

SOCIO-CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE BANAT AS
REFLECTED IN THE WORKS OF ADAM MÜLLER-
GUTTENBRUNN

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ABSTRACT

SOCIO-CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE BANAT AS REFLECTED IN THE WORKS OF ADAM MÜLLER-GUTTENBRUNN

By

Elfriede Elizabeth Berg

This study is an attempt to present the socio-cultural elements of a society on the fringe of the German cultural area. One-fifth to one-sixth of all Germans around 1900 lived outside the political and immediate perimeter of Germany. The literature of the ten to fifteen million Germans outside these geographical boundaries had been neglected for sometime.

The Danube-Swabians, the historically youngest German ethnic group, were a good example of such neglect. This thesis is a descriptive attempt to explore the interrelationships among the Danube-Swabian individual, family and community in their social and cultural settings within the literary framework of Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Heimatromane." In order to establish a "pattern" of such typical relationships the thesis is divided into six chapters: (1) the history of the Danube-Swabians and its reflection in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn,

(2) political organization, (3) the Danube-Swabian in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn, (4) the family of the Danube-Swabians, (5) the community of the Danube-Swabians, and (6) the factor of religion.

Examining these communities as parts of a larger societal whole, Müller-Guttenbrunn emphasizes numerous kinds of social and cultural relationships. Recognizing the severe limitations of these insular German communities, the author attempts to sustain the Danube-Swabians through their folk traditions and customs. Müller-Guttenbrunn's compulsive need to create novels filled with Danube-Swabian customs is not merely rooted in the socio-cultural history of his people, but also in the literary tradition of the "Heimatroman."

In their historical development, Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates how a group of diversified people from various parts of the Hapsburg empire advance to a definite and homogeneous type of agrarian culture. Because of a reverent disposition toward ancestral tradition, common hardships, a common Christian religion, and the strict rule of the Hapsburgs they succeed in developing a rigid social structure. This ordered and prescribed existence is exemplified and perpetuated in their family and community structure. Their religion also becomes merged in social ritual and tradition, often promoting conservatism. In his "Heimatromane" Müller-Guttenbrunn

realistically depicts this lack of interaction between the higher and lower parts of the Danube-Swabian society, due in part to its tradition-bound, rigid social structure, as well as to sociological, political and historical factors.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter	
I. THE HISTORY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS AND ITS REFLECTION IN THE NOVELS OF MÜLLER-GUTTENBRUNN	9
The First Migration and <u>Der Grosse</u> <u>Schwabenzug</u>	15
The Second Migration and <u>Barmherziger</u> <u>Kaiser</u>	25
The Third Migration and <u>Joseph der</u> <u>Deutsche</u>	30
II. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION	36
III. THE DANUBE-SWABIAN IN THE NOVELS OF ADAM MÜLLER-GUTTENBRUNN	58
General Characteristics	58
Man	65
Woman	71
IV. THE FAMILY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS	76
General Characteristics	76
Marriage and Inheritance Attitudes	82
Roles of Family Members	88
V. THE COMMUNITY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS	95
Village Structure	95
Customs	98
Baptism	100
Wedding	101
"Klatta"	106

Chapter	Page
"Metzlsupp'"	107
"Spinnreih'"	108
"Kirweih"	111
Interaction	115
VI. RELIGION	122
CONCLUSION	145
FOOTNOTES	150
BIBLIOGRAPHY	161

INTRODUCTION

In order to justify the present theme it is necessary to briefly sketch certain pertinent historical and geographical features. To begin, of the approximately one hundred million Germans living around 1900, only about four-fifths inhabited Germany proper. One-fifth to one-sixth of all Germans lived outside the political and immediate perimeter of Germany. The literature of the ten to fifteen million Germans outside these geographical boundaries had been neglected for sometime. Even though many writers dedicated themselves to the task of writing about these people, the Germans outside of the Bismarck realm prior to 1890 were relatively unknown to the native inhabitants. Not until the "Volksdeutschen" established themselves historically as an organic part of Germany were their intellectual achievements fully recognized in the realm of German literature.

The Danube-Swabians, the historically youngest German ethnic group, were a good example of such neglect. The name "Donauschwaben" applies to approximately one and one-half million Germans, who, until 1944, had their homeland in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

For this specific ethnic group, Robert Sieger, professor of geography at the University of Graz, was the originator of the term "Donauschwaben." Prior to 1920, they were referred to as "Südostschwaben," "Schwaben im Osten," or "Banater Schwaben." The Hungarians and southern Slavic peoples to this day consider all Germans, even the Austrians, "Schwaben." How the ethnic name "Donauschwaben" came to include all Germans is illustrated in the historical development of the area indicated above. The first inhabitants in the Danube area who settled several decades before the great migration under Empress Maria Theresa were natives of Wurtemberg. Hence later settlers from the various parts of the Hapsburg empire were likewise designated as "Schwaben" by the natives of the area.^a

The geographer Hermann Rüdiger was the first to demarcate the geographical boundaries of the Danube-Swabians. The latest and most detailed geographical boundaries are defined by Anton Scherer in his introduction of the outstanding bibliography, Donauschwäbische Bibliographie, published in 1966. Because of numerous minor migrations into the Danube area, he was forced to expand the geographical limits set by Rüdiger. He defines the boundaries of the Danube-Swabians in the following manner:

1. die Ungarndeutschen mit Ausnahme der Ost-Burgenländer die sich natürlich den österreichischen West-Burgenländern zugehörig fühlen;

2. von den Jugoslawiendeutschen jene aus der Batschka, dem jugoslawischen Banat, der jugoslawischen Barania, aus Syrmien, Slawonien, Oberkroatien, Agram, Bosnien, Belgrad und Altserbien;

3. in Rumänien die Deutschen im rumänischen Banat, in und um Arad, im Banater Bergland, im Sathmarer und Marmaroscher Gebiet;

4. die Deutschen der Banater Tochttersiedlungen in Nord-Bulgarien;^b

As a fifth category, Scherer also includes the Danube-Swabian settlers who either before or after 1944 migrated to various regions of France, the United States, Canada, Argentina and Brazil. In the broadest sense, he considers all Germans who inhabited or migrated prior to 1944 from the above regions of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria members of the "Donauschwabentum."^c

The assimilation of these people, both in language^d and culture, originally from various parts of the Hapsburg empire, into an ethnic unity took approximately two hundred to two hundred and fifty years. Primarily an agrarian society, the Danube-Swabians struggled for three generations for mere existence, making the following slogan a historical reality:

Dem Ersten der Tod,
dem Zweiten die Not,
dem Dritten das Brot.

It seems, conditions favorable to the development of an indigenous literature were greatly lacking. Actually, Danube-Swabian literary efforts did not begin until the middle of the 19th century.

The most eminent Danube-Swabian writer of his whole generation was Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (1852-1923). Under the pseudonym Ignotus he struggled many years to achieve his fame as the "Erzschwaben." Born in Guttenbrunn in Banat as the illegitimate child of a rich farmer's son, who was not allowed to marry his poverty stricken sweetheart because of the strict social order observed by the farmers, Müller-Guttenbrunn was looked down upon in his native village. His mother, accused of being an accomplice to a murder, underwent much suffering until she was declared innocent. She eventually re-established herself in the village through her marriage to the tradesman Nikolaus Lamert. Because of these distressing circumstances Müller-Guttenbrunn was reared at the home of a German civil service family in Temesvar. Besides receiving his education in Temesvar and Hermannstadt, he attended the "Wiener Handelsakademie" in 1870, and in 1873 he acquired a position in a telegraph office.

Encouraged in his first dramatic attempts by Laube, Müller-Guttenbrunn produced dramas similar in type to the French "drama of manners." Eventually he became director of the Raimundtheater in 1892 and the Kaiser-Jubiläums-Stadttheater in Vienna in 1898. After his efforts to create a national stage in Vienna had failed, he turned to prose writing. His novels far surpassed his dramatic attempts as well as his brief fascination with German Naturalism.

When after twenty years the writer returned to Banat, he found the social conditions there drastically altered. His experience is reflected in the disappointment of one of his literary characters, the engineer Trauttmann who returns to Banat to find his homeland transformed by the nationalistic efforts of the Hungarians. This is the theme of Müller-Guttenbrunn's first "Heimatroman," Götzendämmerung. Ein Kulturbild aus dem heutigen Ungarn.

The Hungarian nationalism movement had captured many of the intellectuals of the villages, and was now threatening the agricultural class. Nationalism appears to some degree in all of Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Heimatromane." But in spite of his preoccupation with Hungarian nationalism, the novel mentioned above also presents a realistic critique of the social conditions of the time.

Banat is the scene of all of Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Heimatromane." He considered all "Südostschwaben" as "Banater Schwaben."^e Glocken der Heimat, his second "Heimatroman," presents a small Banat community. Its inhabitants have an almost mystic attachment to the soil. The actual hero of the novel is the Danube-Swabian village struggling to survive against the forces of nature. The flood of Rudolfsgnad in 1908 was the historical basis for this rather simple, yet charming peasant novel.

Der kleine Schwab, in many respects an autobiographical short story, relates the education of Müller-

Guttenbrunn in Hermannstadt. His next novel, Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, the most lyrical novel, is also the most autobiographical. The author narrates the story of a tradesman family and its position in the community. The tragic story of Müller-Guttenbrunn's mother is here depicted in the character of Susi Weidmann. The author relates Susi's experiences as an unwed mother, and her ultimate disgrace at being accused of a crime she did not commit. The serenity and peaceful harmony of Meister Jakob und seine Kinder are in marked contrast to his detailed trilogy, Von Eugenius bis Josephus. Here, Müller-Guttenbrunn turns to history and describes the migration of the Danube-Swabians under the Hapsburgs and the numerous hardships they endured during this endeavor.

Müller-Guttenbrunn describes the Danube-Swabians as simple, vigorous people living together from necessity, compelled by certain discernible needs and wants to form relatively stable associations. This interdependence is the basis of the social order. Economic, familial, community, religious, and political organization reflect the human needs which gave rise to them.

Although such authors as Ludwig Rogl and Christine Kohl have analyzed Müller-Guttenbrunn's political importance; and others, such as Kaethe Köstner and Hans Weresch, have examined his works in relation to characterization, plot, and style, our study is the first attempt at an

analysis of Danube-Swabian socio-cultural elements as reflected in the works of Müller-Guttenbrunn. This is not an analytical or critical study, but rather a descriptive attempt to explore the interrelationships among the individual, family and community in their social and cultural settings. Only after such a descriptive presentation has been accomplished do we feel that an analytical or critical study can be undertaken. In order to establish a "pattern" of such typical relationships we shall present such theme-supporting evidence as appears in: (1) the history of the Danube-Swabian people, (2) political organization among the Danube-Swabians, (3) the Danube-Swabian in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn, (4) the family of the Danube-Swabians, (5) the community of the Danube-Swabians, and (6) the factor of religion.

To provide the conceptual framework essential for this study, we draw upon the previously mentioned works of Müller-Guttenbrunn. It is our wish to make more widely known the works of Müller-Guttenbrunn, an author on the fringe of the German cultural area.

FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

^aAnton Scherer, Donauschwäbische Bibliographie (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1966), VII. Hereafter cited as Scherer, Bibliographie, plus the page number.

^bScherer, Bibliographie, IX.

^cScherer, Bibliographie, IX.

^d"Das Saarpfälzische" became the national dialect of the people of Banat. See Hans Hagel, "Das Saarpfälzische als Mundart des Banats," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), pp. 142-149.

^eHe entitled his anthology "Schwaben im Osten." The use of "Banater Schwaben" to include all of the Danube-Swabians seems to have been a prevalent idea at the time. J. Stein, Müller-Guttenbrunn's contemporary, also entitled his literary history, Fünf-undzwanzig Jahre deutschen Schrifttums im Banate, even though he also included materials from other Danube-Swabian areas in his book.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS AND ITS REFLECTION IN THE NOVELS OF MÜLLER-GUTTENBRUNN

In the 18th century the Danube-Swabians evolved from a group of German people with various cultural backgrounds, who, influenced by the peculiar topography and existing political structure of their new homeland, developed into a homogeneous community through mutual efforts at colonization. The development of the cultural, environmental, and political achievements of these German colonists in the Carpathian basin is the topic of Müller-Guttenbrunn's trilogy, Von Eugenius bis Josephus. Ein deutsches Jahrhundert in Österreich.¹ In these novels, the author illustrates how these settlers through organization, perseverance and industry overcame immense obstacles and produced agricultural and industrial leaders in their new homeland. The first part of the trilogy, Der Grosse Schwabenzug, illustrates the beginnings of these efforts by focusing on the first great migration during the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740). The second, Barmherziger Kaiser, spans the time of Empress Maria



Theresa from 1740 to 1780. While the last one, Joseph der Deutsche, deals with the final migration which took place during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, approximately 1780 to 1790. Müller-Guttenbrunn paints a vivid and historical picture of the times, emphasizing the political endeavors of the three rulers. At the same time, he portrays his Danube-Swabian comrades, not only as a group, but as individuals struggling to adjust to their new surroundings. Although the trilogy primarily deals with the three above mentioned government-sponsored migrations, Müller-Guttenbrunn gives a thorough picture of all land acquisition by the Danube-Swabians by also mentioning several minor, privately sponsored migrations.

In the course of history, the area described by Müller-Guttenbrunn in his trilogy was ruled by numerous states and peoples who were able to form only temporary governments. Since each ruling power left remnants of its reign, one finds widely diversified people living side by side, many not even represented in the political structure. As early as the 8th century, Germans inhabited the area that has already been defined in the Introduction as the later Danube-Swabian homeland. Scattered German settlements were located as far west as the Plattensee in Western Hungary. Although many of these German settlements were destroyed by the Hungarian annexation of territory in the area known as Burgundy, some still .

existed at the time of the German migrations in the 18th century. After the 11th century, however, German colonization began to flourish at the Western Hungarian border from Strassburg to Saint Gotthard. These settlements did not extend far to the east nor did they reach much beyond the Neusiedlersee. Isolated German settlements were located east of this area in Raab, Gran, Pest, Ofen and several other places. Remnants of German culture were present in Ofen until the city was captured by the Turks in 1541. Other German settlements also developed during the Middle Ages in the area. Yet these German settlements were of very little significance either numerically or culturally to the later Danube-Swabians. As such it is almost impossible to trace any Danube-Swabian heritage prior to 1700.

Numerous historical and political events lead to the development of the Danube-Swabians as an ethnic group. In spite of the great disorganization of the social structure of the empire, the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg dynasties blossomed in the 16th century as never before in history. Through a series of advantageous marriages, the Hapsburgs acquired Burgundy, Spain with all her overseas colonies, as well as Hungary. In the southeast the Ottoman Turks, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, having destroyed the Hungarian kingdom and the Christian states of the Baltic, advanced



in 1529 to the very gates of Vienna. Here a small group of defenders, approximately 20,000 men, bravely protected the Hapsburg city against the invading Turkish army of 150,000 men. Even though the Turks were superior in the art of mine-warfare, they were unable to cope with the more advanced strategic art of the western Hapsburg domain. The indecisiveness of the Turks along with several military errors eventually saved Vienna, yet this attempted invasion by the Turks resulted in the tripartition of Hungary. The greatest area of Hungary remained in Turkish possession with Austria paying an annual tithe to the Turkish Sultan. The Austrian position in Hungary remained insecure and constant warfare was carried on until 1606, when the Ottoman Sultan finally was forced to recognize the political equality of the Hapsburg emperor.

A second attack of the Turks on Vienna took place in 1683 marking the beginning of the Great Turkish War. It was during this time that the house of Hapsburgs, united with the Pope, the king of Poland, and the republic of Venice in the "Holy League," finally defeated the Turks, stopping a further expansion of Turkish influence in western Hungary. During the decisive battle near Zenta on the Theiss river, which resulted in the final peace of Passarowitz in 1718, Prince Eugene of Savoy shattered the military prestige of the enemy, regaining the kingdom

of Hungary for the Austrian crown. By his victories he re-established Austria, the leading German state, to the rank of a European power. The empire, which in 1648 had almost completely perished under the attack of the French, the Swedes and the Turks, was strengthened mainly by Prince Eugene's military victories. The development of German statehood within the boundaries of the empire was again made possible. From that point on, the border between Austria and Turkey became the Sava and Danube rivers. These newly conquered areas, all the free area north of both rivers, including all of Banat and Belgrade along with the northern part of Serbia, came under the immediate rule of Vienna.³ Prince Eugene of Savoy brilliantly organized these new territories into a stronghold for the defense of the empire against the Turks.

The great victories of Prince Eugene at Peterwardein and Belgrade in 1716 and 1717 are commemorated in the memorable stanzas of the Danube-Swabian dramatic folk ballad--"Prinz Eugenius, der edle Ritter."⁴ This great Savoyan statesman and general, though of Italian birth and French upbringing, is honored by the world as the man who liberated Europe from French and Turkish imperialism. He is especially honored by the Danube-Swabians as the liberator of their homeland. Müller-Guttenbrunn proudly mentions him in his fictional as well as in his historical novels. He often refers to him



as the hero of the resurrected German idea of the empire.

Der Karl von Lotharingen, der Ludewig von Baden, der Carl Alexander von Württemberg, der Max Emanuel von Bayern--sie haben die kaiserlichen und die deutschen Reichstruppen von Wien bis gegen Belgerad geführt, und ihr grosser Schüler, der Prinz Eugenius, habe das Werk jetzt vollendet. Er habe den Frieden diktiert nach einem dreissig-jährigen Befreiungskrieg. Glaube man nur ja nicht, sagte der Kantor, dass der Frieden von Passarowitz uns im alten römischen Reich nichts angehe. Hat nicht der Franzose die Schwäche des Kaisers benutzt, der bis in seine Residenz Wien von den Türken bedroht war, und Strassburg geraubt und das Elsass? Jetzt seien viele gebundene Kräfte wieder frei, und wer weiss, ob der Prinz Eugen uns nicht Strassburg wieder bringt. Schon beinahe vierzig Jahre ist es französisch.⁵

Prior to the devastation of the Danube-Swabian homeland by the Turks and its liberation by Prince Eugene, the Hungarians were the main inhabitants of this area. After the defeat of the Hungarian army in the swamps of Mahács in 1526, however, the remaining Hungarian population almost disappeared. During the Turkish domination, many Serbians and Rumanians migrated to this area. But because of their nomadic nature they made few cultural advancements. Migrations to the Danubeland were thus encouraged because of the sparse population within this devastated land. These policies began with the conquest of Ofen in 1686 and continued until 1829, encompassing almost 150 years.

The majority of colonists who settled in the Danubeland after the defeat of the Turks, were natives of



middle Europe, mainly of the Hapsburg empire. This emphasis on Germans as colonists was politically inspired. Immediately after the Hungarian crown fell to the Hapsburgs in 1526, a strong opposition party to Hapsburg policies arose in Hungary, encouraging hatred for the Austrians and forming alliances with the Turks against Austria. Since many Hungarians, under Thököly, fought with the Turks against the Austrian army, it is understandable that the Emperor in settling the new lands was interested primarily in loyal subjects who would strengthen his position. So it became of interest militarily, industrially, and culturally for the Hapsburg empire to develop these conquered lands.⁶

The First Migration and Der Grosse
Schwabenzug

The first part of the trilogy, Der Grosse Schwabenzug, depicts the development of Banat under Governor Graf Claudius Mercy. It is through his eyes that Müller-Guttenbrunn vividly describes this desolate area with Mercy's optimistic hopes for the future:

Eine von der Natur gebaute Festung ist dieses Land zwischen Donau, Theiss und Marosch immer gewesen. Für die Römer, die Goten, die Avaren, die Hunnen, die Türken. Den Frieden aber hat es nie gehabt. Wie dankbar müsste dieses Stück Erde dem sein, der es in ein Kulturland verwandelt! So sagte ich mir, als wir aus unserer neuen Festung Arad und aus Lippha die Geschütze über die Heide herüberschleppten, um Temeschwar zu bezwingen. Eine wilde, grossartige Pflanzenwelt überall und Urwälder,



das Klima südlich. Seit den Römertagen hatte dieser Boden keinen Pflug mehr getragen. Die elenden Dörfer waren ausgestorben, in ihren Erdhütten hausten die Wölfe. Kein Singvogel im ganzen Lande, nur die Aasgeier kreisten in den Lüften, und Millionen Raben suchten nach Leichen. Und während unsere Kartaunen ihr wildes Spiel gegen die Festung eröffneten, gestand ich dem Generalissimus, der den Oberbefehl übernommen hatte, meinen heimlichen Wunsch. So wie jenseits der Donau, in der Baranya und in Tolnau im kleinen, so möchte ich hier im grossen arbeiten. Ein Trajan möchte ich diesem verkommenen Lande werden, wenn wir es erobert haben. Alle Kulturen des Westens und des Südens möchte ich hier begründen dürfen. Die Armee des Friedensstandes müsste die Vorarbeit leisten, und hunderttausend Ackerbauer sollten das Werk vollenden.⁷

In order to bring about the cultural development of the land as quickly and efficiently as possible, other nationalities, mainly Italians, Spaniards, French and Serbians were encouraged to immigrate. Many of the Italians and Spaniards fell victims to the unhealthy climate and eventually these nationalities disappeared. Neu-Barcelona was an example of many such settlements.

Die Spanier, die da in der Überzahl waren angesiedelt worden, forderten diesen Namen. Das alte, menschenleere, türkisch-serbische Becskerek war ihnen ein unaussprechliches Wort. Mit stolzen Hoffnungen waren sie in das Reich ihres einstigen Königs Karl gezogen. Aber die Armen ertrugen auch hier das Klima nicht. Der Kanal, der von Temeschwar zu ihnen kam, ging durch böse Sümpfe, sein träges Wasser schlich um den Ort herum und konnte den Abfluss nicht finden.⁸

Although many German immigrants also died of the fever, later migrations helped them to overcome finally the hazards of this infested swampland.

The German colonists were mainly farmers. Many were eager to seek new horizons, for they were tired of the social oppression they suffered at the hands of the German nobility. Germany, devastated by the 30 Years War, had little security to offer them. Their general dissatisfaction is expressed by the Danube-Swabian parish priest and the teacher Wörndle:

Meine Gemeinde ist wohlhabend, unter uns gibt es keine Bettler . . . Nur die übermütigen Herren sind schuld, dass ihre Untertanen davonlaufen. Ihre Streit- und Herrschsucht lockt immer wieder den Feind ins deutsche Land; bald zinst man dem, bald jenem, und wer gerade der Herr ist über die Leiber, der meint auch die Seelen kuramissieren zu können.⁹

These bitter words further illustrate the strong antipathy of the people for the nobility: "Jeder Hase im Felde sei mehr geestimiert als ein Mensch."¹⁰

Although social and political oppression was the primary cause, other reasons existed for migrating. Religious oppression was one such factor, even though total religious freedom in the new land was not possible until Joseph II. Many left for personal reasons: for example, the Widow Frau Theresa Scheiffele and Jakob Pless in order to marry; Jakob Melcher in order to make an honest name for himself; the teacher Wörndle out of the spirit of adventure.

Just as numerous as their reasons for leaving were the areas from which they came. So, individual characters in Der Grosse Schwabenzug represented various regions of Germany: Trauttmann, for example, came from the Palatinate; Therese Scheiffele from Wurtemberg; Wörndel, from Elsass. By the "Sieben Kurfürsten," an inn in Temeschwar, people from the various regions of the empire were conversing together:

. . . aus dem Schwarzwald, von Baden und Württemberg, aus Elsass und Lothringen, aus Trier und Fulda und Bamberg, aus Luxemburg, aus der Pfalz und dem Breisgau, aus Mainz und Fürstenberg, Nassau, Franken und Baden-Baden, aus Schwaben und der Schweiz, aus Tirol und der Steiermark, aus Schlesien und Böhmen.¹¹

The eagerness to migrate had evidently spread almost everywhere. Although some Germans did migrate to America, Banat soon became the more desired destination. For, although migration to this area was not without its dangers, it seemed much less ominous than the horrendous trip across the ocean. After all, would they not remain under the protection of the Emperor if they migrated to the Danubeland? For many this possibility offered a sense of security.

In their eagerness to migrate, people were willing to overlook geographical, cultural, and social boundaries. Marriages, which would not normally have taken place, became a common occurrence.¹²

Eine Nassauerin und ein Bauernbube aus dem Schwarzwald, ein Luxemburger Leineweber und ein Schwabenmädel vom Bodensee wären wohl niemals im Leben zusammengekommen, das war nur auf Befehl in Regensburg möglich. Und so wie diese, mischten sich die anderen Paare; in dem Hochzeitszug bei der dreizehnfachen Kopulierung erklangen alle Mundarten und glänzten alle Trachten aus dem Süden und Südwesten des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation. Ob sich die Paare alle verstanden haben? Das war nicht ganz sicher. Aber wahre Liebe überwindet jeden Dialekt. Und mit der Aussteuer war es bei dieser Eile auch nicht weit her, für die musste wohl der Kaiser sorgen, der diese Eheschliessungen anbefohlen.¹³

With the prospects of a better future, many were united in a common goal even before they reached the new land.

The Austrian regime, under the supervision of Mercy, set out with concise and regimented plans to develop the area. Through Mercy's activities, almost 50 German communities were established in Banat alone. Each family was given 50 acres of land free, paying state taxes only.¹⁴ When they arrived in Temeschwar, the governor took care of their problems.

Das Leben in der Stadt war freilich teuer. Sechs Kreuzer täglich bekam denn auch der Hausvater, sechs die Mutter, drei Kreuzer jedes Kind. Musste man auf dem Lande warten, gab es zwei Kreuzer und eine Halbe Mehl per Kopf, für Kinder ein Seitel Mehl und einen Kreuzer. Aber es gab Arbeit für jeden. War das Haus, das einem fertig hergestellt und auf Abzahlung gegeben wurde, noch in Arbeit, so konnte man daran gegen Taglohn selber mitarbeiten und sich noch sechs Kreuzer täglich verdienen.¹⁵

Monetary needs were explicitly provided by the Emperor. A person was even paid while working on his own house. Even though the homes of these first settlers were simple, they were sturdy and offered shelter.

Es gab nur gestampfte Häuser. Zwischen das dichte Weidengeflecht, aus dem die Wände gebildet waren, wurde der mit Spreu vermengte Lehmbrei geschüttet und festgestampft. Aber die Vorschriften für die Ausführung waren streng, denn es gab Aufseher, die mit den Zimmermeistern im Einvernehmen schwindelten. . . . Elf Klafter musste jedes Haus lang und drei Klafter breit sein, acht Schuh hoch mussten die Wände aus der Erde herausragen und Zimmer, Küche, Kammer und Stall waren vorgeschrieben. . . . Zweihundert Gulden kostet so ein Haus, wenn es fertig war, und der Brunnen, der immer zuerst gegraben werden musste, war auch unter fünf Gulden nicht herzustellen. Mit dieser Summe wurde man angekreidet im Rentamt, das hatte man in sechs Jahren abzuzahlen.¹⁶

One also received many other basic necessities from the Emperor including a certain allotment of farm animals and agricultural equipment.

The villages, like the homes, were orderly in their design and layout. The same basic plan was used for all, with only three variations in their construction: the rectangular, the square, and the circular, with only a few examples of the latter. The village was further divided into quarters by the main road and two rectangular side streets. Along the sides of every street ditches were built to drain excess water. At each village intersection, there was a market square planted with locust or mulberry trees. There, the church, school, city hall and the big inn were located. In front of the church and at

the outskirts of the village stood a cross or a statue of the Trinity. Even the division of the fields outside the villages was uniform with fixed boundaries that existed until World War II.

