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WOMEN WRITING HEIMAT IN IMPERIAL AND WEIMAR GERMANY

This volume investigates conceptualisations of and attitudes to Heimat in writing by women in the German-speaking countries in the first era of German unification before, during and after the First World War. The concept of Heimat, understood here as historically contingent, resulting from and intertwined with various processes of modernisation, is often expressed through ahistorical discourses which emphasise authenticity, tradition and origin. Having gained fresh impetus and importance from the nation-building efforts of the late nineteenth century, the concept was transformed during the war and its immediate aftermath, when it was often conflated with the idea of patriotism and enveloped in chauvinist rhetoric. During the period of 1871-1933, however, more progressive ideas had also emerged that allowed room for the construction of multiple and transferable locations of Heimat. Women were acutely aware of their roles as muses and addressees of this rhetoric and responded to it in their own cultural productions. Sometimes the response was to reinforce the notion that Heimat was central to women's concerns and an area in which they had a specific contribution to make. In other cases, however, women objected to the way in which the traditions promoted by the notion of Heimat served to reinforce patriarchy and their response was to develop new paradigms of thinking. In the quarter century since Elisabeth Bütfering pointed out that gender was largely missing from discussions of Heimat,¹ there has been increased engagement with feminine conceptions of the topic.² However, none has offered sustained focus on the crucial period around the First World War, as contributors to this special edition do, in articles which focus exclusively on women's varied writing about Heimat, and which incorporate recent insights from history, memory studies and literary studies.

There are three central concerns that were used to interrogate, or have arisen from, the cultural productions considered in this volume. First, we examine the Heimat discourse itself, and how women framed it in terms of time and space, as a feature of (unconscious) longing and belonging which may be familial, regional or national. Second, given the recognition that Heimat could reinforce patriarchy, we address the need to explore women's resistance to, self-liberation from, and/or indeed clear rejection of the Heimat concept. Third, we consider the context: in an era when the Heimat discourse was ubiquitous, women's representation of Heimat inevitably raised issues of authenticity and branding, as well as those of political manipulation and re-imagining.

HEIMAT CONCEPTS AS ANCHORED IN SPACE AND TIME

In the history of academic discussion of the subject, two distinct, underlying ways of conceptualising Heimat can be discerned.³ On the one hand, scholars have often regarded Heimat as a conservative, static concept, tied to a particular space and entangled with a nostalgic longing for the past. Central to this understanding of Heimat is a focus on its anti-modern impetus, its emergence as a 'counterphobic' response to the rapid modernisation of Germany and the cultural anxieties that accompanied it.⁴ Offering visions of a secure, stable world in which everyone has a clearly defined place, Heimat discourses can be read in this light as an attempt to 'get a grip on the modern world and make [oneself] at home in it'.⁵ Indeed, while Heimat is not necessarily antithetical to progress, its particular popularity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be understood as an attempt to come to terms with the onset of modernity. Thus, as Johannes von Moltke argues, these discourses are 'antimodern and reactionary in the literal sense', since they 'react to the ongoing redefinition of space in modern [...] geographies'.⁶ Such discourses 'advocate longer rhythms of nature and a traditional, static sense of place' in order to counter 'the compression of our spatial and

temporal worlds' arising from accelerated communication, urbanisation and the development of new means of transport especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.⁷ Where modernity alters 'the very tissue of spatial experience', 'conjoining proximity and distance in ways that have few parallels in prior ages',⁸ Heimat discourses often counter this change by emphasising the rooted and intensely place-based identity of the individual.

