

ASN

THE CENTER *for* AUSTRIAN STUDIES
AUSTRIAN STUDIES NEWSMAGAZINE

Vol. 27, No. 1 • Spring 2015

in this issue:

INTERVIEW WITH SABINE HAAG OF KHM

plus

**"Big Bang
Theories": 4
new books on
WWI's outbreak**

and

**A big finish for
the Vienna Project**



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CORRECTION: In the Fall 2014 issue of ASN, we misspelled the name of Howard Louthan's spouse. Her name is Andrea Sterk. We apologize for the error.

ON OUR COVER: Detail from Antonio Allegri, called Correggio. *Jupiter and Io* (detail), c. 1530. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. From the exhibition "The Habsburgs: Rarely Seen Masterpieces from Europe's Greatest Dynasty," at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts February 15-May 10. (see related story, p. 5)



ASN

Austrian Studies Newsmagazine

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Designed & edited by Daniel Pinkerton

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and Sharon Park

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CAS WELCOMES NEW EMPLOYEE

As of January, 2015, the Center for Austrian studies has a new program associate, Jennifer Hammer (*pictured, left*). Her responsibilities include communication, editing our website and facebook page, and sending out e-mail blasts; administrative support, particularly in budgetary matters, where she will track budgets and payouts, reconcile, and give financial reports to directors; programming coordination; and various team duties, including proofing the ASN. Jennifer's duties will also include program support for the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

Jennifer completed her degree at the University of Minnesota in Anthropology and Japanese, and has done graduate work in the history of design at Parsons the New School of Design. Jennifer studied in Nagoya, Japan and has spent significant time working in Graz and New York City.

Jennifer comes to us from the Department of Communication Studies and has programming and management experience at a number of non-profit organizations including JSTOR, Artstor, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. We welcome her, and are grateful for her expertise and energy.

Her predecessor, Dr. Kevin Mummey, is now program associate for the Center for Jewish Studies and the Center for Classical and Near Eastern Studies. We thank him for his dedicated service while at CAS, and we are confident that he will succeed in his new position.

Daniel Pinkerton

LETTER DIRECTOR

from the

CAS

spring calendar 2015



The Center for Austrian Studies is the beneficiary this year of a conjuncture of welcome circumstances that is enabling us to offer a particularly full schedule of events. The famous Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which houses the art collections begun by the Habsburgs in the early modern era, is sending one the largest traveling shows in the museum's history to the United States this year. The first stop will be the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, which will host the exhibit from February 15 to May 10, 2015. Then it moves on to the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston and the High Museum of Art in Atlanta. The Kunsthistorisches Museum has deliberately chosen to send the exhibit to these three excellent regional museums rather than to any larger American institutions in New York, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, or San Francisco in order to cultivate greater appreciation of the great Viennese museum collections in the American heartland. Included among the exhibited works will be paintings, statuary, armor, costumes, silver pieces, and other decorative artworks. Visitors will be treated to famous masterworks by Titian, Caravaggio, Coreggio, Giorgione, Arcimboldo, Tintoretto, Hans Holbein the Younger, Rubens, and Velazquez. Among the fascinating pieces of decorative art is the magnificently ornate sleigh designed by Balthasar Moll in the era of Empress Maria Theresa. To complement this unique exhibit, CAS is sponsoring a series of public lectures by four gifted art historians who will speak on the development of art and art collections in the Habsburg realm and the roles of the Habsburg sovereigns in forming the monarchy and collecting art works (see *story p. 5*). As a prelude to the opening of the art exhibit, CAS is sponsoring a free performance at the university by the acclaimed Twin Cities chamber ensemble, the Bakken Trio, of Schönberg's famous *Transfigured Night* in the original string sextet version. The accomplished Schönberg scholar on the university's music faculty, Michael Cherlin, will offer an introduction to the music.

Since last summer many universities, historical museums, and governments around the world have been holding observances for the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of World War I. CAS sponsored a lecture by John Deak from the University of Notre Dame this last October on his research on relations between government, the military, and society in the Habsburg Monarchy during the war (see *interview, p. 30*). On April 25, CAS will join with the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies and the Institute for Global Studies at the University of Minnesota in offering

continued on page 5

Thursday, February 5. *Concert.* The Bakken Trio. Performance of Arnold Schönberg's *Verklärte Nacht* (Transfigured Night). Discussion to follow with Michael Cherlin, School of Music, University of Minnesota. 4:00 p.m., Crosby Seminar Room, Northrop Memorial Hall. *Cosponsored by the Institute for Advanced Study.*

Wednesday, February 11. *Lecture.* 4:00 pm - Christian Karner, sociology and social policy, University of Nottingham. "Signs of the Nation: Resisting Globalization?" 4:00 p.m., 710 Social Sciences.

Friday, February 20. *Concert.* The Schubert Trio and Friends present a Schubertiade featuring the work of Schubert, Albrechtsberger, and Brahms. 7:30 p.m., Art Gallery of the James J. Hill House, St. Paul. \$25 admission.

Wednesday, February 25. *Lecture.* Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Kay Fortson Chair in European Art, University of Texas, Austin. "Emperor Rudolf II and the Mysterious Obsession of Collecting." 7:30 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Department of Art History.*

Wednesday, March 11. *Lecture.* Larry Silver, Farquhar Professor of Art History, Univ. of Pennsylvania. "Maximilian I, Charles V, and the Formation of the Habsburg Monarchy." 7:30 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Department of Art History.*

Friday, March 13. *Lecture.* Jessica Keating, art history, Carleton College: "Collecting Exotica at Early Modern Habsburg Courts." 12:15 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Center for Early Modern History.*

Wednesday, April 1. *Lecture.* Eike D. Schmidt, James Ford Bell Curator of Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Minneapolis Institute of Arts. "Empire & Enlightenment: Sculpture and Decorative Arts in 18th-Century Vienna." 7:30 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Department of Art History.*

Wednesday, April 22. *Lecture.* Irmgard Wetzstein, journalism, University of Vienna. "Debating Alternative Gender Identities in Austria: the Case of the Viennese Life Ball 2014." 4:00 p.m., 710 Social Sciences.

Friday, April 24. *Lecture.* Thomas Wallnig, history, University of Vienna, Visiting Fulbright Scholar, Stanford University. "Critical Monks: The German Benedictines, 1680-1740." 12:15 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Center for Early Modern History.*

Saturday, April 25. *Teacher Workshops.* "World War I and the Armenian Genocide." 9:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall. *Cosponsored by the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.* (see p. 5)

Thursday, April 30. *Lecture.* Carl Neumayr, sociology, Karl-Franzens University, Graz, BMWF Fellow. "Professor as Profession: A Review of Faculty Surveys, 1960s-Present." 4:00 p.m., 710 Social Sciences.

Pauley gives generously to CAS



Former Austrian Ambassador Christian Prosl, left, with Bruce Pauley, right, in Orlando, Florida, in 2010. Prosl was awarding Pauley the *Ehrenkreuz erste Klasse für Wissenschaft* on behalf of the Austrian government. Photo courtesy Toby Unwin, Honorary Austrian Consul, Orlando, Florida.

by Daniel Pinkerton

Bruce Pauley, a distinguished historian of twentieth-century Austria and the Habsburg Empire, has given a \$10,000 gift to the Center for Austrian Studies. It is one of the most generous contributions to the Center in recent years.

“Bruce Pauley has had a long, distinguished career as a scholar and teacher,” said CAS interim director Gary Cohen. “With this gift to the Center for Austrian Studies, he demonstrates that he is also a remarkably generous and far-sighted human being. His dedication to Austrian history and the scholarly life is evident, and we are greatly honored that he recognized the Center as an institution that will advance causes so near to his heart.”

Though Pauley’s gift was unencumbered, he wished to aid students. Therefore, Cohen designated it for the William E. Wright Fellowship Fund, which supports graduate student research. The university’s 21st Century Match program will match the payout of the scholarship fund, doubling the impact of the gift.

“I feel fortunate to be in a position to make a donation to the Center,” Pauley wrote to CAS director-designate Howard Louthan. “I’ve had a love affair with Austria since I traveled there with my parents in 1954, the first of nineteen research and sightseeing trips to Vienna and the provinces. Making a donation to the Center was an obvious reflection of my belief in the importance of Austrian history and culture. I hope that other specialists in Austrian affairs will be induced to make similar contributions.”

“In these days when public funding is drying up for the humanities, this gift means so much to us,” responded a grateful Louthan.

Pauley’s “love affair with Austria” has been a long and passionate one. Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, he holds degrees from Grinnell College in Iowa (B.A., 1959), the University of Nebraska (M.A., 1961), and the University of Rochester in New York (Ph.D., 1966). He has also studied at the University of Vienna, the University of Graz, and at Yale and Vanderbilt universities. He has taught at the College of Wooster (Ohio), the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the

University of Wyoming, the College of William and Mary, the University of New Orleans summer program in Innsbruck, and, for thirty-five years, at the University of Central Florida. He is now a professor emeritus at Central Florida.

Pauley has been a prolific and highly regarded scholar. He has written six books, three of which have been translated into German. His dissertation was published in Vienna in 1972 under the title *Hahnenschwanz und Hakenkreuz: Steirischer Heimatschutz und österreichischer Nationalsozialismus, 1918-1934*. His best known book is *Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini: Totalitarianism in the Twentieth Century* (4th edition, 2014). *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (1992) won two national book awards. One of them was the Austrian Cultural Forum Prize for Best Book, which CAS administers.

His other books include *Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism* (1981) and *The Habsburg Legacy, 1867-1939* (1972). His newest book, *Pioneering History on Two Continents: An Autobiography*, was published in 2014 by Potomac Books.

He has also published numerous articles in edited volumes, including “Prelude to Anschluss: the Great War and the Shattered International and Domestic Consensus,” in *Austria, 1938-1988: Anschluss and Fifty Years*, edited by William E. Wright, and articles in the *Austrian History Yearbook*, *Central European History*, and other prestigious refereed journals.

In 2010, the Austrian ambassador to the United States presented Pauley with Austria’s highest award for scholarship, the *Ehrenkreuz erste Klasse*. His other honors include nineteen teaching and research grants, including a Fulbright. Both his teaching and research have greatly benefited from thirty-three research and study trips to nearly eighty countries on six continents between 1945 and 2013 (including five countries that were behind the Iron Curtain at the time).

Pauley has also been active in efforts to promote international education. He was active in the Save Fulbright campaign in 2014 that resulted in the restoration of the Fulbright program, which had been threatened with elimination. He worked closely with Lonnie Johnson of the Austrian Fulbright Commission.

“Gifts like this one from Dr. Pauley, without restrictions, are not common,” CLA development officer Eva Widder reminds us. “It is a sign of trust in the Center’s mission and leadership, and one we are very grateful for.” ❖

Robert A. Kann Memorial Lecture turns 30



2014 marked the 30th Annual Robert A. Kann Memorial Lecture, and it was quite an affair. James Tracy, one of the world's leading historians of the Habsburg lands in the Early Modern era, gave a lecture, "Habsburg-Ottoman Wars, 1526-1606: A Clash of Civilizations" (see interview of Tracy on p. 8). Left, John Coleman, dean of the College of Liberal Arts, was on hand to offer welcoming remarks. Right, Timothy Johnson, curator of special collections and rare books, took Marilyn Kann McElroy, Kann's daughter, on a tour of the Kann collection.

Letter from the Director from p. 3
an all-day workshop for K12 teachers on World War I and its impact.

CAS is proud to support teaching, research, and the general exchange of knowledge about Austria and the other former lands of the Habsburg Monarchy in as many ways as we can. Our longstanding formal and informal relations with universities, research institutes, foundations, and government agencies in Central Europe and elsewhere is bearing fruit this year in a formidable array of scholars who are coming to the University of Minnesota and will give lectures for us. The Austrian-born sociologist Christian Karner from the University of Nottingham, for example, is visiting for research and will speak on his research dealing with the relationship between globalization, commodification, and national identities. This year's Visiting Austrian Fulbright Professor, Irmgard Wetzstein from the University of Vienna, is teaching this spring in our School of Journalism and Mass Communication. She will give a lecture for CAS on how contemporary public debates about gender identities are playing out in Austria. Carl Neumayr, the Austrian doctoral research fellow from Graz sponsored this year by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research, and Economics, will speak later this spring on his work in the sociology of science and education. Yet another Austrian scholar, the historian Thomas

Wallnig from the University of Vienna, will visit the Minnesota Center for Early Modern History in late April; and CAS will join in sponsoring his public lecture on the scholarly and scientific work of German Benedictine monks from the late seventeenth century to 1740.

Fortunately for everyone at CAS, we were successful in appointing a new program associate, Jennifer Hammer, in January. She is managing programming and financial affairs for both CAS and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. When I agreed in late spring of 2014 to

return to CAS as interim director until Howard Louthan arrives in summer 2015, I was not sure how big a program of activities and events my colleagues and I could organize for the year on short notice. The Center's connections and traditions are so well developed, however, that the real challenge has been not to take on too much. I hope that our audiences will enjoy what we are offering them this winter and spring.

Gary B. Cohen
Interim Director
Center for Austrian Studies

CAS, CHGS, IGS partner for spring workshop

The Center for Austrian Studies and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies are combining, along with the Institute for Global Studies, to offer a workshop for educators this spring that will honor the centenary of the First World War.

Its title is **World War I and the Armenian Genocide**. It will be held April 25, 2015, 9:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m., 1210 Heller Hall, on the West Bank of the University of Minnesota.

This day-long workshop will start with a historical overview of the beginning of World War I and be followed by break out sessions on World War I in Africa, Asia, and the Armenian Genocide. Participants will be able to

choose sessions of interest. They will receive lunch, parking, resource lists, and a book.

The instructors, drawn from CAS, CHGS, and the Department of History, will be Gary Cohen, Alejandro Baer, Adam Blackler, Ajay Skaria, and Patricia Lorcin.

Cost: **\$25**; this includes parking, resources, 6 CEUs, and lunch. It is free for pre-service educators. The registration deadline is April 12. You can register online at <http://igs.cla.umn.edu/outreach/profdev.html>

Should you need to cancel, please write to Deborah Jane at outreach@umn.edu by April 12, 2015. If you cancel after this date, you will not be eligible for a refund.

GLOBAL MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS



Left to right: Christoph Ramoser, Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research; Ruth Fine, The Center for Austrian Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Georg Kastner, Andrásy University Budapest; Maria Waukonig, Institute for East European History, Vienna; Gary Cohen, Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota; Günter Bischof, Center Austria at the University of New Orleans; and Joseph Patrouch, Wirth Institute, University of Alberta.



Christian Ebner, Austrian Cultural Forum-NY



Adéla Rossípalová, Palacký University, Olomouc

Almost a decade ago, the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Research (BMWF) came up with the idea for an annual meeting of all the directors of various centers and institutes for the study of Austria and the Habsburg Empire. What the BMWF wanted was an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and networking that might lead to collaborative projects. In addition, each director was to bring up to two graduate students, so that students could receive international exposure and feedback from their peers as well as established scholars.

The first meeting was held in 2007 at the University of Minnesota—a fitting choice, since CAS is North America's oldest interdisciplinary center for Habsburg and post-Habsburg study. It then was hosted by each of the other institutions in turn (Andrásy University in Budapest, Wirth Institute in Canada, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, etc.) before returning to the University of Minnesota again in 2014.

The 2014 meeting was a wonderful combination of stimulating scholarly presentations (with a lecture by Arnold Suppan, former director of the Institute for East European History in Vienna, as a bonus), opportunities to connect again with friends and colleagues, and, as is usual at these meetings, an opportunity to see some of the host city. CAS took the attendees on a Mississippi River cruise and gave them opportunities to go to museums and concerts.

We are grateful to Barbara Weitgruber, Christoph Ramoser, and everyone at the BMWF for continuing this important tradition. ❖



Left: Joseph Patrouch (left) in conversation with CAS director-designate Howard Louthan (right). All photos by Daniel Pinkerton.

