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Habsburg Nostalgia and the Occidental Other

Chinese Perspectives on Stefan Zweig's Novellas

Arnhilt Johanna Hoefle

Stefan Zweig and Habsburg Nostalgia

In his autobiographical account *Die Welt von Gestern* (1942), Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) termed the last decades of the Austro-Hungarian Empire "das goldene Zeitalter der Sicherheit" (15), and many of his novellas are set in this context. Zweig's particular focus on Habsburg Austria was sometimes harshly attacked by his contemporaries. For example, when Thomas Mann remembered Zweig on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his death in 1952, he claimed that Zweig was "heimatlich gebunden [. . .] an die entschwundene Welt, deren Endstunde schon 1914 geschlagen hatte; wie ganz seine Existenz durch sie bedingt war" (372–73). Throughout the decades scholars have argued in similar terms. For example, in his article of 1995 Donald G. Daviau claimed that Zweig could only survive and flourish in the "beautiful Viennese world of yesterday," where intellect, spirit, and order reigned supreme ("Stefan Zweig" 167). He became a "victim of his lifestyle which he refused to relinquish despite the changed reality of the world around him" (167). Even when the political situation became extremely tense, Daviau points out that Zweig's fictional writings were still set in glorified turn-of-the-century Vienna, even his only completed novel *Ungeduld des Herzens* of 1939 that was written after the *Anschluss*. More recently, Robert S. Wistrich has commented on Zweig's "beguiling image of a world standing firmly and immovably in its appointed place" (59). Wistrich describes Zweig's depiction of Habsburg Austria as a

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"conservative longing for an idealized past, one which in many ways is fictionalized, retouched, and full of wishful thinking" (59). He calls it a "nostalgic elegy to a vanished supremacy" that has been evoked so skillfully that "it has replaced and even overwhelmed lived experience and influenced much historical research" (59). He specifies that in his "gilded, sanitized version," Zweig idealizes the Dual Monarchy for its stability while neglecting the internal conflicts and tensions (60). Zweig's "pre-1914 idyll" is therefore, according to Wistrich, characterized by "memory-holes," especially with regard to the undeniable mass suffering, the major social and national conflicts, and the evident anti-Semitism of the era (63). More generally, Zweig's "ivory tower attitude" of "political ignorance" or "political abstinence" and his refusal to express a public opinion on political issues have been criticized blisteringly.[1] Recently, several scholars have defended Zweig's political approach. However, even these attempts confine themselves to Zweig's more obviously political works, especially *Schachnovelle*, his historical-biographical texts on Erasmus and Castellio, and sometimes also *Die Welt von Gestern*. For example, even Daviau admits that in *Schachnovelle* Zweig deals "somewhat with politics" ("Stefan Zweig" 175). Claudio Magris also concedes some socio-critical impetus to Zweig, in particular in the sections on sexual education in *Die Welt von Gestern* (321). However, Zweig's other novellas are usually not even mentioned in this context.

These are just a few examples of what could be considered a dominant traditional reading of Zweig by Western critics. They clearly demonstrate that Stefan Zweig's biographical and fictional works have been read as prime examples of a politically problematic form of Habsburg nostalgia. In Svetlana Boym's definition, nostalgia is "a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed" (xiii). The word, which is pseudo-Greek and derives from *nostos* (return home) and *algia* (longing), was coined by the Swiss doctor Johannes Hofer in his medical dissertation in 1688 to describe the curable disease of homesickness among Swiss soldiers, workers, and students abroad (Boym 3). Nostalgia for Boym is more than "merely an individual sickness but a symptom of our age, a historical emotion" (xvi). Interestingly, the term is frequently used dismissively, which is also the case for Stefan Zweig, as the references above indicate. "Nostalgia," according to Boym, "is something of a bad word, an affectionate insult at best" (xiv). As Wistrich elaborates in his article, Zweig's "nostalgic" account of Habsburg Austria simply ignores several crucial aspects of the historical era at issue. It neglects, for one, existing

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conflicts within the societies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From this perspective *nostalgia* is a term used to criticize accounts of history that allegedly abdicate "personal responsibility" (Boym xiv).

Boym observes that outbreaks of nostalgia often follow revolutions, such as the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution (xvi). As she points out, in these cases the ancient regime produces the revolution, but at the same time, the revolution in turn produces the ancient regime. It gives it "a shape, a sense of closure and a gilded aura" (xvi). The end of the Soviet Union, for example, produced an image of the last Soviet decades as the "golden age" of stability and strength. Although the end of the Habsburg monarchy was not brought about by a revolution in the strict sense, I argue that a similar phenomenon can be identified, as again an empire collapsed after hundreds of years of powerful rule. This is displayed, for example, in Austrian literature. Indeed, many of the motifs of Habsburg nostalgia can already be traced back to literary works created in the early years of the nineteenth century (Magris 32).[2] According to Magris in his study of the "Habsburg myth" in modern Austrian literature, a literary trend of idealizing a charming Habsburg tradition flourished during the last decades of the ailing Empire around the turn of the century and, in particular, during the chaotic phase immediately following its collapse in 1918 (24). Magris identifies the three main motifs of the "Habsburg myth" as transnationalism, bureaucratism, and hedonism (30–31). In his view Stefan Zweig's works offer arguably the most famous and most popular classical image of this world: "Für die meisten Menschen ist das Österreich der Ära Franz Josephs nichts anderes als seine *Welt von Gestern*" (322).

Zweig was of course only one of several literary representatives of the "Habsburg myth" in the early twentieth century, among them Franz Werfel, Joseph Roth, Franz Theodor Csokor, Heimito von Doderer, Robert Musil, and Ann Tizia Leitich. Also, as Magris elaborates, this manner of portraying Habsburg Austria as a "happy, harmonic, tidy, fairytale-like" place needs to be seen in a larger political context (19). He calls this wishful glorification of the Danube Monarchy a suggestive *Entfremdung* that has become a very effective means of power and the most important spiritual pillar of the Habsburg Empire for more than a century (22–23). It has been employed as a "wise tool" to distract the Austrians from overwhelming problems and conflicts. It helped secure the *raison d'être* of an increasingly anachronistic state structure. Following the typology offered by Boym, this kind of nostalgia could be described as "restorative" nostalgia, which she opposes to "reflective" nostal-

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gia (xviii). Restorative nostalgia does not see itself as nostalgia but "rather as truth and tradition" (xviii). It reconstructs collective symbols, emblems, and rituals of "home and homeland" in an attempt to strengthen national identity and stability, just as the case of the Habsburg Empire illustrates. By depicting the Empire as a "benign, pluralistic, supra-national, and universal empire" and "the paternalist protector of order, stability, and freedom in Europe," Wistrich sees Stefan Zweig as having "uncritically reproduced the chosen self-image of the Habsburg dynastic state" (67).

