespread activity, practiced not only by the n ation's literary stars—Thomas Ber nhard, El friede J elinek, P eter H andke—but by a large number of less-known writers (Schmid-Bortenschlager 11). Being br utally critical of Austria se ems to be part of being an Austrian author. Austrians with literary and intellectual ambitions oÈen appear as "Experten für Österreichkritik," and m any writers have dia tribes ready for various occasions, a standardized Austria critique to be delivered at, for instance, prize ceremonies (Zeyringer 588). Familiar with the rituals of the Austrian literary field, author Antonio Fian has spoken of the critical "Fertigteilpreisrede" (quoted in Bartsch 52).

Why is this the case? Some claim that the persistent expressions of hatred are pathological and that Austrian authors are oversensitive, histrionic, or just plain mad. Others maintain that the pathologies of the Austrian nation, such as the failure to come to terms with the National Socialist past, make the exasperation and even hatred of the authors understandable and legitimate.²

Yet these claims a bout individual and c ollective insanity suder from a lack of distance to the subject matter. To call Austrian authors deranged, or Austria morally de cayed, is to participate in the hosti lity directed at or expressed in Austrian literature rather than to seek to explain it. Commentators who are sympathetic to the sharply critical writers tend to refer to what they

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see as specifically Austrian horrors—the disavowal of mass involvement with National S ocialism and c omplicity in the H olocaust, the cr ushing oppressiveness of pr ovincial life and so on— but anyone who recounts *reasons* for critique, however urgent and infuriating, must still presuppose the existence of an *infrastructure of critique* that allows those reasons to be invoked in particular ways by publicly active figures. Austria may be more awful than other countries—the aim of this essay is not to settle this issue—but the question is who points this out, under what circumstances, and with what means?

How, then, do we account for such a high concentration of tirades in one particular nation? One potentially satisfying answer may be that satire begets satire, for onc e a g enre has crystallized, it can be r ecycled. That the me ans of critique have been developed and the a udience primed then explains the recurrence. The lit erary scholar K laus Z eyringer calls Thomas Ber nhard a "Vorschimpfer" w hose jer emiads h ave in spired c ountless emula tors, epigones, and p arodists (522).³ Yet the question w hy Austria became a stage for this dynamic remains. Why did the widespread and vehement "rhetoric of national dissent," to cite the title of a book by Matthias Konzett, arise in Austria?

Just as there is a literary history of attacks on Austria, there is also a scholarly history of trying to explain them, and in this essay, I will try to map this trailing tradition. There is a small number of typical answers to the question of w hy Austr ia is the tar get of a p articular literary "Österreichkritik," and those in turn rest upon presuppositions about the peculiar social position of the modern writer as a m arginal figure who nonetheless must be ar the r esponsibility of enunciating political critique. The writers' critique of Austria is explained by the sociological conditions of literary authorship in Austria.

The overview of the lit erature will, finally, be c ontrasted with an alt ernative explanation of why Austrian writers have so oÈ en excoriated Austria. This attempt at a diåerent answer takes as its main source a literary work: *Alte Meister* (1985) by Thomas Bernhard. The novel suggests that the primary location of critical judgments is the museum, in which artworks by great masters are put on per manent display for sustained reflection in a nonr eligious context. The museum has historically also been an institution that allows for the articulation of critique, at first directed only at paintings and sculptures. But the attitude of critical evaluation may eventually begin to wander, Bernhard's novel also suggests, and choose a range of targets outside of the di splay contained in the museum. This migration is made possible in Austr ia be cause the museum has been elevated to the status of the paradigmatic state institution, with multiple ties t o political, so cial, and e ducational contexts. When a nation begins to mimic the procedures of the exhibition developed in the museum, the critique fostered within its bounds may also expand beyond it. Bernhard's novel shows how post war Austria be comes the object of a particular kind of critique be cause it is in the process of turning itself into an enormous museum.

In other words, the bitter criticisms of Austr ia are not ne cessarily reactions to various *strategies of concealment*—the fact that Austrian leaders have sought to suppress dissent or that Austrian citizens have wanted to remain silent about the country's criminal past. Instead, the literary critique of Austria has, probably unintentionally, been promoted by widespread *conventions of display* that call forth attitudes of evaluation and critical assessment. Bernhard's novel intimates that Austria, because of its museum-like qualities, may very well be the most " criticizable" nation, whether or not it is the most despicable one.

Sociologies of the Austrian Writer

Ambitious ex planations of Austr ian literary hatred oÈ en begin with reflections on the soc iological position of the w riter. Intellectuals and scholars puzzling o ver the literary "Österreichkritik" have examined the prevailing conditions of ar ticulation for Austrians who write. What in the writers' basic situation vis-à-vis their society induces them to deliver such cascades of invective?

Quite f requently, these c ommentators point out th at Austrian society is characterized by the c ontainment of publicly ar ticulated strife, "Konfliktvermeidungsstrategien," for instanc e in the hi storical guises of c onservative restoration and post war c orporatism (Beilein 36). From its e arly days, the political system of the S econd Republic followed a pr ogram of " SozialpartnerschaÈ" that meant that large interest groups—trade unions, chambers of commerce, industrialist associations, and so on—worked together to negotiate mutually beneficial agreements concerning, for example, prices and wages in order to maintain a peaceable situation conducive to economic growth (Djordjevich 3 92–93). Di sruptive public c onflicts bet ween or ganizations representing workers and employers were systematically avoided by making closed c ommittees the sit es for per manent relationships of b argaining. The political scientist Klaus von Beyme defines corporatism as the state's endeav-

or "konfliktorisch einander gegenüberstehene Interessen zu *versöhnen*," singling out Austria as the best post war example of this regime type in Europe (135). As c ompromises were c ontinually reached behind close d doors, the parliament also partly lost its function as the site of articulated social conflict (Menasse, *Das war Österreich* 272).⁴ Postwar Austria was a case study in politically managed society-wide reconciliation, an a chievement that came at the cost of v igorous public di scussion over political pr inciples.⁵ In the r ealm of politics, Austria lacked vocal opposition.

