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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Deborah O'Dell for the Master of Arts in German presented July 23, 1987.

Title: The Image of the Habsburg Empire in Joseph Roth's Radetzkymarsch and Die Kapuzinergruft.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Louis J. Elteto, Chairman

William B. Fischer

Roderic C. Diman

Elliot Benowitz

This thesis explores Joseph Roth's image of the Habsburg Empire as depicted in two of his works, namely Radetzkymarsch (1932) and Die Kapuzinergruft (1938).

Joseph Roth is perhaps the chronicler par excellence of the Habsburg Empire. Among the authors who have attempted, through their works, to come to grips with fin de siècle Austria, he has remained

relatively unknown. However, Roth was keenly aware of the Monarchy's ultimate decline and fall. Losing the Monarchy was his most intense experience and his personal involvement with the Empire plays a dominant role in these novels. Hence, Chapter I provides a biographical sketch.

Chapter II examines Radetzkymarsch, his most significant novel. The novel gives an account of the nihilistic despair and insecurity that took hold of the people during the fall of the Monarchy. It is a realistic story of three generations of a Slovenian family, whose fate symbolically coincides with that of the Monarchy. After a brief plot summary, the chapter provides an analysis of the fictional characters and leitmotifs.

Chapter III investigates Die Kapuzinergruft, the parallel and anachronistic sequel to Radetzkymarsch. The novel tells of the same decaying world as Radetzkymarsch and also mirrors the fate of Austria in its characters. The chapter is similar in structure to chapter II and focuses on the aspects of the novel that illuminate Austrian society during and after the fall.

The concluding chapter gives a brief overview of the major similarities and dissimilarities and argues that Roth's image of the Empire did not change. Die Kapuzinergruft is seen as the logical continuation of Radetzkymarsch, and its worthy conclusion. The emptiness and suffering Joseph Roth struggled with throughout his life seem to have been the major impetus behind his creativity. He recognized the disease which infected the society of his time and clearly conveys his understanding on the pages of these two novels.

THE IMAGE OF THE HABSBURG EMPIRE IN JOSEPH ROTH'S
RADETZKYMARSCH AND DIE KAPUZINERGRUFT.

by

DEBORAH O'DELL

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The deterioration of the Habsburg Empire, the First World War and its aftermath offered numerous Austrian writers of the time a topic for literary creativity. The interest and the importance of the Austrian situation during the first four decades of the twentieth century lie in the fact that political conflicts and social tensions were acute. Many authors tried to come to terms with the rapid and vast changes through the medium of literature. One such author was Joseph Roth (1894-1939).

As an author and a journalist, Roth criticized and chronicled the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the rise of Nazi power in the Austrian Republic. His tragic life and conflicting loyalties intensified his image of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although most of Roth's work revolves around the decline and fall of the Empire, this thesis will concentrate on Roth's picture of the Empire in only two of his novels, namely Radetzkymarsch (1932) and Die Kapuzinergruft (1938).

In these novels Roth captured the loss of direction, alienation and fading of social and moral values over a span of seventy-nine years, 1859-1938. The characters represent and illuminate the Austrian society of Roth's lifetime. Their fates symbolically coincide with that of the Monarchy, and are undoubtedly bound to Roth's own fate, as he saw it. He had lost his fatherland and nothing could fill the void he felt.

Roth's major concern in Radetzkymarsch and Die Kapuzinergruft was not to show the decay of political and economic structures, but rather to draw an emotional and vivid portrait of the decay of life: the individual's loss of power and identity. By analyzing and comparing the characters of these novels I will show that Roth comprehended the society of pre- and post-war Austria.

A further concern of this work involves the reputation of Die Kapuzinergruft. I hope to show that the novel deserves the same recognition as Radetzkymarsch, and should be reexamined by those who see it as historical escapism. After careful examination and evaluation of the material I hope to present to the reader a strong argument that demonstrates the equal value of both novels.

Radetzkymarsch sets the stage for Die Kapuzinergruft, and also introduces the reader to the milieu of turn-of-the-century Austria and the ensuing years. Roth's awareness of the catastrophe of the late 1930's is made clear in Die Kapuzinergruft. Any belief he may have conveyed in Radetzkymarsch for the restoration of the Empire's past glory and power is destroyed. Nonetheless, I feel Roth was able to continue his realistic and detailed picture of the social and inner decadence of the Austrian Empire and Republic. Although the Empire had died, the ills of society continued in the eyes of Joseph Roth.

CHAPTER II

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Der Mensch kann seine Jugendeindrücke nicht los werden, und dieses geht so weit, daß selbst mangelhafte Dinge, woran er sich in solchen Jahren gewöhnt und in deren Umgebung er jene glückliche Zeit gelebt hat, ihm auch später in dem Grade lieb und wert bleiben, daß er darüber wie verblendet ist und er das Fehlerhafte daran nicht einsieht.¹

This quote about human nature, taken from Johann Eckermann's Gespräche mit Goethe, is undoubtedly applicable to Joseph Roth's life. Born on September 2, 1894 in Brody, Galicia, the easternmost province of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Roth witnessed from childhood the decay of the once great Empire. He lived his youth in the final stages of the history of the Empire and the impressions formed in him in this time were destined to become the central theme around which his later works revolved.

David Bronsen, Roth's chief biographer, has dubbed Roth a mythomaniac. The purpose of the following biographical sketch is to separate myth from reality and to point out some facts that were significant in shaping Roth's character and eventually his work.

The adult Joseph Roth often mythified, in the sense of consciously not giving true information, many facts of his past. The first myth concerns his place of birth, Brody, in Eastern Galicia. Brody, ten kilometers from the

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¹ Johann Peter Eckermann, Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren (Berlin, W. Ger.: Aufbau Verlag, 1956): 499.

Russian border, was inhabited largely by Jews. "No other town in the "crown land" had such a high percentage of Jews."² From 1901-1905 Roth went to the Jewish Baron Hirsch elementary school where he studied Hebrew and German. Bronsen writes, "Aus der Schule und seiner frühesten Jugend stammen auch die Ansätze zu Roths komplizierte Beziehung zu den Juden."³ Although Brody was the source of Roth's Jewish identity, he became defensive and so uncomfortable about his Jewishness that he fabricated a non-existent birthplace, which he called alternately "Schwabendorf" or "Schwaby". "Roth avoided Brody once he left it and erased its name from his vocabulary except when he conversed with Jews from that locale."⁴

From 1905-1913 Roth visited the K K Kronprinz Gymnasium, the only one of its kind in Galicia. And here again he was a lone wolf with a limited number of acquaintances. The Gymnasium was not strictly Jewish, but the majority of students that were Jewish attended it. Attendance to the synagogue on Sabbath was mandatory for Roth. It was during this time that he familiarized himself with the orthodox Jewish customs which he later wrote about in Hieb and Juden auf Wanderschaft. For Roth, the next myth developed during these years, and concerns a scholarship.

Living in the house of his uncle with his mother and grandfather, Roth grew up in poor, but not unbearable conditions. The tuition charge of fifteen Gulden a semester was quite a financial burden for the Roth family: they

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² David Bronsen, "The Jew in Search of a Fatherland: The Relationship of Joseph Roth to the Habsburg Monarchy," Germanic Review 54.2 (1979): 54.

³ David Bronsen, Joseph Roth: Eine Biographie, (Köln, W. Ger.: Klepenheuer, 1975): 65.

⁴ Bronsen, "The Jew in Search of a Fatherland," 55.

could live on that amount for a month. Although the government awarded scholarships to needy students, Roth never received one. "Roths Behauptung, er sei Stipendiat gewesen, . . . gehört vermutlich dem Reich seiner Legenden an."⁵

Roth was an outstanding student at the Gymnasium in Brody. Although he was a shy outsider, he seemed to come out of himself during German class. "[Er] legte als Schüler Wert auf gute Zensuren, da sein Ehrgeiz nach Anerkennung durstete."⁶ It is during this time that his love for books, especially poetry, developed. Under the influence of Max Landau, his German literature teacher, Roth became aware of his poetic talent. The relationship between the two was of utmost importance for Roth's intellectual and literary development. "In Max Landau . . . fand der sensible Gymnasiast einen Freund und Förderer, der ihm gern seine Berufung zum Dichter bescheinigte."⁷ The following poem written at the age of eighteen to his uncle Willi Gröbel is a prime example of his ability to compose, and at the same time discloses Roth's real and imaginary worlds.

Oft spinn' ich alte schöne Märchenträume
 Und glaub' an Wunder, wie ein kleines Kind --
 Da fegt der rauhe Sturm durch all Bäume,
 Es heult und pfeift durch alle Lebensräume
 Der Wahrheit Lied der rauhe Herbsteswind.

Und ich erwache aus den Träumereien,
 Der kalte Hauch des Lebens mich umzieht --

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⁵ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 80.

⁶ David Bronsen, "Die Ambitionen des jungen Joseph Roth," Text und Kritik Sonderband (1974): 38.

⁷ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 85.

Dahin sind alle Elfen und die feien, --
 Im Kampfe will ich mir die Brust erneuern,
 und sturmgestählt sing' ich das Schlachtenlied.⁸

More complicated than the foregoing myths was Roth's constant preoccupation with the father he never had. His father, Nachum Roth, a grain buyer for an export business in Hamburg, and his mother, Marie Gröbel, both of Jewish heritage, were married in 1892. However in 1893, due to his inability to handle business troubles⁹, Nachum was committed to a mental institution in Germany, later to be given to a "Wunderrabbi" in Russian Poland. Nachum died 1910, ". . . noch immer in denselben Umgebung, in geistiger Umnachtung, ohne jemals seinen Sohn . . . gesehen zu haben."¹⁰

Maria, an overprotective mother, was successful in convincing the town of Brody that her husband had hanged himself. The extreme concern she showed for her son's well-being, to the point of escorting him to school everyday, waiting the five hours until his classes were finished, and then walking him home again, was in fact to keep him from ever having to confront the topic of his father. "Sie wollte nicht, daß ihr Sohn vom Tod seines Vaters und dessen Hintergrund erfuhr."¹¹

The absence of a father is something Roth never came to terms with. To fill the void regarding his paternal origins he invented numerous tales. Some descriptions he used frequently depict his father as an Austrian

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⁸ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 91.

