The Reception of Katherine Mansfield in Germany

Thesis

How to cite:

For guidance on citations see FAQs.

© 2019 The Author

Version: Redacted Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online’s data policy on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.
The Reception of Katherine Mansfield in Germany

Monika Sobotta MA
The Open University 2012

Thesis submitted for the qualification of PhD
in English Literature, June 2019
The Open University
Candidate Declaration

I confirm that no part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or other qualification at any university or institution.

None of the material has been published.

All translations are mine except where otherwise stated.

I submit this copy of my thesis for examination.

Monika Sobotta

June 2019
Abstract

This thesis is the first full-length study to explore the reception of Katherine Mansfield’s works in Germany and provides substantial previously un-researched materials. It investigates the reception processes manifested in the selection and translation of Mansfield’s writings into German, the attention given to them by publishers, reviewers, and academics, the reactions of her German readership, the inclusion of her works in literary histories and curricula of grammar schools and universities in Germany. This thesis provides a clear chronological narrative of Mansfield’s German reception and a major concern is answering the question as to how the different socio-political ruptures that affected Germany have shaped Mansfield’s reception during the past eight decades. It also explores the creative ways in which a number of writers from German-language countries were inspired by Katherine Mansfield’s fictional and personal writings.

I have divided my thesis into seven chapters. The first presents my findings on the translation and publication histories. The second chapter identifies the ways in which a particular story evolved, considering that, over the period of my study, Germany was shaped by the ideologies of diverging political entities. The third chapter investigates Mansfield’s reception from the 1920s to 1945. In the fourth, I present Mansfield’s reception in post-war West Germany from the 1950s to 1990. The fifth chapter is concerned with Mansfield’s reception in the former German Democratic Republic. In the sixth, I examine her reception from the German reunification to the present day. The final chapter illustrates that texts live in relation to a larger network of intertexts and that Mansfield’s short stories and personal writings inspired responses from a number of German and German-speaking authors.
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Dr Delia da Sousa Correa and Dr Fiona Doloughan, for their invaluable guidance, countless pieces of advice, generous support, and encouragement at every stage. This research project would not have been possible without the initial faith they placed in me. Thank you.

Many thanks go to my sister Waltraud Pröhl, who travelled long distances to support my public readings, and to my friends Pamela Davies-Haas, Dr Patricia Neville, and Lynda Elger for proofreading and formatting. Thank you for your enthusiastic and practical support.

I would also like to thank the creative writers and academics who offered me much insight into their works on Katherine Mansfield, with special thanks to Jan Kemp, Christa Moog, and Erwin Einzinger.

Thanks are also due to Dr Stefan Lampadius from the University of Leipzig for answering all my questions in detail, to the Deutsches Literaturmuseum in Marbach and the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, to the publisher Elena Moreno Sobrino, to the grammar school teachers who responded to my enquiry, and to the friendly librarians at Heidelberg University Library who have helped so much.

This thesis is dedicated to Peter Alexander Sobotta who has patiently supported and encouraged me throughout the completion process. Thank you for putting up with me all the years I studied with The Open University.
Abbreviations and Textual Note


CLKM1  The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 1

CLKM2  The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 2

CLKM3  The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 3

CLKM4  The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 4

CLKM5  The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, Volume 5

Notebooks 1-2  The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks

Katherine Mansfield’s use of spelling and punctuation conventions was often idiosyncratic. I have retained Mansfield’s usage throughout. For referencing, I have used MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors and Editors, 3rd edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).
# Introduction

Chapter One: Translations of Katherine Mansfield’s Work into German and their Publications

1.0 Introduction
1.1 The Early Translation and Publication History of Katherine Mansfield’s Short Stories in German (from 1937 to 1945)
1.2 Translating and Publishing Katherine Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the 1950s to the 1970s)
1.3 Translating and Publishing Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the 1980s to the Turn of the Century)
1.4 Translating and Publishing Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the Beginning of the 21th Century to the Present Day)
1.5 Katherine Mansfield’s Diaries, Letters, Critical Writings, and Poetry: Translations into German and Publications in German-Speaking Countries
1.6 Conclusion

Chapter Two: Translational Choices: ‘Sun and Moon’ as a Case Study

2.0 Introduction
2.1 ‘Sun and Moon’: The Source Text in Mansfield’s Native Language
2.2 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Herberth E. Herlitschka (1937)
2.3 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Ina Seidel (1946)
2.4 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Nelson Wattie (1977)
2.5 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Sabine Lohmann (2009)
2.6 Conclusion

Chapter Three: The Early Reception of Katherine Mansfield in Germany (from the 1920s to 1945)

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Initial German Responses to Katherine Mansfield in the 1920s
3.2 German Responses to Katherine Mansfield in the 1930s
3.3 Initial German Doctoral Theses on Mansfield
3.4 Mansfield Taught at German Universities and Grammar Schools during the Nazi Period
3.5 Critical Responses to Mansfield by Creative Writers in the 1930s
3.6 Conclusion
7.4 Inspired by Katherine Mansfield: Jan Kemp
7.5 Katherine Mansfield’s Impact on Erwin Einzinger: Kopfschmuck für Mansfield
7.6 The Loving Connection: Evelyn Schlag’s Drawing on Katherine Mansfield in Die Kränkung
7.7 Following in the Footsteps of Katherine Mansfield: Christa Moog’s Novel Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln
7.8 Conclusion

Conclusion 230

Appendix A 236

Appendix B 244

Appendix C 245

Appendix D 246

Bibliography 248
Introduction

Muss aber Deutsch schreiben. Es giebt so vielen Leuten – der gar nicht
diese Sprache kennen!¹
Must write German. There are so many people – who know nothing of this
language at all!

I am going to read Goethe. […] I shall read Poetry & Truth immediately.²

But you never have large families in England now; I suppose you are too
busy with suffragetting.³

'Germany,' boomed the Traveller, biting round a potato which he had
speared with his knife, 'is the home of the Family.'⁴

Katherine Mansfield’s comments above, taken from her non-fictional and fictional
works, display both her fascination with, and ambivalent attitude towards, the
Germans and their culture. The lines taken from Mansfield’s story 'Germans at
Meat', included in her 1911 collection In a German Pension, show that she
mocked both British and German national pretensions, suggesting that Mansfield
wanted to establish a stance of marginality as a New Zealand born modernist
writer and restless traveller on the European continent. Mansfield’s conflicting
reflections on the Germans and their language, culture, and behaviour, but above
all, Mansfield’s innovative art of storytelling inspired me to research her German
reception.

My principal aim in this thesis is to investigate the reception of Katherine
Mansfield in Germany in order to make an original and valuable contribution to
Mansfield studies. This thesis provides the first comprehensive study of the
German reception of Katherine Mansfield’s writings and, as such, forms the basis
for substantial insights into this previously un-researched area. The literary

¹ CWKM4, p. 86. English translation provided in the edition.
² CWKM4, p. 130.
³ CWKM1, p. 166.
⁴ CWKM1, p. 166.
theorist Els Andringa observes that reception processes become manifest in a wide variety of forms:

in the selection and transformation of the works, the attention given to them by publishers, reviewers, essayists and academics, the reactions of the buying and reading public, their modes of entry into cultural discourse, their inclusion in literary histories and schoolbooks, their intertextual and intermedial transmissions, and their influence on poetics and even social thought.\(^5\)

In this thesis, I propose to delineate the reception processes at play in the selection of Mansfield’s works for translation into the German language, the attention given to them by publishers, scholars, and reviewers and also their inclusion in literary histories and curricula established by German universities and grammar schools. I show the ways in which Mansfield’s writings have worked upon her readers in Germany and illustrate that Mansfield’s impact is evident in significant works of a number of German or German-speaking authors whose creative responses result from dialogue and interaction with her fictional and personal writings.

As a native-born German who resides in Germany, I have examined large quantities of previously unknown and unexamined materials referring to Katherine Mansfield in the German language. I also interviewed a representative selection of contemporary readers of her work, such as academics, translators, publishers, and creative writers, as well as a number of general readers who are Mansfield enthusiasts, in order to investigate how they interacted with her short stories and personal writings. Mansfield’s biographical connections to Germany are well documented in her letters, notebook entries, and Bavarian stories. Whereas her diaries and letters convey her passion for German language, literature, and music, her Bavarian stories echo her difficult circumstances in a Bavarian environment where she must clearly have felt an outsider.

While Mansfield’s German reception was initially in English and will thus have involved a relatively small audience, since the mid-1930s numerous translations into the German language have guaranteed Mansfield’s literary afterlife for a German-speaking readership. In his essay 'The Translator’s Task', Walter Benjamin elaborates on the art of translation and the role a translator plays in making foreign language texts available for contemporary reading audiences; he argues that a translation participates in the 'afterlife' of the source text, 'enacting an interpretation that is informed by a history of reception'. With this principle in mind, a full, annotated bibliography of editions of Mansfield’s fictional and personal writing in German translation, accompanied by a timeline of critical political events in Germany is attached as Appendix A. It provides an impressive overview of Mansfield’s work in translation, which has secured her afterlife in Germany.

My methodological approach draws on reception theories developed by Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser. Jauss, for instance, emphasises the interaction of author and public, arguing that 'literature and art only obtain a history that has the character of a process when the succession of works is mediated not only through the producing subject but also through the consuming object – through the interaction of author and public.'

Jauss terms the mind-set that a hypothetical individual brings to a text a 'horizon of expectation', which, according to Jauss, is constructed in the text:

A literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informal vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics, or

---

implicit allusions. It awakens memories of that what was already read […]\(^8\)

As explained by Jauss, the 'horizon of expectation' is shaped through the reader’s life experiences, customs, and understanding of the world. This suggests that the divergent contexts in which Mansfield’s short stories and personal writings were read by her German readership play a significant role in the reception of her texts.\(^9\)

According to Wolfgang Iser’s line of thought, reception theory has helped to explain why and how the same literary work can mean different things to different people at different times, considering the two-sidedness of a work of literature, namely the artistic and the aesthetic.\(^{10}\) Iser emphasises a writer’s creativity and artistic achievement and a reader’s aesthetic reaction to a literary work, taking into consideration the respective historical context. Given Germany’s most recent history, Iser’s notion is highly relevant for Katherine Mansfield’s German reception.

This thesis provides a clear chronological narrative of Mansfield’s reception in Germany and explains the respective historical contexts during the past eight decades. National Socialism, the Second World War, and Germany’s division and reunification left their marks and scars on the German people and its culture. A major concern in my thesis is answering the question as to how the different drastic social-political ruptures and major cultural trends which affected Germany have shaped Mansfield’s German reception during the past eighty years. Space restrictions, unfortunately, do not allow a consideration of Mansfield’s reception in Austria and Switzerland, except in passing.

\(^8\) Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, p. 23.
\(^9\) Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, p. 23.
Even though my priority in this thesis is to investigate Mansfield’s German reception, it is important to note that this project takes place alongside an extensive enhancement of her international recognition. Pioneering critical responses to Mansfield were offered by Margaret Scott (1928-2014) and Vincent O’Sullivan (1937-) from New Zealand. Scott worked for years to transcribe and edit Mansfield’s journals for the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. In 1997, *Katherine Mansfield Notebooks* was published. Together with the eminent writer and critic, Vincent O’Sullivan, Scott also co-edited the five-volume edition of *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, published between 1984 and 2004. Moreover, the New Zealand scholar and renowned author, C. K. Stead (1932-), wrote numerous articles on Mansfield. His 2004 publication, *Mansfield: A Novel*, offers a fictional version of Mansfield’s life during wartime years.

The last decade has seen a particular resurgence of interest in Katherine Mansfield’s work and has significantly enhanced scholarly activities. Much of this can be attributed to the establishment of the international Katherine Mansfield Society in 2008, set up to promote and encourage the worldwide appreciation and enjoyment of Mansfield’s writing. The Society’s foundation by scholars from around the world generated a large and growing body of publications about various issues concerning Mansfield’s life and work.

International reception studies of Mansfield’s writings include significant work on the reception of Katherine Mansfield in France. Gerri Kimber’s 2008 study *Katherine Mansfield: The View from France* shows that Mansfield found particular recognition in France, eliciting an idealisation of her persona to the extent of crafting a hagiography. A number of French Mansfield critics, for example Josiane Paccaud-Huguet, Anne Besnault-Levita, and Delphine Soulhat,

11 [https://www.katherinemansfieldsociety.org/about-us/](https://www.katherinemansfieldsociety.org/about-us/)
are currently members of the international community of Katherine Mansfield scholars. The same interest has, to date, not been the case for German scholars. However, the Katherine Mansfield Society plans to hold a conference in Bad Wörishofen in the spring of 2020, which may initiate an increase of interest among German academics.

A certain amount of research has also been undertaken on Mansfield’s reception in other European countries. An overview of Mansfield studies in Spain was offered by Isabel M. Andrés Cuevas in a 2010 article in the Katherine Mansfield Society publication. Moreover, the 2015 edition *Katherine Mansfield & Continental Europe: Connections and Influences* comprises individual chapters on Katherine Mansfield’s reception in Hungary, Italy, and Slovakia. In Nóra Séllei’s chapter on Mansfield’s early translation and reception in Hungary, Séllei identifies four periods of reception: the first appearance of some of Mansfield’s short stories in Hungarian journals in the 1930s, Mansfield’s reception during the socialist period from 1956 to 1990, and her reception in the final period of Hungary’s new democracy. In the same edition, Maurizio Ascari addresses Mansfield’s reception in Italy from 1922 to 1952, observing that the critical appreciation of Mansfield’s writing was deeply influenced by the romantic appeal of her tragically short life. Janka Kascakova’s contribution to *Katherine Mansfield & Continental Europe: Connections and Influences* sheds light on the various translations of Mansfield’s work into Czech and their reception in the

---

countries of the former Czechoslovakia and explains the challenges she herself faced when translating Mansfield’s stories. Her 2013 publication is the first book translation of Mansfield’s short fiction into Slovak.

That engagement with Katherine Mansfield and her writings has gone beyond the English-speaking world and Europe is illustrated by some further publications, such as the 2001 collection of Chinese essays on Mansfield entitled *A Fine Pen: The Chinese View*, selected and translated by Shifen Gong.

Mansfield’s reputation as a canonical modernist author has been confirmed by numerous publications of critical and editorial work on her stories and life over the past few decades. Much of this has been of value to this study. For instance, Sydney Janet Kaplan’s 1991 seminal study entitled *Katherine Mansfield and the Origins of Modernist Fiction* explores Mansfield’s significance as a writer in the development of modernism. Kaplan argues that ‘through her critical writings as well as her brilliant innovations in fiction, she influenced, reflected, and conveyed modernist aesthetic principles’.

The scholar Angela Smith has published widely on Katherine Mansfield. Her 1999 publication *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* investigates the similarities and intricacies between the two modernist writers, arguing that ‘the haunting presence of Katherine Mansfield recurs in Virginia Woolf’s personal writing throughout her life, often as a slightly challenging phantom’. Smith’s 2000 monograph entitled *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary*
Life traces Mansfield’s artistic and intellectual development. She has investigated Mansfield’s relationships with earlier writing and with the visual arts in numerous research essays.

Jenny McDonnell’s 2010 study Katherine Mansfield and the Modernist Market Place: At the Mercy of the Public situates Mansfield’s writing practices within the context of the literary market networks at her time, as does Faith Binckes’s 2010 monograph Modernism, Magazines, and the British avant-garde. Binckes re-examines the years of early modernism immediately preceding the First World War. Among the considerable amount of literature that has been published on Mansfield in the last decade is the 2011 publication entitled Katherine Mansfield and Literary Modernism; this work offers fresh interpretations of her writings and reinterpretations of her life and times by international Mansfield scholars. The 2014 monograph Translation as Collaboration: Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and S. S. Koteliansky by the scholar Claire Davison illuminates Mansfield’s lifelong fascination with foreign languages, here with a particular focus on Russian. Davison explores Mansfield’s collaboration with Woolf and the Russian emigré Samuel S. Koteliansky when translating fragments of fictional and personal writings of Russian authors.

This recent scholarship examining Mansfield’s work within networks of publication and translation has formed an important context for my research on Mansfield’s place within the networks of translation and publication specific to

---

20 Angela Smith, Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000).
21 These include a number of essays for the official journal of the Katherine Mansfield Society Katherine Mansfield Studies and her lecture ‘Mansfield And Dickens: “I Am Not Reading Dickens Idly”’ delivered on the occasion of the inaugural Birthday Lecture organised by the Katherine Mansfield Society in 2010; see Angela Smith, ‘Mansfield and Dickens: “I am not reading Dickens idly”’, The Katherine Mansfield Society Annual Birthday Lecture, no. 1 (Bath: Katherine Mansfield Society Publications 2010).
23 Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber and Susan Reid (eds), Katherine Mansfield and Literary Modernism (London and New York: Continuum, 2011).
her reception in Germany. The foundation of the international Katherine Mansfield Society has also given rise to a number of new translations of Mansfield’s writings into various languages. In this way, Mansfield’s work has become accessible to readers from very different cultures. Fiona J. Doloughan’s 2016 monograph *English as a Literature in Translation* has provided me with important insights into the ways in which experiences of code switching and moving through different cultures depicted in the works of selected authors demonstrate the writers’ mobility and creativity. The notion of moving through various cultures and different languages also applies to Katherine Mansfield and is exemplified in her short fiction and reflected in her personal writings, as her continental wanderings with stays in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland influenced her works. Numerous French or German terms and phrases as well as her enjoyment of code switching are apparent in her stories, letters, and notebooks. For instance, a line of a 1908 draft of a letter to Arnold Trowell reads: 'Die letzte woche hat Dr Crosby mir Ihre “Reverie du Soir” mitgebrochen – So muss ich dich etwas schreiben […]. (This last week, Dr Crosby brought me your ‘Rêverie du Soir’. I must write you a few lines about it.’).

In Mansfield’s crafting of fiction she drew on the resources of language very concretely, employing different registers, some vernacular expressions, and cross-linguistic material. In other words, perhaps the fact that she had access to resources in more than one language was a spur to her creativity insofar as she was not limited to one linguistic system. Mansfield’s own fascination with language such as these switches of code may explain some of her appeal to translators and to an international readership.

---


Katherine Mansfield has been a remarkably transportable writer and her reception was greatly helped by translations into languages as diverse as Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Czechoslovakian, Dutch, Esperanto, Farsi, French, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish, in addition to German.\footnote{Simon During, 'Katherine Mansfield’s World', in *Journal of New Zealand Literature: JNZL*, no. 33 (2015) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43303617> [accessed 11 Dec. 2016], pp 33-66 (p. 33).}

The four volumes of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Katherine Mansfield*, edited by leading Mansfield scholars, Gerri Kimber, Vincent O’Sullivan, Angela Smith, and Claire Davison, were published between 2012 and 2016. These editions, containing Mansfield’s short stories, her poetry, satirical sketches, literary reviews, diaries, and translations, have made an expanded corpus of work available for readers and researchers. They have enabled me to obtain important information on the person and writer Katherine Mansfield.

A further stimulating work for my research has been the 2015 edition *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Influence*, edited by Sarah Ailwood and Melinda Harvey. The monograph confirms the idea of Mansfield as a ‘writers’ writer’ who has inspired a large number of creative writers from the anglophone world.\footnote{Sarah Ailwood and Melinda Harvey (eds), *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Influence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).} My own research reveals that she has also influenced a significant number of creative German-language writers to respond to her life and work.

Despite the recent explosion of publications about Katherine Mansfield, no previous study has comprehensively researched her reception in Germany. In fact, in spite of the fact that reception studies have been one of the dominant modes of literary enquiry in the last four decades, no research at all on Mansfield’s German reception has been undertaken so far. My thesis aims to address this gap,
uncovering large quantities of as yet unresearched materials relating to the translation, publication, and reader-reception of Katherine Mansfield in Germany.

The overall structure of my study takes the form of seven chapters in addition to this introductory chapter, the conclusion, and the appendices. In Chapter One, I present my findings on the translation and publication histories. My research shows that the majority of Katherine Mansfield’s short stories have been available in numerous German language editions for about eighty years. I illustrate that the reception of Mansfield’s writings in German translation raises fundamental issues in translation practice as her translators have been bound by socio-political, contextual, and linguistic negotiations to adequately render her idiosyncratic voice and carefully chosen lexicon as well as essential differences between English and German in terms of grammar, gender, morphology, and syntax.

Mansfield’s first readers and critics in Germany were academic as well as creative writers proficient in English. Yet in order to introduce Mansfield’s work to a wider German-speaking audience translation was indispensable. I show that translations and publications were subject at various times to formal and social constraints as a consequence of Germany’s profound political and cultural ruptures in the twentieth century.

In Chapter Two I employ a case study approach in order to identify the ways in which German translations of Katherine Mansfield’s story 'Sun and Moon' have evolved within the larger social and historical framework of Germany as the target culture. Situating the German translations of 'Sun and Moon' in their historical context of translation brings to the fore the influence of socio-political and cultural factors on the process of translation, showing that over the period of my study Germany was shaped by the ideologies of diverging political entities. I compare the
translational choices made to translate the different speech registers discernible in the
story, such as Mansfield’s use of child-like vocabulary to convey a child’s point of
view linguistically and her register employed to render the adult’s class
consciousness. In addition, I look for signs of the ways in which selected German
translations of Mansfield’s original text have been shaped by their socio-cultural
conditions of production.

Chapter Three investigates the German reception of Katherine Mansfield from
the 1920s to 1945. I show that the era of censorship under National Socialism and the
Second World War constituted a decisive turning point in the politics of literature in
Germany, which significantly affected the dissemination of Mansfield’s writings at
that time. I also illustrate that academic responses to her work during that period
were decisively influenced by the theories of Sigmund Freud. Freudian imagery in
Mansfield’s stories was identified and appreciated by her first critics, academics and
German-speaking authors, who wrote about Mansfield in the 1920s and 1930s. My
research indicates that despite the fact that German translations of Mansfield’s prose
were banned from selling or lending according to the Index of English and North
American Authors from 1942 onwards, a special edition with selected stories by
Mansfield in the English language was nevertheless still recommended for reading in
grammar schools during the Nazi period.

Chapter Four presents Mansfield’s reception in post-war West Germany from
the late 1940s until 1990. This period was influenced by a number of movements,
such as feminism, pacifism, and environmentalism that were of political and
intellectual interest to many Germans in East and West, particularly from the 1960s
onwards. I demonstrate that Mansfield’s reception during that time was embedded in
those movements. My research shows that issues of feminism are reflected in a
number of critiques, depicting Mansfield as an independent woman and writer, who
fought for her writing and who pushed the limits established by a male-dominated society. The large number of publications and numerous positive reviews identified during my research illustrate that the Germans favourably received Katherine Mansfield’s work at that time.

Chapter Five explores how the work of Katherine Mansfield was received within the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), which existed from 1949 to Germany’s reunification in 1990. This chapter discusses the role of the eminent East German scholar Wolfgang Wicht, who was dedicated to disseminating Mansfield’s work within the confines of the former GDR. My analysis of an East German translation of ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ in this chapter reveals that it was created in the confined environment of the GDR, illustrating, for instance, a lack of cultural knowledge to adequately convey Bavarian customs as well as the wider political contexts within which Mansfield was read in East Germany. In the late years of the GDR, the East German author Christa Moog created a particularly interesting intertextual response to Mansfield, to which I refer in my final chapter.

Chapter Six delineates the most recent phase in the German reception of Katherine Mansfield’s work in both English and German translation from German reunification in 1990 up to 2019. I show that Katherine Mansfield has remained in print in German translations and has been popular with German-speaking readers during the time span in question, despite the fact that the genre of the short story has not always been entirely well received in Germany. My research indicates that Katherine Mansfield is still named in most current reading lists recommended for programmes at different undergraduate and postgraduate levels in different formats such as seminars and lectures by English departments at German universities. I also looked at German school curricula of the time span under discussion and report
results from questionnaires and the interviews that I conducted with teachers of English as a foreign language at German grammar schools.

In Chapter Seven I analyse a number of intertextual responses to Mansfield by German-speaking authors. My seventh chapter aims to demonstrate both that texts live in relation to a larger network of intertexts and that Mansfield’s prose and personal writings inspired a number of German and German-speaking writers to respond to them. No previous study has addressed to any significant extent the textual threads between Mansfield’s work and particular writings by a number of German-speaking authors. In order to help fill this gap, this chapter aims to show the creative ways in which a number of writers from the German-language countries incorporated numerous ideas inspired by the life and work of Mansfield into their own writings. I show that Mansfield’s impact is evident in their creative responses as they adapted, revised, or transformed particular texts written by Katherine Mansfield. Most of the German-speaking authors referred to in this chapter have acknowledged, either in their own writing or more explicitly in some interviews that I have conducted, that Mansfield’s work, her short stories, notebooks, or letters served as decisive sources for them.

Finally, the Conclusion summarises my research results. It also provides some recommendations for future academic work on Katherine Mansfield. The thesis as a whole aims to make an original contribution to Mansfield studies that complements the extensive work already in existence on her reception in other parts of Europe. It offers a clear chronological narrative to establish the salient contexts for Katherine Mansfield’s German reception in the various periods under discussion.
Chapter One: Translations of Katherine Mansfield’s Work into German and their Publications

1.0 Introduction

[...] there mustn’t be one single word out of place, or one word that could be taken out. That’s how I AIM at writing. It will take some time to get anywhere near there.\(^1\)

Just as the manifestations of life are intimately connected with the phenomenon of life without being of importance to it, a translation issues from the original – not so much from its life as from its afterlife.\(^2\)

Katherine Mansfield’s particular care with words and her desire to hone her work to a state of perfection are illustrated in the first quotation above, taken from Mansfield’s 1921 letter to her brother-in-law. It accounts for both a reader’s aesthetic pleasure when reading Mansfield’s work in the original language and the kind of challenges likely to be experienced in translating Mansfield’s writings.

The second quotation by Walter Benjamin adds a further dimension to Mansfield’s aesthetic assertion, claiming that translation plays a fundamental role in the afterlife of an original text. Katherine Mansfield’s literary afterlife in Germany has been continuously preserved by numerous editions of her writings in German translation for more than eighty years now, which attest to the extent to which Mansfield’s work was, and still is, read in Germany. Her short stories have consistently received favourable critical responses from influential German scholars, authors, and journalists upon publication. Some of these also read Mansfield in English, but, as this thesis will show, her significant reception history over these decades was largely dependent on this work of translation and the editions produced by German publishing houses. A chronological overview of

---

\(^1\) CLKM4, p. 165.

Mansfield’s writings in German translation, embedded in their historical context, is provided as Appendix A.

Due to the fact that over the period of my study Germany was shaped by the ideologies of diverging political entities, significant socio-political forces affected the various German translations and publications of Katherine Mansfield’s work. In this chapter I will provide an outline of the translation and publication history of Katherine Mansfield’s work beginning in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, proceeding into the West German period during the Cold War, and finally addressing Katherine Mansfield’s translation and publication history in the Federal Republic of Germany after reunification in 1990 to the present day. Translation and publication activities in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) are also briefly addressed here and will be covered in more detail in Chapter Five, in which I focus on Mansfield’s East German reception. Restrictions of space have, unfortunately, allowed me to consider Mansfield’s translation and publication history in Austria and Switzerland only in passing.

André Lefevere points out that translators are ‘responsible for the general reception and survival of works of literature’. However, Katherine Mansfield’s German-speaking readers who have also read Mansfield’s work in her native language, can identify a number of variations between the original short stories in English, their translations, and retranslations. Taking translation as a rewriting of a source text, Susan Bassnett and Lefevere observe that all rewritings ‘reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way’. Lefevere notes that ideology is often enforced by

---

patrons such as political parties, publishing houses, and the media.\textsuperscript{5} According to Lefevere, acceptance of patronage results in the fact that writers and, even more important here, translators, work within the parameters set by their patrons.\textsuperscript{6} Given the particular socio-political German contexts for translating and publishing the works of Katherine Mansfield, it needs to be taken into consideration that even before they appeared, translations into German were subject at various times to formal and social constraints as they had to fit the target culture to be ideologically acceptable and commercially viable. As Benjamin remarks, in a text’s afterlife ‘the original is changed’.\textsuperscript{7} This accounts for the fact that Mansfield’s modernist use of language, her tone, rhythm, and distinctive style as well as her sometimes non-standard use of language structures and punctuation have not always been conveyed by translators striving to produce highly readable texts for their German-speaking readers, who may have preferred to read a work in translation in accessible German.

Anne Mette Hjort suggests that the pragmatic success of a translation is determined ‘by the extent to which it accords with certain social, political and linguistic conventions’.\textsuperscript{8} Whilst all translations are subject to the conditions of their creation, Germany offers a particularly acute example of this because of the profound political and cultural ruptures undergone during the period covered by my research. Hjort’s suggestion is substantiated by Margherita Ulrych who observes that:

Taking account of socio-political, ideological and cultural components offers a means to understand the complex, manipulative textual processes that take place in translation: how a text is selected for

\textsuperscript{5} Lefevere, \textit{Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{6} Lefevere, \textit{Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame}, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{7} Benjamin, ‘The Translator’s Task’, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{8} Anne Mette Hjort, ‘Translation and the Consequences of Scepticism’, in Translation, History and Culture, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London and New York: Pinter, 1990), pp. 38-45 (p. 43).
translation, what role the translator plays in that selection, what role an
editor or publisher plays, what criteria determine the strategies that the
translator employs, how a text is received in the target system.9

As a direct consequence of an imbalance between ideological and commercial
imperatives, which had shifted in Germany due to the historical events in the
twentieth century, a number of German translations of Katherine Mansfield’s
short stories differ in the extent to which they transmit Mansfield’s characteristic
aesthetic qualities or display omissions made in order to accommodate the socio-
historical and political contexts of their publication. I will discuss these issues in
more detail in Chapter Two. Moreover, Lawrence Venuti, the eminent translation
studies scholar, emphasises the need for a translator to become more visible,
arguing that in the anglophone world translators have been expected to create
smooth renderings, erasing traces of its foreign origins, for a translation is judged
‘acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently’.10

In more prosaic terms, in this chapter I will consider that revoking a
translator’s ‘invisibility’ entails being aware of the fact that there was a person
who applied her/his translation strategies in a particular socio-historical context.
Such consideration focusses on the translator as agent, highlights a translator’s
visibility and poses a number of pragmatic questions, which I aim to answer,
namely: Who was the translator? In which context did she/he translate? What
were her/his motivations? Where available, I will provide information about the
translators who rendered Mansfield’s works into the German language. This
chapter will be followed by a case study in Chapter Two, juxtaposing selected
passages from Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’ as the source text with four
different German renderings as target texts in order to explore the stylistic choices

---

9 Margherita Ulrych, ‘Diversity, Uniformity and Creativity in Translation’ in Translation,
made by Mansfield’s translators into the German language at different times, under various conditions in order to satisfy diverse demands.

1.1 The Early Translation and Publication History of Katherine Mansfield’s Short Stories in German (from 1937 to 1945)

Doch ihre Prosa [...] ist rhythmisch streng bestimmt. Sie wird darum schwer zu übersetzen sein.¹¹

Indeed, her prose [...] is meticulously determined in terms of rhythm. Thus it will be difficult to translate.

In the quotation above, taken from a 1937 article by the German author Bernt von Heiseler (1907-1969), von Heiseler is referring to three collections of Mansfield’s short stories in the original English language, namely Bliss and Other Stories (1930), The Garden Party and Other Stories (1932), and The Doll’s House and Other Stories (1934). As pointed out by von Heiseler, all editions were available in Germany at that time, albeit in English, as the initial reception of Katherine Mansfield’s work in Germany was through the medium of the English language.¹²

Indeed, as von Heiseler remarked, while Mansfield’s German reception was initially in English and presumably to a relatively small audience, it was not long before her work gained wider reception via translations into German shaped by the ethos of the time and by the designs and motivations of translators, publishing houses, critics, and academics. Those 1930s editions of Mansfield’s short stories, together with her Journal (1933) and a collection of her letters (1934) in Mansfield’s native language, were published by Bernhard Tauchnitz in Leipzig and the Albatross publishing house in Hamburg. They were run under a combined editorial policy from 1934 onwards with the aim to publish literature in the original English language for distribution on the European continent. Von

Heiseler was right to anticipate particular difficulties in translating Mansfield’s prose, for her enigmatic and elliptical stories, written in her idiosyncratic artistic style have posed fundamental translation challenges.

Book publication of German translations of Mansfield’s work in German-speaking countries commenced in 1937 with Für sechs Pence Erziehung und andere Geschichten ('Sixpence' and Other Stories), selected and translated by the Austrian translator Herberth Egon Herlitschka and published by the publishing house Herbert Reichner (Vienna, Leipzig, Zurich, issued 1936). This first German edition comprises sixteen translated stories chosen from both Bliss and Other Stories (1920) and Something Childish (1924). Hence, for the first time, the German-speaking readership could read German translations of Mansfield’s stories, for instance, 'Bliss', 'Je ne parle pas français', 'The Woman at the Store' 'Ole Underwood', 'Mr Reginald Peacock’s Day', 'A Dill Pickle', 'Six Pence', 'Pictures', and 'Sun and Moon', which I will use as a case study in my second chapter to compare different German translations of the same story. Herlitschka’s 1937 publication inaugurated a number of German renderings of Mansfield’s oeuvre created by different translators and published in Germany and German-speaking Europe over the ensuing decades.

Herlitschka’s German translation of The Garden Party and Other Stories entitled Das Gartenfest und andere Geschichten was published by Herbert Reichner in 1938 (issued in 1937), aimed at a wide range of German-speaking readers. In November 1937, Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), the renowned German-born poet and novelist, reviewed this volume in the Swiss newspaper National-Zeitung. Hesse praised Mansfield’s short stories in German translation and expressed his appreciation for the work by women writers from the anglophone world in general. He asserted that:
Die neuere englische Literatur verdankt den Frauen viel, und eine der
der eigenartigsten und liebenswertesten Begabungen war Katherine
Mansfield.13

Recent English literature owes much to women, and one of the most
exceptional and adorable talents was Katherine Mansfield.

Although Hesse did not explicitly comment on the nature of Mansfield’s writing
in his 1937 review, he confirmed her art of writing, as I will explain in more detail
in the context of Mansfield’s reception during the Nazi period in Chapter Three.

These translated volumes also found responses beyond European borders.

In 1942, the independent anti-fascist German-language weekly Orient published
in Haifa (Palestine) by Arnold Zweig and Wolfgang Yourgrau, who went into
exile there when the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, published an article
about Mansfield, referring to both the 1937 Für sechs Pence Erziehung and 1938
Das Gartenfest translated collections. The author of the article, of whom only
initials are given, likens Katherine Mansfield to Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-
1929), the Austrian novelist, librettist, and dramatist as well as to Raymond
Radiguet (1903-1923), the French novelist who was noted for his exceptional
writing style and tone. The critic attributes the symbolism apparent in
Hofmannsthal’s poetry and the unique writing style of Radiguet to Mansfield’s
stories, arguing that ‘überall vernehmen wir den Pulsschlag eines jungen
Hofmannsthal, eines Radiguet’ (‘throughout her stories we can discern the pulse of
the young Hofmannsthal, of Radiguet’).14 The article concentrates on matters of
form and style and, although published by writers in exile, makes no direct
allusion to the immediate context in which Mansfield was read in this instance.

14 M.V., ’Katherine Mansfield: Für Six-Pence Erziehung – Das Gartenfest’ in Orient, ed. by Wolfgang
Yourgrau (Haifa: Orient Verlag, 1942), pp. 29-30.
Moreover, both here and in Hesse’s review, Herberth Herlitschka as the translator of the German editions was entirely ignored; the translator’s veil of invisibility was not raised, as has typically been the case even in present-day critical practice. Katherine Mansfield’s first translators for book publications in the German language, Herberth Herlitschka (1893-1970) and his wife Marlys (1905-1975), were themselves forced to flee Nazi-occupied Austria for England in 1938. There they were part of an international community and engaged actively ‘in the creation of an English modernist canon for the German-speaking world’.\(^\text{15}\) As his correspondence reveals, Herberth Herlitschka had tried for years to introduce Katherine Mansfield to German-speaking audiences, ‘hampered by the fact that she had written no full-length novel\(^\text{16}\). Taking into consideration the fact that the increasingly nationalist literary scene in the German Reich did not welcome foreign literature and was hostile to modernist writers, the 1937 and 1938 publication of Herlitschka’s translations represented a notable success in his fight for Mansfield’s legacy in German-speaking countries at a time when in the literary and trade press ‘members of state and Party literature agencies criticised the large number of translations on the German book market’.\(^\text{17}\) This explains a scarcity of reviews on Mansfield’s work in German translation at that time.

Thanks to the pioneering spirit of Peter Schifferli, who founded the Swiss publishing house Die Arche in Zurich in 1944, a number of editions from Mansfield’s oeuvre translated by Herberth and Marlys Herlitschka were also published and republished for the post-war German-speaking world. Schifferli


aimed to establish a literary lifeboat in a Europe that had been intellectually as well as materially vandalised (′einen Verlag als literarisches Rettungsboot inmitten eines auch geistig verwüsteten Europas′). In 1948, Die Arche published a collection of four selected short stories by Mansfield, entitled *Ihr Erster Ball* (Her First Ball), selected and translated by Herberth Herlitschka.

The genre of the short story, both in German translation and written by German authors, gained particular popularity in the West German literary scene in the immediate post-war period. German authors such as Elisabeth Langgässer, Luise Rinser, Marie Luise Kaschnitz, and Wolfgang Borchert, to cite just a few, were established authors who made successful debuts as short story writers after 1945. Taking Kaschnitz′ and Langgässer′s change to short-story writing as examples, Franziska Meyer explains that, after 1945, this was 'part of a more general tendency in Germany to model literature on the American short story'.

William Grange points out that although a complete break with Germany′s history was impossible, a rupture with the literary conventions of the past, described as a clean break (Kahlschlag) in the immediate post-war years 'seemed to be one of many necessary steps'. The term 'Kahlschlag' (clean break) was coined by the German writer Wolfgang Weyrauch (1904-1980), claiming the necessity of stripping away the forest of corrupt ideas, ideals, and language and the need for a literature of clean simplicity that avoids retrospection. As Jan-Pieter Barbian points out, 1945 is considered as the starting point for the contemporary German literary culture when 'literature in Germany was given back its freedom and the

---

short story, among other forms, began a new life. Barbian stresses that after 1945 ‘writers, publishers, booksellers, and librarians preferred to forget the complicity they had entered into with the Nazi state’.

An exception to this determination to forget was the German author Ina Seidel (1885-1974), who also translated some of Mansfield’s stories into German. She was one of a few writers who admitted in 1945 that she had been among the idiots who believed in Germany’s inner purification ('Und danach, so träumte dieser Idiot, sollte die innere Reinigung kommen. Ich gehörte zu diesen Idioten'). Seidel had gained growing popularity in Germany during the National Socialist period due to the depiction of strong and resilient women in her narratives. Seidel’s attitude towards womanhood is most clearly expressed in her 1930 novel *Das Wunschkind* (The Wish Child), displaying the high regard in which the ideal of the mother was held. It was among the most frequently sold books in Germany during the Nazi period, consonant with the National Socialist ideology and its emphasis on the dichotomy between womanliness/manliness as a basis for dividing men’s and women’s roles in society. In a 1946 essay published in the German cultural journal *Prisma*, Ina Seidel praises Mansfield’s art of storytelling, claiming that 'die besondere Eigenart dieser Erzählkunst ist ihr Reichtum an Nuancen in der Wiedergabe des Lebens' ('a particularly characteristic feature of her art of storytelling is an abundance of nuances in the rendering of life'). Seidel’s translation of Katherine Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’, published in the same 1946 edition of *Prisma*, is of particular interest here as

---

22 Barbian, p. 380.  
notwithstanding her 1945 comment, Seidel was apparently still influenced by the prevailing National Socialist ideology as I will discuss in Chapter Two.

The semantic resonances of the National Socialist ideology are also discernible in Seidel’s 1947 critical essay ‘Die Dichterin Katherine Mansfield’ (The writer Katherine Mansfield). Here, for instance, Seidel emphasises that Mansfield did not claim 'geistige Führerschaft' (intellectual leadership) in the fictional world she narrates.25 This seems to suggest Seidel’s own view, namely that Mansfield intended to induce a variety of different interpretations. Yet the German compound noun 'Führerschaft', which denotes leadership, but has rather negative connotations and has thus not entered contemporary German discourse, indicates that Seidel’s use of language was still influenced by the prevailing discourse of the Nazi period with its accumulation of terms derived from 'Führer' (leader).26

1.2 Translating and Publishing Katherine Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the 1950s to the 1970s)

In 1951, Sylvia Berkman remarked in her critical study on Katherine Mansfield that Mansfield’s works were translated into at least nine languages, yet claimed that she had never touched the German heart with the strong personal appeal she exerted in France.27 The long list of translations and retranslations of Mansfield’s works into German, which have been published and republished in Germany and German-speaking Europe during the last eight decades, challenges Berkman’s statement. To date, the Frankfurt a.M. and Leipzig archives of the Deutsche National Bibliothek (German National Library), which houses a copy of every

---

German language publication since 1913, lists about two hundred translated books and audiobooks of Katherine Mansfield’s writings. To address each published edition of Mansfield’s work in German translation is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I will refer to carefully selected publications that are particularly relevant as they have contributed to the growth of Katherine Mansfield’s reputation and appreciation among Germans and German-speaking readerships. Further evidence of this is provided in numerous book reviews that I discuss here and in subsequent chapters.

The collection of four selected stories by Mansfield, entitled *Ihr Erster Ball* (Her First Ball), translated by Herberth Herlitschka and published in 1948 by Arche publishing house, as previously mentioned, was followed by *Seligkeit und andere Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories)* in 1952 and *An der Bucht* (‘At The Bay’) in 1953, jointly translated by Herberth and Marlys Herlitschka. *Seligkeit und andere Erzählungen* was the first edition in which Marlys as one of the translators was explicitly mentioned. The selection also includes the first German translation of Mansfield’s ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ (‘Frau Brechenmacher Geht auf eine Hochzeit’), taken from Mansfield’s first published collection *In a German Pension*, based on Mansfield’s 1909 experiences in the Bavarian spa town Wörishofen. Thus this 1952 selection marks the first reception in German of ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’.

Little information on Marlys and Herberth Herlitschka’s personal history is publicly available; and the extent to which Marlys was involved in translating Katherine Mansfield’s stories has never been clear. As established by Emily Hayman, Herberth Herlitschka had spent four years studying in England in the
1920s, which suggests that he had excellent English language skills.\textsuperscript{28} Hayman points out that Herlitschka condemned ‘shoddy translations by those who pretend to know English while not even knowing how to write a decent German’, and expressed an optimistic belief ‘in his ability to redeem British literature in translation’.\textsuperscript{29} In the course of his correspondence with authors he wished to translate, Herlitschka presented himself as a fervent promoter of the translator’s art, arguing that a conscientious translator was essential to the proper reception of modernist novels.\textsuperscript{30} According to Hayman, Herlitschka’s particular view of a translator’s art was put into practice by him and his wife Marlys as demonstrated in their numerous post-war translations.\textsuperscript{31} Archives held at the University of Reading record that Herberth ‘was difficult to work with because he saw the role of the translator equal to that of the author and expected payment to reflect this’ and that he ‘felt any rejections of his claims personally’.\textsuperscript{32} From this we might infer that he claimed agency and visibility for himself. Unfortunately, no translator’s preface with information about Marlys’s involvement was provided, thus the question remains whether Marlys found her own way of asserting female agency in co-translating Mansfield’s stories.

In a 1953 review of Seligkeit und andere Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories) in the German top-quality weekly Die Zeit, the critic was surprised at the fact that a German edition of the stories had been published only at that late date (‘seltsam, daß erst jetzt eine deutsche Ausgabe erscheint’).\textsuperscript{33} The critic, of whom

\textsuperscript{29} Hayman, p. 387.
\textsuperscript{30} Hayman, p. 384.
\textsuperscript{31} Hayman, p. 387.
\textsuperscript{32} University of Reading, Archive and Museum Database, Herberth Herlitschka Collection, Reference MS 1409 <http://www.reading.ac.uk/adlib/Details/print> [accessed 28 September 2014].
only initials are given, considered the translation created by the Herlitschkas to be appropriate, if a little too wooden (′und von Herberth und Marlys Herlitschka ein klein wenig zu knöchern, aber im ganzen treffend übersetzt ist′).³⁴

In 1954, Herberth Herlitschka’s 1938 translation Das Gartenfest und andere Erzählungen (The Garden Party and Other Stories) was also reviewed in Die Zeit. The critic Paul Hühnerfeld compared Mansfield with Pearl S. Buck, stating that Mansfield achieves in her stories ‘eine größere Dichte, eine feinere Nuancierung als Pearl S. Buck’ (‘greater lexical density and subtler stylistic nuances than Pearl S. Buck’).³⁵ Although Hühnerfeld did not mention the translator in his review, he seems to imply that Herlitschka succeeded in rendering Mansfield’s distinctive style and tone into German.

A further retranslation of Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’, created by the New Zealand scholar, editor, and translator Nelson Wattie (1939-) was published in 1977. ‘Sun and Moon’, together with four further stories by Mansfield in both English and German, selected and translated by Wattie, were published as a small bilingual edition by Reclam Jun. in Stuttgart (′Sun and Moon’: Fünf Short Stories, Englisch/Deutsch). The collection was intended for readers such as students and advanced learners of English, who would like to compare a number of Mansfield’s original texts with a German translation. Wattie spent some years in Germany and completed his doctoral thesis about Katherine Mansfield’s stories in the German language. In his afterword to the collection ‘Sun and Moon’: Fünf Short Stories, Wattie gives an insight into his own interpretation of ‘Sun and Moon’ to which I will refer in Chapter Two.

Meanwhile, the introduction of Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction to a wider readership in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) commenced in 1977 with the publication of *Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten* (An Indiscreet Journey: Selected Short Stories), translated by Heide Steiner, by Insel-Verlag (Insel publishing house). I will provide more detailed information on Mansfield’s East German translation and publication history in Chapter Five, which explores her reception in the GDR.