AUSTRIAN HISTORY YEARBOOK

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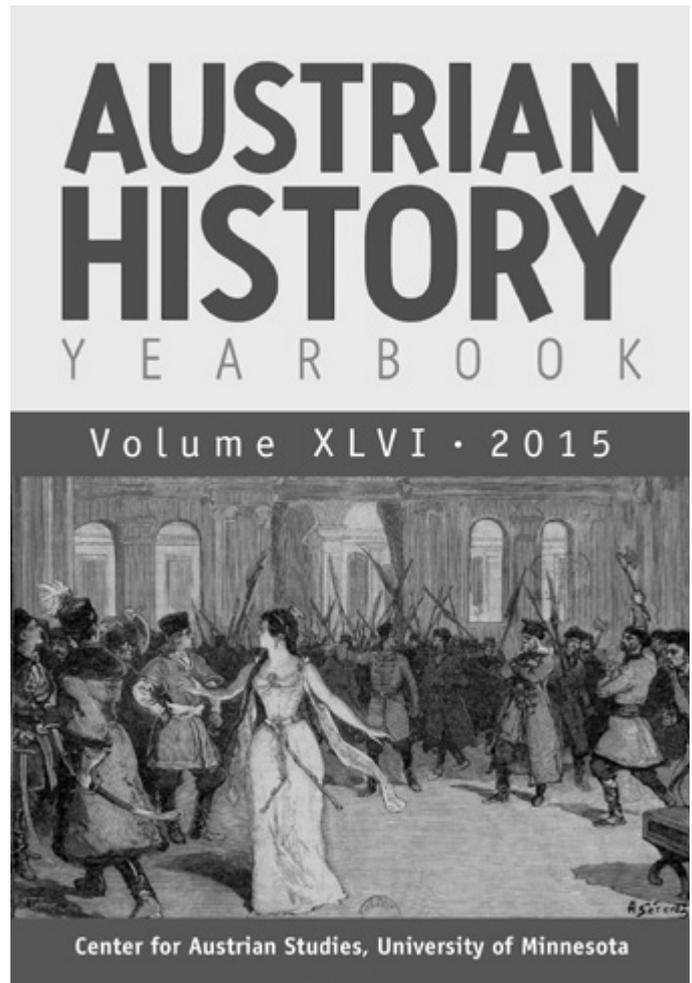
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James Tracy



serendipitous
detours and
multiple
interests

Photo: Daniel
Pinkerton

by Daniel Pinkerton

ASN: *When did you first become interested in history?*

JT: Well, I'm from St. Louis, and I went to St. Louis University. I couldn't decide whether I wanted to major in history, philosophy, or English. St. Louis University was a Jesuit school, and Father Joseph McAllin, who taught history, said I should be a philosophy major. Then I talked to my philosophy professor, and he said I should be a history major. I didn't talk to my English professor, but I gradually decided that history was what I wanted to do. The first place I went to graduate school was Johns Hopkins, where they had a program called the history of ideas. This was a very old fashioned approach to things, but I wasn't aware of that. For me, it was a way of avoiding making the fatal choice between history and philosophy. At Johns Hopkins, I discovered that there wasn't much left of the discipline. There were two illustrious founders, one of whom was still living, at about 90 or so, and there was a history of ideas club, which had lectures every few months. The only thing I ever remember from attending those sessions was that one night the distinguished old gentleman was helped into the cushy sofa in the front, where he sat and smoked his cigarettes while listening to the lecture, and this particular evening he dropped his cigarette into the folds of the couch, so there was a little plume of smoke and a great big to-do. People roused themselves to get the old gentleman out of the couch and then take care of the little fire that he had started. So I decided there was no future there. However, Princeton had a program that blurred the distinction between medieval and early modern history, but by the time I decided I wanted to do that, it was too late to apply. In the meantime, I had a Danforth Fellowship, and one of the perquisites of that was that if you wanted to, you could study theology for a year, because the Danforth Foundation had a religious background. I decided that if I was going to do work in the Reformation period, I should know more about theology. Notre Dame had a one-year program in the history of theology, so I went there, and then subsequently applied to Princeton, where I was accepted.

ASN: *What caught your interest in medieval and early modern history?*

JT: When I was at Hopkins I wrote an MA thesis on medieval French conceptions of kingship based on some French chronicles. But I decided I wanted to venture beyond the medieval period. I was especially interested in the fact that the humanist movement bifurcated in the Reformation, and I was going to see if I could work on that. I was working under E. Harris Harbison, who had written a book that I really liked, *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation*. It dealt with Jerome, Erasmus, and Calvin, which was an unusual combination. When I went into Princeton, my initial thought was to pick a group of humanists in France, some of whom became Protestant, and some of whom became Catholic, and try to study them as a group. I was working on that, but in the meantime, I had to take a course in German as part of the graduate school requirement. I didn't really know German, but I was able to pass the course. Then I decided that the German humanists were much more interesting, so I started reading German, and I gradually learned it. That's when I got interested in Philip Melancthon, Luther's second in command, because he was very much a humanist. Erasmus and Melancthon were friends by letter; they never met, but they had a very cordial correspondence over the years. So I started working on Melancthon, and I applied for a Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst scholarship fund for American students. They wrote me back a letter in German, saying, we have given you a fellowship. I wrote them back a very short note in German, attempting to thank them, at which point they wrote me a letter in English saying, "We think you would benefit from the Goethe Institute." I took their advice, and my first two months in Germany were spent in a Goethe Institute, which was a wonderful place in Bad Reichenhall, and so I was off to a good start.

ASN: *Where did you go to do research?*

JT: I went to the University of Münster, and I enrolled in the Protestant theology faculty, with a professor named Robert Stuperich. I discovered to my surprise that there were 50 students in the so-called seminar, and

that hardly anybody was interested in the theology or the history of the Reformation period; these were basically students, almost all men, who were preparing for the ministry. They were interested in New Testament scholarship and Social Democratic politics, but that was about it. In the meantime, I had gotten a job as what we would now call a TA at the University of Michigan; this was an idea that was just emerging, and that turned out to be a very nice place to be for a couple of years. But while I was still in Germany, I realized I needed a more defined thesis topic, so I decided to focus on Erasmus.

ASN: *Not Melanchthon?*

JT: No, because I talked to Professor Stupperich he said, "Yes, there's a lot to be done on Melanchthon, and there's a whole pile of unedited letters. However, Herr Scheible is currently in possession of them." It was very clear that they were not going to see the light of day until Herr Scheible was finished doing whatever it was that he was doing with them, and I didn't want to look at manuscripts anyway. My idea of being a historian was to read books. Seriously—that's how I thought about it. I fell back on Erasmus, and I asked Professor Stupperich if he would look at a précis that I was writing. It was about 30 pages long, all about what I hoped to do for a dissertation. He invited me to his house on a nice spring day, and we sat out in the backyard, and he talked about what I had done in rather vague terms, and it suddenly dawned on me, "He doesn't read English!" I had done reports for the class in German, but for something like this, I did it in English. He then referred me to a friend of his, Wilhelm Pauck, at Union Seminary, so I contacted him and made arrangements to meet him on my way back to the Midwest. Pauck recommended Louis Spitz, who was at Stanford, and I wrote to him. He agreed to supervise my thesis, and I was off and running.

ASN: *Your first book was a reworking of your thesis on Erasmus, but since then, you've branched out into a lot of other areas. When I was in grad school you were working on transatlantic connections, the expansion of the world.*

JT: When it was time to do a second book, I was in Minnesota and the whole debate about the Vietnam War was going on. I decided to do something on Erasmus and the politics of his period. Erasmus had a strong pacifist leaning, and the question I wanted to ask was, "How much did he really know about what was going on?" He had, for example, a close friend who was the English ambassador, and Erasmus wrote all of these nice things about peace while his dear friend the ambassador was scheming behind the back of the government to wage war. I eventually concluded that although his friends didn't really tell him a lot of things that were going on, he was actually more engaged, and knew more about the politics of the time, than he is often given credit for. I also viewed this as an entrée to doing other projects connected with the history of the Low Countries. I actually went to an archive for the first time and started looking at a few things. I had read something about the Anabaptist movement in the province of Holland (for Dutch speakers, Holland was and still is a province, not a country). I decided to write a paper, but as I did it, I found that I was really less interested in the Anabaptists than in the relationship between the city government and the territorial government. At this time, the Low Countries were ruled by Charles V. He was bound and determined not to tolerate any heresy in his native provinces. He was quite brutal about it. The government now had a movement growing up in its midst, and there were reports, for example, that the Anabaptist bishop was having dinner with one of the Burgemeesters of Amsterdam. He was, not because he was an Anabaptist, but because this was a city government, and they wanted to have a handle on what was going on. At the same time, they had to cover their flank in dealing with the central government, and the way they did that was to collaborate with the other cities represented in the states of estates of Holland—cities that they didn't always get along with. I thought that whole situation was very interesting, and that led to two books on Holland.

ASN: *I assume the relevant archives were scattered across the Low Countries.*

JT: Yes and no. A lot of the archival material relating to the province of

Holland is housed in Brussels, because that was the headquarters of the central government. Interestingly, the Belgian historians, at that time, were not interested in Holland, and the Dutch historians considered Brussels too far to go to do a project. I thought, "Here's a good opening for a foreigner." Normally a foreigner never understands what's going on as well as people who have grown up in a country. But here was a trove of documents that people were not working on. So that was my entrée, and I was going to write a book on Holland and its relations with the central government. Along the way I started looking into financial accounts, because the provincial parliament sold what we would call bonds on behalf of the central government. There are very detailed records of who the buyers were and so on, and I thought, "Boy, this is interesting!" My dad was an accountant, and that may have unconsciously influenced me. I decided to take notes on all this stuff. I didn't know if I was going to do anything with it, and I couldn't see it being directly germane. In the meantime, I collected material for this other book, which eventually became a book called *Holland Under Habsburg Rule*, and the premise of that book was that this was an apprenticeship in self-government, because Holland became the lynchpin of the subsequent Dutch Revolt, and one of the reasons that they were able to do that was because they had already been doing a lot of things as part of their participation in the affairs of the territorial government.

ASN: *They had some experience in governing themselves.*

JT: Right. Now, I had also collected this financial material, and I didn't know what to do with it. When I came back, I had lunch with Joe Altholz, and I told him about the governmental bonds, because Joe is a great repository of information, very intellectually curious. He said "That's very much like what happened in England in the financial revolution." I had never heard of the financial revolution, but there was a book by a man named Dixon, and I promptly went and read it. I decided I really had to do something, because what they were doing in Holland was about 150 years ahead of what they did in England. There's a great difference between a small province and a nation, but the principle is nonetheless the same. You have a parliamentary body, which pledges the full faith and credit of the entire province, to stand behind an issue of long term, low interest loans—bonds is a good shorthand expression. I decided I was going to write a big article on this, and the big article became a book which appeared first, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands*. So I had these two books under incubation, and in the meantime—this would be the late 1970s through the early 1980s—I was a squash player, and one of the people I played with on the faculty was Ted Farmer. He was always better than I was, but we liked to play. Ted and I started talking about the fact that we had, in those days, three or four people doing early modern Europe: Carla Phillips was here, her husband Wim came a little bit later, Stan Lehmborg and myself were here, and we had Paul Bamford. We also had people studying the same period in other parts of the world, like Ted and Stuart Schwartz, and to a certain extent, Romeyn Taylor. We began getting together, and that was the beginning of the Center for Early Modern History. Eventually, we got an NEH grant, and held a conference called "The Rise of Merchant Empires," and that became two edited volumes on merchant empires. At that time, we had a connection with Cambridge University Press, and those two volumes did very well; they were both published in paperback.

ASN: *Now you've gone back to studying the Habsburgs, specifically the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict. What prompted your interest in this?*

JT: First, I never want to keep working in a particular area after I pass the point where I no longer have anything interesting to say. I published three books on Erasmus and three books on Holland. I had to find something different, and I thought Christian-Islamic relations would be interesting. My first idea was to work from the Netherlands background. The Dutch East India Company has an extraordinarily rich archive, and so I started to collect material—I still have a bunch of microfilm which I'll probably never use. Then I was invited, in the spring of 2001, to give lectures for a

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JAMES TRACY *from page 9*

term at the Sorbonne. It took me most of the time I was there to prepare, because I had to write out everything. Their expectations for correct French are pretty high. When I finally had done the lectures that I needed to do, I still had some time, so I went to the manuscript room of the national library, which is in the old library. It's a wonderful place to work. It's highly regulated in the French manner. You have to have something called a pee-pee card; if you feel the call of nature, you have to turn in your card and pick it up again. I decided to look at the correspondence of French ambassadors to the Ottoman court, because France had a connection with the Ottomans early on. At this point I shifted gears and decided to look at the relations of different European states with the Ottomans. I wasn't going to learn Turkish, so I couldn't represent the Ottoman point of view. But I felt that if I could get different perspectives of different European governments that were often hostile to each other, like France and the Habsburgs, something interesting might come from that. So, I started in Paris, and then I went to Venice, where I got interested in Venetian history. It's hard not to.

ASN: *Venice is fascinating, beautiful, and full of history.*

JT: Yes it is. And then I went to Dubrovnik, The Hague, and finally to Vienna. By the time I got to Vienna, I was feeling that the project I had in mind was awfully diffuse. I decided to just concentrate on Habsburg relations with the Ottomans. That would give me the focus I needed. In the end, I had a good handle on that correspondence for a period of about thirty-five years. It's published from 1526 to 1541, and I worked forward from that date. One only has a certain amount of time, and as the years go on, the piles of correspondence get thicker. I got to 1578 and stopped. I also began thinking that the diplomatic relations were less interesting than what was actually going on between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, and this confronted me with a choice. I wasn't going to learn Hungarian, either, even though it's an important language in the region. Hungarian scholars publish a lot—in present times, even more so—in German or English, but there's a whole rich literature that I'm missing out on. But I had learned a bit of Polish for something else, so I thought I probably could learn some Croatian. In the end, I couldn't read it anything like I can read German or Italian or French; I need a dictionary all the time. But with a little Croatian, I can read Bosnian and Serbian, even though they're slightly different from Croatian and from each other. Therefore, I've focused on that area, and, in the book I'm writing now, I'm back to using more published sources. It will be called *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, and Venetian Dalmatia*, because the Venetians controlled most of the coast of Dalmatia, and for a large period, some of the hinterland too. The Venetians make a nice foil to the Habsburgs—first, because the two states are frequently hostile, and second, because they have a different way of doing things. The Venetian government is very organized. They know exactly what they're doing, exactly what they're going to spend, and exactly what they're not going to spend. Whereas the Habsburgs, it's very different. They don't know where the next truckload of Rhein Gulden or Hungarian Florins is going to come from. And yet, at the same time, the Venetians and the Habsburgs are both representative of a Latin Christian or Western European style of government which is fundamentally different from what the Ottomans are doing.

ASN: *In your talk, you said that in the first half of this period, everything went in favor of the Ottomans. But then, towards the end of the 16th century, fortunes were reversed. Why and how?*

JT: A passage from Friedrich Meinecke's *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* has guided my thinking. He basically says that when the energies of quasi-autonomous groups are brought together, then you've really got a force to reckon with. These various components of the Habsburg monarchy had a process of drawing on the wealth and resources of the people who lived within those borders that worked better than the Ottoman structure. Now this is counterintuitive if you think of the Ottomans having this kind of top-down structure, but every government, including the Ottoman government, is somewhat precarious. The people who are running the show are

conscious of not wanting to push people beyond their limit, so the result is that the effective rate of taxation really doesn't go up, if at all, in the Ottoman lands, whereas it does in the Habsburg lands. And the second thing is that no government—certainly not in this period—is capable of fighting a war on the basis of current revenues. You have to pledge the revenues of future years. How do you do that? Credit, and the best credit is not short term, high interest loans from bankers, but rather long term, low interest loans in which the capital is provided by lots and lots of people, sometimes people of modest station who happen to have a little bit of money that they can put aside. If you can do that, then you're really tapping into the resources of your population, and there's a potential for the mobilization of forces that will be able to exceed the Ottomans in certain respects. The Habsburgs' more decentralized system was able to inspire a certain amount of confidence in people who had some money. A modest investor would be stupid to give money to the king. A king can cancel his debts. Instead, they'd deal with somebody that they knew—for example, the town government. The town government, in effect, interposed its credit between investors and the king. The investors knew somebody, or knew somebody who knew somebody, in the town government. They had a door they could bang on.

ASN: *Therefore, the king didn't have people saying, "Why are we giving money to you to fight this war?" He had local support.*

JT: Well, they didn't say that as often. The other point I want to make about the transition between, roughly speaking, Ferdinand's reign and the period after the military reforms of the 1570s, was that the key to greater success was Ferdinand's religious policy. Charles V did not tolerate heresy in any way, shape, or form, and he was secluded from reality. He almost never needed the cooperation of important people who were Protestants. But Ferdinand was surrounded by very important people who were Protestants from a very early date. I didn't go into this in my paper, but the brothers had an agreement, going back to 1519, that Ferdinand would succeed Charles as emperor, and then Ferdinand would be succeeded as emperor by his own eldest son, whereas Charles' heir would take over in Spain and Naples and the Low Countries. Well, Charles decided to break that agreement, and announced that his son Philip would succeed Ferdinand, and not Ferdinand's son Maximilian. This led to a furious quarrel, and Ferdinand grudgingly agreed to submit the question to the imperial diet. But he never did, because Maximilian was very gregarious and a not-so-secret Lutheran, so he was popular among the German princes. Philip, on the other hand, spoke only Spanish and was very taciturn. He made zero impression on the electors, so Charles eventually backed off. In my opinion, this made it easier for Ferdinand to make the next move, which he did in 1552, when he and his Lutheran ally Moritz of Saxony agreed on a new religious policy, in which Lutherans and Catholics would have the same rights. This opened the door for cooperation, first in the diet and then later with the estates.