⁹ Bronsen writes that the exact circumstances concerning his illness cannot be determined. See Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 41.

¹⁰ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 42.

¹¹ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 67.

officer, a Polish Count, a Viennese painter, an irresponsible alcoholic given to melancholia and a high civil servant. In a passage written to Stanley Kunitz, Roth claims, "I was born in . . . Schwabendorf, the son of a Russian Jewess and an Austrian."¹² In a letter to Otto Forst-Battaglia in 1932 he wrote, "Ich bin der Sohn eines österreichischen Eisenbahnbeamten (frühzeitig pensioniert und im Wohnheim gestorben) und einer russisch-polnischen Jüdin,"¹³ while to Blanche Gidon, a friend in Paris, he wrote, "d'un père autrichien (employé d'état, peintre, alcoolique, devenu fou avant ma naissance."¹⁴ Still another story he told to his publisher Gustav Kiepenheuer in 1930:

Meine Mutter war eine Jüdin von kräftiger, erdruher, slawischer Struktur. . . . Sie hatte kein Geld und keinen Mann. Denn mein Vater, der sie eines Tages nach dem Westen nahm, wahrscheinlich nur, um mich zu zeugen, ließ sie in Kattowitz allein und verschwand auf Nimmerwiedersehen. Er muß ein merkwürdiger Mensch gewesen sein, ein Österreicher vom Schlag der Schlawiner, er verschwendete viel, trank wahrscheinlich und starb, als ich sechzehn Jahre alt war. . . .¹⁵

As a writer, Roth also created a number of fathers and sons as main characters. His repeated use of the father-figure motif and its importance will be explored in the following chapters.

In 1913, after graduating from the Gymnasium, Roth left Brody. After a short sojourn to the University in Lemberg, he set out for Vienna, where he

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¹² Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds., Twentieth Century Authors (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1942): 1204.

¹³ Hermann Kesten, Joseph Roth: Briefe 1911-1939 (Köln, W. Ger.: Kiepenheuer, 1956): 239.

¹⁴ Kesten, Briefe, 313.

¹⁵ Kesten, Briefe, 165.

arrived shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Leaving and starting over again was one of the means Roth adopted to make life manageable. The Vienna which he encountered was still the city of culture, grandeur, and great artistic expression. For the Viennese middle class it was still a time of security and lightheartedness. The arts were in full bloom with: the atonal music of Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg and Anton Webern; the seeds of Expressionism evident in the works of Oscar Kokoschka; and the revolutionary psychoanalytical writings of Sigmund Freud. In the summer semester of 1914, enrolled at the University of Vienna, Roth began his studies in Germanistik. Walter Brecht,¹⁶ a professor of German literature, soon became Roth's mentor. "... durch Professor Brecht einen der wenigen bedeutsamen Einflüsse in seinem Leben; durch ihn erwachte in Roth die Liebe zur österreichischen Literatur und zur österreichischen Wesensart."¹⁷

In the years 1914-1916 Roth was successful in publishing his first poems, short stories and essays in Österreichs Illustrierter Zeitung. According to his friend from the university, Jozsef Wittlin, most of the works from this time were lost in World War II. It was during these years, while the Monarchy approached its dissolution, that Roth digested his new impressions and experienced and acquired numerous Viennese qualities. For a Jew, from the poor town of Brody, who grew up without a father, Vienna with its cultured way of life represented the "world". In the midst of the city's

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¹⁶ Walter Brecht, who is often mistakenly quoted to be the older brother of Berhold Brecht, was in reality of no relation. See: Fritz Hackert, "Joseph Roth: Zur Biographie," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 43 (1969): 163.

¹⁷ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 131.

magnetism Roth soon sensed its problems: political unrest, bloody student demonstrations, constant tensions between the nationalities.

On May 31, 1916 Roth took the step that would lead him away from university life, never to return to it again. With his close friend, Jozsef Wittlin, he voluntarily enlisted in the military. Unlike others at the outbreak of the war, they took a pacifistic stand and felt only the military and government wanted this war but the civilians, who suffered under it, reluctantly had to bear the consequences. However, with the incoming reports of deaths and massacres, Roth and Wittlin hardened their views. No longer could they remain uninvolved bystanders.

After the army rejected them twice because of physical disabilities, they voluntarily enlisted in the 21st Feldjäger Battalion. They felt that if for no other reason, "... die Kriegserlebnisse, an denen sie teilhaben würden, sollten eines Tages in ihren Schriftstellerischen Werken ihren Niederschlag finden."¹⁸ The time served proved to be unpleasant to say the least. Unaccustomed to the strains of military discipline, specifically the humiliating treatment by superiors, their morale weakened. The friends were separated, not to meet again until the fall of 1918. Roth remained in Vienna until the spring of 1917, when he was assigned to Galicia. Roth's account of events during his military service vary in much the same way as do the stories of his father. To quote David Bronsen, "Diesen Zeitabschnitt seines Militärdienstes umrankte Roth mit den farbigen Blüten seiner Fabulierkunst."¹⁹ One of the many tales reads as follows:

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¹⁸ David Bronsen, "Joseph Roths Kriegsdienst 1916-1918," Schweizer Monatshefte 49 (1969/70): 572.

¹⁹ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 168.

... the war broke out. I volunteered out of patriotism, but did not get to the front until 1916. I stayed there eight months, became sick, and on account of my knowledge of the Russian language and the Russian country was sent to the Commission of Occupation in the Ukraine. I became an officer, and intended to stay a soldier all my life. But then the revolution surprised me in Shmirinka. The revolting soldiers did not let me depart with the last train. I started to hike home, reached the former Russian border after a fortnight, was captured by Ukrainian troops, stayed prisoner for two months, fled, and after many detours got to Vienna.²⁰

In my research I found nothing to substantiate his rank as an officer, his being captured or his ability to speak Russian. From letters written during 1916-1918 to his cousin Paula Gröbel, one can ascertain that he was assigned to an outpost in East Galicia as a "Einjähriger Freiwilliger", a rank given to those who had an Abitur or the equivalent. What becomes clear in the dubious heroic tales is that Roth's patriotism and yearning for the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy grew.

In November 1918 the Empire collapsed. The Vienna to which Roth returned in December 1918 was one of political chaos, unemployment and an uncertain future. No longer hopeful of becoming a professor, he never resumed his university studies. Roth, in utter poverty, had to decide what his next step would be. During the war he had managed to publish articles in the daily newspaper Der Abend and the weekly magazine Der Friede. Upon suggestions from Fred Heller, the editor of a Viennese newspaper, he now decided to try his hand at being a reporter. At the time he did not realize that journalism, in one form or another, would follow him until his death. In 1919, the year Austria became a Republic, Roth began to write for Der Neue

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²⁰ Kunitz, 1204.

Tag. Within a short time his financial troubles were resolved and he quickly became part of the famed Viennese "Kaffeehaus" scene. In the same year he met the seventeen year old Friedl Reichler, whom he would eventually marry. After only thirteen months of existing, Der Neue Tag closed its doors. Roth again had to ask himself what to do next. However, from this time on he need not fear the future. He had established himself as a valued journalist and could always sell his feuilletons and articles. With this feeling of security, Roth left for Berlin in the summer of 1920, where he worked for a number of daily newspapers until his return to Vienna May 2, 1922. Three days later he married Friedl.

By nature a shy woman, Friedl sought strength and support, which Roth more than willingly gave. "Er bezeugte ihr große Aufmerksamkeit, ging auf ihre Sorgen ein, und war . . . zart und verständnisvoll."²¹ She in turn had a magical effect on Roth. The drinking habit, acquired during his military years, was easily controlled when in the company of Friedl.

It was not long after their marriage that Friedl's mental state began to deteriorate. From 1924 on she visited numerous doctors and hospitals. Their marriage came to a tragic end in 1933 when she was committed to the 'Landes- Heil- and Pflegeanstalt für Geistes- und Nervenkrankte', where she was diagnosed as a schizophrenic. On April 12, 1933 Roth wrote, "Mein ganzes Leben ist ruiniert. Ich habe vierzehn Jahre umsonst gearbeitet und gelebt. . . . Am Leben liegt mir gar nichts mehr."²² The irony of the above statement lies in the fact that the years from 1924 to 1934 proved to be his most productive.

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²¹ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 205.

²² Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 349.

From 1923-1925 he primarily worked as a travelling reporter for the Frankfurter Zeitung. In 1924 his first two novels, Hotel Savoy and Die Rebellion met with great success. His travels took him to France, the Balkans, Russia, Germany and Poland, where he wrote most of his work on tables in coffee houses and desks in hotel rooms. Although always on the move, Roth was no happy man. In a letter dated January 1, 1930 he wrote,

Mit . . . der seelischen Belastung muß man allein fertig werden. Und da hilft es leider nicht, daß man selbst ein Schriftsteller ist. Das ist man offiziell und privat ist man ein ganz kleiner Teufel, der schwerer schleppt als ein Straßenbahnschaffner. Die Zeit allein und nicht die Begehung kann uns die Distanz geben, und ich habe nicht viel Zeit mehr. Zehn Jahre meiner Ehe haben mir vierzig bedeutet und meine natürliche Neigung, ein Greis zu sein, unterstützt das äußere Unglück in einer schrecklichen Weise.²³

Juden auf Wanderschaft and Die Flucht ohne Ende were published in 1927, one year later Zipper und sein Vater, and in 1929 Rechts und Links and Der Stumme Prophet. His next novel, Hlob, published in 1930, was as internationally successful as his 1932 novel, Radetzkymarsch, would be. By 1934, when his next novel, Torebas, was published, Roth was suffering from deep depression, dependency on alcohol and living in exile.