### 1.3 Translating and Publishing Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the 1980s to the Turn of the Century)

A landmark in the West-German publication history of Mansfield’s writing is the 1980 two-volume edition and licensed edition of the collected stories (*Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen in Zwei Bänden*) (Katherine Mansfield: The Complete Stories in Two Volumes), translated by Elisabeth Schnack (1899-1992). The title is misleading as the two volumes offer a large number of Mansfield’s stories, but not each story written by her. The editions were published by Büchergilde Gutenberg, a prestigious union book club for good literature and fine books, in Frankfurt a.M., and the publishing house Kiepenheuer & Witsch in Köln, respectively. Due to the fact that Büchergilde Gutenberg was a book club and books were available for purchase exclusively for members, Büchergilde Gutenberg sold the licence rights for this book. In January 1981, the licensed edition of Mansfield’s collected stories reached the top ten of *Die Zeit* bestseller list. This bestseller list is widely considered the preeminent list of best-selling books in Germany and the 1981 jury consisted of eminent members such as Sigrid Löffler and Marcel Reich-Ranicki who at the time were arguably the most widely accepted voices of literary criticism in Germany.
Founded in 1924, Büchergilde Gutenberg supported the ideals of worker emancipation and socialism and also advocated new attention to typography and book design. They were not only the first German publishers to issue most of Mansfield’s stories in translation in a two-volume edition, they were also the first to publish three volumes of translations of Mansfield’s stories as illustrated editions, translated by Elisabeth Schnack, namely *An der Bucht / Das Gartenfest* (At the Bay / The Garden Party) in 1988 as well as *In einer deutschen Pension* (In a German Pension), and *Die Fliege* (The Fly), published in 2012 and 2013, respectively. In their 1988 advertising slogan Büchergilde Gutenberg claimed ‘Wer Katherine Mansfield für den deutschen Sprachraum entdeckt hat, muß auch sonst einiges zu bieten haben’ (‘whoever discovered Katherine Mansfield for the German-speaking countries must certainly have a lot more to offer’).36

According to Büchergilde Gutenberg, in their response to my enquiry in 2014, the illustrated edition of *In einer deutschen Pension* has sold very well in Germany. Although they were not prepared to reveal any sales figures, their reassurance indicates that German readers today do not feel offended by Mansfield’s satirical sketches of German characters - quite the contrary. The fact that this edition of *In einer deutschen Pension*, designed and illustrated by the German graphic artist Joe Villion, was awarded the first prize in a 2013 competition called ‘Die schönsten Deutschen Bücher 2013’ (The Best German Book Design in 2013) by Stiftung Buchkunst contributed to its economic success. According to Stiftung Buchkunst, this illustrated edition of Mansfield’s German Pension stories demonstrates:

A delightfully strident synthesis of narrow-minded stuffiness, kitsch and irony, offering through text and image a particularly congenial taste

---

of the sociologically exotic delights which the young writer must have experienced during her stay in a German boarding house. Elisabeth Schnack, whose translations of Mansfield’s stories were successively published by Büchergilde Gutenberg and whose translation was used to provide the text for the prize-winning illustrated volume, was an acclaimed translator. In 1985, she was awarded the Johann-Heinrich-Voß-Preis in the field of translation by the German Academy for Language and Poetic Art (Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung). However, Schnack denied the usefulness of translation theories, stating ‘Bücher von “Übersetzungswissenschaftlern” hasse ich wie die Pest’ (‘I hate books written by “translation scholars” like poison’). Her personal principle for the large number of translations from English into German that she completed was to be ‘as faithful as possible and as free as possible’, interpreting the conventionally applied rule ‘as faithful as possible and as free as necessary’ according to her own needs. Schnack’s statement suggests that she did not want her target audience to encounter any challenges and implies a domesticating approach, assuming that most of her readers want an accessible text that reads easily and fluently. In 1998, however, the author Ingrid Mylo criticised Schnack’s 1980 translation of the collected stories (Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen), stating that this collection is ‘eine verdienstvolle Pioniertat, die leider durch die unangemessene Übersetzung geschmälert wird’ (‘a worthy pioneering work which, unfortunately, is diminished by the inappropriate translation’).

38 Daniela Beuren, Das Konstrukt Frau in der Translation (Graz: Leykam, 2005), p. 140.
39 Beuren, p. 139.
Schnack certainly has a very ornate writing style, as exemplified in her postscript to the 1980 edition in question. Referring to Mansfield’s life, Schnack writes:

Katherine Mansfields Leben war in der Tat überquellend reich und vielseitig – erfüllt von innig erlebten Herrlichkeiten wie auch von abgründig durchlittenen, oft selbstgeschaffenen Qualen.\(^\text{41}\)

Katherine Mansfield’s life was indeed exceedingly rich and multifaceted – imbued with deeply experienced splendour as well as the chasms and often self-imposed agonies that she endured.

Unfortunately, editorial and publishing strategies in Germany tend to resort to reprints of older translations, and Schnack’s translations have been republished multiple times, demonstrating that translation history is influenced by decisive economic factors as well as by ideology, at the expense of aesthetics.

In 1980, the same year as Schnack’s translation of the collected stories was published in West Germany, the East German publishing house Insel-Verlag in Leipzig issued a two-volume edition of translations of selected writings (\textit{Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke}) edited by the eminent scholar Wolfgang Wicht and rendered into German by a team of qualified translators within the German Democratic Republic (please see Appendix B). The edition in question comprises a number of selected short stories translated by Heide Steiner, who studied English and Nordic languages and obtained her doctorate in the field of translation studies in the German Democratic Republic. In a recent essay, Wicht refers to Steiner, describing her as an ‘excellent East German translator’.\(^\text{42}\)

In addition to Steiner’s translations of selected short stories in \textit{Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke}, a number of notebook excerpts were translated by


Sigrid Wicht, a selection of letters were translated by Irmgard Nickel, and some of Mansfield’s reviews were translated by Peter Meier. The detailed explanatory notes provided in both volumes imply that the intended East German reader was not assumed to have much cultural or geographical knowledge about Britain or New Zealand.

It was this 1980 edition that aroused the former East German author Christa Moog’s interest in Katherine Mansfield and inspired her to write her 1988 narrative *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* (Out of a thousand green mirrors) to which I will refer in Chapter Seven. However, at the time of writing the novel, Moog had already left the GDR; she was among a number of women writers who escaped the GDR during the 1980s. As Helen Bridge observes, ‘gender relations in the GDR were characterised by the discrepancy between official proclamations and experienced reality’. Although gender equality existed in theory, in reality conventional gender roles continued. I will return to this issue when I discuss Heide Steiner’s translation of ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ in Chapter Five and in my subsequent discussion of Christa Moog’s novel, in which the first-person narrator retreats behind the life and writings of Katherine Mansfield.

1.4 Translating and Publishing Mansfield’s Short Fiction (from the Beginning of the 21th Century to the Present Day)

Mansfield’s continuing popularity with German publishers, reviewers, and readers was confirmed in 2006 when the publishing house Haffmans Verlag bei Zweitausendeins in Frankfurt a.M. decided to bring out new translations of the *In a German Pension* stories from the 1911 Stephen Swift edition, translated by Ute

---

43 Telephone interview with Christa Moog, February 2014.
Haffmans. Moreover, in 2009 Haffmans Verlag also published *Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen*. This collection combined the 2006 translated stories of *In a German Pension* by Ute Haffmans and selected stories from J.M. Murry’s 1945 edition *Collected Stories of Katherine Mansfield* rendered into German by Sabine Lohmann and Heiko Arntz. Arntz completed this edition by also providing insightful annotations and an epilogue. In a 2009 review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* the scholar and critic Tobias Döring praised the collection as a real feast for all lovers of relentless observations and perceptive records of the human mind (‘ein wahres Fest für alle Liebhaber von unerbittlicher Beobachtung wie auch von scharfsichtigen Seelenprotokollen’). By now, the role of the translator is frequently an explicit topic of reviews and Döring considered the short stories to be translated in a very appealing way (‘sehr ansprechend übersetzt’).\(^\text{45}\)

In a recent reply to my enquiry, the publishing house Haffmans Verlag bei Zweitausendeins explained the reasons for their decision to have Mansfield’s stories retranslated and republished. For them, Mansfield is one of the most brilliant storytellers (‘eine der großartigsten Erzählerinnen’) who have most often been published for the German-speaking audience in the clumsy translations by Elisabeth Schnack (‘in den betuchlichen Übersetzungen von Elisabeth Schnack’).\(^\text{46}\) Commercially, however, they admit that the edition has not entirely met their expectations. This seems to be traceable to the fact that their edition of *Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen* has been obtainable exclusively from a few selected book shops and through mail-order selling, thus demonstrating that


\(^{46}\) Correspondence with Haffmans Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., June 2015.
Translators are part of a larger process and not the only ones responsible for the final success of a translated book.

In October 2012, New Zealand was the Guest Country of Honour at the world’s biggest trade fair for the book industry in Frankfurt a.M. This was a further stimulus to Katherine Mansfield’s reception in Germany as I will explain in Chapter Six. For this occasion, both the German publishing house Insel and the Swiss publisher Diogenes republished Glück und Andere Erzählungen (Bliss and other Stories), translated respectively by Heide Steiner and Elisabeth Schnack. In the same year, Diogenes also republished the 1980 two-volume edition of Mansfield’s collected stories entitled Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen as translated by Elisabeth Schnack.

In 2013, the eminent scholar Wolfgang Wicht, who introduced modernist writers such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Katherine Mansfield to readers in the former German Democratic Republic from the mid-1970s onwards, as I discuss in Chapter Five, devoted a chapter to Katherine Mansfield in his 2013 collection of essays on modernist writers. With reference to Mansfield, Wicht concludes that:

Legt man ihre eigenen Maßstäbe an ihre Kurzgeschichten an, dann ist wohl, denen nicht zu widersprechen, die sie mit Maupassant, Tschechow oder Joyce zu den Großen in der Geschichte des Genres der kurzen Erzählung auf dem Wege zu ihrer breiten Entfaltung in der Weltliteratur des 20. Jahrhunderts rechnen.47

If we apply her own standards to her short stories, then we can hardly contradict those who link her together with Maupassant, Chekhov, or Joyce to the great writers in the history of the genre of short fiction in its broad development within the framework of world literature in the twentieth century.

---

In 2016, a similar understanding of Katherine Mansfield as a great short story writer induced the Calambac publishing house in Saarbrücken to publish one particular story by Mansfield, namely 'The Modern Soul' as a bilingual edition in a new German translation alongside the English. The Calambac publishing house was founded by Elena Moreno Sobrino in 2011. Moreno Sobrino, who studied philosophy, German, Romance studies, and translation studies, intends to publish renowned authors, predominantly from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a focus on bilingual and trilingual editions.

In her written reply to my enquiry, Moreno Sobrino provides a detailed answer as to why she has chosen this particular story by Katherine Mansfield for publication in both English and German. For her, 'The Modern Soul', taken from In a German Pension, already illustrates Mansfield’s art of writing and refined artistic skills. She suggests that Mansfield’s ironic criticism of esotericism and mysticism epitomized through the protagonist Fräulein Sonia Godowska in the 'The Modern Soul' foreshadows her turn towards esoteric and holistic philosophies at the end of her life. According to Moreno Sobrino, Mansfield’s story 'The Modern Soul' already addresses a number of themes that were to arise in Mansfield’s later work (‘in “Die Moderne Seele” sind viele Grundthemen ihres Werkes enthalten’) and provides the reader with some insight into complex issues. For this reason, as pointed out by Moreno Sobrino, this particular story seems to offer the scope of a novel (‘mir scheint, als ob Katherine Mansfield eher einen Roman als eine Short Story geschrieben hätte’). Moreno Sobrino’s reading and appreciation of 'The Modern Soul' inspired her to publish the bilingual edition in question.

---

48 Correspondence with Elena Moreno Sobrino, Calambac Verlag, Saarbrücken, April 2018.
Also in 2016, the publishing house Marix/Verlagshaus Römerweg in Wiesbaden published a retranslation of Mansfield’s collection of stories entitled *The Garden Party and Other Stories*, translated by Claudia Wenner. The editor Anna Schloss, who studied Slavonic studies and book sciences, writes in her response to my enquiry as to why they have published a retranslation of *The Garden Party and Other Stories* that 'für mich ist Katherine Mansfield eine der begabtesten und großartigsten Schriftstellerinnen überhaupt' ('for me, Katherine Mansfield is one of the most gifted and brilliant writers in any event'). Schloss points out that the publishing house she works for aims to unleash literary treasures, which also enrich the present reader ('wir wollen literarische Schätze heben, die auch den heutigen Leser bereichern').

The editor’s statement raise questions as to why Mansfield’s stories in German translation have evolved within the larger social and historical framework of Germany and have appealed to the tastes of a German-speaking readership for more than eight decades now. As I have outlined in this chapter, Mansfield’s German-speaking translators have tried to domesticate Mansfield’s texts according to the prevailing tastes of the respective target audience. Nevertheless, Mansfield’s ability to describe moments of intense feeling, drawing the reader into the experience that is being depicted, has been sufficiently conveyed to ensure that her short stories continue to be regarded as a source of enrichment by her German-speaking readership.

A 2019 collection of Mansfield’s stories entitled *Eine indiskrete Reise und andere Erzählungen* ('An Indiscreet Journey' and other stories) has just been put on the German book market. The edition includes nine stories in German translation, among them 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding', newly translated by the well-

---

49 Correspondence with Anna Schloss, Marix/Verlagshaus Römerweg, Wiesbaden, May 2018.
reputed translator Ursula Grawe, which illustrates the ongoing German interest in Mansfield’s short fiction.\(^{50}\)

It remains to be seen whether and when the four volumes of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works by Katherine Mansfield*, edited by Gerri Kimber, Vincent O’Sullivan, Angela Smith, and Claire Davison, published by Edinburgh University Press between 2012 and 2016, will be translated into German or whether German publishing houses will initiate new projects of their own. In her recent article on the genesis and creation of the four-volume Edinburgh edition, Kimber explains that the editors attempted to make Katherine Mansfield’s work 'available in the scholarly editions it deserved'.\(^{51}\) According to Kimber, 'both admirers and scholars of Katherine Mansfield will at last have a scholarly edition worthy of this exceptional modernist and iconic New Zealand writer'. Thirty years earlier the New Zealand scholar and translator Nelson Wattie claimed that a matter of central importance was to provide fuller and more accurate editions of Mansfield’s texts than those left by her widower and editor John Middleton Murry.\(^{52}\) The editors of the volumes of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works by Katherine Mansfield* have now provided full and accurate editions of Mansfield’s writings, which, unfortunately, are not available in translation for a German-language readership.

\(^{50}\) Katherine Mansfield: 'Eine indiskrete Reise' und andere Erzählungen, trans. by Ursula Grawe (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2019).


1.5 Katherine Mansfield’s Diaries, Letters, Critical Writings, and Poetry: Translations into German and Publications in German-Speaking Countries

The first primary sources for Katherine Mansfield’s biography in the German language, provided by the Swiss author and translator Max A. Schwendimann, added to the growing appreciation of Mansfield’s work in German-speaking Europe. In 1967, Schwendimann’s first volume, entitled *Katherine Mansfield: Ihr Leben in Darstellung und Dokumenten* (Katherine Mansfield: Her Life Portrayed and Documented) was published by Winkler-Verlag, Munich. Drawing on excerpts from Mansfield’s personal writings as provided by John Middleton Murry’s selected editions of Mansfield’s *Letters* (1928, 1951) and *Journal* (1954) and referring to biographical information presented by authors such as Antony Alpers and Sylvia Berkman, Schwendimann portrays Mansfield’s life for a German-speaking readership.

It was followed in 1970 by a second volume, entitled *Katherine Mansfield: Eine Ehe in Briefen* (Katherine Mansfield: A Marriage in Letters), edited and translated by Schwendimann and published by the Munich publishing house Kindler. This volume comprises translations of selected letters to addressees such as John M. Murry as well as Dorothy Brett, Lady Ottoline Morrell, and Virginia Woolf. It also provides Schwendimann’s own comments on Mansfield’s life and work. Referring to her letters, Schwendimann remarks:

> Die Auswahl war nicht leicht; denn keiner dieser Briefe, der ohne Interesse wäre, keiner, der es nicht verdiente, zu den schönsten und wertvollsten Briefen der Weltliteratur gezählt zu werden.\(^{53}\)

The selection of the letters was not easy, for none of them was without interest and there were none which would not deserve to be counted among the most beautiful and most valuable letters of world literature.

In 1975, Schwendimann’s third volume, his translation of Murry’s 1954 edition of Mansfield’s Journal, entitled Katherine Mansfield: Tagebuch (Katherine Mansfield: Journal), was published by the publishing house Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt in Stuttgart. In the same year, Schwendimann’s first German translation of Mansfield’s Journal was reviewed in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The critic Gody Suter remarks that we might forget her stories, however, we would always remember the person Katherine Mansfield (‘die Geschichten kann man bisweilen vergessen, an Katherine Mansfield wird man sich stets erinnern’).\(^{54}\) The critic added that Mansfield’s journal and letters constituted literature of high quality in their own right (‘aber Tagebuch und Briefe sind nicht nur Material und Quellensammlung, sie sind selbst Literatur von hohem Rang’).\(^{55}\) Suter’s view finds parallels in, for example, W.H. New, who observes in his 1996 article that, although Mansfield’s notebooks frequently lead commentators to biographical generalisations, they also ‘offer much to the reader who is less compelled by the life than by the specifics of language choice’.\(^{56}\) For Angela Smith, Mansfield’s correspondence and journals are a ‘mixture of wit, intensity, and insight into modernity’.\(^{57}\)

Mansfield’s notebooks and letters display her thoughts and observations, her rapid changes of mood and as Gerri Kimber observes, her ‘reacting in a subjective way to the sights and sounds around her, often in a good mood, humorous and content; sometimes depressed, suffering and acerbic’\(^{58}\). Unfortunately, Mansfield


\(^{55}\) Suter, p. 16.


\(^{58}\) Gerri Kimber, Katherine Mansfield: The View from France (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 20.
destroyed what she called 'the long and complaining notebooks' from the period when she was staying in Bavaria.

Mansfield’s personal writings explicitly record her contemplations of the art of writing and how much she loved writing. For instance, in her diary entry of 22 January 1916 we can read:

Then I want to write poetry, I feel always trembling on the brink of poetry. The almond tree, the birds, the little wood where you are, the flowers you do not see, the open window out of which I lean & dream that you are against my shoulder, & the times that your photograph 'looks sad'. But especially I want to write a kind of long elegy to you perhaps not in poetry. No, perhaps in Prose – almost certainly in a kind of special prose.
And lastly I want to keep a kind of minute note book – to be published some day. That is all. No novels, no problem stories [...].

Mansfield’s desire to translate life experience into literature became true. Moreover, her 1920 journal entry, for example, states: 'Oh to be a writer a real writer given up to it and to it alone!' To add a further telling example, in 1922 Mansfield reflected on Chekov’s writing and her own approach towards it in view of her poor health. She noted that 'Tchekhov made a mistake in thinking that if he had had more time he would have written more fully, [...] and added that 'the truth is one get only so much into a story; there is always a sacrifice. One has to leave out what one knows & longs to use.'

In 1992, the author and translator Eike Schönfeld translated a selection of letters entitled Katherine Mansfield: Briefe, published by Insel Verlag Frankfurt a.M., taken from Katherine Mansfield: Selected Letters, edited by Vincent O’Sullivan (1989). Schönfeld, an experienced translator who also translated works by authors such as Martin Amis, Joseph Conrad, J.D. Salinger, and Oscar Wilde, is the winner of several prestigious prizes for his skilful translations into German.

59 CWKM4, p. 192.
60 CWKM4, p. 309.
61 CWKM4, p. 405.
The German edition of selected letters explicitly states that the 1989 English publication includes about twenty per cent of all letters written by Mansfield; thus subjective editorial decision-making also controls Mansfield’s letter writing in German translation.

Nevertheless, the edition Katherine Mansfield: Briefe offers numerous of Mansfield’s letters, in which Mansfield reflects on the act of writing itself. For instance, Schönfeld translated Mansfield’s 1915 letter to John Middleton Murry when she had begun writing her long story ‘The Aloe’, which she eventually revised and altered to become ‘Prelude’. In her native language we read:

> I had a great day yesterday. The Muses descended in a ring like the angels on the Botticelli Nativity roof – or so it seemed to “humble” little Tig and I fell into the open arms of my first novel.

Moreover, her 1921 letter to Richard Murry, from which I quoted in the epilogue to this chapter, describes the writing process of ‘Miss Brill’. It is particularly illuminating for her readers in German-speaking countries as elsewhere as it gives insight into the meticulous way in which Mansfield constructed the story. The original English passage reads:

> In Miss Brill I chose not only the length of every sentence, but even the sound of every sentence – I chose the rise and fall of every paragraph to fit her – and to fit her on that day at that very moment.

Numerous annotations in German included in the edition provide insightful information about Mansfield’s personal circumstances and relationships in order to make Mansfield’s correspondence more accessible for her German-language readership.

Schönfeld’s translation of selected letters was reviewed in the quality weekly Die Zeit in 1993 by the author Christa Moog, who had reflected on

\[62\] CLKMI, p. 168.

\[63\] CLKMI, p. 167.

\[64\] CLKM4, p. 165.
Mansfield’s life journey in her 1988 novel *Aus Tausend grünen Spiegeln* (Out of a Thousand Green Mirrors). Moog remarks that Schönfeld’s translations of Mansfield’s letters demonstrate how uncompromisingly Mansfield subordinated everything, each step in her life, to her personal fulfilment as an artist (‘wie kompromißlos diese Autorin von Anfang an alles, jeden Schritt ihres Lebens ihrer Verwirklichung als Künstler untergeordnet hat’). For the author Moog, Eike Schönfeld’s translation retains Mansfield’s most unusual idiosyncrasies in terms of diction, lexicon, and style. In a 2013 interview Schönfeld explained the rationale behind his translations: the German reader should have the same reading experience as the reader of the original text (‘der deutsche Leser sollte ein vergleichbares Lektüreerlebnis haben wie der Originalleser’). Schönfeld’s view helps illuminate his adopted strategies and accounts for the translational choices made. He was able to select linguistic and stylistic means in German analogous to the ones employed by Mansfield to achieve her specific literary effects. With reference to Mansfield’s notebooks, the Mansfield scholar Claire Davison observes that they ‘confirmed how very multilingual she was, slipping playfully and creatively between languages, dialects and linguistic registers’. The same characteristics are discernible in her letters, and Schönfeld succeeded in illustrating them for the German-speaking readers. Particularly helpful are Schönfeld’s annotations provided in the edition, offering detailed information about biographical facts for a German-speaking readership.


---

67 CWKM3, pp. 141-151 (p. 141).
Katherine Mansfield: Über die Liebe (Katherine Mansfield: About Love), a small volume of selected letters from Vincent O’Sullivan and Margaret Scott’s 1984-2008 editions as well as notebook excerpts from Margaret Scott’s 1997 edition, translated into German by the accomplished translator Brigitte Walitzek. The Publishers Association of New Zealand sponsored this edition, as New Zealand was the Guest of Honour in that year.

To mark Mansfield’s 130th birthday in 2018, a selection of Mansfield’s notebook entries entitled Fliegen, Tanzen, Wirbeln, Beben (Flying, Spinning, Twirling, Shaking), translated into German by Irma Wehrli, was published by Manesse Verlag (Manesse publishing house) in Munich. The title of the edition echoes Mansfield’s 1922 notebook entry 'In the autumn garden leaves are falling. Like footfalls, like gentle whispering. They fly, spin, twirl, shake.' The editor explicitly states that he became acquainted with the 2002 edition of Margaret Scott’s The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks and remarks that the German proverb 'wer die Wahl hat, hat die Qual' ('the bigger the choice, the harder it is to choose') is particularly suitable when one needs to select entries from Mansfield’s notebooks. The editor’s remark suggests that there did not seem to be a particular editorial policy. This raises the issue of the extent to which selected notebook entries and letters misrepresent the woman and writer Katherine Mansfield for a German-speaking readership. The editions of selected letters and excerpts from Mansfield’s notebooks available in German translation, as listed in the attached Appendix A, suggest that they seem to follow subjective personal opinions and decision-makings.

68 CWKM4, p. 444.
69 Katherine Mansfield: Fliegen, Tanzen, Wirbeln, Beben, trans. by Irma Wehrli, ed. by Horst Lauinger (München: Manesse, 2018), 'Editor’s Note', p. 381.
Nevertheless, the German author Dörte Hansen wrote the epilogue for *Fliegen, Tanzen, Wirbeln, Beben* (Flying, Spinning, Twirling, Shaking). Hansen, who studied English among other languages and obtained her doctorate in sociolinguistics, has become a well-known author in Germany since the publication of her much praised first novel entitled *Altes Land* (Old Land) in 2015. Hansen is full of praise for Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction and remarks:

> Man braucht von Katherine Mansfields Leben nichts zu wissen, um ihre Kurzgeschichten zu bewundern. […] Und doch beginnt man nach dem Lesen ihrer Tagebücher, Briefe und Notizen ganz von vorn, liest die Erzählungen noch einmal neu und folgt gebannt den Spuren dieser jungen Frau […] 70

> We do not need to know any facts about Katherine Mansfield’s biography to admire her short stories. […] And yet, after reading her diaries, letters, and notes we start all over again and read her stories anew and, like under a spell, follow the traces of the young woman […].

Although most of Mansfield’s short stories and a larger number of selections from Mansfield’s personal writings have been published in German translation, more comprehensive editions of her fictional and personal writings in the German language are yet to be published. Moreover, there are only two biographies of Katherine Mansfield available in German translation. Pietro Citati’s biography about Mansfield, translated from Italian into German by Dora Winkler, was published in Germany in 1982; however, this commences in 1914 and does not even allude to Mansfield’s stay in Germany. Claire Tomalin’s biography, translated by Eike Schönfeld, is more comprehensive. It has been made available to the German-reading public since 1990.

---

70 Dörte Hansen in her epilogue to *Katherine Mansfield: Fliegen, Tanzen, Wirbeln, Beben*, pp. 359-375 (p. 359).
1.6 Conclusion

The numerous editions of Katherine Mansfield’s writings in German translation I refer to in this chapter indicate that Katherine Mansfield as a writer and as a person has ‘touched the German heart with a strong appeal’. She has remained in print in German translation and has been popular with German-speaking readers since the first collection of her stories was published in the German language in 1937.

In this chapter, I have shown that the afterlife of Mansfield’s short stories for a German-speaking readership has continuously been preserved by means of translation and retranslation. Her writings have been read, interpreted, translated into German, retranslated, and they have received favourable criticism from German and German-speaking scholars, authors, critics, and creative writers. These facts indicate Mansfield’s importance as a writer in German translation, as Walter Benjamin argues, for important works translation marks their ‘stage of continued life’.71 In the subsequent chapters, addressing the reception of Katherine Mansfield’s work in Germany, I will explore her importance as a writer for the German readers, bearing in mind that retranslations serve to adapt the source text for a new readership for a number of reasons such as processes of cultural or linguistic change, recognition of ideological bias in earlier translations, or corrections to previous versions. In the next chapter, I exemplify how selected German translations of Mansfield’s 1918 story 'Sun and Moon' have evolved within the social and cultural systems in which they were embedded.

71 Benjamin, 'The Translator’s Task', p. 76.
Chapter Two: Translational Choices: 'Sun and Moon' as a Case Study

2.0 Introduction

For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life.¹

In his comment, Walter Benjamin emphasises the need to retranslate literary works in order for the original text to remain alive, to guarantee a literary work’s afterlife. Given that language changes, according to Benjamin, a translation will necessarily lose its significance in time. In addition to linguistic changes, translators are bound by contextual, political, and sociological restrictions, which impact on a translator’s interpretation, decisions or word choices.

In the previous chapter, I established how Katherine Mansfield’s literary afterlife in Germany has been continuously preserved by numerous editions of her works in German translation for the past eighty years and more. In this chapter, I juxtapose selected passages from Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’ as the source text with four different German renderings as target texts in order to identify changes made to the story, taking into consideration the way in which different styles of translation have suited different times and readers. I address the question of how the readings or interpretations of Mansfield’s German language translators are recreated in their renderings of the story ‘Sun and Moon’, published for the German-speaking readers in 1937, 1946, 1977, and 2009, respectively. I have selected this particular short story as case study for comparison due to the fact that ‘Sun and Moon’ was among the very first selected for translation into German and

publication in German-speaking Europe in 1937. The story was then successively retranslated and republished in various editions in the German language.

For Gayatri Spivak translation is the ‘most intimate act of reading’, a rewriting of the source text, which involves both interpretation of the source text and transformation of the target language. Any interpretation of a text can be defined as an interaction between what is in the text and a reader’s prior experience and cultural knowledge, consequently any translation reflects to some extent the translator’s own mental and cultural outlook.

As I outlined in Chapter One, over the period of my study Germany was shaped by the ideologies of diverging political entities. Fiona Doloughan emphasises the importance of the respective context in which a text is translated, arguing that ‘translation is a dialogic process, not just in terms of a dialogue between writer and translator, but also between the words on the page and the context that informs those words and helps give them particular resonance’. In this chapter I examine how those shared social and political beliefs impacted on the translators’ conditions of production and consequently on their renderings into the German language. For Cees Koster, a lecturer in translation studies, it is the translator’s task to make choices from the repertoire of possible means of expression from her/his language ‘to find the means to bring about analogous effects and a corresponding narrative’.

Yet the notion of equivalence in translation is a controversial area in translation studies as there is no consensus among translation studies scholars as to what constitutes equivalence. Juliane House, a linguist and translation studies scholar, for instance,

---

argues that the concept of equivalence is determined by the socio-historical conditions in which the translation act is embedded, and by a range of linguistic and contextual factors such as the target language receptor’s expectation norms and the translator’s comprehension and interpretation of the original.\(^5\) In view of Germany’s most recent history, these factors have been particularly significant for Mansfield’s German-speaking translators’ decision-making processes.

In the following sections I consider how dominant features of ‘Sun and Moon’ in Mansfield’s source text compare to the four German renderings and also how the translations compare to one another, focussing on commonalities and differences. I analyse a selection of translational choices made by Katherine Mansfield’s German-speaking translators over the past eighty years to identify the way in which they have transformed Mansfield’s carefully chosen lexicon, transcribed her modernist techniques such as her use of in medias res beginnings and open endings, her employment of free indirect discourse and expressive juxtaposition as well as Mansfield’s idiosyncratic use of punctuation such as her repeated usage of dashes and suspension points. I consider the German-speaking translators’ syntactical adherence to the source text and investigate how they have rendered individual lexical items of Mansfield’s text into the German language. Such a consideration raises the issue of foreignising as opposed to domesticating a text in translation. The terms foreignisation in contrast to domestication were coined by the German philosopher and scholar Friedrich Schleiermacher in 1813, denoting 'the two opposite strategies of enhancing the foreignness of the source text through its translation, or, conversely, making it seem as familiar as possible

in the target culture’. A juxtaposition of the four different translations of the same story allows me to identify whether or not the renderings into German display any alterations due to a translator’s individual interpretation. Moreover, I identify meaningful omissions discernible in the German renderings of ‘Sun and Moon’. In addition, if available, I provide some further information on Mansfield’s German-speaking translators and the contexts in which they rewrote her story.

2.1 ‘Sun and Moon’: The Source Text in Mansfield’s Native Language

Katherine Mansfield’s 1918 short story ‘Sun and Moon’ was first published in the British literary magazine *The Athenaeum* in October 1920. It was then included in the collection *Bliss and Other Stories* (December 1920). Katherine Mansfield explained the genesis of the story in a letter to John Middleton Murry. On 10 February 1918 Mansfield wrote:

I *dreamed* a short story last night even down to its name which was *Sun & Moon*. It was very light. I dreamed it all – about children. I got up at 6.30 & made a note or two because I knew it would fade. I’ll send it sometime this week. Its so nice. I didn’t dream that I read it. No I was in it part of it & it played round invisible to me. But the hero is not more than 5. In my dream I saw a supper table with the eyes of 5. It was awfu[l]ly queer – especially a plate of half melted icecream.7

In ‘Sun and Moon’, Mansfield narrates a sequence of scenes happening before, during, and after an ostentatious dinner party given by the parents of the two main characters, the brother and sister named Sun and Moon. The story conveys Mansfield’s attack on the ideological values of society although the events are depicted from the perspectives of children, particularly through the eyes of Sun, presumably the elder of the two children. However, it is not a children’s story, as

---


7 Quoted in *CWKM2*, pp. 136-141 (p. 141).
it has sometimes been mistakenly considered, as when included in anthologies for teaching English in German grammar schools. By juxtaposing the children’s reactions to the meticulous preparation for a perfect party and the moment of ruined perfection, Mansfield reveals the inner world of her young protagonists named Sun and Moon. The names of the main characters seem significant, inducing Mansfield’s German-speaking translators to exercise imagination in creating their own interpretations. In 'Sun and Moon', perfection and disillusionment are the over-arching themes. Mansfield also portrays the controlling power that the parents have over their children and addresses issues of class consciousness. Although 'Sun and Moon' has not attracted as much critical attention from scholars and critics as most of Mansfield’s other stories, this particular story was one of the earliest to be translated into German and has now been in print in German translation for more than eighty years.

2.2 'Sun and Moon': Translated by Herberth E. Herlitschka (1937)

In Chapter One I outlined the pioneering work undertaken by Katherine Mansfield’s first translator into German, Herberth E. Herlitschka. Herlitschka’s 1937 German translation of 'Sun and Moon' illustrates the translator’s syntactical adherence to the source text. Comparing the beginning of Mansfield’s story with that of Herlitschka’s translation we see that he reproduced the syntax of Mansfield’s story very closely. Mansfield, starting in medias res, writes:

In the afternoon the chairs came, a whole big cart full of little gold ones with their legs in the air. And then the flowers came. When you stared down from the balcony at the people carrying them the flower pots looked like funny awfully nice hats nodding up the path.8

Herlitschka translation into German reads:

8 CWKM2, pp. 136-141 (p. 136). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parentheses in the text.
Am Nachmittag kamen die Stühle; ein ganzer Wagen voll kleiner goldener Stühle, die Beine in der Luft. Und dann kamen die Blumen. Wenn man vom Balkon auf die Leute hinunterblickte, die sie hereintrugen, sahen die Blumentöpfe aus wie komische, furchtbar nette Hüte, die den Weg entlangnickten.⁹

Herlitschka’s German rendering of the passage displays Mansfield’s modernist art of commencing her short fiction in the middle of events. Herlitschka’s translation captures the tone of Mansfield’s text closely as the first paragraph already shows. Like Mansfield, by means of simple and child-like vocabulary Herlitschka succeeded in creating a world in which things happen rather than being caused to happen.

Moreover, Mansfield’s employment of free indirect discourse as a typical modernist narrative technique to convey the children’s perceptions of the preparations for the party and also Mansfield’s shift from free indirect discourse to direct speech in the source text are effectively translated in Herlitschka’s German rewriting as the following passage shows. Mansfield writes:

Moon thought they were hats. She said: 'Look. There’s a man wearing a palm on his head.' But she never knew the difference between real things and not real ones. (p. 136)

Herlitschka rewrites:

Sonne dachte, es seien Hüte. Sie sagte: 'Schau, da ist ein Mann mit einer Palme auf seinem Hut!' Aber sie erkannte nie den Unterschied zwischen wirklichen und nichtwirklichen Dingen. (p. 190)

However, this passage in Herlitschka’s text indicates that the translator made some significant alterations to Mansfield’s source text. To start with, whereas Mansfield wrote ‘a palm on his head’, Herlitschka translated head into 'Hut' ('hat’}

⁹ Katherine Mansfield, Für Sechs Pence Erziehung und andere Geschichten, trans. by Herbert E. Herlitschka (Wien, Leipzig, Zürich: Herbert Reichner, 1937), pp. 190-200 (p. 190). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parentheses in the text.
in English). Secondly, unlike Mansfield, Herlitschka put an exclamation mark after 'Hut'; he may have wanted to underline the child’s excitement.

Yet the most significant change in the target text, as a reader proficient in both English and German will recognise, is Herlitschka’s reversal of the names of the two young protagonists. Contrary to Mansfield’s original text, Herlischka named the little girl Sun and her brother Moon which can be a very confusing reading experience for the target reader. For instance, Mansfield’s references to the male protagonist such as 'But Sun didn’t want to laugh' (p. 138) or 'Sun didn’t mind people not noticing him – much….' (p. 138) are translated by Herlitschka as 'Aber Mond war nicht zum Lachen aufgelegt.' (p. 193) or 'Mond machte sich nichts daraus, wenn er kein Aufsehen erregte, kein großes wenigstens…' (p. 195). Nevertheless, if we take translation to be 'the most intimate act of reading' which involves a translator’s individual interpretation of the source text, as proposed by Spivak, Herlitschka’s reversal of the names of the young main characters conveys that the translator’s own interpretation has determined translation choices.

There are abundant meanings in mythology and literature that can be assigned to the sun and the moon and interpreted accordingly. Considering that the story is about a moment of disruption experienced by the boy due to the destruction of the formerly magically arranged party, with the house of ice-cream and the nut handle as the centre pieces, Herlitschka might not have wanted to assign the role of the disillusioned child to the sun. He might have thought of the great god of the sun in Greek mythology, Apollo, to whom the epithet Phoebus was attributed, denoting 'bright' and thus contradicting the notion of disillusion.10 However, the sun is so overwhelming a phenomenon and whatever the translator’s interpretation was, it altered the story profoundly and has certainly been confusing.

---

for the German-speaking readership familiar with Mansfield’s original story. Yet in terms of grammar, one needs to take into consideration that English is a neutral language with no productive gender markers, whereas German is a language with grammatical gender, which continuously draws the reader’s attention to the issue of gender. In German, the sun and the moon are usually anthropomorphised as female and male, respectively, according to their grammatical gender (die Sonne, der Mond). In English, we find implied genders for poetic use; as such, the sun is traditionally associated with the male gender and the moon with the female. Herlitschka might have wanted to simplify the issue of gender and hence renamed the protagonists.

In terms of individual lexical choices, Herlitschka does not follow Mansfield’s source text too closely. As is often the case with first translations of stylistically innovative texts, Herlitschka’s recreation tends to be more conservative than the original. Conservative expressions such as ‘reinliche Spiele’ (p. 195) to translate ‘clean tidy games’ (p. 138), or ‘gab ihre Hände ineinander’ (p. 195) to render ‘joined their hands together’ (p. 195), connoting a kind of marriage ceremony, deviate from the reading effect created by Mansfield’s original text. Furthermore, lexical items such as ‘Eiskasten’ (p. 192) for ‘refrigerator’ (p. 137) and ‘Maschen’ for ‘bow’ in ‘zupfte ihr die Maschen zurecht’ (p. 195) to translate ‘made her bow stand on end’ (p. 138) are not comprehensible for a speaker of standard German and indicate Herlitschka’s use of the Austrian variety of German. In selecting particular conservative terms Herlitschka proceeded to domesticate the English text, possibly in order to make it more consistent with the nationalist agenda of Nazi ideology. Considering Herlitschka’s intention to introduce Mansfield to the German-speaking readers, and thus to translate for the German-speaking book market in 1937, Herlitschka needed to meet the
requirement of that book industry, namely to offer books that are defined to be ‘close to the Volk’ (close to the people). This echoes the political rationale of state-organised book advertising during the Nazi period, propagating the view that ‘the book is a purely spiritual accomplishment and therefore one that influences the Volk (people) in its thinking and feeling …’.

As regards punctuation, Herlitschka’s translation shows that he does not consistently adhere to Mansfield’s idiosyncratic punctuation. This is exemplified when comparing Mansfield’s original sentence ‘Sun didn’t mind people not noticing him – much….’ (p. 138) with Herlitschka’s translation ‘Mond machte sich nichts daraus, wenn er kein Aufsehn erregte, kein großes wenigstens...’ (p. 195). Typical characteristics of Mansfield’s syntactic technique of omission are her continuous employment of dashes and suspension points in order to hint at the thought processes of her characters. The dash in the sentence under discussion, not produced in Herlitschka’s German translation, qualifies the boy’s feelings and creates a sharp contrast to his sister’s emotional state as she both identifies with and is loved by all the guests. Thus Herlitschka’s alteration in punctuation could be considered to detract from the tone and intention of the original text.

A striking omission is the sexually charged scene after the party, when both parents are patently tipsy to the adult reader as the little girl ‘stopped a minute’ to state ‘Mother – your dress is right off one side’ and her father ‘pretended to bite her mother’s white shoulder’ (p. 140). This passage is not included in the 1937 publication of Herlitschka’s translation for the German-speaking book market. The omission suggests that an increasingly nationalist environment with an emphasis on motherhood and the high esteem in which the mother was held must have induced either the male translator to employ an act of self-censorship by

---

eliminating female sexual experience as alluded to in the original text, or caused the publishing house to respond to the challenges of a Nazi-dominated book market by omitting this scene in the first German translation of ‘Sun and Moon’.

Herlitschka’s 1937 German translation of ‘Sun and Moon’ indicates that an element of politically-motivated censorship was at work which also shaped the form in which the story reached German-language readers and thus its reception by them. At the same time, it also shows Herlitschka’s individual interpretation and transformation of Katherine Mansfield’s source text.

2.3 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Ina Seidel (1946)

Ina Seidel, who took up the task of retranslating ‘Sun and Moon’ for the 1946 publication of the story in the cultural journal Prisma adapted Mansfield’s narrative for a new German readership in the difficult post-war years. Starting out from the premise that retranslation is yet another interpretation of a source text, I will focus on salient points to show how Seidel’s version interacts with both Mansfield’s source text and Herlitschka’s first German rendering of ‘Sun and Moon’.

Susan Bassnett suggests that ‘any translator who takes on a text that has been translated before will almost certainly want to look back and see how another translator has tackled the same work’.12 This is exemplified in Ina Seidel’s retranslation. For instance, the opening of Seidel’s rewriting shows, concurrent with Herlitschka’s version and with the three further German retranslations discussed in this chapter that it mirrors Mansfield’s modernist use of in medias res

---

beginning and free indirect discourse. Moreover, consistent with Herlitschka’s version, yet contrary to Mansfield’s source text, is Seidel’s alteration of the children’s names. Calling the boy Moon and the girl Sun implies that Seidel may have wanted to 'look back' and may have been influenced by Herlitschka’s decision to rename the two protagonists.

Although Seidel, like Herlitschka, reproduces the syntax of Mansfield’s source text quite closely, when comparing her translation with Mansfield’s original and Herlitschka’s translation we can identify significant changes in terms of individual lexical items. For example, Seidel changes Herlitschka’s vocabulary in the second paragraph of the story, rendering Mansfield’s sentence 'There’s a man wearing a palm on his head.' into 'Da ist ein Mann mit einer Palme auf dem Kopf!'. Unlike Herlitschka, who employed the German term 'Hut' (hat), Seidel translated head literally into 'Kopf' (head), improving the style of the first German translation. However, what is most striking in Seidel’s retranslation of 'Sun and Moon' is her frequent employment of diminutives, which clearly differs from Herlitschka’s translation and profoundly deviates from Mansfield’s original tone. Mansfield’s mastery of the art of brevity, her precision of expression are challenged by Seidel’s use of German diminutives, such as 'Söckchen' to translate 'socks', 'Glöckchen' (p. 30) for 'bell' (p. 139), and 'Knöchlein' (p. 30) for 'bone' (p. 140).

One could argue that Seidel intentionally uses diminutives to echo child-speak, to show affection towards the protagonists. Yet such deviations from the basic form may have sounded twee and kitschy to German-speaking readers in 1946, who were likely to be familiar with short stories by German writers such as

---

13 Katherine Mansfield, 'Sun and Moon', trans. by Ina Seidel, in Prisma, Heft 1, (München: Kurt Desch, 1946), pp. 28-31 (p. 28). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parentheses in the text.
Luise Rinser (1911-2002) and Elisabeth Langgässer (1899-1950). Langgässer, for instance, addressing her implied reader, asks ‘wie oft hast du mich gefragt: warum denn meine Form so abstrus, so ungewohnt und so neuartig sei’ (how often have you asked me why my form is so fanciful, so unfamiliar, and so innovative).\textsuperscript{14} Such attributes can hardly be assigned to Seidel’s style in the translation in question, which thus not only fails to conform to Mansfield’s modernist aesthetics, but which is also categorically opposite to the effect Mansfield must have intended in the original.

Particularly significant in Seidel’s retranslation is the fact that, in contrast to Herlitschka’s rendering, her adherence to the ‘Mutterkult’ (cult of the mother) of the National Socialists, as delineated in Seidel’s own novels, did not prevent her from including the sexually charged scene at the end of a successful party when, as Gerri Kimber puts it, the mother is ‘almost lascivious as she fondles her husband’.\textsuperscript{15} In a 1938 article, Mary McKittrick described Ina Seidel as a writer who ‘considers woman, as a mother, closer to Nature, more responsible for bringing about the necessary harmony of the world and better fitted to reconcile values’.\textsuperscript{16} Yet Seidel’s retranslation, including this particular scene, was published at a time when idealisation of motherhood was still an issue in Germany and based on Adolf Hitler’s assertion that a woman’s world should be her family, her husband, her children, and her home (‘Die Welt der Frau ist, wenn sie glücklich ist, die Familie, ihr Mann, ihre Kinder, ihr Heim.’) as quoted in 1936 in the

\textsuperscript{14} Elisabeth Langgässer, \textit{Mithras} (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1959), pp. 9-17 (p. 11).
\textsuperscript{15} Gerri Kimber, \textit{Katherine Mansfield and the Art of the Short Story} (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 73.
influential women’s magazine *NS-Frauenwarte*.  
Perhaps Seidel’s interpretation of the story may have induced her to reinstate the passage deleted by Herlitschka and depict the character of a resilient and sensual woman in her retranslation at a time when women needed to fight for survival in a world governed by ruins and starvation.

Nevertheless, Mansfield’s attack on the ideological values of society in ‘Sun and Moon’ for which her portrayal of the mother is a vehicle, seems not to be fully conveyed by Seidel’s interpretation. In Mansfield’s text, for instance, the mother only had time to say: ‘Out of my way, children!’ (p. 136). Whereas Herlitschka translated this sentence literally into ‘Geht mir aus dem Weg, Kinder!’ (p. 190), Seidel’s retranslation reads ‘Kinder, steht mir nicht im Wege herum!’ (Children, don’t stand about in my way) (p. 28). The subtle difference in meaning, for Seidel’s sentence is not a direct request to leave her alone, seems to be more aligned with a strongly sympathetic view of motherhood. Moreover, the mother in Mansfield’s text does not display warm motherliness, but demonstrates a rather impersonal relationship with her children as expressed by: “I’ll ring for them when I want them, Nurse, and then they can just come down and be seen and go back again,” said she.’ (p. 138). Herlitschka translated this passage quite literally into: “Ich werde läuten, wenn es Zeit ist, Fräulein, und dann brauchen die Kinder nur herunterzukommen und sich ansehen zu lassen und können gleich wieder gehn”, sagte sie’ (“I’ll ring for them when it’s time, Miss, and then the children just have to come down so that we can see them and then they can go right back”, she said.’) (p. 194), Seidel significantly shortened this passage: “Ich klingele nach ihnen, wenn sie kommen sollen”; sagte sie.’ (“I’ll ring for them, if they are

---

wanted”, she said’) (p. 29). Seidel’s choice not to translate the second part of the original sentence, which conveys that the children are habitually presented for display to the guests, demonstrates Seidel’s motivation to suit her time and readership, which might still have been influenced by the prevailing attitude towards motherhood in the Nazi period.

In terms of conveying Mansfield’s punctuation, Seidel’s rendering shows a smaller number of deviations from the source text. Gerri Kimber points out that ‘punctuation anomalies in translation can sometimes lead to a weakening, a minimising of tone and meaning’.18 We can find a softening of tone in Seidel’s German rendering of the following scene, for instance, when Mansfield narrates that Mother was so busily preparing the party that she only had time to say: 'Out of my way, children! (p. 136) and 'They kept out of her way – at any rate Sun did.' (p. 136). Seidel translates: 'Sie gingen ihr aus dem Wege. Mond jedenfalls.' (p. 28); in contrast to Mansfield, Seidel opted to use two separate sentences, which slightly alters the tone of the original sentence and may interrupt a reader’s thought process.

Nevertheless, Ina Seidel’s 1946 retranslation of ‘Sun and Moon’ contributed to the commemoration of the writer Katherine Mansfield in Germany, functioning in the specific socio-cultural context of the immediate post-war period. At that time, translation and book publication were subject to Allied Control Authority approval, the governing body of the Allied Occupation Zones in Germany and Austria, aiming to destroy Nazi thought and Nazi ideology in order to impose democracy.

