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Article:

Bland, C. (2019) From near and far : aesthetic distance in the representation of Heimat by Lena Christ and Clara Viebig. *German Life and Letters*, 72 (1). pp. 28-39. ISSN 0016-8777

<https://doi.org/10.1111/glal.12215>

This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Bland, C. (2019), FROM NEAR AND FAR: AESTHETIC DISTANCE IN THE REPRESENTATION OF HEIMAT BY LENA CHRIST AND CLARA VIEBIG. *German Life and Letters*, 72: 28-39., which has been published in final form at <https://doi.org/10.1111/glal.12215>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with Wiley Terms and Conditions for Use of Self-Archived Versions.

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HEIMAT AND THE PERFORMANCE OF AUTHENTICITY IN TEXTS

BY LENA CHRIST AND CLARA VIEBIG.

CAROLINE BLAND

ABSTRACT

Lena Christ (1881-1920) and Clara Viebig (1860-1952) depicted the German Catholic peasantry in border regions remote from Berlin: Upper Bavaria in Christ's *Mathias Bichler* (1914) and *Die Rumplhanni* (1917) and the Eifel in Viebig's *Heimat* (1914). Both authors made much of their authentic presentation of peasant life and it is still this aspect which is emphasized in the reception of their work. The irresistible force of modernity in the growing cities, coupled with the upheaval of the Great War, appeared to have provoked fresh longing for rural traditions and simplicity. By linking the writing of Viebig and Christ to the contemporaneous interest of visual artists in the landscape, peasantry and tradition, this article will demonstrate how authenticity and the rural Heimat became a focus of aesthetic enquiry at this time.

Die Erzählungen von Lena Christ (1881-1920) und Clara Viebig (1860-1952) beschreiben das katholische Bauerntum in entlegenen Grenzgebieten: in Oberbayern in Christs *Mathias Bichler* (1914) und *Die Rumplhanni* (1917) und in der Eifel in Viebig's *Heimat* (1914). Beide Autorinnen legten besonderen Wert auf eine authentische Darstellung des bäuerlichen Lebens und noch heute wird dieser Aspekt in der Rezeption betont. Der unausweichliche Einfluss des städtischen Fortschritts zusammen mit dem sozialen Umbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs riefen anscheinend erneute Sehnsucht nach ländlicher Tradition und Einfachheit hervor. Dieser Beitrag stellt eine Verbindung zwischen diesen heimatkünstlerischen Erzählungen und der Hinwendung zeitgenössischer Künstler zu Freilichtmalerei, Volkskunst und dem Brauchtum her, und erörtert darauf aufbauend die Entwicklung und Fokussierung ästhetischer Fragestellungen im Hinblick auf Authentizität und die Konzeptualisierung der ländlichen Heimat.

The notion of Heimat, as milieu and as foil, as a place of tradition and as a setting for incisive change, is central to the work of Lena Christ (1881-1920) and Clara Viebig (1860-1952). By choosing this focus for their writing, both authors aligned themselves with an established tradition of 'Heimatliteratur' or regional writing.¹ While some of their texts exploited the dramatic and comedic potential of juxtaposing rural and urban norms,

they also used settings that remained wholly within the rural framework and idiom, especially when confining themselves to short naturalistic texts which verge on the expressionist in their depiction of rural ‘types’ and their narrative structure. Viebig and Christ had very different biographies in terms of class, education and literary experience, although they were both encouraged to write by husbands with wider publishing experience. It is all the more striking, then, that both authors emphasised the authenticity of their presentation of peasant life as a central quality of their work; it is largely this feature which has led to their enduring popularity with a regional readership,² as well as to doctoral theses examining the extent to which their images of rural life are authentic.³

The value placed upon authenticity, by both the authors and their critics, is explained in part by the cultural climate in which these authors were writing, which was shaped by the preoccupations of realism and naturalism. Writers who espoused naturalist ideals, in particular, aimed to represent ever wider spheres of human experience accurately and to lend validity to the lives of those who lived on the rural margins as much as those who inhabited the cities. Another crucial part of this climate was the fashion for ‘Heimatkunst’ as part of a wider debate in the Empire about Germanness; it answered calls for a national identity that was plural and broader than the view from Berlin and, indeed, other cities. Finally, concomitant with the ‘Lebensreformbewegung’ was the actual or perceived desire of the reading public for temporary escape to a slower pace of life, more in tune with the seasons and with inherited customs, as an antidote to the ceaseless progress and artifice of urban life.⁴