In this paper, I put forth the thesis that there are more ways of reading Stefan Zweig's Habsburg nostalgia than those articulated above, and to demonstrate this, I will explore Chinese approaches to his works.[3] I will show that reading Zweig's novellas through the lens of his reception in China during the second half of the twentieth century will significantly complicate one-sided readings of his Habsburg nostalgia that attribute a purely conservative, regressive impulse to Zweig and his works. This article will focus in particular on Zweig's novellas that are set against the Habsburg Austrian background because, first of all, they have undoubtedly been his most popular works in Communist China. Furthermore, in contrast to *Die Welt von Gestern*, for example, which was translated into Chinese only in the 1990s, the reception of Zweig's novellas in China can be traced throughout different decades of the century. They therefore allow us to investigate and compare shifting Chinese perspectives on Zweig in different historical and political periods. Looking at Zweig's works from this angle will, I argue, offer new insights into the works of this author who was sharply attacked for not being "political" enough and for producing nostalgic depictions of Habsburg Austria. In fact the Chinese interpretations offer exciting and legitimate alternative readings of Zweig that reveal the powerful socio-critical potential in his works.

Stefan Zweig and the Occidental Other

Undoubtedly, Stefan Zweig is one of the most widely read and most extensively studied German-language writers in China. Introduced in the 1920s, his works have been translated and published almost continuously until today. My research in China has unearthed several hundred published and republished translations of his works.[4] At the same time, Chinese scholars have elaborated on his works in hundreds of academic articles. As Yang Rong has recently claimed regarding the reception of German-language literature in

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China, only the works of Goethe outnumber the works of Stefan Zweig when measured by the quantity of Chinese editions and print runs (1). What further distinguishes the reception of Zweig from other well-received German-language writers in China, such as Arthur Schnitzler or Franz Kafka, for example, is the continuity of reception over a vast stretch of time. Quite uniquely, we can trace translations of Zweig throughout the century. The translation, circulation, and academic reception of Zweig in China therefore testify to a rare case of Austrian literature crossing borders.

In this article I will draw on my analysis of the Chinese discourses on Zweig as represented by the commentary published alongside the translations as well as the academic articles on Zweig. My study reveals that in most cases the translations were accompanied by a preface or afterword written either by the editor or the translator of the works. These were mostly academics in the fields of German studies or comparative literature introducing the life and work of Zweig to a general readership. Until the 1980s prefaces and afterwords to translations were the primary venues for commentary on Stefan Zweig's works. Only after the Mao era came to an end and universities reopened after the Cultural Revolution did the number of academic publications increase and a scholarly discourse emerge. But the main themes, as we will see, pervade both forms of critical commentary.

When studying any aspect of the relationship between Western and non-Western cultures, recent developments in the field of postcolonial studies cannot be ignored. Therefore, I would like to introduce the concept of the construction of the "Other" as a constructive theoretical tool for my analysis. Edward Said's *Orientalism,* first published in 1978, is regarded as the foundational text of postcolonial studies. Said argued that "Orientalism" is a constellation of assumptions that underlie the attitudes of an imperial West toward a colonized East, the "Other." They are crucial for the construction of the "Self." Said's book focused on the Near East but, in the course of the last decades, several scholars have taken his seminal work as a starting point and extended and advanced his notions to consider other cultural spaces. Also, more recently, the concept of "Occidentalism" has been proposed by scholars such as Xiaomei Chen in her study *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China.* Chen argues that

> Orientalism has been accompanied by instances of what might be termed Occidentalism, a discursive practice that, by constructing its

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> Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others. (2)

Similar to Orientalist practices, writings and readings of the Occidental Other are always, Chen argues, "initiated as a local activity, determined always at least partially by the exigencies of time and place" (xxv). However, there are main differences between Occidentalism and Orientalism and these lie, according to Chen, in particular in their ideological function (1). Orientalism in Said's account is a strategy of Western world domination. The images produced by Orientalist practices, which are often sharply at odds with the self-understanding of the indigenous non-Western cultures they represent, govern the West's hegemonic policies. Moreover, they were imported into the West's political and cultural colonies where they "affected native points of view and thus themselves served as instruments of domination" (Xiaomei Chen 1). Chinese Occidentalism, on the other hand, is "primarily a discourse that has been evoked by various and competing groups within Chinese society for a variety of different ends, largely, though not exclusively, within domestic Chinese politics" (3). Therefore, in the following discussion on Zweig's novellas in China, the notion of the "Occidental Other" and its various different functions will be probed. I first examine the reception of Stefan Zweig's novellas under Mao before comparing them with discourses of post-Mao China and concluding what kind of new perspectives this approach is able to open up for the study of Zweig and Habsburg nostalgia.

Stefan Zweig's Novellas under Mao

The first novellas by Stefan Zweig that appeared in China after Mao Zedong had proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 were published in 1957 and 1963 in *Yiwen* (Translation), later renamed *Shijie wenxue* (World literature), the only magazine featuring foreign literature under Mao's rigid communist rule. Among these novellas were *Vierundzwanzig Stunden aus dem Leben einer Frau, Die unsichtbare Sammlung,* and *Die Gouvernante,* the latter being one of the novellas not only written but also set in fin-de-siècle Habsburg Austria.[5] It depicts a young governess who is pressured into suicide after a secret love affair with her master's nephew.