Such a typical Danube-Swabian village is painted by Müller-Guttenbrunn in Barmherziger Kaiser, on the occasion of Joseph II's trip through the area:

So jung diese zu sein schienen, überragte die meisten doch schon ein Kirchturm. Die Dörfer waren in breiten Strassen gleichmässig angelegt; vor jedem Hause, das seine zweifelhafte Schmalseite mit dem Spitzgiebel nach aussen wendete, standen junge Maulbeerbäume; die eingezäunten Höfe mit den verriegelten Toren boten ein Bild der Geschlossenheit und Festigkeit. Die Wände der strohgedeckten Häuser leuchteten in weissem Kalkanstrich; vor den Fenstern gab es Blumen, und alte Mütterchen, die sich auf den Hausschwellen sonnten, hüteten die zahlreichen Kinder. Quer über so manchen Hof dehnte sich rückwärts schon eine Scheuer mit dem Pferdestall; Schweine hörte man grunzen und Hennen gackerten überall. Leer waren die Dörfer, nur da und dort hörte man einen Schmied den Hammer schwingen; voller gebückter Menschen aber waren die Felder ringsum. Sie hoben wohl die Köpfe und schauten aus nach den Herrschaftswagen, die da vorbeifuhren, aber viel Zeit hatten sie nicht für müssige Neugierde. Da bauten sie Kartoffeln und Kukurutz an, dort säuberten sie das junge Getreide von dem Unkraut, das so überreich gedieh und sich nicht wollte ausrotten lassen, obwohl man es doch in jedem Frühling mit den Wurzeln ausriss, ehe es Samen bilden konnte.¹⁷

This village is then sharply contrasted to a neighboring Rumanian village whose main livelihood was herding sheep.

Man kam durch walachische Dörfer. Dem Kaiser fiel sogleich auf, wie belebt die waren, und wie leer die Felder. Und der Rat machte aufmerksam, wie sie Kartoffeln anbauten. Mit einem Stock bohrten sie ein Loch in die Erde und legten eine Kartoffel in das Loch . . . Nur mit Hemden bekleidet, die bunten Katrinczen (Selbstgewirkte und mit orientalischen Mustern betrickte Schürzen.) vorgebunden, die schwarzen Haare gefettet, standen die Frauen barfuss vor den Windschiefen Häusern in den Dorfgassen und klatschten mit den Nachbarinnen. Auf der Strasse wuchs Gras. Kinder, Ziegen und junge Schweine tummelten sich umher; die Hütten waren planlos hingestellt, kein Zaun friedete ihre Umwelt ein, und man hätte schwer entscheiden können, was zu diesem, was zu jenem Haus gehörte. Der Kaiser war ausgestiegen und ging zu Fuss durch das Dorf, den jungen Popen an der Seite. Er wollte nicht genannt sein. Aber er fragte viel. Alles starrte vor Schmutz und Unkultur, aber die hübschen Weiber schienen geschmückt zu sein . . . Aus was die Hütten gebaut wären? Aus Holzpfeilen, die Wände aus Weidengeflecht mit Lehm beworfen. Warum nicht aus Lehmziegeln? Die zu machen, lerne man jetzt erst von den Deutschen.¹⁸

In view of such poor conditions, Mercy attempted to raise the housing standards of the land. He also endeavored to increase the agricultural productivity of the native Serbians and Rumanians. One of the immigrants upon his arrival describes the poor conditions of agriculture:

Hier sah er nichts als Korn, Kukurus, Kürbisse, Paprika und Viehzucht der allerniedrigsten Art. Man kannte die Kartoffel nicht einmal dem Namen nach. Er sah keinen Weizen. Von keiner der besseren Feldfrüchte war auch nur der Same vorhanden. Kein Obstbaum weit und breit! Und keine Blume. Kein Singvogel. Holzäpfel und Holzbirnen gediehen am Waldesrand, doch niemand ahnte, dass man sie veredeln könne.¹⁹

Through the untiring labors of the Danube-Swabians, fruits and vegetables were introduced into this region. Potatoes, perhaps the most important German staple, were also introduced together with various other grains. Danube-Swabians soon became world famous for their fine textured bread. Even produce from southern European countries was successfully raised.

Die Italiener aus dem nahen Mercydorf brachten die ersten Seidenkokons und ein paar köstliche Melonen für die Tafel des Gouverneurs. Die Spanier aus Neu-Barcelona sandten ein Abordnung mit Reis und Feigen und Oliven. Es gedeihe alles, sagten sie, nur gesund wäre niemand von ihnen. Auch Zuckerrohr möchten sie versuchen . . . Das alles beschäftigte den Gouverneur über die Massen, . . .²⁰

With the production of fruits, vegetables, and grains the Danube-Swabian farmer became an agricultural leader. The skill in planting and caring for the vineyards along with unsurpassed cleanliness and painstaking orderliness are German attributes which also made the Danube-Swabian an outstanding leader among the farmers of the area.

In order to use and develop the natural resources inherent in this land, Mercy brought German miners and tradesmen into Banat to develop various industries. The production of silk, often referred to by Müller-Guttenbrunn in his novels, expanded under Mercy's guidance into one of the largest industries in the area.

Yet industrial and agricultural achievements were greatly hampered by the unchecked lawlessness and injustices that existed in this war-torn area.

Die Festung war noch offen nach zwei Seiten, nur das Wiener Tor und das Peterwardeiner Tor konnten als fertig gelten. War man denn des Friedens so sicher? Schwärzten nicht noch immer Tatarenhorden durch das Land und plagten die armselige Bevölkerung? Immer wieder erzählte man, dass Reisende spurlos verschwunden wären. Und bis die jungen Vorstädte, die sich draussen bildeten, wagten sich die Räuber heran.²¹

It was indeed a great struggle to rid these colonial lands of robbers that existed along the Marosch, Theiss and Danube rivers. At one time these daring groups abducted three German ships destined to settle in the area owned by the Emperor.

The abuse of the peasant by the nobleman was also a problem in Hungary at this time. On one of his trips through the area, Joseph II, disguised as a lord, discovered the existence of the Standrecht, a Hungarian law, under which anyone who stole the worth of five Gulden or more was sentenced to death. Joseph II found a man sentenced to death for shooting the lord's stag, which had been destroying his potatoes every night. Shocked, he freed the man. Many injustices were perpetrated by noblemen who settled immigrants on their land expecting to exploit them. For such barons, Mercy displayed little tolerance as is illustrated in the treatment of one such man:

Der Baron, der sie geraubt und über der Donau drüben angesiedelt hatte, wär' gar nicht der richtige Herr gewesen von den Gütern, auf denen er sein Unwesen trieb. Er sei jetzt abgesetzt worden, der junge Mercy habe ihn erwischt und in ein kleines Kastell verbannt, das einmal vor alten Zeiten seiner Familie gehört haben soll. Dort soll er abwarten, bis ihm der Prozess gemacht wird.²²

Under the direction of Mercy, Temeschwar became a blossoming center. Even before the Peace treaty of Passarowitz, the German magistrate had been housed in this city, often referred to as "little Vienna."

"Temeschwar ist im übrigen so deutsch wie Augsburg."²³

Mercy had an active part in the settlement and progress not only of Banat, but also of the Schwäbische Türkei. Here, he established more than twenty German settlements. Mercy was called back to the military in 1733 to lead the army against the Italians. His death in this campaign (1734) was a great loss to the Danube-Swabians. In his memory two settlements share his name, Mercydorf in Banat and Mercystetten (Höldjesz) in Tolau.

The Second Migration and Barmherziger Kaiser

The second great migration, described by Müller-Guttenbrunn in the second part of the Von Eugenius bis Josephus trilogy, namely Barmherziger Kaiser, did not begin for some time because of the lack of support by the Emperor, the war against the Turks, and the bubonic plague which had again infested Hungary. But despite the absence of a

strong, controlling power during this period of time, the initial labors of colonization were not completely in vain. Trade and commerce began to flourish and, in general, a higher cultural level was slowly developing. Yet, the death of Emperor Charles VI and the take-over by his daughter Maria Theresa resulted in numerous difficulties for the state. So, the immediate necessity of the migration continued to be of secondary importance for some time.

Although still very young, Maria Theresa became heir to the throne. Her concept of the role of sovereign was in direct contrast to that of Frederick the Great. Frederick the Great saw his role fulfilled in the service of the supra-personal state; Maria Theresa, on the other hand, discerned a divinely appointed mission in the care of her subjects. Despite her many activities as a ruler, however, she, as a woman of deep Christian convictions, had time for a fulfilling family life. Her relationship to her sixteen children was that of a concerned and loving mother. Müller-Guttenbrunn in this novel points out her weakness for Maria Christine on whom she bestowed the biggest dowry ever given in Austria, the Hungarian lands freed by Prince Eugene.²⁴ However, Maria Christine's rule had little effect, for the governing power was soon taken from her by her brother, Joseph, who later became co-regent with Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa, in the meantime, had many other problems to preoccupy her. Immediately after ascending to the throne, she struggled with her greatest opponent, Frederick II, over the rule of Silesia. Having lost this territory in the first Silesian war, she devoted her energies to recapturing it. The activities of the migration, therefore, were of secondary importance. In the Seven Years War (1756-1763) that followed, Frederick II was able to defend himself against the power of Austria, Russia and France; Maria Theresa, on the other hand, had to reconcile herself to the definitive surrender of Silesia to Prussia.

Prussia had established itself as the second great power within the German Empire. The Prusso-Austrian dualism had come into the open and the cession of Silesia to Prussia made Austria's position that of a southeastern border state of the empire. Austria's efforts at revenging the loss of Silesia directed themselves toward expanding Hungary. Maria Theresa, interested in colonization, ordered a report on the existing situation. On the grounds of this report, she started the second great migration which we see reflected in Müller-Guttenbrunn's Barmherziger Kaiser.

After the war, a great number of soldiers were released and asked to report for the purpose of colonizing Hungary. Colonists of these government estates were free

of land tax for six years, while laborers were exempt for ten years. Benefits similar to those of the first migration were granted in housing and equipment. A government commission was selected to head this movement during the second migration 1763-1773.

While Banat and the "Schwäbische Türkei" were populated during the first migration, the Batschka area was settled during the second. Even though the Batschka had been freed of the Turks earlier than Banat, colonization did not take place there until much later. The reasons for this were of a political and military nature. After the freedom of Karlowitz, the Batschka became a border area and was left mainly to the Serbians for expansion and defense. When the border was moved forward, only the southeastern point of the Batschka, the Tschaikisten-District, remained in the area of the military zone. The Serbians alone could not populate this large area. In 1702 only 32,000 people inhabited the Batschka. The Austrian government's position in the Batschka was unclear for some time because a large area had been destined for the military zone.²⁵ After the lifting of the military zone, the regrouping and reorganization of the Serbian settlements took a long time. However, once this was accomplished there were many fertile unpopulated government estates that held promise for the purpose of colonization.

Austria, as the traditional bulwark of German Catholicism, permitted only those of the Catholic faith to immigrate into Hungary during the first two great migrations. Many Protestants, eager to leave because of religious and political turmoil, had to become Catholics before they could settle on government estates. Therefore, many Catholic Danube-Swabians can trace their heritage back to Protestant ancestors. Of Maria Theresa's biased attitude toward religion, Müller-Guttenbrunn has the following to say:

Maria Theresa war eine grosse Herrscherin. Gütig, klug und dankbar. Wer sie zu nehmen wusste, erreichte alles, denn sie war ein Weib. Nur in religiösen Fragen blieb sie unerbittlich, da konnte sie hart und grausam sein, sogar ungerecht, denn man hatte sie gelehrt, dass sie dies im Dienst der Kirche nur scheinbar wäre. Was der Kirche diene, sei gottgefällig, sei es wie es sei. Von diesem starken Schild, den die Brüder Jesu geschmiedet hatten, fühlte sie sich gedeckt in so manchen Fragen, die ihren Räten schwere Gewissenssorgen bereiteten. Sie schwankte selten. Und es war ein grosser Kummer dass Joseph anders dachte, dass sie ihn nicht besser vor dem Gift der Aufklärung bewahrt hatte, das er, sie weiss nicht wo, eingesogen haben musste. Und er hatte doch einen so braven Jesuiten als Religionslehrer.²⁶

The author points out some of the specific religious injustices. Joseph II, during one of his trips through Hungary listened to the report of one of them:

Kaum glaublich war, was er da erfuhr. Aber auch der Rat, den er sich aus der Banater Landesadministration mitgenommen hatte, kannte den Fall. Er bestätigte, was die Kinder erzählten. Es waren einige deutsch-evangelische Bergleute aus der Zips vor Jahren ins Banat gewandert, obwohl

dies den Evangelischen verboten war. Und als man dort entdeckte, welcher Religion sie angehörten, stellten die Behörden sie vor die Wahl, katholisch oder über die nahe Grenze nach Siebenbürgen abgeschoben zu werden. Sie beharrten bei ihrem Glauben. Da wies man sie aus, aber ihre Kinder behielt man zurück, die sollten im Lande katholisch erzogen werden. Joseph hielt das für unmöglich. Das sei ein Märchen aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation. Doch der Rat bestätigte es achselzuckend; Graf Perlas habe die Glaubenseinheit des Banats im allerhöchsten Auftrag zu wahren gehabt und er dultete keine andersgläubigen Seelen im Lande. Aber warum schickte man die Leute nicht wieder in die Zips zurück und liess ihnen die Kinder? Der Rat wusste es nicht27

In spite of these shortcomings, the second great migration did strengthen and broaden the Danube-Swabian settlements. The work was not hampered by external forces that had existed during the first migration. Yet, internal problems such as the bubonic plague, floods and illness prevailed. It was only through the physical stamina of these people that the settlements persevered.

The Third Migration and Joseph der Deutsche

The third great migration took place under the eldest son of Empress Maria Theresa, Emperor Joseph II, in the years 1782-1787. Joseph, a fervent admirer of Frederick the Great, had many noble intentions. Yet, through his lack of practical sense and of moderation during the short time in which he ruled independently (1780-1790), his undertakings met with complete failure. He wanted his self-composed epitaph to read as follows:

"Hier ruht ein Fürst, der all seine Entwürfe, all seine Pläne scheitern sah . . . alle, alle, alle" ²⁸

Whatever may be said in just criticism of many of Joseph's hasty reforms, there is little doubt that he was unswerving in his loyalty to the German colonist. As has already been pointed out, he showed his personal interest in the welfare of his German colonists by sometimes traveling incognito through the Danube-Swabian area. His personal endeavors to have the "Josephina," issued, a new, humane code of law in which torture and capital punishment were officially abolished, greatly aided the progress of the Danube-Swabians. He gave his greatest skills and attention to the cause of furthering the progress of these people. He issued many orders for agricultural improvements. In his novel Joseph der Deutsche, Müller-Guttenbrunn describes this as follows:

Bis zur Düngung der Felder erstreckte sich seine Fürsorge. Die Brache sei überflüssig, die überlieferten Werkzeuge seien durch bessere zu ersetzen; der Holzpflug müsse überall einem eisernen Platz machen; die Obstbäume seien im Winter zu entraupen und die Nester zu verbrennen; die Felder sollen trocken gelegt, die Wiesen bewässert werden. Und jedes junge Ehepaar verpflichtete er, zehn Obstbäume zu pflanzen; hohe Belohnungen aber setzte er aus auf jedes der Kultur gewonnen Stück Ödland. Es sollte zehn Jahre steuerfrei sein. Und wer seine Hütte auf solch eroberten Boden baue, möge sich das dazu nötige Holz in den kaiserlichen Wäldern fällen. Gute Sämereien liess er austheilen, Setzlinge für Edelobst und weisse Maulbeerbäume, denn er wollte überall der Seidenzucht die Wege

ebnen. Väterlich griff er in das Verhältnis zwischen Herren und Knechten ein und gab auch dem Gesinde sein verlorenes Beschwerderecht zurück. Barmherzig mit jeder menschlichen Kreatur verkündete er, forderte er.²⁹

In order to better the lot of the peasant, Joseph became the first German ruler to eliminate serfdom in his dominions. Peasants were granted the unrestricted right of marriage, of freedom to sell their property, and of free movement. Joseph also tried to encompass everyone in his reforms. "Und selbst die Zigeuner bezog er in seine Reformen ein. Auch diese Heimatlosen, deren Hauptsitz er in Siebenbürgen fand, sollten sesshaft gemacht werden."³⁰

Joseph II further eliminated all laws that he considered roadblocks to the progress of the country. Freedom of religion was advocated. He introduced German as the official government and military language, thereby eliminating Latin as the government language. He advocated German plays and music in Vienna and even the Theater in Temeschwar "das man sich seit ein paar Jahren nach dem Vorbild von Wien eingerichtet hatte"³¹ was urged to perform only German productions.

. . . das Theater florierte und sah häufig Wiener Künstler zu Gaste. Johann Friedel, der Dichter, der streitbare Prophet aller josephinischen Reformen, hatte seine Truppe, deren Stern die schon Madam Schikaneder war, wieder einen Monat in seiner Vaterstadt spielen lassen; er folgte auch den Einladungen nach Werschetz und Weisskirchen und verbreitete überall im Banat den Samen deutscher Dichtung, deutscher Kunst. . . . Seine Truppe diente nicht bloss der Ergötzung und Erheiterung; Friedel war erfüllt

von der Mission, die der Kaiser dem Theater zugewiesen: die deutsche Sprache in allen Provinzen zur Geltung zu bringen. Von Lemberg bis Triest durchreiste seine Truppe die Monarchie, und Ungarn lag dem Prinzipal ganz besonders am Herzen.³²

Joseph's efforts were geared toward his vision of the German empire as the embodiment of a unified central Europe. In his foreign policy he, therefore, attempted to defeat the Turks (1788) in alliance with Catherine of Russia. This only proved to strengthen Russia's power in the Black Sea while at the same time weakening Austria's eastern sphere of interest. The results of the war were a severe set-back to Danube-Swabian settlements:

Auch Joseph hatte keine Eile, nach Wien zu kommen. Er reiste langsam und duldete zum ersten Male einen Arzt in seinem Gefolge. Sein Weg führte durch ein gebrandschatztes, ausgeplündertes Land. Und leer schien es zu sein. Wo waren die Schwaben? Schüchtern kehrten die in die Berge, in die Wälder Geflüchteten da und dort in ihre Dörfer zurück und begannen mit dem Wiederaufbau derselben. Erschüttert fuhr der Kaiser durch dieselbe evangelische Gemeinde, die er im Frühling in ihrer jungen Blüte gesehen. Das Dorf hatte noch keine Kirche, aber es sah schon ganz stattlich aus und besass ein deutsches Schulhaus, in dem auch der Gottesdienst abgehalten wurde. Nichts war stehengeblieben von dem Dorfe als dieses Schulhaus. Und der junge Pfarrer, den er im Frühling bestätigte, sammelte dort soeben seine Herde, die in alle Winde verscheucht gewesen, wieder³³

He imposed his innovations forcibly upon his people, causing them to rebel. Not only his efforts to rule, but also his attempts to make German the official language in all the Austrian territories and to Germanize ethnically non-Germanic peoples resulted in uprisings in Flanders, Tyrol, and Hungary.

On his deathbed he realized his failures, especially those in Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands, and revoked all his laws except that of religious tolerance. In his attempt to enforce the principles of enlightened despotism and to construct a more equitable social order, he abolished torture and curtailed the powers of the hierarchy of the Church and the nobles. In this he met with overwhelming resistance.

With the death of Emperor Joseph II the migration out of Germany and the land acquisition of the Danube-Swabians was, for all practical purposes, over. Müller-Guttenbrunn in describing these major migrations, points out not only historical facts, but he also illustrates the characteristics of his beloved Danube-Swabians. He shows how this primarily agrarian guest society, under the strict organization of its colonizing rulers, became tradition-bound and rigid in its social structure.

Although it is impossible to speak of a common historical Danube-Swabian heritage, as has already been pointed out, the Danube-Swabians estranged themselves from the other nationalities in this area and developed some of their own unique characteristics through common hardships, a common Christian religion, and the rigid, prescribed Austrian rule. Hans Hagel, in his article "Zur Charakteristik des Banater schwäbischen Volkes," describes

the psychological and physical peculiarities of this whole Danube-Swabian group as follows:

Der Gestalt nach mittelgross, ziemlich zur Körperfülle neigend, ist es ein Menschenschlag von kerniger Gesundheit und kräftigen Gliedern, dessen überwiegend braune Haar- und Augenfarbe sich zum Teil aus der erwähnten Vermischung der verschiedenen Stämme und Rassen ableitet. Bis zu einem gewissen Grade ist es unstreitig dieser Vermischung zuzuschreiben, dass ihm trotz Sumpfe, Fieber und Cholera sowohl die körperliche Frische, wie die Spannkraft des Geistes und des Herzens ungeschwächt erhalten blieb.³⁴

It is indeed through these physical and psychological characteristics that these people developed and advanced to a definite and homogeneous type of culture that lasted for years, displaying its riches in its political organization, uniform family structure and social formations, and finally in religious and philosophical ideas.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Danube-Swabian social structure cannot be explained in terms of village life alone; an explanation must include consideration both of the outside forces impinging upon these villages and of the reactions of the villages to these forces. Viewed in such a manner the political structure failed to give the village an opportunity to communicate with the outside world. The Danube-Swabian family looks upon the external world with indifference and distrust. The external world is a social force in which the universe acts upon the family, and the family in its turn affects that universe minimally. The intentions of individuals outside the family and village community are suspect. The factor of self-sufficiency is doubtless greatly responsible for this state of affairs. This self-sufficient attitude becomes most apparent in the life of the political community. The village community sets the pace for political thought; the Hungarian State remains a distant entity.

As in so many facets of the Danube-Swabian social structure, so also in the political organization of the community, class distinction prevails. The village

governing positions are honorary and given to the most prominent, not the intellectuals, but rather the wealthiest farmers. In Die Glocken der Heimat, for example, the highest position in the village, that of "Dorfrichter," is given to a well established farmer:

Ein behäbiger Bauer in mittleren Jahren, mit kräftigem braunem Schnurrbart und ernsten Augen kam in Begleitung eines blonden Riesen von der Kirche die Hauptstrasse herab. Er war in dunkles Tuch gekleidet, als ob es Sonntag wäre, und hatte auch einen Hut auf, der für den Alltag, für die Arbeitszeit, zu gut schien. Die Männer grüssten ihn von allen Seiten durch Zuruf, die Viehhirten aber, die "Halter," zogen ihre Hüte tief vor ihm. Es war der Klugsblatzer (Balthasar Klug), der Dorfrichter. Und der Michael Straub, das Gemeindefaktotum, begleitet ihn.³⁵

As "Dorfrichter" he is powerful in the community and respected by all:

Die Leute stimmten ihm zu, sein Wort war richtunggebend für alle. Er genoss das Ansehen eines tüchtigen Bauers und eines kräftigen Anwaltes der Gemeindeinteressen.³⁶

The village council also consists of influential farmers. Other important positions within the hierarchy of the community, however, are filled by the educated: the priest, the notary, and the teachers.

As political strife heightened in Hungary, the political positions held by the Danube-Swabian farmers in their villages become even more isolated and threatened:

Auch Karlsdorf hatte, um einer patriotischen Mode willen, vor Jahren den Beschluss gefasst, die Staatssprache zur Protokollsprache in der Gemeinde zu machen. Die deutsche Stadt Temesvar

war voraus gegangen mit dem feigen Beschluss, und die Notäre auf den Bauernndörfer ruhten nicht, bis auch diese folgten. Nun war man seit Jahren in einer Sackgasse. Niemand im Dorf als der Pfarrer, der Notär, ein oder zwei Lehrer und die paar Herrischen verstanden madjarisch. Kein bodenständiger Würdenträger der Gemeinde konnte das amtliche Protokoll lesen.³⁷

Historical political forces had an important impact on the Danube-Swabian social structure. The rise of nationalism affected their political isolation greatly. Political indifference on the part of the Danube-Swabians had already been present during their historical migration and period of early development. Their knowledge of the Austrian governmental functions and structure had been superficial, culminating in their impression of the Emperor as divinely ordained by God. As long as the German Emperor was the active king of Hungary, the Danube-Swabians felt secure and found no need to be politically active.

Prior to the Revolution of 1848-1849, the conditions were ripe for the economic development of the German colonists in Hungary. Even though the Danube-Swabians excelled economically at this time, they did not establish themselves politically correspondingly. The rights and freedoms which they had been granted upon colonization, were now forgotten. Although there had been great concern on the part of the Hapsburgs to settle the Hungarian territory, partly because of its remoteness from the

motherland and partly because of the political preoccupation at home, the Danube-Swabians in Banat had been neglected in many matters. In the cities they were not united with those living in the villages or on isolated farms. They were lacking in political representation. In general, they had no political institutions or leaders

The Revolution of 1848 left its mark on the Danube-Swabians in Hungary. A strong social need for freedom existed in the country. Most of the nationalities, including the Danube-Swabians, were convinced that in order to prosper culturally and economically the majority would have to obtain their freedom. At the beginning of the Revolution, social and industrial interests predominated. Hence the other nationalities of Hungary, besides the Hungarians, were also enthusiastic at first about the Hungarian Revolution.

For the most part, the social and industrial requests of the Revolution were granted from Vienna. The appeal for national freedom and government independence was now taken literally by the Hungarians to mean the "Madjaren" cause. Hungary was to become a unified political state under the rule of the Hungarians. The Hungarian Revolution thus took on a completely "madjarisch" national aspect. The five million Serbians, two and one-half million Rumanians and one and one-half million Germans, however, were not willing to support the five million

"Madjaren" in their efforts. The other peoples of Hungary could no longer support a revolution purely for the "Madjaren" cause. Therefore, national differences among the diversified peoples of Hungary developed.

Among the Danube-Swabians there was much confusion due to these political developments. Having no national political concept of their own, sharp divisions arose among them. The progressive and greatest number, seeing their future brightened by Hungarian promises, sided with the Hungarian cause. They united with the Hungarians against the Emperor and Austria for what they felt was progress and freedom. The moderate elements, however, remained true to Austria and the Emperor.

After the defeat of Austria in the "Seven Week's War" with Prussia in 1866, Austria was forced to recognize the dissolution of the "German Confederation" and to consent to the reorganization of Germany under Prussian leadership. Austria, now confined to her own German and non-Germanic territories, was forced to adopt a number of liberal reforms. All the inhabitants of territories outside of the immediate boundaries of Austria, were consequently forced to struggle for new national consciousness.

The Emperor Francis Joseph was forced to make a hurried settlement with Hungary in 1867 at which time he inaugurated a bicameral parliamentary system of government. Hungary was recognized as a semi-autonomous kingdom

within the dual empire of Austro-Hungary. Although the Austrian Emperor retained his title of King of Hungary, Hungary was to settle its own internal struggles. Through this agreement of 1867 Austria gave up much of its control in Hungary and consented to nearly all of the wishes of the Hungarians. As a result, the new Hungarian rule weakened the position of the Danube-Swabians, forcing them into a defensive position and being no longer under the protection of Austria and the German system of law, these guest people had to become subservient to Hungary in all governing matters, even in matters of the law. This dependence on the Hungarian government destroyed the freedom and peace among the numerous minorities in Hungary who earlier had lived in harmony.³⁸

"Hungary" represents the political unity, the state. "Magyars," in turn, synonymous with "Hungarians," represents a national minority in this structure. The rise of this minority and its efforts at dominating the Danube-Swabians is the topic of many of Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels.