ASN: *I'm surprised that the Habsburgs got away with communicating so slowly. It took a year and a half for them to tell the sultan that they wouldn't allow Szigetvár to be torn down. Why did the sultan wait a year and a half?*

JT: First of all, the Ottomans were used to this excuse. The Habsburgs were always saying, "We can't really answer that right away, because we need to consult so-and-so." The Ottomans didn't really understand this, and they no doubt regarded it as simply a ploy and a way of gaining time, which it was. However, there was a succession crisis in the Ottoman dynasty at that time, and it wasn't resolved until later. The grand vizier at the time, whose name was Ruestem Pasha, was central to this, because one of the rival candidates was his brother-in-law. The sultan had married one of his concubines, which had never happened before. Once that was settled, Suleiman invaded Hungary in 1566. That's when Szigetvár was captured. But the affair helped to lay the groundwork for the Habsburgs' process of consultation, and the fallen heroes of Szigetvár later became important to the process of Hungarian and Croatian nation building—a basis for nationalist propaganda. ❖

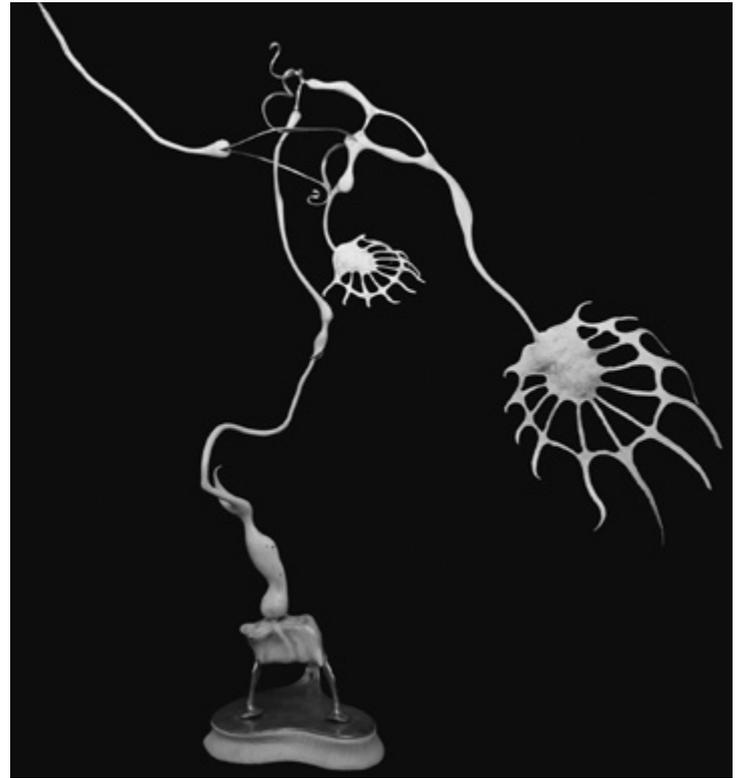
New ACFNY art exhibit opens April 1

The group exhibition “Display of the Centuries: Frederick Kiesler and Contemporary Art” will open at the Austrian Cultural Forum New York on April 1, 2015 and run through July 27, 2015.

It is dedicated to the work and ideas of the Austrian American architect, designer, artist, and theoretician Frederick Kiesler, as 2015 marks the 50th anniversary of his death, his 125th birthday, and the 50th anniversary of the completion of his most famous work, the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem. The exhibition investigates how art is made and subsequently presented and tackles the highly topical question of how artists can develop presentation strategies to escape from the curators’ omnipotence in today’s commercialized art scene. Curator Peter Bogner assembles the works of 16 artists according to Frederick Kiesler’s genius and his uncanny understanding that the 21st century needs, more than ever, new modes of creating, seeing, comprehending, and discerning varied realities. The artists will also grapple with Raimund Abraham’s intricate design of the building that hosts this exhibition.

Artists include ONA B., Josef Dabering, Wolfgang Geyer, Michael Huey, Richard Jochum, Karl-Heinz Klopff, Krüger & Pardeller, Hanns Kunitzberger, Christoph Meier, Ute Müller, Eva Petric, Gregor Schmoll, Hani Rashid, Gerold Tagwerker, Josef Trattner, and Heimo Zobernig.

The opening of Display of the Centuries: Frederick Kiesler and Contemporary Art will take place from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. on Tuesday, March 31, 2015. Admission is free.



Wolfgang Geyer, *Space for Movable Thoughts*, 2014. Mobile in wood, brass, and paper. Image courtesy ACFNY.

Minnesota’s Bakken Trio dazzles with rare Schönberg



On February 8, 2015, the renowned Bakken Trio (and friends) performed the rarely heard original string sextet version of Arnold Schönberg’s *Verklärte Nacht* (*Transfigured Night*), along with commentary by Minnesota’s internationally known Schönberg scholar, Michael Cherlin. The event was cosponsored by the Institute for Advanced Studies. Above, left to right: Katja Linfield, Rebecca Albers, Mina Fisher, Pitnarry Shin, Helen Chang Haertzen, and Stephanie Arado (not pictured: Sabina Thatcher). Right: Michael Cherlin and Katja Linfield. Photos: Daniel Pinkerton.





Sabine Haag rose through the ranks at Vienna's famed Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM) to become its first female director. In a September 2014 visit to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, she talked about her career and the splendid collection of objects housed at KHM.

Sabine Haag:

from data entry to director

by Daniel Pinkerton

ASN: *What part of Austria are you from?*

SH: I was born and raised in the western part of Austria. I grew up in Bregenz, which is on Lake Constance, very close to Germany and Switzerland. This is where I spent the first 18 years of my life, and this is where I graduated from high school.

ASN: *And then you went from the wilds of Bregenz to Santa Barbara.*

SH: Yes, I lived in Santa Barbara for a year. I was an exchange student, but I also attended University of California-Santa Barbara (UCSB) and took some courses there. I still remember this as one of the most splendid years of my life. I really enjoyed it; I thoroughly enjoyed living in Santa Barbara, and after this one year I went back to Austria to start my university education in Austria. I went to Innsbruck in Tirol, where I started with courses in English and American literature and also art history. Then, after four semesters I changed to the University of Vienna, where I graduated and earned my diploma.

ASN: *You had two majors. At what point did you decide that you were more interested in art history than in literature?*

SH: Actually, I made the decision to go into art history, to study art history, when I was 13. My parents gave me the book by Ernst Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, and I read it, and read it, and read it, and I was so fascinated, that I

figured, "this is what I want to do." I had no idea how to do it, and what was needed for that, but this was really the initiation into art history. I also had a very good teacher at high school, in English, and she really stimulated my interest in English and American literature. Therefore, when I graduated from high school, I had this immense interest in art history, and I knew I was going to study art history, but during my year in Santa Barbara, I realized that I was also very much in love with the English language, with literature, and with the arts, so I decided to just do both.

ASN: *When you were studying at Innsbruck and Vienna, were there any particular mentors who helped you?*

SH: Yes I remember, in Innsbruck they were mostly in English studies. I had a wonderful professor, Arno Heller, who really got me interested in literature, and he was really a mentor. The faculty of art history at Innsbruck was just a small one, so if you wanted to do serious studies you had to do this at the University of Vienna. Of course I remember my one and only mentor at the University of Vienna, Günther Heinz. I did my main studies with him, and I wrote my Ph.D and my other longer diplomarbeit under his direction. He was also the one who suggested that I should work at the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM), and he helped me to get my foot in the door.

ASN: *Where did you start at KHM? What's the path upward in the museum?*

SH: There is no real path. You have to work hard and you have to be lucky.

You have to meet the right person at the right time; for me, this was my mentor, Günther. He also worked as a curator at the paintings department in the KHM. Just after I graduated, he heard that in the *Kunstammer* department, they were looking for someone who would help transcribe the written inventory into the computer. He recommended that I apply, saying it's probably not the most exciting job, but it's a good way to get into the museum and to learn. So this is where I started. This is how I came into the *Kunstammer* collection and the treasury department. I tried to avoid the arrogance that many university graduates have. I went in and I said, "I'm not a secretary, I'm an art historian. I don't just simply want to type, I want to learn everything. I want to see the objects, I want to read the literature, I want to talk to the conservators, I want to get really well acquainted with the collection, and not just simply type the inventory into the computer." My colleagues at the *Kunstammer* were happy to have me do this. They said, "as long as you do your work, and do the inventory, you can do whatever you want and the more you know about the collection, the better." After a very short time they asked me whether I would like to write my dissertation—I had to write a Ph.D dissertation in order to stay at the museum—and this is when I decided to work with the ivory collection; and of course, I helped with so many other things at the department. I wrote catalogue entries, helped arrange the objects, and worked together with conservators. I worked as if I were a curator there as well. It was a wonderful chance to see all the objects, and I learned the museum's work from the very basics on up. Nowadays, this would not be possible. You could not take your time and learn the collection by seeing every single object in the collection physically. But I did it. And this is still so helpful, even 25 years later.

ASN: *The KHM is organized into several divisions. What are they?*

SH: The museum has its basis in thirteen collections/departments, covering or starting from Greek and Roman galleries, ancient art, the *Kunstammer*, paintings, coins, the treasury, the carriage museum, musical instruments, arms and armor; so we have thirteen different collections and departments altogether. Every single department is headed by a director, and then we have other departments as well, like education, publication, marketing and law and all these. I am the head of all of them; I am the director general of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*.

ASN: *Not all of the collections are located in the building on the Ringstraße.*

SH: That's right. The main building, as we call it, is the famous *Kunsthistorisches Museum* located on the Ringstraße. In this building we have five collections on display; it's the Egyptian collection, the Greek and Roman galleries, the paintings, the *Kunstammer*, and the coin cabinet. And then we have another wonderful location in the imperial palace. There you will find arms and armor, musical instruments, the Ephesus museum, and the Schatz (the treasury), which is located in the very core part of the imperial palace. The carriage museum is located in Schönbrunn, and Ambras Castle, which is located near Innsbruck, is another charming, very important location. Last but not least is the Theseus Temple. It's not a museum, just a museum structure that was built in 1821 to house the famous sculpture by Antonio Canova, which is now in the staircase of the museum on the Ringstraße. We use Theseus's Temple as an opportunity to display one piece of contemporary art as it was used in former times, when the temple was used to display the temporary sculpture by Canova.

ASN: *Does the exhibit that is coming from the KHM to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (MIA) draw from all thirteen collections?*

SH: Our intention was to draw from all thirteen collections, but we soon realized that this would be too much, because there is only space for around 100 objects. We wanted to tell a good story, so it became obvious that we could not draw from all the collections. We drew on the most important ones: the paintings, the *Kunstammer*, the Greek and Roman galleries, Ambras, the carriage museum, and arms and armor. Within the limits of the gallery spaces we will have, we wanted to give the American audience as broad a picture of the KHM as we could, so that they could see the depth

of an imperial collection that was amassed over a period of many centuries.

ASN: *It seemed to me that a majority of the items audiences will see were originally collected by Ferdinand II and Rudolf II. Do their acquisitions still remain the cornerstones of the KHM?*

SH: This is definitely true for the *Kunstammer* collection. Ferdinand and Rudolf were the most important collectors, along with Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who was the Habsburg governor in the Netherlands. Leopold Wilhelm is, more or less, the founding father of the painting galleries. He brought approximately 1400 paintings by Flemish and Italian masters, the best painters of their time. So those are the three most important collectors, and of course the paintings and the *Kunstammer* are probably the most outstanding collections of the KHM. I might add one more, arms and armor. It really has no rival in the world, and this collection goes back to Maximilian I and Ferdinand II.

ASN: *I was surprised to realize what a large collection of Flemish and Italian masters the KHM has. Could say a little something more about it?*

SH: The paintings collection of the KHM was amassed by several collectors; the most prominent and effective collector was archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who had his residence in Brussels and was very close to the Flemish masters. He bought a lot of their work. He also was able to profit from the Hamilton collection, which was auctioned, and this is how many of those paintings came into the collections of the Habsburgs. One of our core collections is the Bruegel collection; we have twelve originals by Pieter Bruegel the elder, and these paintings came to Vienna, or to the Habsburg collections via Rudolf II and his brother Ernst. Both of them just loved Bruegel and they bought many of those. The same is true for Dürer. So very often we can say that the Habsburgs also profited from their political power. They were emperors of the Holy Roman Empire; they had learned antiquarians, collectors, and agents all over Europe who helped to complete the collection. Plus, they had the political power, and, in Rudolf's case, the money as well. Rudolf had the passion, the knowledge, and the energy to focus on the arts; more so, on the whole, than on politics. So there are several reasons why the Habsburgs were fortunate enough to bring together a fantastic collection of Flemish, Italian, and other paintings.

ASN: *You also make it sound as if the Habsburg royalty had an educated taste—that they knew good art and loved it.*

SH: Well, not all of them. But some of them were passionate, well educated, and had strong emotional ties to art. They all, even Rudolf, realized that an art collection could represent the imperial idea. This was something Rudolf had learned from Charles V, who was his grandfather. He and his brother were educated in Spain together for seven years, and it was there that he realized the power of representation, the power of art, and how art could be used to convey education, to convey a broad mind, to convey the latest knowledge in different fields of research, of technology, of mathematics, of geometry, of nature, and so forth.

ASN: *And, of course, court artists created propaganda for the glorification of the Habsburg dynasty.*

SH: Of course! The master of propaganda—let's put it that way—was Maximilian I, who had Albrecht Dürer as his court artist. Dürer did a famous portrait of the emperor that is also in our collection, and he captured Maximilian exactly as he wanted to be portrayed. This image was used again and again in many different media, in graphic works as well as in other media. As a result, everyone in the empire knew who the emperor was, what he looked like. This was a marketing tool that Maximilian understood very well, and he was probably the best in doing things like this.

ASN: *"Branding," as we say today. Why did you you choose the three particular museums with whom you are partnering?*

SH: My initial partner was the High Museum in Atlanta. Many years ago,

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Free lectures to illuminate KHM/MIA exhibit



Jeffrey Chipps Smith



Larry Silver



Jessica Keating

An utterly breathtaking selection of art treasures from Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum will be on display at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts from February 14 to May 10, 2015 (see story in the Fall 2014 ASN).

The Center will bring four distinguished art historians to campus to give insights into the objects, their creation, and what drove the emperors to collect such a vast array of art.

On Wednesday, February 25, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, the Kay Fortson Chair in European Art at The University of Texas-Austin, will give a talk entitled "Emperor Rudolf II and the Mysterious Obsession of Collecting." This will take place at 7:30 p.m.

Smith (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1979) specializes in the art and architecture of Northern Europe, especially German and Netherlandish, between 1400 and 1700.

Next, on Wednesday, March 11, Larry Silver, Farquhar Professor of Art History at the University of Pennsylvania, will speak on "Maximilian I, Charles V, and the Formation of the Habsburg Monarchy." This talk will also be held at 7:30 p.m.

Silver (Ph.D., Harvard, 1974) is a specialist in painting and graphics of Northern Europe,

particularly Germany and the Netherlands, during the era of Renaissance and Reformation. His most recent book is *Marketing Maximilian* (Princeton, 2008), on the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

On Friday, March 13, Jessica Keating, from Minnesota's Carleton College, will give a lecture, "Collecting Exotica at Early Modern Habsburg Courts." This talk will be held in the afternoon, at 12:15 p.m.

Keating (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 2010) teaches early modern European visual culture, the history of collecting, cross-cultural exchange, and the Reformation. She has been awarded fellowships and grants from the Fulbright Commission, the DAAD, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and others.

Finally, on Wednesday, April 1, Eike D. Schmidt, James Ford Bell Curator of Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, will speak on "Empire & Enlightenment: Sculpture and Decorative Arts in 18th-Century Vienna" at 7:30 p.m.

Schmidt is a native of Freiburg, Germany. He arrived at the MIA in 2009 after two years as head of the Department of European Sculpture and Works of Art at Sotheby's in London and



Eike D. Schmidt

curatorial roles in the sculpture departments of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. He has published widely and has helped acquire new pieces for the MIA collection.

All four events will take place at 1210 Heller Hall on the University's West Bank. They are free and open to the public. The Department of Art History is cosponsoring all but Keating's lecture, which is cosponsored by the Center for Early Modern History. ❖

Sabine Haag from page 13

the director, Michael Shapiro, and I discussed the idea of doing an exhibition together. We soon decided we wanted to do a really big exhibition, and Michael said he would love to share this wonderful exhibition with one or maybe two other American museums, not only to share the exhibition but also to share the cost. I said I would love to do so, because this was a really good chance for the KHM to display a number of masterpieces and to present a universal museum like ours with objects that had never been to the U.S., that had never been on a broad display, but would really help to understand the potential of a dynasty like the Habsburgs. We also wanted

people to discover how modern the use of art could still be nowadays. And then we started looking for partners. The MIA committed itself as a partner rather quickly, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston became our third partner later on.

