



***Landscapes of Glory and Grief: Representations of the
Italian Front and its Topography in the Art of Stephanie
Hollenstein and Albin Egger-Lienz, and the Poetry of
Gustav Heinse***

By Francesca Roe

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of MPhil in the Faculty of Arts, School of Modern Languages (German), August 2014.

Supervised by Professor Robert Vilain and Doctor Steffan Davies

Student Number: 1346104

25,000 Words

1. Historicist Idealism and Regional Identities: The Outbreak of War in Austria-Hungary

In August 1914, the Berlin dramatist and critic Julius Bab and the Prague Germanist Adolf von Hauffen conducted independent analyses of German-language newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, and both concluded that an astonishing 50,000 pro-war poems were published daily in that month alone.¹ Although it is difficult to state with certainty whether the researchers included Austro-Hungarian publications in their estimations (it would have been unusual for the conservative von Hauffen to have ignored the material published in his homeland), a brief survey of the poetry produced in the Dual Monarchy² confirms that its German-speaking population experienced a ‘Kriegsbegeisterung’ just as profound as that of their German counterparts, a vociferous enthusiasm for war that affected individuals from all classes, generations and professions, and led to a remarkable outpouring of propagandist art and literature across the Habsburg Empire.

¹ Klaus Zelewitz, ‘Deutschböhmische Dichter und der Erste Weltkrieg’, in *Österreich und der Große Krieg 1914-1918. Die andere Seite der Geschichte*, ed. by Klaus Amann and Hubert Lengauer (Vienna: C. Brandstätter, 1989), pp. 185–193 (p. 185). Zelewitz notes that whilst von Hauffen’s enthusiasm for war might cast doubt on his estimation, Bab opposed war and reached a similar number, lending credibility to the figure.

² Austro-Hungarian war poetry has not received a great deal of critical attention. The only survey which deals exclusively with the work of Austro-Hungarian poets is W.E Yates, ‘Austrian Poetry of the First World War’, in *Franz Werfel. An Austrian Writer Reassessed*, ed. by Lothar Huber (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1989), pp. 15–36. Chapters on individual poets including Alfons Petzold and Richard von Schaukal can be found in the especially useful and comprehensive volume *Österreich und der Große Krieg 1914-1918. Die andere Seite der Geschichte* (see note 1).

The tendency to welcome war as a rejuvenating force, casting off the stagnation of Wilhelmine Germany and providing an antidote to a fin-de-siècle Vienna that was at least perceived as unstable,³ caused many poets, artists and intellectuals to make uncharacteristically belligerent statements that frequently became a source of later regret. Rainer Maria Rilke's praise for the 'hörengesagter fernster unglaublicher Kriegsgott'⁴ in his *Fünf Gesänge* of August 1914 soon ceded to disillusionment as the realities of combat became clear. Similarly, Alfons Petzold ignored the warnings of pacifist friends and published the pro-war volume *Krieg* in 1914, incurring the wrath of fellow poet Josef Luitpold Stern (1886-1966), who condemned the decision in the harshest terms: 'Sie haben aber durch diesen Band das Bild Ihrer künstlerischen Persönlichkeit stark geschädigt'.⁵ Whilst Petzold eventually came to agree with Stern, *Krieg* provides considerable insight into the mentality of those who understood modern warfare as a chivalric, thrilling adventure, reducing the experience of battle to propagandist slogans such as 'Viel Feind, viel Ehr!'⁶ In both Austria-Hungary and Germany, the response of poets, artists and intellectuals to conflict followed a trajectory: when war could no longer be considered in the abstract, poets and artists increasingly turned to darker representations of human suffering and death, rejecting

³ James Schedel argues that the oft-cited Viennese 'fear of the modern' has been overstated, noting an increased influence in industry and financial stability around the turn of the century. See Schedel, 'Fin-de-siècle or Jahrhundertwende. The Questions of an Austrian *Sonderweg*', in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. by Steven Beller (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), pp. 80–104 (p. 98).

⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Fünf Gesänge', in *Werke: Kommentierte Ausgabe in vier Bänden*, ed. by Manfred Engel and Ulrich Fülleborn (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1996), II, 106–111 (p. 106).

⁵ Cited after Herbert Exenberger, 'Alfons Petzold im Ersten Weltkrieg', in *Österreich und der Große Krieg 1914-1918*, pp. 170–176 (p. 172).

⁶ Alfons Petzold, 'Kriegslied', in *Krieg* (Vienna: Anzengruber Verlag, 1914).

earlier, more idealistic depictions of conflict and abandoning any understanding of war as a force for social renewal.

The gradual shift from enthusiasm to disillusionment can be clearly identified in the work of artists and poets from both Germany and Austria-Hungary: W.E Yates analyses the growing sense of disillusionment among Austro-Hungarian poets, whilst Peter Jelavich traces a similar trajectory among Expressionist artists in Germany.⁷ However, although supporters of war from both nations conceived of the conflict itself in broadly similar terms in 1914, as an opportunity to break free from a perceived state of lethargy and prove the superiority of ‘Germanic’ values over those of allegedly superficial cultures, their responses to war were not identical.⁸ Conservative Austro-Hungarians often understood modern warfare as a continuation of centuries of imperial military history, and their work also reflects the profound regional colourings of the Dual Monarchy. In Germany, these regional distinctions were not so pronounced at a literary or artistic level nor, as a relatively new and rapidly industrialising nation, does German war art and poetry reflect such a strong idealisation of a previous ‘golden age’. Whilst some pre-war German Expressionists emphasised the power of

⁷ W.E Yates, ‘Austrian Poetry of the First World War’, and Peter Jelavich, ‘Dance of Life, Dance of Death’, in *German Expressionism. The Graphic Impulse*, ed. by Figura Starr (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011), pp. 36–51.

⁸ Most frequently these cultures were the Slavic peoples and the Italians. In his *Eherne Sonette 1914* (Munich: Müller, 1915), Richard von Schaukal presents war as an opportunity to exact revenge on the Serbian population, penning the lines ‘Nieder aufs Knie! So sprachst Du zu den Serben./ Auf beide Knie und in den Staub die Stirne!’ (‘Der 23. Juli 1914’, in *Eherne Sonette 1914*, p. 14). Similarly, the ‘Kriegshetzer’ Anton Müller takes aim at ‘Die welsche Tücke und Schande’ in the lyric introduction to his 1917 volume *Der heilige Kampf* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia), p. 5.

war to sweep away outdated social structures,⁹ Austro-Hungarian poets and artists frequently understood war as allowing for a very different form of social regeneration – not the destruction of traditional structures, but a return to an idealised golden era. Michael Burri emphasises the unique influence of Austria’s military history on understandings of the war, asserting that ‘the self-styled aristocrat of 1900 looked backward towards a glorious imperial past and forward toward 1914’.¹⁰

Despite the best efforts of the wartime propaganda office, the *Kriegspressequartier*, many Austro-Hungarian poets and artists became gradually disillusioned with war after 1914. Yates notes a shift in the poetry of the patriotic Anton Wildgans (1881–1932), stating that ‘the reality of killing comes more to the fore from as early as November 1914 [...] though not altering the poet’s conviction of the rightness of his cause’.¹¹ Nevertheless, a significant number of Austro-Hungarian artists and poets continued to represent the conflict in heroic mode even during the very last days of war: as late as June the 6th, 1918, Anton Müller (pseudonym Bruder Willram, 1870–1939) gave a rousing speech at the ‘allgemeine Tiroler Bauerntag’, urging the Tyrolean people to stay faithful to God and the Kaiser in order to secure certain victory.¹² For many in the Dual Monarchy, defeat was unthinkable, and it is not

⁹ For some Expressionists, war formed ‘the focal point of their critique of German society and modern technological capitalism’ (Neil H. Donahue, introduction to *A Companion to the Literature of German Expressionism*, ed. by Neil H. Donahue (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), pp. 1–36 (p. 23).

¹⁰ Michael Burri, ‘Theodor Herzl and Richard von Schaukal. Self-Styled Nobility and the Sources of Bourgeois Belligerence in Prewar Vienna’, in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, pp. 105–131 (p. 131).

¹¹ Yates, ‘Austrian Poetry of the First World War’, p. 23.

¹² See Eberhard Sauermann, ‘Bruder Willram, ein Tiroler Kriegslryiker’, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Brenner-Archiv*, 23 (2004), 15–36 (p. 24).

unusual to encounter heroicising, anachronistic representations of war in the work of Austro-Hungarian artists and poets even in the final months of conflict.

The historicism and regional tropes characteristic of much Austro-Hungarian war poetry did not operate independently of each other, with some regions betraying a particular propensity towards anachronistic representations of modern warfare. Historicist images of conflict can be found in art from every part of the Dual Monarchy, in works such as the Viennese Ludwig Koch's (1866–1934) *Oberst Broch v. Aarenau an der Spitze des Regiments Tiroler Kaiserjäger Nr. 2* (1925, Vienna, private collection. Fig.1) and the Czernowitz painter Leonard Winterowski's (1868–1927) *Kampf Österreichischer Ulanen mit Tscherkessen in Nadworna (Galizien)* (1915, Vienna, private collection. Fig.2). A similarly anachronistic view of war can be identified in the poetry of the Bohemian Hugo Zuckermann (1881–1914), whose work includes exhortations to the Austrian 'Urväter' in support of the conflict.¹³

However, historicist readings of battle were particularly pronounced in conservative mountain regions, namely Styria, Vorarlberg and especially the Tyrol, home to pro-war poets including Anton Müller, Max Mell (1882–1971), Karl Emerich Hirt (1866–1963), Grete Gulbransson (1882–1934), Angelika von Hörmann (1843–1921), Joseph Georg Oberkofler (1889–1962), and Arthur von Wallpach (1866–1946). For Tyrolean artists and poets, the memory of the failed 1809 rebellion against Napoleonic forces provided fertile grounds for inspiration, with modern conflict represented as a chance to exert Tyrolean military values and avenge this historic defeat.¹⁴ In both Styria and the Tyrol, local 'Standschutz' customs

¹³ Hugo Zuckermann, 'Als wir die Grenze überschritten', in *Gedichte* (Vienna: R. Löwit, 1915), p. 104.

¹⁴ In *Der heilige Kampf* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1917), Anton Müller includes a poem entitled 'Mein Hoferland, Mein Heimatland!' (pp. 162–164), linking modern warfare directly to the 1809 rebellion led by Andreas Hofer.

provided inspiration for poets such as Ottokar Kernstock (1848–1928) and Peter Rosegger (1843–1918),¹⁵ and a number of Styrian soldiers contributed to a volume of propagandist poetry, *Dichtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges*, in which war is consistently presented as a glorious undertaking.¹⁶ In Vorarlberg, the ‘Heimatsdichterin’ Grete Gulbransson extolled the beauty of her homeland and the strength of its people, contributing to an understanding of the mountain regions as the home of a superior, exemplary ‘Germanic’ culture.¹⁷ In these regions, mountain warfare provided an opportunity to exert military virtues deemed specific to the men of those areas, and to defend territories understood as rightfully and inherently Germanic.

Whilst poets and artists from the more ethnically homogeneous mountain regions demonstrated a particularly vociferous support for war, the ethnically mixed areas of German Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia also gave rise to a remarkable outpouring of belligerent poetry during the years of conflict. Among the prominent German-speaking poets of these regions are Richard von Kralik (1852–1934), Franz Eichert (1857–1926), Leo Heller (1876–1949), Hans Kreibich (1863–1939), Anton August Naaff (1850–1918) and Johannes Thummerer (1888–1921), all of whom exalted war as an opportunity to reinforce Austrian hegemony in their ethnically diverse homelands. Their deep attachment to the military traditions of the

¹⁵ Peter Rosegger and Ottokar Kernstock, *Steirischer Waffensegen* (Graz: Leykam, 1916).

¹⁶ *Dichtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges* (Graz: Verlag der Kriegskameradschaft der Eisernen Korps, 1930).

¹⁷ Grete Gulbransson (nee Jehly), *Gedichte* (Berlin: Fischer, 1914). Whilst not explicitly belligerent, Gulbransson’s exaltation of her home region corresponded to the belief in the superiority and distinctiveness of conservative mountain regions that was common in the pre-war years and during the conflict.

Dual Monarchy can be read as a backlash against pan-Slav nationalist movements that constituted a direct threat to their social dominance, and to a ‘superior’ German-speaking culture. Anna M. Drabek traces the ethnic tensions in Czech-speaking areas of the Dual Monarchy in the years before 1914: although the eighteenth century saw a great deal of cultural exchange between German and Czech speakers, this was increasingly undermined by xenophobic sentiments that were intensified by the outbreak of war.¹⁸ Anti-Slavic feeling is particularly evident in the work of the poet Richard von Schaukal: although born in Brünn, and having learnt Czech as a requirement of his government post, Schaukal allied himself strongly with an idealised, militaristic Austrian culture, exalting ‘Alt-Wien’ and a glorious imperial past.¹⁹ Schaukal was eventually ennobled in the last days of the war, and the collapse of the Empire affected him deeply.²⁰ In his post-war paean to ‘Altösterreich’, *Österreichische Züge* (1918), the poet reveals his enduring loyalty to what he clearly perceived as a lost golden era, and a superior German-speaking culture:

¹⁸ Drabek, ‘Tschechen und Deutsche in den böhmischen Ländern. Vom nationalen Erwachen der Tschechen bis zum Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges’, in *Volk, Land und Staat in der Geschichte Österreichs. Schriften des Instituts für Österreichkunde*, ed. by Erich Zöllner (Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984), pp. 55–81 (p. 74).

¹⁹ Many sonnets in Schaukal’s *Ehrene Sonette* reflect an imperialist, militaristic drive, presenting war as an opportunity to those who might resist Austro-Hungarian military strength (as in ‘Der 23. Juli 1914’ (see note 8)).

²⁰ Richard Thomas Hinton paints an image of a poet deeply embittered by the collapse of Empire: ‘The outbreak of the War and the collapse of the social structure with which he felt himself closely linked marked the beginning of his own fall from favour. The troubled years after the Peace and the new orientation of Austrian life and culture engendered in him a bitterness which necessarily left its mark upon his work’ (Hinton, ‘Richard von Schaukal. A poet of Austria in Decline’, *German Life and Letters*, 3 (1939), 145–151 (p. 145)).

Ich fühle mich zusammenhängend mit der Geschichte meines großen Reiches, mit seinen Sitten, seiner Kunt, seiner Traditionen, gewiß nicht mit den mir aufgedrängten Surrogaten einer traditionsbaren Gegenwart.²¹

Just as conservative, patriotic sentiments were more prevalent in the mountain regions and in German Bohemia and Moravia, other parts of the Dual Monarchy produced significant voices of dissent, generally the more cosmopolitan cities of Graz, Brno, Vienna and particularly Prague.²² Among those Prague poets and authors, often Jewish, who opposed war were Franz Werfel (1890–1945), Franz Janowitz (1892–1917), Hugo Sonnenschein (1889–1953), Egon Kisch (1885–1948) and his cousin Bruno Kisch (1890–1966), Otto Pick (1887–1940) and Emil Faktor (1879–1942). Some, including Franz Janowitz, were called to the front and died in battle. Of all the poets and authors from Prague who opposed the conflict, Janowitz remains one of the most distinctive. Scott Spector emphasises his role in the burgeoning Expressionist movement: ‘there is little doubt that [...] the talented poet Franz Janowitz would be considered an important contributor to this movement had he produced more work before his untimely death at the front.’²³ In Vienna, war did not encounter so much resistance as in Prague, with the notable exception of Albert Ehrenstein (1886–1950), an Expressionist poet

²¹ Richard von Schaukal, *Österreichische Züge*, (Munich: Müller, 1918), p. 144.

²² Klaus Zelewitz, ‘Deutschböhmisches Dichten und der Erste Weltkrieg’ (see note 1). Zelewitz identifies the most important German Bohemian poets of this era, and notes the differences between poetic responses to war in Prague and in the more conservative Czech-speaking areas.

²³ Scott Spector, *Prague Territories. National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Frank Kafka’s Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 93. In 1916, Karl Kraus oversaw the publication of a small number of poems that Janowitz had intended to publish, and the volume, *Auf der Erde*, was re-printed in 1973 and again in 1992, with additional critical material (*Auf der Erde und andere Dichtungen. Werke, Briefe, Dokumente*, ed. by Dieter Sudhoff (Innsbruck: Haymon, 1992)).

who mounted a sustained, explicit and incredibly prolific opposition to war from the very beginning, and whose bleak visions of destruction even at this early stage would be vindicated with the passage of time.²⁴

Ehrenstein's explicit criticism of war is atypical for Austro-Hungarian artists and poets, who often turned to implicit rather than open dissent. Whilst German artists such as George Grosz (1893–1959) and Otto Dix (1891–1969) opposed war overtly in their work, the Brno sculptor Anton Hanak's (1875-1934) *Ecce Homo (Der Letzte Mensch)* (1917–1924, Vienna, Belvedere. Fig.3) stands as an allegorical depiction of the fallen state of man, whilst the Moravian-born painter Johann Wolfgang Schaukal (1900–1981, son of the poet Richard von Schaukal) produced *Selbstbildnis in Dragoneruniform* (1918, Vienna, Belvedere. Fig.4), a self-portrait characterised by a dark palette and loose, broad brush-strokes. The bottom third of the canvas remains partially unpainted, with geometric blocks of colour imbuing the painting with a more 'modern' feel than the military portraits of artists such as Koch (see Fig.1). The work resists definitive interpretation: von Schaukal's decision to paint himself in uniform might indicate pride in his military connections, yet the lack of clear facial detail, and the use of side-profile, prevents him from assuming the stoic and determined gaze of Koch's *Oberst Broch v. Aarenau*. This work contrasts sharply with the belligerent poetry of von Schaukal's father, in which war is presented unequivocally as an opportunity to assert Austrian military power. Nevertheless, whilst the younger von Schaukal's painting certainly presents an ambiguous image of the Austrian military, the work is by no means an obvious condemnation of conflict. Unlike the explicitly critical works of Grosz and Dix, von

²⁴ Ehrenstein published numerous volumes of anti-war poetry during the years of conflict. See *Die weiße Zeit*, 1914, *Der Mensch schreit*, 1916, *Nicht da nicht dort*, 1916, *Die rote Zeit*, 1917 and *Den ermordeten Brüdern*, 1919.

Schaukal's painting resists definitive 'pro' - or 'anti'-war labels, reflecting a distinctly ambivalent response to the conflict that is also evident in the art of Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz.

Despite the distinctiveness of Austro-Hungarian representations of war, the subject has received only patchy attention from scholars. Although individual Austrian artists and poets, most notably Georg Trakl (1887–1914), have attracted considerable attention, there has been little attempt to provide a detailed critical assessment of the art and poetry of the Dual Monarchy as a whole. In Austria, critics such as Liselotte Popelka and Eberhard Sauermann have written on the art and poetry of the *Kriegspressequartier*,²⁵ and there is some work on the subject in English (most notably W.E. Yates's chapter on the war poets of the Dual Monarchy).²⁶ Despite these contributions, there is a general tendency to include Austro-Hungarian artists and poets in anthologies of German art and poetry, with little thought given to the ways in which their work differs from that of their German counterparts.²⁷ This has often obscured the distinctive attributes of Austro-Hungarian war poetry and art, and there remains no truly comprehensive overview of the subject to this day.

²⁵ See Liselotte Popelka, *Vom "Hurra" zum Leichenfeld: Gemälde aus der Kriegsbildersammlung 1914-1918* (Vienna: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 1981) and Eberhard Sauermann, *Literarische Kriegsfürsorge. Österreichische Dichter und Publizisten im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000).

²⁶ Yates, 'Austrian Poetry of the First World War', in *Franz Werfel. An Austrian Writer Reassessed*, ed. by Lothar Huber (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1989), pp. 15–36.

²⁷ Patrick Bridgwater describes Rilke as a 'German contemporary' of Yeats in his informative survey of German war poetry, *The German Poets of the First World War* (Sydney: Crook Helm, 1985), p. 3. Austro-Hungarian Expressionist artists have also been included in anthologies alongside German artists, with little discussion of how their work differs from that of the German Expressionists: see Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

2. The Italian front and the ‘canon’ of World War One

My thesis analyses the representation of the Italian Front and its landscapes in the work of the artists Stephanie Hollenstein (1886–1944) and Albin Egger-Lienz (1868–1926), and the poet Gustav Heinse (1896–1971), all of whom witnessed the conflict either during active service, or as official war artists. I do not present a detailed comparison of their art and poetry, but rather situate their work in its historic context, assessing the extent to which it reflects, or deviates from, broader understandings of the front in Austria-Hungary. In highlighting their art and poetry for specific analysis, I seek to strike a balance between the idiosyncratic and the representative: whilst the work of Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz can be assessed with reference to common interpretations of the front in Austria-Hungary, it also remains an autonomous artistic achievement that can be appreciated on its own terms, frequently displaying experimental formal and stylistic qualities. An analysis of the art of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein also avoids unfairly privileging the work of anti-war artists, with both remaining broadly supportive of war despite witnessing the conflict first-hand. Heinse’s experience of war on the karst plateau, a conflict that rivalled that of the Western Front in scale and brutality,²⁸ can be contrasted with the more positive understanding of war in the art of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein, and this juxtaposition allows for a more nuanced overview of how responses to war differed at various sections of the Italian Front. The work of all three individuals has also been neglected or misinterpreted to varying degrees after 1918, and my thesis therefore constitutes a modest attempt to re-insert their work into the broader landscape of Austro-Hungarian war art and poetry.

²⁸ Mark Thompson, *The White War. Life and Death on the Italian Front 1915-1919* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), p. 1.

If a single motif can be said to define the modern perception of World War One, it is undoubtedly that of trench warfare, with the unprecedented misery of the Western Front coming to represent the conflict as a whole. The art and poetry created by and about soldiers in the trenches often rejects propagandist, jingoistic sentiments in favour of a focus on the horror of war, conforming to modern perceptions of the fighting as an unparalleled tragedy.²⁹ However, to neglect the work of propagandists risks creating a retrospective canon, one that fails to recognise the belligerent nature of most art and poetry produced in 1914. The art and poetry of opposition is often of more artistic merit than that of the propagandists:³⁰ it is notable that the only German-speaking artists and authors of the war to have achieved success in English-speaking countries are those who opposed conflict. Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Western nichts Neues* (1929) is widely read in translation, and the poetry of Anton Schnack is highlighted for particular praise by Bridgwater.³¹ In the visual arts, Otto Dix and George Grosz have received considerable attention beyond their native Germany, with the *Wellcome Collection* displaying Otto Dix's *Krieg* series as part of their 2012-2013 winter exhibition,

²⁹ Bridgwater emphasises the importance of the right 'moral attitude' for effective war poetry: 'In the case of war poetry, more unambiguously and perhaps more so than with other forms of poetry, the morality has to be 'right' before the question of 'poetry' or poetic quality can arise' (Bridgwater, *The German Poets of the First World War*, p. 13).

³⁰ It should be remembered that anti-war poetry could be as bad as that of the propagandists: W.E. Yates notes the moralising tendencies of anti-war poets, claiming that 'no less a sense of moral right informs the verse of the opposite camp, the anti-war verse of 1914', and describing the work of Werfel and Ehrenstein as 'shrilly rhetorical' in comparison to that of Trakl ('Austrian Poetry of the First World War', p. 21).

³¹ Bridgwater, *The German Poets of the First World War*, p. 97.

and the Richard Nagy gallery in London displaying around fifty of Grosz's works in the same year.³²

Despite the success of anti-war art and literature, to neglect more celebratory representations of war would be to create a false narrative, privileging dissenting voices at the expense of recognising majority opinions. Much Austro-Hungarian art and poetry from the war years does not fall neatly into 'pro-' or 'anti-' categories: whilst soldiers at every front experienced conflicting responses to conflict, the fighting at the Italian Front allowed for a particularly ambivalent understanding of war that is by turns celebratory and despairing, and cannot be adequately assessed with such binary labels. For soldiers at this front, positive interpretations of the mountains as 'Germanic' territory or a transcendental space³³ came into conflict with the widespread destruction of the natural landscape, and the struggle against harsh conditions. More than at any other front, soldiers at the Italian Front were faced with contradictory and conflicting impressions of the landscape in which they fought, and their work frequently represents the harsh topography of the Alps, Dolomites and Karst in a distinctly ambivalent manner.

My thesis departs from a broader assessment of the ways in which the mountains and karst were interpreted symbolically Austria-Hungary, from the pre-war years to the period of conflict and the post-war era. I analyse the ways in which these earlier readings of the landscape influenced the understanding of that front among soldiers and citizens alike before moving to a specific assessment of the representation of landscape in the art and poetry of

³² The *Wellcome Collection* exhibition was titled 'Death: A Self-Portrait', and ran from the 15th November 2012 to the 24th February 2013. The Richard Nagy gallery held their Grosz retrospective from the 28th September to the 2nd November 2013).

³³ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 267.

Heinse, Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein. Specifically, I contend that war in the mountains and on the elevated karst acquired a heightened symbolic resonance for many Austro-Hungarians during the years of conflict, corresponding more than war at other fronts to the romanticised image of conflict as a chivalric battle that allowed for individual heroism, and resonating with regional understandings of the mountains as Austrian ‘heartlands’. However, these positive representations of mountain warfare in the work of those who experienced the conflict are often accompanied by a less celebratory focus on the hostile landscape, and the suffering and death of that front. Their art and poetry is often marked by a conflicted representation of war, in which positive readings of the mountains as a transcendental ‘Germanic’ space sit alongside darker images of a harsh and unforgiving landscape. It is this characteristic ambivalence that is present, albeit to varying degrees, in the work of Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz, with their art and poetry proving hugely thematically and stylistically diverse, and advancing a conflicting and nuanced representation of the landscape. Whilst soldiers at all fronts were forced to contend with challenging natural landscapes, the dramatic topography of the Italian Front plays a central role in the art and poetry of those who witnessed that conflict, provoking a powerful response among artists and poets that is frequently ambivalent, evading easy categorisation.

3. The Topography of the Italian Front: Symbolic Interpretations of the Landscape from the Pre-War Period to the Years of Conflict

More than any other arena of war, the Italian Front was defined by hostile, challenging landscapes that had been imbued with a range of symbolic values in the years leading up to conflict, and these symbolic interpretations of the landscape would greatly influence the later representation of war at that front.³⁴ Stretching from the Swiss border, through the Dolomites and the Alps, and finally coming to a halt on the karst plateau near Gorizia,³⁵ the landscapes of this front radically shaped the way battles were fought, with soldiers conceiving of war not only as a fight against the human enemy, but also against overwhelming natural forces.³⁶ Despite these challenges, war at the Italian Front was often overlooked by those fighting in the East and West: ‘To the commanders deadlocked on the Western Front, the Italian front was a sideshow, nasty enough but not quite the real thing, waged by armies whose tactics, training and equipment were often second-rate.’³⁷ This tendency to dismiss the experience of war at the Italian Front has continued to this day, with Italian historians noting the general lack of interest in the subject outside Austria-Hungary and Italy.³⁸ However, such understandings of the Italian Front as a minor theatre of war are by no means justified: the

³⁴ Tait Keller convincingly analyses the ways in which the mountains were imbued with militaristic values by pre-war Alpinists in his essay ‘The Mountains Roar. The Alps during the Great War’, *Environmental History*, 14 (2009), 253–274.

³⁵ A map of the Italian Front, and of the Tyrol region, can be found on page 120.

³⁶ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 265.

³⁷ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 5.

³⁸ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 5.

battles of the Isonzo³⁹ were immortalised by the Italian poet Giuseppe Ungaretti (1888–1970) as some of the bloodiest fighting of the whole war, and memoirs by Austro-Hungarian veterans recall the harrowing winter of 1916–1917 in which avalanches inflicted unprecedented losses, a reminder of the daily challenges and suffering endured by soldiers at that front.⁴⁰

Whilst the hostile landscapes of the karst and the mountains both posed immense challenges to the men, the topography of the Italian Front was not homogeneous. A distinction can be drawn between the representation of war in the Alps and Dolomites, and that of the fighting around the Isonzo river and on the karst plateau, straddling modern-day Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Western Slovenia. Whilst soldiers fighting in the Alps and Dolomites felt that the majesty of the peaks provided some respite from the fighting,⁴¹ war on the karst offered fewer opportunities for a transcendental communion with nature, with the battles of the Isonzo characterised by large scale troop movements and trench warfare: ‘Unlike the war on the Isonzo, the war in the Dolomites did not obliterate the individual. What did character matter on the Carso, where sheer numbers and mass were decisive?’⁴² This disparity is reflected in the art and poetry of that front: Heinse, who fought on the karst, presents a far more negative assessment of war and the natural landscape than Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein, who fought in

³⁹ A series of twelve battles fought along the Isonzo river between 1915 and 1917. The area extends from the Julian Alps to the Adriatic sea, incorporating parts of the karst plateau and ending at Trieste.

⁴⁰ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 266.

⁴¹ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 262.

⁴² Thompson, *The White War*, p. 204.

the Dolomites. The tendency to idealise war in the high peaks⁴³ undoubtedly reflected pre-war notions of the Alpine regions as an Austrian heartland, the ‘most German of all the Lands’.⁴⁴ By contrast, the karst never acquired the symbolic capital of the Alps or Dolomites for Austro-Hungarian patriots by virtue of its ‘foreign’ location and population, and was not idealised by soldiers in the same way as the high mountains.⁴⁵ Although the landscape often takes centre stage in the work of Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz, their differing experiences of war should not be underestimated, and it is necessary to analyse the various symbolic understandings of the karst and mountains, both before war and during the conflict, before engaging critically with their work.

⁴³ The heroic interpretation of mountain warfare can be clearly identified in ‘Die Ortlerwacht’, written by an anonymous soldier and published in the 1918 *Jahrbuch* of the *Militär-Witwen und Waisenfond*. In this poem, the death of a soldier on the Ortler is cast as a glorious sacrifice: ‘Sein Grab – ‘nen Gletscherschacht –/ Hält hoch in Heldenehren/ Die Ortlerwacht’ (*Jahrbuch*, p. 80). Cited after Eberhard Sauermann, ‘Populäre Tiroler Krigslyrik. “Bruder Willram” – die poetische Mobilmachung’, in *Populäre Krigslyrik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. by Nicholas Detering, Aibe-Marlene Gerdes et al (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), pp. 41–66 (p. 56).