2.4 'Sun and Moon': Translated by Nelson Wattie (1977)

According to the translation studies scholar Lawrence Venuti, 'translation, with its double allegiance to the foreign text and the domestic culture, is a reminder that no act of interpretation can be definitive [...]'. The New Zealander Nelson Wattie (1939-), who spent about two decades in Germany, completing his doctoral thesis on Katherine Mansfield in German in 1979, as I outlined in Chapter One, produced a further German retranslation of 'Sun and Moon'. This appeared in a bilingual edition of five of Mansfield’s stories to be made widely available for use in schools and universities, published by Reclam publishing house in 1977.

Wattie’s translation of 'Sun and Moon' shows a sensitivity to the syntax of Mansfield’s story and preserves essential characteristics of Mansfield’s source text such as her in medias res beginning and her use of suspension points and dashes. Yet it demonstrates that Venuti’s claim that 'no act of interpretation can be definitive' proves to be correct as a translator’s interpretation is determined by numerous different cultural and social factors. Wattie’s interpretation of Mansfield’s original text, and thus his retranslation, significantly deviates from the texts rendered by Herberth Herlitschka and Ina Seidel. The most obvious feature of Wattie’s retranslation is that, concordant with Mansfield’s source text, he retained the names of the two children, calling the boy Sun and the girl Moon.

In the epilogue to his retranslation, Wattie does not explain his translation practices, but reveals his own individual interpretation of the story. Wattie states that the title ‘Sun and Moon’ itself demonstrates ‘a prevailing dualism’ displayed in this particular story which is also representative of the four additional stories contained in the bilingual edition ('Unser Titel 'Sun and Moon' sollte dabei als

Hinweis auf den in den Erzählungen herrschenden Dualismus verstanden werden').

For Wattie,

Sonne und Mond sind archetypische Symbole für die Darstellung zweier gegensätzlicher Aspekte. In der Poesie vieler Jahrhunderte handelt es sich dabei gewöhnlich um den Kontrast zwischen der Sonne als Lichtspenderin, als Quelle der Energie, und dem Mond als widerspiegelnder Gegenstand ohne eigene Leuchtkraft. Für die Erzählung 'Sun and Moon' trifft dies auch durchaus zu. (p.71)

The sun and the moon are archetypical symbols of the portrayal of two contrasting aspects. In the poetry of many centuries they have normally been employed to distinguish between the sun as light giver, as a source of energy, and the moon as a mirroring object without having any brightness on its own. This distinction can perfectly be applied to the story of 'Sun and Moon'.

Wattie delineates the sun as a source of energy, suggesting that its power is evident in Mansfield’s story. Gerri Kimber points out that the sun for Mansfield is allied to the masculine. Indeed, it seems that Mansfield conveys a binary or dichotomous thinking by describing her main characters in terms of opposites. The depiction of the boy’s energetic reactions, his steadfastness, and seriousness in the story stand in sharp contrast to the girl’s dainty, extroverted, and impulsive behaviour. Yet Mansfield may have wanted to mock or challenge her readership by describing her protagonists in such a gender biased way.

During the hours represented in the story, Sun experiences numerous new perceptions. For instance, he is encouraged by the cook to look into the refrigerator to admire the ice-cream house with a nut for the door-handle and when the impressionable Sun 'saw the nut he felt quite tired and had to lean against Cook' (p. 137). Sun’s strong reaction, foreshadowing the later moment of


disillusion, is translated by Wattie: 'Als Sun die Nuß sah, fühlte er sich ganz müde und mußte sich an die Köchin anlehnen.' (p. 7). This meaningful scene was entirely omitted by Seidel for reasons we do not know, yet translated by Herlitschka: 'Sooft Mond die Nuß sah, fühlte er sich ganz schwach und mußte sich an die Köchin anlehnen.' (p. 192). This reads slightly differently from Wattie’s version as Herlitschka’s term 'sooft' ('so oft' in recent German orthography, 'whenever' in English) already reveals that Sun will be confronted with the mysterious nut more than once.

Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’ with the perfectionist mother as the embodiment of class position and economic circumstances does not only constitute an example of Mansfield’s attacks on the ideological values of society, but also demonstrates her interest in the depiction of women’s experience, taking the mother as a strong patronising character who gives instructions to everyone. Mansfield’s telling sentence: ‘I’ll ring for them when I want them, Nurse, and then they can just come down and be seen and go back again.’ (p. 138) was translated in an elaborate style by Herlitschka in 1937, but significantly shortened by Seidel in 1946, as already mentioned. Wattie’s 1977 rendering reads: ‘Ich werde läuten, wenn ich die Kinder brauche, Fräulein, und dann dürfen sie gerade mal hinunterkommen, sich sehen lassen und dann wieder hinaufgehen.’ (p. 9). Wattie’s word choice, namely to translate ‘and then they can just come down’ into ‘und dann dürfen sie gerade mal herunterkommen’, is rather restrictive and not entirely idiomatic. The term ‘dürfen’ means ‘to be allowed to do something’ and has more negative connotations in German than the English term ‘can’ written by Mansfield. To be explicitly allowed to do something in contrast to be not allowed juxtaposes the power of the mother and the powerlessness of the two children in the story and
may convey Wattie’s own individual interpretation with regard to the character of
the mother.

Like Seidel, Wattie translated the sexually charged scene previously omitted
by Herlitschka. The scene suggests the parents' lovemaking when the guests have
left and the children are sleeping, and their mother appears dishevelled and
sexually melted into a laissez faire mood. The 1970s in Germany as elsewhere
saw the protest movement of intellectuals and students against strict moral values
and rigid structures and Germany was affected by issues such as feminism,
anti-authoritarian education, and sexual freedom and we can assume that even
teenagers reading ‘Sun and Moon’ at that time were able to interpret Mansfield’s
allusions to love-making in this story. For example, Wattie rendered Mansfield’s
original wording ‘Mother – your dress is right off one side.’ (p. 140) into ‘Mutter –
dein Kleid hängt an der einen Seite ganz herunter.’ (p. 17). This scene is translated
Interestingly, Seidel’s word choice strongly implies a preceding action, whereas
Wattie’s translation is thus being reduced to a mere observation, deprived of its
sexual connotation. My own interpretation of Wattie’s word choice supports the
observation by Vanessa Leonardi, a translation studies lecturer, namely that when
‘a man translates a woman, especially in the case of feminist authors, he seems to
be less direct, more disinterested and more detached from the context, and more
prudish as compared to a female translator’. 22

The story closes with the moment at which Sun experiences the ruin of all
the perfection he has so wonderfully perceived. His little sister Moon has
excitedly picked the mysterious nut ‘out of the door and scrunched it up’ (p. 141),
triggering Sun’s distressed reaction. He gives a loud wail, sobbing: 'I think it’s

22 Vanessa Leonardi, Gender and Ideology in Translation: Do Women and Men translate differently?
horrid – horrid – horrid!' (p. 141). Mansfield’s deliberate use of epizeuxis as a literary device for the sake of emphasis, the repetition of the word 'horrid' in succession, and her employment of dashes as part of her technique of omission are entirely recreated in the 1977 retranslation by Wattie and also in the 1945 retranslation by Seidel, yet not in the 1936 rendering by Herlitschka. Whereas Wattie renders the sentence into 'Ich finde es scheußlich – scheußlich – scheußlich!', Herlitschka’s translation reads 'Ich find, es ist abscheulich – abscheulich!'. Wattie’s lexical choice, the term 'scheußlich', adequately mirrors Mansfield’s original wording and does not deviate from Herlitschka’s term 'abscheulich'. Both lexical items have the same meaning and also the same connotations in German. Yet Wattie succeeded in conveying Mansfield’s original tone by repeating the word three times in succession, expressing the male protagonist’s vehement and forceful reaction to his experience of disillusionment.

The very last line in Mansfield’s source text reads: 'And wailing loudly, Sun stumped off to the nursery.' (p. 141). Whereas Herlitschka in his 1937 translation concludes: 'Und laut heulend stolperte Mond davon, ins Kinderzimmer.' (p. 200), and Seidel’s 1946 rendering reads: 'Laut heulend stampfte Mond ab in die Kinderstube.' (p. 31), Wattie translates: 'Und laut heulend stapfte Sun zur Kinderstube zurück.' (p. 19). The term 'Kinderstube' used by Wattie, echoing Seidel’s 1946 translation, was no longer in German everyday usage in the 1980s. Wattie’s word choice may indicate his attempt to deliberately break target conventions of the 1980s by employing a rather outdated expression that echoes German language use in the 1920s.

Wattie’s 1977 German retranslation of Mansfield’s story as well as his epilogue demonstrate his expert knowledge both as a translator and as an academic who is of New Zealand origin. Juxtaposing Mansfield’s source text and
Wattie’s German translation in the edition in question may have helped to attract even more German-speaking readers to Mansfield’s writing in the 1980s.

2.5 ‘Sun and Moon’: Translated by Sabine Lohmann (2009)

The historian and literary scholar Gisèle Sapiro argues that ‘contradictory interpretations of a work are made possible because of linguistic ambiguities’. In 2009, Sabine Lohmann created a further retranslation of ‘Sun and Moon’ for a contemporary German-speaking readership. Like Herlitschka and Seidel, Lohmann opted for a reversal of the children’s names in her translation. In this case I was able to ask why. In Lohmann’s answer to my 2015 enquiry, she explained her rationale to me, stating that in English one associates the moon with the female and the sun with the male, which is not the case in the German language and culture. This is true as, in contrast to English, modern German nouns have one of three genders, which determine gender associations. Sherry Simon, a scholar in the fields of linguistics and literary studies, points out that ‘English has “natural” gender rather than grammatical gender’, thus gender ‘is attributed not by form but by meaning’. Lohmann argues that if she had referred to Sun, the boy, with the masculine article in her translation, the German-speaking readership would have been irritated; consequently she reversed the children’s name to ensure readability. Evidently, the motivation behind her choice eliminates traces of foreignness for the assumed benefit of the contemporary German-speaking target readers.

---

24 E-mail correspondence with Sabine Lohmann, 11 June 2015.
Moreover, interestingly, Lohmann modifies markers of class distinction in her German text, perhaps taking her lead from the fact that Mansfield was clearly concerned with the depiction of how characters of different socio-economic classes relate to one another. Mansfield’s 1920 story 'Sun and Moon' conveys contemporary class differences by, for instance, the way the domestic servants are referred to or addressed, by their functions such as 'Nurse' or 'Cook' rather than by their names, highlighting their socially inferior status. In her 2009 retranslation, Lohmann alters this approach as, for instance, in the passage when Cook encourages the children to look into the refrigerator to admire the little icehouse with the nut for a handle. Whereas Mansfield’s text reads that Sun, when he saw the nut, 'had to lean against Cook' (p. 137), Lohmann’s German rendering reads that the boy 'mußte sich an Minnie anlehnen' (had to lean against Minnie) (p. 308). Herlitschka and Wattie had translated this passage literally, concordant with Mansfield’s original text as 'mußte sich an die Köchin lehnen' (had to lean against Cook) (p. 192), whereas Seidel omitted the sentence in question. By explicitly stating the name of the cook, contrary to the source text, Lohmann creatively achieves an effect, which deviates from Mansfield’s text as it implies that there is an individual, 'Minnie', who can show empathy to comfort the distressed little boy. Stating the cook’s name in this scene, in contrast to the original text, reveals the translator’s personal interpretation and is evidence of socio-cultural change.

The translator does not remain invisible here; through her choice, she conveys crucial aspects in this story, in the spirit of Mansfield’s implicit criticism of class differences. Lohmann’s version illustrates that retranslations can serve to depict changing ideologies in society.

In terms of individual lexical items, for example, Lohmann decided to translate Mansfield’s sentence 'Ma’am, one moment.' (p. 138) into 'Ma’am, ganz
kurz.’ (p. 310). Whereas Herlitschka, (p. 195), Seidel (p. 29), and Wattie (p. 11) employed the very formal and rather outdated term ‘Gnädige Frau’ for Mansfield’s contracted form of ‘madam’ to address the mother as a female superior, Lohmann gives the story a particular flavour by echoing this foreign term. Thus a degree of foreignization seemed appropriate to this twenty-first century translator. The translation scholar Wolfgang Pöckl states in his 2009 article ‘Die Stabilität der deutschen Übersetzungskultur’ (The stability of the German Culture of Translation) that the contemporary German reader prefers the challenges of a more demanding translation in which cultural and linguistic differences are still discernible.26

Sabine Lohmann succeeded in creating a more demanding translation for the contemporary German-speaking audience by striking a balance between adapting Mansfield’s source text to minimise cultural differences and retaining elements of the source text’s cultural distinctiveness. As the lecturer in translation studies Siobhan Brownlie proposes, conditions such as changing ideologies, changing linguistic and translational norms, the particular context of production as well as the individual translator’s choices and idiosyncrasies can explain the differences between different translations.27

2.6 Conclusion

Looking at Katherine Mansfield’s story ‘Sun and Moon’ as the source text and comparing it with four German renderings, I have shown that particular translational choices made by the translators at different times, in different contexts, under divergent conditions turn out differently. I have also demonstrated

that the various German versions of the story examined here were translated to meet the ideological and intellectual needs and currents of the times of production as is revealed in the translational choices made by the different translators in their specific socio-historical contexts. My discussion also indicates that Mansfield’s German-speaking translators’ individual interpretations and preferences are linguistically reflected in each German translation of Mansfield’s story.

Mansfield’s first ever translator into German, Herberth Herlitschka, brought her to the notice of German-speaking publishers and readers when Mansfield was unknown in the German-speaking world, initiating a number of further retranslations. As I have shown, new translations of earlier translated texts aim to distinguish themselves from previous versions to appeal to an intended contemporary audience. Walter Benjamin confirms that ‘what once sounded fresh may come to sound stale, and what once sounded idiomatic may later sound archaic’.28 Divergent individual linguistic choices of previous German renderings are mirrored in the retranslations, which also raises issues of intertextuality.

As I indicated, the challenges for Mansfield’s German translators were multiple, as her modernist aesthetics require much effort to be rendered into German. Their choices as to how to render Mansfield’s carefully chosen lexicon and modernist techniques were divergent and successful to varying degrees. Most of them showed a sensitivity to the sound and rhythm of Mansfield’s texts. Under the impact of particular ideologies, some of Mansfield’s translators felt the need to employ strategies of omission, adding, and editing out of words, sentences, and passages during the translation process. Susan Bassnett proposes that comparing translations ‘exposes the translators’ different interpretations’ and that such differences make 'the concept of the single, perfect equivalent translation

28 Benjamin, p. 77.
impossible’. None of the four translations focussed on in this chapter is wrong; looking at them we can see the translators making choices, determining what they want to emphasise according to both prevalent socio-political constraints and their own individual interpretation.

Unfortunately, space permits only a limited analysis of my case study corpus. To my knowledge, there has never been any published discussion about translating Katherine Mansfield’s oeuvre into German and it would be interesting to compare some further source texts with their German versions. Most important, however, is the fact that Mansfield’s literary afterlife in German translation is secured for her German-speaking audience. This will be the subject of the subsequent chapters.

---

Chapter Three: The Early Reception of Katherine Mansfield in Germany (from the 1920s to 1945)

3.0 Introduction

An aesthetics of reception explores reactions to the literary text by readers in different historical situations. It is largely dependent on available evidence, as it tries to grasp prevailing attitudes that have shaped the understanding of a literary work in a given period of time.¹

The quotation by Wolfgang Iser points to his attempt to find the reader within the text, conceptualised by his notion of the ideal 'implied' reader. In the previous chapters, I outlined how the reception of Katherine Mansfield's work in Germany and German-speaking countries was conditioned by processes of selection, translation, and publication. In this chapter, I will investigate who Katherine Mansfield’s readers at this early time of her German reception were and how they reacted to and evaluated Mansfield’s prose in that particular period of time.

Initial critical responses were given to Mansfield’s original texts before the availability of book-length translations of her work, which appeared only after 1937, requiring her readers to be sufficiently proficient in English. Thus Mansfield’s early German readership included scholars, grammar school teachers, doctoral candidates, authors, students, and grammar school pupils, as we shall see. In order to fully understand the genesis of Mansfield’s reputation among Germans, it is necessary to consider the specific socio-cultural and political contexts in which her writings were initially received. The era of censorship under National Socialism from 1933 to 1945, which ended after Germany was defeated in the Second World War, constituted a decisive turning point in the politics of literature in Germany, and an important part of my account will be to investigate how the dissemination of Mansfield’s writings was affected during that period.

To examine German responses to Katherine Mansfield’s writings in this chapter, but also in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, I will draw on relevant aspects of the theoretical and critical approaches that have characterised the growing fields of reader response theory and reception studies. As James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein point out, scholars such as Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Jauss, and Stanley Fish, to name but a few, ‘shared an assumption that the meaning and significance of literary texts depended on the models, codes, and values of readers’. The new approaches developed by prominent theorists have illuminated the activity of the reader in constructing meaning. Hans Robert Jauss, for instance, argues that ‘a literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period’. Jauss’s argument indicates that the creation of a literary text’s meaning is dynamic; it is influenced by the respective historical, social, and cultural contexts of reading.

Wolfgang Iser’s emphasis is on the individual reader who discovers the meaning of a text. For Iser, that discovery is one form of aesthetic pleasure, offering the reader a kind of escapism from the constraints of her/his social life, and also an opportunity to exercise her/his emotional and cognitive faculties. Iser’s theory of literary effects and reader responses is based on the novel; reading modernist short stories, and thus Mansfield’s texts, however, is even more demanding due to its intensity and exaggerated artifice as emphasised by Dominic Head. Moreover, I would suggest that at the level of reading experience, the modernist short story, as Mansfield’s prose exemplifies, does not allow for a high

---

degree of escapism from the everyday world due to the complexity of her stories
illustrated by particular characteristics such as in medias res beginnings in order to
plunge the reader into the story’s situation, open-endedness, lack of a coherent
plot, and repeated use of ellipses. Iser proposes that the reading process is always
subjective, requiring a reader to fill in gaps or blanks by means of implication,
fantasy, or reason; he stresses that 'each individual reader will fill in the gaps in
his own way'. Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction compellingly invites the reader
to do so. Angela Smith remarks that in Mansfield’s stories 'a lot is not said and the
reader has to be active and draw inferences'.

Fiona J. Doloughan makes clear that, depending on what readers bring to
the text as well as on their horizon of expectations, readers are likely to construct
what they read differently. The plotless modernist short story as created by
Mansfield demands an extraordinary kind of attention on the reader’s part in order
to fill in gaps and to comprehend features such as ambivalence, ellipsis, and
resonance with the aim of constructing meaning.

Constructing meaning in literary works, and thus in Mansfield’s prose,
involves interpretation, a re-examination of both a reader’s own thoughts and
beliefs and those of the society in which she/he lives as well as engagement with
the emotional effects on the reader’s part. Iser argues that 'if a literary text does
something to its readers, it also simultaneously tells us something about them'.
Doloughan points out that readers tend to interpret the text they are reading:

In terms of their prior experience of texts to date: what they consider
bold and experimental or exotic is likely to be a factor of exposure to

---

6 Iser, The Implied Reader, p. 280.
7 Angela Smith, 'Introduction', Katherine Mansfield: Selected Stories, ed. by Angela Smith (Oxford:
8 Fiona J. Doloughan, Contemporary Narrative: Textual Production, Multimodality and
9 Wolfgang Iser, 'The Significance of Fictionalizing', in Stepping Forward: Essays, Lectures and

I would argue that exposure to certain text types and cultural preferences are largely extrinsic factors, which are socio-culturally determined by a nation’s political and aesthetic climate. Therefore reading can be seen as an interrelational social and cultural activity rather than an entirely solitary one. This is strongly exemplified in the period under National Socialist rule.

From 1933 to 1945, literary reception was influenced by Germany’s political and aesthetic mind-set; readers’ values were determined by their socio-cultural context and their reading and interpretation arose within that particular setting. For this reason, the positive reception of Mansfield’s modernist writing after the seizure of power by the National Socialist Party, as we will see, is quite astonishing. At that time, a reader’s personal taste was clearly manipulated by Nazi propaganda and cultural preferences were aligned with National Socialist ideology and its rejection of relaxed morals and racial integration. This is also true for academic readers, who were the first reviewers of Mansfield’s prose in Germany. Academic interest in the writings of Katherine Mansfield commenced in Germany as early as in the 1920s, and scholarly critiques written in the 1930s should be read taking into consideration the role of German universities at that time. Bruno W. Reimann points out that the universities helped to create the Nazi ideology and had already developed 'premises, resentments, national passions, ideologemes, and argumentations National Socialism could use'.\footnote{Quoted in Anna-Christina Giovanopoulos ‘Aspects of “Gleichschaltung”: Doctoral Dissertations and Habilitationschriften in English Studies, 1930-45’, in \textit{Research Paradigms and Institutional Policies 1930 – 2000}, ed. by Stephan Kohl (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2005) pp. 135-158 (p. 157).}
At the same time, academic responses to Katherine Mansfield’s work in Germany during that period were significantly influenced by the theories of Sigmund Freud as I will exemplify hereafter. The historian Hannah S. Decker points out that it was among the educated public and intellectuals that psychoanalysis flourished in Germany in the 1920s; a great dividing line in German psychoanalysis then fell in 1933, since after that date the Nazis proscribed it as Jewish science. Nevertheless, my examples of academic criticism of Mansfield’s work at that time demonstrate that references to Freud and his theories were still common in literary studies after 1933 despite the agencies of state and Party literary policy.

In his 2014 history of psychoanalysis in Germany, Anthony Kauders argues that Freud’s theories exerted an important influence on twentieth-century German literature. According to Kauders, in 1913 'Freud ist in aller Munde' (Freud was much talked of); and 'deutsche Schriftsteller nahmen auch nach 1918 von Freud Notiz' ('German writers also took notice of Freud after 1918'). Kauder asserts that while Jewish and socialist analysts were persecuted or exterminated with the advent of the Third Reich, Freudianism did not disappear entirely after 1933 in Germany. Listing authors such as Thomas Mann, Gerhart Hauptmann, Alfred Döblin, and Hermann Hesse, Kauder points out that they were influenced by Freud’s theories and

---

14 Kauders, Der Freud Komplex: Eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland, p. 23.
15 Kauders, Der Freud Komplex: Eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland, p. 76.
his emphasis on the importance of the unconscious in the psyche as Freud had come to recognise the ‘incredible significance of the unconscious in the psyche’.  

In her 2015 Katherine Mansfield Society Birthday Lecture, Clare Hanson assures us that although we can sense a certain ambivalence in Mansfield’s engagement with psychology ‘there is no doubt that the central concerns of her fiction resonate powerfully with the landscape opened up by psychology and psychoanalysis’. Delia da Sousa Correa makes clear that Mansfield, like many of her contemporaries, was interested in the psychological theories of Freud. Mansfield’s mastery in conveying the inner lives of her characters and her skill in suggesting Freudian imagery in her stories were identified and appreciated by the German academics who wrote about Mansfield in the 1920s and 1930s; I will turn to their evaluation of Mansfield’s work in the following section.

3.1 Initial German Responses to Katherine Mansfield in the 1920s

Early interest in Katherine Mansfield’s work in Germany can be found in the publications of a number of German scholars in the field of English language or literature, who focused particularly on the contemporary English novel. In his 1923 monograph Der Englische Roman der Neuesten Zeit (The English Novel of Recent Times) Walter F. Schirmer (1888-1984), one of the most distinguished scholars in English studies at that time, portrayed Mansfield as perhaps the most important short story writer of English modernism (‘vielleicht der bedeutendsten short-story Dichterin der englischen Moderne’). Although Schirmer ignored

---

Mansfield’s New Zealand origin, he had already initiated critical scholarly interest in Mansfield’s writings in Germany in the year of her untimely death.

Schirmer emphasises Mansfield’s affinity with Charles Baudelaire and Anton Chekhov:

Von Tschechow ausgehend verfährt sie gemäß der Baudelaireschen Erkenntnis, die besagt, daß in gewissen beinahe übernatürlichen Seelenzuständen das tiefste Wesen des Lebens sich im Anblick des gewöhnlichsten Schauspiels, das so als Symbol wirke, enthüllt.\footnote{Schirmer, p. 51.}

Influenced by Chekhov, she writes according to Baudelaire’s insight which implies that in particular, almost supernatural states of soul, the deepest essence of life reveals itself in the most mundane spectacle, it becomes a symbol.\footnote{I apply the term soul in order to translate Seele in a non-religious way here throughout.}

Schirmer’s unreferenced allusion to Baudelaire can be attributed to a passage from Baudelaire’s 1867 autobiographical fragments entitled 'Fusées' published in his \textit{Journaux intimes}. In that passage Baudelaire employs the term \textit{états d’âme}, meaning 'states of soul' in English or 'Seelenzustände' in German. That particular term was not only invoked by French symbolists, but also used by philosophers and writers in the German-speaking world at the beginning of the twentieth century. The German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), for instance, wrote about our ability to understand and empathise with someone else’s 'states of soul' ('Nachfühlen fremder Seelenzustände').\footnote{Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik' in \textit{Gesammelte Schriften}, vol. v (Stuttgart und Göttingen: Teubner, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), pp. 317-331 (p. 317).} Mansfield’s ability not only to imagine the internal experience of others, but also to convey 'states of soul' by means of suggestion, overture, allusion, and symbol is particularly valued by Schirmer in his 1923 essay. Schirmer argues that readers of Mansfield’s stories can sense her desire to convey immediate experience ('das unmittelbare Erleben nahe zu bringen') and to capture states of being ('das Innerste zum Ausdruck zu
bringens'). Schirmer points out that Mansfield achieves this by use of symbolism 
which transforms ordinariness ('diese in der Form des Symbols gewährleistete 
Transformation des Gewöhnlichen'). A number of allusions in Mansfield’s early 
notebook entries reveal that her aesthetic derived from her reading of Walter 
Pater, Arthur Symons, and Oscar Wilde. However, Mansfield’s aesthetic approach 
was radically modified by her encounter with modernism. Dominic Head explains 
that a key aspect of the modernist short story ‘is the presentation of character 
through narrative voice and this is a seminal feature of Mansfield’s technique’. Mansfield’s art of presenting inner consciousness through free indirect discourse 
is, as Delia da Sousa Correa highlights, ‘a radical development in the treatment of 
literary character’. 

Hans Robert Jauss observes that ‘the relationship of literature and reader has 
aesthetic as well as historical implications’. According to Jauss, ‘the aesthetic 
implication lies in the fact that the first reception of a work by the reader includes 
a test of its aesthetic value in comparison with works already read’. It is evident 
in Schirmer’s monograph Der Englische Roman that he himself had become 
acquainted with Pater, Symons, and Wilde, and Katherine Mansfield’s 
employment of layers of symbolic imagery offered him what Jauss describes as ‘a 
test of its aesthetic value in comparison with works already read’. 

Moreover, similar observations with regard to the impact of Chekhov on 
Mansfield, as those quoted from Schirmer above, had already been expressed in 
1921 by the literary critic Malcolm Cowley, who reviewed Bliss and Other

---

24 Schirmer, p. 74. 
25 Schirmer, p. 74. 
26 Head, p. 113. 
27 da Sousa Correa, p. 94. 
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), p. 20. 
29 Jauss, Toward an Aesthetic of Reception, p. 20.
Stories in the American literary magazine The Dial. Cowley likens Mansfield to Chekhov, arguing that Mansfield 'writes most of her stories around a situation instead of a plot'. Referring to Mansfield’s story 'Je ne parle pas français', Cowley states: 'Implication of Freud'. The critic’s comment indicates his perception of Mansfield’s interest in the implications of Sigmund Freud’s writings.

By the turn of the century, Freud’s ideas resonated with writers and literary critics alike; many authors felt that they were important to their depictions of the inner lives of their characters. This fact seems to have induced Schirmer to highlight the impact of Freud on English modernist authors in his 1923 monograph. Schirmer argues that 'die Theorien und Experimente des Wiener Arztes Sigmund Freud übten einen ungeheuren bestimmenden Einfluß auf die neue englische Romanschule aus' (the theories and experiments of the Viennese physician Sigmund Freud exerted tremendous influence on the contemporary group of English novelists).

In his essay 'Creative Writers and Daydreaming' (1908), Freud explores the nature of literary imagination and aesthetic pleasure, suggesting that the inclination of the modern writer was 'to split up his ego, by self-observation, into many part-egos' and consequently 'to personify the conflicting currents of his own mental life in several heroes'. Freud’s notion of subjectivity, highlighting the multiplicity of the self, is echoed in Mansfield’s often quoted notebook entry: 'True to oneself! Which self? Which of my many – well, really, that's what it

---

31 Cowley, p. 5.
32 Schirmer, p. 50.
looks like coming to – hundreds of selves'. This is evidenced, for example, by Mansfield’s reference to the fragmentation of the self in her story 'Psychology': 'You’ve hurt me; you’ve hurt me! We’ve failed!' said her secret self while she handed him his hat and stick, smiling gaily. Mansfield’s notion of the 'secret self' evokes Freud’s theory of the parts of the self as explained in *The Ego and the Id*. Here Freud distinguishes between 'the conscious self' or *ego* and 'the unconscious', which he later called the *id*, however, emphasising that 'the ego is not sharply separated from the id, its lower portion merges into it'. Mansfield provides a telling example of this in the above quotation. Her work’s responsiveness to Freidian readings continued to make her writing of particular interest to German critics of the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1926, Ernst Vowinckel (1872-1941), a grammar school teacher, delineates Mansfield as a writer of 'kostbar zarter und offenbarungsreicher Novellen' (exquisitely subtle and unfolding short stories) in his survey of the contemporary English novel. Referring to *Bliss and Other Stories* and to *The Garden Party and Other Stories* Vowinckel concludes that these two collections are the only important publications of Mansfield, and that the stories in the latter volume are perfected achievements of her style ('schlechthin vollendete Erfüllungen ihrer Stilform') (p. 174). Retelling the story 'The Stranger' in some detail, Vowinckel exemplifies what he considers to be conveyed by Mansfield, namely 'zwei Seelenwelten, die sich begegnen' (two soul worlds which encounter each other) (p. 174), thus highlighting Mansfield’s ability to depict her characters’

34 Notebooks 2, p. 204.
35 CWKM2, pp.193-198 (p. 197).
37 Ernst Vowinckel, *Der englische Roman der neuesten Zeit und Gegenwart: Stilformen und Entwicklungsstlinien* (Berlin: Herbig, 1926), p. 173. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in the parentheses in the text.
inner experience. In Vowinckel’s 1931 essay on Mansfield in the German *Zeitschrift für Französischen und Englischen Unterricht* (periodical for French and English education), he asks whether the modernist short story, generally speaking, can capture contemporary reality in a better way than the novel, or whether it is Mansfield’s genius that has achieved so much in this respect.\(^\text{38}\) For Vowinkel, only the Swedish Nobel Prize winner in Literature, Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940), outperforms Katherine Mansfield.\(^\text{39}\)

In 1928, a grammar school teacher, Karl Arns, published his essay 'Der englische Gegenwartsroman in englischer Beleuchtung' (The English Novel of the Present Day from an English Perspective) in the same periodical. Arns criticises the wide dissemination of the short story in England, which, according to him, lacks some degree of quality. Yet he refers to Katherine Mansfield as the 'hervorragendsten short story-Dichterin der Neuzeit' (the most outstanding short story writer of the present time) who is able to create a psychological atmosphere in her stories with the illuminating moment as a typical symbolic element.\(^\text{40}\) Mansfield herself describes such instants as sudden moments of discernment in which 'the whole life of the soul is contained'.\(^\text{41}\)

Notwithstanding his positive attitude towards Mansfield’s prose, Arns edited three so-called academic indices between 1938 and 1942 to contribute to clean-up campaigns in order to eliminate books, which did not conform to Nazi ideology from libraries at German schools and universities. In his introduction to the two-volume *Index der anglo-jüdischen Literatur* (Index of the Anglo-Jewish

---


\(^{41}\) CWKM4, p. 310.
Literature) Arns argues that England has not become aware of the fact that English literature is impacted by the foreign infiltration by Jews.\textsuperscript{42} Given the long-standing existence of a German-Jewish intellectual community in England, this is a rather peculiar statement. For instance, in her monograph \textit{Little Germany} Rosemary Ashton explains that 'many of the Germans and other Europeans, mostly Jews, fleeing from Hitler’s Germany in the 1930s, have enriched the scientific and cultural life of Britain to a quite remarkable degree'.\textsuperscript{43} Significantly, in the context of Mansfield’s German reception, as I mentioned in Chapter One, Herberth Herlitschka, Katherine Mansfield’s first German translator, had to flee to England because he was of Jewish descent.

\textbf{3.2 German Responses to Katherine Mansfield in the 1930s}

In 1934, Reinald Hoops’s (1906-1943) compendium \textit{Der Einfluß der Psychoanalyse auf die Englische Literatur} (The influence of psychoanalysis on English Literature), which constituted his habilitation thesis, was published. Hoops had lectured in the German department of Glasgow University from 1929 to 1934 and thus felt qualified to write about contemporary English literature.\textsuperscript{44} There is evidence that Hoops was a supporter of National Socialism; nevertheless, he was welcomed as a professor of English at the University of Innsbruck only a few years before Nazi Germany annexed Austria in 1938.

According to Hoops, only important and representative writers are covered in his compendium; Katherine Mansfield is among them.\textsuperscript{45} Hoops observes:

\textsuperscript{42} Quoted in Frank-Rutger Hausmann, \textit{Anglistik und Amerikanistik im "Dritten Reich"} (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 2003), p. 139.
\textsuperscript{44} Hausmann, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{45} Reinald Hoops, \textit{Der Einfluß der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur} (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1934), Preface. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in the parentheses in the text.
Mit wenigen Worten und symbolhaften Bildern läßt Katherine Mansfield die Gefühlszustände ihrer Menschen vor uns entstehen, um sie dann, kaum vollendet, abzubrechen […] Katherine Mansfield hat wohl eine erstaunliche Tiefe der Seelenkenntnis, aber zu einer eigenen, festen Weltanschauung ist sie nicht gekommen. Sie versucht, die Verbindung von Mensch zu Mensch, von Seele zu Seele, zu finden; aber es gelingt nicht. In diesem Mißlingen erblickt sie die Tragik des Lebens. (pp. 148-149)

With only a few words and images full of symbols Katherine Mansfield captures the emotional conditions of her characters, just to abandon them soon after depiction […] Katherine Mansfield shows an amazing profundity of knowledge of soul, however, she does not arrive at her own firm world view. She seeks to find a conjunction from individual to individual, from soul to soul; however, this cannot be accomplished. In this failure she sees the tragedy of life.

In Hoops’s view, Mansfield does not want to analyse but to dig for true values (‘sie will nicht zersetzen, sondern sie gräbt nach wirklichen Werten’) (p. 149).

Hoop emphasises Mansfield’s interest in the exploration of the inner lives of her characters, yet he does not argue that she was influenced by the theories of Freud. Moreover, his argument, stating that Mansfield did not have her own firm worldview, was to be elaborated on in a doctoral thesis released in 1937, to which I will refer hereafter. However, I argue that Katherine Mansfield’s ideology or worldview underlying her work is continuously implied in her prose and personal writings. For instance, an entry in her notebooks convincingly reads: ‘Der mensch muss frei sein (mankind must be free) – free, disentangled, single.’ An emphasis on a conception of human freedom is discernible in most of Mansfield’s stories, even if this conception is depicted in a laterally reversed way such as in the story ‘The Daughters of the Late Colonel’. The story shows, as pointed out by Clare Hanson and Andrew Gurr, ‘Constantia’s triumphant assertion of the freedom to be weak.’

---

46 Notebooks 2, p. 204.
In a 1936 review of Hoops’s monograph *Der Einfluß der Psychoanalyse auf die Englische Literatur* by Ernest A. Baker in *The Modern Language Review*, the critic states 'Herr Hoops puts all of us right [...] We have been too loose and hasty in calling any novel going deeply into mental phenomena an example of psychoanalysis.'48 The reviewer suggests that writers such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Katherine Mansfield 'are not true psychoanalysts'.49

Whatever the different opinions possible about Mansfield’s own engagement with Freud, Hoops’s view that Mansfield does not want to analyse but to dig for true values was atypical at that time because German critics generally found psychoanalysis an important context for interpreting her work. Yet different critical views on the extent of Freud’s direct influence on Mansfield exist now as then. In a 2015 article, Patricia Moran, for example, argues that both Mansfield and Woolf added to prose writing 'an enhanced sense of emotional life and the self that speaks to their engagement with the psychological revolution of her time'.50 However, Moran goes on to suggest that Mansfield’s concept of human personality 'differs radically from that of Woolf and the psychoanalytic theory of her time' and that in Mansfield’s stories personality is depicted 'as a fleeting and ephemeral construction'.51 This implies that Mansfield neither offers her readers any insight into her protagonists’ genuine identity nor does she provide any psychoanalytical analysis of her characters. The 1936 and 2015 statements I am referring to above support Hoops’s 1934 observation, namely that Mansfield does not intend to analyse her fictional characters, but to delineate their

---

49 Baker, p. 94.
51 Moran, p. 13.
inner lives by means, for instance, of free indirect discourse and symbolism as illustrated in the case study on 'Sun and Moon' in my second chapter.

Whilst Mansfield was very much engaged with current theories of psychology, this was not at the level of psychoanalysing her characters, but apparent in the way she explores what Hanson calls the 'landscape opened up by psychology and psychoanalysis' in her use of techniques to portray their perceptions and experience. Mansfield achieves this by means of free indirect discourse and symbolism as I have illustrated with reference to her story 'Sun and Moon' in my case studies section in my second chapter.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, Mansfield reveals in a letter to her husband that she wrote a story according to a dream: 'I dreamed a short story last night […]. It was awfully queer – especially a plate of half melted ice cream …'.

The house-shaped frozen confection in her story 'Sun and Moon' became the half melted ice cream. In Freud’s lecture on 'Symbolism in Dreams' he argues that the range of things that are given symbolic representation in dreams is not wide, including parents, children, brothers and sisters, with the house as the one typical representation of the human figure as a whole. Linking Freud’s symbolic use of domestic space to represent the human figure as a whole with Mansfield’s dream and her subsequently written story, a reader can deduce that the half melted house-shaped ice cream translates Mansfield’s insight into the fact that a coherent self is not achievable.

However, in his 1934 compendium, Hoops argues that Mansfield’s short stories, although they dissect states of soul, do not show any affinity at all with psychoanalysis. Hoops continues to add that this fact also applies to her letters and diaries. Referring to a number of dreams told by Mansfield in her personal

---

52 CLKM 2, p. 66.
writings, Hoops remarks: 'aber sie haben nie eine Wirkung auf die Erzählung selbst, und es wird auch nie der Versuch irgendeiner Deutung im psychoanalytischen Sinn gemacht.' ('they do not, however, have any impact on the story itself, and there is never any attempt made to interpret them according to psychoanalytic theories') (p. 151). In my reading of Mansfield’s story 'Sun and Moon', the influence of her dream on the text is evident. Yet as Hoops argues Mansfield herself does not provide any interpretation for this story, encouraging her reader to be actively involved in the creation of meaning. Hoops’s view of the impact of Freud and his theories of psychoanalysis on English writers is not uncritical; for him it is often merely an author’s interest in the inner lives of her/his characters and Hoops is heavily invested in a desire to dismiss Freud’s importance to this interest. Mansfield’s interest in the inner lives of the characters as depicted by her has also been noted by a number of scholars, who do regard this as part of her engagement with Freudian ideas. With reference to the stories 'The Woman at the Store', 'Ole Underwood', and 'Millie' Clare Hanson and Andrew Gurr, for instance, suggest that they examine ‘pathological states of mind’.54

A further critical assessment of Mansfield can be found in Walter F. Schirmer’s 1937 compendium entitled Geschichte der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur (a History of British and American Literature).

Schirmer states that Mansfield is most successful when creating:

die knappen, mit behutsamen Strichen zeichnenden Wortskizzen, in denen sie gleichsam für einen Augenblick den Vorhang von der gewöhnlichen Erscheinungswelt zurückzieht, um den Leser mit den Augen und Empfindungen ihrer Jungmädchengestalten Wahres und Erschreckendes sehen zu lassen.55

54 Hanson and Gurr, p. 37.
brief, cautiously drawn sketches, just as if she looks behind the curtain of the ordinary world of appearances in order to let the reader see some true and also disturbing scenes with the eyes and emotions of her young women characters.

Schirmer refers to John Middleton Murry’s editions of *The Journal of Katherine Mansfield* (1927), *The Letters of Katherine Mansfield* (1928) and *The Scrapbook of Katherine Mansfield* (1939), all published by Constable in London, concluding that they reveal 'welche Beseelung dieser impressionistischen Kunst innewohnt' (how much soul her Impressionist art conveys). These terms seem to signify that for Schirmer, Mansfield’s personal writings illustrate that her prose, revealing affinities with the style of Impressionist painting, is pervaded by Mansfield’s own sense of being.

Like Schirmer, a number of scholars from the 1970s to the present day such as Frieder Busch, Julia van Gunsteren, and Melissa C. Reimer have emphasised the impact of Impressionism on Mansfield’s writing. However, other scholars have questioned whether this is the most appropriate term to use for her writing. For instance, Hanson and Gurr propose that a number of Mansfield’s stories show the influence of Post-Impressionist and *Fauve* painters, working in reaction against the realism of the Impressionists. As explained by Hanson and Gurr, the very term *Fauve* denotes 'the distortion of the naturalistic picture surface, which combined with the use of colour for emotive rather than naturalistic effect'. This view is substantiated by Angela Smith who suggests that Fauvism is closer to Mansfield’s aesthetics than Impressionism as she rejected the surface realism of the latter.

---

56 Schirmer, *Geschichte der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur*, p. 1014.
57 Hanson and Gurr, p. 36.
58 Hanson and Gurr, p. 37.
1937 also saw the publication of a survey of the reception of English literature in Germany from 1895 to 1934, *Die englische Literatur in Deutschland von 1895 bis 1934*, by Anselm Schlösser. Schlösser, who had studied in Britain, became a professor of English literature at Humboldt University in Berlin. Schlösser states that Mansfield’s recently published *Journal* (1933) and *Letters* (1934) as published by the Albatross publishing house in Hamburg, deserve attention. He notes the importance of Mansfield’s short stories and indicates that although individual translated stories from *The Garden Party* have been printed in various newspapers and magazines, no publisher for her work has been found so far. Schlösser’s work covered the time period until 1934, and his comment became obsolete with the first publication of ‘Für sechs Pence Erziehung’ und andere Geschichten (‘Sixpence’ and other stories), selected and translated by Herberth Herlitschka and published by Herbert Reichner in 1937, as I discussed in Chapter One.

However, German scholarly criticism on Mansfield in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates that, notwithstanding certain ideologically-driven disclaimers, Freud acted as a stimulus for academic writing in Germany, even after the seizure of power by the National Socialist Party. It also shows that German university teachers at that time were in close contact with current developments in the field of literary studies elsewhere.

### 3.3 Initial German Doctoral Theses on Mansfield

In the wake of scholarly criticism on Katherine Mansfield, the first two doctoral theses on her written in the German language appeared during the 1930s. Wilhelm

---

61 Schlösser, p. 127.
Lang wrote a 1936 thesis entitled *Sprache und Stil in Katherine Mansfields Kurzgeschichten* (Language and Style in Katherine Mansfield’s Short Stories), exploring the thematic and stylistic aspects evident in Mansfield’s stories. Using the story 'Prelude' as an example, Lang comments that reading Mansfield’s stories requires a reader to possess the same amount of responsiveness, sensitivity, and sympathy for ineffability as well as in-depth psychological insight as the author ('es wird vom Leser dasselbe Maß von Empfänglichkeit, Feingefühl und Verständnis für Unaussprechbares, von eindringender Seelenkunde verlangt, wie es die Verfasserin besitzt').

The role Lang intends for the reader mirrors that identified by Wolfgang Iser, namely that readers are required to actively take part in the construction of a text’s meaning.

According to Iser, a reader’s active interaction with a text offers her/him aesthetic pleasure and induces a reader to exercise her/his emotional and cognitive faculties.

Mansfield herself, reviewing the 1919 novel by Vita Sackville-West entitled *Heritage*, stresses the notion of a sudden moment of illumination that engages a reader in the emotional impact of prose, and thus signifies meaning for the reader. Referring to the protagonist’s passions and contradictions in Sackville-West’s novel, echoing the author’s own life, Mansfield writes ‘we must be very sure of finding those central points of significance transferred to the endeavours and emotions of the human beings portrayed.’

Kate Fullbrook confirms that Mansfield’s writing is suited ‘to suggesting complex responses to the reader while the narrative surface remains simple.’ In his 1936 thesis, Lang demanded that a

---

63 Iser, *The Implied Reader*, p. xii.
65 CWKM3, pp. 466-469 (p. 467).
reader should develop as much sympathy for ineffability as he assumed that the
writer Katherine Mansfield had developed, which requires a high degree of a
reader’s active participation.

In her 1937 thesis entitled Das Weltbild der Katherine Mansfield (The
World View of Katherine Mansfield) submitted to the Rheinische Friedrich-
Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Thea Wiegelmann refers to autobiographical
parallels of Mansfield and Marcel Proust. Wiegelmann emphasises Mansfield’s
illness and fate and concludes that her intensive sense of life and feeling of being
alive also pervade the characters in her stories. Freud’s impact is also evident in
Wiegelmann’s doctoral thesis. For instance, referring to the story 'At the Bay',
Wiegelmann quotes Linda’s emotional state, as conveyed by Mansfield: 'She felt
like a leaf. Along came Life like a wind, and she was seized and shaken; she had
to go. Oh dear, would it always be so? Was there no escape?' 67

Wiegelmann argues:

Und diese Worte könnten wohl den meisten der Mansfieldschen
Gestalten in den Mund gelegt werden, besonders den Frauen, die in
ihrer überstarken Empfindlichkeit für alle Sinnesindrücke einen
leicht neurotischen Einschlag haben. (pp. 44-45)

and these words could be put into the mouth of most of Mansfield’s
characters, particularly into the mouth of the women, who are slightly
neurotically affected due to their profound sensitivity to all kinds of
sensory impressions.

Wiegelmann’s argument implies that she did not question Freud’s gender-biased
theory on the development of neurosis. According to Freud, the determinants of a
tendency to neurosis and especially to hysteria are intimately related to female
sexuality. 68 In Freud’s view, as expressed in his 1895 article on neurasthenia and

67 Quoted in Thea Wiegelmann, Das Weltbild der Katherine Mansfield (Bonn: Ludwig Heidelman,
1937). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parentheses in the text.
anxiety neurosis, only the symptoms of psychoneuroses were treatable by psychotherapy, the symptoms of neurasthenia and of anxiety neurosis were not, because they were somatically determined. George Beard’s concept of neurasthenia was popular from the 1880s to the 1930s, and Mansfield frequently refers to cases of neurasthenia in her *German Pension* stories. Mansfield’s characters such as Herr Langen, a tired pale youth who is recovering from a nervous breakdown in the story 'The Advanced Lady', or Frau Fischer, who is in need of a cure due to the fact that she is a mass of nerves in the story 'Frau Fischer', are depicted as spa guests in Wörishofen to take a Kneipp cure in order to alleviate their symptoms. In her thesis, Wiegelmann describes Mansfield’s wretched personal circumstances during her sojourn in Germany in 1909, raising the question:

> Ist es da erstaunlich, daß das Leben für sie unter fremden Menschen im fremden Land, worin sie sich selbst als Ausgestoßene, Verbannte empfand, groteske Formen annahm, daß ihre krankhafte Empfindlichkeit die gesunden Lebensäußerungen gesunder Menschen schmerzlich und hohnvoll berührten, daß die Häßlichkeit, der Abscheu, ja Ekel vor dem Leben überhaupt immer wieder ein objektives Deutschlandbild verwischen? (p. 27)

Is it therefore astonishing that for Mansfield herself life among foreign people, in a foreign country, where she perceived herself as an outcast, an exiled woman, assumed a bizarre form, that her illness-induced sensibility hurtfully and scornfully coloured the sound manifestations of life of healthy people, so that ugliness, disgust, even loathing for life altogether again and again blur an objective view of Germany?

