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Zooming In and Out of Historical Multilingual Literature

Reading 19th-Century Literary Dictionaries on Scale

Abstract: Mixed methods approaches for literary history writing have shown the 'great unread' of 19th-century literature. Here, a mixed methods approach to multilingual literary history attempts to systematically study and model multilingual literature in the 19th century, thus uncovering hitherto unknown or little-known multilingual authors. The analysis is based on data from two historical biographical dictionaries containing biographical and bibliographical data of German authors. Using named entity recognition and visualization tools (Recogito, NodeGoat) biographical information is mined for implicit and explicit references to multilingualism. By mapping places of residence of authors from different multilingual regions, multilingual literary communities become visible. One example, the multilingual literary community of Preßburg (Bratislava), is investigated closely to show societal, cultural, individual, and textual forms of (hidden) multilingualism. The article concludes by critically evaluating the tools and approaches used to explore hidden multilingualism in 19th-century German literature.

Keywords: Distant Reading, Close Reading, Literary History, Mixed Methods, Bratislava

> "Lubię mapy, bo kłamią" [I love maps because they lie], Wisława Szymborska

1 Introduction: hidden multilingualism and 19th century literary histories

Multilingualism and multilingual literature are a central phenomenon of a global world and culture, interconnected through migration as well as economic, cultural, and linguistic contact. Multilingual literary history in Europe focus-

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es on literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance between Latin and different vernaculars, polyglot Renaissance and Baroque authors as well as modern multilingual texts by George, Rilke, Pound, Joyce, Yvan Goll, or Beckett (Forster 2011 [1968]: 7–9). In any case, knowledge of multilingual authors and literature depends entirely on previous information about their multilingual nature, as most literary histories are written with a monolingual bias. The titles of well-known 19th-century literary historiographies and studies of literary history betray that predisposition: *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen* [History of the Poetical National Literature of the Germans] by Georg Gervinus (1844), Wilhelm Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* [History of German Literature] (1883), or Rudolf von Gottschall's *Die deutsche Nationalliteratur in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts literaturhistorisch und kritisch dargestellt* [The German national literature in the first half of the 19th century presented in a literary-historical and critical way] (1855). From those titles, the national and monolingual focus becomes immediately evident. Indeed, 19th-century literary scholarship as well as later research on multilingual literature has implicitly and explicitly ignored multilingual realities during the time of linguistic and literary nationalization: "In many cases, the multilingual facets of 19th-century literary history have been ignored or actively excluded by the national paradigm" (Anokhina, Dembeck, and Weissmann 2019: 2). The result of this national literary history is aptly described by Casanova: "[…] our literary unconscious is largely national. Our instruments of analysis and evaluation are national. Indeed, the study of literature almost everywhere in the world is organized along national lines" (Casanova 2004: XI). Dembeck describes the paradox of multilingual canonical authors within national literature when he explains how Herder and Goethe both diversified German literature through collections, translations, and demands for other literatures but at the same time contributed to the monolingual paradigm being established via national literature (Dembeck 2017: 3).

Multilingual literary studies are more and more interested in researching multilingual authors who lived and wrote during the time of the nationalization of literature, which coincided with the formation and establishment of modern philologies like German Studies. Nevertheless, the 19th century remains underrepresented in multilingual literary scholarship: one of the few volumes on historical European multilingual literature and a trailblazer in multilingual literary historical research calls the 19th century a "chronological gap", a "dark continent of literary multilingual scholarship" (Anokhina, Dembeck, and Weissmann 2019: 1). However, within the digital humanities it is the opposite. Literary scholarship focuses heavily on 19th-century literature given its accessi-

bility but it has only recently developed methods that include a multilingual approach (Dejaeghere et al.). Tools and software often support only a monolingual corpus and approach.

Multilingual literature also forms part of the "great unread", a description which Moretti borrows from Cohen (Cohen 2009: 59) to refer to the problem of world literature. Of the many books published in the 19th century only a fraction of them are read and belong to the canon (Moretti 2013: 45). Mani uses the term recoding to refer to a new reading of national literature within the paradigm of world literature: "Recoding World Literature asks two intertwined questions: how does our imagination of the world rely on our access to books and libraries? And conversely, how does our access to world literature shape our understanding of books and libraries?" (Mani 2017: 16).

By zooming out of multilingual literary history, much like the bird's-eye view in Google Maps where this metaphor comes from, it is possible to get a first and broad impression of the material. Zooming in enables a close investigation of certain cities, neighborhoods, authors, publications, and texts. However, the metaphor is not a method and the use of scalable reading and mixed methods to analyze multilingual literary history needs further explanation and reflection. How can we recover multilingual literary material when most of the sources provide us with monolingual material and leave out information about existing multilingualism? My approach here is twofold: first, I investigate specific references to multilingualism, which mostly consist of translations and language knowledge in historical biographical and bibliographical dictionaries on German writers.

Second, I combine biographical and bibliographical data with geographical coordinates to establish the places of residence of authors at the time of writing and producing a text. Here, multilingualism is at first hypothetical: writers in multilingual surroundings might or might not be multilingual. However, through zooming in on external linguistic information, language biographies, and texts, it is possible to reconstruct the multilingual lives of lesser-known authors. This leads to two more forms of multilingualism: multilingualism through migration and change of place (as further described in Vlasta (in this volume)) and local multilingualism within multilingual regions.

My hypothesis implies that multilingual surroundings and daily multilingual interactions of the authors influence their writing, causing multilingual interference with and in the texts. Furthermore, the connection between geographical, biographical, and linguistic data reveals networks and neighborhoods of literary and linguistic communities who talk, discuss, and publish together across, along and through different languages. I will provide an exam-

ple of those neighborhoods in multilingual Bratislava in the 19th century in the second part of this paper.

2 Zooming out: languages and forms of multilingualism in literary dictionaries of the 19th century

2.1 Corpus and data

This study uses historical biographical data on multilingual competences and everyday use of different languages. Biographical data, including information on languages, multilingualism, and places of residence, can be found in historical biographical dictionaries which are useful sources for investigating multilingual authors even if their main aim is to provide information on German literature. These dictionaries are representative of the positivist studies of 19th-century literature scholars. The most extensive collection of biographical data on German authors in the 19th century is Goedeke's *Grundrisz zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen* [Outline of the history of German poetry from its sources] published in 3 volumes between 1859 and 1881. He combined existing biographical and bibliographical data with information gathered through correspondence with authors (Jacob 2003: 163). He advertised in journals asking writers to send in their biographies and even included questionnaires to gather structured data (Jacob 2003: 163) The eight volumes are structured chronologically, beginning in the age of Charlemagne and spanning until the 19th century. (Jacob 2003: 165). The short biographical notes provide information about dates of birth and death, education, profession, and publications with additional private data (Jacob 2003: 166).

