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‘ER IST UNSER’: THE PUBLIC APPROPRIATION OF FRANZ GRILLPARZER (1871/1891)

TOBIAS HEINRICH

ABSTRACT

Taking the examples of the celebrations for Franz Grillparzer’s eightieth birthday in 1871 and the commemoration of his centenary in 1891, this article investigates the strategies of the playwright’s idolization in public memory. By analysing the newspaper coverage of both events, it explores Grillparzer’s coronation as Austrian national author in the light of German unification, but also the ways in which the poet’s life served to reflect on fundamental societal changes in the nineteenth century. The two celebrations thus produce two fundamentally different constructions of the author’s role in the public imagination. In 1871, Grillparzer’s writings are adduced to support various, often opposing, political positions towards German unification. Twenty years later, the focus is on Grillparzer as a biographical subject: an effort to popularize his image, but also to develop an awareness of the historical transformations that came to shape Vienna at the turn of the century. As the interest shifts from the national to the local, the course of Grillparzer’s life is employed to mirror the city’s gradual transition into modernity.

Keywords: Franz Grillparzer; journalism; Austria; Vienna; Austrian literature; nineteenth century; nineteenth-century literature; German literature; Hugo von Hofmannsthal

1871: ‘Grillparzer war [...] benufen, ein großer Deutscher Dichter zu werden. Er wurde nur Österreichs Grillparzer.’¹

Der 15. Jänner 1871 war für ganz Wien ein großer Tag. [...] Wien war stolz und beglückt. Jedes Zeichen der Anerkennung, jedes Wort des Lobes, das dem Jubilar zuteil wurde, erweckte begeisterte Teilnahme. Man drängte sich in die Theater und Konzertsäle, in denen Grillparzer-Feiern stattfanden, und der Beifall, der gespendet wurde, kam aus warmen, tief ergriffenen Herzen.²

[The 15th of January 1871 was a great day for Vienna. [...] Vienna was proud and happy. Every sign of recognition, every word of praise that was bestowed upon the jubilarian provoked an enthusiastic echo. Crowds filled the theatres and concert halls in which celebrations in honour of Grillparzer took place; deeply moved, they offered applause from the bottom of their warm hearts.]

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In *Meine Erinnerungen an Grillparzer* [*Memories of Grillparzer*], Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (1830–1916) recalls the enthusiastic atmosphere that captured Vienna on the occasion of the playwright's 80th birthday. Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872) had enjoyed considerable acclaim with his play *Die Ahnfrau* [*The Ancestress*] (1817), the classicistic trilogy *Das Goldene Vlies* [*The Golden Fleece*] (1819) and historical tragedies such as *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* [*The Fortune and Fall of King Ottokar*] (1823). His only comedy, *Weh dem, der lügt!* [*Woe Betide the Liar*] (1838), was, however, a flop: a severe disappointment for the lugubrious author, prompting him to withhold all further literary production from the public. While the failure of his last play had an effect on the author's public reception for several years, towards the end of his life, Grillparzer regained his popularity to become Austria's most prominent living author. Despite Grillparzer's own complex and ambivalent stance towards political developments during his lifetime, a significant reason for his renewed fame was the need to establish a distinct Austrian literary canon as a result of the growing cultural alienation between the Habsburg Empire and a Germany dominated by Prussia. In this idolization of Grillparzer as a national author, the festivities in honour of his 80th birthday mark a first peak. The poet's 70th birthday had been honoured with just minor references in the papers.³ In 1871, by contrast, the Empire's leading dailies were filled for weeks with articles in tribute to the honoree. As will be demonstrated, these eulogies not only reflected public opinion of Grillparzer, but intentionally shaped a specific image of the author that was in line with the often drastically differing political positions of the respective papers.

The series of tributes started with an extensive essay written by Heinrich Laube and published on New Year's Day in Vienna's leading liberal paper for the educated middle class: the *Neue Freie Presse*.⁴ Laube could claim expertise as he had been director of Vienna's main stage, the *Hofburgtheater*, from 1849 until 1867, and had, during his tenure, reintroduced a great number of Grillparzer's plays to the Viennese public. At the outset of his article, however, Laube takes a more general view, reflecting on the frequency of festive commemorations in recent times, and emphasizing their instrumental value for social cohesion and national ambitions. In public memory, the model for these festivities was the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Friedrich Schiller's birth in 1859, marked by numerous events across the German-speaking states as a celebration of national pride and unity.⁵ The public commemorations of Schiller expressed the aspiration for a prophet and saviour to unite the German lands, and thus anticipated, in the public imagination, the role that Bismarck would come to play in the political reality of the following decades.⁶ At the same time, Laube recalls Goethe, who had also lived beyond the age of 80 and witnessed his own mythologization. He then similarly evokes the image of the aging Grillparzer, observing the changing world from the window of his apartment in central Vienna, a venerable old man in whose 'dürftigen Menschenleibe ein bedeutender Menschengestalt lebt' [fragile human body lived an eminent mind].⁷

Laube aims to place Grillparzer in the classical canon, granting him the legitimacy to take on the mantle of 'national poet' alongside Goethe and Schiller. First and foremost, this means granting him legitimacy as a serious author and defending

Grillparzer against the charge of superficial populism. Hence in stark contrast to the figure of the revered but silent poet of the present, Laube recalls the young student of law and his debut play, *Die Ahnfrau*, which enjoyed widespread popularity among theatregoers when it first appeared on the stage. Contemporary critics, however, had accused Grillparzer of currying favour with the public, appealing to their taste for melodrama rather than drawing on more sophisticated theatrical genres. After its premiere in 1817, the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, at that time the leading literary journal in the German language, had referred to it as ‘abscheuliche Schicksalskomödie’ [hideous melodramatic comedy] and ‘romantischer Unsinn’ [romantic nonsense].⁸ Laube defends the playwright by attributing most of the popularizing elements to revisions made by Grillparzer’s early supporter Joseph Schreyvogel (1768–1832), one of Laube’s predecessors as director of the *Hofburgtheater*. In comparison to the crowd-pleasing appeal of *Die Ahnfrau*, Laube emphasizes the classical qualities of Grillparzer’s second piece, *Sappho*, which premiered two years later and recounted the tragic love story between the Greek poet and the young Phaon, who in turn falls in love with Sappho’s foster-daughter Melitta. Laube’s praise of a play combining ‘Reife und Ueberlegenheit in der Composition’ [maturity and superiority of composition] with such ‘einfachen Mitteln’ [simplicity of style] alludes to the artistic ideals of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Weimar Classicism: ‘edle Einfalt und stille Größe’ [noble simplicity and quiet grandeur].⁹ On the basis of *Sappho* and the trilogy *Das goldene Vließ*, Laube emphasizes two further aspects of Grillparzer’s works that have preoccupied critics ever since: the significance of women in his plays and the insights into the psychological nature of his characters:

Woher in so jungen Jahren der Blick in die Tiefen und Schmerzen eines leidenschaftlichen Weibes, in die dunkelsten Irrgänge weiblicher Gefühle! Daß ein junger Mann leidenschaftliche Gefühle schildert, das befremdet uns nicht, wenn diese Gefühle eben nur Wünsche und Begierden enthalten. Wer aber in jungen Jahren diese Wünsche und Begierden nur als Voraussetzungen behandeln und zu den Wurzeln derselben hinabsteigen, der tief unten kriechenden Verzweigung dieser Wurzeln nachgehen kann bis in die letzte Faser, wer dies mit weitschauendem Seherblicke vermag, der ist ein eigener Mensch, und wer es treffend auszudrücken weiß, was er gesehen, der ist ein Original-Dichter.¹⁰

[At such a tender age, to have such insights into the deep suffering of a passionate woman, into the greatest mysteries of female sensibility! It is no surprise that a young man depicts passionate sentiments, if those emotions contain merely wishes and desires. But the young man who treats these wishes and desires as mere starting points, who penetrates down to their roots and can trace these entangled roots back to their beginnings, the man who does this with a visionary’s gaze, is an exceptional individual. If this man expresses his visions powerfully enough to affect others – then he is an original poet.]

At this point, having rejected popular criticism of Grillparzer’s initial play and affirmed the classical claim but also the distinct qualities of his subsequent dramatic works, Laube abandons the chronological record to address the topic that dominates

his essay, and in fact most of the tributes to the Viennese playwright: Grillparzer's national identity.

The national question had become pressing after the devastating defeat of the Austrian army by the Prussians at Königgrätz in 1866. The unification of Germany, excluding the Habsburgs' hereditary lands, was imminent, with the coronation of the Prussian King Wilhelm I as German Emperor at Versailles just three days after Grillparzer's birthday. If we consider the entirety of the New Year issue of the *Neue Freie Presse*, the entanglement of these events with the tribute to Grillparzer becomes apparent. While Laube's panegyric covers the feature section on the first four pages, the political section of the same pages is concerned with the implications of the political restructuring of Europe for Austria.¹¹ The editorial, for example, states: 'Die Ereignisse des Jahres, an dessen Neige wir stehen, bilden einen der glänzendsten, großartigsten und folgenreichsten Wendepunkte in der Entwicklung der neueren Geschichte' [The events of this year, now drawing to its close, constitute one of the most radiant, magnificent and momentous watersheds in recent history].¹² The development of the Franco-German war and the fall of Napoleon III are interpreted as the demise of the anti-liberal currents in Europe. The German protagonists, Wilhelm I and Bismarck, are thus regarded as 'unbewußte Werkzeuge',¹³ unconscious instruments of the inexorable march towards modernity. Contrastingly, the following article, entitled 'Ein verlorenes Jahr – für Österreich' ['A lost year – for Austria'], engages with the political standstill in Austria. While claiming that Germany has turned from a 'geographischen Begriff' [geographical concept] into a 'Staatswesen' [political entity], the Austrian state is depicted as 'matt, schlaff, muskellos' [tired, feeble and powerless].¹⁴

Laube similarly addresses these conflicting political realities in his panegyric when he identifies Grillparzer as a representative of a distinct Austrian mentality – something that he considers difficult to grasp from a Prussian perspective:

Lange bevor an eine Animosität deutscher Politik gegen Oesterreich gedacht, lange bevor in einem preußischen Militärblatte zum erstenmale gesagt wurde, Oesterreich sei kein deutscher Staat, da wirkte schon das österreichische Etwas in Grillparzer befremdend und verwirrend auf deutsche Kritiker. Sie wissen's heute noch nicht, was sie nicht verstanden, was sie nicht gewürdigt haben, denn sie wissen heute noch nicht, daß solch ein Etwas vorhanden ist. Worin besteht es? Es liegt in dem Charakter der Ostmark und in dem Naturell der Oesterreicher.¹⁵

[Long before there was any thought of German political animosity towards Austria, long before a Prussian military journal first said that Austria was not a German state, Grillparzer's Austrian character seemed peculiar and unsettling to German critics. Even today they don't know what it was that they did not understand, that they did not appreciate, because they still don't know that this character exists. What does it consist of? It lies in the disposition of the Eastern March and in the Austrians' temperament.]

While the political article on the same page denounces the incapacity of the Austrian government, in Laube's essay Grillparzer appears as the positive apotheosis

of an Austrian national character, attuned to sensual pleasures and artistic expression rather than to theoretical thinking and reason:

Grillparzer's Oesterreicherthum hat [...] ein Etwas, welches nur dem österreichischen Volksstamme angeboren ist. Das ist die Sinnlichkeit, welche die Oesterreicher so vorzugsweise zum Künstlerthume befähigt, eine lebhaft, schöne Sinnlichkeit. Die Abstraction liegt ihnen fern. Alles wird ihnen Gestalt, wird ihnen unmittelbares Leben.¹⁶

[Grillparzer's Austrianness has something that is inherent only to the Austrian tribe. It is the sensuality which qualifies the Austrians for artistry: a vivid, beautiful sensuality. Abstraction is not their way. For them, everything is tangible, everything is unmediated life.]

This may appear to excuse the political passiveness of the Habsburg Empire in the past century, but for the native Silesian Laube, the Austrian nature is further defined by an historical purpose. In subscribing to an imperialist sentiment that was becoming ever more influential in the German national movement, Laube also ascribes to Austria the task of a cultural conquest:

Der Charakter der Ostmark war und ist Ausbreitung deutscher Cultur und Herrschaft nach Osten hin über nichtdeutsche Völkerschaften im Osten. Das kann nicht blos mit Feuer und Schwert geschehen, man braucht dazu auch Milde. So entstand eine gleichsam nationale Milde, welche ein Oesterreicherthum wurde.¹⁷

[The character of the Eastern March was and is the eastwards expansion of German culture and domination over non-German people. This cannot be achieved merely by the fire and the sword, it also needs clemency. This created, as it were, a national clemency, which has become the Austrian way of life.]