The question for the sociologists of Austrian literature is how literary authors r espond t o the institution alized political silence of c orporatist structures. The answer to this question will diåer depending on whether one believes that the close d-oà and monolithic political life makes authors retreat into despair, compels them to assume more political responsibility, or results in a paradoxical combination of both. The political essayist Robert Menasse has argued that Austrian writers have eàectively taken up the other wise unperformed task of political critique: "Sie [the writers] waren es, die T abus bekämpÈ, die S ozialpartnerschaÈ kritisiert, Demokratisierung eingefordert, über die L ügen und M ythen der Z weiten Republik aufgeklärt haben" (*Das war Österreich 272*). In Austria, Menasse claims, the critique that in other societies is enunciated by parties temporarily out of government, representatives of interest groups, or political ly engaged intellectuals with access to a wide range of newspapers and cultural journals falls upon literary authors. The literature is agitated because the rest of society appears all too calm.⁶

Before M enasse de veloped hi s ar guments c oncerning lit erature in the age of "SozialpartnerschaÈ," ho wever, the lit erary critic Ulrich Greiner had claimed, in 1979, that a lon g hi story of antir evolutionary political m anagement had continually minimized the opportunities for authors to play a constructive political role.⁷ In a more openly fractured society, authors can take sides in str uggles and purs ue political causes, but in Austr ia, w here consequential policy decisions have oÈen been made behind a facade of fundamental accord, authors remain isolated from societal movements and enclosed in the realm of aesthetics. The strident satirical postwar literature is, as Greiner argues, a violent reaction to an Austrian literary tradition of beautiful resignation, first analyzed by Claudio Magris in his well-known study *Das habsburgische Mythos in der mo dernen österreichischen Literatur.* Greiner sets up a line from Adalbert StiÈer to Thomas Bernhard, from an ethos of the gentle cultivation of beauty to desperate destructiveness (Greiner 18, 22), both extremes

equally at a remove from the social critique performed by intellectuals such as Heinrich Heine and Heinrich Mann (15). Austrian postwar literature is so agitated, Greiner submits, because the Austrian literary tradition has placed such emphasis on placidity and acquiescence.

In both of the a bove a ccounts, Austrian authors are said t o represent lonely or w eakened voices of opposition. M enasse and Gr einer begin with the image of the abandoned writer who is up against a fortified state-society compound and has to invent and sustain the project of critique without aid or allies from outside of the pur ely literary realm. As the author of a Bour dieuinspired study of the Austrian literary field puts it, creative writers have come to occupy positions in the cultur al and political life of the nation that would not be va cant in other c ountries (Beilein 55). There may be a k ind of standardized and predictable literary Austria attack, but it is performed in a society that has few exponents of and platforms for a critical approach to the nation's life. The prototypical Austrian author feels compelled to voice critique in the e erie absence of public de bate and y et can r arely do so in a way that will resonate with broader segments of society and spur others into organized action. The resulting combination of felt political responsibility and helplessness then only ser ves to amplify the fury. As Karl Kraus put it : "Österreich: Isolierzelle, in der man schreien darf" (137).

According to Menasse and other c ommentators, the social structure of critique also conditions the type and form of the critical arguments. Not surprisingly, creative writers who become critical of society do not suddenly relinquish their preferred means of c ommunication and begin to speak in the idiom of party politics or sociological analysis. Instead, they voice their complaints in the medium of literature and exploit the resources of abrasive satire. Austrian authors are known for br eaking up linguistic behaviors. They play word games with key ide ological concepts, expose euphemisms to a ddress taboos, distort ossified idioms, and ironize jargons and tonalities.

The object of the w riter's critique is likewise connected to the n ationwide si lence on soc ial and political i ssues or the deplor able fact of sti fled debate. The engineered h armony of political c onsensus that prompts w riters to speak up al so provides them w ith a c entral theme. The peaceful a tmosphere in Austr ia screens persisting inequalities, they can insi st, and the glossy surface of the t ourist paradise covers a hi story of di scrimination and crime. Commentators speak of the discrepancy between the image of Austria as an i sland of car efree happiness, on the one h and, and the long history of

officials denying broad popular support for National Socialism, on the other. Behind the "Operetten- und Tourismuswelt mit Sissy, Lipizzanern, Mozartkugeln und feschen S kilehrern" is an endur ing and callous disregard for the victims of totalitarian persecution (Bartsch 51). The "Insel der S eligen" is in fact a "Grab der L ebendigen" (51). Or Austria is a "Punschkr apfen"—a pastry that is pretty pink on the outside but brown on the inside (Menasse, *Das Land ohne Eigenschaften 3*7).

In all of these cases, the s urface impression of sta bility and innoc ence is inauthentic, and Austrian writers have been relentless in their eå orts to bring these discrepancies to public c onsciousness.⁸ Their critique can best be cap tured in metaphors of excavation or exposure. The writers bring the dark, sordid underside of the nation to light, reveal denied or long-forgotten crimes, or pierce through the beautiful image to the ugly essence below. They are trying to uncover the "braune, unterirdische Fluß," to cite a formulation by the author and essayist Josef Haslinger (74).⁹ In this discourse, critique typically involves pointing to the sharp contrast between pretense and reality, between outward presentation and inner tr uth. But to return to this paper's fundamental question: Is there an alternative image of critique? Are there other ways to understand the prevalence of a critical stance toward Austria among literary authors?