⁴⁴ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 259.

⁴⁵ I have found no art or literature from Austria-Hungary in which the karst landscape is romanticised in the same way as the Alps or Dolomites, with the sole exception of Ernst Décsey’s memoir, *Im Feuerkreis des Karsts* (Graz: Lenkam Verlag, 1916).

3.1. The Mountain Landscape: 'Germanic' values and Regional Idealisations

For Austro-Hungarian patriots, war in the peaks was understood as far more than a battle for the survival of the Dual Monarchy: for those in the mountain regions and particularly in the Tyrol, war acquired a localised significance as a battle to preserve regional cultures. In the Tyrol, war took place on home soil and thus acquired a regionally-specific symbolic resonance,⁴⁶ presenting an opportunity to assert Tyrolean military strength, and to avenge historic military defeats such as the peasant rebellion of 1809 against Napoleonic forces (the significance of this earlier battle for Tyrolean soldiers will be discussed later in this section). Whilst Viennese poets such as Richard von Schaukal and Max Mell expressed a deep attachment to the Habsburg Empire in their work, Tyrolean poets such as Anton Müller and Angelika von Hörmann make fewer references to the Dual Monarchy as a whole, casting war primarily as a fight to defend a specific region, referring to the 'Tirolertreue'⁴⁷ of the men or employing allegorical imagery such as the 'Tiroleraar'⁴⁸ that makes clear their distinct regional affiliations.

For Müller and von Hörmann, the mountains of Tyrol and Styria were understood as rightful Germanic territory, a 'heartland' of the Dual Monarchy. Furthermore, the peaks were often considered an antithesis to the perceived artificiality of urban life by those from the Alpine regions and the city alike: Jon Hughes notes the 'undertow of reactionary disapproval of the

⁴⁶ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 259.

⁴⁷ Angelika von Hörmann, 'Die Fleimstahlbahn' (1902), l. 50. Cited after Eberhard Sauermann, 'Angelika v. Hörmann, eine deutschnationale (Kriegs-) Lyrikerin aus Tirol', *Mitteilungen aus dem Brenner Archiv* 31 (2012), 97–127 (p. 101).

⁴⁸ See Anton Müller, 'Tiroleraar' in *Der heilige Kampf*, p. 15.

urban and the industrial’ in the work of Luis Trenker (1892–1990),⁴⁹ whilst the poetry of Max Mell, resident of Vienna, establishes the mountains as an antidote to the perceived ills of city life,⁵⁰ more characteristic of the Dual Monarchy than ‘foreign’, multi-ethnic areas. The notion of the mountains as a fundamentally Germanic realm allowed mountain warfare to be interpreted as a battle to preserve rural cultures that were idealised as the ‘true’ Austria-Hungary, and much of the poetry produced in mountain areas reflects this interpretation of the peaks: not only that of Anglika von Hörmann and Anton Müller, but also the work of Alfons Petzold, Peter Rosegger, and Franz Karl Ginzkey.

This understanding of the mountains as an Austrian heartland had a long historical precedent in the Dual Monarchy, pre-dating the ‘Kriegsbegeisterung’ of 1914 by decades. Tait Keller traces the increasingly belligerent interpretations of the mountains in pre-war years, emphasising the role of the *Alpenverein* in perpetuating understandings of the mountains as ‘the source of “sacred German feelings” and Germandom’s “natural strength”’.⁵¹ The threat

⁴⁹ Jon Hughes, ‘Austria and the Alps: Introduction’, *Austrian Studies*, 18 (2011), 1–13 (p. 3). Although Hughes refers specifically to Trenker’s work during the 1930’s, Trenker expressed similar sentiments during the years of conflict.

⁵⁰ Joseph Hill, ‘Max Mell, Dramatist’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Boston University, 1958), pp. 15–16. Hill emphasises the importance of the Alpine regions to the poet: ‘Mell admired the feeling of confident strength and stability the Austrian Alpine people had, their faith in themselves and the future which contrasted so sharply with the weakness, instability and disillusionment of the sophisticated urban populace [...] It was possibly Mell’s devotion to this contrasting point of view that caused him to avoid the literary circles of Vienna and to go his own way. Consciously or otherwise, he drew upon his Steiermark heritage rather than Vienna’.

⁵¹ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 257. Keller quotes from a number of memoirs including Walter Schmidkunz’s *Der Kampf über den Gletschern: Ein Buch von der Alpenfront* (Erfurt: Gebr. Richards

of the pre-war Italian irredentists encouraged conservative Austro-Hungarians to claim the mountains as Germanic territory, a barrier between an Austrian culture seen as highly developed and a barbaric, unwanted ‘other’. Such belligerent readings of the mountains in the pre-war years are evident in a remarkable work by a k.u.k Commander, Kasimir Freiherr von Lütgendorf (1862–1958), entitled *Der Gebirgskrieg. Krieg im Hochgebirge und im Karst* (1909). In this manual, von Lütgendorf details a hypothetical war in the mountains, outlining the difficulties posed by the landscape and possible solutions. Von Lütgendorf’s foreword reveals an imperialistic, expansionist drive, and a clear belief in the mountains as rightful Austro-Hungarian territory:

Möge diese Arbeit, die dem Wunsche entsprungen ist, den Kameraden und damit dem allerhöchsten Dienst zu nützen, etwas beitragen für den Erfolg, wenn es gilt die altehrwürdigen Fahnen unserer ruhmreichen Armee durch die Gebirge über die Grenzmarken des Reiches zu führen.⁵²

The work is disconcertingly accurate in its prediction of how war would be fought at the Italian Front: chapters bear headings such as ‘Operationen im Winter und Gefecht im Schnee’ and ‘Über die Notwendigkeit von Alpentruppen’, and the mountains are presented throughout as Austrian spaces to be defended against an inferior Italian enemy.⁵³

Verlaganstalt, 1934), Gustav Renker’s articles for the magazine of the *Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein* (‘Bergtage im Felde: Tagebuchblätter von Dr. Gustav Renker’, *ZDÖAV* 48 (1917), and Karl Müller, *An der Kampffront in Südtirol: Kriegesbriefe eines neutralen Offiziers* (Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1916).

⁵² Kasimir Freiherr von Lütgendorf, *Der Gebirgskrieg. Krieg im Hochgebirge und im Karst* (Vienna: Seidel, 1909), p. 3.

⁵³ von Lütgendorf, p. 40.

Von Lütgendorf's representation of the mountains provides crucial insight into the extent to which conservative Austro-Hungarians imbued the mountains with militaristic, nationalist values long before 1914. One factor that greatly contributed to this reading of the mountain landscape was the pre-war nationalism of the *Österreichischer Alpenverein*, a phenomenon that merits specific mention in the context of this introduction. Members often interpreted the mountains as a refuge from the urban experience, allowing for a deeply subjective experience of nature (a reading that corresponds in part to the representation of the transcendental peaks in German Romantic painting).⁵⁴ This individualistic reading of the mountains did not preclude an increasingly militaristic understanding of the sport among members of the pre-war *Alpenverein*, who often presented the act of mountaineering as an existential battle in which only those with a supposedly 'Germanic' aptitude for and appreciation of the mountains could prevail against the intimidating peaks.⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, this distinctly combative outlook was consolidated in the years of conflict, in which the existential battle of mountaineering was transformed into an actual fight for Austrian supremacy. Many former climbers would go on to serve in the mountains, whilst the association put their winter huts at the disposal of troops and offered training to new recruits, making their nationalist convictions abundantly clear.⁵⁶

The increasingly belligerent ideology of the *Alpenverein* years undoubtedly contributed to the idealisation of mountain warfare in the years of conflict, and the interpretation of war as an expression of Germanic values is found in the poetry, art and memoirs of many soldiers from

⁵⁴ Richard Littlejohns, 'German Romantic Painters', in *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism*, ed. by Nicholas Saul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 227-241 (p. 236).

⁵⁵ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 259.

⁵⁶ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 257.

that front. Mark Thompson points to the heroicising narratives of some veterans, who make no reference to the suffering they endured: 'The small scale of most operations on this front meant that they easily resembled stunts. Luis Trenker described an attempt to capture a machine gun on a solitary ledge, reachable only by climbing a 'chimney' or narrow cleft up a sheer rock-face. The account reads like mountaineering literature: war as sport'.⁵⁷ Trenker's representation of war as a boyish adventure, a fight against an inhospitable landscape, is also found in some of Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz's art from that front, conforming to pre-war understandings of mountaineering as an existential struggle against nature.⁵⁸ Trenker's positive account of war in the mountains exemplifies the extent to which these pre-war interpretations of the peaks influenced the way Austrian soldiers evaluated their individual experiences of war at that front, often downplaying the more negative aspects of conflict.

The idealised image of the mountains advanced by the pre-war *Alpenverein* was closely linked to regionally-specific interpretations of the peaks as the site of a distinctive, militaristic culture. The *Alpenverein* certainly did not lack a regional dimension: their focus on the mountains as the site of a 'pure' Germanic environment implicitly praised rural Alpine communities and particularly those of the Tyrol, where the conservative population expressed an intense pride in their military traditions⁵⁹ and often presented the mountains as a bulwark, protecting against the irredentist threat. This understanding of the peaks is identifiable in a

⁵⁷ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 205.

⁵⁸ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 255.

⁵⁹ The 'Standschutz' tradition was particularly prominent in Tyrol and Styria. Keller emphasises the long history of these groups in mountain regions, frequently understood as 'male social clubs' with a distinctly militaristic outlook ('The Mountains Roar', p. 258).

1902 poem by the Tyrolean Angelika von Hörmann (1843–1921), ‘Die Fleimstahlbahn’, in which the poet expresses a profound mistrust of the Italians:

Wir haben’s lang genug gelitten,

Daß in der Südmark, etschdurchdrauscht,

Ein fremdes Volk mit fremden Sitten

Mit uns das Recht der Heimat tauscht (ll. 1–4)⁶⁰

As the poem progresses, von Hörmann’s xenophobic sentiments become increasingly pronounced, declaring the need for war and praising the unconquerable ‘Tirolertreue’ (l. 50) of local militia groups. The fact that von Hörmann wrote these lines twelve years before war prevents her words from being understood as an atypical and short-lived burst of ‘Kriegsbegeisterung’: rather, the poem illustrates how belligerent regional idealisations of the peaks pre-dated the war by a number of years, with the events of 1914 intensifying pre-existing tensions and xenophobic sentiments in mountain regions.

The militaristic understanding of the Alps advanced by Angelika von Hörmann and other Tyrolean patriots was significantly influenced by the cultural memory of the 1809 rebellion. This event, like the pre-war ideologies of the *Alpenverein*, deserves specific consideration as a major contributing factor to the Tyrolean understanding of mountain warfare as a continuation of local military history. The term ‘Anno neun’ was frequently used to refer to

⁶⁰ Angelika von Hörmann, ‘Die Fleimstahlbahn’, cited after Eberhard Sauermann, ‘Angelika v. Hörmann, eine deutschnationale (Kriegs-) Lyrikerin aus Tirol’, *Mitteilungen aus dem Brenner Archiv* 31 (2012), 97–127 (p. 101).

the rebellion of Tyrolean peasants, led by Andreas Hofer, against the occupying French and Bavarian troops during the War of the Fifth Coalition. Despite Hofer's eventual defeat and execution, it would not be an underestimation to describe the episode as a unifying myth among Tyrolean nationalists, strengthening the drive to defend their mountain territory against the new Italian enemy.⁶¹ During the war, the rebellion acquired an enormous symbolic resonance. Eberhard Sauermann emphasises the influence of 'Anno neun' on the patriotic speeches of the era:

Daß der Rückgriff auf die Ideale und die Opferbereitschaft von "Anno Neun" zu einem stereotyp verwendeten Topos wurde, der mit dem Standschützen-Mythos untrennbar verbunden sein sollte, wurde schon im Aufruf General Dankls, damals Landesverteidigungskommandant von Tirol, vom 8. Juni 1915 zugrunde gelegt: 'Der Feind steht vor unserer Türe. Er will Tirol erobern und niederzwingen. So wie im Jahre 1809 müssen wir alle zusammenstehen und kämpfen für unsere heimatliche Erde, für unsere Ehre'.⁶²

The alleged parallels between modern warfare and the 1809 rebellion encouraged the understanding of mountain warfare as a chance to avenge this old defeat, with the poet Anton Müller praising war as a second 'Anno neun' and overlooking the ways in which modern combat differed from the perceived chivalry of a bygone era. Müller frequently omits the suffering of the soldiers from his poetry, despite the huge losses sustained by both sides. His poem 'Die beiden Kaiserjäger', written in the aftermath of the Battle of Godek, transforms

⁶¹ To this day, the song *Zu Mantua in Banden*, known as the *Andreas-Hofer Lied*, is the official anthem of the Austrian state of Tyrol.

⁶² Eberhard Sauermann, *Literarische Kriegsfürsorge*, p. 71.

one of the most disastrous battles of the whole war into a tale of heroic ‘Opferbereitschaft’,⁶³ whilst his 1917 collection *Der heilige Kampf* takes direct inspiration from the earlier rebellion, including poems such as ‘Mein Hoferland, mein Heimatland’ and ‘Ruhmesjahre neun’, in which modern warfare is cast as a direct continuation of the 1809 war.⁶⁴

In the pre-war era, then, the Alps and Dolomites were understood by patriots in the Tyrol and further afield as a fundamentally Germanic landscape, where the men of the mountains acquired the power and strength of the environments they inhabited.⁶⁵ Despite the brutality of conflict, these positive symbolic readings of the landscape would come to bear on the artistic representations of mountain warfare produced by soldiers and civilians during the war, including Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz. The memoirs of soldiers who fought in the mountains often reflect an ambivalent perception of the peaks, in which descriptions of the more brutal realities of modern war are mitigated by positive representations of the majestic natural environment. Keller cites a number of memoirs in which the sense of despair in the face of the imposing peaks is coupled with a profound admiration for the mountains, reflecting the

⁶³ Sauermann emphasises Müller’s culpability in presenting such battles in a romantic light: the poem was written after news of the losses sustained by the Austrian troops, meaning the poet could not plead ignorance of the actual nature of events (Sauermann, ‘Bruder Willram, ein Tiroler Kriegslyriker’, p. 18). The poem is also included in *Das blutige Jahr!* under the more emotive title ‘Sie liegen im Blute beide’ (pp. 100–101).

⁶⁴ See *Der heilige Kampf*, pages 10 and 162.

⁶⁵ The common perception of Tyrolean soldiers as inherently suited to battle is evident in a review of *Das blutige Jahr*, printed in the back of the volume and taken from the Catholic *Kirchenzeitung* (Salzburg, 6th May 1915). The review reads: ‘die Sprache ist wahrhaft stolz und höhenstürmend wie die kämpfenden Landsleute der Dichters’ (*Das blutige Jahr*, p. 170).

competing emotional responses that the landscape provoked in the men.⁶⁶ Unlike those who experienced active service, the poetry and art of those patriots who did not fight at the front is less ambivalent, often omitting any reference to the suffering of the soldiers. The poetry of Anton Müller is exemplary, ignoring the extreme challenges posed by the terrain. Müller's lyrical preface to *Der heilige Kampf* (1915) represents the mountains as sentient entities that crush the Italian enemy, even though the same landscape also inflicted great suffering upon Austro-Hungarian soldiers:

Nun gellt ein einziger Zorneschrei

Und wettert und braust durch die Lande;

Nun bersten die Berge vor Wut entzwei

Und krachen und rollen – und malmen zu Brei –

Die welsche Tücke und Schande! (ll. 1–5)⁶⁷

Although Müller's strident verse is of significant historical interest, it would be difficult to make an artistic case for the work of the propagandists: their art and poetry reflects a simplistic, anachronistic conception of war that is 'repeated in the teeth of experience',⁶⁸ sacrificing artistic and poetic originality in the service of a belligerent, xenophobic nationalism, as opposed to the generally more complex representation of the landscape in the work of veterans.

⁶⁶ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 257.

⁶⁷ Anton Müller, *Der heilige Kampf*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ W.E. Yates, 'Austrian Poetry of the First World War', p. 30.

Unlike the high peaks, the karst was never the subject of similar idealisation by Austro-Hungarian patriots. In the work of soldiers who fought on the plateau, the landscape was generally represented as a tormenting force that precluded the communion with nature experienced by soldiers in the Alps and Dolomites. Although war on the karst and in the high peaks shared a number of features, the fighting on the karst was waged on a far larger scale, and the art and poetry produced by soldiers clearly demonstrates the differences between war in the high mountains and on the barren, rocky karst.

3.2 The Fight on the Karst: Mass Slaughter and Trench Warfare

The patriotic idealisation of the mountains as an authentically ‘völkisch’ region was undoubtedly a gross over-simplification, with parts of Styria home to a Slovene majority. However, the mountainous parts of these territories were home to many exclusively German-speaking communities and could thus be romanticised by ardent nationalists.⁶⁹ Whilst the diaries of some Austro-Hungarian soldiers such as Ernst Décsey, a music critic from Graz (1870–1941), extoll the beauty of the karst landscape,⁷⁰ the plateau constituted a ‘foreign’ outpost of the Dual Monarchy, with Gorizia home to a mix of Italian, German, Slovene, Friulian and Venetian speakers.⁷¹ Not only was the karst inhabited by a far greater range of ethnic groups than Tyrol, Vorarlberg or Styria, but its landscape differed considerably from the transcendental majesty of the peaks, defined by a barren expanse of hard stone. This landscape is frequently represented by Austro-Hungarian soldiers as unremittingly bleak, more unforgiving even than the high mountains, and lacking the positive symbolic connotations of those peaks.

In the pre-war period, Italian authors made some reference to the karst landscape in their work. Most notably, the landscape is employed symbolically in Scipio Slataper’s (1888–

⁶⁹ Pieter M. Judson assesses the ways in which linguistic and ethnic identities in Styria were often far more complex than was assumed by German Nationalists in the pre-war period. See Judson, ‘Reluctant Colonialists. The Südmark Settlers’, in *Guardians of the Nation. Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 100–129.

⁷⁰ Ernst Décsey, *Im Feuerkreis des Karsts* (Graz: Lenkam Verlag, 1916).

⁷¹ This mix is attested to in the last census of the Dual Monarchy, carried out in 1910. See *Geographischer Atlas zur Vaterslandkunde an der österreichischen Mittelschulen* (Vienna: Freytag und Berndt, 1911), recently re-printed (Vienna: Archiv Verlag, 2001).

1915) novel *Il mio Carso* ('My karst', 1912).⁷² In this work, the karst is established as an antithesis to the isolation of the city, reflecting a positive reading of that landscape. During the years of conflict, however, the karst plateau was utterly transformed. Although trench warfare occurred in the Alps and Dolomites (the highest trench of the war was at 12,400 feet, near the peak of the Ortler),⁷³ the vertical heights made mass movements of soldiers impossible, and war retained an intimate feel despite the hostile conditions in which men fought. This was not the case on the karst, where the level plateau allowed for the digging of a far more extensive network of trenches than at other sections of the Italian Front. Whilst the degradation of the landscape is mourned by Heinse, his poetry also represents the karst mountains as hostile forces that inflict as much pain upon the soldiers as they receive. The understanding of the karst as a tormenting force is also evident in the poetry of the best-known soldier from that front, Giuseppe Ungaretti. Whilst Ungaretti presents the Isonzo river as wiping away the stains of war in 'I Fiumi',⁷⁴ the poet emphasises the hardness and hostility of the landscape in a number of poems from that front, most strikingly in 'Sono una creatura':

Come questa pietra

del S. Michele

così dura

così fredda

così prosciugata

⁷² Scalater, *Il mio Carso* (published by the literary journal *La Voce*, location unknown, 1912).

⁷³ Tait Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 262.

⁷⁴ Written on the 16th of August 1916. See *Vita d'un uomo. Tutte le poesie* (Milan: Mondadori, 1969), pp. 43–45.

così totalmente

disanimata.⁷⁵

For those fighting on the karst, whether Italian or German-speaking, the landscape inflicted great psychological and physical suffering. There are, of course, notable exceptions to the generally negative representation of the karst by soldiers: Ernst Décsey presents the karst in an more positive light than Heinse or Ungaretti in his memoir: ‘Nichts schöneres als an dienstfreien Tagen der Landschaft dienen, den Karst bewandern, hin und her, den oberirdischen, wo hartes aus hartem wächst’.⁷⁶ However, this idyllic representation of the landscape is atypical, with Heinse’s poetry conforming more to the despair felt by those fighting on the barren expanse of rock.⁷⁷ Heinse’s experience of mass warfare, and the miserable conditions of the karst trenches, precluded the idealisation of the plateau as the site of an intimate or individualised battle as experienced by those in the Alps and Dolomites, and his account of the landscape is devoid of the nostalgia found in the art of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein.

Whilst the natural landscape exerted a tremendous influence in the way war was fought and understood both on the karst and in the mountains, the experiences of soldiers at different sections of the Italian Front were by no means identical, reflecting the fundamental differences between the fighting in the high peaks and on the elevated plateau. I now turn to the work of Hollenstein, Heinse and Egger-Lienz, analysing the ways in which their images

⁷⁵ A rough translation reads ‘Like this stone of S. Michele/ so hard/ so cold/ so desiccated/ so completely desolate’. See *Vita d’un uomo*, p. 41.

⁷⁶ Décsey, *Im Feuerkreis des Karsts*, p. 57.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 108.

of the landscape both conform to and deviate from more general understandings of war at the Italian Front, and assessing the symbolic representation of the natural environment in their work.

4. Stephanie Hollenstein: A female ‘militiaman’ at the Front

In Stephanie Hollenstein’s art from the Italian Front, idealised representations of the mountain landscape sit alongside bleaker images of conflict, and small-scale, figurative sketches are accompanied by works that incorporate Modernist elements, resulting in a vision of war that is both thematically and stylistically ambivalent. Hollenstein was born in 1886 in Lustenau, Vorarlberg, to a family who claimed direct descent from the Germanic Alemanni tribe.⁷⁸ This fact, along with a childhood spent as a cowherd in the foothills of the Alps, allowed her to rise to prominence during the fascist years as an artist with ‘völkisch’ credentials, a natural genius hailing from an ‘authentically’ rural, Germanic background. Evelyn Kain draws parallels between Hollenstein’s background and the myth of the ‘artist genius’⁷⁹ who rises from humble beginnings to find fame and fortune, and it is certainly the case that Hollenstein participated willingly in her own mythologisation.⁸⁰ Hollenstein received her artistic training at the *Königliche Kunstgewerbeschule* in Munich, applying midway through the academic term, without sitting the formal entrance examination, and being accepted solely on the strength of her ‘cowherd sketches’ created with homemade inks and brushes. Hollenstein’s lack of early artistic training make her academic and professional

⁷⁸ Biographical details have been taken from Evelyn Kain’s articles on Hollenstein, and the catalogues of the Galerie Hollenstein in Lustenau. See Evelyn Kain, ‘Stephanie Hollenstein. Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, *Woman’s Art Journal*, 22 (2001), 27–33, and ‘Problematic Patriotism. Stephanie Hollenstein’s World War I drawings and paintings’, *Minerva. Quarterly Report on Women and the Military*, 20 (2002), 1–9. For catalogues from the *Galerie Stephanie Hollenstein*, see *Galerie Stephanie Hollenstein. Führer durch die Sammlung* (Lustenau: Marktgemeinde Lustenau, 1971).

⁷⁹ As criticised by Linda Nochlin in her essay ‘Why have there been no great women artists?’, in *Women, Art and Power* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 145–178.

⁸⁰ Kain, ‘Stephanie Hollenstein. Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 27.

success all the more remarkable: her time at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* provided the contacts needed to launch an artistic career, and she went on to found her own school, receiving a scholarship from Franz Defregger (1835–1921), Professor at the Munich Academy and prominent genre-painter, to embark on the traditional ‘grand tour’ of Italy.

When Italy entered the war in 1915, Hollenstein returned to Austria-Hungary and applied as a volunteer nurse to the *Red Cross*, but was rejected on health grounds. Undeterred, she donned military uniform and enlisted in her local militia group under the name Stefan Hollenstein.

Whilst Hollenstein is the only known Austro-Hungarian woman to have fought in the war, female soldiers were a major presence in the American navy and Marine corps, and in the Russian infantry, where Maria Bochkareva formed a women’s battalion which became known as the ‘Women’s Battalion of Death’ (Emmeline Pankhurst would visit Bochkareva in 1917, paying tribute to her battalion). In England, Dorothy Lawrence disguised herself as a man to fight at the front, as did Flora Sandes, who became an unlikely Officer in the Serbian army. Other notable female soldiers of the war include the national Serbian hero Milunka Savić who fought until 1918, the Russians Olga Krasilnikov and Natalie Tychmini, the French Madame Arno who organised a Parisian women’s battalion, and the Romanian Ecaterina Teodoroiu, killed in 1917 after receiving various accolades for bravery.⁸¹

Hollenstein too would receive a number of medals for bravery, serving as a medic in the Dolomites around Bolzano and engaging in direct combat with the enemy on several occasions. In August, she was recalled from active service in line with a general ban on women assisting the soldiers at the front: her sex, common knowledge in her battalion, had

⁸¹ For a survey of women in the military from antiquity to the present, see Jessica Amanda Salmonston, *The Encyclopedia of Amazons: Women Warriors from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (New York: Paragon House, 1991).

become known to her superiors. After her discharge, Hollenstein worked sporadically for the *Kriegspressequartier*, returning to the Italian Front at least three times during 1916 before working for Vienna's *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum* from 1917. During the fascist years, Hollenstein became an illegal member of the Nazi party,⁸² enjoying extraordinary privilege as one of the most influential female artists in Austria and head of the *Vereinigung Bildender Künstlerinnen der Reichsgaue der Ostmark* (formerly the *Kunstlerverband Wiener Frauen*, which had been purged of Jewish artists). Hollenstein died prematurely of a heart condition in 1944, and her work fell into obscurity in subsequent decades.

Given her political allegiances, Hollenstein's post-war fall from the pinnacle of the fascist art world to forgotten regional talent is understandable. However, whilst her support for the regime should not be erased from history,⁸³ nor should her political affiliations allow for the dismissal of her work as mere 'proto-fascist' art. Evelyn Kain warns against a limited reading of Hollenstein's work as an embodiment of fascist politics, emphasising the artist's often contradictory, paradoxical beliefs: 'How could a proto-feminist join a misogynist movement? How could a modern artist join an anti-modernist group? How could a woman who was at

⁸² It was illegal for women to become official members of the Party, although numerous affiliated organisations for women existed.

⁸³ Details of Hollenstein's fascist sympathies have been often been omitted in official catalogues I have been able to access. The 1971 catalogue from the *Galerie Stephanie Hollenstein (Führer durch die Sammlung)* makes no mention of Hollenstein's Nazi affiliations: in an introduction by the unnamed town mayor (pp. 6–10), Hollenstein is simply described as 'die große Lustenauerin' (p. 10), whilst a foreword by Dr Herbert Keßler (pp. 1–5) places Hollenstein firmly in the role of regional painter, neglecting to mention her involvement in international, fascist-approved exhibitions: 'Vorarlberg ist stolz auf Lustenaus bedeutende Künstlerin, auf die Anerkennung, die ihrer Arbeit zufiel und auf die moderne Galerie, welche die Heimatgemeinde ihrer Tochter errichtete' (p. 5).

least perceived as a lesbian join a movement that condemned homosexuality?’⁸⁴ These biographical and ideological paradoxes inevitably come to bear on Hollenstein’s representation of war, in which influences ranging from conservative genre-painting and Romanticism to Modernist currents, including the work of Van Gogh and pre-war German Expressionists, can be identified.

Whilst these seemingly contradictory influences might lead viewers to an assessment of Hollenstein’s art as stylistically inconsistent, this would underestimate the extent to which the artist adapted her work to meet the demands of diverse audiences, including private Jewish collectors,⁸⁵ the *Kriespressequartier*, and the fascist art world. Whilst Hollenstein’s later mountain landscapes can hardly be labelled ‘fascist art’, these works were nevertheless open to ‘Blut und Boden’ interpretations,⁸⁶ and Hollenstein’s reputation as the only female soldier of the war proved a powerful attraction for critics during the fascist years: an anonymous 1938 review of Hollenstein’s work in an exhibition by the *Gemeinschaft Deutscher und Österreichischer Künstlerinnen* makes frequent reference to her period of active service,

⁸⁴ Kain, ‘Problematic Patriotism’, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Kain notes the positive reception of Hollenstein’s more overtly Expressionist works among Jewish critics such as Else Hoffmann and Wolfgang Born, both of whom wrote articles on the artist. Kain also asserts that ‘Hollenstein is felt to have felt free to work in the expressionist style because it catered to the modern taste of her Jewish collectors in Vienna’: however, no source is cited, and Kain notes that she is currently attempting to track down the family names of the aforementioned collectors. See ‘Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 33, note 27.

⁸⁶ Kain, ‘Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 32.

reflecting the extent to which Hollenstein's artistic reputation was bolstered by her stint in the military.⁸⁷

The thematic and stylistic variety of Hollenstein's work not only reflects her willingness to adapt to diverse audiences, but also suggests a personal response to war that was neither wholly celebratory nor condemnatory. Hollenstein's art for the *Kriegspressequartier* presents images of dead or wounded soldiers alongside more positive representations of the mountain landscape in idealised, romantic mode, indicating a complex and ambivalent interpretation of the conflict.⁸⁸ The characteristic variety and ambivalence of her work resists reductive 'pro-' and 'anti-' war categories, standing as a representation of war that both conforms to and deviates from contemporary understandings of mountain warfare, and reflects her status as a painter in touch with both regional and international artistic currents.