Culture in general and literature in particular are perceived as weapons – albeit of a ‘mild’ form – employed to assert German dominance in Eastern Europe. Along these lines, Laube then discusses Grillparzer's later plays as introspective reflections on the borderlands of German expansion: Moravia in the case of *Die Ahnfrau*, and Hungary in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herren* [*A True Servant of his Master*] (1830). The analysis of Grillparzer's cultural policy thus culminates in the reading of *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* as the depiction of an ‘Entscheidungskampf um die Frage, ob die Deutschen einen Großstaat bilden sollen in der Ostmark, oder die Slaven, und daß selbst ein vorurtheilsfreier Slavenfürst unterliegen muß vor dem Gründer eines deutschen Oesterreich’ [the final battle over the question of whether the Germans or the Slavs would establish a state in the Eastern March, demonstrating that even a tolerant Slavic prince must succumb to the founder of a German Austria].¹⁸ Even though Laube acknowledges the differences between the character of Grillparzer's writings and most of contemporary German literature, he still appropriates Grillparzer's work to promote the idea of German domination over central Europe. Laube achieves this by reading Grillparzer's plays from a nationalist angle. As we will see, this implies casting away much of the plays' content as well as the playwright's personal convictions. Laube's essay creates an idealized and in many parts distorted image of Grillparzer that serves, rather, to propagate the critic's own political opinions.

Convinced of a necessary political unity of the German-speaking states and thus the need to recognize Austrian literature as a part of pan-German culture, Laube expresses his certainty that the playwright's fame will soon spread north. While even today Grillparzer's home fans are still waiting for this to transpire, the multitude of festivities in early 1871 showed how Grillparzer, as Austria's national author, had bolstered the country's self-perception. Several papers printed Emperor Franz Josef's official congratulatory message to the 'gefeierte[r] Dichter' [celebrated poet], 'echte[r] Patriot' [true patriot], 'mit dem treuesten Herzen für das österreichische Vaterland' [with a heart most faithful to the Austrian homeland],¹⁹ and journalists were sent out to provide detailed descriptions of the delegations that gathered at Grillparzer's home to express their reverence. The *Neue Freie Presse* reported crowds so large that Grillparzer had to receive his guests in his dressing gown long into the day, not finding a moment's peace to put on proper clothes.²⁰ The many visitors included a deputation from Austria's House of Lords (Grillparzer had become a member in 1861), delegates of Vienna's Municipal Council, representatives of institutions like the Academy of Sciences and Vienna's main theatres, and a women's committee, consisting of Sophie von Todesco, the city's most influential salonnière, as well as two of the most prominent members of Austria's first women's movement, Auguste von Littrow and Iduna Laube, Heinrich's wife.

For several days, the papers' feature sections were almost exclusively dedicated to the festivities in honour of Grillparzer, but their different perspectives on the events reflect their stance towards the pressing question of German unification.²¹ There is the attempt to co-opt Grillparzer for the idea of a shared intellectual and literary history within a pan-German nation. A frequently printed letter to the celebrated writer by the *Deutsche Schiller-Stiftung* underlines, similarly to Laube's essay, the link between Grillparzer's plays and Weimar Classicism, explicitly praising the playwright as the Nestor of German literature.²² Likewise, messages and newspaper articles from regions of the Habsburg Empire with non-German majorities tend to stress Grillparzer's 'Germanness'.²³ However, to fully align the poet with a pan-German position in favour of Prussian dominance, the complexity of Grillparzer's own stance on this issue had to be significantly reduced or cast aside as irrelevant. Throughout his life, Grillparzer had been outspoken in his opposition to any form of chauvinistic nationalism, most eminently expressed in his poem 'Sprachenkampf [Battle of Languages]:

Der Weg der neuern Bildung geht
 Von Humanität
 Durch Nationalität
 Zur Bestialität.²⁴

[The way of modern education goes
 From humanity
 Through nationality
 To bestiality.]

Inspired by the ideals of Humanism and the Enlightenment, Grillparzer regards the national perspective as an unnecessary form of self-restriction. His writing is thus deeply rooted in spheres before and beyond the national: the local (Vienna) and the supranational (Austria), both inherently multicultural entities.²⁵

In the semi-official paper *Die Presse*, not to be confused with the *Neue Freie Presse*, the commentator Franz von Thaler exhibits his own sympathies with the cause of German unification in the context of an article on the occasion of the playwright's birthday, but tries to explain why Grillparzer does not share this enthusiasm:

Deutschland war [Grillparzer] ein geographischer Begriff, konnte ihm nach den Eindrücken seiner Jugend nicht mehr sein. Die Kühle, mit welcher er der Idee eines freien einigen Deutschland begegnete, jenes Deutschland, zu dem doch damals noch halb Oesterreich gehörte, stach nun freilich seltsam ab von dem Feueereifer, den gerade die jungen deutschösterreichischen Schriftsteller theilweise darum aus der Heimat flüchtig, in den Vierziger-Jahren entwickelten.²⁶

[For Grillparzer, Germany was a geographical concept and, according to the impressions he gained in his youth, could not be more than that. He reacted coldly to the idea of a free and unified Germany – a Germany that, back then, still subsumed half of Austria. This contrasted significantly with the ardour that particularly the young German-Austrian writers of the forties had developed and which was one of the reasons many of them had fled the homeland.]

As Thaler compares Grillparzer with Austrian writers like Moritz Hartmann (1821–1872) and Alfred Meißner (1822–1885), who were significantly younger and had been much more sympathetic towards the pan-German movement, he dismisses Grillparzer's political views, claiming 'daß an den Dichter der Maßstab der politischen Parteistellung nicht gelegt werden soll' [that a poet cannot be measured by political standards].²⁷ Eventually, the poet's age is also evoked to limit his art's aspiration to its aesthetic value, rather than conceding a larger societal claim to it: 'Nicht Grillparzer's politische Anschauung, [...] nur sein reiches, großes, in dem Greise noch frisch gebliebenes Dichtertalent ist uns heute gegenwärtig' [It is not Grillparzer's political ideas that remain with us today, but the great and rich literary talent, which is still flourishing in this old man].²⁸ Besides the obligatory analogy to Goethe, Thaler also compares Grillparzer to Walther von der Vogelweide, who, in the journalist's eyes, took an equally keen interest in all events that concerned his homeland.²⁹ The historical distance from a thirteenth-century poet, however, downplays the political significance of Grillparzer's opinions. Thus, Thaler is capable of rebutting the criticism of a militaristic and chauvinist nationalism, repeatedly voiced in Grillparzer's plays,³⁰ while at the same time reclaiming the playwright for the idea of a common German cultural nation in a gesture of ahistoric decontextualization.