ASN: All three museums are in the middle of the country, and, say, San Francisco, New York and Philadelphia are not represented. Is this a coincidence or the result of a deliberate plan?

SH: We wanted to get a lot of attention for this exhibition, and the east and west coast museums get a lot of attention already. We lend to the Metropolitan and the County Museum and to

Seattle and to Philadelphia for so many other exhibitions. They have been our partners for four years. We saw that the potential, the attraction, and the attention for an exhibition like this in the heart of the continent would be high and the enthusiasm would be large. We are very happy to have chosen these three museums. We are proud that the exhibition will start in Minneapolis and that it will be the initial exhibition for the centenary of the MIA. I mean, what more can we wish? It's a wonderful way to start celebrating, and I really appreciate Kaywin Feldman, the director of the museum, and her wonderful staff so much. It will be a pleasure and a privilege for me to witness this wonderful opening. ❖

2015 Salzburg Festival: a theme lightly worn

Once again, it is time—or nearly time—for the annual Salzburg Festival to begin. This year, directors Helga Rabl-Stadler and Sven-Eric Bechtolf have programmed using a guiding concept, but it is much less heavy-handed than some past ones.

“Masters and servants, the powerful and the powerless, oppression and protest,” they write. “These binary oppositions provide themes of the opera and drama programs.” One can easily see how the operas *Le Nozze di Figaro*, with Count Almaviva trying to assert his power, fits into this theme, as do *Fidelio*, in which love overcomes oppressive dictatorship, and *Norma*, in which the religious and personal tragedy of colonial subjugation is the theme.

The festival will also present Wolfgang Rihm’s opera *Die Eroberung von Mexico*, based on Artaud’s play about Montezuma and Cortez. For those who care more about star power, Cecilia Bartoli will be on hand to sing both *Norma* and *Iphigénia* (in Gluck’s *Iphigénia en Tauride*); Rolando Villazón will be singing Pylade opposite Bartoli in *Iphigénia*; and Anna Netrebko will be singing Leonore in *Il Trovatore*.

Outside of opera—sort of—the Festival will present a concert version of *Die Dreigroschenoper* (Threepenny Opera). It has also obtained permission from Weill’s estate to try an experiment with this fierce, uncompromising depiction of all power relations. The 1728 *Beggar’s Opera* used folk songs, popular dance music, and opera arias; the 1928 Brecht-Weill adaptation, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, used Kurt Weill’s evocative, unforgettable music, and now this new ver-

sion—to be performed only at the 2015 Salzburg Festival—will attempt to adapt Weill’s score “to transport the sonic environment of this remarkable score from dance band idioms of the 20s of the last century to the second decade of our own.” The music director/orchestrator will be Tony-, Grammy-, and Olivier-winning composer Martin Lowe. He will be reunited with director/designer Julian Crouch, for whom he provided music for Crouch’s enormously successful production of *Jedermann* (note: Crouch will include puppets!). Not wishing to mislead anyone, the Festival is calling this production *Mackie Messer—A Salzburg Dreigroschenoper*.

The highlight of the concert program will be a series of concerts in honor of Pierre Boulez’s 90th birthday. The music will mostly be chamber music, with performances by Klangforum Wien, members of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, pianists Pierre-Laurent Aimard and Tamara Stefanovich, and others. But the RSO Symphony Vienna will perform the rarely done *Rituel in memoriam Bruno Maderna*, a work that calls for eight different orchestral groups positioned all around the audience. Cornelius Meister, a former Boulez assistant, will conduct.

Lucky audience members will also have the opportunity to see Dame Mitsuko Uchida perform Beethoven’s *Diabelli Variations*, see Yo Yo Ma play unaccompanied Bach sonatas, or see Andreas Schiff play, in a series of concerts, the last three piano sonatas of Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Haydn. Or maybe all three artists if they bought tickets right away! As usual, ASN will review a select number of events this fall. ❖



Above, Dame Mitsuko Uchida. Photo by Richard Avedon. Below, Cecilia Bartoli, photo by Uli Weber. All photos courtesy Salzburg Festival.



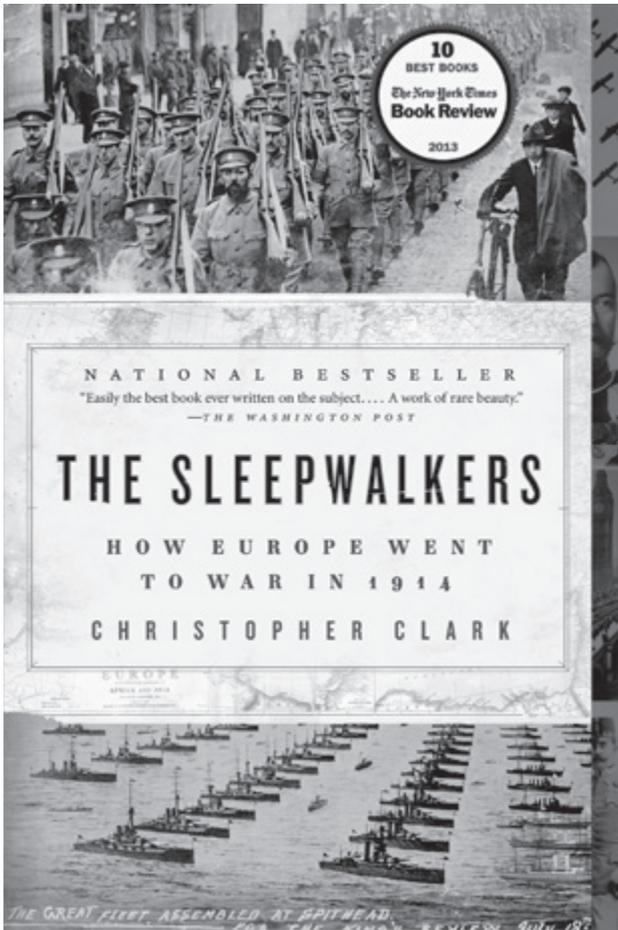
Julian Crouch. Photo by Forster.



Martin Lowe. Photo by Clemens Raethel.



BIG BANG THEORIES



a review essay by John Robertson

Christopher Clark. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. New York: HarperCollins, 2013. 697 pages, illus. Cloth, ISBN 978-0-06-114665-7

Gordon Martel. *The Month that Changed the World: July 1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 484 pages, illus. Cloth, ISBN 978-0-19-966538-9

T.G. Otte. *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, Summer 1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 534 pages, illus. Cloth, ISBN 978-1-107-06490-4

Geoffrey Wawro. *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire*. Philadelphia: Basic Books, 2014. 440 pages, illus. Cloth, ISBN 978-0-465-02835-1

The end of the First World War and the imposition of Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty, the infamous “War Guilt Clause,” brought new focus to the question of war guilt. As Gordon Martel argues, the connection between war guilt and reparations “brought a whole new life to the subject.” (Martel, 409) The focus on German war guilt rapidly moved into a more general statement of collective European guilt, in which all of the European Great Powers mysteriously “slithered over the brink into the boiling cauldron of war.”²

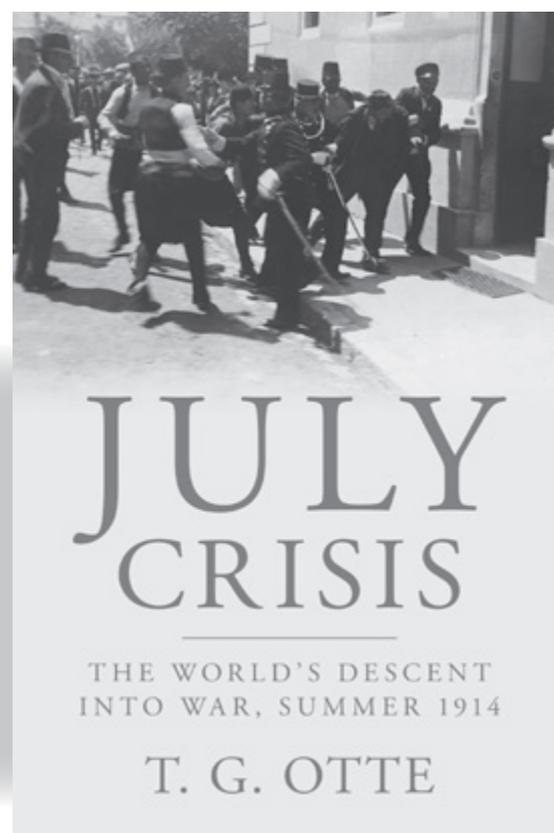
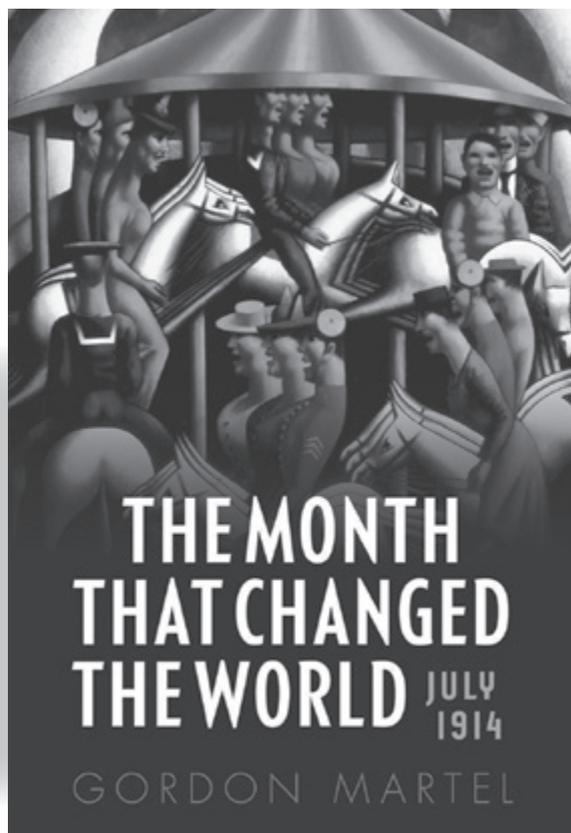
There the matter rested until Fritz Fischer reignited the question in his 1961 *Griff nach der Weltmacht*.³ Fischer’s overall thesis, continued in his later work, argued that Imperial Germany had intentionally begun the First World War in order to pursue an aggressively imperialist policy aimed at the establishment of German hegemony in Europe as well as in Africa. The Fischer Thesis and its controversies have generated an enormous literature on the causes of the First World War, from individual malfeasance to a wide range of structural and long-term causes: imperialism, capitalism, militarism, naval and armaments races, alliance systems, pan-Slavism, Social Darwinism, and more. In some cases, guilt is assigned to particular states; in other instances, particular aspects of the European state system, culture, or society bear the blame.

Geoffrey Wawro’s contention that the First World War emerged from German conspiracy and Habsburg weakness belongs very much in this tradition of the scholarly adjudication of blame. Incompetence plays an enormous role in Geoffrey Wawro’s *A Mad Catastrophe* as well. Much as Sean McMeekin, Wawro locates the origin of the First World War in a Fischerite condemnation of Germany and (primarily) Austria-Hungary. His contribution offers a strongly worded condemnation of what he characterizes as “Austria-Hungary’s fatal degeneration and its impact on European civilization.” (Wawro, xxi) The idea of Habsburg decline, an area that, he claims, “has been largely overlooked by historians,” anchors his view of the First World War as a consequence of a Germany that had begun “planning a great European war to smash Serbia and Russia and shore up Vienna.” (Wawro, xxi, 12) Fecklessness and incompetence at the top, swaggering aggressiveness in the chancelleries and General Staffs, and the physical and moral collapse of Austria-Hungary are culpable for the outbreak of the First World War.

Characteristic of the most recent trend in the scholarship, though, is a lack of concern with the metaphysical question of guilt, and a consequent shift of emphasis towards explanation and understanding. As Christopher Clark puts it, “the outbreak of war was the culmination of chains of decisions made by political actors with conscious objectives, who were capable of a degree of self-reflection...” (Clark, xxix) The emphasis on the

The First World War, “the great seminal catastrophe of this century” in Kennan’s famous formulation, has remained an important topic of historical inquiry even as that century has passed into history.¹ The centenary of the beginning of the First World War, as other significant anniversaries, has brought with it a renewed emphasis on the July Crisis. Beginning with Gavrilo Prinčip’s fateful shot in Belgrade on the 28th of June, 1914, and culminating on the 6th of August, 1914, with Austria-Hungary’s belated declaration of war on Russia, the July Crisis marked the transition from a peaceful and wealthy European order to the sixteen million dead produced by the industrial Golgotha of the First World War.

The attention lavished on the July Crisis is, as T.G. Otte emphasizes, a function of its consequences rather than its inherent drama. The First Balkan War had seen a very similar crisis play out, for example, that remains largely forgotten. The diplomatic maneuvering before the outbreak of the war differed in character from previous diplomatic crises only in that it failed to prevent a general war. That failure, though, struck many as a criminally culpable one. Thus responsibility for the enormous conflagration was vigorously disclaimed by the participating powers and their responsible ministers, beginning as early as August 1914 with the publication of the German “White Book” of (heavily edited) diplomatic correspondence.



July Crisis thus aims to understand the chains of decisions and perceptions which led to the outbreak of a general war, rather than to assign guilt to Berchtold, Sazanov, Tschirschky or Poincaré for having “caused” the war.

The focus of these works is very much on these individuals, their perspectives, worldviews, and decisions, however. They are substantially uninterested in or opposed to the attribution of causation to impersonal or abstract forces or norms, arguing instead that “the role of individuals in July 1914 was critical.” (Otte, 511) As a consequence, these narratives are populated by a small and recurring cast of characters—diplomats on various levels, politicians, and the occasional general—who acted and decided.

It may seem that such a narrow focus, redolent of the classic diplomatic histories, is one that was substantially exhausted decades ago; more dry colored books duelling over minutiae. What depths of ennui would be plumbed by having, as Gordon Martel does, an entire chapter devoted to each day of the July Crisis? Such questions would be understandable, but fortunately baseless. The depth of research brought to bear brings into focus not only the memoranda written but also why these memoranda were written, why their authors were in a position to do so, and what assumptions, preconceptions, cultural filters, and fears shaped the agency of actual human beings. In so doing, Clark, Martel, and Otte each manage a marvelous synthesis of long-term systemic influences on European politics with the decisions made by individuals in positions of power. This narrow focus goes so far as to enable broader conclusions about the operations of the European state system—the lack of co-ordination between alliance partners, the nebulous and occasionally contradictory aims pursued by individual diplomats, and the fractured and at times incoherent process of generating policy demonstrated here is an important reminder that it can be misleading to speak of what “Germany” wants, or the policy “Russia” is pursuing.

Similarly, this new wave of scholarship has produced and incorporated much more extensive and sophisticated treatments of the Serbian role in the July Crisis. Previously dismissed as largely irrelevant, the investigation and incorporation of Prinčip, Pašić, Dimitrijević, and others is part and parcel of the renewed contemporaneity of non-state terrorism and high-stakes brinkmanship. The disfunction of the Serbian government, Dimitrijević’s ultra-nationalist terrorist network, Pašić’s electoral campaign—these make

comprehensible and to an extent even understandable the official Serbian response to the assassination and Habsburg ultimatum. Like the other states in Europe, Serbia was not a unified entity, and differences over both the means and the ends of policy within the Serbian state meant that the Serbian government, though not wanting war, nevertheless found the risk of one acceptable in the end.

This is not to say that the arguments made in these works is uniform simply because Clark, Martel, and Otte all agree that the July Crisis was “multipolar and genuinely interactive,” involving primarily diplomatic and political actors within the governments of the Great Powers as well as Serbia. (Clark, 561) Gordon Martel’s account, *The Month that Changed the World*, is the most accessible. Martel’s argumentative focus on “hubris, timing, and happenstance” lends a refreshing narrative clarity. His structure also emphasizes accessibility; the July Crisis proper, at the center of his narrative, receives a full chapter for every day from July 24th to July 31st. The principal characters in his narrative, as he repeatedly emphasizes, were men of peace, order, and stability, strongly opposed to war despite what happened on their watch. He further emphasizes fidelity to the words of the participants in the July drama, many of which he reproduces in documentary form. This fidelity, though, comes at the (intentional) cost of a broader thesis, as Martel believes “readers will be able to make their own judgements concerning guilt and responsibility,” and for himself rests satisfied, much as Lloyd George, with the proposition that chance and circumstance are all that we can ultimately use to explain why the First World War broke out as it did. (Martel, xii)

Christopher Clark’s *The Sleepwalkers*, though similarly oriented, derives a much more specific argument. In Clark’s telling, Raymond Poincaré’s 1912 takeover of French foreign policy endowed it with a clear and markedly aggressive character that, by the autumn of 1912, led to an unlimited French military commitment to support Russian adventurism in the Balkans. Russian emphasis on the Balkans as the key to the Straits and Serbia as being key to the Balkans thus meant that “by the spring of 1914, the Franco-Russian Alliance had constructed a geopolitical trigger along the Austro-Serbian frontier,” leaving the fate of European peace “to the uncer-

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THE MIGHT OF VIENNA'S RIGHT



Janek Wasserman, *Black Vienna: The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918-1938* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014). Pp. 254. ISBN 9780801452871. Cloth, \$45.