The synthesis of Modernist influences and more traditional subject matter in Hollenstein's art certainly pre-dates the war, and can be identified in a remaining sketch from 1910. Whilst the majority of Hollenstein's early output was destroyed in a 1934 house fire, this work is cited by Kain as providing clues to the likely nature of her earliest output.⁸⁹ The small pencil

⁸⁷ The exhibition was reviewed under the title 'Hirtin – Verwundetenträger – Malerin. Die auswärtigen Gäste in der Gedok-Ausstellung', *Der Freiheitskampf*, 7, October 21, 1939. Cited after Kain, 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 29.

⁸⁸ Egger-Lienz's work from the Italian front presents the mountain landscape in a similarly ambivalent manner, and Keller points to the memoirs of veterans in which the peaks are the subject of conflicting interpretations, ranging from a euphoric sense of transcendence, to the fear and suffering inspired by the hostile conditions (Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', 257. See note 50).

⁸⁹ Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain a usable copy of this image: a copy can be found in Kain, 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 28. Elsewhere, all images, titles, dates and contextual information have been

sketch presents the mountains as the home of a rural, pre-modern culture, corresponding to pre-war Austro-Hungarian idealisations of the mountains as ‘ancient German earth’, where inhabitants lived a more honest, ‘authentic’ life than their urban counterparts.⁹⁰ However, despite its conservative subject, the sketch also reflects Hollenstein’s willingness to embrace more Modernist stylistic elements, even before her move to Munich and contact with avant-garde artistic currents.⁹¹ The loose, flowing pencil lines and rejection of Naturalist detail in this early sketch counteract the distinctly provincial theme, indicating a merging of a more traditional subject matter with less conservative formal attributes.

On first viewing, the work presents a rural Alpine idyll, conforming to the idealised images of the region in the work of Tyrolean genre-painters. A similar scene of cattle in an Alpine landscape is encountered in Hugo Engl’s (1852-1926) *Almlandschaft mit Kühen* (1913, private collection. Fig.5), and the work of Defregger frequently represents the farmers and workers of the region.⁹² Whilst stylistically distinct from the work of either Engl or Defregger, Hollenstein’s sketch shares their tendency to romanticise the Alpine regions, presenting rural life as in tune with the rhythms of nature. In the centre of the image, a barefoot girl – presumably Hollenstein or one of her sisters – drives a herd of cattle down a

provided by the *Galerie Hollenstein* in Lustenau, Vorarlberg. It should be noted Hollenstein did not generally provide titles for her work for the *Kriegspressequartier*, and whilst the titles allocated retrospectively by the gallery are useful in identifying works, it should be remembered that they are not the artist’s own.

⁹⁰ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 257.

⁹¹ Kain argues that Hollenstein’s early incorporation of Expressionist stylistic attributes does not result from imitation, with the artist standing as a ‘co-creator of this early form of modernism’ (Kain, ‘Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 30).

⁹² Hugo Engl, a friend of Egger-Lienz’s father, would go on to teach the young Albin Egger-Lienz.

mountain slope towards a town, nestled in a valley. A black cow leaps in front of the girl, improbably high, and this exaggerated movement imbues the scene with a sense of vitality that is reinforced by the fluid lines of the drawing. The town conforms to the archetypal Alpine settlement, complete with a church spire and a cluster of small worker's cottages, and the sense of rural authenticity is heightened through the representation of the girl as barefoot, her stride in time with that of the animals. Despite this traditional subject matter, the scene is depicted with bold, loose lines and simplified forms more reminiscent of Van Gogh than any genre-painter.⁹³ These more Modernist attributes imbue the drawing with a sense of vitality and movement, and the juxtaposition of stylistic experimentalism and conservative thematic preoccupations recur in Hollenstein's later representations of mountain warfare.

When considering Hollenstein's representation of the Alpine landscape in this early sketch, the date of the work must be taken consideration. The sketch was completed after Hollenstein's move to Munich, and its romantic vision of the mountains may reflect a nostalgia for the landscapes of her youth, with the sketch a re-constructed and idealised vision of her formative years. Whether or not Hollenstein's sketch was shaped by a sense of nostalgia, idealised images of the mountain landscape were common among Austro-Hungarian artists and poets in the pre-war years, with romantic Alpine imagery featuring prominently in the poetry of Grete Gulbransson and Angelika von Hörmann, and the art of Engl and Defregger. Pre-war understandings of the mountains as fundamentally Germanic spaces clearly informed depictions of the peaks during the conflict, with the poetry of Anton Müller presenting the mountains as true Tyrolean territory, to be defended against the Italian irredentists. However, pre-war romanticisations of the mountains should not be considered a

⁹³ The influence of Van Gogh on Hollenstein's art is noted by Kain ('Painter, Patriot, Paradox, p. 28).

clear antecedent to later, explicitly propagandist representations of those landscapes: although the mountains were often imbued with xenophobic and nationalist values in the pre-war years, a range of other factors contributed to the enthusiasm for war in the peaks. For Hollenstein, life at the front, and in the *Kriegspressequartier*, allowed her a far greater range of opportunities for professional and personal advancement than would have been possible at home,⁹⁴ and her decision to go to war was informed as much by personal ambition and a rejection of restrictive gender roles than it was by belligerent or xenophobic rhetoric.

The body of work created by Hollenstein during the war often synthesises a range of disparate influences and contrasting impressions of the front: the paintings and sketches produced during the years of conflict are described by Kain as reflecting the ‘various influences of her formative years’,⁹⁵ and the thematic and stylistic variety of these works undoubtedly reflects in part the diverse circumstances in which the artist created her art.

Whilst Egger-Lienz remained at the front for only two weeks before retreating to the studio, Hollenstein’s period of active service posed more serious practical considerations. In a letter from the artist to Alexandra Ankwicz, dated the second of July 1935, (translated by Kain from the German), Hollenstein recounts her use of natural materials to create art:

All we had for shelter was a pile of stones which often caved in because it went on raining for days on end. For pillows, we piled up moss. All the while, we could hear shrapnel ricocheting off the cliffs around us. Only our company’s shoemaker and

⁹⁴ Kain, ‘Problematic Patriotism’, p. 6.

⁹⁵ Kain, ‘Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 29.

tailor had a better pile of stones. When the sun finally shone through the peaks, I did a little drawing on a piece of dolomite, and gave it to the shoemaker.⁹⁶

Hollenstein's letter makes clear the difficulties of producing art during her period of active service, where harsh conditions and time limitations did not always allow for the completion of more ambitious pieces. Few works dated before 1916 can be identified, and it is possible that the demands of the front-line left little time for artistic expression. Kain discusses some surviving sketches from this period:⁹⁷ however, the majority of works analysed in her articles date from 1916 or later, during Hollenstein's visits to the front as a *Kriegspressequartier* artist, and most works I have obtained from the *Galerie Hollenstein* also date from this year. The substantial body of work Hollenstein produced during 1916 includes more ambitious gouache paintings alongside rough sketches, and representations of conflict that range from aestheticised, romantic visions of the mountains as in *Stellungen im Gebirge* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.6), to darker, more oppressive works such as *Zeltlager mit Soldaten* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.7).

The stylistic, formal and thematic variety of the work produced by Hollenstein during the war resists definitive categorisation, and the range of labels that have been applied to her art range from 'Expressionist'⁹⁸ to 'heimische Künstlerin'.⁹⁹ Although these terms may be valid for

⁹⁶ Kain, 'Problematic Patriotism', p. 3. The original letter can be found in the *Wiener Stadt-und Landesbibliothek Handschriftensammlung*, inventory number 161. 854.

⁹⁷ See Kain, 'Problematic Patriotism', p. 3, and 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 28.

⁹⁸ Reviews from the twenties and thirties are cited by Kain as explicitly referring to the artist as an Expressionist painter. See 'Gesamtaustellung der Vorarlberger Kunstgemeinde', in *Die Ostmark*, July 28, 1925 (cited after Kain, 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 30).

⁹⁹ *Führer durch die Sammlung*, p. 6.

individual works, they do not adequately describe her oeuvre as a whole. If Patrick Bridgwater's assertion that politically conservative war poets tended to employ correspondingly conservative forms holds true for most artists and poets from the war years,¹⁰⁰ then Hollenstein's work often proves an exception. Although works such as *Stellungen im Gebirge* or *Blockhaus im Wald* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig. 8) present a conservative, romantic image of the mountains, Hollenstein's use of bold colours and simplified forms reflect her contact with avant-garde artistic currents during her years in the bohemian area of Schwabing in Munich, home to artists such as Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) during her time there.¹⁰¹ The incorporation of Modernist elements lends her work a boldness and vibrancy not found in regional genre-painting, and rarely in the work of other *Kriegspressequartier* artists, many of whom represented conflict in Naturalist mode, seeking to legitimize their often inaccurate, heroicising images of battle.¹⁰² Whilst

¹⁰⁰ Bridgwater, *The German Poets of the First World War*, p. 163.

¹⁰¹ The influence of Expressionist art on Hollenstein's work resulted in her being nicknamed 'Die Schiefmalerin' by some members of the press (Kain, 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 27).

¹⁰² Many artists who worked for the *Kriegspressequartier* painted in a Naturalist, Historicist mode: Ludwig Koch, Leonard Winterowski and Karl Friedrich Gsur (1871–1939) present modern warfare in a heroic light, with Naturalist details encouraging the viewer to accept their version of war as objective truth. However, the *Kriegspressequartier* increasingly showcased the work of more avant-garde artists during the later years of war. Liselotte Popelka contrasts the first *Kriegspressequartier* exhibitions, in which viewers were confronted with 'eine Menge rein dokumentarischer, sozusagen historisch-geographisch interessanter Darstellungen' with later exhibitions in which the work of more Modernist painters such as Anton Kolig (1886–1950) and Anton Faistauer (1887–1930) was also on display (Popelka, *Vom „Hurra“ zum Leichenfeld*, pp. 3–4). Nevertheless, many *Kriegspressequartier* painters tended towards a more traditional, historicist outlook, and it is telling that Hollenstein was employed only sporadically by the

Hollenstein's representation of the mountains often conforms to conservative idealisations of the peaks, her incorporation of more Modernist and Expressionist elements represents a crucial point of departure from the work of pre-war genre-painters, or the more Naturalist artists of the *Kriegspressequartier*, elevating her work beyond that of a mere local talent.

The influence of Modernist currents on Hollenstein's art, and her synthesis of conservative subject matter and bolder, non-naturalistic elements, can be identified in *Blockhaus im Wald*, completed during Hollenstein's period as an official war artist in 1916. The work depicts a log cabin against the backdrop of a snow-covered forest, and makes no visual reference to the impact of war on the landscape. In the foreground, a path has been cleared in the snow, an implied human presence that softens the colder blue tones of the image. The pinks and reds of the log cabin are distinctly romantic, corresponding to the sentimental Alpine scenes as encountered in works such as Defregger's *Almlandschaft der Ederplan* (1882, private collection. Fig.9), which also presents a log cabin as a symbol of rural authenticity. However, the unusual red colouring of the forest floor, and the pale orange sky, introduce a non-naturalistic colour palette that would not be encountered in the work of a genre-painter.

Although *Blockhaus im Wald* is by no means so bold as Expressionist mountain landscapes such as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's (1880-1938) *Wintermondnacht* (1919, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art. Fig.10), in which the non-naturalistic colour scheme is far more dramatic. Nevertheless, Hollenstein's synthesis of traditional Alpine imagery and bolder stylistic elements is distinct, and reflects the coalescing of various influences in her work.

Kriegspressequartier and was effectively dropped by the organisation after 1916 (Kain, 'Problematic Patriotism, p. 5).

It might be tempting to declare the synthesis of traditional imagery, such as the Alpine log cabin, and more Modernist stylistic elements in *Blockhaus im Wald* as an anomaly, deviating from Bridgwater's assertion that conservative political beliefs impact upon that individual's choice of form and style. However, whilst Modernism, and Expressionism in particular, embraced forms such as the woodcut that allowed for a more 'primitive',¹⁰³ subjective and expressive aesthetic. Whilst the fragmented syntax and non-naturalistic forms of Expressionist poetry and art allowed for the representation of the chaos and senselessness of war,¹⁰⁴ the conflict was welcomed by some Expressionist artists, such as Emil Nolde (1867-1956) and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Whilst Modernism and Expressionism can be considered radical movements that sought to de-stabilise traditional artistic practice, the paradigm of 'reactionary Modernism' is well established, and conservative political sentiments did not preclude artists from creating Modernist or Expressionist works.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ A number of Expressionist artists drew inspiration from the work of so-called 'primitive' cultures, with Carl Einstein's work on African sculpture, *Negerplastik* (Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Bücher), proving hugely influential.

¹⁰⁴ Karl Ludwig Schneider advances an understanding of Expressionist war art and poetry as an anti-war movement defined by a chaotic, fragmentary aesthetic in his 1967 work *Zerbrochene Formen. Wort und Bild im Expressionismus* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1967). Although many early Expressionists welcomed war, John Willett notes that 'it was the Expressionism of what Karl Ludwig Schneider called 'zerbrochene Formen' that persisted throughout the First World War' (John Willett, 'Expressionism: bonfire and jellyfish', in *Expressionism Reassessed*, ed. by Shulamith Behr, Douglas Fanning et al (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. ix–xii (p. x).

¹⁰⁵ Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

The tendency among Expressionist artists and poets to welcome war as a force for social regeneration was generally stronger in Germany than in Austria-Hungary, where Viennese Expressionism was marked by a more introspective and pessimistic outlook, lacking the political engagement of its German counterpart.¹⁰⁶ By comparison, Vivian Liska defines the pre-war German branch of Expressionism (often described as ‘messianic’ or ‘utopian’) as a ‘collective awakening paired with imagery of destruction, exhortations of ecstatic communality, and a pathos-ridden rhetoric of extremes’.¹⁰⁷ It is the influence of this early, ‘utopian’ Expressionism, and not the more introspective works of the Viennese Expressionists, that is evident in Hollenstein’s art from the war, and a brief analysis of these pre-war Expressionist currents is required in order to assess how her experience of conflict legitimised the continued influence of early, optimistic Expressionism in her work long after 1914.

In the early weeks of the war, many German Expressionists were as gripped by ‘Kriegsbegeisterung’ as conservative genre-painters or belligerent poets.¹⁰⁸ The outbreak of war offered a chance to put the Nietzschean-inspired conviction¹⁰⁹ in the benefits of a

¹⁰⁶ The more introspective nature of Viennese Expressionism is noted by Patrick Werkner, *Physis und Psyche. Der österreichische Frühexpressionismus* (Vienna: Herold, 1986).

¹⁰⁷ Vivian Liska, ‘Messianic Endgames in German-Jewish Expressionist Literature’, in *Europa! Europa? The Avant-garde, Modernism and the Fate of a Continent*, ed. by Sascha Bru (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), pp. 342–358 (p. 342).

¹⁰⁸ As discussed in Neil H. Donahue, ‘Menschheitsdämmerung: The Aging of a Canon’, in *A Companion to the Literature of German Expressionism*, pp. 137–156 (p. 141) and Peter Jelavich, ‘Dance of Life, Dance of Death’ (see note 7).

¹⁰⁹ Richard T. Gray emphasises the influence of Nietzsche on the ‘vitalistically defined conception of life’ shared by early Expressionists (‘Metaphysical Mimesis: Nietzsche’s *Geburt der Tragödie* and the

combative engagement with overwhelming, violent forces into practice, with some early Expressionists fighting (and, in the case of Franz Marc (1880–1916) and August Macke (1887–1914), also dying) at the front. Far from constituting an inexplicable anomaly, Hollenstein’s conservative belief in the necessity of war did not prevent her from creating work that incorporated Modernist elements. Although the brutal realities of combat are often understood to have brought an abrupt end to the more belligerent attitudes of the pre-war

Aesthetics of Literary Expressionism’, in *A Companion to the Literature of German Expressionism*, pp. 39-66 (p. 36)). Nietzschean images of the mountains as sites of transcendence and vitalistic power are analysed by Mark Edmund Bolland, ‘Nietzsche and Mountains’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1996), and can be seen in Oskar Kokoschka’s *Tre Croci (Dolomitenlandschaft)* (1913, oil on canvas, 82 x 113 cm. Vienna, Leopoldmuseum. Fig. 11) *in A Companion to the Literature of German Expressionism*, pp. 137–156 (p. 141) and Peter Jelavich, ‘Dance of Life, Dance of Death’ (see note 7).

¹⁰⁹ Richard T. Gray emphasises the influence of Nietzsche on the ‘vitalistically defined conception of life’ shared by early Expressionists (‘Metaphysical Mimesis: Nietzsche’s *Geburt der Tragödie* and the Aesthetics of Literary Expressionism’, in *A Companion to the Literature of German Expressionism*, pp. 39-66 (p. 36)). Nietzschean images of the mountains as sites of transcendence and vitalistic power are analysed by Mark Edmund Bolland, ‘Nietzsche and Mountains’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1996), and can be seen in Oskar Kokoschka’s *Tre Croci (Dolomitenlandschaft)* (1913, oil on canvas, 82 x 113 cm. Vienna, Leopoldmuseum. Fig. 11) and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s *Wintermondnacht*.

¹⁰⁹ The progression from initial enthusiasm to disillusionment is succinctly encapsulated in two images by Christian Rohlf (1849–1938), with an early image presenting a hyper-masculine, animated soldier (*Der Soldat* (1914, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig.12) that is notably absent in the later wood-cut *Der Gefangene* (1918, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig 13).

German Expressionists,¹¹⁰ the intimate, individualised nature of war in the Alps and Dolomites allowed for the continuing relevance of earlier, more positive Expressionist visions of conflict after 1914, and these earlier currents are evident in Hollenstein's work even after the great disillusionment of the Western Front, and her own experience of active service.

To a significant extent, the pre-war Expressionist fixation with violent, vitalistic forces overlapped with the pre-war sentiments of the *Alpenverein* and with the propagandist exaltation of mountain warfare. It is certainly true that Expressionist art after 1914 demonstrates a preoccupation with images of death and decay and a stylistic 'Deformierung des Gegenständlichen',¹¹¹ with the work of Otto Dix conveying the horror of war through a fragmentation of form and the use of violent imagery. However, the small-scale battles, sense of communion with the natural landscape, and majesty of the peaks marked mountain warfare as distinct.¹¹² Whilst members of the *Alpenverein* understood the mountains as an existential battleground, pre-war Expressionist artists interpreted the peaks as a realm of individual transcendence, allowing for a communion with vitalistic natural forces, and spiritual enlightenment.¹¹³ Furthermore, both regional Austro-Hungarian artists and pre-war

¹¹⁰ The progression from initial enthusiasm to disillusionment is succinctly encapsulated in two images by Christian Rohlf (1849–1938), with an early image presenting a hyper-masculine, animated soldier (*Der Soldat* (1914, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig.12) that is notably absent in the later wood-cut *Der Gefangene* (1918, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig 13).

¹¹¹ Karl Ludwig Schneider, *Zerbrochene Formen*, p. 26.

¹¹² Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 257.

¹¹³ A number of Expressionist groups would move from the city to small rural communities. The *Blaue Reiter* group found inspiration in the mountains around Murnau, whilst the proto-Expressionist artists of Worpswede near Bremen have attracted considerable attention.

Expressionists alike demonstrate a preoccupation with pre-modern, rural societies, whether the romanticised peasant communities of the 1809 Rebellion, as seen in the work of Defregger, or the representation of ‘primitive’ peoples in the work of Emil Nolde or Max Pechstein.¹¹⁴ This concern was accompanied by a corresponding emphasis on fraternal bonds: Austrian poets and artists extolled the strong bonds between soldiers in the mountains,¹¹⁵ and German Expressionists often privileged small, pre-modern communities as an antithesis to city living.¹¹⁶ In Hollenstein’s art, pre-war German Expressionism and regional tropes coalesce, and this continued incorporation of German Expressionist elements after 1914 marks Hollenstein’s art as distinct from that produced in Vienna, and from the more negative representation of war in Expressionist art and poetry of the Western Front.

Hollenstein’s synthesis of pre-war Expressionist currents, regional idealisations of mountain warfare, and her personal experience of active service results in a body of work that presents the conflict in an ambivalent manner. Her complex depiction of mountain warfare is reflected in works such as *Soldaten im Gebirge* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.15), a sketch that represents a charge into battle, set against a mountain landscape highlighted with flashes

¹¹⁴ The Expressionist obsession with pre-modern, ‘primitive’ ways of life is illustrated by Pechstein’s *Somalitanz* (1910, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig.14), in which the artist presents an idealised, exoticised image of a foreign ‘other’.

¹¹⁵ Heinse’s poetry presents the sense of community at the front as one of the few positive aspects of active service, making frequent use of the friendly term ‘Kamarad’.

¹¹⁶ The ambivalent Expressionist response to the rapidly developing urban centres of Berlin, Munich and Vienna was the subject of recent exhibition at the *Belvedere*, ‘Wien-Berlin. Kunst zweier Metropolen’ (14/02/14–15/06/14). The catalogue offers a comprehensive overview of the differing conceptions of the city in the work of Austro-Hungarian and German artists (*Wien-Berlin. Kunst zweier Metropolen von Schiele bis Grosz*, ed. by the *Belvedere* and *Berlinische Galerie* (Munich: Prestel, 2014)).

of red and yellow. These vivid colours, and the presentation of heavily stylised soldiers charging into battle, reflect the stylistic influence of pre-war Expressionism (the image can be compared with Christian Rohlf's *Der Soldat* (1914, New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Fig.12 (see note 109), yet the monochromatic colours of the foreground share more with bleaker Expressionist representations of the Western front, most famously the dark landscapes of Otto Dix.

Despite the more dramatic flashes of colour of *Soldaten im Gebirge*, Hollenstein's work does not neglect the darker realities of conflict. Unlike poets such as Mell and Müller, whose work invariably presents death at the front as a heroic and willing sacrifice, Hollenstein's art frequently acknowledges the dangers of war, advancing a distinctly ambivalent representation of combat. In the foreground of *Soldaten im Gebirge*, two soldiers lie either dead or wounded whilst the men march past their bodies towards the site of battle. Unlike more sentimental, heroicising images of death such as Egger-Lienz's *Abschied* (1915, present whereabouts unknown. Fig.16), Hollenstein's sketch does not present a glorious 'blood sacrifice': the prone soldiers are the least detailed figures in the sketch, and the marching soldiers in the foreground ignore the loosely drawn, indistinct figures on the ground, paying little attention to a death that is not cast as heroic.

As a sketch created for the *Kriegspressequartier*, it would be unwise to interpret *Soldaten im Gebirge* as a profoundly personal, subjective response to war. The small scale of the work (9 x 13 cm), along with its loose lines and lack of detail in the foreground, suggest that the work was intended, at least in part, as a documentary effort (and possibly as a preparatory sketch for a larger work: another sketch from 1916, *Unterstände an der Südfront* (Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.17), shows clear notes in the margin detailing possible colour schemes).

Nevertheless, the sketch can be read as presenting an ambivalent image of conflict: *Soldaten*

im Gebirge makes ample visual reference to the dangers and discomforts of active service, with the bodies of soldiers in the foreground, and the marching soldier bent under the weight of his backpack, reflecting the perils of the front. Whilst the soldiers in the background are presented not as individuals, but as mirror images, frozen against the cliff, the flashes of colour in the background introduces a more dynamic note. These red tones might be read as signaling danger, yet could also be seen as imbuing the work with a sense of urgency and even excitement, more in line with pre-war, optimistic German Expressionism or the writings of Austro-Hungarian soldiers such as Trenker in which war is cast as an adventure.¹¹⁷

Hollenstein's representation of dead soldiers in *Soldaten im Gebirge*, whilst by no means an anti-war statement, prevents the sketch from being read as a celebration of conflict. Although Hollenstein's support for war was unwavering, her response to the fighting was more conflicted than that of propagandists who never witnessed war first-hand. In the post-war period, Hollenstein reflected on both the sorrows and joys of war in the Dolomites. Kain provides an English translation of Hollenstein's diary entry from the 1935 reunion of her battalion (again, I have been unable to access the original German quotation), and it is clear that the artist experienced a profound nostalgia for war coupled with an acknowledgement of the suffering so ubiquitous at the front:

It turned out to be a joyful reunion tinged with nostalgia. Many members of the Dornbirn Battalion had fallen or perished miserably in prison. Of course many have died since, after all, we are all twenty years older. And we contrasted these sorrowful reflections with the present. Soon, however, a few snappy marches and some sweet

¹¹⁷ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 205.

wine loosened everyone's tongues. Suddenly we all felt twenty years younger, and decided that, in spite of all the misery and deprivation of that time, things were still better then than they are now. No one could say why exactly, they could only feel it, feel that all-embracing bond of belonging together in comradeship instead of the hatred and fraternal strife you find today.¹¹⁸

This excerpt from Hollenstein's diary suggests her genuine conviction in the necessity of war, and also reflects how, despite her ultimately positive reflections on the front-line experience, she remained acutely aware of the 'misery and deprivation' inflicted by conflict. Despite Hollenstein's clear nostalgia for war, she was no simple propagandist: unlike poets such as Müller, who never experienced war first hand, Hollenstein's work from the front acknowledges the dangers of conflict. *Zeltlager mit Soldaten* presents a primarily bleak image of war: the work is strikingly similar to *Soldaten im Gebirge*, measuring 9.1 x 13 cm, and is also executed in coloured and graphite pencils. *Zeltlager mit Soldaten* presents a group of soldiers, two of whom turn back towards the viewer, and the central figure grimaces as he is ushered along by two men at his sides, one of whom is substantially taller. The central figure may represent a prisoner of war, whose dark expression is matched by the dense black and red pencil shading of the work. Although the representation of the tents may suggest shelter, they are also depicted in dark red and black tones, presented as squat shapes that are not immediately recognisable as tents. A group of soldiers and horses climb the winding uphill path in the background of the image: as in *Soldaten im Gebirge*, their movements are

¹¹⁸ Kain, 'Problematic Patriotism', p .6. Translation of a handwritten letter from Hollenstein to Alexandra Ankiewicz, dated July 2nd, 1935. The German original is currently in the Handschriftensammlung of the *Wiener Stadt-und Landesbibliothek*, item number 161.854.

heavily stylised, with the figures lacking any sense of individuality, suggesting the dehumanising experience of active service.

The dark tones of *Zeltlager mit Soldaten*, and the grimacing expression of the central figure, indicate a more overwhelmingly negative assessment of life at the front than *Soldaten im Gebirge*, in which streaks of colour break the dark pencil shading of the foreground.

Although unfaltering in her support of war, Hollenstein would create other works that presented a bleaker image of conflict: in 1916, the artist completed a series of portraits for the *Kriegspressequartier* in which wounded soldiers are represented not as heroes, but as suffering individuals, profoundly affected by their injuries. *Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.18) depicts a lone soldier in the field hospital, staring blankly into the distance. The work is distinctly melancholic: the down-turned gaze of the soldier is cast in shadow, and the iron bedframe and bare walls contribute to the sense of isolation and a lack of home comforts.

Whilst works such as *Zeltlager mit Soldaten* and *Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat* present a more negative depiction of war than images such as *Blockhaus im Wald*, these works do not in any way undermine Hollenstein's belief in the necessity of the fighting. A similar focus on more negative aspects of war is found in Max Mell's (1882–1971) 'Zur Weihnachtsfeier der Kriegsblinden', where the poet employs a sentimental image of blind veterans not as a criticism of war, but as a rallying cry, with the 'heroic' sacrifice of the men used to shame the reader into action.¹¹⁹ It would therefore be inaccurate to claim Hollenstein's sketches of

¹¹⁹ Yates criticises Mell's sentimental representation of war veterans: 'By the end of 1915 the sanctimoniousness of a piece such as Mell's 'Zur Weihnachtsfeier der Kriegsblinden', in which patriotism is presented as a consolation for war-inflicted blindness, seems only to confirm the barbarising effect of the conflict on proper feeling and good judgement' (Yates, 'Austrian Poetry of the First World War', p. 31).

wounded soldiers as an anti-war statement: for the artist, an awareness of the less glorious aspects of mountain warfare did not negate the necessity of the fighting, and works such as *Blockhaus im Wald* and *Stellungen im Gebirge* present the mountain landscape in bolder, more dramatic colours that do not convey a sense of threat or oppression.

Again, Hollenstein's personal writings provide insight into a representation of conflict that is nuanced and conflicted. A letter to the *Kriegspressequartier* from the September of that year (again, I use Kain's translation), describes her reaction to the outbreak of conflict and her commitment to the cause, part of the artist's attempt to prolong her official engagement as a war artist:

Then came the great international struggle, and I too was drawn to it, partially out of patriotism, partially because of artistic ambition. I put on that uniform because I wanted to see what was going on in the world, since I couldn't work as an artist at home anyway. Unfortunately the order came too quickly that put an end to my efforts and artistic inspiration...What I want is to make progress as a professional artist, and to immortalize my homeland as it engages in this great struggle.¹²⁰

Whilst war provided opportunity for professional artistic advancement, the artist was also motivated by a genuine desire to defend her homeland, and some works from 1916 depict the Italian Front in a more positive manner, representing the mountain landscape as largely unscathed by war. One pencil sketch, *Gebirgslandschaft der Südfront mit Stellungen* (1916,

¹²⁰ Kain, 'Problematic Patriotism', p. 6. Translated from a handwritten letter dated by Kain as the 31st September 1915 (I have not been able to access the letter, and it is unclear whether the unlikely date is a mistake on the part of Kain or Hollenstein). The letter is currently in the *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv–Kriegsarchiv*, box 31, item 13.

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.19), initially appears to contradict its retrospective title, with the 'Stellungen' in the centre of the image appearing as a minute series of dots that are not immediately visible on first viewing. Despite the small-scale format of the sketch, measuring 24.8 x 29.6 cm, there is a marked contrast between the scale of the mountains and that of the military installations, and this disparity serves to highlight the formidable scale of the landscape. As a small-scale, figurative work, the full power of the landscape is not necessarily conveyed in *Gebirgslandschaft der Südfront mit Stellungen*, which fulfils a primarily documentary function. However, *Stellungen im Gebirge*, a gouache painting of a mountain valley, is a more ambitious representation of the peaks that is considerably more susceptible to interpretation. Despite its limited size (24.7 x 35 cm), *Stellungen im Gebirge* employs a range of soft pink, blue and green tones that heighten the drama of the natural landscape, and the artist again represents the formidable scale of the mountains against the small row of military installations in the foreground.