The notion of authenticity as identification with cultural heritage and as a way of articulating the relation between people and the natural world had already been

established for German speakers by the early 1800s, with Herder's work on *Volkslieder* (1778) and Schiller's deliberations *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795).⁵ According to Blickle, Herder's understanding of *Volkslieder* as expressions of unique belonging is very close to what would later be termed 'Heimatgefühl'—although Herder did not use the word *Heimat* himself.⁶ Over the course of the nineteenth century the preoccupation with the 'Volk' and *Heimat* grew and diversified into three strands: firstly, a developing academic field of 'Volkskunde' which collected, classified and published findings in journals; secondly, more practically orientated associations dedicated to the preservation and celebration of costume, song and dance; and, thirdly, the artistic representations of the 'Heimatkunstbewegung'. Regina Bendix has pointed out that around 1900 authenticity was one of the most hotly contested themes in the field of folklore: namely, who had the right to judge what the folk culture was and how it should be preserved.⁷ In the case of 'Heimatkunst' authenticity was necessarily something constructed, as the scenes, figures and situations were essentially products of the author's imagination arranged to hold the reader's attention, even if rooted in the real world. Looking at the work of Christ and Viebig, authenticity was offered by the plausible and detailed scenes from village life and the regionally inflected dialogue. Both authors wrote about regions familiar to them and used real villages (or at least settings which had actual local place names) as a backdrop. Studies by Neft, von Gugel and Adler have demonstrated that, rather than relying on memory and using poetic licence, the two authors also consulted 'Volkskunde' publications to ensure accuracy of representation.⁸ However, each author lends a different emphasis to the role of folk culture within the text: the tales by Christ are bursting with colourful depictions of the material culture of

the peasant communities—the costumes, dwellings and belongings—as well as with episodes reflecting feast days, bridal and burial customs, pilgrimages and superstitions. In Viebig’s work the most common tokens of authenticity are her rendering of the ‘Moselfränkisch’ dialect and her accurate and detailed depiction of topography, with custom and local legend only rarely being included. In part these varied foci of authenticity may be rooted in fact: arguably the relative prosperity of Upper Bavaria had led to a rich and well-developed peasant culture, while the lower standard of living and sparse population density of the Eifel, due to its poorer soil and harsh climate, allowed few resources for an elaborate peasant culture to develop.

A more notable difference is the sense of distance or proximity to peasant culture and experience that is communicated by the artistic gaze of each writer. An analogy from visual culture around 1900 aids us to pinpoint this difference. Alois Riegl’s article ‘Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst’ (1899), which has a particular focus on landscape painting, is helpful to us when looking at the psychological aspects of the evocation of atmosphere.⁹ According to Riegl, the function of contemplating idyllic nature is to induce a sense of harmony in the viewer and compensate for the difficulties of life. He begins his discussion of emotional responses to landscape painting by recalling the powerful sense of longing he had experienced when contemplating the Alpine view on a hiking tour.¹⁰ Riegl then determines this evocation of mood more precisely by applying modern art theory to the depiction of nature, discussing in particular the aspects of ‘Fernsicht’ and ‘Nahsicht’ in the artist’s creation:

Die Malerei [...] sei in der Lage, unserer, also der modernen Weltanschauung zu entsprechen, wofern sie ‘unter allen Umständen Lebenswahrheit’ gibt.