In contrast to Thaler's pan-German perspective, a great number of voices in the debate try to appropriate Grillparzer for a position of patriotic loyalty towards the Habsburg monarchy. These journalists emphasize the specifically Austrian character of his writings and accentuate the significance of Austria and particularly

Vienna for German art and culture in line with the idea of the *Großdeutsche Lösung*, a unified German nation state with Austria rather than Prussia in the dominant position. The liberal and Habsburg-loyal *Morgen-Post*, for example, covers the Grillparzer celebrations explicitly in its political section, opening the article with the words: ‘Er ist unser’ [He is ours].³¹ The author recognizes the poet’s potential precisely in his ‘Widerspruch zu der Realität der Thatsachen’³² [opposition to the reality of facts]. Within the current political turmoil, it is suggested, Grillparzer could stand as the symbol of an Austrian patriotism that has yet to be established in the public consciousness:

Die Ideen, welche Grillparzer austreute, werden nicht verloren sein. Er wird den Oesterreichern Lehrer und Wahrsager bleiben. An seinen Werken wird das österreichische Bewußtsein emporranken. Sein Genius wird uns mit dem Muthe beseelen, um äußere Angriffe, um innere Spaltungen abzuwehren.³³

[The ideas that Grillparzer has spread will not be lost. He will remain a teacher and prophet for the Austrians. The Austrian consciousness will climb up around his works like ivy. His genius will inspire us with the courage to fend off attacks from without and division from within.]

In support of a positive public spirit, the *Morgen-Post*’s focus is on the Austrians and the state of the monarchy. Its explicitly pro-Austrian position is shared by another paper, the *Oesterreichisches Journal*, which presented the Grillparzer festivities as an expression of the vitality of German culture in Vienna. In criticizing Austria’s exclusion from German political unification, the *Journal* implicitly poses the fundamental question of what constitutes a nation:

Ein Dichterfest hat den Beweis geliefert, wie völlig die Dinge in Deutschland auf den Kopf gestellt sind. Am 15. liefen die Radien vaterländischer Kultur alle in einen Mittelpunkt zusammen, der außerhalb des sogenannten Vaterlands liegt. Der Mittelpunkt heißt Wien, und laut 1866 liegt Wien nicht in Deutschland. Aber um einen deutschen Dichter zu feiern, mußten die sämtlichen Poeten und Schriftsteller der Bismärckerei, [...] nach Wien sich wenden [...].³⁴

[The celebrations [for Grillparzer] have proven how everything in Germany has been turned upside-down. On the 15th, all lines of patriotic culture converged in a centre outside the so-called homeland. This centre is called Vienna, and since 1866 Vienna has not been part of Germany. But to honour this German bard, all Bismarckian poets and writers [...] had to turn towards Vienna [...].]

For a moment, the utopian idea of a state that would represent all German-speaking people in Europe, regardless of dynastic considerations, became manifest in Vienna. In reality, however, the article claims, German unification under the house of Hohenzollern meant a further suppression of true national-cultural sentiments:

Niemals fand ein roherer, ein mehr gewaltsamer Bruch zwischen Kultur und Politik statt, als den der Gegensatz zwischen Altdeutschland und diesem Neu-Deutschland darstellt. [...] Eine staatliche Gestaltung, die dem idealen Inhalt einer Nation nicht entspricht,

sondern ihm Gewalt anthut, die mit dem idealen Ertrag einer ganzen Kulturgeschichte förmlich bricht, die hat kein Recht auf jenen Namen. [...] Während die Zöllern den deutschen Geist in Knechtschaft entehren, muß Oesterreich ihn in Freiheit verklären.³⁵

[There has never been a more crude, violent breach between culture and politics than the one between Old Germany and this New Germany. A state that violently twists the ideal spirit of a nation into something unnatural, breaking with a whole cultural history, has no right to call itself a state. [...] While the Hohenzollern dishonour the German spirit through bondage, Austria must glorify it in freedom.]

While the *Oesterreichisches Journal* seems to retain an idealized notion of a political German entity under Habsburg rule, in the liberal and progressive *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, the author and journalist Ferdinand Kürnberger, whose satirical style would go on to influence Karl Kraus, takes a much more critical stance towards Austria. In direct response to Laube's New Year essay, Kürnberger associates the poet with the dilemma of Austrian backwardness: 'Grillparzer war in jedem Sinne berufen, ein großer Deutscher Dichter zu werden. Er wurde nur Österreichs Grillparzer' [In every sense, Grillparzer was destined to be a great German poet. He became only Austria's Grillparzer].³⁶ In Kürnberger's eyes, the playwright represents the fundamental difference between the progressive forces that have come to dominate German politics and the reactionary standstill in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire: 'In der literarischen Kulturgeschichte bedeutet er die Scheidung Oesterreichs von Deutschland. [...] Seine Poesie fängt an mit deutschem Verständnisse der Zeit und endet mit österreichischer Abwendung von der Zeit' [In the cultural history of literature, he signifies the separation of Austria from Germany [...] His poetry begins with a German understanding of the times and ends with an Austrian turning away from time].³⁷ Kürnberger thus goes on to compare this conflict with the dramatic constellations in Grillparzer's plays and finds just the same pattern – a contrast between potential heroic action and real-life passivity:

Was seiner Dichtweise den rätselhaften Charakter aufprägt, das ist die merkwürdige, vielleicht einzige Erscheinung, daß seine Helden starke Leidenschaften, aber schwachen Willen haben. Medea, Ottokar, seine bedeutendsten Typen, fangen an wie leidenschaftliche Jakobiner und enden wie willensschwache Girondisten.³⁸

[What gives his writing style its enigmatic character is the peculiar, perhaps even unique tendency for his heroes to have strong passions, but weak spirits. Medea, Ottokar, his most significant characters, start out like passionate Jacobins, but finish as weak-minded Girondins.]

The gesture of national appropriation in the resounding exclamation 'Unser Grillparzer!' expounds the tragic irony of a nation that had reversed the early progress of the Enlightenment: 'Es ist in seiner Poesie etwas, wie eine reuige Revolution, wie eine Revolution auf der Umkehr' [There is something in his poetry of a repentant revolution, like a revolution going backwards].³⁹ In contrast to the vast majority of the birthday tributes in 1871, Kürnberger's essay does not depict Grillparzer as wrongfully forgotten, but as a reminder of the country's unrealized potential: 'Der Mann geht herum wie unser böses Gewissen. Seine Zeit haben wir begraben, aber

er lebt' [The man wanders around like our guilty conscience. We have buried his time, yet he is still alive].⁴⁰

1891: *Wiener Luft weht aus seinen Dichtungen, Wiener Blut rieselt durch seine Gebilde, Wien singt und klingt aus allen seinen Versen.*⁴¹

Kürnberger's allegory of the poet as the living memory of a buried time was fitting, as Grillparzer died barely a year later, on 21 January 1872, a few days after his 81st birthday. But his ghost would not rest. Some twenty years later, his name again filled the pages of Austria's papers, as the country celebrated the poet's centenary. In contrast to 1871, when the debate centred on Grillparzer's literary and to a greater extent his political legacy, now the playwright's life was in the spotlight. While previously the discourse had concerned his significance for the constitution of Austria and Germany as cultural and political entities, now the public celebrations provided the opportunity to explore Grillparzer as a biographical character.