Müller-Guttenbrunn recognizes that the Danube-Swabian culture requires continual outside nourishment, particularly in the intellectual, religious, and political arenas. The author is aware of his national political aims in writing his novels. In a letter to a politically

active German, Rudolf Brandsch, (18.8.1910), he states:

Ob die Bücher auch in der Heimat selbst zu wirken vermögen, weiss ich nicht. Im Banat sicherlich sehr wenig. Da sind sie noch weit zurück."³⁹

The author's national interests were aroused during his early childhood by the narrations of his great grandmother "Fraala," who had taken part in the early organization of Banat. The experience of seeing Maria Theresa during a Corpus Christi procession in Vienna made a lasting impression on her. This event is actually one of Müller-Guttenbrunn's sources for his novel Der Grosse Schwabenzug. Müller-Guttenbrunn relates this episode in the autobiographical sections of Meister Jakob und seine Kinder.⁴⁰

In speaking of his political experiences as a teenager in his autobiography, Der Roman meines Lebens, Müller-Guttenbrunn recalls a rather painful episode:

Die Aufregungen in Siebenbürgen und im Banat rissen auch für mich manches Fenster auf, aber im Grunde verstand ich doch nichts davon und hatte auch wenig Interesse für Politik. Ich war in ein wildes Lesen gekommen und verschlang jedes Druckwerk, das meinen Augen in erreichbare Nähe geriet. Für anderes hatte ich keinen Sinn. Aber als Deak, der weise Staatsmann, die schönen Worte sprach von den selbstverständlichen Menschenrechten der anderen Völker Ungarns, denen man das Leben im Vaterlande nicht nur erträglich, sondern lieb machen müsse, und als das Nationalitätengesetz zum Schutze unserer Rechte, unserer Schulen und Kultureinrichtungen beraten wurde, da liess auch ich mir in den Sommerferien einmal zum Schmerz

ungarische Hosen machen. Mein Freund Wagner, der Mitgefallene von Temesvar, der bei seinem Vater, dem Schneidermeister und Kirchenvater in Guttenbrunn, schon ausgelernt hatte und ganz auf die ungarische Seite geraten war, beredete mich dazu. Er wollte nicht alleinsein in seiner Sonntagstracht. Und so wie ich einst meinen Oheim Jakob ausgelacht hatte, als er ungarisch kam, so wurde jetzt auch ich ausgelacht von meiner Familie. Und der sechzehnjährige dumme Junge, der keinen Satz magyarisch konnte, hat jenen magyarischen Anzug nie abgetragen.⁴¹

Even though it is not our intention to explore Müller-Guttenbrunn's feelings of German nationalism fully, a few major events must be taken into account in order to demonstrate his political aims as expressed in his "Heimatromane." During his first few years in Vienna he was not politically active; he was much too preoccupied with his first dramatic attempts and his new environment. Yet, during this time he always sided with the Germans, especially during the Franco-Prussian War and during the ministry of Taffe (1879-1893) which sided with the Slavic people. At the beginning of Taffe's stay in office Müller-Guttenbrunn demonstrated his anti-Taffe sentiments by becoming a member of the German club.

During these years at Vienna he made several trips to the homeland for the purpose of educating his people.⁴² During this time he also formed strong ties with men who took up the Danube-Swabian national political struggle. His friendship with Edmund Steinacker, the political leader of the Germans, had a profound influence on him.

He was so impressed with Steinacker's ideas that he portrayed him as the Danube-Swabian national hero, Georg Trauttmann, in both Die Glocken der Heimat and Götzen-dämmerung.

The author also aided in the establishment of the newspaper "Deutsches Tageblatt für Ungarn" which after 1900 was called "Deutschungarischer Volksfreund." Several times it was in danger of being discontinued and Müller-Guttenbrunn came to its rescue. In 1886 he also began writing for the "Deutsche Zeitung," the organ for the German Club. He left the paper in 1892, yet his reasons were personal rather than political.⁴³ Hereafter he began the pamphlet "Die Lektüre des Volkes" which stimulated the establishment of the "Volksbildungsverein." It was operated by Müller-Guttenbrunn and Alexander von Peez.

Besides having a membership in numerous clubs devoted to the German cause, Müller-Guttenbrunn wrote approximately 2,000 leading articles and 350 papers on the topic of the German cause between 1903 and 1909.⁴⁴ He was also active in several other nationalistic projects. Since the Hungarians no longer allowed German secondary schools in Banat, Müller-Guttenbrunn advocated sending Danube-Swabian students to the Saxon secondary schools. He realized that in order to revive the German nationhood it was much more important to retain German secondary

schools rather than primary schools. This the Danube-Swabian farmer did not comprehend since he had no education beyond the village primary school. If the village primary school was German, the farmer felt his educational needs were fulfilled. Also, this indifference to higher education in the German language made him leaderless. It drove many intellectuals out of the country or into the hands of the Hungarians. In the face of the "Janitscharenenerziehung,"⁴⁵ the only salvation according to Müller-Guttenbrunn was the Saxon secondary school system. He points this situation out in Der kleine Schwab. The author tries to insure leadership among the Danube-Swabians by founding stipends for the purpose of educating Danube-Swabian students in "Siebenbürgen."

Müller-Guttenbrunn's efforts to achieve a feeling of unity between the Danube-Swabians and the "Siebenbürger Sachsen," advocated strongly in Der kleine Schwab and Götzendämmerung, is made evident in his correspondence with Dr. Schüller, Lutz-Korodi and Rudolf Brandsch.⁴⁶ In his letters to them he encourages these German patriots to write of trips to other German groups in Hungary. In the letters to Brandsch, he also specifies various ways of circulating his novels. Brandsch was to donate them unobtrusively to song organizations, teachers, and students. Eventually the organization "Vereinigung," an

organization for the preservation of the German nationality in Hungary, took over the circulation of his books.

In 1907, therefore, when Götzendämmerung appeared, it connected his name forever with the German movement in Hungary. During his 1907 trip to the homeland, the Temeschburger "Reform" wrote a controversial article about him entitled "Ungarnfresser auf Reisen." On this occasion he even had to flee at night from the authorities of his home village. But in the patriotic press he was acclaimed by his compatriotes as a national leader.⁴⁷

The tension which existed between the Danube-Swabians and the Hungarians is depicted in each of Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels. The former did not realize the danger; they did not comprehend that eventually they would lose the rights which they had possessed under the Austrians. The "madjarisch" State demanded national recognition and denied the same rights to other nationalities. Müller-Guttenbrunn is trying to show that the problems which pervade are not only political, but also social. Some of the same conditions existed now that had prevailed during the time of the migrations. More land was needed for expansion in the country-side and the other nationalities became a threat. The Danube-Swabians had the most fertile land and the other nationalities in the

more populated south also needed room for expansion.

New water systems were needed, and Trauttmann in

Götzendämmerung militates for these.

In his novels Müller-Guttenbrunn seeks to achieve national awareness in his people. He is not only attempting to depict a true picture of their customs and traditions, but also to arouse them politically. In his novels he stresses how the Hungarians promote their own Hungarian language and culture, making fun of the Danube-Swabian culture. This attitude becomes easily effective since the Danube-Swabians are mostly farmers. A good illustration of this is Haffnerslippl in Die Glocken der Heimat. As the son of a second marriage, he is forced to study rather than become a farmer:

Als die Frau aber zum zweiten Male guter Hoffnung war, da fand er es nötig, um des lieben Friedens willen, seinen älteren Kindern die Versicherung zu geben, dass die Kinder der zweiten Ehe sämtlich aus dem Hause kommen sollten. Die Welt brauche ja auch Lehrer, Notäre und "Pfaffa" (Pfarrer), sagte er ihnen.⁴⁸

Hence, at the age of five the boy is taken from his home to study Hungarian in Szegedin. Here his father has to promise that the youngster is to remain undisturbed in the institution's custody for four years. Reluctantly the father signs this statement giving up all visiting rights:

Der kleine Schwab sollte dort beizeiten Ungarisch lernen, damit er dann gleichmässig aufsteigen könne in der Volksschule. So riet der Herr Pfarrer. Der Herr Oberlehrer Heckmüller war anderer Meinung. Er sagte, das Kind solle die vier Volksschulklassen daheim in seiner Muttersprache durchmachen und dann, gefestigt in seinem Familiengefühl und in seinem Deutschtum, in die Mittelschule gehen. Das nötige Ungarisch werde er ihm schon beibringen. Aber der Oberlehrer stand im Rufe eines Idealisten, eines halben Dichters, und der Rat des Pfarrers erwies sich beim Haffnerslippl als gewichtiger.⁴⁹

As time passes the mother visits the boy and finds that her youngster can no longer communicate with her. He has forgotten his mother tongue. When the mother becomes emotionally disturbed at this turn of events, the father decides to break his agreement with school officials and to educate the boy in his own village by the Danube-Swabian teacher, Heckmüller. The young Haffnerslippl is consequently rescued from a fate which affects so many Danube-Swabian youngsters at the time.

Yet the Hungarian indoctrination program has been successful in instilling into the youngster thoughts of Hungarian nationalism and it takes some time before he is again familiar with the Danube-Swabian heritage. At first he is ashamed of his culture and family:

Der Direktor wechselte noch ein paar ungarische Worte mit dem Knaben, und dieser folgte seinem Vater. Auf der Gasse lief er weit voraus. Es genierte den Buben, dass alle Szegediner nun sahen, sein Vater wäre ein schwäbischer Bauer. Dass ihm den Schwaben niemand anmerkte, darauf war er stolz⁵⁰

Through the untiring efforts of the patriot Heckmüller the youngster is gradually being reorientated toward the German language and culture.

Müller-Guttenbrunn shows how the Hungarian efforts reach every aspect of life by attempting to control the officials, the schools and the churches:

Wie viele deutsche Lehrer gab es überhaupt noch in Ungarn, die nicht schon ihrem Volkstum verloren waren? Um die Wette krochen sie vor den "Patrioten." Und auch sonst . . . Nur der Bauer weiss noch, dass er ein Deutscher ist; die aus ihm hervorgegangene Intelligenz ist angefault; die volksfremde Kirche, die ungarische Schule hat sie verdorben.⁵¹

The Hungarians went as far as destroying many Danube-Swabian historical ties in language and customs. Trauttmann, for example, is greatly displeased upon his return to his homeland to find his niece praying in the Hungarian language at the family table:

Das Mädel trat ein, die Magd kam und dann erschien ein in weisses Linnen gekleideter Bursche, der nichts weiter als eine dunkle Weste über dem Hemd und der Gaty a anhatte. Er trat festen Schrittes in das Zimmer und sprach: "Jó estét!" ("Guten Abend") Und ehe Georg sich von seinem Erstaunen, hier einem solchen Grusse zu begegnen, erholt hatte, sprach Evi ein kurzes Tischgebet in magyarischer Sprache. "Äusserlich lerr, voller falscher Akzente, also wahrscheinlich ohne jegliches Verständnis, aber magyarisch. Denn das schien jetzt die Mode zu sein."⁵²

Also, pictures of historical leaders such as Prince Eugene and Maria Theresa have been removed from the Trauttmann parlor in favor of pictures of insignificant Hungarian personages.⁵³

The Hungarians attempted to influence the younger generation by attacking their traditions. Even in the village elementary schools, those that excel in the Hungarian language are richly rewarded by everyone on examination day.

German schools were rapidly disappearing in Hungary Georg Trauttmann brings this to the attention of his countrymen during his campaign for election:

Im Jahre 1870 gab es laut offiziellen Berichtes der Regierung in Ungarn noch 1237 reindeutsche Schulen und 849 gemischte, in denen deutsch und magyarisch vorgetragen wurde. Heute gibt es nur noch 272 deutsche Schulen und 317 gemischtsprachige in Ungarn. Unser deutsches Volksschulwesen ist also in dreissig Jahren um mehr als tausend geringer geworden, es ist auf einen Rest von 272 Schulen zusammengeschmolzen.⁵⁴

He then continues by praising the "Siebenbürger Sachsen" and attacking the political indifference of the Danube-Swabians:

. . . Die Siebenbürgen Sachsen bilden eine eigene lutherische Insel unter den Deutschen. Sie zählen bloss 200 000 Seelen. Die Gesamtzahl der Deutschen beträgt aber weit mehr als zwei Millionen. Und jetzt passt auf: Von den 272 deutschen Schulen, die es heute in Ungarn noch gibt, gehören 254 den Sachsen. Sie haben es verstanden, sich zu behaupten, weil sie einig sind, weil ihre Geistlichen, ihre Lehrer sie führen, weil ihre Intelligenz deutsch geblieben ist. Die zwei Millionen anderen Deutschen aber, die katholischen, haben so gut wie alles verloren durch ihre Uneinigkeit. Die kleinen Sachsen haben noch 254, wir andern alle miteinander haben nur mehr 18 deutsche Schulen in ganz Ungarn, unsere Intelligenz aber ist zum Dünger der magyarischen Kultur geworden"⁵⁵

As we have already pointed out the Danube-Swabians were greatly lacking in leadership. Many intellectuals turned to the Hungarian cause while others left the country to study abroad. Heckmüller's two sons are a good illustration of this. His oldest son, Franz, educated abroad, cannot return to work in his homeland:

Er hatte sich der Elektrotechnik zugewendet, war an den Hochschulen zu Wien und Zürich ausgebildet und vergass das bisschen Ungarisch, das er daheim gelernt. Keinesfalls war er befähigt und gewillt, seine Prüfungen in madjarischer Sprache zu wiederholen. Sein Schweizer Diplom als Zivilingenieur aber galt in Ungarn nichts. Des Vaters Versuche, dieses Diplom in Ungarn nostrifizieren zu lassen, schlugen fehl. Er begriff diese Härte des Gesetzes nicht. Was man von Juristen mit Recht forderte, das erschien ihm, gegenüber Technikern und Medizinern angewendet, wie eine tückische Bosheit. Wie viele Söhne hatte dieses Land nicht damit in die Fremde gestossen? Aber ob es nicht doch vielleicht noch einen Ausweg gab?⁵⁶

Many of these young men who studied abroad cannot return because of language problems, while others do not wish to return because they found broader horizons in the foreign cities.

Heckmüller's youngest son, Gyuri, on the other hand, like many Danube-Swabian sons, turns to the Hungarian regime in the hopes of a brighter future. The solution to this problem that Müller-Guttenbrunn offers is the building of a new German youthhome in Temeschburg. So, when Nikolaus Heckmüller is relieved of his position as village teacher because he does not promote the

Hungarian language, he and his wife become caretakers of the German youthhome in Temeschburg.

Even though the political aspects of Die Glocken der Heimat and Meister Jakob und seine Kinder are significant, Götzendämmerung of his "Heimatromane" is the most heavily politically colored. The main plot deals with Trauttmann, a native Danube-Swabian who upon returning to his homeland as an engineer wants to improve the water systems which had been neglected since the migrations and by now had become antiquated. In this endeavor he works for the Secretary of the Interior, Dezsöffy, and when Dezsöffy's political party is defeated, so are also Trauttmann's plans. Besides the main plot, two minor plots exist. Müller-Guttenbrunn depicts the happenings in the Rumanian village of Czibova, which is supposed to represent the Rumanian minority. In contrast to the Rumanian village, the second minor plot deals with the lawyer Boldog. Boldog, the symbol of an egotistical business man, under the guise of patriotism, eventually is elected Minister. Trauttmann, portraying Müller-Guttenbrunn's political philosophy, on the other hand, is the selfless worker for his homeland who in the end cannot run for public office because his previous citizenship is invalidated on the grounds of his German nationality.⁵⁷

Although Müller-Guttenbrunn's novel is not completely unified, it does accomplish its main purpose. It realistically depicts the political atmosphere of the times. As a political novel, the Trauttmann plot is merely the framework. The actual heroes are the reform-willing Prime Minister, Gömör̄y, and his active Secretary of the Interior, Dezsȫffy. The two heroes are defeated by their opponent, the intriguing lawyer Boldog, a member of the independent party. In describing the Gömör̄y-Dezsȫffy government, Müller-Guttenbrunn historically describes the government of Fejérváry-Kristóffy. Hence, quite obviously a "Schlüsselroman," the novel was immediately banned in Hungary.⁵⁸

Perhaps the most striking picture of the times in Götzendämmerung is the scene depicting the Emperor alone on the eve of the anniversary of his coronation:

Der König zog sich zurück in die bescheideneren Räume des alten Traktes der Burg. Er wird die neuen nicht mehr bewohnen . . . Und das letzte grosse Erinnerungsfest, das man mit ihm gemeinsam in Ungarn feiern konnte, bei dem man noch einmal den Gefühlen des Dankes und der Treue hätte Ausdruck geben können--es war nun auch vorbei. Und als er aus der Kirche trat, haben sie das Kossuthlied gesungen.⁵⁹

Historically the Emperor's visit on the occasion had been rather brief. Das Neue Wiener Tageblatt (12.6.1097),⁶⁰ sought the reason for his brief stay in the primitive manner of the festivity which consisted of a festive Mass

in a half empty Church. Not even the diplomatic corps or the Austrian rulers had been invited:

Wer hat den König geehrt, als er gestern in seine ungarische Hauptstadt kam? Der Adel war fern, das Haus der Abgeordneten spärlich vertreten; die studentische Jugend blieb stumm, denn sie wurde für andere Ideale erzogen. Aber das Proletariat war zur Stelle. Zum ersten Mal grüsste ihn das Volk in diesem Lande ohne Komödianterei. Die Enterbten des Glückes nur, scheint es, glauben noch an ihren König Das Problem der Zukunft stand vor ihm. Wer es löst, der beseitigt jenen Hemmschuh, der reisst jene Mauer nieder⁶¹

With the Emperor's decreasing influence in the country, the Danube-Swabians are politically completely powerless. Müller-Guttenbrunn gives us a picture of the corrupt election system under which the Danube-Swabians and the other minorities are suffering. When Trauttmann no longer can run for office, in order to defeat the election system, he gives his votes to the Rumanian minority party. He also strongly advocates the unity of the "Siebenbürger Sachsen" and the Danube-Swabians in order to form a strong voting block in their mutual political interests.

Müller-Guttenbrunn does not seem to understand the source of the tensions between the state and people clearly. The actual problem is the dualism of nationality and state: members of the German nationality live in the Hungarian state and are being forced to give up their nationality. Müller-Guttenbrunn is devoted to the term "Ungarn" in which national and state citizenship should

merge into one. Again and again he refers to his people as "gute Ungarn." "Gute Ungarn sein mer all; wann m'r a Schwowe sin."⁶² He tries to awaken a greater German consciousness in his people, feeling they could be both--loyal Hungarians and good Danube-Swabians. But this is impossible in the face of the nationalistic aims of the Hungarians, since to be a good "Ungar" means to be a good "Madjar."

In his description of this guest society, the author realistically describes their unique political structure. He shows clearly their political isolation and this isolation, deep-seated in their history, being fostered and encouraged by the political factions present in Hungary at the time. The village hierarchy has little connection with the government and what ties exist are being further destroyed as Hungarian becomes the official government language. Hungarians, or German-oriented Hungarians, are taking over key positions. Not only school and Church offices, but also village governing positions are being taken over by them. With the loss of its intellectual youth, either to the Hungarian cause, or to other German territories, the link binding the Danube-Swabians to a higher social order is in danger of being destroyed. Without any outside intellectual stimulation, their existence as a people is being severely threatened.

The author recognizes that the best that these people can do within the rigid framework of the Hungarian government is to unite these insular German communities in an effort to obtain as many rights as possible. Externally that is about all that can be achieved. But internally, by preserving their folk traditions and customs, by maintaining order, by believing and practicing their religion, the Danube-Swabians can sustain their spirit and themselves.

Yet Müller-Guttenbrunn's compulsive need to create novels filled with Danube-Swabian customs and traditions, is not merely rooted in the socio-cultural history of his people, but also in the literary tradition of the "Heimatsroman." Through this literary genre the author tries to reconcile the irreconcilable. Translated here, he tries to show how the Danube-Swabians whom he loves above all else and tries to sustain can still exist in a situation where it is difficult to exist much longer.

In its beginnings, the new "Heimatkunst" united in a common revolt against remote metropolitan dominance. This was no new phenomena in German literature, but rather a slowly evolving regional consciousness. The Poetic Realists, forerunners of the new "Heimatkunst," cultivated the novel of provincial life during the 19th century. Around 1900 "Heimatkunst" established itself as an independent literary phenomena in the main stream of

German national literature. This new literary movement had little to offer in the way of form. Its significance as a cultural movement, however, cannot be underrated.

"Heimatkunst" advocated a strong, intimate association of the author with the people of his province. In the description of the life, history and customs of his province, the author had to display a vivid and accurate sense of reality. In such a way, this literary movement was to depict a national oriented culture. According to the theory of its most consistent critic, Adolf Bartels, "Heimatkunst" was to bring about a rebirth of German Nationalism. The essence of the new culture was the complete formation of the German racial character.⁶³

Müller-Guttenbrunn's preoccupation with the folk traditions and customs of his beloved Danube-Swabians is in keeping with the aims and purposes of the "Heimatkunst." In this light, the author's devotion to the Danube-Swabian individual, family and community which will be discussed in the following chapters, take on a new literary as well as a socio-cultural dimension.

CHAPTER III

THE DANUBE-SWABIAN IN THE NOVELS OF ADAM MÜLLER-GUTTENBRUNN

General Characteristics

Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn . . . hat gezeigt, was der Geist vermag in einer Zeit materieller Interessen, materieller Gewalten: er hat gezeigt, was der Dichter vermag über die stumpfe Welt, wenn er in seinem Volke fest eingewurzelt ist. Mit seinem Volke im Einklang, sein Leben strebend zu erfüllen, ist das Höchste, was dichterischem Geiste auf der Erde beschieden ist.⁶⁴

These words of Dr. Walter Brecht delivered on the occasion of the awarding of the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy to Müller-Guttenbrunn reflect the achievements of this Danube-Swabian writer. The greatest value of Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Heimatromane" lies in the fact that he captured realistically the true spirit of his people. In his concrete portrayal of the Danube-Swabians, Müller-Guttenbrunn is not concerned so much with what men think, but how they feel and live.

The author primarily describes the world of the Danube-Swabian farmers, though intellectuals and craftsmen are also realistically depicted. A typical Danube-Swabian community, then, consists of farmers, craftsmen,

and intellectuals, held together by bonds of kinship and neighborliness. Nearly every community has a church with its own priests, a school with its own teachers along with other professional and government personnel. These people of the intellectual and professional class are a minority in the villages, as can be seen from the description of one such typical village in Die Glocken der Heimat:

Der Doktor hatte eine Frau, der Notär, der Stromingenieur, der Kaufmann Jellinek, und ausser dem Oberlehrer waren auch zwei Lehrer verheiratet. Und Töchter waren auch da. Sonst gab es keine herrischen Familien im ganzen Dorfe. Unter den dreitausend deutschen Bauern bildeten das Pfarrhaus und diese sieben Familien die Insel, auf der man sich bewegen, und auf der man Ungarisch reden konnte.⁶⁵

Seen through the eyes of the farmers, who exert the greatest power in these communities, the craftsmen's status is below that of the farmers'. The farmers, therefore, refer to the craftsmen as "die Halb-Bauern." Even the intellectuals are considered inferior to the farmers with their position, in many cases, a matter of toleration. These are referred to as "die Herrischen." As a result, the class structure is virtually restricted to three levels.⁶⁶

Müller-Guttenbrunn in his portrayal of the farmer, the craftsman, and the intellectual points out individual characteristics of each particular class.

Just as Balthasar Klug in Die Glocken der Heimat is not only an individualistic character, but also typical of the whole farming class, so Meister Jakob in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder reflects the craftsman and Heckmüller in Die Glocken der Heimat the intellectual class. The characteristics of these farmers, craftsmen, and intellectuals are not only general German characteristics, but at the same time, they embody the whole Danube-Swabian group. Müller-Guttenbrunn, through deep penetrating character analysis, illustrates the more distinctive Danube-Swabian character traits.

Since a substantial number of these unique characteristics influence directly the family and community structure, it is necessary to analyze these traits carefully. These pronounced Danube-Swabian traits are in part a result of the historical and cultural development. Not only in his historical novels, discussed in the previous chapter but also in his "Heimatromane" Müller-Guttenbrunn mentions continually the great difficulties encountered by these people as they struggled for survival. In Die Glocken der Heimat, for example, he repeatedly refers to the struggle of the people to make productive land out of swamp land. In Götzendämmerung he depicts the prevailing adverse cultural and political conditions. These unfavorable circumstances, under

which they had lived for 200 years, contributed to the creation of a unique Danube-Swabian character.

Müller-Guttenbrunn describes his characters as simple, vigorous, healthy individuals in close proximity with the soil. Their great sense of hospitality and gentle humor is especially apparent in their various social customs. They possess a certain quiet calmness, acting purposefully and only after long moments of deliberation.

Even though they experience emotions deeply, they are not quick to display them. In the simple natures of these characters, love appears instantly without pain, or confusion. "Wie ein Rausch war es," at the Sunday dance in the inn "über sie gekommen."⁶⁷ Love was something holy, about which they seldom spoke. Christof, in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, for example, on occasion, displays his tenderness by simply squeezing the hand of Susi. "Christof sagte kein Wort, aber sie verstand den festen Druck seiner Hand."⁶⁸

For the most part, feelings of tenderness are shamefully hidden and not expressed. Haffner, in Die Glocken der Heimat, for example, on seeing his son after several years, is embarrassed to display his feelings. "Verlegen zog der Bauer seine Hand zurück. Er wollte dem Buben einen Kuss geben, aber es genierte ihn, er schämte sich" ⁶⁹ Yet the Danube-Swabians possess

one means of expression by which they can communicate the whole range of their emotions--the song. These songs, expressing their joys and sorrows, are their national strength, helping them survive the darkest hours of their fate. They aid in equalizing the pressure of their hard work and are, therefore, sung at every possible occasion. Some melodies are joyful, playful, and light, yet most of them are sad and melancholy. In his novels, Müller-Guttenbrunn refers mostly to old German songs such as "O Strassburg, O Strassburg," "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore," and "Es stand ein Baum wohl an dem Rhein" for the purpose of evoking a German national spirit in his people. He does, however, cite one humorous Danube-Swabian folk song by I. Nefflen composed in 1836 and entitled "Vetter aus Schwaben." This butcher song is sung by Bindersmichel for the amusement of all the guests at the "Metzlsupp:"

Die Sau, das Schwein,
Klingt rauh und fein:
In der Pfütze, im Morascht
Bischt du wohl ein wüschter Gascht;
Uf dem Teller, an der Gabel
Wirscht du Luscht für unsern Schnabel.

Die Sau, das Schwein,
Klingt rauh und fein:
Unrat, Abfall, deine Koscht,
Heller Trunk, wie zäher Moscht,
Schmer und Fleisch mit dickem Specke.
Kimmt von Pflege, nicht vom Drecke.

Die Sau, das Schwein,
 Klingt rauh und fein:
 Liebscht auch Pfütze und Morascht,
 Bleibst du uns ein lieber Gascht.
 Welche Luscht, wann uns die Schinken,
 Braten, Würscht und Pressköpp winken.

