PART I

Bachmann and History
History left its scars on Ingeborg Bachmann’s life and work. She was the product of a turbulent period of Austrian history that included depression, Austro-fascism, National Socialism, defeat and occupation, economic recovery, and political restoration. She hated and condemned the political course that Austria and Germany had taken but, as a member of a generation before the emergence of the student movement and the second wave of feminism, felt powerless to influence the direction of political events. Although she rebelled against her era’s conceptions of femininity, she was also entrapped by them; an independent woman who lived by her writing, she suffered through self-destructive love affairs and numbed her pain with alcohol and tranquilizers. Like the female figures of her fiction, Bachmann was often a victim of her inability to resolve her own contradictions.

Born in 1926 in the small city of Klagenfurt in the province of Carinthia, Austria, Bachmann was the eldest daughter of a local high school teacher and a housewife. Her petty bourgeois family experienced firsthand the economic straits that made many Austrians, still mired in the depression, welcome their country’s annexation by a more prosperous Germany. Bachmann recalled the entry of Hitler’s troops into Klagenfurt in April 1938 as a traumatic moment that shattered her childhood. During her lifetime, however, she never revealed that her own father had joined the Nazi party in 1932, even before Hitler came to power in Germany. Drafted into defense work for the Nazis in the last year of the war, Bachmann swiftly abandoned Klagenfurt after the German defeat in
order to begin her university studies. After a semester spent in Innsbruck and in Graz, she continued her study of philosophy at the University of Vienna, receiving her doctorate in 1950 with a dissertation on Heidegger. From 1951 to 1953 she worked first as a secretary, then as a scriptwriter for Rot-Weiss-Rot, the radio station of the American occupation forces. There she coauthored *Die Radiofamilie* (The radio family), a comic radio series designed to ease Austrians’ transition to postwar, postfascist society. She published poetry and prose in Vienna, enjoying the mentorship of an older generation of Viennese literary figures, including Jewish émigrés returned from exile, and began her close friendship with the poet Paul Celan. Nevertheless, she found the political and literary atmosphere of Vienna corrupt, stagnant, and stifling. Preferring self-imposed exile, she left Vienna in July 1953 to take up residence in Italy with her gay friend, the composer Hans Werner Henze, and never again lived permanently in Austria.

Bachmann was encouraged in her resistance to Austria’s restoration of prewar power structures by her encounter with the Gruppe 47, the influential group of young antifascist authors who dominated West Germany’s literary scene (though they failed to affect its politics) until the early 1960s. First invited to the Gruppe 47’s semiannual meetings in 1952, she won its first prize for the four poems she read there in 1953. Her first volume of poetry, *Die gestundete Zeit* (Mortgaged time), was published at the end of that year. In August 1954 the news magazine *Der Spiegel* featured Bachmann on its title page, depicting her as a poet whose accomplishment proved that Germany could once more compete on the stage of world literature, and she achieved literary prominence overnight. In spring 1954, Bachmann moved to Rome, which would remain her semi-permanent residence for the rest of her life. Italy left its imprint on many poems in her second lyric volume, *Anrufung des Großen Bären* (Invocation of the great bear; 1956). Under the pseudonym Ruth Keller she also reported on political and cultural events in Italy for Radio Bremen and the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Her first radio play, “Ein Geschäft mit Träumen” (A business with dreams; 1952), had been completed in Vienna and originally broadcast by Rot-Weiss-Rot. In a second radio play, “Die Zikaden” (The cicadas; 1954), she drew on her contacts with the artists’ colony on the Italian island of Ischia, where she had lived with Henze. In 1955 she attended an international summer school, led by Henry Kissinger at Harvard, for young European artists and intellectuals, and that encounter with the United States laid the foundation for her most successful radio play, “Der gute Gott von Manhattan” (The good God of Manhattan; 1957). During the 1950s, Henze set a number of Bachmann’s poems to music, and she produced several opera libretti for him. Their close collaboration
ended in 1958 when Bachmann met the Swiss author Max Frisch, and her intense and painful relationship with Frisch lasted until 1962.