Franz Brümmer (1836–1923) began working on his dictionary, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* [Encyclopaedia of German poets and prose writers from the beginning of the 19th Century until present], after reading a complaint in a journal that it was almost impossible to find reliable information about contemporary writers. Collaborating with publishers, he collected and extracted personal data about writers including those writing under a pseudonym (Jacob 2003: 117). The dictionary was published in installments and later in book format (1876/1877). It contained a list of hitherto unknown authors as well as a plea from the publisher, Brümmer, to send him additional information concerning those authors

(Jacob 2003: 118). The names appear in alphabetical order and the articles contain information on dates of birth (and death), pseudonyms, father's occupation, education, occupation and work, contributions to journals and newspapers as well as bibliographical data on published works. (Jacob 2003: 119).

Sophie Pataky (1860–1915)'s *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder* [Dictionary of German women of the pen] contains biographical and bibliographical information of appr. 5000 female writers. Pataky's dictionary of female writers was not the first of that sort: before her, Georg Christian Lehms (1715), Samuel Baur (1790), Karl Wilhelm Otto August Schindel (1823–25), Abraham Voß (1848), and the first woman, Marianne Nigg, published biographical and bibliographical collections of female writers (Jacob 2003: 135) (Behnke 1999, 1: 5), but Pataky's was the most complete for 19th-century female writers. She was inspired by the International Congress of Women to focus on literature by female writers (Behnke 1999, 1: 53). She herself was born in Podebrad, Bohemia, and lived in a multilingual region herself, just like her husband, Carl Pataky, who came from Arad to Vienna and Berlin (Jacob 2003: 138). The Berlin publisher and Pataky's husband, Carl Pataky, published both volumes of the lexicon in the space of just a few months (Behnke 1999, 1: 52). The subtitle of Pataky's lexicon explains its scope: "Eine Zusammenstellung der seit dem Jahre 1840 erschienenen Werke weiblicher Autoren, nebst Biographieen der lebenden und einem Verzeichnis der Pseudonyme" [A compilation of the works of female authors published since 1840, together with biographies of the living ones and a list of pseudonyms]. Apart from a few exceptions, the dictionary only contains information on living, contemporary writers between 1840 and 1898. It includes all or almost all women writing in German at that time, even if their works do not qualify as literature (such as cookbooks or instruction manuals for knitting, sewing and household keeping). The articles are separated into a biographical and a bibliographical part, the length of the entries differing widely between only the name and full information on name, name changes, pseudonyms, address, places of residence, birth, travels, education, family, marriage, children, language knowledge, and other details. In some cases, all biographical information is missing. (Behnke 1999, 1: 56).

The advantages of Brümmer's and Pataky's dictionaries are their focus on contemporary writers in the 19th century and the structure of the articles. The alphabetical, not chronological, order of the dictionaries makes it easier to extract and re-structure biographical, geographical, and bibliographical metadata semi-automatically.

However, both dictionaries explicitly refer to German and accordingly implicitly to monolingual writers. Information about multilingual authors is occa-

sionally part of the biographical description. Paradoxically, multilingualism plays an important role in the dictionary which – in its title *Deutsche Frauen der Feder* [German Women of the Pen] – emphasizes the fact that the female writers wrote in German. However, a closer analysis reveals the different forms of multilingualism that play an integral role in female authorship, literary production and for female education and serve as a means of economic independence. Pataky reflects on her own invisibility and the invisibility of female authorship in the 19th century. Gender and genre create invisibility for female authors who contribute to publications, translations, journals but remain unnamed or unappreciated which prompted the work of Pataky's dictionary (Pataky 1898a: VI). The dictionary also unmasks pseudonyms to make female authors more visible (Pataky 1898a: XI).

For this analysis, I used Pataky's dictionary to explore quantitative approaches to discovering multilingual authors and added information from Brümmer's dictionary for case studies of multilingual literary regions and their neighborhoods.

Experimentally, I used the smaller data set from Pataky's dictionary as a starting point to test the workflow and mixed methods to research multilingual writers in 19th century German literature. Therefore, the first stage of zooming out does not include male writers, who will be added in the second step of the analysis, the (re-)construction of multilingual literary neighborhoods in Bratislava (Preßburg).

2.2 Forms and functions of multilingualism in Pataky's *Deutsche Frauen der Feder*

Translations are among the most common instances of explicitly named occasions of multilingualism in Pataky's dictionary. Several writers were active translators. As it is visible in Figure 1, texts translated from 26 different languages are included in the bibliographical data and mentioned in the biographies; most of the languages are European; most dominant are translations from French and English into German. These numbers are reflected in the information about language knowledge, reading skills and writing skills that are explicitly mentioned in Pataky. English and French clearly dominate skills of other languages, including old languages like Latin or Greek. The skills mirror the contents of female education and often also resulted from finding employment as a teacher or governess.

However, those languages that are mentioned often differ from the languages of the regions in which the authors grew up, lived, traveled, and wrote.

Fig. 1: Source languages of translations to German from Pataky 1898

Only two entries contain information about a different home language or a different regional language. The Swiss author Marie Bach-Gelpcke grew up bilingual: "Geboren in Bern, am 26. Juni 1836 aber die ersten Jahre am schönen Lemanersee aufgewachsen, erlernte die Kleine die beiden Sprachen französisch und deutsch gleichzeitig" [Born in Bern on June 26, 1836, but having grown up at the beautiful Lake Geneva for the first years, the little girl learned both languages, French and German, at the same time.] (Pataky 1898a: 28). Another Swiss author, Johanna Garbald-Gredig, grew up speaking Romansh and German (Pataky 1898a: 243). The author Julienne van der Chys grew up speaking (and writing) Dutch: "Ihre ersten Verse waren in holländischer Sprache geschrieben [...]. Mit Mühe erlernte sie die deutsche Sprache" [Her first verses were written in Dutch [...]. She had a hard time learning the German language] (Pataky 1898a: 128).