O Sau, o Schwein,
 Bleib' rauh und fein!
 Lieg' du immer in dem Dreck,
 Wälz' dich in der Pfütze keck!
 Wenn wir deine Gaben schpeisen
 Bleibt's doch Pflicht, dich hoch zu preisen.⁷⁰

In their songs and actions we realize that the Danube-Swabians are oriented toward a positive attitude to life. They move forward on a wave of confident energy, as if human life has more dawns than sunsets in it. For them, life is something simple, something they take for granted. Müller-Guttenbrunn's characters are unreflective creatures, driven by inner forces they do not and cannot analyze. They are motivated by the natural forces of the soul, their instincts and will. In their actions and works they are locked in mortal conflict with nature. They live in direct relationship with the soil and their view is, therefore, oriented toward the earth, the organic world. They are dependent on the powers of nature and, therefore, they have a certain awe for them. Out of this oneness with nature, they draw their strength and wisdom and a certain quiet peace of mind which cannot be destroyed by outer catastrophies. For example, in Die Glocken der Heimat, these people, though having undergone great physical hardships, are psychologically unimpaired by the flood.

Als Knechte und Mägde mussten sich viele verdingen, als Schnitter in die grossen Schwabendörfer gehen, um sich das Brot zu verdienen für dieses verlorene Jahr. Dann aber, wenn die Wasser dieser Sintflut wieder abgelaufen waren, dann wollten sie alle, alle wiederkommen und ihr Lebenswerk von vorne beginnen. Sie waren nicht niederzuringen, die Schwaben von Karlsdorf, weder durch die Menschen, noch durch die Elemente.⁷¹

Their substance of life is work. In their love of work they concentrate all their energies. "Der Reigen war zu Ende, er begann von vorne."⁷² Out of this struggle they experience a certain sense of joy.

Das Erntefieber brach aus und alles andere versank.

Sommer und Winter gingen hin, und das grosse Tagewerk erneuerte sich immer wieder, und die Menschen keuchten unter seiner Last. Was war der Inhalt ihres Lebens? Arbeit, Arbeit, Arbeit! "Schaffen" nennen sie es. Schaffen! Ja, es war ein Bodensatz schöpferischen Vermögens in dieser Riesenarbeit. Man schaffte nicht nur um sich satt zu essen, das vollbrachte Werk ging weit darüber hinaus. Es verankerte ein Volk auf eigener Erde. Jedes Dorf schuf sich hier sein eigenes Deutschland, jedes war eine Welt, in der Tausende ihren Daseinskreis vollendeten, als lebten sie am Rhein oder in Schwaben.⁷³

The Danube-Swabians feel instinctively that only through their own physical power, through their own work can they prove themselves as a minority among these foreign peoples. So, they work for the sake of work, with little regard for payment.

Auch in den Taglohn zu gehen war für niemanden eine Unehr', der Bauer schätzte seine Helfer und behandelte sie wie Familienglieder, die Bäuerin aber kochte auf für die abends Heimkehrenden, wie zur Kirchweih. Der Lohn war mässig; aber jedes Haus legte noch ein

"Vergelt's Gott" drauf, denn die Arbeit ehrte,
 der Fleiss war rühmlich und brauchte eine gute
 Nachrede.⁷⁴

Man

Besides these general characteristics of the Danube-Swabian people, Müller-Guttenbrunn also illustrates other traits uniquely Danube-Swabian. The feeling of independence, for example, is a salient characteristic of Danube-Swabian men. Just as Meister Jakob is the master of his shop, so Luckhaup and Balthasar Klug, for example, are masters of their own farms. Their actual feelings of responsibility and independence are drawn from the sense of ownership. "In mein'm Haus gilt mei Wille und koin annerer."⁷⁵

In this consciousness, a vigorous feeling of masculine strength grows, giving man a sense of dignity. Personification of this independent strength is found in Georg Trauttmann in Götzendämmerung and Jakob Höckmüller in Die Glocken der Heimat.⁷⁶ Hardly had Trauttmann arrived in his home village when he asks "ob es da eine Aufgabe für ihn gebe."⁷⁷ After he realizes his mission is that of modernizing the water ways of his homeland, he works with great endurance.

Georg Trauttmann hatte einen arbeitsreichen, freudigen Winter hinter sich. So ganz erfüllt war er nie von einer Aufgabe, wie von dieser. Mit der oft erprobten Zähigkeit, mit der vollen Kraft seines Wesens warf er sich auf den selbstgeschaffenen Wirkungskreis und es gelang ihm, alle widerstände

zu besiegen, alle Hindernisse zu nehmen. Sein Bureau, das er sich selbst zusammengestellt hatte aus jungen ungarischen Kräften, die noch zu erziehen waren, und in das er auch einen deutschen Ingenieur aus Österreich und einen jungen Amerikaner berief, arbeitete mit Begeisterung unter seiner Leitung.⁷⁸

Also later, Dr. Dezsöffy gives Trauttmann the advice:

"An die Arbeit gehen, lieber Freund, und nicht links und nicht rechts schauen. Niemanden fragen."⁷⁹ Georg responds very positively: "Für diesen Rat bin ich sehr dankbar. Das entspricht meiner Natur und ich reise noch heute ab."⁸⁰

This same feeling of one's own strength and worth is especially apparent in the teacher, Heckmüller, in Die Glocken der Heimat. "Er hatte wieder eine Aufgabe vor sich für die nächsten Monate, und das tat ihm wohl. Er konnte nicht leben, ohne irgendeine Aufgabe zu haben."⁸¹ Later when he comes to the realization that it is going to be his mission to inspire his people politically, he is again overcome with his own potential:

Eine Wandlung war mit Heckmüller vorgegangen in den letzten Wochen und Monaten. Wie eine Verklärung lag es über seinem inneren Menschen; eine stille, freudige Heiterkeit leuchtete ihm aus den Augen. Wieder hatte er eine Aufgabe gefunden, aber welch eine edle, grosse.⁸²

The masculine characteristics thus far mentioned are not limited to any particular class. A distinction must be made between the world outlook of the farmer and that of the craftsman. The craftsman's attitude toward life differs from that of the farmer because he, unlike

the farmer, comes in direct contact with the outside world.⁸³ "Ohne die Erfahrungen der Fremde galt kein Handwerker etwas in der Heimat."⁸⁴ These educational travel experiences are enumerated by Meister Jakob for his oldest son, Johann:

Nach Österreich solle er gehen, nach Wien. Aber dann auch an den Rhein, ins schwäbische und bayrische Land. In kleine Städte, wo man für die Bauern arbeitete, wo die Landwirtschaft blühe. Er werde ja sehen, wie sich's mache, ob er in Wien Passion zum höheren Wagenbauer zeige, oder ob er bei der einfachen Wagnerei bleiben wolle. Es könne nicht schaden, wenn er sich auch die herrschaftlichen Reisekutschen beim Janschky in Wien genau ansehe, und die leichten Steirer-Wägelchen, die man für einen Rutscher in die Stadt oder für eine Kirchweihfahrt auch hier brauchen könne. Hier wisse man noch nichts davon. Aber der Johann könne sie vielleicht einmal einführen, wenn er daheim Meister werden wolle.⁸⁵

Though all craftsmen do not go abroad for their training, they gain their experience in contact with other village members. Vetter Niklos in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder is a good illustration of this:

In der Fremd' war er nie, seine schlichte dörfliche Maurerei hätte ihm da nur Enttäuschungen gebracht. Aber das hinderte nicht, dass er einer der Gescheitesten im Dorfe war und die meiste Menschenkenntnis besass. Wenn man so vielen Leuten Häuser baute, wie er, lernte man die Menschen am gründlichsten kennen.⁸⁶

The acquaintance with broader horizons changes the craftsman's outlook on life from that of the confined, restricted outlook of the farmer. A comparison of Meister Jakob with the farmer Luckhaup is a good illustration.

Meister Jakob, as a craftsman, has a somewhat broader concept of man and his world than the farmer. He judges people by their human characteristics, not so much by what they possess, as by what they achieve. Unlike Luckhaup, his world is more flexible with his treatment of people, therefore, more understanding. Not only in his association with his family and friends, but also with his apprentice, Franzl, is he tolerant and kind. For example, he helps Franzl train birds as a hobby:

So erzog sich Meister Jakob seine Singvögel und seinen Lehrbuben. Er beschäftigte den Franzl auf jede Weise und nahm ihm langsam das Heimweh nach dem Bauernstand. Hat der Hansl es in einem halben Jahr zum Gesellen und zum Meister gebracht, werde es der Franzl in drei Jahren doch auch noch zum Gesellen bringen können.⁸⁷

Meister Jakob's whole temperament seems to personify the simplicity and wholeness of the common folk.

Er sass behäbig auf der Bank inmitten seines Blumengartens und die schweren Dolden des Schneeballengesträuches drückten die Zweige über ihn herab wie einen weissen Baldachin. Zufriedenheit leuchtete aus den Zügen des blonden, starken Mannes.⁸⁸

On the other hand, the farmer Adam Luckhaup's concept of life revolves around the rather narrow Danube-Swabian concept of order.

Wenn der Vater abends sagte: ihr geht morgen in die Kartoffeln, so ging man in die Kartoffeln; oder: "Hannes: du ackerst morgen im Überland und die Margret geht mit de Leut' in Wingert," so lud der Hannes seinen Pflug auf und fuhr hinab ins Überland, die Margret aber ging so sehr sie innerlich widerstreben mochte mit den Tagelöhnern in den Weingarten. Widerspruch gab es keinen.⁸⁹

This concept of order enters not only into the sphere of work, but every other aspect of life as well. Through the rigid stress on order he protects his profession, property and possessions.

Manche teilten sich schon in mehrere Linien, die Luckhaup hatten fünf Höfe besetzt, und ihr Anhang bei den Gemeindewahlen war gross. So viel ganze Sessionen standen ihnen in der Gemeinde freilich zur Verfügung, sie erreichten diese Ausbreitung nur durch eine kluge Heiratspolitik. Dadurch bewahrten sie ihre Nachkommen davor, Kleinbauern zu werden oder Handwerker. Und studieren hatten sie auch keinen lassen. Sie waren sich gescheit genug, brauchten keinen Herrischen in der Familie.⁹⁰

Luckhaup's preoccupation with order is a further illustration of the rather narrow and confined outlook of all Danube-Swabian farmers. Not the achievements of the mind, but rather those of the hands, are stressed. There is little appreciation for artistic talent. In Die Glocken der Heimat Juliska's efforts to become an actress are looked upon as foolhardy by the farmers. Müller-Guttenbrunn further illustrates this lack of understanding for the artistic personality when he speaks of Lenau, the greatest Danube-Swabian poet:

Wohl klang Lenaus Name ab und zu durch das Land,
aber es öffneten sich ihm nur wenige auserwählte
Herzen. In einem Schwabendorf geboren war der
Dichter. Aber stand sein Name in irgendeinem
Grundbuch? Besass er Haus und Hof? Führte er
je einen Pflug? Keiner von diesen Bauern hätte
ihm seine Tochter gegeben. Und jetzt war er
tot, in einem Wiener Irrenhause gestorben.
Nein, nein, man konnte mit diesen Gesunden
nicht von ihm reden.⁹¹

So, Müller-Guttenbrunn not only illustrates Danube-Swabian characteristics in his heroes, but also depicts the different outlook of the farmer and the craftsman. In like manner, he not only points out the positive aspects of their personalities, but their vices as well. The main vice Müller-Guttenbrunn delineates in his heroes is an overindulgence in the display of ownership, money and power. Such an overdisplay in wealth takes place, for example, at the "Kirweih:"

In der Gruppe, die sich dort um Kaspar Luckhaup und seine Brüder und Vettern scharte, machten zwei Haadbauern (Heidebauern) nicht geringes Spektakel. Sie trugen über ihren sehenswerten Bäuchen breite goldene Westenknöpfe. Einer hatte sich's genau angesehen, es waren Dukaten. Fix Laudon, mussten die Geld haben! Sie schienen die Honveds nicht geschröpft zu haben während der Revolution. Und die Kaiserlichen auch nicht, denn was die einen übrig liessen, das nahmen immer die anderen. Freilich gab es seitdem drei gute Ernten. Aber so etwas! Dukaten als Westenknöpfe!⁹²

On such occasions, they are interested in parading not only their clothing, but their fields and their livestock as well.

Und alles Vieh behielt man daheim an solchen Tagen, der Stall durfte nicht leer sein, wenn die Vettern kamen. Die wollten auch Gäule und Kühe und Säue sehen, nicht bloss Kirchweihsträusse. Und wenn ein Vollbauer seine zwölf wohlgenährten, auf den Glanz gestriegelten Pferde im Stall hatte, wollte er auch, dass sie bewundert werden.⁹³

This display leads to a sense of obstinate pride: "Und protzten tat man auch gern ein bisschen, sowohl mit

seinem Wohlstand wie mit seiner Jugend und dem Glanz seiner Kirchweih."⁹⁴

Woman

Just as Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates certain male characteristics, he also depicts the more distinctive female characteristics. It is unquestionable that the woman, as the carrier of the spiritual life, often holds a higher position than the man. The woman is the example of the power of love which overcomes the difficulties of life. What these women achieve in life, they master not because of intelligence or wisdom, but through the inner calm of an uncomplicated faith. This sense of faith cannot be destroyed by outer adversity.

The unwed mother is a good example. Because of the author's bitter experience as an illegitimate child, this character appears frequently in his works. In spite of the great torment and isolation these women suffer as a result of the Danube-Swabian community structure,⁹⁵ they remain undefeated. In their unsentimental acceptance of adversity, they overcome their fate. Lischka, in Glocken der Heimat, could have taken refuge in a marriage to Straubmichel. Yet she refuses to marry him, taking the first stirring of her unborn child within her as a miraculous sign from God that she is to bear this shame silently and await her destiny. She also believes her child to be destined for a religious vocation. Susi, in

Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, reacts just as calmly to the situation of an unwed mother as Lyszka had. She also could have taken refuge in a marriage to a young widower, yet she repentingly takes the position of caring for the bitter, ailing Bas Mali.

Sie ging im Werktagsgewand, band sich ein nonnenhaftes dunkles Tuch über ihr welliges Braunhaar, und legte alle Zeichen von Hoffart ab. Niemand sollte in ihr die Vortänzerin vermuten, niemand das schönste Mädchen des Dorfes wiedererkennen. Das hatte seine Rolle ausgespielt. Die Bäuerin sollte nichts in ihr finden als eine dienstwillige Magd.⁹⁶

The greatest example of this simple faith and unselfish love is Frau Eva. She possesses the peace of God in her heart and, therefore, has the power to restore the freedom of the family.

Als die kleine Welt ihres Hauses wieder eingerenkt war nach dieser Hochzeit, bezog Frau Eva in aller Gemächlichkeit ihr hinteres Stübchen, vorne aber breitete sich der Jakob aus mit seiner jungen Wirtschaft . . . All ihre Kinder waren wieder in Eintracht beisammen, fünf wusste sie wohlgeborgen, und um das sechste, den Peter, war der Frau Eva nicht bange . . . Mit rauher Hand griff das Schicksal nach ihrem Hause, es schien sie alle erdrücken zu wollen; aber sie hielt tapfer stand, und der Himmel heiterte sich vor Abend wieder auf. Ihr Werk war getan. Jetzt wollte sie nur noch beten für das Wohl ihrer Kinder und Enkel. Und sie hoffte zuversichtlich, dereinst ihrem Jakob wieder zu begegnen und seine Zufriedenheit zu erlangen . . . Ob alles weiter so gedieh wie es den Anschein hatte, das lag in Gottes Hand. Diese und jene Sorge nahm die Frau Eva gern mit in ihr Altenteil. Ganz allein wollte sie in ihrem Stübchen nicht hausen.⁹⁷

These women of the common folk with their seemingly inexhaustible spiritual resources, personify the inarticulate sufferings of the peasant. They are not great through position, power, or wealth, but rather through the deep inner strength of their own hearts. These are the women that are necessary if the family is to remain intact. In their infinite endurance, they are the quite ones in the land. Such praise is given Anmerich by her in-laws: "Nie hatten sie die Anmerich launisch und verdriesslich gesehen, immer war gut Wetter bei ihr. Das tat den beiden Alten besonders wohl. Sie hatten den Frieden im Hause und das Glück."⁹⁸

Just as the men, so are the women vigorous, healthy individuals. They share with them their love of work and sense of independent strength. This strength which grows out of unselfish love is illustrated especially by the wives that risk their lives during the flood in Die Glocken der Heimat as they bring food and consolation to their husbands and sons:

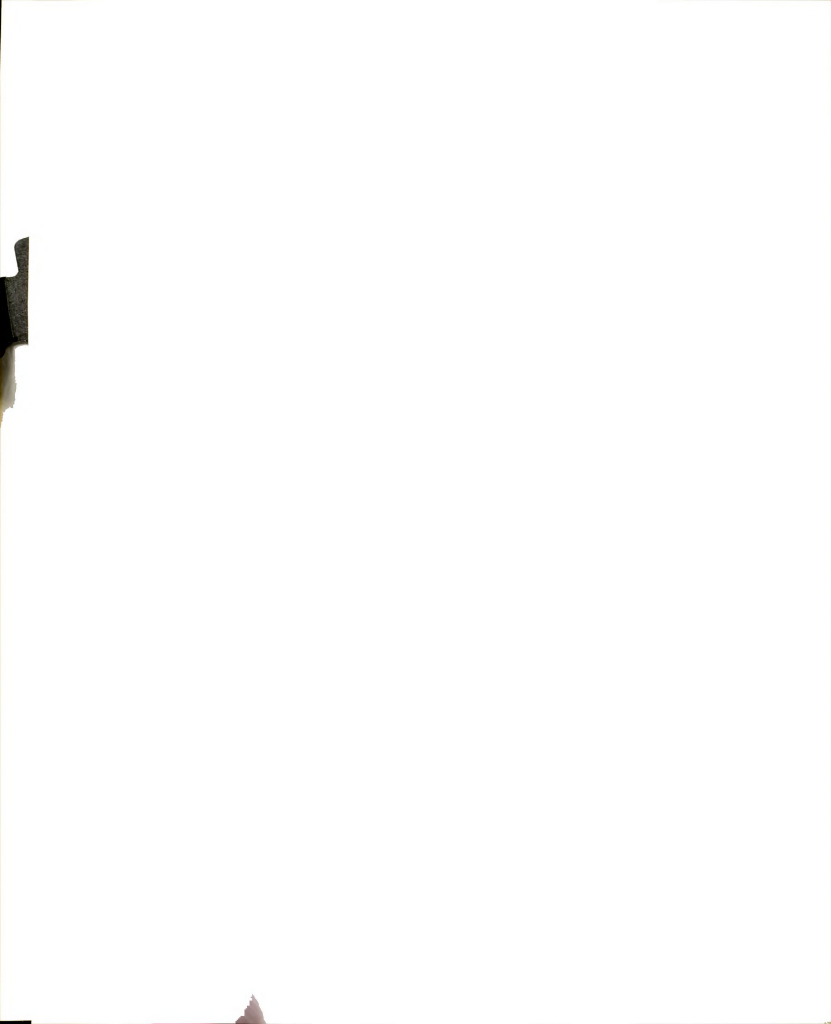
Draussen brüllte der Donaustrom immer lauter und lauter, als der Abend sich herabsenkte. Auf allen Dämmen schwelten die Fettlampen in den zahlreichen Laternen, die sich wie die Wachtfeuer in einem wildbewegten Heerlager ausnahmen. Auf dem Mitteldamm aber--er hiess der Grünzeugdamm--brannten helle Flammen; dort hatten die Frauen zehn grosse Kessel, in denen sonst Wäsche ausgekocht wurde, auf Dreifüsse gestellt und bereiteten ihren Männern und Söhnen das erste warme Mahl nach so vielen nassen Tagen. Auch trockene Wäsche und



Kleider hatten sie ihnen mitgebracht und sehr viel Zuversicht und Munterkeit. Drei Fass Wein liess die Klugsnantschi hinausführen und machte mit ihren Töchtern die Mundschenkin. Die Haffnersussi aber stand mit erhitztem Gesicht zwischen zwei Gulaschkesseln und schwang ihren grossen Schöpflöffel wie ein Zepter. Zwischen zwei anderen Kesseln hantierte still und ernst die Bas' Bärbl. Und die Kette setzte sich fort, die angesehensten Bäuerinnen waren mitgekommen und kochten da unter freiem Himmel.⁹⁹

While Müller-Guttenbrunn portrays the woman as the carrier of the spiritual life, at the same time, he allows her to succumb to greater urges than does the man. Passion blows through his heroines like a high and sometimes dangerous wind. It does not, as in ordinary local color, lurk in corners or hide itself altogether. These passions are most commonly seen in housekeeping women, and consequently are close to the core of human experience. Bas Mali is perhaps the best example of such bitter passions:

Sie fand ein verfallenes, krankes Weib im Lehnstuhl sitzen, das voll Eifersucht und Bitterkeit war, das dem Mann seine Gesundheit nicht gönne und in ihm den Schuldigen ihrer eigenen Not erblickte. Sie schien zu lechzen nach einer Aussprache, ihr Redestrom floss unaufhörlich, und sie sprach rückhaltlos von dem Jammer ihrer Ehe, von den Gründen ihrer Erkrankung. Sie hätte der Schonung bedurft nach dem Malheur, das ihr passiert war, aber die kannte der Mann nicht, er wollte Kinder haben. Und so sei sie von ihm Schritt für Schritt zugrunde gerichtet worden. Jetzt flenne er, jetzt sie er in Verzweiflung. Aber es sei zu spät. Am liebsten wäre sie tot, denn sie hätten beide die Hölle auf Erden¹⁰⁰



These passions come to the surface especially in the vicious gossip of the Danube-Swabian women: Die Klotzin was a good example of such a "Klatschfrau:" "Sie schien ihre Zunge zweimal auf den Herrgotts Schleifstein gelegt zu haben als der die scharfen Weiberzungen schliff."¹⁰¹ Young girls already possess this vice as is illustrated in the case of Trudl: "Da kam heute so ein stotterndes Teufelchen daher und kramte mit schwerer Zunge allerlei Dorfneuigkeiten aus."¹⁰²

Thus Müller-Guttenbrunn is realistic in his delineation of Danube-Swabian characters. He presents his Danube-Swabians as simple, hospitable, good natured and industrious people. He depicts a uniquely Danube-Swabian philosophy of life which encompasses the negative as well as positive achievements of these people. In view of these sentiments and values, we can now begin to sketch a picture of the organization of the family and community. A substantial number of these values stem directly from the way in which life is organized and related to the maintenance and smooth functioning of family and community organization.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS

General Characteristics

The family, as the oldest and basic social institution of man, is the best example of the severe, well-defined social structure of the Danube-Swabians. The Danube-Swabian family, both rural and urban, is monogamous, independent and bilateral¹⁰³ in descent. Since Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels deal primarily with the rural family in a village setting, rather than the urban family, a picture of the rural family will be presented here.

The Danube-Swabian extended family¹⁰⁴ consists of a number of nuclear units¹⁰⁵ some of which live in their own homes. These nuclear units are tied together by a definite hierarchy of family relationships, usually associated with age and wealth, which culminate in an informal family council that produce certain pressures on each family to conform to traditions. These extended families are quite often patrilocal,¹⁰⁶ and therefore, it is not uncommon for three generations of sons to live together in the same residence. Whether they live alone or with their parents, however, this farm family unit is the center of power in the village community.

The strongest binding forces in the typical village community are related to the family unit thereby providing a high degree of community solidarity. "Klatta," the tradition of assisting relatives or community members in building projects, strikingly illustrates this.¹⁰⁷ The building of a new home for a couple is usually such a family enterprise founded on the principle of family unity. The people helping to construct the house are largely families in the area who are related to the couple by blood or marriage. This tradition is based on the mutual obligations of such familial bonds. Similar familistic ties modify in numerous ways the function of religion, education, and the law. In effect, the Danube-Swabian farm families possess and utilize the greatest degree of power in the village community. The overall structure of the Danube-Swabian community is based on the ideals and traditions of the family unit.

The family's strength centers in the operation and control of the farm itself, the village's principal form of productive property. Through the operation and control of farm production, the family achieves independence from non-familial groups. The craftsman, who owns a small amount of land for his sustenance, shares this independence to a limited degree. So, one can speak of the family as a collective, productive unit with the farm as the center

of activity. Family control of production unites each family with other neighboring families forming a strong communal alliance which further strengthens the relative independence of each family in relation to other non-familial groups.

However, few of the family features so far described are peculiar to the Danube-Swabian family as such.¹⁰⁸ The major exception to this statement is the Danube-Swabian love of soil, a feeling shared with all farmers. Yet, the degree to which this influences the Danube-Swabian's philosophy of life, together with a host of other related traits, is unique to them.

These traits are rooted in their historical development. As farmers they represent a class out of which all other classes grow and replenish themselves. As such they represent a certain proximity to the soil and with tradition. The greatest expression of the Danube-Swabian love for the soil is found in Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Banater Schwabenlied" in his novel, Die Glocken der Heimat.

Es brennt ein Weh, wie Kindertränen brennen,
Wenn Elternherzen hart und stiefgesinnt.
Oh, dass vom Mutterland uns Welten trennen
Und wir dem Vaterland nur Fremde sind.

Noch läutet uns der alten Heimat Glocken,
Die Glocken unsrer Väter treu und schlicht.
Doch frisst der Sturm ihr seliges Frohlocken,
Und Blitz auf Blitz verstört das Friedenslicht.

Von deutscher Erde sind wir abgeglitten
Auf diese Insel weit im Völkermeer.
Doch wo des Schwaben Pflug das Land durchschnitten,
Wird deutsch die Erde, und er weicht nicht mehr.

Wer mag den Schwaben fremd in Ungarn schelten?
 Hier sass vor ihm der Türke, der Tartar.
 Er will als Herr auf seiner Scholle gelten,
 Ist Bürger hier und nicht dein Gast, Madjar!

Er hat geblutet in Prinz Eugens Heeren,
 Vertrieb den Feind, der hier im Land gehaust.
 Dein eigener König rief ihn einst in Ehren:
 "Pflüg' mir den Boden, wackre Schwabenfaust!"

Aus einer Wüste ward ein blühend Eden,
 Aus Sümpfen hob sich eine neue Welt.
 Von diesem Land lasst deutsch und treu uns reden,
 Verachten den, der's nicht in Ehren hält.

O Heimat, deutschen Schweisses stolze Blüte,
 Du Zeugin mancher herben Väternot,
 Wir segnen dich, auf dich Gott behüte,
 Wir stehn getreu zu dir in Not und Tod!109

Already twenty years prior to the publication of
Die Glocken der Heimat, Müller-Guttenbrunn, being aware of
 this Danube-Swabian relationship to the soil, wrote:

Eines haben die Schwaben gemein: Die Liebe für
 ihre neue Heimat. Sie hängen mit einer Zähigkeit
 an der Scholle, auf der sie geboren sind, dass
 nichts sie hier entwurzeln könnte. Sie haben
 sich ihre Heimat durch unendliche Mühsal erobert
 und sie sind an sie gekettet mit allen ihren
 Banden des Gemüts und der Sitte.110

Living as a minority group among other nationalities
 and under the foreign Hungarian regime left a deep impact
 upon the Danube-Swabian family. Since, in many instances,
 it had been relatively easy to purchase additional land
 from neighboring nationalities, the Danube-Swabians were
 motivated to greater and greater acquisitions of land.
 Soon they became completely obsessed with this relationship
 to the soil and all their efforts became involved in it.