In the late 1950s Bachmann turned away from poetry, suspicious of her own easy facility with language. In 1959–1960, holding the first chair for poetics at the University of Frankfurt, she delivered a series of badly received lectures on problems of contemporary literature. In 1961 she published her first volume of short stories, *Das dreißigste Jahr* (The thirtieth year), and her previously enthusiastic critics responded skeptically, terming Bachmann a “fallen poetess” who could no longer meet the standards of her early work. Devastated by negative reviews and her separation from Frisch the next year, Bachmann suffered a physical and psychic collapse from which she never completely recovered. In 1963–1964 she spent a year in Berlin on a Ford Foundation fellowship and, increasingly dependent on tranquilizers, sleeping pills, and painkillers, traveled to Prague, Egypt, and the Sudan in an attempt to regain her health. As a younger generation of Germans and Austrians took politics to the streets, Bachmann withdrew into her art. From the early 1960s onward she worked on a novel cycle she called “Todesarten” (Ways of death). She finished the cycle’s “overture,” the novel *Malina* (1971) and a volume of short stories drawn from the “Ways of Death” milieu, *Simultan* (Three paths to the lake; 1972) before her death, leaving behind in various stages of completion several novel fragments (including *Requiem für Fanny Goldmann* (Requiem for Fanny Goldmann) and *Das Buch Franzia* (The book of Franzia; published in 1978). In fall 1973 Bachmann incurred burns over a third of her body when she apparently fell asleep with a burning cigarette. On 17 October 1973 she died in a Roman hospital from her burns and the convulsions brought on by withdrawal from a drug that her doctors could not identify.

In her 1959 “Frankfurt Lectures on Poetics,” Bachmann insisted that literature was always a product of its historical conditions: “Probably no one believes any more that writing literature takes place outside of the historical situation—that even a single writer exists whose starting point isn’t determined by the conditions of the time.” It was the task of the writer to confront historical circumstances and to envision alternatives to them: “In the happiest of cases he can succeed at two things: at representing, representing his time, and at presenting something for which the time has not yet come” (*W* 4: 196). Bachmann’s lectures on the problems of contemporary literature may also be read as a statement of her own project: whatever its genre, her writing always attempted to illuminate the problems of the present and to envision utopian realms where those problems would be resolved. Her writing is rooted in history in several ways.
Her success with readers of her poetry in the 1950s and feminist readers of her fiction after her death derived from their perception that her texts captured their own contemporary concerns, though the avant-garde complexity of her texts (itself a historical product) also allowed them to interpret her treatment of social problems in a variety of ways compatible with their own political positions. The limitations of Bachmann’s writing were also a consequence of her historical situation: though she could portray alternatives to the social forms that destroy her female figures, in the era before the second wave of feminism she could never imagine any means of moving those figures from here to there.

In its famous 1954 lead story, Der Spiegel called Bachmann’s poetry a “steno-gram of its time.” Bachmann’s poems, along with those of her friend Paul Celan, signaled a turning point for postwar German literature. Until Bachmann and Celan, only two lyrical avenues seemed open to postwar German poets: either to escape the contemporary situation via a retreat into religion, nature, or aestheticism, or—the route initially chosen by the antifascist authors of the Gruppe 47—to focus on the trials of the postwar period using the plain, unadorned language of everyday life. But by 1953, Germans were ready to put their tribulations behind them. Through their appropriation of an astonishing repertoire of lyric traditions and techniques, Bachmann and Celan reestablished the connections of German poetry to the European tradition and to its own problematic past. Bachmann’s poetry seemed clearly located in the context of postwar concerns, acknowledging a German history that included National Socialism and its aftermath, a social order that had restored “yesterday’s hangmen” to places of honor. But, as Der Spiegel noted, the message of those poems could seem both very concrete and also shadowy and imprecise. Thus some readers could consider poems that treated such themes as loss, isolation, fear, or flight as a response to the historical situation; others could call them existentialist accounts of the condition of man in the modern world; and still others could regard them as beautiful evocations of timeless universal concerns.