The scene depicted in *Stellungen im Gebirge* bears some resemblance to Caspar David Friedrich's (1774-1840) *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (1818, Hamburg, Kunsthalle Hamburg. Fig.20) both in its composition and in its topographical features - the spindly rock formations of figure x recall the Fünffingerspitze or Sassolungo mountains in the Dolomites, and mirror the towers of rock in Friedrich's painting, with Hollenstein's use of an aerial viewpoint forming a further point of comparison. These continuities point to the influence of Romantic landscape paintings on Hollenstein's work, and on broader Austro-Hungarian interpretations of the mountains as a space of transcendence and individual, subjective experiences in the pre-war years and during the war. Keller notes the emphasis on 'individual regeneration' among members of the pre-war *Alpenverein*,¹²¹ and also the feeling among

¹²¹ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 255.

Austro-Hungarian soldiers that ‘the beauty of the mountains transcended the war [...] the peaks offered light of such brilliance that soldiers felt transported from battle’.¹²² Such readings of the mountains share much with the Romantic emphasis on the peaks as ‘symbols of a sublime spiritual world in contrast to imperfect social reality’,¹²³ with painters such as Friedrich seeking not to transcribe an empirical, ‘objective’ reality, but creating symbolic landscapes that ‘abandoned any attempt at mimetic reproduction of the natural world and aimed entirely at the expression of transcendental meaning’.¹²⁴

Like Friedrich’s earlier painting, Hollenstein presents the mountains in a highly subjective, aestheticised manner, with the soft pastel colours introducing a tone of serenity at odds with the militarisation of the peaks during the war. Although the barbed wire in the foreground hints towards this process of militarisation, it is only apparent on close inspection, and does not significantly detract from the natural landscape. Hollenstein’s representation of the mountains as a transcendental yet perilous environment recalls Schiller’s theory of the sublime as advanced in his 1801 essay *Über das Erhabene*, in which the sublime is defined as a transcendental, compelling yet intensely threatening force to which an individual has no choice but to submit. In the post-war period, Hollenstein would create similar works in which the mountain landscape is presented in an aestheticised and subjective mode, including *Bei Hohenems* (1938, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.21) and *Falzarego in den Dolomiten* (1932, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.22), two oil paintings that depict the peaks and Alpine villages in bright, non-naturalistic colours.

¹²² Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, p. 267.

¹²³ Richard Littlejohns, ‘German Romantic Painters’, in *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism*, ed. by Nicholas Saul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 227-241 (p. 236).

¹²⁴ Richard Littlejohns, ‘German Romantic Painters’, p. 231.

Although Hollenstein's representation of the mountains as transcendental, subjective spaces bears comparison with the German Romantic understanding of the peaks, the continuities between *Stellungen im Gebirge* and *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* should not be overstated. Whilst Friedrich's paintings reflect 'a heightened sensitivity to the natural world, combined with a belief in nature's correspondence to the mind; a passion for the equivocal, the indeterminate, the obscure and the faraway', ¹²⁵*Stellungen im Gebirge* does represent an empirical, external reality, anchored to a very specific time and place. Despite the relative creative freedom afforded to those artists of the *Kriegspressequartier*,¹²⁶ an anonymous Swiss critic writing in 1916 described an ideal war artist as displaying an 'echt künstlerische, ich möchte fast sagen selbstverleugnende Liebe zur Sache, zum künstlerischen Gegenstand, die nur darauf ausgeht, das Objekt möglichst wahr und intensiv zu schauen und unmittelbar zu gestalten'.¹²⁷ The documentary function of Hollenstein's art for the *Kriegspressequartier* is evident from the small-scale, figurative nature of many sketches from 1916, such as *Forno* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.23) or *Gefechtsstellungen an der Südfront* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.24): nevertheless, the dramatic panorama and non-naturalistic colours of *Stellungen im Gebirge*, and its aestheticised representation of the high mountains, depart from the purely documentary focus understood as typical of a *Kriegspressequartier* artist by the anonymous Swiss critic.

¹²⁵ Joseph Leo Korner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (London: Reaktion, 1990), p. 23.

¹²⁶ Liselotte Popelka, *Vom 'Hurra' zum Leichenfeld*, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Liselotte Popelka, *Vom 'Hurra' zum Leichenfeld*, p. 4. The review cited is of a *Kriegspressequartier* exhibition held at the Kunstsalon Ferdinand Wyss in Bern, October 1916.

Although in *Stellungen im Gebirge* can be read as an idealised, romantic image of the mountains, Hollenstein would have been acutely aware of the dangers posed by the hostile landscape. Whilst incidents such as the mining of Col di Lana¹²⁸ inflicted unprecedented damage on the landscape, Keller describes how the mountains were nevertheless felt by soldiers to hold the upper hand:

The devastation of avalanches matched the destruction wrought by artillery. A single avalanche killed three hundred men in the Marmolata region. One soldier remembered the “White” Friday the Thirteenth of December in 1916, when thousands of soldiers died in avalanches. Another described the “Black Thursday” in the same month when the human and material costs of avalanches rivaled losses in the spring offensive. Winter’s wrath led soldiers to believe that those who fell to avalanches died heroes’ deaths.¹²⁹

Whilst the soft blue and lavender tones of *Stellungen im Gebirge* present a non-naturalistic, romanticised image of the peaks, the work does acknowledge the dangers of that landscape, with the small row of installations dwarfed by the surrounding peaks, and appearing perilously situated on their rocky outcrop. This ambivalent representation of the mountains as dramatic, romantic yet potentially dangerous spaces reflects the responses of many soldiers to mountain warfare, and demonstrates Hollenstein’s nuanced, conflicted response to the peaks. *Stellungen im Gebirge* bears the influence of Friedrich’s Romantic landscapes alongside pre-war Expressionist readings of the mountains as a realm of simultaneous transcendence and

¹²⁸ In April 1916, Italian troops tunneled under the mountain and laid five tons of explosive under the peak. The subsequent blast left a smouldering crater that became one of the most powerful images of the destruction at the Italian front.

¹²⁹ Keller, ‘The Mountains Roar’, pp. 266–67.

danger,¹³⁰ and conservative interpretations of the peaks as a pure and unspoiled realm by members of the *Alpenverein*. As such, the painting reflects a variety of disparate influences and readings of the mountains, and indicates the often ambivalent ways in which Hollenstein represented the peaks.

In *Stellungen im Gebirge*, Hollenstein represents the landscapes of the Italian Front in a far more positive way than in works such as *Zeltlager mit Soldaten*, in which the oppressive red and black tones convey a more melancholy scene. Other works besides *Stellungen im Gebirge* present a more positive view of the Italian Front, in which groups of soldiers form the primary subject, representing the front-line communities that were claimed by soldiers to be especially pronounced among Alpine troops.¹³¹ The intimate scale of battle, and the tendency of men to fight alongside others from their village, allowed for the fostering of an especially strong fraternal spirit among Alpine troops. This focus on brotherhood and community (emphasised by Hollenstein in her account of the Dornbirn Battalion reunion) conformed to both the pre-war Expressionist emphasis on small communities, and also to the conviction among conservative Tyroleans such as Müller that they belonged to a distinctive culture with a shared set of militaristic values. A number of Hollenstein's works represent the communal bonds between soldiers, with *Soldatengruppe* (1916, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.25) presenting a more positive image of life at the front.

¹³⁰ Nietzschean images of the mountains as sites of transcendence and vitalistic power are analysed by Mark Edmund Bolland, 'Nietzsche and Mountains' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1996), and can be identified in works by Kokoschka and Kirchner. See note 108.

¹³¹ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 259.

Like many of those works created by the artist in 1916, *Soldatengruppe* takes the form of a small-scale sketch. The work, lacking any background detail and providing little more than an outline of the men, seems likely to have been an on-the-spot observation or preliminary sketch. Nevertheless, the work presents a group of soldiers smoking pipes and engaged in conversation, and this sense of community can be contrasted with Hollenstein's representations of single wounded soldiers, such as *Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat*, that evoke a sense of isolation and melancholy. Here, the soldiers are represented in a moment of rest, with only two of the figures standing, and the work also appears to depict younger soldiers alongside their older counterparts, with the two central figures showing a marked disparity in size. A similar scene is encountered in the gouache painting *Soldaten am Tisch* (1916-1917, Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein. Fig.26). In this work, a group of men turn towards a single soldier who faces away from the viewer, possibly recounting an anecdote to his comrades. The painting is marked by colours that suggest tranquility, with lavender, pink, and green featuring prominently. Despite the more negative assessments of war in *Zeltlager mit Soldaten* or *Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat*, Hollenstein's representation of soldiers in moments of reflects a more celebratory understanding of life at the front, and this more positive assessment of war appears to have endured beyond 1918, with Hollenstein's 1935 diary entry reflecting on the experience of conflict in a nostalgic and sentimental tone despite her recognition of the loss and suffering of the front.

In Hollenstein's war art, the viewer is confronted with an immensely varied and often ambivalent representation of the mountains. Her work is distinct not only in its broad range of subjects, but also in its stylistic variation, with works ranging from rough pencil sketches such as *Gebirgslandschaft der Südfront mit Stellungen* to bolder, more colourful works incorporating Modernist elements such as *Blockhaus im Wald*, and images such as *Stellungen*

im Gebirge that reflect the influence of Romantic landscape painting. The stylistic and thematic variety of Hollenstein's art surpasses that of most other *Kriegspressequartier* painters, and points to her status as an artist familiar with both the avant-garde, Expressionist movements of pre-war Munich, and the more conservative work of regional Austro-Hungarian genre-painters, both of whom found shared inspiration in mountain imagery and experienced a similar enthusiasm for combat.

Whilst Hollenstein's art from the front is unique in a number of ways, her merging of idealised, romantic representations of the landscape with stylistic elements influenced by pre-war Expressionism is distinctive. Although both conservative Austro-Hungarians from the mountain regions and pre-war German Expressionists idealised conflict and the mountain landscape, Hollenstein's incorporation of more Modernist elements is rarely encountered in art from the conservative regions of Austria-Hungary, and nor are her more positive representations of war to be found in the work of most German Expressionist artists after 1914. Hollenstein's experience of mountain warfare allowed for the enduring relevance of pre-war Expressionism, even after the mass disillusionment experienced by artists at other fronts, and the influence of pre-war Expressionism alongside more conservative elements is a striking feature of her work from the war years.

In the post-war period, mountain imagery formed the dominant leitmotif in Hollenstein's work. Her mountain paintings were widely exhibited during the fascist years, and some modern scholars have criticised these works as laying the foundations for Nazi 'Blut und Boden' aesthetics: Kain refers to Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber's entry in *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897-1938*, in which the author, although unaware of Hollenstein's fascist

affiliations, links her ‘exalted views of mountains’ to Nazi art.¹³² After 1945, Hollenstein’s fascist sympathies contributed to the near-total obscurity of her work outside Lustenau, and catalogues produced in her home village often reduce the artist to a local talent, failing to acknowledge the influence of international artistic currents in her work. In one 1971 catalogue from the *Galerie Hollenstein*, the artist is cast as ‘die große Lustenauerin’,¹³³ and even as a ‘heimische Künstlerin’.¹³⁴

Whilst the representation of Hollenstein as a limited regional talent successfully downplays her fascist sympathies, it also obscures the relevance of her work beyond a limited regional sphere. Although scope of my thesis does not allow for a detailed analysis of Hollenstein’s work during the fascist period, it would be necessary to fully acknowledge her activities during these years in order to bring her art to wider critical and public attention. To neglect the work produced during that period in a broader assessment of the artist’s legacy would be to advance an extremely reductive reading of her art, character and life. Far from constituting the work of a ‘heimische Künstlerin’, Hollenstein’s art reflects a synthesis of regional and international currents, and her work from the Italian Front forms a nuanced, ambivalent representation of the mountain landscape that is neither fully celebratory nor condemnatory.

¹³² Kain, ‘Painter, Patriot, Paradox’, p. 32.

¹³³ *Galerie Stephanie Hollenstein Lustenau. Führer durch die Sammlung*, p. 10.

¹³⁴ *Führer durch die Sammlung*, p. 6.

5. Gustav Heinse: Destruction and death on the Karst Plateau

Like Hollenstein's art from the Front, Gustav Heinse's war poetry has fallen into near-complete obscurity in the post-war period. Whilst Hollenstein's fall from grace is understandable, with the taint of fascist connections – even unfounded, as in the case of Egger-Lienz – proving disastrous for artists and poets after 1945, Heinse's poetry remains practically unknown not as a result of his own political ideologies, but thanks to Nazi censorship.¹³⁵ However, his work reflects one of the most unique poetic voices of the Italian Front, standing as one of the few poetic German-language accounts of war on the karst, and is deserving of greater scholarly attention than it has historically received.

Gustav Heinse was born in 1896 in Castelnuovo, the Kingdom of Dalmatia, now Herceg Novi, Montenegro, as Josef K. Klein (his reasons for assuming a pseudonym – which he would use only sporadically – are unclear). If Hollenstein's self-conscious mythologisation of her Alemanni lineage reflects her resistance to an ethnically and linguistically diverse Austria-Hungary, then Heinse, born to an Italian mother and a Bohemian-German father, represents a very different Dual Monarchy – a polyglot, multi-ethnic land that provided great opportunity for cultural exchange. Heinse, who acquired Italian from his mother and later

¹³⁵ Biographical details taken from Emilia Staitscheva, 'Ein Beispiel für die Präsenz der Isonzoschlachten in der Österreichischen Lyrik', in *Von der Kulturlandschaft zum Ort des kritischen Selbstbewusstseins. Italien in der österreichischen Literatur* (Transkulturelle Forschungen an den Österreich-Bibliotheken im Ausland (Bd. 6)), ed. by Manfred Müller, Luigi Reitani (Vienna: Lit. Verlag, 2011), pp. 97-104. Aside from Staitscheva's article, Paola Maria Filippi has written a short article on the poet in Italian, translating some of his poems from the post-war period. See 'Gustav Heinse sull'Isonzo', <www.germanistica.net/2014/03/21/gustav-heinse-sullisonzo/> [accessed 21 August 2014].

became fluent in Bulgarian, associated not only with German-speaking poets including such luminaries as Rilke and Hermann Hesse, but also with such prominent Bulgarian literary figures, such as the Modernist poets Asen Razcvetnikov (1897–1951) and Nikolaj Liliev (1885–1950), and the Italian pianist and composer Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924). In 1924, after a period in Belgrade working as an electrical engineer, the poet moved to Sofia, where he remained until his death in 1971. The 1994 publication of *Die Grille*, a collection of Heinse's war poetry, in Bulgaria¹³⁶ made his poems available to the wider public for the first time since the initial print run of 1937. Since 1994, there has been some (extremely limited) scholarship on Heinse's war poetry, notably Emilia Staitscheva's work on *Der brennende Berg*, and an online article in Italian by Paola Maria Filippi, docent in German literature at Bologna University.¹³⁷ However, despite such isolated critical studies, Heinse's work remains neglected, and his contribution to Austro-Hungarian literature hugely undervalued.

Heinse's obscurity can be attributed to several factors: his use of both a pseudonym and his birth name leads to practical difficulties in locating his work, which is confusingly listed in various catalogues under different names.¹³⁸ Additionally, Heinse's success as a translator has diverted attention from his original poetry – his acclaimed translation of Dimitar Dimov's (1909–1966) novel *Tyutyun (Tobacco)* (1951), completed during the 1950's, was published under his birth name, precluding association with the poetry published as Heinse. However, the primary reason for Heinse's obscurity lies entirely beyond his control. Having published

¹³⁶ *Die Grille*, ed. by Ekatherina Klein (Veliko Târnovo: Veliko Târnovo PIC, 1994).

¹³⁷ 'Gustav Heinse sull'Isonzo', <www.germanistica.net/2014/03/21/gustav-heinse-sullisonzo/> [accessed 21 August 2014]. See note 134.

¹³⁸ The one copy of *Die Grille* in the United Kingdom, held in Oxford, is listed under the name 'Josef Klein'. However, the name Gustav Heinse appears on the cover.

his poems from the front in various magazines in the Banat during the war, and in the Viennese literary magazine *Das Tagebuch* in 1922, Heinse first published the poems as a collection in 1937 under the title *Der brennende Berg*. Sadly, his timing was not fortunate. After the initial print run, a thousand unbound copies of the work were destroyed by the German Embassy in Sofia. Staitscheva does not provide specific grounds for this act of censorship, yet the explicit political criticisms in *Der brennende Berg* would hardly have endeared Heinse's less than heroic account of the 'Great War' to the authorities. Of the initial print run, Heinse saved only twenty copies of his work. It is thanks to Hermann Hesse, who donated his copy to Leonard Forster, Schröder Professor of German at Cambridge, that some of his poems found their way into a study of German poetry, and were belatedly published almost sixty years after the initial doomed print run.

Given the obscurity of *Der brennende Berg*, it is useful to briefly outline the main thematic concerns and formal features of the collection before moving to a specific analysis of Heinse's representation of the karst. Thematically, the collection reflects what might be considered typical of an anti-war poet: graphic images of death and destruction occur throughout the work, along with a profound conviction in the injustice of war, a focus on the youth of the soldiers, and an intense longing for peace. However, whilst the thematic concerns of *Der brennende Berg* might be considered typical of a poet writing in opposition to war, Heinse's formal and stylistic experimentation is highly distinctive, especially given the extreme circumstances in which he was forced to write. One of the most striking aspects of *Der brennende Berg* is the way in which the poems were written over the course of several years and in a number of different locations, with the final poem, 'Epilog', likely to have been written after 1918. This gradual creative process affords Heinse the space to reflect upon and revise his experiences of war throughout the collection, thus providing a valuable

insight into the shifting understandings of conflict from 1915 through to the post-war years. Another distinctive quality of Heinse's writing is its formal experimentation, with poems often marked by unusual punctuation, the unexpected and emphatic capitalisation of a single phrase, or use of intrusive 'reported' dialogue. Such techniques contribute to a pervasive sense of fragmentation and disintegration, and it is this fragmentary aesthetic, along with Heinse's deeply subjective interpretation of the karst landscape, that allows certain poems from the front to be broadly characterised as Expressionist. Heinse's fragmented syntax and disruptive punctuation formally embodies the disintegration of the landscape and the psychological distress of the soldiers, and his representation of the karst cannot be analysed independently of such distinctive formal techniques.

In *Der brennende Berg*, Heinse's representation of the karst plateau is overwhelmingly negative, reflecting the fundamental differences between his experience of war and that of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein, whose work presents a more ambivalent depiction of the mountain landscape. Although war on the karst shared many features of the fighting in the Alps and Dolomites, the karst plateau could be even more brutal than the icy expanses of the high peaks. Heinse, who experienced the devastating battles around Monte San Michele, witnessed the suffering inflicted by the karst landscape at close quarters: during the Second battle of the Isonzo, the potholes around the hill were so deep that soldiers had to be pulled from the crevices by their comrades, and the limestone trenches became unbearably hot in the summer heat, whilst plummeting to freezing temperatures during the night.¹³⁹ Although the Alps and Dolomites posed huge challenges to the soldiers, the snow-covered peaks nevertheless allowed for an intimate communion with nature that was not generally possible on the plateau, and Mark Thompson highlights the extent to which the karst was understood

¹³⁹ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 107.

by soldiers in profoundly negative terms: 'For the soldiers, the Carso quickly became an evil force rather than an inert landscape: an enemy that probed their human frailty, flaying their senses.'¹⁴⁰ If this were not enough to preclude a romanticised representation of war on the karst, the multi-ethnic, polyglot settlements of the plateau designated the area as a 'foreign' realm, unlike the 'Germanic' mountains of Tyrol, and the area not generally idealised by Austro-Hungarians in the pre-war era, or by soldiers during the conflict.

In *Der brennende Berg*, the karst is not presented as an unchanging, passive landscape, but rather as a mutable, animate entity, imbued with a range of personal, subjective symbolisms. The representation of this landscape shifts significantly throughout the collection. The latter half of *Der brennende Berg* presents a symbolic reading of the peak of Monte San Michele that does not correspond to an objective reality, but rather to the psychological state of the poet. By contrast, the first half of the collection presents the landscape of the karst in a less subjective manner, and, in the earlier poems, it is clear that the landscape is represented primarily as an oppressive, tormenting force. Even in the man-made trenches, the hard stone of the karst forms an immense challenge for the men, and 'Monte San Michele, den 23. Dezember 1915' details the discomfort experienced by the soldiers in the tunnels under the mountain:

Mählich, allmählich erschlaft der Wille.

Wir dämmern hinüber in friedliche Stille.

Fröstelnd, die Härte vom Stein

¹⁴⁰ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 108.

Um die Glieder, schlafen wir ein. (ll. 11–14).¹⁴¹

In the trenches, the men are forced to contend with freezing temperatures and hard stone, both of which deprive them of sleep and compound their distress. The miserable conditions of the karst trenches are also addressed in ‘Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915’, in which Heinse emphasises the sense of claustrophobia and the lack of natural light:

In Unterständen, in feuchtstickiger Luft

/der Berg ist durchhöhlt und Gruft ist an Gruft/

sind wir gepfercht seit Tagen und Wochen (ll. 1–3).

These lines represent the trenches as a humid, claustrophobic prison, with the word ‘Gruft’ evoking images of a tomb from which the men cannot escape. The sense of oppression is reinforced formally through Heinse’s distinctive use of punctuation and syntax: the second line disrupts the narrative flow of the first and third, heightening the sense of fragmentation and collapse that pervades the poem. This fragmentary feel is also conveyed through the enclosure of the second line within two forward slash symbols. These slashes physically isolate the line from the main body of the text, reflecting the disintegration of the mountain, and the isolation of the soldiers in their subterranean chamber. The psychological torment of the men is further emphasised by the repetition of the word ‘Gruft’ in line 2: instances of repetition occur frequently throughout *Der brennende Berg*, with the ‘doubling’ of nouns and verbs reflecting the inescapability of war and the agony of waiting for battle (a similar instance can be seen in the repetition of the verb ‘warten’ in line four). Through the use of repetition, distinctive punctuation and fragmented syntax, Heinse represents the profound

¹⁴¹ All quotations taken from *Die Grille*, 1994.

impact of the karst landscape on the psychological state of the soldiers, and the physical degradation of that landscape as a result of the relentless tunneling beneath the mountain.

This negative assessment of the karst is heightened in the second stanza of ‘Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915’, in which the hard stone again torments the soldiers:

Die Glieder sind müde, die Schläfen pochen,

die Augen sind klein und entzündet,

Wer ausgeht, erblindet, entwöhnt dem Licht. (ll. 4–7).

The impact of the karst stone on the psychological state of the men is again reinforced in ‘Monte San Michele, Totenhügel, den 24. Dezember 1915’, in which the karst, riddled with potholes, is described as a ‘Dunkel zyklischer Höhle’ (l. 6) by the soldiers who shelter in its crevices. In the first half of *Der brennende Berg*, Heinse represents the landscape as a powerful oppressor, colluding with the human enemy to deprive the men of even fleeting moments of tranquility. Fighting around San Michele, Heinse experienced the very worst effects of the harsh karst landscape: ‘Most of the front line was impossible exposed and highly vulnerable to counter-attack [...] Even on San Michele, the epicentre of the front, there was no real line; hammocks made of sandbags and rubble alternated with stretches of completely open, unprotected ground’.¹⁴²

Whilst the karst is presented in an overwhelmingly negative manner in Heinse’s earlier poems, it also fulfils a protective function, and is even presented sympathetically as a victim of war. In the opening poem of the collection, ‘San Martino del Carso, den 25. November

¹⁴² Thompson, *The White War*, p. 149.

1915', the folds and crevices of the plateau form the only barrier between the men and enemy fire:

Die Front ist rührig, so weiß und rot.

Sie denken an nichts, auch nicht an den Tod,

nur an eins: sich fest an die Erde zu halten.

Sie schützt, sie hat Löcher und Gräben und Falten (ll. 4–7).

This more positive image of the landscape as a protective force recurs in a later poem, 'Comen, den 13. September 1916', in which the troops find themselves sheltered by the 'schützende Hafen' (l.1) of the cliff face. Such poems present a more ambivalent understanding of the natural landscape not only as an oppressive force, but also as essential to the survival of the men. The protective function of the landscape also leads to a representation of the karst as a victim of the fighting: as the only barrier between the soldiers and enemy fire, war inflicts huge damage upon the environment, with the plateau scarred by shells, mines and the incessant digging of trenches. In 'Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915', the karst is represented simultaneously as oppressor and as victim. Whilst the hard stone inflicts misery upon the men, the mountain is 'durchhöhlt', fragmented by the tunnels that extend below the surface. The impact of war on the landscape is also alluded to in the first stanza of the opening poem, 'San Martino del Carso':

Raketen reißen die Nacht in Fetzen.

Hell wird es über die Trichtern.

Mit enstellten Gesichtern

sehn sich die Jungens an. (ll. 1-4).

The violence of the verb ‘reißen’ powerfully conveys the devastation of the natural landscape, pointing to Heinse’s understanding of nature as a victim of war, radically reshaped by human activity. The impact of human combat upon the natural landscape reaches an apex in ‘Ferleti, den 6. August 1916’, in which Monte San Michele comes under heavy bombardment and is transformed into a smoking crater. In this poem, the disintegration of the mountain first represented in ‘Doberdo’ reaches its destructive conclusion:

„Blutiger Jahren mühsames Werk:

Stollen und Riegel brechen zusammen,

Pfosten und Wände der Unterstände,

denn ein Vulkan ist der Berg” (ll. 14–17).

This image of devastation evokes the widespread destruction of the mountains at the Italian front, most famously that of Col di Lana. Such devastating blasts utterly transformed the landscape of that front, and the burning mountain San Michele becomes a central leitmotif in Heinse’s poetry from the front, acquiring a symbolic role that transcends its geographical specifics. In *Der brennende Berg*, Monte San Michele comes to epitomise not only the specific destruction of that peak, but also the more universal destruction and loss of that front and the psychological devastation of the poet.

Heinse’s focus on the destruction of the landscape is by no means unique in the Austro-Hungarian anti-war poets, with similar horror at the widespread devastation of the front expressed by contemporaries such as Albert Ehrenstein, Alfons Petzold, Theodor Kramer (1897–1958) and Georg Trakl, all of whom present the natural landscape as embattled and

fragile in their work. In Petzold's 'Pfingsten', the poet's representation of the burning earth mirrors Heinse's focus on the flaming mountain of San Michele. In Petzold's poem, the destruction of the landscape is accompanied by a focus on human suffering: the anonymous group of mothers push their sons into burning craters, a symbolic human sacrifice that lacks any sense of grandeur or heroism as found in the trope of the 'blood sacrifice'.¹⁴³ Similarly to Heinse, Petzold associates the disintegration of the landscape with a profound state of psychological torment:

Die Welt brennt!

Himmelzu heben sich überall Flammen des Hasses,

Reißt Feuer neue Glut aus schreiender Erde,

Wahnwitzige Mütter stoßen ihre Söhne hinein (ll. 1–4).¹⁴⁴

This litany of violence against nature is mirrored in the work of other anti-war poets, most famously Trakl, whose 'Die Nacht' juxtaposes images of heightened beauty and agony:

Rauhe Farnen, Fichten,

Kristallne Blumen

Unendliche Qual (ll. 7–9).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Pro-war poetry of the era makes frequent use of the 'blood harvest' trope, encountered in the poetry of Müller and the first of Rilke's 'Fünf Gesänge'. Harvest imagery is employed allegorically to express the necessity of sacrifice – the blood of fallen heroes will allow for the 'harvesting' of a glorious future era.

¹⁴⁴ Alfons Petzold, 'Pfingsten', in *Dämmerung der Herzen* (Innsbruck: Kiesel, 1917), p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ Trakl, 'Die Nacht', in *Achtzig Gedichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2011), p. 112.

This juxtaposition is reflected in Heinse's 'San Martino, Abschnitt B, den 20. Februar 1916', in which the poet envisages a landscape emerging from the ravages of war, considering the possibility of a more peaceful future whilst simultaneously lamenting the current chaos and destruction:

Es kommen stille, freundliche Tage,

wo kaum ein Schuß fällt,

kaum ein Schrapnell oder eine Granate.

Auf der Böschung sind wieder Gräser

und im Gelände Blumen zu schauen (ll. 1–5).

Similarly to 'Die Nacht', 'San Martino' combines images of military operations, grenades and shrapnel with depictions of an idealised, unspoiled natural landscape to startling effect. Heinse's representation of the karst as a victim of war thus corresponds to the work of other contemporary poets, and allows his work to be inserted into the broader landscape of Austro-Hungarian anti-war poetry.

Heinse's representation of the karst is by no means one-dimensional or simplistic in the first half of *Der brennende Berg*, with the stone peaks and trenches cast alternately as oppressor, victim and protector. Nevertheless, the second half of the collection reveals a more complex and compelling representation of that landscape: in these later poems, Heinse presents the karst not as a reflection of the external, physical reality of the front, but rather as a symbolic leitmotif, reflecting the psychological impact of war on the soldiers. This subjective, highly personal representation of the ongoing psychological impact of war is one of the most unique aspects of his poetry, made even more unusual by the way in which Heinse presents such

subjective emotional states through paradoxically ‘objective’, sparse language that contrasts with his deeply personal reflections on war and the landscape.

Heinse’s detached, ‘objective’ poetic might initially seem to contradict the assertion that *Der brennende Berg* seeks primarily to represent a deeply personal, individual response to war.

However, the ostensible objectivity of Heinse’s lyric ‘Ich’ is often revealed as a conscious poetic construct, employed not in order to convey an external reality, but to heighten the emotional impact of Heinse’s experiences. The use of restrained, ‘objective’ language can be clearly identified in the opening stanza of ‘Ferlet, den 6. August 1916’:

Rast hinter der Front...

Geschütztes Gelände...