Conditions of Critique: Thom as Bernhard's Alte Meister

A sociological analysis of the Austrian author's peculiar position in the political and cultural landscape supports the more complex accounts of the pervasive literary rants against Austria. One may be skeptical of the idea that writers assume the entire burden of performing critique in the absence of vocal political opposition or that the lack of political a gency provokes an oscillation between quiet resignation and raucous frustration. Yet these approaches constitute a great advance over commentaries that only point to the standard themes of literary-satirical engagements with Austria, such as the sudocating provincialism, the disavowed guilt, and the specious political harmony.

Not coincidentally, the sociological dissections of the "Österreichkritik" have been presented by literary critics, scholars, or public intellectuals rather than by literary authors. Menasse, for instance, has written several novels but is better known as one of the foremost contemporary commentators on Austrian national identity. He is a public figure who initiates debates by writing essays on politics and history rather than satirical fictions or well-craÈed dia-

tribes. Menasse exemplifies a E uropean-type intellectual who has the int ellectual resources to diagnose the preponderance of literary-satirical critiques of Austria and can claim th at the a ttacks are ultimately a sy mptom of a deformed, contracted public sphere—a public sphere, in other w ords, that urgently needs more intellectuals such as him. In his study of a g eneration of Austrian writers that became active aÈer the Waldheim controversy in 1986, Matthias Beilein argues that Menasse and his less-known generational peers do in fa ct r epresent a div ersification and int ellectualization ("Intellektualisierung") of the Austrian cultural field (89).

But intellectuals and scholars donot enjoy a monopoly on reflection, and heated literary attacks on Austria may also seek to supply an account of their own conditions of ar ticulation, al beit not in the di spassionate lan guage of analysis. Thom as Bernhard's Alte Meister from 1985 contains such a sustained reflection on the nature and historical place of critical judgments, although it is not cast in the idiom of soc iological argumentation. Its slightly concealed but quite elaborate explanation of "Österreichkritik" can be s ummarized in the following way: The primary object of an unc ompromising critical judgment is the autonomous work of art; the museum is the crucial site for this critical judgment, since it is in the museum that artworks become accessible to the public and ar e put on di splay as ar tifacts divested of sa cred meaning; Austria as a w hole becomes the object of s ustained critique because it has made the museum the paradigmatic institution of the nation-state; finally, the authors or artists are the figures most likely to take odense at the "musealization" of Austria and voice this critique, since they themselves are put on display as objects that prove Austria's status as a cultured nation.

In sum: the critical judgment of the literary observers is directed toward everything Austrian because Austria is a cur iously museum-like nation—in which they too have been interred. Bernhard is of course not the first to note the museum-like qualities of Austria. The notion, or the cliché, has a long history, as we shall see. Yet in *Alte Meister*, he manages to mobilize this familiar image of Austria in new ways in order to construct an account of the Austrian conditions of critique.

Bernhard's *Alte Meister* takes place in the K unsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, where the music critic Reger sits down every second day in the front of Tintoretto's painting, *Portrait of a White Bearded Man*. His judgments of this and all other great works by the old masters are highly critical. No matter how famous and c elebrated, they r eveal themselves to be flawed under hi s close

and continuous scrutiny. But Reger not only exer cises his critical judgment, he also discusses, however briefly and intermittently, the character of critique.

Critique, Reger implies, is the antithesis of astonishment. Great works of art typically call forth admiration ("Bewunderung"), which is an inher ently submissive attitude (Bernhard 12). The subjects who admire a piece of music or a p ainting place themselves in a position of w eakness vis-à-vis the w ork; they are even threatened with being crushed by the perceived majesty of the art. Rather than admire the work of art, one should approach it with respect, an attitude that places the w ork and the s ubject on e qual footing. Most often, however, Reger considers works of art, or everything under the sky, to be ridiculous ("lächerlich"), an attitude that presupposes and inspires a fe eling of superiority toward the object. Things that are ridiculous can be m astered and dominated ("beherrschen") (Bernhard 12). Each state—admiration, respect, and r idicule—thus corresponds to a p articular quasi-social relationship: submissiveness, equality, or superiority.

What makes it possi ble for some one to emerge out of ser vility and to cease to admire the great works of art? Reger's answer rests upon an underlying narrative of secularization. Admiration is inappropriate or impossible, at least for him, be cause miracles are inconceivable: "da es das W under nicht gibt, war mir Bewunderung immer fremd" (Bernhard 122). A state of wonder may be the natural response to truly wondrous occurrences, but if there are no manifestations of the divine—and Reger insists that there are none—people should not stand in awe of things that appear before them. In any strictly non-religious context, wondrous admiration is not a fitting comportment. Critical judgments directed at works of art deprive them of their po wer over people, but this process can only tak e place in a se cularized realm. B riefly put, the critic Reger presupposes the separation of art and religion.¹⁰

We should not worship works of art, for they are objects of reflection and not signs or incamations of the divine; this is the basic assumption of the critic in Bernhard's *Alte Meister*. But how and where does the desa cralization of art take place? When and where do artworks cease to be miraculous objects that compel our admiration? The novel as a whole suggests a simple answer: in the museum. The museum is of course the primary scene of the narrative, which means that it is in the museum th at Reger's long, critical speech is articulated or reported. The severely critical critic has found a permanent place of reflection on a bench in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. But this is no coincidence: Bernhard's novel is part of a greater intellectual tradition that treats the museum as an institution al vehicle of art's profanation.¹¹ Artworks in the church or the imper ial palace serve to adorn, or perhaps constitute, an a ura of holiness and a uthority.¹² In these settings of religious and political r epresentation, art should provide awe-inspiring images of the transcendent. Once artworks are extracted from the ecclesiastical and dynastic realms and put on display in a c ontext that is not claimed by an institution th at wishes only to inspire devotion, they be come available for a ttitudes other than admiration and worship.¹³

The most important new gathering place for artworks detached from the divine is the moder n museum. I n the museum bui lding, ar tworks are collected and find their place in an a esthetic rather than religious context. (For instance, the individual paintings are categorized and organized according to their place in a sequence of styles and epochs, a principle that emerges out of an internal history of ar t.) As soon as w orks of ar t are meant to be enjoyed by a large and shiÈing collective rather than concealed in the secret chambers of temples, the "Ausstellbarkeit" of works of art begin to do damage to their "Kultwert," to speak with Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 146–47).