Proponents of the traditional Heimat construct often regard it as a paradisiacal space immune to the passage of time; an author such as Johanna Spyri, discussed by Annie Pfeifer in this issue, emphasises this idea of the Heimat as an idyllic, originary space, depicting it as an 'idealized premodern state', eternally unchanging.⁹ Recalling Svetlana Boym's idea of 'restorative nostalgia',¹⁰ these Heimat discourses tend to be characterised by a longing to reconstruct an idealised version of the past that never actually existed. This longing is at times politically charged, suggesting an agenda of historical revision or an attempt to escape from the social and political exigencies of the contemporary world. Other authors discussed here, such as Claire Goll and Elisabeth Landau, challenge the idea of returning to a lost age of innocence, exposing it as a deceptive construct which distracts one from useful engagement with the here-and-now, or exploring how and why certain individuals feel the need to cling on to such ideas in spite of their illusory nature. Viewed in this light, Heimat becomes, as Celia Applegate suggests, a 'map to wider changes in [...] society', situated 'at the center of a German moral—and by extension political—discourse about place, belonging, and identity'.¹¹

A second way of conceptualising Heimat has emerged in the wake of the 'spatial' or 'topographical turn' in cultural studies.¹² Influenced by theoreticians such as Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre, Doreen Massey and Yi-Fu Tuan, scholars have increasingly come to regard Heimat as a dynamic and relational concept that centres on 'the process of making liveable a social space'.¹³ The understanding of Heimat as a bounded and exclusionary space

is replaced, in this approach, by a focus on the concept's openness, fluidity and infinite malleability. Heimat functions thus as a 'frame of mind inducing an active relationship between human beings and the environment',¹⁴ a space that is constructed by the movements and social practices of those who engage with it and which is therefore subject to historical change. Recent work by Friederike Eigler has been pivotal in establishing this alternative conceptualisation of Heimat in the scholarly field.¹⁵ Drawing on methodological approaches from the fields of geocriticism and geopolitics, Eigler explores 'how dynamic concepts of space shape prose fiction and, in particular, narrative renderings of Heimat'.¹⁶ Influenced by Michel de Certeau's notion of 'spatial stories'—that is, 'the role of stories in creating "lived place"'—she contends that literary texts 'have the potential of discursively challenging traditional notions of Heimat',¹⁷ since they have the capacity to engage with, subvert or transform dominant spatial orders.

For Eigler, an approach to Heimat informed by spatial theory 'invites the analysis of narrative creations of space that consider how local, national, and transnational realms intersect within a particular cultural tradition and national history'.¹⁸ The comparative focus of her study opens up the Heimat concept to the introduction of transnational perspectives; in highlighting the potential of Heimat to encompass the 'legacies of multiple relocations',¹⁹ she moves away from attempting to understand the concept exclusively through a national lens, revealing instead the ways in which the Heimat idea is able to sustain numerous co-existing narratives of identity and belonging. While Eigler's study thereby reinterprets the connection between Heimat and individual or collective histories, her study also opens up a more future-orientated perspective on Heimat: instead of regarding it as the expression of a nostalgic, regressive longing for a lost past, she shows how Heimat narratives can work to connect the past with the future, thereby creating 'figurative places of belonging for the next generation'.²⁰ Heimat can thus provide an essential way of connecting memories of

dislocation and migration with hopes and dreams for a time yet to come; it offers a means of sustaining and reinterpreting past experiences while also situating them in relation to an imagined or envisaged future.

With their shared focus on female authorship in relation to Heimat, contributors to this special issue explore Doreen Massey's claim that 'the construction of gender relations is [...] strongly implicated in the debate over the conceptualization of place'.²¹ Whereas the spaces of Heimat are traditionally coded as feminine—a maternal homeland or the place of the beloved—the very act of establishing these gendered characteristics can be regarded as a masculine trait. Thus, as Massey points out, 'the need for the security of boundaries, the requirement for such a defensive and counter-positional definition of identity, is culturally masculine'.²² The 'exclusionary potential of Heimat'²³—its conceptualisation as a static, bounded space—can thus be regarded as the product of a masculine cultural tradition which prioritises fixed notions of identity and security of place. By contrast, an alternative understanding of Heimat as 'open and porous' establishes the potential for feminist readings of this space which favour relational thinking over the desire to fix oneself and others into stable and stabilising identity positions.²⁴ This dynamic, future-oriented conceptualisation of Heimat is central to the contributions by Godela Weiss-Sussex, Elizabeth Boa, Anita Bunyan and Rachel Palfreyman, as they examine what Massey describes as 'relations which stretch beyond—the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as part of the inside' in their engagement with Heimat.²⁵ It is through this 'stretching' of relations—the flexibility and apparent inclusivity of the Heimat concept—that authors such as Erika Mann and Gabriele Tergit, discussed in this issue, resist and transcend the binary thinking that underpins the more traditional, static conceptualisation of Heimat.²⁶