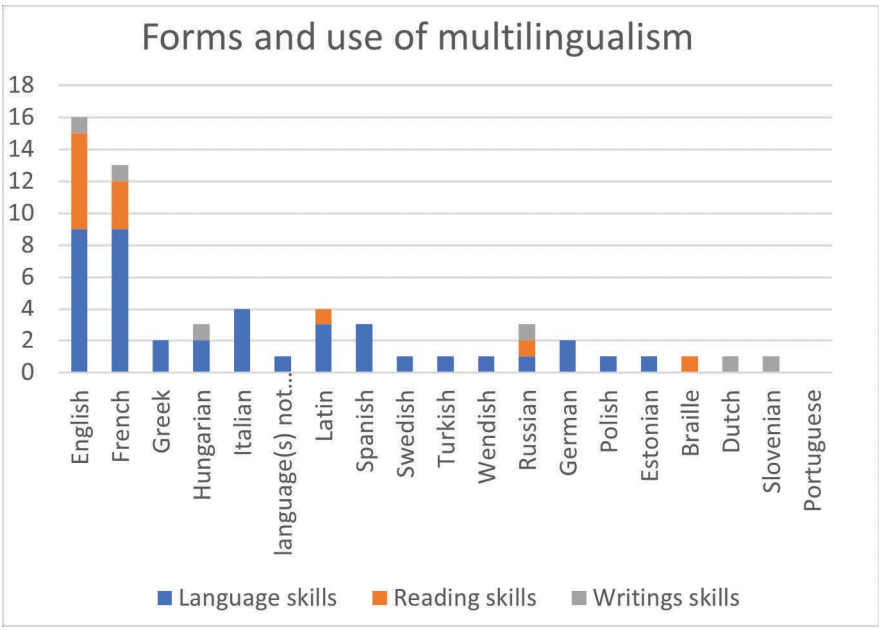

Fig. 2: Language skills mentioned, Pataky 1898

Two examples refer to regional bilingualism in Switzerland, another to a language change occasioned by a change of places where the author, Julienne van der Chys, had to learn German as a foreign language. Both instances include only Western European languages (Germanic and Romance languages).

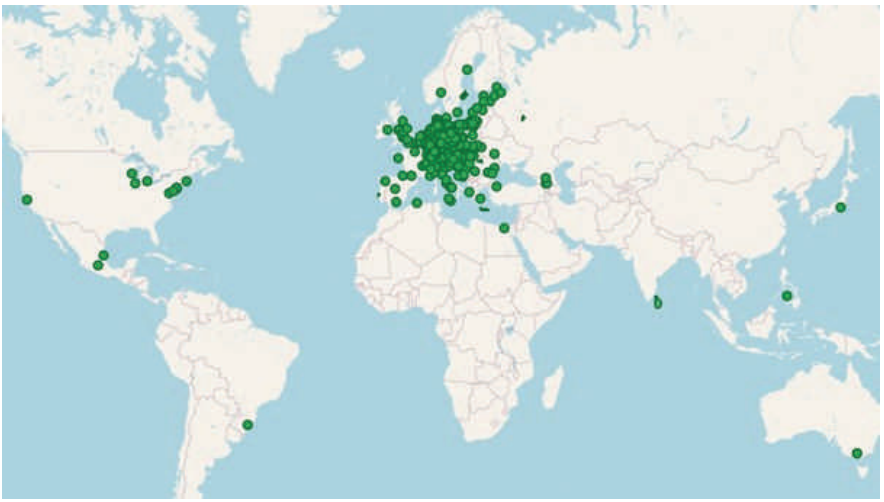

Fig. 3: Places of residence of female authors, Pataky's Lexikon (map created using Recogito Pelagius)

Geographical data from Pataky's dictionary show the wide range of places of residence of 19th century female writers. Whereas writers congregate within the territory of (today's) Germany, European and international outliers are recognizable as well as a clear regional focus in the East of Europe. However, there are large areas in the world where, according to Pataky, no female German writer lived.

There are three main categories of regions and places in a multilingual context:

- Foreign language surroundings through international migration, often only for one author.
- Historically multilingual literary regions for writers within cultural communities.
- Migrant communities within a foreign language surrounding.

In order to further understand those regions and individual cases, zooming into the now visible, formerly hidden multilingualism completes the picture of the map above.

3 Zooming into hidden multilingualism: networks and neighborhoods of languages, literatures, and writers

Most German writers lived within the (wider) German speaking area, often in Europe, and in individual cases as far as the US, Brazil, Mexico, Melbourne, or Tokyo. Those places of migration can have a strong impact on the language biographies of the authors living there but mostly, linguistic information is missing and cannot be reconstructed due to lack of evidence. To give but a few examples of potentially multilingual authors whose exact language knowledge is unknown: C.W. Emma Brauns (1836–1893) lived in Tokyo with her husband, a university teacher and fellow author. She published a collection of Japanese fairytales and probably learned Japanese during the three years of her stay there (Pataky 1898a: 102). Rosa von Herff-Schacht published poems with Spanish titles while living in Mexico (Pataky 1898a: 341). Maruša Nusko traveled through Egypt and stayed as a teacher in Cairo where she was working on a study on Egypt (Pataky 1898b: 96–97). However, not always did migrant languages and literary production overlap: Hanna Linnekogel, while living in Brazil, translated from French into German (Pataky 1898a: 509) without any mention of her Portuguese surroundings. Nothing more than her name and the information in Pataky's dictionary remain, but it is likely that the author was part of a migrant and colonist community, as German immigrants were the largest group of colonists after the Portuguese in Porto Alegre between 1824 and 1900 where it was also possible to publish in German (Seyferth 1998: 142). The linguistic surroundings were those of a language enclave of German, and she probably translated for a German immigrant community. While it might be difficult to reconstruct individual language biographies, more can be said about multilingual communities in multilingual regions.

Historically multilingual literary regions for writers within cultural communities include large parts of the so-called German speaking area. Linguistic data on multilingualism in the 19th century has similar problems to literary history – a lack of historical data leads to imprecise statements about the actual multilingual situation in those regions. Historical language maps illustrate the problem when they show linguistic borders along national and state borders (see Kiepert 1872). The same holds true for statistical evaluations of multilingualism because language surveys, especially in the 19th century, were also shaped by a monolingual bias (Humbert, Coray, and Duchêne 2018: 6). Historical sociolinguistics and research of linguistic and literary cityscapes have been helpful in recon-

structing the multilingual cityscapes of literary centers (Ptashnyk 2013 for Lviv/Lemberg/Lwów). Literary historical analysis of multilingual spaces especially in Central Europe describes literature in Vilnius/Wilno/Vilna, Tartu and Tallinn, Riga, Czernowitz/Cernăuţi/Chernovtsy/Chernivtsi/Czerniowce, Danzig/Gdańsk, Bucharest, Budapest, Trieste, and Prague (Cornis-Pope and Neubauer 2006, XX).

Fig. 4: Places of residence in the German speaking areas, visualisation of Pataky's dictionary (with Recogito)

However, by adopting a systematic and comparative approach, linking sociolinguistic multilingual cityscapes and literary history, the impact of linguistic everyday life on literary production can be discerned. Even contrasting a historical linguistic map which shows relatively clear linguistic boundaries for the 19th century with the places of residence of 'German' authors shows that the German speaking area (red) and the places of residence do not completely overlap (see Kiepert 1872). Multilingualism occurred in those areas in two forms – on the one hand, through German authors who lived in an area where German was not the dominant language (mostly marked in different shades of green on the map for Slavic languages, yellow for Hungarian, as well as blue (French, Italian), orange (Scandinavian), and brown (English)) (Kiepert 1872). On the other hand, there

are areas marked as German, but German was only one of several languages spoken, albeit the dominant one. This was the case in Silesia, Bohemia, East Prussia, Galicia, and other zones of language contact.