It is, in fact, quite remarkable that these novellas were published in China

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at that time. After 1949 the Maoist-Marxist theory of literature and art dominated the literary production as well as the reception of foreign literature in China. It was characterized by a radical anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois ideology. The goal of literature was to serve the revolution, to serve the interests of workers, peasants, and soldiers. The only labels available for foreign writers were "revolutionary" and "proletarian" or "reactionary" and "capitalist-bourgeois" (Zhang Yi 180–81). This doctrine obviously also shaped the content of the magazine *Yiwen*, limiting German-language contributions to classical works by Goethe and Schiller; works by socialist writers, such as Brecht; and works by contemporary East German writers. The interest in literature from the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was in fact intensified by its close political and cultural ties to China in the 1950s. While Chinese writers were sent to the GDR, delegations of GDR writers, including Anna Seghers and Willi Bredel, were sent to visit China. Literature from the GDR was therefore received on a relatively large scale, not so much for its artistic but for its educational value. Works that depicted the international communist movement, the socialist revolution, or the workers' movement in Germany were particularly popular. The Federal Republic of Germany was classified a "Western imperialist" country, and no diplomatic relations were entertained. "West German" literature as well as works by Austrian and Swiss writers were mostly labeled "unacceptable" (Zhang Yi 168–71).

Zweig's Austrian and, moreover, bourgeois class background should therefore immediately have disqualified him from being published in a Chinese magazine. Most of all, these works include novellas by Zweig that are set in Habsburg Austria, the imperialistic monarchy. They are populated by "decadent" bourgeois characters. Zweig's novellas further feature individualism as well as psychoanalytical elements. According to socialist literary theory, individualism was intolerable. And for its promotion of certain ideas about individuality and society psychoanalysis was regarded a "threat to the socialist structure" (Jingyuan Zhang, *Psychoanalysis in China* 155). Psychoanalytical theories have been targeted during almost all major official political campaigns against the infiltration of Western ideology into China. Its pernicious influence on literature has also been blamed "for the flourishing of explicit and graphic sexual descriptions" (155). In China as well as in the Soviet Union, Zweig was attacked due to his psychological writing because psychoanalytical theory appeared to reject the societal significance of literature and reduced human behavior to the biological, especially the sexual

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(Nymphius 63, 77). Psychology was condemned as "pseudo-science," and the psychological faculties were even shut down at Chinese universities for this reason (Zhang Yi 160).

This restrictive situation is clearly reflected in the commentary published alongside these translations.[6] Zweig is indeed simultaneously, in a movement resembling that of a pendulum, commended and criticized. The main points of criticism concerned Zweig's class background, the Habsburg Empire's bourgeoisie. The commentators point out that precisely by living in this wealthy environment Zweig "lost contact with social reality." Zweig was, according to them, "caught in the trap of bourgeois ideology" and did not acknowledge history as the development of economic systems through class struggle. He was "suspicious of the large revolutionary movements of the masses" and instead maintained a "purely spiritual standpoint," worshipping the freedom of the spirit as the highest good and making humanism the center of his belief. However, the ramifications of Zweig's "one-sided worldview" have been located by these Chinese critics mainly in Zweig's earlier works, which were, according to them, still heavily influenced by the movements of impressionism and aestheticism that were in vogue in the early part of the century. In his later works, however, the critics argue, Zweig left aestheticism behind and, thanks to the "inspiration and enlightenment" by his friends Verhaeren and Romain Rolland in particular, realized that "literature should serve mankind." In his later novellas, Zweig created what Chinese scholars saw as excellent and morally noble characters, in particular women, who suffer in the bourgeois society. The Chinese critics hence conclude that Zweig, in fact, powerfully criticizes and condemns the moral decay, hypocrisy, emptiness, fraud, coldness, and brutality of bourgeois society and its decadent excesses. Surprisingly, in this context even Zweig's "fine technique of psychological description" is mentioned and justified as a means of social criticism. Despite all of his shortcomings, the commentators sum up, Zweig can therefore still "be considered a true artist whose works are valuable."

Contrary to some of Zweig's Western critics who, as mentioned above, have openly attacked his nostalgic account of Habsburg Austria, this Chinese discourse reveals a completely different approach to reading his novellas. Overall, they are read as the works of a socially critical "anti-capitalist" and "anti-bourgeois" writer and, as a consequence, Habsburg Austria is also constructed here in a very particular way as Communist China's Western Other, the Occidental Other.[7] Instead of reading Habsburg Austria as an idealized

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fairy tale–like place, it is constructed as a brutal capitalist empire populated by the selfish educated upper class, an empire eroded by its shallow morals but obsessed with a superficial and hypocritical code of conduct that makes it impossible for a young governess to marry the nephew of her master, an empire of moral decline. Xiaomei Chen argues that the construction of the Western Other does not serve the main purpose of "dominating the West," as opposed to the hegemonic endeavors assigned to Orientalist practices, but serves a very specific purpose with regard to the power struggles within China (3). By reading Stefan Zweig's Habsburg Austria as a brutal and pretentious empire, it was therefore integrated into an official discourse. This particular image of Habsburg Austria was exploited as an expression of the imperialist, capitalist Other, diametrically opposed to the self-understanding of Communist China. This negative Other became a means to serve its official radical anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois ideology, to consolidate domestic politics and, ultimately, to discipline and dominate the Chinese Self at home. Constructing Habsburg Austria as an unfavorable, negative Occidental Other can therefore be considered as part of an effective strategy for the decidedly domestic political ends of affirming the ideological legitimacy of the Communist Chinese Self.

Stefan Zweig's Novellas after Mao

After the Mao era came to an end, the discourses on Zweig became more and more ambivalent and diverse. After *Die unsichtbare Sammlung* and *Die Gouvernante* were published in 1963, the Cultural Revolution put the reception of Zweig in China on hold, and no more of his works appeared until the end of the 1970s. It was after the introduction of the policy of reform and opening up in 1978 led by Deng Xiaoping that a wave of large-scale translation and introduction of Western works overwhelmed China (Xudong Zhang 35). Stefan Zweig's novellas were among the first foreign works published in China in the late 1970s. Within only a couple of months in 1978 and 1979, *Die Gouvernante* was published four times and *Brief einer Unbekannten* twice. This phenomenon first of all invites us to reflect on the socio-cultural circumstances of post-Mao China. In fact, the 1980s represent an ideologically complex era in the history of the People's Republic of China and, as Wang points out, increasing scholarly attention has been paid to this decade (Wang Jing 1). Wang describes the 1980s as a "period of utopian vision on the one hand