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE TO AND SELF-LIBERATION FROM HEIMAT

The ideas discussed above sound very modern, but they already found expression in texts written in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany. They were developed theoretically and discussed in a slim volume published in 1918 by the geographer Paul Kriechbaumer, for instance,²⁷ and can be identified in a surprising number of literary texts, predominantly by women writers. But why should it be female writers in particular who rebelled against the static idea of Heimat as rooted in the soil of one's birthplace and in the mythical past of a childhood idyll? Referring to the etymology of the word 'Heimat', Elisabeth Bütfering suggests that the concept was from the start bound up with a patriarchal system that rested on the ownership of a home, which, passed on from father to son, excluded women from its active appropriation.²⁸ The investment of the concept with affective connotations, in the nineteenth century²⁹—and the idealisation and idolisation that often went with it—was thus easier to resist for women, who inhabited a marginal space in the patriarchal order. Where the place of one's childhood denoted a stifling atmosphere of intellectual oppression or exclusion or even just a lack of opportunity for individual development, the critical self-distancing from or even rejection of Heimat and the creation of one's own space of 'at-home-ness' could be perceived as necessary for the development of an autonomous sense of identity. We see testimonies of this drive to self-liberation in many autobiographical texts by women authors in Wilhelmine Germany.

In her outspoken and determinedly political narrative *Wir Frauen haben kein Vaterland* of 1899, for example, Ilse Frapan protests against the rhetorical alignment of Heimat, Nation and 'Vaterland' that had underpinned the movement towards German unification in the late nineteenth century. She forcefully criticises the unspoken gender discrimination in the supposedly inclusive Heimat concept and dissociates herself from her 'Vaterland' which limits women's sphere of activities and denies them the basic citizens' rights to study and engage as equal interlocutors in public life. Grete Meisel-Hess's novel *Die*

Intellektuellen (1911) provides a less pugnacious but more typical example. The protagonist's personal development is cast here in terms of a journey of liberation from the suffocating environment of her backward provincial Heimat on the Silesian border towards the 'Weltstadt' Berlin, 'Hochburg geistigen Ringens',³⁰ which accords her personal freedom and allows her to blossom intellectually and to develop a positive sense of belonging. Significantly, though, she avoids the term Heimat, instead speaking of a 'Zuhause' in order to denote the place of arrival that enables this emancipatory sense of identity.³¹

The eschewal of the term Heimat and the constructive provision of a vocabulary that shakes off patriarchal overtones is not unusual in women's writing of the early twentieth century. Where male writers of this period often take a critical stance vis-à-vis the Heimat concept—modernist authors such as Kafka or Yvan Goll powerfully expressed a sense of 'Heimatlosigkeit' in inhumane social environments—they still tend to revert to the idea itself, albeit in negative form and deploring its absence. Women writers, in contrast, often present us with texts that reject the idea outright; they show an ability to transcend the binary thinking on which it rests and which only allows the choice between being 'beheimatet' or 'heimatlos'.

Women writers have shown themselves exceptionally open to rejecting what Herta Müller terms the 'besoffene Heimat'—an idyllic imaginary, beset by self-deception, repression and falsifying idealisation of the past—and resistant to the state-decreed 'verlogene Heimat', a concept misused by rhetorical calls for loyalty and obedience under authoritarian rule.³² Underlying many female authors' texts is a more rational approach to identitarian anchoring, one not relying on a fuzzy affect, a 'seelische Plombe',³³ filling all the voids perceived by the modern individual, but tackling the sentimentality the concept can entail and the exclusionary potential it carries with it.³⁴ This rational approach is linked with an emancipatory will, both in the sense of a self-liberation from patriarchal traditions and of a

release from thinking in terms of collective belonging³⁵ in order to embrace a more individualistic definition of being 'beheimatet', anchored in subjective perception.