On January 30, 1933, the day Adolf Hitler took power, Roth left Germany to live his remaining six years in exile. Roth no longer lied to himself, he faced the reality of Nazism, as is expressed in a letter to Stephan Zweig, dated February 1933,

Inzwischen wird es Ihnen klar sein, daß wir großen Katastrophen austreiben. Abgesehen von den privaten - unsere literarische und materielle Existenz ist ja vernichtet - führt das Ganze zum neuen Krieg. Ich gebe keinen Heller mehr für unser Leben. Es ist gelungen,

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²³ Bronsen, Eine Biographie, 349.

die Barbarei regieren zu lassen. Machen Sie sich keine Illusionen.
Die Hölle regiert.²⁴

Despite his continuous depression and bouts with alcohol, Roth continued to write articles for various newspapers in Austria and France and to publish at least one book a year until his death: in 1934 Tarabas and Der Antichrist, 1935 Die Hundert Tage, 1936 Die Beichte eines Mörders, 1937 Das Falsche Gewicht, 1938 Die Kapuzinergruft, and in 1939 Die Geschichte von der 1002. Nacht. It is clear that while the substance of his life shriveled his literary creation served as the only saviour.

The annexation of Austria by Germany, on March 13, 1938, was the final hardship Roth would face. With his dream for the restoration of Habsburg power shattered, his physical and mental health deteriorated.

Roth trank mehr und mehr. . . . Er was aufgeschwemmt, sein Blick wässrig, sein Gang unsicher. Er litt an Anfällen von Verfolgungswahn, peitschendem Schuldgefühl und Blindheit. Der Arzt bestand auf Milch; da goß Roth Pernod hinein.²⁵

Joseph Roth died May 27, 1939 in the Hospital Necker in Paris. Cause of death: alcoholism? pneumonia? a broken heart?

On May 28th 1939 several of Roth's closest friends met at the Café Tournon to decide on what type of religious ceremony should be carried out at the funeral. Since no evidence of Roth's baptism was at hand, his Catholic friends had to agree on only a "quasi-Catholic" burial, while his Jewish friends planned to say Kaddisch, the Hebrew prayer for the dead. On May 30, 1939, at the Thiais cemetery, in the south of Paris, Joseph Roth was laid to rest. Roth's lifelong conflicting loyalties and contradictory impressions

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²⁴ Kesten, Briefe, 249.

²⁵ Ludwig Marcuse, "Die neue Unsachlichkeit," Die Zeit 20.36 (1965): 11.

were more than evident on this day, as Habsburg loyalists, Communists, Jews and Catholics were among the many who flocked to his graveside.

CHAPTER III

RADETZKYMARSCH

World War I was a turning point for many authors; it brought to an end one world and painted an uncertain picture for the future. For Roth the fall of the Empire was more than this: losing the Monarchy was for him a crisis, his most intense experience. In a letter to Otto Forst de Battaglia he proclaimed:

Mein stärkstes Erlebnis war der Krieg und der Untergang meines Vaterlandes, des einzigen, das ich je besessen: die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie.¹

The present chapter will explore and analyze Roth's image of the Habsburg Empire as created in his novel Radetzkymarsch (1932).

Radetzkymarsch relates the lives of three generations of the Trotta family -- of Joseph, his son Franz, and his grandson Carl Joseph -- during the last fifty-seven years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The novel begins with the Battle of Solferino and ends with the death of Franz Joseph I in 1916. As will be shown, this family chronicle could aptly carry the same subtitle as Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks: 'Verfall einer Familie'.

The novel begins with the historical Battle of Solferino in 1859, where Austrian troops suffered serious defeats by the united armies of Italy and France. It was this battle that "...zum erstenmal den Untergang der

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¹ Kesten, Briefe, 240.

keiser- und königlichen Monarchie angekündigt hatte."² Young Joseph Trotta, a Slovene, is an infantry lieutenant in command of a platoon at Solferino. During the battle he is shot while saving the life of the young Emperor Franz Joseph I. For his heroic deed he is promoted to captain, decorated with the Order of Maria Theresa, and the prefix 'von' is added to his name. Captain Joseph Trotta von Sipolje marries, has a son and settles down to the normal life of an officer, until one day he reads a glorified and falsified version of his rescue of Franz Joseph I in his son's schoolbook. Outraged at the misrepresentation of facts, he protests until he is granted an audience with the Emperor. But here he is let down. Unable to accept the lie, he feels betrayed and resigns. The Monarchy however discharges him as major and bestows upon him the title of Baron. The first chapter ends with his death; the remaining twenty deal with Franz and Carl Joseph.

Franz Trotta, forbidden by his father to join the army, studies law and enters the civil service, eventually to become Royal Chief District Commissioner in Moravia. Franz von Trotta and Sipolje, a faithful servant to the Emperor, insists his son, Carl Joseph, go to military school. Carl Joseph however can only live in the shadow of his grandfather. He is too weak and sensitive to carry on the tradition of the family. He becomes estranged from his fellow officers, and carries terrible feelings of guilt about his involvement in the deaths of people close to him. The first death he experiences is that of Frau Slama, the gendarmerie sergeant's wife with whom he had had an affair. Although she dies in childbirth, Carl blames

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² Joseph Roth, Radetzkymarsch, (Köln, W. Ger.: Kiepenheuer, 1950): 319. Literary quotes in this chapter are all taken from Radetzkymarsch. Page numbers will hereafter appear in parentheses directly after the quote.

himself for her death. "Ihre Worte waren zärtlich, sie war eine Mutter, sie hat mich geliebt, sie ist gestorben! Es war klar, daß er Schuld an ihrem Tode trug." (49) The next death he is indirectly involved with is that of his only friend, Max Demant, the regimental doctor. Wrongly accused of having had an affair with Max's wife, Eva, Carl Joseph again feels himself to be the cause of Max's tragic death. "Und er (Carl Joseph) fühlte, daß die Toten die Lebenden riefen, und ihm war, als würde er selbst morgen schon . . . zum Duell antreten. Zum Duell antreten und fallen. Fallen und sterben." (114) Max and Captain Tattenbach, the instigator of the rumors concerning Carl Joseph and Frau Demant, both die in the duel and Carl Joseph's inability to cope with life is intensified. He asks for a transfer and is reassigned to an infantry battalion in the northeasternmost corner of the Monarchy, the Austro-Russian borderland. Here again he faces a bleak environment and becomes even more disillusioned.

Der Leutnant Trotta aber, empfindlicher als seine Kameraden, trauriger als sie und in der Seele das ständige Echo der rauschenden dunklen Fittiche des Todes, dem er schon zweimal begegnet war. . . . (160)

This time his depression leads him to take up the "corrupt" activities of drinking and gambling. On a three day pass to Vienna, Carl Joseph meets his second lover, Frau Valerie von Taußig. She is a middle-aged woman who keeps herself 'young' by seducing young soldiers. Upon returning from Vienna, Carl Joseph is ordered to break up a meeting of the striking workers of a bristle factory. With a platoon of soldiers he confronts the workers, shots are fired, workers are killed and Carl Joseph is injured. Although he could not be held responsible for the death of the workmen, he thinks of leaving the army and asks his father for permission.

This news from his son weighs heavily on the District Commissioner's heart.

...die Erwägung seines Sohnes, die Armee zu verlassen, wirkte auf Herrn von Trotta etwa so, wie wenn er eine Mitteilung von der gesamten kaiser- und königlichen Armee erhalten hätte, daß sie gesonnen sei, sich aufzulösen. Alles, alles in der Welt schien seinen Sinn verloren zu haben. Der Untergang der Welt schien angebrochen! (274)

His eventual response is to allow Carl Joseph to determine his own future. Ready to resign, Carl must however face the large debt he has incurred through gambling and borrowing in order to visit Frau von Taußig in Vienna. Unable to even begin to pay back the 6000 Crowns, he once again has to write to his father for help. Franz, unable to produce such an amount, has to visit the Emperor. The Hero of Solferino comes to the aid of the Trottas. The family honor is saved.

With his debts taken care of, Carl Joseph resigns from the army on the day his regiment receives word that the heir to the throne was murdered at Sarajevo. And with the eruption of the war, "...der Krieg, auf den er sich schon als Siebenjähriger vorbereitet hatte," (361) Carl Joseph rejoins his unit and marches northward to the Wolocyska frontier. Not long after the war began, he is hit in the head with a bullet and is killed while fetching water for his men. With his son's death and his office terminated, Franz Trotta's world also ends. He dies November 21, 1916 within hours after the death of the Emperor.

Decay and the fall of preeminence, which begin at the outset of Rodetzkymarsch, determine the course of the novel. The reader is never given a true picture of the Monarchy before the decay began. Although the original reasons for the Monarchy's dissolution are never stated, Roth's image is quite

clear. Everything -- events, characters, pictures, scenery -- is plagued by decadence and downfall. A feeling of staleness lingers over the novel.

Roth's image of the Empire is set in the lives and fates of the Trotts. Their fate is symbolically tied to that of the Monarchy. Each fictional character in Radetzky represents a certain aspect of Roth's declining Monarchy.

The grandfather, Joseph Trotta, initiates good fortune for the family by saving Emperor Franz Joseph's life. Franz Joseph I had come to inspect the troops at the Battle of Solferino. Aware of snipers in the area, Lieutenant Trotta pushes the Emperor to the ground and caught the bullet, aimed for the Emperor's heart, in the left shoulder. As a patriot he equates the life of the Emperor with that of his regiment, the army, the state, in fact the entire world. His heroic deed is rewarded greatly. But as the son of simple Slovenian peasants, he never feels at ease with his new rank and title.

... (D)er geadelte Hauptmann Trotta (verlor) das Gleichgewicht, ... und ihm war, als wäre er von nun an sein Leben lang verurteilt, in fremden Stiefeln auf einem glatten Boden zu wandeln, von heimlichen Reden verfolgt und von scheuen Blicken erwartet. (11)

He feels detached from his forefathers, and soon realizes the weakness of the prevailing moral and social order. Unable to accept a trumped-up version of his rescue of the Emperor, he insists on an audience with Franz Joseph. He is informed at the meeting that, for political reasons, the story would not be changed. He leaves the meeting disillusioned and realizes the Emperor's total dependency on his ministers.