Wiegelmann tries to explain the reasons for Mansfield’s satiric depiction of Bavarian people and her assumed lack of an objective perception of Germany and continues expressing her rather derogatory view of the *German Pension* stories.

However, with regard to the world view of Katherine Mansfield Wiegelmann concludes:

---

Es enthüllt sich das Weltbild einer eigenwilligen, ehrlichen, intelligenten, ständig an Geist und Seele wachsenden Frau, die sich in der Abgeschiedenheit ihres Lebens eine eigene Ideenwelt schuf und den Mut hatte, diese auszusprechen. (p. 84)

The world view is revealed of an unconventional, honest, intelligent woman, who was constantly growing in mind and soul, who created in the solitude of her life her own imagined world, and who had the courage to voice her imaginations.

Sixty years after Wiegelmann wrote those lines, Wolfgang Iser argues that 'as the creation of an author, the literary text evidences a particular attitude through which the author directs himself or herself to the world'. In her conclusion, Wiegelmann attributes to Mansfield and her work a number of very positive characteristics, showing Mansfield’s ability to direct herself to the world in an appealing way. Yet Wiegelmann argues that Mansfield never entirely lived in the real world ('lebte nie ganz in der wirklichen Welt') (p. 82). For Wiegelmann, Mansfield succeeded in her numerous attempts to create her own imagined world. Wiegelmann’s conception of Mansfield’s imagined world could be said to echo Freud who argues that creative writers 'know a whole host of things between heaven and earth'. For Freud, creative writers are ‘far in advance of us everyday people, for they draw upon sources which we have not yet opened up for science’. The idea of writing as bridging gaps between the known and unknown also seems pertinent to Katherine Mansfield; her imaginative capacity offers her readers the chance to fill in gaps by means of implication and association, thus activating a reader’s own creative potential. Iser suggests that 'fictions provide the

---

foundations for world-pictures'. This is certainly true for both, writers and readers.

3.4 Mansfield Taught at German Universities and Grammar Schools during the Nazi Period

The German index of English and North American authors (Verzeichnis englischer und nordamerikanischer Schriftsteller) published by the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) in 1942, a government agency to enforce Nazi ideology to which I will refer hereafter, categorises Katherine Mansfield as a British writer from the British Empire. Nazi propaganda increasingly focused on Britain’s colonial practice, and politically-minded university lecturers emphasised Britain’s colonial past as the most promising avenue of anti-British propaganda. With regard to Anglistik (English studies) as taught at German universities during the Third Reich, Thomas Finkenstaedt points out that those in power were relatively indifferent to the humanities, in contrast to the fields of science and technology, as long as scholars in the humanities did not publish any obvious attacks against Nazi ideology (‘solange sie nicht direkte Angriffe publizierten’).

However, more direct control was exercised over the school curriculum. The Liste der Englischen Klassenlesestoffe, the list of English literature suggested as reading in grammar schools issued on 8 May 1943, regulated for which literary works paper would be allocated to the publishing houses even under the

---

73 Iser, Stepping Forward: Essays, Lectures and Interviews, p. 15.
76 Thomas Finkenstaedt, Kleine Geschichte der Anglistik in Deutschland (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), p. 163.
aggravated conditions of war.\textsuperscript{77} That list itemised Katherine Mansfield’s collection of short fiction entitled \textit{Six Stories}, edited by the German secondary-school teacher Elisabeth Zanner and published in English by Velhagen & Klasing in Leipzig/Bielefeld from 1932 onwards as well as selected works by English-speaking writers such as John Galsworthy, Lytton Strachey, and William Somerset Maugham, despite the fact that those authors had already been debarred by ban from being sold or lent according to the \textit{Verzeichnis englischer und nordamerikanischer Schriftsteller} (index of English and North American authors).\textsuperscript{78} The preface to that index states that it is intended to eliminate translations of works by authors of Germany’s enemy states (‘für die Herausnahme von Autoren der Feindländer’) from libraries.\textsuperscript{79} Nevertheless, German pupils in grammar schools were still reading stories by Katherine Mansfield. In the introduction to my own copy of the 1941 edition of \textit{Six Stories}, which was approved by the decree of the German Reich Minister of Education for use in schools of 11 September 1940, Mansfield is praised for her unmatched stories (‘ihre Novellen sind einzigartig’).\textsuperscript{80} The unnamed writer points out:

\begin{quote}
Es sind hier sechs Geschichten (Sixpence, Bank Holiday, Marriage à la Mode, Life of Ma Parker, An Ideal Family, The Doll’s House) zusammengestellt worden, die die Kunst der unvergleichlichen Erzählerin von verschiedenen Seiten vor Augen führen. (p. 4)
\end{quote}

There are six stories compiled in this edition (‘Sixpence’, ‘Bank Holiday’, ‘Marriage à la Mode’, ‘Life of Ma Parker’, ‘An Ideal Family’, ‘The Doll’s House’) which illustrate the art of this incomparable writer from various aspects.

\textsuperscript{77} Reiner Lehberger, \textit{Englischunterricht im Nationalsozialismus} (Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1986), p. 120.
\textsuperscript{78} Lehberger, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Verzeichnis Englischer und Nordamerikanischer Schriftsteller}, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{80} Katherine Mansfield, ‘Introduction’ to \textit{Six Stories}, ed. by Elisabeth Zanner (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1941), p. 3. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in the parentheses in the text.
Taking into consideration that the ideology of National Socialism favoured themes such as evolution, character, nature, promoting the prevalent leading concepts of Rasse (race), Boden (soil), and Volk (nation), Mansfield’s sceptical presentation of motherhood as well as family life as depicted in the stories in question did not entirely support the NS concerns. For instance, the female protagonist in 'Marriage à la Mode' significantly contradicts the Nazi ideal of a 'truly German woman' who luxuriates in her role as wife and mother. Mansfield’s character is more interested in a sophisticated lifestyle than in her family duties. On the other hand, the genre of the short story seems to have been considered as being particularly appropriate for young learners of English, including those by Mansfield. The introduction to Six Stories explicitly states that the edition lends itself to grammar school pupils, both boys and girls (p. 4). The edition comprises nine additional pages, offering vocabulary equivalence in the German language and useful annotations to facilitate the German school students’ English learning success from 1932 onwards, including during the Nazi period. To answer the question as to why the collection in Six Stories obtained approval for usage in schools at that time, we can only speculate. One reason might be the very indirect nature of Mansfield’s writing, the fact that she could be read as a writer of poeticised accounts of the inner lives of her characters and of fleeting moments of contact between them. Interestingly, whereas the study of German was suspended in English schools during the 1939-1945 war, English went on routinely being taught in German grammar schools.

3.5 Critical Responses to Mansfield by Creative Writers in the 1930s

In his 1937 article on Katherine Mansfield in the monthly magazine for literary friends Die Literatur: Monatszeitschrift für Literaturfreunde, the German writer
Bernt von Heiseler, whose theoretical approach to translating Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction I quoted in Chapter One, also provides some information obtained from Mansfield’s personal writings in his own German translation. With reference to Mansfield’s *Journal* and a collection of her letters, published in the English language by Albatross publishing house in Hamburg in 1933 and 1934, respectively, von Heiseler concludes that Katherine Mansfield as a person exudes authenticity, courage, and humanity (‘es geht ein Atem der Wahrhaftigkeit, Tapferkeit, Menschlichkeit von ihr aus’).\(^{81}\)

Von Heiseler was a versatile author; his work comprises poems, novellas, novels, plays, essays, and biographies on Friedrich Schiller and Heinrich von Kleist. He also edited works by authors such as Joseph von Eichendorff, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Hölderlin, and Eduard Mörike. In 1933, von Heiseler joined the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP). The Munzinger Archives provide some biographical information on von Heiseler, stating that ‘der Nationalsozialismus, dem er sich 1933 zunächst mit Überzeugung und Hoffnung zugewendet hatte, wurde für ihn, vor allem seit dem "JudenNovember 1938", zu einer Enttäuschung’ (National Socialism to which he had turned his attention with initial conviction and hope in 1933, became a betrayal after the 'Kristallnacht' pogrom in 1938).\(^{82}\)

In his detailed essay on Katherine Mansfield, von Heiseler attributes to her the ability to imagine human destinies: ‘Sie kommen zu ihr als Vision, und sie wird hineingezogen in das Heimliche der fremden Seele’ (they approach her as visions, and she is entangled in the secrets of an unfamiliar soul).\(^{83}\) Von Heiseler

---


\(^{82}\) <https://www.munzinger.de/search/portrait/Bernt+von+Heiseler/0/2688.html> [accessed 16 May 2016].

\(^{83}\) von Heiseler, ‘Katherine Mansfield’, p. 21.
continues to argue that Mansfield translates her visions, puts them into words, and then idiosyncratically into music, comparable to the sonata form. Discussing the story 'The Canary', von Heiseler even writes that 'etwas Mozartisches ist an der Art, wie die Stimme des Kanarienvogels unvermerkt zu einem tragischen Lied wird' (Mozart is echoed in the way the voice of the canary unobtrusively metamorphoses into a tragic Lied). Although von Heiseler’s text is written in an ornate style, contradicting Mansfield’s own aesthetic writing criteria, she might have approved the way in which von Heiseler links her words metaphorically to music. Mansfield’s concern with the tone and rhythm of her language is acknowledged by contemporary scholars such as Delia da Sousa Correa who points out that 'Mansfield’s stories invite musical analogy, and she wrote with music consciously in mind'.

Furthermore, with reference to a large number of volumes of letters recently published at that time, von Heiseler confesses that he likes best the letters written by Mansfield, and feels that the superb philanthropy they convey would be reason enough to make the name Katherine Mansfield lauded forever, and to make them companions for life ('die herrliche Menschlichkeit ihrer Briefe wäre allein genug, um den Namen Katherine Mansfield für immer gerühmt, und was mehr ist: zu einem Besitz des Lebens zu machen'). Von Heiseler’s 1937 essay on Katherine Mansfield, published in the context of the particular cultural policies of German fascism, is nevertheless full of praise for her as a person and for her writings.

In the same context, the Nobel Prize-winning author Hermann Hesse, who was granted Swiss citizenship in 1923, favourably reviewed the first German

---

translation of *The Garden Party and Other Stories (Das Gartenfest und andere Geschichten)* in the Swiss *National-Zeitung* (National Newspaper), as mentioned in Chapter One. In addition to his literary works, Hesse wrote more than three thousand reviews, which were published in about sixty different journals and newspapers. As a literary critic, Hesse selected literary coverage based on quality regardless of standing with the aim of informing readers about books that were, according to his view, particularly worth reading. Hesse describes Mansfield’s prose in this collection as written with masterly skill (‘literarisch meisterhaft’), observing:

Mit einer gewissen Vorliebe zeigt Katherine Mansfield ihre Menschen in Situationen, wo Konvention und Natur, wo Pathos und Komik miteinander kämpfen, wo das Feierliche, Verehrte, Ehrwürdige plötzlich bröckelt und maskenhaft wird.87

Expressing specific preferences, Katherine Mansfield depicts her characters in situations in which convention and nature, pathos and humour combat one another, where that which is solemn, adored, dignified abruptly crumbles and becomes mask-like.

Hesse portrays Mansfield sympathetically, emphasising her artistic achievements, her skill in depicting dichotomies between pathos and humour, her mastery of shifting experience in her stories.

Bernt von Heiseler’s and Hermann Hesse’s insightful observations on Katherine Mansfield added to the rich and varied critical history that exists for her work during that period.

### 3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that Katherine Mansfield’s merits as a short story writer were recognised and appreciated in Germany by a number of scholars, academics, and creative writers as early as in the 1920s. Indeed, the earliest

---

positive critical responses to Katherine Mansfield’s writings in Germany can be found in studies of the contemporary English and American novel published in 1923. The early reception of her work can be seen as a process that established her favourable reputation as a short story writer in Germany despite Germany’s difficult historical, social, and cultural contexts.

My research results presented in this chapter, indicate that even after the seizure of power by the National Socialist Party in 1933, academics and grammar school students alike read Mansfield’s stories. Moreover, German scholars in the field of literature referred to Sigmund Freud’s theories to analyse Katherine Mansfield’s writings in spite of the agencies of state and Party literary policy. Mansfield’s ability to employ suggestive Freudian imagery in her stories were identified and approved by German academics. Even after the seizure of power by the Nationalist Socialist Party, Freud acted as a stimulus for scholarly and creative writing in Germany.

My extensive research activities have not revealed any negative comments on Katherine Mansfield or any negative reviews of her work at all; even the internationally renowned author Hermann Hesse praised her for her masterly writing skills. After the end of the Second World War Mansfield’s work came to the attention of a wider German reading public. The reception of Katherine Mansfield’s work in post-war West Germany and in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are the subjects of my next chapters.
Chapter Four: Katherine Mansfield’s Reception in the West German Post-War Period until Reunification (from the mid-1940s to 1990)

4.0 Introduction

Reception theory has helped to elucidate why and how the same literary text can mean different things to different people at different times, because it has taken into consideration the two-sidedness of the literary work with its two poles: the artistic and the aesthetic.¹ For Wolfgang Iser, 'the artistic refers to the text created by an author, and the aesthetic to the realization accomplished by the reader, the interaction of which unfolds the work’s potential.'² Thus Iser emphasises both a writer’s creativity and artistic achievement and a reader’s aesthetic reaction to a literary work.

Particularly significant for Katherine Mansfield’s German reception history is Iser’s emphasis on the necessity of considering the historical contextualisation of literature, as my previous chapters demonstrated and as the following chapters will prove.

In Chapter Three, I explored Katherine Mansfield’s German reception from the 1920s to 1945, demonstrating that even during the era of censorship under National Socialism the works by Mansfield were positively received. In this chapter I investigate the reception of Mansfield’s writings in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) from the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, to the foundation of two separate German states in 1949, and finally to the reunification of West Germany and East Germany in 1990. After the end of the Second World War a second phase of Mansfield’s reception and criticism in West Germany commenced, followed by a further particularly remarkable phase in the

² Iser, How to do Theory, p. 68.
1980s. The reception of Mansfield’s work in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) will be explored in Chapter Five.

The study of reception has been one of the dominant modes of literary inquiry in the last four decades. Elinor Shaffer emphasises that:

this had a political urgency about it in post-war Germany which still has resonance: the claims of great literature and pure poetry and national cultural traditions had been hijacked by the National Socialists, calling in question for a post-war generation the whole apparatus of literary history and criticism [...].

It is worth noting that the short story form had a significant role within post-war literary culture in Germany. A number of West German authors such as Heinrich Böll, Wolfgang Borchert, and Elisabeth Langgässer took advantage of the opportunity, after the collapse of the Nazi regime, to connect with modernism and its revolution in fictional practice by writing short stories. They realised that German writers had recently been excluded from the period of modernism due to the repressive cultural policies under which they had worked. The authors’ experience of life under National Socialism and during the Second World War led to the rejection of traditional forms of narratives as the writer Wolfgang Weyrauch made clear. In his 1949 anthology of German short stories entitled Tausend Gramm (One Thousand Grams) Weyrauch claimed the need for a stripping away of the forest of corrupt ideas and ideals, demanding a new start for literature with regard to 'Sprache, Substanz und Konzeption' (language, substance, and conception), in favour of an 'unmediated realism'. The style of 'unmediated realism' in literary works, influenced by American short story writers such as Ernest Hemingway, addressed the material conditions in post-war Germany and

---

4 Shaffer, p. 191.
was widely disseminated in late 1940s Germany as part of the re-education programme of the Western Allies.\footnote{Moray McGowan, 'German writing in the West (1945–1990)', \textit{The Cambridge History of German Literature}, ed. by Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 440-506 (p. 448).}

The Allies controlled the German book market with particular rigour, arguing that their 'book control policy is based on the fact that German readers are traditionally more influenced by books than by other print media'.\footnote{Daniel Haufer, 'Amerika, hast du es besser? Zur deutschen Buchkultur nach 1945', in \textit{Amerikanisierung und Sowjetisierung in Deutschland, 1945-1970}, ed. by Konrad Jarausch und Hannes Siegrist (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 1997), pp. 387-413 (p. 391).} The intention of the occupying powers was to destroy 'Nazistic and militaristic-nationalistic thought in Germany as it might persist in the press and other publications […]' and to displace Nazi ideology.\footnote{Edward C. Breitenkamp, \textit{The U.S. Information Control Division and its Effect on German Publishers and Writers 1945-1949} (Grand Forks: University Station, 1953), p. 1.} The conditions and aftermaths of the Second World War with a demoralised population living among ruins clearly disrupted the German book trade in many ways, and it took some time for the book market and book production to recover. Nevertheless, in West Germany a change of cultural paradigm was initiated and paved the way for further favourable phases of Mansfield’s West-German reception.

\section*{4.1 West-German Mansfield Criticism (from the immediate Post-War Years to the 1960s)}

To take into consideration the conditions German writers, publishers, and readers faced in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, one needs to remember that the Allied powers divided Germany into four occupation zones, namely the British, the French, the American, and the Soviet zone. Allied occupation officially continued until May 1955, however, full sovereignty was not conferred on Germany until 1991 after reunification of West and East Germany. In order to offer examples of English literary and academic achievements for the
German intellectual elite in the British occupation zone, which comprised Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Lower Saxony, and the present-day state North Rhine-Westphalia, ‘a scheme of organised reading and lecture tours by British playwrights, poets, and scholars’ was inaugurated. The work of further British authors, past or present, was deployed for re-education purposes. The aim was to use this literature to re-orientate the German mind and to bring Germany back into the context of European culture and democratic ideas. Thus,

in vetting German intellectuals, but even more significantly in selecting or banning books and in lecturing on literature, British writers were given the prerogative of guiding and influencing the German intellectual elite as well as any German living in the British Zone.

Interestingly, the Irish novelist and short story writer Elizabeth Bowen (1899-1973), whose affinity with Katherine Mansfield has been confirmed by numerous literary scholars and by Bowen herself, was among those writers who cooperated in the scheme of organised reading and lecture tours for re-educating the Germans. Bowen recollects:

When first, in 1954, I entered a German city, with its spectral buildings and tattered skylines, I asked myself: How can it feel to be young among these ruins? I had come here to Germany to speak in some of the universities about the present state and the future hopes of the novel in English and the technique of writing.

Bowen’s 1945 essay, entitled 'The Short Story in England', reveals that Bowen places Mansfield together with D.H. Lawrence, Rudyard Kipling, Somerset...
Maugham, Aldous Huxley, and William Plomer, classifying Mansfield to be in 'the rank of the first six'.

Bowen’s essay may have inspired the author and influential journalist Edith Oppens to write her 1947 newspaper article 'Über die Kurzgeschichte' (About the Short Story) in the German weekly quality newspaper Die Zeit, which was newly founded in post-war occupied Germany. In her article, Oppens addresses the genre of the short story and distinguishes between what she calls sentimental entertaining short stories and short fiction written by authors such as Elizabeth Goudge, Katherine Mansfield, Somerset Maugham, and Dorothy Parker, which require, according to the critic, brilliant virtuosity ('größte Könnerschaft').

Oppens characterises Mansfield’s stories as subtle, oscillating expressions of the soul, not having any definite conclusion ('der zarten, schwingenden, ganz pointelosen Seelenschilderung wie bei Katherine Mansfield'). The critic states that the Germans, generally speaking, have tended to dismiss the genre of the short story as being not sufficiently in-depth. She argues that the assumed lack of depth is a fallacy as it does not pertain to the brilliant short stories written by the authors mentioned in her article, including Mansfield. Oppens suggests that this kind of story is more demanding to read as it only provides an episode, a beginning, and an end which descends into the dark ('das sie nur einen Ausschnitt gibt und ihr Anfang und ihr Ende im Dunkel versinken, macht sie es dem Leser eigentlich eher schwer als leicht'). Oppens’s remark shows her responding to the typical characteristics we find in modernist short fiction such as in medias res beginnings and open endings. Her evaluation of potential challenges when reading modernist

---

16 Oppens, p. 4.
short stories, and thus also Mansfield’s short fiction, shows the critic’s appreciation of the genre and contributes to the favourable German reception of Mansfield’s works in the immediate post-war years.

When considering the social function of literature and its effects on the reader, Hans Robert Jauss asserts that:

The social function of literature manifests itself in its genuine possibility only where the literary experience of the reader enters into the horizon of expectations of his lived praxis, preforms his understanding of the world, and thereby also has an effect on his social behaviour.17

The term 'horizon of expectations' ('Erwartungshorizont'), coined by Jauss, designates the set of cultural norms, assumptions, and criteria that also influence the way in which a reader comprehends and evaluates a literary work at a specific point in time, but also the way in which a reader 'preforms his understanding of the world' and adjusts his or her social behaviour accordingly. In the context of post-war occupied Germany, Oppens’ 1947 article seconds the attitude of the occupying authorities when they prioritised short stories by writers from the anglophone world in order to foster a re-education programme, aiming to naturalise 'constructed values', not current at that time in Germany.18

When in 1952 the publishing houses Arche in Switzerland and the Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung in Munich jointly published Seligkeit and andere Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories), translated by Herberth and Marlys Herlitschka, the edition received highly laudatory criticism. For instance, in 1953 an anonymous critic comments on Mansfield in the widely read magazine DER SPIEGEL, emphasising her ability to depict the 'Glücksverlangen und einsamer Schmerz des Unverständenseins europäischer Frauen aller Altersstufen' ('quest for

---

18 Kern-Stähler and Kohl, p. 186.
happiness and desolate grief of European women of all ages who feel misunderstood'). The reviewer facetiously concludes:

Da ihre Lyrismen zu den besten gehören, die je in Prosa gefaßt wurden, nicken auch männliche Leser schuldbewußt, wenn die Mansfield eine der Ursachen für das Leid ihrer Artgenossinnen aufzeigt: 'den Mann ohne Temperament'.

As her lyrical prose ranks among the best prose ever written, even male readers guiltily nod their head when Mansfield reveals one of the reasons for the grief of her fellow female sufferers: 'The Man without a Temperament'.

Mansfield would have enjoyed the witty review, written before the emergence of the second wave of feminism in Germany as elsewhere, to which I will refer in the course of this chapter. The reviewer’s allusion to Mansfield’s story 'The Man without a Temperament', which depicts a male protagonist who is losing his ability to react emotionally in an adequate way when his wife’s chronic illness transforms their relationship, serves ironically to hint at the question of relationships between the sexes. A further 1953 review of Seligkeit and andere Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories) was published in DIE ZEIT, stating that the attraction of Mansfield’s work lies in the silent and cautious irony ('in der stillen und verhaltenen Ironie'). The anonymous article also maintains that, generally speaking, short stories do not sell well in Germany compared to the American or British book market. This view was echoed in a 1954 review by the writer and critic Paul Hühnerfeld in DIE ZEIT. Hühnerfeld claimed that German readers no longer liked short stories and that the few anthologies of short stories, many of them in German translation, which were published by courageous publishers, were mostly written by foreign authors ('daß die wenigen Erzählbände, die in

---

20 DER SPIEGEL, 32/1953.
Germany von mutigen Verlegern immer wieder gewagt werden, meistens von ausländischen Schriftstellern geschrieben werden’). Among the foreign authors, listed by Hühnerfeld, who, according to the critic, were still read by the German readers, are Pearl S. Buck, D.H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and Somerset Maugham. The critic’s assertion that German readers were not as interested in the genre of the short story at the beginning of the 1950s as in the immediate post-war period is seconded by, for instance, the German literary scholar Anne-Rose Meyer. According to Meyer, among the reasons for this was the fact that a number of magazines, which significantly contributed to the dissemination of short stories in Germany in the immediate post-war period, had been abandoned.

Nevertheless, in 1952, the German monthly magazine for politics and culture Der Monat (The Month), which became one of the most important forums for opinion and debate in post-war Germany, published a comprehensive biographical essay on Mansfield, entitled ‘Katherine Mansfield: Leben und Legende einer Erzählerin’ (Katherine Mansfield: Life and Legend of a Female Narrator) written by the Austrian-Jewish author, journalist, and translator Hilde Spiel (1911-1990). Spiel survived the Nazi years in London; in 1963 she finally returned to Austria where she worked as a cultural correspondent for a number of prestigious newspapers.

In her 1952 essay on Mansfield, Spiel points out that individual short stories by Mansfield were published in various German-speaking journals at that time. Referring to the stories In a German Pension, Spiel explains Mansfield’s personal circumstances before and during her stay in Wörishofen and makes clear that

---

'erschöpft, verbittert, selbstquälerisch und überkritisch sieht die Katherine Mansfield jener Tage in die Welt' (‘the Katherine Mansfield of those days looks into the world exhausted, embittered, self-tormenting, hypercritical’). Spiel’s 1952 essay is primarily concerned with illuminating Mansfield’s biographical details, yet by contextualising the genesis of the German Pension Stories, Spiel provides some reasons for Mansfield’s sharp ironical depiction of the German characters and her bitter criticism of bourgeois domestic life in Germany in her early stories.

Spiel also edited a 1960 anthology of short stories, translated into German by various translators, entitled England Erzählt (England narrates). The title is misleading as the short stories are written by a number of authors from the anglophone world such as Elizabeth Bowen, Nadine Gordimer, James Joyce, Doris Lessing, and Katherine Mansfield, whose story 'Entkommen!' (‘The Escape’), translated by Herberth und Marlys Herlitschka, is included. In her preface to the anthology, Spiel expresses her admiration for Mansfield’s art of storytelling, writing that Mansfield became one of the key literary figures of her time, a model for her contemporary writers due to her floating lightness of form and transparent content discernible in her stories (‘ihre schwebende Form, ihr durchsichtiger Inhalt wurden zum Vorbild einer neuen literarischen Schule’). Mansfield was also to become a model and a decisive source for a number of German-speaking writers as I will explore in detail in Chapter Seven. Later in this chapter, I also address how Mansfield became the subject of German feminist criticism in the 1980s. Meanwhile, my focus in the next part of my chapter

remains West-German criticism of Mansfield from the immediate post-war years to the 1960s.

4.2 Mansfield’s Presence in German Compendia of English Literature (from 1965 to 1990)

With regard to English literary histories in German language publications which list Katherine Mansfield, Walter F. Schirmer’s 1937 compendium *Geschichte der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur* (History of British and American Literature), which I referred to in Chapter Three, reigned supreme until 1965. After that date, the overall development of literary histories was marked by an expansion of the confirmed field and was also intertwined with the reforms and the expansion of the German educational system from that time onwards. Helge Nowak observes that in order to support the needs of students and teachers of English in the higher levels of secondary schools and universities, more literary histories were compiled.

An example of this is Annemarie Schöne’s 1965 survey of the history of British literature in the form of tables, entitled *Abriß der englischen Literaturgeschichte in Tabellen* (Survey of the History of British Literature in Tabular Form). With reference to Mansfield, Schöne’s entry reads that Katherine Mansfield is a master of subtle short stories (‘Meisterin subtiler Kleinkunst’), who skilfully depicts the inner lives of her characters. Schöne confirms that Mansfield’s letters and notebook entries illustrate her dedicated striving for

---

28 Nowak, p. 375.
29 Nowak, p. 376.
artistic mastery (‘ihre Briefe und Tagebcher zeigen ihr hingebungvolles Ringen um künstlerische Vollendung’).30

The first competitor to Schirmer’s literary history was constituted by the edition Englische Literaturgeschichte (English Literary History), collaboratively produced by the scholars Ewald Standop and Edgar Mertner and published in 1967. This was a history along different conceptual lines. Mansfield is listed in the compendium, yet the authors put the emphasis on the biographical fact that Mansfield suffered from tuberculosis, stating that:

Stets von einem Lungenleiden bedroht, sieht sie die Welt mit der Sehnsucht und den geschärften Sinnen einer Kranken, die sich trotz allem zur Lebensbejahung durcharingt.31

Constantly threatened by tuberculosis, she views the world with the yearning and keen senses of an ill person who brings herself to love life despite everything.

Such a biographical entry may have been attractive to readers who are particularly interested in the personal legend or tragedy of Mansfield’s life. Love of life against the odds might arguably be an important quality that is communicated by Mansfield’s writing as well as her biography. Yet the entry did less to enhance an appreciation of her art of writing.

We find a further noteworthy reference to Mansfield in the 1973 compendium, entitled Daten der englischen und amerikanischen Literature von 1890 bis zur Gegenwart (Data of the English and American Literature from 1890 to the present), compiled by the literary scholars Wolfgang Karrer and Eberhard Kreutzer. The authors refer to Mansfield’s short fiction collected in Bliss and Other Stories, suggesting that Anton Chekhov’s influence on Mansfield is evident. They provide some key expressions to characterise particular main

features discernible in Mansfield’s work, writing, for instance, 'Intime psychologische Analyse und detaillierte Milieubeschreibung. Symbolische Leitmotivik'. (‘Intimate psychological analysis and detailed depiction of milieu. Guiding themes expressed by means of symbols.’).\textsuperscript{32} Mansfield’s reputation as a symbolist writer who is able to provide detailed depiction of milieu has been confirmed by numerous scholars up to the present day and there has been general consent about Mansfield’s ability to convey her characters’ inner lives, depicting internal psychological conflicts. Karrer and Kreutzer are perhaps unusual in asserting that Mansfield’s fiction offers direct psychological analysis. Arguably, Mansfield does not provide any analyses of psychological conflicts, but invites her readers to identify and analyse potential psychological problems the characters in her stories may have.

At the beginning of the 1980s, German scholars in the field of literary studies gradually developed an awareness that English literature was not simply to be identified with the national literatures of Great Britain and the United States, and that Irish literature and the so-called New Literatures of Commonwealth countries deserved consideration in their own right.\textsuperscript{33} Consequently, the early 1980s saw a stage of expansion and diversification in terms of German editions of literature from the anglophone world. For instance, in the 1981 compendium in German entitled Commonwealth-Literatur (Commonwealth Literature), the New Zealander Nelson Wattie, who was then living in Germany, argues that with reference to Katherine Mansfield, literary criticism does not precisely know whether the woman and her painfully dramatic life journey is more important than her creative work (‘scheint die Kritik nie genau zu wissen, ob die Frau und ihr


\textsuperscript{33} Nowak, p. 377.
leidvoll-dramatischer Lebensweg wichtiger ist als ihr schöpferisches Werk’).\textsuperscript{34}

Wattie’s point is acknowledged, for instance, in the 1967 reference to Mansfield in \textit{Englische Literaturgeschichte} (English Literary History) mentioned above, in which the emphasis is put on the biographical fact that Mansfield suffered from tuberculosis.

\textbf{4.3 Mansfield in the West German University and School Curricula (from Post-War Germany to 1990)}

An important factor in establishing Katherine Mansfield’s reputation in Germany was the selection of her stories for the German university and school curricula.

Franziska Meyer, a scholar in the fields of cultural studies, claims that 'literary studies, as taught in schools and universities, and research into literature also play an extremely important part in the canonisation of texts'.\textsuperscript{35} The story of Mansfield’s German reception gives substance to this assertion.

With regard to universities in post-war Germany, the sociologist Hans-Werner Prahl observes that 'German universities accomplished the transformation prescribed by the occupying powers after 1945 largely by restoring the status quo.\textsuperscript{36} Despite the fact that the four occupying powers held conflicting views on re-establishing education and culture in Germany, in the western zones the political powers did not want to make any fundamental changes in universities that were functioning relatively well.

In 1956, on the occasion of the Germanistentagung (symposium of German philologists who teach at universities or secondary schools) at the University of


Frankfurt a.M., a group of scholars in the fields of German and History published guidance on the interpretation of short stories for school teachers, entitled *Interpretationen moderner Kurzgeschichten*. The guidance offers a selection of short stories, partly in German translation, by authors as diverse as Heinrich Böll, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, Leo Tolstoy, and Fyodor Dostoevsky in addition to Katherine Mansfield. It provides an interpretation for each story to facilitate the classroom work of the teachers. The introduction, written by Jakob Lehmann, a scholar in German studies, demonstrates the continuing impact of the Allies’ re-education programme, reproducing the Allies’ appreciation of the short story genre and clearly echoing the discourse of the immediate post-war period. Lehmann suggests that German school teachers should definitely overcome their misguided attitudes towards the teaching of literature with their appreciation of feigned emotions and pretentious talk ('die Fehlhaltungen eines noch nicht immer überwundenen Literatur-Unterrichts, wie geheucheltes Ergriffensein, überhebliches Gerede [...] endgültig zu überwinden versuchen').37 According to Lehmann, the modernist short story is particularly suitable for teaching literature to school children due to its generic features such as open endings, which invite interpretation.38

Moreover, Lehmann points out that in addition to German literature, so-called 'Weltliteratur' (world literature), should be taught as the reading of texts by foreign authors is a prerequisite for a true dialogue between nations ('die Voraussetzung zum echten Gespräch zwischen den Nationen').39 David Damrosch, a scholar of English and comparative literature, reminds us that Goethe in his conversation with Johann Peter Eckermann in 1827 argued that 'national

---

38 Lehmann, pp. 4-5.
39 Lehmann, p. 7.
literature is now a rather unmeaning term; the epoch of world literature is at hand [...]'. As illuminated by the German scholar for anglophone postcolonial studies, Gerhard Stilz, world literature, world trade, and world citizenship were ‘Goethe’s programmatic concepts by which egotistic nationalism might be overcome and replaced by the universal agencies of tolerance, consideration, and humanity’. Considering Goethe’s concept of 'Weltliteratur' (world literature), Lehmann’s 1956 claim is a call for the German reading audience, particularly school pupils, to be exposed to wider influences. The teaching of world literature, and hence the stories of Katherine Mansfield, both in German translation and in the original English version, was already seen in the 1950s to offer an appreciation of diversity, particularity, and alterity with regard to themes, cultural information, and writing styles.

In his introduction to the interpretation of short stories, Lehmann emphasises that learning about foreign literature requires interpretation and judgement. Mansfield’s story 'Sun and Moon' is among those featured in the selection and Hermann Glaser, who became an eminent German philologist later on, wrote the interpretation. Glaser acknowledges Mansfield’s uncommonly high degree of empathetic understanding for the childish soul ('mit seltenem Eindringungsvermögen versetzt sich die Dichterin in die kindliche Seele [...]'). Based on Herberth E. Herlitschka’s 1937 translation of the story, which I discussed in Chapter Two, Glaser suggests that 'Sun and Moon' juxtaposes the dichotomies of a child’s world and the world of adults, concluding that:

---

42 Lehmann, p. 8.
die kleine, harmlose Erzählung von 'Sonne und Mond' gewinnt dadurch an Aktualität, gerade auch im Hinblick auf Fragen der Erziehung in Schule und Haus.\textsuperscript{44}

the short, harmless story 'Sun and Moon' thus gains topicality, particularly with regard to questions of education at home and in school.

As suggested by Wolfgang Iser, 'the manner in which the reader experiences the text will reflect his own disposition, and in this respect the literary text acts as a kind of mirror'.\textsuperscript{45} Yet I would argue that Mansfield’s attack on the ideological values of society and the complexities of family, gender, and class discernible in the story as well as the high degree of ambiguity, for instance, with regard to the sexually charged scene after the party, does not designate 'Sun and Moon' as a harmless story most appropriate for school children.

Situating that particular reading of 'Sun and Moon' in its historical context demonstrates the extent to which the interpretation in question was still predetermined by cultural and political factors just ten years after the end of Nazi ideology. With reference to literary interpretation, Norman Holland emphasises that as readers:

\begin{quote}
    we work out through the text our own characteristic patterns of desire and adaptation. We interact with the work, making it part of our psychic economy and making ourselves part of the literary work – as we interpret it.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

We have seen that short stories as taught in schools contribute to establishing an author’s reputation. Since 1980, the German publishing house for schoolbooks, Klett, has published a student edition called \textit{Great English Short Stories}, comprising stories written by authors such as Roald Dahl, James Joyce, Alan

\textsuperscript{44} Glaser, p. 54.
Silitoe, and Katherine Mansfield, whose story 'The Doll’s House' was selected for publication. In addition, the publishing house has provided an edition for teachers that offers model interpretations of the stories in question.

The preface to the teachers’ edition states that teachers should always re-examine the method presented in the manual in the light of their own understanding of the stories, echoing the critical debate provoked and brought about in Germany by members of the Constance School with, for example, Iser’s notion that the same literary text can mean different things to different people at different times.\(^{47}\) The introduction to the *Great English Short Stories* and to the accompanying teacher’s volume both state that it was ‘especially James Joyce and Katherine Mansfield who greatly contributed to the creation of the modern English short story’.\(^{48}\) Referring to Mansfield’s story 'The Doll’s House', the editor comments that the Burnell children in Mansfield’s story 'have reached the point where they may question their family’s prejudices of social status and respectability, with Kezia even ignoring the social barriers'. The critical comment demonstrates that both teaching approaches and discourse have changed with the relative liberalisation of the West German society compared to that of the late fifties.

From the late sixties, the relative liberalisation of the general atmosphere in Germany also meant that 'New Literatures', a term applied as an alternative to 'Commonwealth Literature', became an increasingly important part of the curriculum of English studies at West German universities. Although a systematic listing of course announcements in the field of English studies was not carried out until 1990 by means of the database *AREAS* (Annual Report on English and

\(^{47}\) Bodden et al. (eds), *Great English Short Stories: Model Interpretations* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1980), p. 5.

\(^{48}\) Horst Bodden, Herbert Kaußen und Rudi Renné (eds), *Great English Short Stories* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1979), p. 4.
American Studies), the German scholar of anglophone postcolonial studies, Gerhard Stilz, mentioned above, was able to provide an account of the dynamic rise of the New Literatures in German departments of English covering the years 1988-1996, relying on the database provided by ACOLIT, an acronym to denote the Arbeitsgruppe für Commonwealth Literatur (Research Group for Commonwealth Literature), the newsletter of the association for anglophone postcolonial studies. Stilz points out that a growing interest in the New Literatures must be seen as a concomitant of the discussions on post-colonialism, which in Germany as elsewhere, have become fashionable. According to the data collected by Stilz, reading-list preferences for the period analysed by him show that Margaret Atwood was in the lead, followed by Salman Rushdie and Katherine Mansfield.

Katherine Mansfield’s centenary in 1988 was an occasion to mark her importance in West Germany. The town of Bad Wörishofen, where Mansfield was sent by her mother in 1909 and where her collection of short stories entitled In a German Pension was set, organised a commemoration ceremony to celebrate Mansfield’s centenary and to remind the audience of her stay in the spa town. The then New Zealand Ambassador to Germany, His Excellency Edward Farnon, and his wife visited Bad Wörishofen to unveil a commemorative plaque in honour of Katherine Mansfield installed at the Hotel Allgäuer Hof, the former Pension Müller where Mansfield stayed.

49 ACOLIT, the annual newsletter offers information about the activities of the Gesellschaft für Anglophone Postkoloniale Studien, GAPS (Association for Anglophone Postcolonial Studies) which was founded as Gesellschaft für die Neuen Englischsprachigen Literaturen, GNEL (Association for the Study of the New Literatures in English, ASNEL). The newsletter has been published since 1977 by the Department of New Anglophone Literatures and Cultures at the Institute for English and American Studies, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt a.M. The scholar Dieter Riemenschneider wittily explains in ACOLIT Special Issue, no. 4, 2002, on page 6 that the newsletter’s title conveys the modesty of the founding members’ acolytical role as much as it refers to Arbeitsgruppe für Commonwealth Literatur/Association of Commonwealth Literature.

50 Stilz, p. 29.
On the same occasion, the University of Augsburg, which is located within the same Swabian administrative district as Bad Wörishofen, organised a symposium. A number of scholars from New Zealand and Germany such as Sue Sullivan, Nelson Wattie, Richard Corballis, and Hans Vilmar Geppert gave lectures, focusing on various aspects of Mansfield’s work. The German philologist and comparatist Hans Vilmar Geppert, for instance, compared the depiction of children in advertising and in short stories with a particular focus on Katherine Mansfield’s story 'The Doll’s House'. His lecture, entitled “‘Perfect Perfect’: Das kodierte Kind in Werbung und Kurzgeschichte' (The Coded Child in Advertising and Short Stories), was selected for publication. Geppert lists four different coded types of communication messages applied in advertising, namely suggestive, ideological, persuasive, and appellative messages, and exemplifies these communication types by reference to a particular advertisement which uses children to bring the message across. He then juxtaposes the advertisement and its conceived messages with some plot extracts from 'The Doll’s House', exemplifying the children’s as well as their parents’ coded behaviour and finally he establishes analogies. Geppert argues:


that in her narrative 'The Doll’s House', Katherine Mansfield draws attention to the type of such positive and at the same time suggestive communication, backed by images, allusions, and models, in an astonishingly modern way.

Geppert underlines that his intention is to illustrate how Mansfield, by means of analogy, succeeded in dichotomising 'the good people with perfect behaviour who stay inside' and 'the bad ones with bad behaviour who stay outside' and points out
that this communication and behaviour model is evidently constructed in the advertisement he is referring to. The advertisement for noodles produced by Birkel, a well-known brand name in Germany, conveys its message by writing: 'Du wirst gehetzt, doch zu Hause gibt’s Birkel, gibt es Birkel, geht es dir gut.' (‘You rush around, nevertheless, at home you have Birkel, if you are offered Birkel, you will be fine’). Geppert’s analysis aims to highlight Mansfield’s critique of social class systems as evident in her story 'The Doll’s House' among others.

4.4 Doctoral Theses on Mansfield (from 1950 to the 1990s)

During the time period covered in this chapter, three doctoral theses with a focus on Mansfield were written in Germany. In 1950, a doctoral thesis entitled *Das Lebensgefühl der Katherine Mansfield* (Katherine Mansfield’s attitude towards life) was submitted by Maria Andree to the University of Münster. Referring to various stories and quoting from numerous diary entries and letters, Andree emphasises Mansfield’s search for a coherent self, arguing that:

Das Hin- und Hergerissenwerden zwischen Extremen ist für Katherine Mansfield der Schmerz des Lebens. Sie sehnt sich nach dem Gefühl der Seinseinheit, das umso dringender wird, als das bis ins Pathologische gehende Gefühl der Gespaltenheit zunimmt.\(^{52}\)

To be torn between extremes is for Katherine Mansfield the pain of life. She yearns for experiencing a sense of a unified self, which becomes even more pressing as the feeling of a split self, which extends into the pathological, increases.

Andree’s depiction and interpretation of Mansfield’s construction of the self which Andree infers from the fact that Mansfield positions multiple identities in her writings, both autobiographical and fictional, illustrates that Andree’s thesis was written before the emergence of poststructuralist theories. Julia Kristeva, for

---

example, claims that 'all identities are unstable: the identity of linguistic signs, the identity of meaning and, as a result, the identity of the speaker'.\(^{53}\) This de-stabilisation of meaning and of the subject is termed by Kristeva 'subject in process'; she argues that our identities in life are 'constantly called into question'.\(^{54}\)

A number of Mansfield scholars have emphasised her relish for multiple identities. Clare Hanson, for instance, refers to Mansfield’s famous notebook entry in which she conceptualises the self in her account of 'the flowering of the self'.\(^{55}\) Mansfield writes:

> Is it not possible that the rage for confession, autobiography, especially for memories of earliest childhood is explained by our persistent yet mysterious belief in a self which is continuous and permanent, which, untouched by all we acquire and all we shed, pushes a green spear of darkness through the leaves and through the mould, thrusts a sealed bud through the years of darkness until, one day, the light discovers it and shakes the flower free and – we are alive – we are flowering for our moment upon the earth. This is the moment which, after all, we live for, the moment of direct feeling when we are most ourselves and least personal.\(^{56}\)

Hanson concludes that Mansfield invokes a deeper dimension where a self persists which is simultaneously 'continuous and permanent', 'a paradoxical phrase which captures the way in which identity is perpetually renewing and reforming itself'.\(^{57}\)

Based on her own individual interpretation of Mansfield’s writings, assuming that for Mansfield the pain of life was to have felt torn between extremes, Andree concludes in her 1950 doctoral thesis that Mansfield’s attitude towards life is pessimistic in spite of everything beautiful that life offers (‘das Lebensgefühl der Katherine Mansfield ist pessimistisch trotz alles Schönen, das


\(^{54}\) Kristeva, p. 129.

\(^{55}\) Clare Hanson, ‘Katherine Mansfield and Vitalist Psychology’ with reference to Notebook 2, p. 204, in Katherine Mansfield Studies, vol. 8, ed. by Clare Hanson, Gerri Kimber and Todd Martin (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 25.

\(^{56}\) Notebooks 2, p. 204.

\(^{57}\) Hanson, p. 25.
Many contemporary readers would disagree with the writer’s conclusion. However, taking into consideration Jauss’s concept of the ‘horizon of expectation’ and his notion that a literary work could also ‘bring a reader to a specific emotional attitude’, I assume that Andree’s personal circumstances, only a few years after her husband was killed in the Second World War as provided in her biographical notes, induced Andree to evaluate Mansfield’s writings in such a pessimistic way.

In 1978, the New Zealander Nelson Wattie submitted his doctoral thesis on Katherine Mansfield entitled Nation und Literatur (Nation and Literature) to the University of Wuppertal. Wattie refers to Wolfgang Iser’s concept of the implied reader and the notion of what the text itself requires, permits, or calls forth from its readers. Concordant with Iser’s theory, Wattie argues that the implied reader ‘may well be a member of one nation, but this does not prevent members of other nations from acting this role’. Wattie illustrates this point by referring to a number of Mansfield’s short stories, arguing that analysing the narrative structure of her short stories reveals that Mansfield is ironically detached when handling English, French, or German situations, but emotionally involved when handling New Zealand ones. This observation is acknowledged by, for example, Andrew Bennett, who argues that Mansfield’s experience of growing up in New Zealand provided her with ‘a desire to write herself back to her past and back to her homeland’.

Wattie went on to contribute to a 1986 German edition entitled The Story Must be Told: Short Narrative Prose in the New English Literatures as referred to in

---

58 Andree, p. 140.
59 Jauss, Towards an Aesthetic of Reception, p. 23.
62 Andrew Bennett, Katherine Mansfield (Devon: Northcote House, 2004), p. 35.
Chapter One (p. 38). In his 1986 essay, Wattie addressed the development of Katherine Mansfield studies in the anglophone world since 1970. He concluded that the place where the various approaches to Mansfield are most skillfully synthesized and held in balance 'is not one of the book length studies, but a 1975 article by Vincent O’Sullivan'. According to the editor of the collection, Wattie’s contribution 'embodies well-informed metacriticism, disentangling and clarifying the confusion reining in Mansfield criticism'. Unfortunately, Wattie did not provide any information about Mansfield studies in Germany itself.