Entscheidend ist aber, dass auch die *'fernsichtige'* Kunst den Betrachter unmittelbar angehen, berühren muss, obwohl es sich offensichtlich um eine ferne Welt handelt, die nur als Fiktion existiert und in der Imagination der Betrachter vergegenwärtigt werden muss.¹¹

Riegl emphasised that 'Fernsicht' was characterised by the effort to paint in a naturalist style and to create 'einen homogenen Fiktionsraum' within the painting, citing Max Liebermann (1847-1935) as a good example of a modern painter who achieved this effect.¹² The subject of the picture may awaken longing in the beholder but, by creating a fictional locale within the picture, the artist also fulfils that longing. Distance—or a detachment from figures or motifs featured in the picture—has an important aesthetic function. It enables the beholder to respond emotionally, but only to the mood, not to a narrative aspect or strong statement coming from the picture's subject, which had been the case with the moral or anecdotal content of the genre painting popular in the nineteenth century. One or more figures may well be included in a landscape painting, but merely as part of the attempt to bring life to the landscape, not as a subject in his or her own right. Liebermann produced many pictures in which land labourers are an integral part of the rural scene, especially in the 1880s and early 1890s. There is, however, little suggestion that these are people to be pitied for their hard lives, or admired for their rural skills. Rather, it is a calm sense of repose and belonging which emanates from these figures. Although Liebermann's early landscapes and peasant images influenced many of his contemporaries, academicians who still favoured

historical and allegorical themes were affronted by his choice of subject matter and his detached presentation.¹³

The tendencies noted by Riegl are also helpful in understanding the emotional distance which suffuses Viebig's depiction of the Eifel peasantry. She was acquainted with Liebermann: it has been suggested that he drew the cover illustration for the first edition of her breakthrough novel *Das Weiberdorf* (1900).¹⁴ Certainly there is a striking similarity between Liebermann's etchings of Dutch peasant life and the descriptions of Eifel peasants in Viebig's work.¹⁵ Like Liebermann, Viebig was an urban subject, having lived in Trier and Düsseldorf and spending most of her writing life in Berlin. She had enjoyed a bourgeois upbringing with an education typical of women of her class and generation, but with access to her father's library and leisure to explore her artistic talents. By 1914 Viebig was a critically and commercially successful writer, who was proud to be known as 'Dichterin der Eifel', an area which she knew well from extended holidays and had written about since 1897.¹⁶ She still demonstrated a commitment to the naturalist aesthetic which had established her reputation, although—as Elizabeth Boa notes—Viebig's 'scientist milieu study' of rural poverty was frequently disrupted by her 'poetic vision of nature'.¹⁷ This vision includes the strong maternal figures rooted in the landscape noted by Ecker,¹⁸ yet these are by no means the sum of her Heimat vision: as Neft suggests, the isolated villages and dramatic landscape of the Eifel gave Viebig a distinctive backdrop against which to study human failings.¹⁹

The stories to be considered here, published together under the title *Heimat* in 1914, are more resolutely deterministic than those in some of Viebig's other texts and she keeps the viewpoint confined to characters rooted in the rural milieu. The collection

includes novellas about a young wife murdered by her frustrated husband as a result of her vow of chastity to a priest; the destruction of a wayside shrine by the elderly woman who had funded it with her meagre savings; a nun who loses her reason when one of her teenage charges becomes pregnant; a vulnerable adult with learning difficulties who is treated as a workhorse and viciously beaten when he shows jealous affection for the farmer's daughter. The theme of prohibited desire reaches almost comic proportions in 'Der Vater', in which the custom of primogeniture has resulted in a whole village of frustrated bachelors who feel obliged to indulge the illegitimate child of a female farmhand. Only the central figure, Toni, has learned to repress his physical desire for women, transferring it instead onto the Heimat earth: 'immer stiller wurde er und doch brausten wieder Stürme durch ihn, genau so heftig wie in jenen Tagen, da er, wenn er die Scholle umbrach und die lauliche Feuchte der jungfräulichen Flur ihm die Sinne erregte, sich selber aufgewühlt fühlte im Innersten'.²⁰ Yet here, too, the outcome is tragic as the wayward boy turns into a violent drunkard, beating his wife and child until Toni intervenes and kills him.