Cities had double function as multilingual and literary centers within those regions: "Cities have long been the chief locus of language contact, since they are in essence restricted areas dependent on long-term face-to-face interaction" (Mackey 2005: 1304). Cornis-Pope attributes cities in Central Europe the function of "magnetic fields", pulling Eastern and Western literary trends together (Cornis-Pope 2006: 9). Literary and linguistic contact and conflict create fertile ground for new forms of literature and culture: "The literary and artistic production in these areas involved a negotiation of tensions between nationalism and regionalism, metropolitan influences and local patriotism. Regionalism often worked as a corrective, turning potentially chauvinistic projects into intercultural ones" (Cornis-Pope 2006: 5). Places of residence and writing were potential "magnetic fields" and the authors used the linguistic and literary variety to negotiate regional, transregional, and transnational themes and literary forms in their writing.

From the many places of writing, one city will now serve as a case study to investigate whether the claim of a distant-reading, data-driven approach of biographical dictionaries of German writers will indeed succeed in finding multilingual writers.

Less central than during the 18th century, Bratislava, or Preßburg/Pozsony/Prešporok remained a political, administrative, economic, and cultural hub throughout the 19th century. Political distinctions of social and ethnic groups influenced the statistics about the ethnic (and linguistic) affiliation of the population. However, the population was mainly German, with sizable Slovak and Hungarian minorities throughout the 19th century (Meier 2020). While German was the dominant language during the first half of the 19th century, the second half was influenced by Magyarization efforts which produced more bilingual and monolingual Hungarian publications and periodicals. From 1870 onwards, many people were comfortably trilingual with German, Hungarian, and Slovakian (Meier 2020). The city offered a good university, and many authors studied in Preßburg. Similarly, Preßburg was a center of Jewish religion and learning, as it was the place of residence of one of the most famous orthodox rabbis of the 19th century, Moses Sofer (1762–1839) (Meier 2020) and an important yeshiva, a Jewish religious school. Therefore, also Hebrew literature was taught, written, and read in the city.

In Pataky's and Brümmer's dictionaries, Preßburg appears regularly as a place of birth or a place of residence. More than 60 authors lived there at some

point in their lives during the time of the analysis. The turn of the 18th century to the 19th century was the most literary active time in Preßburg whereas the city's cultural life became less dynamic towards the end of the century.

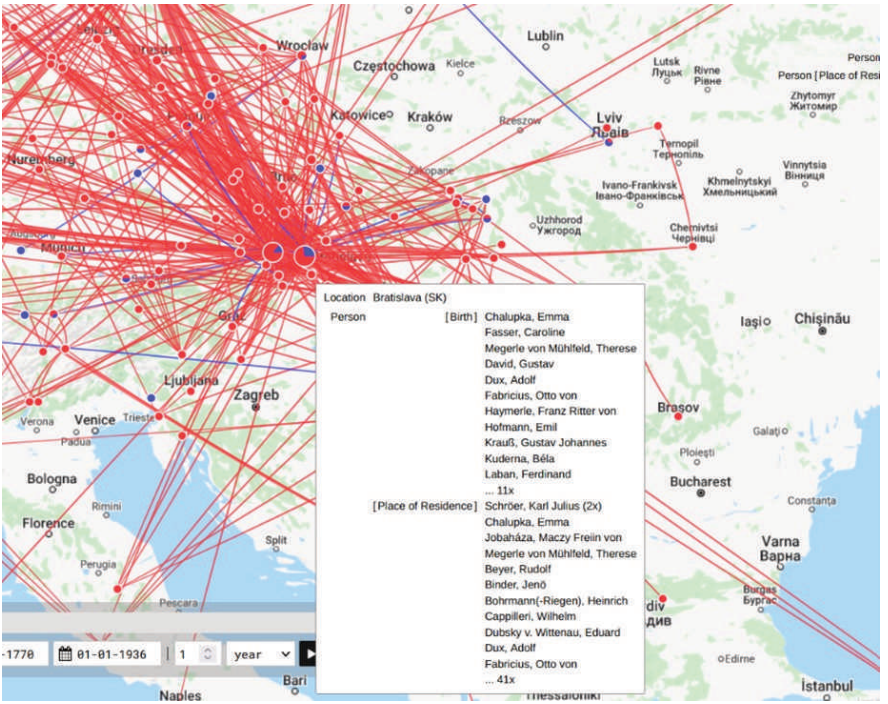

Fig. 5: Places of birth (blue) and residence (red) of authors in Pataky and Brümmer (map created with Nodegoat)

Altogether, there were several main reasons for authors to reside in Preßburg: many of the male authors came to the city to attend schools and the university as part of their studies – like Nikolaus Lenau who studied Hungarian law at Preßburg university in 1821. Jewish authors also came to attend the yeshiva in Preßburg. Some authors were drawn by the Preßburg theater or came through the city as part of a theater company. Several authors were born into families living in Preßburg or moved there during their childhood. Multilingualism was an inevitable part of everyday life for authors growing up in Preßburg where German, Hungarian, Slovakian, Yiddish and Hebrew were spoken in the city. Female authors either moved there with their families or married into a Preßburg family. Not all authors spent enough time in Preßburg to qualify as

part of the literary neighborhood in a meaningful way, integrating themselves long enough to take part in the social life of the city.

Regarding multilingualism, authors can be classified according to the languages they knew and the way they used different languages for different purposes. The first group of hidden multilinguals consists of authors who predominantly wrote and published in German despite knowing other languages – a form of passive, receptive or private multilingualism. Among those, Nikolaus Lenau (Nikolaus Franz Niembsch Edler von Strehlenau, 1802–1850), was probably the most well-known. Lenau was bilingual and spoke German and Hungarian. He even studied Hungarian in school in Budapest and probably also used it with his friends there (Ritter 2002: 21). He later acquired Latin and other language skills at school and at university and spoke Latin with his uncle (Ritter 2002: 22). Several lectures at the university in Vienna, where Lenau began his studies in 1818, were given in Latin (Ritter 2002: 40). Traces of the Hungarian language are visible in letters from Lenau to his mother: in 1820, he signed a letter to his mother in Preßburg with the words: "Ihr alle herzlich küßender Édes fiam: Miklós" [(German:) Yours kissing all of you (Hungarian:) My sweet son: Miklós] (Lenau 1989: 23). Code-switching from German to Hungarian seems connected to his mother, who probably called him "my sweet son". It also shows grammatical independence (the reference to himself should make it "édes fiad" [your sweet son]) and relates the phrase to the use within his family, maybe also distancing himself from the German-speaking grandparents who interfered with his literary ambitions and pressured him to pursue a career in German law. His Hungarian skills remained hidden to the public eye during his career as a romantic author from Central Europe.