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and an era of emergent crises on the other." After the first successes of the economic reform "euphoria and great expectation" held sway over the country. Literary production celebrated a spring that followed the "cruel winter of the Maoist cultural revolution," and various experimental forms emerged (Xudong Zhang 126). Chinese writers and readers looked toward the West for an aesthetic model for cultural, political, and economic reform. This resulted in an intense wave of systematic large-scale translations of twentieth-century Western works that was unprecedented in the history of the People's Republic of China (Xudong Zhang 57). Anything labeled "Western" would sell. An onslaught of various "fevers" and "crazes" for popular writers, artists and intellectuals swept China (Wang Jing 38). For example, 1984 saw the fever about Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, 1985 the fever for the "root-searching" (*xungen*) literature, including for example works by Han Shaogong, A Cheng, and Mo Yan. Beginning in early 1985 the "Cultural Fever" (*wenhua re*) emerged (Xudong Zhang 35). The Cultural Fever refers to a high tide of cultural discussion in the whole of China between 1985 and 1989. It brought together people from many different backgrounds from all over the country, ranging from renowned professors, high school students, and government officials to interested workers and soldiers. In conferences, seminars, research groups, reading circles, exhibitions, publications, and public speeches they expressed their opinions on the past, present, and future of "Chinese culture." In heated debates different schools of thought competed in discussing questions of cultural values, tradition and modernity, Confucian heritage and contemporary and future social and cultural life as well as China's relationship to the West. During that time Western theoretical discourses were introduced enthusiastically (Xudong Zhang 55). Literary scholars openly discussed various literary methods and pondered the question as to whether Marxist literary theory should remain the leading theory or whether it should become one of several acceptable literary theories. The sudden influx of Western theoretical discourses introduced the theories of the hermeneutic school, phenomenology, existentialism, semiotics, logical positivism, structuralism, and poststructuralism. Works by Freud, Lacan, Max Weber, Habermas, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, by Russian thinkers such as Berdyaev and Shestov, and by Western Marxists from Adorno and Marcuse to Althusser and Fredric Jameson were translated. Wendy Larson argues that as a consequence the "audience for Marxist/Maoist analysis dwindled" (206).

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However, the analysis of the critical commentary on Zweig, the prefaces and afterwords to translations as well as an increasing number of academic publications, actually reveals that the main themes in reading his novellas widely persisted after Mao. Zweig was still criticized for not being able to "penetrate into the social and historical causes" of the tragedies he described in his novellas.[8] At the same time his novellas were praised as "excellent works" that not only reveal but also fiercely condemn the immoral bourgeois society.[9] The novellas *Brief einer Unbekannten*, *Die Gouvernante*, and *Angst* have received particular attention. The unknown woman in *Brief einer Unbekannten* is repeatedly cited as a prime example of Zweig's depiction of the misfortune and painful experiences of women in the rotten and spiritually empty bourgeois society.[10] The young governess in *Die Gouvernante* is discussed in similar terms (in particular Xue Ru 78). In the discussion of this novella the relationship between the upper class and the working class is pointed out in particular: The mistress of the house and her nephew Otto represent the oppressive upper class, while the governess represents the working class. In their discussion of the novella *Angst*, the Chinese commentators argue that Zweig's critique of bourgeois society is particularly targeted at the "cold relationship" between husband and wife and the practice of "arranged marriage" in the Habsburg Empire (in particular Wang Yuxia 42–47). Instead of love, the "main concern" is the social position and money of a prospective partner in the "degraded" society of Habsburg Austria at the turn of the century, in which marriage has become a "commodity."

These discourses resemble those from the Mao era in which Zweig's Habsburg Austria is constructed as the paradigmatic negative Occidental Other. Given the euphoria about new theories and methodologies at the time, it seems surprising that the analyzed comments and academic articles on Stefan Zweig still display this strictly conservative socialist approach. Even after Mao's rule, strategies to strengthen the Communist Self were apparently still very much in place. This is probably connected to the fact that at the same time as what Xudong Zhang called the "boisterous avalanche of cultural and intellectual debate" swept over China, several political campaigns actually clouded the public enthusiasm for open debate (3). For example, between autumn 1983 and spring 1984 the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign (*Qingchu jingshen wuran yundong*) targeted Western-inspired liberal ideas, from pornography to early Marxism (Wang Jing 15). Several other political events followed, such as a demonstration of university students

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in late 1986 in Beijing which resulted in the ouster of Party Secretary Hu Yaobang. In early 1987 yet another campaign against "bourgeois liberalism" (*zichan jieji ziyouhua*) was launched. Long lists of censored works included newspapers, books, and film productions. As Ren Weidong has elaborated, these campaigns impaired the publishing of foreign literature considerably, such as the works of Franz Kafka (145–49).

The reception of Zweig as illustrated above therefore sheds more light on his works as well as the historical period of the 1980s. First of all, it underlines the argument that the political course was in fact characterized by an ambivalent and paradoxical relationship to the West (Xiaomei Chen 22). In its attempt to experiment with a Western-like economy while refusing to borrow from Western social and ideological systems, the Deng regime engaged in what Xiaomei Chen called a "love-hate relationship with the Occident" (50). This complex relationship is clearly reflected in the Chinese approach to Zweig's novellas, which oscillates between critique and praise. It also suggests that despite major changes in the cultural and political landscape that occurred after Mao, we cannot necessarily assume a radical rupture with all previously sanctioned literary conventions. The reading of Zweig's works in the 1980s illustrates that there are significant continuities in the political as well as the literary realm.

At the same time, however, there are aspects of the Chinese discourse on Zweig that challenge this dominant strategy of constructing Zweig's Habsburg Austria as the strictly negative Occidental Other. First of all, there are statements in the Chinese commentaries that explicitly create a rather positive image of Habsburg Austria. Zweig is increasingly referred to as a "representative of the turn-of-the-century culture," a "writer of the old times," who belongs to the "world of yesterday" and laments this lost era (Bianzhe, "Chuban shuoming" 3; Zhang Yushu 6). In this context, for the first time in the late 1970s, Zweig's autobiographical text *Die Welt von Gestern* was quoted at length, even though an unabridged version of the book itself was first published in a Chinese translation in the early 1990s. From this point onward, Chinese publications on Zweig's biography and works tend to refer to this paradigmatic text of Habsburg nostalgia extensively. In these discourses, the age of the Habsburg Empire is repeatedly described as a beautiful, perfect, and optimistic as well as peaceful period, a "warm world of sunshine" where emotions could be expressed freely.[11] Vienna, in particular, is praised as the center of

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European cultural life, a melting pot of different cultures, where Zweig grew up in an open-minded family, where he learned to "understand love," and where he became a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world (Li and Ma 34). The collapse of the Habsburg Empire is accordingly seen as a "great loss," which caused the rotting, the demise, and the decay of morals of the bourgeois society in the first place (Han 78). But it also woke up Zweig to reality and induced him to leave the "ivory tower of art" (Li and Ma 34). What followed were war, famine, inflation, and finally the rise of the National Socialists. In these comments, Habsburg Austria is therefore constructed as a positive setting that is placed in sharp contrast to the Austria of the interwar period.