In 1985, Jochen Ganzmann submitted his doctoral thesis entitled *Vorbereitung der Moderne: Aspekte Erzählerischer Gestaltung in den Kurzgeschichten von James Joyce und Katherine Mansfield* (Preparing Modernism: Aspects of Narrative Syles in the Short Stories of James Joyce and Katherine Mansfield) to the Philipps-University in Marburg. As the title suggests, Ganzmann focusses on a comparison of the modernist narrative techniques of Mansfield and Joyce. By juxtaposing Joyce’s stories 'The Boarding House' and 'A little Cloud' to Mansfield’s stories 'Bliss' and 'The Garden Party', Ganzmann explores the different roles assigned to the narrators in the respective stories. He praises Joyce for his early dedication to the art of writing, addressing issues of aesthetics and recording his theoretical assertions in numerous essays and in his posthumously published autobiographical novel *Stephen Hero*. With reference to Mansfield, Ganzmann observes that in contrast to Joyce, Mansfield has not provided her theories on the art of writing in a coherent way, yet that her artistic intentions can be deduced from her letters and notebook entries.

---

65 Peter O. Stummer, 'Introduction' to *The Story must be told: Short Narrative Prose in the New English Literatures*, pp. 7-11 (p. 10).
Contemporary international Mansfield scholars share Ganzmann’s view, established more than thirty years ago.

### 4.5 Mansfield and Feminist Literary Criticism

The emergence of the second wave of feminism in the Federal Republic of Germany, as elsewhere, took little notice of Mansfield’s work. Whereas the intellectual climate of the late 1960s and 1970s stimulated the re-appreciation of Virginia Woolf’s writings in Germany, Katherine Mansfield had not gained a comparable significance before the 1980s despite the positive response to her work in the contexts I have investigated. As I explained in Chapter One, a turning-point in the German publication history of Mansfield’s writing was constituted by the 1980 two-volume edition of the collected stories (*Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen*) translated by Elisabeth Schnack and published by Büchergilde Gutenberg and by Kiepenheuer & Witsch as a licensed edition. For the first time, the German readers were offered a comprehensive collection of Mansfield’s short fiction, including her *In a German Pension* stories, which already display her emerging feminist awareness. Her earliest published stories contain, as Sydney Janet Kaplan remarks, ‘vivid portraits of women who are trapped by their sexuality and dominated by men, creatures bound to the earth and their own bodies’.66 In January 1981, the 1980 two-volume edition of the collected stories in translation topped the bestseller list in *DIE ZEIT*, the most widely read German weekly newspaper, illustrating that Mansfield was now reaching a very significant readership.67

---

Moreover, a second edition of her diaries, Max A. Schwendimann’s 1975 translation of Mansfield’s *Journal*, entitled *Katherine Mansfield: Tagebuch* (Katherine Mansfield: Journal), was republished in 1981. This clearly impacted Mansfield’s German appreciation in the 1980s, offering the opportunity to read a large number of her notebook entries in translation, many of them indicative of her feminist perspective. For instance, her 1908 entry reads:

I feel that I do now realise, dimly, what women in the future will be capable of achieving. They truly, as yet, have never had their chance. Talk of our enlightened days and our emancipated country – pure nonsense. We are firmly held in the self fashioned chains of slavery.  

Also in 1980, the German author Karin Struck (1947-2006), who wrote a number of critically acclaimed novels, addressing women’s issues from a feminist perspective, reviewed *Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Erzählungen* as well as Schwendimann’s 1975 translation of Mansfield’s *Journal* (*Katherine Mansfield: Tagebuch*) in *DIE ZEIT*. Struck asserts that Mansfield as a brilliant story teller from New Zealand is still not sufficiently well-known in Germany (‘eine große Erzählerin aus Neuseeland – noch zu wenig bekannt’). Struck describes her own fascination when reading Mansfield’s fiction as an experience she perceived with all her senses:

Ich bin hineingegangen in diese Arbeiten, konnte mich satt sehen, satt riechen, hören, tasten, schmecken, konnte untertauchen, in eine vielfältige, oft unbekannte Welt.

I totally immersed myself into her writings, was able to see, smell, hear, taste as much as I wanted to, I could immerse into a diverse, often unknown world.

Interestingly, Struck connects Mansfield, Sylvia Plath, and the German painter Paula Modersohn-Becker, claiming that it is conspicuous that:

---

68 *Notebooks I*, p. 110.
viele kreative Frauen, ob Katherine Mansfield, Paula Modersohn-Becker oder Sylvia Plath auf der einen Seite so bestimmt und entschlossen ihrer Arbeit lebten, auf der anderen Seite oft geradezu masochistisch in Beziehungen aushielten, die ihrer Persönlichkeit gar keine angemessene Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten boten.70

many creative women, whether Katherine Mansfield, Paula Modersohn-Becker or Sylvia Plath, on the one hand, determinedly devoted their life to their work, and on the other, almost masochistically stayed in relationships that did not offer any possibilities for personal development.

Struck’s observation alludes to widely-held views about the marital relationships of the female writers in question. With regard to Katherine Mansfield, Kate Fullbrook, for example, points out that particularly in Mansfield’s relationship with John Middleton Murry 'stereotyped expectations seem to have been a constant source of internal and external friction' that forced Mansfield into classic female impasses.71 Furthermore, Struck’s words clearly echo the feminist discourse of the German-speaking world in the 1980s, which is exemplified, for instance, by the Austrian feminist philosopher Elisabeth List. In her monograph Denkverhältnisse, Feminismus und Kritik (Mindsets, Feminism, and Criticism), List argues that 'das Recht auf intellektuelle Selbstbestimmung ist für Frauen auch heute noch keine Selbstverständlichkeit' (‘to be entitled to intellectual self-determination is for women still not taken for granted’).72 A decade later Kaplan notes that most readers of Mansfield’s work recognise ‘a feminist thrust to many of her stories, but critics, until the recent resurgence of the women’s movement, have tended to ignore or downplay its significance.’73

As indicated in her 1980 review, Struck saw Mansfield as an outsider, who, in terms of the then well-known theories developed by the Swiss psychologist and

70 Struck, p. 73.
72 Elisabeth List, Denkverhältnisse, Feminismus als Kritik, 'Vorwort', ed. by Elisabeth List and Herlinde Studer (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989) pp. 7-34 (p. 9).
73 Sydney Janet Kaplan, p. 127.
author Alice Miller, experienced 'the drama of the gifted child'. As such, Struck suggests that Mansfield was predestined to be sharp-eyed, showing a deep affection for outsiders, the poor, and outcasts. To exemplify this, Struck refers to her favourite story 'At the Bay', quoting Mansfield’s depiction of Mrs Harry Kember, an outsider who 'was the only woman at Bay who smoked' and who treated men 'as she was one of them', which expresses Mansfield’s feminist awareness.

In the subsequent years, the author and journalist Susanne Kippenberger referred jointly to Claire Tomalin’s 1987 biography on Mansfield, Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life and Christa Moog’s 1988 narrative Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln (Out of a Thousand Green Mirrors) whose intertextual engagement with Mansfield’s life and work I will analyse in my final chapter. In her 1989 review in DIE ZEIT, Kippenberger links Mansfield to Sylvia Plath (1932-1963), the American poet, novelist, and short fiction writer. Kippenberger states that like Plath, Mansfield became famous as a heroine, as an artist who fights for her art, as a (New) Woman, sensitive, self-confident, who died too early with her works incomplete (‘als Heldin, als um die Kunst kämpfende Künstlerin, als (Neue) Frau, sensibel, selbstbewußt, frühverstorben, unvollendet’). Sensitivity and self-confidence are clearly desirable attributes for each woman and thus Kippenberger delivers the substantiation for her subsequent statement: 'Sicher ist es leicht, sich mit der Frau und Schriftstellerin Mansfield zu identifizieren.' (‘It is without doubt easy to identify oneself with the woman and writer Mansfield.’).

75 CWKM2, pp. 351-352.
77 Kippenberger, p. 5.
Kippenberger’s characterisation of Katherine Mansfield mirrors the discourse of German feminist writers during the second wave of feminism with its heyday in the late 1970s. German women’s literature of that time displays a particular kind of energy and passion, even anger as exemplified in Christine Brückner’s 1983 publication *Wenn du geredet hättest Desdemona: Ungehaltene Reden ungeschaltener Frauen* (Desdemona: If you had only spoken! Uncensored Speeches of Incensed Women). Mansfield’s skilfully indirect articulation of her energy, passion, and anger in both her short fiction and personal writings is admired by Elaine Showalter, who argues that Mansfield, among other female writers, created a deliberate female aesthetic:

> which transformed the feminine code of self-sacrifice into an annihilation of the narrative self, and applied the cultural analysis of the feminists to words, sentences, and structures of language in the novel.\(^{78}\)

The 1980 and 1987 reviews by Struck and Kippenberger, respectively, illustrate the influence of feminist thought and feminist literary scholarship. The works of French feminist theorists such as Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous, and Luce Irigaray, whose theories became known in Germany from the mid-1970s onwards, contributed to the development of theoretical models for a feminist analysis of texts and critical reading practices in Germany as elsewhere.\(^{79}\) The reputation of Katherine Mansfield, as the reviews of her work at that time illustrate, also benefited from this development in West Germany.

Moreover, the German feminist literary scholar and author Silvia Bovenschen (1946-2017) initiated a discussion about a female aesthetic in West


Germany in the 1980s by asking 'Is There a Feminine Aesthetic'? Silvia Bovenschen argues that there is a feminine aesthetic 'if one is talking about aesthetic awareness and modes of sensory perception'. Mansfield’s short fiction and personal writings can clearly be seen as showing this form of female sensitivity towards writing, exemplified by Mansfield’s care and precision in looking at things and shaping language accordingly. Mansfield’s ability to transform her sensory perceptions, her responses to visual and acoustic stimuli into writing has been confirmed by Mansfield scholars and creative writers alike. The New Zealand author Emily Perkins, for instance, writes that 'so much of what we experience when we read Mansfield is the small precise placing of things, of words, looks, objects, phrases'. Mansfield herself asserts in her 1920 letter to the novelist and patron of the arts, Sydney Schiff and his wife Violet, that 'delicate perception is not enough; one must find the exact way in which to convey the delicate perception'. Both Mansfield’s assertion and Perkins’ statement suggest Mansfield’s ability to meet the 1977 criteria established by the German feminist scholar and critic Silvia Bovenschen. We can certainly categorise Mansfield as a writer who 'is talking about aesthetic awareness and modes of sensory perception'.

Nevertheless, as I pointed out earlier, the emerging women’s movement in West Germany took little notice of Mansfield’s writings at its outset. It was in the 1980s that a particularly remarkable phase of Mansfield’s reception started in West Germany just before the end of the divide between West and East Germany.

---

81 Bovenschen, p. 112.
83 CLKM4, p. 4.
4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined Mansfield’s West German reception during particularly challenging cultural and political contexts, addressing the time span from the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, when the occupying powers aimed to destroy Nazi ideology by re-educating the Germans, to Germany’s division into two states in 1949, and finally to the reunification of the two German states in 1990. Despite the miserable conditions in Germany that prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, a positive aspect with regard to reading Mansfield’s short stories at that time was the fact that writers from the anglophone world participated in the re-education process and reading anglophone literature in translation, if available, was fostered. The genre of the short story, and hence Mansfield’s short fiction, was favoured, not only because of the effects of paper rationing, but particularly because of the 'brilliant virtuosity' assigned to short story writers such as Somerset Maugham and Dorothy Parker in addition to Mansfield.

Including the coverage of Mansfield’s short stories in West German university and school curricula significantly contributed to making her well-known and appreciated from the 1950s onwards. Goethe’s concept of world literature in order to overcome egotistic nationalism was invoked at this time and resulted in more comprehensive curricula for both secondary schools and universities, teaching also literature by authors from, for example, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, and thus Mansfield’s writings. In 1988, Mansfield’s centenary was commemorated at the University of Augsburg and in Bad Wörrishofen, followed by a larger number of newly translated and published editions of her stories.
Moreover, ten years after the arrival of the second wave of feminism in West Germany, as elsewhere, Mansfield reached a significantly increased readership with numerous newly published editions of her short fiction and their subsequent very positive reviews. My next chapter explores the reception of Mansfield’s work in the former German Democratic Republic, commonly called East Germany, which existed from 1949 to 1990.
Chapter Five: The Reception of Katherine Mansfield in the German Democratic Republic (from 1949 to 1990)

5.0 Introduction

The reception of a foreign writer in another country depends not just on that country’s literary climate at any given point in time, but also on its social, economic, and political conditions.¹ The aforementioned comment was particularly true for Katherine Mansfield’s reception in East Germany. In this chapter I explore why and how the works of Katherine Mansfield were assessed, translated, published, reviewed, and read by literary experts and the common readers within the confines of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). The GDR, commonly called East Germany, existed from Germany’s official division in 1949 to its reunification on 3 October 1990.

In order to answer my opening questions, I have analysed archival documents and a number of further relevant materials. These reveal the bureaucratic mechanisms of the ideological control common in the GDR and the systems imposed by its ruling Socialist Unity Party (Sozialistische Einheitspartei, SED), which governed all areas of cultural life including literary publication. For a work to be published in the GDR, permission and an official allocation of resources had to be secured.

The archival records, which illustrate the processes through which permission to print Mansfield’s texts was obtained, are partly publicly accessible on the website of the German Federal Archives in Berlin. However, records of the scholarly reader’s recommendations, which formed an essential part of the permission process, are not publicly available; to my knowledge these have never

been investigated. To obtain access, I was required to submit a written application, indicating the nature of my research project.

To situate Mansfield’s East German reception by literary academics, critics, and readers we need to recall that after the Second World War, the East German government, supported by the Soviet Union, transformed East Germany into a major socialist power, which aimed to erase any notion of fascism, anti-humanism, and capitalism, and which also intended to reduce social inequality. Art and culture, and thus literature, were expected to help bring about a classless society within the GDR; hence they were 'simultaneously promoted and strictly controlled'.  

Literature was required to steer readers towards the SED’s ideologically desired behaviour and thinking, so serving as a tool for state education and cultural control.

Based on principles of Marxism-Leninism, the central cultural concept of the ruling Party, which governed cultural policy, was the idea of socialist realism, formally adopted by the GDR from the Soviet Union in 1949 and never explicitly abandoned. Socialist realism was an aesthetic focussed on a rational connection between works of art and communist education; the purpose of art, and thus literature, 'was to mirror reality objectively' and hence make visible the progress of history towards communism. In contrast, modernism with its focus on individual consciousness and introspection was rejected as 'the distorted expression of alienation under late capitalism'.

---

In the 1960s, the then Party leader Walter Ulbricht made clear that anti-modernism was an explicit focus of official cultural policies:

it is impossible to create works of art which stimulate the socialist thinking and feeling of the working masses by using formalist, decadent or even modernist formal means [...] 5

From the second half of the 1970s onwards the cultural situation in East Germany as the eminent scholar Wolfgang Wicht, the principal authority on modernist writers in the GDR, observes, was marked by the ‘growing and deepening discontinuity and friction between official cultural politics' and attempts at their modification and transformation. 6 In the late 1970s at least a significant minority of intellectuals and artists in East Germany started ‘to cast severe doubt on the validity of the Stalinist ultra-dogmatic repudiation of modernism. 7 Methods of circumventing the political constraints on publishing the work of Mansfield as a modernist anglophone writer in translation became an important aspect of her East German reception, as we shall see. The success of these methods is evident in that my research results show that Mansfield’s writings gained recognition among literary scholars, reviewers, creative writers, and readers in the GDR from the late 1970s onwards.

André Lefevere’s concept of patronage, to which I referred in Chapter One, is also relevant here. Lefevere distinguishes between three interacting elements, namely the ideological, the economic, and the status component with regard to patronage. 8 According to Lefevere, patronage can be differentiated or undifferentiated; in the latter case, the ideological, the economic, and the status

---

6 Wicht, 'Installing Modernism: The Reception of Virginia Woolf in the German Democratic Republic', p. 104.
7 Wicht, 'Installing Modernism: The Reception of Virginia Woolf in the German Democratic Republic' p. 103.
components, are ‘dispensed by one and the same patron’. I argue that this applies to the GDR as the Socialist Unity Party was the sole patron holding the power with regard to the translation, publication, and dissemination processes of Mansfield’s writings. Thus a significant part of this chapter is concerned with the issue of how Mansfield’s publishers managed to publish a modernist anglophone writer in German translation within the particular ideological pressures and restrictions which governed translation politics, book production and circulation in the GDR.

Taking a look at publishing policies and strategies under the socialist regime, we need to bear in mind that in order to gain permission for the publication of a new book, publishing houses were required to add the work to the yearly plan of publications. Publishers had to provide a detailed justification for publication as well as precise information on the author, the content of the book, the translator, and also the exact quota of paper required. This information was submitted to the Hauptverwaltung für Verlage und Buchhandel, or HV as it became known, (the Main Administration for Publishing and the Book Trade) under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture. Although the constitution of the GDR did not stipulate any official censorship, it can be argued that the process of gaining authorisation to print texts constituted a de facto censorship, since the HV functioned as a censoring body with the power to decide whether or not a book could go forward to publication.

As is evident from the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv/BArch), which merged with East Germany’s Central State Archives after Germany’s reunification, planning and censorship were essential issues, and consequently

---

9 Lefevere, Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame, p. 13.
obtaining printing permission was of political significance.\textsuperscript{10} Each submitted text had to undergo a series of Gutachten (experts’ assessments or recommendations). Carol Anne Costabile-Heming explains that Gutachten written in the GDR served, firstly, to address the aesthetic qualities of a book; secondly, to comment on the acceptability of the view expressed in a text for the East German reading audience, and finally, to situate a book within the context of GDR literature.\textsuperscript{11} East German literary experts who supported the publication of a work, were requested to write a scholarly reader’s recommendation. Those written for the planned editions of selected works by Mansfield in 1976 and 1979, respectively, to which I was able to gain access, are of particular interest, as we shall see.

\textbf{5.1 Katherine Mansfield’s First Appearance in the GDR}

While Mansfield’s work was not widely disseminated until 1977, it was still possible, prior to that, for East German readers to read her story ‘Filmen' (‘Pictures') in a 1963 anthology entitled \textit{Bretter, die die Welt bedeuten} (The Stage that is All the World), published by Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft (Henschel publishing house) in East Berlin. This publishing house specialised in the publication of books in the fields of the fine arts, music, film, and theatre. The edition \textit{Bretter, die die Welt bedeuten} comprises a selection of twenty-eight short stories, focusing on theatre or cinema related topics, written by authors as diverse as Victor Hugo, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Charles Dickens, Ilja Ehrenburg, Corrado Alvaro, and Katherine Mansfield, to name but a few.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{10}‘Planung und Zensur der Buchproduktion spielten in der DDR eine große Rolle, die Druckgenehmigungsverfahren hatten daher eine besondere politische Bedeutung’. <https://www.oe.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/meldungen/01419/index.html.de> [accessed 9 March 2017].

Mansfield’s story was taken from the 1952 publication *Seligkeit und andre Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories)*, translated by Herberth and Marlys Herlitschka. The German translation had to be purchased from the Swiss publishing house Die Arche in Zurich, which held the copyright for the translated story. With particular reference to Mansfield, Ehrenburg, and Alvaro, the writer of the epilogue to *Bretter, die die Welt bedeuten*, contends that these authors depict the suffering from societal and human disdain and the shameless exploitation (‘das Leiden unter der gesellschaftlichen und menschlichen Mißachtung und der schamlosen Ausbeutung’) of actresses and actors in their stories. This clearly echoes the socialist rhetoric of the GDR, addressing a Marxist-Leninist critique of society with a focus on the alienation and exploitation of the working class under capitalism, seemingly written to conform to Party expectations.

In 'Filmen' ('Pictures'), Mansfield’s female protagonist, Ada Moss, a singer, out of work and penniless, tries to sell herself to an endless and dispiriting round of agents in order to earn some money to pay her rent and to allay hunger and thirst. Finally, she has no alternative but to follow a stout gentleman who picks her up in a rather seedy café, and who blows his 'cigar smoke full in her face' which makes a reader fully aware of what his intentions are. Mansfield artfully juxtaposes the female protagonist’s fragile and dependent situation as she desperately needs money for food and shelter with the male character’s corpulence and dominating behaviour. As outlined by Joanna Woods, who wrote about Mansfield’s Russian reception, 'Pictures' was one of the stories that was fast becoming a Soviet favourite and this may have been a factor in its choice for this

---

13 CWKM2, pp. 178-185 (p. 184).
According to Woods, the first Russian translation of 'Pictures' appeared in a Soviet newspaper in 1922. In the brief introduction to the published translation, Mansfield is described as 'a contemporary English writer whom critics place on a level with Maupassant and Chekhov'. Thus, as Woods concludes, right from the very start Mansfield’s ‘greatest recommendation, in the eyes of the Russians, was her proximity to Chekhov’.

The epilogue to the anthology in question acknowledges the misery of actors and actresses as depicted in the stories compiled. The fact that women’s social position made them even more vulnerable to exploitation, as demonstrated in Mansfield’s story, is not addressed. Feminist issues were dismissed as irrelevant to the GDR as gender inequality and feminism were seen as the products of Western capitalist relations. For the Socialist Unity Party, issues of class took precedence over issues of gender, it considered 'women’s oppressions under patriarchy as a problem subordinate to the oppression of the working classes under capitalism'. Women in the GDR were publically encouraged to play the same role as men. However, despite official rhetoric about equal rights (Gleichberechtigung), in reality almost all key positions were occupied by men and in the private sphere traditional gender roles continued to prevail. Thus there was potential for Mansfield’s story to strike a chord with a female readership.

---

15 Woods, p. 248.
16 Woods, p. 249.
17 Woods, p. 249.
19 Bridge, p. 27.
5.2 Mansfield’s Wider Dissemination in East Germany: The 1977 Publication of *Eine Indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten*

The introduction of Katherine Mansfield to a wider East German audience began in 1977 with the publication of *Eine indiskrete Reise*: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten (An Indiscreet Journey: Selected Short Stories), translated by Heide Steiner, by Insel Verlag (Insel publishing house) in Leipzig. As the then publisher’s reader (Lektor) of Insel Verlag, Günter Gentsch, writes:

> Die Präsentation von ausgewählten Kurzgeschichten Katherine Mansfields im Jahre 1977, übersetzt von Heide Steiner und kommentiert von Wolfgang Wicht, die 1981 in eine zweibändige Werkausgabe mündete, war ein erster bedeutsamer Versuch des Insel-Verlages, den Leser mit modernen künstlerischen Anschauungen und Formen britischer Schreibkunst bekannt zu machen.\(^\text{20}\)

The presentation of selected short stories by Katherine Mansfield in 1977, translated by Heide Steiner and commented on by Wolfgang Wicht, which resulted in a two-volume edition in 1981, was an initial significant attempt by Insel-Verlag to introduce modernist aesthetics and forms of the British art of writing to [East German] readers.

Wolfgang Wicht, who was a lecturer at the University of Potsdam at that time and appointed Professor of English Literature at the same university from 1984 to 1993, edited a number of works from the anglophone world and published numerous articles, essays, reviews, and critical prefaces or epilogues on modernist writers, among others. His editorial work was pivotal for Mansfield’s East German reception for he was both the consulting editor of the 1977 selection of eight of her short stories and of the 1981 two-volume edition of translations of selected works (*Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke*).

The official statement to gain printing permission for the edition *Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten* (An Indiscreet Journey: Selected

---

Short Stories) was submitted by Insel Verlag to the Main Administration for Publishing and the Book Trade (Hauptverwaltung Verlage und Buchhandel, HV) in October 1976. The statement was written and signed by the directorial board of Insel Verlag, namely the publishing director (Verlagsleiter), the chief editor (Cheflektor), and the publisher’s reader (Lektor). They point out that the planned selection of stories by Mansfield serves to highlight the art of storytelling of a bourgeois-humanist author (‘die Erzählkunst einer bürgerlich-humanistischen Autorin’). Designating Mansfield a bourgeois-humanist writer alludes to the so-called German bourgeois humanistic inheritance, which was formative for an antifascist, democratic new start of the GDR. For example, the GDR curriculum for school children favoured bourgeois-humanist works of literature by authors such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Heinrich Heine, and Thomas Mann in addition to more recent socialist literary works. As emphasised by Stephen Brockmann, Goethe and Schiller were not considered as being the dialectical opposite of communism, but precursors of the human and social liberation.

With regard to Mansfield, the directorial board of Insel Verlag’s case for publication argues that her stories demonstrate Mansfield’s radical search for truth as well as her forceful commitment to the underprivileged and oppressed (‘ein nachdrückliches Engagement für die Zukurzgekommenen und Bedrückten’).

Thus, they also stress the socialist qualities of Mansfield’s texts, suggesting that they are ideologically appropriate and compatible with socialist thought. In

21 Druckgenehmigungsantrag (application form to gain permission to print), zu Eine Indiskrete Reise (Insel-Verlag Anton Kippenberg 1976), BArch DR1/3481/260/261 <http://www.argus.bstu.bundesarchiv.de/dr1_druck/mets/dr1_8481/index.htm?u...>
24 BArch DR1/3481/261.
addition, the directorial board emphasise the aesthetic quality of Mansfield’s stories, her virtuoso mastery of narrative technique as well as her subtle feeling for nuances (‘eine virtuose Beherrschung der Erzähltechniken und ein feines Gespür für Nuancen’).²⁵

Translation was entirely the responsibility of the publishing houses as publishers were the controlling instance over translators.²⁶ They had an immediate influence on the canon by selecting or rejecting certain books and by scrutinising the works of the translators.²⁷ However, publishers were not entitled to purchase and to sell copyrights themselves; ‘it was the state which possessed the monopoly of foreign trade and foreign currency’.²⁸ In contrast to publishers in West Germany, in the GDR they acted as mediators between translators, the Party, and an East German readership.

Insel Verlag’s publication bid briefly refers to the translator Heide Steiner, praising Steiner’s translations of Mansfield’s stories as being exceptionally well realised (‘außerordentlich gelungen’). Steiner would also translate the thirty-five short stories compiled in the 1981 East German two-volume edition of translations of Mansfield’s work to which I will refer hereafter. As observed by Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth, who wrote her doctoral thesis on translation in the context of the GDR, translators in East Germany enjoyed a good reputation as translation was seen as ‘a cultural activity’.²⁹ In contrast to West German literary translators, literary translators in the GDR were socially protected and in spite of the ideological constraints, it was considered desirable for them to be members of

---
²⁵ BArch DR1/3481/261.
²⁷ Thomson-Wohlgemuth, p. 122.
²⁸ Thomson-Wohlgemuth, p. 91.
²⁹ Thomson-Wohlgemuth, p. 108.
the Writer’s Association. Thomson-Wohlgemuth points out that in the GDR, literary translators could be classified as 'recreating authors', which echoes Andre Lefevere’s 1992 concept of 'translation as rewriting'.

The directorial board also commend the afterword written by Wolfgang Wicht as well as the scholarly reader's recommendation by Manfred Wojcik. The rhetoric of assessing Mansfield’s stories and Wicht’s epilogue seems to be ritualised. According to the directorial board, Wicht’s afterword offers a balanced picture of Mansfield’s biography and work and is written concordant with Marxist literary criticism; for them the epilogue constitutes a carefully nuanced evaluation of Mansfield’s position within humanistic bourgeois literature.

In his 1976 scholarly reader’s recommendation for the edition in question, Manfred Wojcik, who was a lecturer in English at Humboldt University in East Berlin at that time, emphasises Mansfield’s narrative techniques such as her use of interior monologue, her technique of montage as well as her shift in perspective. Wojcik argues that such techniques are consequently applied by Mansfield in order to serve a realistic aesthetic programme that prevents the danger of demolishing the meaning of a fragmented reality ('das die Gefahr einer sinnzerstörenden Fragmentarisierung der Wirklichkeit ausschließt'). Wojcik suggests that Mansfield's stories, intended to be included in the planned publication, display her deep sympathy and unsentimental empathy for those humiliated and disenfranchised ('die von einem tiefen, doch durchaus unsentimentalen Mitgefühl für die Erniedrigten und Entrechteten durchdrungen ist'). The writer of the scholarly reader’s recommendation points out that the

---

30 Thomson-Wohlgemuth, p. 110.
32 BArch DR1/3481/261.
33 BArch DR1/3481/321.
34 BArch DR1/3481/322.
selected stories chosen for the edition in question particularly illustrate Mansfield’s socio-critical quality displayed in her work.\textsuperscript{35}

Wojcik’s scholarly recommendation, obviously designed to encompass both the formal and ideological aspects of a socialist view on literature in the GDR, successfully contributed to obtaining a permitted printing allowance for the 1977 publication of \textit{Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten} (An Indiscreet Journey: Selected Short Stories), translated by Heide Steiner. In addition to the story, which provides the title, eight further stories such as 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel', 'The Garden Party', 'Pictures', 'Miss Brill', 'The Doll’s House' were selected for translation and inclusion in the 1977 East German publication. Mansfield’s commitment to the underprivileged and oppressed is discernible in the stories collected here. Whereas working-class characters have a significant presence in 'The Garden Party' and 'The Doll’s House', the stories 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel', 'Pictures', and 'Miss Brill' focus on single female characters estranged or isolated by society. Reading these particular stories could potentially induce a GDR readership to become even more aware of the positive aspects and advantages of the integrative functions of the social policy in the GDR, aiming to reduce social inequality between status groups and social classes.

Obligatory prefaces or afterwords were also subjected to the process of gaining printing permission as they aimed to ensure governmentally preferred ways of interpreting literary works.\textsuperscript{36} This clearly reveals the relationship between official ideology and the reception of literary texts, for the readership was primed to read works of literature through the set of lenses desired by the Party. In the afterword for the published collection, Wicht suggests that, for example, the story 'Diese Blume' ('This Flower') addresses moral as well as social relations and

\textsuperscript{35} BArch DR1/3481/322.
\textsuperscript{36} Korte et al., p. 3.
behaviour which could be easily conceivable as a theme for a complete novel ('moralische und gesellschaftliche Beziehungen und Verhaltensweisen, die auch als Thema für einen ganzen Roman denkbar wären'). With reference to the stories 'Das Puppenhaus' ('The Doll’s House') and 'Das Gartenfest' ('The Garden Party'), Wicht concludes that Mansfield succeeded in making the social conflicts of a class society the content of subjectively experienced episodes (die sozialen Konflikte der Klassengesellschaft zum Inhalt subjektiv erlebter Episoden zu machen), triggering the reader’s empathy for the protagonists from the lower classes due to Mansfield’s artistic skills in depicting the morals, attitudes, and behaviour of the educated propertied bourgeoisie in a mercilessly satirical way. Both stories, 'Das Puppenhaus' ('The Doll’s House') and 'Das Gartenfest' ('The Garden Party') are set in New Zealand; they depict the protagonists’ economic and social status as well as the value system of the white middle-class elite in contrast to the lower class settlers. Wicht’s wording echoes Marxist vocabulary, denoting Marx’s class theory, which promotes the establishment of a classless society. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan point out that a major assumption of Marxism is that ‘culture, including literature, functions to reproduce the class structure of society’. One of the basic principles stated by Karl Marx is that ‘it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence determines their consciousness’.

For Wicht, the writer of the afterword of the first edition of *Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten*, Mansfield’s democratic attitude is conveyed

---

by her sympathy for the oppressed and for those whose personal development is restricted by social conditions.\textsuperscript{41} Wicht’s epilogue submitted in advance to obtain printing permission for the edition in question contributed to the positive decisions made by the central office for publishing houses and book trade. Wicht himself admitted that the writer of a Nachwort (afterword) ‘certainly counted on the East German reader’s sensitivity to the employment of catchwords and particular formulations’.\textsuperscript{42}

Thus with \textit{Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten}, 1977 saw the first significant East German publication of Mansfield’s stories. Moreover, in 1978 a first public reference to Mansfield’s short stories in East Germany can be found in \textit{Neues Deutschland} (New Germany), the daily newspaper of the ruling Socialist Unity Party. In the newspaper section ‘Neu im Buchangebot’ (New Books on offer) \textit{Neues Deutschland} printed a brief piece of information on that edition, stating the name of the publishing house and noting Katherine Mansfield as the author, alongside the title and the price of the edition.\textsuperscript{43} Some further, more detailed critical responses to Mansfield’s work were written four years later, as I will discuss in the next section.

\textbf{5.3 The 1980 Two-Volume Edition \textit{Ausgewählte Werke} for the East German Reading Public}

The archive materials relating to the publication process of the 1981 two-volume publication: \textit{Ausgewählte Werke} (Selected Works) by Katherine Mansfield provide further important context for her publication history in the GDR, this time for a volume that also included selections from her reviews and personal writings.

\textsuperscript{41} Wicht, ‘Nachwort’ to Katherine Mansfield, \textit{Eine indiskrete Reise}, p. 159.
\textsuperscript{42} Wicht, ‘Installing Modernism: The Reception of Virginia Woolf in the German Democratic Republic’, p. 115.
The assessor’s official reports required to gain printing permission display a Marxist rhetoric, employing numerous catchwords and particular formulations to align the discourse with the ruling norms. In 1979, Insel-Verlag (Insel Publishing House) submitted the official documents to obtain a printing permit to the Main Administration for Publishing and the Book trade (Hauptverwaltung Verlage und Buchhandel, HV). As before, the official statement was written and signed by the directorial board of Insel-Verlag. According to the signatories, the two-volume edition provides a representative overview of Mansfield’s work, illustrating that Mansfield is important as a writer due to her literary quality and due to the fact that her work is informed by human sympathies although the quantity of her writing is relatively slight ('eine representative Zusammenschau des wenn auch nicht von der Quantität, so doch von der literarischen Qualität her gewichtigen, von humaner Geisteshaltung geprägten Gesamtwes').

The directorial board name Wolfgang Wicht as the editor of the two-volume publication and emphasise that Wicht selected everything that is relevant and interesting for the contemporary reader from what Mansfield as a bourgeois-progressive writer wrote in her fictional creations and personal testimonies ('von den fiktiven Schöpfungen wie den persönlichen Zeugnissen der bürgerlich-progressiven Schriftstellerin all das ausgewählt, was für den Leser unserer Zeit von Relevanz und Interesse ist'). The writers of the statement point out that, in terms of themes and aesthetics, Mansfield’s best thirty-five stories from her work are chosen for volume one, whereas her personal testimonies, selected letters, reviews, and diary entries, from which, according to the writers, we can deduce Mansfield’s aesthetic and political opinion, are selected for the second volume.

44 Druckgenehmigungsantrag, (application form to gain permission to print) zu Ausgewählte Werke Band I/II (Insel-Verlag Anton Kippenberg 1979), BArch DR1/3482/222 <http://www.argus.bstu.bundesarchiv.de/dr1_druck/mets/dr1_druck_3482/index.htm?ta...>
45 BArch DR1/3482/222.
The 1979 scholarly reader’s recommendation for the two-volume edition in question was written by the scholar Günter Walch, who was a lecturer at Humboldt University Berlin at that time and played an important role in Shakespeare research in the GDR. He became one of the editors of the Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (ZAA), a journal that reflects the entire spectrum of English and American language, literature, and culture, to which I will refer hereafter. Walch asserts that due to the literary quality of Mansfield’s work, a firm place within the reception of international literature should be assigned to her (‘sollte ihr doch aufgrund der literarischen Qualität ihres Werks in unserer Rezeption internationaler Literatur ein fester Platz sicher sein’). Walch argues that the rigorous scholarly foreword in the field of literary studies to the edition (written by Wolfgang Wicht) offers decisive support in interpreting Mansfield’s work. This implies that a particular interpretation of Mansfield’s writing was encouraged, which was, indeed, the case as scholarly assessors, publishers, and reviewers of the GDR culture all employ the same kind of expressive rhetoric in achieving their aims, namely to guarantee that the socialist point of view would be represented.

Walch as the writer of the scholarly reader’s recommendation refers to Mansfield’s seeming incomprehension of the 1917 Russian revolution and her distaste for Bolshevism, which runs counter to the prevailing emphasis on concordance with official Party ideology. As evidence for Mansfield’s failure to understand correctly the Russian revolution, Walch cites her exclamation in a 1918 letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, as translated in the second volume of the edition in question, namely ‘alles, alles lieber als Revolution’ (‘anything anything

46 BArch DR1/3482/266.
47 BArch DR1/3482/267.
48 BArch DR1/3482/269.
rather than revolution’).\textsuperscript{49} Walch also refers to the German translation of Mansfield’s 1922 letter to Dorothy Brett as included in the second volume (p. 243), writing that 'Bolschewismus “in ganz Europa” ist für sie eine “Gefahr”, “eine nette Aussicht”’ (‘Bolshevism “all over Europe” is for her “dangerous”, “a nice prospect”’).\textsuperscript{50}

Mansfield’s negative response to the Russian revolution and Bolshevism as referred to by Walch in his scholarly reader’s recommendation did not seem to be meant ironically. Joanna Woods’ monograph sheds some light on this issue. Woods states that Mansfield supported the opinion of her friend, the Russian-born émigré writer and translator Samuel S. Koteliansky, whose initial support for the revolution had evaporated. According to Woods, once Mansfield had read Gorky’s criticisms of the Bolsheviks, she adopted Koteliansky’s view and shared his disillusionment with regard to the Russian revolution and Bolshevism.\textsuperscript{51}

Nevertheless, Walch as the writer of the scholarly reader recommendation maintains that ‘erst die Berücksichtigung der vollen Widersprüchlichkeit auch der Weltanschauung eines Autors aber erlaubt eine wissenschaftlich haltbare Definition’ (‘only considering the entire inconsistency of an author’s world view allows a tenable scholarly definition’).\textsuperscript{52} He concludes that thus, in the end, Katherine Mansfield exemplifies the significant and most recent issue of a writer’s task, namely to ask questions rather than to answer them (‘so steht am Ende mit Katherine Mansfield die sehr wichtige und aktuelle Formulierung der Aufgabe des Schriftstellers, Fragen eher zu stellen als zu beantworten’).\textsuperscript{53} Walch’s conclusion indicates that he was familiar with Mansfield’s 1919 letter to Virginia Woolf, in

\textsuperscript{49} Katherine Mansfield, \textit{Ausgewählt Werke}, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1983, 2nd ed.), p. 131. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in the parentheses in the text.

\textsuperscript{50} BArch DR1/3482/269.

\textsuperscript{51} Woods, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{52} BArch DR1/3482/269.

\textsuperscript{53} BArch DR1/3482/270.
which Mansfield took from Chekhov the statement that 'what the writer does is not so much to solve the question but to put the question'. This letter is included in volume two of Wicht’s edition in question, translated by Irmgard Nickel ('Der Schriftsteller löst nicht so sehr die Frage, sondern stellt die Frage) (p. 136).

Interestingly, Walch’s concluding sentence seems to encourage Mansfield’s potential East German readers to scrutinise her texts and to find some text-related answers for themselves, asking for an active readership that use their own faculties within the context of the GDR, under the rule of the Socialist Unity Party and notwithstanding the structures and strictures of Communist dominion.

At last, the lengthy official procedure was completed and the documents submitted by Insel-Verlag had successfully convinced the Main Administration for Publishing and the Book Trade to permit the printing of the two-volume edition of Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke. Mansfield’s writings had passed the censorship scrutiny that was masked by the term 'Druckgenehmigungsverfahren' (assessment or procedure to gain printing permission) and Insel-Verlag commissioned new translations by a number of East German translators for their 1981 two-volume edition.

Wolfgang Wicht, who had previously written the afterword for the 1977 selection Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten, also wrote an extensive foreword as editor of the new two-volume edition. Wicht’s enthusiasm for challenging an anti-modernist bias in the GDR helped significantly frame reception of Mansfield’s work in East Germany. With reference to 'Das Gartenfest' ('The Garden Party'), Wicht emphasises Mansfield’s clearly definable artistic technique of juxtaposition of life with mortality, laughing with crying, dancing with moaning, which arouse for the reader, first and foremost, a dynamic sense of binary opposition ('das örtliche und zeitliche Nebeneinander […] von
Lachen und Weinen, von Tanz und Klage erzeugt die den Leser vor allem bewegende Widerspruchssituation'). In addition to addressing Mansfield’s ability to evoke a reader’s emotional response, Wicht suggests that she consciously tried to exploit the aesthetic potential of language (‘sie versuchte, die ästhetische Leistungsfähigkeit der Sprache bewußt auszuschöpfen’) and praises Mansfield’s precision of observation and unique density of atmosphere which provide her stories with a quality in their own right (‘Genauigkeit der Beobachtung und einzigartigen Dichte der Atmosphäre, die ihren Erzählungen eine eigenständige Qualität verleihen’). Concordant with the official Party rhetoric, Wicht contends that Katherine Mansfield’s:

Erzählerperspektive zielt auf die Kritik der Verhaltensweise der herrschenden Klasse und auf Mitgefühl mit der Lage der Erniedrigten und Unterdrückten. Darin offenbart sich eine durchaus volksverbundene Haltung.

narrative perspective aims to demonstrate criticism of the behaviour of the dominant class and sympathy with the situation of the humiliated and suppressed. This clearly shows an attitude that is close to the people.

Wicht’s commentary on Mansfield’s texts managed to suggest that they could successfully serve both aesthetic and instrumental purposes for an East German readership, while ascribing to her writings the overt social and ideological critique that had contributed to the approval for publication of Ausgewählte Werke with a print run of eight thousand copies by the GDR officials. This shows that enterprising scholars were able to suggest nuanced critical interpretations.

---


5.4 A Case Study: An East German Translation of 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' (Translated by Heide Steiner)

The translator of Mansfield’s 1911 story 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' ('Frau Brechenmacher geht auf eine Hochzeit') for the two-volume Ausgewählte Werke (Selected Works) was Heide Steiner. In this story, which draws on Mansfield’s time in the Bavarian spa town of Wörishofen, Mansfield overtly criticises socially constructed gender roles and female oppression, depicting the limitations of thought and action imposed on women’s lives. As pointed out by Angela Smith, this story, which originally appeared in the journal New Age in 1910, 'is the most complex of the satirical stories about Bavaria in In a German Pension'.

Within the restrictive atmosphere of the former German Democratic Republic, the East-German translation was created in the context of a time, when 'state control of literature intensified' and feminists and their ideas were perceived as a threat, being accused of straying too far away from the Party line. Thus the inclusion of this particular story for an East German readership is astonishing, given the strict evaluation of the ideological suitability of a text to be considered for translation. The conditions under which women in the GDR lived were determined by the central goal of a classless society and an equal-rights policy implemented by the state. Gender relations were characterised by the discrepancy between official proclamations and experienced reality. Over ninety percent of all women in the GDR worked full-time although almost all had one or more children.

58 Bridge, p. 10.
59 Bridge, p. 27.
60 Kaufmann, p. 171.
The double burden women had to face in the GDR is implied in Steiner’s translation. Concordant with Mansfield’s text, the opening paragraph of Steiner’s translation of ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ serves to situate the female protagonist socially and geographically, depicting a subservient German-speaking housewife and mother. Yet whereas Mansfield writes: ‘Getting ready was a terrible business’. ⁶¹ Steiner’s translation reads: ‘Bis Frau Brechenmacher fertig wurde, war’s ein hartes Stück Arbeit’. ⁶² The German expression 'ein hartes Stück Arbeit' ('a hard piece of work') certainly translates Mansfield’s expression, yet the suggestive wording also translates what the GDR proclaimed to be at that time, namely, a workers’ and peasants’ state.

Mansfield’s highly ironic description of the supercilious male protagonist, Herr Brechenmacher, as the head of the household and the postman of the village, reads: ‘He stood in the kitchen puffing himself out, the buttons on his blue uniform shining with an enthusiasm which nothing but official buttons could possibly possess.’ (p. 185). Steiner very effectively translates this passage: ‘Wie aufgeplustert stand er in der Küche, die Knöpfe an seiner blauen Uniform glänzten in einer Pracht, wie sie wahrscheinlich nur amtliche Knöpfe ausstrahlen konnten.’ (p. 59). Juxtaposing Mansfield’s original text with Steiner’s translation, the German part evidently echoes Mansfield’s tone and rhythm. Mansfield’s sting and irony in depicting the male protagonist’s self-importance with feminist insight are conveyed by the East German translator. Steiner successfully renders key words employed by Mansfield to underline the husband’s egotism and to mock the German civil servant status such as ‘blue uniform’ and ‘official buttons’. Yet the terms 'blaue Uniform' (blue uniform) and 'amtliche Knöpfe' (official buttons)

---

⁶¹ CWKM1, pp. 184-189 (p. 184). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parentheses in the text.
⁶² Katherine Mansfield, Ausgewählte Werke, pp. 58-64 (p. 58).
also had particular connotations in the context of the former GDR where the National People’s Army (Nationale Volksarmee), the armed forces of East Germany, illustrated that Prussian military traditions were still alive.

Steiner’s translation of ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ demonstrates that due to travel restrictions translators in the GDR had very few or no chances to become acquainted with the culture an English language text portrays. This seemingly also applies to West German habits in Bavaria. For instance, a certain unfamiliarity with Bavarian customs and traditions on the part of the East German translator is recognisable in the following scene when Frau Brechenmacher asks her daughter to fetch her ‘blue silk handkerchief’ (p. 184). Here Steiner does not consider the traditional Bavarian attire for women, translating Mansfield’s wording into ‘blaues Seidentaschentuch’, which implies a handkerchief to wipe the nose, instead of a scarf as part of the traditional Bavarian attire. This example shows that Steiner created her translation in a confined environment, not being familiar with traditions in Bavaria as part of West Germany. Moreover, Mansfield’s ironic reference to the bride as a metonymic substitution of an iced cake (p. 186) to expose patriarchy’s conception of women as purely body is translated by Steiner as ‘Eisbombe’ (p. 60) (ice cream bombe). Steiner’s term is not a creative choice, but incorrect as it suggests a lack of cultural knowledge about the art of cake decorating, common in anglophone countries, on the part of the translator.

Nevertheless, Steiner succeeded in conveying Mansfield’s tone and rhythm. Although lack of cultural knowledge sometimes meant that the translator’s word choices are not entirely appropriate, her translations of Mansfield’s short fiction introduced Mansfield as a modernist anglophone writer to an East German
5.5 Official East German Criticism: Book Reviews

The official reception of literary works in the GDR was often steered by means of criticism in the form of reviews, which appeared in party-supported organs. Two book reviews in two significant publications paved the way for Mansfield’s reception by both general and academic readers in East Germany. In the weekend edition of *Neues Deutschland* (New Germany), the daily newspaper of the Socialist Unity Party, dated 31 October/1 November 1981, we can read a remarkably laudatory review of *Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke* by Hanna Behrend. Behrend, an English and History lecturer at Humboldt University, had fled from Nazi Germany to Britain in 1939 and returned to East Germany in 1946 to help form an anti-fascist and democratic social system.

The evocative headline of Behrend’s review, ‘Feinsinnige Erzählungen, bewegende Liebesbriefe’ (‘Sophisticated Stories, Moving Love Letters’), catches the reader’s attention and evokes very positive connotations with regard to Mansfield’s writing skills. Behrend’s review is, indeed, overwhelmingly positive in its comments. She points out that Mansfield is regarded as one of the founders of the genre of the modernist short story, that she is an author who reacted to the world around her in a sensitive way and who suffered from it at the same time. Behrend remarks that Mansfield was a person who never entirely comprehended social correlations, indicating that for this East German critic Mansfield is seen as a writer who did not understand the relations between literature and social conditions to the same degree as those versed in the theories

---

of socialist realism. Yet Behrend also defends Mansfield by alluding to a quotation from Anton Chekhov which reads in English 'indifference is a paralysis of the soul'. Based on this quotation, Behrend derives her conclusion, arguing that Mansfield herself was never indifferent ('sie hat selbst nie gleichgültig sein können'), which contrasts with some of the longstanding views among Western critics of Mansfield’s relative indifference to political and social controversy in the Western world.