Kaethe Köstner, in her book Das Wesen des deutschen Bauern in den Romanen Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn's, points out two aspects of this relationship with the soil. The positive aspect she defines in the narrowest sense of the word as "Heimatliebe," meaning love of the "Scholle."¹¹¹ This is illustrated early in the life of a Danube-Swabian child. The child considers it a privilege to be allowed to help in the fields during school vacations and at harvest time. By doing so, the child grows into a close relationship to the soil and the soil exerts its own force on him. This captivating force keeps the thoughts of leaving the village or of becoming a craftsman from his mind completely. He reaches a point where he actually feels sorry for people living inside the city without fields or gardens. In Götzendämmerung, Georg Trauttmann, a true Danube-Swabian son, expresses this devotion to the soil after many years of absence from his homeland:

Jetzt aber atmete er mit Behagen und in vollen Zügen wieder den würzigen Duft der heimatlichen Scholle. Und er war sich eines Gefühles bewusst, das die anderen nur dunkel in sich trugen, das sie nur offenbarten, wenn sie bedroht, wenn sie getreten wurden: Diese Scholle war ihm deutscher Boden. Hundert Dörfer wie das seine blühten heute in dem Neuland, das die kaiserlichen Heere einst den Türken abgenommen und durch eine Militärgrenze wie durch eine Wall geschützt hatten. Wie oft aber setzte der schwarze Tod über diesen Wall und würgte die Kühnen, die in sein sumpfiges Gebiet vorzudringen wagten. Sie wichen nicht. Die Lücken, die die Pest und die Cholera in ihre Reihen gerissen, wurden immer wieder ausgefüllt. Und so siegten sie zuletzt. Mit dem Fleiss und dem Schweiss von Generationen deutscher Bauern einer Wildnis abgerungen, in Not und Tod



verteidigt und behauptet--das war doch eine Heimat, auf die man stolz sein durfte.¹¹⁰

Yet, the Danube-Swabian does not romanticize this love of the soil in a sentimental or melancholy fashion. It is "ein ernstes schweigendes Verbundensein das in ihnen lebt."¹¹³ The greatest proof of this love is illustrated in the willingness of the farmers to give their lives saving their soil. During the disastrous flood which takes place in Die Glocken der Heimat, the farmers do not send their hired hands to the greatest point of danger. Rather, when all else fails, they and their sons attempt to hold back the water by forming a human chain with their bodies. "Galt es doch, die eigene Scholle zu schützen, das teure Stück Erde, das die Väter hier den Sümpfen und den grossen Flüssen abgetrotzt, zu bewahren."¹¹⁴

The negative aspect of this obsession with the soil is apparent in their materialistic philosophy. The hunger for the earth and its possession is a strong drive which often appears as their main purpose in life, overshadowing the spiritual. Müller-Guttenbrunn in his "Heimatomane" postulates two reasons for this materialistic outlook: first, their complete isolation from their homeland; and secondly, the rugged historical experiences that characterize their development, during which time nothing but their untiring efforts were demanded. Müller-Guttenbrunn theorizes that the difficulty of making productive farm land out of swamp land lead to the overemphasis on all

material goods. In concentrating their efforts on obtaining and maintaining the soil, they ultimately knew no limits. Other nationalities also recognize the Danube-Swabian overemphasis on material things: "Und die Walachen und Serben . . . redeten nur vom deutschen Arbeitswahnsinn, es war eine Geissel für alle die Halborientalen. Und wo er in ihre Dörfer eindrang, ergriffen sie alsbald die Flucht."¹¹⁵

The danger of sinking totally into materialism is a real problem for these people. A family's honor and prestige rise in the community in proportion to the amount of land one owns. With this emphasis on wealth, inner values are lost. Since this turning away from the real and spiritual is in many ways an unconscious process, it becomes an even greater danger.

Marriage and Inheritance Attitudes

The preoccupation with material things is apparent in the practices concerning marriage and inheritance in the family. In most instances the Danube-Swabian farm is too small to make further subdivisions economically feasible. Thus, family continuity on the holdings demands that the farm pass from the parental to the filial generation intact. In effect, this means that often only one son inherits the homestead, while the other children are forced to leave the family home. Müller-Guttenbrunn

in Der kleine Schwab explains with a touch of humor how such inheritance problems were sometimes being solved:

Ich heisse Johann Mergl und bin ein Schwab, ein Banater Schwab. Aber weil ich der dritte Sohn war und mein Vater nur ein halber Bauer, konnte ich nicht auch daheim bleiben. Ein halbes Bauerngut unter drei Söhne teilen, das geht nicht an, denn die Viertelbauern leben schlechter als die Tagelöhner. So kleine Wirtschaften gehören ins Paradies, wo man dreimal im Jahr erntet, ohne zu säen.

Mein ältester Bruder, der Peter, sollte also der Bauer werden, der Jakob lernte die Wagnerei, und ich hab' studieren müssen.¹¹⁶

In Hungary the customs governing inheritance generally did not specify which son was to be heir to the land. "Gesetze zum Schutze des Bauernstandes gibt es in Ungarn nicht, nur die Überlieferung hält den Stand aufrecht. Jeder Bauer kann machen, was er will, er ist unbeschränkter Herr seines Besitztums."¹¹⁷ Even though this empowers the father to decide when he should designate his heir and hand over the ownership and management of the farm, Danube-Swabian tradition rules that the oldest son inherit the homestead.

Since marriage is, in many instances, a question of inheritance, preparation for marriage is important in Danube-Swabian extended families. In general, children in this society are oriented toward adult life. They are not allowed to become absorbed in peer groups or to put juvenile interests ahead of familial goals. By the time they reach marriageable age, most of the young people are



ready for the problems that they will encounter in their marriages.

Young men usually postpone marriage until they have fulfilled their military obligation, in person or by paying a price.¹¹⁸ A young man, then, has either to have a large inheritance or excel in his trade in order to be considered a good marriage partner. Meister Jakob, for example, recalls: "Aber nie hätte er sie bekommen, wenn nicht sein Meisterstück, ein neuartiger Leiterwagen, mit Vorder- und Hinterschragen und vier bequemen federnden Sitzen so gut ausgefallen wäre."¹¹⁹

Girls, in turn, are brought up to assume that marriage is the proper career for women. There is little formal education for girls.

Das war eine neue Mode, dass auch die Mädchen den Schulunterricht mitmachten. In ihrer Jugend gingen die Mädchen nur in die Christenlehr. Gedrucktes lernte man dort auch ein wenig lesen, damit es fürs Gebetbuch langte. Und wenn eine einen guten Kopf hatte, konnte sie auch den Kalender buchstabieren. Briefe schrieben und lasen nur Männer.¹²⁰

Housekeeping, child care, sewing, cooking and catering to family are the subjects of education for most of them, with their training taking place in their respective homes. By eighteen or nineteen, most girls are ready for marriage; they are substantially assisted toward this goal by parents and relatives. Yet earlier marriages are not unusual. The village priest in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder expresses his condemnation of this situation:

"Ja, ja!" grollte der Dechant, "so schamhaft sind meine Schwaben, aber ihre Kirweih feiern sie jedes Jahr wie die Heiden. Wieder so eine Kirweih'sünde. Was rede ich jedes Jahr gegen diese Sittenlosigkeit? Und da sagt man, ich wäre zu streng. Nichts ist diesem Geschlecht mehr heilig. Und weil sie sich der Folgen schämen, treten sie immer jünger vor den Traualtar. Habe diesen Winter fünf Bräute getraut, die noch nicht sechzehn waren.¹²¹

The choice of marriage partners is influenced largely by family elders, both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, families influence the marriage choice by inculcating early into their children's lives the standards for a desirable mate. The suitability of candidates for marriage is measured first and foremost by the economic and social position of their families. Educational promise in young men and domestic competency in young women, as well as religious membership, are secondary factors in this selection. Consequently, marriages between prosperous farmers and craftsmen or poorer farmers are considered very unfavorable and, in many cases, forbidden by the families involved. The whole theme of Meister Jakob und seine Kinder centers around the materialistic idea that personal feelings must be silenced in regard to the family continuity of the homestead. While in some instances these marriages of unequal social strata are permitted, though frowned upon as was the case with Phillip and Anmerich, intermarriages with other nationalities is unthinkable:

Diese Schwaben sind sehr hochmütig. Nicht äusserlich, nicht als Nachbarn, sondern als Menschen. Sie behandeln unsere Knechte gut, sie zahlen unsere Arbeiter redlich, aber sie dünken sich so hoch, so ganz anders geartet, dass beispielweise eine Familienverbindung zwischen einem deutschen und einem "walachischen" Hause etwas ganz Undenkbares wäre.¹²²

Furthermore, families indirectly limit the range of marriage choice by restricting the association of their children to a circle of people who would be considered suitable candidates. The annual "Kirweih," perhaps the biggest communal event, is the greatest opportunity for young people to mix. When one is asked to be a "Kirweihmensch," it is considered a preengagement necessitating a family council. In Götzendämmerung, for example, Evi is forbidden by her uncle Georg to accept the "Strauss" of a young man because she is felt to be too young.¹²³

Directly, parental, and even grandparental, control of economic resources and desirable living arrangements is being used in coercing young people to give up relationships considered inappropriate. Parental approval for marriage is especially important in extended families, for the young are deprived of a great many practical advantages, without it, making it almost impossible for them to exist.

Once a choice is made by the young and approved by their parents, marriage arrangements are left in the hands of family elders called "die Brautwerber." In many

instances "die Brautwerber" are the godfathers of the respective couple. It is they who make the necessary inheritance arrangements. The dowries are a source of pride and are cited in the presence of both family circles. One such enumeration even takes place in the house of Meister Jakob, "ein Halbbauer," in respect to the dowry of his oldest daughter Anmerich:

Man werde der Anmerich ja auch allerlei mitgeben können in die Ehe. Mit der Mutter sei es schon besprochen, was sie ausser der Ausstattung kriege. Ein Joch gutes Getreidefeld auf dem Postgrund, einen Krautacker im Wiesental, einen Weingarten, eine Kuh und ein Kalb und zwei junge Mutter-schweine. Und ein parr Oleanderstöcke, lachte der Meister, könne sie auch haben.

"Und verzig Pund g'schlessana (geschliffene) Bettfedern und fufzig Elle gebleichte Lei'wand, die sie selber g'schpunna hot," sagte die Mutter. "Und einen neuen Wagen mach' ich dir," fügte der Meister noch zuletzt hinzu.¹²⁴

The husband controls such dowries which are most often used to set up and maintain the new family unit.

The next step for the young couple is the approval of the clergy. Religious intermarriage is considered unfavorable and in most instances, the partners are of the same faith. In order to obtain the approval of the clergy, the couple is quizzed in dogma. After the approval of the clergy, the banns of marriage are announced in the Church for three consecutive Sundays. Since marriage is a sacrament of the Church, divorce is prohibited. So, occasional promiscuity on the part of the male is tolerated.

Danube-Swabians, therefore, have fairly realistic anticipations of marriage. Not much is made of love or sentimentality. They hope for children, economic security, good health, and freedom from major catastrophies. In these extended families, young couples start life together with as much material equipment as their families, the man's inheritance and the woman's dowry permit.

Roles of Family Members

The Danube-Swabian materialistic philosophy of life does not only influence marriage practices, but also the daily life and functions of the family. Distinct individual roles within the family arise out of the unique Danube-Swabian economic situation. Separate domestic responsibilities of all types assigned to every member of the family result from the common work on the farm. There is an equal division of labor existing between the farmer and his wife with the children subordinate to both parents. The farmer's wife not only helps her husband in the open field when the pressure of work demands, but also assists him regularly in the care of the vineyards, vegetable garden, poultry and the stock, adding greatly to the economic stability of the family.

This balance of economic activity, however, is not shared in other spheres of family life. The services performed daily and seasonally for the family and the

exchange activities of buying and selling are carried on by the husband. Danube-Swabian men are typically the heads of their households with the routines of the household organized around their needs and habits. In Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, Meister Jakob beautifully illustrates the significance of his role as head of the house by comparing it to the importance of a wagon wheel for his young son: "Ich bin die Nabe in unserem Haus. Nehmt mich weg, und es geht noch ein paar Schritt holterdipolter, dann ist's aus. Du sperrst, wenn nicht der Johann schnell kommt, die Werkstatt zu, weil dir noch kein Mensch vertraut, und die Mutter geht mit den Mädeln in Taglohn"125

Danube-Swabian men exercise authority as fathers, as well. Though they take pride in their children and show affection toward them, they expect obedience from them. They do not participate in baby-tending, child care or household tasks. Children have to obtain parental approval for decisions regarding education, recreation, and even friendships. In this matter Danube-Swabian fathers are, it seems, closer to the Confucian Chinese than to the American family culture.

Even though the relationship between men and women in their societies is not equalitarian, the subordination of wife to husband does not interfere with the husband-wife

relationship or threaten the stability of families. In the ideal pattern of husband and wife relationships, then, the husband's distinctive role is that of the authoritarian head of the family who makes all decisions; the wife's role is to be submissive, retiring and uncritical of her husband. The more extended family circle toward which they are consistently oriented, as well as Catholic doctrine concerning marriage, support this.

The birth of children is a fulfillment of the companionable life of a couple. Despite the importance of children in these families, however, they are not child-centered. Children are being trained to give precedence to their elders. In Danube-Swabian families, marital relationships are strengthened by the parental responsibilities of husband and wife, since parental functions are considered an integral part of the marital relationship.

If problems arise when a couple has children, these usually are of an economic rather than of a family nature. Nuclear families are not isolated from relatives. Parents, grandparents, unmarried siblings, aunts and uncles are expected to be useful. While women relatives help with household and child care, men, if needed, assist the young husbands in their farming activities. As has already been pointed out, in times of emergency they can be counted on for labor or financial assistance.

The purpose of child-rearing and training in these extended families is not merely to provide children with a sense of dependence, but also to prepare them for the family tradition and to enhance family power and prestige. Even after their children are grown, neither parents, grandparents, nor other close members of the family look forward to a period of relaxation without involvement with their children. Wives and mothers do not seek jobs or outside activities.

Children are generally taught to be quiet, neat, respectful of their elders, well-mannered, thorough, and to be aware of life's realities. The daily life of children is almost totally devoted to school, chores, and homework, with few hours for play. Children imitate the adult functions of both parents in the context of family life. The boys are in close association with their father as he enacts his full role as an adult and the girls with their mother. Trudl, for example, is thrilled with the possession of a "Spinnrad" because it places her in a kind of apprentice relationship with her mother:

Sein Besitz war der höchste Stolz des jungen Mädchens. Man war ein Fratz, solange man keines hatte; das Spinnrad galt als das erste Zeichen der Reife. Mit dem Rad in der Hand erst trat man aus der Kinderstube, da erst winkte die Freiheit. Man durfte sich mit dem Spinnrad als Gast bei der Godl einladen, bei Basen und Freunden, und wenn man Fünfzehn zählte, winkte schon die abendliche Spinnreih. Das aber war die Freiheit.¹²⁶

Children can learn by observation not only the technical skills needed to manage a farm, but the more important general social skills, habits and attitudes that constitute an individual.

Just as there is an early and clear division of roles and functions between men, women, and children, so also the aged have a definite role and function in this society. Here again the role of the aged is determined by economics. The aged in this family structure are not apprehensive about their welfare, unless the whole family is impoverished. Respect for elders is taught to the very young and re-endorsed by respect for their authority because they have control over resources that influence the welfare of the young.

Care of the aging parents or grandparents is given when needed; and, if sacrifice is necessary, the younger generation makes it. At retirement the aging couple moves into a "Vorbehalthaus." "Für die Grosseltern wurde im Hofe, gegenüber dem Hauptgebäude, ein ähnliches Haus mit zwei Stuben und einer Küche dazwischen aufgeführt. Dort lebten sie im 'Vorbehalt' bis an das Ende ihrer Tage." 127

The self-respect of the old is not diminished when they go into "Vorbehalt." If hardships exist for the aging couple, they usually result from the economic insufficiency of the whole family rather than from the nature

of family organization, for the couple carefully considers their economic security "im Vorbehalt" before turning over the family property to the children. Kaspar Luckhaup is especially detailed in his requests:

Kaspar Luckhaup verlangte im Vorbehalt: Das alleinige Wohnrecht in einer Stube des Familienhauses, nach der Eltern Ableben aber das Vorbehaltshaus für sich allein bis zu seinem Tode. Hofrecht, Stallrecht, Kellerrecht, Brunnenrecht, Küchenrecht, nichts durfte in Zweifel bleiben. Für einen Wagen, zwei Pferde und zwei Stück Hornvieh forderte er den Platz und das Futter. Ein Alter, der immer beim Sohn bitten muss, dass man auch für ihn einmal einspanne, wollte er nicht werden. Zehn Kübel reinen Weizen und zehn Kübel Kukuruz (im Korn) mussten ihm nach jeder Ernte auf den Boden geliefert werden. Zwei Fass Wein, ein Fass Raki in den Keller. Vierhundert Stück Eier sind ihm nach Bedarf auszuliefern. Reichliches Futter für zwei Schweine, Stallreinigung durch die Knechte und der freie Gebrauch aller Wirtschaftsgeräte waren selbstverständlich.¹²⁸

Even in the care of the aged, family continuity is important. In order to foster this unity in the daily lives of the whole family, these families enjoy a very definite daily routine. It also is greatly influenced by agricultural conditons. Winter offers many hours of relative leisure in contrast to the hectic days of planting, tending crops, and harvesting. For example, sleeping and waking hours are directed by a set schedule during both seasons: "Um fünf läutete so wie sonst die Glocke zum Morgengebet und rief die Gemeinde auf zum Tagewerk."¹²⁹ Meals are always served punctually with no disruption tolerated: "Was denn das wäre, dass niemand kommt, es



habe schon Ave geläutet und das Nachtmahl stünde auf dem Tisch."¹³⁰ Even the family's living accommodations are uniform: "Neben dem Wohnzimmer lag die schöne Stube, in der die drei Töchter schliefen, während die Söhne ihre Betten in der Werkstatt hatten."¹³¹ The farmer's sons, on the other hand, in order to set an example for the hired hands, sleep in the barns with them.

Summarizing this chapter briefly we can say that the Danube-Swabian farmer had a deep love of land and a strong desire for the continuity of the traditional family holding. In his mind, therefore, the family as a group has a certain relative preeminence over the individual. This is reflected in the obligations of filial obedience which is geared to secure the perpetuity of the family. The family's status is largely acquired rather than achieved and the farmer is principally concerned with keeping it. Therefore, the Danube-Swabian family, as the most influential unit in the community, becomes the carrier of this traditional organization and a supporter of confining materialistic values. These sentiments and values are further made evident in the individual's role within the family as well as in his relationship with other members of the family.

CHAPTER V

THE COMMUNITY OF THE DANUBE-SWABIANS

Village Structure

The Danube-Swabian village community has the qualities of distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity and self-sufficiency. The quality of distinctiveness is one of "Dorfgeist," and, especially apparent to the outside observer, is expressed in the group consciousness of the people in the community. The Danube-Swabian community depicted in Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels is small. In most instances the population ranges from about two thousand to four thousand. The homogeneous characteristic of the village is reflected in the similar roles and attitudes of all persons in corresponding sex and age positions; the occupation and class position of one generation reflects that of the preceding. Lastly, it may be said that the Danube-Swabian community is self-sufficient in the sense that it is primarily agricultural and, therefore, provides for most of the activities and needs of the people in it.¹³²

These four qualities define a type of human community isolated to the outside world. ". . . jede Gemeinde

war eine Welt für sich geworden."¹³³ Community boundaries are limited. Directly beyond lies the unknown. The Danube-Swabian farmer is familiar with the outside world only through rumor. Therefore, the father of Johann Mergl in Der kleine Schwab is looked upon as the Columbus of the village because of his travels:

Er wurde angestaunt als der Kolumbus des Dorfes, wenn er oft erst nach zwei oder drei Wochen zurückkam und immer wieder neue Gegenden und grössere Städte gesehen hatte. Dass es in Siebenbürgen auch deutsche Leute gebe, sogenannte Sachsen, das berichtet er als erster den Schwaben des Banats.¹³⁴

If the Danube-Swabian countryside were studied, it would be seen that one village connects with another chiefly through trade, visits at weddings and harvest festivals, as well as through minor governmental duties and pilgrimages to shrines. The people who go to other villages or to the city to trade, do so generally as separate individuals. Such rather primitive trade activities are incidental to familial and community life. The only occasion when one finds whole groups relating to other villages along the countryside is in time of danger. In Die Glocken der Heimat, for example, the Luthern village of Josefsfeld aids the Catholic community of Karlsdorf during the flood:

Noch vor Abend rückten dreihundert Männer aus Josefsfeld ein und traten beim Donaudamm an. Es waren ernste, kernige Gestalten, die nicht viel redeten und sich an die bedrohten Punkte weisen liessen. Wie Werkleute mit Schaufeln

und Hauen und Beilen waren sie ausgerüstet, und jeder hatte seinen Tornister mit Lebensmitteln auf dem Rücken für ein paar Tage.

Auch ihr Pfarrer war mitgekommen und hatte im Karlsdorfer Pfarrhaus vorgesprochen . . .¹³⁵

Müller-Guttenbrunn continually alludes to the isolation of these villages by pointing out the differences in dialect from one village to the next. Georg Trauttmann in Götzendämmerung is especially aware of this situation:

Georg kam in viele Dörfer, die noch viel grösser, schöner und reicher waren als das seine. Er wunderte sich nur immer wieder über die Verschiedenheiten in der Mundart. Aus diesem Banater Schwäbisch klangen alle von der Etsch bis an den Main existierenden deutschen Dialekte an sein Ohr.¹³⁶

For the most part, the community tends to be endogamous, having a more or less homogeneous culture. Within the Danube-Swabian village, local community loyalty is strong. This is again especially apparent during the flood in Karlsdorf. After many inhabitants have died in an effort to save their soil, the community, out of necessity, disperses temporarily. However, they come together again in the near future:

Wohl löste sich die Gemeinde auf für einen Sommer, nur wenige Familien konnten zurückbleiben. Aber nach Amerika wollte keiner, dem noch ein Stück Feld gehörte unter dem Schlamm der Theiss. Und hätte er sein Vatererbe mit den Fingern aus diesem Schlamm hervorgraben müssen, preis gab er es nicht.

Als Knechte und Mägde mussten sich viele verdingen, als Schnitter in die grossen Schwabendörfer gehen, um sich das Brot zu



verdienen für dieses verlorene Jahr. Dann aber, wenn die Wasser dieser Sintflut wieder abgelaufen waren, dann wollten die alle, alle wiederkommen und ihr Lebenswerk von vorne beginnen.¹³⁷

Customs

Just as the Danube-Swabians form a part of a larger social order, the community, so they partake within this village community in one order of symbolic understandings, a system of customs, which concern the nature of human experience. The group consciousness of the community is expressed in such a system of customs. It consists of acts and ideas, of ceremonial and beliefs which fulfill several functions. Some of these acts and ideas are expressive, such as the displaying of symbolic objects for everyone to see at the occasion of a religious celebration or calendar feast. Such sets of acts and ideas also have a coping function: they serve as necessary relaxation, since the lives of the Danube-Swabians, filled with long hours of manual labor, are very intense. This system of customs also has moral significance. It upholds right action, determining the social ties which hold the community together. It aids in the management of tensions which arise in daily relations between and among men, and reinforces the sentiments upon which social progress rests. The folkways are the right ways to act, because they are traditional and, therefore, contain the authority

of ancestral ghosts. The "right" way is the way in which the ancestors acted and which had been handed down. Thus the folkways influence every sphere of community life.

Again and again in the novels, Müller-Guttenbrunn writes: "Das wollte die Überlieferung."¹³⁸

Although the Danube-Swabian people were originally mainly from Franconia, Alemania, Swabia, and Bavaria, where traditions varied greatly, the Danube-Swabian customs, unlike their language, are almost entirely unified. Because of their various origins, many regional mixtures exist in their customs, yet on the whole, the Palatine tradition seems to prevail.¹³⁹

Danube-Swabian customs help households strike a balance in their transactions with each and one another. They help create a balance between the interests of individual family units and those of the coalitions which tie the Danube-Swabians to the larger society, the community. Everywhere in the Danube-Swabian community, much ceremonial surrounds the formation of the life-cycle as well as numerous calendar events. Traditions of the life-cycle are especially characterized by baptism, wedding, and funeral¹⁴⁰ while calendar events include such festivities as "Klatta," "Metzlsupp'," "Spinnreih'," and "Kirweih."



Baptism

In the first category of traditions, the ceremonials at baptism have a definite function. At baptism, tradition binds the parents in the number and selection of the godparents. Two distinct traditions prevail: first, the mutual promise of good friends before marriage to baptize each others children; and second, and the most commonly, the selection of the godfather from the father's side, while the godmother is selected from the mother's side. Again familial ties are considered to be most important and usually have priority over friendship ties. The godfather, becomes the child's "best man" at marriage, while the godchild, in turn, carries the cross at the godfather's funeral.

The first child is usually named after the godparents, the second after the grandparents, and not until thereafter may the child receive the Christian name of either parent. Later children may be christened after their uncles and aunts. Many times the patron saint of the child's birthday is chosen.

"Die Sitte verlangt, dass ein Kind am Tage nach seiner Geburt getauft werde."¹⁴¹ The godparents, decorated with "Rosmarin"¹⁴² escort the child to Church. After the Church ceremony, the distribution of candy by the godparents while walking or riding through the streets of the village, is a prevalent custom. It is also a common

tradition for a newly baptized child to be escorted home with music, while the young men of the village fire their pistols as they do at a wedding; for is not the baptism meal called "Imbiss" or "kleine Hochzeit?"¹⁴³

Custom also demands that the child of an unwed mother be baptized in the evenings. "Was in die Dämmerung gehöre, soll man nicht ans Licht ziehen."¹⁴⁴ However, since the godmother of Liszka's baby in Die Glocken der Heimat is the "Herrische Pfarrers Juliska," the ancient custom of punishing innocent children is in this instance ignored:

Und so geschah das Unerhörte. Das Kind einer ledigen Mutter hatte nicht nur eine Godl gefunden im Dorfe, wie noch kein anderes, es wurde auch am hellen Vormittag zur Taufe getragen.¹⁴⁵

The godmother is bound by custom to carry prepared meals to the mother of the child, as long as the mother is recuperating. The godmother is also obliged to present the godchild with presents at Christmas and Easter, until the child completes school, and in some villages, until the child marries.

Wedding

Though tradition plays a significant role in the ceremony of baptism, it plays an even greater role at a wedding. Most Danube-Swabian weddings take place in the late summer until the feast of St. Catherine¹⁴⁶ in late



November, and during Shrovetide. Both periods are times of pleasure and rest from work. One can marry on any day of the week except on Friday which is considered an unlucky day.

Before the young man formally visits the parents of the bride, his godfather discusses with them the question of inheritance which we have seen plays a major role in the selection of a marriage mate. Once inheritance questions are settled, the father of the groom along with the groom's godfather visits the home of the bride. At this occasion and in the presence of both families, the young couple is called and questioned by the godfather about their marriage intentions. After their affirmation to his question, the young couple holds hands and are blessed by the godfather with holy water. The groom then gives the bride a jewel. The following Sunday, the couple visits the priest, and after their names have been announced once in Church, they are considered "Brautleute."