Reger in Bernhard's *Alte Meister* inhabits the museum of art and takes full advantage of the fa ct that this institution c ollects and di splays ar tifacts in a way that robs them of a religious or cultish meaning. No matter how grandiose or mysterious the works of art may be, Reger can always discover a fatal flaw:

Ich gehe davon aus, daß es das V ollkommene, das G anze, gar nicht gibt und je desmal, wenn ich a us einem solchen hier an der W and hängenden sog ennanten v ollkommenen K unstwerk ein F ragment gemacht habe, indem ich so lange an und in diesem Kunstwerk nach einem gr avierenden F ehler, n ach dem entscheidenden Punkt des Scheiterns des Künstlers, der das Kunstwerk gemacht habe, gesucht habe, bis ich ihn gefunden habe, komme ich einen Schritt weiter. (42)

Again, there are no miracles in the museum. Rather, the museum is the place in which "so-called" masterpieces are permanently put on display, placed before the spe ctator who, aÈ er long and c oncentrated scrutiny, will finally be able to identify at least some sm all imperfection and in this way cast oå his submissive attitude. The novel *Alte Meister* indicates that the museum (contrary to the church or the palace) allows for a critical judgment of art no longer conceived of as worthy of unquestioning devotion. But how does the critically minded museum v isitor turn to the n ation in its entir ety? How does

the particular, bounded environment of the museum in any way help explain literary attacks on the country of Austria?

In Bernhard's Alte Meister, the museum does not stand alone but for ms one node in a net work of int erconnected institutions. The museum g uard Irrsigler who helps R eger enjoy hi s place on the bench first wanted to become a polic eman, failed to join the polic e force, but then r eceived a position in the K unsthistorisches Museum, another line of w ork that provided him with a uni form. And the no vel also relates how teachers regularly lead groups of schoolchildren through the museum as part of their art education, which, according to Reger, is designed to ruin the enjoyment of art for young minds. In this way, the novel points to overlaps between the museum and the school and between the museum and the prison. Schools, prisons, and museums are, the novel proposes, all institutions of discipline that work together to shape the pe ople into an or derly, obedient, even uniformed unit. From a Foucauldian viewpoint, this makes some sense: the prison and the school are closely associated with the production of docile bodies aware of continuous surveillance, but the museum, t oo, demands a p articular (bodily) behavior characterized by silence and moderation, and guards are there to watch over the visitors.14

These various institutions of discipline are, moreover, connected to one another as institutions of the moder n state. In Bernhard's novel, Irrsigler is characterized as a dead man working for the state, a "Staatstoter"; the teachers are the "H andlanger des S taates" (53); the children are viewed as " Staatsschüler" (57); and the artists who created the great works housed by the museum are nothing but " Staatskünstlern" (61). In *Alte Meister*, then, var ious institutions and c ollectivities are linked to one another as sit es and servants of the state. The museum is only one of many institutions that are, as a Foucault-inspired scholar puts it , "summoned to the task of cultur al governance of the populace" (Bennett 21). Artworks are no longer adornments in cathedrals or pie ces gathered in pr ivate collections to glorify the r eign of a prince but are exhibited by a secular (and more or less democratic) state that nonetheless initia tes an ambitious "Bi ldungsprogramm" for al l its c itizens (Osterhammel 38).¹⁵

While the categorization of all Austrians as "Staatsarbeiter, Staatsbeamte, Staatsgreise" captures the novel's vision of an all-encompassing and invasive regime of government, it simultaneously oders a clue to the mobility of critical judgment (Bernhard 57). The museum belon gs to the nonmon archical, nonreligious State, but it i s also where Reger develops his ruthless critique of great masters and, in fa ct, where his critical tendency seems to run wild. The author Adalbert StiÈer and the phi losopher Martin Heidegger be come the targets of harsh critiques early on in the no vel; by the end, V iennese restrooms are castigated as the dirtiest in Europe. The critical judgment is first liberated in the museum as the pla ce for art beyond the realm of the sa cred, but this institution does not c ontain the a ctivity of assessment ; rather, the museum proves to be a tr aining ground. Once the cap acity for exc oriating critique has been honed in decades-long reflections on works of art, nothing seems to overwhelm the spectator or even command much respect.

The Austrian literary scholar Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler points out that, in *Alte Meister*, the critique of art "weitet sich zur Universalkritik" (*Der Übertreibungskünstler* 124). For instance, Reger maintains that all offic ial ceremonies are absolutely ridiculous. This includes a New Year's reception hosted by the president, an inauguration at the university, a prize ceremony, or a p apal audience, all of which are scripted ceremonies performed within institutional bodies. The ser ies itself s uggests that per formances at discreet institutions can be me aningfully grouped together and subjected to the same mer ciless gaze. Insofar as diåerent institutions employ similar strategies of display and exhibition, they also oåer themselves up for evaluation by the art critic who can identify the resemblances.