Rosi Braidotti's concept of 'nomadism' provides a useful framework for thinking about this rejection of the binary. Defining nomadism as an emancipatory mode of thought, 'the kind of critical consciousness that resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior', Braidotti asserts: 'nomadism consists not so much in being homeless as in being capable of recreating your home everywhere'.³⁶ This focus on a fluid and dynamic Heimat concept can lead to the endorsement of a supranational, cosmopolitan commonality and thus point towards a utopian imaginary. As Catherine Smale and Ulrike Zitzlsperger argue in their contributions to this volume, the First World War—for which much enthusiasm had been whipped up by Heimat rhetoric and which revealed itself as a massacre of epic dimensions—had a major impact on this movement towards reaching out beyond the narrowly confined demarcations of in- and outsiders associated with the Heimat concept.

Female authors' texts, then, are worth exploring precisely because they provide a counterpart to a discourse that needs to be understood as constituting a male perspective.³⁷ Indeed, Boa and Palfreyman indicate the focus that analyses of women's writings on Heimat should take: 'An important differentiating factor between Heimat kitsch and Heimat literature and film of substance is the degree to which the patriarchal discourse is shaken and unsettled, or even overthrown.'³⁸ Significant work has already been done in this field; there is only room here to mention some of the most important research on women's narrative and dramatic representations and discussions of Heimat in Imperial and Weimar Germany. Ina Brueckel's and Gisela Ecker's chapters in the 1997 volume of essays *Kein Land in Sicht. Heimat – weiblich?*, edited by Gisela Ecker, point out the highly critical Heimat concepts in Marieluise Fleißer's *Mehltreisende Frieda Geier* and in Maria Beig's Heimat texts respectively.³⁹ In the *Women in German Studies Yearbook* in 1999, Friederike Emonds shows

how Ilse Langner, writing in 1929, but looking back to the social upheaval brought about by the First World War, makes ‘Heimat emerge[s] as a space where pre-war morality, bourgeois values and standards of behaviour become invalidated’.⁴⁰ Boa and Palfreyman’s analyses of texts by Clara Viebig reveal how the author countered fantasies of an idyllic Heimat in her short narrative ‘Simson und Delila’ of 1897, and they expose the complexities of *Das Kreuz im Venn* (1907), in which Viebig critically explores marginality, exploitation and stifling tradition while at the same time making use of sentimental tropes of Heimat literature.⁴¹ The same authors also draw attention to the cynical objectivity with which Marieluise Fleißer undermines the Heimat discourse in her dramatic text *Pioniere in Ingolstadt* of 1929. The articles in this volume build on and develop this research, drawing out the themes of resistance to and self-liberation from the Heimat discourse.

BRANDING AND AUTHENTICITY IN VISIONS OF HEIMAT

One can discover much about the intersection between regional identities and wider ideas of a national community by looking at the ‘Heimatverbände’ that formed in the period studied by our contributors, with the intention of preserving or enhancing their local landscapes and history. The regionally-based studies of historians Alon Confino and Celia Applegate have established that the promotion of Heimat was an important facet of an increasingly well-defined Imperial German identity.⁴² Confino, in particular, has demonstrated that the notion of Heimat was antithetical neither to the concept of nationhood nor to that of progress. On the contrary, Heimat imagery—including the depictions of the German landscape—was frequently used to rally support during the First World War, for example, and was not restricted to picturesque evocations of traditional houses, churches and castles, but often included factories, railways, or other signs of industry and modernisation as well.⁴³ Indeed,