Hungarian-German bilingualism was a key feature and a coveted ability in the Schröer family (Figure 7), which boasted several writers – the mother, Therese Schröer, née Langwieser (1804–1885), her husband Tobias Gottfried Schröer (1791–1850), and their son Karl Julius Schröer (1825–1900). They all lived in Preßburg and formed a small intellectual circle in the city, nurturing and representing Preßburg literature through various contacts with other authors like Karl von Holtei and joint publications. Therese Schröer came from a family in Preßburg, wrote poems, letter, short stories, as well as books and treatises on education and also composed songs (Glosíková 1995: 130). Research literature paints a picture of her as a patently stereotypical female wo is the soul of the gatherings and who took great care that everybody felt fine in the end – "daß sich letzten Endes alle wohlfühlten." (Pflagner 1974: 186). As a born and raised Preßburger and through the company her husband kept she was surely

multilingual enough to navigate those meetings between writers, artists, professors of different (linguistic) background well and amiably.

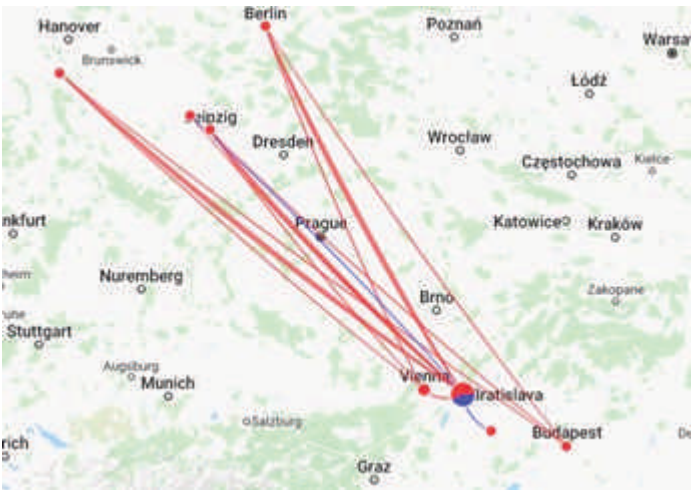

Fig. 6: Movements of the family members - Therese Schröer, Tobias Gottfried Schröer, and Karl Julius Schröer (created with NodeGoat)

Her own works were sparse and appeared only later in her life through the efforts of the author and playwright Karl von Holtei (1798–1880), who became her friend in 1836 and whose correspondence encouraged her to write and later publish her letters and stories. Those texts, while referring to multilingualism and featuring characters who do not speak German or speak German with an accent, are strictly monolingual.

Tobias Gottfried Schröer, her husband, grew up in Preßburg and, after studying in Győr and Halle, taught Latin, German, history, and art in his hometown at the Protestant lyceum (Glosíková 1995: 131). He published literary works as well as studies of history, politics, education, and aesthetics, with a strong focus on Hungarian-German relations. His identity as a German Hungarian, taking sides in the struggle for political independence of Hungary against the Habsburg monarchy made him publish under pseudonyms or anonymously to prevent censorship (Glosíková 1995: 132) The thorough linguistic and cultural education and political orientation also influenced their son, Karl Julius Schröer, who grew up in the intellectual circle around his parents in Preßburg. He studied Latin and Greek at home and at school and started to learn Hungarian at the age of eleven (Horányi 1941: 10). Later, he studied in Leipzig, Halle,

and Berlin (Glosíková 1995: 129). He first became a teacher in Preßburg like his father and then a professor for German literature in Budapest and Vienna. His scholarly work focused strongly on literary history and Goethe as well as the role of the German language as a minority language in Hungary (Glosíková 1995: 129).

Karl Julius Schröer's literary publications united German writers and Hungarian German writers from the Preßburg region. He showed a multilingual and multicultural understanding of (German) minorities in Hungary and a sense of national or ethnic identity which includes Hungarian-German multilingualism. His own multilingual competences do not appear in his written work but clearly inform his publication decisions as well as his research subjects.

In a short treaty on *Unsere Deutschen in den nichtdeutschen Kronländern und die Sprachkarte der Monarchie* [Our Germans in the Non-German Crown Lands and the Language Map of the Monarchy], Karl Julius Schröer lays out his understanding of German language minorities and the special role of German in that area. He notes that linguistic maps of the Habsburg monarchy fail to include German language islands and claims that the cultural superiority of German culture, literature, and language will guarantee its continued presence in those regions (Schröer n.d.: 1). He argues that it is also for this reason that Germans can never be fully Magyarized. He describes the multilingual surroundings of an outdoor coffeehouse in Preßburg where men talk in different varieties of German: Austrian, Silesian, Berlin dialect, women in Austrian German, and small children speak Hungarian with their nurses (Schröer n.d.: 3). These differences along the lines of gender (male–female), age (adult–child), and class (members of the city's bourgeoisie and their working-class nurses) manifest linguistically in the use of different language varieties and languages. German varieties are ranked highest as the languages of men whereas the local Austrian dialect is only connected to women. Hungarian is the language of children and nurses and thus has no cultural standing. These multilingual political tensions also appear in the press of that time. Schröer mentions a song, published in the Preßburger Zeitung on February 5, 1860, dealing with the Hungarian-German language question. (Schröer n.d.: 3):

The Song of a Pressburger (*Lied eines Presburgers* [sic]) describes and multilingually imitates the dialect and Hungarian-German language mixing of a German Hungarian in Preßburg and pleads for a continued existence in the city's separate linguistic, cultural, and national groups which nevertheless belong all to the city:

> Ein Unger bin i, des is rein,
> Laßt's mi a deutscher Unger sein:

> Sann ja Schlowacken a im Land
> Und des is immer no ka Schand.
> [...]
> Magyar, Schlowack, gebts her die Hand
> [I am an Hungarian, that's true,/Let me be a German Hungarian:/There are Schlowacken (Slovakians) in the country/And that's still no shame./[...]/Magyar, Schlowack, give me your hand] (Anonym 1860: 3)

While the German language and identity represent the connection to German and Habsburg power, the multilingual disposition enables Schröer and others to see the rights of other (linguistic) minorities and nationalities. This becomes evident in another publication.

Schröer and his fellow author and neighbor in Preßburg, Rudolf Bayer (or Beyer) published the literary yearbook *Donauhafen* [Port of the Danube] only once, in 1848. It negotiates questions of language, nationality, and belonging in the political frame of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. The volume contains contributions by several multilingual authors from Preßburg. It includes several multilingual contributions, a fact that is not explicitly mentioned. Thus, one can conclude that the internal multilingualism of the texts within a volume published under a German title was nothing worth mentioning - either for monolingual reasons because it would have to sell on the German literary market or because it was simply nothing special. A closer analysis shows that almost 25% of the text contains some form of multilingualism, ranging from minor forms of code-switching to translations. The languages include translations from Persian and Serbian, and code-switching between German as the dominant language and smaller parts in Hungarian, Romanian, French, Latin, and Italian. Apart from regional multilingualism connected to the Hungarian-German surroundings and forms of Habsburg monarchy multilingualism, the volume also contains a few of Georg Friedrich Daumer's *Hafis* translated from Persian (Bayer and Schröer 1848: 76–77).