The title poem of Bachmann’s first collection, Die gestundete Zeit, already strikes a new literary note. “Harder days are coming” (Storm 43), it warns, urging watchfulness and caution. The poems often give voice to the desire to flee a compromised reality, but they almost always combine the impulse toward flight with a sober recognition of the impossibility of escape. Some of her most political poems speak directly about the cultural atmosphere of the postwar period, as in the poem “Every Day”: “War is no longer declared, / only continued” (Storm 53). In “Leaving Port,” the poem with which the collection opens, a ship embarks on a perilous voyage for an uncertain destination, and the poet counsels steadfast-
ness, even defiance: “Stay calm on deck” (Storm 27). And in “Wood Chips” she cautions, “Make sure you stay awake!” (Storm 45). Sometimes Bachmann draws upon an alternative utopian imagery derived from nature, love, or art: “But like Orpheus I know of life on the side of death” (Storm 35). Mainly, however, hope is sustained through the will of the poet alone, often through the power of her language to state what is true: “As long as [the bile]’s bitter, I intend / to write the word of the beginning” (Storm 45).

Bachmann’s unmistakable tone, her ability to find concrete and sensuous expression for abstract concerns, continued into her second volume, Anrufung des Großen Bären. This collection is generally considered to be stronger poetically and more regular metrically, employing simpler language and more complex symbolism drawn from a variety of Western traditions. Contrasts between Germanic coldness and Mediterranean light, warmth, and vibrancy often shape the poems. Many are less explicitly political, less obviously defiant. Yet the world of this collection is still an imperiled one, the poet proclaiming apocalyptically, for instance, that “a torrent is coming over the earth. / We shall be witnesses” (Storm 123). The collection oscillates between danger and a destructive emptiness on the one hand, and on the other a powerful invocation of utopia, often figured as fairy-tale, love, or an intact natural world. Here, too, the poet’s language is often the vehicle for her redemption, and she proclaims; “Yet the song above the dust / one day will rise above us” (Storm 153), and “You, my word, deliver me!” (Storm 113).

It was parallel to her poems, with which they shared many themes and motifs, that Bachmann produced a series of radio plays (a popular genre in the decade after the war because Germans still owned the radios the Nazis had given them) as well as “radio essays,” dramatized discussions of figures whose influence was discernible elsewhere in Bachmann’s work: Robert Musil, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Marcel Proust, Simone Weil, the logical positivists of the Vienna Circle. Especially in their emphasis on dream, illusion, irreality, and interiority, Bachmann’s radio plays displayed many of the characteristics typical of a literary form also employed by many other German authors of the period. Laurenz, the protagonist of “A Business with Dreams,” is a meek and docile office worker who discovers a store that will sell him the secret fantasies for which he’s always longed: riches, power, romance. But in the dream store the currency is time, and extravagant dreams may cost a whole lifetime. Laurenz has so thoroughly internalized the norms of his joyless life that even though the time at his disposal is empty, he’s unwilling to pay so high a price. When he returns to reality, he is fired, so now he has plenty of time, but “Time for
what?” (W 2: 47). In “The Cicadas,” six figures have sought asylum from society on a southern island, but Bachmann offers them no opportunity to fulfill their concrete wishes there. She warns that escape from reality, especially into art, can produce people like cicadas, so dried out from their lack of contact with real life that their singing becomes inhuman. In “The Good God of Manhattan,” Bachmann turned for the first time to the constellation of themes that would shape her later prose. The Good God represents domination as an all-powerful social principle that refuses to tolerate anything inimical to its rule and is prepared to resort to violence in order to enforce its dictates. In this radio play, Bachmann connects domination to the question of gender relations: the God persecutes a pair of lovers because their passion threatens the quotidian order that is his domain. Bachmann endows her female figure, Jennifer, with a greater capacity for love than her partner but also shows that, for women, love can lead simultaneously to bliss and (self-)destruction. The utopian power of Jennifer’s love is not mighty enough to overcome the temptations of everyday life to which her lover Jan succumbs, and the God blows Jennifer to bits while sparing Jan, who has taken a break from ecstasy to catch up on the news in a bar.

It is now easy to recognize that all three radio plays were intended as critiques of the crass and ugly consumer culture of the 1950s and that they advanced their challenge from the vantage point of a utopian alternative to the bad present—though one that could be presented in the plays only as tentative, partial, and finally unachievable. But as in the case of her poems, the form of Bachmann’s radio plays, itself a product of the 1950s, could allow her audience to ignore the intensity of her social criticism and instead regard the plays as treatments of Being, myth, or timeless and unchanging human dilemmas.