the many regional Heimat associations set up in this era had a tripartite focus on local history, folklore and environment, not with the intention of preserving them as static and unchanging features, but rather as part of a dynamic between past and future. So, for example, researching, conserving and enhancing ancient monuments could lead to economic rewards by developing tourism. Similarly the promotion of regionally distinctive customs, festivals or costume could increase interest in an area as a destination. Confino provides an example of this with the rediscovery and promotion of traditional dress in the village of Betzingen, which was linked by train to Reutlingen and Tübingen. The colourful and distinctive ‘Tracht’ of the village was painted and photographed and became an attraction in itself, even though most of those wearing it had donned it especially for the tourists and on weekdays were actually workers who commuted to the factories of the nearby towns.⁴⁴ Finally, the ‘Verschönerungsvereine’ ensured that the local landscape, flora and fauna could be fully appreciated, with parks, footpath networks, transport facilities and viewing towers, all of which could also be exploited for economic gain with the provision of souvenirs and refreshments.⁴⁵

The (re-)discovery of the natural world as a resource and refuge, rather than something to be feared and tamed, led to two distinct strands in the celebration of nature and in notions about the place of women within it. On the one hand, many typical visual representations of Heimat showed a landscape with clear traces of man-made activity: settlements of varying sizes, landmarks such as church towers or fortifications, or cultivated land. The ideal here was that of people living and working in harmony with the landscape and the maintenance of traditional social structures with mothers as the linchpin of the family. Writers explored in this volume, such as Landau, Tergit and Adrienne Thomas, rejected the revalorisation of such traditional roles in a period when younger women, at least, were

striving away from them, by pursuing white collar positions, increased rights and wider educational opportunities. On the other hand, and certainly as a result of the tourism and new transport links which the Heimat associations were keen to exploit, there was a growing fascination with the world of the mountains and how individuals who lived in or interacted with this wilder country were shaped in terms of lifestyle and character. In a recent study of German and Austrian Alpinism, Tait Keller suggests that the Alps functioned as a surrogate Heimat for German-speakers across Central Europe, which not only provided a collective challenge and refuge for the (imagination of) the over-civilised ‘Stadtmenschen’, but also became a focus for more contentious debates about individualism and populism.⁴⁶ The lone mountaineer, who had to respect the dangers presented by terrain and weather, was presented positively in contrast to the large groups of tourists who wanted to experience the mountains with minimal effort and preparation; this became a useful metaphor for the critique of other sorts of mass entertainment and popular culture. Ascending to the peaks was largely (although not exclusively) a male pastime, but the lasting popularity of *Die Geierwally* and *Heidi*, discussed here by Susanne Scharnowski and Annie Pfeifer respectively, indicates that these images ignited a widespread association of certain types of unaffected femininity with mountain landscapes. Our volume therefore uncovers and probes the tension between different tropes of women in the Heimat landscape.

Just as the preservation and, in some cases, creation of a place associated with Heimat by the ‘Heimatverbände’ raised questions of authenticity and branding, so too did its invocation in the cultural productions of ‘Heimatkunst’. The nineteenth century had seen a great wave of people documenting, and sometimes inventing, regionally or nationally specific traditions all across Europe.⁴⁷ Certainly, vast amounts of ethnographic research had been carried out across the German lands in that period. Sometimes the motivation for this was

practical: authorities working out taxation needed to know what was grown and manufactured to establish the income of the inhabitants, how many days they lost to festivals, and the level of tithes they paid to the church. In other cases the work was carried out by academics and other enthusiastic collectors, determined to catalogue the variety of German language and lifestyles and keen to save folk customs, skills, songs, or tales, which seemed to be endangered by enhanced mobility and transregional developments. In the course of the later nineteenth century, due to the efforts of figures such as Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl and Karl Weinhold in Germany and Michael Haberlandt in Austria, 'Volkskunde' became established as a focus for societies, museums and eventually as an academic subject.⁴⁸ It was also a field in which women published: Marie Eysn (1847-1921) worked on the history of pilgrimages and votive offerings in Bavaria and the Tyrol, while Eugenie Goldstern (1883-1942) wrote articles on the mountain communities living in various parts of the Alps.⁴⁹