As stated before, Joseph dies at the end of chapter one, but he is kept alive throughout the novel in the minds of the characters, who are closely connected with him. He is their bridge to the past. His portrait reminds them

of their duty and honor, it becomes their icon. Franz and the family's servant, Jacques, both wanted the portrait close to them in their final hours. Carl Joseph had an even stronger attraction to the portrait. Even though he had never met his grandfather, he feels closer to the portrait than to his father. "... (Er fühlte) sich als der Enkel seines Großvaters, nicht als der Sohn seines Vaters. . . ." (74) Carl Joseph often feels his grandfather's eyes on his back. "Carl Joseph fühlte den gebieterischen Blick des Großvaters im Nacken. Der Held von Solferino diktierte dem zaghaften Enkel bündige Entschlossenheit." (113) Joseph and his generation symbolize the birth of the "Age of Weakness".

Franz Trotta, forbidden by his father to join the army, is the district commissioner in Moravia. He is a model bureaucrat, but lacks the strength to face reality until the death of his son makes him conscious of the collapse of his world.

Franz is aware of his title and his superior social status. Bandmaster Nechwal is a man of the world in the eyes of young Carl Joseph, but to District Commissioner Trotta he is nothing more than the director of the band, which plays weekly in front of the Trotta house. And at every Sunday reception the same conversation between Herr Nechwal and Herr Trotta could be heard.

"Ich bin entzückt von Ihrem Konzert", sagte Herr von Trotta, heute wie jeden Sonntag. . . . Herr Nechwal verbeugte sich. . . . "Wie geht es Ihrer Frau Gemahlin?" fragte Herr von Trotta regelmäßig. Seit Jahren stellte er diese Frage. Er hatte Frau Nechwal nie gesehen, er wünschte auch nicht, der "Frau aus einfachen Verhältnissen" jemals zu begegnen. . . . Und wie geht es Ihren Kindern?" fragte Herr von Trotta, der immer vergaß, ob es Söhne oder Töchter waren. "Der Älteste lernt gut!" sagte der Kapellmeister. "Wird wohl Musiker?" fragte Herr von Trotta. . . . Eine Woche später hatte er alles vergessen. Man merkte sich nicht die Kinder des Kapellmeisters. (38)

A second example of his rank consciousness is found in the case of his brother-in-law, Stansky. Franz was unwilling to associate with him because he had married someone from the "lower" class.

"Wie sieht er übrigens aus, der gute Stansky?" (fragte Herr von Trotta). . . . Ich hab ihn zuletzt vor neunzehn Jahren gesehen. Da war er noch Oberleutnant. Schon verliebt in diese Koppelman. Unheilbar! Die Geschichte war fast fatal. Verliebt war er halt in eine Koppelman. Er sprach diesen Namen lauter als das übrige und mit einer deutlichen Zäsur zwischen den beiden Teilen. (57)

Franz's strict adherence to the class system leaves him a lonely man, a man unable and unwilling to show his son any feeling of his love. That is not to say that Franz does not love Carl Joseph. On the contrary, he slowly begins to live for the sake of his son, so much so that when Carl dies, his existence turns brittle. Feelings of warmth are nonexistent in this father-son relationship. From the outset Franz is the master, Carl his subject. Franz dominates Carl. The reader is first introduced to the fifteen-year-old Carl, who is home on leave from cavalry cadet school. Their first meeting parallels a trial interrogation. Promptly at 9:00, sitting opposite his son, Franz would ask the questions and Carl would begin slowly to give an account of all that had happened during the previous year. At 10:30 Carl would think to himself, "Anderthalb Stunden ging noch die Prüfung. Es konnte dem Alten einfallen, Geschichte des Altertums zu prüfen oder germanische Mythologie." (32) The questioning stopped at 11:00, at which time lunch was served. Carl, still unable to relax, would eat as much and as quickly as Franz prescribed.

It is not clear until the end of the novel how close the father-son relationship is. I believe that the reserved manner in which Roth chose to portray their relationship points out that the lack of warmth does not stem

from a lack of emotion, but rather a lack of communication. The feelings were alive, but suppressed. Franz kept his thoughts to himself. On his visit to see Carl at the front, he tells Carl of the death of their faithful butler, Jacques, but can not express his true thoughts.

...er sagte nicht, wie er gewollt hatte: "Ich hab dich lieb, mein Sohn!", sondern "Er ist sehr leicht gestorben! Es war ein echter Maibend, und alle Vögel haben gepfiffen. . . . Jacques hat alle Stiefel geputzt. Dann erst ist er gestorben, im Hof, auf der Bank!" (181-82)

The relationship between Franz and Skowronnek, a civilian doctor, also suffers from the same problems. They regularly meet at the local café to play chess, but are unable to establish the intimate relationship they both long for. Franz's inability to communicate is also apparent in his relation to Moser, a degenerate artist. They were friends in their youth and Moser had even painted Joseph's portrait. But during their meeting in the "Volksgarten" it is obvious they no longer have anything in common. Franz tolerates Moser, but avoids his friendship by typically offering money.

Franz is duty conscious and loyal, but as an Austrian official, unable to admit the imperfection of the Monarchy. When Carl Joseph tells his father of his plan to resign, only then does Franz begin to see the light. "Die Monarchie ist tot, sie ist tot!" schrie (Carl) und blieb still. "Wahrscheinlich!" murmelte der Bezirkshauptmann, ohne den Kopf zu heben." (351)

Carl Joseph Trotta is the prototype of Roth's non-hero. His character represents the decay of Austrian life in the final years of the Monarchy. On his father's wishes he joins the army, but is far from being a model soldier. He is passively carried in his career by his grandfather's legend. Whereas the Hero of Solferino saved the Emperor's life, Carl can only save Franz Joseph's portrait from a bordello. A skeptical, melancholic, weak man he is unable to

put his life in to order and deal with the present. He lives in the past. Carl is a static character, he does not develop. Roth only gives an account of his changing feelings. Melancholy, guilt, alienation, fear, homesickness, nostalgia and shame determine his life. These feelings intensify his life, but suffocate his will to live. "Seine Müdigkeit, sein Weltschmerz und eine Todessehnsucht machen ihn zu einem typischen Repräsentanten der Fin-de-siècle Dekadenz. . . ."³ Carl represents one of the many inactive unparticipating side-line observers of the Dual Monarchy. He is caught between two worlds: the old world of the ageing Monarch, with its devoted servants, and the new world of individualism and nationalism, the fighters of which brought about the fall of the Empire.

The lack of warmth and communication evident in the father-son relationship is also characteristic of Carl's social relationships. The regimental doctor, Max Demant, is the only character Carl recognizes as a friend. They are drawn to one another because they both stand outside of the officers' circle. They share the same feelings about the military and are both described as weak grandchildren. Out of their inability to master life a bond is created. This bond quickly weakens when Max is led to believe in a love affair between his wife, Eva, and Carl. Max confronts Carl and Carl swears on his honor that there is nothing to be suspicious of and they shake hands. Although their feelings for one another are mutual, they can not overcome the block in communication.

Lange, lange möchten sie so nebeneinander marschieren. Jeder von den beiden hätte irgendein Wort zu sagen, und beide schweigen. Ein Wort, ein Wort ist leicht gesprochen. Es is nicht gesprochen! --

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³ Hans Jürgen Böning, Joseph Roths 'Rodetzkymarsch', (München, W. Ger.: Wilhelm Fink, 1968): 76.

Zum letzten Mal, denkt der Leutnant, zum letzten Mal gehn wir so nebeneinander her. (104-5)

The other relationship he attempts to establish was with his orderly. Onufrij, a simple Slavic peasant, is devoted to Carl. His loyalty goes so far that he sells his only piece of land in order to help Trotta out of a huge gambling debt, but Trotta refuses the money. Although he is aware of Onufrij's feelings, he could never say the right words to establish the friendship.

Carl's love affairs are also marked by estrangement. They are not genuine human relationships, but both affairs characterized by sexual exploitation. Frau Slama, the first lover, seduces Carl, while her husband is away at work. Every second day at 4:00 Carl appears at her door. Promptly at 7:00 he leaves. On hearing of her death he visits Sergeant Slama to pay his respects. The meeting is awkward and lacks openness.

"Herzliches Beileid, Herr Slama!" . . . "Sie war eine brave Frau, die selige Frau Slama!" sagt der Leutnant. Der Wachtmeister sagt, . . . "Sie ist schön gewesen, Herr Baron haben sie ja gekannt." "Ich habe sie gekannt, Ihre Frau Gemahlin." (64)

Although Slama was aware of the affair he keeps his emotions under control and says nothing of it. All he can do is to show Carl their wedding picture. Carl looks at the picture and suddenly becomes indifferent. The affair was over, as though it never had existed. "Man sagt etwas Nettes von einer Toten, im Angesicht des Witwers, dem man kondoliert. (Carl) fühlt sich sofort befreit und von der Toten geschieden, als wäre alles ausgelöscht." (67) Carl bids Slama farewell. As he opens the garden gate Slama calls to him and hands over a package. The package contains the love letters addressed to Frau Slama.

"Das ist für Sie, Herr Baron!" . . . "Bitte um Entschuldigung! Der Herr Bezirkshauptmann hat's angeordnet. Ich hab's damals gleich hingebracht. Der Herr Bezirkshauptmann hat's schnell überflogen und gesagt, ich soll's persönlich übergeben!" (68)

With this scene, Roth again points to the awareness of social status of the time and its inequity. Carl's second affair is with Frau von Taußig, a middle-aged woman, who lives in the past as Carl. She seduces young soldiers to stay young.

Jeder junge Mann, den Frau von Taußig in ihre Arme nahm, war der langersehnte Gast. . . . Sie lebte ja gar nicht; sie wartete ja nur. Einen nach dem andern sah sie davongehen. . . . Allmählich gewöhnte sie sich daran, Männer kommen und gehen zu sehen. . . . Frau von Taußig stellte dem nahenden Alter junge Männer entgegen, wie Dämme. Aus Angst vor ihrem erkennenden Blick ging sie mit geschlossen Augen in jedes ihrer sogenannten Abenteuer. (219)

She does not love Carl, she loves his youth. He is just one of the many Lieutenants. For Carl, Frau von Taußig was, as Frau Slama had been, a mother figure. "Der Leutnant lag an ihrer Brust wie ein Kind" (222) on the first night they spent together. They do not have a true relationship. In the illusion of a love affair they attempt to satisfy their own needs. Her passion to be young forever is as urgent as his to be loved.