For the main part, this was due to a respectful reluctance to write about the private affairs of a living person on the occasion of Grillparzer's eightieth birthday, a concern that had now become obsolete. On the other hand, a deeper understanding of Grillparzer as a private person was fostered by the publication of new sources about his life. Since his death, some of his correspondence had been published, and, most importantly, Heinrich Laube had made Grillparzer's autobiography available to a wide readership.⁴² Finally, a new trend in biographical writing focused on the private and individual, rather than inferring general characteristics and historical perspectives of an era from representative lives. It went hand in hand with a deeper curiosity about the psychological motivations of biographical subjects and found its most prominent examples in the early twentieth century in biographers like Stefan Zweig and Emil Ludwig: a shift from the association of the individual and the collective in the age of nationalism towards the much more subjective nature of experiencing modernity.⁴³ In Grillparzer's case in particular, it becomes evident how this also meant that the wider perspective of the nation-state was replaced by an increased interest in the local, in particular the urban space.

On the basis of the new biographical documents available, claims that had previously been made predominantly about Grillparzer's writing now gained biographical substance and became more nuanced. His association with German Classicism, for example, was now backed up by the description of his visit to Weimar in 1826 and his encounter with Goethe. A literary influence became a personal relationship. In his notes, quoted by Moritz Neckar for *Die Presse*, Grillparzer recounts the warm welcome he received and how difficult it was to hold back his tears of affection towards Goethe: '[M]ich befiel jedesmal eine solche Rührung, wenn ich ihn sah, daß ich beinahe meiner nicht Herr war, und alle Mühe hatte, nicht in Thränen auszubrechen' [I was so moved when I saw him that I almost lost control, and struggled not to break into tears].⁴⁴ Not just poetically, but also on a personal level, Goethe seems to be the measure of all things for Grillparzer: 'Die Wirkung, die er auf mich hervorbrachte, war halb wie ein Vater und halb wie ein

König' [The effect he had on me was half that of a father, half that of a king].⁴⁵ Employing the playwright's own words, Grillparzer's canonical status is further substantiated, as he symbolically inscribes himself into both Goethe's family tree ('wie ein Vater') and the literary realm of the 'Dichterstürst' ('wie ein König').

While the older paradigm of the national question still resonates in Grillparzer's association with Weimar, it is in fact Vienna that takes centre stage in many of the references to the 100th anniversary of his birth. The debate on whether to regard the playwright as German or Austrian is replaced by an emphasis on Grillparzer's specific affinity to his home town. While such an assessment might be truer to the author's own sense of belonging, it certainly also reflects the contemporary transformation of urban spaces and its effect on how the modern individual perceives the world around her/him.⁴⁶ Grillparzer's life, then, serves as a lens to explore these developments. A lengthy article that appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, for example, recounts the playwright's life in relation to the places and spaces in Vienna that he inhabited. It opens with a detailed description of the poet's childhood home at Vienna's Bauernmarkt:

In der Woche, die dem Andenken des größten österreichischen Dichters gewidmet ist, wallfahrten Alle, im Geiste wenigstens, zu der geweihten Stätte, auf welcher derselbe vor hundert Jahren zum erstenmale das Licht der Welt erblickte. Dort, wo die Gassen der Stadt sich am engsten krümmen, wo die hohen Häuser mit ihren Schatten so dicht sich zusammenschieben, daß zu jeder Stunde des Morgens die Lampen brennen und die Bewohner mit einem künstlichen Tageslicht sich behelfen müssen, dort im innersten Kern von Alt-Wien stand die Wiege des Dichters.⁴⁷

[During the week that is dedicated to the remembrance of the greatest Austrian poet, everyone goes on a pilgrimage, at least in spirit, to the sacred place where, one hundred years ago, he saw the light of day for the first time. There, where the city's winding streets are at their narrowest, where the high houses crowd together and cast their shadows so closely that the lamps have to burn throughout the morning and the residents need artificial daylight, there in the innermost heart of Old Vienna, stood the poet's cradle.]

The article then argues that these dark and confined premises had a direct influence on the poetic development of the future playwright. In contrast to the rapidly modernizing architecture of Vienna, the flat in which Grillparzer grew up is depicted as a poetic space in its own right:

Heutzutage werden die Poeten in anderer Umgebung geboren, in Häusern wo der Himmel durch hundert Fenster guckt, in Städten, wo der Sonnenglanz durch breite Straßen fluthet. Man möchte [...] beinahe glauben, daß der Dämmer jener alterthümlichen Häuser dem Wachstume der dichterischen Anlage zuträglicher war. Die Phantasie bekam mehr zu thun; der zarten Künstlerseele ward eine große Sehnsucht nach Licht und Freiheit eingepflanzt, welche dann bei beginnender Reife unwillkürlich in Liedern ausklang, zu Gestalten sich verdichtete.⁴⁸

[Nowadays, poets are born in different environments, in houses where the sky peeks through a hundred windows, in cities, where the sunshine floods through broad streets. One would [...] almost believe that the twilight of these ancient houses was more

conducive to the cultivation of poetic talent. The imagination had more to do; a great desire for light and freedom was implanted into the artist's tender soul, which, once matured, instinctively turned into songs and condensed into shapes.]

The essay's author regards the architectural transformation of the urban space as a farewell not only to living conditions that have become obsolete, but also to a certain kind of poetic speech, a form of imaginative Romanticism in contrast to modernity's bright Realism.