Common to all the stories is the fundamental entrapment of the figures in their situations; the focus upon the poverty, piety or blind adherence to tradition, rather than more rounded character sketches, also results in emotional distance between reader and character. The narrative viewpoint sometimes switches between the figures, allowing different views to be represented, yet remains firmly within the perspective of the principal actors: there is no omniscient level of reflection and very little diegetic intervention from non-rural figures, which Viebig had used in earlier texts to emphasise the deviance from bourgeois norms. Thus in one of the more gentle stories, 'Die Heimat',

which examines the demise of old Lippi, the village pauper, it is clear to the village elders and nuns that Lippi dies as a result of extreme poverty in the harsh upland climate. But from Lippi's point of view, which the reader is mostly invited to share, his decline is entirely due to the do-gooders who insist on taking him to the infirmary in Trier—and away from his beloved uplands. For Lippi the Heimat, with its familiar hills and extinct volcano, fresh air and sun, offers all that family and a physical home would: company, sustenance and repose. The Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary, which peaks with many pilgrimages and night vigils in the month of May, melds with Lippi's longing for his Heimat, which is once more feminised, but this time as a source of maternal comfort: 'sein Heil, seine Trösterin, seine Zuflucht, seine Mutter' (*H*, 153) and he escapes the infirmary for his final trek back to the hills, which he does not survive.

Nonetheless, Viebig is careful to cater to the preoccupations of an urban bourgeois readership: the healing and sustaining power of the sun and air are emphasised, there is an equation between rural Catholic faith and superstition, and a comic misunderstanding arises when Lippi is told he will be better off in the 'Landarmenhaus': "Lao gehören *ech* doch net hin!" Landarm waren nur die, die keine Heimat hatten. "*Ech* sein doch net landarm?!" (*H*, 147). This pun, and similar gestures, ensure that a distance is maintained between urban reader and rural protagonist. Although the denouement is less drastic here than in the other stories of the collection, where deaths are often violent, there is still no possibility of development or reconciliation. These compact sketches of rural life are *Stimmungsbilder* and case studies, the textual equivalents of Liebermann's landscape studies. The individual is there to illuminate an aspect of rural life and psychology, be that religious guilt, unfulfilled desire, or the extreme rootedness which

means that change is not just disruptive, but life-threatening, to the individual concerned. Viebig retains an element of emotional distance in the narration, which ensures that the reader is taken into the picture, so to speak, yet remains an observer at the edge of it.

This contrasts sharply with Lena Christ's writing, in which the function of authenticity is not to present readers with case studies of rural behaviour but to enable them to walk alongside, or even in the shoes of the rural population. Christ was an illegitimate child from a tenant farming family and was raised in the Upper Bavarian village of Glonn, before spending most of her adolescence and adulthood in Munich. Leaving the rural environment at the age of eight had involved changes in speech, clothing and habitus which constituted a psychological caesura in her life story. Christ had access to fairly limited formal education (primary schooling, plus some months in a convent in adolescence) and little leisure for or access to reading matter before she married, as she worked in her mother's public house as a waitress. Nonetheless, she did not simply apply her story-telling gifts to what she knew: she tackled various genres from autobiography to 'Bildungsroman' to peasant comedy, bringing to life an environment that was familiar to her audience as the hinterland of Munich visited by summer holidaymakers and familiar to broader circles from the writing of popular Bavarian authors such as Ludwig Ganghofer and Ludwig Thoma.

Christ was interested in the visual and decorative arts: she painted furniture and drew sketches in the tradition of Bavarian rural folk art and, in the short period of her writing life (1912-20), she lived mostly in a series of apartments in the Munich suburb of Gern, which was popular with artists and writers as a semi-rural halfway point between

Dachau to the north-west and Schwabing, the artists' quarter of the city.²¹ From around 1880 the 'Münchner Schule' at Dachau had focused on the practice of *plein air* painting, going out to depict the countryside and people of Upper Bavaria. This current evolved further with the emergence of the artists later known as the 'Blauer Reiter', who escaped from the city to the villages of Kochel and Murnau on the edge of the Bavarian Alps.²² Influences from folk art are visible in the bright colours and foreshortened perspective used by Gabriele Münter, Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky. Indeed Münter and Kandinsky had extensive collections of folk art and experimented with the Alpine tradition of reverse-glass painting when they first came to Murnau, attracted by the intensity of line and colour which this medium offered.²³ Reverse-glass paintings were often of saints or the Virgin Mary, and were frequently used as ex-voto images which portrayed the suffering and hope of the supplicants. Münter, in particular, was soon producing her own, secular, reverse-glass images which included complex landscapes reduced down to the essence of their form. She also incorporated new techniques into her oil paintings, such as adding dark contour lines and juxtaposing eye-catching and unexpected colours.²⁴ Münter herself commented on a marked departure in her work at this time 'vom Naturabmalen—mehr od. weniger impressionistisch—zum Fühlen eines Inhaltes—zum Abstrahieren—zum Geben eines Extraktes'.²⁵