The growing focus on emotionality and psychoanalytical elements in Zweig's works is another significant characteristic of this discourse of a positive image of Habsburg Austria. A number of academic articles elaborate on the influence of Sigmund Freud's theories on Stefan Zweig's writing, and their authors argue that the conflict between *id* and *super-ego,* between consciousness and the unconscious, is the key to reading his novellas.[12] Titles and commentaries to compilations of Zweig's novellas in Chinese translation also suggest a growing interest in this aspect. For instance, a collection from 1997 with the title *Passionate novellas by Zweig* (*Ciweige qingyu xiaoshuo*) includes the novellas *Vierundzwanzig Stunden aus dem Leben einer Frau* (translated by Ji Kun), *Brief einer Unbekannten* (translated by Han Yaocheng), and *Der Amokläufer* (translated by Zhang Jingming and Du Wentang). In his detailed introductory essay Gao Zhongfu gives an account of the psychoanalytical elements in Zweig's writings and of his personal relationship with Sigmund Freud; Gao Zhongfu concludes that in his "masterly descriptions of the characters' psychology" Zweig shows in the three novellas how passion dominates the lives of people (1–7).

These interpretations in fact stand in stark contrast to the dominant mode of reading Stefan Zweig as a "socio-critical" writer and, of course, to the socialist dismissal of psychoanalysis, as elaborated above. But the growing interest in Zweig's approach to psychoanalysis and its focus on the individual have, of course, to be placed within the socio-cultural setting of China at the time and, above all, within the larger process of "rediscovering" Freud in China since 1978. As Jingyuan Zhang explains in her study on the reception of psychoanalysis in China, many texts by Freud had been newly translated into Chinese and had attracted wide interest at this time (155). They were in fact part of the already mentioned "rush to theory" that Chinese intellectuals

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indulged in after decades of Mao Zedong's theoretical monopoly (Wang Jing 235). The strong focus on the paradigm of psychoanalysis in Zweig's works is therefore part of a large-scale movement of Chinese intellectuals turning against the communist theoretical monopoly.

Also, the focus on psychology in Zweig's novellas must be regarded as one expression of the "inward turn" when in the late 1970s Chinese writers and intellectuals began fervently to advocate subjectivity (Wang Jing 195–96). This turn to the subject can be seen as a turn against the long-prevailing subjugation to the collective as encoded in the Confucian familial structure for thousands of years in imperial China as well as in the more recent Chinese Maoism-Marxism-Leninism (195). Wang observes that this tendency of "de-politicization" and "interiorization" was in fact displayed on different levels of society by the elite who "trumpeted various theories of subjectivity (*zhu-ti*) during the early and mid-1980s," as well as by the "common folks on the streets" who were "genuine practitioners of individualism à la mode" (196). According to Harriet Evans, "privatization" since the early 1980s also touched on matters associated with love and marriage (336). This has been accompanied by the "widespread use of romantic and domestic imagery to contextualize descriptions of marital harmony." A regained focus on the individual also manifested itself in Chinese literature of this time, in particular literature by Chinese women writers. Many works are characterized by their great attention to subjectivity and, in particular, female subjectivity (Jingyuan Zhang, "Breaking Open" 163). In the flood of writings appearing after Mao's death, Dai Houying's paradigmatic novel *Ren a ren* (Humanity, ah humanity) of 1980 is worth pointing out. It insists on the reality of private emotion and strives to reintroduce the focus on the human being beyond the political subject into the literary discourse (Jingyuan Zhang, "Breaking Open" 164). Poetry increasingly featured private emotions and, in particular, romantic love, once a forbidden subject in revolutionary poetry. As Xiaomei Chen argues, these poems protested "against the conventional love for Mao and the party" (73). Earlier, Mao's political ideologues had called for "a total commitment to the nation by subordinating the romantic imperative to that of revolution" (Lee 5). Zhang Jie's influential short story *Ai shi bu neng wangji de* (Love must not be forgotten) of 1978 called for the return of the long-absent love as a topic for serious attention and thus broke with the Cultural Revolution's taboo on love as a literary subject (Jingyuan Zhang, "Breaking Open" 163–64). The emphasis on romantic love as a symbol for the personal and the private, therefore,

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stressed the importance of the individual within the social imperatives of the revolutionary discourse to challenge "class passion" as the only legitimate expression of love (Lee 286). The growing interest in Stefan Zweig's psychological descriptions has therefore to be situated within this intellectual and literary context.

Chinese discourses on Zweig's novellas of the post-Mao era also offer new insights into the interpretation of his protagonists. Even in texts that are highly critical of the Habsburg Empire, some of its inhabitants are positively received. From the late 1970s onward, Zweig's female heroines in particular were interpreted as "ideal characters." They have become famous as the "Zweig-style women" (*Ciweige shi de nüxing*; Sun 29) and have been praised continuously in Chinese articles as "noble" and "excellent" (Chen Jianan 18–21; Sun 29–30). Among all the female protagonists the "unknown woman" of *Brief einer Unbekannten* has received particular attention. She has been called Zweig's "most shining and most fascinating female character" (Li and Ma 35). The novella's tragic heroine eventually dies after a life dedicated to her overflowing but unrequited love for the writer R., who repeatedly fails to recognize her. The analysis of the Chinese comments reveal that the most important features attributed to this figure are her self-sacrifice and selflessness.[13] For love she gives up her position, her reputation and honor, her youth, her body, and, in effect, a comfortable and luxurious life. Furthermore, the unknown woman is described as faithful in all circumstances, and precisely this unwavering endurance during a life full of suffering and humiliation is particularly admired, as is the fact that she neither expects anything in return for her love nor blames the writer R. for her suffering.