In *Alte Meister*, the critical judgment is first directed toward great works of art but then transgresses the confines of the museum, and it does so at least partly because the museum is only one institution amon g many, connected to other like institutions within the complex that makes up the state. Ther e is a continuum of modern state institutions designed to educate, re-educate, manage, and impress the population (the school, the prison, the museum), but there is also a continuum of things to be criticized, pervasive conventions of display and performance that allow objects and behaviors to become the objects of critical assessment. Ber nhard's protagonist Reger first scrutinizes individual paintings and artists but also everything else that takes place in the museum, the state that houses and sustains it, and then all Austrians in their roles as willing conduits of the state. In this way, the novel demonstrates how the museum works as the point of origin of an unsparing critical view on phenomena oåered up for display but also how the conditions of critique in the museum begin to apply to more and more societal areas.

The Austria Museum

The expansion of the museum and the critical judgment that it fosters is, one could argue, a very Austrian development. Attempts by Austrian politicians to justify the existence of an Austrian nation oÈen rely on images of cultural specificity—and cultural greatness. An ane cdote from the imme diate postwar period illustrates this tendency. In 1946, the Austrian government decided to collect masterpieces from Viennese museums and send them t o Switzerland in order to protect national property, which could also be turned into capital, should it be necessary to defend Austria by channeling funds to allies. "Diese Geschichte zeigt," Robert Menasse writes, "daß Österreich, noch bevor es im politi schen Sinn eine Nation wurde, bereits eine Kulturnation war" (*Das Land ohne Eigenschaften* 21). The cultural inheritance composed by masterpieces of ar t would form the b asis of eå orts to protect Austrian national integrity. AÈer the S econd World War, Menasse indicates, the museum was actually the embryo of the Austrian nation.¹⁶

The sense th at Austria is a muse um among n ations, ho wever, can be traced f urther b ack. The central Bildungsroman of the Austr ian lit erary tradition— SiÈer's Der Nachsommer—is a literary work concerned with the collection and classi fication as w ell as the car eful restoration and c onstant rearrangement of objects for the pur pose of knowledge and be autification.¹⁷ To cite yet another example, Hermann Broch, writing about Hugo von Hofmannsthal's formative years, noted that the city of Vienna as a whole had become a museum: "I n Erfüllung seiner Traditionspflicht verwechselte Wien MuseumhaÈigkeit mit K ultur und w urde [...] zum M useum seiner sel bst" (49). Broch is speaking here of fin-de-siècle Vienna, but his insight is applicable to postwar Austria as a w hole. Austria is of c ourse not literally an immense museum (with discount admission tickets, elegantly designed plastic bags with the museum log o, a spacious museum codeeshop, and so on). Yet as a nation conceiving of itself as the bearer of a particular cultural mission, it has defined itself by its relationship with a great cultural past, which it is called upon to preserve, protect, and exhibit to both citizens and visitors. To some extent, Austria as a whole is on display.

Present-day nations use museums t o deposit materials they can no longer use and y et do not want t o condemn to oblivion.¹⁸ In a democr acy, the emblems of a past monarchy or aristocracy are gathered and displayed in the cultural archive of the museum— they belong to an obsolet e political or der and can no longer represent the current state but nonetheless remain significant as det oxified relics from which the pr esent sets itsel f ap art. (Similarly, few can use cars manufactured fiÈy years ago to drive to work, but they have a place in the automobile museum.) Museums are containers for objects that are no longer deployed in current political or social practice but help constitute cultural identity. The art theorist Boris Groys has claimed that museums are r ecycling m achines th at c onvert the "kulturgeschichtliche[n] M üll" t o "kulturellen Identitäten" (48–49).

But if a n ation defines itself as nothin g but the car rier of an imposin g cultural legacy and m akes the loyalt y to the gr eat past one of its c entral legitimating reasons for existence, then its borders become, one could say, the walls of a lar ge museum. This is the case w ith postwar Austria, at least if we follow the commentators quoted above. This particular European nation—so the provocative claim goes—does not put some of its now discarded past on display to furnish itself with a de eper historical identity but rather exists *for* this past, in order to protect and commemorate it. Postwar Austria is a nation with museum-like qualities: the metaphor of the museum captures its obsessive preoccupation with a proud past to be preserved and shown to the world. The celebrated museums of postwar Austria are housed in a much larger museum, the limits of which coincide with the country's borders.

Museums typically inspire reverence; they are architectural-institutional frames designe d t o a ccord spe cial signi ficance t o obje cts. L ike the v isitor groups th at mo ve thr ough the K unsthistorisches M useum in Ber nhard's novel, the majority responds to the collections accordingly, with "Bewunde-rung," as i f they h ad entered a pla ce of w orship. As Bernhard's *Alte Meister* shows, however, the museum is also the location where works are deprived of their sacral aura and bcome available to the aesthetically schooled viewer. The works are detached from an older context of religious or regal representation, placed in an aesthetic-historical context as samples of culture, and put on display for consumption and reflection. Artifacts in the museum are at least potentially artifacts ready for critique. If Austria as a whole is then likened to an enormous open-air museum in w hich beautiful landscapes and remnants of the great past are put on display, the nation is in fact exhibiting its contents for the distanced observer. Austria invites critique.

The Austria that we know as an "Operetten- und Tourismuswelt mit Sissy, Lipizzanern, Mozartkugeln und feschen Skilehrern" is thus a target of critique not ne cessarily be cause the c olorful fa cade conceals a dark tr uth that

must be unc overed but be cause all its c omponents are presented, as if preserved in neat glass casings and put before the visitor's gaze. And the writers who criticize Austria do not ne cessarily only per form the fe at of excavation or exposure to reveal the hidden underside of a be autiful surface but r ather behave much like experienced museum visitors who direct their gazes toward the presented objects and vocalize their assessment. Critique is not simply a strategy meant to counter deception. Rather, critical activity is the eå ect of musealization, defined as the permanent display of beautiful things in a secularized realm corrosive of wonders and miracle.