The Habsburg writers came from different multilingual regions: Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894) a doctor, journalist, and writer grew up in Prague in a Jewish family, studied in Padua, and lived in Vienna. He published a translation of Serbian national songs in the volume (*Die Gattin des reichen Gavan*, *Hochzeitlied beim Kolotanz* [The Wife of Gavan the Rich, Wedding song for a Kolo dance]). Leopold Kompert (1822–1886), lived in Bratislava, and studied in Prague and Vienna. Karl Wilm (Karl Wilhelm von Martini, 1821–1885), a journalist and writer, came from the Banat region and lived and worked in Vienna. Many of the authors and poets were multilingual with German as one of their languages, usually as their main language of publication. They came from different parts of the Habsburg Empire. Some of the authors were personally ac-

quainted as well. Josef Rank (1816–1896) was an Austrian author and teacher. He published literary writing in the *Österreichisches Morgenblatt* [Austrian Morning Journal], was in contact with writers of the Vormärz period like Ignaz Franz Castelli and Nikolaus Lenau and had to spend some time in Bratislava in 1844 to escape the notice of the Viennese censors. There, he met Leopold Kompert and Adolf Neustadt (Lengauer 2003).

While the journal gained attention in literary journals and reviews mainly because of contributions by Gottfried Keller and Friedrich Hebbel (Anonym 1848: 796), the regional authors – the editors Karl Julius Schröer and Rudolf Beyer, as well as Josef Rank (1816–1896), Karl Wilm and Leopold Kompert were also mentioned for their description of Hungarian national life (*Ungarisches Nationalleben*). The multilingual character of their works was not revealed; instead, the "foreigness" was attributed to its different national character (Hungarianness), equalizing the multilingualism of the texts with German, Hungarian, Romanian, Italian, French, and Latin with a Hungarian national trait.

Zooming further into the texts of the literary anthology reveals the intricate political and poetical uses of multilingualism, hidden beneath the German title. The fable *Mausöhrlein, Forelle und Dr. Krebs. Ein Mährchen* [Myosotis, trout, and Dr. Crab. A fairytale] by the editor and writer Rudolf Beyer (psd. Rupertus) (Bayer [Beyer] 1848: 1) serves as an example of the ambiguous use of multilingualism. The fable tells the story of the three protagonists, the flower Myosotis and the trout, who fall in love and want to migrate to Hungary. They are joined by Dr. Crab – Dr. Krebs. None of them speaks Hungarian and they know very little about the country. After deciding to go to the fictional place of Cancriháza (a pun playing with the Hungarian word for "house" – ház and the Latin word cancer) myosotis and trout die in the heat of the Hungarian puszta. Dr. Crab bears witness to their demise and afterwards decides to re-migrate to Austria. The political context of the story is the Hungarian Revolution and the war for independence (1848/1849) against the Austrian Empire. While avoiding open political statements, it remains skeptical towards migrating to foreign countries, embodied by Hungary in the text. The foreignness is textually performed via multilingualism and metalinguistic comments on the Hungarian language.

A Hungarian mole who encounters Dr. Crab en route comments doubtfully on his attempt and motivation to stay in Hungary:

> "Lasse ich es auch für den Augenblick ganz außer Betracht, daß Sie als Deutsche sich nie dem Magyarismus accomodiren werden, daß Ihnen unsere Sprache kaum erlernbar sein dürfte, item unsere Gesetze und Lebensweise Ihnen stellenweis etwas unbegreiflich - vom Standpunkt als Deutscher aus - erscheinen dürfte, so verstehe ich namentlich Sie nicht, der Sie als Arzt hierherkamen, wie Sie das, was man im Allgemeinen schon dem

> Deutschen versagt, und was der Arzt im höchsten Grade und vorzugsweise besitzen soll, nämlich das Vertrauen, je hier zu finden gedenken"
> [Leaving aside for the moment the fact that you, as Germans, will never accommodate yourselves to Magyarism, that our language is hardly something you can learn, that our laws and way of life may in some cases seem somewhat incomprehensible to you - from the point of view of a German - I do not understand you in particular, who came here as a doctor, how you ever intend to find here what is generally already denied to Germans, and what a doctor should preferably possess in the highest degree, namely trust] (Bayer [Beyer] 1848: 14–15).

A German doctor, unable to speak Hungarian, cannot successfully integrate into (monolingual) Hungarian society. Implied in the exchange is the fact that the Hungarian mole converses fluently in German, mirroring the bilingualism of Hungarians with German. The inability to learn the language is presented as a key element against migration.

Linguistically and stylistically, code-switching is used to denote status, belonging, and education of the characters. Dr. Crab uses Latin phrases to sound medical and educated: "'Gewiß, domine illustrissime', unterbrach ihn schnell der Arzt [...]" ['Certainly, domine illustrissime', interrupted the doctor] (Bayer [Beyer] 1848: 25). He also uses French to show his (imagined) worldliness: "'Mais voila' sprach der Krebs [...]" ['Mais voila', said the crab] (Bayer [Beyer] 1848: 25). Given the satirical representation of the crab also the use of Latin and French as markers of education and status as a doctor is ironic. Hungarian words and code-switching with Hungarian are not addressed to the characters, but to the assumed (multilingual) reader. The place where the crab is heading, Cancriháza, contains a plurilingual pun as it is a compound of cancer [Lat. *crab*] and *ház* [Hung. house] which is often used as a suffix for toponyms. Understanding the Hungarian-Latin compound is only possible for multilingual people with at least a rudimentary knowledge of Latin (mostly from those parts like Preßburg where readers understood Hungarian, German, and Latin). Thus, code-switching functions as a shibboleth for multilingual readers, based on region and education, implying class and gender, given that Latin as an old language is typically part of male education. The male educated readership from and around Preßburg could understand the joke of a German crab – Krebs – migrating to Cancriháza – Crabtown.

The analysis of the fable exemplifies the kind of regional, political, and literary multilingualism that is found in several other texts in the volume Donauhafen, next to monolingual German texts and translations. The genre of the anthology hides the fact that several of the texts are multilingual, as it is perceived as a collection of German literature, in which "foreign" elements are labeled as Hungarian national literature (in German).