It is interesting that critics like Wicht and Behrend identified a combination of aesthetic qualities and social engagement that was less to be found in West German critiques of Mansfield’s work, which tended mostly to emphasise her writing’s aesthetic qualities. In this respect the East German critics, for all their isolation, seem to have had more affinity with approaches developed by New Zealand and British scholars of Katherine Mansfield’s work in the second part of the twentieth century, such as Vincent O’Sullivan and Angela Smith. As pointed out by Delia da Sousa Correa, O’Sullivan and Smith see Mansfield’s writing 'as permeated by awareness of her country’s colonial inheritance, an awareness that feeds into a more widely diffused indignation against injustice'. Mansfield’s criticism of power relations, exploitation, and social injustice is recognisable in her writings. Although she was an anglophone modernist writer, her stories such as 'Pictures' and 'The Garden Party' were perceived as concordant with the GDR’s social policy, aiming to reduce social inequality between social classes and status groups.

In 1986, five years after Behrend’s review, Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke was reviewed in the Zeitschrift für Anglistik und...
Amerikanistik (ZAA, a quarterly of language, literature, and culture, then published in Leipzig by Verlag Enzyklopädie). This peer-reviewed journal, which was founded in 1953 by Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften in East Berlin, covered the entire spectrum of English studies. The ZAA aimed to encourage academic reception of anglophone literature and was considered to be the only mouthpiece for the field of English/American studies in the GDR and a number of other socialist countries. At the start, reviews of literary works in the ZAA had predominantly focussed on their realistic qualities; then, from the 1980s onwards, critique of societal conditions became the main focus of most reviews.66

The 1986 review of the two-volume edition Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke written by Hannelore Cybart, whose doctoral thesis was about the genre of the short story, exemplifies this, stating, for instance, that Mansfield succeeded in making general statements about the ideological and material conditions of the late bourgeois individual in her stories.67 Cybart’s review also praises Mansfield’s narrative techniques and aesthetic achievements and focusses on biographical facts provided in the edition. Cybart states that the two-volume edition offers a detailed insight into the life and work of Katherine Mansfield in the German language for the very first time.68 This was clearly true for the GDR, yet Cybart’s statement does not apply to West Germany; three editions comprising selections of Mansfield’s diaries and letters, translated and annotated by Max Schwendimann, having provided information on Mansfield in West Germany from 1967 onwards, as outlined in Chapter One.

68 Cybart, p. 369.
Nevertheless, the writer of the review confirms that the two-volume edition *Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke* constitutes a valuable source for the GDR reading audience and East German researchers in the field of English studies alike. Cybart points out that the reviews written by Mansfield herself provide some indication about her own artistic criteria ('sowie einigen Rezensionen, die Aufschluß über Mansfield’s künstlerische Vorstellungen geben'). With reference to Mansfield’s stories Cybart acknowledges that her literary compositions deliberately deploy the aesthetic potential of language, the interlacing of different temporalities, and changing viewpoints ('ästhetische Möglichkeiten der Sprache, die Verschachtelung von Zeitebenen und den Blickpunktwechsel') in order to create the typically intense atmosphere in her stories. Cybart concludes that Mansfield’s narrative style, rich in leitmotifs, symbols, and metaphors, constitutes a challenge, requiring a reader to respond by sensitively contemplating the text in order to be rewarded with a particularly aesthetic experience ('sodann aber mit einem besonderen ästhetischen Erlebnis belohnt wird'). The reviewer’s extensive analysis of the formal qualities of Mansfield’s writings advocated her modernist aesthetics and might have supplied an East German academic audience with additional knowledge.

**5.6 Mansfield’s East German Readers: Two Indicative Responses**

The experience effected by reading Mansfield’s works in the context of the GDR has been elucidated by two avid readers of her writings, Christa Moog and Barbara Bellmann, both of whom I interviewed as part of my research for this thesis. The writer Christa Moog, who left the GDR for West Berlin in 1984 and whose intertextual responses to Mansfield in her own work I will analyse in my

---

69 Cybart, p. 369.
70 Cybart, p. 370.
71 Cybart, p. 370.
final chapter, acknowledged in a telephone interview that she has long been absolutely fascinated by Mansfield’s short stories.\textsuperscript{72} Moog remembers that she borrowed the 1977 edition of selected translations of short stories by Mansfield entitled \textit{Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten} (An indiscreet journey: selected short stories) from the public library in Eisenach in 1979. She also recollects that the 1981 two-volume edition of selected works in German translation entitled \textit{Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke} (Katherine Mansfield: Selected Works) provided her with even more insight into the life and work of Mansfield. According to Moog, when she escaped from East Germany, she read everything by and on Katherine Mansfield which was available on the West German book market, inducing both her desire to travel in the footsteps of Katherine Mansfield and to transform the aesthetic experience gained from Mansfield’s work into her own creative writing. In Chapter Seven I will discuss the after-effects of Moog’s encounters with Mansfield’s work in German translation. I will examine her 1988 novel \textit{Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln} (Out of a Thousand Green Mirrors), linking Moog’s self-exploration after leaving East Germany for the West with her quest to follow in the footsteps of Mansfield by travelling to places which were significant for Mansfield.

A further East German Mansfield enthusiast, Barbara Bellmann, who studied medicine in Leipzig, remembers that she became acquainted with Katherine Mansfield’s art of storytelling in the late 1970s. Bellmann recollects that reading the story 'Die Töchter des Obersten selig' ('The Daughters of the Late Colonel Pinner'), triggered her spontaneous wish to read more by the writer Katherine Mansfield.\textsuperscript{73} Angela Smith explains that the title of the story implies the daughters’ subordination; they are seen exclusively 'in relation to their father; they

\textsuperscript{72} Telephone interview with Christa Moog, 16 January 2014.
\textsuperscript{73} Interview with Barbara Bellmann, June 2017 in Heidelberg.
may be unable to think clearly because they are overcome with grief, but the comic disjunctions in the story hint at something else’. Bellmann remembers that she was instantly hooked by Mansfield’s use of dramatic irony and symbolism in the German translation of ‘The Daughters of the Late Colonel Pinner’, which narrates the story of two sisters whose authoritative and dictatorial father holds power over them even after his death. As Bellmann recollects, it was the intense atmosphere in the story, which conveys the extent of paternal tyranny, masterfully conveyed by Mansfield’s language and the enigmatic ending that inspired her fascination with the author.

In 1981, Bellmann was able to avail herself of the two-volume Katherine Mansfield: Ausgewählte Werke, published by Insel-Verlag, despite the fact that access to newly published books was very difficult within the constraints of the GDR due to the restricted economic capacity of publishing houses. Insel-Verlag, for instance, was not one of the big publishing houses, thus it was allocated a limited quota of printing paper. It could happen that copies a bookshop could get from the central distributor were sold in advance and thus did not turn up on the shelves. Bellmann remembers that she read the collection of stories in volume one first before she proceeded with reading the second volume, comprising Mansfield’s personal writings. She wanted to be absorbed by the scenes Mansfield evokes in her short fiction and to be rewarded with a particularly aesthetic reading experience. Bellmann’s assertion calls to mind Wolfgang Iser’s notion of aesthetic response, which according to Iser ‘brings into play the imaginative and perceptive faculties of the reader’. Since her first encounter with Mansfield’s short fiction

and personal writings in the former GDR, Bellmann has been enthusiastic about Mansfield and her work as she revealed in our interview.

5.7 Conclusion

Through my analysis of the archival documents needed to obtain printing permissions for Katherine Mansfield’s work in the GDR as well as through a number of reviews in Party-dominated publications and some reader responses, I have shown how programmatic her reception in the former German Democratic Republic was. Yet my research also reveals that in spite of the control mechanisms and programmed reception in the GDR, Mansfield’s writings were, in fact, overwhelmingly positively received, her short stories and personal writings were highly regarded. Certainly, as a modernist writer, evaluated, translated, and published in the GDR, Mansfield was subject to the constraints of official interpretations of ideology, and consequently the aesthetics of her writings were inevitably overtly politicised, but often in ways that also encompassed subtle critical analysis.

As I have illustrated in this chapter, the various East German readers such as literary scholars, publishers, and critics necessarily avoided any idea of Mansfield as an apolitical writer. They assigned an explicitly expressed political message to numerous of her stories. Their views on Mansfield’s political stance indicate that they appreciated Mansfield as a writer who was aware of Karl Marx’s notion of the alienation of humans in capitalist society and that the need to effect social change was important to her.

Mansfield’s East German readership recognised and appreciated her depiction and contestation of social oppression and marginalisation in her writings and identified both Mansfield’s aesthetics and instrumental intention. Contrary to
some of Mansfield’s international reading audience, the critics in the GDR always ascribed ideological and social critique to Mansfield’s short fiction and personal writings. The critical analysis that accompanied Mansfield’s introduction to her East German reading audience did not encourage them to see the aesthetic qualities and instrumental aspects in her work as binary or oppositional.

Nevertheless, their appreciation of Mansfield’s class consciousness and advocacy on behalf of justice for the oppressed as conveyed in the stories I addressed here, certainly distinguishes Mansfield’s positive reception in the former GDR, where the established normative aesthetics guaranteed that the socialist point of view was represented.
Chapter Six: Recent Trends in the German Reception of Katherine Mansfield (from 1990 to the Present)

6.0 Introduction

The fact that the reader’s role can be fulfilled in different ways, according to historical or individual circumstances, is an indication that the structure of the text allows for different ways of fulfilment.¹

In this chapter I explore the most recent phase in the German reception of Katherine Mansfield’s work in both English and German translation from 1990 to the present. The reunification of East Germany and West Germany to form the reunited nation of Germany in 1990 initiated new philosophical, socio-political, and literary debates which are still continuing and which have provided the context for Mansfield’s contemporary German reception.

Stuart Taberner rightly notices that what is most immediately striking about the German literary market since reunification has been ‘its sheer diversity’.² The brief historical overview below serves to provide a very general outline of the literary culture that has helped to shape the set of literary, social, and cultural expectations of German readers over the last three decades. With reference to the immediate post-reunification context, the German philologists Benedikt Jeßing and Ralph Köhnen observe that the 1990s offered a particularly rich variety of texts by German authors, yet no particular major discourse dominated literary criticism.³ Numerous short stories and novels by both East and West German writers dealt with the political and cultural impacts of reunification or centred on

---

the surveillance function of the GDR’s state security and former East German writers’ complicity with or rebellion against it.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the fascination with themes focussing on the restraints on writers in the GDR came to a halt. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, German authors have reinforced the notion of a return to aesthetics in literature, combining aesthetic views and the depiction of their individual experience in their works with the aim to create an ironically conceived writing style.\(^4\) Moreover, a number of German-language writers implicitly or explicitly addressed national and international political issues in their works and an international orientation on the German literature market underscored the German reading audience’s interest in international literature. A large number of works, mostly read in German translation, from authors such as John M. Coetzee, Amos Oz, Orhan Pamuk, and Arundhati Roy have contributed to the contemporary literary scene in Germany and show that contemporary reading tastes are particularly cosmopolitan. This has helped to advance the ongoing fascination with Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction in Germany.

Three particularly significant facts have contributed to the latest German dissemination and appreciation of Katherine Mansfield’s writings, which I will address in some detail in this chapter. Firstly, the formation of the Association for the Study of the so-called New Literatures in English in the late 1980s, now called the Association for Anglophone Postcolonial Studies, has contributed to the consolidation and growth of postcolonial studies at German universities. Literatures from Africa, the Caribbean, South Asia, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific have become an established part of the curriculum of English studies at German universities. My research has established that Mansfield’s short fiction

\(^4\) Jeßing und Köhnen, p. 130.
features on almost all reading lists, which are delivered by German universities online. Secondly, reading short stories in English became an important tool to teach English to young adults in the German school classroom, particularly in the last decade of the twentieth century. Although this is no longer the case for reasons I will explain in the course of this chapter, the inclusion of Mansfield’s stories in the school curriculum for many years certainly contributed to the dissemination of her reputation in Germany. More recently, a specific event that contributed to the appreciation of Katherine Mansfield in Germany and elsewhere was the fact that New Zealand was the Guest of Honour at the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair.

Although literature has historically enjoyed a high status in Germany, the worldwide decline in reader numbers due to the general shift in leisure habits and the move towards digital technology has also affected the demands of the German reading audience. The Internet, smartboards, tablets, and e-readers are reshaping the reading and learning habits in Germany as elsewhere. Nevertheless, my research reveals that Katherine Mansfield’s work, her particular aesthetics, her cosmopolitan view, her engagement with questions of gender and class in her stories still encourage publishers to put new translations of her stories onto the German book market, so as to attract further readers from the German-speaking countries. As I will show in this chapter, since Germany’s reunification, Mansfield’s popularity with German scholars, publishers, reviewers, and readers has continually been confirmed.

6.1 Teaching Katherine Mansfield’s Short Fiction at German Universities

Since German reunification, the establishment of the New Literatures in English as an integral part of English studies at both East and West German universities as well as Austrian and Swiss universities has significantly affected the curricula and
recommended reading lists issued by the departments of English studies accordingly. In 2002, Gerhard Stilz, professor of English at the University of Tübingen at that time, published some results of his statistical investigations based on topics taught on literary courses in English departments at German and Austrian universities and on the recommended reading lists issued by German, Austrian, and Swiss universities. Analysing the teaching announcements in the 1990s (1988-1996), Stilz ascertained that Katherine Mansfield was selected twenty-three times for the curriculum of German and Austrian universities, only exceeded by Margaret Atwood and Salman Rushdie. In response to Stilz’s request, thirty-eight of seventy-six university departments of English in German-speaking countries provided their recommended reading lists, compiled or updated during the 1990s. Despite the fact that Katherine Mansfield was sometimes erroneously included in the lists for English or American literature and that no less than 245 authors shared 689 nominations, Mansfield was the most favoured author on this basis; she was included in more than 50 percent of 38 lists of recommended reading.

In order to investigate Mansfield’s presence in the most recent recommended reading lists, I accessed a large number of digital reading lists provided by the English departments of German universities in 2018. Compared to the results Stilz published two decades ago, my own research shows that Katherine Mansfield is still named in most current reading lists recommended for programmes at different undergraduate and postgraduate levels in different formats such as seminars and lectures by English departments teaching English literature or the so-called New Literatures in English at German universities. For

6 Stilz, p. 33.
instance, to name but a few, a number of Germany’s top universities recommend reading short fiction by Mansfield as compiled in *Selected Stories* ( Otto-Friedrich Universität Bamberg, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen), or in *The Collected Short Stories* (Universität Trier), or *The Garden Party and Other Stories* (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M.), or *Bliss and Other Stories* (Universität Hamburg), or both *The Garden Party and Other Stories* and *Bliss and Other Stories* (Universität Augsburg). Some universities recommend reading individually selected stories such as 'The Garden Party' (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg), or 'The Garden Party' and 'The Doll’s House' (Universität Bayreuth), or 'The Garden Party' and 'Bliss' (Universität Konstanz), or 'The Garden Party', 'Bliss', and 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel' (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg).

My analysis of the Vorlesungsverzeichnis (course catalogue) of the English department at Leipzig University from winter 2010 to summer 2018, for example, indicates that selected short stories by Mansfield have continuously been taught in the last two decades at the second-oldest university in East Germany. For instance, the most recent course catalogue for the summer term 2018 delivered by Leipzig University offers introductory lectures to analyse and interpret exemplary texts of English literature. Mansfield’s short fiction 'Miss Brill', 'The Fly', and 'The Garden Party' are chosen to exemplify the genre of the modernist short story.

In 2018, I contacted the German university teacher Stefan Lampadius, a faculty member at the department of English at Leipzig University, who also spent some semesters at Auckland University in New Zealand. Since 2014, Lampadius has regularly taught 'The Fly' or 'The Garden Party' and has also given a number of seminars on a wide range of themes such as postcolonial issues in New Zealand and Australian literature, questions of identity in New Zealand and Pacific
literature, and British modernism at Leipzig University. In a telephone interview Lampadius answered my questions as to why he has selected Mansfield’s stories 'The Fly' and 'The Garden Party' to introduce the genre of the short story to his students. Lampadius is full of praise for Katherine Mansfield; for him Mansfield is a canonical author, a most important and influential writer of modernist short stories, who contributed significantly to shaping modernism. He draws attention to Mansfield’s artistic skills, particularly to her ability to create mood and atmosphere, to delineate moments of recognition or epiphany, to her use of free indirect discourse in order to depict the protagonist’s perceptions and speech-patterns, and to the way that Mansfield employs symbolic language. Lampadius points out that Mansfield’s employment of deep symbolism, as exemplified in 'The Fly' and 'The Garden Party', demands close reading in order to analyse the meanings and interactions of words and symbols. He notes that loss, death, and social injustice are central themes not only addressed in these two stories, but also in most of Mansfield’s modernist short fiction, obliging the reader to confront moments of confusion, disillusion, and frustration.

Mansfield’s story 'The Garden Party' has been taught both at German universities and in schools for the nearly three decades since German reunification. A restructuring of school curricula over the past ten years, which I discuss shortly, has seen a reduction of the frequency with which this story is taught in the school classroom. However, ‘The Garden Party’ still figures prominently in the recommended reading lists issued by German universities. My research results, showing Mansfield’s German reception, are concordant with

---

7 Telephone interview with Stefan Lampadius from the University of Leipzig, 22 May 2018.
Jenny McDonnell’s 2010 claim that 'The Garden Party' 'remains one of the most anthologised and analysed of Mansfield’s stories'.

With reference to 'The Garden Party' the literary scholar Wolfgang Wicht, whose significant contribution to the dissemination and positive reception of works by Katherine Mansfield in the former GDR I discussed in Chapter Five, devoted a chapter to Mansfield in his 2013 collection of essays entitled James Joyce & Company, arguing that:

Das örtliche und zeitliche Nebeneinander von unbeschwertem, lustigem Gartenfest und aufgebahrtem Leichnam, von Lachen und Weinen, von Tanz und Klage erzeugen eine offene, den Leser bewegende Widerspruchssituation.

The spatial and temporal coexistence of a carefree, amusing garden party and a laid-out corpse, of laughter and weeping, of dance and mourning, generate for the reader an open, moving and contradictory situation.

Wicht’s notion of the open and contradictory situation a reader may experience when reading 'The Garden Party' calls to mind Wolfgang Iser’s assertion that the constitution of meaning 'gains its full significance when something happens to the reader', implying an active process in which the reader participates. Reader responses to 'The Garden Party' are typically intense, yet the story’s emotional impact and its interpretation will vary from reader to reader. The combination of intense engagement and questioning uncertainty provoked by 'The Garden Party' is a feature of Mansfield’s story that is regarded as making it particularly valuable for inclusion in the curricula for both universities and grammar schools in Germany, as I will show in the course of this chapter.

---

At the beginning of the third millennium, in the age of globalisation, the afore-noted reading lists provided by the English departments of Germany’s top universities indicate that selected stories by Katherine Mansfield’s continue to be included in the curriculum. However, Mansfield’s non-fictional writing, such as her notebooks, reviews, and letters have rarely been used in teaching or given any scholarly attention at all in Germany. This is confirmed in Günther Jarfe’s 2010 introduction to the modernist British short story (*Die moderne britische Short Story: Eine Einführung*), which is aimed at a student readership in German-speaking countries. Jarfe suggests that the short story 'soweit auch sie vom Modernismus erfasst und geprägt wurde, dies überwiegend den Erzählungen von Katherine Mansfield verdankt' (as far as it is influenced and shaped by modernism, it owes this fact predominantly to the short fiction by Katherine Mansfield).\(^{11}\) Jarfe points out that Mansfield did not formulate any coherent theory on her own writing process, but that her ideas and approaches to writing are reflected again and again in her diary entries and letters. This statement implies that critics and scholars in Germany need to recognise the importance of paying more attention to her non-fictional writing.

### 6.2 Doctoral Theses on Mansfield since German Reunification

Looking beyond the taught curriculum, two doctoral theses on Katherine Mansfield were completed during the time span covered here. In 1991, Christa Bange submitted her thesis entitled *Interdependenzen zwischen Werk und Biographie bei Katherine Mansfield, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung psycho-physischer Aspekte* (Interdependencies between Mansfield’s biography and her works with a particular focus on psychological and physiological aspects) to the University of

---

Frankfurt. Bange analyses interdependencies between Mansfield’s life and work with a focus on psychological and physiological aspects and their mutual influence as they manifest themselves in Mansfield’s writings. Alexandra Schmidt submitted a further doctoral thesis, entitled *Katherine Mansfield im Spiegel Neuseelands* (Katherine Mansfield in the Mirror of New Zealand), to Paderborn University in 2009. Schmidt’s thesis addresses and analyses Mansfield’s so-called New Zealand stories and their intertextual reworking by the New Zealand authors Witi Ihimaera, James George, Charlotte Grinshaw, Annamarie Jagose, Stephanie Johnson, Vincent O’Sullivan, and Albert Wendt.

Three further doctoral theses include research on Katherine Mansfield within a wider topic. In 2007, Nicole Seifert submitted her thesis titled *Von Tagebüchern und Trugbildern: Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen von Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf und Syliva Plath* (Of Diaries and Illusions: The autobiographical notes of Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf, and Sylvia Plath) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Seifert explains that the diaries of Mansfield, Woolf, and Plath were published by the husbands of the women writers after their death and argues that John M. Murry, Leonard Woolf, and Ted Hughes selected entries for publication, crossed out others, shortened within the entries, rewrote, and supplemented where they deemed it necessary. Thus they steered the reading of the diaries of Mansfield, Woolf, and Plath in a particular direction and contributed significantly to the legends that would soon become entwined within subsequent debates on these women writers. In 2016, Kathrin Tordasi submitted a thesis entitled *Women by the Waterfront: Modernist (Re)visions of Gender, Self and Littoral Space* at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Tordasi examines the role of the beach in modernist writings by and about women, mainly focussing on authors such as Virginia Woolf, Katherine
Mansfield, Kate Chopin, and Stevie Smith. Finally, Anna Schmitt is currently writing a thesis in progress, addressing Katherine Mansfield, Elizabeth Bowen, and Virginia Woolf for submission at Mainz University.

6.3 Teaching Mansfield’s Stories at German Grammar Schools since the 1990s

The success of teaching the so-called New Literatures in English (NEL), including Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction, in English departments at universities across Germany, has had an impact on German students of English who subsequently became teachers of English. With reference to NEL, the University of Augsburg, for instance, explains:

In both research and teaching, we foreground transnational and transcultural exchange processes (historical and contemporary) rather than specific national literatures. Accordingly, issues of cultural plurality and hybridity, as well as literary negotiation of colonialization and decolonisation, migration, diaspora, and social inequality are central lines of inquiry and research.\(^\text{12}\)

In the 1990s, critical educators and the German ministries responsible for education policy and thus school curricula began to see the potential of literature for intercultural learning in the area of foreign language teaching. Sigrid Markmann emphasises that the teaching of foreign languages is particularly suitable for intercultural learning as it creates the preconditions required for a respectful dealing with foreign cultures and people (‘weil er auch die Voraussetzungen für ein wertschätzendes Umgehen mit anderen Kulturen und ihren Menschen schafft’).\(^\text{13}\) Teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) to teenagers in the classroom by including the reading of short stories from divergent cultures in the school curricula for the Gymnasium (grammar school) in most of

\(^{12}\) <https://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/de/lehrstuehle/anglistik/nelk> [accessed April 2019].

Germany’s federal states demonstrated an awareness of the necessity to teach intercultural competences. Gerhard Bach, a specialist in the field of foreign language teaching at the University of Bremen at that time, observed that:

any given intercultural exchange in a language learning situation necessitates a momentary suspension of one’s own inherited culturally encoded notions and norms so as to establish a new operational level of exchange.\(^{14}\)

Bach emphasised that change of perspective, namely 'the willing suspension of one’s inherited belief', will not work sufficiently unless 'it is accompanied by the willingness to de-familiarize oneself with inherited and cherished notions'.\(^{15}\) Compared to the didactic methods during the Nazi period, we see the paradigm shift, which has been imposed on German schools and universities since the end of the Second World War.

Since the late 1970s, the German publishing house Klett in Stuttgart has published and distributed a number of short story collections edited for reading in the school classroom. A representative of Klett publishing house informed me in an email that the anthology of short stories entitled *Great English Short Stories*, includes Mansfield’s story 'The Doll’s House' in addition to texts by authors such as Roald Dahl, Alun Lewis, James Joyce, Alan Sillitoe, and John Wain. This collection has been repeatedly republished since its first appearance in 1979.\(^{16}\) Model interpretations, aiming to support English teachers covering the stories, have been available since 1980. The introduction to *Great English Short Stories* states that 'each of the six stories may be qualified as English, because the language used in them is British English' and states that the stories in question


\(^{15}\) Bach, p. 26.

\(^{16}\) Correspondence with Susanne Klaschka from Ernst Klett Sprachen, Stuttgart, 18 April 2018.
represent 'outstanding literary quality as well as modernity of theme and form'. With reference to Mansfield’s story 'The Doll’s House', the introduction notes that the protagonists, the Burnell children, 'have reached the point where they may question their family’s prejudices of social status and respectability'. This implies that Mansfield’s story offers particularly interesting points for discussion for adolescents at upper-level in the EFL classroom.

An annotated collection of short fiction entitled *Stories of Initiation* published by Klett publishing house has been in print since 1978. The collection contains Mansfield’s story 'The Garden Party', in addition to short stories by Ernest Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson, Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, and Jessamyn West. An edition of model interpretations, providing the teacher with additional material to plan and carry out English lessons for young speakers of German to develop their 'critical competence and discernment' has been published by Klett since 1979.

In 2008, the German scholar in the field of English studies, Engelbert Thaler, pointed out in a book called *Teaching English Literature* that teaching foreign literature in the school classroom can arouse 'openness towards the other culture' and ask readers 'to decentre from their own positions', forcing them to change perspectives. Thaler suggests that the short story’s established popularity in the classrooms 'could be attributed to its brevity and literary aesthetics'. To exemplify how to foster intercultural awareness in the German school classroom, Thaler employs Katherine Mansfield’s story 'Germans at Meat' as a text written by a member of a foreign culture who ironically depicts German cuisine guests and their

---

18 Great English Short Stories, p. 4.
21 Thaler, p. 91.
obsession with food, their lack of decency, and boastfulness. The story 'Germans at Meat' is taken from Mansfield’s 1911 collection of short stories In a German Pension, many of them portraying interactions among pension guests in a Bavarian spa town, inspired by Mansfield’s stay in Wörishofen. Thaler demonstrates that analysing the content, theme, and form of 'Germans at Meat' illustrates how the narrator perceives and assesses the German culture and also how the narrator sees her own culture. Mansfield’s story 'Germans at Meat' is a particularly apt story to encourage German readers on the threshold of adulthood to change perspectives and look at their own culture with detachment.

During her stay in Wörishofen, Mansfield herself was forced to look at her own culture with detachment and her Bavarian stories illustrate her stance of marginality as a woman from New Zealand, mocking both British and German national pretensions and prejudices. In his illuminating essay on Mansfield’s Bavarian stories, W. Todd Martin points out that we know from Mansfield’s letters and journals that:

she experienced the stigma of being singled out as a colonial while in England. While in Germany, though, wanting to identify herself with the metropolis, and being in a foreign country where any difference in her accent would not give her away as easily, she could take on that persona more readily. Her identity was more fluid. Thus, Mansfield, like her narrator, could have similarly identified herself with the English among the Germans.

Martin concludes that Mansfield ‘undermines the cynical caricatures of the Germans by portraying a narrator who is capable of sharing in their humanity’. My research indicates that short story anthologies compiled for teaching English in the German-speaking classroom and the lists of recommended reading

\[ \text{References} \]

Thaler, p. 71.
Thaler, p. 71.
Martin, p. 84.
for English studies issued by German universities have rarely included any of Mansfield’s early stories from her first published collection *In a German Pension*. Nevertheless, this collection is fondly regarded in Germany. In his talk at the University of Auckland in 2001, the former German Federal President Johannes Rau was right to refer to Katherine Mansfield as the brilliant New Zealand writer, who studied us German people in detail and who depicted us in a caustic way, not very complimentary, yet we feel that Mansfield pulled our leg very affectionately (’nicht so schmeichelhaft für uns – aber wir fühlen uns dadurch liebevoll auf den Arm genommen’). This attitude generally prevails among the German readers of Mansfield’s Bavarian stories. Despite the fact that they have not been taught at German universities and schools to any significant extent as they are considered as less important to modernism, the Germans have never felt repelled by the stories in this collection, quite the contrary as is evident from a number of retranslations and republications of *In a German Pension* as well as from numerous positive reviews and reactions.

My own experience, when I gave a number of public readings from Mansfield’s Bavarian stories, was that the German audiences reacted with pleasure and a great deal of enthusiasm. For example, Gabriele Mohr, a well-read bookseller from Heidelberg attended a reading by me. In a subsequent interview, Mohr remembers her first encounter with Mansfield. Looking back, Mohr points out that when she read the story ’Deutsche beim Fleisch’ (’Germans at Meat’) about ten years ago, she was immediately fascinated by Mansfield’s sarcastic portrayal of the Germans. Mohr remembers Mansfield’s depiction of German spa guests, characters in her story described as corporeal, constantly eating but mocking the

27 Interview with Gabriele Mohr, Heidelberg, April 2019.
opulent breakfast of the English, stereotyped as eating large amounts of meat as the title suggests.

Iser suggests that 'the dynamic interaction between text and reader has the character of an event'.

Mohr’s interaction with 'Deutsche beim Fleisch' ('Germans at Meat') was an unforgettable event for her, since then, she has read everything by and about Mansfield available in German translation and recommended these books to her customers in the Heidelberg bookstore. Bad Wörishofen has become one of Mohr’s favourite destinations to which she has frequently travelled since she first encountered Mansfield’s story 'Deutsche beim Fleisch', not only to enjoy a water cure and treatments developed by Sebastian Kneipp in the nineteenth century, but particularly to absorb the environment and atmosphere in the spa town and compare her own perceptions with Mansfield’s sarcastic depiction in her Bavarian stories. For Gabriele Mohr and a number of further German women, who attended my most recent public reading of Mansfield’s Bavarian stories at Deutscher Frauenring (German Alliance of Women) in Mannheim, 'Germans at Meat' is a most entertaining, though thought-provoking story as it invites readers to compare both German and British national stereotypes with the present day reality.

The coverage of Mansfield’s stories at German universities has made an impact on the curricula designed for teaching English to students at the level of secondary schools, particularly between the 1990s and 2010. Brian Parkinson and Helen Reid Thomas point out that some obvious advantages of teaching short stories in a second language in class are that they are self-contained, requiring less contextualisation than longer fiction and that they are 'generally less linguistically


complex than poetry’. However, the authors also note that given the fact that English language teaching has become more functional in today’s EFL classroom in Germany, Mansfield’s stories have not been as often covered as in the time span from the 1990s to 2010.  

In order to collect relevant information about the current state of teaching Mansfield’s short stories at German grammar schools (Gymnasien) I conducted a small-scale questionnaire survey in March 2018. I contacted thirteen English teachers who, in addition to their work as grammar school teachers, act as expert advisers in the field of English at grammar schools in the administrative district of Karlsruhe, one of the four districts of Baden-Württemberg in the south-west of Germany where I live. I raised a small number of questions in German, asking for instance: Do you read any stories by Mansfield with your students in your English lessons? If yes, how do your students react to Mansfield’s short fiction? Eight out of thirteen English grammar school teachers responded to my survey and I realised that there was a broad consensus among them, namely that the current standards concerning English language education in Germany put an emphasis on functional competences, no longer allowing sufficient time to read and discuss any short fiction in detail. The teachers who responded to my questions in writing indicated that the story by Mansfield most often covered in the classroom remains 'The Garden Party', which addresses issues relevant to their student’s own adolescent experiences and concerns. Angela Smith wrote two decades earlier that Laura, the female protagonist in 'The Garden Party', is 'adolescent, deeply

30 Jarfe, p. 89.
influenced by the society of which she is part and yet alert to other ways of seeing'.

To cite but a few of the English teachers who answered my questions in their email responses, Karola Schallhorn, for instance, remarks that she herself read 'The Garden Party' as a teenager in school at the beginning of the 1980s. As a grammar school teacher, Schallhorn introduced this particular story to her students from the late 1990s to 2009. For Schallhorn, 'The Garden Party' has been a particularly appropriate story for young students in the school classroom as Mansfield addresses issues such as class differences and female initiation.

Schallhorn regrets that due to the restructuring of the English curricula at schools in Germany since about 2010, insufficient time has been allowed to teach short stories to an appropriate extent. The grammar school teacher Johannes Hauff shares this regret and remarks that he himself very much appreciates Mansfield’s female viewpoint from a different time period as conveyed in 'The Garden Party'. Yet Hauff reports that gender differences are discernible when reading short fiction in the EFL classroom; whereas his female school students have liked reading and discussing 'The Garden Party', his male students have been more interested in distinct genres such as fantasy and sorcery. Jutta Strosny-Tasar, who teaches at a grammar school in Heidelberg, confirms her colleagues’ statements. Strosny-Tasar remembers that in the 1990s the curriculum allowed sufficient time for reading short stories with her students, in contrast to today’s EFL classroom situation.

According to Strosny-Tasar, in the 1990s, she regularly read and discussed 'The Garden Party' with her students, who appreciated the story’s

32 Correspondence with Dr Edith-Karola Schallhorn, 4 April 2018.
33 Correspondence with Johannes Hauff, 25 March 2018.
34 Correspondence with Jutta Strosny-Tasar, 21 March 2018.
literary quality and psychological depths. All grammar school teachers who responded to my survey regret no longer having sufficient time to cover short stories in any detail during English lessons.

6.4 Mansfield’s Representation in Current German Reference Works and Encyclopaedias of World Literature

In his 2013 collection of essays on modernist authors, the eminent scholar Wolfgang Wicht, who introduced Katherine Mansfield and some further modernist writers such as Virginia Woolf and James Joyce to the reading audience in the former GDR, links Mansfield’s short stories and their international impact to Goethe’s claim that literature should not be restrained by national boundaries. Wicht emphasises the high standards Mansfield applied to her short fiction, arguing:

Legt man ihre eigenen Maßstäbe an ihre Kurzgeschichten an, dann ist wohl denen nicht zu widersprechen, die sie mit Maupassant, Tschechow oder Joyce zu den Großen in der Geschichte des Genres der kurzen Erzählung auf dem Wege zu ihrer breiten Entfaltung in der Weltliteratur des 20. Jahrhunderts rechnen.35

If we apply her own standards to her short stories, then we can hardly contradict those who link her together with Maupassant, Chekhov, or Joyce to the great writers in the history of the genre of short fiction in its broad development within the framework of world literature in the twentieth century.

Katherine Mansfield is now well represented in almost all standard German reference works and encyclopaedias of world literature in the German language. The most comprehensive German encyclopaedia of world literature, the seminal Kindlers Literatur Lexikon, directed at a very wide readership, presents a three-page entry on Mansfield written by the literary scholars and critics Jörg Drews and Vera Alexander. They provide some biographical information on Mansfield in addition to detailed information on the collections of short stories as compiled in

35 Wicht, James Joyce & Company, p. 95.
In a German Pension, Bliss and Other Stories, and The Garden Party and Other Stories.

Drews and Alexander address a number of Mansfield’s satirical stories from In a German Pension, which portray interactions among German pension guests who are constantly eating and discussing their ailments, depicting their grotesque pretensions and vulgarities. The critics point out, for instance, that Mansfield’s idiosyncratic use of names for the protagonists and the way these reflect German occupational titles, or in the case of female characters the professions of their husbands, such as Herr Oberlehrer, Herr Rat, the Feldleutnantswitwe, and Frau Oberregierungsrat in some stories create an ironic-formal contrast to the behaviour depicted (‘schaffen einen ironisch-formellen Kontrast zu dem geschilderten Verhalten’). These critics are particularly aware of the power dynamics and violence inherent of Mansfield’s portrayal of the oppressiveness of small-town bourgeois life and her depiction of female confinement and domesticity. For Drews and Alexander, institutions such as marriage and family, motherhood, and bliss of love are debunked as constructs in which power and instincts prevail (‘Institutionen wie Ehe und Familie, Mutterschaft und Liebesglück werden als Konstrukte entlarvt, in denen Macht und Triebe vorherrschen’) in the German Pension stories.

Referring to Bliss and Other Stories, Alexander emphasises both the simplicity of Mansfield’s presentation and her linguistic virtuosity, stating that the narrational artfulness is based on the economy of her presentation techniques (‘die erzählerische Raffinesse liegt in der Sparsamkeit ihrer Präsentationstechniken’). Alexander enthuses about Mansfield’s ability to evoke moods, feelings, and

---

37 Drews and Alexander, p. 695.
38 Drews and Alexander, p. 696.
images, concluding that that in *Bliss and Other Stories* the atmosphere alternates between satire, emotional intensity, and scarcely audible overtones as well as poetic imagery (‘die Stimmung der Erzählungen wechselt dabei zwischen Satire, emotionaler Intensität und kaum hörbaren Zwischentönen sowie poetischer Bildlichkeit’).\(^{39}\)

With regard to *The Garden Party and Other Stories*, Drews and Alexander suggest that Mansfield’s refined presentation techniques reach a brilliant culmination in this collection of her stories (‘ihre subtilen Darstellungstechniken finden hier ihren künstlerischen Höhepunkt’), a view shared by most scholars, critics, and readers.\(^{40}\)

Among the numerous reference works and encyclopaedias referring to Katherine Mansfield, the 2009 one-volume *Leidenschaften: 99 Autorinnen der Weltliteratur* (Passions: 99 Female Writers of World Literature) is worthy of mention. The essay on Mansfield, written by the renowned journalist and literary critic Verena Auffermann, discusses aspects of Mansfield’s life and work. With reference to the stories compiled in *In a German Pension*, Auffermann remarks that the young astute Katherine Mansfield, who takes a ruthless delight in observing people, is a master of incidental remarks (‘die scharfsichtige und in ihrer Beobachtungslust gnadenlose junge Katherine Mansfield ist eine Meisterin der Nebenbemerkung’).\(^{41}\) Auffermann’s comment echoes the observations about Mansfield’s writing in this collection made by Jeffrey Meyers three decades earlier. Meyers quotes Mansfield’s 1914 diary entry: 'If I try to find things lovely, I turn pretty-pretty. And at the same time I am so frightened of writing mockery

---

\(^{39}\) Drews and Alexander, p. 696.

\(^{40}\) Drews and Alexander, p. 696

for satire that my pen hovers and won’t settle.”\textsuperscript{42} Meyers concludes that ‘she had not yet resolved the conflict between her sentimental and satiric literary modes, nor learned to use her cruel eye and ruthless judgement in a positive way’.\textsuperscript{43}

Mansfield’s ruthless delight in observing and portraying people, her wit and the sharpness of her tongue, have continued to appeal to the German readership for this collection of her stories, whether in English or in German translation.

\textbf{6.5 Katherine Mansfield at the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair}

In their introduction to a volume of essays entitled \textit{German Literature in a New Century}, Katharina Gerstenberger and Patricia Herminghouse observe that Germany’s two annual book fairs, the Leipziger Buchmesse (Leipzig Book Fair) in spring and the Frankfurter Buchmesse (Frankfurt Book Fair) in the autumn, indicate the high status of literature in Germany and its international orientation.\textsuperscript{44}

It is evident that German readers have historically consumed large amounts of literature in translation. From 10 to 14 October 2012, New Zealand was the Guest of Honour at the world’s largest international Frankfurt Book Fair, which stimulated renewed interest in Mansfield’s writings and resulted in a number of new publications of her work in German retranslations as I described in Chapter One. On that occasion, the then director of the Frankfurt Book Fair invited international publishers to display their current titles related to New Zealand, along with New Zealand literature both in English and in translation in a special exhibition located at the Guest of Honour pavilion. At the ceremonial opening of


\textsuperscript{43} Meyers, p. 116.

the Guest of Honour pavilion the then New Zealand Minister of Culture, Christopher Finlayson, referred to Katherine Mansfield, arguing 'so viel Literatur, sie wäre erstaunt und erfreut' (so much literature, she would be astonished and delighted). A number of translated works by Mansfield were presented by countries as diverse as Brazil, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland in the Guest of Honour pavilion.

At the Frankfurt Book Fair, the first three days are trade days which offer an important sales or marketing and communication platform for publishers; book rights are bought and sold. The public is invited to attend on the final two days and in 2012, more than ninety thousand interested people came to Frankfurt. While I was visiting the book fair in 2012 myself, I attended a panel discussion in which New Zealand women authors Cathie Koa Dunsford, Aroha Harris, Barbara Ewing, and Eleanor Catton discussed the female voice in contemporary New Zealand writing. Catton explicitly stated how much she admired the writer Katherine Mansfield and her work, indicating how important Mansfield’s writings remain for the current generation of New Zealand writers.

The Frankfurt Book Fair has a wide media coverage and the New Zealand events in 2012 were widely reported in the national and international press. For instance, to coincide with the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair, the Goethe Institut, the cultural institute of Germany with a global reach, aiming to foster knowledge of the German language and to promote international cooperation, published an online article, writing that 'great names such as Allen Curnow, Frank Sargeson, 

---

Janet Frame, and Katherine Mansfield found mention at the events by the newer generation of writers, which was well represented at the fair by seventy authors'.

Under the headline 'We’re off to Frankfurt!' Auckland University Press published an online article on 2 October 2012, announcing that they would be well-represented at the book fair by a contingent of authors, namely C.K. Stead, James Belich, Anna Jackson, Chris Price, Robert Sullivan, and Jan Kemp. The senior New Zealand poet, critic, and novelist C.K. Stead referred to Mansfield’s genius conveyed through her letters and notebooks while he was reading from his own work. Katherine Mansfield’s letters and notebook entries have fascinated readers all over the world almost as much as her stories, or indeed, ‘with interest initially focused on her personal writings’ as Gerri Kimber observes with regard to Mansfield’s French readership.

However, the worldwide fascination with Mansfield’s personal writings does not apply to her reception in Germany. The small number of publications, comprising selected passages from Mansfield’s letters, notebooks, and reviews in German translation show that Mansfield’s personal writings have never been the focus of much attention in Germany, as I discussed in Chapter One. Nevertheless, as I outlined in my first chapter, on the occasion of Frankfurt Book Fair 2012, a newly translated edition Katherine Mansfield: Über die Liebe (Katherine Mansfield: About Love), a small volume of selected letters from Vincent O’Sullivan’s and Margaret Scott’s 1984 - 2008 editions, as well as notebook excerpts from Margaret Scott’s 1997 edition in German translation was published. Moreover, on the occasion of Mansfield’s 130th birthday in 2018, a selection of Mansfield’s notebook entries in German translation, entitled Fliegen, Tanzen.

---

Wirbeln, Beben (Flying, Dancing, Swirling, Shaking) was published by Manesse in Munich, providing biographical details for a contemporary German-speaking readership.

Referring to the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair, the influential Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) published an article on the eminent German scholar in the field of postcolonial literature in English, Dieter Riemenschneider, and his wife, the highly-regarded New Zealand poet Jan Kemp, who adopted German citizenship in 2014, stating that Kemp and Riemenschneider can be regarded as 'dauerhafte Botschafter der neuseeländischen Literatur im Rhein-Main-Gebiet' (permanent ambassadors of New Zealand literature in the Rhine-Main area).

I address Mansfield’s impact on Kemp’s writings in Chapter Seven.

As a response to the Frankfurt Book Fair, with New Zealand as the Guest of Honour, the Bavarian newspaper Augsburger Allgemeine published an article on 11 October 2012, quoting a passage from Mansfield’s 1916 journal entry, namely 'oh, I want for one moment to make our undiscovered country leap into the eyes of the old world' in German translation. The journalist comments that: 'Wenn man nun den neuseeländischen Pavillion auf der Frankfurter Buchmesse betritt, könnte man sagen: Der Wunsch der großen Schriftsteller – er ist erfüllt.' ('If we entered the New Zealand pavilion at the Frankfurt Book Fair, we can agree that the desire of the great writer has been accomplished.') Indeed, more than 90,000 interested people visited the New Zealand pavilion during the weekend the book fair opened to the public and the wide international and national media coverage facilitated Mansfield’s wish.

50 CWKM4, p. 191.
The subsequent positive impact of the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair on New Zealand’s book industry was confirmed in a 2014 article in The Bookseller, one of the UK’s longest-standing business magazines of the book industry. The article’s headline reads that New Zealand’s publishers 'feel the Frankfurt effect'. The article quotes Christopher Finlayson, the then New Zealand Minister of Culture; according to Finlayson, the response New Zealand has had 'since the fair has been significant'.

6.6 Katherine Mansfield in Bad Wörishofen

In October 2018, a series of events to celebrate Katherine Mansfield’s 130th birthday held in Bad Wörishofen helped to further enhance Mansfield’s German reputation and inspired plans for further activities in the Bavarian spa town. Katherine Mansfield was sent by her mother to Wörishofen in 1909 in order 'to recover from all her adventures', as Kathleen Jones aptly puts it. Wörishofen was entitled to call itself 'Bad' with effect from 6 March 1920 according to a decree issued by the Bavarian State Ministry of the Interior (mit Wirkung vom 6. März 1920 durfte das Dorf Wörishofen laut Verfügung des Bayerischen Staatsministerium des Innern die Bezeichnung „Bad“ führen). The town is famous for the course of treatments developed by the German priest Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897), who believed in the healing power of fresh water treatments, exercise, herbal therapy, and a balanced diet for a wide range of complaints. For Kneipp, a holistic approach was vital as was an awareness of the importance of

being connected with nature, harmony, and spirit for the purpose of physical and spiritual healing.

The 1976 correspondence between the Kneipp archivist Josef Wolf and Antony Alpers, one of Mansfield’s principal biographers, is stored in the archives of Bad Wörishofen as are some incomplete 1909 entries into the Fremdenbuch (guest book) and Kurtaxenkonto (list of spa taxes), which provide some fragmentary information on Mansfield’s stay. These documented the fact that on arrival in Wörishofen on 4 June 1909, Mansfield and her mother checked into the expensive Hotel Kreuzer. When Mansfield’s mother left Wörishofen soon afterwards to return to New Zealand, Mansfield moved to the more modest Pension Müller. The guest book I consulted at the archives in Bad Wörishofen states that Käthi Bowden, Schriftstellerin (a writer) from London, registered with Pension Müller on 6 June 1909. Pension Müller on Türkheimer Straße, which later became Hotel Allgäuer Hof, was demolished in 2016 in order to build the so-called Wohnpark Mansfield (Residence Mansfield). Wohnpark Mansfield was completed at the end of 2017; it comprises two buildings, providing space for numerous apartments for demanding customers amidst spacious green spaces.