Immediately after the Church-prescribed engagement time, the wedding ceremony takes place. Its ritual has many similarities with the "Kirweih." Young bachelors, or the marriage witnesses, or in some cases even the bride and groom, appear as "wedding inviters." In their Sunday best, a hat decorated with flowers and ribbons, a twig of rosemary in their lapels, a wine bottle decorated with a red ribbon in their hands, the young men appear

at the homes of relatives and friends to invite them to the wedding. A "Rosmarinstrauss" is drawn with chalk on the door of all the guests by the inviters and everyone is requested to drink from the wine bottle. They are well received, in many cases too well, and many never reach the last house. The word nonetheless spreads rapidly.

The most detailed description of a wedding celebration is found in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder where Müller-Guttenbrunn carefully depicts the wedding of Weidmann's Kathl, daughter of a tradesman, and the young teacher Theiss, the son of a farmer. Müller-Guttenbrunn begins with a lengthy description of the preparations for the wedding feast. He describes the bride's and bridesmaids' visits escorted by music to the homes of relatives to collect dishes and silverware for the wedding feast. Food preparations for the feast are also enormous:

Berge von Kuchen wurden indessen gebacken, die Basen und Godeln brachten die Milch nur noch in Giesskannen, und der Franzl half den Mädeln aus der Freundschaft beim Butterstossen als wäre er Geselle in einer grossen Käserei geworden und nicht beim Meister Jakob. . . . Fremde Hühner und Pockerln und Gänse und Enten, die von den Eltern der Schulkinder aus Neu- und Altrosenthal gespendet wurden, lärmten im Hof der Frau Eva, als wüssten sie, was sie hier zusammenführte, als ahnten sie, dass sie sämtlich auf dem Opferaltar dieser Hochzeit gebraten werden sollten. Auch Kälber und Spanferkel fanden sich ein, die nicht im Hause geboren waren, und der Vetter Michel wetzte schon sein Messer.¹⁴⁷

Although on most occasions the wedding feast is held at the village inn, here the reception is held at the bride's home. The house, to prepare it properly for the occasion, is completely cleaned from top to bottom and everything is arranged to perfection.

When the wedding day finally arrives, the guests are greeted with the utmost hospitality at the home of the bride:

Es kamen die Ehrengäste jeder schwäbischen Hochzeit, die Paten und Godeln. Die hellen Kranzeljungfern strömten ins Haus, und es kamen ihre Buben, denen sie Sträusse auf die Hüte gemacht hatten wie zur Kirweih. Und der Hochzeitsvater Theiss, ein behäbiger kinderreicher Bauer, brachte den Bräutigam und übergab ihn der Braut. Die Vettern und Basen folgten in grosser Zahl, Paar um Paar trat an, und die Musikanten warteten schon vor dem Tore draussen. Und der Zug ordnete sich im Hofe.¹⁴⁸

Müller-Guttenbrunn then continues his detailed description of the Danube-Swabian wedding by specifically illustrating the various traditions both before Church and during the Church service which make up the conventional Danube-Swabian wedding:

Als die Braut auf der Schwelle erschien, mit dem goldnen Kranz im Haar, wie ein Bild, wie eine Königin des Dorfes, da leuchteten ihr alle Augen entgegen. Die Brautführer und die Hochzeitsbuben umringten sie und geleiteten sie an die Spitze des Zuges. Die Kranzeljungfern aber nahmen den Bräutigam in ihre Mitte. Und die Musik setzte ein, sie schritt dem Zug voran und blies ihre lieben alten Weisen. Es war ernste, wehmütig Volksliedmusik und ernst und still verhielten sich die Gäste auf dem Weg zur Kirche. . . . Der Dechant Schuh erwartete das Brautpaar vor dem erleuchteten Hochaltar. Er nahm den

Rosmarinstrauss der Braut als Sinnbild ihrer Jungfräulichkeit entgegen, stellte ihn auf den Altar und vollzog die Trauung mit einer eindrucksvollen Rede an das Paar und seine Gäste.¹⁴⁹

The gay festivities after the Church service are also described in full detail. Here Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates the most typical Danube-Swabian customs at weddings, such as stealing the bride, stealing the bride's shoe for auction, and pouring salt into the guests' desert:

Man durfte Juhu schreien auf dieser Hochzeit und allen Schnabernack treiben, der üblich war. Man durfte dem Bräutigam die Braut stehlen und sie an den Tisch der Buben setzen. Man durfte dort der Braut unter dem Tisch den Schuh vom rechten Fuss stehlen und für die Musikanten versteigern. Und wer ihn erstand, dem gehörte der erste Tanz mit ihr. Man durfte selbst den Ehrengästen den süssen Griessbrei bei Tisch versalzen, und es gab keine schiefen Gesichter, kurzum, es war keine herrische Hochzeit, wie man befürchtet hatte, es wurden keine Quadrillen getanzt, sondern Ländler und Polka und Hopser. Juhu, es war halt eine schwobische Hochzeit! Und sie dauerte nicht bis nach dem "Teschönee," wie die des Baron Schundi, sie dauerte drei Tage. Und was gegessen und getrunken wurde, ging in keine Scheune.¹⁵⁰

Yet in the midst of this merry-making, the serious thought of the new obligations of the young couple are never forgotten. At midnight of the first wedding day, the new role of the bride as wife is demonstrated in a ceremony called "Braut-Abbind-Tanz." At this time her crown is removed from her head and a kerchief is placed on it. This ceremony, performed before all the wedding guests, symbolizes the end of the bride's maidenhood and

her willingness to accept her new role as wife and future mother.

"Klatta"

Not only does tradition play a major role in the formation of the Danube-Swabian life cycle, but it also influences numerous calendar events. The Danube-Swabian farmer participates in a custom called "Klatta," which may be regarded as the equivalent of the German "Arbeitsgesellschaft."¹⁵¹ In Müller-Guttenbrunn's novel, Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, the newly married couple Anmerich and Philipp resort to this custom to achieve their own home. This particular assistance is given without expectation of financial remuneration:

Jeder freiwillige Helfer erhielt beim Abschied seinen Händedruck, sein "Vergelt's Gott!" Und er durfte mit der Gegenleistung rechnen, sobald er sie nötig hatte. Das war noch gute Kolonistenart, überkommen aus fernen Tagen und mit Treue festgehalten. Für Geld war solche Hilfe nicht feil, bezahlte Bauarbeiter gab es nicht. Und wer hatte die Zeit, sich einem Hausbau länger zu widmen? Keiner. Man geizte sich nur zwischen den Feldarbeiten im Frühling und Herbst die knapp bemessenen Tage an für solch ein Werk. Und wenn hundert willige Hände zugriffen, da war es bald getan.¹⁵²

Although the building of a new home is usually a family enterprise operated largely on familistic principles, friends and neighbors also assist. To participate in "Klatta" is an honor to the Danube-Swabian farmer as well as to the tradesman. The work performed there is of the

highest quality. Labor is freely contributed with great enthusiasm and merrymaking:

Und es herrschte ein fröhliches Treiben unter allen Teilnehmern, die um Gotteslohn arbeiteten. Jede Mahlzeit war ein Fest. Oft musste für die Jugend im Hofe gedeckt werden, so viele Leute waren da. Und in der Küche stand jetzt auch die Frau Eva neben ihrer Anmerich und die Kathl und ihre Freundinnen spülten in der Press', wo ein grosser Kessel geheizt war, Geschirr und putzten Esszeug. Zu dem Geklapper aber sangen sie Lieder und G'stanzeln.¹⁵³

After the "Klatta" the Danube-Swabian host has a celebration, according to his financial ability, as a sign of his gratitude:

Draussen aber liess jetzt eine Ziehharmonika vernehmen. Und der Philipp nahm seine Anmerich sogleich um den fraulichen Leib. Man eilte hinüber und tanzte in der kaum gedielten schönen Stube das neue Haus ein mit der jungen Frau. Sie musste jedem der Männer einen Tanz gewähren, aber sie schwangen sie alle so vorsichtig, so gehutsam, als wäre sie aus Glas.¹⁵⁴

This custom not only serves to improve economic conditions, but also establishes close familial and community ties.

"Metzlsupp'"

In the fall, the Danube-Swabian farmer and tradesman participate in another custom referred to as "Metzlsupp'." This is the occasion when animals are butchered for the family's annual meat, sausage and lard supply. Just as the custom "Klatta," this is mainly a familial activity, yet friends and neighbors are also called upon to assist: "Dass die ganze Familie an

solchen Tagen zusammenhalf, die ganze Freundschaft, das war selbstverständlich."¹⁵⁵

Again this is not merely an occasion for work, but for great festivity as well. The "Metzlsupp'" at Haffnersphillip in Die Glocken der Heimat is the best description of this feast:

Schon zum Gabelfrühstück ass man die gesottenen Nieren der geschlachteten Tiere und trank jungen Raki dazu. Mittags gab es Gebratenes, und abends war das grosse Festmahl: die "Metzlsupp'" mit frischen Würsten und Schweinernem in allen Formen. Da kamen die geladenen Gäste. Es gab sogar Krapfen, und vom Wein, der in Strömen während des ganzen Tages floss, kam jetzt der beste und feinste. Zuletzt traten wohl auch ein paar Musikanten an, und es wurde getanzt. Eine Geige, eine Klarinette und eine Ziehharmonika genügten für den Sautanz.¹⁵⁶

Not only is this custom a sign of gaiety, but also one of prestige in the community:

Jeder der kam, wünschte Glück ins Haus; denn jeder wusste, was das bedeutet, vier Schweine auf diese Höhe gebracht, das heisst "gut geschlachtet" zu haben. Es war der Ruhm der Hausfrau.¹⁵⁷

"Spinnreih'"

Of the old German traditions, the Danube-Swabian women are especially successful in observing one in particular: "die Spinnreih'." This is a special form of the old German custom called "der Mai." The German feast consists of women either spinning or knitting entire days together in the winter time. In the evenings their

husbands would come for them, and often "der Mai" would end with an improvised "Hausball."

The Danube-Swabian "Spinnreih" is, according to Müller-Guttenbrunn, the essence of winter village life. The hemp which had been raised in the summer is now spun into cloth by the women and girls. Evenings after dinner, they gather together in their homes, taking turns, thereby, the name "Spinnreih'." On these occasions they spin until ten or eleven o'clock in the evening.

Among the women and girls, preparation for this activity is great during the winter months:

Die Männer lungerten auf der Ofenbank herum und liessen sich's wohl sein, denn man hatte gut geschlachtet, . . . Den Weibern ging es weniger gut, sie spannen sich die Finger wund. Wenn eine sich am Morgen den Rocken ihres Spinnrades voll Hanf anlegte, musste er vor Abend heruntergesponnen sein, den ehe man in die Spinnreih ging, hiess es einen neuen Rocken anlegen und lerre Spulen haben. Jeder Augenblick des Tages, an dem nichts anderes zu schaffen war, gehörte dem Rad. Sein leises Surren erfüllte alle Stuben, kein weibliches Wesen lebte, dessen Fuss nicht ein Spinnrad drehte.¹⁵⁸

In the evenings at the "Spinnreih'" the women continue to spin industrially, many times even in competition, yet they also find time for relaxation and amusement. Later in the evenings on many occasions they would be joined by their husbands, and thus, as a social group, they would entertain themselves singing, eating popcorn and carrying on all sorts of little pranks. A good

illustration of these fun-filled activities in the Spinnreih which takes place at the home of Susi in Die Glocken der Heimat:

Und bei der Susi ging es lebhafter zu als bei der Bas' Bärbl. Lauter junge Frauen, keine war länger als drei oder vier Jahre verheiratet, und in den Männern, die sich um Jörgl versammelt hatten, lebte noch der ganze Übermut der grossen Buben. Sie neckten die Frauen, rissen einer besonders fleissigen den Faden ab oder gossen ihr heimlich Wein in den kleinen Blechnapf, der zur Benetzung der Finger an jedem Spinnrad hing, und trieben allerlei Schnabernack.¹⁵⁹

Just as there is a definite social structure within the community, so also the "Spinnreih" is divided by tradition into different groups for the purpose of segregating the village into various social classes:

Jede Gasse hat ihre Reih'; ist sie lang, auch zwei und drei. Und alle Altersstufen sind streng geschieden. Die Grossmütter, die Mütter, die jungen Frauen, die grossen Mädchen und die kleinen, die der Schule entwachsen aber noch nicht mannbar sind; jede Schichte hat ihre eigene Spinnreih'. Und die Sitte verbietet es, dass ein verheirateter Mann zu den Ledigen, ein Lediger zu den Verheirateten kommt. Wer diese Ordnung durchbricht, kann die schönsten Prügel haben.¹⁶⁰

In this rigid division there is even a "Spinnreih" for unwed mothers. Litzka, in Die Glocken der Heimat, after her misfortune becomes acquainted with this particular one:

Und sie ging in diese Reih'. Der erste Schritt war recht schmerzlich gewesen; aber als sie sah, wie gut sie aufgenommen wurde, und wie wohl ihr die Ansprache tat, war ihr kein Weg mehr zu weit; denn das war ja nicht die Reih' von Nachbarstöchtern einer bestimmten Gasse; zu

ihr gehörten elf ledige Mütter, die im ganzen Dorf zerstreut wohnten. Nur das starke Bedürfnis der Schwäbinnen nach Geselligkeit hielt diese Reih' zusammen.¹⁶¹

"Kirweih"

Of all the calendar activities, the Danube-Swabian "Kirweih" offers the greatest ceremonies of the year. This festivity, which in most communities is celebrated after "Maria Geburt," has a twofold significance. First, it is the feast of the patron saint of the Church, and therefore, is always held on the Sunday after the holy day of the patron saint; and secondly, it also serves as a harvest feast, although this aspect of the feast seems almost forgotten.

Whatever a Danube-Swabian village is able to produce in the way of pomp, food, and drink, is produced on this occasion. "Es wurde in allen Häusern gebuttert, gebacken und gebraten, als gelte es eine Hochzeit für dreitausend Paare zu bereiten, zu der das ganze Banat eingeladen wäre."¹⁶²

In general, the traditions of the "Kirweih" vary little from village to village. Such traditions as the "Kirweihstrauss," the "Kirweihbaum," the dance around the tree and the barrel, the auctioning of the decorated hat and the scarf, and general merry-making are common to all "Kirweih" celebrations.

The celebration of the three day Danube-Swabian "Kirweih" described in great detail in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, proceeds in the following manner: Saturday afternoon the young men of the village start the festivities by digging up the buried wine bottle, the "Kirweih," of the previous year in front of the village inn. Christof Luckhaup, who has paid the greatest sum toward "Kirweih" expenses, is the "Vortänzer" and thus presides. Symbolically he hangs the oak wreath on the sign of the inn and begins with great ceremony the traditional "Kirweih" verses.¹⁶³ After opening the festivities with this rather lengthy speech, Christof is escorted home with music. "Es war ja schon dunkel geworden und die Kirweihfreiheit hatte begonnen."¹⁶⁴

The next morning the activities start with the young school lads, boys between eight and ten, delivering hats decorated with ribbons by the girls to their respective partners. The excitement heightens as the "Kirweihbuben" organize to march to Church:

Sobald die Glocken läuteten, begann der feierliche, farbige Aufzug zur Kirche, tausend einheimische und fremde Zuschauer guckten aus allen Fenstern, sämtliche kleine Buben und Mädeln waren hinterher. Die Schützen präsentierten das Gewehr, und die Musik, die vor der Kirche seitlich Aufstellung genommen hatte, blies mit vollen Backen bis der letzte der Buben durch die Kirchentür eingetreten war. Und heute gehörte ihnen der Mittelgang, nicht das Chor, so wie sonst. Und vor ihnen, fast bis zum Altar gedrängt, standen die Mädchen in hellen duftigen Kleidern.¹⁶⁵

With the beginning day of "Kirweih," the whole Danube-Swabian community is oriented toward hospitality:

Auf Gastfreundschaft war heute das ganze Schwabendorf gestellt, die Türen aller Keller und aller Speisekammern standen offen, wer immer kam, er war willkommen. Und wo eine Haustochter einen Kirweihstrauss gemacht hatte, da gab ein Besucher dem anderen die Tür in die Hnad.¹⁶⁶

The "Kirweihbuben," escorted with music, separate and make the rounds of all the homes in the village. Everywhere they are welcomed and everyone drinks from their wine bottle until it is empty whereupon it is immediately refilled. At each home people also purchase a raffle ticket for the raffle on the hat and the scarf. The money is gladly given to the "Kirweihbub" to help pay for the expenses of the festivities. Finally each "Kirweihmensch" arrives at the home of his "Kirweihmensch" where he dines and is allowed to rest. Everywhere there is a spirit of merriment:

"Juhu! Juhu!" tobte es durch die Gassen. Und die Musik, der die kleine Welt, so weit sie schon laufen konnte, folgte wie dem Rattenfänger, schwang ihre alten deutschen Liedertänze über alle Dächer. Bald nah, bald fern erfüllte sie die Luft des Dorfes mit den Wellen süsser Weisen. Wenn sie einen frischen fröhlichen Schleifer blies und man die Augen schloss, konnte man sehen, wie das ganze Dorf, selbst der Kirchturm und das Pfarrhaus, ihn mittanzten. Namentlich wenn man schon aus einigen Kirweihflaschen getrunken hatte, sah man es ganz deutlich.¹⁶⁷

The dance floor for the evening is the street in front of the big inn. The hat and the silk scarf which are to be auctioned off hang on the shingle of the inn.

In the middle of the dance floor, the "Kirweihbaum" and a beautiful old wine barrel inscribed with many old verses, are the main attraction. First the "Kirweihstrauss" is auctioned off. Here the Danube-Swabian generosity is overwhelming. The person who pays the highest price is accorded the first dance, whereupon he and his partner dance with great pride holding the "Kirweihstrauss" in their hands.

After the scarf and the hat are auctioned off, the dance begins with the Vortänzer, Christof, who dances three times around the barrel with Susi, then the rest of the couples are allowed to join in. Even the hours for dancing are strictly regulated by tradition:

Das war nun einmal die Ordnung. Bis neun Uhr tanzte das ledige Jungvolk, dann traten die Verheirateten an. Die Weiber konnten die Stunde kaum erwarten. Sie trugen ihre Haare unter einem seidenen Kopftuch, waren in dunkle Farben gekleidet, alles sittsam bis zum Hals geschlossen, man sah, wie bei den Nonnen, nichts von ihnen als die Gesichter. Aber auf Hochzeiten, Bällen und Kirweih, da tanzten die sich los von der Kette. Bis Mitternacht gehörte heute der Tanzsaal ihnen, nicht eine Minute früher liessen sie eine Ledige in ihre Reihen. Die hatten ja jetzt eine andere Freude, Hm! Sie sollten schon schauen, dass sie weiterkämen.¹⁶⁸

While the older generation dances, the "Kirweihbuben" are allowed to escort their "Kirweihmensch" home. Tradition demands that they are not to be disturbed in the course of the next three hours during which time the couple wines and dines at the girls home. After three

days of such festivities and freedom, to the tunes of a funeral dirge the "Kirweih" ends with the burial of the wine bottle of the "Vortänzer" for the following year.

Interaction

The Danube-Swabian ceremonial is designed to bring the various members of the community together. These traditions function to make the Danube-Swabian village community a relatively homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning and well-integrated community made up of contented and well adjusted people. These festivities confirm the sense of interdependence and affirm the rules governing it. Although Müller-Guttenbrunn places the emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying festivities, he also points out the underlying individualism of the Danube-Swabian character. The conflicts existing in the village along with certain qualities of violence, fear, envy and distrust are recognized by the author. He continually points out that gossip was unrelenting and harsh. This is especially apparent after the arrest of Susi: "So ausgiebig waren die bösen Mäuler schon lange nicht auf ihre Kosten gekommen. Wie die Windmühlen, in die ein frischer Ost gefahren, arbeiten sie."¹⁶⁹

Relatives and neighbors are quick to believe the worst and motives are being questioned. After Susi gives

birth to an illegitimate child, she has to seek refuge away from home:

Ihr erschien alles willkommen, was sie ihrer Freundschaft und Nachbarschaft für einige Zeit aus den Augen brachte. Mit Schmerz dachte sie an die Hochzeit der Anmerich, mit Schrecken an die winterliche Spinnreih ihrer Freundinnen, die sie werde meiden müssen, und in der sie der Gegenstand aller Spott- und Stachelreden sein werde. Wenn sie's bedachte, war schon der Gedanke eine Wohltat, an das andere Ende des Dorfes kommen zu können, in eine Krankenstube, die einen Vorwand abgab für ihr Verschwinden.¹⁷⁰

Here at the other side of town, Susi lives an isolated existence. Only now and then will she be visited by her family:

Es drang kein Laut von daheim zu ihr. Nur die Anmerich war heute gekommen. Um sie zu trösten war sie gekommen und um nachzusehen, wie es ihr ginge. Aber auch sie wählte die Dämmerstunde für diesen Weg.¹⁷¹

Successful persons are popular targets of envy and criticism. The front of Church before Mass is the scene of this malicious gossip:

Hier gab es manchen angenehmen Sonntagsdiskurs, man hörte manches, sah und wurde gesehen. Verliebte Blicke, Grüsse und Zurufe wurden ausgetauscht, aber auch Spott gab es und Missgunst, Neid und Schadenfreude.¹⁷²

Open quarrels, disputes, and even violence are characteristic traits in these villages. For example, in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder the long standing feud between Anna and Susi flares up in the public square:

Als die Susi mittags zum Brunnen ging um frisches Wasser, fuhr auch die Anna mit einem Krug aus ihrem Haus heraus und kam zum Brunnen. Sie war ziemlich struwlig, der Einfall musste ihr plötzlich gekommen sein. Wie eine Wildkatze fauchte sie die Susi, die schon schöpfte, vor den versammelten Mädchen an. "Guckt se an, des is des Mensch von mei'm Mann. Jetzt möcht's 'n gern nomol haun. Sie hot mit ei'm Bankert nit ganung!"

Die Frau war grün und gelb vor Gift und Galle, ihre Rede übersprudelte sich.

Der Susi schlugen die Worte wie Peitschenhiebe ins Gesicht, aber sie fasste sich. "Zoddelbock!" sagte sie, voll Verachtung die dürftige Gestalt messend. "Wann m'r ein rare Vogel g'fange hot, derno gibt m'r halt besser acht uf 'n. Mer sperrt 'n halt ein, dass er ei'm bei der Nacht nit auskimmt."

"Du Luder!" schrie die Anna, fassungslos über diesen Hohn.

Da ergriff die Susi den schweren Brunneneimer und schüttete ihr den ganzen Inhalt über den Kopf, so dass sie taumelte und nach Luft schnappte.¹⁷³

The older generation frequently laments the changes that have occurred in their lives and criticize their children for their disobedience: ". . . Awer die Jugend folgt nit. Sie folgt nit in der Schul, nit in der Kerch und nit im Elternhaus. Sie werd erscht g'scheit, wann se sich da Kopp or'ntlich a'garennt hot."¹⁷⁴

Strangers to the community are judged with suspicion until proved innocent. Even a native son, Trauttmann, is regarded in a suspicious manner upon his return to his native village after many long years in America.

"Was gibt's?" fragte sie jetzt. Und ohne die Antwort des Fremden abzuwarten, fügte sie hart hinzu: "Wir brauchen gar nichts. Es waren heunt schon drei Agenta doo. 's is a Kreuz, wie m'r überlaafa werd'."¹⁷⁵

Yet perhaps the best example of this distrust of strangers is illustrated when Johann returns with a bride from Germany:

. . . sie hielten ihm teils offen, teils versteckt seine herrische Frau vor. Die passe doch nicht hieher. Und als er am Sonntag seiner Rosa so gar nicht dorfmässig den Arm reichte und sie in die Kirche geleitete, da verspielte er seine Partie bei den Weibern des Dorfes vollends. Sie stellte ihren städtischen Modebettel zur Schau, die Krinoline und den Federhut, und sie legte sogar Handschuhe an. Das setzte ein Gerede! Die herrische Frau will ihm die Wirtschaft führen? "Ja, kann die Kukuruz und Kartoffel hacke? Kann die im Wingert schaffe? Die gehört doch in kein Dorf! Hat der Johann das alles vergessen? Die richte ihn doch zugrunde, wenn sie als Handwerkersfrau die Gnädige spiele." "Wird er die Säu füttern und die Küh' melke?" fragte die eine. "Wird er im Winter spinne?" eine andere. Sie lachten sich krank über den verrückten Johann und sein herrisches Weib. Warum er denn nicht geblieben sei, wo er war? Die gehöre in eine Stadt. Und das war auch die Meinung der Mutter Eva. Auch sie erblickte in dieser Frau das eigentliche Unglück des Johann.¹⁷⁶

The Danube-Swabian community can, therefore, hardly be said to have had a Rousseauan quality, however successful it may have been in satisfying the material and spiritual needs of its members. Objective appraisal of the Danube-Swabian village in Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels reveals basic strains and tensions in interpersonal relationships. Economic disputes and particularly land quarrels are advanced most frequently as the causes of such discord. Siblings relations, after the abdication or death of parents, are characterized by feuds over land division and other items of inheritance.

Although it is the custom for the oldest son to inherit the homestead, Frau Eva out of necessity gives the shop to her second son immediately after her husband's death. Her oldest son, Johann, after going abroad during his apprenticeship, has lost communication with the family. So, several years later, when Johann returns, expecting the property, a definite break between the two brothers occurs:

Jakob und Johann aber sprachen sich gründlich miteinander aus. Nicht sehr brüderlich. Sie überschrien sich derart, dass alle Weiber im Hof sich zusammenfanden, die Mutter, die Gertrud, die Kathl und die Herrische mit ihren Kindern. Die Werkstatt zu betreten wagte keine, auch nicht die Mutter Eva, der die Tränen über die Wangen rollten. . . .

"Einen Landstreicher hat er mich gehiessen. Komm, wir gehen. Aber nicht fort aus Rosenthal, o nein! Wir werden uns Quartier im Grossen Wirtshaus nehmen oder beim Herbergsvater Wagner. Dort bleiben wir, bis das Gericht mir zu meinem Recht verholfen. Der Landstreicher wird's euch schon zeigen. Alle müsst ihr aus dem Haus hinaus, mir gehört es. Mir allein."177

Many serious problems are created by their love for material goods, especially for land. It is believed that any visible success on the part of one family, jeopardizes the welfare of other families. The basis for this harsh competition is the economic fact that the amount of land is limited. Also, even though the Danube-Swabians are interested in expanding productive techniques, their isolation limits them in these expansions. Though they are eager to progress in areas of technology, even here

they are still cautious: "Die Bauern hielten auch nicht viel von der neuen Erfindung. . . . sie trauten den Dampfwagen nicht recht. Mit solcher Eile hatten sie erst recht nichts zu schaffen."¹⁷⁸ Consequently, production is constant: it could not be increased by the family's labors, unless new and improved techniques became available and were accepted. In each village, tradition determines approximately what each family's share of this fertile land would be. The results are obvious: if a family is seen to make progress, naturally it would have to be at the expense of others. The Danube-Swabians feel that the traditional division of land is being threatened. By looking at the Danube-Swabian economy in this fashion it is easier to comprehend why members of the small community are suspicious of prominent families. Thus, the interpersonal relations in the society are a logical result of prevailing economic factors.

Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates both the positive and negative aspects of community interrelationships. The positive aspects are exemplified in their most important life-cycle and calendar traditions. If the customs seem rather limited in number, it is due to the fact that the Danube-Swabians in their isolated positions adhered mainly to the traditions of the old country. In their early struggle for survival, they were interested only in the barest essentials.