Apart from the circle around the Schröer family, several other bilingual German-Hungarian authors lived there at the same time. Another typical case of Hungarian-German bilingualism was Therese Megerle von Mühlfeld (1813–1865) who grew up in Preßburg as the daughter of a wealthy Hungarian family. At the age of 16, she married a dentist who used her dowry to change careers and manage the first Preßburger Theater and later a theater in Josephstadt, Vienna, without much financial success. Therese Megerle wrote and published several short stories in German, keeping her multilingual skills hidden (Glosíková 1995: 108). After the death of her husband, Megerle von Mühlfeld became a successful writer and playwright. She translated and adapted plays from French and English into German (Wurzbach 1867: 258). Writing for the stage and translating granted her financial independence. She was multilingual through her upbringing in a Hungarian family and in the multilingual region of Preßburg, where she spoke Hungarian and German. Her publications are exclusively in German. Given the economic hardship and the fact that she wrote for a living, her choice of language must have been motivated by financial reasons. Her multilingual competences included French and English which enabled her to translate and adapt popular works by Victor Hugo or George Sand for an Austrian audience. (Gibbels 2018: 102–103). However, her Hungarian competence equally played a role in her success, as she also translated from Hungarian. The play *Ein entlassener Sträfling* (A released prisoner) was translated and adapted from the Hungarian play *A rab* (The prisoner) by the Hungarian playwright and theatre director Eduard Szigligeti (Megerle von Mühlfeld 1852). Her competence in Hungarian becomes also visible in stage directions and advice about pronunciation (Megerle von Mühlfeld 1849: 14). Thus, Therese Megerle von Mühlfeld qualifies as a multilingual author whose Hungarian and German knowledge was necessitated by her multilingual surroundings in Preßburg and her knowledge of French and English, which formed part of the curriculum of a well-educated woman in the 19th century. She exploited her language skills for her publications, often translating and adapting from different languages, but published and performed for a German language market in Vienna with much success.

The most actively multilingual writer was Adolf Dux, a journalist, translator, and author who grew up in Preßburg, and later lived in Budapest. Dux came from poor Jewish parents in Preßburg where he went to school and studied law and philosophy. He wrote and published in German and Hungarian journals and started working at the journal Pester Lloyd. He is mostly known as the translator of works of Hungarian romantic and realist authors Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849), János Arany (1817–1882), and Mór Jókai (1825–1904). He was also a

writer and published his own short stories as well as studies on Hungarian literary history and theater (Glosíková 1995, S. 40).

In his own works, he thematizes linguistic and cultural conflicts as well as general views on nation and nationality. The short story *Mitten im Sturm* (Amidst the storm, 1871) tells of the son of a Hungarian-German family from Preßburg, torn – amidst the storm – between the two nations and nationalities given to him by birth. In ten chapters his story is told as an anonymous we-narrative. The frame of the plot is set in Vienna and begins on the day of the Vienna Uprising on 6th October 1848, when Viennese workers and students protested and fought against the Imperial troops. It ends a little while later with the death of Heinrich at the hand of his father's murderer, the Slovakian rebel Jano. In between, the reader follows the life of Heinrich, his upbringing in a multinational city, Preßburg, and his attempts at poetry. The narrative is set against the background of the Hungarian Revolution and the struggle for independence against Habsburg Austria. Nation is presented as a force of nature, pulling along in one direction. The protagonist of *Mitten im Sturm* (Amidst the Storm) stands between two such forces "wo zwei verschiedene Strömungen miteinander in Berührung und in Widerstreit kommen" [where two currents come into contact and conflict with each other] (Dux 1871, S. 2). The protagonist, Heinrich von Tornai, comes from the city of Pr.[eßburg], not far from the Austrian border between the Danube and green forests and vineyards. The surname of the protagonist (Tornai) also refers to the name of the region. Heinrich's father is a Hungarian noble man, the mother a German (which also includes Austrians). His ancestry and education foreshadow later conflicts, as he is educated exclusively in German by his mother. His nurse, however, is Slovakian. Thus, Heinrich is torn between different national identities which appear in the story as mutually exclusive. The second son, Arpad, is educated in Hungarian and develops a strong Hungarian nationality (Dux 1871, S. 9). The political crisis leads to the murder of Heinrich and Arpad's father by a malcontent Slovakian farmer, Jano, the father of Heinrich's love-interest, Marianka. Whereas Arpad is set on revenge, Heinrich favors a pacifist solution and wants to talk to Jano. Heinrich's pacifist attitude does not go unpunished: wanting to keep the peace, Heinrich refuses to defend himself and after sustaining a bullet wound from a shot fired by Jano, who also kills his daughter as she tries to warn her lover, he dies. In the end, Heinrich's mother and brother survive and tell Heinrich's story as a cautionary tale about belonging, language, and identity to the next generation.

The text contains a few traces of manifest multilingualism, four instances of code-switching between German and Hungarian, and three instances between

German and Latin. The Hungarian words mark the speaker's Hungarian identity: "Éljen a szabadság! (Es lebe die Freiheit!)" [Long live freedom] (Dux 1871: 18) refers to the Hungarian struggle for independence. Code-switching with Latin indicates a speaker's level of education, in this case a group of students (Dux 1871: 67).

Apart from the use of Hungarian and Latin in the text, the characters also think and talk about the meaning and relations of different languages. Heinrich favors equality between different nations and cultures:

> Jeder Volksstamm sollte die größte Freiheit erlangen, sich und seine Sprache zu entwickeln: Alle sollten in dieser Beziehung vollkommen gleichberechtigt sein und in edlem Wettstreit um die Palme der Cultur ringen
> [Each nation should have the greatest freedom to develop itself and its language: All should be completely equal in this respect and compete nobly for the palm of culture] (Dux 1871: 24).

The subjects of nation, nationality, culture, and language are presented along national, monocultural, monolingual lines. This is not a transcultural utopia. The national, monolingual, and monocultural paradigm becomes even more pronounced when the mother tongue is equated with a language of religion: "da doch Jeder zu Gott dem Herrn nur in der Sprache redet, in der ihm seine Wiegenlieder vorgesungen wurden" [Since everyone speaks to God the Lord only in the language in which his lullabies were sung to him] (Dux 1871: 10).

People like Heinrich, between languages, cultures, literatures, nations, find themselves in a perilous situation as the metaphorical title implies. However, the short story does not provide the reader with a definite answer. By creating a polyphonic narrative using the pronoun "we", different voices always put seemingly clear opinions into question. An old neighbor of the murderer of Heinrich's father, Jano, tells how Jano himself suffered greatly from a miscarriage of justice and lost his property and subsequently his life's purpose. Circumstances forced him to make a living by poaching, stealing, and, eventually, killing.