The resulting volumes of 'Volkskunde' provided a rich resource for writers of the Heimat genre. With poetic licence, the details gleaned from practices of a wider area were sometimes condensed into the life of one colourful village or season, resulting in a more concentrated and lasting impression. The largely urban reading public was attracted to writing which helped them to recall landscapes and practices seen on holiday, or just to slip into a seemingly slower, more natural way of life, alongside robust country characters. An important aspect of the authentic atmosphere was provided by regionally-inflected language or the use of dialect. Beyond regional specificity, the language used by figures in literary text also indicated the nature of their self-understanding and social interactions. As Helen Chambers remarks of the language used by characters to curse, mock and express strong emotion in Viebig's *Weiberdorf* (1900), 'it is a sign of their subjecthood, and identity that is characterized by banter and direct and spontaneous provocativeness'.⁵⁰ Dialect could,

however, also be a double-edged sword, suggesting accurate knowledge of a region but also laying the writer open to scrutiny by local experts and linguistic scholars. Nonetheless, as with the portrayal of custom and costume, it was the authentic *flavour* which was important for many producers and consumers of Heimat art, rather than the detailed accuracy. Indeed, as Bland and Scharnowski point out in their contributions to this volume, writers such as Viebig and Wilhelmine von Hillern, who made their name with texts about the rural Heimat, were not products of it themselves. Over the course of the period considered here, this focus on the rural Heimat was to shift, in line with increasing urbanisation as well as the disruption, mobilisation, dispossession, and exile caused by war; articles in the volume by Boa, Bunyan and Smale also consider what Heimat meant to the urban population and to people in exile.

To draw out the complex lines of enquiry in our volume, the articles are arranged thematically rather than chronologically. In the first contribution Elizabeth Boa focuses the parameters of the analyses to come by pointing to the significance of time and space in Heimat discourses in women's writing. Specifically, Boa encourages us to think of how Heimat might be linked to modernisation, as much as it is to tradition, by examining Gabriele Tergit's critique of its commercial marketing in a capitalist city environment. The connection between Heimat and the (literary) market is developed further by Caroline Bland. Drawing on revealing parallels in contemporary painting (i.e. the use of 'Fern-' and 'Nahsicht'), she discusses the aesthetics of Heimat literature between authenticity and branding in women's writing of the early years of the century.

Susanne Scharnowski's contribution picks up a different strand of Boa's lead article, exploring how an earlier urban writer, Wilhelmine von Hillern, engaged critically with the imagined rural Heimat in *Die Geierwally* (1875), revealing it to be deeply ambivalent or even unattainable for the heroine, who sets it against a wilder, yet sublime, natural world. Another nineteenth-century text depicting the Alpine Heimat which has enjoyed an enormous popular

resonance, but which lends itself to a critical reading, is Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*. Annie Pfeifer's psychoanalytical interpretation sees Heimat constituted as an absence, connected to repressed mourning which is revealed in physical and psychological symptoms. Pfeifer thus demonstrates the proximity of the 'Heimweh' discourse in Spyri's work to that of female hysteria.

Whereas the remote mountain world is important for the spatial conception of Heimat in Spyri and von Hillern, the next two contributions frame their questions in more ideological terms as they consider the First World War as a pivotal experience for defining the relationship between Heimat and patriotism. Catherine Smale demonstrates how the Expressionist writer Claire Goll alluded to and adapted the rhetoric and imagery of distinct, gendered spheres of action in her literary and journalistic engagement with the war, drawing on images of Heimat in order to undertake a complex critique of patriotic discourse and to find a starting point for an alternative, radical form of politics. Ulrike Zitzlsperger draws on the comparative analysis of a German and an English perspective on the War from the vantage point of the 1930s in order to emphasise the development from a discourse of Heimat to that of internationalism.