Klippen und Felsenwände...

Der Feind schießt fehl (ll. 1–4)

In this stanza, Heinse’s use of truncated lines, bluntly descriptive language and lack of extraneous detail encourages the reader to accept these images as presented by an impartial, distanced observer. This objective tone, coupled with Heinse’s status as a veteran, may lead the reader to accept this poetic representation of battle as objective truth, an account of war as it was experienced by all soldiers at the front. However, Heinse’s detached language in fact functions as a conscious poetic technique. The lack of an explicitly interfering lyric ‘Ich’ creates a neutral tone, allowing the reader to engage with the images of destruction free from the distractions of extraneous detail or overt authorial intervention, as encountered in the work of propagandist poems in which the reader is explicitly encouraged to accept a glorious

vision of conflict. As such, Heinse's brutal imagery acquires a heightened power by virtue of its immediacy and simplicity, as in 'Doberdo, den 12. Dezember, 1915':

Die Deckung, der Graben, die Waffen, das Brot:

alles ist Kot,

von der Farbe der Erde, bräunlichrot,

denn es regnet seit Wochen.

Nur vorn in den Verhauen bleichen

die Knochen ungeborgener Leichen (ll. 5–10).

This poem, one of the most unrelentingly bleak in the collection, draws a great deal of its power from Heinse's restrained, blunt language, the presentation of suffering without the imposition of an explicit authorial interpretation. Far from constituting an impassive, impersonal documentation of the front, Heinse's objective language paradoxically heightens the sheer misery of the front. Whilst his use of distanced language as a conscious poetic technique is not immediately apparent on first reading, there are a number of instances throughout *Der brennende Berg* in which this 'objective' language is revealed as a poetic construct that does not always reflect an external reality. For readers with a knowledge of war on the karst, Heinse's detached and thus seemingly trustworthy representations of that landscape are often geographically inaccurate, pointing to the paradoxical use of such distanced language to convey profoundly subjective readings of the natural environment.

The discrepancies between the topographical reality of the karst plateau and its representation in *Der brennende Berg* point to the poetic function of Heinse's 'objective' language: one

such instance is found in ‘Ferleti, den 7. August 1916’, in which the destruction of Monte San Michele assumes an epic dimension that belies its geographical status. Although the peak of Monte San Michele formed a huge obstacle to soldiers, the mountain was not as monumental in scale as Heinse’s poetry might suggest. Mark Thompson describes the way in which the mountain, whilst relatively small, formed a powerful obstacle to men on the karst: ‘Both sides knew the strategic importance of Monte San Michele. A sprawling, inelegant hill with four distinct summits, it fills the angle where the River Vipacco flows into the Isonzo, south of Gorizia. Its summit rises only 250 metres above the plain, but the northern and western slopes are steep’.¹⁴⁶ Clearly, the scale of Monte San Michele does not match its description in Heinse’s poetry as a flaming, monumental ‘Vulkan’: rather, this representation of the mountain as a monumental, overbearing presence indicates the scale of the challenges posed by the peak, and the subsequent psychological significance of the mountain for the soldiers who fought on its slopes. Although the drama of the fighting around Monte San Michele could not match that in the Alps, where war was waged at 12,400 feet, the comparatively diminutive mountain was bitterly contested in the First Battle of the Isonzo, becoming the site of some of the bloodiest fighting of the whole Italian front.¹⁴⁷ With territorial gains on the karst the result of battle far fiercer and bloodier than in the Alps and Dolomites, the 250 metres of Monte San Michele could not be considered insignificant. Heinse’s presentation of the mountain as a monolithic, oppressive entity corresponds more to the ferocity of the fighting he experienced on the peak than to the objective geographical scale of the mountain, pointing to his privileging of subjective experiences of war over an external reality.

¹⁴⁶ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁷ Thompson, *The White War*, p. 89.

The ferocity of the fighting around Monte San Michele, the devastation of the landscape and the heavy losses sustained by both sides, forms the primary thematic concern in the latter half of *Der brennende Berg*. For Heinse, the destruction of the peak became a symbol of the more general chaos and suffering inflicted by war, and in the later poems of the collection the mountain assumes a symbolic role that transcends its specific geographical status, functioning as a universal symbol of psychological trauma and the destructive power of war. This symbolic dimension is frequently conveyed through Heinse's linguistic choices: Monte San Michele is referred to by not only by its specific names, but also with more generalised, overtly symbolic epithets and synecdoche – the 'brennende Berg', 'Vulkan' or 'Totenhügel'. These descriptors transcend geographical specifics, allowing the mountain to be interpreted as a cipher, functioning as an accusatory monument to the destruction experienced at all sectors of the Italian front and beyond. As such, Heinse's work bears comparison with the art of Egger-Lienz, in which specific battles are used as vehicles for the exploration of more universal concerns. That his symbolic understanding of the mountains was shared by Heinse's fellow men is made clear in 'Ferletti, den 7. August 1916'. Here, it is not the personal lyric 'Ich' that describes the mountain as a burning 'Vulkan', but rather the 'reported' dialogue of an unknown soldier:

„Blütiger Jahre mühsames Werk:

Stollen und Riegel brechen zusammen,

Pfosten und Wände der Unterstände,

denn ein Vulkan ist der Berg” (ll. 14–17).

Heinse's decision to place these lines in quotation marks, designating them as the words of an anonymous soldier, is significant: by allowing one of his fellow men to describe the mountain

as a 'Vulkan', a term that cannot reflect the objective scale of Monte San Michele, Heinse emphasises the way in which other soldiers also interpreted the landscape in a profoundly subjective, symbolic manner. The sense of utter collapse and chaos that pervades 'Ferleti, den 7. August 1916' was experienced by many fighting at that front, both Austrian and Italian, and is attested to in the poetry of soldiers who experienced the battles of the Isonzo. The focus on death and disintegration is particularly pronounced in the poetry of Ungaretti, whose 'San Martino del Carso' can be fruitfully analysed alongside Heinse's poem of the same name, 'San Martino del Carso, den 25. November 1915'. Ungaretti's poem stands as testimony to the devastation of the landscape and ubiquitous presence of death:

Di queste case

Non è rimasto

Che qualche

Brandello di muro

Di tanti

Che mi corrispondevano

Non è rimasto

Neppure tanto

Ma nel cuore

Nessuna croce manca

È il mio cuore

The profound sense of loss and destruction is mirrored in Heinse's poem, in which there is a corresponding representation of both the landscape and the soldiers as victims of war. In Heinse's 'San Martino del Carso', the faces of the soldiers are described as 'entstellt' (l. 3), their torment standing in stark contrast to the heroic warriors presented by poets such as Müller, and Heinse depicts a landscape that has been torn into tatters, contributing to a sense of total collapse.

The poetic voices of Ungaretti and Heinse differ considerably, with Heinse adopting a more neutral, distanced tone than Ungaretti's highly personal lament. However, like Heinse, Ungaretti represents the destruction of the karst not as an objective, documentary account of war, but as a highly subjective symbol of suffering and death. Their poetry reflects how soldiers on both sides of the conflict understood the landscape not as an inanimate geographical feature, but as a sentient force, instrumental in shaping their experience of war and frequently acquiring a significance that transcended its objective manifestation.

Heinse's representation of the karst mountains as an active force, corresponding to an internal, psychological reality, is most strikingly evident in the penultimate poem of *Der brennende Berg*, 'Kobila glava, den 12. Januar 1917'. This poem, Heinse's most complex representation of Monte San Michele, charts the final retreat from the front to the safety of Kobila Glava (the modern day town of Kobjeglava near Komen), a longed-for moment that a reader might expect to be recounted in a suitably euphoric manner. However, the escape from

¹⁴⁸ In English, the poem reads: 'Of these houses nothing remains/ but the rubble of a wall/ Of the many I was so close to/ nothing remains, not even that is left/ But in my heart not one cross is missing/ The most ravaged land is my own heart' (own translation). See *Vita d'un uomo*, p. 51.

the front is recounted in a distinctly un-celebratory tone, defined by a representation of the mountain as an oppressive, tormenting force, and reflecting the continued psychological trauma of Heinse and his fellow soldiers after their return from active service. Although the mountain in ‘Kobila glava’ is not explicitly named, the peak is described as ‘Der BRENNENDE BERG’, mirroring the earlier description of the Monte San Michele as a burning volcano in ‘Ferleti’ and supporting the identification of this mountain as the very same. As the front recedes into the distance, the mountain remains an oppressive and overwhelming presence, a constant visual disruption:

Seele wird weit und gehoben,

Nachtgedanken, Todesgedanken

lassen wir oben;

aber der Berg geht mit,

Der BRENNENDE BERG hält Schritt

wie der Mond, wie die Wolke;

zwar ist er ein Zwerg dem Gesicht,

doch er geht mit (ll. 10–17).

This representation of Monte San Michele is arguably the most striking image in the whole collection: the dramatic capitalisation in line 14 disrupts the flow of the lines, a jarring and unexpected intrusion that formally embodies the fragile psychological state of the soldiers, with the memory of the mountain encroaching upon their new-found peace and safety. The image of the sentient mountain in ‘Kobila glava’ is the most dramatic embodiment of

Heinse's understanding of the peaks as active, driving forces: whilst Hollenstein's art often presents the mountains in dramatic, oppressive mode, any more negative representation of the landscape is mitigated by images in which the peaks are presented as the cradle of an idyllic rural culture. Heinse's poetic representation of Monte San Michele is devoid of any such positive connotations, with 'Kobila glava' explicitly highlighting the raw, hostile power of the mountain, and the ongoing psychological torment experienced by veterans in the immediate aftermath of battle. In this poem, the unwelcome presence of the mountain becomes a cipher for the lasting trauma of war, enduring long beyond 1918 for those who witnessed the devastation on the karst.

The sense of unease and threat that dominates 'Kobila glava' is formally established early in the poem. The first stanza draws an implied contrast between the hostile, embattled mountain and the more welcoming, domesticated landscape below:

Wir reiten bergab,

im Galopp, im Trab.

Wir reiten davon

unser vier,

voran der Unteroffizier

vom Quartier'

über Höhe und Senke,

durch Wald, Feld und Au

zur Schenke (ll. 1–9).

In these lines, Heinse juxtaposes the tame, cultivated fields and meadows and the image of the inhospitable, burning mountain. The gradual progression from the bleak, untamed wilderness of the karst to civilisation is undoubtedly positive, with the peaks giving way to the more navigable woodland, landscapes that bear the marks of human cultivation (the 'Feld' and 'Au'), and finally to the first presence of fellow human beings, the 'Schenke'. However, the site of battle is alluded to twice in the first three lines, pointing to the continued preoccupation with the site of war even during the moment of retreat. Whilst the first line, 'Wir reiten bergab', establishes narrative context, the third line, 'Wir reiten davon', is an almost exact repetition that does not provide additional information: rather, the backwards reflection of 'davon' suggests a continuing preoccupation with war on the part of the poet and his fellow men, a reference to the scene of battle that does not perform a narrative function. In a poem that the reader might expect to focus on the joy of leaving the front, there is an enduring concern with the front, and a sombre, oppressive tone at odds with the ostensibly positive subject matter.

The first stanza of 'Kobila glava' introduces a subtle note of backwards reflection, indicating Heinse's preoccupation with the site of battle even during the moment of retreat. However, it is in the second stanza that the ongoing trauma of war is most strikingly presented. In these lines, the burning peak is suddenly personified, pursuing the men from the front. Despite its diminished stature, (the peak is described in line 16 as a 'Zwerg'), the mountain nevertheless remains a powerful presence, and the final line of the poem emphasises the inescapability of the mountain: 'doch er geht mit'. This final image of the mountain is clearly symbolic in nature, with the peak representing the traumatic memory of destruction that is diminished but never entirely banished. This startling description ensures that the dominant tone of 'Kobila glava' is far from celebratory, and Heinse's concern with the internal, psychological state of

the men is also encountered in the final poem of the collection, 'Epilog'. In 'Kobila glava' the trauma of war is conveyed symbolically, through the image of the sentient mountain, whilst 'Epilog' is more explicit in its exploration of the lasting effects of war:

Ich gehöre

zur Generation der 'Überlebenden',

deren Gehirn

belastet ist mit Grauen (ll. 1–4)

As in 'Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915' and 'Ferleti, den 7. August 1916', in which the poet employs the personal pronoun 'wir', Heinse's 'Epilog' reveals a preoccupation with not only with his personal suffering, but also with the generational impact of war. A similar focus on the 'lost generation' of men can also be identified in Erich Maria Remarque's foreword to *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1929): 'Dieses Buch soll weder eine Anklage noch ein Bekenntnis sein. Es soll nur den Versuch machen, über eine Generation zu berichten, die vom Kriege zerstört wurde - auch wenn sie seinen Granaten entkam'.¹⁴⁹ Like 'Epilog', Remarque's foreword emphasises the lasting psychological trauma of war, even for those who may have escaped physically unscathed. However, whilst Remarque seeks to establish his work as 'weder eine Anklage noch ein Bekenntnis', Heinse adopts a more accusatory tone in poems such as 'Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915': 'Man hat uns belogen,/ mit falschen Symbolen betrogen' (ll. 29-30). Whilst not specifically identifying those culpable for this betrayal, these lines function as an explicit 'Anklage' that employs the plural 'uns' to express not only Heinse's individual suffering, but that of a generation of soldiers.

¹⁴⁹ Erich Maria Remarque, *Im Westen nichts Neues* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1956), p. 6.

As a final comment on Heinse's experience of war, 'Epilog' acquires a resonance that is even greater than earlier, equally unflinching and more graphic depictions of human suffering, such as the images of corpses in 'Doberdo, den 12. Dezember 1915'. Whilst this earlier poem is calculated to provoke an extreme emotional response from the reader, 'Epilog' functions as a more general comment on the human cost of war, and its position as the final poem in the collection imbues it with an even greater emotional weight. In 'Kobila glava' and 'Epilog' the experience of war in the peaks is presented in an overwhelmingly negative manner, deviating fundamentally from the art of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein in which the mountains are frequently presented as positive emblems of Germanic values, and the site of adventure and heroic deeds. Heinse's mountain imagery is devoid of any chauvinistic overtones, reflecting his position as an anti-war poet from a multi-ethnic area of the Dual Monarchy, and 'Epilog' makes his continued resistance to heroicising interpretations of war after 1918 abundantly clear.

It might be argued that Heinse's rejection of belligerent attitudes leads to a representation of the mountain warfare that is less distinct than that of Hollenstein, conforming to the disillusionment experienced by many poets who fought at the front. Whilst Hollenstein's conservative political views might be seen to conflict with her Modernist credentials, Heinse's opposition to war, his deeply personal focus on the suffering of the soldiers and his truncated, fragmentary syntax, corresponds to what a reader may expect of an Expressionist war poet after 1914. However, not all Heinse's work can be adequately described as Expressionist, with poems such as 'Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915' employing invocations such as 'O weh!' (l. 22) that are reminiscent of lyric poetry. To claim Heinse as an 'Expressionist poet' would be to neglect those aspects of his poetry that do not conform to this label, and consequently to overlook the idiosyncratic merging of fragmented syntax and

more lyric elements in his work. In the post-war period, Heinse would publish a collection of lyric poems, *Der Garten*, in 1932, before abandoning his original poetry for translation work.¹⁵⁰ These translations would attract modest acclaim, becoming considerably better known than his original output, and *Der brennende Berg* remains almost completely unknown to this day.

Unlike Heinse, Egger-Lienz has been the subject of renewed interest in the past decade. Whilst his art was neglected in the years after 1945, recent years have seen a major retrospective at the *Leopold Museum* in Vienna in 2008, followed by this year's exhibition of the *Totentanz* paintings and other works from the war at the Belvedere. Although Egger-Lienz's work was relegated to the 'Nazi-Ecke'¹⁵¹ by critics after the Second World War, understood as a precursor to the 'Blut und Boden' aesthetic of the 1940's, his paintings, like Hollenstein's, are not mere 'proto-fascist' art, and attempts have been made by scholars in recent years to re-assess his contribution to international Modernism.¹⁵² Egger-Lienz's art from the war oscillates between a conservative and sentimental representation of combat in Naturalist mode, and more symbolic, monumental works in which the specific experience of conflict is transformed into an image of abstract, timeless grief. Whilst both approaches remain problematic, Egger-Lienz's art is by no means a simplistic representation of war, and the attention paid to his work in recent years is a welcome attempt to acknowledge the complexity of his work.

¹⁵⁰ Gustav Heinse, *Der Garten* (Sofia: Tschipeff, 1932).

¹⁵¹ Nina Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel* (02/04/2008, online review of the Leopold Museum retrospective) <<http://www.artmagazine.cc/content33100.html>> [accessed 9 June 2014).

¹⁵² See Robert Holzbauer, 'Kunst und Politik. Egger-Lienz und die Ideologen', in *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926*, ed. by Gert Ammann (Vienna: Leopold Museum Privatstiftung and Brandstätter, 2008), pp. 55–60.

6. Albin Egger-Lienz: Genre-Painter and Tyrolean Modernist

In the decades after 1918, Albin Egger-Lienz has been criticised for his ‘furchtbar provinzielle Früh- und Mittelwerk’,¹⁵³ neglected as an artist of limited regional importance¹⁵⁴ and rejected for his ‘drückende Katholizismus’.¹⁵⁵ He has also been hailed as a Modernist trailblazer, belonging (along with Alfred Kubin and Richard Gerstl) ‘zu den drei großen Einzelgängern der österreichischen Kunstgeschichte’,¹⁵⁶ characterised as an ardent pacifist whose work encapsulates an ‘intimo senso di tragedia spirituale’,¹⁵⁷ and praised for his ‘an Shakespeare gemahnenden Universalität’.¹⁵⁸ Such contradictory assessments might suggest an artistic output so extreme as to completely polarise viewers and critics, yet nothing in

¹⁵³ Nina Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel*, <<http://www.artmagazine.cc/content33100.html>> [accessed 9 June 2014].

¹⁵⁴ Egger-Lienz’s relevance not only as a regional artist, but also as a pioneer of European Modernism, is slowly being recognised. This year saw a major exhibition of Egger-Lienz’s war art at the *Belvedere* in Vienna (‘Totentanz. Egger-Lienz und der Krieg’, 07/03/2014 – 09/06/2014). Such increased recognition is long overdue: Egger-Lienz was frequently represented by critics as a ‘Heimatkünstler’, with Heinrich Hammer describing how the artist painted ‘aus seinem verschlossenen tirolerischen Gemüt’ (cited after Rudolf Leopold, ‘Prof. Rudolf Leopold im Interview zu Albin Egger-Lienz’ in *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926*, pp. 6-15 (p. 12)).

¹⁵⁵ Nina Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel*.

¹⁵⁶ Rudolf Leopold, ‘Prof. Rudolf Leopold im Interview zu Albin Egger-Lienz’, p. 10.

¹⁵⁷ ‘An intimate sense of spiritual tragedy’. Giorgio Nicodemi, *Albino Egger-Lienz* (Brescia: Libreria editrice di bottega d’arte, 1925), p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Josef Soyka, *A. Egger-Lienz. Leben und Werke. Monographische Studie von Josef Soyka* (Vienna: Verlag Carl Konegan, 1925), p. 19.

Egger-Lienz's work or life seems sufficiently provocative to give rise to such conflicting views. Rather, these responses can be partly attributed to his status as a 'transitional' artist whose work bridges the gap between late nineteenth-century genre-painting and early Modernism, and partly to the monumental aesthetic that leaves his work open to a variety of interpretations, defining much of the output from the middle and later period.¹⁵⁹ Egger-Lienz's art from the war is by turns strikingly unique and distinctly propagandist, incorporating a wide range of stylistic and thematic concerns that often appear conflicting and inconsistent.

Egger-Lienz was born in 1868 in Stribach, East Tyrol. He received artistic training from his father, a church painter, before enrolling at the Munich *Akademie der bildenden Künste* in 1884. His early artistic output bears the influence of Franz Defregger, a friend and mentor, and the artist received a number of state awards for his work during this period.¹⁶⁰ After completing his studies, Egger-Lienz returned to Tyrol before settling in Vienna, where he joined the Secession and was offered a Professorship at the *Akademie der bildenden Künste* in 1910. However, the offer was revoked after the intervention of Franz Ferdinand, an opponent of the Secession, who found Egger-Lienz's *Totentanz Anno Neun* (five versions,

¹⁵⁹ For the purposes of this thesis, I define the early period as the work produced from the late nineteenth century to 1905, the middle period as the work produced between 1905 and 1914, and the late work as that produced after the war.

¹⁶⁰ Biographical details are taken from Markus Fellingner, 'Kurzbiografie Albin Egger-Lienz', in *Totentanz. Egger-Lienz und der Krieg*, ed. by Agnes Husslein-Arco, Helena Pereña, Stephan Koja (Bad Vöslau: Grasl FairPrint, 2014), pp. 202–205 (p. 203).

1906-1921 (image shown 1921, Lienz, Schloss Bruck. Fig.27) lacking in patriotic spirit.¹⁶¹

Egger-Lienz left Vienna, travelling and teaching in Weimar, Holland and St. Justina bei Bozen before joining a local Tyrolean ‘Standschutz’ in 1915. After two weeks under bombardment at Tombio near Riva, Egger-Lienz was discharged by a sympathetic doctor, pledging to better serve his country as an official war artist. He would go on to create a propagandist postcard series for organisations including the *Red Cross* and the *Kriegspressequartier*, visiting the front at Folgaria and Trent during 1916. After the war, Egger-Lienz was twice offered a Professorship at the Munich *Akademie*, but rejected both positions. Instead, the artist remained in St. Justina, working on the frescos for the nearby war memorial chapel at Lienz, and died in 1926 at the age of 58.

Whilst the monumental, often allegorical paintings of Egger-Lienz’s middle and late periods attracted praise from critics during the artist’s lifetime and more recently, the ambivalence of these works allowed them to be interpreted in ways that were not always benign.¹⁶² Helena Pereña notes the ‘open’ quality of Egger-Lienz’s paintings, emphasising the ways in which their lack of narrative detail allowed for competing symbolic interpretations:

Durch die Reduktion auf möglichst wenige Elemente entziehen sich die Darstellungen einer narrativen Deutung: Nicht nur anekdotische Details, sondern auch konkrete

¹⁶¹ See Gert Ammann, ‘Albin Egger-Lienz 1868–1926. Ein österreichischer Maler mit europäischer Dimension, in *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868–1926*, pp. 16–33 (p. 17).

¹⁶² See Giorgio Nicodemi, *Albino Egger-Lienz* and Josef Soyka, *A. Egger-Lienz. Leben und Werke*.

Referenzen bleiben aus. Dadurch erhalten die Kompositionen einen universalen Charakter und eine ikonenhafte Wirkung, die jede sprachliche Festlegung verhindert.¹⁶³

This ambiguity proved particularly problematic in the post-war years. Although the persistent rumour that Adolf Hitler personally favoured Egger-Lienz's art is entirely unfounded,¹⁶⁴ the *Sämann* paintings of muscular Tyrolean peasants were championed by Alfred Rosenberg (even though Egger-Lienz rejected any politicised reading of his works, emphasising his purely aesthetic considerations: 'Ich male keine Bauern, sondern Formen').¹⁶⁵ Although Egger-Lienz's statement proves useful in dismissing charges of proto-fascist intent, the 'allen möglichen Ideologien dienstbare Monumentalität'¹⁶⁶ of his art led to an ambivalent scholarly reaction that continues to this day, with Nina Schledlmayer's review of the 2008 retrospective at the *Leopold Museum* in Vienna exemplifying this ambivalent critical response: 'Albin Egger-Lienz macht es einem nicht leicht. Es fällt ebenso schwer, ihn zu lieben wie ihn zu hassen.'¹⁶⁷

The ambivalent critical response to Egger-Lienz undoubtedly stems in part from his assimilation of Modernist currents alongside the more traditional landscape paintings of artists such as Defregger, resulting in a body of work that is by turns strikingly bold and

¹⁶³ Helena Pereña, 'Der Totentanz und das Monumentale: Abstraktion und Einfühlung', in *Totentanz. Egger-Lienz und der Krieg*, pp. 51–61 (p. 52).

¹⁶⁴ Whilst Hitler did receive a work by Egger-Lienz, *Mann und Weib*, from the *Kulturleitung* of Carinthia for his fiftieth birthday, he donated it immediately to the *Kärntner Landesgalerie*. See Holzbauer, 'Kunst und Politik. Albin Egger-Lienz und die Ideologen', p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Cited after Pereña, 'Der Totentanz und das Monumentale', p. 55.

¹⁶⁶ Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel*.

¹⁶⁷ Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel*.

distinctly provincial. However, this attachment to artistic tradition was by no means unusual among Austrian Modernists. Kimberly A. Smith identifies a similar tension between tradition and modernity in the landscape paintings of Egon Schiele, in which the viewer encounters a ‘typically modern nostalgia for a lost past’.¹⁶⁸ Smith emphasises the fundamental differences between Austrian and French Modernism, noting a greater tendency towards secession rather than outright rejection of traditional artistic practice in Vienna: ‘These new artists, however, do not feel the need to renounce all the old definitions of art in order to legitimate their own; they do not need a blank slate in order to identify their products as art by negation. The secessionists did not kill off past art, they split off from it.’¹⁶⁹ As a member of the Viennese Hagenbund, a group ‘moderately oriented towards modernism’,¹⁷⁰ Egger-Lienz’s work embodies this less disruptive form of artistic innovation. Although Egger-Lienz’s landscapes depart stylistically from those of Schiele, both artists sought to forge a new aesthetic whilst remaining heavily indebted to artistic tradition (indeed, both Schiele and Egger-Lienz found inspiration in the work of Ferdinand Hodler, and both Hollenstein and Schiele cited Van Gogh as influences).¹⁷¹ Far from constituting an exception, Egger-Lienz’s simultaneous assimilation of traditional art forms and more Modernist elements can be seen as

¹⁶⁸ Kimberly A. Smith, *Between Ruin and Renewal. Egon Schiele’s Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, *Between Ruin and Renewal*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ Smith, *Between Ruin and Renewal*, p. 17.

¹⁷¹ Smith, *Between Ruin and Renewal*, p. 31.

characteristic of Viennese Modernism, reflecting his status as not only a chronicler of provincial life, but also as an artist in touch with international artistic movements.¹⁷²

The presence of both Modernist stylistic elements and more traditional artistic modes can be identified in Egger-Lienz's work from the war years. Like Hollenstein, Egger-Lienz was influenced by regional artistic currents, specifically Tyrolean genre-painting, and avant-garde artistic movements, and the biographical parallels between Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein are many: both artists were associated with the Viennese *Hagenbund*, were acquainted with Franz Defregger and worked for the *Kriegspressequartier* after their recall from active service. However, Egger-Lienz's war art, with its monumental, archetypal figures, is more easily appreciated outside of its immediate context than that of Hollenstein, and demonstrates even greater thematic and stylistic variety, from sentimental watercolours of mountain combat to proto-Expressionist works, such as *Finale* (1918, private collection. Fig.28) and *Totentanz*, that are increasingly perceived as representing pivotal moments in European Modernism.¹⁷³ This variety might lead to an assessment of Egger-Lienz's war art as lacking stylistic unity or a coherent ideological standpoint, and it is true that his work from these years presents the mountains, and war, in a manner more inconsistent and contradictory than either Heinse or Hollenstein. However, the diverse range of influences and ideological convictions evident in Egger-Lienz's art allow his work to be considered not only a

¹⁷² Rudolf Leopold refers to the director of an unnamed Munich gallery who classed Egger-Lienz as a mere 'lokale Größe', pointing to the ways in which his more international affiliations have been overlooked. See 'Prof. Rudolf Leopold im Interview zu Albin Egger-Lienz', p. 14.

¹⁷³ Gert Ammann, 'Ein österreichischer Maler mit europäischer Dimension', in *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926*.

fascinating artistic depiction of the Italian Front, but also a valuable historic document that reflects a variety of contemporary responses to conflict.

Like Hollenstein, Egger-Lienz's letters prove immensely useful in assessing his often ambivalent response to war. Whilst there has been a tendency among critics to focus on his more avant-garde, Expressionist works, such as *Finale*, that are most critical of combat, this approach would be to draw a distinction between 'pro-' and 'anti-' war art that does not reflect the reality of Egger-Lienz's era. Egger-Lienz's artistic response to war, like Hollenstein's, cannot be adequately assessed in such limited terms, and his profoundly ambivalent understanding of the fighting is evident in works such as the *Missa Eroika* (1923-1925, Lienz, Gedächtniskapelle. Fig.29.), a memorial fresco in the chapel at Lienz. In a letter to Otto Kunz, dated the twenty sixth of September 1923, Egger-Lienz outlines his plans for the work:

Ein 'Misa eroika' (sic), dessen Feierlichkeit und Grausigkeit wohl alles, was ich bis jetzt derartig machte, übertrifft. Sechs Särge mit schwarzen Laken verhüllt, obendrauf, ganz in der Höhe, wie emporgehoben, liegt der Held offen (in einem Sarge), vier mächtige Strahlen fluten herab. ¹⁷⁴

Egger-Lienz's description of the soldiers as 'Helden' contrasts sharply with the use of the word 'Grausigkeit', reflecting his complex understandings of conflict: for every *Finale*, in which the dehumanising effects of war are made abundantly clear, there is a corresponding *Missa Eroika* in which the casualties of war are represented in heroic and glorious mode, with war represented as a tragic yet heroic 'blood sacrifice'. Whilst works such as *Finale* are more

¹⁷⁴ Cited after Wilfried Kirschl, *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926. Das Gesamtwerk* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1996), vol. 1, p. 462.

artistically captivating than Egger-Lienz's overtly propagandist paintings, it would be an error to treat these more conservative works as a distraction from a perceived anti-war message. Whilst Egger-Lienz's more pacifist images disprove accusations of fascist sympathies, his genuine support of war cannot be overlooked, and his simultaneous recognition of the human cost of war and unwavering conviction in its necessity reflects similar sentiments in the poetry of Max Mell and Anton Wildgans.¹⁷⁵

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of Egger-Lienz's war art, it is necessary to assess the influence of regional Tyrolean art on his representation of mountain warfare. Unsurprisingly, Egger-Lienz's early work draws great inspiration from the landscapes of Tyrol and its military history, betraying an intense regional pride that comes to bear on his later representations of battle. Whilst Egger-Lienz eventually came to criticise the limitations of genre-painting, the work of Defregger and the seventeenth-century Dutch painters exerted a lasting influence on his artistic output.¹⁷⁶ Tyrolean genre-painting¹⁷⁷ was defined by a strong regional patriotism, and, of course, frequent reference to the peasant rebellion of 1809. Egger-Lienz's early art draws great inspiration from the earlier conflict: whilst some of his images reflect the tragic dimension of that war – as in *Nach dem Friedensschluss 1809* (1902,

¹⁷⁵ See Yates on Mell: 'By the end of 1915 the sanctimoniousness of a piece such as Mell's 'Zur Weihnachtsfeier der Kriegsblinden', in which patriotism is presented as a consolation for war-inflicted blindness, seems only to confirm the barbarising effect of the conflict on proper feeling and good judgement' (Yates, 'Austrian Poetry of the First World War', p. 31. See note 118).