After the early death of Grillparzer's father in 1809, the sombre yet imposing flat had to be sold in favour of a cheaper place in a street with the peculiar name 'im Elend' [in misery], where Grillparzer would subsequently write his first play, *Die Ahnfrau*. It premiered in yet another fateful place in Grillparzer's life, the old Hofburgtheater that was demolished in 1888, just three years before the centenary, when the stage moved into the new building at the Ringstraße. Here, the article tells us, the young poet along with his mother and one of his brothers had anxiously followed the first performance of the *Ahnfrau* as well as many other premieres of his works. With the professional and literary success came yet another move, now into a large and bright apartment, and Grillparzer's literary change of scenery into classical Greece appears almost like a literary side-effect:

Das Glück scheint [...] den jungen Dichter mit hoher Schaffensfreude beseelt zu haben, denn schon im nächsten Jahre erscheint seine *Sappho*, diesmal ein liches Werk, im Lichte geschrieben. Grillparzer hat sich jetzt seinen Platz an der Sonne erobert, und das ist im natürlichsten Sinne zu verstehen: er wohnt nicht mehr im Elend, er hat den entlegenen Schattenwinkel bei der Stadtmauer verlassen und mit der Mutter zwei Zimmer im Schottenhof gemiethet. Hier ist es heller, hier grüßt die Sonne schon am Morgen durch's Fenster, hier ist die *Sappho* gedichtet worden.⁴⁹

[This fortune seems [...] to have inspired the poet with creative enthusiasm, because just one year later, *Sappho* appears: a bright piece this time, written in the light. Grillparzer has now claimed his place in the sun and this is to be understood in the most natural sense: he no longer lives in misery. He has left the dark remote corner by the city wall and rented two rooms with his mother in the Schottenhof. Here, it is much brighter. In the morning, the sun greets them through the window. Here *Sappho* was written.]

The repeated references to the brightness of Grillparzer's new home and the luminosity of *Sappho* interweave the poet's personal conditions with the spirit of his literary works. At the same time, it recalls Grillparzer's life-long allegiance to Josephinism and Enlightenment ideals.

While the article mentions Grillparzer's numerous journeys to foreign countries, Vienna remains the central point of reference. The playwright's affinity to his urban origins is explored from the perspective of his poetic inspiration: '[E]in Marktplatz wurde ihm zum Schlachtfeld, ein Glacis verwandelte er in eine griechische Landschaft' [A marketplace became a battlefield for him. He turned a glacis into a Greek landscape];⁵⁰ conversely, his plays are regarded as representations of his home town: 'Wiener Luft weht aus seinen Dichtungen, Wiener Blut rieselt durch seine Gebilde, Wien singt und klingt aus allen seinen Versen' [Viennese air breezes

out from his writing, Viennese blood trickles through his creations, Vienna sings, resounding from all his verses].⁵¹ Ultimately Grillparzer's mental and emotional disposition is also claimed to reflect his origin, in particular with regard to his alleged misanthropic nature:

Auch darin war er eben ein Wiener. Die Liebe zur Heimat hinter unwirschen Worten zu verstecken, sie umzusetzen in Ärger, Schimpfen und Grollen, ist das nicht Wiener Art, und ist es nicht eine bessere Art, als patriotisches Maulheldenthum und pharisäische Kirchthümelei?⁵²

[He was Viennese in this regard as well. To hide the love for your hometown behind harsh words, to transpose it into anger, grumbling and resentment, isn't this the Viennese way? And is it not a better way than patriotic swagger and Pharisaic bigotry?]

Consequently, Vienna as his native city is not spared from Grillparzer's congenital temper:

Er hatte über Alt-Wien sich geärgert, so ärgerte er sich über Neu-Wien von der Höhe seines vierten Stockes herab. In den neuen Straßen kannte er sich nicht mehr aus, die neuen Gassenamen wollten ihm nicht behagen.⁵³

[Just as he was annoyed by Old Vienna, he complained about New Vienna from the heights of the fourth floor. He didn't know his way around the new streets, and their new names could not impress him.]

The portrayal of the poet as a critic of the new and the old alike reveals the aim of the essay's distinct topographical approach to Grillparzer's life. While many of the other tributes on the occasion of his centenary deliberately avoid any allusions to current affairs, the article in the *Neue Freie Presse* seems to be subliminally shaped by broader contemporary issues. At the end of the preceding year, Vienna's Municipal Council had passed a resolution to incorporate the outer suburbs, thereby completing the development of Vienna into a modern European metropolis that had already begun during Grillparzer's lifetime with the demolition of the city walls in 1858. In their place, Vienna's Ringstraße came to symbolize the aspiring liberal upper class that constituted the primary readership of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Thus, the bio-topographical appropriation of the playwright also acts as a reflection of the social transformations that created Vienna's affluent fin-de-siècle cultural life. Hence, in its conclusion, the essay does not highlight the historic distance from Grillparzer, but aims to reclaim the poet as modern Vienna's most eminent literary precursor:

Es kam eben die neue Zeit, und er zankte über die neue Zeit. Doch wer anders als er hatte sie eingesungen? Wer anders war in den Jahren der Finsterniß, unbewußt vielleicht und bloß seinem Genius gehorchend, Oesterreichs Zukunfts-dichter, Wiens Nachtigall gewesen? Die neue Zeit, das war Grillparzer selbst, der Glanz seiner Dichtungen, das ewige Leben seiner dramatischen Gebilde. Er war das Licht.⁵⁴

[The new time came, and he grumbled about it. Yet he had been its herald. In the years of darkness, perhaps unconsciously and merely following his genius, he had been Austria's

future poet, Vienna's nightingale. This new age: it was Grillparzer himself, the brilliance of his writings, the eternal life of his theatrical creations. He was the light.]

The examples above reveal how much the public discourse on Grillparzer changed in the twenty years between his 80th and his 100th birthdays. In 1871, in the context of the Austrian defeat at Königgrätz, the final failure of a *Großdeutsche Lösung* and the impending coronation of a Hohenzollern as German Emperor, the prevailing question was about Grillparzer's cultural identity as a national author. The playwright could serve two agendas, symbolizing Austria's integral position within the German lands or, conversely, Austria's cultural independence. He was a symbolic figure of a specifically Austrian consciousness and at the same time a living reminder of the gap between aspirations and reality. In the festivities for his centenary, however, the relationship between Austria and the German Empire played only a secondary role. The playwright had become a recognized emblem for the multinational monarchy, and Germany was rarely mentioned: Grillparzer was Austria and Austria was Grillparzer. Now the aim was to create a clearer picture of the poet's personality, subliminally also reflecting the changing realities at the end of the century. At the same time, references to Vienna – rather than Austria as a whole – had significantly increased. The city that had grown into a modern European metropolis strived to keep the poet's memory alive and visible as part of its own history. Most prominently, this became manifest through the erection of a Grillparzer monument in Vienna's Volksgarten, adjacent to the Ringstraße, in 1889. The *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* regarded it 'wegen seiner Kunstreinheit, edlen Einfachheit und harmonischen Einheitlichkeit' as 'das bestgelungene unserer Wiener Monumente' [because of the artistic purity, its noble simplicity and its harmonious uniformity as the most outstanding of our Viennese monuments].⁵⁵ The memorial, six sculptural reliefs that depict scenes from Grillparzer's plays arranged on both sides of a statue, portraying the seated playwright, creates a solemn yet intimate impression.⁵⁶ Thus, the monument integrates the diverse approaches to Grillparzer, as celebrated national poet, but also as the man behind the stage, the mind that created some of the most significant works in Austrian literature, and yet a person of flesh and blood.