We have now come to a first conclusion based on Ber nhard's novel: In postwar Austria, nearly everything can be criticized and harshly so, because everything is in the pr ocess of bein g "musealized." If the institution of the museum is linked to a range of other state institutions (schools, prisons) and even c omes t o epit omize the state, the a ttitudes cultivated in the museum could also apply t o the n ation. Austria is an odd ly museum-like nation, but for this very reason also a highly criticizable nation, a nation that one can have a look at, pass judgment on, approve or disapprove of.

Of course, the museum is not the only metaphor on oder to capture the specificities of Austr ian cultural and political life. Why not, one could ask, think of public displays of power, prestige, and artifice in Austria as a series of the atrical performances, single out Austria as the most stage-like (rather than the most museum-like) among nations, and conceive of the exponents of "national dissent" as theater critics rather than art critics?

In this context, one c ould point out that the museum and the moder n theater that caters to a bourgeois public may be viewed as historically parallel institutions. Both the museum and the the ater put objects or performances on display for an a udience ready to discuss critically what they are paying to consume and c onsider. In his account of the emer ging bourgeois public sphere, Jürgen Habermas relates how the museum and the the ater belong to a range of sites designed for a r eflective type of viewer, for whom paintings, plays, and r ecitals are objects of asse ssment: "Die M useen institution alisieren, wie Konz ert und Theater, das L aienurteil über K unst: die Di skussion wird zum M edien ihrer Aneignung" (102–03). It seems, then, th at an in vestigation of Austria's particular criticizability could just as w ell start with the critic in the theater audience as with the museum visitor.

And Bernhard may have been quite close t o exploring this option, t oo. In the novel *Holzfällen: Eine Erregung*, published the year before *Alte Meister*, the excited and angered narrator is present at an artist soirée, where he closely watches the pe ople around him and v iews them as a ctors in a spe ctacle. Much like Reger in *Alte Meister*, he engages in a form of critique that is absolutely merciless, and his diatribes swell to touch on multiple topics: not only the narrator's despicable hosts and their antics are ridiculed and rejected but also Vienna and Austria.¹⁹ In comparison to *Alte Meister*, however, *Holzfällen* lacks the sustained preoccupation with the complex of interlocking state institutions and does not in the same way indicate the path from a focused and specialized practice of criticism within the frame of a particular setting to an expansive "Universalkritik." Yet Bernhard seems quite aware that the museum and the the ater are connected, complementary institutions, both of w hich serve to kindle and organize criticism. It is no coincidence that *Alte Meister* ends with Reger and his friend Atzbacher going to watch a Kleist play in the Burgtheater, only to find the performance terrible.

The Author on Display

To explain why Austria so oÈen serves as the target of bitter critique in the nation's literature, it is not enough to point out that there is much to attack in the country's political culture, even though that may be very true. What needs to be explained is how figures, behaviors, and themes ar e consistently framed as objects of critique or how they be come available for the critical gaze of authors. Bernhard's novel sheds some light on this problem, for it provides an account of the genesis and mobility of critical judgment. Alte Meister suggests that ar tworks are od ered up for the inspe ction of the nons ubmissive critic when they ar e displayed in the se cular space of the museum; th at the museum stands at the center of a range of state institutions in Austria; and that the resulting muse alization of soc iety converts it into an object of critique. In the museum-like nation of Austria, things are on display for an a udience invited to express approval or disapproval. This does not elucidate, however, why Austrian authors have been particularly quick to level criticisms at Austria. How do we account for the ast onishing number of tir ades delivered by creative writers?

The striking accumulation of literary attacks on Austria can be explained within the general argument about the logic of the expanding museum. Put simply, it is a case of the museum ar tifacts speaking up. The s development, too, is subtly them atized in the p ages of Ber nhard's novel *Alte Meister*. The

protagonist Reger has been visiting the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna regularly for decades and could plausibly be viewed as a member of the institution rather than a mere visitor. Sitting on the bench in front of the Tintoretto painting with such frequency and regularity, he ends up being a part of the inventory and be comes subject to the museum g uard's care as y et another artifact in need of protection. In the novel, Reger is in fact represented as an object of continuous observation. Atzbacher, the name of the actual narrator, relates Reger's life and opinions as he watches him from a distance. No matter how much he criticizes the contents of the museum, the critic Reger himself belongs to it as one of its objects.

More g enerally, the Austr ian a uthors ar e r epresentative members of a country that defines itself as a "K ulturnation" and ar e in fa ct include d in the range of thin gs to be look ed at in the Austr ian museum. They, too, are precious objects of di splay. Those w ho view themselves as a ctive producers of cultur e are forced to experience how they ar e being watched by v isitors at the world heritage site with the name of Austria: "Österreich [...] ist ein europäischer Ferienpark, in dem a uch Artisten auÈreten dürfen/sollen" (Schmid 90). If they then be gin to criticize the petrifaction of Austria into an immense exhibition of snow-capped mountains, picturesque towns, white horses, and lit erary coåeehouses, that may be be cause they themselves experience the reification and per ceive the discrepancy between their internal perspective on their own creative life and the set of expectations and impositions emanating from outside.

Experts on contemporary literature have pointed out that Austrian writers oÈen combine the pathos of a æbellious attitude with a desiæ for "öåentlichen Subventionen," that they present themselves as uncompromising antagonists to the v ery state that a ctually supports them (Ü nlü 14).²⁰ Th s does not necessarily mean that the artists and writers are hypocritical. Rather, they understand that the subsidies are channeled to them precisely in their role as living objects in an exhibition and that their presence converts the museum into a literary zoo. The Austrian "Insel der Seligen" is indeed a "Grab der Lebendigen," for the no velists and pla ywrights be come figurines in the cultur al show of the "Kulturnation" and feel compelled to react against it. The collective of literary writers may be the first and most prominent group of people to make ample use of the cr iticizability of the Austrian nation-turned-museum precisely because they experience the cost of this development, namely the fact that they themselves are put on permanent display.