The phrase “Red Vienna” calls to mind smiling children receiving hygiene lessons, workers at proletarian lending libraries, and row upon row of communal apartment buildings designed to house Vienna’s working classes. In the 1920s, when the Social Democratic Party controlled the municipal government, the city was culturally vibrant, a hothouse for intellectual experimentation, and the social laboratory of progressive Europe. Left-leaning sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, and economists working at Viennese research institutes influenced their disciplines far beyond Austria. Many scholars in our day have a soft spot for this version of interwar Vienna. But Janek Wasserman introduces us to Black Vienna, a parallel city where disappointed monarchists, frustrated Catholic radicals, and racist German nationalists worked in consort to destroy the First Republic. Far from being outsiders, these were the hegemonic powers against which Red Vienna fought and lost.

Grouping overlapping right-wing intellectual interests into something called the “Black Viennese cultural field” allows Wasserman to move between and among journalists and their publications, professors and their students, organizations and their party patrons. We see a collection of actors with a common core: hatred of the Republic, democracy, Jews, socialism, capitalism, and liberalism. Connecting the dots among these actors, Wasserman challenges the conventional *Lager* model of interwar

Austrian politics in which there were three distinct camps: Social Democrats, Christian Socials and German nationalists. Instead, he finds a “two-part division of interwar Austrian life” (9) in which the lines between Catholic conservatives and German nationalists were blurred. He is not the first to propose this revision; Julie Thorpe argued as much in *Pan-Germanism and the Austro-Fascist State, 1933-38* (Manchester University Press, 2011), but Wasserman adds rich detail on how the camps’ personalities, publications and organizations converged.

The book’s chapter arrangement makes for a lively read. Each chapter on the Black intellectual milieu—the *Leo-Gesellschaft*, the circle around Othmar Spann (*Spannkreis*), the *Österreichische Aktion*, and the Austro-fascist intellectuals—is followed by a chapter on the Reds—covering debates over the place of intellectuals in Marxism, the Ernst Mach Society, and finally rifts between the Social Democratic Party and leftist intellectuals. This alternating structure allows Wasserman to build his case patiently, showing the comparative institutional strength of Black Viennese intellectuals vis-à-vis their ideological foes on the left. He measures the strength of the two sides by comparing the membership size of organizations, success in attaining prominent academic posts in Vienna, success in placing students and protégés in positions of influence, and circulation rates for various journals. He writes, for example, that the conservative Othmar Spann “managed to place four students into full professorships in Austria during the interwar period; Moritz Schlick [a logical empiricist from the Vienna Circle] did not manage to place a single one. Likewise the [progressive] psychologists Karl and Charlotte Bühler could not place anyone in German or Austrian universities.” While progressive intellectuals attracted international recognition at the time, and have garnered decades of attention from scholars enamored of Red Vienna, many could not find institutional security in interwar Austria. In a similar vein, using circulation numbers as a gauge, Wasserman notes that the subscription rates for the conservative journal *Das neue Reich* “dwarfed all other publications, including Kraus’s *Die Fackel* and the Austro-Marxists’ *Der Kampf*” (45). *Die schönere Zukunft*, a more radical spin-off of *Das neue Reich* became “Central Europe’s conservative journal of choice” (46) and trumped in its popularity any of the left-wing offerings.

At heart, though, the book is not aiming to make a comparison between Black and Red. Rather, its central focus is on the worldviews of Black intellectuals and their shifting political alliances. The brilliant (or ridiculous) Othmar Spann plays one of the book’s leading roles. In the superb chapter entitled “The *Spannkreis* and the Battle for Hegemony in Central Europe,” Wasserman outlines Spann’s “universalist” philosophy, shows him sparring with leading sociologists of the era and struggling to position himself politically with Catholics and nationalists. His universalism, wherein the whole (*das Ganze*) must take precedence over the individual, “required inequality rather than equality in the name of order” (82). In a showdown at the Fifth German Sociological Conference in 1926, Austro-Marxist social philosopher Max Adler demanded of the dubious *Gesamtheitsphilosophie* at the center of anti-democratic political fantasies, “What is this whole and above all where is it?” (89) In its absolute rejection of democracy, Spann’s universalism fit neatly among other authoritarian and fascist schemes of the interwar period. Despite his devoted following among students at the University of Vienna, Spann failed to gain much acceptance in the wider German academic world. Frustrated, he turned to radical conservative political organizations as new venues for his ideas. “Universalism now served as a core idea in the radicalizing intellectual world of Black Vienna” (96).

Monarchists, another key constituency in Black Vienna, migrated intellectually as political realities changed. Early on, they envisioned a Catholic restoration that would unite Central Europe and topple the “Jewish republic.” The death of Kaiser Karl in 1922 made a direct restoration of the monarchy unfeasible; a child Kaiser (Otto) did not fit their aspirations for “social monarchy,” a system grounded not on rule by divine right, but by a Kaiser serving as a “people’s tribune,” able to address the “needs of a modern citizens in a rational-

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OPERA, NATIONALISM, & CLASS

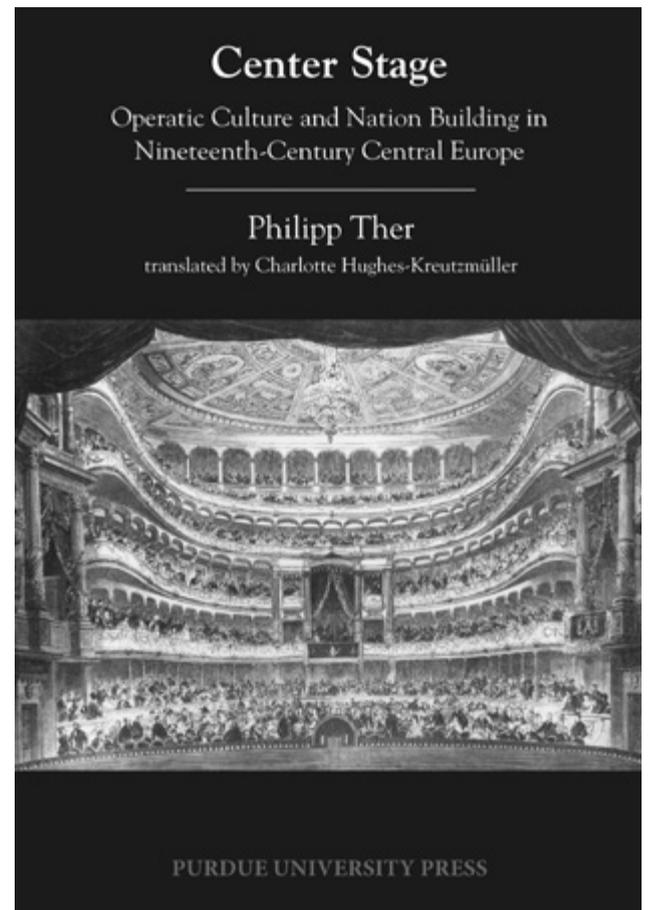
Philipp Ther, translated by Charlotte Hughes-Kreutzmüller. *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014. 340 pp. Paper, 978-1-5575-3675-4, \$39.95.

Philipp Ther's *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe* is a translated and expanded version of his *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft: Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2006). Ther has chosen his title carefully. This is not a history of operas, but rather of the cultures and institutions that present them. The cover image presents a view from center stage, showing the interior of the first Semper Theater in Dresden and appropriately drawing our attention to the relationship between architecture and audience practice. Just as all of the seats are visible from stage, so too was the stage easily seen from all vantage points, and, more importantly, by members of multiple social classes. As Ther points out, Gottfried Semper retained many expected elements of a royal theater, including a separate entrance for the king, while adding stalls in which the classes were intermingled. The book is structured so that it can be read either as a continuous narrative, or broken into sections split along multiple axes. There are three case studies, covering the Royal Theater in Dresden, the Polish Theater in Lemberg, and the Czech National Theater in Prague, followed by a concluding section dealing with issues of nationalism and cultural exchange across Europe. Each of the case studies begins with institutional and administrative histories before moving to repertoire and reception. Ther suggests that readers could choose to only read about the institutions that interest them, or could focus on aesthetic developments by only reading the concluding sections of each case study. Despite nods to Benedict Anderson and Michel Espagne in the introduction, the book wears its theory lightly, and will provide no problems for readers accustomed to vernacular definitions of nationalism or of social classes.

This book is invaluable for multiple reasons. For one, it provides the only substantial account in English of opera culture in Lemberg, and, by extension, perhaps the most useful treatment of developments in Polish opera in the 19th century. While Dresden and Prague have been the subject of much greater scholarly attention, Ther's contributions both draw on new archival information in German, Czech, and Polish and also extend the attention already given to institutions, social class and audience practice in Paris (especially), London, and Italy to Central Europe. More importantly, though, while Ther does bring new perspectives to the roles of opera culture in nation building in Central Europe, his primary focus is on opera as an institution that both reflects and shapes social orders. The three theaters in question were chosen as representatives of three types, with the move from Dresden to Lemberg and Prague demonstrating a historical shift from the type of royal opera house that dominated 18th century Europe to the sort of civic theater that became more prominent over the course of the 19th Century, with the aristocratic theater in Lemberg representing an intermediate stage. As Ther puts it, he is creating a "social history typology of opera."

One virtue of the book is its attention to concrete detail, and to the context for those details. Ther points out that in many cases both the size of theaters and the budgets required to run them implied potential audiences much larger than actually existed. Filling the 1,460 seats of Count Stanisław Skarbek's theater in Lemberg when it opened in 1842, for instance, would have required each likely audience member in Lemberg to attend every third night. Ther also has a fine eye for anecdotal detail, like the glimpse of a youthful Paderewski playing an elaborate harp part on the piano for the premiere of Władysław Żeleński's *Konrad Wallenrod* in Lemberg in 1886 (no theater orchestra in Galicia owned a harp).

The portions of the case studies that deal more directly with individual operas are less successful. Ther does a great service by describing, and providing brief (but telling) excerpts from many operas that will be unfamiliar (if not unknown) to many readers, and includes many works that are not part of the standard treatments of national opera. However, he is too willing to accept problematic labels like "verismo" or "symbolism" and apply them in ways that are either imprecise or at odds with current practice. Suggesting an affinity between Smetana's *Dalibor* and French grand opera on the grounds that it contains both a love story and a political conflict creates an unlikely connection from a very broad generalization. Ther sometimes attributes agency both to specific productions and to particular composers (Wagner, in particular) at the expense of more



mundane explanations. An 1885 production of *Lohengrin* in Prague (the first time that a Wagner opera was sung in Czech in Prague), for instance, is given credit for reconciling "the Czech music scene" to Wagner and Wagnerism. The subsequent performance history of Wagner in Prague, however, was at least as conditioned by the arrival that same year of Angelo Neumann, who claimed exclusive rights to Wagner's operas in Prague, and by his negotiations with František Šubert at the National Theater, as by aesthetic debates.

The structure of the book means that characters make multiple entrances, and some stories are told more than once. Count Nikolaus Seebach's attempt to edit Baron Ochs's lines in *Rosenkavalier*, for instance, appears in adjacent chapters. These slight repetitions both allow the book to be read in different arrangements and sequences and are also an indication of the tight connections between the opera cultures in question. The tenor Władysław Florjański is both an example of a Galician Jew whose career began at the Polish Theater, demonstrating a path made possible by the expense and uncertainty of Lemberg's long adherence to the stagione system, and also (as Vladimír Florjanský) a star in Prague, showing the National Theater's ability to draw on speakers of other Slavic languages to sing in Czech. Ultimately, this not just an argument about Central Europe, but about the inherent limitations (both social and aesthetic) of 19th century nationalisms premised on egalitarian participation, and about opera culture's failure to liberate itself from class differences.

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BIG BANG THEORIES *from page 17*

tain fortunes of Europe's most violent and unstable region." (Clark, 350)

July Crisis, T.G. Otte's contribution, finds that the causes of the First World War "are to be found in the near-collective failure of statecraft by the rulers of Europe." (Otte, 507) Where Clark characterizes his subjects as generally capable, dedicated diplomats and statesmen and Martel emphasizes the overall peaceable intentions of the men of the July Crisis, Otte shows them as fools and bumbler. Rather than pursuing a mistaken policy with diligence and nerve, the responsible diplomatic and military men misled their superiors and colleagues, made policy against instructions or on the basis of spite, and generally adopted a devil-may-care indifference to the grenades they were juggling. This was true not only in Austria-Hungary, where Schlamperei has often been found, but across Europe. The only statesman equal to his task was, in Otte's telling, Sir Edward Grey.

The reconsideration of controversial topics using new methods in a new and contemporaneous context has often been the source of important new insights. I would argue that this new wave of scholarship has greatly improved our understanding of the July Crisis and thus the origins of the First World War. Interrogating the processes of decision-making in the chancelleries of the Great Powers on an individual level while taking Serbia and Serbians seriously has revealed the slipshod, incoherent, and frequently counterproductive character of European policymaking and diplomacy. Incompetence, hubris, and chance, it seems, did come together to leave an indelible imprint on the 20th Century.

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NOTES

1. George F. Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3.

2. David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol. 1 (London, Nicolson and Watson, 1933), 32.

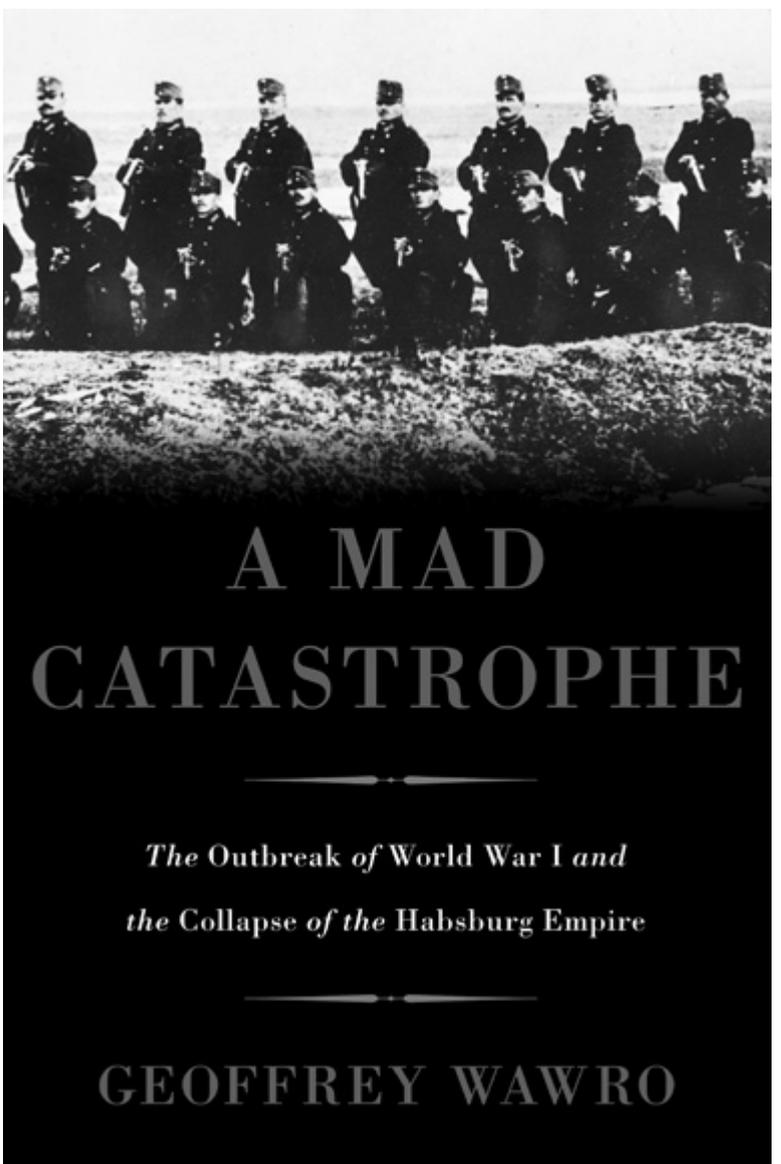
3. Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht: Die Kriegzielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland, 1914-1918*. (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1961).