¹⁷⁶ Pereña, 'Der Totentanz und das Monumental', p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ For an overview of the genre, see *Heldenromantik: Tiroler Geschichtsbilder im 19. Jahrhundert von Koch bis Defregger*, an exhibition catalogue of the *Tiroler Landeskunde Museum* and the *Südtiroler Landesmuseum Schloss Tirol*, ed. by Gert Ammann, Ellen Hastaba et al (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum and Südtiroler Landesmuseum, 1996).

Lienz, Schloss Bruck. Fig.30) – others, such as *Haspinger 1809* (1908-1909, Lienz, Schloss Bruck. Fig.31), conform to Defregger's more celebratory images of the rebellion,¹⁷⁸ indicating a distinctly conservative outlook that would re-surface in his paintings from the war years. Although Egger-Lienz's painting departs stylistically from Defregger's, incorporating far less narrative detail and depicting the soldiers in a more stylised manner, both artists present the war of 1809 in an unmistakably heroic mode. Egger-Lienz transforms the peasants of Tyrol into fearless warriors, striding down the mountain into battle without a moment's hesitation. Furthermore, Egger-Lienz's addition of a priest at the head of the charge encourages the viewer to understand the battle as a 'holy war', in line with the rhetoric of poets such as Müller.¹⁷⁹ Egger-Lienz would incorporate references to the 1809 rebellion in his work from the war years, evidence of the tendency of Tyrolean artists to approach the subject of modern battle through the filter of local military tradition.

Egger-Lienz's early art clearly reflects a pronounced concern with the war of 1809, and this thematic focus is accompanied by a corresponding representation of mountain landscapes that are frequently imbued with militaristic overtones. Whilst works such as *Almlandschaft im Ötztal* (1911, Vienna, Leopoldmuseum. Fig. 33) or *Bergraum* (1911, Innsbruck, Österreichische Alpenvereinmuseum. Fig.34) take the mountain landscape itself as their central subject, depicting the valleys of Tyrol in stark, muted tones, other early paintings associate the peaks with militaristic, conservative values deemed fundamentally Tyrolean.

¹⁷⁸ See Franz Defregger, *Heimkehrender Tiroler Landsturm im Krieg von 1809* (1867, Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie. Fig.32).

¹⁷⁹ The poet explicitly represents the Tyrol as 'holy land' in poems such as 'Herr Jesu' (*Der heilige Kampf*, pp. 150–152). The first stanza reads 'Im Braus des Völkerbrandes/ Sei Wahrer unser Wohls:/ Du bist das Herz des Landes –/ Du bist das Herz Tirols!'.

One such image is Egger-Lienz's 1909 cover for the *Deutscher Alpenverein* magazine, printed in commemoration of the hundred year anniversary of the 1809 rebellion. To a significant extent, this work embodies the increasingly militaristic character of the pre-war *Alpenverein*: in Egger-Lienz's painting, titled *1809 Tirol 1909* (Fig.35), the mountains loom above a muscular Tyrolean peasant wielding a mace. The strength and ferocity of the soldier again presents the rebellion in heroic mode, and the prominent mountain background visually ties the strength of the Tyrolean people to the landscape. In this image, the Tyrolean men acquire an inimitable strength and resilience from the mountains, and the image thus corresponds to the poetry Alfons Petzold and Anton Müller, in which the men of Tyrol are represented as acquiring virtues of strength and endurance from the harsh landscapes in which they live. Although Egger-Lienz was by no means as belligerent as Müller, his design for the *Alpenverein* suggests a reading of the mountains as fundamentally Tyrolean territory, an understanding that is reflected in his later work for the *Kriegspressequartier*.

Whilst Egger-Lienz's early work bears the clear influence of Tyrolean military history, his art nevertheless deviates from that of most Tyrolean genre-painters in crucial ways. Ralph Gleis argues that Egger-Lienz's paintings of local military episodes seek not only to extoll the superior values of the Tyrol, but function primarily as a vehicle for the presentation of more universal themes: 'Geschichte darzustellen ist bei Egger-Lienz keine überholte Mission der Malerei, sondern kann der inneren Vision des Künstlers eingeschrieben sein und nach adäquatem Ausdruck verlangen'.¹⁸⁰ Egger-Lienz's art from the war can generally be divided into two categories: that which, similarly to the earlier works cited by Gleis, explores universal concerns through the lens of a single conflict, and those works which are more

¹⁸⁰ Ralph Gleis, 'Vom Geschichts- Zum Menschenbild. Egger-Lienz und der Wandel der Historienmalerei um die Jahrhundertwende', in *Totentanz. Egger-Lienz und der Krieg*, pp. 33–49 (p. 49).

explicitly propagandist, concerned with specifics of mountain warfare. The paintings in the latter category, often produced for propagandist postcards, represent the Italian front as a site of chivalric battle, and are less artistically distinctive than Egger-Lienz's more monumental works in which more universal themes are addressed.

Egger-Lienz's more conservative representation of conflict in his works for the *Kriegspressequartier* was no doubt influenced by the demands of that organisation, precluding an overly critical representation of battle. Nevertheless, his own writings, and more positive representations of war in works that were not commissioned, point to a support for war that was genuinely and deeply held by the artist. In one letter, dated the fourteenth of June 1915 and written to his mother Maria, Egger-Lienz describes his fourteen days of active service in unmistakably heroic terms:

Ich war mit den Standschützen 14 Tage bereits in der Feuerlinie in der vordersten Front auf einer Festung bei Riva, mitten im Kanonendonner, von unserem Fort wurde auch geschossen [...] Ich habe noch acht Tage hier Urlaub, dann bin ich wieder in Bozen als Civilist, als welcher ich dem Vaterland mehr leisten kann.¹⁸¹

Egger-Lienz's professions of love for Austria-Hungary were no doubt partly intended to legitimise his decision to abandon the front. By casting his work for the *Kriegspressequartier* as a service for the 'Vaterland', the artist likely hoped to avoid unwelcome accusations of cowardice or shirking of duty. Nevertheless, his letter to Otto Kunz reveals a genuine belief in the chivalry of war, describing the soldiers unequivocally as 'Helden'. Although Egger-Lienz would acknowledge the grim realities of war in later works such as *Finale*, those paintings that specifically represent mountain landscapes often tend towards heroic cliché and

¹⁸¹ Cited after Kirschl, *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926*, p. 268.

propagandist tropes, bearing the influence of conservative, regional interpretations of the fighting.

Egger-Lienz's tendency towards sentimentalised representations of the mountain landscape, and war in the peaks, is exemplified by an image from the postcard series entitled *Abschied* (Fig.16). The painting presents a Tyrolean soldier kneeling by the unmarked grave of his companion, with the melancholic scene set against a picturesque mountain backdrop. In this work, the death of the soldier is presented as a worthy sacrifice: although lacking a headstone (indicating, perhaps, a recent death), the grave is well-tended and adorned with flowers, presenting a sanitised version of death that is not critical of the sacrifice demanded by the fatherland. The image is also imbued with military imagery, equating death at the front with heroic self-sacrifice. The kneeling soldier clasps a rifle to his chest, an overt signal of his military affiliations and those of his fallen comrade. Furthermore, the rifle acquires a distinctly religious overtone: the absence of a headstone allows the rifle to function as a substitute marker, obscuring its primary function as an instrument of death and visually tying the weapon to Christian burial rites. Just as *Abschied* presents a romantic image of death, so is the mountain landscape cast in a sentimental manner: unlike the ominous, brooding peaks found in later work such as *Vorfrühling* (1917, Schloss Bruck. Fig.36), in which the mountains are presented as a powerful, solid mass, the peaks in *Abschied* are painted in a translucent grey wash, an aestheticised background that, like Hollenstein's *Stellungen im Gebirge*, gives little sign of the dangers posed by the landscape.

Egger-Lienz's representation of mountain warfare in *Abschied* draws on a number of clichés and common tropes, and whilst the image is less artistically interesting than other works, it effectively illustrates contemporary, anachronistic interpretations of modern warfare. The image also reflects Egger-Lienz's regional affiliations: strikingly, *Abschied* draws visually

from one of the artist's earlier works, a representation of the 1809 rebellion entitled *Ein Abschied im Tirol im Jahre 1809* (1894–1897, Lienz, Schloss Bruck. Fig.37). This earlier painting presents the same central scene, and features an almost identical composition to the later work. Although *Abschied* omits several details from the original, the image of the kneeling soldier at the grave of a fallen comrade is identical, and the continuity between these two paintings is an incredibly clear indication of the Tyrolean tendency to understand war in the mountains as a continuation of the 1809 conflict.¹⁸² Egger-Lienz, with his first-hand experience of war, would have been aware of the distinctions between modern warfare and that of the previous century, and it seems highly unlikely that he intended *Abschied* as a representation of the conflict as he actually experienced it. Rather, Egger-Lienz's romantic presentation of mountain warfare reflects a willingness to employ cliché to propagandist effect, despite his personal experiences of the fighting and other works that depict the suffering of war.

Abschied, whilst undoubtedly Egger-Lienz's most overtly propagandist representation of mountain warfare, is not an anomaly among the images he produced during the war years. In the painting *Feldpost im Hochgebirge* (1915, present whereabouts unknown. Fig.38), again part of the postcard series, Egger-Lienz presents an entirely positive image of the front-line community. The work depicts the mountain landscape in a restricted palette of white and pale blue, conveying the coldness and hostility of the peaks. In the background, a jagged mass of rock rises above the men, and this hostile backdrop imbues the scene in the foreground with an even greater resonance: a group of soldiers, some of whom have removed their military

¹⁸² As seen in Müller's 'Mein Hoferland, Mein Heimatland!', in which modern warfare is directly linked to the 1809 rebellion. See note 14.

jackets, crowd around the letters that have arrived from their loved ones. Their physical proximity and relaxed stance reveal the intimate bonds forged in adversity, as presented in Hollenstein's *Soldatengruppe* or *Soldaten am Tisch*, and the wood cabin to the right of the men echoes Hollenstein's *Blockhaus im Wald*, in which a log cabin evokes the rustic authenticity of the mountain environment. However, unlike Hollenstein's darker representation of war in works such as *Zeltlager mit Soldaten*, Egger-Lienz's painting contains nothing that would disrupt his celebration of community, with only the distant mountains evoking the dangers so ubiquitous at that front.

Without exception, Egger-Lienz's postcard series presents war as a glorious enterprise and, as in *Feldpost im Hochgebirge*, few concessions are made to the dangers and suffering experienced by the men (those works that do engage with themes of death and injury present the wounded as martyrs, indicating only a superficial engagement with the suffering of war). One image, *Maschinengewehr auf 3000 Meter Höhe* (1915, Vienna, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum. Fig.39), presents the moment of direct engagement as a thrilling adventure, again recalling the memoir of Luis Trenker.¹⁸³ The painting presents four soldiers crouching behind a mountain ridge, their machine gun trained on an enemy group. Whilst Hollenstein's *Soldaten im Gebirge* conveys the thrill of war without neglecting the fear or the men, featuring dark, oppressive tones, Egger-Lienz's image is less nuanced. The sense of claustrophobia evoked in Hollenstein's work is entirely lacking in this image, in which pale blues, ochres and greens dominate, eradicating any sense of menace or danger. This representation of mountain warfare as masculine adventure is also found in *Dolomitenwacht* (1916, Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum. Fig.40), in which an Austrian 'Kaiserjäger' strides effortlessly over the crest of a mountain, bayonet at the ready. In these

¹⁸³ As quoted in Thompson, *The White War*, p. 205.

paintings, the mountains prove no impediment to the men: in *Dolomitenwacht*, the soldier bounds over the peak, whilst in *Maschinengewehr auf 3000 Meter Höhe*, the mountains function as a protective force, shielding the soldiers from enemy fire. Again, these images correspond to contemporary idealisations of the mountains, with the peaks presented as a bulwark, and the Tyrolean soldiers as studies in fearless resilience.

Although the works produced by Egger-Lienz for the *Kriegspressequartier* undoubtedly reflect his own convictions in the necessity of war, the paintings cannot be assessed independently of their status as commissioned works, dictated in part by the demands of the propaganda office. Moving away from these paintings, the viewer encounters works in which Egger-Lienz's presentation of the mountain landscape is infinitely more nuanced. Two such images are *Südfront 1916* (Innsbruck, Bergisel Museum. Fig.41) and *Serradafront 1916* (Lienz, Raiffeisenkasse. Fig.42), paintings that are marked by a greater stylistic abstraction and a more ambivalent representation of the mountains. In *Südfront 1916*, Egger-Lienz emphasises the hostile power of the natural environment, contrasting sharply with the representation of the mountains as an aestheticised backdrop in *Abschied*. Here, the mountain occupies the majority of the canvas, its solid bulk reinforced through the use of a restricted palette of browns, ochres and earth tones. The overwhelming presence of the mountain is reinforced by the way in which the uniforms of the two soldiers are painted in the same light brown, blending into the rock and conveying their insignificance against the powerful landscape. In the centre of the image, a narrow staircase has been carved into the rock: far from representing human dominance over the mountains, its narrow, crooked steps appear precarious and insecure, and do not diminish the power of the landscape. Unlike in *Abschied*, Egger-Lienz does not present the mountain as a dormant, inert presence, but as an active and hostile force, and this more ambivalent representation of the mountain landscape hints

towards more complex understandings of war that are most strikingly expressed in later works such as *Finale*.

An ambivalent representation of the mountain landscape is also found in *Serradafront 1916*, a ‘sister-painting’ of *Südfront 1916*. Whilst the latter presents an external view of the mountain, *Serradafront* depicts the deep chasm in the rock where the soldiers are forced to live. A small door set in the stone signifies an attempt to establish a private space, and the group of men who crowd at the base of the chasm again represent the bonds formed in the face of adversity. Unlike in *Südfront 1916*, the soldiers are represented as a group and not as individual figures, further reinforcing this sense of community. However, the landscape of *Serradafront 1916* nevertheless constitutes a powerful threat: towering walls of rock fill the canvas, leaving only a tiny patch of light at the top right of the image. The space inhabited by the men is narrow and restrictive, echoing the Heinse’s presentation of the trenches in ‘Doberdo, den 17. Dezember 1915’. In *Serradafront*, the mountain landscape is presented as a hugely inhospitable environment, indicating an understanding of war more complex than works such as *Abschied* would indicate.

Unlike the postcards produced for the *Kriegspressequartier*, both *Südfront 1916* and *Serradafront 1916* exhibit Egger-Lienz’s characteristic ‘openness’ as described by Schledlmayer and Pereña.¹⁸⁴ Both images are devoid of narrative clues that might encourage the viewer to accept an authoritative interpretation: the soldiers appear both heroic and vulnerable against the overwhelming mountain backdrop, and the landscape confers protection whilst also forming an insurmountable obstacle. These works thus reflect the

¹⁸⁴ See Nina Schledlmayer, *Solide ohne Zweifel*, <<http://www.artmagazine.cc/content33100.html>>

[accessed 9 June 2014] and Helena Pereña, ‘Der Totentanz und das Monumentale: Abstraktion und Einfühlung’, in *Totentanz. Egger-Lienz und der Krieg*, pp. 51–61 (p. 52).

conflicted responses of soldiers to mountain war, as described by Keller: 'Elitism combined with melancholy. The Alpine world at once elevated the soldier with its majesty and crushed him with its burdens'.¹⁸⁵ This profoundly ambivalent conception of the mountains is most often encountered in those works Egger-Lienz produced away from the front: whilst the experience of active service allowed for on-the-spot observations and provided the artist with a great deal of inspiration, it was only in the studio that he was able to create the more monumental, complex and engaging representations of mountain warfare that have become synonymous with his name.

Among those works created away from the front, there are few images that explicitly engage with mountain warfare, or the landscape of the Italian Front. One exception is *Der Mensch* (originally 1914, worked over in 1916, Vienna, private collection. Fig.43). Initially, this work appears to represent a universal, existential state grief, bearing few visual signs that would connect it specifically to mountain warfare. The five figures in the foreground are dressed identically and depicted in states of physical exhaustion: their identical clothing, the restricted palette and the featureless landscape of the foreground imbues the scene with a monumental aesthetic, encouraging the interpretation of the figures as ciphers that represent an abstract, eternal state, existing beyond any specific temporality. However, whilst the foreground of *Der Mensch* presents anonymous, universal symbols of grief, the backdrop forms a distinct contrast. Here, the viewer is presented with a number of fortified buildings against a mountain backdrop. This cityscape is an almost identical copy of the landscape in *Triest 1916*,¹⁸⁶ in which Egger-Lienz depicts the view of the front around the city that he visited in

¹⁸⁵ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 261.

¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately I have been unable to find a high quality image of this work to scan. A small-scale copy of the original can be found in Kirschl, *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868-1926*, p. 246.

that years, part of his assignment as an official war artist. This earlier image is re-worked in *Der Mensch*, imbuing the work with a more specific historical and temporal context than its archetypal figures suggest, and tying it specifically to the war at the Italian front.

Although clear continuities can be identified between *Der Mensch* and *Triest 1916*, the former work cannot be interpreted primarily as a specific comment on war at the Italian front. Rather, the images of fortifications and mountains directly transported from *Triest 1916* reflect Egger-Lienz's tendency to employ specific historical events as a vehicle for the exploration of overarching, existential themes. Instances of this transformation of concrete history into more universal imagery can be found in earlier works such as *Totentanz Anno Neun*, in which the 1809 rebellion comes to represent the eternal mechanisms of fate, or in *Finale*, in which the dead bodies on the battlefield lose their individual identities, presenting a powerful image of the dead that could represent any conflict. Egger-Lienz's preoccupation with eternal themes is reflected in the title *Der Mensch*, a general and intentionally ambiguous term that hints towards universal experiences. In this work, the experience of a specific conflict becomes subsumed into an abstracted, monumental representation of generalised grief as found in the art of the better-known Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), with whom Egger-Lienz has been compared.¹⁸⁷ This universal, monumental aesthetic is distinctive, and forms a welcome contrast to his more thematically and stylistically conservative works. However, this approach is by no means unproblematic: the transformation of concrete suffering into an abstract image of grief risks neglecting the specific brutality and suffering of that conflict, subsuming the war into an overly-generalised memorial and preventing engagement with a more specific loss and mourning.

¹⁸⁷ See Gert Ammann, 'Bilder vom Krieg und gegen den Krieg...Bemerkungen zur Darstellung des Krieges im Ersten Weltkrieg in Tirol', in *Albin Egger-Lienz 1868–1926*, pp. 34–40, p. 39.

The difficulties that arise from Egger-Lienz's monumental, abstracted visions of grief and suffering can be briefly discussed with reference to Käthe Kollwitz, and specifically the controversial re-design of Berlin's *Neue Wache* in 1993. The decision to place an enlarged version of Kollwitz's 1937 sculpture *Pietà (Mutter mit totem Sohn)* (Fig.44) in the centre of the *Neue Wache*, commemorating the victims of war, was contested. The sculpture, created in response to the death of Kollwitz's son during the First World War, was interpreted as a symbol of universal grief, and doubts were raised as to the ability of the memorial to commemorate all victims of war, including those murdered during the Holocaust: 'The enlarged *Pietà* proved problematic on both aesthetic and political grounds. Enlarged and taken out of its original private context, the work became a symbol of national self-sacrifice.'¹⁸⁸ The issues raised by the re-design of the *Neue Wache* apply to the art of Egger-Lienz, and the strengths and weaknesses of his approach are concisely expressed by Robert Fleck, who recognises the distinctiveness of Egger-Lienz's work, and its problematic aspects: 'Naturtalente wie Egger-Lienz vermochten es, trotz ähnlicher formaler Übernahmen des Photographischen, den Krieg in einer nichtnarrativen Malerei auszubilden, allerdings um den Preis einer Mythisierung, die das Geschehen unbewältigt ließ'.¹⁸⁹

Egger-Lienz's non-narrative, monumental aesthetic, at its most highly developed in *Totentanz* and *Der Mensch*, forms a distinct counter-point to the propagandist works created for the *Kriegspressequartier*, and points to the huge variety of Egger-Lienz's war art as a whole. Whilst *Abschied* employs the mountains as a tame, aestheticised backdrop, allowing for a

¹⁸⁸ Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (London: Praeger, 2001), p. 138.

¹⁸⁹ Robert Fleck, 'Wien um 1914. Ikonen des Krieges', in *Österreich und der Große Krieg 1914-1918. Die andere Seite der Geschichte*, pp. 16–21 (p. 17).

sentimental, aestheticised vision of war, other images present the landscape as a sentient, active protagonist, as in *Südfront 1916*, where the men struggle to establish some level of comfort in their harsh surroundings. *Der Mensch* represents yet another facet of Egger-Lienz's war art, with the mountain landscape transcending its specific context and reflecting a preoccupation with the eternal and unchanging states of man. The varying symbolic readings of the mountain landscape in Egger-Lienz's war art is matched by his distinctive stylistic variety, from the more traditional figurative works such as *Maschinengewehr auf 3000 Meter Höhe* to the powerful Expressionist statement of *Finale*, pointing to Egger-Lienz's status as a regional artist who was nevertheless in tune with international artistic currents. Egger-Lienz's embracing of both Modernist and more traditional, regional art undoubtedly helped shape his ambivalent representation of war in the mountains: whilst some images present war in the tradition of the genre-painters, as a glorious and heroic battle, proto-Expressionist paintings such as *Totentanz* reflect the aversion to conflict shared by many painters of that movement, and Egger-Lienz's work reflects his willingness to adapt his stylistic affiliations to the thematic demands of a given image.

Egger-Lienz's art, like that of Hollenstein, warns against a differentiated reading of Austro-Hungarian war art and poetry as falling into polarised categories of opposition and enthusiasm. To a significant extent, the experience of mountain warfare transcended these categories: 'Soldiers offered two conflicting impressions of the mountain. They saw the war as destructive yet formative, and they believed that the Alps offered at once annihilation and escape. Just as the mountain's fury unleashed death, the overwhelming beauty of the Alpine landscape provided respite from the machinery of war'.¹⁹⁰ The art of Egger-Lienz encapsulates these paradoxical readings of the mountain landscape, acknowledging the

¹⁹⁰ Keller, 'The Mountains Roar', p. 267.

suffering of conflict whilst remaining convinced of its necessity. In the post-war years, Egger-Lienz would turn to the plight of war-widows in his *Kriegsfrauen* series: nevertheless, these paintings imbue the suffering of the women with a religious dimension that again transcends the specific details of their grief. Whilst Egger-Lienz's response to war is not that of an unthinking propagandist, nor is his work a straightforward protest against the barbarity of war. Attempts to cast Egger-Lienz's art as either proto-fascist, or a 'zeitlose Mahnmale gegen den Völkermord'¹⁹¹ prove largely inadequate to assess his paintings from the war, a body of work that remains a deeply complex and problematic representation of the Italian front.

¹⁹¹ Eva Michel, 'Vom Leben und Tod. Albin Egger-Lienz im Leopold Museum', *Parnass* 1 (2008), 154–156 (p. 154).

7. The End of War and the Myth of the Mountains: Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz in the Post-War Period

In 1918, the battle of Vittorio-Veneto signaled the end of war at the Italian front and the total collapse of the Habsburg Empire. For those who had fervently supported war even after 1914, adjusting to life in the new, truncated Austria proved an immense challenge. The later poetry of Anton Wildgans and Richard von Schaukal exemplifies the deep sense of loss and alienation felt by many: Wildgan's 'Das österreichische Credo' (1920),¹⁹² exemplifies this continued allegiance to the fallen Empire and hopes for its revival. In this poem, images of Austria's defeat ('Klein bist du zwar, mein Vaterland, geworden') are mitigated by images of the 'Herzland deutscher Väter' as a tree which has been robbed of its leaves, but which will blossom again one day. This nostalgia for Empire is also found in the writings of the German-Bohemian poet Franz Nabl, whose reflections on the variety of its people and landscapes make no reference to the ethnic tensions of the pre-war years:

Wie das alte Österreich eine Zusammenfassung und zugleich Verflechtung vieler Nationen war, umrahmte es auch eine Zusammenfassung von Landschaften in so großartiger und abwechslungsreicher Menge, wie man sie, zumindest auf Europäischem Boden, vielleicht kein zweites Mal antrifft.¹⁹³

¹⁹² First published in *Späte Ernte* (Vienna: Globus, 1947), ed. by Franz Theodor Csokor. I have been unable to obtain a copy of this posthumous collection, but the website of the *Anton-Wildgans-Gesellschaft* include the poem on their website. See <<http://www.antonwildgans.at/page9.html>> [accessed 20 August 1914].

¹⁹³ Cited after Josef Mühlberger, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Böhmen 1900-1939* (Vienna: Langen Müller, 1981), p. 27.

The nostalgic vision of Empire advanced by Nabl and Wildgans was matched by a correspondingly idealised image of mountain warfare among conservative Austro-Hungarians. After the 1919 annexation of South Tyrol by Italy, the fighting in the mountains became an almost mythical ‘last stand’, a final display of Austrian military grit. This heroic interpretation was aided by the fact that the Italian army, despite conquering the karst, never managed to take the high peaks. The status of the mountains as a Germanic space remained undiminished: Jon Hughes emphasises the symbolic importance of mountaineering in the post war years as a ‘vertical form of imperialism’¹⁹⁴, an escape from the real loss of Austro-Hungarian territory, and also the ways in which the sport conformed to ‘a new interest in the mountains as part of an ideologically encoded national ‘recovery’.¹⁹⁵ The belief that the mountains counted as fundamentally Austrian spaces was expressed in 1926 by A. Raybould, an Irish jesuit, who emphasised what he perceived as the superior character of German Tyroleans: ‘A hardy mountain race, thrifty, industrious, order-loving, cool and reserved, if there is one nationality with which the Tyrolese have nothing in common it is with the Italian, and the annexation was bitterly resented throughout the whole country’.¹⁹⁶ Like the 1809 rebellion, the myth of the last resistance in the mountains became a rallying call for Austrian patriots in the decades after 1918, and the 1930’s and 40’s saw the publication of nostalgic war memoirs by Tyrolean veterans, among them Ernst Kabischs’ *Helden in Fels und Eis. Bergkrieg in Tirol und Kärnten* (1941), Luis Trenker’s *Berge in Flammen* (1931, with a film version appearing in the same year) and Gunte Langes’ *Die Front in Feld und Eis* (1932).

¹⁹⁴ Jon Hughes, (cited after Harold Höbusch), ‘The Exhilaration of Not Falling. Climbing, Mountains and Self-Representation in Texts by Austrian Mountain Climbers’, in *Austrian Studies*, 18 (2010), 159-178 (p. 160).

¹⁹⁵ Hughes, ‘The Exhilaration of Not Falling’, p. 160.

¹⁹⁶ A. Raybould, ‘Fascism in the Tyrol’, *The Irish Monthly*, 54 (1926), 407–416 (p. 409).

During the 1930's and 40's, the image of mountain warfare as the site of a final, noble resistance played into fascist narratives of the peaks as Germanic, masculine spaces. Accompanying the many memoirs published during this period were the films of Luis Trenker, who based much of his work on his experiences at the front. Whilst not explicitly fascist, his heroic representation of war allowed his work to be co-opted by Nazi propagandists.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Hollenstein's later paintings present the mountains in a way that, although not intrinsically fascist, corresponds to Nazi understandings of the peaks as Germanic territory. In 1939, the artist contributed several paintings to a fascist-approved exhibition, 'Berge und Menschen', and Kain raises the possibility that one later painting, *Falzarego in den Dolomiten* (1932), functions as an implicit political comment on the annexation, with the romantic purples and reds of the image creating a mood that is at once romantic and melancholy.¹⁹⁸ Whilst it is impossible to know for sure whether Hollenstein intended *Falzarego* as a political comment, the symbolic resonance of mountain warfare in Tyrol during the post-war years allowed her art from that front, and her later mountain paintings, to gain considerable prestige, and the years of the Nazi regime formed the peak of her career.

Whilst Hollenstein enjoyed considerable fame and influence during the 1930's and 40's, Egger-Lienz did not live long enough to see the rise of fascism in his native Tyrol. His post-war output tends towards the sombre and the monumental, with the *Kriegsfrauen* series representative of this late period. In those post-war works that depict the mountains, the peaks are presented in a melancholy, nostalgic manner, similarly to Hollenstein's *Falzarego*. In *Am*

¹⁹⁷ Trenker's *Berge in Flammen* (1931) is based in part on his personal experience of war in the Alps, whilst *Der Rebell* (1932) features a protagonist loosely based on Andreas Hofer.

¹⁹⁸ Kain, 'Painter, Patriot, Paradox', p. 31.

Kalvarienberg bei Bozen (1922, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie. Fig.45), the mountain in South Tyrol is painted in the evening light, imbuing the scene with a romantic glow. Whilst the image is not explicitly politicised, it is perhaps significant that the mountain is represented at sunset, a possible allegorical comment on the decline of Empire. The diaries and letters of both artists indicate their genuine convictions in the necessity of war, and their post-war representation of the mountains in nostalgic, sentimental mode indicates their continued idealisation of the mountain landscapes after 1918.