Literary writers are engaged in creative work, and it i s as fa bricators, fabulators, and experimenters with language that they are of interest to the cultivated state of Austria. They are hard evidence of the state's cultural mission. But it is also the symbolic value of the w riters to the state that annuls their sovereignty as creative beings, for the state is the ultimate curator and not the writers; they are merely collected as badges and shown to the world. The more they write and speak, the more suited they are for exhibition, and hence the more they fit the activity of the state that seeks to consolidate its reputation as a be arer of cultur e. The state retains the "expository agency" (Bal 146). Bernhard's Alte Meister, in which an aspiring policeman takes a post as a museum guard, may even suggest why the experience of being gathered and put on display can be infuriating: the museum represents a soÈ form of internment. In her study of her itage tourism, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes the affinity between "display traditions" and "incarceration" and claims that a glass case in a museum can be cal led a "tomb with a view" (57). The museum is a mausoleum, and the writers are the most prominent living dead (Hamacher 53).

Austria may be one of few nations where artists are held captive in some way not because they pose a threat to a dictatorial regime but because they so perfectly fulfill the self-image of the cultural state. When these writers become critics and release streams of invective against their own nation, who or what are they in fact attacking? They are turning against that very arrangement the museum display—that also put in place the enabling conditions of their critique. Their critical voices emerge from within the museum of which they unavoidably are a part as living objects of appreciation. Austrian writers can be critical of Austria not only because they occupy a particular place in a corporatist nation-state without vigorous political and publicist opposition (Menasse and Greiner) but also because they inhabit and are put on display in the great national museum that simultaneously releases and contains critique.

As Bernhard's *Alte Me ister* shows, the museum i s the place for cr itical judgments of artifacts previously protected in an aura of sacredness or majesty, and the musealization of Austria, the fact that it is presented as an object to citizens and visitors, turns the nation into a potential object of critical evaluation. Yet this very musealization has a reifying edect upon those who are put on a pedestal as creative artists, and this may be the reason why Austrian authors so oÈen turn against their nation in their works. The museum liberates the activity of critical judgment, but when the nation becomes a museum, it

also imprisons those who best can formulate these critical judgments, oders them up as objects to be looked at and approved or disapproved of, and ultimately drives writers to turn their critique toward the national-museal setting itself. Kraus writes that Austria is an "Isolierzelle, in der m an schreien darf." We can now add that the walls of this cell are transparent, like the walls of a glass case in a museum.

Notes

LAs Gerald Stieg writes, "Nestroy, Kraus und Bernhard bilden eine einzigartige Trias von Satirikern innerhalb der Literaturgeschichte der deutschsprachigen Länder" (3).

2. For instance, Anthony Bushell claims that the "dichterische Vehemenz" of the Austrian authors must be related to the memory of violence, without specifying exactly how this works: "Sie [the poetic v ehemence] liegt wohl an der Erinnerung und an den vielen Erinnerungen, die dieses L and und seine Geschicht e nie ganz preisgibt oder preisgeben kann." ("Mozartkugeln als Waffen der Massenvernichtung" 8).

3. On a basic level, producing literary scandals has become known as a possible marketing strategy that will mobilize various segments of the audience—support from fellow writers and indignation among the "people." This could make it attractive for aspiring authors. See Menasse, *Das war Österreich* 240.

4. Menasse also quotes the Austrian political scientist Peter Gerlich, who writes: "Daß die Funktionäre der Sozialpartnerschaft Informationen akkumulieren und austauschen können, die nie in die öffentliche Debatte eindringen, und daß ihre Verhandlungen abseits jeglicher öffentlicher Kontrolle stattfinden, hat zweifellos dazu geführt, daß sie mit i hren Verhandlungspartnern mehr verbindet als mit je nen, die sie vertreten. Der Kompromiß, den jede Verhandlung zum Ziel h at, ist daher im Selbstverständnis immer schon vorgegeben" (*Das war Österreich* 136–37).

5. The most famous an alysis of how government by public di scussion is replaced by committee work behind closed doors is Carl Schmitts *Die geistesgeschichtliche Lage des heutigen Parlamentarismus*. In his account, the liberal principle of a "*Kampf der Meinungen*" increasingly gives way to nonpublic negotiations among powerful interest groups (9).

6. It has been claimed that Austrian writers, in c ontrast to their Ge rman colleagues, often remain literary writers and do not make the transition to the position of critical intellectuals producing pamphlets, articles, political essays, radio reports and so on. This literariness can be explained by the relatively small and undifferentiated media landscape in Austria. Whereas German writers have had access to a greater number of cultur ally ambitious newspapers, journals, and radio stations, for which they can begin to produce in nonliterary genres, Austria has offered fewer publicity opportunities and thus compelled its authors to continue on the p ath of lit erary self-realization. The typical Austrian author keeps writing novels and plays and does not or cannot take the step toward becoming a generalist "Wortproduzent" (Menasse, *Das war Österreich* 155). As Anthony Bushell has pointed out, the relatively reduced number of me dia outlets h as also served to reinforce the polar ization in

the public sphere. The dominance of a few tabloid newspapers hostile to a restive highbrow culture meant that writers and new literary developments were often summarily dismissed, which in turn encouraged these writers to "produce more works openly intended to provoke" ("Writing in Austria after 1945" I72).

7. For a cr itical consideration of Gr einer's provocative theses and the way they are based upon and extend Claudio Magris's study of the H absburg myth in modern Austrian literature, see Schmidt-Dengler, *Bruchlinien* 333, 373–75.