From a contemporary Western feminist perspective, these ideas might seem problematic. However, they should be located in the specific setting of China at the time in order to be able to understand the real significance and potency of these discourses. First of all, it must be acknowledged that the interpretation of the "Zweig-style woman" as the "ideal character" serves as the key to the social criticism of Stefan Zweig's works in these discourses. Han Yujie's academic article of 1986, for example, makes this point clear when the bourgeois society is described as "overflowing with sexual desire," a place "where women are not paid enough respect" (77). On the contrary, women are degraded and humiliated to become "the wealthy young man's plaything." However, the author declares that, taking *Brief einer Unbekannten* as an ex-

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ample, the unknown woman's endurance to continue to hold up love as the greatest good is her "powerful protest" against this kind of society. In these Chinese discourses, the female figures are therefore considered to "epitomize Zweig's ideals of humanity and morality," and they stand in stark contrast to the rotten society and its representatives, who are the targets of Zweig's criticism.[14] They thus become a potent "weapon" in Zweig's attempt to improve the morals of people through literature (Zhu 114; Li Bingbing 14).

Furthermore, the repeated emphasis on the low status of women—as one of the shortcomings that Zweig uncovers in the bourgeois society of Habsburg Austria—reveals a remarkably persistent discursive strategy that has a longstanding history in China. The correlation of the status of women with the degree of civilization has been employed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in intellectual and political discourses for diverse purposes ranging from late Qing reformist movements and colonialist missionaries to nationalist and communist political agendas (Lee 62). In fact, in the Chinese Communist Party's self-understanding, "women's liberation" has always been one of the major concerns. Mao's slogans "Women hold up half the sky" and "Times have changed. Whatever men comrades can do, women comrades can do" were widely propagated, and the Party has prided itself for the participation of women in the communist revolution and society (Thakur 45–53; Hershatter 1013). Women and their status in society therefore became a main site of these Occidentalist discourses. By stressing the suffering of women in the Habsburg society in the works by Zweig, the contrast between this negative image of a backward Habsburg Austria and the official Chinese discourse on a progressive Communist China where women are "liberated" and enjoy equal rights was reinforced.

Many scholars have already pointed out, however, that the real status of women in China has in fact been utterly problematic and that the relationship between the Party's approaches to "gender equality" and the interests of Chinese women has been very ambivalent.[15] One main point of criticism expressed here is that the Party's gender politics resulted in the promotion of a male norm for revolutionary models, for achievement in work and politics and even dress, that led to notions of gender-sameness or gender similarity (Hershatter 1013). I therefore argue that the reading of Zweig's female figures as "ideal women" has to be understood as a result and, at the same time, a critique of the Mao era in which gender difference was, relatively speaking, neglected in public discourse. The Chinese discourses on Zweig display a desire

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for some sort of marked "femininity," a desire that can also be identified to a large extent in the literature produced by Chinese women writers at the same time.[16] The anachronism or maybe even irony of this protest against women's deprivation of their difference lies in the fact that in order to mark women's difference to men, these discourses referred back to traditional premodern signifiers of femininity. Female gentleness, emotionality, selflessness, and especially self-sacrifice have been the main female virtues for many centuries in China, being firmly grounded in the Confucian code of conduct (Thakur 35).

Zweig's protagonists are also praised for another reason. Zhang Yushu noted already in 1979 that Stefan Zweig's protagonists are not the "winners in the usual sense of the word," not the "usual heroes" (Bianzhe, "Chuban shuoming" 3). They are people who face misfortune but who "defend and develop their willpower and feelings within the limits of their misfortune." In 1982 Zhang Yushu further elaborated that Zweig "allows even the lost people to shine in their morals and their justice" (7). In fact, this tendency to depict failing heroes has been identified as one of the major characteristics of his works in Western discourses. Zweig's strict avoidance of "standard heroes" had been discussed, for example, by Daviau already in 1959. In his article on Zweig's "Victors in Defeat" he argues that Zweig invariably selects his major figures to be the ones ultimately defeated in their aims and efforts. He thus completely reverses the "normal 'hero' concept" (1). This philosophy of seeing true greatness in defeat, according to Daviau, forms one of the most important aspects of the writer's life and thought and permeates all his work. Zweig was interested in the psychological effect of struggle, the "spiritual strengthening of his subjects through suffering, which enables them to transcend defeat ultimately and gain the moral victory" (1). For Zweig, Daviau continues, the "highest type of tragedy" is seen in the "defeat of an individual by the unconquerably superior force of fate" (5). Consequently, greatness is not measured in terms of success but in terms of struggle and in the growth of character under adversity. Zweig also famously remarked on his concept of the failing hero in *Die Welt von Gestern*. With regard to his drama *Tersites,* he states:

> Immerhin kündigte dieses Drama schon einen gewissen persönlichen Zug meiner inneren Einstellung an, die unweigerlich nie die Partei der sogenannten „Helden" nimmt, sondern Tragik immer nur im Besiegten sieht. In meinen Novellen ist es immer der dem

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> Schicksal Unterliegende, der mich anzieht, in den Biographien die Gestalt eines, der nicht im realen Raume des Erfolgs, sondern einzig im moralischen Sinne recht behält, Erasmus und nicht Luther, Maria Stuart und nicht Elisabeth, Castellio und nicht Calvin. (198)

As Hans-Albrecht Koch reminds us, Zweig even considered entitling his biography of Erasmus "Bildnis eines Besiegten," "als wollte er direkt aussprechen, dass diejenigen, die moralisch überlegen sind, auf der Bühne des Welttheaters zum Scheitern bestimmt sind" (52). While in his early article on Zweig's "Victors in Defeat" of 1959 Daviau calls this concept of Zweig "almost a glorification of defeat" (1), his critique is more explicit in the already mentioned article "Stefan Zweig: A Model and Victim of the Impressionistic Lifestyle of the Fin de Siècle" of 1995. Here he claims that Zweig's "weakness" led him to devise this "noble intellectual concept of the 'Victor in Defeat'" as an attempt "to keep all struggles on a rational and spiritual level" (172). He adds that Zweig stood virtually alone in later years with his idealistic and "highly intellectualized approach to life and with his glorification of the victor in defeat" (175). The characterization of Zweig's protagonists and his concept of heroism have therefore also played a role in the Western view of the author as a predominantly apolitical nostalgic writer.