Black Vienna *from page 18*

ized social order" (141). A leading figure in *Österreichische Aktion*, the most important group of Austrian monarchists from the interwar era that rejected all compromise with parliamentary democracy (and hence held the Christian Social Party in disdain), concluded that were no royal house available, a dictator would suffice (150).

Published sources, mostly articles, essays, and books from the leading Black figures, comprise the primary source base for *Black Vienna*. While the author has mined these materials exhaustively, there is something missing in the study: the private correspondence of the principle actors. We get their public, published faces, but not the motivations, doubts, or idiosyncrasies that would surface in unpublished correspondence. Although the author lists many archives in a bibliography, published sources are used almost exclusively. The book is attuned to subtly shifting alliances, many of them personal, and thus would benefit from exploration of the unpublished world of Black Vienna.

Threaded through the work are references to a wider historiographical question on accountability: which forces were to blame for the demise of the Republic? Wasserman is firm. Conservatives, among them the Catholic *Aktion*, "indirectly facilitated the Anschluss" (157). Elsewhere, we read that despite uneasiness about the Nazis, the vast majority of Black Viennese intellectuals "bear some responsibility for the Nazi triumph" (192)



and that "Black Viennese intellectuals may not have supported Nazism, but they certainly paved the way for its success" (226). Here the book punctures Austria's false postwar narrative of victimhood, equitably distributed between right and left.

The non-Austrian historian faces a tough challenge when writing on the Austrian *Lager* question. One goes to Vienna as an outsider and steps into a research world that, even in 2015, is organized along *Lager* lines. Austrian intellectual life—in the funding of research, establishment of institutes, filling of academic positions, and publication of journals—still has explicit and implicit *Lager* affiliations. Red Vienna and Black Vienna still exist, although their antagonism is obviously far more muted than it was in the 1930s. This lends Wasserman's careful, admirable historical analysis a genuine contemporary relevance.

Maureen Healy

History

Lewis & Clark

HOT *off the* PRESSES



Holm Sundhaussen. *Sarajevo. Die Geschichte einer Stadt*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2014. 409 pp., illus., tables. Cloth, 978-3-205-79517-9, € 34.90.

Zuzanna Bogumił, Joanna Wawrzyniak, Tim Buchen, Christian Ganzer and Maria Senina. *The Enemy on Display: The Second World War in Eastern European Museums*. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 200 pp., illus. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-78238-217-1, \$90.

Janet K. Page. *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*. New York: Cambridge, 2014. 300 pp., illus., tables, mus. examples. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-10703-908-7, \$99.

Jordana Silverstein. *Anxious Histories: Narrating the Holocaust in Jewish Communities at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 292 pp. ISBN: 978-1-78238-652-0, \$95.

Birger Vanwesenbeeck and Mark H. Gelber, eds. *Stefan Zweig and World Literature: Twenty-First-Century Perspectives*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2014. 278 pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-57113-924-5, \$90.

Amos Goldberg and Haim Hazan, eds. *Marking Evil: Holocaust Memory in the Global Age*. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 428 pp. ISBN: 978-1-78238-619-3. \$120.

Jill Lewis. *Workers and Politics in Occupied Austria, 1945-55*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University, 2015. 232 pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-0-71907-351-9, \$34.95.

Wolf Gruner and Jörg Osterloh, eds. *The Greater German Reich and the Jews: Nazi Persecution Policies in the Annexed Territories 1935-1945*. New York: Berghahn, 2015. 434 pp., illus. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-78238-443-4, \$120.

William M. Johnston. *Zur Kulturgeschichte Österreichs und Ungarns 1890-1938: Auf der Suche nach verborgenen Gemeinsamkeiten*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2015. 328 pp. ISBN: 978-3-205-79378-6, \$55.

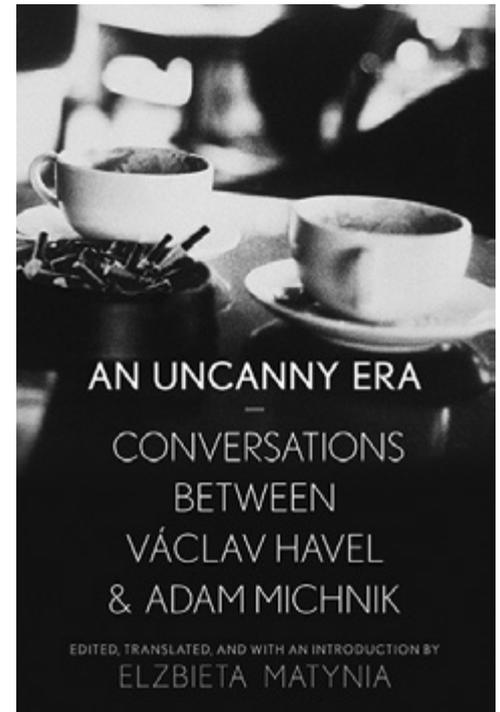
Steven Horwitz, Roger Koppl, eds. *Entangled Political Economy. Advances in Austrian Economics, Vol. 18*. Bingley, UK: Emarld/Insight, 2014. 256 pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-78441-102-2, £65.65; Kindle edition, £62.37.

Joshua D. Zimmerman. *The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939-1945*. New York: Cambridge, 2015. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-10701-426-8, \$118.

Laurence Cole. *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria*. New York: Oxford, 2014. 320pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-0-19967-204-2, \$110.

Alfred J. Rieber. *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War*. New York: Cambridge, 2014. 652 pp., maps. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-10704-309-1, \$95.

Rudolf Simek. *Monster im Mittelalter. Die phantastische Welt der Wundervölker und Fabelwesen*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2015. 346 pp., illus. Paper, ISBN: 978-3-412-21111-0, € 30.80.



Elzbieta Matynia, ed. & trans. *An Uncanny Era: Conversations between Václav Havel & Adam Michnik*. New Haven: Yale University, 2014. 252 pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-0-30020-403-2, \$25.

David Brodbeck. *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna*. New York: Oxford, 2014. 392pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-0-19936-270-7, \$45.

Maria Todorova, Augusta Dimou, and Stefan Troebst, eds. *Remembering Communism: Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe*. New York: CEU Press, 2014. 640 pp. Cloth, ISBN 978-96 3-386-034-2, \$80 / €60.

Gerald Volkmer. *Siebenbürgen zwischen Habsburgermonarchie und Osmanischem Reich. Völkerrechtliche Stellung und Völkerrechtspraxis eines ost-mitteuropäischen Fürstentums 1541-1699*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenburg, 2015. 648 pp. Cloth, ISBN: 978-3-11-034399-1, \$98.

Diana Mishkova, Marius Turda, and Balázs Trencsényi, eds. *Anti-modernism: Radical Revisions of Collective Identity*. New York: CEU Press, 2014. 452 pp. Cloth, ISBN 978-963-7326-62-2, \$60 / €45.

Hannes Siegrist and Dietmar Müller, eds. *Property in East Central Europe: Notions, Institutions, and Practices of Landownership in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Berghahn, 2014. 344 pp., tables. Cloth, ISBN: 978-1-78238-461-8, \$120.



Names of Austrian Nazi victims are projected on the walls of the Hofburg on closing night. Photo: Christian Wind.

Goodbye, Vienna Project

Yearlong commemorative project ends with spectacular projection

The Vienna Project was an interactive, new-media, social action memorial in Vienna that marked the 75th anniversary year of 1938, when Austria was annexed into Greater Germany. Dedicated to remembering multiple groups of persecuted Austrian victims of National Socialism, murdered between 1938-1945, the Vienna Project was conceived as a multi-faceted, durational performance that was to last one year only. Karen Frostig, a writer and artist who holds dual U.S.-Austrian citizenship and is the descendant of Holocaust victims, led the team that developed it.

President Heinz Fischer opened the Vienna Project on October 23, 2013 at the Odeon Theater. Margit Fisher presided over the closing on October 18, 2014 at the Austrian National Library at the Vienna Hofburg. In her speech, Fisher explained, “The Anschluß in 1938 is probably the darkest chapter in our history—a time in which innumerable crimes against humanity were committed in Austria. The Vienna Project is an important initiative for Austria, because we must not cease to be reminded of this difficult time.”

Opening ceremonies at the Odeon Theatre commenced with poetry readings by Robert Schindel, rap by Sandra Selimovic, and music from the Vienna Philharmonica. The opening also featured “Parcours des Erinnern,” a series of video projections developed by students at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna (die angewandte) under the leadership of professor Elisabeth Wildling. Presented along the Danube Canal, the videos tied the project axiom to contemporary human rights violations.

The Vienna Project memorial began the very next day with street sten-

cils sprayed by students from die angewandte, posing the question “What happens when we forget to remember?” in ten languages, at 38 memory sites located in 16 districts, across the city of Vienna. The project’s axiom delivered a fresh message about Austria’s history of persecution and murder under National Socialism, while making memory visible on the streets of Vienna. Dr. Jerome Segal conducted extensive research about the sites in German and English with links to a series of oral history videos with Austrian survivors and prominent historians, recorded by Jerome and Dr. Georg Traska. The research represented multiple victim groups and different circumstances of persecution, as well as instances of rescue. The research, the videos, and excerpts from the performance art program curated by Dr. Ildiko Meny can be accessed on the street at the site, through the project’s smartphone app. This aspect of the project is ongoing.

The participatory design of the memorial project created a fresh interface between historic research, survivor interviews, and contemporary artistic production. Over the course of one year, the project produced a series of public art performances, art installations, theater productions, dance and poetry readings with international artists at the 38 sites, a series of video installations, silent witness vigils, public readings, oral history video interviews, a film screening and panel discussion, guided tours, and new curriculum for teachers, all captured on Facebook, Twitter, the project blog, and the web site by the project’s social media coordinator, Johanna Taufner.

The project concluded with a citywide reading marathon, a closing ceremony, and a “naming memorial” installed at Josefsplatz. Archival letters,



"Parcours des Erinneren," a series of projections along the Danube. Photo: Christian Wind.

providing the initial impetus, appeared throughout the project, most notably in the project's "memory map" created by Nikolaus Gansterer, in public readings of archival letters performed by Austrian high school students on the streets of Vienna, and in the readings of letters by family members at the closing ceremony.

The reading marathon took place on October 17, 2014 from 9:00-10:00 a.m., delivered as a precursor to the Vienna Project's Ceremony. Over 60 archival letters written by Austrian victims and survivors were solicited from 353 organizations, in sixteen countries. Letters and writing representing Jews, Roma, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, physically disabled and mentally ill, Slovenian Carinthian resisters, and Catholic dissidents were collected from Austria, the US, the UK, Israel, Argentina, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. The letters, representing different circumstances of persecution, were transcribed, translated, and organized into folders by an international team of eighteen volunteers and interns. Seventeen Austrian schools took part in this program, working alongside university students and American émigrés. For one hour, a total of 27 sites were activated with voices from descendants of victims, survivors, regime members, and bystanders, joining together to bear witness to this tragic chapter of Austrian history under National Socialism.

The Vienna Project's closing ceremony brought together the "38 Memory Sites" installation with the naming memorial. Moderated by historian and journalist Rubina Möhring, speakers included: Dr. Johanna Rachinger, General Director of the Austrian National Library; Dr. Karen Frostig, President of the Vienna Project; President Oskar Deutsch, of the Vienna Jewish Community (speech delivered by Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg); Ernst Woller, Chairman of the Municipal Council Committee on Culture and Science of the City of Vienna; Minister Gabriele Heinisch-Hosek, Minister of Education and Women; and Margit Fischer, who also delivered an address dedicated to Barbara Prammer, Parliamentary President (2006-2014) who was named Chief Ehrenschutz for our closing events. A talk by celebrated author Doron Rabinovici addressed the question "Who is a victim?" A selection of archival letters read by family members provided an emotional link to the victims. Concluding remarks by Prof. Rathkolb from the University of Vienna and Rector Gerald Bast from the University of Applied Arts followed Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg's benediction. Haunting contemporary music pertinent to this period was performed by musicians from the Vienna Philharmonic, including Dieter Flury (flute), Matthias Schorn (clarinet), Clemens Hosak (oboe), and Benedikt Dinckhauser (bassoon).

At 9:30 p.m., guests ventured outside onto Josefsplatz to witness a differentiated display of 91,780 names of Austrian victims of National Social-

ism projected on the facades of the buildings surrounding Josefsplatz. The Naming Memorial was the first public naming memorial in Vienna and the first memorial in Europe of its kind to include multiple groups of persecuted victims and dissidents. The names of 91,780 victims lit up the square, enveloping viewers in a panoramic display of remembrance. Conceived by Karen Frostig, the Naming Memorial was jointly realized with video artist Elisabeth Wildling, and engineered by PANI GmbH.

Funding for the Vienna Project came from multiple sources, most notably the National Fund, Zukunftsfund, BMBF, BKA, MA-7 in conjunction with different districts, the US Embassy, the Karl Kahane Foundation, Kapsch AG, Raiffeisen Bank International AG, Ottakringer Getränke AG, Embassy of the State of Israel, and many private donors. The Vienna Project's Honorary Board includes Nobel Laureates Elie Wiesel and Walter Kohn, Ambassadors Stuart E. Eizenstat and Wolfgang M. Paul. Project partners include the University of Applied Arts, Jewish Museum Vienna, Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (IKG), Wien Museum, Wiesenthal Institute and many others. Please visit our web site to gain an overview at www.theviennaproject.org

For more information, please contact Karen Frostig, Ph.D, President and Artistic Director, The Vienna Project; Resident Scholar, WSRC, Brandeis University; Associate Professor, Lesley University. E-mail: karen@theviennaproject.org.

Karen Frostig

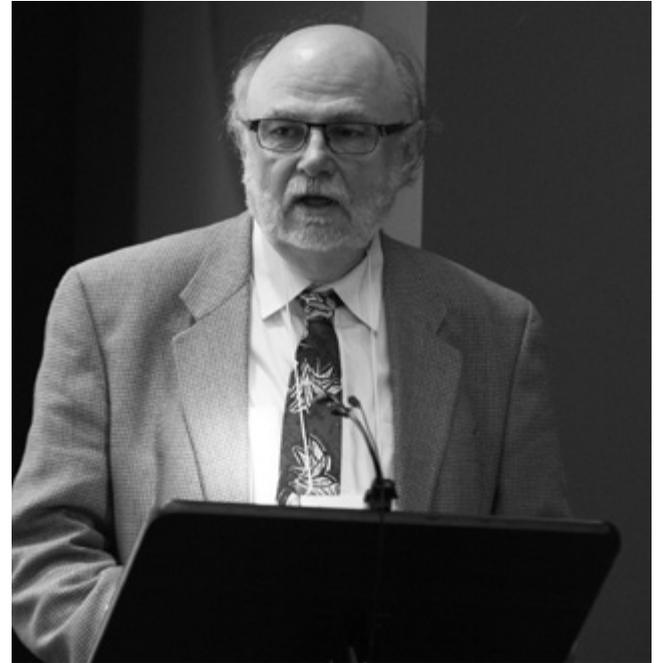


Students at the reading marathon. Photo: Karin Rosenthal.

Conference on Canadian Camps in WWI



Dr. Bohdan Kordan, University of Saskatchewan.



Jars Balan, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, was the conference coorganizer.



Researchers gathered by the commemorative statue.

by Joseph F. Patrouch
photos by Rostyslav Soroka

From October 17-18, 2014, the University of Alberta's Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies and Kule Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies co-sponsored an international conference titled "Canada, the Great War, and the Internment of Enemy Aliens, 1914-1920." It was held at the Cave and Basin National Historic Site in Banff, Alberta, home to a special permanent exhibition, the World War I Internment Interpretive Centre.

The Banff area and the Cave and Basin site were locations of internment camps in which nationals from Austria-Hungary and its allies during the war were held and put to work. There were twenty such camps established across Canada, including four in the country's western national parks. There, the internees were required to perform a variety of tasks including constructing roads and clearing land. The conference was funded by Endowment Council of the Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation. The fund was established in 2008 and is headed by a council with representatives from many of the ethno-cultural communities affected by the internment operations.

Seventeen researchers from Austria, Turkey, and across Canada came together in Banff to present their research on the histories of this internment operation and the

people it affected. Approximately 8,500 people in total, mostly young men, spent time in the camps. It is estimated that around 6,000 of them were from Austria-Hungary, mostly from the crownlands of Galicia and Lodomeria and Bukovina. Many thousands of others were required to register with their local police authorities and report regularly about their whereabouts and activities. In addition to presenting papers, conference participants were given a tour of the Historic Site and the Interpretive Centre by a Parks Canada guide and visited the site of a nearby internment camp at Castle Mountain, a location in Banff National Park now marked by a monument.