Epilogue: Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the 'Denkmal-Legende'

Grillparzer's centenary was not just a journalistic affair, but a central event for the monarchy's educational institutions. As in many other schools, his 100th birthday was celebrated at Vienna's Akademisches Gymnasium. Accompanied by the music of Mozart and Beethoven, the celebration encompassed a speech by Ludwig Blume, teacher of German and Geography, the declamation of selected passages from Grillparzer's plays, including the obligatory praise of Austria from *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, and a panegyric poem on the playwright, written specifically for the event and set to music by the school's singing teacher.⁵⁷ A student, who was to become one of the Akademisches Gymnasium's most prominent alumni, the

sixteen-year-old Hugo von Hofmannsthal, had composed some verses for the occasion, taking the Grillparzer monument at Vienna's Volksgarten as inspiration to reflect on remembrance and evanescence:

Kennt ihr den Mann? Nicht wahr, ihr kennt ihn nicht?
Den alten Mann mit seiner scheuen Pein,
Und doch trägt dies selbe vergrämte Gesicht
Der Eu're auch, gehauen aus weißem Stein.

[...]

Der Name, den der Enkel sinnlos nennt,
Wie wir Vergang'nes sinnlos mit uns tragen,
Der Formelwahn, der ehrt was er nicht kennt:
Das könnt Ihr geben, das könnt Ihr versagen.

Doch was mich rührt und mich verwandt ergreift,
Wobei mir unbewußt die Thränen kamen,
Was dämmernd mir vertraut im Innern reift:
Das lebt, und wußt' auch Keiner seinen Namen.

Aus unsern eig'nen Schmerzen spricht's uns an,
Mit leidend können wir auch mit verstehen:
Das ist mein Wort für jenen alten Mann:
Es lebt der Schmerz, der Marmor wird vergehen.⁵⁸

[D'you know that man? You don't, I'd take a bet,
that old man, his unassertive grief;
Although his pain-filled face is present yet
Upon this earth, in stony white relief.

[...]

We youngsters name his name, quite pointlessly,
Just as we cherish, pointlessly, things old,
Mouth formulas and honour things that we
Don't know: praise we can grant or can withhold.

And yet I'm moved by pangs which seem a part
Of me, and prompt unconscious tears;
Some dawning sense that burgeons in my heart
And will live on, though his name disappears.

Through our own grieving we can find a way
To understand him, as we feel our pains;
And so, for that old man, I've this to say:
Marble erodes, but suffering remains.]⁵⁹

Hofmannsthal thus contrasts the man Grillparzer with his likeness in stone; he juxtaposes life and myth, asserting how only the former is able to arouse true empathy as it corresponds with the emotions and sensibilities of the living. The name, the image and praise expressed in empty formulas remain 'sinnlos' [pointless].

Hofmannsthal critiques an unthinking adoration that conceals the complexities of the historical person. But this was met with disapproval by his teachers. His draft was rejected. The poem that was finally chosen to be read in the school's ceremony came from the pen of Ludwig Egger, teacher of German and Latin, and appears as a perfect example of the acclamatory conventions pilloried by Hofmannsthal:

Erhab'ner Geist, aus Aetherhöhen
 Blick freundlich her auf unsern Kreis!
 Wir feiern heute Dein Gedächtnis,
 Und unser Lied gilt Deinem Preis.

Du warst ein Schöpfer, gottbegnadet,
 Ein Streiter wider Falsch und Schlecht,
 Dem Vaterlande treu vor allem,
 Ein Herold für sein' Ehr' und Recht.

Wir rufen Heil Dir, großer Sänger,
 Und mit uns ruft's ganz Österreich;
 Du hast die Geister Dir erobert
 Und uns're Herzen Dir zugleich.

In unsern Herzen wirst Du thronen,
 Solange Österreich wird steh'n,
 Solang in Öst'reich Deutsche wohnen,
 Wird auch Dein Nam' nicht untergeh'n.⁶⁰

[Exalted spirit, from your lofty height
 Look kindly down upon our gathering!
 We celebrate your memory this day,
 And they are yours, the praises that we sing.

You as creator were divinely blessed;
 Against all guile and evil you would fight;
 Above all loyal to our fatherland
 As herald of its dignity and right.

We pay our homage to you, mighty bard,
 And all of Austria joins in our lay;
 You made the highest spirits bow to you,
 Just as you brought our hearts beneath your sway.

Within our hearts you'll keep an honoured place:
 As long as Austria is still alive
 And in that land a German-speaking race,
 We know your name will evermore survive.]⁶¹

The corresponding entry in Hofmannsthal's diary reveals the humiliation that an aspiring young poet who already socialized in the circles of Hermann Bahr and Arthur Schnitzler must have felt when his draft was returned to him by his teacher, Ludwig von Zitkovszky. Although he had praised Hofmannsthal's great diligence and admitted that the poem showed poetic skill here and there, he

advised the sixteen-year-old to avoid hackneyed phrases.⁶² Hofmannsthal's pithy reply in his diary: 'Commentar überflüssig' [No comment necessary].⁶³ Notwithstanding, the student knew how to fend for himself. Under the title *Denkmal-Legende*, the poem appeared a day after the school's celebration on the first page of *Die Presse*'s literary supplement.⁶⁴

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NOTES

¹ 'Grillparzer was destined to be a great German poet. He became only Austria's Grillparzer.' Ferdinand Kürnberger, 'Oesterreich's Grillparzer', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 14 January 1871, pp. 1–2 (p. 1). The essay was reprinted in Ferdinand Kürnberger, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Otto Erich Deutsch, 5 vols (Munich, Leipzig: Müller, 1910–1914), II: *Literarische Herzenssachen, Reflexionen und Kritiken* (1911), pp. 259–66.

² Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Edgar Groß (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1961), VIII: *Meine Kinderjahre: biographische Skizzen*, p. 256.

³ See *Die Presse*, 14 January 1861, p. 2; *Das Vaterland*, 15 January 1861, p. 2; *Fremden-Blatt*, 16 January 1861, p. 4; *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, 18 January 1861, p. 4.

⁴ Heinrich Laube, 'Grillparzer', *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 January 1871, pp. 1–4.