In Chinese discourses, however, Zweig's "victors in defeat" received high praise and certainly contributed to his popularity among Chinese readers. The interest in failing heroes is in fact more widely displayed in the reception of foreign literature at the time. For example, Xiaomei Chen recalls the production of Bertolt Brecht's *Leben des Galilei* in 1979 by the China Youth Art Theater in Beijing (53–54). All eighty performances were played to a full house. Chen suggests that the tremendous interest expressed in this play lies in the main character of Galilei whose true greatness is exactly his weakness. Galilei's dialectic character "radically departs from the one-dimensional stereotypes who have to be either perfectly heroic or completely evil" (55). The hero of this play, a contradictory personality, was seen as a vivid, believable true-to-life character. Just like Brecht's Galilei, Zweig's "victors in defeat" present therefore a marked contrast to the prevailing theory of literature and art that "demanded that the so-called 'main heroic characters of workers, peasants, and soldiers' (*gongnongbing zhuyao yingxiong renwu*) be exclusively portrayed as 'grand and tall in stature and perfect and complete in characterization' (*gao, da, quan*)" (Xiaomei Chen 55). Regarding female heroines, Communist propaganda promoted im-

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ages of women as so-called strong and robust "iron girls" (*tie guniang*), such as the underground revolutionary martyr and the heroic laborer who works long hours on the railroad, in the factory, or in the fields (Hershatter 1036). The return to a particular notion of "femininity," as outlined above, is therefore closely connected to the celebration of the "heroes in defeat" in Chinese discourses on Zweig. The critics have increasingly identified with the weak, powerless, passive, feminine, or feminized characters, the failing heroes, the suffering women and, for example in their discussion of *Die Gouvernante*, also with the two children who witness the governess's tragedy (Zhang Xiaofei 17). We are confronted here with a complex mode of Occidentalism that, in fact, represents a strategy that decidedly turns against the dominant Communist conventions of heroism and gender.

While preserving the reading of Stefan Zweig as a highly socio-critical writer, the different discursive patterns in post-Mao China as examined above offer alternative readings of Zweig and Habsburg Austria. However, the increasingly favorable treatment of Habsburg Austria is certainly more than an example of Chinese naïveté or Western imperialism entering China. On the contrary, it should be considered as a deliberate and subversive intellectual intervention opposed to the dominant discourse on Zweig.

By painting the West—in this case Stefan Zweig's Habsburg Austria and its inhabitants—in favorable colors, a sense of disillusionment with the conditions "at home" is expressed, one that had actually been more widespread after Mao's death and particularly from the latter half of the 1980s onward. As mentioned above, the 1980s had been characterized by a "utopian ecstasy" over the long-awaited changes (Wang Jing 37–38). However, more and more a "dystopian mood" took over, which was further exacerbated in 1987 when the Thirteenth Party Congress was held in October. Premier Zhao Ziyang declared that China was still lingering at the "primary stage of socialism." Contrary to the public's great expectations, his official statement sharpened the sense of crisis that the failing urban reform had already engendered. The decade ended, as is well known, with the massacre at Tiananmen Square in June 1989, after which the situation inevitably tightened.

Moreover, tendencies to construct a favorable Occidental Other can be seen more widely in other spheres of Post-Mao cultural life. They are actually part of a larger movement of idealizing the West at the time. One of the most prominent examples is certainly the TV series *He shang* (River elegy) of 1988. The television documentary series, which consisted of six parts, presented a

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version of world history centered around the decline of traditional Chinese culture. Using the analogy of the Yellow River, China was portrayed as a great civilization that subsequently "dried up" due to isolation and conservatism and that could only be revived by the "flowing blue seas" of the West and Japan. Apart from the Yellow River, the documentary also deconstructs other quintessential national symbols of China, such as the dragon, the Great Wall, and Confucianism, while Western thinkers were highly praised. For its positive depiction of all things Western and its vilification of Chinese culture the documentary thus evoked great controversy in China. Xiaomei Chen suggests that it "roused perhaps the greatest national sensation in the history of PRC television industry" (24). Other examples of critical views on the Chinese homeland can be found in the reception of foreign works, such as the audience's celebration of Brecht's *Galilei* as a protest against the regime's limitations on literature, as mentioned above. The reception of Stefan Zweig's novellas was therefore part of a larger phenomenon that sheds further light on the functions of Occidentalism.

In establishing Habsburg Austria as a positive non-Chinese paradigm, Stefan Zweig's novellas could be regarded as a means of expressing critique against the past era of communist rule under Mao but, in addition, also against the present conditions in post-Mao China. By engaging with Zweig's nostalgic portrait of Habsburg Austria in this way, Chinese critics point to personal and cultural qualities that are perceived as missing and therefore desirable within the Chinese context, such as the focus on the individual's psychology and their emotions, subjectivity, and romantic love. Even the reintroduction of extremely problematic traditional conceptions of femininity has to be seen as part of this discursive strategy, which aimed to set up a sharp contrast to the dominant conventions. The reception of foreign works was thus able to open up a space where the politically forbidden and the ideologically inconceivable could be expressed within the limitations of the prevailing conditions. Habsburg Austria became China's oppositional or supplementary Other. The deliberate construction of a positive image of Habsburg Austria, a world far away from China in terms of place and in terms of time, provided intellectuals with a safe place to position themselves in their anti-official stance. Their discursive practices were directed against the ruling discourse, the ruling ideology of a still very restrictive regime. The construction of a positive Habsburg Austria thus became part of a larger anti-official intellec-

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tual counter-discourse. The Occidental Other became a "metaphor for a political liberation against ideological oppression within a totalitarian regime" (Xiaomei Chen 5). As opposed to concepts of Orientalism, Occidentalism has been used here not only as a peripheral discourse that significantly fragmented and pluralized the Chinese discourse on Zweig but also as a potent voice against the internal dominant power in a particular culture. As these "counter-tendencies" indicate, Occidentalism as a discursive practice is in fact by no means confined to its official use by the established government or party apparatus. It is able to assume different, even contradictory and paradoxical functions. Occidentalist readings of Zweig's novellas were exploited by a discourse of oppression just as they were exploited by a discourse of liberation. Even by affirming some of Zweig's allegedly distorted and misleading "nostalgic" notions of Habsburg Austria, his novellas have become a powerful means to critique an oppressive presence of official ideology in China and, perhaps more significantly, to open up fascinating new perspectives on the work of Stefan Zweig.