In his 2004 monograph on Wörishofen and the town’s development as a Kneipp spa town, the historian Reinhard H. Seitz refers to Katherine Mansfield, observing that 'jedenfalls schildert sie das damalige Kurleben in Wörishofen mit scharf beobachtendem Auge' (indeed, she depicts those who took a health cure in Wörishofen in a sharp-eyed way). In Mansfield’s first published 1911 collection of short fiction, entitled In a German Pension, she wrote her caustic portraits of German spa guests developed from of her experiences in Bavaria; the characters

---

from her stories take part in several of the typical activities in the spa town. Nine of her Bavarian stories were published between February and August 1910, in the *New Age*, the Fabian weekly edited by A.R. Orage, promoting ideas of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche and Fabian socialism. In her German stories Mansfield depicted the cure guests’ snobberies and their faith in German values, their coarseness and cultural pretensions, conveying her own critique of gender and social injustice. Delia da Sousa Correa comments that in these stories, Mansfield ‘satirised German provincial life and social and gender relations more generally’. For instance, employing the occupational titles of the husbands of some of her female characters such the ‘Feldleutnantswitwe and Frau Oberregierungsrat’, Mansfield mocks the German disposition to form rank orders and highlights the stereotypical image of German housewives and their dependence on their husbands. Moreover, da Sousa Correa points out that among the wider historical and literary contexts to consider with regard to Mansfield’s *German Pension* stories is the question of how far Mansfield’s critical depiction of Germany ‘reflected an awareness of contemporary concerns about German militarism in the run-up to the First World War’. In her letter to Ottoline Morrell, written on 14 January 1917, Mansfield asked:

> Besides oh, I want to work so – and this year I must finish at least two books. Would you care for a copy of my wretched old book [*In a German Pension*]? It is young and bad, but I would like to send you one. It might amuse you a little.

Mansfield’s ‘sarcastic lampooning of a series of German institutions and stereotypes' in her Bavarian stories, as Jenny McDonnell observes, 'granted them

---

58 *CLKM1*, p. 97.
an obvious marketability in the years leading up to the First World War'.\(^{59}\)

Nevertheless, concordant with John Horrocks, I would argue that Mansfield’s Bavarian stories are not immature, as she would have them, ‘but a disquieting display of insights about human self-deception and pretensions’.\(^{60}\) In addition, Andrew Harrison asserts that Mansfield’s German stories display ‘not only the psychological insight but also the technical artistry of stories which are too often dismissed as immature work’.\(^{61}\) Harrison’s assertion invites new approaches to analysing her short fiction set in Wörishofen.

As I outlined in Chapter Four, in order to celebrate Mansfield’s centenary in 1988 and to commemorate Mansfield’s stay in Wörishofen in 1909, the town of Bad Wörishofen organised a ceremony and a plaque in honour of Katherine Mansfield was installed. To celebrate the 130\(^{\text{th}}\) anniversary of Mansfield’s birth on 14 October 2018, Bad Wörishofen hosted a series of events in honour of Katherine Mansfield from 11 October to 14 October. An exhibition, showing photos of the town of Wörishofen in about 1909 entitled ‘Katherine Mansfield & Bad Wörishofen’, illustrated the Bavarian environment Mansfield must have experienced at that time. Concerts with music by Mansfield’s favourite composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy were performed. Public talks were offered, focussing on biographical facts known about Mansfield’s stay in Wörishofen such as her relationship with Florian Sobienowski. The audience learned of Mansfield’s 1921

---


notebook entry, retrospectively reflecting on her stay in Wörishofen: 'I suddenly found myself outside of the library in Wörishofen. Spring – lilac – rain – books in black bindings'.

The 14 October 2018, the very day of her 130th birthday, was the highlight of the celebrations, marked by the unveiling of a sculpture of Mansfield in the Kurpark (spa gardens) and public talks were given by Paul Gruschka, the mayor of Bad Wörishofen, his Excellency Rupert Holborow, the New Zealand ambassador to Germany, and Professor Janet Wilson, the Vice-Chair of the Katherine Mansfield Society.

The series of festivities in honour of Katherine Mansfield were much enjoyed by the audience, namely the dignitaries and citizens of the town of Bad Wörishofen as well as the town’s target audience, the cure guests who seek therapeutic or healing effects in the Bavarian spa town, and media coverage was very positive. A number of further activities and events are planned for the future. Taking into consideration the fact that Mansfield’s stay in Wörishofen has largely been ignored as the town’s focus has been put on celebrating the legacy of Sebastian Kneipp, this development will clearly enhance Mansfield’s appreciation in Germany and beyond and foster the dissemination of Mansfield’s writings. Particularly the collection In a German Pension, in which the depiction of spa treatments is a vital element, will find a new readership.

The local edition of Augsburger Allgemeine, one of the largest Bavarian newspapers, reported on the events on the occasion of Mansfield’s 130th birthday soon after they had taken place. The headline of the article reads 'Eine Zweite

---

62 CWKM4, p. 373.
Heimat für Katherine Mansfield' ('A Second Home for Katherine Mansfield').

This indicates that the journalist draws a strong link between Mansfield’s stay in the Bavarian village more than one hundred years ago and current events, which are seen by those responsible in Bad Wörishofen as a start for further activities to commemorate the woman and writer Katherine Mansfield.

6.8 Conclusion

The 1990s and the first two decades of the twenty-first century have witnessed an ongoing interest in Katherine Mansfield’s short fiction in Germany despite the fact that reading habits have changed due to the development of new technologies. My research reveals that since German reunification, Mansfield’s short stories have been regularly taught as part of university curricula. German universities have consistently recognised Katherine Mansfield as an important modernist short story writer. Yet her nonfictional writings and her collection of stories set in Germany, which are considered as less significant to modernism, have rarely been given the scholarly attention they deserve. Researching Mansfield’s notebooks, letters, and reviews as well as her German stories from a German perspective in a German context could open new areas of investigation. My own research has revealed that Germany’s general readership has read her Bavarian stories with great pleasure.

During the last three decades Mansfield has acquired a firmly established place in all of the standard literary histories and encyclopaedias of world literature published in the German language. I have shown that Katherine Mansfield’s writings have inspired responses from numerous scholars, critics, and publishers in the time span covered here. Unfortunately, Mansfield’s short stories have

recently not been as often covered in the EFL classroom as in the time span from
the 1990s to 2010 for reasons I have explained in this chapter. Nevertheless,
Mansfield’s German-speaking reading audience has very recently been offered
newly translated editions of her short fiction. Finally, the latest developments in
Bad Wörishofen should generate further interest in Katherine Mansfield as a
person and as a canonical modernist short story writer in Germany and elsewhere.

My next chapter shows the creative ways in which a number of authors from
German-language countries incorporated a variety of ideas inspired by the life and
work of Katherine Mansfield in their own writings.
Chapter Seven: Creative Echoes: Responses to Katherine Mansfield from German-language Writers

7.0 Introduction

Mansfield is the ultimate ‘writers’ writer’ – there is always some aspect of her life and work with which we can connect.¹

This chapter aims to show the creative ways in which a number of writers from German-language countries were inspired by the life and work of Katherine Mansfield, illustrating that the above remark from Mansfield’s recent biographer Kathleen Jones is true. Mansfield’s influence on individual German-speaking writers has occasionally been identified by literary experts, as we will see in the course of this chapter. However, the extraordinary extent of this influence has not been addressed in any previous study. In order to fill this gap, I will show that Mansfield’s impact is evident in the creative responses of a significant number of important and widely read writers from the German-speaking world, who have adapted, revised, or transformed Mansfield’s texts in their own work. Most of the authors referred to in this chapter have acknowledged, either in their own writing, or more explicitly in interviews conducted by me in the course of my research, that Mansfield’s work, her short stories, notebooks, or letters served as decisive sources for them.

In order to illustrate the creative echoes resulting from dialogue and interaction with Mansfield’s texts, I will focus firstly on a number of enthusiastic reflections on Mansfield and her writings, composed by the Swiss author Ludwig Hohl (1904-1980) between 1934 and 1936 as recorded in his work Die Notizen (The Notes). Hohl’s work supports Marko Juvan’s claim that the influenced

author is 'a reader whose response to and interpretation of a stimulating work of art takes the form of another literary production'. I will then also discuss Hohl’s 1967 story 'Abendlicher Gang' (Walk in the Evening), which conveys Hohl’s thoughts when visiting Katherine Mansfield’s final resting place in the cemetery at Avon/France. Following this, I will discuss the Austrian writer Herbert Eisenreich (1925-1986) and compare his 1957 story 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski' (Adventure à la Dostoevsky) and Mansfield’s story 'A Cup of Tea', which bears out Roland Barthes’s assertion that a text is 'a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, [...], blend and clash'. This is followed by a comparison of Eisenreich’s short narrative 'Ein Mißverständnis' (A Misunderstanding), first published in 1965, and Mansfield’s story 'At “Lehmann’s”'. I will then turn to the West-German author Gabriele Wohmann (1932-2015) and trace relationships between her 1977 story 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' (The Birthday Party) and Mansfield’s story 'The Garden Party' to show intertextual parallels. Finally, I will address Mansfield’s influence discernible in the poems 'A little pneumonia' and 'Cri de Coeur de Katherine Mansfield', dedicated to Mansfield by the New Zealand-born poet and short story writer Jan Kemp (1949-), who adopted German citizenship.

In addition to these short fictions, which show the influence of Mansfield, I will examine three novels, which draw extensively on Mansfield’s short fiction and personal writings. Firstly, I will turn to the 1985 narrative Kopfschmuck für Mansfield (A Headdress for Mansfield) by Erwin Einzinger which interweaves Mansfield’s life with that of the first-person narrator and with miscellaneous flashes of the author’s inner world. Secondly, I will discuss the 1987 novel Die

---

Kränkung (The Injury) by Evelyn Schlag, which appeared in 1998 in English translation entitled Quotations of a Body. The two female protagonists in Schlag’s novel, the first-person narrator and her imaginary companion, who is modelled on Mansfield, discuss the problematics of both life and writing. Finally, I will examine the 1988 novel Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln (Out of a Thousand Green Mirrors) by Christa Moog. The novel links together Moog’s self-exploration after leaving the former GDR for the West, following in the footsteps of Mansfield by travelling to places which were of great significance for Mansfield, and depicts a literary tracing of Mansfield by applying similar recurrent themes and images. The novels by Einzinger, Schlag, and Moog, which I explore in this chapter, are characterised by narrative techniques such as fragmentation, paraphrase, parody, and metafiction, which are commonly ascribed to postmodern literature.

Graham Allen explains that in the postmodern epoch ‘every artistic object is so clearly assembled from bits and pieces of already existent art’.4 Kopfschmuck für Mansfield, Die Kränkung, and Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln are novels that make a significant number of references to Katherine Mansfield’s works, exemplifying that they are ‘assembled from bits and pieces' of Mansfield’s writing.

In order to shed new light on Mansfield’s influence on the German-speaking authors discussed here I draw on original materials gathered in the form of emails and telephone interviews with the writers during the course of my research. The works by the German or German-language authors in question specifically invoke Katherine Mansfield’s writings as they draw on themes, characters, phrases, images, narrative techniques such as free indirect discourse, in medias res beginnings, and juxtaposition from her oeuvre in the process of creating their own

works. The texts referred to in this chapter substantiate Julia Kristeva’s claim that a text consists of already existent discourse. For Kristeva, a text 'is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another'. In Roland Barthes’s view, 'the text is a tissue, a woven fabric'. Barthes’ emphasis on the text’s plurality follows from the proposal that plurality involves an interaction of reader with author and of text with other texts. Barthes suggests that the ideal text blurs the distinction between the reader and writer and that readers are involved in a process of moving between texts to construct meaning for 'the networks are many and interact, without any one of them being able to surpass the rest'. "Writers, are nevertheless, as Fiona J. Doloughan observes, 'skilful and responsive readers of text who create new texts from imaginative re-workings and creative transformations of previous texts'. The German-speaking writers I will discuss below are evidently responsive readers of Mansfield’s texts; they have created their own imaginative re-workings of Mansfield’s life and work.

7.1 Addicted to Katherine Mansfield: Ludwig Hohl’s Responses to her Life and Work

A strong affinity between Katherine Mansfield’s and Ludwig Hohl’s life was observed by the Swiss critic and author Anna Stüssi in her 2014 biography of Hohl, where she remarks that 'Mansfield ist wie er selber heimatlos, unstet, nirgendwo anders zu Hause als im Schreiben' ('like Hohl himself, Mansfield was

---

homeless, nowhere more at home than in her writing\(^9\). Born in Switzerland, Hohl spent his twenties in Paris, Vienna, and The Hague before moving to Geneva. Stüssi provides essential information on Hohl and sheds some light on his fascination with Mansfield according to the documents she analysed at the Swiss literature archives in Bern. She notes that during Hohl’s stay in France, he came across some of Mansfield’s letters in French translation and experienced a kind of epiphany, similar to his reactions when first encountering works by writers such as Marcel Proust and Baruch de Spinoza (332). With the help of a dictionary Hohl started learning English so as to read Mansfield’s writings in her native language. His markings in an English paperback edition of her letters demonstrate a deeply felt affinity with Mansfield (332). One of his diary entries reads ‘ich bin ihre Fortsetzung, wenn ich auch nicht zu hoffen wage, so heftig zu sein wie sie’ (‘I am her successor, although I do not dare to hope that I am as intense as she is’) (332). Hohl became hooked on Mansfield’s personal writings, admitting his desire to see her as his role model. Like Mansfield, Hohl dedicated his life to writing. He imitated her style in his confessional writings in a highly self-conscious exercise in intertextuality.

Hohl published poems, novels, stories, and some reviews and essays for magazines and newspapers. He also reviewed the 1939 French translation of *In a German Pension*. His positive review, entitled Katherine Mansfield: *Pension allemande*, was written in German and published in the Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche* in 1940. Although Ludwig Hohl tasted success only in the last decade

of his life, for the renowned scholar George Steiner, Hohl was 'one of the secret masters of twentieth-century German prose'.

Hohl’s reflections about art, literature, work, dreams, and descriptions of daily life, gathered together in *Die Notizen* (The Notes), are regarded by many readers as his intellectual credo and *magnum opus*. In *Die Notizen*, written between 1934 and 1936, three years during which Hohl was staying in the Netherlands in spiritual solitude, we can read numerous allusions to and quotations from Mansfield’s life as depicted in her diaries and letters. Like Gabriele Wohmann, who contemplated the impossible opportunities for intellectual exchange of ideas between herself and Mansfield in an essay fifty years later, Hohl felt inspired to write: 'Mit wem hätte ich lieber sprechen wollen als, wenn sie noch gelebt hätte, Katherine Mansfield!'11 ('Katherine Mansfield, with whom I would have loved to talk more, if only she had lived longer!')

In *Die Notizen* Hohl describes the people in his homeland in a rather uncomplimentary way, stating 'Die charakteristischen Züge der Schweizer: Genauigkeit, Sparsamkeit und Häßlichkeit' ('The typical characteristics of the Swiss are: correctness, parsimony, and ugliness.').12 Hohl’s description of his fellow Swiss echoes Mansfield’s statement in her letter to John Galsworthy written during her stay in Montana-sur-Sierre in 1921. For Mansfield, 'The Swiss are a poor lot. Honesty and Sparsam Keit [thrift] – in themselves – don’t warm one’s heart'.13 By quoting long text passages from Mansfield’s letters in her native language in *Die Notizen*, Hohl provides evidence that he had access to the 1928

---

collection of her letters, edited by John M. Murry, while he was writing his own work in the 1930s.

A brief detour to Paris in 1937 triggered Hohl’s wish to visit Mansfield’s grave in the cemetery at Avon near Fontainebleau. His narrative entitled 'Abendlicher Gang' (Walk in the Evening), first published in the Swiss monthly Du in 1947, centres upon his fascination with Mansfield experienced while searching for her final resting place. He describes the situation as a labyrinth, perceived both in a topographical and an emotional way. Alluding to the term 'bitter-sweet' employed by Mansfield in a letter to Ottoline Morrell in 1919, namely 'Life is wonderful – wonderful – bitter-sweet [...].’ Hohl writes, reflecting his sensation when standing in front of Mansfield’s grave: ‘Keine Rede konnte sein von Schmerzlichkeit; ich war allein von jenem freudigen Weh erfüllt – oder jener wehartigen Freudigkeit – [...]’ (‘I did not experience any poignancy; I was only filled with joyful anguish – or that bitter joy –’). Transforming the term 'bitter-sweet' into these oppositions illustrates Hohl’s intertextual relationship with Mansfield’s text. Hohl’s many references to Mansfield’s diaries and letters show his own kind of dialogue with her.

In Robert Schwarz’s review of Erwin Einzinger’s novel Kopfschmuck für Mansfield (Mansfield’s Headdress), which I will discuss in the following section, the critic links Ludwig Hohl, Erwin Einzinger, and Katherine Mansfield, arguing that Mansfield ‘is a woman who has stirred more than one German soul: witness Ludwig Hohl the aphorist, almost as cordial to her and her work as is Einzinger.’

---

14 CLKM2, p. 329.
7.2 The Shaping Effects of Katherine Mansfield on Herbert Eisenreich’s Stories: 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski' and 'Ein Mißverständnis'

Herbert Eisenreich was an accomplished short story writer, who placed his short fiction in a contemporary Austrian or German setting, treating themes of personal relationships. He also wrote radio-plays, books about motoring and model railways, and numerous essays. In a 1985 interview conducted by Juliane Köhler, Eisenreich explicitly acknowledged Mansfield’s 'A Cup of Tea' as the model for his story 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski' (Adventure à la Dostoevsky), confirming his desire for interaction or dialogue with Mansfield.17

Eisenreich’s story 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski' (Adventure à la Dostoevsky) calls to mind that all writing coexists in some kind of network of relationship. Comparing Katherine Mansfield’s story 'A Cup of Tea' with 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski', we can identify a number of points of connection such as thematic similarities, similar types of protagonist and resonances at the level of narrative technique. Mansfield’s story 'A Cup of Tea' focusses on class difference and power relations, but issues of feminism play a central part too. In 'A Cup of Tea' Mansfield satirises the ideas of female solidarity and women’s self-confidence, which can be easily undermined by patriarchal interference. The main character, Rosemary Fell, a rich, fashionable, 'not exactly beautiful', 'amazingly well read'18, young married woman is approached by a 'little battered creature with enormous eyes' about her own age who asks for 'the price of a cup of tea' (463). Rosemary finds this 'extraordinary', 'such an adventure'; 'like something out of a novel by Dostoevsky, this meeting in the dusk' (463).

18 CWKM2, pp. 461-467 (p. 461). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
Rosemary experiences a charitable inspiration, inviting the poor street girl to her home. By means of free indirect discourse Mansfield conveys her protagonist’s current state of emotion, namely that ‘fairy god-mothers were real’ (463), that women ‘were sisters’ (464). The ostensible solidarity amongst women demonstrated by Rosemary’s fantasy of philanthropy changes to the contrary when the protagonist’s husband first expresses disapproval of bringing the poor street woman to their home, and then speaks appreciatively about the poor visitor’s beauty, commenting that the girl is ‘astonishingly pretty […] absolutely lovely’ (466). By playing to Rosemary’s jealousy and insecurity her husband prompts her to send the girl away after having given her three pound notes. Anxious about her own physical appearance, the protagonist seeks reassurance of her charms, asking her husband ‘am I pretty?’ (467).

Like Mansfield in ‘A Cup of Tea’, in ‘Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski’ Eisenreich juxtaposes two women, one of them prosperous and married, well-read and acquainted with the great Russian authors, whereas the other one is an apparently socially disadvantaged young girl. The deprived woman approaches the rich one in the street, asking in a whisper for some money for a bit of bread. Eisenreich’s nameless wealthy protagonist is fascinated by this encounter, feels like being drawn into something she has never experienced before, something she has only read about, namely into an adventure à la Dostoevsky (‘in ein Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski’). Eisenreich’s allusion to Dostoevsky, chosen as the title for the story, calls to mind Mansfield’s affinity with Dostoevsky and acquaintance with his novel Notes from Underground. Eisenreich’s story confirms his own reading of Dostoevsky’s novel; the manipulative and domineering behaviour of

Eisenreich’s prosperous main character mirrors Dostoevsky’s depiction of the Underground man, who as James P. Scanlan proposes ‘displays all the earmarks of egoism’. Eisenreich’s prosperous protagonist may appear altruistic at first sight, yet her domineering and manipulative behaviour displays her egoism as she is constantly preoccupied with her own concerns and intentions. For instance, the rich protagonist invites the poor girl for supper, but the latter whispers: ‘Um Gottes willen nein!’ (‘For God’s sake, no!’) (217). Nevertheless, the rich lady takes possession of the girl, ‘diesen seltenen köstlichen Fang’ (‘this rare, precious capture’) (219) and steers her in a taxi to have supper in a station restaurant. She sees herself as somebody who brings benefit to others although her behaviour is guided by nothing but calculations of her own interest. There, the self-appointed benefactress thinks: ‘What a pretty girl! Not a stupid face, not a bad face!’ (‘Was für ein hübsches Mädel! Kein dummes, kein übles Gesicht!’) (222). Eisenreich’s allusion to female beauty mirrors Mansfield’s theme in ‘A Cup of Tea’, however, whereas Mansfield employs the notion of female beauty ironically to depict vanishing solidarity among women in situations when men are also involved, Eisenreich’s rich protagonist just makes a statement. As in Mansfield’s story, the protagonist’s perceptions and emotions are rendered as free indirect discourse, reporting what the wealthy main character thinks about the situation, which results in a greater psychological depth of character. Mansfield’s employment of free indirect discourse in ‘A Cup of Tea’, which encourages the reader to take on the responsibility to assess the rich protagonist’s behaviour and decisions rather than being instructed by Mansfield, is mirrored in Eisenreich’s story, demanding active reader participation.

---

The patronising behaviour of Eisenreich’s affluent protagonist inhibits the social inferior from revealing any information about herself, inviting the reader, in a Barthesian sense, to actively create her/his own thoughts. Instead of encouraging the other to communicate, the rich woman decides that it is no use and that she should leave the girl alone, not without splashing out three bank notes on the girl, which parallels the rich woman’s behaviour in Mansfield’s story. At this point Eisenreich alters the perspective and by means of free indirect discourse the story is now narrated from the needy girl’s point of view, thus providing, unlike Mansfield, the point of view of both female characters. The girl’s reported thoughts reveal that she wants to meet her lover at the station for the very last time. She has just heard about the fact that her lover wants to leave her forever shortly before his departure because her father, an alcoholic, who has constantly financially exploited the girl, has kept the information from her. Now the reader learns that the pennies for a bit of bread the girl asked for were intended to buy some tickets for the tram and the station platform.

Mansfield’s influence is clearly evident in 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski'. Mansfield’s artistic use of free indirect discourse to create the effect of unspoken meaning, the images and incidents as well as the prevailing themes in 'A Cup of Tea' such as social differences and misunderstandings resulting from communication failures resonate in Eisenreich’s story 'Erlebnis wie bei Dostojewski'.

The German philologist Manfred Durzak suggests that quite a number of Herbert Eisenreich’s short stories focus on the complexity of his characters’ internal life rather than the external world ('in die Komplexität seelischen
Geschehens verlagert'), echoing Mansfield’s narrative style. Durzak rightly argues that Eisenreich’s story 'Ein Mißverständnis' (A Misunderstanding), which I will discuss in this chapter, offers a variety of parallels and affinities with Mansfield’s story 'At “Lehmann’s”’. At first sight, even the title of each story demonstrates that both authors prefer short, marked headlines.

Mansfield’s story 'At “Lehmann’s”', included in Mansfield’s first volume of short stories In a German Pension, juxtaposes the themes of erotic initiation and childbirth. The protagonist Sabina, a young ingenuous servant girl at Lehmann’s café in a German setting, knows that Frau Lehmann is about to give birth, but she does not understand how conception occurs, asking 'But what had the man got to do with it?'. Sabina is soon jolted into sexual awareness by a nameless 'Young Man', a customer, whose 'restless gaze wandering over her face and figure gave her a curious thrill deep in her body, half pleasure, half pain ….' (p. 180). Not addressing the male protagonist by an individualised name, but simply by 'the Young Man', suggests Mansfield’s emphasis on the fact of what he is, namely a man who has adopted the male role of seducing a girl, rather than who he is. The female protagonist’s encounter with 'the Young Man' excites a secret self-examination of her body later that night (180), prompting a new awareness of her body. The climax of the story occurs when 'the Young Man' returns the next day, following Sabina into the cloakroom and kissing her. When he places his hands on her breasts, Frau Lehmann gives a final tearing shriek echoed by a baby’s thin wailing. Sabina reacts by crying 'Achk!' (183), implying that she now comprehends, juxtaposing the sweetness of sexual encounter and childbirth pain.

---

22 CWKMI, pp. 178-184 (p. 179). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
In a kind of epiphany she is able to link her own sensual feelings towards 'the Young Man' with the disenchanting consequences.

Herbert Eisenreich’s story 'Ein Mißverständnis' (A Misunderstanding) illustrates a number of thematic similarities and resonances at the level of images and narrative techniques with Mansfield’s story 'At Lehmann’s'. Like Mansfield, Eisenreich drops the reader into the situation at the start of the story, providing no details of the time or place in which the story occurs. As in Mansfield’s story, similar types of protagonists, namely a young girl who bears a name and a nameless young man, are depicted in 'Ein Mißverständnis', which is also about a young girl’s sexual initiation. Yet unlike Mansfield, Eisenreich tells the story from the perspective of a male protagonist who is ashamed to hear nothing but dirty stories ('Schweinereien') about women from his new male office colleagues on his first excursion with them. Thinking of his girlfriend’s moral purity, he shields himself from the dirty stories blowing up in his face ('schirmte er sich ab gegen all den ihm um die Ohren fliegenden Dreck’) (343). However, later he does something with his girlfriend Elfi that he has never done with her before ('was er noch nie mit ihr getan hatte’) (344). By means of free indirect discourse Eisenreich informs the reader about the male character’s inner state of mind, revealing his divergent thoughts and feelings. This echoes Mansfield’s employment of free indirect discourse to portray, as Delia da Sousa Correa makes clear, ‘the multiplicity of experience’. The nameless male protagonist feels ashamed of what he has done to Elfi ('er schämte sich das, was er Elfi angetan hatte’) (344). His romantic love concept, which separates physical love from spiritual

23 Herbert Eisenreich, 'Ein Mißverständnis', in Die Freunde meiner Frau (Zürich: Diogenes, 1978), pp. 335-345 (p. 337). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
love, is entirely destroyed when Elfi confesses: 'Darauf hab’ ich all die Zeit gewartet [...]’ ('This is what I’ve always been waiting for’) (344). He is shocked about her reaction and flees from her to visit a bawdy house where, laughing at how mistaken he was, he comes to the realization that he has not loved the real girl, but an image he created from her modelled on his own notion of purity.

Both stories, 'At “Lehmann’s’” by Mansfield and 'Ein Mißverständnis' by Eisenreich deal with similar themes, namely sexual initiation. Although the theme of childbirth is not addressed in Eisenreich’s story, both story endings mirror similar moments of disillusionment. As I have shown, a number of similarities are evident in both stories discussed, which bear on the intertextual relationships between the two texts. Referring to Mikhail Bakhtin, Kristeva situates the text within history and society, 'which are then seen as texts read by the writer and into which he inserts himself by rewriting them'. Kristeva’s notion is exemplified in a very explicit fashion by Herbert Eisenreich’s rewriting of Mansfield’s text.

7.3 Echoes of Katherine Mansfield’s 'The Garden Party' in 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' by Gabriele Wohmann

In the story 'The Garden Party' Katherine Mansfield depicts her heroine’s initiation into the adult world, conveying her mixed emotions of pleasure and guilt by means of free indirect discourse. Laura, the protagonist, a girl on the verge of adulthood, tries to cope with the disparate elements of experience and conflicts she has to face on a single day such as questioning and rejection of the social conditioning imposed on her by her privileged family, enjoyment of a party and a new hat, and the sense that life and death are part of the same continuum. For instance, making the final preparations for a garden party, Laura is charged to

25 Kristeva, Desire in Language, p. 65.
instruct the workers on the placement of the marquee. Greeting them, she copies her mother’s voice, but is immediately ashamed as ‘that sounded so fearfully affected’ and subsequently stammered like a little girl. By juxtaposing the arrogant mimicry of her mother's voice and her subsequent stammering, Mansfield successfully depicts Laura’s state of conflict as she aims to put into practice her own set of social values, emancipating herself from her mother’s influence and core beliefs.

When news arrives of the accidental death of a local carter, Laura instinctively suggests that the party be cancelled out of respect for the deceased, but her mother rejects her suggestion, arguing that 'people like that don’t expect sacrifices from us' (409). Under the influence of her mother’s arguments and the charm of the beautiful hat her mother has given her as a present, Laura temporarily abandons her scruples. Finally, in order to soothe Laura, her mother sends her to the bereaved family, bringing them the leftovers from the party. Confronted with the shabby world of working-class people and an encounter with death in the laid-out body of the young man, Laura appears to have achieved an insight into the diversity of life, yet she cannot explain the full implication of her experience: 'Isn’t life', she stammered, 'isn’t life '-' (413).

Gabriele Wohmann’s short story 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' (The Birthday Party), published among a number of early short stories in a 1977 edition entitled Böse Streiche und andere Erzählungen (Dirty Tricks and Other Stories), depicts discernible points of contact between Wohmann’s text and Mansfield’s story 'The Garden Party'. Prior to discussing details, I shall point out that for Mansfield, Anton Chekhov was a decisive literary precursor; his open-ended stories ‘assert the profound importance of the apparently ordinary and employ

26 CWKM2, pp. 401-413 (p. 402). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
expressive imagery rather than plot to portray individual psychology and complex relationships' as Delia da Sousa Correa observes.\textsuperscript{27} For Wohmann, both Mansfield’s and Chekhov’s writings serve as sources of inspiration; the following lines in one of her essays are indicative of their mutual influence and cross-fertilisation:

Ja, Katherine Mansfield, mit der ich auch nicht mehr reden kann, hatte schon Grund, traurig darüber zu sein, daß Chechov nicht mehr lebte, und sie nicht mit ihm reden konnte.\textsuperscript{28}

Yes, Katherine Mansfield, with whom I also cannot talk any longer, had every reason to be sad about the fact that Chekhov was no longer alive and that she thus could not talk with him.

Wohmann’s autobiographical essay, conveying her contemplation about impossible opportunities for intellectual exchange of ideas between herself, Mansfield, and Chekhov, echoes Mansfield’s 1918 notebook entry 'Ach, Tchekov! Why are you dead! Why can’t I talk to you […].\textsuperscript{29} The influence of Chekhov on Mansfield has often been acknowledged by critics and scholars and a similar effect of Mansfield’s death on Virginia Woolf has been described by Angela Smith. Smith remarks that 'Mansfield remained for Woolf a presence in absence, a faint ghost'.\textsuperscript{30} The examples afore-noted illustrate Kristeva’s notion, first introduced into literary theory by Bakhtin, that 'any text is the absorption and transformation of another'.\textsuperscript{31}

Gabriele Wohmann became one of the best known contemporary German short fiction writers with more than 300 short stories published. She also wrote a number of novels, radio and television scripts, depicting her critiques of West

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{CWKM4}, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{31} Kristeva, \textit{Desire in Language}, p. 66.
German society and the potential for conflict in private or intimate relationships. Her stories and novels appeared in large print runs, mostly highly praised by critics.

There are a number of points of connection between Wohmann’s 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' and Mansfield’s 'The Garden Party'. Levels of similarity are illustrated by narrative techniques such as starting in the middle of events, first-person narration, and free indirect discourse employed by both writers; thematic levels of similarity in Mansfield’s and Wohmann’s stories are exemplified by the spotlighting of a particular event and the depiction of a young female main character, who has to cope with a number of conflicts in her search for identity. In 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft', Wohmann’s protagonist, Meline, is an adolescent who has to face and resolve a number of conflicts such as discrepancies in terms of her own upbringing and that of her apparently more prosperous friends, and conflicts in the formation of her individual identity, including emancipation from her parents’ core beliefs.

Like Mansfield’s main character Laura in 'The Garden Party', Wohmann’s protagonist experiences opposing feelings about questions of social behaviour as well as an identity crisis. Meline is torn between either identifying with or rejecting the rather conventional way of life and world view of her family. Like Mansfield’s protagonist, who is constantly comparing her own social standing with that of her working-class neighbours, Meline is permanently contrasting her own situation with that of her friends who are her guests at the birthday party. Like Mansfield, Wohmann employs free indirect discourse to convey her main character’s perceptions and conscious thoughts. For instance, when receiving her guests, Ella, an apparently arrogant friend, gives her white shawl to Meline to be stored in the cloakroom. Meline’s thoughts are rendered by Wohmann as 'wie
hochmütig sah Ellas Schal zwischen den Kleidern von Vater und Mutter und Tinchen und ihren eigenen aus' ('how superior Ella’s shawl looked among father’s, mother’s, Tinchen’s and her own clothes'). Wohmann’s protagonist also feels that due to her friends’ presence her parents’ dining room is made strange and somehow ridiculous (‘fremd und etwas lächerlich’) (21). The behaviour of her friend Ella, showing apparent social superiority, as well as Ella’s appearance - her white skin and the fact that she has already put on red lipstick - aggravate Meline’s conflict even further (22). When clearing the table Meline’s mother recognises that the coffeepot with the cocoa has not been emptied, asking 'hat’s deinen Freundinnen denn nicht geschmeckt?' (‘didn’t your friends like it?’) (28). Meline’s internal conflict induces her to answer 'Aber doch, und wie!' (‘Yes, of course, very much!’) and prompts her to scurry off, thinking 'off, off’ to some entirely new place (‘weg weg laufen an irgendeinen ganz neuen Platz’) (28), which conveys the protagonist’s desire to emancipate herself from her parents’ way of life and norms.

Both Mansfield’s 'The Garden Party' and Wohmann’s 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' have similarly enigmatic endings, leaving things untold. Mansfield’s frequent employment of hyphens, ellipses, and hiatus to convey gaps and breaks in the narrative is mirrored in Wohmann’s story. Contrary to Mansfield’s 'The Garden Party', depicting class inequality and social injustice, Wohmann’s 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft' portrays middle-class life and remains within the framework of the protagonist’s own social class with only a few presumptuous allusions made by her arrogant friends. This fact may have caused the German scholar Manfred Durzak to comment only three years later that

32 Gabriele Wohmann, 'Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft', in Böse Streiche (Düsseldorf: Eremiten-Presse, 1977), pp. 21-32 (p. 21). Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
Wohmann’s story lacks the critical political perspective which we find in Mansfield’s story (‘daß die angedeutete politisch akzentuierte kritische Perspektive fehlt’). However, the protagonist’s conflict between two opposing parties, namely her caring family and her arrogant guests, echoes, although to a minor extent, the conflict of the main character in Mansfield’s story. Durzak states that the art of Katherine Mansfield has found an equivalent in Wohmann’s story ‘Die Geburtstagsgesellschaft’ (‘daß die Kunst der Katherine Mansfield hier ein Gegenstück gefunden hat’). It remains possible to see the German author Gabriele Wohmann as a responsive reader of Mansfield’s writings, whose story testifies to Mansfield’s authoritative influence on her own work.

7.4 Inspired by Katherine Mansfield: Jan Kemp

The final short-form writer I want to consider before moving on to examples of novels is Jan Kemp. The New Zealand born poet and short story writer moved to Germany in 2007 and adopted German citizenship in 2014. Jan Kemp now writes poetry in both German and English and is a member of PEN-Germany. In response to my enquiry as to what extent Mansfield has inspired her, Kemp recollects that although she read Mansfield in her high school days in New Zealand, she ‘found her only in her mid-life, and at once started following her trails – left by both the life and the stories.’ In 2012, she devoted her poem ‘A Little Pneumonia’ to Katherine Mansfield, followed by a further poem entitled ‘Cri de Coeur de Katherine Mansfield’ in 2015.

Delineating commonalities between herself and Mansfield, Jan Kemp remarks in her writing to me: ‘Strange too, that we both spoke German, were

---

35 Correspondence with Jan Kemp, 15 April 2019.
expatriate so much of our lives and remain so, and that each of us tried to learn
Russian [...]’. In Mansfield’s letter to her father from the Gurdjieff Institute,
where she spent her final three months before she died on 9 January 1923,
Mansfield announced, apparently in high spirits:

> One very pleasant thing here is that I have to speak Russian
> consistently and shall I hope get as fluent in it as I am in French and
> German. After that I should like to rub up my Italian. Languages
> fascinate me.\(^{36}\)

Mansfield’s fascination with languages and her delight in code-switching as a
kind of creative performance are recreated in Kemp’s poems. Like Mansfield,
Kemp is not limited to one language but can draw on multiple cultural materials in
her crafted poems and prose.

> For instance, the first line of Kemp’s poem 'A Little Pneumonia' reads: 'The
> German for a single lung is Lungenflügel.'\(^{37}\) It alludes to Mansfield’s inexorable
> fate, her suffering from tuberculosis, but also calls to mind her love for the
> German language and languages in general. The poem concludes:

> all those stories like mist off the land
> lifting up to your pen, then, all that quick,

> fine, flying work till they found
> their places: your children of the sun.

The final line echoes Mansfield’s 1922 notebook entry, confessing 'I want to be
all that I am capable of becoming [...] so that I may be a child of the sun'.\(^{38}\)
Kemp’s poem 'Cri de Coeur de Katherine Mansfield' calls to mind Mansfield’s
passion for French and France, shared by the poet Jan Kemp. In this poem Kemp
contemplates a creative writer’s wish to appeal to readers who should not
primarily focus on the biographical circumstances of a writer, but absorb the

\(^{36}\) _CLKM5_, p. 317.


\(^{38}\) _CWKM4_, p. 434.
I hear her cry out from her grave
not leave all fair but:

leave me alone!
Let me *RIP* through
Your societies your conferences
Your codswallop about me
& tear it all apart

read me read me
for all you’re worth
that’s why I wrote […]\(^{39}\)

Claiming 'read me read me' suggests both Mansfield’s and Kemp’s passion for writing and desire to attract readers. Both Mansfield and Kemp are creative writers who 'live to write' as Mansfield confessed in her 1919 notebook entry.\(^{40}\) Kemp’s affinity to Mansfield is artistically rendered in the above lines.

In her 2019 email to me, Kemp explains her admiration for Katherine Mansfield, writing that she admires her ability:

> to let a story unravel of itself, in clear, non-abstract images; the language shimmering with the light of observed reality; the personae felt from the inside, which shows the teller is the story as she writes it. Instinctive narrative ability makes her for me a better prose writer than a poet […].\(^{41}\)

7.5 Katherine Mansfield’s Impact on Erwin Einzinger: *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield*

The first of the three full-length novels that I examine in this chapter is by the Austrian Erwin Einzinger. Einzinger is an acclaimed poet, author, and translator of works by writers such as John Ashbery, Robert Creeley, and William Carpenter. He was one of the three German-speaking authors who felt inspired to respond to Katherine Mansfield’s life and work around the time of the centenary


\(^{40}\) Notebooks 2 p. 154.

\(^{41}\) Correspondence with Jan Kemp, Kronberg im Taunis, 16 April 2019.
of her birth in 1988. Einzinger’s narrative *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* (Mansfield’s Headdress) was published in 1985, followed by Evelyn Schlag’s novel in 1987, and Christa Moog’s narrative in 1988 which I will discuss in the pages that follow.

In his written response to my enquiry, Erwin Einzinger records that after having read a number of Mansfield’s letters and notebook entries he immediately felt inspired to engage with her life and work in his own writing (see appendix). Comparing Mansfield with Virginia Woolf, Einzinger writes that he feels that Mansfield is much more pleasure loving and appealing because of her eccentricity and craziness (*lebenslustiger und ansprechender in all ihrer Überspanntheit und Verrücktheit*).  

42

In *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield*, Einzinger interweaves Mansfield’s life and writings with the life and work of his male protagonist and narrator Sandbach. Various elements concerning Eisenreich’s protagonist and from Mansfield’s stories, as well as factual references to her personal writings, are fragmented and dispersed throughout the novel. The main character has become completely obsessed with both Mansfield and his own writing about Mansfield (‘schwamm seit einiger Zeit in einer Arbeit über Katherine Mansfield’).  

43 To earn a living, Sandbach works in various sectors such as in a psychiatric hospital and in a large-scale garden centre; alongside this, he continuously attempts to write a literary work of his own (‘neben seinen fortgesetzten Versuchen, selbst etwas zu schreiben’) (24). The protagonist’s depiction of his own life, his writing attempts, his meditations on the process of writing, his activities, thoughts, and reflections on Mansfield are juxtaposed with excerpts from Mansfield’s diaries, letters, 

---

42 Correspondence with Erwin Einzinger, 19 July 2017, see Appendix A.
43 Erwin Einzinger, *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* (Salzburg und Wien: Rezidenz Verlag, 1985), p. 11. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis in the text.
stories, and descriptions of her personal circumstances. The thematic diversity addressed in Einzinger’s novel *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* and the fact that the themes are briefly addressed and soon discarded result in the narrative’s complexity and ambiguity. Furthermore, Einzinger’s use of metafiction, his writing about writing as he delineates the writing attempts of both his main character and Mansfield, is a typical feature of postmodern literature and makes his readers aware of the fictional nature of the novel they are reading.

The critic Robert Schwarz points out that ‘a hundred different thought fragments and chunks of remembered experience’ flit through Erwin Einzinger’s novel’s pages and thus ‘through the reader’s mind’.44 The reader is likely to feel challenged by *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* as Einzinger moves in and out of different perspectives. Roland Barthes distinguishes between ‘readerly’ and ‘writerly’ texts; Einzinger’s novel is clearly a ‘writerly’ text which makes ‘the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text’.45 The reader of *Kopfschmack für Mansfield* is not the receiver of a fixed, predetermined reading, but rather required to take an active role in the construction of the novel’s meaning.

The experimental writing and finely tuned imagination that Schwarz admired in *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* are exemplified, for instance, by the way in which Einzinger draws on Mansfield’s account of her time in Cornwall in this work.46 Einzinger’s protagonist Sandbach spends some time in Cornwall where he buys a collection of short stories written by Katherine Mansfield. The protagonist feels immediately inspired to respond to Mansfield’s narratives by writing his

46 Schwarz, p. 304.
own paraphrases and variations of some of her stories ('forderten ihn manche der Geschichten damals zu mehr oder weniger distanzierten Paraphrasen und Variationen heraus') (24). Einzinger makes his protagonist paraphrase and parody passages from Mansfield’s story ‘Je ne parle pas français’. For example, Mansfield’s description of Mouse, the girlfriend of the character Dick reads: ‘long lashes and the two little feathers traced above were most important. […] and her close-fitting cap was furry.’ In contrast, Sandbach, Einziger’s main character, writes: ‘Am Kopf übrigens ein Fellkapperl mit zwei Federn, mit Federn können hier aber auch die Augenbrauen gemeint sein, je nach Wunsch. (17) (‘At her head, moreover, there was a fur cap with two feathers, yet the feathers here could also denote being her eyebrows, as you like it.’). Einzinger’s version of Mansfield’s passage echoes individual lexical items such as ‘fur cap’ and ‘feathers’, imitating Mansfield’s text in a playful way as a parody that even alludes to William Shakespeare’s comedy As You Like It.

The extent to which Mansfield herself used her personal writings as intertextual sources for her own prose is, for instance, recognisable in a letter written by Mansfield during her 1922 stay in Paris to the artist Anne Estelle Rice: ‘The little creatures twittering chic-chic-chic would have made me buy a casserole for a chapeau with two poireaux in the front.’ As I have illustrated here, in Kopfschmuck für Mansfield Einzinger parodies passages from Mansfield’s story ‘Je ne parle pas français’, which also echoes a piece of Mansfield’s personal writing. By taking various ideas from Mansfield’s fictional and personal writings, Einzinger creates a pastiche, he mixes and imitates passages from Mansfield’s texts, which suggests a high degree of intertextuality.

---

47 CWKM2, pp. 112-136, (p. 126).
48 The expression ‘Kapperl’ to denote the standard German term ‘Kappe’ exemplifies Eisenreich’s inclusion of typical Austrian expressions in his novel.
49 CLKM5, p. 163.
Einziger's protagonist also draws on Mansfield's story 'The Fly', retelling a short version of the story. The final sentences of the retold story read: 'Dann noch eine Prüfung und noch eine … Es ist verständlich, daß Mansfield die Fliege in der Geschichte am Ende umkommen läßt'. (206) ('Then a further test and even a further one … It is reasonable that Mansfield let the fly die at the end of the story.') In this passage Einziger imitates Mansfield's characteristic employment of an ellipsis in order to implicate the reader in the text, preparing the reader for the challenging comment that follows as the reader is invited to make a moral judgement. As Gerri Kimber asserts, 'The Fly' is 'a polemic against the inhuman effects of the First World War'.\(^5\) Considering the brutal horror of the First World War, the protagonist’s comment on Mansfield’s story, namely that it is reasonable that Mansfield let the fly die, poses some questions for the reader such as whether her central character took a symbolic revenge of his son’s death or whether his ingrained feeling of superiority as a boss made him unwilling to grant the fly any privilege that was denied to his son.

Furthermore, Einzinger’s novel is characterised by numerous conspicuously symbolic descriptions of birds, animals, feathers, and flies. Mansfield’s expressive use of objects demonstrating her employment of techniques acquired from the study of Symbolist writers such as Oscar Wilde and Arthur Symons is mirrored in Einzinger’s narrative.

Einzinger’s *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* shows that Katherine Mansfield has a central influence on the novel. Einziger consciously draws on literary devices, themes, phrases, and imagery from Mansfield’s work. The literary scholar and critic Evelyne Polt-Heinzl suggests that both Mansfield and Einzinger 'versuchen in knappsten Skizzen von großer Dichte ein Maximum an Welt einzufangen' ('try

---

to capture a maximum of the world in concise high-density sketches'). Multiple intertextual echoes of Mansfield are evident in *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* as it is woven through with references, citations, echoes, and abstracted biographical details from Mansfield’s writings. Even Mansfield’s consumption is echoed by the protagonist who informs us that he had to see a pulmonary specialist (49) when he was a child.

In Erwin Einziger’s email to me (please see appendix) he refers to a telephone conversation with his colleague Evelyn Schlag at a time when both Austrian writers were working on their novels on Mansfield. The authors discussed their anxiety of potential similarities in their narratives, arising from their shared inspiration in Mansfield’s work. However, although Evelyn Schlags’ *Die Kränkung* resembles Einzinger’s novel *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield* in its mingling of reality and imagination, the thematic foci in Schlag’s narrative are different as I will show.

### 7.5 The Loving Connection: Evelyn Schlag’s Drawing on Mansfield in *Die Kränkung*

Evelyn Schlag, the prolific Austrian writer is equally renowned for her poems and prose fiction. Schlag’s novel *Die Kränkung* (The Injury) was published in 1987. *Die Kränkung* mingles and dissolves the experience of the two female protagonists, the unnamed first-person narrator, a writer herself, and Kathleen, the imagined companion based on Katherine Mansfield. Weaving the character’s story, her narration of angst and crises, together with a number of passages from Mansfield’s diaries, correspondence, and crises, together with a number of passages from Mansfield’s diaries, correspondence, and short fiction creates a visible fabric of

---


intertextuality. Schlag’s engagement with Mansfield’s personal writings and short stories in her own text calls to mind Roland Barthes’s notion of the text as ‘a tissue, a woven fabric’. The author Evelyn Schlag admits that her own encounter with tuberculosis accounts for her love for Katherine Mansfield as a writer and as a person. Postmodernist short stories and novels often merge reality and illusion to the point that distinctions become a matter of interpretation, they blur the line between reality and artifice through fantasy, mimicry, and parody. Such features are discernible in Schlag’s *Die Kränkung*.

Like Einzinger, Schlag does not use any quotation marks for indicating material taken from Mansfield’s work, nor does she provide the literary sources of quotations. As Willy Riemer, a critic and the translator of the 1998 English translation of *Die Kränkung* entitled *Quotations of a Body*, observes, Schlag ‘succeeds in establishing the necessary framework for the reader’. Nevertheless, I argue that an active reader is essential in the production of meaning of Schlag’s postmodernist novel. As Graham Allen explains, ‘meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates, moving out from the independent text into a network of textual relations’.