Although she had always written occasional short stories, in the late 1950s Bachmann began a more total transition from poetry and radio plays to prose. The seven stories of The Thirtieth Year (1961) continue to explore many of the same themes: the consequences of fascism for the postwar period; the conflict between individual happiness and a hostile social order; the search for a utopian alternative to the present order; language as a vehicle of co-optation or redemption; and the connection of gender issues to other forms of social control. The volume’s first story, “Youth in an Austrian Town,” is a semiautobiographical account that reveals the psychic cost of growing up in the 1930s and 1940s in the Austrian provinces. “Among Murderers and Madmen,” set in Vienna ten years after war’s end, shows how latent and overt allegiances to fascism continue to shape postwar intellectual life. In the title story, an unnamed thirty-year-old
male protagonist negotiates an existential crisis: he rebels against a social reality he suddenly perceives as intolerable; he questions the stability of his own identity, the meaning of the world, and his own ability to grasp it through language; and finally he again reconciles himself to everyday life. Like “The Thirtieth Year,” two other stories thematize language’s incapacity to convey truth: in “A Wildermuth,” a trial judge seeks complete linguistic accuracy and ends in madness, and the father of “Everything” tries to preserve his son from contamination by corrupt everyday language but succeeds only in abandoning him to the imperfect reality that his mother represents.

The two stories most popular with feminists link women’s accommodation to gender norms with all other aspects of an oppressive social order. In “A Step towards Gomorrah,” Charlotte hopes that her challenge to gender roles in a lesbian relationship with Mara will shatter all other social conventions, including language, and inaugurate a counterorder. But the love affair founders before it begins because she merely reverses the roles she wants to repudiate, assuming the same kind of domination over Mara that men have exercised over her. “Undine Goes” is an even more radical invocation of a utopian arena outside the social reality ruled by men. Unlike Hans Christian Andersen’s “Little Mermaid” and other figures in the ondine tradition, this Undine admires the world men have made but refuses to sacrifice her own principles to accommodate herself to their order. She renounces the love of men and, as language fails her, returns to her own watery realm.

Although Bachmann thereafter published almost nothing new until the early 1970s, she had begun to work on the “Ways of Death” novel cycle even before The Thirtieth Year appeared. The multivolume cycle she planned was intended as an anatomy of her entire society, a portrait of the twenty years since 1945 from the vantage point of Vienna and Austria, and, like many great European novels of the nineteenth century, it would use a series of female figures to investigate the mores of the time. In previous centuries, such an examination of the situation of individuals within society might have been undertaken via a grand narrative of action in the external world. But now, Bachmann argued, those dramas of suffering and passion must be portrayed as intrapsychic, as “history/story within the I/psyche” (“die Geschichte im Ich” [W 4: 230]), so that in the “Ways of Death” “the real settings” are “interior ones” (Franza 4). Premised on an understanding of the constitution of the human psyche with some affinities to the analyses of the Frankfurt School, the “Ways of Death” would show how a single principle of social domination produced human subjects that voluntarily yield to its destruc-
tive power. It is probably possible to read the female protagonists as figures for the state of subjectivity in Bachmann’s time, as Madame Bovary or Anna Karenina figured subjectivity in the nineteenth century. But feminist scholars have argued that it is more productive to read the “Ways of Death” as an exploration of the damage done to female subjectivity in a society founded on the principles of male dominance and female subordination. Despite the contemporary setting of the “Ways of Death,” Bachmann’s avant-garde techniques sometimes made it difficult even for feminists to recognize that her novels addressed the social construction of femininity of a particular era, and some feminist readings of Bachmann have been as ahistorical as those of her earlier critics.