This new expressionist technique of stripping back the subject to bare essentials and adding emphasis with bold colour choices and clearly-outlined shapes is reflected in Christ's writing: vital information about an individual's circumstances is given with a few external details of appearance or speech, and major concerns central to the plotline (property or status within familial hierarchies) are encompassed in brief snatches of

dialogue. Furthermore, Christ's writing offers a compelling depiction of the culture surrounding folk art, especially in the novel *Mathias Bichler* (1914). The eponymous hero is a rural orphan whose colourful wandering life encompasses rural 'rough justice', healing from a wise woman, assisting a penny artist, joining a travelling theatre troupe, protection by a confidence trickster and, finally, prosperity as a wood carver in Munich. The narrative enables Christ to reveal the display function of costumes and the painted furniture in farming households, as well as presenting the traditions surrounding marriage and pilgrimage. Indeed, in the guise of Mathias Bichler, she offers a defence of the devotional art made by rural craftsmen, which approximates to the praise of such art's immediacy and simplicity of expression by the 'Blauer Reiter' artists:²⁶

Immer seltener werden jene ergreifenden Darstellungen aus dem Leben und Leiden unseres Herrn, die gerade durch die harte und scheinbar kunstlose Führung der Linien, durch die Anspruchlosigkeit und Einfachheit der Gebärde ergreifen und zum Göttlichen weisen [...] denn unserer bürgerlichen Zeit ist alles Lebenswahre zu roh, zu kraß und nicht selten – zu unsittlich.²⁷

The fictional setting for Mathias Bichler's lament at the demise of authenticity in devotional art is the later 1830s, as folk art was rejected in favour of Biedermeier-era bourgeois refinement. Christ was writing her novel in 1914 in the wake of a rediscovery of rural decorative culture, not just by artists such as Münter and Kandinsky, but also by art critics and collectors such as Alois Riegl, who regarded 'Volkskunst' as important for a wider understanding of the origins and development of aesthetic culture and representational art.²⁸ In an age of rapid industrialisation and homogenisation there were

fears of losing not only the skills and regional variety associated with ‘Volkskunst’, but also the immediacy of expression—‘Nahsicht’—inherent in what the ‘Blauer Reiter’ artists judged to be ‘primitive’ creations, in the most positive sense.²⁹

Christ’s writing incorporated research and a level of stylistic reflection which belied the image of modern peasant poet cultivated to some extent by her second husband.³⁰ Nonetheless, a text such as *Die Rumpplhanni* (1917) is almost sensory in its immediacy:

Da scheppert der Rumpplhanni ihr Ruf herein ins Haus: ‘Holliho! Ablaarn!’ Und zur gleichen Zeit läuft der Hauserin ihre Jüngste, die Liesl, mit einem weißen Kopftuch auf und einem Endsrechen über der Achsel in den Hausflöz und schreit: ‘Muatta! Großmuatta! Da san ma! Dees letzte Fuada ham ma dahoam! Zum Ablaarn sollts kemma!’ Worauf die Kollerin in die Speis ruft: ‘Rosina, schaug aufn Kaffee! I muaß zum Woazablaarn!’ Dabei fährt sie aus den Lederpantoffeln, humpelt strumpfsöcklig über die Stiegen hinauf zum Söller, öffnet die niedere Tür zum Kriadaboden und läuft in den dunklen, mit neuem, starkduftendem Heu und Klee vollgefüllten Raum. Von da aus schreit sie hinab in die Tenne: ‘Simmerl! – Lenz! – Bin scho gricht’t!’³¹