Carl Joseph Trotta dies while getting water for his men. This unsoldierly death fits his disillusioned life. Carl stands as Roth's main symbol of the decline of the Empire. A man who yearns for the native soil of his peasant forefathers, Carl is crushed by the pressures of a modern age.

Roth's three "heros" -- Joseph, Franz, Carl Joseph -- are not only individuals, they are representatives of their time. The Hero of Solferino is the yardstick by which Franz and Carl Joseph measure themselves. They gain their significance in so far as they deviate or stay close to the Joseph model. Even though Joseph dies in chapter one, his character is kept alive throughout.

the plot. Through Joseph's immortality, Roth constantly calls attention to the differences between the old and the new Monarchy. Through contrasting and paralleling these characters, Roth differentiates between the ideal and the real, the past and the present. More specifically, the decay of the Trotta family is paralleled with the deterioration of the Empire.

There are a number of secondary characters who also play an important role in Roth's image of the Empire. In Radetzkmarsch, Roth equates the existence of the Monarchy with the life of the Emperor. Though only in the background, Franz Joseph I is constantly present. Roth depicts him as a human being, an elderly gentleman conscious of the deterioration of his Empire.

Durch den Feldstecher sah Franz Joseph die Bewegungen jedes einzelnen Zuges, ein paar Minuten lang fühlte er Stolz auf seine Armee und ein paar Minuten auch Bedauern über ihren Verlust. Denn er sah sie schon zerschlagen und verstreut, aufgeteilt unter den vielen Völkern seines weiten Reiches. Ihm ging die große goldene Sonne der Habsburger unter, zerschmettert am Urgrund der Welten, zerfiel in mehrere kleine Sonnenkugeln, die wieder als selbstständige Gestirne selbstständigen Nationen zu leuchten hatten. Es paßt ihnen halt immer, von mir regiert zu werden! dachte her Alte. Da kann man nix machen! fügte er im stillen hinzu. Denn er war ein Österreicher. (259-60)

Although each family member stands in a different relation to the Franz Joseph I, he is the main source of meaning and value for the Trottas. Franz in fact feels himself a brother to the Emperor. Roth emphasizes the bond by having Franz look like his sovereign.

Sie waren wie zwei Brüder. Ein Fremder, der sie ein diesem Augenblick erblickt hätte, wäre imstande gewesen, sie für zwei Brüder zu halten. Ihre weißen Backenbärte, ihre abfallenden schmalen Schultern, ihr gleiches körperliches Maß erweckten in beiden den Eindruck, daß sie ihren eigenen Spiegelbildern gegenüberstanden. Und der eine glaubte, er hätte sich in einen

Bezirkshauptmann verwandelt. Und der andere glaubte, er hätte sich in den Kaiser verwandelt. (325)

The death of Franz Joseph I signifies the death of the Trotta's. The Trottas could not outlive the Emperor and the Emperor could not outlive the Trottas, while neither could witness the dissolution of the Monarchy.

Count Wojciech Chojnicki is another significant character. Although not a soldier, he lives among the officers of Carl Joseph's Infantry regiment. As a delegate to the Imperial Parliament he becomes Roth's political mouthpiece. Through this character Roth portrays the Austrian aristocrat, who held high political office, but was unwilling to perform the duties of the office. He is the demoralized noble. Chojnicki does almost anything to assure his reelection, but never once takes an active part during Parliament's sessions. He is the prophet of doom, whose outspoken views tell of the Empire's impending deterioration.

Ungläubig, spöttisch, furchtlos und ohne Bedenken pflegte Chojnicki zu sagen, der Kaiser sei ein gedankenloser Greis, die Regierung eine Bande von Trotteln, der Reichsrat, eine Versammlung gutgläubiger und pathetischer Idioten, die staatlichen Behörden bestechlich, feige und faul. . . . "Dieses Reich muß untergehen. Sobald der Kaiser die Augen schließt, zerfallen wir in hundert Stücke." (159)

In a meeting with Franz Trotta he gives a detailed account of the weakness of the Empire. He points out that Franz Joseph I and his civil servants can not reconcile the national aspirations of the Empire's peoples. Habsburg power, he affirms is founded on the belief in the divine right of kings and thus can not survive in an age of skepticism.

Vielleicht hatte Chojnicki richtig gesprochen, und sie waren in der Tat alle nicht mehr da: das Vaterland nicht und nicht der Bezirkshauptmann und nicht der Sohn! . . . "Die Zeit, (erwiderte Chojnicki), will uns nicht mehr! Diese Zeit will sich erst

selbstständige Nationalstaaten schaffen! Man glaubt nicht mehr an Gott. Die neue Religion ist der Nationalismus. Die Völker gehn nicht mehr in die Kirchen. Sie gehn in nationale Vereine. Die Monarchie, unsere Monarchie, ist gegründet auf der Frömmigkeit: auf dem Glauben, daß Gott die Habsburger erwählt hat, über soundso viele christliche Völker zu regieren. Unser Kaiser ist ein weltlicher Bruder des Papstes, es ist Seine k. u. k. Apostolische Majestät, keine andere als er: apostolisch, keine andere Majestät in Europa so abhängig von der Gnade Gottes und vom Glauben der Völker an die Gnade Gottes. Der deutsche Kaiser regiert, wenn Gott ihn verläßt, immer noch; eventuell von der Gnade der Nation. Der Kaiser von Österreich-Ungarn darf nicht von Gott verlassen werden. Nun aber hat ihn Gott verlassen!" (187-88)

Chojnicki recognized the primary cause of the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy. But more importantly he dared to voice his thoughts. Not long after the war had begun, Count Chojnicki returns from the front an insane man. Franz Trotta is summoned to visit him in the hope that their meeting would improve the Count's condition. Ironically however, Chojnicki, in his insanity, is still able to recognize the political future of the Monarchy better than the District Commissioner.

"Setzen Sie sich!" sagte Chojnicki. "Ich habe Sie kommen lassen, um Ihnen etwas Wichtiges mitzuteilen. Verraten Sie es niemandem! Außer Ihnen und mir weiß es heute kein Mensch: Der Alte stirbt!" "Woher wissen Sie das?" fragte Herr von Trotta. Chojnicki, immer noch an der Tür, hob den Finger gegen die Zimmerdecke, legte ihn dann an die Lippen und sagte: "Von oben!" (378)

Like Roth, Chojnicki's despair for the Empire was created out of feelings of genuine love for the state that was crumbling in front of him.

The majority of the officers in Radetzky correspond similarly to the many phases of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which they are products. They are the stereotype of the officer and the gentleman: they proudly parade in uniform, they play war games, they uphold their honor through duels, and they womanize. But behind this facade they are just as disillusioned as the

society they live in. While in the barracks they lead the lethargic life to which their society privileges them. They talk of war, but are blind to the essence of military life. Roth's most striking demonstration of their decadence happens during the officer's summer festival. The first feelings of Nationalism are made evident after they hear of the death of the heir to the throne at Sarajevo. The outspoken reactions of the officers demonstrate that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was no longer possible. The division among the officers symbolize the absence of unity in the Empire.

The female characters that could have brought love and warmth into the "Männerwelt" of Radetzkymarsch live in the shadow. Carl Joseph's mother and grandmother died early, while the women of his love affairs function as weak mother figures.

Alongside the characters Roth also created a number of leitmotifs in Radetzkymarsch. The recurring themes of alcohol, death, letters and music emphasize his image of the deteriorated Monarchy. Most of the officers in Radetzkymarsch attempt to drown their sorrows in alcohol. Through their drinking, a false sense of security develops. Carl Joseph reaches for the bottle to forget, to forget that which he could not forget. In drunkenness Carl escapes, life is easier to cope with. Alcohol washes away his conflicts. "Er wurde. . immer sanfter, je mehr er trank." (195)

Death is also a close friend to many of the characters. Nine characters -- Joseph's father, Joseph, Frau Slama, Max Demant, Jacques, Wagner, Carl Joseph, Franz, Franz Joseph I -- die in Radetzkymarsch. Death often shapes the thoughts of the characters and the foreshadowing of the narrator. As for the officers,

Alle fühlten, daß er den Tod angerufen hatte. Der Tod schwebte über ihnen, und er war ihnen keineswegs vertraut. . . . Damals

wußten sie noch nicht, daß jeder von ihnen, ohne Ausnahme, ein paar Jahre später mit dem Tod zusammentreffen sollte. (106)

Roth emphasizes the power of death even more in Carl Joseph's character. His ardent desire for death is constantly reinforced by the death of the those "close" to him. With the death of Frau Slama, his youth was destroyed and "Vor ihm lag also ein langes Leben voller Trauer." (49) He also lived to see the death of Max Demant, Jacques and Captain Wagner. His thoughts are plagued by these deaths. As he tells his father, "Die Toten! Ich kann die Toten nicht vergessen! Vater, ich kann gar nichts vergessen! Vater!" (195) On his numerous visits to the cemeteries he sees the graves as milemarkers of life. Roth describes the deaths of Jacques, Carl Joseph, the Emperor and Franz in great detail. With the simultaneous deaths of Franz Trotta and Franz Joseph I, Roth has Radetzkmarsch symbolize the "Verfall einer Familie," as well as the "Verfall einer Monarchie."