The first of Bachmann’s “Ways of Death” remained a fragment, and her editors named it Der Fall Franza (The Franza case) when they published it in 1978 in Bachmann’s Werke (Works); the editors of the “Todesarten”-Projekt now term it Das Buch Franza (The book of Franza). The status of the novel is contested in Bachmann criticism: while some scholars have regarded it as the most complex of the “Ways of Death” novels, central to the cycle, others maintain that Bachmann abandoned Franza altogether, perhaps considering it too obvious, and integrated most of its material into Malina. In a foreword to Franza, Bachmann argued that the “virus of crime” (Franza 3) had not vanished from the world after 1945 and explained that her book would show that the murderers, still among us, were now wreaking a havoc no longer even termed criminal. In this fragment, one of those murderers is the famous Viennese psychiatrist Leopold Jordan, who has deliberately set about to drive his wife, Franza, mad, and she flees from Vienna to join her beloved brother Martin on a trip to Egypt and the Sudan. Within the logic of the novel, Egypt is a site outside the boundaries of the West and also stands for a stage of psychic development before “the Greeks” (i.e., the oedipus complex, patriarchy) assume control. Jordan is a figure for the reigning principle of white male reason; Franza terms his treatment of her fascist and identifies with other victims of white men, including Jews and people “from a lower race” (Franza 79). Franza’s childhood relationship to her brother had seemed a utopian alternative to the present gender order, and at war’s end in their village of Galicien she had imagined that fascism was forever vanquished. But now Martin has become a white man too and can no longer understand or help his sister. In Egypt, Franza proclaims that she is beyond the power of whites but continues to deteriorate physically and mentally, a “decomposition” (Franza 119) that finally allows her to draw the structures of Western thought into question but cannot undo the devastation that Jordan has caused. She discovers in Cairo a German doctor who had carried out medical experiments in
concentration camps and begs him to put her out of her misery, but he refuses indignantly, and Franza is surprised to discover that he is afraid of her. Later, as Martin climbs the Great Pyramid, a white exhibitionist rapes Franza. Remembering that she’d also been raped by Jordan, she smashes her head against stones of the pyramid while shouting “No!” in her “other voice” (Franza 140, translation modified). She dies the next day. Although Franza resists at the end, she can’t move beyond victimhood. The novel builds a monument to her destruction, however, by showing why it happened: the murderers are men (fascists, whites, Enlightenment reason) who refuse to tolerate forms of female subjectivity that challenge the limits they have set. Yet Franza’s absence also speaks; she is like the Egyptian queen Hatshepsut, whose successor had tried to eradicate all traces of her from the walls of her Theban temple but forgot that though he had eradicated her, she was still there: “It can still be read, because nothing is there where in fact something should be” (Franza 109).

In the late 1960s, Bachmann laid Franza aside when she devised a new plan for her novel cycle. The overarching narrator of all the “Ways of Death” was now to be a man, Malina, who would tell the stories of female figures so congruent with the gender norms of their time that they couldn’t even recognize the damage that had been done to them. The novel Malina would inaugurate her cycle, showing why its unnamed female protagonist narrator (the “I”) can’t write her own book called “Ways of Death” because she can’t remember or tell what’s happened to her. She vanishes into the wall at the end of the novel, leaving Malina behind. There is little dramatic exterior action in this novel; history is present in the form of the psychic deformations for which it is responsible. The protagonist’s clearest insight into her situation takes place in her dreams, the focus of the novel’s second chapter (called “The Third Man,” a title borrowed from Orson Welles’ film about corruption in postwar Vienna), in which an all-powerful father figure torments and persecutes her, often in scenes that recall concentration camps. By the end of the dream chapter the protagonist can acknowledge: “Here there is always violence. Here there is always struggle. It’s the eternal war” (Malina 155).

In waking life, the protagonist seems initially to be entangled in a conventional triangle, torn between her lover Ivan and the man who shares her apartment in the Ungargasse, Malina. But although the novel is set in contemporary Vienna amid characters who also recur, in Balzacian fashion, in Franza and Three Paths to the Lake, its experimental form—a mix of dialogues, musical scores, arias, interviews, letters, literary quotations, and long stream-of-consciousness passages—soon makes clear that the stage for this action is really intrapsychic.
Each man represents one inadequate option for women. In love with sadistic Ivan, the protagonist withdraws entirely into the private realm, embraces her dependence upon him, frantically tries to please, and believes she’s happy—as he mistreats, neglects, and finally abandons her. Calm, steady, colorless Malina is, Bachmann acknowledges, the frenetic and anxiety-ridden protagonist’s doppelgänger, who can take control of the details of her chaotic daily life only at the cost of the ecstasy and passion that reason can’t comprehend and that the protagonist associates with femininity. Says the protagonist: “I have lived in Ivan and die in Malina” (Malina 223). A utopian narrative that threads its way through this novel, “The Secrets of the Princess of Kagran,” is a fairy-tale of a love affair with a stranger in ancient times. But at the end of this tale the princess dies too, and, even though the fairy-tale narrative proclaims that “a day will come” when conflict is resolved and happiness is achieved, such fulfillment remains in the realm of fantasy. If this protagonist represents another voice for women, it’s one that can’t as yet explain its own condition or even offer an account of it, except in the distorted and disguised language of dreams, parapraxes, and hysterical symptoms. After the end of Malina, the “Ways of Death” will be told from the dispassionate perspective of reasonable, reliable Malina and seem to take the form of realistic narratives, though a somber subtext will always undercut their conventional surface.