Here, the reader is drawn into the scene by the urgent shouts and hectic activity of the family rushing to get the last of the wheat into the barn and follows the old farmer’s wife as she hobbles purposefully up to the sweet-smelling hayloft. With such passages, Christ’s work brings to life peasant culture with the full earthiness (‘Urwüchsigkeit’) of rural society and the native cunning (‘Bauernschläue’) of the farmers growing and

protecting their assets by fair means or foul. Notably in the context of ‘Heimatkunst’, and revealing a stark contrast with Viebig, who posited an intimate connection between farming people and the soil (and very specifically the land where they were born, even in the case of landless peasants), Christ’s depiction of rural life lacks the transcendent element which the bourgeois gaze tended to ascribe to peasant experience. Christ’s figures work because they have to and are principally motivated by the maintenance or establishment of wealth and social standing. Those who own (or lease) land guard its perimeters and product jealously; those who do not are mobile of necessity, following wages from farm to farm, and from village to town. For the farm labourer ‘Rumphanni’, whose adventures occur while she tries to trick or work her way into a prosperous marriage, Heimat is not a specific place at all, but rather a space where she can achieve independence, security and status: ‘a Haus und a Kuah und a Millisupperl in der Fruah’ (*R*, 666). For Hanni, this space turns out to be a public house in Munich, rather than a farm with a view of the Alps.

Christ offers her readers a vivid and gripping portrayal of rural life, yet it remains psychologically shallow with little reflection by a narrative persona or development of character. Thus in some ways her writing is like the ex-voto pictures described by her protagonist Mathias Bichler: one is impressed by the lively accuracy of the representation (plagues of mice, farmers struck by lightning, women safely delivered of babies and animals of their young, *MB*, 377), yet the depiction remains naïve and lacks depth. The writing awakens nostalgia and affection through its close-up sensory impressions, rather than curiosity about a distant and unfamiliar world as in Viebig’s depiction. As Christ contemplated her suicide (and therefore the legacy of her writing) she wrote to Ludwig

Thoma: 'Bitte, bewahren Sie der Frau, die gleich Ihnen Bauerntum studierte, liebte, und beschrieb, ein gutes Andenken'.³² This suggests Christ's desire to align herself with the writers rather than the people, and yet conveys an affection for her subjects which is largely missing from Viebig's statements about the Eifel, since Viebig describes the landscape with great love, but the people only with sympathy.

Conclusion

The popularity of the Heimat paradigm grew from the aesthetic, emotional and political needs of the (largely urban and bourgeois) readership for a return to nature and a simpler way of life, when faced with the massive growth of cities, economic change and political uncertainty. Both Viebig and Christ responded to this appetite with a cultural performance of authenticity which became vital to their reputation as writers. It is notable that, as Viebig's disillusionment with the war grew, she turned away from the Heimat mode, returning to a Berlin setting for her novels of contemporary urban life *Eine Handvoll Erde* (1915) and *Töchter der Hekuba* (1917). Christ, on the other hand, acknowledged the loss of life or long-term absence of men, but the certainties of the farming year and the resilience of the rural character still offer a strong degree of reassurance in her texts *Die Rumphanni* (1917), *Madam Bäurin* (1920) and *Bauern* (1920).

For both authors, the aesthetic function of performing authenticity in these Heimat texts was to produce a textual 'Stimmungsbild', much as we have seen in the visual analogies, but the affective quality, or emotional impact, of the performance was quite different. Christ presents the rural world from the perspective of an insider, with little

descriptive preparation, plunging the reader straight into the action of the plot, interspersed with detail of the agricultural rhythms, and making the motivation of her figures apparent without recourse to (implied) psychological explanation. The rural society of Upper Bavaria is positioned as a positive space in contrast to the actual or implied city: essentially she is depicting what Ferdinand Tönnies described as ‘Gemeinschaft’ in all its immediacy, as opposed to the artificial and distancing construct of the urban ‘Gesellschaft’.³³ Although Christ’s rural society is full of hierarchies and rivalries, the reader is invited to value its tradition, its association with hard graft, its pragmatism and solid materiality. For Viebig, the rural world, although drawn with insight and sympathy, is positioned as other to the narrative voice and readership: it is poor, pious to the point of superstition and somehow childlike. Viebig writes with empathy, and demonstrates that what may appear to be ignorance and obstinacy is shaped by poverty and a constant battle with an inhospitable climate and poor soil. Essentially, however, she is presenting case studies from the Eifel villages to those who look in from the outside. Thus the Heimat depictions of these two writers illustrate the concepts of ‘Nahsicht’ and ‘Fernsicht’ elucidated by Riegl just a few years earlier, with Christ offering a diverting and immersive experience on the one hand, and Viebig providing a contemplative view of a distant and divergent world on the other.