The themes central to Schlag’s novel *Die Kränkung* are introduced by the two female main characters as they address the complex and problematic relationship between creativity and illness as well as the topic of gender relations.

When asked by Kathleen, her imaginary friend, what matters most in life, the

nameless first-person narrator replies 'Schreiben, Männer, Krankheit' ('writing, men, illness'). Kristeva suggests that for many writers, the experience of art was lived as a salvation. Kristeva’s notion can be applied to both Katherine Mansfield and her creative German-language successor. In a 1921 diary entry Mansfield notes that ‘it’s very strange, but the mere act of writing anything is a help’.

Readers familiar with Mansfield’s depiction of her life and desires in her diaries and letters will draw parallels. The very title Die Kränkung suggests both physical illness and emotional injuries, emphasising the union of soma and psyche. This is exemplified as Schlag’s novel focusses on the traumatic developments the unnamed protagonist has to face. There is the dying of her intimate relationship with her lover Jack, who becomes attracted to a down-to-earth girl who lives in their neighbourhood. Yet in order to be a confident and competent writer the young woman needs both independence and self-sufficiency and the love of a man for she is anxious when alone. Although there is a great deal of erotic experimentation on both sides of the relationship, the narrator is the one who suffers and consequently her creative writing seems to be stalled. This mirrors Mansfield’s relationship with her lover and later husband John Middleton Murry, also called Jack in Mansfield’s personal writings.

Many of the conversations between the nameless first-person writer-protagonist and Kathleen revolve around the act of writing. For example, referring to Mansfield’s writing routines the narrator reflects that for her writing on a daily basis would also mean to include her experiences of each day ('täglich zu

60 CWKM4, p. 395.
schreiben, denke ich, das würde für mich auch bedeuten, das täglich Erlebte miteinzubeziehen') (83). As pointed out by Beverley Driver Eddy, *Die Kränkung* is 'concerned with the actual process of writing, with all its struggles to translate experience into literature'.

To comment on the act of writing, making the fictionality of fiction apparent to the reader, illustrates Schlag’s use of the technique of metafiction, which may serve here to emphasise the presence of the author in the novel. Riemer observes that 'in her mind the narrator surrounds herself with the images and gestures of her *alter ego* and freely uses what has become part of her most intimate life: Mansfield’s writings'.

Eventually the young unnamed main character contracts tuberculosis and needs to be hospitalised. This calls to mind Mansfield’s own understanding of the union of soma and psyche as depicted in a diary entry of 6 February 1922: 'The weakness was not only physical', arguing that 'I must heal my Self before I will be well'.

In addition to numerous echoes of Mansfield’s personal writings, in *Die Kränkung* we can also identify a number of allusions to Mansfield’s stories and characters. For instance, at the beginning of the novel we read that the narrator and her lover Jack have just moved into an abandoned farmhouse in the country. Evelyn Schlag links this instance to a parallel situation in Mansfield’s story 'Prelude'; she depicts a pondering Kathleen, the imagined companion modelled on Mansfield, who is writing a story that specifically references 'Prelude' as 'Die Frau in ihrer Geschichte heißt Linda Burnell. Linda Burnell’s erster Morgen im neuen Haus geht Kathleen nicht aus dem Kopf.' (12) ('The woman in her story is named

---

62 Riemer, p. 108.
63 *CWKM4*, p. 415.
Linda Burnell. Kathleen cannot get Linda Burnell’s first morning in the new house out of her head.\textsuperscript{64}

A particularly striking passage in Schlag’s novel \textit{Die Kränkung} refers to Mansfield’s story 'The Fly', which also found its echoes in Edwin Einzinger’s narrative \textit{Kopfschmuck für Mansfield} as previously discussed. Focussing on the daily writing routine, the narrator says:

\begin{quote}
Gähnen, als hätte man lange Arbeit getan, das Warten, Konzentrieren ist Arbeit, indes setzt sich eine Fliege unter den leicht aufgebogenen Deckel eines Buches über Kathleen. Die Fliege sitzt unter dem Umschlagdeckel, als warte sie ein Gewitter ab. Ich drücke langsam den Deckel nieder. (p. 84)
\end{quote}

To yawn, as after prolonged work, to wait, to concentrate is to work, meanwhile a fly crawls under the slightly raised cover of a book about Kathleen. The fly sits under the cover as if to wait out a thunderstorm. I slowly press down on the cover.\textsuperscript{65}

In Mansfield’s 'The Fly', which is generally read as an indictment of the horror of the First World War, the protagonist tortures the fly while at the same time hoping it has the courage to survive, yet the insect finally dies. Schlag’s narrator, venting her frustration about the sheer tediousness of writing, allusively mentions that the book cover is slowly pressed, asking the reader to imagine the consequence. Willy Riemer, the translator of the English edition of \textit{Die Kränkung} suggests that the allusion to the story 'The Fly' ‘sets the atmosphere, as do the far more numerous quotations from the correspondence and the journal’.\textsuperscript{66} This clearly shows that Schlag’s novel engages intertextually with Mansfield’s story. For Julia Kristeva, a text consists of already existent discourse; she argues that a text ‘is a permutation

\textsuperscript{64} This is my own translation as there are a number of cuts in the English translation of Evelyn Schlag’s novel.
\textsuperscript{66} Riemer, p. 113.
of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other text, intersect and neutralize another’.\(^{67}\)

An almost verbatim quotation from Mansfield’s correspondence is, for example, the following passage in Schlag’s novel:


The corresponding part in Mansfield’s letter to Garnet Trowell written in Wörishofen in June 1909 reads:

> I think I must have caught cold in my beautiful exultant walk yesterday, for today I am ill. […] Fancy wearing 2 pairs of stockings and 2 coats – & a hot water bottle in June and shivering … I think it is the pain that makes me shiver and feel dizzy.\(^{68}\)

Narrating the experiences of the protagonist named Kathleen, the fictive Mansfield, and addressing the issue of illness Evelyn Schlag weaves biographical details about Mansfield into her novel. The text passages juxtaposed above substantiate Barthes’ view that 'a text is made of multiple writings'.\(^{69}\) Compared to Erwin Einzinger’s novel *Kopfschmuck für Mansfield*, Evelyn Schlag’s narrative is more 'readerly' due to the fact that it provides a storyline that develops from a problematic beginning to a happy ending, organised in five chapters. In a 1987 review in the German weekly *Die Zeit*, the critic remarked that 'trotz Handlungsarmut entwickelt die Erzählung in ihrer sinnierenden Beobachtung einen erzählerischen Sog' ('although there is not much of a storyline, by means of its pondering observation the story develops a


\(^{68}\) CLKM\(^{1}\), p. 92.

Evelyn Schlag achieves a narrative undertow in *Die Kränkung* by means of a sophisticated and absorbing intertextuality that juxtaposes the narrator’s strand of thought with that of the fictive interlocutor Kathleen, based on Katherine Mansfield.

Through the agency and insights of another woman, conveyed by the medium of her writings and realised in the act of reading the other woman’s diaries, letters, and stories Evelyn Schlag’s first-person narrator leaves the hospital with optimism, with an impulse of new creativity, and a new relationship with a man. Through identifying with another woman, namely Katherine Mansfield, and by reading the narratives of Mansfield’s life and her fiction, the protagonist in Christa Moog’s novel *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* feels encouraged to act and to speak.

Like Ludwig Hohl, Schlag went to France to visit Mansfield’s final resting place, but she also managed to see what had remained of Gurdjieff’s Institute, where Mansfield died. As Schlag recollects in her 1997 essay:

> For a long time I stood there, trying to identify her window. Somehow we managed to get into the house. I walked up the stairs where she had had her final haemorrhage. I knew again how much I loved her. It was not a feminist’s love for a female companion. I had always loved her with the kind of knowledge our shared illness had provided me with – never forgetting that hers had been a terrible lot, where I had had all the advantages of late twentieth-century medicine. There is this wonderful word in German that the English language, for once, has no equivalent for *Kränkung*. That’s what I called my novel.

### 7.6 Following in the Footsteps of Mansfield: Christa Moog’s Novel *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln*

My final example of a Mansfield-inspired novel is by the East-German writer Christa Moog who voluntarily expatriated herself from the German Democratic

---


Republic in 1984. During our telephone interview, Moog recalled that she became acquainted with Mansfield’s work for the first time in 1979 when Moog borrowed the 1977 edition of selected short stories by Mansfield, translated by Heide Steiner, from the library in Eisenach. Mansfield’s prose exerted a great fascination on Moog; she felt immensely touched by Mansfield’s stories. When Moog left the GDR, she managed to revisit numerous places which were significant for Mansfield, namely England, France, Italy, Switzerland, and New Zealand, in addition to Germany. Subsequently, Moog felt inspired to write a narrative of her own, which resulted in her 1988 novel *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* (From a Thousand Green Mirrors). In the same year, Moog’s novel won the *aspekte Literaturpreis*, a literary prize awarded by the German public service broadcaster ZDF. In his explanation of why Moog won the prestigious prize, the literary critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki describes *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* as a curious literary product (‘ein sonderbares literarisches Produkt’) as it seems to be a kind of autobiography of a young expatriate from the GDR, a travel narrative as well as a monograph of a great writer, namely Katherine Mansfield.

In her chapter on Christa Moog’s *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln*, the literary scholar Hannelore Mundt quotes the view of the Germanist Hannes Krauss on Moog’s novel. For Krauss, Moog’s text is a ‘convolute of letters and diary entries, travel descriptions, retrospective self-exploration and reflections, and of many quotations, most by Katherine Mansfield, favourite author and great model

---

72 Telephone conversation with Christa Moog, February 2014.
for Christa Moog. This exemplifies Barthes’s notion that a literary text is ‘a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash’.

Mundt convincingly argues that Moog’s novel *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* displays ‘the technique of the triple autobiography, which interlaces the lives of Moog, her narrative I, and Mansfield’. Moog’s themes of expatriation, displacement, alienation, the juxtaposition of a quest for unlimited freedom and homesickness in *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* are also vital aspects in Mansfield’s life and experience and are depicted in her work. The trauma of loss and alienation evokes the need to reconstruct a new identity, a further central theme in both Mansfield’s oeuvre and Moog’s novel.

Moog’s prose narrative incorporates further vital intertextual relationships alongside her preoccupation with Mansfield. The title *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* is an intertextual echo of a line from the poem ‘Besuch in Urach’ (‘Visit to Urach’) written by the German romantic poet Eduard Mörike (1804-1875), who juxtaposes in his poem memories of the past and experiences of the moment. It is the past that confuses Mörike’s lyrical I and seems to look at him out of a thousand green mirrors. Moog’s allusion to Mörike’s text displays the closely interwoven threads of connection with the writing of the past. By foregrounding the permeability of the past and present, Moog creates a kind of postmodern collage that displays its closely interwoven threads of connection with the writing of the past. Moreover, Moog’s reference to Mörike mirrors Mansfield’s own allusion to the German poet and novelist in her 1910 story ‘The Sister of the

---

77 Mundt, p. 238.
Baroness', in which the narrator informs us: 'I went up to my room, bound a pink scarf about my hair, and took a volume of Mörike’s lyrics into the garden'.\(^{78}\) As highlighted by Graham Allen, the act of reading plunges a reader into a network of textual relations, which is convincingly illustrated in Moog’s narrative.\(^{79}\)

In Moog’s novel, the unnamed protagonist’s past in the GDR is narrated mostly in terms of domestic activities and excursions with friends; not displaying any explicit adverse criticism of the oppressive system in East Germany. When Moog’s protagonist recites Mörike’s line from ‘Besuch in Urach’, namely ‘vergangene Zeit, die lächelnd mich verwirrt ...’ (bygone days, confusing me with their smile), she comments, ‘wie das paßt’ (how that fits).\(^{80}\) By identifying with Mörike’s line, the first-person narrator expresses her own confusion, her dissatisfaction with her GDR identity, her preoccupation with the notion of a divided self or the projection of two selves, the true self and an imposed version of the self as reflected through the mirror. Mundt suggests that ‘bygone days’, or ‘past time’ as translated by Mundt herself, is ambivalent as ‘both the past life in the GDR and the past life of Mansfield mirror autobiographical subjectivity’.\(^{81}\)

Moreover, Mundt observes that taking the mirror as a well-known romantic trope for self-representation, the reference to a thousand mirrors in the title in Moog’s narrative suggests the presence of multiple refractions of the self.\(^{82}\) Yet Moog applies the mirror-motif throughout her narrative, as does Mansfield in her

\(^{78}\) CWKM1, pp. 189-193 (p. 192).
\(^{79}\) Allen, p. 1.
\(^{80}\) Christa Moog, *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* (Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1989, 3. Aufl.), p. 133. Future page references are to this edition, and are included in parenthesis.
\(^{81}\) Mundt, p. 231.
\(^{82}\) Mundt, p. 231.
stories, aligning with Julia Kristeva’s insight that a ‘fixed identity’ is a ‘fiction, an illusion’ as ‘our identities in life are constantly called into question’. 

Numerous literary allusions to Mansfield’s stories and fictional characters, as well as quotations from Mansfield’s narratives, are interwoven in Christa Moog’s novel. For example, *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln* opens with the protagonist’s and her friend’s visit to Mansfield’s grave in the cemetery at Avon and the young unnamed main character’s recollection of Mansfield’s story ‘Miss Brill’. Retelling her companion the story ‘Miss Brill’, Moog’s protagonist reaffirms ‘Du weißt, daß es eine Zeit gab, in der ich ihre Geschichten auswendig kannte!’ (‘You know that there was a time when I knew her stories by heart.’) (8). Taking the protagonist as Moog’s *alter ego* here, Christa Moog’s fascination with Mansfield is discernible. Moog’s early reference to ‘Miss Brill’, a story depicting one of Mansfield’s most characteristic motifs, namely the lonely displaced *dame seule*, enables the narrator to reveal her emotional landscape. This also applies to a brief description of the site where Mansfield’s grave is located which reads: ‘dicht an der Mauer, die den Friedhof hier begrenzt, dort, wo der Zug nach Paris vorbeifährt’ (close to the wall which encloses the cemetery, over there, where the train to Paris passes by) (8-9). The opposition of an enclosed cemetery wall and trains passing by to Paris juxtaposes the spatial notions of narrowness or confinement and width or freedom, significant spatial metaphors for the narrator in *Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln*, the author Christa Moog, and the author’s predecessor Katherine Mansfield alike. In ‘Miss Brill’, for instance, Mansfield

---

juxtaposes the protagonist’s box-like room, 'the little dark room – her room like a cupboard' with the park, Miss Brill’s world of make-believe.\textsuperscript{84}

A 1989 review of Christa Moog’s novel in the weekly \textit{DIE ZEIT}, written by Susanne Kippenberger, refers to Mansfield’s writing style, observing that Mansfield succeeded in conveying various voices such as 'the sad twittering of canary birds, tongues of angels, whispering girls, and nagging women' ('trauriges Kanarienvogelgezwitscher, Engelszungen, Mädchengeflüster und keifende Frauenstimmen').\textsuperscript{85} Although Kippenberger’s comments on Christa Moog’s narrative are not as positive as on Mansfield’s work, the eminent critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki commented that Christa Moog’s writing style is entirely unconstrained and weightless ('ganz locker, ganz leicht').\textsuperscript{86} More than twenty-five years following its debut, as William Collins Donahue points out, \textit{Aus tausend grünen Spiegeln} 'would remain an insider’s tip'.\textsuperscript{87} This is certainly true, all the more because reading Moog’s novel will foster and encourage the appreciation and enjoyment of Mansfield’s works in German-speaking countries, as will all the other texts discussed in this chapter.

### 7.7 Conclusion

My research into the intertextual references to Katherine Mansfield in the works of the writers from the German-speaking countries, namely Ludwigh Hohl, Herbert Eisenreich, Gabriele Wohman, Jan Kemp, Erwin Einzinger, Evelyn Schlag, and Christa Moog exemplify that the authors consciously draw on themes,
phrases, and imagery from Mansfield’s short stories, her private correspondence, and diary entries. I argue that Mansfield’s positive reputation in Germany and German-speaking countries is clearly indicated by her influence on other writers as her legacy inspired later German-writing authors both professionally and personally. This is a very significant part of Mansfield’s German reception as the readings, responses, and appropriations of Mansfield by German-speaking writers renew her own writings. The ways in which these authors and their works have responded to Mansfield have clearly played their part in strengthening Mansfield’s appreciation. The German-language reader is invited to identify parallels, affinities, and connections between the works relating to Mansfield and the ones written by her in order to uncover relationships with Mansfield embedded in the texts discussed above. As I have demonstrated, the narratives drawing on Mansfield are manifold and diverse in nature. The web of connectedness woven by the authors discussed and its interliterary relationships need to be untangled by a contemporary German-reading audience, contributing to an ongoing appreciation of Katherine Mansfield in Germany and in German-speaking countries.
Conclusion

Through a detailed examination of the reception processes of Katherine Mansfield’s short stories and personal writings in Germany, this thesis has illustrated her importance as a writer in both German translation and in her native language for a German-speaking readership. My examination of the reception processes of Mansfield’s works in Germany, such as their selection for translation, the attention given to them by publishers, reviewers, by German academic and general readers, their inclusion in literary histories and schoolbooks, as well as their influence on German-language writers has exemplified the important role Mansfield has played for German-speaking readerships. Hans Robert Jauss’s notion of the ‘horizon of expectation’, which encourages a reader’s individual response to a literary work, and Wolfgang Iser’s attention to how the reader might be affected by a work have both informed my study.

My investigation of Mansfield’s German reception has exemplified that German recognition and appreciation of Mansfield’s works in English started as early as the 1920s for the benefit of German academia, followed by the first publication of selected short stories in German translation, translated by Herberth Herlitschka, in the mid-1930s. This marked the beginning of their ‘stage of continued life’. Since then, Katherine Mansfield’s stories have been read, interpreted, translated, retranslated, and published for more than eight decades and thus have secured Mansfield a literary afterlife in Germany and German-speaking countries. This thesis shows that her stories in translation have been well received in very favourable reviews by influential and renowned scholars, critics, and creative writers from German-speaking countries. Although German readers have not always

---

appreciated the genre of the short story, my intensive research has not found any negative comments on Mansfield’s work by scholars or reviewers; in fact, quite the opposite is true. It is evident in this study that Katherine Mansfield as a modernist short story writer has been important for a German readership since she was introduced in translation to the German book market and since her original English-language stories were taught at German universities and grammar schools.

I have demonstrated that the prevailing political attitudes and ideologies clearly had an impact on Mansfield’s translators, their interpretations, and translations into the German language. Through close examination I have exemplified that translations of Mansfield’s work, produced under the impact of the ideologies in Nazi Germany or under the rule of the Socialist Unity Party in the former GDR, display specific characteristics in terms of chosen lexical items or grammatical gender and illustrate omissions due to the prevailing ideology or show a lack of cultural knowledge. This study has shown that Germany’s particularly difficult historical contexts in the time span relevant for Katherine Mansfield’s German reception with their upheavals and drastic social-political ruptures, as well as divergent cultural trends, certainly influenced the publication and dissemination of her works but to a lesser extent than I had expected. Material restrictions, such as lack of printing paper shortly after the end of the Second World War when Germany lay in ruins and a shortage of paper in the GDR after the division of Germany in 1949, certainly impacted Mansfield’s German reception. However, as my research has revealed, even after the seizure of power by the National Socialist Party in 1933, Mansfield’s short stories were still read and discussed by academics and grammar school students alike. Moreover, as is discernible through my analysis of the archival documents required to obtain printing permission for Mansfield’s work in the GDR, her writings were very positively received in a literary market that explicitly
demanded literary works that convey a political stance concordant with the official Party ideology. The GDR saw itself as a classless state, as a state manifesting the power of workers and peasants, aiming to reduce social inequality. GDR readers encountered Mansfield’s stories within a particular 'horizon of expectation', yet her frequent references to social injustice and, by depicting social outsiders, her emphasis on social integration in her short stories were very favourably received in the GDR. The previously unknown and unexamined archival documents I have analysed for this study demonstrate that East German critics recognised and appreciated both the degree of social and colonial awareness and the modernist aesthetic in Mansfield’s stories.

Exploring the time span after the reunification of East and West Germany, I have found that there has been an ongoing interest in Mansfield’s short fiction in the 1990s and the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Despite the fact that reading habits have changed due to the development of new technologies since the 1990s, Mansfield’s stories are still retranslated, read, and taught as part of German university curricula. Particularly significant for the latest dissemination and appreciation of Mansfield's work in Germany was the foundation of the Association for the study of the so-called New Literatures in English in the late 1980s, now called the Association for Anglophone Postcolonial Studies; since then, selected short stories by Mansfield have been taught at German universities and grammar schools. Although Mansfield’s stories are no longer taught as frequently in German grammar schools for reasons that I have explained in my study, my research identifies Mansfield’s presence in the most recent recommended reading lists provided by the English departments of German universities. Moreover, my research has shown that Katherine Mansfield is now well represented in almost all standard
reference works and encyclopaedias of world literature published in the German language.

Although the second wave of feminism in West Germany did not give Mansfield as much attention as Virginia Woolf gained in the 1960s and 1970s, it was in the aftermath of that wave that Mansfield triggered much debate and that she reached a very significant, particularly female, German readership. As Claire Davison aptly noted 'Mansfield was a practising feminist even if she was impatient with political labels'.\(^2\) Mansfield’s political stance has only recently been discussed by scholars from the anglophone world, for instance, by Lee Garver in his 2001 essay.\(^3\) It would be good to see this issue explored in more depth.

This thesis also covers new ground in Mansfield studies in its endeavour to describe Mansfield’s impact on a number of German-language writers who were inspired by the life and work of Katherine Mansfield. My intensive research activities and analyses have revealed that a number of authors from the German-language countries have consciously drawn on themes, phrases, and imagery from Mansfield’s short fiction and her personal writings. They have adapted, revised, or transformed Mansfield’s texts in their own writings. The extraordinary extent of Mansfield’s influence on authors from the German-speaking countries has not been addressed in any previous study.

Unlike the significance that French readers have assigned to Katherine Mansfield as a person, Mansfield’s German academic and general readers have never paid much attention to her biography and the facts and events of her life. As the attached overview of the translation history of Mansfield’s works shows, her personal writings, her letters, notebooks, and diary entries have never found much

---

\(^2\) Claire Davison, Foreword to Katherine Mansfield and the Art of the Short Story by Gerri Kimber (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. vi-xi (p. ix).

attention in Germany. Very few small collections of selected excerpts from her personal writings have been translated into German. Researching Mansfield’s personal writings from a German perspective, in a German context, supported by the international research on Mansfield, could open new areas of investigation. Charting the traces of German language and literature in Mansfield’s notebooks, letters, and short stories and identifying her numerous allusions to German writers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Eduard Möricke, and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche could open up avenues for further academic research.

This study adds to an ever growing body of literature on Katherine Mansfield. It has demonstrated, for the first time, that Katherine Mansfield has been an important writer for a German readership for over eight decades. Despite the divergent social, political, cultural, literary, and commercial contexts in which Mansfield’s works have been received in Germany, my study has shown that Mansfield’s general and academic German readers have appreciated her modernist style, her ability to depict the internal worlds of her characters by means of free indirect discourse, and her delight in mocking people as conveyed by both her short stories and personal writings. Katherine Mansfield’s German readers’ aesthetic reactions to her works have always been positive; this can be attributed to the fine art of her writing and her engagement with issues of gender, as well as her pleas for social justice. My research and analyses for this study have significantly enhanced my understanding and appreciation of Katherine Mansfield’s art as a modernist short story writer and as writer of inspiring letters and diaries. There is every prospect that Mansfield will continue to have an important reception in Germany and that the efforts of individual scholars such as myself, together with planned activities, including the forthcoming Katherine Mansfield Society conference in Bad
Wörishofen, will help to increase interest in her work among German researchers and readers.
Appendix A: Editions of Katherine Mansfield’s Works in English and German Translation

The appendix provides a representative overview of a selection of Katherine Mansfield’s works in English and German translation, published in Germany or for the German book market and embedded in the context of the fundamental political and cultural processes that have shaped Germany since the 1930s. Included are only first editions of newly translated works.

1930: *Bliss and Other Stories*, published by Bernhard Tauchnitz, Leipzig.


Adolf Hitler obtained German citizenship. The Nazi Party gained 37.4 per cent of the vote in the Reichstag elections.


Hitler became appointed Chancellor of Germany and established a totalitarian regime. Hitler proclaimed the 'Third Reich'. The mass book burnings, initiated by the German Student Union, ceremonially burned books viewed as subversive or opposed to Nazism. Systematic persecution of German Jews began. 1933 marked the beginning of a mass exodus among Germany’s intellectuals and artists.


Hitler combined the post of President and Chancellor and called himself 'Führer' ('Leader'). In 1935, Nuremberg Laws deprived German Jews of citizenship.


A wave of violent anti-Jewish pogroms took place on 9/10 Nov. 1938 throughout Germany and annexed Austria. More than thirty thousand Jews were incarcerated in concentration camps and numerous synagogues were damaged or destroyed, marking the change from merely discriminating Jews to persecuting and deporting them. In 1939, Germany invaded Poland and the United Kingdom and France declared war on Germany. Adolf Hitler had committed suicide. Germany surrendered on 7 May 1945, ending the war in Europe. Nuremburg war crimes trial began.

1948: *Ihr Erster Ball* (*Her First Ball* and other stories), four stories selected and translated by Herberth E. Herlitschka, published by Die Arche, Zurich.

The war had cost about fifty-six million lives, of which nearly six million were on the German side. Germany was in ruins and starvation reigned. In May 1949, Germany was divided into four Allied Occupation Zones, controlled by the Allied Control Council with its members United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and France. Germany was divided into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), popularly known as West Germany and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), commonly referred to as East Germany. East Germany chose East Berlin as its capital and installed a communist regime there, whereas West Germany had its seat of government in Bonn.

1952: *Seligkeit und andere Erzählungen* (*Bliss and Other Stories*), translated by Marlys and Herberth E. Herlitschka, published by Die Arche, Zurich.

In West Germany, Konrad Adenauer served as the first Chancellor and leader of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The 1950s marked the start of a rapid economic growth in West Germany. The GDR was governed by the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and Walter Ulbricht served as its First Secretary. The SED made the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which emphasised a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Russian language compulsory in schools. It was the SED’s intention to transform East Germany into a socialist and later into a communist state. The economy in the GDR was centrally planned and increasingly state-owned, but failed to raise the standard of living to a level comparable to that of West Germany, which resulted in massive emigration to West Germany. Between 1949 and 1961, about three million people left the GDR and East Berlin for West Germany.

1953: *An der Bucht* (*At the Bay*), translated by Marlys and Herberth E. Herlitschka, published by Die Arche, Zurich.

On 17 June 1953, strikes and demonstrations occurred in numerous towns and cities in East Germany, demanding the resignation of the GDR government, Soviet tanks fired on the crowds.
1953: *Eine Ideale Familie und andere Erzählungen* (‘An Ideal Family’ and Other Stories), translated by Marlys and Herbert E. Herlitschka, published by Jakobi Verlag, Bremen.


To stop the emigration of East German citizens to West Germany via Berlin, Ulbricht had the Berlin Wall built in 1961. Many of those who attempted to flee were killed by border guards. Creative writers in the GDR were forced to conform to Party expectations of how the GDR should be depicted in literature.

1967: *Katherine Mansfield: Ihr Leben in Darstellung und Dokumenten* (Katherine Mansfield: her life portrayed and documented, a biographical narrative with excerpts from her letters and diary entries) by Max A. Schwendimann, Winkler-Verlag, Munich.


In 1969, Willy Brandt, a Social Democrat (SPD), became Chancellor in West Germany. Brandt advocated dialogue with the Soviet bloc, but resigned after spy revelations surrounded one of his aides in 1974. Helmut Schmidt (SPD) was elected Chancellor of West Germany from May 1974 onwards. In East Germany, Walter Ulbricht was succeeded by Erich Honecker in 1971. From the 1970s onwards, West Germany saw the emergence of second-wave feminism, which suffered a setback during the Nazi regime and the subsequent period due to the fact that Nazi propaganda successfully had separated the roles of men and women in society again. In 1973, East and West Germany were admitted to the United Nations. The 1970s and 1980s saw the formation of a new feminist politics in the context of women’s movements, the publication of new forms of women’s writings, and the emergence and institutionalisation of feminist literary scholarship in West Germany.¹ East Germany pursued politics based on women’s emancipation through paid work and involvement in political and cultural life, though many aspects of patriarchal thinking, particularly in the domestic sphere, remained intact.²


---


² Chris Weedon, 'Introduction' to *Postwar Women’s Writing in German*, ed. by Chris Weedon (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn, 1997), pp. 1-8 (p. 4).
1977: *Eine indiskrete Reise: Ausgewählte Kurzgeschichten* ('An Indiscreet Journey: Selected Short Stories), translated by Heide Steiner, Insel Verlag, Leipzig, GDR.


The 1980s saw a wide variety of experiments in women’s writing with new subjects, new genres, and new ways of writing, reading and producing literature in West Germany.³


1982: *In einer deutschen Pension* (In a German Pension), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, published by Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Cologne.

In 1982, Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl became Chancellor in West Germany.


In 1983, the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Alliance 90/The Greens) moved into the Bundestag, the lower chamber of the West German parliament. Significant changes in attitudes towards sexual liberation were discernable in West Germany.

1983: *Das Leben sollte sein wie ein stetiges, sichtbares Licht: Briefe, Tagebücher, Kritiken* (life should be like a permanent, visible light, selected letters, diary entries, and reviews), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, published by Fischer, Frankfurt a.M.

1983: *Etwas Kindliches, aber sehr Natürliches: Erzählungen* (Something Childish and Other Stories), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, Fischer, Frankfurt a.M.


---

³ Bammer, p. 231.
1988: **An der Bucht, Das Gartenfest: zwei Erzählungen** ('At the Bay', 'The Garden Party': two stories), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, published by Büchergilde Gutenberg, Frankfurt a.M.


On 3 October 1990 East and West Germany were reunified and Berlin became the capital of Germany. In the years preceding the fall of the Berlin Wall, young people organised major demonstrations in the former East Germany, campaigning for a peaceful and democratic new order. The crisis situation in the GDR in 1989 culminated in the mass emigration of young people via the West German embassies in Prague and Budapest. In the former West Germany, people joined peace marches and human chains, protesting against the escalating arms race of the world’s superpowers and against the construction of nuclear power plants. The effects of German reunification intensified still existing social, political, and economic inequalities between men and women, but gender as an issue of sustained public concern was eclipsed. The so-called 'Wende' (turning point) left the GDR’s intelligentsia confused and frustrated.


1993: **Katherine Mansfield: Das Gartenfest** ('The Garden Party' and other stories), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, published by Fischer, Frankfurt a.M.

---


5 Bammer, p. 217.

In 1993, the European Union was established when the Maastricht Treaty came into force.


By mid-1990 it was obvious that the entire cultural field of both East and West Germany was in a state of flux.7 In 1998, Gerhard Schröder of the SPD became Chancellor at the head of a coalition with Alliance 90/The Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen). The Green Party had merged in 1993 with the civil rights movement Alliance 90 of the former GDR, focussing on environmental protection and economic and social sustainability.


In 2002, Germany’s currency Deutsche Mark was replaced by Euro.

2005: Katherine Mansfield: Funkenregen: Die schönsten Geschichten von der Liebe (shower of sparks, the most beautiful stories about love), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, ed. by Susanne Schüssler, published by Wagenbach, Berlin.

In 2005 Christian Democrat leader Angela Merkel became Chancellor.

2006: Katherine Mansfield: In einer deutschen Pension (In a German Pension), translated by Ute Haffmans, published by Haffmans bei Zweitausendeins, Frankfurt a.M.


2009: Katherine Mansfield: Sämtliche Werke (complete works), translated by Heiko Arntz, Ute Haffmans, Sabine Lohmann, ed. by Heiko Arntz, published by Haffmans Verlag bei Zweitausendeins, Frankfurt a. M.

---

2012: Katherine Mansfield: Glück und andere Erzählungen (Bliss and Other Stories), translated by Heide Steiner, Insel, Berlin.

New Zealand was the Guest of Honour at the 2012 Frankfurt Book Fair.

2012: Katherine Mansfield: In einer deutschen Pension (In a German Pension), translated by Elisabeth Schnack, illustrated by Joe Villon, published by Büchergilde, Frankfurt a.M.


In September 2015, Angela Merkel offered temporary asylum to refugees, which prompted mass movement of people towards Germany.


About three decades after reunification, the economics and financial publication Handelsblatt writes that East Germany is still different, that lingering differences in disposable income, unemployment or home, and land ownership in East and West Germany 'show the scars of the political and economic upheaval that shook the former German Democratic Republic'. The writer of the article witnessed how the collapse of the GDR 'was followed by a swift collapse of the economy with millions of people losing their jobs in an extremely short period of time'. Despite the fact that billions of euros have been invested into East Germany in the past three decades, the five states that make up former East Germany still lag behind in terms of wages, pensions, and economic output.


---

9 Coester, p. 1.
The various editions of Katherine Mansfield’s works listed here, which have been published for a German-speaking readership in East and West Germany for more than eighty years, suggest that there seem good grounds to expect that Mansfield’s afterlife in German translation and publication is set to continue. New translations of her fictional and personal writings, which retain much of the original quality of Mansfield’s works, will find an enthusiastic readership in Germany. Delia da Sousa Correa points out that the ‘translucent clarity and the psychological power of her stories made them popular from the first publication’. This is also true for Mansfield’s short fiction in German translation as this overview of editions published in Germany shows.

---

Appendix B: Insel Verlag (Insel Publishing House) Leipzig/GDR

DER VERLAG: Insel-Verlag Anton Kirpensberg
(Namen und Anschrift)
7022 Leipzig, Wettelsstraße, 8

beantragt beim Ministerium der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,
Ministerium für Kultur,
HV Verlage und Buchhandel, 108 Berlin, die Erstellung der Druckgenehmigung für

EINZELOBJEKT Nr. 14/1982 PRODUKTIONSPLAN 1980 SACHGRUPPE)

Autor: Katherine Mansfield
England

Herausgeber: Wolfgang Wicht
Berlin

Illustration: -

Titel: Ausgewählte Werke Band I/II

(Bei Übersetzungen sind außerordentlich Originaltitel, Verlag, Ort und Erscheinungsjahr zu ergänzen)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Steiner</th>
<th>Wicht, Nickel</th>
<th>Vortragsschrift</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Name, Ort)</td>
<td>(Name, Ort)</td>
<td>(Name, Ort)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Das Objekt erscheint in der Schiffenweise:

1. Auflage erneut: Letzte Auflage erneut: Bisherige Auflagenhöhe:

Wertere Auflage wird beantragt: Beantragte Auflagenhöhe:

Festlegung: Empfehlung: Aussetzung: 500

Druckbeginn: Aussetzungsbeginn: 500

Umfang des Werkes: 1000 Seiten = 500 Seiten 616 Seiten

Format (cm oder inch): 12x19 Einband: Leinen Paperbedarf: 5,3 t

Verkaufspreis: 18. - H Wird Subvention beantragt:

Volumenbedarf (mit Wöllwassersach): -

Stellungnahme des Verlags zum Objekt: Bitte Seiten 2 und 3 zu beschriften

| Hl. Dsc. | DDr.-Nr. | Druck-Nr. | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor
|----------|----------|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 17. Mai 39 | 260 47 | 47 12 12 | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor | Ms. an Lektor

Bemerkungen:

Dieser veränderte Teil ist nicht auszufließen

Verdruck P3

Katherine Mansfield, Wolfgang Wicht (Herausgeber): Ausgewählte Werke

http://www.argus.bstu.bundesarchiv.de/dr1_druck/mets/dr1_druck_3482/index.htm?ta... 19.02.2017
Feinsinnige Erzählungen, bewegende Liebesbriefe


In Deutschland waren sie bis- her nur ein kleiner Teil ihrer Er-zählungen bekannt, die heute vor- sehen einen englischeren Zugang. Es war ein Verdienst des Insel-Verlagen und des Herausgebers Wolfgang Wicht, diese umfangreichen und sehr persönlichen wohnlichen Manuskript-Ausgaben – die erste den englischsprachigen Raum – vorzulegen.
Appendix D: Excerpt from Erwin Einzinger’s email of 19 July 2017 to Monika Sobotta

Liebe Frau Sobotta,

[…] Zu den Fragen, ganz kurz:


Ich habe damals zwei Kapitel geschrieben und dann pausiert, hatte Angst, das nicht weiter hinzukriegen, doch binnen weniger Wochen hatte ich mich bis ans Ende meines Buches, das mir ganz besonders gefällt, vorgearbeitet. Es gab zufällig eine Einladung zu den Klagenfurter Bachmann-Tagen der damaligen Jurorin Frau Gertrud Fussenegger, und ich habe abgesagt mit der Ausrede, ich hätte nichts anzubieten, […].


Zufällig rief mich damals auch die Kollegin Evelyn Schlag an, und ganz nebenbei erwähnte ich die Arbeit, an der ich gerade geschrieben hatte oder noch schrieb, und sie erstarrte am Telefon, erklärte mir, sie selbst habe ebenfalls einen Roman über KM in Arbeit, und ich tröstete sie, ihr Ansatz werde sicher anders sein, und als ich später ihr fertiges Buch las, sah
ich, dass ich recht gehabt hatte. [...].

Soviel also im Moment, wenn Sie weitere Fragen haben, nur zu, bis übermorgen bin ich noch im Land.

Herzliche Grüße,

E. Einzinger
Bibliography

Primary Sources in English


Mansfield, Katherine, *Six Stories*, Elisabeth Zanner (ed) (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Von Velhagen und Klasing, 1941)


—. *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, Margaret Scott (ed) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002)


Secondary Sources in English

Ailwood, Sarah and Melinda Harvey (eds), Katherine Mansfield and Literary Influence (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015)


Bassnett, Susan and André Lefevere, Translation, History and Culture (London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1990)

Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation (Multilingual Matters, 1998)

Bassnett, Susan, Reflections on Translation (Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2011)

Berkman, Sylvia, Katherine Mansfield: A Critical Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1951)

Bermann, Sandra and Catherine Porter (eds), A Companion to Translation Studies, (Chichester: John Wiley, 2014)


Bennett, Andrew, Katherine Mansfield (Devon: Northcote House, 2004)

Boase-Beier, Jean, Antoinette Fawcett and Philip Wilson (eds), Literary Translation: Redrawing the Boundaries (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

Boase-Beier, Jean and Michael Holman (eds), The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity (London and New York: Routledge, 2014)

Bodden, Horst, Herbert Kaußen and Rudi Renné, Great English Short Stories, (Stuttgart: Klett, 2013)


Catling, Jo (ed), *A History of Women’s Writing in Germany, Austria and Switzerland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)


—. *English as a Literature in Translation* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016)


Federici, Eleonora and Vanessa Leonardi (eds), *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013)


Friedrichsmeyer, Sara and Patricia Herminghouse (eds), *Women in German Yearbook*, no 14 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska, 1999)


Fullbrook, Kate, *Katherine Mansfield* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986)


Gerstenberger, Katharina and Patricia Herminghouse (eds), *German Literature in a New Century: Trends, Traditions, Transformations* (New York: Berghahn, 2008)

Gilmour, Rachael and Tamar Steinitz (eds), *Multilingual Currents in Literature, Translation, and Culture* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2018)


Hanson, Clare and Andrew Gurr, *Katherine Mansfield* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981)


Hanson Clare, Gerri Kimber, and Todd Martin (eds), *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, vol. 8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016)


—. *Stepping Forward: Essays, Lectures and Interviews* (Maidstone: Crescent Moon, 3rd ed., 2012)

—. *How to Do Theory* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2006)


Jones, Sara, *Complicity, Censorship and Criticism* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011)


Kimber, Gerri, *The View from France* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008)

—. *Katherine Mansfield and the Art of the Short Story* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)


Lefevere, André, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992)


Moore, Nicole and Christina Spittel (eds), *Australian Literature in the German Democratic Republic: Reading through the Iron Curtain* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2016)


—. *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2000)


Steiner, George, *Grammars of Creation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001)


Taberner, Stuart, *German Literature of the 1990s and beyond: Normalization and the Berlin Republic* (Rochester and Suffolk: Camden House, 2005)


Tickell, Alex (ed), *Literature in Transition: from 1800 to the present*, Book 2 (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 2017)


Tymoczko, Maria and Edwin Gentzler, *Translation and Power* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002)


—. *Translation Changes Everything* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013)


Wilson, Janet, Gerri Kimber and Susan Reid (eds), *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Modernism* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2nd ed 2013)


**Online Sources in English**


Boase-Beier, Jean, 'Knowing and not nowing: style, intention and the translation of a Holocaust poem' in *Language and Literature*, vol. 13 <DOI: 10.1177/096394700403948>


Brownlie, Siobhan, 'Narrative Theory and Retranslation Theory', in *Across Languages and Cultures*, vol. 7, issue 2, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1556/Acr.7.2006.2.1>


Herlitschka, Herberth Collection, University of Reading, Archive and Museum Database, Reference MS 1409 <http://www.reading.ac.uk/adlib/Details/print>


**Primary Sources in German**

Einzinger, Erwin, Kopfschmuck für Mansfield (Salzburg und Wien: Rezidenz Verlag, 1985)

Eisenreich, Herbert, Die Freunde meiner Frau (Zürich: Diogenes, 1978)

Hohl, Ludwig, Daß fast alles anders ist (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1984)
   —. Die Notizen (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014)

Mansfield, Katherine, Für Sechs Pence Erziehung und andere Geschichten, trans. by Herberth E. Herlitschka (Wien, Leipzig, Zürich: Herbert Reichner, 1937)
   —. 'Sonne und Mond', trans. by Ina Seidel, Prisma, Heft 1 (München: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1946)
   —. Ihr Erster Ball, trans. by Herberth E. Herlitschka (Zürich: Die Arche, 1948)
—. *Seligkeit und Andere Erzählungen*, ed. and trans. by Marlys and Herberth Herlitschka (Zürich: Die Arche, 1952)

—. *Katherine Mansfield: Eine Ehe in Briefen*, trans. and ed. by Max A. Schwendimann (München: Kindler, 1970)

—. 'Sun and Moon': *Fünf Short Stories*, trans. by Nelson Wattie (Stuttgart: Reclam 1977)


—. *Sämtliche Erzählungen*, Band 1, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth Schnack (Frankfurt a.M.: Gutenberg, 1980)

—. *Sämtliche Erzählungen*, Band 2, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth Schnack (Frankfurt a.M.: Gutenberg, 1980)

—. *In einer deutschen Pension*, trans. by Ute Haffmans (Frankfurt/Main: Haffmans Verlag bei Zweitausendeins, 2006)

—. *Sämtliche Werke*, trans. by Heiko Arntz, Ute Haffmans, Sabine Lohmann (Frankfurt/Main: Haffmans Verlag bei Zweitausendeins, 2009)

—. *Fliegen, Tanzen, Wirbeln, Beben*, trans. by Irma Wehrli, ed. by Horst Lauinger (München: Manesse, 2018)

—. 'Eine indiskrete Reise' und andere Erzählungen, trans. by Ursula Grawe (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2019)


Wohmann, Gabriele, *Böse Streiche* (Düsseldorf: Eremiten-Presse, 1977)


**Secondary Sources in German**


Bodden et al. (eds), *Great English Short Stories: Model Interpretations* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1980)

Bodden, Horst, Herbert Kaußen und Rudi Renné (eds), *Great English Short Stories* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1979)

Böttchen, Kurt und Gerda Böttchen (eds), *Bretter, die die Welt bedeuten* (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1963)

Beuren, Daniela, *Das Konstrukt Frau in der Translation* (Graz: Leykam, 2005)


Finkenstaedt, Thomas, *Kleine Geschichte der Anglistik in Deutschland* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983)

Friedrich, Hans Eberhard (ed), *Prisma* (München: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1946)


Heilborn, Ernst, *Die Literatur: Monatszeitschrift für Literaturfreunde* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1937)

Hoops, Reinald, *Der Einfluß der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1934)


Jarfe, Günther, *Die moderne britische Short Story* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2010)


Kauders, Anthony D., *Der Freud Komplex: Eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2014)


Korte, Barbara, Sandra Schaur, Stefan Welz (ed), *Britische Literatur in der DDR* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2008)


Lasky, Melvin, (ed), *Der Monat*, Nr. 043/1952 (Berlin: Office of Military Government for Germany)


List, Elisabeth and Herlinde Studer (eds), *Denkverhältnisse: Feminismus und Kritik* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989)


Miller, Alice, *Das Drama des begabten Kindes* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1979)

Reich-Ranicki, Marcel, *ZDF Schriftenreihe, Heft 37* (Mainz: Zweites Deutsche Fernsehen, 1988)


Schirmer, Walter F., *Der Englische Roman der Neuesten Zeit* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1923)

—, *Geschichte der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 6. Aufl. 1983, 1. Aufl. 1937)

Schlösser, Anselm, *Die englische Literatur in Deutschland von 1895 bis 1934* (Jena: Walter Biedermann, 1937)


Seidel, Ina, *Frau und Wort* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965)

—, *Aus den schwarzen Wachstuchheften*, ed. by Christian Ferber (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980),


Tenorth, Heinz-Elmar, *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden 1810-2010*, Band 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010)

Tomalin, Claire, *Katherine Mansfield: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, trans. by Eike Schönfeld (Frankfurt/Main: Insel, 1990)

Vowinkel, Ernst, *Der englische Roman der neuesten Zeit und Gegenwart: Stilformen und Entwicklungslinien* (Berlin: Herbig, 1926)


Yourgrau, Wolfgang (ed), *Orient* (Haifa: Orient Verlag, 1942)

**Doctoral Theses on Katherine Mansfield written in Germany or in German-speaking countries from 1937 to 2015 in chronological order**


Wiegelmann, Thea, *Das Weltbild der Katherine Mansfield* (Bonn, 1937)

Andree, Maria, *Das Lebensgefühl der Katherine Mansfield* (Münster, 1950)


**Online Sources in German**

*Augsburger Allgemeine*, 'Schreiben am Rande des Universums'
<http://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/kultur/Schreiben-am-Rande-des-Universums-id>

*Augsburger Allgemeine*, Lokales (Mindelheim), 16.10.2018

*DIE ZEIT*, 05. Juni 1947, 'Über die Kurzgeschichte',
<http://www.zeit.de/1947/23/ueber-die-kurzgeschichte>

*DIE ZEIT*, 15. Januar, 1953, 'Moderne deutsche Klassiker'
<http://www.zeit.de/1953/03/moderne-deutsche-klassiker>


*DIE ZEIT*, 20. Mai 1954, 'Novellen nicht gefragt: Zu guten Erzählbänden'
<http://www.zeit.de/1954/20/novellen-nicht-gefragt>


Essays on Mansfield written by Ina Seidel, retained by the German Literature Archive Marbach

Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923), as printed in Prisma in 1946

Katherine Mansfield / Das Leben (Plan zu einer Biographie, 1949)

Katherine Mansfield: Thematik des Werkes, Bedingtheit der Kunst in der Persönlichkeit, dargelegt an den Briefen
Unpublished Sources

Files from Bundesarchiv Berlin, Akte Ministerium für Kultur (Files of GDR Ministry of Culture), not publicly available
DR1/3481/321
DR1/3481/322
DR1/3481/323
DR1/3482/266
DR1/3482/267
DR1/3482/268
DR1/3482/269
DR1/3482/270