8. When authors are the only national critics, the critique frequently assumes the form of language critique. Living within a political syst em geared toward stability in which various social groups seek cooperation over conflict, Austrian authors cast a critical eye on the harmonizing function of e ntrenched nomenclatures, jargons, and g enres. If social systems rely on fixed rituals of communication that define and continually confirm the relationships of groups and individuals to one another, the dismantling of patterns of language can expose the mechanisms of social relationships. See Menasse, *Das war Österreich* 185.

9. Haslinger is also a perceptive commentator on the mode rn society of spe ctacle, in which the attempt to sell a political candidate during an election is similar to selling any other product. When analyzing the commercialization of modern political campaigns, then, Haslinger contends that a business a ttitude is more pervasive than a di savowal of the p ast. The problem with modern Austrian politics is not simply the concealment of past crimes, which must then be excavated, but the "Strategie einer prinzipiellen Standpunktslosigkeit" (51).

10. Hegel famously claims that artistic production and works of art in the modern period no longer belong to religion. Art may have been tied to ritual, but for the philosopherlatecomer, art has lost its r eligious significance. Once art is viewed critically rather than worshipped as divine, the age of art has reached its end. No matter how many artworks are produced, art has become a thing of the past. The drifting apart of art and religion that Hegel announces may be related to the advent of the museum, in which all works of art find a place in an historical frame. Hegel's Berlin lectures on aesthetics (1820/21 to 1828/29) are contemporaneous with the building of Altes Museum in Berlin (1823–30).

11. Following Walter Benjamin, Habermas claims that the critical discussion of art in a sphere separate from religious worship or political submission amounts to a profanation of auratic works: "Die P rivatleute, de nen das Werk als Ware zugänglich wird, profanieren es, indem sie a utonom, auf dem Wege der rationalen Verständigung untereinander, seinen Sinn suchen, bereden und damit aussprechen müssen, was eben in der Unausgesprochenheit solange a uthoritative Kraft hatte entfalten können" (Habermas 98). In his scholarship on Enlightenment aesthetics, Jonathan Hess has argued that Habermas relies on an H egelian tradition of aesthetic thought according to which modernity entails the sublation of art into rational philosophy: "In Habermas's story of the public sphe re, art is sublated [...] by the rational-critical debate" (116).

12. Abert Koschorke points out the aesthetic representation of power, or "das Element der ästhetischen Inszenierung," is not added to relationships of power but rather essential to them (82). Any societal hierarchy that wants to last beyond the moment in which it mobilizes brute force against resistance must rely on strategies of (aesthetic) representation that create and consolidate political legitimacy.

13. In his summary of Hans Blumenberg's thesis on secularization, Malcolm Bull writes that the b asis of the se cularization the ory must be an an alogy bet ween the ex propriation of ecclesiastical property and the se cularization of ide as. Secularization in the str ict sense involves the transfer of some constant and enduring entity from the realm of the church to another societal arena (1–17).

14 M useums in fa ct often de clare w hat type of beh avior i s pe rmissible w ithin its bounds. Visitors may not touch the paintings, cannot bring food with them, and so on. For a brief discussion of the norms that regulate museum visits, see "Producing Publics—Making Worlds!"

IS. In his panoramic review of the typical sites and spectacles of the nineteenth century, Osterhammel relates how the state supersedes the prince as the organizer of permanent art exhibitions after the French Revolution (37). In the cityscape of the nineteenth-century metropolis, the magnificent public museum building takes its place among the national parliament, the railway station, and the opera house. The state thus assumes the expository role of the prince and, in some cases, ex propriates his art to make it accessible to all citizens, all the while tying the c ollections to an e ducational plan: "Dur ch den Aufstieg der Experten in Europa wurde das Museum nun zum Ort angeleitet begehbarer Kunstgeschichte" (38).

16. That the plan for a muse um precedes and encourages the construction of a nationstate is not w ithout precedent. A "Germanisches Nationalmuseum" was ope ned in 1852, about two decades before German unification. The museum is one of many examples of how German patrons and intellectuals, in this case Baron Hans von Aufsess, hoped to further the national cause by supporting a national culture (see Hoffmann).

17. For an analysis of Der Nachsommer along these lines, see McIsaac 89-125

18. Boris Groys writes that the museum is the place "an dem die kulturelle Identität des Nationalstaates definiert werden kann" precisely through the display of things for which this nation no lon ger has any use (47). Of course, the muse um itself, as y et another historical institution, can be put on di splay in the muse um—it can be come "der Gegenstand seiner Ausstellung" (Hamacher 53).

19. For an analysis of the conditions and operations of critique in *Holzfällen*, see Gellen and Norberg.

20. The Austrian authors do not criticize society from a position of independence. On the contrary, they rely on state funding. In a country that defines itself as a cultivated nation but because of its siz e cannot generate a lar ge public of cultur al consumers, the state even becomes the crucial sponsor and patron: "Die Rolle des Adressaten der Kunst hat in Österreich der Staat übernommen, als alleiniger potenter Förderer, Käufer, Vermittler, Initiator, Vermarkter" (Menasse, *Das war Österreich* 241). Clearly, this relationship of need has not eliminated the rhetoric of national dissent. The plethora of ready-made Austria critiques looks somewhat like the continual nagging typical of intimate relationships gone sour. Some speak of "unerbittliche Undankbarkeit der Poeten," a se ntiment that is prevalent in the Austri ian population, whose tax revenues finance critical art (Bushell, "Mozartkugeln als Waffen der Massenvernichtung" 8). The combination of economic dependence on the state and an endless stream of severe reckonings can be understood in multiple ways. Perhaps the felt reliance on the state compels writers to demonstrate their intact integrity by relentless critique, or maybe the critique must be viewed as the manifestation of loyalty in the peculiar, distorted form of obsessive attachment to the source of money and prestige. In either case, the "Staats-künstler" is also the "Staatsfeind" (Menasse, *Das war Österreich 237*).

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