The character's solitary and withdrawn nature is also evident in the letter leitmotif. The lack of communication discussed earlier is also manifested in Roth's use of letters. The Trotta-letters are short, formal and written regularly. And as the dialog, letter writing presents problems for the characters. It takes hours for the letters to be composed. The characters find it hard to put their thoughts and problems on paper. Thus, the letters contain only facts, requests, orders and decisions. "Wenn er (Carl) seine gehorsamen Briefe schrieb, in denen so wehig stand, erwiderte man mit ein paar gemessenen Zeilen." (196)

Roth employs these techniques so that the reader is always aware of the lonely man, the man who suppresses his feelings and lives in a world "... (die) zum Untergang verurteilt (war). This dark world he lives in "

...verdiente keinen anständigen Bewohner mehr. Es hatte also keinen Sinn, dauerhaft zu lieben, zu heiraten und etwa Nachkommen zu zeugen." (218)

Radetzkymarsch owes its title to Austrian Field Marshal Josef Graf Radetzky von Radetz, who at the age of eighty-two played a decisive role in the recovery of Austria, more specifically, Lombardy, in 1848. Although Radetzky is mentioned once in the novel, it is Johann Strauss' musical composition, Radetzky March, that is used as the leitmotif. The "Radetzky March" is the military march of Austria; somewhat like "Preußens Gloria" for Prussia, "British Grenadiers" for Britain, and "Stars and Stripes Forever" for the United States. It is used as a symbol of power, as well as decay. Once it was played by a military band in front of the Trotta house. And as the sun shone of the brass instruments the March symbolized the "Vaterland" for the young cadet, Carl Joseph. At another time it was played around the red velvet and drunken men of Frau Resi's bordello. Amidst the smoke and dim lights, its meaning became distorted.

In Radetzkymarsch Roth has captured the age of the Dual Monarchy of Franz Joseph I and the essence of the disintegrating life of its people. The reader gets the feeling, that beyond the political upheaval, the fall was largely due to personal disillusionment and social alienation. The characters of this world drama suffer from a failure to imagine and a lack of energy. One can be sure that the decay of the Empire stemmed in part from the alienation of men like Franz Trotta, as well as the center and source of political power. Roth shows the Emperor himself disillusioned:

Und da wußte er, daß der Pater bald kommen würde. Und er bewegte seine Lippen und begann, wie man ihn gelehrt hatte, als Knaben: "In Reue und Demut beichte ich meine Sünden..." Aber auch das hörte man nicht mehr. Übrigens sah er gleich darauf, daß der

Kapuziner schon da war. "Ich hab lang warten müssen!" sagte er. Dann überlegte er seine Sünden. "Hoffart!" fiel ihm ein. "Hoffärtig war ich halt!" sagte er. Eine Sünde nach der andern ging er durch, wie sie im Katechismus standen. Ich bin zu lange Kaiser gewesen! dachte er. Aber es kam ihm vor, daß er es laut gesagt hatte. "Alle Menschen müssen sterben. Auch der Kaiser stirbt." Und es war ihm zugleich, als stürbe irgendwo, weit von hier, jener Teil von ihm, der kaiserlich gewesen war. "Der Krieg ist auch eine Sünde!" sagte er laut. Aber der Priester hörte ihn nicht. Franz Joseph wunderte sich aufs neue. Jeden Tag kamen die Verlustlisten, seit 1914 dauerte der Krieg. "Schluß machen!" sagte Franz Joseph. Man hörte ihn nicht. "Wär ich nur bei Solferio gefallen!" sagte er. Man hörte ihn nicht. Vielleicht, dachte er, bin ich schon tot und rede als ein Toter. Deshalb verstehen sie mich nicht. (380-81)

Roth masterfully speaks from the soul of his characters, who have fallen victims to Robert Musil's 'Kakania'.⁴ With acute insight he paints the polyptych of the greying twilight of the once powerful and vital Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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⁴ A term invented by Robert Musil in Mann ohne Eigenschaften. It gets its meaning from the initials of the adjectives for the Dual Monarchy: **kaiserlich** and **königlich**.

CHAPTER IV

DIE KAPUZINERGRUFT

After Radetzky Roth witnessed Hitler's rise to power and left Austria, never to return. During his years in exile he became, as a confirmed Monarchist, an outspoken supporter of the Habsburg claim to the throne. By the time he finished Die Kapuzinergruft in 1938, any and all hopes for the restoration of Habsburg power were shattered. As a parallel and anachronistic sequel to Radetzky, Die Kapuzinergruft tells of the same lost generation, the same decaying world. Roth even chose to mirror the fate of Austria in the life of a Trotta again: Franz Ferdinand Trotta, a member of the bourgeois branch of the family.

The novel begins in 1913 and ends with the annexation of Austria in 1938. Franz Ferdinand Trotta, grandnephew of the Hero of Solferino, is protagonist and narrator. He begins his story with an explanation of his relationship to the "geadelten" Trottas, but quickly points out that his father was a rebel and a patriot. His father had wanted to reform and save the Habsburgs. He was soon suspected and fled to America, where he became financially successful. With his wealth he returned to Vienna to help "build" the Triad-Monarchy: Austrians, Hungarians, Slavs. On his death in 1912, Franz Ferdinand was to become the heir of his wealth and political ideas. Roth makes an allusion here to Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Franz Joseph I, who also wanted to "build" the Triad-Monarchy.

The young Franz Ferdinand however is not interested in the political ideals of his father. Since 1912, when he left the 21st Jäger Battalion, he has belonged to the reserves. With no need to work or study he lives with his mother and indulges in an idle existence. He enjoys a comfortable life among his young aristocratic friends with whom he shares "den skeptischen Leichtsinn, den melancholischen Fürwitz, die sündhafte Fahrlässigkeit, die hochmütige Verlorenheit, alle Anzeichen des Untergangs, den wir damals noch nicht kommen sahen."¹ He also states in the beginning that he is in love with the nineteen-year-old Elisabeth Kovacs, but can not openly show his affection, for he fears the mockery of his friends.

In the summer of 1914 he goes to Zlotograd, Galicia to visit his peasant relative Joseph Branco Trotta and his friend, the coachman, Manes Reisiger. He spends his days riding with Manes through the countryside and his nights with the officers of the 9th Dragoon regiment. When the war breaks out Joseph and Manes enlist and march to the Russian bordertown Radziwillow, while Franz Ferdinand returns to Vienna. Upon his return he, like many of his friends, draws up a testament and announces his marriage. The war gives him the courage to overcome his weaknesses. His unconcerned friends disgust him now and he asks to be transferred to the regiment in which Joseph and Manes are serving. As he says, "Ich wollte mit Joseph Branco zusammen sterben, mit Joseph Branco, meinem Vetter, dem Kastanienbrater, und mit Manes Reisiger dem Fiaker von Zlotograd, und nicht mit Walzertänzern." (74)

After a disastrous one-day honeymoon he leaves Elisabeth to meet up with Joseph's regiment. Attacks from the Russian army keep them on the

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¹ Joseph Roth, Die Kapuzinergruft (Köln, W. Ger.: Kiepenheuer, 1972): 14. Literary quotes in this chapter are all taken from Die Kapuzinergruft. Page numbers will hereafter appear in parentheses directly after the quote.

move until the historical Battle of Krasne-Busk, when one-third of their regiment is killed and another third, including Franz Ferdinand, Joseph Branco and Manes, is taken prisoner. Six months later they arrive in Siberia. After a brief period of freedom in the house of Jan Baranovitsch, a fur trader, their friendship comes under strain. They eventually return to the prisoner camp, their feelings toward one another grow cold and Franz Ferdinand is separated from the others. Manes and Joseph manage to escape and the three do not meet again until after the war.

When Franz Ferdinand returns to Vienna in the winter of 1918, he finds only his mother unchanged. The Monarchy had ended, his old friends are unable to adjust to post-war Vienna and his wife has left him to become an artist. He feels estranged. With the family's fortune lost in the war and no learned trade, he wanders through the streets of Vienna like an orphan. His father-in-law, Baron Kovacs, is thus able to talk Franz Ferdinand into taking a mortgage out on his mother's home to support Elisabeth's artistic business adventures. The business partners include Jolanth Szatmary, Elisabeth's instructor and business advisor, and Kurt von Stettenheim, the typical post-war parasite. Even after a second mortgage the business fails to support itself and collapses. With the business lost, Stettenheim quickly leaves town, Jolanth goes to Budapest, and Elisabeth returns to Franz Ferdinand to live with him as his wife and to become the mother of his child. Franz, then facing financial ruin, must turn his mother's home into a boarding house. This venture is also short lived. After the birth of their son, Franz Joseph Eugen, Elisabeth begins to distance herself from her son and husband and eventually meets up with Jolanth and Stettenheim to become the leading actress of their newly founded film company. Within a few months of his wife's departure to

Hollywood, Franz Ferdinand's mother dies. He sells the house, sends his son to a friend in Paris and continues his meaningless existence.

As in Radetzky, Roth brings his picture of the Habsburgs to life in the lifestyles and minds of his characters. Each character is used as a symbol and the fate of each of them runs parallel to that of the dying Monarchy.

Along with his upper class friends, Franz Ferdinand Trotta lives the decadent life of the pre-war Viennese citizen. While after the war he is unable to adjust and cope with reality. As Carl Joseph had in Radetzky, Franz Ferdinand typifies Roth's decadent non-hero and is characterized in much the same way. He no longer adheres to the religious faith of his father's generation. As he explains, he is a religious skeptic because it was the fashion of the time:

Es war keine wirkliche Feindseligkeit gegen die Religion in ihnen, sondern eine Art Hochmut, die Tradition anzuerkennen, in der sie aufgewachsen waren. Zwar wollten sie das Wesentliche ihrer Tradition nicht aufgeben; aber sie -- und ich gehörte zu ihnen --, wir rebellierten gegen die Formen der Tradition, denn wir wußten nicht, daß wahre Form mit dem Wesen identisch ist und daß es Kindisch war, eines von dem andern zu trennen. Es war kindisch, wie gesagt; aber wir waren damals eben kindisch. (36)

Unlike his father, he lacks feelings of patriotism. The Monarchy and its Emperor seem removed and old. Both have lost their identity. Franz Ferdinand and his friends at times perhaps feel the impending doom, but they lack the inner strength to fight. In the days before the Great War they took pride in so-called decadence. In order to diminish their fears for the future they create an artificial sense of gaiety to fill the void they feel.