Godela Weiss-Sussex and Anita Bunyan then present alternative models of thinking about—and indeed, of rejecting and moving beyond—the concept of Heimat in texts from the Weimar Republic. With reference to Rosi Braidotti's feminist theory of the 'nomadic subject', Weiss-Sussex discusses the work of the German-Jewish writer Elisabeth Landau in the context of the anti-Semitic aggression of the immediate post-War years. Bunyan's chapter explores Erika Mann's writing for her political cabaret 'Die Pfeffermühle', in which Heimat is reinterpreted as a progressive phenomenon that could be mobilised to resist the chauvinistic nationalism of the extreme Right.

A wider time frame, opening up new directions of inquiry, is presented in the concluding article by Rachel Palfreyman, which discusses Edgar Reitz's film *Die andere Heimat*, made in 2013 but with a focus on the 1840s. In Palfreyman's interpretation of the inversion and mirroring which occurs in the film, Reitz's retrospective view of women's relationships to a rural nineteenth-century Heimat is revealed to be rich and complex. This essay also chimes with the widespread displacement of people in today's world, as it considers those from the rural German Heimat undertaking a perilous journey to an uncertain future in a new country.

Far from the straightforward equation of women with tradition and a maternal, nurturing notion of Heimat then, this volume as a whole demonstrates that, in the hands of female writers, Heimat could be a place where the 'unheimlich' existed alongside the homely, a concept open to political and commercial manipulation, a stultifying straitjacket which invited rejection and, above all, a catalyst for change.

1 Elisabeth Bütfering, 'Frauenheimat Männerwelt: Die Heimatlosigkeit ist weiblich', in *Heimat*, vol. 1, ed. Will Cremer and Ansgar Klein, Bielefeld 1990, pp. 416-36.

2 *Kein Land in Sicht: Heimat – weiblich?*, ed. Gisela Ecker, Munich 1997; Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream. Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890-1990*, Oxford 2000; Peter Blickle, *Heimat. A Critical Theory of the German Homeland*, Rochester, NY 2002.

3 For further discussion of these two contrasting Heimat conceptualisations, see Gunther Gebhard, Oliver Geisler and Steffen Schröter, 'Heimatdenken: Konjunkturen und Konturen. Statt einer Einleitung', in *Heimat: Konjunkturen und Konturen eines umstrittenen Konzepts*, ed. by G. Gebhard, O. Geisler and S. Schröter, Bielefeld 2007, pp. 9-55.

4 Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 15.

5 Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into the Air: The Experience of Modernity*, New York 1988, p. 5. Cited in Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema*, Berkeley 2005, p. 12.

6 Moltke, *No Place Like Home*, p. 12.

7 Moltke, *No Place Like Home*, p. 13.

8 Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford 1990, p. 18. Cited in Moltke, *No Place Like Home*, p. 12.

9 Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 27.