1 For a discussion of literary status and reception, see Monika Nienaber, ‘Der “Fall” Lena Christ oder Das Leben der Schriftstellerin als Heimatroman’, in *Kein Land in Sicht. Heimat - weiblich?*, ed. Gisela Ecker, Munich 1997, pp. 93-110, and Caroline Bland,

‘Clara Viebig: Using the Genres of *Heimatkunst* and *Großstadtroman* to create Bestselling Novels’, in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, ed. C. Woodford and B. Schofield, Rochester, NY 2012, pp. 77-94.

2 Re-editions and audiobooks of Viebig’s Eifel works are marketed by the Rhein-Mosel-Verlag as ‘regionalbezogene klassische Literatur’. Similarly, Christ’s work was re-issued in various formats by the Süddeutscher Verlag and dtv between 1970 and 1994; *Die Rumpfhanni* appeared in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*’s ‘München Bibliothek’ in 2008 and as a dramatised audiobook in 2014.

3 For example, Ghemela Adler, *Heimatsuche und Identität. Das Werk der bairischen Schriftstellerin Lena Christ*, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, and Regina-Maria Neft, *Clara Viebig’s Eifelwerke, 1897-1914: Imagination und Realität bei der Darstellung einer Landschaft und ihrer Bewohner*, Münster 1998.

4 On the *Lebensreformbewegung* which encompassed health, clothing, nutrition and housing, see the overviews in Matthew Jefferies, ‘*Lebensreform. A Middle-class Antidote to Wilhelminism?*’, in *Wilhelminism and its Legacies*, ed. G. Eley and J. Retallack, Oxford 2003, pp. 91-106 and Florentine Fritzen, *Gesünder Leben. Die Lebensreformbewegung im 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2006.

5 Johann Gottfried Herder, ‘*Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*’ (1807) in *Werke in zehn Bänden. Erster Band, Stimme der Völker: Volkslieder, nebst untermischten anderen Stücken*. Stuttgart 1885-1894; Friedrich Schiller ‘*Über naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung*’, first published in *Die Horen*, 1795/96, reprinted in Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol.1, Stuttgart 1879, pp. 267ff.

6 See Peter Blickle, *Heimat. A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, Rochester, NY 2002, pp. 51-56.

7 Regina Bendix, ‘*Diverging Paths in the Scientific Search for Authenticity*’, in *Journal of Folklore Research*, 29. 2 (1992), 103-132, and ‘*Latent Authenticity Quests in Folklore Definitions and Theories in Turn-of-the-Century Germany*’ in her book, *In Search of Authenticity: the Formation of Folklore Studies*, Madison 1997, pp. 97-118.

8 Günter Goepfert cites Adelheid von Gugel’s 1959 dissertation on the details in Christ’s historical novel *Mathias Bichler* (1914) which match with information found in *Bavaria. Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, (Vol. 1 Oberbayern und Niederbayern), Munich 1860. Goepfert asserts that Benedix borrowed these books from the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, to aid Christ’s research. Günter Goepfert, *Das Schicksal der Lena Christ*, Munich 2004, pp. 92-93. See also Adler, *Heimatsuche und Identität* and Neft, *Clara Viebig’s Eifelwerke*.

9 Alois Riegl, ‘*Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst*’ in *Die Graphischen Künste*, 22 (1899), 47-56, cited in Hubert Locher, ‘*Der stimmungsvolle Augenblick: Realitätseffekt und poetischer Appell in Malerei und Fotografie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*’ in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 37 (2010), 7-45 (9-15). For a full discussion of Alois Riegl (1858-1905) and his influence, see Margaret Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*, Cambridge, MA 1993.

10 Locher points out that longing is often actually longing for ‘Heimat’; Locher, ‘*Der stimmungsvolle Augenblick*’, p. 15.