Whilst Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein enjoyed varying degrees of success in the post-war period, Heinse's war poetry remains almost completely unknown. It seems likely that Heinse considered himself a translator first and foremost, either as a result of economic necessity or an underestimation of his own poetic talent, making no attempt to publish his collected war poetry until 1937, and only two poems have emerged that shed light on Heinse's understanding of conflict in the decades after 1918. Paola Maria Filippi refers to two unpublished poems from the manuscripts owned by Ekatherina Klein, entitled 'Epilog' and 'Nachwort', and published during the 1940's. In 'Epilog', Heinse's enduring resistance to war and distaste for those who refused to acknowledge the suffering of the front is made abundantly clear:

Längst sind die Kämpfe aus
und auch der Sieger gräßliches Frohlocken.

Nur die Geschichte meldet kurz und trocken
mit ein paar Worten von dem Graus.

'Fünfzehn/ Sechzehn: Kämpfe am Michele',

doch jenes Leiden, Sterben und Gequäle

wer liest's aus diesen Zeilen noch heraus?¹⁹⁹

In contrast to the post-war work of Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein, Heinse's memory of active service was not marked by nostalgia, but by a bleak focus on lasting trauma, and a continued resistance to narratives of heroic self-sacrifice.

The work of Heinse, Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein presents diverging representations of the Italian Front and its landscape, yet the work of all three individuals offers a valuable insight into the ways in which these landscapes were interpreted symbolically during the war.

Despite their varying political allegiances, their art and poetry shares an ambivalent presentation of the natural environment, in which the peaks are varyingly cast as oppressor, protector and victim. Although it would be hugely inaccurate to accuse artists and poets fighting at other fronts of advancing a simplistic, binary representation of the landscapes in which they fought, the work of soldiers at the Italian Front often reflects a particularly conflicted and symbolic reading of the front-line topography, a heightened preoccupation with a natural environment perceived as simultaneously majestic and threatening.

The topography of the Italian Front varied hugely, and it would be inaccurate to claim that artistic responses to war in the mountains and on the karst were homogeneous. Heinse's representation of the landscape is infinitely more negative than that of Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz, and significant stylistic differences can be identified in their work. Nevertheless, Heinse's poetry presents Monte San Michele as both tormentor and victim, a complex

¹⁹⁹ Cited after Paola Maria Filippi, 'Gustav Heinse sull'Isonzo', www.germanistica.net/2014/03/21/gustav-heinse-sullisonzo/ [accessed 21 August 2014] (see note 134).

representation of the karst that is reflected in Egger-Lienz's painting *Serradafront 1916*, or Hollenstein's *Soldaten im Gebirge*, in which the mountains are presented as allowing for adventure yet also inflicting casualties. It is this shared ambivalence that characterises much of the Austro-Hungarian response to war in the mountains, and the work of Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz also attests to the fundamental influence of regional provenance on the understanding of war at that front: Heinse, the product of a multi-ethnic region, does not imbue the landscape with conservative or regionally-specific symbolisms, whilst Egger-Lienz and Hollenstein clearly conceive of the peaks as true Austrian territory, conferring specific values upon those who live and fight there.

In analysing the art and poetry of Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz, I do not seek to create a retrospective group, and I am aware that a great many soldiers at the Italian Front produced art and poetry that would prove fascinating for further research. Nevertheless, I have attempted to select a range of works that reflect broader contemporary interpretations of war at the Italian Front in Austria-Hungary, whilst also pointing to the unique contributions of their creators to the poetry and art of this period. The distinctive nature of Austro-Hungarian responses to war, and particularly the Italian front, has been long overlooked: Heinse, Hollenstein and Egger-Lienz are only some of those largely neglected poets and artists of this period whose work differs considerably from that of their German counterparts, and my thesis constitutes a modest attempt to remedy the lack of scholarly attention that has been paid to their work, and the art and poetry of the Dual Monarchy more broadly.

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List of Maps

1. Map of the modern-day Euroregion Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino.
2. Map of the Italian Front.

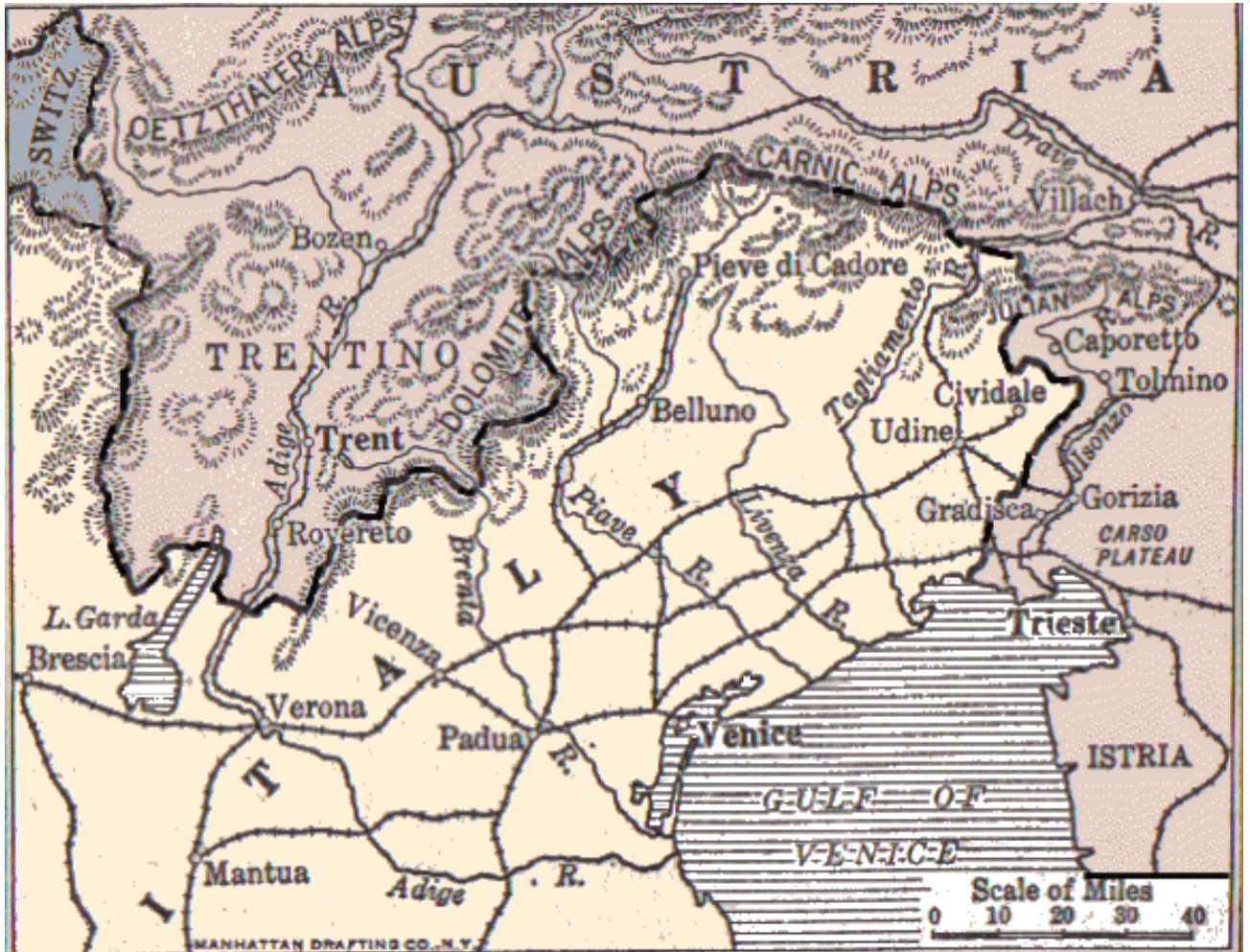
Maps

Fig.1.



Map of the modern-day Euroregion Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino, encompassing the Austrian state of Tyrol, and the Italian provinces of South Tyrol (Alto-Adige) and Trentino. The modern-day Euroregion corresponds to the boundaries of the pre-1919 Austrian County of Tyrol.

Fig.2.



Map of the Italian Front, stretching from Switzerland to the Karst (carso plateau).

List of Illustrations

1. Ludwig Koch, *Oberst Broch v. Aarenau an der Spitze des Regiments Tiroler Kaiserjäger Nr. 2*, 1925, oil on canvas, 100 x 70 cm. Vienna, private collection.
2. Leonard Winterowski, *Kampf Österreichischer Ulanen mit Tscherkessen in Nadworna (Galizien)*, 1915, oil on canvas, 111 x 180 cm. Vienna, private collection.
3. Anton Hanak, *Der letzte Mensch*, 1917-1924, bronze, 230 cm. Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere.
4. Wolfgang von Schaukal, *Selbstbildnis im Dragoneruniform*, 1918, oil on softboard, 58.5 x 45.8 cm. Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere.
5. Hugo Engl, *Almlandschaft mit Kühen*, 1913, oil on wood, 19 x 18 cm. Bolzano, Bozner Kunstauktionen.
6. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Stellungen im Gebirge*, 1916, gouache on paper, 29.5 x 21.4 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
7. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Zeltlager mit Soldaten*, 1916, pencil and coloured pencil on paper, 91. x 13 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
8. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Blockhaus im Wald*, 1916, gouache on paper, 24.8 x 29.6 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
9. Franz von Defregger, *Almlandschaft der Ederplan*, 1882, oil on canvas, 70.5 x 130 cm. Private collection.

10. Edward Ludwig Kirchner, *Wintermondnacht*, 1919, woodcut, 30.5 x 29.5 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art.
11. Oskar Kokoschka, *Tre Croci (Dolomitenlandschaft)*, 1913, oil on canvas, 82 x 113 cm. Vienna, Leopoldmuseum.
12. Christian Rohlf, *Der Soldat*, 1913, watercolour and pastel on paper, 53 x 43.5 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art.
13. Christian Rohlf, *Der Gefangene*, 1918, woodcut, 61.2 x 46.3 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art.
14. Max Pechstein, *Somalitanz*, 1910, woodcut with watercolour, 38 x 53.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art.
15. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Soldaten im Gebirge*, 1916, pencil and coloured pencil on paper, 9 x 13 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
16. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Abschied*, 1915. Present whereabouts unknown.
17. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Unterstände an der Südfront*, 1916, pencil on paper, 24.8 x 29.9 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
18. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat*, 1916, pencil on paper, 41.9 x 29.1 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
19. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Gebirgslandschaft der Südfront mit Stellungen*, 1916, pencil on paper, 24.8 x 29.6 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.

20. Caspar David Friedrich, *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer*, 1818, oil on canvas, 78.4 x 94.8 cm. Hamburg, Kunsthalle Hamburg.
21. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Bei Hohenems*, 1938, oil on canvas. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
22. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Falzarego in den Dolomiten*, 1932, oil on canvas. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
23. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Forno*, 1916, charcoal on paper, 24.7 x 35 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
24. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Gefechtsstellungen an der Südfront*, 1916, pencil on paper, 24.7 x 32.4 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
25. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Soldatengruppe*, 1916, pencil on paper. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
26. Stephanie Hollenstein, *Soldaten am Tisch*, 1916-1917, gouache on paper, 43.5 x 59.5 cm. Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.
27. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Totentanz Anno Neun*, 1921 (fifth version), oil on wood, 129.5 x 151 cm. Lienz, Schloss Bruck.
28. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Finale*, 1918, oil on canvas, 140 x 228 cm. Private collection.
29. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Missa Eroika*, 1923-1925, fresco. Lienz Gedächtniskapelle.
30. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Nach dem Friedensschluss*, 1902, oil on canvas, 191 x 330 cm. Lienz, Schloss Bruck.

31. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Haspinger Anno Neun*, 1908-1909, casein on canvas, 265 x 456 cm. Lienz, Schloss Bruck.
32. Franz von Defregger, *Heimkehrender Tiroler Landsturm im Krieg von 1809*, 1876, oil on canvas, 140 x 190 cm. Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie.
33. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Almlandschaft im Ötztal*, 1911, casein on canvas, 32.5 x 52.5 cm. Vienna, Leopoldmuseum.
34. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Bergraum*, 1911, casein on canvas, 112 x 130 cm. Innsbruck, Österreichisches Alpenvereinmuseum.
35. Albin Egger-Lienz, *1809 Tirol 1909*, 1909, design for the cover of the centenary magazine of the Austrian *Alpenverein*.
36. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Vorfrühling*, 1917, tempera on canvas, 142 x 170 cm. Lienz, Schloss Bruck.
37. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Ein Abschied im Tirol im Jahre 1809*, 1894–1897, oil on canvas. Lienz, Schloss Bruck.
38. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Feldpost im Hochgebirge*, 1915, gouache. Present whereabouts unknown.
39. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Maschinengewehr auf 3000 Meter Höhe*, 1915, gouache, 42.8 x 58.4 cm. Vienna, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum.
40. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Dolomitenwacht*, 1916, gouache, 46.5 x 36.5 cm. Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum.

41. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Südfront 1916*, 1916, oil on canvas, 80.5 x 90.5 cm. Innsbruck, Bergisel-Museum.
42. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Serradafront 1916*, 1916, oil on canvas, 90 x 49.5 cm. Lienz, Raiffeisenkasse.
43. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Der Mensch*, 1914 (worked over in 1916), oil on canvas, 209 x 257 cm. Vienna, private collection.
44. Käthe Kollwitz, *Pietà (Mutter mit totem Sohn)*, 1993 (enlarged replica by Harald Haacke: original sculpture 1937), bronze, 160 cm. Berlin, Neue Wache.
45. Albin Egger-Lienz, *Am Kalvarienberg bei Bozen*, 1922, oil on canvas, 84 x 122 cm. Vienna, Österreichische Galerie.

Illustrations

Fig.1.



Ludwig Koch

Oberst Broch v. Aarenau an der Spitze des Regiments Tiroler Kaiserjäger Nr. 2

1925, oil on canvas, 100 x 70 cm

Vienna, private collection

Fig.2.



Leonard Winterowski

Kampf Österreichischer Ulanen mit Tscherkessen in Nadworna (Galizien)

1915, oil on canvas, 111 x 180 cm

Vienna, private collection

Fig.3.



Anton Hanak

Der letzte Mensch

1917-1924, bronze, 230 cm

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere

Fig.4.



Wolfgang von Schaukal

Selbstbildnis im Dragoneruniform

1918, oil on softboard, 58.5 x 45.8 cm

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere

Fig.5.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Untitled sketch, 1910

Charcoal on paper

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.6.



Hugo Engl

Almlandschaft mit Kühen

1913, oil on wood, 19 x 18 cm

Bolzano, Bozner Kunstauktionen

Fig.7.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Stellungen im Gebirge

1916, gouache on paper, 29.5 x 21.4 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.8.



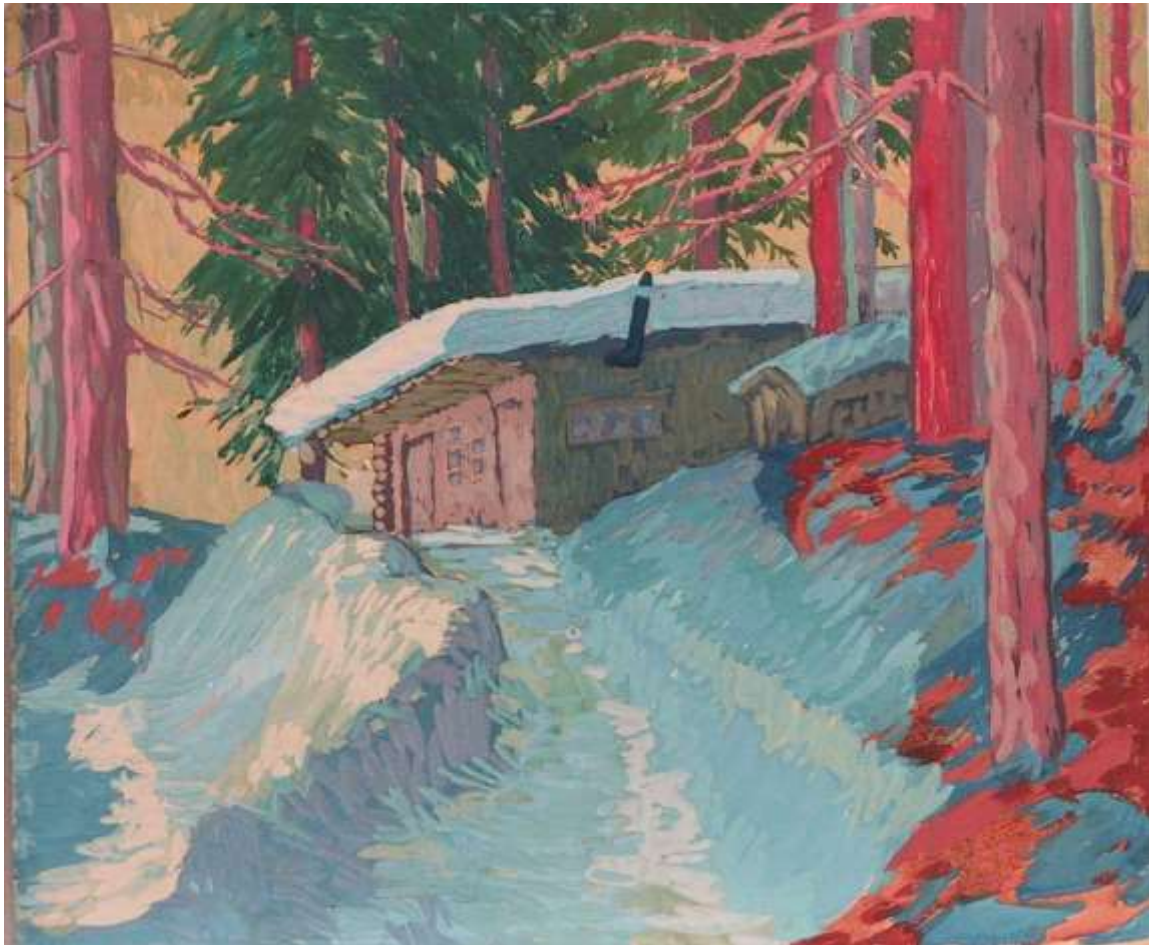
Stephanie Hollenstein

Zeltlager mit Soldaten

1916, pencil and coloured pencil on paper, 91. x 13 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.9.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Blockhaus im Wald

1916, gouache on paper, 24.8 x 29.6 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.10.



Franz von Defregger

Almlandschaft der Ederplan

1882, oil on canvas, 70.5 x 130 cm

Private collection

Fig.11.



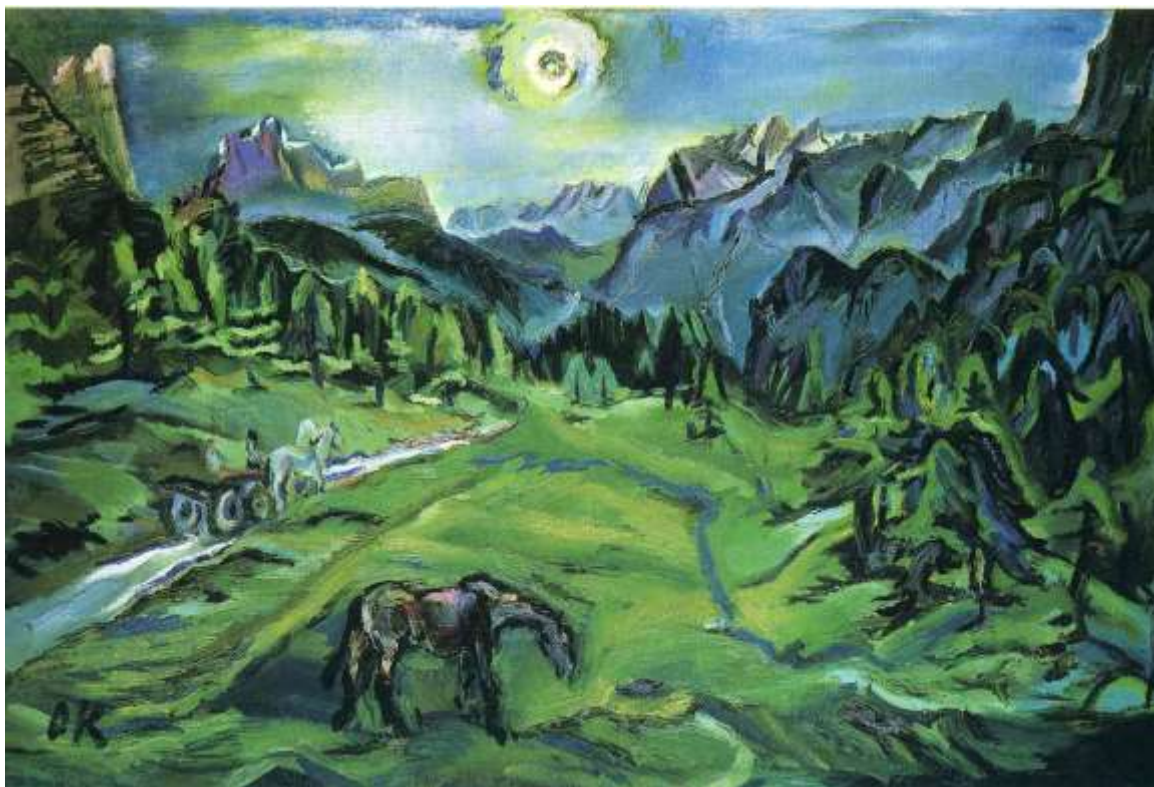
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner

Wintermondnacht

1919, woodcut, 30.5 x 29.5 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art

Fig.12.



Oskar Kokoschka

Tre Croci (Dolomitenlandschaft)

1913, oil on canvas, 82 x 113 cm

Vienna, Leopoldmuseum

Fig.13.



Christian Rohlfs

Der Soldat

1913, watercolour and pastel on paper, 53 x 43.5 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art

Fig.14.



Christian Rohlf

Der Gefangene

1918, woodcut, 61.2 x 46.3 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art

Fig.15.



Max Pechstein

Somalitanz

1910, woodcut with watercolour, 38 x 53.7 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art

Fig.16.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Soldaten im Gebirge

1916, pencil and coloured pencil on paper, 9 x 13 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.17.



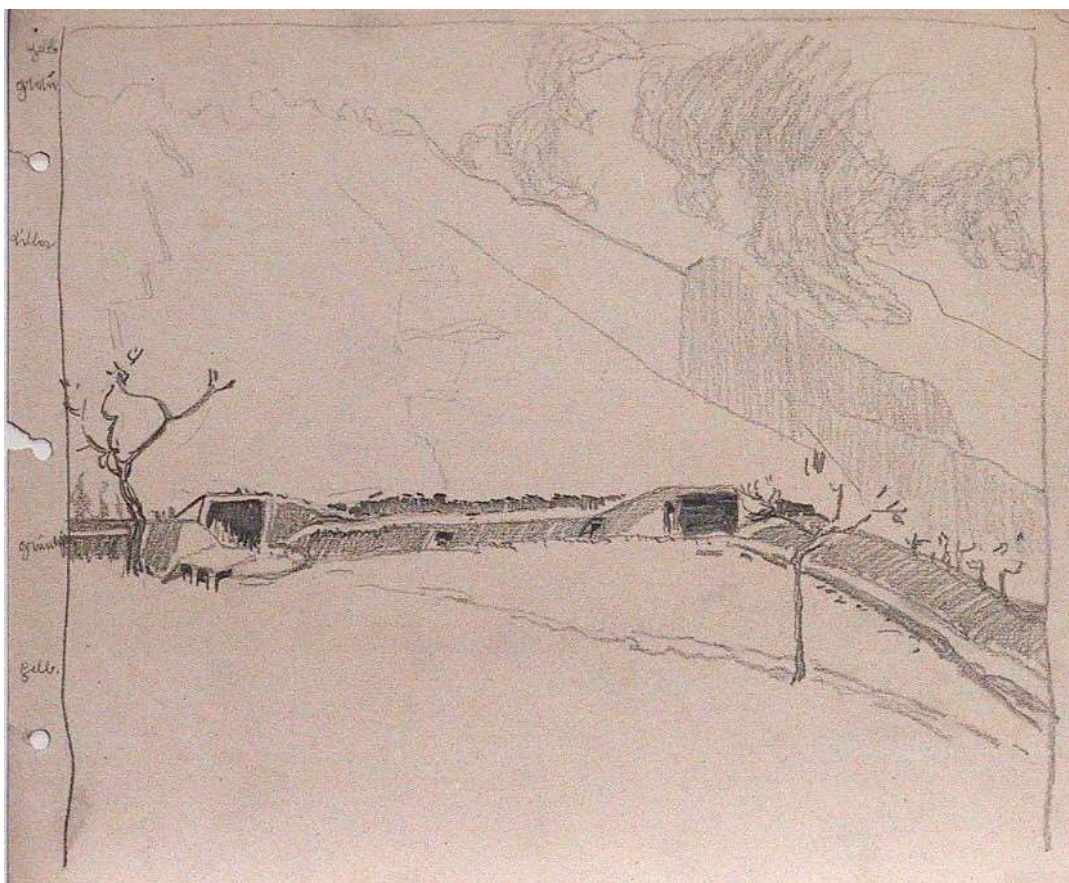
Albin Egger-Lienz

Abschied

1915

Present whereabouts unknown

Fig.18.



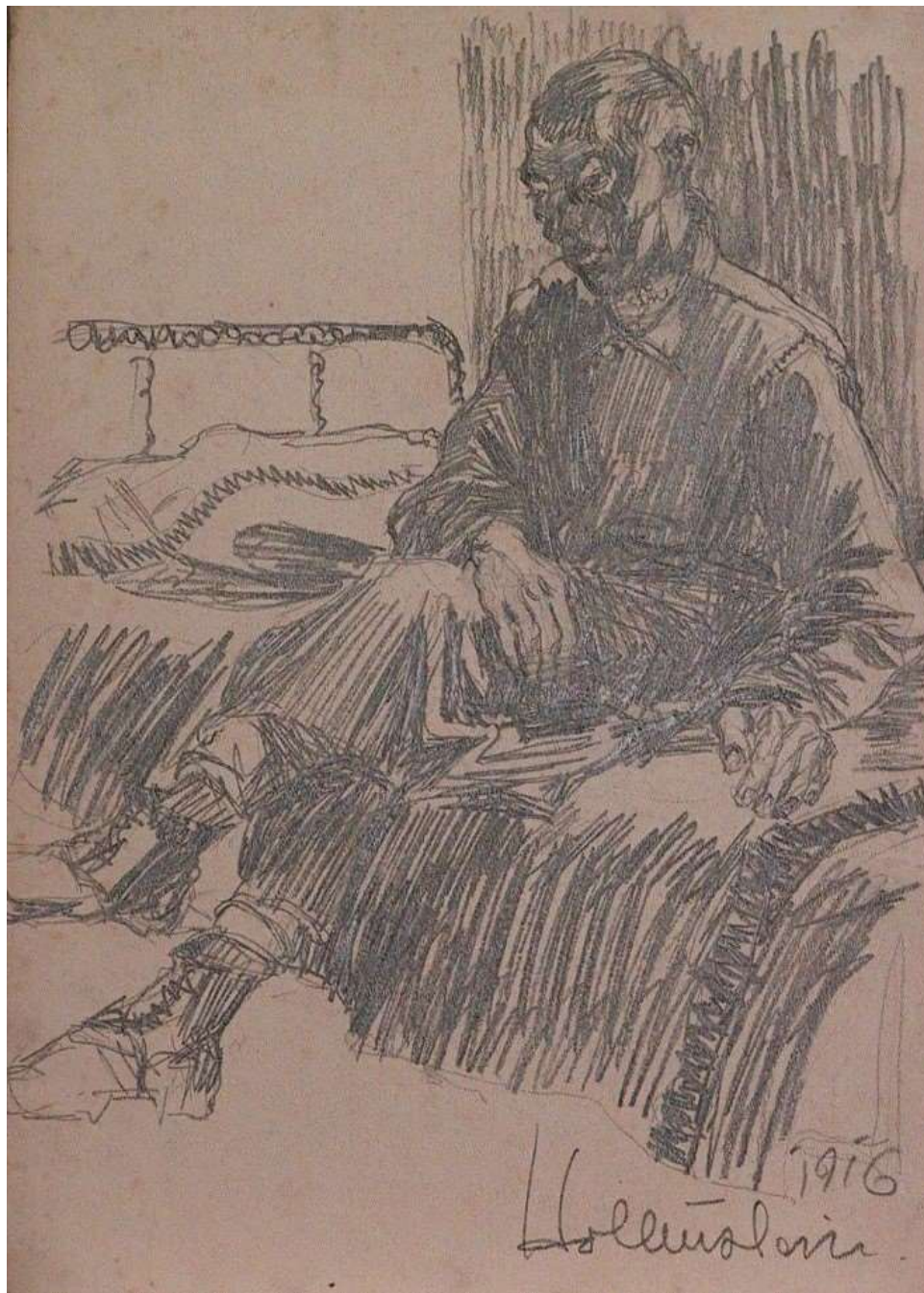
Stephanie Hollenstein

Unterstände an der Südfront

1916, pencil on paper, 24.8 x 29.9 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.19.