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- 10 For Boym, ‘restorative nostalgia’ is ‘reconstructive and collective’. It ‘stresses the return to that mythical place somewhere on the island of Utopia’. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York 2001, pp. 48-51.
- 11 Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, p. 4.
- 12 On the ‘topographical turn’, see Sigrid Weigel, ‘Zum “topographical turn”’: Kartographie, Topographie, und Raumkonzepte in den Kulturwissenschaften’, *KulturPoetik* 2.2 (2002), 151–65.
- 13 Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, p. 195.
- 14 Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, p. 195.
- 15 See Friederike Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative: Toward a Transnational Approach to Flight and Expulsion*, Rochester 2014; Friederike Eigler and Jens Kugele (eds), *‘Heimat’: At the Intersection of Memory and Space*, Berlin 2012.
- 16 Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative*, p. 7.
- 17 Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative*, pp. 47-48.
- 18 Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative*, p. 178.
- 19 Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative*, p. 8.
- 20 Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative*, p. 179.
- 21 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, Gender*, Cambridge 1994, p. 7.
- 22 Massey, *Space, Place, Gender*, p. 7.
- 23 Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 158.
- 24 Massey, *Space, Place, Gender*, p. 5.
- 25 Massey, *Space, Place, Gender*, p. 5.
- 26 On this binary thinking, see Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, p. 2. See also Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 85.
- 27 Paul Krusche, *Heimat! Grundsätzliches zur Gemeinschaft von Scholle und Mensch*, Berlin 1918. It is worth bearing in mind that, however open and forward-looking the Heimat discussion may be here, it was easily misconstrued and integrated into colonial discourse and the appropriation of new lands – a point that Boa and Palfreyman make in respect also to Eduard Spranger’s *Der Bildungswert der Heimatkunde* of 1926 (see Boa/Palfreyman, *Heimat*, p. 6).
- 28 Cf. Bütfering, ‘Frauenheimat Männerwelt’.
- 29 See Blickle, *Heimat. A Critical Theory*, p. 119.
- 30 Grete Meisel-Hess, *Die Intellektuellen*, Berlin 1911, p. 497.
- 31 See Godela Weiss-Sussex, *Jüdin und Moderne. Literarisierungen der Lebenswelt deutsch-jüdischer Autorinnen in Berlin, 1900-1918*, Berlin 2016, pp. 173-80.
- 32 See Herta Müller, ‘Heimat oder Der Betrug der Dinge’, in Ecker, ‘Heimat’, pp. 213-19, here p. 216.
- 33 Paul Parin, ‘Heimat, eine Plombe’, *Die Zeit*, 52, 23 December 1994, p. 43, cited in Ecker, ‘Heimat’, p. 19.
- 34 Examples of recent writing in this vein are the works of Maria Beig and Anna Wimschneider, as well as works by migrant writers such as Emine Sevgi Özdamar or Herta Müller.
- 35 See for instance Blickle’s Freudian analysis of Heimat attachment as a form of sublimation of the id into a group ego (Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 73).
- 36 Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects. Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, New York 1994, p. 26 and p. 45.
- 37 Peter Blickle, the author of the most comprehensive analysis of the Heimat concept so far, makes no bones about this when he writes: ‘[...] Heimat conceptualizations at any given time

are closely linked to the class and gender interests of a narcissistically conceived masculinized self, a male subject, a male ego. Heimat usually represents an idealized loser in gender or class questions (women or peasants), but always from the point of view of the winner (the bourgeois male).’ (Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 71)

38 Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, p. 27.

39 Ina Brueckel, “‘Eines Tages treibt es sie wieder hinaus.’ Weibliche Heimatlosigkeit in Marieluise Fleißers Roman *Mehltreisende Frieda Geier*’, and Gisela Ecker, ‘Wo alle einmal waren und manche immer bleiben wollen: zum Beispiel Viebig, Beig und Walser’, in Ecker, ‘Heimat’, pp. 111-28 and 129-42 respectively.

40 Friederike Emonds, ‘Contested Memories: *Heimat* and *Vaterland* in Ilse Langner’s *Frau Emma kämpft im Hinterland*’, *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature & Culture*, 14 (1999), 163-82 (172).

41 All in Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*.

42 Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor. Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918*, Chapel Hill 1997, and Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, Berkeley 1990.

43 Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, p. 183.

44 Confino, *ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

45 Confino, *ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

46 Tait Keller, *Apostles of the Alps: Mountaineering and Nation-Building in Germany and Austria, 1860-1939*, Chapel Hill 2016.

47 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

48 On Riehl, see Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, pp. 34-39, on Weinhold see Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Einführung in die Europäische Ethnologie*, Munich 2012, pp.47-48 and on Haberlandt see Karl Pusman, *Die ‘Wissenschaft vom Menschen’ auf Wiener Boden, (1870-1959)*, Münster 2008, pp. 108-109.

49 Elsbeth Wallnöfer, *Maß nehmen, Maß halten: Frauen im Fach Volkskunde*, Vienna 2008.

50 Helen Chambers, *Humour and Irony in Nineteenth-Century Women’s Writing: Studies in Prose Fiction, 1840-1900*, Woodbridge 2007, p. 144.