"Friendliness" and "overwhelming generosity" are the words which summarize the relationships fostered by these traditions. They constitute a set of mutual obligations between families of the community. Even though at times they concern economic activities, they are never motivated purely by these activities, but rather by sentiments which range the full gamut of the Danube-Swabian personality. They give for the pleasure of giving, asking nothing in return. These traditions are the basis for the coordination of the community's activities. The negative aspects of the interpersonal relations in the Danube-Swabian community, unlike the traditions, are a logical correlate of prevailing economic factors. Yet like the traditions, these negative aspects are also very much alive and leave their traces on the social structure of the Danube-Swabian community.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

In the Danube-Swabian community religion is an implicit endorsement of custom. For the Danube-Swabian individual, religion puts its stamp on the entire process of socialization. Socialization is marked by religious rituals at crucial times in the life-cycle, such as birth and marriage. Personality growth is closely related to religious values, which are handed on directly to the developing youngster by family and community. In such a society religious values furnish the main focus for the integration of the individual's behavior and the formation of his self-image both within the family and the community.

In most villages in Banat a single religious organization, the Catholic Church, represented the Danube-Swabian community.¹⁷⁹ It was a separate and distinct organization with its own personnel. In Hungary, at this time, the institution of government was in the process of development and simultaneously a potential rival of the Church as a central point for the integration and stabilization of the Danube-Swabian community. All this is

reflected in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn, directly and indirectly.

As political and religious organizations develop, conflicts of interest become apparent. Each organization on its own level makes demands on the individual members of the society. Even though religion is distinctively a sacred factor dealing with divine relationships, it is also a part of human associations. Its functions, therefore, cannot be kept altogether distinct from those of the political organization. Division and conflicts are bound to occur. So it was also with the Catholic Church in Hungary.

In order to understand the unique position of the Church in Hungary at this time, it is necessary to examine briefly the political and religious history of the Danube-Swabians. In his historical trilogy, Von Eugenius bis Josephus, Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates how the Danube-Swabian homeland was colonized and ruled by Austria, even after this area was incorporated into Hungary in 1779. In 1867, however, the Hungarian government attempted to take over the complete control of these people. With a gradually accelerating force, the Hungarian regime had as its ultimate goal the complete assimilation of the Danube-Swabians.

The factors that contributed to the destruction of nationalistic sentiments among the Danube-Swabians

date back to the 1848-1849 Revolution, for through the efforts of the Revolution, the colonists were made free farmers and were on an equal social level with the rest of the citizens. From then on the political attitude of the Danube-Swabians slowly changed. Up to now they had lived an isolated existence, separated along with the Rumanians and Serbians, from the Hungarians under the rule of the "Temeswarer Landesadministration." Now the Danube-Swabians turned toward Hungarian rule, for they envisioned social freedom in the "Nationalitätengesetz" of 1868. Unfortunately, however, this law was never enforced. In the meantime, many German intellectuals were won over to the Hungarian cause, because the Hungarians opened many official posts to them. On social occasions, the Hungarian language became amongst them more and more a necessity. At first rule and jurisdiction of these people was under the supervision of the "Vereinheitlichungspolitik." But since the political authority was not able to penetrate completely the lives of the Danube-Swabian people, the Hungarians sought to gain control of the tools of literacy and education.

The Danube-Swabian community was not opposed to this move by the government. Since the maintainance of the schools was a definite financial burden, they being chiefly interested in their material profits, surrendered the institutions to the Hungarian state. The state also

made use of the Hungarian language as an instrument of appeal, for through proficiency in the language, prestige and power were readily attainable.¹⁸⁰ On and below the surface everything was oriented toward the total integration of all nationalities into one.

Most Hungarian officials understood German and could not avoid speaking German in the presence of the Danube-Swabian people; yet after 1867, more and more cases occurred where Danube-Swabians were rudely treated by Hungarian officials. Also a higher position or office was no longer easily accessible to a Danube-Swabian; this could only be obtained by changing one's name into Hungarian. So, by the turn of the 19th century, the German language was almost completely banished from government offices and schools. Officially it was recognized only in the army and the Church. The importance of the German language in the army was rather insignificant, since only a small segment of the male population entered the service serving only for brief periods of time.

Its significance, however, was of marked importance in the Church. The written transactions within the Church were carried on in the language of the state; yet from the pulpit the Church spoke exclusively in the language of the people.¹⁸¹ The priest and people prayed and sang in German on all Church occasions. Religious instruction was given not only in religious and community schools, but also

promoted in state schools under the "Apponyischen Volksschulgesetz." Even though government aid was, therefore, withheld from these institutions, most priests waived all claims to this financial support and taught in the language of the people according to Church regulations. The sacrifice was indeed great, since the stipend of the priests in the Danube-Swabian communities was in most instances small. Therefore, the ecclesiastical, just as the secular Danube-Swabian officials, found themselves in a political dilemma.

In Church, the German language, in most instances, was awarded a high position. The statutes written for the education of young clerics by Bishop Alexander Csayághy in 1854 at the Temeswarer Seminary, stated:

Weil in unserer Diözese die Kenntniss mehrerer Sprachen eine unbedingte Notwendigkeit ist, so schreiben wir vor, dass die Alumnen an Sonn- und Feiertagen darin unterrichtet werden. Namentlich verlangen wir--und davon gibt es keine Dispens--dass jeder Alumne wenigstens zwei in diesem Bistum gebräuchliche Landessprachen vollkommen beherrsche, was vorzüglich von der deutschen Sprache gilt, die ja vor den übrigen die erste Stelle einnimmt. Wir werden keinem die Hände auflegen, der es im Laufe der theologischen Studien nicht dahin gebracht hat, dass er den geistlichen Obliegenheiten in zwei Sprachen der Diözese zu Genüge leisten kann.¹⁸²

Within the intent of this decree, the clerical members of the Seminary who could not speak German, had to learn it in an especially arranged course at the Seminary. Annually a certain number of priests were even sent to Vienna and

Innsbruck to complete their studies. And finally, the precedent of sending priests of German origin into German communities further illustrated the profound desire of the Church to foster the mother tongue of its people.¹⁸³

Yet, the role of the Church as protector and last refuge of the German language in Hungary, was not universal. Unfortunately, not all priests were for the German cause.¹⁸⁴ In Götzendämmerung, for example, Müller-Guttenbrunn attacks the Church officials, illustrating that in the city of Temeschwar, the Church had come under complete Hungarian domination:

An den Kirchentüren fand er bischöfliche
Kundmachungen für die Gläubigen angeschlagen,
die er nicht verstand. Das tut die Kirche? . . .
Er schlug sein Reisebuch nach, welches die
offiziellen Volkszählungsergebniss pro 1900
enthielt: In der Stadt lebten 27.051 Deutsche
und nur 17.864 Bewohner, die sich als "Ungarn"
bekennen. Der Bischof richtet sein Wort also
nur mehr an die Minderheit, er hat die
Deutschen aufgegeben . . . Angekältet verliess
Georg die Stätte seiner ersten religiösen
Erinnerungen. Und ein deutsches Dichterwort
summte ihm im Ohr:

'Ihr selber treibt die Besten fort
Von unserer Kirchen Pforte,
Lehrt ihr mit unverständlichem Wort
Die allverständlichen Worte.'¹⁸⁵

Again in Die Glocken der Heimat, Müller-Guttenbrunn feels that the Church is politically opposed to the Danube-Swabians: "Nur der Bauer weiss noch, dass er ein Deutscher ist; die aus ihm hervorgegangene Intelligenz ist angefault; die voks fremde Kirche, die ungarische Schule hat sie verdorben."¹⁸⁶

Müller-Guttenbrunn is also highly critical of his village priest. The author feels that the latter should have been more active in guiding his people politically and he expresses this opinion at the occasion of the priest's departure:

Der Nachbar Hellebrand hatte sich an Georg angeschlossen. "Der Parra war oft schwach," sagte er, "aber heunt hat er's ehna (ihnen) doch g'saat . . . Die G'sichter, die se g'macht häwe, die Herrischa!" Und nach einer langen Pause, da Georg gar nichts erwiderte, fügte Hellebrand hinzu: "Vor zeen Johr hätt' er sau (so) redda müssa!

Dieses Gefühl hatte auch Georg. Spät, allzu spät war das Herz ihm aufgegangen. Was hätte der Mann als Präses des Schulstuhles und als Herr der Kirche nicht alles verhindern können, wenn er ein Kämpfer gewesen wäre. Aber der war er nicht. Und so bröckelte vieles ab von dem alten Bau, den er einst unversehrt übernommen hatte.¹⁸⁷

Müller-Guttenbrunn further points out that even in the selection of names for children at baptism, the Church is governed by the Hungarian regime:

In dem Matrikelfolianten lag das vom ungarischen Kultusministeriums herausgegebene Verzeichnis all jener deutschen Taufnamen, deren Übersetzung ins Madjarische möglich war. Und jeder Pfarrer wusste, dass er dahin zu wirken habe, dass nur diese Namen von der Bevölkerung gewählt würden.¹⁸⁸

According to Müller-Guttenbrunn, not only do the Church officials fail the Danube-Swabians politically, but also spiritually. He feels that the task of the clergy is the work of relating the farmer's and tradesman's religious perceptions to the daily practices of the total society. He demonstrates that the task of the

clergy cannot be completely fulfilled because of the innate aspect of the Catholic Church to remain aloof from its people. Even if at times the Danube-Swabian's religion and the priest's religion intersect, they respond to different needs and processes. The farmer as well as the tradesman is preoccupied by the demands of his narrow and rigid social system; the priest responds to broader demands and envisions wider social relationships. It is not that the Danube-Swabian is totally ideologically uncreative; he is limited in his creativity by his focus upon daily survival, his relationship to his economical system and his fellow-man. Yet this very tension between religious doctrine of the sophisticated, the Church officials, and the religion of the Danube-Swabian farmer and tradesman, produce at times a break.

In many instances, the Danube-Swabian draws a distinct line between his relationship to Church officials and his religious beliefs. If for instance an individual is delinquent in regard to the practice of his religion, it is due to factors other than those inherent in the essence of religion itself. The causes for non-attendance of Church are numerous: the existing political situation, the liberal attitude of religion spawned in the time of Joseph II's reign, a matter of custom acquired from their German ancestors, or even at times a false feeling of unworthiness.

Even though the political ramifications of the Catholic Church in Banat is unique to the Danube-Swabian, the essence of Danube-Swabian religious beliefs is similar to that of the native German. They believe in the existence of God as the creator of all things with deep trust in His power and goodness. Because of their utilitarian natures, there is a definite lack of understanding in regard to anything philosophical or metaphysical. They consider temporal things such as success with land, long life, fulfillment of a wish, and so on, as a special grace from God. Their religious attitude simply stated is that if they do not kill, steal, or deceive, and attend Church regularly and fast, God will bless their worldly endeavors. Yet if they are not aware of any such sins, their proud natures ask defiantly why they deserve any hardships. A hope for and expectation of just compensation, a fairly calculating attitude, characterize their attitude toward religion. This rather naive and simple concept of religion may be summarized in one sentence found in Die Glocken der Heimat: "E guter Krischt muss m'r sin und uf Gott vertraue."¹⁸⁹

Religion marks almost every aspect of Danube-Swabian customs. The village offers few leisure activities, little cultural stimulation. Traditionally the Church, with its ceremonies offers a source of such stimulation. Yet this function of religion, on many occasions, is

merely traditional and external. Ceremonials are focused on actions, not on beliefs. Just as it is customary in everyday life to greet people with "G'lobt sei's Chrischt" responded by "In Ewigkeit," so also on special occasions their religious functions have little meaning. Religion signifies for them religious tradition and, therefore, the boundaries between religion and community are hard to distinguish. At their "Kirweih," for example, one intersects with the other as the brass bands play in front of the Church while during the entire service the whole community is filled with worldly thoughts:

Sobald die Glocken läuteten, begann der feierliche, farbige Aufzug zur Kirche, tausend einheimische und fremde Zuschauer guckten aus allen Fenstern, sämtliche kleine Buben und Mädeln waren hinterher. Die Schützen präsentierten das Gewehr, und die Musik, die vor der Kirche seitlich Aufstellung genommen hatte, blies mit vollen Backen bis der letzte der Buben durch die Kirchentür eingetreten war. Und heute gehörte ihnen der Mittelgang, nicht das Chor, so wie sonst. Und vor ihnen, fast bis zum Altar gedrängt, standen die Mädchen in hellen duftigen Kleidern. Alle Augen wanderten, suchten, es war wenig Andacht in der Kirchweihgemeinde. Zu viele weltliche Ablenkungen war da, zu viele Fremde auch gab es, die immer leise Fragen an ihre Nachbarn stellten. Und alle hatten nur den einen Gedanken: Heute macht's der Pfarrer kurz.¹⁹⁰

Even the village priest is aware of the external and traditional aspect of these religious rituals:

Auch der Pfarrer von Rosenthal, der Herr Dechant Jakob Schuh, hatte zwei Gäste bekommen. Er erbat sich immer Aushilfe zur Kirchweih, ein Hochamt mit Assistanz machte sich viel feierlicher.

Freilich wusste der Pfarrer dass der Schwerpunkt des Festes, trotz seines Namens, ausserhalb der Kirche lag, dass es ein weltliches geworden, aber er liess sich seinen Anteil daran nicht schmälern.¹⁹¹

Not only on these special occasions, but on regular Sundays as well, the services command little attention: "Das lebhafteste Getriebe vor und neben der Kirche bildete oft den Höhepunkt einer ganzen Woche."¹⁹²

Just as the Danube-Swabians are deeply interested in the external aspects of religion outside the Church, so also do they emphasize the externals within the Church. Exactly how their ancestors worshipped would be an area for further critical analysis which we are not attempting to present here. However, the social structure within the Danube-Swabian Church, is indeed unique to its members. Just as they have a definite social structure in the community, so they also have one in the Church:

Die schwäbische Dorfkirche vollführt eine seltsame Scheidung unter den Gläubigen, sie trennt Stände, Geschlechter und Altersklassen. Die Herrischen sassen ganz geschieden von den Bauern. Vorne zu beiden Seiten der Tür, die aus der Sakristei in die Kirche führte, waren ihre Bänke. In dem breiten Mittelgang, zwischen den Bänken der Bauern und Bäuerinnen, stand Kopf an Kopf die weibliche Jugend, alles was der Schule schon entwachsen und noch nicht verheiratet war. In den beiden Seitengängen drängte sich die jüngere, verheiratete Männerwelt; auf dem Chor droben hatten die Buben ihren Platz. Links und rechts zur Seite der Orgel waren zwei grosse Galerien, eine für die kleinen, eine andere für die "grossen" Buben, die schon mannbar waren und Kirweihsträusse tragen durften. Und unter dem Chor, im



Dämmerschatten des tiefsten Hintergrundes, dort, wo die Beichtstühle standen und man nur an Einkehr und Busse denken konnte, gab es noch eine besondere Gruppe: Dort knieten die, die nicht Frauen und nicht Mädchen waren . . . Es waren die Gefallenen des Dorfes.¹⁹³

Hence the Danube-Swabian farmer's severe and static concept of order, finds no broader horizons within the Church. Even annual pilgrimages, with the participation of the whole community, are primarily empty and external functions.¹⁹⁴

Yet, in spite of the emphasis on ritual, organized or community religion for the Danube-Swabian is primarily an ethical force. Their customs emphasize the regulative function of norms, a set of "do's" and "don't's." These ethical values greatly influence the individual's behavior in the community. "Die Furcht vor der Sünde ist gering, aber die vor der Schande um so grösser."¹⁹⁵

Embodied in rules, such norms provide a common framework for right action in the community. Not the examined life, but social order is the objective. Religion is both utilitarian and moralistic, but not metaphysical or questioning. Thus, the role of the village priest is to settle ethical and moral problems. For example, in the case of the unwed mother, Susi, Christof's father, Kaspar Luckhaup, is summoned by the priest:

"Also habe Euer Hochwürden da wieder eine unsittliche Angelegenheit zu schlichten," sagte Wagner, der jeden Klatch kannte. "Undankbare Sache! Werde mich bemühen!" Und er rieb sich geschäftig die Hände.

"Bemühen Sie sich gar nicht, lieber Wagner," sagte der Dechant ernst, "Sie haben ihn bloss einzuladen. Die Predigt halte ich ihm schon selber." 196

Later in the marriage problems of Christof and Anna, the priest is again asked to intercede:

. . . sie ging eines Tages zum Pfarrer und bat um Hilfe. Aber als der erfuhr, dass sie die Angreiferin war, dass sie die Susi beschimpfte, und was ihr Mann für einen Schritt getan, da musste er jede Einmischung ablehnen. Im umgekehrten Fall, ja, da hätte er wohl eingreifen und die Susi vorladen können. 197

In this sense, religion reassures people in their rightness concerning the basic institutions of organized social life, by supporting marital and family relationships.

Besides the ethical formative character of the Danube-Swabian religion, organized religion, from one point of view, though this is only a small portion of the whole picture, offers one of the most important means by which the Danube-Swabians can adjust to unpredictable situations. Stress situations may be divided into two main categories. Both types concern emotional involvements in which the outcome is beyond human control. The first category includes situations in which individuals face the loss of other human beings either through death or the failure of another person to live up to anticipated



obligations. The second category, however, contains those situations in which largely uncontrollable and unpredictable phenomena can endanger food supply and health.¹⁹⁸ The attempts at controlling such natural forces have been important areas for religious rituals in all societies, and so it is also with the Danube-Swabians.

Religious belief and ritual have always served as a means of consolation in face of the frustration of death. The Danube-Swabian people, as observed in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn, believe in an afterlife and are thus able to accept death as a natural and unavoidable phenomena leading to spiritual fulfillment. This for instance is reflected in the courageous attitude of Frau Eva in the premature final moments of her husband's life in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder:

Jetzt hiess es stark sein und fest. Sie gab ihrem Jakob einen Rosenkranz in die zitterigen Hände und ordnete unter tröstlichem Gerede sein Bett, dass es einen ordentlichen Eindruck mache. Und sie räumte mit der Kathl die Stube auf wie an einem Sonntag. Wo der Tod sich zu Gast geladen, da kommt er nicht allein.¹⁹⁹

In general, one tries to console the dying person with religious principle, which often proves effective. People who have not attended Church or received the sacraments for many years, in most cases, repent on their death beds. The priest is always summoned to the bed of the dying:

Unter Vorantritt des greisen Kirchengvaters Johann Wagner schritt der Pfarrer, die Monstranz in den Händen, durch das Dorf. Wagner schellte ab und zu mit dem Glöcklein in seiner Rechten, und die Leute traten aus den Höfen heraus, beugten das Knie und bekreuzten sich vor dem Allerheiligsten, aus dessen Kelch einem Sterbenden die letzte Wegzehrung gereicht werden sollte.²⁰⁰

Besides their attitude toward death, the ritualization of death, as in most societies, is equally significant. Religious ritual reaffirms the social solidarity of the village by offering the latter's support to the bereaved. This rallying around the survivors as well as a certain sense of respect for the deceased is the purpose of the wakes.

The deceased Danube-Swabian is not immediately buried, but is kept in the family home for several days. As long as the body is at home, watch is being held. The act of praying is not performed so much by the immediate family of the deceased, but rather by a special group of old women who would gather to pray the rosary: "Die Nachbarinnen im Schwarzwald, die der Bas' Mali die Totenwache gehalten, tratschten allerlei."²⁰¹

At the burial of a young girl, her peers accompany the casket dressed in white. The dead girl wears a white crown which will be buried with her.²⁰² After the funeral, relatives place fresh flowers on the grave. Usually six weeks after the burial, or in some villages immediately

thereafter, the "Totenmahl" is held. Besides the family, everyone who participates in the function of the burial, such as cross bearers and pall bearers, take part. This event is, in most cases, marked by discreet feasting. Even though the immediate family does not enter fully into the pleasurable aspect of the occasion, their traditional obligation to provide food and drink for the guests is a symbolical gesture. Through this hospitality the family reaffirms that in spite of grief, the living must be acknowledged and life must continue.

In the second category are situations in which unpredictable and uncontrollable natural forces place human survival in jeopardy. Food is essential to life and health, and the fear of famine and flood are often great. The threat of flood in Die Glocken der Heimat is a good illustration of this:

Als die Glocken zur Fröhmesse rief, kam das halbe Dorf. Es war wie am Sonntag; der Weg zum lieben Gott lag heute allen am nächsten. Und der Pfarrer sprach ein altes Gebet, das sie viele Jahre nicht mehr gehört hatten, das gegen Pest und Hungersnot, gegen Feuer- und Wassergefahr gerichtet war. Die Ältesten kannten es wohl. Schon ihre Urväter hatten es gebetet, wenn die Theiss anschwell und der Donaudamm zu reißen drohte. Und der zweiundneunzigjährige Wichnersepp, der vorne im ersten Kirchenstuhl kniete, betete am lautesten mit; seine schnarrende Stimme, die schon jedes Metall eingebusst hatte, übertönte die ganze Gemeinde. . . . Er wusste wohl, warum er so laut und so inbrünstig betete. Er hatte die grauenhafte Überschwemmung des Dorfes von 1830 noch mitgemacht und war bei jeder späteren auch dabei. So wie er, wusste niemand, was da drohte203

The success of harvest is of vital concern to the Danube-Swabians. The uncertainty of the weather conditions with which even the farmer's intelligence and skill cannot cope, cause the farmers to turn toward divine guidance, especially at harvest time:

. . . die Zeit vor der Ernte ist im Dorfe die ruhigste und schönste des Jahres. Freilich auch die sorgenvollste. Jede Wetterwolke, die am fernen Horizont aufsteigt, kann todbringend sein für die Fluren, kann den Vermögens-und Arbeitsertrag eines Jahres vernichten. Und regnet es zu spät oder zu wenig, verkümmert alles auf den Feldern. In diesen Wochen sind die Bauern gar fromm. Da wallfahrten sie gerne nach Maria Radna, und auch alle Dorfkirchen werden fleissig besucht, und Zeit haben die Leute mehr als sonst. Die Arbeitskräfte werden geschont, die Pferde nur eingespannt, wenn es sein muss. Denn die Tage sind nicht fern, in denen die äusserste Kraftentfaltung, deren Menschen überhaupt fähig sind, von ihnen gefordert wird. Der Wert von zwei Milliarden liegt im grossen weiten Ungarn in Gotteshand, so lange der Schnitt nicht vollzogen, die Ernte nicht eingebracht ist.²⁰⁴

Harvest time is an occasion for ritual thanksgiving. Not only are religious sentiments important before this season, but also at the harvest feast, for with the sanction of the Catholic Church, "Kirweih" is the most important communal event of the year. This sanction given by the Church to farming feasts also makes it easier for the farmer to accept his social position. Thus, nature's threats to human survival, such as floods and draught, are viewed as acts of God. Just as beliefs and rituals surrounding death are illuminating examples of the social and psychological functions performed by

religion during times of strains and tensions, so also religious beliefs and rituals surrounding agricultural stress situations constitute a means for alleviating tension and promoting adjustment during such crucial periods.

So, organized religion, although it functions as mere empty ritual at times, also offers ethical guidance and spiritual consolation to its people. Yet, partly because of their self-sufficient nature, or perhaps because of the political ramifications of the Catholic Church at this time, the Danube-Swabian's greatest sense of religious expression is found in a highly personalized form. True religion is primarily a personal experience. Thus a curious mixture of a deep personal religious faith and of superficial adherence to religious rituals exists in the Danube-Swabian community.

The greatest expression of this deep and profound sense of religion is embodied in the Christian love the Danube-Swabian has for his fellow-man. As is illustrated in Chapter III of this study, Frau Eva is a good example of this Christian virtue. Not one person in the Danube-Swabian community remains uncared for. "Nicht einmal Dorfarme gab es, für die die Gemeinde hätte Sorge tragen müssen."²⁰⁵

True religion also finds expression in moments when a person is alone with his God. This is especially

apparent in their individual prayers. The prayer of Trauttmann's mother, for example, illustrates this particularly well:

Die Kinder, die du mir gabst, Herr! sind deine Geschenke. Lass mich ihr Herz zur Güte und Menschlichkeit bilden, vergönne mir, dass ich gute Menschen aus ihnen erziehe. Herr! gib ihnen Verstand, Erkenntnis und einen guten Willen; um dieses bitte ich dich. Ich bitte nicht um Reichtum für sie, O Herr! sondern gib ihnen nur gerade Glieder und Arbeitsamkeit; besonders aber gib ihnen eine edle und feste Denkart, die kein Sturm des Lebens beugt. Gib ihnen helle Augen, die Wahrheit zu sehen, damit sie der falsche Schimmer der Welt nicht blende.²⁰⁶

This simple, yet nevertheless sincere feeling of many Danube-Swabians toward religion may best be illustrated in the single attitude of Trauttmann. These sentiments find expression after he discovers the above prayer of his mother's in an old prayer book:

Georg fühlte, obwohl er sich mit Bewusstsein seit langen Jahren zu keiner religiösen Gemeinde zählte und die Kirchen ihm überall nur ästhetische Schaustücke waren, er fühlte, dass er zur religiösen Gefühlswelt dieses Mutterherzens ein inniges Verhältnis hatte. Und ihm dünkte, er wäre geistig ein Geschöpf dieses Gebetes, er danke es nur seinem Zauber, dass er so geworden, wie er war, so festen Sinnes, so hell, so wahrheitsfreudig und kampfesmutig.²⁰⁷

Even though the man is fully aware of these deeply personal religious sentiments, the woman is the main carrier of the spiritual life. Her uncomplicated faith is illustrated during private pilgrimages to the Blessed Virgin:

Anmerich war fromm, sie wollte schon lange nach Maria Radna, um der Gottesmutter zu danken für den Phillipp, mit dem sie sich versprochen hatte. Und sie ging gern darauf ein, als die Susi zu ihrer Verwunderung auch solch ein Vorhaben bekundete.²⁰⁸

The physical discomforts accepted as penance during these pilgrimages are also great: Frau Eva, for example, out of thanksgiving for Susi's court pardon, makes a pilgrimage barefoot to Maria Radna:

Und sie pilgert barfuss nach Maria Radna, so wie sie es gelobt. Eine berühmte Kaiserin, die Fraala hatte es ihr erzählt, habe solche Bussfahrten immer barfuss unternommen. Warum nicht sie? Ganz allein wollte sie gehen; . . .²⁰⁹

It can be seen, the Danube-Swabian man and woman share deep religious convictions which find their expression not in the external and traditional aspects of their rituals, but rather in the quiet solitude of their own hearts.

The fact that religion is primarily a personal experience explains how the older generation can combine superstition and religion without any apparent conflicts. Around the turn of the 19th century, superstition holds a rather insignificant position in the Danube-Swabian community. Thus it is significant that although Müller-Guttenbrunn mentions certain remnants of magic which still exist, especially in the art of healing, he does not go into much detail. In these matters of healing, the older generation believes, similar to their ancient Germanic

ancestors, in a combination of magic and prayer to achieve their goal. This is illustrated by "die alte Zengräfin" in Meister Jakob und seine Kinder:

"Was macht der böse Fuss, Mutter? Geht's denn noch immer soweit?" fragte Meister Jakob.

"Du werscht mich auslache, Jakob, ich loss mer jetzt Brauche von der Kern's Kathl und 's is besser. Der Bader hat ein Jahr lang dran rumgedoktert und 's hot nix g'holfe, die Bas' Kathl hot mer dreimal gebraucht und 's is mer leichter."

"Dann ist's ja gut," sagte der Meister lächelnd. "Ob gedoktert oder gezaubert, wer hilft, der hat recht."