New Perspectives on Stefan Zweig's Novellas

Studying the Chinese reception of Stefan Zweig's novellas has unveiled not only different faces of Stefan Zweig but also different faces of Habsburg Austria. For example, that the socio-critical reading of Zweig's novellas propagated itself from the 1950s to the post-Mao era invites a different perspective on Stefan Zweig's works, which in the Western context have been criticized for being apolitical and thus nostalgic. In his study, Guo-Qiang Ren even argues that apart from the defamation of Zweig's artistic achievements, his political attitude had in fact played a major role in the decidedly poor reception of his works in the German-speaking countries after 1945.[17]

I argue that Chinese perspectives on Zweig's "nostalgic" works undoubtedly shed new light on them. Instead of regarding the Chinese ways of reading his novellas as an exclusively ideologically motivated approach, which would represent a political limitation to reading these works, I suggest that they rather offer a new, legitimate, and certainly inspiring way of reading this "apolitical" Austrian writer. They reveal a socio-critical dimension in Zweig's novellas that has thus far not been much addressed in their Western academic reception. The reading of Zweig produced by the specific cultural and historical setting in China therefore significantly complicates traditional Western

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scholarship on the author and the assumption that his writings are apolitical and naïvely nostalgic.

The Chinese ways of reading Zweig also hint at another aspect that has been widely unobserved until now. As pointed out above, the comments that draw a decidedly positive picture of Habsburg Austria are usually contrasted with a negative image of the Austrian Republic of the interwar period. In fact, we are confronted with a positive Occidental Other, Habsburg Austria, and a negative Occidental Other, Republican Austria, at the same time. One could argue that in Zweig's works, the idealized representation of the turn of the century therefore intensifies the contrast to the "present" conditions experienced in the first decades of the century. This leads to an important aspect of nostalgia as a heuristic device that has been overlooked in the debate on Zweig.

Boym suggests a "cinematic image" in her conceptualization of nostalgia, one of a "double exposure, or a superimposition of two images—of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life" (xiii–xiv). This means that in fact idealizing a past era is very much a comment on the present conditions. Nostalgia itself has a "utopian dimension" (xiv). It is "not always about the past," Boym argues (xvi). It can be retrospective as well as prospective. Furthermore, nostalgia is not only directed toward the past and the future but it is also directed "sideways," toward the present (xiv). "Fantasies of the past," according to Boym, are determined by "needs of the present," and they have "a direct impact on realities of the future." They can have an impact on improving social and political conditions in the present "as ideals, not as fairy tales come true" (355). Boym would call this kind of critical use of nostalgia "reflective nostalgia." In contrast to "restorative" nostalgia, which "protects the absolute truth," reflective nostalgia "calls it into doubt" (xviii).

By painting a "nostalgic" picture of Habsburg Austria, Stefan Zweig, as the Chinese perspectives reveal, in fact critically reflects on the past, the present, and the future. The Chinese interpretations and construction of an Occidental Other showcase a socio-critical writer who is in fact also unveiling the dark sides of the Habsburg bourgeois society. They thus offer a critical perspective on a particular way of reading Zweig's Habsburg nostalgia in the West. At the same time, these discursive practices, in particular the emerging counter-discourses that apparently confirm Zweig's "one-sided" account of the Habsburg Empire, comment on the actual conditions in China at the time. The significance of Zweig's Habsburg nostalgia is therefore in many

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ways not the "longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed" but rather the longing for a better present and future that could exist, in Austria and in China.

Notes

1. For a discussion of this, see for example Eicher (8) and Beck (14–15).

2. See, for example, the works of Franz Grillparzer.

3. In this article "China" refers to the People's Republic of China on the Chinese mainland. All translations from Chinese-language and German-language sources are mine if not otherwise stated. In Chinese family names always come first, and this article will refer to them in this way. When authors with Chinese names published in a foreign language and chose to put their given name first, then this format will be adhered to.

4. To identify and acquire this material I undertook extensive research at the archives of the National Library of China (*Zhongguo guojia tushuguan*) and the Peking University Library (*Beijing daxue tushuguan*) in Beijing as well as the Shanghai Library (*Shanghai tushuguan*) in Shanghai.

5. Zweig, "Yi ge nüren"; Zweig, "Kan bu jian de shoucang"; Zweig, "Jiating nü jiaoshi." *Die Gouvernante* was first published in Germany in 1911, together with Zweig's novellas *Geschichte in der Dämmerung, Brennendes Geheimnis* and *Sommernovellette* in Zweig, *Erstes Erlebnis*.

6. This paragraph sums up the arguments as presented in the two commentaries published with the mentioned translations of 1957 (Ji) and 1963 (Bianzhe, "Houji").

7. The Habsburg Empire did in fact span into Eastern Europe, and it is problematic to equate it to the "West." However, this fact is not addressed in the Chinese discourses on Stefan Zweig at all, which is why I argue that the Habsburg Empire was indeed constructed as China's "Western" counterpart.

8. See for example the afterword by Xue to a translation of *Die Gouvernante* of 1979.

9. Listed here are a few examples where this is pointed out prominently ranging from the late 1970s to the 2000s: Wang Shouren 372–73; Bianzhe, "Chuban shuoming" 1–4; Zhang Yushu 1–9; Chen Jianan 21; Sun 29–31; Zhu 114–16; Li 14–15; Li and Ma 34–36.

10. See, for example, the elaborations on the novella by Wang Shouren (372–73) and Han (77).

11. See Chen Jianan 17; Wang Yuxia 42; Li Bingbing 15; Li and Ma 34.

12. See, for example, Wang Yuxia 42–47; Hu 28; Li Bingbing 14–15.

13. See for example Li and Ma 35; Sun 29; Zhu 114; Li Bingbing 14–15; Bianzhe, "Chuban shuoming" 2–3; Chen Jianan 20.

14. See for example Han 78; Chen Jianan 21; Sun 30; Li and Ma 34.

15. See for example Liu 194–220, 410–15; Hershatter 1029; Thakur 60.

16. See in particular chapter 5 on the "orthodox responses to gender discourse" and the detailed analysis of Wang Anyi's *Liushi* (Lapse of time) of 1981 and Shen Rong's *Rendao zhongnian* (At middle age) of 1980 by Thakur (121–50).

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17. See in particular part 3, "Beweise oder Indizien—Zu Zweigs politischer Haltung in der Hitler-Zeit" (25–60) and part 4, "Zweigs 'Parteilosigkeit'—Tatsache oder Schein" (61–100).

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