A public showing of documentary films dealing with the internments and their effects was held in downtown Banff on the last night of the conference and a number of local community members attended. These films included *Freedom Had a Price* (Yurij Luhowy, director, 1994), *Jajo's Secret* (James Motluk, director, 2009), and *Unspoken Territory* (Marusya Bociuikiw, director, 2001). During the conference, part of the exhibition "Austrian Migration to Canada" was shown in the lobby of the conference hall. This exhibition was originally created in 2008 and sponsored by the Austrian Canadian Council and the Austrian Cultural Forum in Ottawa. It has been shown across Canada and in Austria at the University of Innsbruck. In Banff, the exhibition helped place the history of the internments into the broader contexts of the histories of Austrian and Austro-Hungarian migration to Canada. Joseph F. Patrouch of the University of Alberta gave a paper on the same theme.

The conference was free and open to the public. It was intended to bring this little-known aspect of Canadian history to the attention of the wider Canadian population. Conference organizers Jars Balan and Joseph F. Patrouch will be editing selected papers from it. Plans call for the collection to be made

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Center Austria: new home, name



Dignitaries at the grand opening of UNO's new International Center included (left to right, starting at third from left) Anton Fink, Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation; Ambassador Hans Peter Manz; Alea Cot, International Education, UNO; Peter Fos, President, UNO. Photo courtesy Center Austria.

by Günter Bischof

CenterAustria at the University of New Orleans (UNO) has been renamed Center Austria: The Austrian Marshall Plan Center for European Studies, reflecting its longstanding cooperation with and sponsorship through the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation in Vienna. The new name also indicates the direction of its activities and focus. Since Austria joined the European Union in 1995, its foreign, national security, domestic, and even legal policies have increasingly been integrated into and influenced by EU policies and mandates. Talking about Austria today means talking about its place in Europe and the country's relationship with the European Union and the other 27 member states, as well as the "widening and deepening" of the EU. Austria lost some of its sovereignty but gained closer integration with Europe. Austrian identity is being "Europeanized." By the same token, Austrian regional identities are holding on and isolating themselves against what's uncharitably called the "European Uniform Stew [EU Einheitsbrei]." Austrian centers need to reflect on these issues defining Europe today here in the United States as well.

In December, Center Austria moved into new quarters in the UNO International Center. The new building's "grand opening" was staged on January 20, 2015, with some prominent visitors. Hanspeter Manz, the Austrian ambassador to the United States, and Anton Fink, the Vice-President of the Board of the Austrian Marshall

Plan Foundation, attended the opening ceremonies and addressed the audience. They welcomed the renaming and the widening activities of Center Austria. After all, the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) operated in 16 countries and operated as a first step towards European integration. The Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation also announced that it would continue to support UNO's Center Austria in the coming years.

On the occasion of their visit to UNO, both Ambassador Manz and Dr. Fink met most of the 30 students from the University of Innsbruck studying at UNO for the 2015 spring semester. The fact that between half and two thirds of the Innsbruck students at UNO now regularly hail from Bavaria, along with some South Tyrolese, reflects the new student mobility in the European Union "post-Bologna" agreement. Ambassador Manz talked about his work in Washington and Dr. Fink about the activities of the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation in the U.S. (next to the program with UNO, the MP Foundation also finances fellowship programs with UC Berkeley and Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.). Both reflected upon current problems and challenges in Austrian domestic politics and in the European Union (with the Greek election having been around the corner). As a founding member of the new Austrian political party Neos, Fink also talked to the students about the need of citizens to engage in the political process.

Günter Bischof is director of CenterAustria. ❖



Hans Peter Manz, Austrian Ambassador to the US.

Banff conference from page 24

available through the CIUS Press. Free copies of the book are to be provided to public libraries across Canada as part of the ongoing effort to bring research on the topic of the internments to a broad audience. Research will also continue. For example, we hope that scholars will be able to study the records now located in the Haus, Hof, und Staatsarchiv in Vienna that list the Austro-Hungarian nationals interned as reported via the US Embassy in London. This would certainly help broaden the analysis of the internment operations, which did not end until 1920. The USA represented Austro-Hungarian diplomatic interests from the declaration of war on Austria-Hungary by Great Britain in October, 1914 until the declaration of war on Austria-Hungary by the US in December, 1917.

The papers presented at the Banff conference addressed many aspects of the internments. These included a comparative perspective provided by the Austrian historian Nicole-Melanie Goll of the Institut für Geschichte (Zeitgeschichte) of the University of Graz. She discussed the civil

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Kimberley Zarecor

Champion of Czech urban design

Kimberley Zarecor teaches design and architecture at Iowa State University. In October 2014, she gave a lecture at CAS entitled "Why Ostrava is not Detroit: Communist Legacies in a Post-Communist Industrial City."

photo & interview by Daniel Pinkerton

ASN: *We're all kids, and we're all running around the playground, going down the slide, if there is a slide, and yet at some point, you got interested in architecture. How did this happen?*

KZ: I always wanted to be an architect as a little kid; I don't know how it happened, but that was what I remember as my earliest thought. After high school I went to architecture school for a semester, and decided that the way that program was set up didn't give me the freedom to get a well-rounded liberal arts education before I became a professional. So I left that program and went and studied art history at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, where I am from, and that gave me a chance to travel. I spent a year in Ireland, and that was actually the year that I first visited Prague. In one trip, I traveled around Hungary, the Czech Republic, Turkey, and Israel. On another trip, I went to Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. After this, I knew the decision to study art history had been the right one, because it gave me an opportunity to be curious about everything that I was interested in and to learn languages.

ASN: *That's what study abroad is supposed to do: expand your horizons.*

KZ: It did! With the knowledge gained in that art history program, out of that art history degree I went to Columbia to pursue my master's, thinking I was going to be a professional architect. However, because I was trained in art history, I was able to secure a teaching assistantship with one of the historians in the architecture school; as an art history major, I was useful. And so, I was hired for two years as a master's student to be the teaching assistant for Kenneth Frampton, who is one of the best known historians of modern architecture. I would consider Ken to be my mentor, and he became my dissertation advisor later on, and he was the one who encouraged me to stay at the school and continue into their Ph.D program. It's a very small Ph.D program. Typically two or three students are admitted per year, and it's housed inside the graduate school of architecture, planning, and preservation at Columbia. The program is designed for people who are trained with professional degrees in architecture. We had colleagues across the plaza from us, the courtyard, in the art history program who also did architectural history, but what was different about our program is that we were people who had engaged with the actual design of buildings and were less traditionally rooted in art historical methods. Actually, Ken Frampton doesn't have a Ph.D—he has an honorary Ph.D. He's known

for writing books, but he comes out of the tradition of being an architect, and of criticism and history, and he is a wonderful mentor for all of us; he's in his 80s now, but he's a traditional public intellectual. He's British; he came to the United States in the 1960s, and he stuck around. He brings a social agenda to his work, and clued me in to the fact that there was an open territory to study Czech modernism. In a book that he wrote in 1980, called *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, there's a little passage about how nobody's written the history of this great Czech movement, and the Czechs have been waiting and waiting for somebody to pick this up. So several things came together: my dislike of the German language that I was trying to study because I thought I was going to write about Otto Wagner in Vienna for my dissertation, and the fact that when I first visited Vienna in the late 1990s, it was not the exciting place that it is now. I didn't feel like it was the right fit for me, so I spent a few days in Brno, and I was instantly in love. And so the start of my Ph.D program was next fall; I had just come back from Europe and signed up right away for Czech, and I was very, very lucky that I was at Columbia where they had three Czech teachers and a big community of wonderful people all across campus who were interested in Czech topics, and we had a Czech conversation every week at a local restaurant. It was a real community, and all those people, all of those friends that I have from Columbia, one of whom is Alice Lovejoy, who is here in Minnesota, have scattered across the country, making this Columbia Czech studies community one of my important professional networks—not just contemporaries like Krista Hegburg and David Cooper, but people who were a few years ahead of me, like Eagle Glassheim, Christopher Harwood, and Cynthia Paces. These alums have become friends of mine, and they've taken me under their wing.

ASN: *The "Czech Mafia," as they're known in history circles.*

KZ: They've been doing great work for years. But in my field, in architectural history, I'm on the front edge of a huge wave of people writing about postwar modernism, not just in Eastern Europe, but all across Europe. When I first started my Ph.D work fifteen years ago, no one was writing about postwar Eastern Europe. It was considered a very strange choice; even Ken was a little bit baffled, because he was expecting me to write a history of the avant garde. Luckily, I didn't do that, because there were already a bunch of Czechs doing that, and I would have prepped myself and then walked into a place in which I was at the back end of all of that research. Instead, I showed up with this project about postwar housing, and they all looked

at me like I was crazy—but now, fifteen years later, there is a huge group of architectural historians working on postwar Czechoslovakia and other places, and the scholar who was my Czech mentor, Rostislav Švácha, who writes about Czech modern architecture, is now the head of a big four year research grant, about *paneláks* (Czech prefab concrete apartments). When I first met him, he was very friendly and helpful, but he wasn't engaged yet with the topic, and twelve years later, he's got this huge project on it. It's satisfying to know that an outsider can come in and open up a topic that the Czechs were hesitant to work on, and they've really welcomed my research. Some of the older generation have a problem with it, and they question whether or not I actually understand how terrible Communism and industrialized housing all was. Every once in a while I get somebody who has a big, visceral response to the idea of what appears to be a young American girl wanting to praise the Communists for the housing system that they all think is a total failure. However, if you read my research, that's not really what I'm saying. I'm trying to understand it in its own cultural context as a product of this Communist world, that architects need to think about architecture as being a culturally constructed framework, and that it's a framework for practice, for professionals. So, I write a lot about the profession, and what happened to the profession, and a lot about how the economics of the planned economy really pushed architects towards something like the industrial production of housing, because if you're trying to plan for five years of housing, you need a system in which you can quantify, not qualify, but quantify the things that you need. So they have to develop systems to understand how much concrete, how many nails, how much steel you need for a single building. And you can't keep recalculating that for each individual project. The planning system simply wouldn't allow it. The original intention was to build high-quality, repeated housing blocks, and the repetition was a product of the system, in a sense. I think we can all understand that sometimes you compromise on one thing to get something else. But what really was the big problem was the quality, and those of us who study this part of the world, we understand why deformities happened in the system: the whole shadow economy, the cutting of corners, and the temptation to hoard—all the things that we know about. In architecture, these systemic problems have real, serious consequences, because if you don't put enough cement in your concrete mix, it's going to crumble at some point, especially if you don't take care of it. The lack of maintenance and the poor quality of the construction override most other issues. But here I am getting away from your original question!

ASN: *I was just thinking, "Nice segue..."*

KZ: Well, that's how I went from wanting to practice architecture to studying the profession of architecture and the creation of buildings in what people call the everyday environment of Communism. For me, it was more interesting to be thinking about those big system and infrastructure questions, rather than toiling in an office in New York or some other city where I would have been a low-level member of a team. Architecture is a career that a lot of people want to do and not everybody is happy in, for various reasons. It's not a well-paid profession, and it's one where you have to really pay your dues in the American context. I was somebody who wanted the chance to have my own opinions heard, and I needed the opportunity to express myself freely. Architecture offices are a bad place for that. It's very hierarchical, and I realized very quickly, as much as I love architecture, I wasn't the person who was supposed to be making the buildings. I have much more value to everybody as somebody thinking about them, thinking about how they came about, and asking interesting questions about them. Now I teach design at Iowa State in addition to teaching architectural history, and I love shaping the questions that my students ask and getting them ready to be curious, interesting designers. You can really see in a room full of students, when you teach them design, that there are a few who are special, and there are many who are not (*laughs*). Most of the second group will have wonderful lives and careers, but they're going to be project managers, and they're going to be site people, and they're going to be on teams.

ASN: *The so-called failings of the paneláks and other workers' housing in Eastern Europe, in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland—I've certainly seen it in Poland; I've spent time living in it in Poland—are in some ways no different than the problems that have plagued Cabrini Green in Chicago, or the Cedar-Riverside units that you see not too many steps from where we are sitting right now.*

KZ: In my talk I tried to hold Detroit up as this example of the failed American industrial city, and some audience members felt that was too extreme an example—something like Youngstown, Ohio or Gary, Indiana might be better, and they may be right; I will think about that. But I've been working on this topic now for fifteen years, and I get a question like this all the time. For example, people who study social housing in other parts of Europe ask it. People who are Americanists, or people who just live here, ask it. And one of the comments that I've developed over time is that architecture is, as I said before, a socially produced activity; it's affected by its context, and so the authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe have to continually be part of the conversation. We can't just say, "the buildings look the same, the people in them are suffering some of the same problems, and therefore we have some kind of equality." Of course, we can talk formally about why they look the same; the skyscrapers of Cabrini Green, or Cedar-Riverside come out of the same modernist tradition, you know. They come out of a tradition of European modernism, driven by people like Le Corbusier and others that the Czechs were also very invested in, and the "tower in the park" idea, this is what people use to describe Le Corbusier's idea of urbanism, where you build high, and you free up the ground for green space, and in his kind of fantasy utopia, people treat that green space like a beautiful, big park. Well, we know that's not how it works—not in Eastern Europe, and certainly not here. But when we start to ask questions about them, one of the differences in Eastern Europe is that people didn't have alternatives. After WWII, as I detail in my book, there were multiple visions for what the Communist government might support for housing—including for a while, some low-rise constructions, such as little buildings of row houses. But by the mid- to late 1950s it's obvious that the only thing they will build is apartment housing. Then the questions become, "how, at what speed, and in what way?" But architects are really shut down from any other conversation when it comes to housing in particular. And so, to me, that's totally different than something like Cabrini Green in Chicago, where those architects had, or the world had, many possibilities and opportunities, and there was a feeling at the time that economically disadvantaged people were going to temporarily be in these blocks, because it was public money and because it was a gift to them to help them get on their feet—charity. Therefore, the architecture should reflect a certain austerity, because if you made it too nice, they would want to stay.

ASN: *It was deliberately built to low standards?*

KZ: Yes. The very first public housing—which I teach about in my classes—was designed for nuclear families; you had to be a married couple with children to get access to it. Of course, that changed very quickly, because the people really in need were (and are) often not that traditional nuclear family. Therefore, places like Cabrini Green very quickly ended up with a population that was almost 100% single-parent minority families, and the architecture cut them off from the local neighborhood—in terms of scale and in terms of interacting with the street. In a city like Detroit—and in the Bronx and Chicago—planners went in, ran the highway through the city, kicked people out of old housing to do it, made a highway corridor, located public housing on that edge as a buffer between the highway and the rest of the neighborhood, and put disadvantaged people there because they didn't have a choice.

ASN: *How did it work differently in Ostrava?*

KZ: The Communists had a completely different agenda. All *Sídlisté* in the Czech version, *Siedlungen* in German, were designed to be integral completely with the public transportation system—which is an excellent

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John Deak

beating down the doors



John Deak is a historian at the University of Notre Dame who specializes in Habsburg and post-Habsburg politics. In October 2014, he gave a CAS lecture, "The Unraveling of the Habsburg Empire: New Perspectives on Austria-Hungary's Internal War in 1914."

by Daniel Pinkerton and Christopher Flynn

ASN: *So you're from a small North Carolina town?*

JD: Yes—a small redneck town that's located between Winston-Salem and Greensboro and High Point, and now it's a suburb. They've mowed all the trees down and named all the roads after them.

ASN: (laughs) *At what point did you get interested in history?*

JD: I was always interested in history from the point I could read. I was the youngest by far of three siblings. They had their own encyclopedia books and history books around the house, and I would read them, from the time I was around six or seven. When they started going to college, and their college books started appearing, I picked the history books out.

ASN: *Who were some of your mentors at the University of North Carolina?*

JD: I worked with a lot of the faculty in European history, and so I had a lot of mentors, and that was very helpful for someone like me who was coming from a small town. I worked on an honors thesis with Konrad Jarausch at North Carolina, but I also worked closely with Jay Smith, who teaches French Revolutionary history, Lloyd Kramer, who is a nineteenth-century French historian, who mainly did intellectual history at that time, Katherine Jolluck who taught Polish and East European history, and David Griffiths, who was a scholar of Catherine the Great and Imperial Russia. One of my earliest classes was with him, and I remember, he dragged me back to his

office after taking an exam. He didn't give my exam back with everybody else, and I thought "Oh boy, I bombed the exam," because I wasn't a very good test taker. He gave me my blue book back and said "I don't like to say this to anybody, but you should consider graduate school." I was 19 years old, and the next thing I did was really begin learning languages and preparing to go to graduate school.

ASN: *And your languages besides German?*

JD: I learned Russian, and in graduate school I had some Czech. Mainly in college I was learning Russian and German. I had four years of Latin in high school. Some of the poetry is burned into my mind, but it's amazing when you don't use Latin, how unfamiliar it becomes after 20 years.