11 Locher [citing Riegl], ‘*Der stimmungsvolle Augenblick*’, p. 13.

12 Locher, ‘*Der stimmungsvolle Augenblick*’, p. 14.

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- 13 See Marion F. Deshmukh, *Max Liebermann. Modern Art and Modern Germany*, Farnham 2015, especially p. 183f. Many thanks also to Verena Lührs for a useful discussion in person about the Liebermann pictures of the 1880s and 1890s.
- 14 See Sophie Lange, 'Geschichte und Geschichten der Eifel' (<http://www.sophie-lange.de/clara-viebig-die-eifeldichterin/clara-viebig-stand-nicht-auf-dem-index/index.php>, accessed 20.4.2016) and Carola Stern, *Kommen Sie, Cohn! Friedrich Cohn und Clara Viebig*, Köln 2006, caption to plate 11, no page number.
- 15 Max Liebermann, *Das Mittagessen* (1888), *Bäuerin in den Dünen* (1890) and *Ziegenhirtin* (1891), Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, www.famsf.org last accessed 15.6.2017.
- 16 Clara Viebig, 'Lebensabriss' in *Berliner Tageblatt*, 12.7.1930 reprinted in *Clara Viebig, Mein Leben. 1860-1952*, ed. C. Aretz, Hontheim 2002, p. 30.
- 17 Elizabeth Boa, 'Heimat at the Turn of the Century. The Heimat Art Movement and Clara Viebig's Eifel Fictions' in E. Boa and R. Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream. Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture, 1890-1990*, Oxford 2000, p. 42.
- 18 Gisela Ecker, 'Wo alle einmal waren und manche immer bleiben wollen: Zum Beispiel Viebig, Beig und Walser', in *Kein Land in Sicht*, ed. G. Ecker, pp. 129-42.
- 19 See Neft, *Clara Viebig's Eifelwerke, 1897-1914*, p. 86.
- 20 Clara Viebig, 'Der Vater', in *Heimat*, Briedel 1999, p. 37. Subsequent references appear in the text, abbreviated as *H*, followed by the page number.
- 21 Contacts with artists are mentioned in Goepfert, *Das Schicksal der Lena Christ*, p. 133.
- 22 On the 'Münchener Schule' and on pilgrimage and tourism generally in Bavaria see Helena Waddy Lepovitz, 'Pilgrims, Patients, and Painters: The Formation of a Tourist Culture in Bavaria', *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 18. 1 (1992), 121-145.
- 23 See Nina Gockerell, *Das Münter-Haus. Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug*, Munich 2000.
- 24 See Gockerell, *Das Münter-Haus*, pp. 27-30 and Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky. Biographie eines Paares*, Frankfurt a.M. 2013, pp. 319-24.
- 25 Gabriele Münter, diary entry 17 May 1911, cited in Gockerell, *Das Münter-Haus*, p. 38.
- 26 On the techniques of reverse-glass-painting and Kandinsky and Münter's reactions to it, see Gockerell, *Das Münter-Haus*, pp. 20-21.
- 27 Lena Christ, *Mathias Bichler* in *Gesammelte Werke*, Munich 1988, p. 485. Subsequent references to Christ's *Mathias Bichler* appear in brackets in the text, abbreviated as *MB*, followed by the page number.
- 28 Riegl had a strong interest in folk art and crafts, and maintained that they had a child-like appeal to jaded city-dwellers. A. Riegl, 'Das Volksmäßige und die Gegenwart' in *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 1 (1895), 4-7 (5). (<https://archive.org/stream/zeitschriftfrst01wiengoog#page/n17/mode/2up> accessed 2.5.16).

29 Gockerell links this celebration of the primitive with the enthusiasm for lifestyle reform shown by many of Münter and Kandinsky's contemporaries; Gockerell, *Das Münter-Haus*, pp. 56-7.

30 Peter Benedix, *Der Weg der Lena Christ*, Munich 1950, pp. 11, 17, 55, cited in Nienaber, 'Der "Fall" Lena Christ', p. 97.

31 Lena Christ, *Die Rumpfhanni*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, Munich, 1988, p. 515. Subsequent references appear in the text, abbreviated as *R*, followed by the page number.

32 Cited by Simone Egger for the Monacensia Literaturarchiv und Bibliothek, 'Lena Christ' *Literaturportal Bayern*, <https://www.literaturportal-bayern.de/autorenlexikon?task=lpbauthor.default&pnd=118520555> accessed 9.5.16.

33 Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als Empirischer Culturformen*, Leipzig 1887.