Heinrich is an example of a "krankhaften Kosmopolitismus" [sick cosmopolitism] in the eyes of his brother, Arpad (Dux 1871: 105). Through Heinrich's mother who has the last word, the narrative offers another interpretation: "Die Großmutter aber erzählt ihren Enkeln oft mit Wehmuth und Stolz von ihrem unvergeßlichen Heinrich, dessen liebevolles Herz stets ruhig und milde blieb -- auch mitten im Sturm" [The grandmother, however, often tells her grandchildren with melancholy and pride about her unforgettable Heinrich, whose loving heart always remained calm and mild -- even in the midst of the storm] (Dux 1871, S. 105).

The ambivalent interpretations and polyphonic voices leave the question of nation, language and belonging unresolved. The multilingual language situation is a core element of the narrative, as it provides the background for the action as well as the motive for characters to act. Much as in real life, the linguistic conflicts remain unsolved.

Apart from Hungarian-German multilingualism, which is common among Christian writers, Jewish writers like Max Emanuel Stern or Leopold Kompert (mentioned above) are even more multilingual. Max Emanuel Stern (1811–1873) was born and grew up in Preßburg in a Jewish family. Educated privately by his father and other famous rabbis like M. Schreiber and Moses Sofer, he was trained to become a rabbi himself, studying Hebrew and religious writings. At the age of 14, he replaced his blind father as a teacher in a Jewish religious school where he continued until his father's death. Afterwards, he moved to Vienna to work in the oriental printing press of A. Edler von Schmid as a corrector and writer. After he was supposed to move back to Preßburg to expand the printing business, he terminated his contract and became a Hebrew teacher in Eisenstadt. Later, he moved back to Vienna and worked again as a writer for A. Edler von Schmid, also publishing a journal devoted to enhancing the Hebrew skills of the Jewish community (Heuer 2012: 514–515).

From his publications and writings, it is evident that he spoke and wrote German, Hungarian, and Hebrew. He published religious writings – prayers and homilies – and poetry in German and Hebrew, as well as dictionaries and grammar books (Hebrew-German and a Hebrew grammar book for a Hungarian audience). His works often appear in parallel versions, like in his translation of the book *Rahel* by his acquaintance Ludwig August Frankl (Stern 1845) where one page shows the German original and the other page the translation into Hebrew.

He was also connected with other Jewish writers from Preßburg. He was friends with Leopold Kompert and must have known Ludwig August Frankl. Other connections are a bit looser: in one of his books, he asks the author Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, also from Preßburg, to give back a book he borrowed a year ago. Leopold Kompert and Ludwig August Frankl also appear in the volume *Donauhafen*, published by Karl Julius Schröer and Rudolf Beyer.

Zooming into those social networks, joined anthologies, and texts and their respective multilingual connections shows the width and strength of multilingual neighborhoods and their production in a middle-sized cultural hub like Preßburg in the 19th century.

4 Discussion and conclusion: Adding more data

The networks of writers and publications in Preßburg in the 19th century which were constructed through data from historical literary dictionaries show a limited set of forms and functions of multilingualism, strongly tied to nationality, class, gender, and religion. Christian Hungarian Germans are mostly bilingual as is visible from the works and publications of Karl Julius Schröer, Rudolf Beyer, Adolf Dux, and others. Female authors are equally bilingual but publish mainly in German (Therese Megerle and Therese Schröer). Jewish writers like Leopold Kompert and Max Emanuel Stern are mostly trilingual with German, Hungarian, and Hebrew. Most writers know each other through university, informal meetings, joined publications, or translations. However, the extent of these networks remains unknown due to missing data.

What is surprising is the lack of Slovakian or Czech in the data. This hints at a structural deficit of the data, which seemingly includes German-Hungarian writers but excludes Slavonic writers. Additional sources are needed to verify whether the data is faulty or whether there were no Slovakian writers in Preßburg at that time, which is highly unlikely. To that end, I created a query in the Deutsche Biographie [German Biography] to widen the dataset and search for writers born between 1770 and 1870 who were at some point in their lives in Bratislava.

Through this query, it became clear that Tobias Gottfried Schröer also taught Slovakian students, among them the philologist, and poet Ľudovít Štúr (1815–1856). His works were fundamental in establishing an independent Slovakian literature and language. He studied Hungarian, German, Greek and other languages and literatures, while also publishing in German and Slovakian. As a consequence of the ongoing magyarization in Preßburg, Štúr lost his job as a university teacher in 1843. Therefore, he surely has a place in the multilingual networks of the literary neighborhoods. He is connected to T.G. Schröer and links the Preßburg Slavonic community with other Slavonic writers, e.g., the Polish Silesian author Paweł Stalmach (1824–1891), who was his student in Preßburg. Information on Yiddish literature, writings, and prints are also missing. Here, the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* [Biographical Dictonary of the Austrian Empire] offers supplementary, albeit unstructured data. The Jewish author Adolf Neustadt, an acquaintance of Leopold Kompert, published a collection of Yiddish proverbs (*Maiszim un Schnokes vun e Handelewo*, Leipzig 1845). The printing press where Max Emanual Stern worked also published books in Yiddish. However, Yiddish is not mentioned as a language in any of those biographies due to its status as a dia- or sociolect.

By using data from the Deutsche Biographie as well as other general biographical dictionaries like the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* [Biographical Dictionary of the Austrian Empire] the perceived gaps can be filled. Gaps in the data refer to the heterogenous basis of the study as well as to the instable sources when researching multilingualism within the era of national monolingualism. Or, put differently, the national unconscious (Casanova) of literary history hides the multilingual realities of authors in 19th-century multilingual neighborhoods. Thus, it appears as if multilingualism was an exception rather than the rule. However, almost all authors in Bratislava, even those who were categorized as monolingual German authors like Nikolaus Lenau, were exposed to multilingualism or actively used it in their literary productions. The close neighborhood within the city and the exchange between people in different educational and cultural institutions, seemed to have created bonds beyond national, religious, and linguistic boundaries, visible in publications like the yearbook *Donauhafen*, which included authors from different linguistic, religious, and educational backgrounds.

This systematic and quantitative approach uncovered multilingual authors and explored the functions of different languages in the city of Bratislava – German, Hungarian, Hebrew, Latin and other languages appearing in publications and daily life. The disadvantage of this approach lies in the fact that not all authors were found by mining historical literary dictionaries, data from other dictionaries must be added to create a more complete picture.

Also, this kind of analysis relies heavily on existing (monolingual) research on certain authors, literature, regions, and texts. It serves as a new pair of glasses for looking at existing research and is only possible through exchange with other scholars specializing in those different languages. The advantage of zooming into these networks from a distance lies in the holistic approach which makes connections, transfers, publications, and translations visible that exist because of the multilingual competences of its neighbors. Even if earlier research has already studied those authors and their works within a monolingual framework, the national paradigm excludes aspects that to not belong to one discipline. This un-disciplinary approach helps to visualize hidden multilingualism and broadens the canon of multilingual authors.

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