Aus unsern schweren Herzen kamen die leichten Witze, aus unserem Gefühl, daß wir Todgeweihte seien, eine törichte Lust an jeder

Bestätigung des Lebens: an Bällen, am Heurigen, an Mädchen, am Essen, an Spazierfahrten, Tollheiten aller Art, sinnlosen Eskapaden, an selbst-mörderischer Ironie, an ungezügelter Kritik, am Prater, am Riesenrad, am Kasperltheater, an Maskeraden, am Ballett, an leichtsinnigen Liebesspielen in den verschwiegene Logen der Hofoper, an Manövern, die man versäumte, und sogar noch an jenen Krankheiten, die uns manchmal die Liebe bescherte. (15)

In contrast to his friends, however, Franz Ferdinand understands the drastic change in people that the war brought. All that was private suddenly became public and the past ceased to exist. Everyone and everything fell victim to world history. Furthermore, Franz Ferdinand could ask himself, "Was hatte dies alles noch für einen Sinn?" (59) He sees that among his friends, he was "der einzige...der schon die Anzeichen des Todes...erkannte." (54) And when the death of war was near, he felt that "ein sinnloser Tod besser sei als ein sinnloses Leben." (54)

The inability to communicate also plagues Franz Ferdinand's life. He is in love with the nineteen-year-old Elisabeth Kovacs, the daughter of Baron Kovacs, a nobleman from a Hungarian army family. But in the above described pre-war atmosphere there is no room for sentiment. To be in love with a woman is a weakness and marriage is considered an incurable disease. Fearful of his friends' scorn he keeps his affection hidden and rarely visits Elisabeth. Although often tempted to tell his friends about Elisabeth, he is afraid of becoming their victim and therefore leads, in a certain sense, a double life.

Roth's stylistic change from third to first person narration exposes further important features about Franz Ferdinand's character. He seems more conscious of the decaying Monarchy than his friends. As the narrator of the past he informs us that he did not feel at ease with his environment. His

friends' mannerisms bothered him. Their casual liaisons with women and the way they regarded their mothers irritated him.

Franz Ferdinand describes his relationship to his mother as neither true nor spontaneous. From time to time he feels the need to tell her of his love for Elisabeth, but he can not bridge the distance between them. When he leaves to fight in the war, he concludes "Sie liebte den Sohn ihres Mannes, nicht ihr Kind. Sie war eine Frau. Ich war der Erbe ihres Geliebten; seinen Lenden schicksalhaft entsprossen; ihrem Schoß nur zufällig." (80) But however cold he describes their relationship he respects her and feels terribly ashamed about the way in which his friends talk about their mothers. "Sie sprachen von ihren Müttern beinahe wie von jene "Liaisons", die sie saßen- oder liegenlassen hatten, als wären es allzu früh gealterte Mätressen, und noch schlimmer, als wären die Mütter wenig würdig ihrer Söhne." (24)

In retrospect, Franz Ferdinand blames his friends for his inability to express his feelings of love for Elisabeth and his mother. They prevented him from obeying the voice of nature and common sense. Although his argument is weak, he, unlike Carl Joseph, recognizes that something ill is in the air.

Aber es sollte sich ja darauf zeigen, daß diese Sünden, die meine Freunde und ich auf unsere Häupter luden, gar nicht unsere persönlichen waren, sondern nur die schwachen, noch kaum erkennbaren Vorzeichen der kommenden Vernichtung, von der ich bald erzählen werde. (25)

In an attempt to escape the decadence of the metropolis he seeks refuge in the simple, realistic lives of Joseph Branco Trotta and Manes Reisiger. But as Roth shows, even their lives changed with the Great War. Manes returns home to find his town annihilated, his wife dead and his son a revolutionary. Joseph Branco finds he needs a visa to sell his chestnuts in

the previous Crown Lands. Roth thus conveys the impression that the division of the Empire was felt not only by the inhabitants of Vienna, but also among the lower classes inhabiting the countryside.

The decay of personal relationships is further exemplified in Franz Ferdinand's marriage. Elisabeth is also characterized as the decadent Viennese citizen, who searches for an identity in the chaos of pre- and post-war Austria. She is incapable of love and marries Franz Ferdinand as custom called for. She lacks genuine affection for her husband as well as others. On the way to the Hotel Golden Lion, for their one day honeymoon, she prefers a book to Franz Ferdinand's company. Before entering the hotel, Franz insists on bidding Jacques, the Trotta's servant, farewell. Jacques has a stroke and from then on the shadow of death hangs over their honeymoon and marriage. Elisabeth's reaction to Jacques' death: "Er stirbt! Sie ließ die ausgebreiteten Arme fallen und antwortete nur: 'Er ist alt!'" (89) shows her lack of emotion and sensitivity. Franz Ferdinand feels obliged to give the old man his company in his final hours and thereby does not stop Elisabeth from returning to Vienna. Sitting by the dying man's side, Franz Ferdinand concludes, "Ich hatte zwei Tote: die erste war meine Liebe. Sie begrub ich an der Schwelle der Verbindungstür zwischen unseren zwei Zimmern." (90)

Upon Franz Ferdinand's return from the war Elisabeth attempts to become a wife and mother, but her good intentions last only a short time. After the birth of their son, she finds life as a mother and wife unbearable and leaves Franz Ferdinand to pursue her egotistical life. Roth allows her no redeeming qualities and emphasizes the decadent female with the character of Jolanth Szatmary, a lesbian "professor" of art.

In her appearance, Jolanth is masculine. She is the emancipated woman of the city, who misses no opportunity to further her own goals. Together with Herr von Stettenheim, the third partner of the "commercial art" firm, she uses the Trottas in order to finance her business adventures. She manages to have control of the business, as well as Elisabeth's emotions and can thereby secure the needed funds from Franz Ferdinand.

Herr von Stettenheim and Baron Kovacs are two more characters along the same line. Both are opportunists, like Jolanth Szatmary. When the war breaks out, Baron Kovacs quickly turns his hat factory into a supply unit for the military. As the war grows old his profits lessen and leave him to pursue new avenues that bring quick money. Although he considers his daughters products of commercial art "junk", he can live with it, so long Franz Ferdinand is paying the bill. When the business eventually faces bankruptcy, he moves on to be an investment counsellor for a newspaper.

Herr von Stettenheim preys on the inflated economy of Austria. With his charm he is able to talk Frau Trotta out of her last cent and live the privileged life of a rich cosmopolitan, that so few could afford. And when the business is dissolved he vanishes to return in the end as a partner in Jolanth's film company.

Frau von Trotta remains as the only character that upholds the standards and values of pre-war Austria. Throughout the novel she displays a strong personality. She does not get involved in Franz Ferdinand's personal affairs until he shares them with her. She suppresses any embarrassing questions to spare herself the shame of being lied to. But once Franz Ferdinand can tell her of his love for Elisabeth she is not afraid to express her dislike for her future daughter-in-law. She understands her son's need to

marry and gives him her blessing. Since her husband's death, she has lead the secluded life of a widow, but this has not wilted her mind. She has an insight into the character of the people who surround her son and in some cases can predict their actions. She dies on the eve of the Civil War in 1934 and as Franz Ferdinand states, "Sie starb so, wie sie gelebt hatte: nobel und still." (178)

The last character to be examined is Josef Chojnicki, brother of the crazed Count Wojciech Chojnicki of Radetzky². Again, this character is Roth's political mouthpiece and the outspoken prophet of the Empire's fall. Chojnicki shares Roth's conviction² that:

"In dieser Monarchie. . . ist nichts merkwürdig. Ohne unsere Regierungstrottel" (er liebte starke Ausdrücke) "wäre ganz gewiß auch dem äußerlichen Anschein nach gar nichts merkwürdig. Ich will damit sagen, daß das sogenannte Merkwürdige für Österreich-Ungarn das Selbstverständliche ist. Ich will zugleich damit auch sagen, daß nur diesem verrückten Europa der Nationalstaaten und der Nationalismen das Selbstverständliche sonderbar erscheint. Freilich sind es die Slowenen, die polnischen und ruthenischen Pferdehändler aus der Bacska, die Moslems aus Sarajevo, die Maronibrater aus Mostar, die Gott erhalte singen. Aber die deutschen Studenten aus Brünn und Eger, die Zahnärzte, Apotheker, Friseurgehilfen, Kunstphotographen aus Linz, Graz, Knittelfeld, die Kröpfe aus den Alpentälern, sie alle singen die Wacht am Rhein. Österreich wird an dieser Nibelungentreue zugrunde gehn, meine Herren! Das Wesen Österreichs ist nicht Zentrum, sondern

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² Evidence of this relationship between Chojnicki's views and Roth's legitimistic Catholic ideology is found in Roth's essay "Dreimal Österreich" written in 1938. He blames the Prussian influenced German Nationalist Party of Austria for bringing disunity to the Empire's peoples. He felt the resistance and arrogance towards the Slavic minorities caused the once loyal subjects to pursue their independence. As this a major reason for the Monarchy's disintegration Roth concludes, "Der deutsche Österreicher hat durch die Zertrümmerung der Monarchie seinen Hochmut bereits bitter gebüßt." See Joseph Roth, "Dreimal Österreich" Das Neue Tage-Buch 6 (January 20, 1938): 86.

Peripherie. Österreich ist nicht in den Alpen zu finden, Gamsen gibt es dort und Edelweiß und Enzian, aber kaum eine Ahnung von einem Doppeladler. Die österreichische Substanz wird genährt und immer wieder aufgefüllt von den Kronländern." (15-16)

Chojnicki is the conscious patriot, who condemns the union of Austria and Germany and thus represents the few clear-minded Austrians of his time.

The following stylistic observations are also noteworthy. By changing to first person narrator, Roth gives the impression that he strongly identified with his main characters.³ Franz Ferdinand's words, "Ich schreibe lediglich zu dem Zweck, um mir selbst klarzuwerden; und auch pro nomine Dei sozusagen," (98) thus suggests that Roth in this instance is the "Ich" and that Die Kapuzinergruft was his mental therapy - therapy in the sense that writing offered Roth a method for coping with the loss of the Empire.