⁵ See Barbara Drucker, 'Ein deutscher Messias: Das kulturelle Schema der Schillerrezeption bei den Feiern von 1859', *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 48 (2004), 167–84; Rainer Noltenius, 'Schiller als Führer und Heiland: Das Schillerfest 1859 als nationaler Traum von der Geburt des zweiten deutschen Kaiserreichs', in *Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. by Dieter Düding, Peter Friedmann and Paul Münch (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1988), pp. 237–58; Rainer Noltenius, *Dichterfeiern in Deutschland. Rezeptionsgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Schiller- und Freiligrath-Feiern* (Munich: Fink, 1984).

⁶ Noltenius, 'Schiller als Führer und Heiland', p. 248.

⁷ Laube, 'Grillparzer', p. 1.

⁸ *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, 15 February 1817, pp. 3–4.

⁹ Laube, 'Grillparzer', p. 2; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd edn (Dresden, Leipzig: Walther, 1756), p. 24.

¹⁰ Laube, 'Grillparzer', p. 2.

¹¹ Following a French model, most sophisticated Austrian dailies included the feature section not as a separate supplement to the paper, but rather dedicated the lower third of the front and the following pages to entertainment and cultural issues. This part of the paper was known as the *Feuilleton*.

¹² 'Wien, den 31. December 1870', *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 January 1871, pp. 1–2 (p. 1).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁴ 'Ein verlorenes Jahr – für Österreich', *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 January 1871, pp. 2–3 (p. 2).

¹⁵ Laube, 'Grillparzer', p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

- 19 'Grillparzer-Feier', *Die Presse*, 16 January 1871, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).
- 20 'Grillparzer-Feier', *Neue Freie Presse*, 16 January 1871, pp. 1–3 (p. 1).
- 21 See Renate Langer, 'Grillparzer und die deutsche Reichsgründung', in *Literatur und Nation: Die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches 1871 in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, ed. by Klaus Amann and Karl Wagner (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), pp. 317–42.
- 22 'Grillparzer-Feier', *Neue Freie Presse*, 16 January 1871, Abendblatt, pp. 1–2 (p. 1). See Langer, 'Grillparzer und die deutsche Reichsgründung', pp. 321–22.
- 23 Langer, 'Grillparzer und die deutsche Reichsgründung', p. 324.
- 24 Franz Grillparzer, 'Sprachenkampf', in *Sämtliche Werke. Ausgewählte Briefe, Gespräche, Berichte*, 4 vols, ed. by Peter Frank and Karl Pömbacher (Munich: Hanser, 1960–1965), I: *Gedichte – Epigramme – Dramen I*, ed. by Peter Frank (1960), p. 500.
- 25 Dagmar C. G. Lorenz, 'Grillparzer's Attitude toward the State, the Nation, and Nationalism', in *Aneignungen, Entfremdungen: The Austrian Playwright Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872)*, ed. by Marianne Henn, Clemens Ruthner and Raleigh Whiting (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 1–20.
- 26 Franz von Thaler, 'Franz Grillparzer', *Die Presse*, 14 January 1871, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 30 See Robert Pichl, 'Das antinationalistische Programm in Grillparzers Dramenwerk', in *Stichwort Grillparzer*, ed. by Hilde Haider-Pregler and Evelyn Deutsch-Schreiner (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 1994), p. 77–86.
- 31 'Ein österreichischer Dichter', *Morgen-Post*, 15 January 1871, p. 1.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 'Zeichen der Zeit', *Oesterreichisches Journal*, 17 January 1871, Abend-Ausgabe, p. 1.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Ferdinand Kürnberger, 'Oesterreich's Grillparzer', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 14 January 1871, pp. 1–2 (p. 1). The essay was reprinted in Ferdinand Kürnberger, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Otto Erich Deutsch, 5 vols (Munich, Leipzig: Müller, 1910–1914), II: *Literarische Herzenssachen, Reflexionen und Kritiken* (1911), pp. 259–66.
- 37 Kürnberger, 'Oesterreich's Grillparzer', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, p. 2.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 'Viennese air breezes out from his writing, Viennese blood trickles through his creations, Vienna sings, resounding from all his verses'; 'Franz Grillparzer', *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 January 1891, pp. 1–3 (p. 3).
- 42 Franz Grillparzer, 'Selbstbiographie', in *Grillparzer's sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Heinrich Laube and Josef Weilen, 10 vols (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1872), X, pp. 1–240.
- 43 Christian von Zimmermann, *Biographische Anthropologie: Menschenbilder in lebensgeschichtlicher Darstellung (1830–1940)* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 274–86.
- 44 Moritz Necker, 'Grillparzer's Briefe', *Die Presse*, 15 January 1891, pp. 1–3 (p. 1).
- 45 Quoted by Necker in 'Grillparzer's Briefe', p. 1.
- 46 See Lorenz, 'Grillparzer's Attitude toward the State'; Georg Simmel, 'Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben', *Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Otthein Rammstedt, 24 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1989–2015), VII: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901–1908*, Part 1, ed. by Rüdiger Kramme, Angela Rammstedt and Otthein Rammstedt (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1995), pp. 116–31.
- 47 'Franz Grillparzer', *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 January 1891, pp. 1–3 (p. 1).

- 48 Ibid., p. 1.
- 49 Ibid., p. 2.
- 50 Ibid., p. 2.
- 51 Ibid., p. 3.
- 52 Ibid., p. 3.
- 53 Ibid. The article refers to streets named after Schelling and Hegel, thus alluding to Grillparzer's disapproval of German Idealism.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 'Das Grillparzer-Monument', *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, 23 May 1889, pp. 337–38 (p. 338). On the history of the monument's conception and its construction, see Stefan Henze, 'Das Grillparzer-Denkmal im Wiener Volksgarten', *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft*, series 3, 18 (1991/92), 229–42.
- 56 Rolf Selbmann, *Dichterdenkmäler in Deutschland. Literaturgeschichte in Erz und Stein* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1988), p. 132.
- 57 *Jahresbericht über das K. K. akademische Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1890/1891* (Vienna: Verlag des K. K. akademischen Gymnasiums, 1891), p. 50.
- 58 Hugo von Hofmannsthal, 'Denkmal-Legende', in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Rudolf Hirsch and others (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1975–), 1: *Gedichte I*, ed. by Eugene Weber (1984), pp. 12–13 (p. 13).
- 59 Translation by Ray Ockenden.
- 60 *Jahresbericht*, p. 50.
- 61 Translation by Ray Ockenden.
- 62 In Hofmannsthal, *Sämtliche Werke*, 1: *Gedichte I*, p. 123, note.
- 63 Ibid., p. 123.
- 64 Ibid.