"Häb's jo gewisst (gewusst), du werscht mich auslache. Was ich g'schpür, des g'schpür ich. Und wo kei' Dokter mer helfe konn, da hilft Gott."

"Des unterschreib' ich, Motter! Gott in Ehren. Aber vom Brauche halt ich nix."

"Loss mer mein Glaube," sprach die alte Frau heftig und stiess mit ihrem Stecken auf den Boden. "Die Bas' Kathl red't heilige Sprüchl und ich bet' derzu. Und des hilft! Des hilft!"²¹⁰

Magic appears also combined with religion for other purposes. In Meister Jakob und seine Kinder, Anna, the wife of Christof, jealous of the power that Susi, Christof's earlier love, still has on Christof, seeks help through superstitious means:

Und vom Pfarrhaus ging die Frau zur Kerns Kathl. Vielleicht wusste die Rat. Sie nahm gleich eine halbe Speckseite unter die Schürze, um sie ihren Wünschen geneigter zu machen. Und diesen Weg ging sie öfter in der Dämmerung und sie machte ihn nie mit leeren Händen. Die Kerns Kathl trug ihr ewiges Geheimnis auf und verlangte einen Gegenstand, der von der Susi stamme, etwas, das ihr gehört habe, sonst könne sie nicht auf sie einwirken.²¹¹

After Anna finds four ribbons from the "Kirweih" hat that Susi had decorated for Christof, Kerns Kathl is able to perform her rituals:

In das eine Band mache sie drei Knoten im Sonnenschein und binde der alten Liebe das Feuer ab. In das andere mache sie drei Knoten im Mondenschein und binde ihr das nächtliche Laufen ab. Mit dem dritten Band binde sie die Beständigkeit ab und mit dem vierten binde sie den Christof im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes an sein Weib. Dieses letztere aber dürfe nicht verfaulen, das müsse sie bis zum Neumond aufheben und dann bei Nacht verbrennen. Und das koste fünf Gulden, denn Speck habe sie schon für dieses Jahr genug.²¹²

It appears magic and religion are closely intermixed and apparently form no contradictions.

Even though the Danube-Swabians experience religion as something divine and sacred, religion also greatly influences their human group life. The feelings, values, and beliefs which set religion apart from other areas of life arise in the context of human relationships. These sentiments, at times politically and historically tinged, are fashioned and sustained by human association. In turn, such religious feelings, values, and beliefs influence other areas of human experience, affecting the conceptions and actions of people in them.

Religion becomes merged in social tradition. Religious values often promote conservatism and militate against change. The hand of tradition appears thus heavy in the Danube-Swabian society. Besides the emphasis on

ritual, religion also reassures people about rightness and wrongness and supports the most basic social unit in the community, the family. It also supplies psychological and spiritual consolation in times of death and danger.

Although Danube-Swabian religion puts its stamp on the entire process of socialization, it cannot be explained solely on its own terms. Historically and politically influenced, it functions to support and balance the agricultural economy and social structure. At the same time it should also be a part of a larger ideological order. Yet just as the political structure of the village should have forged a link with the outside world--and did not do so--so also the Church is unsuccessful in binding the Danube-Swabians to a wider social order. In its relationship to this order, organized religion fails.



CONCLUSION

In his "Heimatromane," Müller-Guttenbrunn is not as interested in depicting the Danube-Swabian individually, as emphasizing the Danube-Swabians as a group. In his description of group life, he draws a realistic portrait of the Danube-Swabian social structure. He presents the small Danube-Swabian villages not only in terms of relationships between the people within the villages, but also in terms of relationships these villages have with many other centers of power, complexly related, that are located outside of the little communities.

In the historical trilogy, Von Eugenius bis Josephus, Müller-Guttenbrunn illustrates how a group of diversified people from various parts of the Hapsburg empire advance to a definite and homogeneous type of agrarian culture through mutual efforts at colonization. Because of a reverent disposition toward ancestral tradition, common hardships, a common Christian religion, and the strict rule of the Hapsburgs, they succeed in developing a rigid social structure.

In order to examine these communities as parts of a larger and compound societal whole, the author emphasizes numerous kinds of social and cultural relationships. In

presenting the outlook of the farmer, craftsman and intellectual, he stresses how the farmer considers himself superior to both the craftsman and the intellectual. Prominent farmers exert the greatest power in the village community. Although Müller-Guttenbrunn's main preoccupation is with the farmer, he also describes the intellectuals who form the link in the cultural life of the community--the mayor and the teachers.

In the cultural life of the community, the functions of the mayor and the teachers are severely restricted. The author emphasizes the need that these people should have served as administrative and cultural intermediaries between the village and the state. Yet due to the rise of nationalism among the Hungarians together with its ramifications, and the political indifference observable among the Danube-Swabians, the village becomes an isolated entity.

A detailed study of the Danube-Swabian community in the novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn shows that its culture is not autonomous. It is an aspect of a larger civilization, at first Austrian then Hungarian. Mainly an agrarian society, this guest society seems only a half-culture. To maintain itself it requires continual communication with centers of intellectual thought and development. Recognizing the severe limitations of these insular German communities, the author attempts to sustain the

Danube-Swabians through their folk traditions and customs. Yet Müller-Guttenbrunn's compulsive need to create novels filled with Danube-Swabian customs and traditions is not merely rooted in the socio-cultural history of his people, but also in the literary tradition of the "Heimatroman." His preoccupation with this theme is in keeping with the aims and purposes of the "Heimatkunst" around 1900.

In describing the characteristics of the Danube-Swabians, Müller-Guttenbrunn delineates them as simple, vigorous individuals in close proximity to the soil. Out of their early hardships and strength, the trait of independence becomes their dominant characteristic. Like the native Germans they feel satisfaction in working in the fields long and hard. The other minorities living in Hungary do not recognize such dignity of agricultural work.

This ordered and prescribed existence becomes a salient characteristic of the Danube-Swabians and is perpetuated and exemplified especially in their uniform family structure. It is the best example of the strict, confining social structure. The strongest ties in the community are familistic in nature and its strength centers in the operation of the family farm. Like most farmers, the Danube-Swabians have an intense attachment to the soil. Yet this characteristic becomes an obsession affecting

their whole philosophy of life. Preoccupation with material things dictates the practices concerning marriage and inheritance. Not only does their materialistic philosophy influence marriage contracts, but also the daily life and functions of the family. Separate domestic responsibilities allocated to every member of the family as well as distinct individual roles within the family are dictated by the economic situation. The family becomes the carrier of this traditional organization and a supporter of confining materialistic values.

The traditional organization is further made evident in the uniform festivities of both the life and calendar cycles in the village community. These festivities are occasions of rich German tradition, friendliness, and overwhelming hospitality. Although visitors are welcome from neighboring villages during these ceremonies, each village tends to have a restricted homogeneous culture. The sense of local community is strong.

Müller-Guttenbrunn, however, illustrates not only the positive aspects of the community interrelationships, but the negative facets of community life as well. Objective appraisal of the Danube-Swabian village in Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels reveals numerous tensions, especially of an economic nature, which create friction. The Danube-Swabian community can hardly be said to have had a Rousseauan quality regardless of how successful it

may have been in fulfilling the psychological and material desires of its people. The interpersonal relations of the community are, similar to the relationships within the family, a logical result of prevailing economic factors.

Because of complex religious and political factors, in many instances the priest, just as the other intellectuals in the community, has little influence on the villagers. The farmers have a reverent disposition toward religion, yet in many cases draw a distinct line between their faith and the Church officials. Their religion becomes merged in social ritual and tradition, often promoting conservatism.

The lack of interaction between the higher and lower parts of this Danube-Swabian society, due in part to its rigid traditions, as well as to sociological, political and historical factors is realistically depicted by Müller-Guttenbrunn in his "Heimatromane." He not only attempts to warn his fellow countrymen of the impending dangers of such a relationship, but also to present the positive as well as negative aspects of a culture on the fringe of the German cultural area. His literary achievements cannot be minimized. His truthfulness in depicting life and character makes his "Heimatromane" a valuable, perhaps even an outstanding, literary and socio-cultural monument. His works are a lasting document of the Danube-Swabian culture.

FOOTNOTES

¹Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Von Eugenius bis Josephus. Ein deutsches Jahrhundert in Österreich (Leipzig: 1917), I. Der grosse Schwabenzug, II, Barmherziger Kaiser, III, Joseph der Deutsche. Also published separately as Der grosse Schwabenzug (Aalen Wurttemberg: Donau-schwäbischer Heimatverlag, 1958). Hereafter cited as Schwabenzug, plus the page number. Barmherziger Kaiser (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, 1934). Hereafter cited as Kaiser, plus the page number. Joseph der Deutsche (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, 1917). Hereafter cited as Joseph, plus the page number.

²Fritz Valjavec, "Geschichte der Donauschwaben," Heimatsbuch der Donauschwaben, ed. Hans Wolfram Hockl (Württemberg: Donauschwäbischer Heimatverlag, n.d.), pp. 11-36.

³Banat was joined to Hungary again in 1779 and only the military zone which was finally dissolved in 1872-1873 continued under the rule of Vienna.

⁴Three famous legends about Prince Eugene, "Prinz Eugen bei Zenta," "Prinz Eugen, der Streiter des Herrn," and "Der Prinz-Eugen-Brunnen" may be found in Hans Diplich and Alfred Karasek, Donauschwäbische Sagen, Märchen und Legenden (München: Verlag Christ Unterwegs, 1952), pp. 23-24.

⁵Schwabenzug, p. 16.

⁶See Josef Senz, Geschichte der Donauschwaben (Freilassing: Pannonia Verlag, 1955), pp. 9-25.

⁷Schwabenzug, p. 68.

⁸Schwabenzug, p. 263.

⁹Schwabenzug, p. 202.

¹⁰Schwabenzug, p. 18.

¹¹Schwabenzug, p. 225.

¹²In order to quickly populate this area, only married couples could immigrate under the command of Karl VI.

¹³Schwabenzug, p. 133.

¹⁴Schwabenzug, p. 297.

¹⁵Schwabenzug, p. 224.

¹⁶Schwabenzug, p. 224. In contrast to these early homes, Karl Kraushaar, Sitten und Bräuche der Deutschen in Ungarn, Rumänien und Jugoslawien (Wien: Bruno Bartelt Verlag, 1932), p. 14, describes the later Danube-Swabian homes which appear in the fictional novels of Müller-Guttenbrunn in the following manner: "Das heutige deutsche Wohnhaus steht in einem geräumigen Hof, an der einen Seite befindet sich das Wohngebäude . . . es verrät von aussen schon einen gewissen Wohlstand, ist ein moderner Bau aus gebranntem Ziegelmateriale, ziemlich hoch erbaut, das Dach mit Ziegeln gedeckt, der Länge nach in den Hof gebaut, . . . alles das macht einen guten Eindruck."

¹⁷Kaiser, p. 250.

¹⁸Kaiser, pp. 252-253.

¹⁹Schwabenzug, p. 210.

²⁰Schwabenzug, p. 244.

²¹Schwabenzug, p. 58.

²²Schwabenzug, p. 320.

²³Schwabenzug, p. 189.

²⁴See Kaiser, p. 188.

²⁵See Josef Senz, Geschichte der Donauschwaben, p. 34.

²⁶Kaiser, p. 10.

²⁷Kaiser, p. 263.

²⁸Joseph, p. 378.

²⁹Joseph, pp. 242-243.

³⁰Joseph, p. 244.

³¹Joseph, p. 129.

³²Joseph, pp. 345-346.

³³Joseph, p. 357.

³⁴Hans Hagel, "Zur Charakteristik des Banater schwäbischen Volkes," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), p. 10.

³⁵Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Die Glocken der Heimat (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, 1910), p. 37. Hereafter cited as Heimat, plus the page number.

³⁶Heimat, p. 37.

³⁷Heimat, p. 38.

³⁸See Josef Senz, Geschichte der Donauschwaben (Freilassing: Pannonia Verlag, 1955), pp. 59-72.

³⁹Rudolf Brandsch, Briefe Adam Müller-Guttenbrunns aus der deutschen Bewegung im ehemaligen Ungarn (Temeschburg, 1939), p. 36.

⁴⁰Ludwig Rogl, Der Anteil Adam Müller-Guttenbrunns am völkischen Erwachen des Donauschwabentums (Dissertation München, 1943), p. 5, postulates that Müller-Guttenbrunn's "Fraala" must have colonized in 1769. Hereafter cited as Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunn's, plus the page number.

⁴¹Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Der Roman meines Lebens (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, 1927), p. 23. Hereafter cited as Der Roman, plus the page number.

⁴²Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, p. 18.

⁴³Der Roman, pp. 156-163.

⁴⁴See Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, pp. 40-43.

⁴⁵Germans working for the Hungarian cause.

⁴⁶Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, p. 27.

⁴⁷"Ungarn und das Ausland," in Deutsch-Ungarischer Volksfreund (2.2.1912).

⁴⁸Heimat, p. 29.

- ⁴⁹Heimat, p. 29.
- ⁵⁰Heimat, p. 100.
- ⁵¹Heimat, p. 90.
- ⁵²Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Götzendämmerung (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, n.d.), p. 12. Hereafter cited as Götzendämmerung, plus the page number.
- ⁵³Götzendämmerung, pp. 11-12.
- ⁵⁴Götzendämmerung, p. 301.
- ⁵⁵Götzendämmerung, p. 302.
- ⁵⁶Heimat, p. 87.
- ⁵⁷See Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, p. 75.
- ⁵⁸Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, pp. 74-76.
- ⁵⁹Götzendämmerung, p. 321.
- ⁶⁰Rogl, Der Anteil Müller-Guttenbrunns, p. 77.
- ⁶¹Götzendämmerung, p. 324.
- ⁶²Heimat, p. 99.
- ⁶³See Erika Jenny, Die Heimatkunstbewegung (Dissertation, Basel, 1934), pp. 60-63.
- ⁶⁴Der Roman, p. 318.
- ⁶⁵Heimat, p. 50.
- ⁶⁶Although Müller-Guttenbrunn depicts only a few intellectuals in his "Heimatomane," these intellectuals, for the most part, voice the attitudes and opinions of the author.
- ⁶⁷Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Meister Jakob und seine Kinder (Leipzig: L. Staackmann Verlag, 1918), p. 36. Hereafter cited as Meister Jakob, plus the page number.
- ⁶⁸Meister Jakob, p. 35.
- ⁶⁹Heimat, p. 100.
- ⁷⁰Heimat, pp. 186-187. For a detailed study of the German folk song in this area refer to the following publication: Hans Diplich, Das deutsche Volkslied im Banat (Hermannstadt: Botschner, 1938).

⁷¹Heimat, pp. 344-345.

⁷²Meister Jakob, p. 263.

⁷³Meister Jakob, p. 227.

⁷⁴Meister Jakob, p. 21.

⁷⁵Meister Jakob, p. 170.

⁷⁶Hans Weresch, Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn und seine Heimatromane (Temesvar: Dissertation, 1927), pp. 100-101.

⁷⁷Götzendämmerung, p. 17.

⁷⁸Götzendämmerung, p. 277.

⁷⁹Götzendämmerung, p. 291.

⁸⁰Götzendämmerung, p. 291.

⁸¹Heimat, p. 19.

⁸²Heimat, p. 153.

⁸³Because of his contact with the outside world, the social position of the craftsman changed. By the 1930's he was highly esteemed and in great demand by both the farmers and the intellectuals.

⁸⁴Meister Jakob, p. 11.

⁸⁵Meister Jakob, p. 11.

⁸⁶Meister Jakob, p. 104.

⁸⁷Meister Jakob, p. 203.

⁸⁸Meister Jakob, p. 6.

⁸⁹Meister Jakob, p. 52.

⁹⁰Meister Jakob, p. 50.

⁹¹Meister Jakob, p. 226.

⁹²Meister Jakob, p. 109.

⁹³Meister Jakob, p. 78.

⁹⁴Meister Jakob, p. 78.

⁹⁵Various aspects of this problem will be discussed in later chapters.

⁹⁶Meister Jakob, p. 133.

⁹⁷Meister Jakob, pp. 349-350.

⁹⁸Meister Jakob, p. 272.

⁹⁹Heimat, p. 324.

¹⁰⁰Meister Jakob, p. 131.

¹⁰¹Meister Jakob, p. 163.

¹⁰²Meister Jakob, p. 144.

¹⁰³

The term "bilateral" establishes the kinship of children to a limited number of persons on both the mother's and father's kinship lines. Alvin L. Bertrand, Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1967), p. 307. Hereafter cited as Bertrand, Sociology, plus the page number.

¹⁰⁴An extended family normally includes all those persons as being kin and their several nuclear families. Bertrand, Sociology, p. 309.

¹⁰⁵A nuclear family unit is made up of an immediate conjugal unit, that is, a husband and wife plus those children they identify as their own and for whom they assume the responsibility of parenthood. Bertrand, Sociology, p. 309.

¹⁰⁶In patrilocal residence the newly married couple take up permanent residence with or near the parents of the groom. Bertrand, Sociology, p. 308.

¹⁰⁷Meister Jakob, pp. 176-180.

¹⁰⁸The farmers of Jeremias Gotthelf, Uli der Knecht (1849), Gottfried Keller, Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe (1876), Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl (1901), and Wille Cather, My Antonia (1918), do not differ essentially in their basic family features from the Danube-Swabian farmers in Müller-Guttenbrunn's novels.

¹⁰⁹Heimat, pp. 152-153.

¹¹⁰Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Deutsche Kulturbilder aus Ungarn (Leipzig: G. H. Meyer, 1896), p. 19.

¹¹¹Kathe Köstner, Das Wesen des deutschen Bauern in den Romanen Adam Müller-Guttenbrunns (München: Dissertation, 1948), p. 11.

¹¹²Götzendämmerung, pp. 26-27.

¹¹³Kaethe Köstner, Das Wesen des deutschen Bauern in den Romanen Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn's (München: Dissertation, 1948), p. 11.

¹¹⁴Heimat, p. 35.

¹¹⁵Meister Jakob, pp. 228-229.

¹¹⁶Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Der kleine Schwab (München: Verlag Christ Unterwegs, n.d.), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Schwab, plus the page number.

¹¹⁷Heimat, p. 28.

¹¹⁸The practice of buying one's way out of this obligation was prevalent. On the one hand, this distrust and jaundiced attitude of the young man's government appears to be a traditional attitude spawned in years of oppression under the Hungarian power whose rule he considered unjust and which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. On the other hand, this again stresses the total involvement with the soil and avoidance of anything that should interrupt this goal.

¹¹⁹Meister Jakob, p. 8.

¹²⁰Meister Jakob, p. 59

¹²¹Meister Jakob, p. 159.

¹²²Götzendämmerung, p. 41.

¹²³Götzendämmerung, p. 171.

¹²⁴Meister Jakob, pp. 139-140.

¹²⁵Meister Jakob, p. 125.

¹²⁶Meister Jakob, p. 142

¹²⁷Götzendämmerung, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁸Meister Jakob, p. 171.

¹²⁹Heimat, p. 35

¹³⁰Meister Jakob, p. 13.

¹³¹Meister Jakob, p. 15.

132 See Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 4.

133 Meister Jakob, p. 78.

134 Schwab, p. 13.

135 Heimat, p. 323.

136 Götzendämmerung, p. 74.

137 Heimat, p. 344.

138 Meister Jakob, p. 83.

139 Hans Hagel, "Natur und Arbeit in Sitte und Brauch," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. by Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), p. 19.

140 Death will not be treated in this chapter, but rather since it is such an integral part of religious views, it will be discussed in Chapter VI.

141 Meister Jakob, p. 158.

142 Rosemary, the national floral ornament of the Danube-Swabians, was worn on all important occasions.

143 Hans Hagel, "Das Menschliche Leben," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. by Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), p. 66.

144 Heimat, p. 166.

145 Heimat, p. 166.

146 "Kathrein, sperrt die Geige eine." See Karl Kraushaar, Sitten und Bräuche der Deutschen in Ungarn, Rumänien und Jugoslawien (Wien: Bruno Bartelt Verlag, 1932), p. 80.

147 Meister Jakob, pp. 343-344.

148 Meister Jakob, p. 346.

149 Meister Jakob, p. 346.

150 Meister Jakob, p. 347.

151 Lutz Mackensen, "Sitte und Brauch," Die Deutsche Volkskunde, ed. Spamer (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1934), I, p. 120.

- 152 Meister Jakob, pp. 178-179.
- 153 Meister Jakob, p. 176.
- 154 Meister Jakob, p. 180.
- 155 Heimat, p. 181.
- 156 Heimat, p. 183.
- 157 Heimat, p. 184.
- 158 Meister Jakob, p. 141.
- 159 Heimat, p. 208.
- 160 Heimat, p. 204.
- 161 Heimat, p. 213.
- 162 Meister Jakob, p. 30.
- 163 See Meister Jakob, p. 81.
- 164 Meister Jakob, p. 83.
- 165 Meister Jakob, pp. 96-98.
- 166 Meister Jakob, p. 103.
- 167 Meister Jakob, p. 105.
- 168 Meister Jakob, p. 113.
- 169 Meister Jakob, p. 278.
- 170 Meister Jakob, p. 131.
- 171 Meister Jakob, p. 151.
- 172 Heimat, p. 77.
- 173 Meister Jakob, p. 244.
- 174 Meister Jakob, p. 169.
- 175 Götzendämmerung, p. 8.
- 176 Meister Jakob, p. 322.
- 177 Meister Jakob, p. 319.
- 178 Meister Jakob, p. 84.



179 Although Protestant Sects were also widely represented in the Danube-Swabian homeland, the predominance of Catholics in this area was due mainly to the historical development of this region as described in Chapter I. Franz H. Riedl, Das Südostdeutschtum in den Jahren 1918-1945 (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1962), p. 15, points out that around 1920, 82% of the Danube-Swabians were Catholics, while only 16% were Protestants.

180 See Chapter II.

181 "In dieser Zeit ärgster nationaler Bedrängnis erwies sich die Kirche bei mehreren Nationalitäten als letzter Schutzwall gegen die nationale Überfremdung. Diese Aufgabe erfüllt die Kirche erfolgreich bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen, bei den Serben und bei den Rumänen. Auch den Donauschwaben schenkte die Kirche seit der Ansiedlung Halt und Hilfe in ihren geistigen Bestrebungen und in der Pflege ihres Volkstums." Josef Senz, Geschichte der Donauschwaben (Freilassing: Pannonia Verlag, 1955), pp. 72-73.

182 Hans Hagel, "Religiöse Volkskunde aus dem Banat," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. by Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), pp. 18-19.

183 Hans Hagel, "Religiöse Volkskunde aus dem Banat," Die Banater Schwaben, ed. by Anton Peter Petri (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1967), p. 19.

184 See Franz H. Riedl, Das Südostdeutschtum in den Jahren 1918-1945 (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1962), p. 15.

185 Götzendämmerung, p. 71.

186 Heimat, p. 90.

187 Götzendämmerung, p. 50.

188 Heimat, p. 273.

189 Heimat, p. 32.

190 Meister Jakob, pp. 97-98.

191 Meister Jakob, p. 85.

192 Heimat, p. 77.

193 Heimat, pp. 80-81.

194 Heimat, p. 131.

- 195 Meister Jakob, p. 159.
- 196 Meister Jakob, p. 163.
- 197 Meister Jakob, p. 246.
- 198 Elizabeth Nottingham, Religion and Society
(New York: Random House, 1954), p. 29.
- 199 Meister Jakob, p. 279.
- 200 Meister Jakob, pp. 279-280.
- 201 Meister Jakob, p. 266.
- 202 This may be compared to the Rumanian burial customs described in Müller-Guttenbrunn, Barmherziger Kaiser, pp. 254-256. As a member of the Greek Oriental Church, the young girl dressed in red, was buried with a cane in her hand for the purpose of crossing the Jordan. In her left hand she held a coin to pay St. Peter at the gates of heaven. Under her head a folded linen was placed which was to serve as a garment on Judgement Day. Unlike the Danube-Swabian burial customs, remnants of paganism predominated the Rumanian burial customs. The journey across the Jordan symbolized the trip of Acheron, while the coin for St. Peter symbolized the coin of Obolus for Charon.
- 203 Heimat, pp. 39-40.
- 204 Götzendämmerung, p. 25.
- 205 Meister Jakob, p. 228.
- 206 Götzendämmerung, p. 56.
- 207 Götzendämmerung, p. 56.
- 208 Meister Jakob, p. 60.
- 209 Meister Jakob, p. 311.
- 210 Meister Jakob, p. 46.
- 211 Meister Jakob, p. 249.
- 212 Meister Jakob, p. 249.

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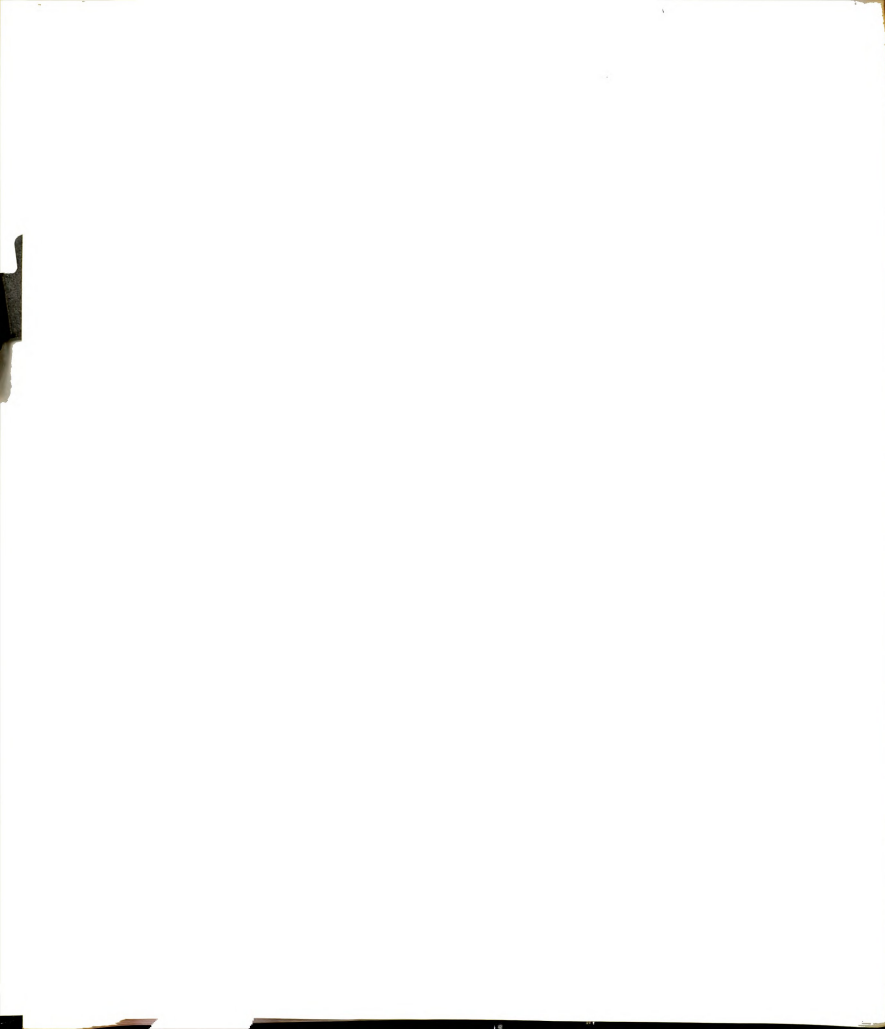
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