The narrative stance of the five stories of Three Paths to the Lake is similarly ironic. The protagonists of the middle three stories are so utterly absorbed by the intensely feminine concerns of the private realm that they can’t recognize the disastrous consequences for themselves. In “Problems Problems,” Beatrix has withdrawn so completely from all external concerns that she’s succumbed to narcissism and spends her time either sleeping or at the beauty parlor. Near-sighted Miranda of “Eyes to Wonder” refuses to wear her glasses so she can avoid seeing anything unpleasant (including her lover’s unfaithfulness). By dedicating her story to Georg Groddeck, whose Book of the It argues that all physical symptoms have psychic causes, Bachmann underlines the pathological costs of Miranda’s cheery feminine inability to engage with reality. Franza Jordan reappears in “The Barking,” attempting to care for her husband’s neglected elderly mother; the two women collude in their refusal to acknowledge Jordan’s ruthlessness and brutality. Only when senility overtakes old Mrs. Jordan can she find expression for her rage: she imagines herself surrounded by the barking of innumerable dogs, her revenge for her son’s refusal to let her keep a pet because the dog couldn’t stand him.
The middle stories are framed by two longer stories about gifted career women whose professional activities in the public arena help to secure Western hegemony over the rest of the world, though in the female realm of reproduction: one a translator, the other a photographer, both function as media through which the activities of others pass. Though each meets every objective criterion for female autonomy and success, both are emotionally distraught and on the verge of psychic breakdown. In “Word for Word,” Nadja leaves the international conference where she’s been working as a simultaneous translator for an unsuccessful fling with a married bureaucrat. She’s finally consoled when, in a Bible in a hotel desk drawer, she finds a sentence she can’t translate, a sign she has not been completely subsumed by her function. In “Three Paths to the Lake,” a companion piece to “Youth in an Austrian Town,” Elisabeth, a fifty-year-old photojournalist, returns to her hometown, a thinly disguised Klagenfurt, and tries to figure out what’s gone wrong with her life. Both frame stories thematize language’s inability to convey what is really important, and Elizabeth rages, “Hasn’t it ever occurred to anyone that you kill people when you deprive them of the power of speech and with it the power to experience and think” (Paths 173). Her passionate and destructive love affairs with men have all ended badly, and she concludes, “It would be best if men and women kept their distance and had nothing to do with each other until both had found their way out of the tangle and confusion, the discrepancy inherent in all relationships” (Paths 175). At the story’s end, she decides helplessly to accept an assignment in Vietnam in the vain hope that something she does can make the world a little better.

When Bachmann died, she left behind several unfinished “Ways of Death” (mostly written before Malina), of which Requiem for Fanny Goldmann, published in 1978, and Gier (Greed), published in 1982, were the most nearly complete. The protagonists of these fragments, realistic texts with an ironic subtext more like Three Paths to the Lake than Malina, are also represented as products of a male-dominated social order to which they accommodate themselves and which finally destroys them. Some of Bachmann’s readers have succumbed to the temptation to conflate Bachmann’s unhappy life and her writing, viewing her, like her female figures, as merely a victim of the social system that produced her. Bachmann’s own words may provide more guidance to her readers. In 1972 she responded emphatically to an interviewer, “I myself am a person who never resigned herself, never ever resigned herself, who can’t even conceive of that” (Gul 118). In the last year of her life she could still maintain: “And I don’t believe in this materialism, in this consumer society, in this capitalism, in this monstros-
ity that’s taking place here, and people who enrich themselves on us without having any right to do so. I really do believe in something, and I call it ‘A Day Will Come.’ And one day it will come. Well, probably it won’t come, because it’s been destroyed for us so many times, for thousands of years it’s been destroyed. It won’t come, but I believe in it nonetheless. For if I weren’t able to believe in it, then I couldn’t write any more” (Gul 145).