ASN: *Have you done research with archival materials in Latin?*

JD: No, not really. I mean, you can find it in Hungary before 1840, but I haven't had to do any work that uses Latin. I think one of these days when I have more time on my hands, maybe in retirement, I'll start going back and re-learning Latin, because I miss it.

ASN: *You then went to University of Chicago for your graduate work.*

JD: Yes. I went to Chicago specifically to work with John Boyer. That was a big change for me, living in a very big city, but Chicago was great. I learned just as much or probably more from the students around me and from my colleagues than I did from my coursework. It was a great environment to be a graduate student.

ASN: *Do you want to give a shout out to anyone besides John?*

JD: Definitely. At Chicago, I worked with Michael Geyer and Jan Goldstein, as well as John Boyer. I also had the benefit of being part of a cohort of graduate students working in Central European, German, and Habsburg history. Thomas Grischany, who's now at Webster University in Vienna, more or less had a parallel study to me. Jonathan Gumz was a couple years ahead of me, but he was assigned in my first year to be my graduate student mentor. Derek Hastings was like a big brother my first four years. Students who came after me and were also stimulating conversants, like Ke-chin Hsia and Patrick Houlihan. We had a good group of Habsburgists and Central European historians, and I'm still in touch with them.

ASN: *That's a great thing. You spoke yesterday about your first book length manuscript, in which you traced the rise of an educated and functioning Habsburg bureaucracy from Maria Theresa all the way to 1914 that was disrupted by World War I. I found it to be very fascinating that there is a strong disagreement between history from non-Habsburg specialists and history from Habsburg specialists over the past 20 or 30 years. I would like you to talk about these opposing views of the Habsburg bureaucracy, and why you think there might be a disconnect.*

JD: I think that traditional views of the Habsburg monarchy come from a few paradigms that guide the way we think about European history. The first is Hegel's philosophy of history, that in order to understand history in its broad sweep, we have to study "pinnacle" civilizations. We study Greece in the age of democratic city states; we study Rome and its empire; we move to the Dark Ages, where we study the church and Christianity; we study the rise of Islam and its spread; we study the reconquest of Spain; we study the age of exploration, the Reformation where we focus on Germany, Central Europe, and France, the Renaissance, where we focus on Italy—I'm getting things out of order here—and by 1789 we're studying France, Napoleon, and the French Revolution. So we're always studying these pinnacle civilizations, and the Habsburg monarchy is left out of this. If the

Habsburg monarchy isn't a pinnacle civilization, it's this other form of state than a nation-state; it seems un-modern, and therefore the First World War is supposed to sweep it away. Interestingly, it was British propaganda in the First World War that made these same arguments after 1916 about the Habsburg monarchy and why it should be dismembered and why the peoples should rise up and overthrow it. If we look carefully at the educated Brits who were producing this propaganda, they became the first generation of contemporary historians in the 1920s and 30s.

ASN: *This would be someone like Seton-Watson?*

JD: Seton-Watson, Wickham Steed, and Lewis Namier. They all worked in British propaganda. I think eventually, the propaganda was so convincing to them that they became historians of it. They set a paradigm in which we understood the Habsburg monarchy as the prison of the nations and an anachronism. They make it into a Hegelian positive, evidence that the world is getting better. Of course, we have much evidence that tells us that the world was not getting better, and that the world that was created by the First World War and sanctioned by British propaganda and British and American foreign policy, created a lot of space for nationalism to do a lot of damage: to kill people, and to justify it in terms of nation, race, all these things that were supposedly progressive. So there's obviously a disconnect in scholarship, both on a philosophical level, but also on a level of evidence. Historians who write on the First World War still believe this stuff. They don't read anything Gary Cohen has written, anything my advisor John Boyer has written; they don't read what scholars like Pieter Judson say about national indifference. This work has not registered in European history generally. When I've given talks—not among Habsburgists—I get people who are shocked and surprised: "Oh, I never thought about the Habsburg Empire this way." And they teach Russian or East European history at universities! I explain that the consensus among historians of Central Europe is that this wasn't an empire falling apart, but rather we see political unrest as part of a public politicization process, like we do in U.S. history. When people riot in Chicago, we don't write about it as if America is nearing collapse. We talk about this as the way that people who hadn't been part of the political process claim a section of society, of the polity. We don't write about this in Central Europe because we have World War I.

ASN: *Maybe now that Tara Zahra has gotten a MacArthur grant—*

JD: —a "genius" grant, people will pay attention? I hope so! There are more geniuses within Habsburg studies, too. Maybe this will start a trend. *(laughs)* Seriously, I was really glad Tara got recognized. Her work is great, and it's also representative of a school of Habsburg history.

ASN: *She would be the first to say her work builds upon that of the people we've been discussing. She is also talking about about struggles for the hearts of people, most of whom were comfortable with multiple identities.*

JD: That's right. So nothing I say in my current project will seem all that striking to people who work in the Habsburg monarchy. Hopefully, they'll like it, but I'm really trying to write about the Habsburg Empire and World War I for a larger community—to beat down the doors of European historiography, because what we have to say is profoundly provocative for the way that historians understand European history since the French Revolution. There's a lot of talk about transnational history, but Habsburgists have been doing transnational history for a long time, so we tend to shrug our shoulders. Transnational history is not about just crossing borders; it's about recapturing conversations, ideas, and movements that were always more than national.

ASN: *So, most Habsburg historians understand that it was a functioning, developing bureaucracy up until 1914, then there was a break.*

JD: I would replace "bureaucracy" with "state;" it was a functioning, developing, evolving state, with many moving parts, and bureaucracy was part of it. So was political participation. One of the things I wanted to do in my first book was show how the bureaucracy was part of this network

of expanding political participation. Max Weber tells us that bureaucracy grows through representation. This is a paradoxical idea for people that don't think about it, but if you have elected representatives, what's the first thing they're going to do? They're going to promise services to their constituents. And how do they do that? Well, the state has to get bigger, and we have to hire more officials to manage these services. And so bureaucracy grows in step with expanding political participation. This happened in the Habsburg monarchy just like it happened everywhere else.

ASN: *However, once World War I broke out there were certain elements who attempted to change the shape of the state and how it functioned.*

JD: Yes. This is what Jonathan Gumz and I are currently investigating. One of the things that we have talked about is how the military has its own conception of politics. With the state of exception that began in 1914, the army was able to put its ideal form of society in place very quickly before the bureaucracy knew what was going on. When officials found out, they started to resist, causing an internal war between the army and civilian authorities. I worked on the Austrian side of the monarchy for my first book, because I can't read Hungarian, but if you look in the military records, the military's dealings with the Hungarian bureaucracy, you'll see the same thing in Hungary, too. Everything was translated into German for the high officers—they couldn't speak Hungarian, either. The massive internal war went from 1914-1917, when there was another break. The state of exception that was declared July 25-26 in 1914 in Austria shows how important the bureaucracy was at being a partner, and how important political participation was in Austria. They actually had a vibrantly political state that was completely shut down. Parliament was closed, elections suspended, and the bureaucracy had to work with the army. A resistance developed, but was not a unified resistance until maybe 1916, when there was hardly any agreement between the state and the military.

ASN: *Given the fact that the military had a very different view of things, such as the rights of minorities and civil rights of "suspected sympathizers" with the enemy, how much damage were they able to do?*

JD: Well, the Austrian constitution was set up so that the emperor held civil and military control. Only Emperor Karl put a stop to military control. He dismissed Conrad, and he appointed new Austrian prime ministers again in 1916-1917, but by then the damage was done to the state's relationship with its citizens. If you take seriously the idea of a procedural *Rechtsstaat*, that the Austrian bureaucracy was slow and cumbersome, what this did over the course of the 19th century was prevent the use of arbitrary authority. By 1914, people can look to the state and say maybe it's slow, but it works. The state is a reliable thing that they can count on to provide basic services and do the right thing. By 1917, that goodwill is spent. The state has become erratic, arbitrary, and people are starving. If we combine this with the idea that everyone knew Franz Joseph was going to die, and they knew the state would change after him—this is an evolving political organism where national politicians were demanding different forms of organization—they were not completely compatible with one another. Everyone knew that when Franz Ferdinand came to the throne, things would change. All these groups—the bureaucracy, the nationalist politicians, the moderate politicians, the Catholic church—had created reform packages, and they were bombarding Franz Ferdinand's office with them, thinking they were going to get ahead of the game. In 1917, when parliament was reopened, people were giving up on the multinational monarchy. The army stopped trying to take over the state, but by 1917, what we see is a complete inability to articulate the reason for continuing the Habsburg monarchy. So political participation and reform are packaged into new products, like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, a new Poland, a new Ukraine, and a new Romania. Different people gave up on the regime at different times, but the dynamic was still the same. This happened domestically and internationally. By the time that Wilson released his fourteen points, we see that the Habsburg monarchy had failed to articulate a discourse of state.

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Wirth Institute hosts Schroeder



Distinguished historian and 1996 Kann Lecturer Paul Schroeder visited the Wirth Institute in September 2014 to kick off a year of activities relating to the anniversary year 1515/1815/2015. His lecture was entitled, "Comparing the 1815 and 1919 Settlements: Can Anything Useful Be Learned?" Left to right, Franz Szabo, Paul Schroeder, and Wirth Institute director Joseph Patrouch.

Innsbruck scholars and students at UNO



This spring 30 students from the University of Innsbruck are studying at the University of New Orleans as part of the partnership between the two universities. Most of them study business and psychology, but some are in the Colleges of Liberal Arts and Education. More than half of them are actually Germans, reflecting the new international student mobility in post-Bologna era of the EU. This photo also features Karin Liebhart, the 2014-15 Austrian Marshall Plan Chair at UNO. Photo: David Messner.

John Deak from page 29

ASN: I never realized that Karl was working so hard to keep the nation together.

JD: He was, but most people would probably say that he didn't do a good job. By the time he began to sort things out, everything was such a mess that it would have been hard for anyone to sort it out. The damage was done to the Austrian state idea very quickly, and by 1916, it was almost impossible to steer a course out of the war in which the Habsburg monarchy could return to

its antebellum status quo. It's quite depressing as a historian sometimes. You root for the Habsburg monarchy and the ideas of multinationalism. There's a cosmopolitan quality to the Habsburg monarchy that you can find nowhere else on Earth. They were trying to preserve it, but they lost. You know that when Europe is broken up into nation states, the national idea will become so powerful and a convincing argument for people to do atrocious things. ❖

Zarecor from page 27

one, with something like 22 trolley and tram lines. They were designed for everybody. You might be a university professor who has a steelworker or a tram driver who lives down the hall. For reasons that have to do with the way they were funded—for example, the rail company contributed to the construction of a few buildings and then put some of its employees in there—you might have an occasional building full of schoolteachers or rail workers, but for the most part, it was a very egalitarian model, and the size of your apartment was determined by the size of your family. They allotted you space based on the number of children that you had. That's why a lot of Czech families had one and two children in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s: if you had three or four kids, you didn't get much more space. But once you had one or two kids, you were able to get an extra room in the apartment. Of course, the politicians were able, through all of the ways that we know of corruption in the Communist context, to get themselves better places, but the average person didn't have a mechanism to really do that. Finally, the urbanism was often green-field development, meaning new territory that didn't have anything on it, and they were able to design the whole setting of the place. People like me who are specialists in architecture and urban planning history have been having conversations about the quality of that design work. It was much maligned, but a more positive consensus is starting to emerge. Those of us who were born in the 1970s and 1980s, some of whom grew up in these places, in these countries, are now starting to think back to their childhood memories and what it was like to grow up in one of these places, and realizing how much they loved the camaraderie of the public spaces, the perception that their parents had that they were safe in the courtyard spaces between the buildings, the fact that there were so many kids and families in one place. Many of them are asking the question, "Doesn't this development look a lot like what sustainability experts and green design people are talking about?" You know, clustered housing, on transit lines, with park space.

ASN: I'd say so. And yet . . .

KZ: The problem was the quality of the architecture and construction—the quality of the walls, the quality of the kitchen fixtures and surfaces—these were all terrible. The public spaces, the green spaces, never had the sorts of amenities that Americans would want: enough playgrounds, slides, seating areas, and so forth. They often were these undifferentiated open territories that became dirty and muddy, and lack of maintenance created more problems, although the government is beginning to fix some of these things. But, as those of us who study Communist urban design will tell you, that doesn't mean that the planning, the design, was bad. It was quite good. ❖

Austrian studies at Jerusalem: a wide-reaching endeavor

by Joseph F. Patrouch

From December 16 through December 28, I taught the graduate-level course “The Habsburg Dynasty from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century” at the Center for Austrian Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Austrian center, under the direction of the literary scholar Ruth Fine, is associated with the university’s European Forum, an administrative umbrella for a number of other centers and institutes, including ones dedicated to European, German, Italian, Russian, and French Studies. Guest professors are invited to give mini-session courses to students enrolled in the European Studies program. This academic year, six such courses are being offered, by instructors from Austria, Italy, France, Switzerland, Spain, and, of course, Canada.

The dozen students enrolled in my Habsburg course came not only from Israel, but from a number of different countries including Austria and the Netherlands. They brought a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Only a small number were history students. Others had backgrounds in fields as diverse as Protestant theology and music.

When I teach a similar course at the University of Alberta, I have an entire term to cover the period from the origins of the Habsburg Dynasty to the end of its empire. When I used to teach a similar course at my previous academic home, Florida International University in Miami, I had an entire semester but ended the course in the early eighteenth century when the senior branch of the family died out and the dynasty lost control of Iberia and the Iberian possessions in the Americas. In Miami that division made some sense: I used to point out to my students that Florida was claimed by the Habsburgs for at least as long if not longer than it has been claimed by the United States. In Jerusalem it was a challenge for the students (and me) to introduce some of the basic themes and events relating to this thousand years of international history; the class participants energetically and good-naturedly took on the challenge.

I also was given the opportunity to present a public lecture in the context of the European Forum’s Graduate Colloquium. On the colloquium website it is described as “a framework for assisting students in formulating research topics and with methodological questions that may arise when writing a thesis or seminar paper.” The title of my presentation was “The First Vienna Congress of 1515: Dynastic, Intellectual, Physical, and Meteorological Contexts.” This talk was conceived as part of the international series of events dealing with the anniversaries of the major international meetings held in Vienna in 1515 and 1815. As a kick-off to these activities, the Wirth Institute hosted a lecture in September by the distinguished US historian of international politics, Paul Schroeder. See the story elsewhere in this edition of ASN.

In my presentation on the events in Bratislava and Vienna and points



in between during that wet summer back in 1515, I highlighted some of the various printed sources available to help us understand the events as they unfolded over space and time, and I tried to place these events in their broader historical contexts, tying them both to the broader dynastic histories of the Habsburgs and their rivals the Jagiellonians and to the development of the Central European political unit, the junior branch of the Habsburgs’ empire, which would result at least partly because of decisions and agreements made near the banks of the swollen Danube.

The Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research, and Economy helps support a network of eight centers and institutes dedicated to the study of Austria and its broader geographic context. These eight centers and institutes are located in seven countries on three continents and include the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies in Alberta, Canada, as well as the Center for Austrian Studies at the European Forum in Jerusalem. In this instance, Austrian officials in Vienna helped bring colleagues from the two most distant centers together. Austrian studies is clearly a wide-reaching endeavor.

Joseph F. Patrouch is director of the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies.

Banff conference *from page 24*

internment of Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary during the First World War through an analysis of the Thalerhof camp outside Graz. Cem Fakir, an independent filmmaker from Istanbul, Turkey, discussed his research in Ottoman archives and what these archives reveal about the Ottoman nationals who were caught up in the Canadian internment operations.

Canadian topics, of course, predominated. Conference co-organizer Jars Balan, for example, discussed the failed attempt to organize a Ruthenian regiment in the Canadian Armed Forces before the outbreak of the war and wondered how the existence of such a regiment might have affected the later decision to register or intern Canadian residents from Austria-Hungary. Other topics of papers included the history of Canadian residents of Croatian heritage from Austria-Hungary who tried to flee to the

neutral US to escape the Canadian dragnet, the attitudes of the leaders of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada toward the war and participation in it, and detailed studies devoted to individual internees. Three of the papers dealt with the general issue of memory and commemoration, tracing for example the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association’s ultimately successful redress campaign or the rehabilitation of an internee cemetery in Kapuskasing, Ontario.

For more information: <http://www.ualberta.ca/CIUS/ukrcan/uc-home.htm> or <http://www.internmentcanada.ca/>. The conference program is available at: <http://www.wirth.ualberta.ca/en/WIRTH%20Institute%20News/2014/October/Banffconferenceprogramnowavailable.aspx>.

Joseph F. Patrouch is director of the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. ❖



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