To intensify the gloomy atmosphere Roth has employed the following leitmotif: "Über den Kelchen, aus denen wir übermütig tranken, kreuzte der unsichtbare Tod schon seine knöchernen Hände."⁴ Symbolically and realistically death hangs over most of the 188 pages of Die Kapuzinergruft. Seven people -- Jacques, Franz's mother and father, Manes' wife and son, Elisabeth's brother and an army deserter -- die physically within the course

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³ Otto Forst de Battaglia states there is a strong identification of Roth with the protagonists of Radetzkymarsch and Die Kapuzinergruft. His argument is based on Roth's autobiographical approach to his novels and the similarity of Roth's experiences and those of his protagonists. See Otto Forst de Battaglia, "Joseph Roth, Wanderer zwischen drei Welten" Frankfurter Hefte 7 (June, 1952): 444-45. Peter Jansen also sees a strong existential bond between Roth and his work. He writes, "In der Tat wird im Übergang von der Er-Erzählung zur Ich-Erzählung bei Roth erst ganz offenkündig die existentielle Beteiligung des Dichters an seiner Dichtung." See Hartmut Scheible, Joseph Roth: Mit einem Essay über Gustave Flaubert (Berlin, W. Ger.: W. Kohlhammer, 1971): 162.

⁴ Roth, Die Kapuzinergruft, 36, 40, 46, 68.

of the novel. The remaining characters live, but as Franz Ferdinand says, "Lebendig waren wir und leibhaft vorhanden. Aber Tote waren wir in Wirklichkeit." (178)

Not until after March 11, 1938 did Roth finish the final chapter of Die Kapuzinergruft, in which he leaves no doubt about the end of the Monarchy and the Trotts. He realized his dream was over. In the life of Franz Ferdinand Trotta, Roth offers an emotional look at his fatherland. He conveys a clear picture of the emptiness of the time. Franz Ferdinand, a man who had no political convictions and no identity with the military, comes from nowhere and goes nowhere. To be an Austrian as he was had no meaning. And when the final blow arrived, he, like Roth, could not cope. Thus I suggest Franz Ferdinand's last question, asked while standing in front of the "Kapuzinergruft": "Wohin soll ich, ich jetzt, ein Trotta?..." is also Roth's last question: "Wohin soll ich, ich jetzt, ein Roth, ein Österreicher?"

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As presented in the analytical discussion of the preceding pages, it is clear that Radetzkymarsch and Die Kapuzinergruft have much in common. The following summary will provide a brief overview of the major similarities and dissimilarities and show that Roth's image of the Empire did not change between the two novels; Die Kapuzinergruft was rather a continuation of Radetzkymarsch.

Both novels contain the themes of loneliness, alienation, disillusionment, incapacity for love, lack of communication, death and the corruptness of social and moral values. Roth had a keen awareness of the complexity of human beings. His characters are subject to the forces of human nature and are thus convincing in their respective roles. The protagonists are weak and drift through life without a purpose. Carl Joseph and Franz Ferdinand belong to the lost generation that was unable to master life and face up to the problems resulting from the fall of the Monarchy. They are not at home in the real world and can not find an escape, as many of their friends do, in the superficial frivolity so common in the Austria of their time. Both fail to secure warm and real relationships with family, friends and the women. They yearn to be close to their peasant forefathers and make honorable attempts to achieve that goal. In fact at times their desire is so strong that they do not hesitate to sacrifice their status. As decadent non-

heros they not only contribute to, but are passively subjected to the fall of the Monarchy. In sum, Carl Joseph and Franz Ferdinand are self-reflective, melancholic characters, who shed light on Roth's own generation.

The protagonists are surrounded by a number of similiar characters. The decadent officers of Carl Joseph regiment display the same carelessness as Franz Ferdinand's "Kaffeehaus" companions. The female characters correspondingly lack the ability to bring love, warmth and caring into the life of the novels. One more similiarity can be pointed out in the respective Chojnickis. They are the outspoken, open-minded prophets of doom, who represent the minority, which was aware of the political situation and dared to voice its opinion.

The following differences occur, I feel, as the natural consequences of the political and sociological changes that came about after the First World War. Roth's choice to keep the same family line and parallel personalities enables the reader to be familiar with the characters. This familiarization facilitates perception of the degree of change that occurred in Austrian society from the point where Radetzkymarsch left off to 1938. I suggest it is not the personal lives of Carl Joseph and Franz Ferdinand that are important, but rather the overall life in the Empire of which they are victims of and which they represent.

Although the protagonists are similiar in many ways, Roth has given Franz Ferdinand one quality that sets him apart from Carl Joseph. Franz Ferdinand senses the ills of his society. He feels war on his doorstep and knows it is real. In contrast to Carl Joseph, Franz Ferdinand can no longer see the world through rose-colored glasses, he can not remain blind and can see the causes behind the Empires dissolution. Any hope that Carl may have

had is diminished by the time Franz steps on the stage. When Franz Joseph I dies and the war is over Franz Ferdinand must find his way in a world Carl Joseph could never have imagined. It is in this unbearable world, of which he does not want to be a part, that the truth of what has happened and will happen reveals itself to him:

Sah ich mich doch seit langem schon, seit der Heimkehr aus dem Krieg, als einen zu Unrecht Lebenden an! Hatte ich mich doch längst schon daran gewöhnt, alle Ereignisse, die von den Zeitungen "historische" genannt werden, mit dem gerechten Blick eines nicht mehr zu dieser Welt Gehörenden zu betrachten! Ich war lange schon ein vom Tode auf unbeschränkte Zeit Beurlaubter! Und er, der Tod, konnte jede Sekunde meinen Urlaub unterbrechen. Was gingen mich noch die Dinge dieser Welt an? . . . Ich war ausgeschaltet; ausgeschaltet war ich. Ausgeschaltet unter den Lebendigen bedeutet so etwas Ähnliches wie: exterritorial. Ein Exterritorialer war ich eben unter den Lebenden.¹

The replacement of Joseph and Franz Trotta, the father figures and symbols of military and bureaucratic power, by Baron Kovacs, Herr von Stettenheim and Jolanth Szatmary indicates the decline of the social and moral values. The powers of the administrative and military institutions, which once had been the pillars of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, became exploited by the ruthless opportunists of the Austrian Republic of Die Kapuzinergruft.

The female image in Die Kapuzinergruft is a further example of sociological change and allows for contrast between the two novels. As stated earlier, the female characters lack warmth and love in both novels. However, the mother figures have vanished in Die Kapuzinergruft and are replaced by the emancipated urban woman, who has little need for a man to keep her young and comforted.

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¹ Roth, Die Kapuzinergruft, 183-4.

Before I conclude I would like to point out a peculiar feature. In my research I have found an abundance of secondary literature that deals with Radetzkymarsch. There are numerous critical works, each different in its conclusions, that investigate Roth's attitude towards the lost Empire and the socio-political and moral values of the Austro-Hungarian Empire he presented in the novel. For example, Claudio Magris concludes that the novel does not idealize the past, but gives a realistic account of the Trotta family, whose fate is that of the Empire. He states, "In der Tat enthält dieser Roman den ganzen, im Ton unaufhaltsamen Niedergangs enthaltenen Geist einer Zeit."² On the other end of the spectrum of interpretations stands Georg Lukács, who points out that Roth failed to give an all-encompassing picture of the decline of the Empire. As he states, "Roth bringt die Geschichte des Zusammenbruchs des Reiches nicht voll und ganz."³ However, as paradox as it may seem, all interpretations I have read conclude that the novel stands as Roth's finest literary achievement.

The peculiarity arises, when one attempts to find the same type of secondary literature for Die Kapuzinergruft. There is basically none. Although Hartmut Scheible has dedicated a whole chapter to the discussion of this novel, most critics, if they at all mention it, devote a mere paragraph. And the sad fact is that in this paragraph, which is far from a compliment,

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² Claudio Magris, Der Habsburgische Mythos in der Österreichischen Literatur (Salzburg, Aus.: Otto Müller, 1966): 263.

³ Georg Lukács, "Radetzkymarsch," in Fritz Heckert, Kultur - pessimismus und Erzählform: Studien zu Joseph Roth Leben und Werk (Bern, Switz.: Herbert Lang, 1968): 151.

Die Kapuzinergruft is usually described as the inferior and ideologically weaker sequel to Radetzkymarsch.

A possible reason for this inequality may stem from the fact that Die Kapuzinergruft was published a year before Roth's death. Anyone familiar with his life would know he was a heavy drinker at that time. Knowledge of his alcoholism may lead many to look with bias upon the novel. Stefan Zweig, a close friend of Roth's for many years, however, was convinced that alcohol did not impair the quality of Roth's writing. In a letter to his sister, Zweig writes, "Es ist eigentlich ein Wunder, wie unbeschädigt sein Gehirn geblieben ist. Er ist genau der große Künstler wie früher. . . ."⁴

In my close examination of both novels I must say I have come to agree with Stefan Zweig and disagree with those who see Die Kapuzinergruft as only the unimportant sequel. Die Kapuzinergruft is not only the continuation of Radetzkymarsch, but also its worthy conclusion. If one wants a clear picture of Roth's evolution of thought on the subject that touched him most, one should pick these two novels from the bookshelf as though they were bound as one. Together they cover a span of seventy-nine years and offer a detailed literary account of pre- and post-war Austria. In effect they represent Roth's effort to deal with the same subject. Die Kapuzinergruft thus offered Roth the chance to tell what he left untold in Radetzkymarsch.

The atrophy of the Empire that begins in Radetzkymarsch is radically continued in Die Kapuzinergruft, so that by the end of the novel one is convinced that no other solution would have been possible. The pride and glory of the Empire that the title "Radetzkymarsch" symbolizes, hints at

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⁴ Stefan Zweig and Friederike Zweig, Briefwechsel 1912-1942 (Bern, Switz.: Herbert Lang, 1951): 318.

Roth's hope for the restoration of Habsburg power. However, by 1938 what other title could have been more appropriate than "Die Kapuzinergruft."? The Empire was buried and Roth had come to terms with this.

These novels illustrate Roth's reactions to the First World War and its aftermath. The social and political problems of his time are mirrored in these two creative works and show that the political and moral upheavals of the war had just as much of an impact on the author as on such better known writers as Schnitzler, Musil, Zweig and Kraus. The emptiness and suffering Roth struggled with throughout his life seem to have been the major impetus behind his creativity. He recognized the disease which infected the society of his time and clearly conveys his understanding on the pages of this "novel" in two parts. For the Empire he loved and lost, he wrote Radetzky marsch, a saga, and Die Kapuzinergruft, an epitaph.

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