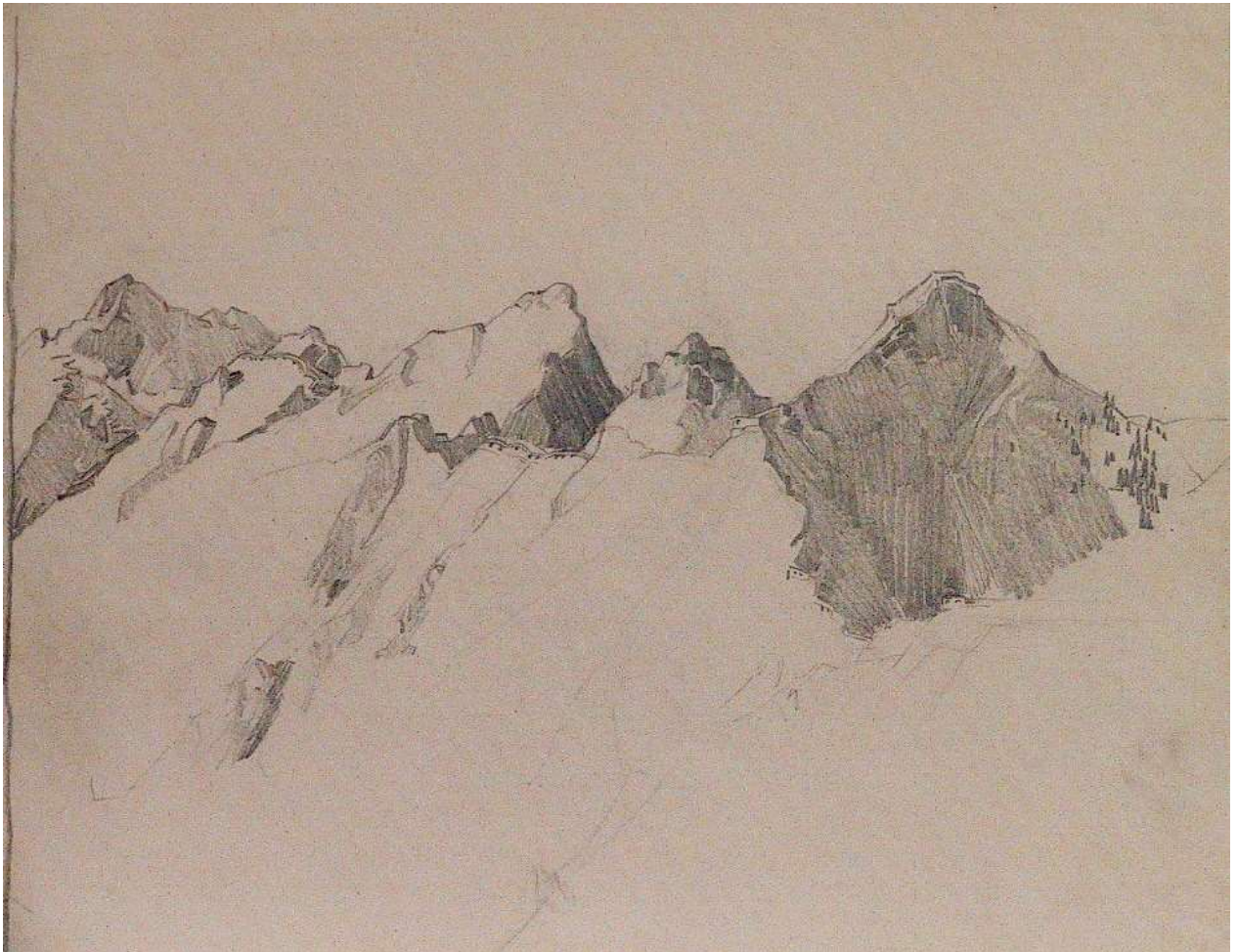
Stephanie Hollenstein

Am Lazarettbett sitzender Soldat

1916, pencil on paper, 41.9 x 29.1 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.20.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Gebirgslandschaft der Südfront mit Stellungen

1916, pencil on paper, 24.8 x 29.6 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.21.



Caspar David Friedrich

Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer

1818, oil on canvas, 78.4 x 94.8 cm

Hamburg, Kunsthalle Hamburg

Fig.22.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Bei Hohenems

1938, oil on canvas

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.23.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Falzarego in den Dolomiten

1932, oil on canvas

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.

Fig.24.



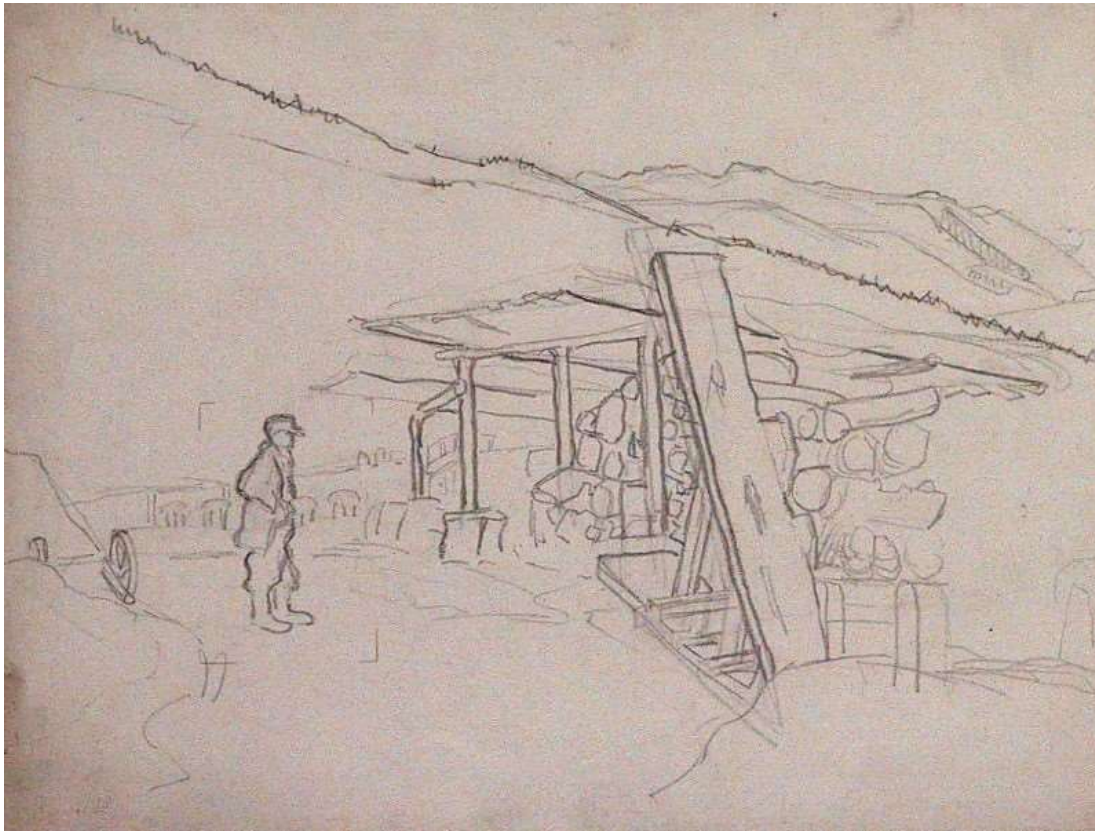
Stephanie Hollenstein

Forno

1916, charcoal on paper, 24.7 x 35 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.25.



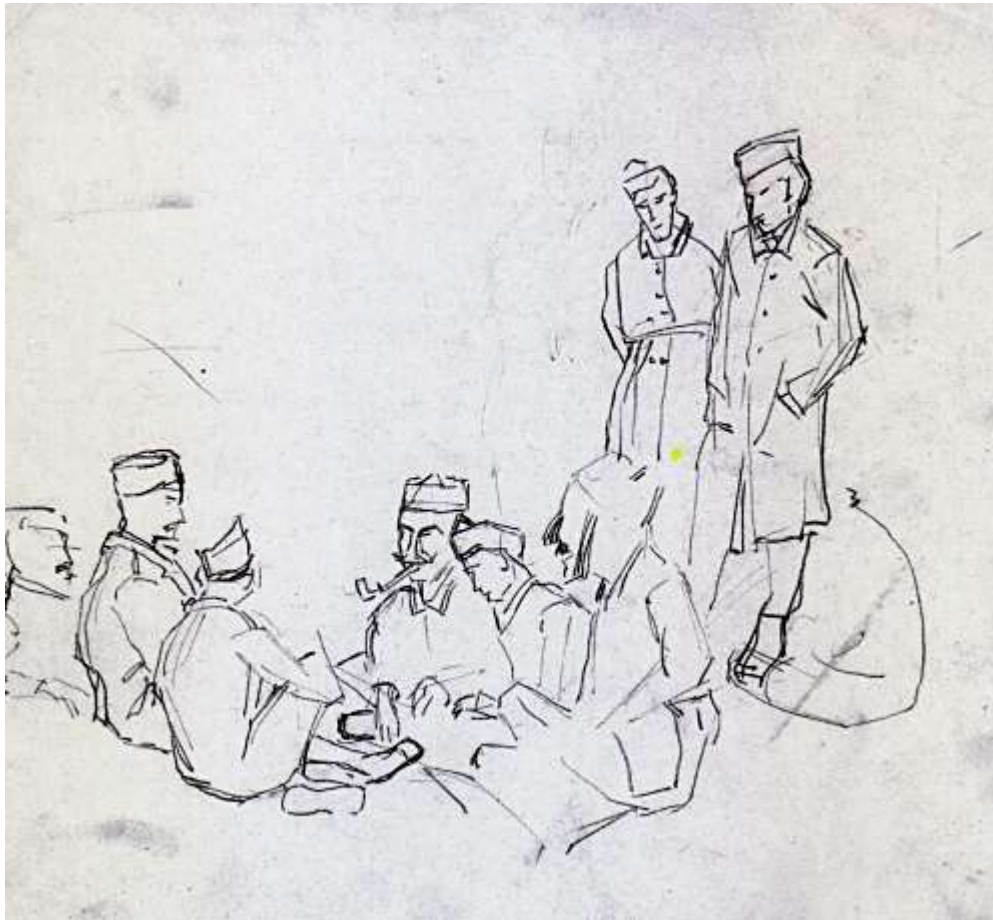
Stephanie Hollenstein

Gefechtsstellungen an der Südfront

1916, pencil on paper, 24.7 x 32.4 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein

Fig.26.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Soldatengruppe

1916, pencil on paper

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.

Fig.27.



Stephanie Hollenstein

Soldaten am Tisch

1916-1917, gouache on paper, 43.5 x 59.5 cm

Lustenau, Galerie Hollenstein.

Fig.28.



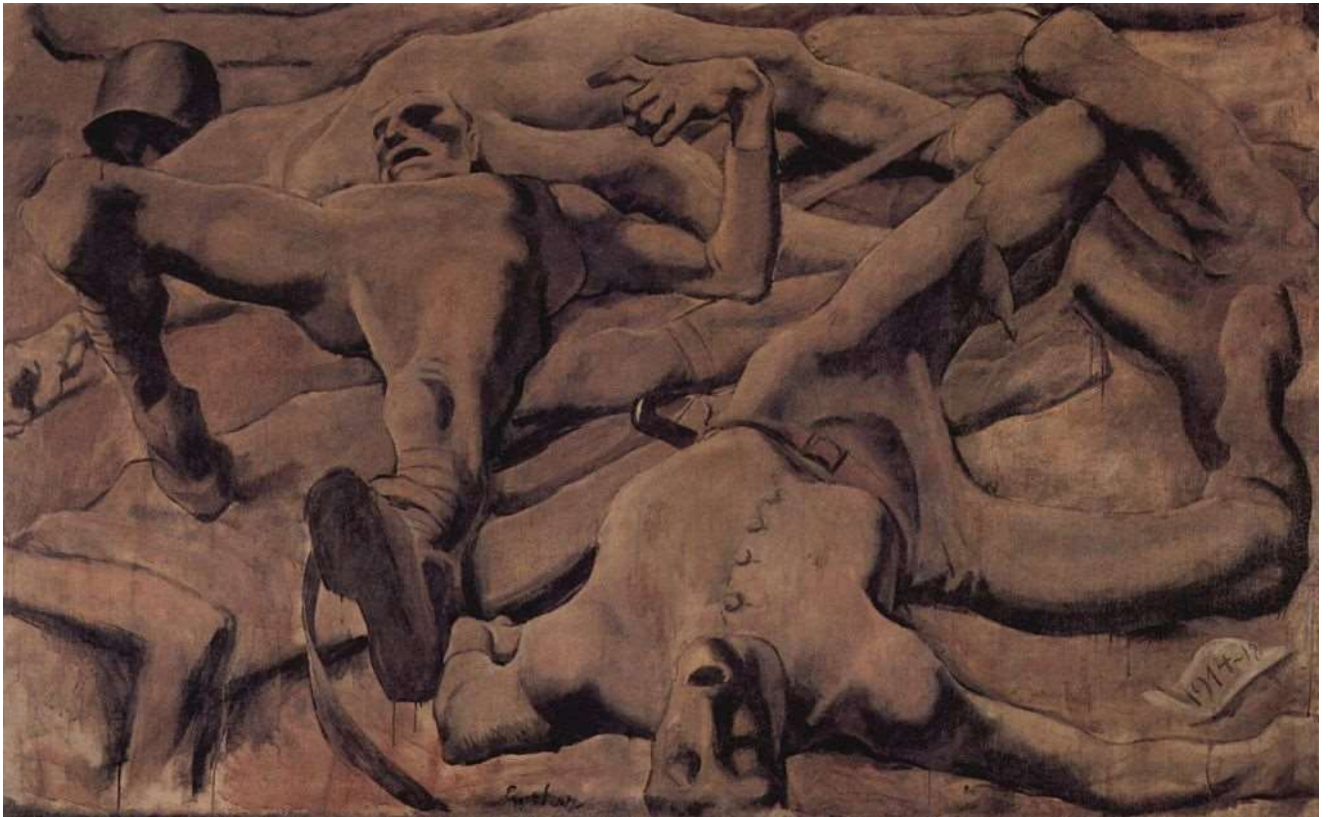
Albin Egger-Lienz

Totentanz Anno Neun,

1921 (fifth version), oil on wood, 129.5 x 151 cm

Lienz, Schloss Bruck

Fig.29.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Finale

1918, oil on canvas, 140 x 228 cm

Private collection

Fig.30.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Missa Eroika

1923-1925, fresco

Lienz Gedächtniskapelle.

Fig.31.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Nach dem Friedensschluss

1902, oil on canvas, 191 x 330 cm

Lienz, Schloss Bruck

Fig.32.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Haspinger Anno Neun

1908-1909, casein on canvas, 265 x 456 cm

Lienz, Schloss Bruck

Fig.33.



Franz von Defregger

Heimkehrender Tiroler Landsturm im Krieg von 1809

1876, oil on canvas, 140 x 190 cm

Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie

Fig.34.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Almlandschaft im Ötztal

1911, casein on canvas, 32.5 x 52.5 cm

Vienna, Leopoldmuseum

Fig. 35.



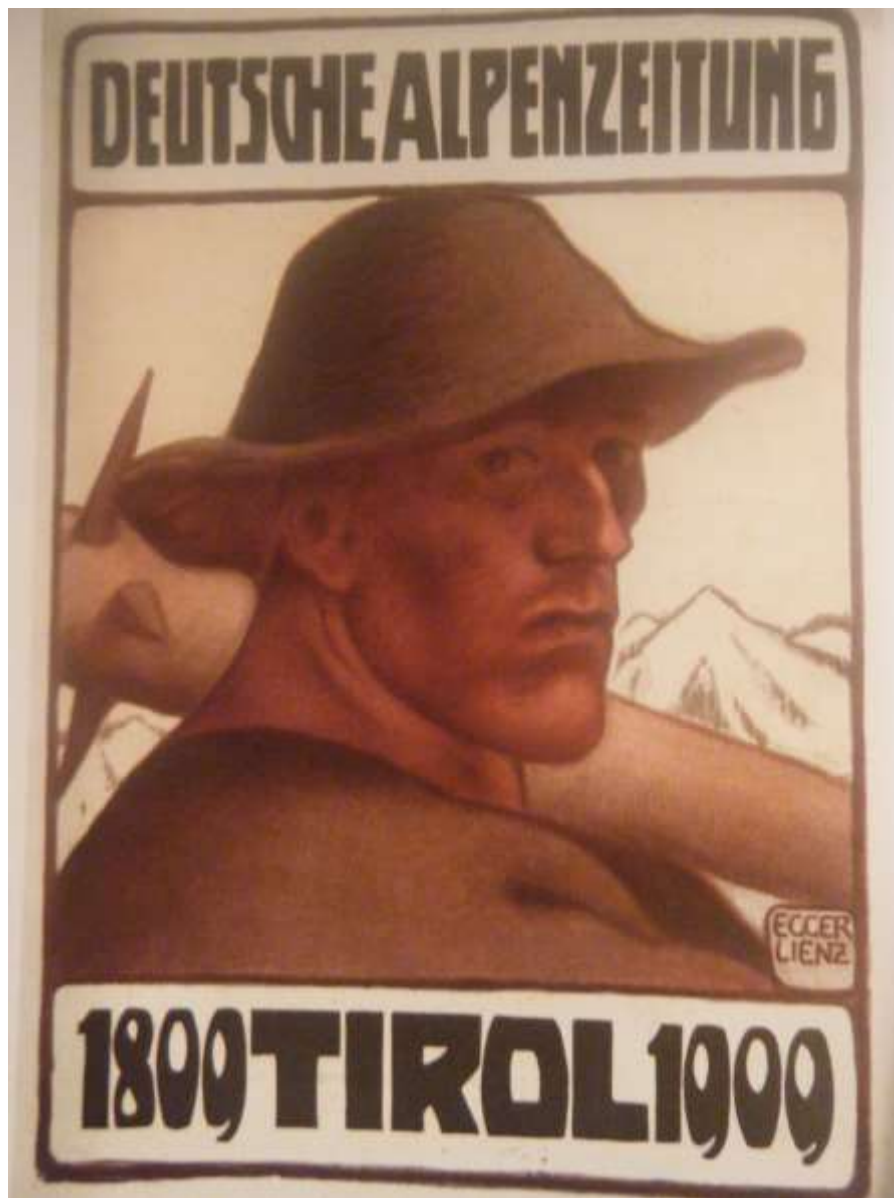
Albin Egger-Lienz

Bergraum

1911, casein on canvas, 112 x 130 cm

Innsbruck, Österreichisches Alpenvereinmuseum

Fig.36.

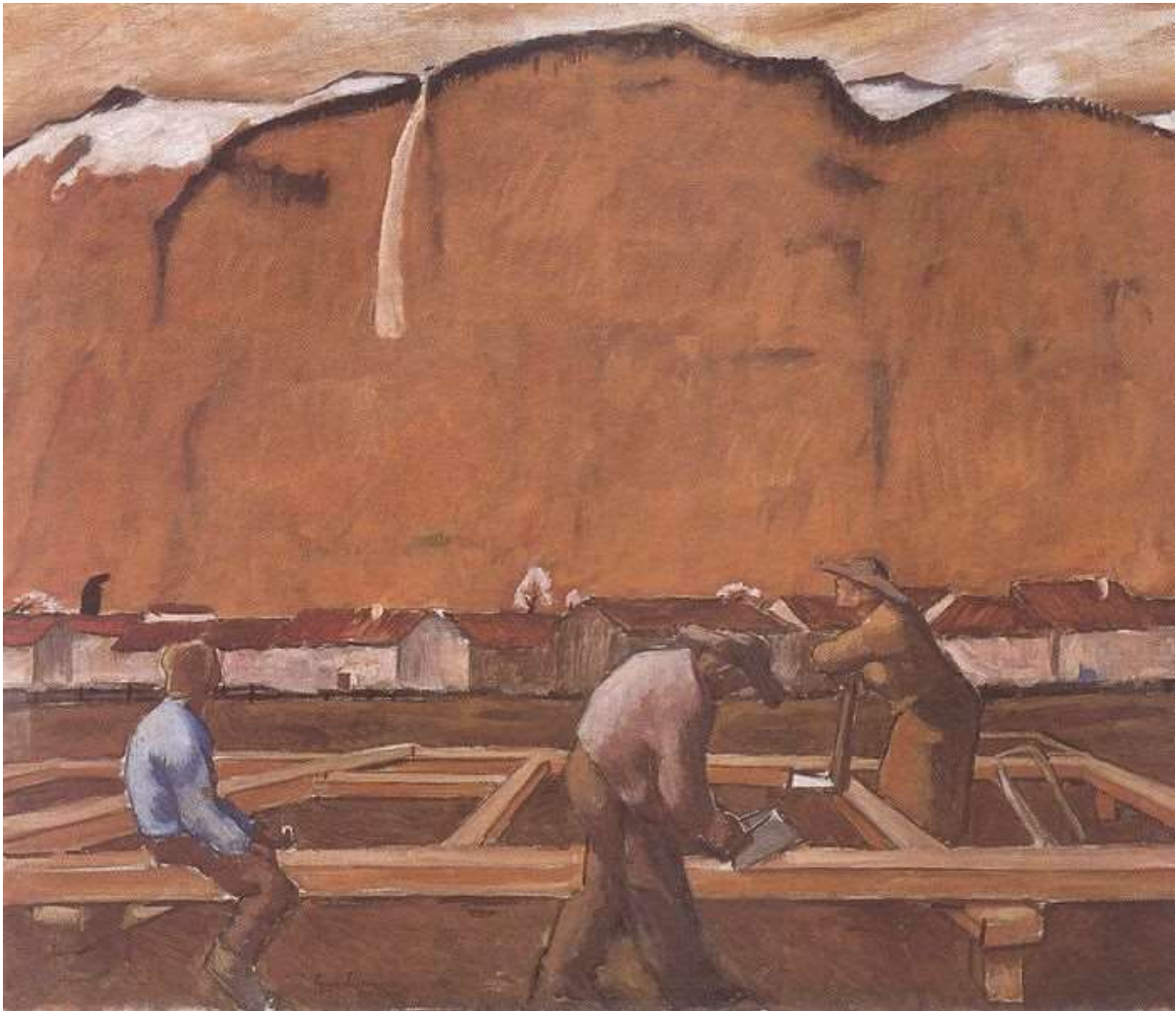


Albin Egger-Lienz

1809 Tirol 1909

1909, design for the cover of the centenary magazine of the Austrian *Alpenverein*.

Fig.37.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Vorfrühling

1917, tempera on canvas, 142 x 170 cm

Lienz, Schloss Bruck

Fig.38.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Ein Abschied im Tirol im Jahre 1809

1894–1897, oil on canvas

Lienz, Schloss Bruck

Fig.39.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Feldpost im Hochgebirge

1915, gouache

Present whereabouts unknown

Fig.40.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Maschinengewehr auf 3000 Meter Höhe

1915, gouache, 42.8 x 58.4 cm

Vienna, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum

Fig.41.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Dolomitenwacht

1916, gouache, 46.5 x 36.5 cm

Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum

Fig.42.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Südfront 1916

1916, oil on canvas, 80.5 x 90.5 cm

Innsbruck, Bergisel-Museum

Fig.43.



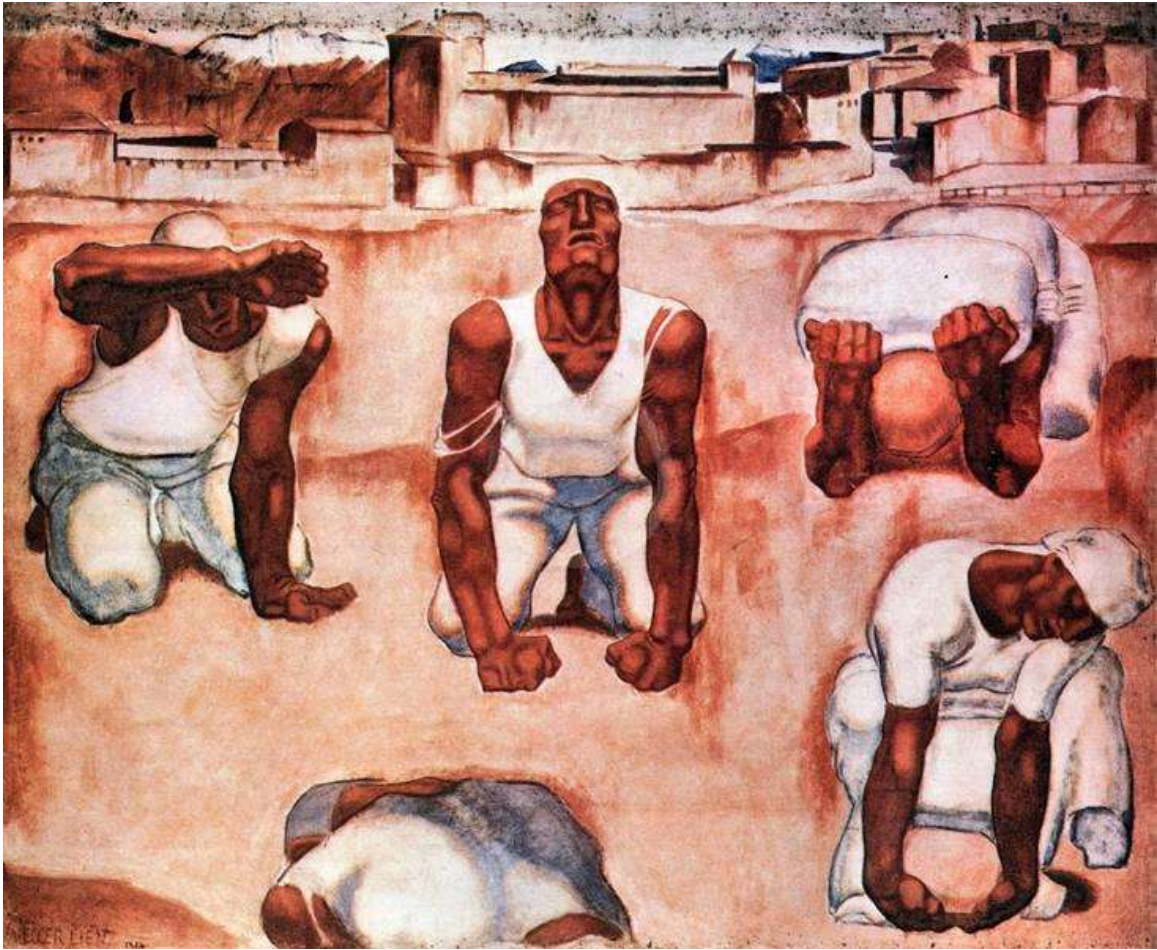
Albin Egger-Lienz

Serradafront 1916

1916, oil on canvas, 90 x 49.5 cm

Lienz, Raiffeisenkasse

Fig.44.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Der Mensch

1914 (worked over in 1916), oil on canvas, 209 x 257 cm

Vienna, private collection

Fig.45.



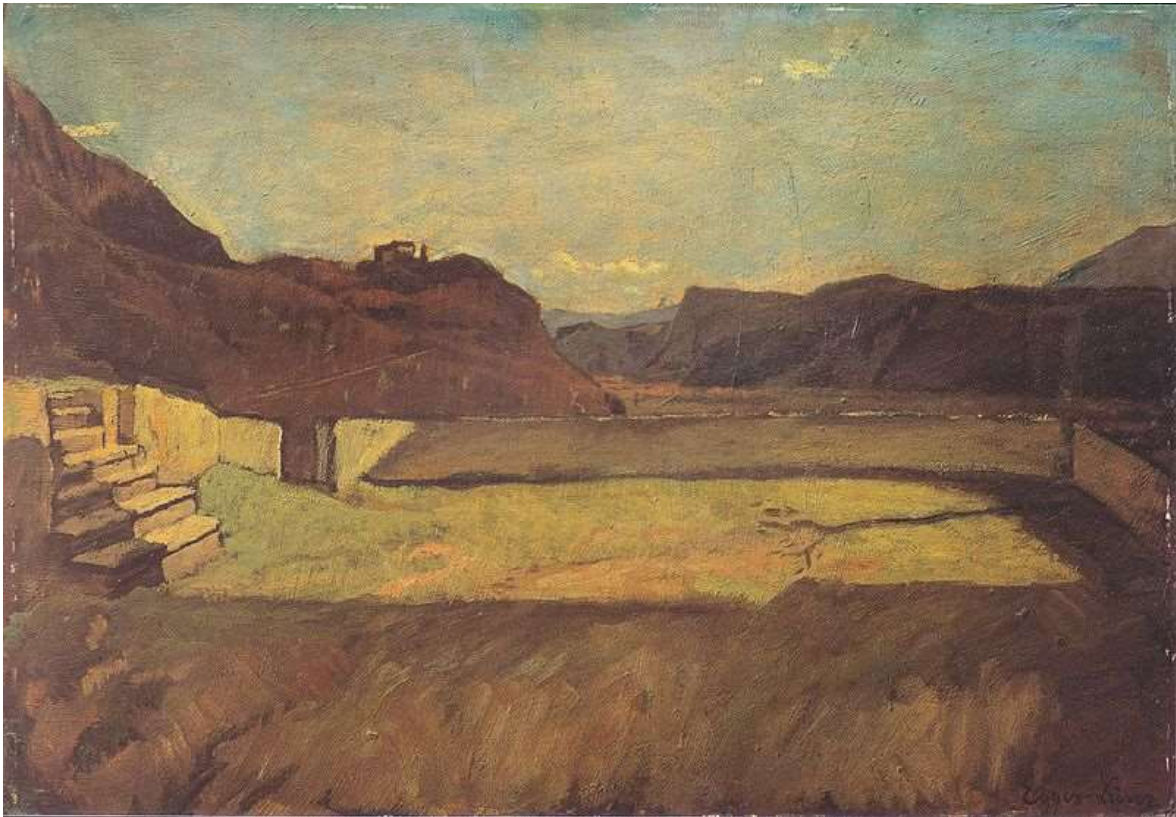
Käthe Kollwitz

Pietà (Mutter mit totem Sohn)

1993 (enlarged replica by Harald Haacke: original sculpture 1937), bronze, 160 cm

Berlin, Neue Wache.

Fig.47.



Albin Egger-Lienz

Am Kalvarienberg bei Bozen

1922, oil on canvas, 84 x 122 cm

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie.

Dedications and Acknowledgements

I express my deepest gratitude to Patrick Glen for providing the Studentship funding that has allowed me to complete this thesis. My studies would have been impossible without his generous assistance.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Robert Vilain and Steffan Davies, for their support and guidance, and Oliver Heinzle at the *Galerie Stephanie Hollenstein* in Lustenau for kindly providing me with scans of Stephanie Hollenstein's art, solving a considerable research obstacle. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their support this year.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Yvette Lawton.